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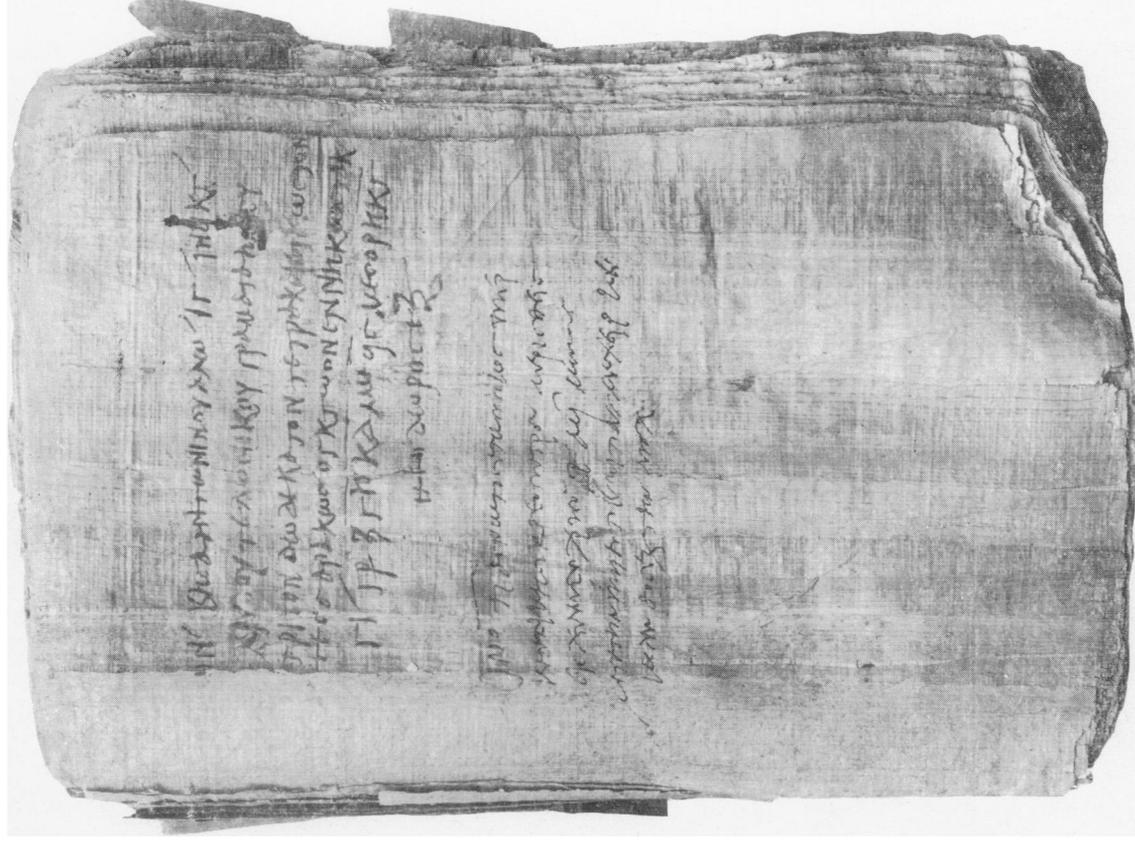
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## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

IN this fiftieth volume it may be appropriate to recall the words used by the founders of this *Journal* in the first:

The *Journal* will give all information obtainable regarding excavations that are being conducted in Egypt, and will contain articles, some, specialized and technical, intended mainly for experts, others, simpler in character, such as will be intelligible to all who care for Egypt and its marvellous interests. The history, language, papyrology and antiquities of the succeeding epochs in the story of the Nile Valley will be treated in turn, and current progress in the various branches of Egyptology and Egyptian Archaeology will be discussed.

The function of the *Journal* as a 'newspaper' has to a large extent been taken over by other periodical publications, but it is hoped that the intentions of the founders are still being followed in other respects and that the *Journal* will always accommodate the widest range of articles concerned with Ancient Egypt.

It is sad that in this semi-centennial volume the death of the President of our Society should be recorded. Sir Alan Gardiner was one of the architects of the *Journal*, its editor for many years, a constant adviser to its other editors, and a principal contributor to its pages down to the forty-eighth volume. His many other services to the Society and to Egyptology are recalled by Dr. Faulkner below (pp. 170 ff.).

In the spring of 1964 the Society lost another benefactor, and the *Journal* another frequent contributor, in G. A. Wainwright. His last article appears in this volume, as well as an appreciation of his life and career (pp. 173 ff.). Wainwright's first essays in archaeology were carried out under the guidance of Petrie, and he counted himself a student of Dr. Margaret Murray, who herself died in the autumn of 1963, in her one hundred and first year. She had for long remained the strongest link with the age and tradition of Petrie, and a lively reminder of what work under that master involved; she will be much missed.

We also mourn the passing during 1964 of Professor Hermann Kees, formerly professor at Göttingen, a wide-ranging scholar of the old school, who will be especially remembered for his great contributions to the study of Egyptian religion.

Important results were gained by the Society's expeditions in the field during the winter 1963-4. At Buhen Professor Emery conducted his final campaign on the site. He established that the outer defences of the fortress were of Middle Kingdom date, not of the New Kingdom, as was formerly thought; remains of a Middle Kingdom temple were found beneath the pavement of Hatshepsut's temple, but finds of objects were disappointing; equally disappointing was the Old Kingdom settlement, the unexplored parts of which were found to be completely denuded. At Qaşr Ibrîm Professor Plumley and Dr. Frend made striking discoveries which are described in the pages following this Editorial.

Professor Caminos of Brown University spent from September 1963 to January 1964 working on the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Khnum at Kumma, on the east bank of the Nile, opposite the temple of Semna, on which he had worked in the winter of 1962–3. He finished the recording of the whole temple. The Society's epigraphic commitment in Nubia, carried out in conjunction with Brown University, is now virtually completed, and the preparation of the first volume, on the shrines at Qaşr Ibrîm, is well advanced.

With work in Nubia coming to a close, plans have been made for the Society to resume work in Egypt proper. To this end a concession has been obtained to work at Buto in the Delta, the site of one of the earliest capitals of Egypt. A short preliminary campaign was conducted there under the direction of Dr. Veronica Seton-Williams in April and May. During this period basic survey was completed, and trial trenches dug. The promise of this site is great, and the evidence already obtained suggests that the problem of water, so long considered the bane of Delta excavation, may be inconsiderable here. A three-month season is planned for 1965, and it is hoped that much will be accomplished before the rise in water-table, consequent on the building of the High Dam, becomes effective.

It is also good to report that Professor Emery has returned to Saqqara in the autumn of this year to renew the fruitful collaboration between the Society and the Antiquities Service in the Early Dynastic Cemetery. It is as yet too early to report any results.

The first edition of Mr. Warren Dawson's *Who was Who in Egyptology* is now almost exhausted, and it has been decided to prepare a new edition. Mr. Dawson, who will be unable to do the work of revision himself, has generously agreed to make his extensive notes available to the new editor. Many users of this valuable compilation will have suggestions for additions, and possibly corrections, to make. The editor of the *Journal* will be happy to receive letters about *Who was Who*, to pass them on eventually to Mr. Dawson's successor.

In the course of the year steps have been taken to ensure that all parts of the *Journal* remain available to scholars. At the time of writing it is again possible to supply complete sets. The prices of reprinted parts will necessarily be higher than those of old stock.

Indexes of Volumes 46–50 of the *Journal* appear at the end of this volume.

## QASR IBRÎM 1963-1964

*By* J. MARTIN PLUMLEY

THE season's work at Qaşr Ibrîm was commenced on December 21, 1963, and completed on February 27, 1964. The staff included Professor J. Martin Plumley (Cambridge), Dr. W. H. C. Frend (Cambridge), Mr. Kenneth Frazer (British School at Athens), Mr. Andrew Mahaddie (Architectural Association, London), and Mr. Ali el-Kholy (Antiquities Service). Dr. Violet Macdermot (Oxford) and Dr. Hugh Plommer (Cambridge) were guests of the Expedition during February, and rendered valuable assistance during their stay. The staff were accommodated on the Society's dahabiya 'Bedouin' which was moored at 'Anîba.

Two areas for excavation were selected: the Church, and the so-called Podium in the south wall of the Fortress. The Church has now been completely excavated, and a space of about 1.50 m. in width cleared around the outside. About 20 cm. below the surface, which formed the floor of the Mosque, constructed during Bosnian occupation of Ibrîm, the foundations of a large crudely built house were exposed. This building, which may date from the early days of the Bosnian occupation, had been constructed on top of a layer of debris, largely composed of windblown dust particles, which extended downwards for about one metre. Below this accumulation lay the floor of the Church, a well-constructed sandstone pavement. The Church originally possessed five aisles, formed by two arcadings with round arches and twelve granite columns divided into two parallel rows. Only one of these columns is still standing. The rest were found lying in various positions on the floor of the Church (pl. I, 1). With one exception, all were broken into two or more pieces. All the column bases are in position. Four of the large capitals which surmounted the columns were also found lying on the floor. Scattered over the floor in a thin deposit of airborne dust, and in some instances protected by the fallen columns, were a number of manuscript fragments in Greek and Old Nubian, which had certainly originated from the Library of the Church. Though, as recorded by Abû Salîh, the Church was pillaged by Shams ed-Doulah when he captured Ibrîm in A.D. 1173, it would seem that the building did not suffer major structural damage until much later, and, from evidence now available, there is a strong possibility that the destruction of the Church was due to an earthquake.

The two crypts which were discovered during the last season's work were opened up and cleared, yielding much valuable information about the occupation of the site. Under the entrance to the West Crypt was found the undisturbed burial of a Bishop. The body was fully clad and wore a vestment. Around the neck of the dead man had been suspended a wrought-iron manual cross together with a linen handkerchief. Secreted among the clothes were two paper scrolls (pl. I, 2). When unrolled in Cairo these proved to be the consecration deeds of the dead man, giving his name and see,

and the exact date and place of his consecration in 1372 A.D. Each scroll is about 5 m. long, one being written in Bohairic Coptic, and the other in Arabic. In the West Crypt was also found a stela showing Amenophis I and his mother and his wife worshipping Horus of Ma'am, and dated to the eighth year of his reign (pl. I, 3).

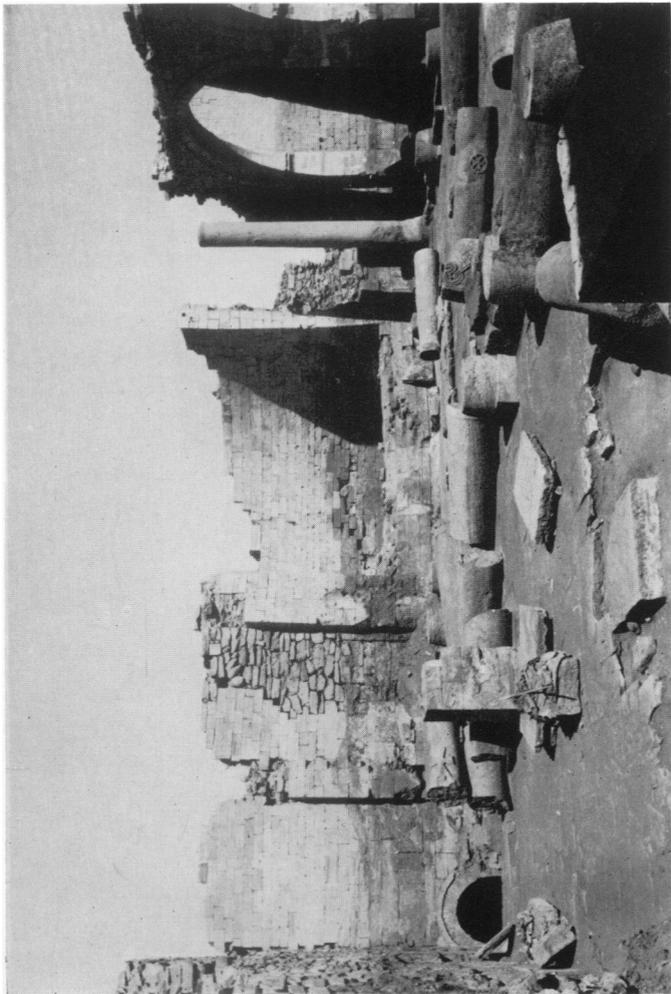
In the floor of both crypts are six rock-hewn graves. Of these three were intact. But since they contained Christian burials no objects, except two sealed but empty amphorae, were discovered with the skeletons. The most easterly of the tombs in the East Crypt is remarkable for its elaborate construction, and for the fact that, though provision had been made for two burials, only one interment seems to have been made.

On the floor of the Church, forming part of a later pavement built over the approach to the West Crypt, lay a large, nearly complete stela containing 38 lines of Meroitic. A similar stela, but larger and containing at least the same number of lines of Meroitic, was discovered built into an ablutions tank in the side room to the east of the Apse. This stela had been used to form the bottom of the tank and had been covered with a facing of plaster to render the tank watertight. It was not possible to move this stela without dismantling part of the apse wall, a major undertaking. In the room behind the apse a large almost complete slab containing a carved representation of a peacock with a cross upon its head was recovered.

The trenches dug around the outside of the Church walls revealed that the building rests partly on solid rock and partly upon an earth platform placed over the foundation walls of earlier structures. The lower courses of the outer walls of the Church had been constructed of materials from an older building, almost certainly a temple. On the face of the north wall and originally concealed by the level of debris, is a block containing a painted representation of a flying ibis holding four wands each terminating in an *ankh* sign (pl. II, 1). And a little further westwards on the same wall is a block roughly inscribed with the old name of Ibrim, Primis.

The excavation of the area around the tower revealed two brick tombs. The first of these, constructed of burnt brick, had been destroyed down to the foundations. The second, built of unfired brick, was complete, except for a small break in the top of the vaulting. The inner walls of this tomb had been covered with white plaster and inscribed with Coptic texts. The three undisturbed burials which lay within yielded a great quantity of embroidered linen. A preliminary exploration further westward in front of the south wall of the Church revealed that the whole area here had been formed by a deliberate raising of the level by means of a fill of small stones, thereby preserving an X-group house, the walls of which are almost complete with some of the roofing timbers still in place. From this house a group of household pottery in excellent preservation was recovered together with a cylindrical altar, a carved stone column-head, and a small carved ivory plaque.

The work of excavating the Podium involved the removal of a succession of layers of intensive occupation, the uppermost of which was contemporaneous with the final brief tenure of the site by the Mamelukes at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These upper layers comprised, in descending order, periods of occupation by the Bosnians, Moslem Nubians, Christian Nubians, X-group people, and Meroïtes.



1. Church, showing apse, Tribunal, fallen columns and entrance to West Crypt

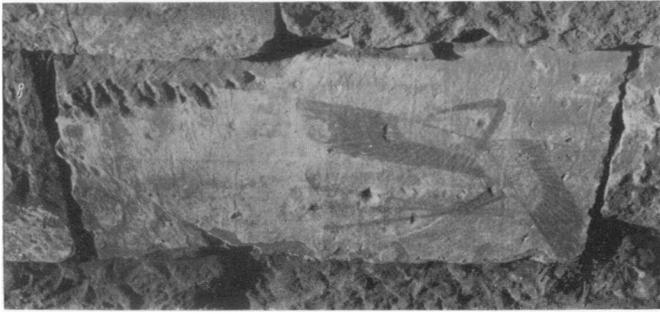


2. Scrolls in position under clothes of Bishop

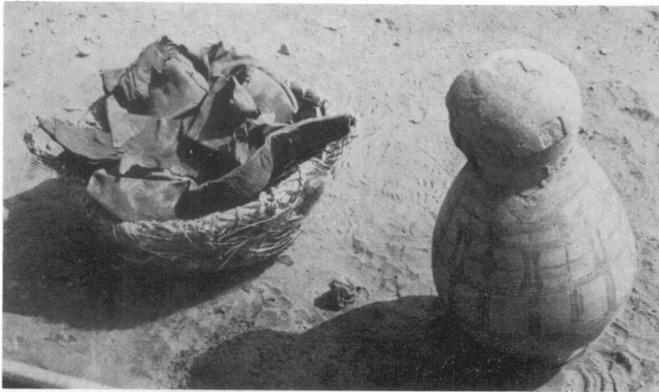
QAŞR IBRÎM 1963-1964



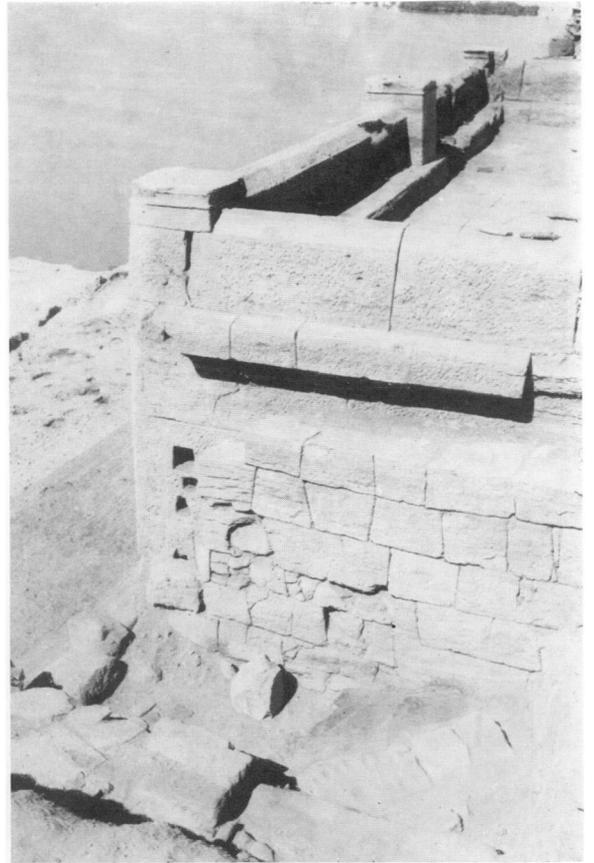
3. Stela of Amenophis I



i. Block with flying ibis holding *ankh*-wands



2. Sealed pot with 9 leather scrolls



3. Podium looking westwards



4. The southern fortifications showing the Podium

After these occupation layers had been cleared, the Podium was revealed as an open paved courtyard bounded on three sides by a well-constructed balustrade (pl. II, 3). The workmanship of the building is very similar to the quay in front of the Temple of Kalâbsha and a like structure at Madâmûd. Since both of these date from the times of Augustus and Tiberius, it is not improbable that the building at Ibrîm dates from the period of the brief occupation of the fortress by the Roman general Petronius in 23–22 B.C. Further excavation northwards from the Podium area may reveal the foundations of an earlier building, in all probability a temple, and possibly the building from which came much of the material for the construction of the Church. It is not without significance that amongst the debris moved from this area came a number of blocks bearing parts of hieroglyphic inscriptions. The greater part of these can be dated to the reign of Taharqa, though there are pieces from the Ramesside period. A surprising find was a small granite obelisk, which had been used to form a step in a stairway to the east of the Podium. Though the cartouches on this monument had been hammered out in antiquity, it is still possible to make out the prenomens of Hatshepsut.

In the debris many fragments of manuscript in Greek, Coptic, Old Nubian, and Arabic were found. Of great importance was the discovery under the stairway of a Christian house of nine rolls of leather written in Old Nubian which had been hidden away in a sealed pot. This pot, which is complete, is in itself a valuable example of a type of pottery which seems to be peculiar to Ibrîm (pl. II, 2).

All the areas of the fortress excavated this season yielded a considerable amount of written material, both literary and non-literary, in Greek, Coptic, Old Nubian, Arabic, and possibly Turkish. A few ostraca, some apparently of Meroitic origin, were also found. It is possible that further discoveries of this kind will reward future excavations at Qaşr Ibrîm.

The Society is indebted to the Director-General of the Antiquities Service for assistance rendered to the Expedition in a number of ways, and more particularly for the loan of a tug to tow the dahabîya from Wâdi Ḥalfa to 'Anîba, and later from 'Anîba to Aswân on the completion of the Expedition's work.

## EINE NEUE WEISHEITSLEHRE?

Von WOLFGANG SCHENKEL

IM *JEA* 48 (1962), 25–35 hat H. Goedicke die Stele des *Mntw-htpw* neu bearbeitet, die seit Griffiths Erstveröffentlichung im *PSBA* 18 (1896), 195–204 relativ wenig beachtet wurde. Eine Einschränkung ist dabei jedoch angebracht: J. Janssen hat in seiner *Traditioneele autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk (TEA)*, natürlich nicht im Zusammenhang, fast den gesamten Text neu übersetzt (s. Janssens Register) und einiges zum Verständnis beigetragen. Auch an Goedicke's Bearbeitung lassen sich noch verschiedene Korrekturen anbringen. Vor allem aber gibt es Argumente, die gegen die Auffassung von Z. 11 ff. als Weisheitslehre sprechen. Doch bevor dieser Hauptpunkt besprochen wird, sollen hier einige Bemerkungen zum ganzen Text und zu den vorausgehenden Zeilen stehen.

1. *Zur Datierung.* S. 27 (b) wird die Stele, der allgemeinen Ansicht entsprechend, in die 11. Dynastie datiert. Die Argumente, die Goedicke seinerseits dafür anführt, sind nicht stichhaltig.

(a) Der PN *Mntw-htpw* ist für eine Datierung ungeeignet, da es *Mntw-htpw*'s auch in der 12. Dynastie gibt, z. B. heißt so der Besitzer der Stele Kairo 20539, die in der Zeit Sesostri's I. errichtet wurde. Die Namen *ḥnj-jtj* und *Mntw-htpw* haben bei Datierungen schon so viel Unheil angerichtet, daß vor solchem Vorgehen nicht genug gewarnt werden kann. Allenfalls hat dieses Verfahren statistischen Wert, und selbst dies müßte, vor allem bei dem auch nach der 11. Dynastie beliebten PN *ḥnj-jtj*, erst noch auf Stichhaltigkeit überprüft werden.

(b) Stilistisch scheint mir die Stele in die Nachbarschaft von Louvre C. 167 und C. 168 zu passen.<sup>1</sup> C. 167 ist in das 25. Jahr Sesostri's I. datiert. Was die Raumaufteilung der Stele betrifft, so muß man sich darüber Rechenschaft geben, daß einmal die 12. Dynastie mehr variiert als die 11., und zweitens die Stele aus dem thebanischen Bereich stammt, der in manchen Zügen in dieser Zeit hinter anderen Gegenden nachhinkt.<sup>2</sup> Sollte man die Anordnung als Archaismus einstufen müssen, so paßte dies sehr schön zu ein paar altertümlichen Zügen in der Orthographie.<sup>3</sup>

(c) Die richtige Datierung, in die 12. Dynastie, ergibt sich, wie ich in *FmäS*, § 42 h gezeigt habe, aus den Formen  und der Gestalt der Buchrolle. Charakteristisch ist auch der endlose Bandwurm von Phrasen. Andere Merkmale führen zu einem ungenaueren, aber immer noch relativ späten Ansatz: das liegende  in der Opferformel<sup>4</sup> und das Relativpronomen mit Dualstrichen, die offenbar in der Zeit vor der 12. Dynastie

<sup>1</sup> Fotos bei Moss in *Griffith Studies*, pl. 47a und 48a.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. meine *Frühmittelägyptischen Studien (FmäS)*, § 42 i.

<sup>3</sup> S. *FmäS*, § 41 h.

<sup>4</sup> S. *FmäS*, § 4.

nicht gebraucht werden, vgl.  $\overset{\text{m}}{\Delta}$  TPPI, §§ 20 B 5; 24, 4; 26, 2; 28  $\gamma$  (1)  $x+3$ ; 32, 7; 8; 13 A  $\beta$  (in *ntj-hnc-j*); Ny Carlsberg E. 822 B 6; Moskau 4071, 5. Dagegen erscheint  $\overset{\text{m}}{\Delta}$  etwa in *Sûû* 1 273; 290; 295 und öfter in der Zeit Sesostri's I.

Goedicke's Schlüsse, die er S. 29 (k) für die Beziehungen der 11. Dynastie zu Hermonthis zieht, erledigen sich durch die Datierung. Überhaupt scheinen solche Verbindungen zu Hermonthis, die sich früher um die Stelen des *fnj-jtj* (TPPI, §§ 31–33) rankten, gegenstandslos zu sein. Das in Z. 8 genannte 25. Jahr<sup>1</sup> kann nur das Ammenemes' I. oder Sesostri's I. sein. Ein späterer Ansatz wird sich nicht empfehlen, die Frage wird jedoch hier nicht weiter untersucht. Eine frühere Datierung dagegen ist praktisch ausgeschlossen, wenn die Stele, wie gezeigt, in die 12. Dynastie gehört. Zwar könnte das geschilderte Ereignis schon lange vor der Abfassung des Stelentextes liegen, doch käme dafür nur das 25. Jahr Mentuhoteps *Nb-hpt-Rc* in Frage, das schon mindestens 38 Jahre zurückläge. Eine Bericht über ein so lange vergangenes Ereignis ist wenig wahrscheinlich, zumal *Mntw-htpw* vermutlich zu dieser Zeit noch nicht in seinen verantwortlichen Ämtern gewesen sein wird, die ihm ja erst Gelegenheit zu seinem segensreichen Wirken gaben.

2. An verschiedenen Stellen kommt das Wort *mr-wt* 'Liebe' + Suffix vor. In Z. 2 übersetzt Goedicke  $\overset{\text{m}}{\Delta}$  mit 'one to whom his lord gave his love'. Dies ist mißverständlich, wenn nicht falsch übersetzt. Janssen gibt in *TEA* unter II Bm 104 dies richtig so wieder: 'wiens heer gemaakt heeft, dat men hem liefheeft'. *mr-wt-f* heißt mit 'Genitivus objectivus' 'Liebe zu ihm', wie in Z. 3 deutlich ist,<sup>2</sup> und auch die weiteren Belege zeigen werden. Nicht gemeint dagegen kann sein, daß der Herr *Mntw-htpw* seine Liebe zuwendet, da dies *rdj-n n-f nb-f mr-wt-f* heißen sollte. — Nach S. 29 (1) sei  $\overset{\text{m}}{\Delta}$  in Z. 6 'undoubtedly' *mrt wi* zu lesen. Diese ungewöhnliche Konstruktion Infinitiv + enklitisches Pronomen, für die man Infinitiv + Suffix in korrektem Ägyptisch erwartete, ist auszuschneiden. Es heißt wieder mit 'Genitivus objectivus' ('Bekannt und Unbekannt waren) in Liebe zu mir (*mr-wt-j*)'. — Ein dritter Beleg mit *mr-wt-j* 'Liebe zu mir' steht dann in Z. 10. Die Konstruktion *mrj-t(w) wj*, die Goedicke S. 31 (v) zur Wahl stellt, mit pronominalem *t(w)* 'man' ist im Aä. völlig unmöglich<sup>3</sup> und auch im frühen Mä. bis in den Anfang der 12. Dynastie nur schwer möglich, und deshalb nur zuzulassen, wenn sich keine andere, einfache Erklärung anbietet. Da über dieses *tw* 'man' nicht die rechte Klarheit zu bestehen scheint, soll hier die grundsätzliche Entwicklung skizziert werden; die detaillierte Chronologie auszuarbeiten, bin ich hier nicht imstande.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Goedicke, S. 31 (r).

<sup>2</sup> 'Die Liebe zu mir war in (diesen und jenen)'; zu *m-ht(-nt)* = 'in' s. in meiner noch unveröffentlichten Arbeit über die Grundformen mittelägyptischer Sätze, § 12.

<sup>3</sup> Edel, *AäG*, § 177.

<sup>4</sup> Einer der frühesten Belege für pronominales *tw* 'man' könnte in  $\overset{\text{m}}{\Delta}$  *Heḳanakhte*, III 5 vorliegen; doch sind neben *šdj-tw st* 'man nimmt sie' auch andere Auffassungen der Stelle möglich, s. James, *Heḳanakhte*, p. 48 (10). In Belegen wie  $\overset{\text{m}}{\Delta}$  *Heḳanakhte*, III 4 und  $\overset{\text{m}}{\Delta}$  III 5 wird man Ellipsen für *šdj-tw(·s)* und *dd-tw(·s)* ansetzen, s. James, op. cit., p. 48 (7); (10). In *dd-tw Heḳanakhte*, II 27 ist natürlich ohne weiteres die folgende Rede als Subjekt anzusetzen. — In jedem Fall wären Belege aus den 'vulgären' *Heḳanakhte*-Briefen noch nicht von Beweiskraft für literarische Texte wie die Mentuhoteps. Sicher nachzuweisen ist pronominales *tw* 'man' im Sinuhe, s. dazu die in Anm. 2 genannte Arbeit, § 29. — Vgl. Westendorf, *Passiv*, 107–10; Sethe, *Verbum*, II, §§ 190; 375; Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 47 mit Obs.

Westendorf<sup>1</sup> glaubt, in dem sich vom MR an herauskristallisierenden *tw* 'man' unmittelbar das urzeitliche *tj* 'Person' zu haben, mit dem das *tj/tw*-Passiv gebildet ist. In *sdm·tj·f* träte frühzeitig eine Aktivierung ein.<sup>2</sup> Die Suffixe bei pronominalem Subjekt wären also bereits früh als Objekte aufgefaßt worden und von da aus natürlich leicht fakultativ geworden. Man mag nun gerne mit Westendorf das *tj* des Passivs als altes Nomen 'Person' o. ä. auffassen, die Aktivierung der Form und damit die Möglichkeit, *tw* 'man' herauszulösen, liegt wesentlich später, als Westendorf annahm. Da man bereits im Aä. die — der hypothetischen Entstehung der Suffixkonjugation nach — hybride Bildung *w*-Passiv + Suffix, wo das Suffix nur als Subjekt fungieren kann, geläufig verwendet,<sup>3</sup> muß man die Aktivierung der aktiven Suffixbildungen noch ein schönes Stück weiter zurückdatieren, da sie erst die Suffixe als pronominales Subjekt lieferten. Sicher aktivierte Formen des *tw*-Passivs kann man dagegen erst im MR auftreiben. Der zeitliche Abstand ist also erheblich. Nach so langer Verwendung als Passivement, und nur als dieses, konnte man kaum noch das alte Nomen 'Person' im Sinn haben.

Nach Westendorfs Ansatz ist es nicht erklärlich, daß man das konstruierbare und in aktivierter Sehweise naheliegende *sdm·tj sw* 'man hört ihn' nicht bildet, statt dessen immer *sdm·tj·f* hat. Die Suffixe hier als Objektspronomina anzusehen, geht nicht an. Dazu gäbe es im Ägyptischen für die ältere, hier allein als Vorbild in Frage kommende Zeit, keine Parallele. Der Verweis auf den Infinitiv ist nicht brauchbar; denn dort fungieren Suffixe genau wie nach einem gewöhnlichen Nomen als 'Zweitgröße', schlechter gesagt als 'Genitiv'. Der Infinitiv hat zwar ein verbales und ein nominales Gesicht, eine Umdeutung dieser Suffixe zu Objekten ist jedoch erst in dem Moment naheliegend, wo die pseudoverbale Konstruktion zum normalen Satztyp wird, wo also Objekte schließlich fast nur noch nach Infinitiven vorkommen können. Für das mä. *sdm·tw·f* darf man also, da keine Vorbilder vorhanden sind, mit einer solchen Umdeutung kaum rechnen.

Für die Entstehung des pronominalen *tw* 'man' bietet sich eine andere, recht einfache Lösung an. In Sätzen mit *tw*-Passiv und nominalem Subjekt (*sdm·tw hrw*) war es leicht, nach *sdm·f hrw* die passive Konstruktion in eine aktive umzuinterpretieren. Aus 'Die Stimme wird gehört' macht man ein 'Man hört die Stimme'. Äußerlich wird dabei nichts geändert. Aus dieser Konstruktion wurde *tw* 'man' dann herausgelöst, schließlich sogar zum enklitischen Pronomen<sup>4</sup> weitergebildet.<sup>5</sup> Das *tw*-Passiv mit pronominalem Subjekt wurde dabei überhaupt nicht berührt; es lebte als einheitliche Form weiter. Selbst das nun nahe liegende *sdm·tw sw* 'man hört ihn' hat man offenbar — von dem unsicheren *šdj·tw* S. 7, Anm. 4 abgesehen — erst in der 18. Dynastie gelegentlich gebildet.<sup>6</sup> Das, wohl im Laufe des MR, neu entstehende *tw* 'man' hat mit dem alten Formelement *tj* 'Person' o. ä. nichts als den (lautgesetzlich veränderten) Lautkörper gemein. Die eigenartige Wellenbewegung, die Westendorf, *Passiv*, 108 bemerken will,

<sup>1</sup> *Passiv*, 81; 108. Im folgenden ist nach *AäG*, § 177 für die Formen vor dem Mä. immer *tj* eingesetzt, was Westendorf noch nicht berücksichtigen konnte.

<sup>2</sup> Wahrscheinlich zur gleichen Zeit wie beim *sdm·f*.

<sup>3</sup> S. *Verbum*, II, §§ 443; 466; *AäG*, § 555.

<sup>4</sup> *mk tw ḏd·tw* 'siehe, man sagt', s. *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 47.

<sup>5</sup> Nach Analogie der Pluralsuffixe = enklitischen Pronomina?

<sup>6</sup> Etwa *jth·tw st* 'man schleppt sie', *Urk.* IV, 658, 4.



Die Attribute können nicht vor dem Objekt im Satz mit trans. Verbum stehen; oder, anders gesagt, sie stehen nur dort, wo die ihnen formal völlig gleichen präpositionalen bzw. adverbialen Ausdrücke stehen, die sich auf den ganzen Satz beziehen. Das Ägyptische scheint hier die verschiedenen Satzebenen, die in europäischen Sprachen klar getrennt sind, nicht ganz so deutlich abzusondern. Daß das Ägyptische den Unterschied kennt, zeigt sich z. B. dann, wenn am Satzende sowohl ein Präpositionalattribut als auch eine weitere präpositionale Bestimmung unterzubringen sind: das Attribut folgt dann seinem Bezugswort unmittelbar.<sup>1</sup> Wie bisweilen die adverbialen Satzteile können Präpositionalattribute zwischen Nomen und indirekten 'Genitiv' eingeschoben werden.<sup>2</sup> Vielfach stehen statt der Präpositionalattribute europäischer Sprachen andere Konstruktionen,<sup>3</sup> vor allem Nisben,<sup>4</sup> die Genitivpartikel + präpositionales Gebilde<sup>5</sup> und Relativsätze.<sup>6</sup> Wirklich geläufig sind mit Adverbien nur wenige stehende Wendungen, wie *b3k jm*,<sup>7</sup> *w3jw jm nb*;<sup>8</sup> mit Präpositionen *Nb-r-dr* 'Allherr',<sup>8</sup> *r dr(f)*,<sup>9</sup> *mj kd(f)*,<sup>9</sup> *r 3w(f)*<sup>10</sup> und Verbindungen mit der Präposition *m*. Das zuletzt genannte *m* hat wahrscheinlich noch den freiesten Gebrauch; doch ist auch dies stark auf Titulaturen und Formeln eingeschränkt, die entweder gar nicht in einem Satz stehen oder in Aufzählungen nur locker damit verbunden sind.<sup>11</sup> Eine freiere Verbindung ist etwa:

*mw m jtr-w, swr-tw-f, mrj-k*  
*t3w m p-t, hnm-tw-f, dd-k*

'Das Wasser in den Flüssen trinkt man, wenn du es willst; die Luft am Himmel atmet man, wenn du es sagst'.<sup>12</sup> Hier steht Nomen + Präpositionalattribut aber auch nicht völlig im Satzverband: der ganze Ausdruck ist antizipiert.

Gewiß wird eine eingehendere Untersuchung des Präpositional- und Adverbialattributs besser erkennen lassen, was das Ägyptische mit diesen Mitteln zu leisten vermag. Doch wird an der Tatsache, daß die Konstruktion gegenüber europäischen Sprachen stark eingeschränkt ist, nichts zu ändern sein. Für die Stele des *Mntw-htpw* ist bereits so viel sicher, daß das von Goedicke vermutete Adverbialattribut äußerst unwahrscheinlich ist. Eine 'Lehre für seine Kinder' kann ägyptisch z. B. *sb3jt jrj-tn-f hr ms-w-f*, wörtl. etwa eine 'Lehre, die er vor seinen Kindern machte' heißen, wie Kairo 20538, 8 f. zu lesen steht.

<sup>1</sup> Z. B. *njw-tj r dr-s hnc-j* 'meine ganze Stadt war bei mir', *Hatmub*, 16, 8; *snh-nj njw-tj r dr-s m t3w nw t3* 'Ich versorgte meine ganze Stadt in den "Sandbänken" (d. h. im Hungerjahr) mit Lebensmitteln', *Hatmub*, 24, 9 f.; *jw Smw r dr-f mwt-w n hkr* 'Während das ganze Land Hungers starb', *Mo'alla*, IV, 15.

<sup>2</sup> *m3r r dr-f nj Gbtjw* 'die ganze Garnison von Koptos', *Koptos*, 8, 2; *nn r 3w nj rnp-wt* 'diese Jahre alle', *Adm.* 13, 2. <sup>3</sup> *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 158; Lefebvre, *GEC*, § 488.

<sup>4</sup> *hk3w hrj-w-tp d3r-t* 'die Häuptlinge in der Wüste', *TPPI*, § 20 A 6.

<sup>5</sup> *h3-wt-j nt hr n3swt* 'meine Gunst beim König', *El Bersheh*, I, pl. xiv 8.

<sup>6</sup> *[t]wt-w-k ntjw m hw-wt-ntr nt Smw* 'deine Statuen in den Tempeln Oberägyptens', *Urk.* I, 305, 10-11.

<sup>7</sup> *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 206; Borchardt, *ZÄS* 27 (1889), 122-4; Sethe, *ZÄS* 30 (1892), 126 f.

<sup>8</sup> *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 206. <sup>9</sup> *EG*<sup>3</sup>, §§ 100; 158; Lefebvre, *GEC*, §§ 189; 488. <sup>10</sup> *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 100; *GEC*, §§ 189; 488.

<sup>11</sup> *jmj-r m3r m t3 r dr-f* 'der Truppenführer im ganzen Land', Ny Carlsberg E. 822 A 2-3; B 3; *sr m-h3-t rhjt* 'Beamter an der Spitze der *rhjt*-Menschen', Kairo 20538, I c I f.; *dbh-t htp-w m pr Wsjr* 'der Opferbedarf aus dem Tempel des Osiris', *TPPI*, § 14, I f.; Kairo 20514, 2; usw.; *Wsjr nb Ddw hntj jmn-tjw nb sbdw m s-wt-f nb(w)t* 'Osiris, der Herr von Busiris, der Erste der Westlichen, der Herr von Abydos, an allen seinen Plätzen', passim. <sup>12</sup> *Sin.* B 233 f.

Das Wort, das Goedicke dazu verleitet hat, eine Weisheitslehre anzunehmen, ist \*𓄏, das nicht im Wb. steht. Janssen übersetzt unter II, Dr 1 richtig 'onderrichter (der kinderen)'. Neben dem bekannten *sbꜣw* 'Lehrer, Erzieher' *Wb.* IV, 85, 1 ff. gibt es offensichtlich ein *sbꜣwtj*. Nomina auf *-w* neben einer von einem Abstraktum weitergebildeten Nisbe sind nicht ganz selten. So steht *ꜣt(j)w* 'Erzieher' neben *ꜣt(j)wtj*,<sup>1</sup> *hmw* 'Technit'<sup>2</sup> neben *hmwtj*,<sup>3</sup> *wt(j)w* 'ältester Sohn'<sup>4</sup> neben *wtwtj*.<sup>5</sup> S. weiter Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 172.

Den Satz, den Goedicke als Einleitung einer Lehre sehen wollte, kann man nach allem nur (mit Janssen) übersetzen: 'Ein Erzieher der Kinder durch ruhiges Sprechen', wobei *hrꜣt* in üblicher Beschreibung Adverb wäre.<sup>6</sup>

Es folgen nun Einzelbemerkungen zu Z. 11 ff.

6. Zu Z. 11 f. und Anm. (z) auf S. 33. Goedicke liest *r skwtjꜣfj* bzw. *ddꜣtjꜣfj*. Diese Konstruktion würde dem Sinn der Stelle weniger gerecht als die in verwandtem Kontext geläufige mit *r + sdmꜣtꜣf*.<sup>7</sup> Es geht sicher nicht nur darum, daß der Bittsteller vor seinem Bericht gut behandelt wird, sondern auch während seines Berichts. Nur wenn der Bittsteller bis zum Ende angehört wird, ist sein Zweck erreicht. Was Goedicke vermutlich auf das *sdmꜣtꜣfj* gebracht hat, ist das Suffix *-f*, das sich an nichts Vorausgehendes anlehnt. Für das Ägyptische liegt aber um so weniger ein Mangel vor, als es sich bei den Sätzen mit *r sdmꜣtꜣf* um stehende Wendungen handelt, bei denen ohnehin bekannt war, was mit dem Suffix gemeint ist.

7. Z. 13 und Anm. (ag) auf S. 33.  bereitet den Übersetzern erhebliches Kopfzerbrechen. Griffith übersetzt: '(It was a kindly (or "beloved") hand), it was a unique complexion (species?)'. Grapow denkt,<sup>8</sup> *Mntꜣw-ꜣtꜣpw* sei 'von einer Haut zu den Leuten', d. h. ein Mann von gleichmäßig freundlicher Art. Janssen gibt unter V 24: 'De menschen zijn één huid'. Vielleicht sollte entsprechend der Konstruktion, die Janssen vorschlägt, zu übersetzen sein: '(Eine freundliche Hand ist das, was geliebt wird), die Menschen sind (vor mir) von einer einzigen Art'. Das hieße: *Mntꜣw-ꜣtꜣpw* ist gegen alle ohne Ausnahme zuvorkommend, gegen die Niederen, von denen die Rede war, und gegen die Hohen, auf die er gleich zu sprechen kommt.

8. Zum Schluß folgen die Zeilen 11–16, die vermeintliche Weisheitslehre, in neuer Übersetzung:

(11) . . . . (Ich bin) ein Lehrer der Kinder in ruhigem Reden; ein Geduldiger; einer, der nicht mit einem Geringen streitet: (denn) es gibt keinen hochmütigen (und doch) geliebten Vorgesetzten; einer, der freundlich ist, bis er (der Bittsteller) seine Schwierigkeiten gesagt hat, (12) bis er sein Herz ausgeschüttet hat; der seinen Fall anhört, der sein Leid vertreibt; der einen Mann nach Gebühr (?) bescheidet (?);<sup>9</sup> der <frei><sup>10</sup> von Übertreibung ist; der schweigt, wenn man seine

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. *AäG*, § 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Wb.* III, 83, 5 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Wb.* III, 86, 5–6; *Hamm.* M 87, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Wb.* I, 377, 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Wb.* I, 378, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Vermutlich handelt sich um das absolut gebrauchte feminine Partizip.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. im gleichen Text Z. 14; *Ptahhotep*, 266; 267.

<sup>8</sup> *Bildliche Ausdrücke*, 107.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Kairo 20539, 1 b 8 = *TEA*, II, Bm 57; dazu *TEA*, Text, 116.

<sup>10</sup> *m hꜣw* wäre nur mit Verrenkungen in den Kontext einzupassen. Janssen hat es deshalb in seiner Sammlung einfach übergangen. Ein vernünftiger Sinn ergibt sich, wenn man  davor einfügt, vgl. die Phrasen *TEA*, VI, J 25; 31; Schiffbr. 12 f.

Gedanken (vor ihm) verbirgt (?); der (13) gegen jedermann zuvorkommend ist; der sein Gesicht nicht vor dem Hungernden abwendet. Eine freundliche Hand ist das, was geliebt wird. Die Menschen sind (vor mir) von einer Art. Es gibt (bei mir) keine Auflehnung gegen einen Beauftragten (14) oder irgendeinen Beamten der Verwaltung (?), vielmehr<sup>1</sup> sagte ich:<sup>2</sup> 'Neige dein Herz; sei nicht voreingenommen gegen einen Bittsteller, bis er gesagt hat, weswegen er gekommen ist.' Mir wurden die Belange<sup>3</sup> des Geringen, (15) der Witwen und Waisen in gleicher Weise<sup>3</sup> berichtet. Ich wirkte [für] sie [alle] (?),<sup>4</sup> um den, der ins Elend gekommen war, atmen zu lassen. Der gute Charakter eines Mannes taugt ihm mehr als 1000 Gaben in Taten. Das Zeugnis der Menschen liegt (16) in jenem Ausspruch im Munde der Geringen:<sup>5</sup> 'Das gute Wesen eines Mannes ist sein Denkmal. Der Charakterlose wird vergessen.' Wenn es nach dem Sprichwort geht, so wird mein guter Ruf in meiner Stadt dauern, und mein Denkmal wird niemals untergehen.

<sup>1</sup> *wṗw-hr* + Inf. ist im Deutschen wörtlich nicht nachzubilden.

<sup>2</sup> Doch wohl nicht zu den Beamten — das wäre Besserwisserie —, sondern als Maxime zu sich selbst.

<sup>3</sup> Lies *hr·t* und *r mjt·t*, wie Griffith hat. Ich sehe hier keinen Grund, von Griffith abzuweichen, der ja bei der ersten Abschrift offensichtlich den Text eindeutig sah. Die grammatischen Überlegungen, die Goedicke in Anm. (ak) und Fußnote 2 auf S. 34 bringt, scheinen mir für die Praxis der Stelentexte nicht ganz zutreffend zu sein.

<sup>4</sup> Vielleicht  |  oder .

<sup>5</sup> S. Gunn, *JEA* 12 (1926), 282 mit Fußnote 2.

## A DATE FOR THE 'ADMONITIONS' IN THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD<sup>1</sup>

By JOHN VAN SETERS

SINCE the time of A. H. Gardiner's study of the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* in 1909,<sup>2</sup> there has been a general consensus among scholars that the work was written in, or at least reflects, the First Intermediate Period in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> However, the general observations made by Gardiner himself relating to the problem of dating certainly do not inspire a firm conclusion on the matter. It will be of some value, therefore, to summarize his remarks at the very outset.<sup>4</sup> He records that only a single copy is extant, Papyrus Leyden 344 *recto*, which was found at Memphis. The papyrus itself is not earlier than the Nineteenth Dynasty, although there are sufficiently strong indications that the scribe used a manuscript of which the history of transmission may go back to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This conclusion is based on the presence of archaisms in palaeography and orthography. The language, on the other hand, is characteristic of literary documents of the Middle Kingdom. In particular Gardiner cites points of contact with the *Lebensmüde*, *The Instructions of Ammenemes I*, and a text on a writing-board in the British Museum, which he dates to the time of Sesostri II (*Lament of Kha-kheper-er-sonbe*).<sup>5</sup>

The content of the *Admonitions* doubtless reflects a very troubled period in Egypt's history, and this logically offers the alternatives of the First and Second Intermediate Periods. Gardiner preferred the First Intermediate Period, since he found very little indication of Late Egyptian idioms<sup>6</sup> and therefore wanted 'to push back the date of the composition as far as possible'.<sup>7</sup> However, he concedes that this evidence cannot exclude a date as late as the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>8</sup> Once the choice was made for the First Intermediate Period reasons were found to date it to the very beginning of the period or even to the last years of Pepi II in the Old Kingdom. Spiegel uses it to present a fairly elaborate hypothetical reconstruction of the historical situation at the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This study is a partial result of work done for a doctorate in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures at Yale University. I wish to acknowledge the generous help given to me by Professors W. Kelly Simpson and H. Ingholt. The views in this article, however, are the responsibility of the writer.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*.

<sup>3</sup> See for example Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt*, 107 f.; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 1, 135 f.; Steindorff and Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, 18 f.; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 109 f.; W. Stevenson Smith, *CAH* 1, ch. xiv (1962), 58 f.; Stock, *Die erste Zwischenzeit Ägyptens*, 22 ff. <sup>4</sup> *Admonitions*, 1-5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 97, 110 f. However, the same name appears several times in Papyrus Kahûn XIV, which dates to the end of the reign of Ammenemes III. See the remarks of Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 42.

<sup>6</sup> *Admonitions*, 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 18.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> Spiegel, *Soziale und weltanschauliche Reformbewegungen in alten Ägypten*, 7-59. However, this hypothetical

The difficulty with this latest approach is that it really runs counter to the evidence of orthography and language. The events are described in such a way as to appear quite contemporaneous with the author himself, and if this is the case one would certainly expect the text to reflect at least the language of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it is difficult to see how the many intimate connexions with the Middle Kingdom can all be considered as anticipations.<sup>2</sup> There is, in fact, a more acceptable alternative which does full justice to the matter of orthography and language. This is a date late in the Thirteenth Dynasty. Such a date would indeed still show a strong connexion with Middle Kingdom literature and yet give evidence of new spellings, though not necessarily of Late Egyptian idiom.

Furthermore, the *Admonitions* reflects certain social, cultural, and political developments which may be dated by archaeological and literary material of known date. By the use of such historically controlled data it is possible to test the alternatives of the First or Second Intermediate Period. This method has been largely neglected in previous considerations. It is this kind of evidence, therefore, which will be presented in this study.

#### Ethnic Terms

Section 14:11-14 gives an important clue to the date at which the *Admonitions* was written. It reads:

Every man fights for his sister and he protects his own person. Is it the Nubians (*nḥsyw*)? Then we shall make our own protection. Fighting police will hold off the bowmen (*pḏtyw*). Is it the Libyans (*tḥw*)? Then we shall act again. The Madjayu (*mdjyw*) fortunately are with Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

In this passage Egypt is in conflict with its southern neighbours, the *nḥsyw*. Here, however, they are viewed as quite distinct from another Nubian people, the *mdjyw*, who are on the side of Egypt and who are closely associated by parallelism with the 'fighting police'. Posener has recently shown that this distinction between *nḥsyw* and *mdjyw* is unknown in the Old Kingdom.<sup>4</sup> In the biography of Weni from the end of the Old Kingdom the term *nḥsyw* applies to all the Nubians, both from *wꜣꜣwt*, the river valley area, as well as from *mdj*, the steppe country. In the course of the Twelfth Dynasty, however, the term *nḥsyw* came to designate only the settled river people, while bedouin from the southern steppe were called *mdjyw*. It is in this period also that the *mdjyw* were regimented as professional soldiers and desert police. The importance of this distinction becomes apparent at the end of the Hyksos period when the soldiers of

reconstruction of history will not stand up to recent studies on the chronology of the First Intermediate Period. See particularly H. Goedicke, *ZDMG* 112, 239-54.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 111, tries to overcome this problem by supposing that, while the text portrays a real national calamity in the early First Intermediate Period, the *Admonitions* as a 'historical romance' was written in the Twelfth Dynasty. It must be seriously doubted, however, whether this literary classification is appropriate to this work.

<sup>2</sup> So Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie*, 16.

<sup>3</sup> The translations are primarily those by Gardiner, *Admonitions*, and Wilson, in Pritchard, *ANET*, 441-4. However, in a few instances I have adopted other renderings.

<sup>4</sup> *ZAS* 83, 38-43.



intended. However, from the Middle Kingdom onward the principal 'foreigners' and their rulers, the *ḥꜥḥ ḥꜥs(w)t*, were Asiatics, and the term when unqualified came to designate Asiatics in particular. It is apparent in the *Admonitions* that *ḥꜥstyw* means Asiatics and thus reflects a development of this term appropriate to the Second Intermediate Period.

It may also be worth noting that the terminology for Asiatics so characteristic of the late Old Kingdom to early Middle Kingdom, i.e. *mntyw*, *ḥryw-šꜥ*, *nmyw-šꜥ*, and *ꜥmw*, is entirely lacking in the *Admonitions*.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to see how their usage could have been so entirely avoided in a document written at the end of the Old Kingdom which makes such frequent reference to Asiatics.

### Foreign Relations

A passage which reflects Egypt's foreign relations in this period is 3:6-10. Following Montet<sup>2</sup> it may be rendered:

No one sails north to Byblos today. How shall we replace for our mummies the cedar (*ꜥs*) wood, the importation of which makes possible the making of coffins of the priests? The kings (*wrw*) as far away as Crete (*Keftiu*) are embalmed in pitch which is taken from these same cedars.

Trade with Byblos was certainly very ancient and this Syrian port supplied Egypt with valuable timber from early dynastic times onwards. However, as Winlock points out,<sup>3</sup> at the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period there was a scarcity of wood from Syria for the construction of rectangular coffins in Upper Egypt. As a result of this lack a change took place in burial customs with the introduction of anthropoid coffins which were made by hollowing out logs of local sycamore trees.

Moreover, the passage also indicates that the Egyptian practice of using resins and wood pitch for embalming<sup>4</sup> was imitated by foreigners. There is archaeological evidence that such embalming methods spread to Syria and Palestine by the end of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>5</sup> It is even possible, as a result of the active trade between Syria and Crete in the MM II and MM III periods, that this practice also reached the Aegean.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, in contrast to the many cultural contacts between Crete and Egypt in the Middle Kingdom, it is increasingly apparent to archaeologists that there is very little evidence for any contact whatever between these two countries in the Old Kingdom.<sup>7</sup> The word 'Keftiu' is not found in the Old Kingdom and is even rare in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>8</sup> It is hardly likely, therefore, that such cultural influence from Egypt on Crete as is implied in this passage arose first in the period of weakness following the Old Kingdom.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the term *wr* to designate foreign rulers is

<sup>1</sup> See Weni, *Urk.* 1, 101-5; Pepi-nakht, *Urk.* 1, 132-5; *Merikarē*, 91; *Prophecy of Neferty*, 33; 'Stela of Nesumontu', *AJSL* 21, 153-8; *Sinuhe* B 73, 141, 265, 292; Gardiner-Peet-Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, 11, nos. 8, 10, 16. <sup>2</sup> *Kēmi* 13, 71-73. <sup>3</sup> *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, 101.

<sup>4</sup> Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed., 265 f., 319 ff.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., J. Ory, 'A Middle Bronze Age Tomb at El-Jisr', *QDAP* 12, 32 f. <sup>6</sup> H. J. Kantor, *AJA* 51, 18.

<sup>7</sup> Id., in *Relative Chronologies on Old World Archaeology*, 10 ff.; Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, 140; Ward, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vi, 55.

<sup>8</sup> Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, 38 f.

<sup>9</sup> W. Stevenson Smith, *CAH* 1, ch. xiv (1962), 38-39.

found from the Thirteenth Dynasty onward.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore safe to conclude that this passage reflects Egypt's foreign relations and cultural influence beyond its borders in the early Second Intermediate Period.

### Social and Administrative Development

The *Admonitions* reflects the social development of the Middle Kingdom and not that of the Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period. This is particularly evident from the references to slavery used in the text. The terminology for slavery in Egypt has recently been studied by Abd el Mohsen Bakir.<sup>2</sup> Also valuable are the observations made by Hayes in connexion with his publication of a late Middle Kingdom papyrus in the Brooklyn Museum.<sup>3</sup> A comparison between the terminology of the *Admonitions* and the Brooklyn Papyrus is very illuminating.

The institution of slavery, apart from a type of serfdom associated primarily with royal land estates, is not attested in the Old Kingdom.<sup>4</sup> It is, at the earliest, a product of the Middle Kingdom, and it is in this period that there is clear evidence for privately owned household slaves, both male and female, which were considered as transferable movable property.<sup>5</sup> A term to designate slaves which is particularly common in the Middle Kingdom but which in this sense is very rare earlier is the word *hm* (or *hmt*).<sup>6</sup> It is this term which is used as an epithet with the names of slaves of Egyptian origin in the slave lists of the Brooklyn Papyrus.<sup>7</sup> The term *hm* here denotes household or menial slaves, who are regarded as private transferable property in somewhat the same category as oxen.<sup>8</sup> It is important to observe, therefore, that it is this term which is used in the *Admonitions* seven times,<sup>9</sup> and with the same meaning as in the Brooklyn Papyrus. Moreover, the predominance of female slaves in the Middle Kingdom is also reflected in the *Admonitions*.<sup>10</sup>

In the Old Kingdom the term *b3k* is the general designation for servant, although it often has reference to high government officials.<sup>11</sup> In the Middle Kingdom, however, it has the added meaning of slave, and it is used in the Brooklyn Papyrus as the equivalent of *hm*.<sup>12</sup> Likewise in the *Admonitions*, whenever *b3k* is used it is in parallelism with *hm* and has the obvious meaning of slave.<sup>13</sup> Another term for domestic slave is *dt*, and this too was 'chiefly used in the Middle Kingdom'.<sup>14</sup> It is not known with this precise sense in the Old Kingdom.<sup>15</sup> The words for serf in the Old Kingdom were *mryt* and *iszww*. Only the former was used in later periods, and it is this term and not *iszww* which occurs in the *Admonitions*.<sup>16</sup> Consequently the terminology of slavery points to a social development which is of late Middle Kingdom date.

There is another subject not unrelated to that of slavery which points strongly to this

<sup>1</sup> Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, E 50, 51, 62; also in P. Boulaq 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt* (*Ann. Serv. Suppl.*, Cahier 18); see also abstract, id., *Ann. Serv.* 45, 134-43.

<sup>3</sup> *A Late Middle Kingdom Papyrus in the Brooklyn Museum*.

<sup>4</sup> Bakir, op. cit. 22 f.      <sup>5</sup> Hayes, *Papyrus*, 90 ff.      <sup>6</sup> Bakir, op. cit. 29 ff.      <sup>7</sup> Hayes, *Papyrus*, 90 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 91.      <sup>9</sup> *Adm.*, 2:5, 14; 3:2; 4:13, 14; 5:9; 8:12.      <sup>10</sup> Hayes, *Papyrus*, 91, n. 341.

<sup>11</sup> Bakir, op. cit. 17.      <sup>12</sup> Hayes, *Papyrus*, 125.

<sup>13</sup> *Adm.*, 2:3-5; 4:12-14. There is no distinction here between *b3k* and *hm* as Bakir supposes, see op. cit. 18.

<sup>14</sup> Bakir, op. cit. 37.      <sup>15</sup> Ibid.      <sup>16</sup> *Adm.*, 9:5. See Bakir, op. cit. 14, 22 ff.

same conclusion. This lies in the area of the administration of justice, and here again the Brooklyn Papyrus mentioned above is pertinent. While a large part of the papyrus has to do with lists of slaves held in private ownership in the Thirteenth Dynasty, part of it dates from the late Twelfth Dynasty, and this main text of the recto is concerned with the administration of justice.<sup>1</sup> It consists of directives from the central government to the 'Great Prison' at Thebes concerning crimes against the government. It invokes certain laws of the criminal code against such persons and follows their cases through to completion. The terminology is so similar to that of *Adm.* 6:5-12 that the latter may be clarified by the Brooklyn Papyrus.<sup>2</sup>

First of all, there is frequent reference in the *Admonitions* to the *hnrt*,<sup>3</sup> an institution which, according to the Brooklyn Papyrus, functioned both as a prison and as a court of law. Concerning the *hnrt wr*, 'Great Prison', which is probably mentioned in *Adm.*, 6:5, Hayes says that it was located at Thebes. He goes on to state: 'Its existence appears to be unrecorded before the Middle Kingdom and the period of its greatest importance—the period during which it is mentioned most frequently and most prominently in Egyptian texts—was without much doubt the XIIth to XVIIth Dynasties.'<sup>4</sup> As a centre for the administration of justice the *hnrt* possessed a group of ordinances called in *Adm.*, 6:9-10, 'the laws of the prison' (*hpw nyw hnrt*). These probably constituted a criminal code to which certain laws mentioned in the directives in the Brooklyn Papyrus belonged.<sup>5</sup>

The *hnrt* also contained census-lists of slaves, because many persons became slaves as a result of criminal activity, and this status of servitude was subsequently inherited by their descendants.<sup>6</sup> Records such as the Brooklyn Papyrus contained such lists of slaves as well as a record of the crimes which in previous generations were responsible for the servitude of some of the slaves on the list. These records were important for establishing a slave's status. Therefore, when one reads in *Adm.*, 6:7-8, 'Public offices are opened and the census-lists are taken away. Serfs become lords of serfs', it seems most appropriate to think of the Second Intermediate Period, when such records as the Brooklyn Papyrus were being destroyed, with the subsequent disruption of the social order.<sup>7</sup>

In the same context as the remarks about the *hnrt*, 'prison', one reads in 6:8-9, 'The scribes of the mat, their writings are destroyed. The corn of Egypt is common property.' The intrusion of a remark regarding agriculture in this context is not clear until it is noted, as Hayes points out,<sup>8</sup> that officials of the *hnrt* often also bear titles which link them with the department of agriculture. Thus a certain Simontu was not only a Scribe of the Great Prison, but also a Scribe of the Mat. The reason for this combination resulted from the fact that the *hnrt* constituted a significant labour force used for public works, whose rations were supplied by public granaries.

<sup>1</sup> Hayes, *Papyrus*, 64 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 36 ff. This terminology is also common to Illahun papyri and P.Boulaq 18 of about the same date.

<sup>3</sup> *Adm.*, 6:5. 10. 12. See Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 46 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Papyrus*, 40.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 52.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 132.

<sup>7</sup> Note that many of these records were kept in the central office of the northern district in the Eastern Delta. See P.Kahûn XII, XIII *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> *Papyrus*, 39 f.

These institutions, the *hnrt* and its bureaux, were the result of the administrative development of the Middle Kingdom and can hardly reflect an earlier period. Gardiner's whole argument for the First Intermediate Period in this respect rests on the references to the title 'overseer of the town' (10:7) and to 'Great Mansions', *hwt wryt* (6:12), both of which originated in the Old Kingdom. This argument carries no weight, since the significance of both continued through the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

### Literature

The genre of literature to which the *Admonitions* belongs also constitutes a problem for an early date, because it cannot be associated with anything from the Old Kingdom. Its affinities are certainly with texts of the Middle Kingdom. In this it is said to anticipate them, but, in fact, by its evident association with a variety of forms, *Gattungen*, it certainly follows them. That this is true is all the more apparent since the Middle Kingdom represents a conscious effort in the creation of such new forms. The chief characteristic of this literature, as Posener points out,<sup>2</sup> is its objective as propaganda for the state. However, while the *Prophecy of Neferty* hails the rising star of the Twelfth Dynasty, and while the *Satire of Trades* praises the officialdom of the new Residence, the *Admonitions* is a lament on the decline of both. In fact, the reprimand of the king makes sense only if Ipuwer is referring to well-established dogmas, not just anticipating them, and the view of the king as a 'herdsman' to his people expressed in the passage of 11:11 f. is a dogma of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> The power of the king to maintain justice in the state and to keep in check the neighbouring peoples, especially the Asiatic nomads, was also a dogma.<sup>4</sup> The view of the king's relation to his people was so entirely different in the Old Kingdom that Ipuwer's appeal to the king would have fallen on deaf ears. There is, in fact, nothing in the *Admonitions* which reflects the view of royalty in the Old Kingdom. It is propaganda and such as could not have been understood before the Twelfth Dynasty.

### The Political Situation

In endeavouring to ascertain the political situation which gave rise to this literary work it is possible first of all to arrive at fairly limited alternatives within the two intermediate periods in question. In 7:4 we read, 'The Residence (*hnw*) will be overthrown in a minute', and in 10:6-12 there are several more passages lamenting the recent loss of the former glories of the Residence (*hnw*). In these passages the author is speaking of the present or the very immediate past when the Residence of the king was a reality. Posener has shown, with respect to the First Intermediate Period,<sup>5</sup> that this could only apply to the very beginning of the period, since the texts of the Eleventh Dynasty did not speak of the capital as the Residence (*hnw*). When they make reference to the Residence, it is to the former capital of the Old Kingdom, Memphis. For this reason scholars

<sup>1</sup> Hayes, *Papyrus*, 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Hymn of Sesostri III* (P.Kahûn III, 14). See also Wilson, *Burden of Egypt*, 132.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*; P.Kahûn I-III *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Posener, *Littérature et politique*, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> *Littérature et politique*, 7.

have recently been inclined to assign the *Admonitions* to the period between the end of the Sixth Dynasty and the Eighth Dynasty.

The alternative in the Second Intermediate Period is the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Hayes has recently shown that the Residence (*hnw*) was the common designation for Itj-towy in the Middle Kingdom and that this remained the capital of the Egyptian kings until the Hyksos overthrew it.<sup>1</sup> According to this alternative the *Admonitions* would portray the rise of the Hyksos of the Fifteenth Dynasty and be very nearly contemporary with it. Consequently there are only two rather limited possibilities based on the references to the Residence, and these are the end of the Sixth Dynasty or the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. In deciding between these alternatives other clues from the text must be used.

These clues may be found in the way the text represents the role of Asiatic foreigners in the land. The following points will serve as a basis for discussion: (1) The Asiatics are well established in the Delta with a large number of them as a thoroughly sedentary group. (2) They have become assimilated to Egyptian culture and have displaced many Egyptians in places of authority. (3) The frontier is quite open in the north-east and bedouin in numbers are found throughout Egypt. (4) The *coup d'état* is the work of both Egyptians and Asiatics within Egypt as well as of assistance from without.

The first point is suggested in the *Admonitions* by the statement, 'The foreigners (*hstyw*) are now skilled in the work of the Delta' (4:8). The sedentary character of the Asiatics here described is quite different from that of the First Intermediate Period. Miss Kantor maintains that all attempts at archaeological confirmation of this picture for the earlier period have been quite unsuccessful.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, her conclusion is quite in accord with Posener's reconstruction of the role of the Asiatics in the First Intermediate Period based on the *Instructions of Merikarē* and the *Prophecy of Neferty*.<sup>3</sup> He concludes from these documents that the Asiatics were only nomads who made sporadic raids or infiltrated into the land for the purpose of finding pasture for their animals. The description of the Asiatics (*cmw*) in *Merikarē* is entirely characteristic of their role throughout this period, and the measures taken by Khety II and Ammenemes I to bring them in check by establishing strong frontier fortresses were quite adequate.<sup>4</sup>

From the late Middle Kingdom on, however, there is abundant evidence to suggest that Asiatics were beginning to settle in Egypt though often, perhaps, at the cost of their freedom.<sup>5</sup> Petrie found evidence for foreign workmen in the Faiyûm at Kahûn in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>6</sup> Asiatics in the late Middle Kingdom slave lists indicate a variety of skills<sup>7</sup> and many Asiatics were used in mining expeditions to the Sinai.<sup>8</sup> The latter were almost certainly enlisted from the Eastern Delta region, and even the foreigners of the Faiyûm betray strong connexions with the Eastern Delta. They are associated with the god Sopdu of the Arabian nome in much the same way as the workmen of

<sup>1</sup> *JNES* 12, 33-38.

<sup>2</sup> *Relative Chronologies*, 10. Cf. Frankfort, *JEA* 12, 80-99. For a criticism of some of Frankfort's data see Goedicke, *ZDMG* 112, 249.

<sup>3</sup> *Littérature et politique, passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 24 ff., 55 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Posener, *Syria* 34, 158.

<sup>6</sup> Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, 40-44.

<sup>7</sup> Hayes, *Papyrus*, 93.

<sup>8</sup> Gardiner-Peet-Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 19.

the Sinai mines. Judging from the Kahûn Papyri it is very likely that foreign workmen were recruited from the estate of Sopdu, Lord of the East, and also that the government gave them to deserving officials as payment for services.<sup>1</sup>

The second point which the *Admonitions* makes about the Asiatics is that many of them have become assimilated to Egyptian culture and have even displaced Egyptians in places of authority. This is suggested by the two statements, 'Foreigners (*hstyw*) have become people (*rmt*, Egyptians) everywhere' (1:9), and 'there are no Egyptians anywhere' (3:2). At first sight these two statements seem to be quite ambiguous. Yet it is clear that the writers of *Merikarê* and the *Story of Sinuhe* considered the Asiatics (*ꜥmw*) in appearance and behaviour as entirely distinct from the civilized Egyptians. The statement about foreigners becoming Egyptians can only refer to a development which arose in the Middle Kingdom, namely, that large numbers of Asiatics in Egypt in this period became assimilated to Egyptian culture to the extent that most Asiatic slaves (identified in the lists as *ꜥm* or *ꜥmt*) bear Egyptian names.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, many of the Asiatics were in the service of government and religious institutions, some even rising to places of authority.<sup>3</sup> It is in connexion with this last fact then that we must interpret the statement, 'there are no Egyptians anywhere'. The statement 'anywhere' must mean 'anywhere important', and it would point to a time when Asiatics filled many important positions. Confirmation of this may be seen in the situation whereby some of the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty bear Semitic names.<sup>4</sup> Many of the foreign officials have good Egyptian names and, unless they are identified by the ethnic epithet *ꜥm*, cannot be distinguished as foreigners. It is precisely this situation which the writer of the *Admonitions* apparently laments.

Asiatics probably 'became Egyptians' when the important census-lists mentioned previously were destroyed. Most of the slaves in these lists were Asiatics, many with Egyptian names, and their ownership-titles were deposited in the department of the North centred in the Eastern Delta.<sup>5</sup> When this area fell to foreigners the destruction of these lists may have served to free these slaves, resulting in the social upheaval and reversal of fortune described in the *Admonitions*. It may very well be that the remarks about slaves have reference primarily to Asiatics.

Thirdly, the *Admonitions* represents the frontier in the north-east as open to Asia, and bedouin in numbers are found throughout Egypt. This is indicated in the statements, 'The Desert is throughout the land . . . a foreign tribe (*ꜥdt*) from abroad has come to Egypt' (3:1), and 'the entire Delta will no longer be hidden; the confidence of the Northland is a beaten path' (4:6). It is true that this description resembles the situation in the First Intermediate Period attested by *Merikarê* and the *Prophecy of Neferty*. However, the difference between the time of the *Admonitions* and the earlier period may be seen in that the bedouin problem in the earlier period was the result of a lack of adequate frontier protection. This was remedied by Khety II and by Ammenemes I and later kings of the Middle Kingdom. The *Admonitions*, on the other hand, speaks of these same frontier fortresses as the 'confidence of the Northland' and

<sup>1</sup> P.Kahûn XII, 9-18.

<sup>2</sup> Hayes, *Papyrus*, 93.

<sup>3</sup> Posener, *Syria*, 34, 152 f.

<sup>4</sup> Ward, *JNES*, 20, 34; also Habachi, *Ann. Serv.* 52, 470.

<sup>5</sup> Hayes, *Papyrus*, 74.

laments that the 'Delta is no longer hidden' but in fact has become a 'beaten path' by foreigners! Archaeological evidence from the Second Intermediate Period indicates that there was a great deal of traffic between Palestine, Egypt, and Nubia in this period.<sup>1</sup>

The *Admonitions* also represents the overthrow of the state as the work of both Egyptians and Asiatics within Egypt, as well as of assistance from without. The Asiatics' part may be seen in the statement:

The military classes which we marshal for ourselves have become bowmen (*pḏtyw*) beginning to destroy that from which they took their being and to show the Asiatics (*sṯtyw*) the state of the land. And moreover all foreign lands (*ḥꜣswt*) are afraid of him. (14:14-15:2)

The Egyptians' part in the rebellion may be seen in 7:2-4, which states:

A few lawless men have ventured to despoil the land of Kingship. Men have ventured to rebel against the Uraeus. . . . The secret of the land, whose limits were unknown, is divulged. The Residence will be overthrown in a minute.

The first quotation refers to the Middle Kingdom practice of recruiting foreigners as frontier police. This policy was successful with the *mḏꜣyw* in the south but it did not succeed with the Asiatics in the north. They appear to have become a fifth column and collaborated with Asiatics from without against Egypt.<sup>2</sup> The passage also indicated that this new authority in the Delta had the fear (or respect) of the foreign countries (*ḥꜣswt*), namely Asia. This interpretation is confirmed by a comparison with the common epithet of the Twelfth Dynasty kings, *nb sndw ḥꜣswt*, 'possessor of the respect of foreign lands'.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, this mention of Egypt's difficulties with her Asiatic neighbours is in a context which also refers to the hostility of Nubians (*nḥsyw*) and Libyans (*tmḥw*). Formulae linking these three hostile neighbours may go back to the Old Kingdom<sup>4</sup> and the First Intermediate Period.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the closest parallel in terminology is the Execration texts which most Egyptologists now date, with good reason, to the late Middle Kingdom.<sup>6</sup> One may note the following parallels: (1) In the Execration texts the greatest threat is from Asia and Nubia, while the Libyans are briefly mentioned only in the Berlin texts. This is in keeping with the *Admonitions*, which does not consider them as dangerous. (2) In the Execration texts the *mḏꜣyw* as a group are conspicuously absent from the various Nubian peoples said to be rebelling. Only a single *mḏꜣy* with an Egyptian name in the Berlin texts is recorded as treacherous. In the *Admonitions* the *mḏꜣyw* are 'happy with Egypt' and remain loyal mercenaries. (3) In the Execration texts there is ample indication of intrigue by members of the royal harem and high officials in the administration. The *Admonitions* in the passage 7:2-4 cited above indicates a very similar situation. Therefore it seems reasonable to consider the *Admonitions* as a description of Egypt's troubles at a stage not very long after the Execration texts.

<sup>1</sup> Kantor, in *Relative Chronologies*, 13.

<sup>2</sup> See Säve-Söderbergh, *JEA* 37, 53-71.

<sup>3</sup> Rowe, *Ann. Serv.* 39, 189 f.

<sup>4</sup> See Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten*, 25 f.

<sup>5</sup> Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, 1, 423H.

<sup>6</sup> See Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, 31 ff., and Edgerton, *JAOs* 60, 492, n. 44. Cf. Albright, *JAOs* 74, 233, for an earlier date.

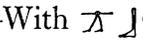
### Conclusion

As we have indicated above, the *Admonitions* had been dated to the First Intermediate Period because of its similarities to literature of the early Middle Kingdom of known date such as the *Prophecy of Neferty*. In the absence of evidence to the contrary it was quite natural for Gardiner and other scholars to view the *Admonitions* as also written about the same time but reflecting an earlier period. If the evidence presented above now forces a change in the dating of this literary work, a new explanation of its relationship to the Middle Kingdom literature is necessary. However, this constitutes no serious problem, since the author, as a scribe of the Residence, would certainly have had access to the Middle Kingdom literature including the *Prophecy of Neferty* and *Lebensmüde*.

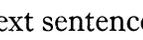
Taking all the pieces of evidence together there is one date which seems to fit all the requirements, and that is the late Thirteenth Dynasty. Not only has the orthography and linguistic evidence always pointed towards this later date, but our present knowledge of the social and political history of this period confirms this opinion. The last word has certainly not been said on the subject, and it is hoped that more learned authorities will enter into a re-examination of this important literary work. If this late dating should stand, then the *Admonitions* will, in fact, aid our understanding of the Second Intermediate Period and the Hyksos problem. To the present writer it seems that the burden of demonstration rests on those who would still maintain an early date.

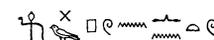
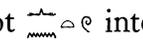
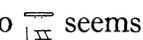


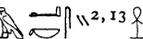
2, 7.  'Noblemen are in complaint.' For this rendering of *nhwt* rather than G.'s 'mourning' cf. *Concise Dict.* 137.

2, 8.  'men are like ibises.' *Gmw* here is almost certainly a writing of the plural of *gmt* 'black ibis', on which see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>3</sup> p. 470, G 28. In what way men resemble ibises rather than other birds is not explained, but the context suggests that the quality shared between men and ibises was uncleanness.—With  'squalor(?)' compare now *zb* 'be dirty (?)', *Rev. d'Ég.* 4, 120.

2, 9.  'The poor man [complains (?)]': 'How terrible it is! What can I do?' The verb lost before *nds* is probably to be restored as ; for the noun *nhwt* 'complaint' see above on 2, 7. G.'s translation of *hr* as 'terrible' is confirmed by *Urk.* IV, 184, 17.

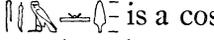
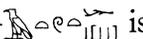
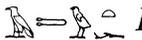
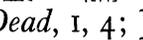
2, 11.  'the hall (?) of the palace stands firm and endures.' For *dwt*, left untranslated in the original edition, I would suggest 'hall' on the basis of the evidence quoted in G.'s commentary on this passage. For the collocation *mn rwd* 'firm and enduring' see also *Sin.* B186, where it is used not of a building but of the queen.— 'the ship of [the Southerners] has broken up.' G. translates *szwh* as 'gone adrift', but *Wb.* IV, 71, 10 suggests *krachen* here, and to render 'crack asunder', 'break up' corresponds better with the verb *hb* 'be destroyed', of towns, in the next sentence.— 'Upper Egypt has become empty [wastes?].' On the basis of the determinative I would translate *šwy* as 'empty' rather than 'dry'; for the sense here suggested cf. also *Adm.* 7, 2; *Peas.* B1, 82.

2, 12.  'it is destruction of the land'. *Hd* implies 'destruction', 'damage', or 'loss' rather than G.'s milder 'it fares ill with', cf. *Concise Dict.* 182. G.'s emendation of the corrupt  into  seems certain.

2, 12-13. 'Walk not here;  behold it is a net.' The *m* of predication has been omitted after *mk sy* in passing from line to line. For *šnw* 'net', the meaning of which was not recognized in 1909, cf. *op. cit.* 268.

2, 14.  'wise men' rather than 'officiants (?)', cf. *op. cit.* 151, but the suffix in  may well refer to the sing. 'wise man'. G.'s restorations here are probable but not certain.

3, 2.  'gold and lapis-lazuli, silver and turquoise, carnelian (?) and amethyst'. *Mfkt* is 'turquoise', not malachite (G.), see now Harris, *Minerals*, 106. For *hmsgt* 'carnelian (?)' Harris, *op. cit.* 118, suggests 'garnet (?)', while *hsmn* in this context is certainly 'amethyst' (*op. cit.* 121) rather than its homophone 'bronze' (*op. cit.* 64).

3, 5.  is a costly wood, and so can hardly be 'acacia'. For other instances of this oft-mentioned material cf. *Concise Dict.* 245, and for aberrant O.K. writings cf. *Pyr.* 1751c; *D. el Geb.* II, 10.— is probably the word for 'bed' written  *Ti*, 133;  *Letters to Dead*, I, 4;  *Adm.* 14, 1.

3, 8.  G. does not translate *inyt*, but we might guess the sense of this passage to be 'materials (?) for every kind of craft'. It is just possible that the word *inyt* may have some connexion with  'mats (?)' used in building, *Urk.*

IV, 1152, 7, var.   $\text{fl}$ , *JEA* 14, pl. 31, 7, cf. p. 298 (4); or with  'pattern', 'model', *Urk.* IV, 120, 5. I can suggest no plausible restoration for the clause preceding *inyt*.

3, 9.  translated originally, 'What a great thing it is that the people of the Oases come . . .', is perhaps better translated by the ironic question 'How often do the people of the Oases come . . .?', taking *wr* in the sense of *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>3</sup> § 502. A caustic allusion to the absence of the Oasis-dwellers fits the context better than a consoling statement that they still come despite the general upheaval.

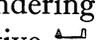
3, 10. On the restored word [], to be translated 'series' (i.e. of towns), see G. in *JEA* 30, 27.

3, 11. On *stzw* 'brushwood' see *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 29, n. 1; 32. Here used of the material obtained from copses or scrub-land.

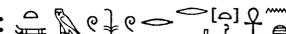
3, 12.  'the profit (?) of the Palace'; for *km* 'profit' cf. *JEA* 42, 33 (29). G. does not translate.

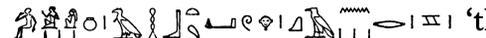
3, 13. The enigmatic  'that is our water' seems to mean 'that is the kind of water we are getting!' in the figurative sense of 'that is the kind of (bad) luck we are having!' Hence I would suggest that *mwn pw* might be translated as 'that is our fate!'

3, 14.  'every dead person is as a well-born man', i.e. lucky to be dead, see above on 2, 2.

3, 14-4, 1.  'those who were Egyptians (have become) foreigners, being thrust on one side.' The translation of *kzwy* as 'foreigners', queried by G., is confirmed by  'Is stopped "Ho there!" in the speech of foreigners', *Israel Stela*, 24, and this in turn confirms the rendering 'Egyptians' for *rmṯ(t)*, shown to be the feminine collective by the old perfective . *Di hr wst* 'thrust aside' perhaps only here; in *Sin.* B 251 this phrase means 'show the way', a sense which has no relevance to the present context.

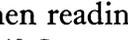
4, 1.  'the man of rank can no longer be distinguished from him who is nobody.' The use of the construction *n sdm·n·f* implies the continuing impossibility of making the distinction in question. At the end of the sentence, the expression *iwty n·f sw* is corrupt, and in 1909 G. suggested the emendation *iwty n·f it* 'who has no father'. However, in *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>3</sup> § 203 he calls attention to the expressions *iwty n·f* 'he who has nothing' and *iwty sw* 'he who is nothing', and the Admonitions text has combined the two. We should emend into *iwty sw* here.

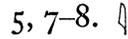
4, 2-3. 'Little children say:  "He should not have caused [me] to live."' The preposition *r* should be eliminated before *rdi[t]*, where probably the infinitive has replaced the negatival complement, and the suffix 1st sing. should be supplied after *nh*, which is prospective *sdm·f* dependent upon *rdi*. The construction of *tmw sw* is that of *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>3</sup> § 374, *tmw* being a participle functioning as adjectival predicate, lit. 'He it is who should not . . .'

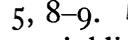
4, 3 = 5, 6.  'the children of the neck are laid out on the high ground.' G. regards *nhbt* 'neck' as meaningless and emends it into *nht*, rendering as 'the offspring of desire', but his emendation seems to be unnecessary. If children were commonly carried on the father's shoulder, perhaps holding on by his

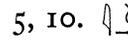


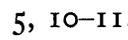


then reading 'terror kills itself', which is nonsense. The words which follow,  are very obscure; G. has 'the timid man says (?) . . .' and leaves the rest untranslated. It is just possible, however, that *sndw hr hsf* may be the pseudo-verbal construction with *hr* and infinitive, with the passive participle *irrw* as object, in which case we should have to translate as 'the frightened man opposes what is being done against your enemies', lest the consequences of such action fall upon himself; but it must be admitted that this rendering is precarious. A question which G. passes over in silence is the presence of the suffix 2 pl. *-tn*; to whom does it refer? It can hardly be a corruption, for it occurs twice more in 5, 9, and we have to assume a previous omission of a passage which once contained the antecedent of this pronoun, and which may perhaps have referred to the officials at the Court or even possibly to the royal family.

5, 7-8.  G. gives up the passage as quite obscure, but it seems just possible to extract a little sense out of it, though the latter part is hopelessly corrupt. If one be permitted to regard *wḏ* here as a corruption of *d:t* 'remainder', then we may have a contrast here between 'the few' who benefit from the general disorder and 'the rest' who suffer from it. I would therefore tentatively translate as: 'moreover, the few are pleased, but the rest are . . .'; for the sense here given to *twt* cf. *Pr.* 16, 1. Of the words following *wḏ* I can make nothing, but *ktw* at the end points to something unpleasant. The three following clauses are all questions formed on the pattern *in iw m* and an infinitive, translated by G. as 'Is it by' doing so-and-so, surely rightly; for the omission of the vague 'it' as subject cf. *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>3</sup> § 123.

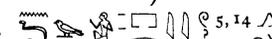
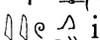
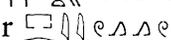
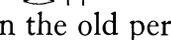
5, 8-9.  'Is it by sprinkling for Ptah and taking . . .? Why do you give to him? There is no reaching him'. *Itt* appears to be a second infinitive dependent on *in iw m*, but the word which should supply its object is indecipherable, and, as G. has seen, there is an omission of text before *dd·tn n·f hr m*, which as the manuscript stands is a meaningless question. The relevance of *n ph sw* depends on the lost context. I am inclined to regard *ph* as infinitive and to emend  into ; the subjectless use of *sḏm·f*, though not impossible, seems unlikely, and in any case *n sḏm·f* refers primarily to past time, which does not suit very well here. The rare construction with  and infinitive seems excluded by G.'s remarks *op. cit.*, p. 231 bottom.

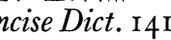
5, 10.  'What is it that has been done?' *Iryt* is certainly perfective passive participle and is therefore more likely to refer to action in the past than in the future. G.'s 'What is to be done?' would be expressed by *išst pw r irt*, with *r* and infinitive.

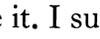
5, 10-11.  'I (?) speak to a ruined man.' The text makes sense as it stands, and there seems no need for G.'s suggested emendation *dd·i w; r kzw*, which might be colloquially rendered as: 'I say: "Gone to the devil!"' This emendation, moreover, disregards the determinative  of *kzw*.

5, 11.  'the roads are watched' rather than 'guarded', the watching being done by the highwaymen of whom complaint is being made; 'guarded' implies protective action by the police, which seems to have been conspicuously absent.

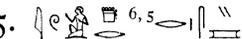
5, 12.  'belaboured with blows'. For this figurative use of *hnm*, known to G. only from this source, compare *hnm-k m šryd n ntr ʿ* 'mayest thou taste of (or be belaboured with) the cutting of the great god', P. Bremner-Rhind, 29, 24.

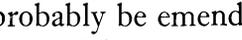
5, 13-14.  'commoners coming and going in dissolution'.  is obviously corrupt, and G. does not translate it, but it doubtless stands either for  or, less probably, for ; in either case, the verbs will be in the old perfective: 'are in a state of coming and going'. On *swn* see note on 5, 2; the sense is that the commoners who pass to and fro are at the point of death.

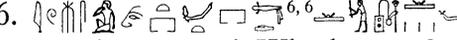
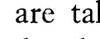
6, 2.  may be a corrupt writing of  var.  'notched sycamore figs', *Concise Dict.* 141, here probably to be regarded, with G., as a generic term for 'fruit'.

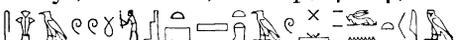
6, 2-3.  is undoubtedly corrupt and G. does not translate it. I suspect that there has been an omission after *n*, for with the emendation of  into  the first part can yield some sense, 'no face is bright'; lacking the words which appear to be missing after *n*, it is impossible to make anything of the rest of the passage except an allusion to famine.

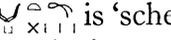
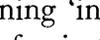
6, 4.  'the storehouse is empty and its keeper is stretched on the ground; a happy state of affairs!' That *wḏ* 'storehouse' is singular is indicated by the suffix in *sw:f* 'its keeper'. *M smw mcr n ib-i* has been misunderstood by G., who tentatively translates it as 'It is no (?) happy thing for my heart (??).' There is, however, no negative word present, and G. has not realized that this phrase is really a caustic comment on what has gone before, lit. 'even (*m* of equivalence) a happy affair for my heart!' The nearest equivalent in English is the ironical comment, 'A happy state of affairs!', uttered on seeing a dreadful muddle or mess.

6, 4-5.  is unintelligible as it stands, and there is undoubtedly an omission between *dr* and *r-sy*, due perhaps to the transition to a new line.

6, 5.  is almost certainly corrupt, and the words following *whdt-i* should probably be emended into  'the (lit. my) pain in which I am'.

6, 5-6.  'Indeed the private council-chamber, its writings are taken away.' Whether  really means 'judgement-hall' (so G.) or 'council-chamber', as apparently *Urk.* IV, 897, 6, is open to doubt, but the secrecy implied by the next clause leads me to prefer the latter interpretation; perhaps 'archives' might be even nearer the mark, but I know of no instance of *hnrt* > *hnt* with that significance. For the translation of *dsrt* as 'private' rather than 'holy' in this context, cf. *dsrw* 'privacy', *Bersh.* II, 21 top, 4. 14; *Urk.* IV, 967, 13.

6, 6.  If *st-štzw* be regarded as a compound abstract noun, 'mysteries', on the model of those quoted in *Concise Dict.* 206-7, and if the omission be assumed of the adverb *im* after *wnt*, this clause expands the previous statement very well indeed: 'and the mysteries which were in it are laid bare'.

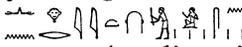
6, 7.  is 'schedules' rather than 'census-lists', cf. *Peas.* B2, 135, where, although the context is damaged, a 'census' of population can hardly be meant; in *P.Kah.* 17, 1 the meaning 'inventory' seems clear, while *ibid.* 10, 1 the word, determined with , is a list of priestly personnel.

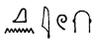
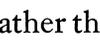




rogative *in* being used before a noun in anticipatory emphasis. To me it seems preferable to regard this passage as an example of the future construction *in* + noun + *sdm:f* 'it is the common man who will be vigilant'.

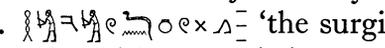
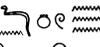
10, 1.  'men run because of . . .'. As G. remarks, the rest is quite untranslatable as it stands, and no plausible emendation suggests itself. I am inclined to think that there has been a considerable copyist's omission after *shs·tw hr* and that *mꜣꜣw* 'temple' of the head should be taken with what follows, so that the latter part of the passage may possibly have referred to the 'straining' of a remedy for an aching or injured head; for *hnk* G.'s emendation *shnk* cannot be doubted. Nevertheless, this hypothesis is no more than tentative and may be entirely wrong.

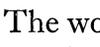
10, 2.  'they have no readiness'; it seems to me that in this context *hryt* means 'readiness' to do one's duty rather than 'terror'; G.'s 'without their being afraid of them' would surely require *nn hryt·sn n·sn*. The relation of the next sentences with what precedes is obscure; again a textual omission seems not unlikely.

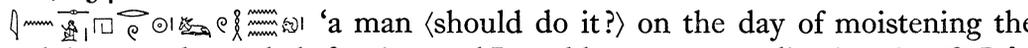
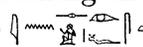
10, 5.  *in* in a list of palace revenues surely means 'sheaf', not 'palanquin', cf. *JEA* 37, 114, and the det.  rather than  supports this view.  *oe*, as G. remarks, is quite obscure.

10, 5-6.  'If the . . . it in the palace were delayed'. *Ir wdf* means 'if there be delayed' rather than 'if it had not been', cf. *Concise Dict.* 73; *skt* must be the infinitive of a 3ae inf. verb, but its meaning remains unknown.

10, 12.  'him who is in pain' is shown by the suffix in *mn·f hꜣw·f* to be in the singular. *R* before *mn·f* is surely intrusive and to be disregarded.

10, 13.  'the surging of the flood'. For this sense of *hw* cf. op. cit. 165; *wdnw* should be emended to read  as also in 13, 4.

11, 1. The word transcribed by G. as  which, as he says, could be read either *šnwꜣt* or *snwꜣt*, in this context may well be a var. of  'shrine', on which see Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 234.

11, 2.  'a man (should do it?) on the day of moistening the head.' A verb is urgently needed after *in s*, and I would suggest emending into  *hrw iwꜣ tp*.

11, 3.  is 'offering-stone', 'altar' rather than 'stela', cf. *Concise Dict.* 41.

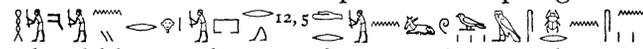
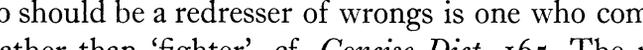
12, 2.  'then he would have imposed obstacles'; on the meaning of *hw sdb* see *Ann. Serv.* 27, 227; *ZÄS* 63, 75; 64, 136.

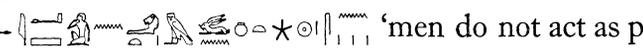
12, 3.  is 'herds' rather than 'seed (?)'; for this writing see also de Buck, *Reading-book*, 117, 4. At the end of the preceding clause  is probably to be understood as 'against them', cf. Blackman in *JEA* 16, 64 (5).

12, 4.  not 'women of the people' but 'mortal women', cf. *iwꜣt n rmt* 'an old mortal woman', *Horus and Seth*, 5, 7; other instances of *rmt(t)* in this sense are: *pꜣyꜣf ipwꜣty rmt* 'his mortal (i.e. not divine) messenger', *Wenamün*, 2, 56; *rmt n (= nꜣ)*

<sup>1</sup> An ambiguous sign transcribed as  $\bar{\theta}$  in the autographed text and as  $\delta$  in G's printed Commentary; the latter is certainly the correct reading.

*h3b:f n·k n ipwtyw* 'they were but mortals whom he (Amūn) sent to you as messengers', *ibid.* 2, 53. *N gm·tw hr wst* 'none are found on the road' may perhaps imply that impregnation of women does not now produce offspring.

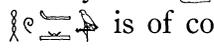
12, 4-5.  12,5  'combat has gone forth, and he who should be a redresser of wrongs is one who commits them'. *Hw-ny-r-hr* is 'combat' rather than 'fighter', cf. *Concise Dict.* 165. The rest of the sentence makes better sense if *dr* be regarded as an active participle followed by an indirect genitive, and if *n·sn* be regarded as representing the object of *shpr*; this demands the elimination of *n* as a corruption, since *shpr* requires a direct object, but a good sense is thus obtained; G.'s rendering as a perfective relative form depends on his very doubtful translation of *dr n iwsw*, which he would tentatively emend into *dr·f iwsw*; to me the sense thus obtained seems inferior.

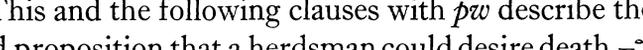
12, 5.  'men do not act as pilot in their hour (of duty).' G. has 'there is no pilot (?) in their moment', but this would demand  rather than ; to me it seems preferable to regard *n icš* as *n sdm·f* used impersonally, but the general sense of the passage is not affected.

12, 6.  'If we had been fed (?) I would not have found (?) you.' Here I follow Lange's emendation, see G.'s comment on the passage. G. rightly thinks that the pronoun *tw* must refer to the king, cf. 12, 12, but the transition from references to the supreme deity in the 3rd person to an address to the king in the second, the latter referred to only by a pronoun, is so abrupt as to make an omission of text before *ir snm* almost certain, and one might guess at something like *dd·in Ipw-wr n hm·f* 'Thus said Ipuwēr to His Majesty'.

12, 7.  'today he who is afraid (?) . . . a myriad of people'. This passage is apparently corrupt, but is of interest as showing *min*, reinforced by *is(?)*, at the head of the sentence, an unusual position for an adverb in Middle Egyptian; but cf. also *mi m irf* 'how comes it that . . .?' below, 14, 14.

12, 10.  'the statues are burnt and their tombs destroyed.' In the context of the work as a whole these sentences are most likely to be direct statements of events, though for some reason G. thought that they might be apodoses of a conditional clause. The det. of *rd* are lost, but in this context the word is much more likely to be  'destroy' than  'be safe'.

12, 12.  is of course 'Authority', not 'Taste', cf. G. in *Proc. SBA* 38, 43; 39, 138.

13, 1.  'because it means that what one loves another detests'. This and the following clauses with *pw* describe the consequences of accepting the absurd proposition that a herdsman could desire death.  'it means that their existences (?) are few everywhere.' An exact English equivalent of *hprw* is hard to find, but the sense of the clause appears to be that the population is declining because of widespread murder, cf. 12, 13-14.

13, 4.  'when men send a servant (?) for humble folk, he goes on the road until (?) he sees the





## THREE REGNAL DATES OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

### 1. The supposed year 39 of Amenophis III

THE excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at the site of the palace of Amenophis III at Malqata, south of Medînet Habu, have yielded a number of inscriptions in hieratic on jars which furnished ample proof that Amenophis III lived at least until the thirty-eighth year of his reign.<sup>1</sup> No inscription dated in year 39 was found at Malqata, but the date of a docket in hieratic on an 'Amarna tablet' has recently been read—somewhat doubtfully, it would seem—as Year 39.<sup>2</sup> The tablet in question is the well-known EA23 (of Knudtzon's numbering; now in the British Museum, no. 29793), a letter from Tushratta of Mitanni to Amenophis III announcing that an image of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh was being dispatched to Egypt to relieve the ailing Amenophis III of his illness. The present note is written to prevent scholars from attempting to read the date of the hieratic docket on the tablet as 'year 39'. The published photograph<sup>3</sup> being inadequate, it will help the discussion if I insert here a facsimile of the date as it can be seen on the original and on an excellent photograph.<sup>4</sup> Both show clearly , which had been read—first probably by Budge—as  $\begin{smallmatrix} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \\ \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \end{smallmatrix}$ , '36'.

Nothing need be said about the numeral '30' which is not in dispute, but the hieratic forms for '6' and '9' seem occasionally to confuse modern scholars, so that a recapitulation of the history of the hieratic signs for these two numerals may not be out of place.<sup>5</sup>

The hieratic form for '6' comes from hieroglyphic  $\begin{smallmatrix} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \\ \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \end{smallmatrix}$ , and as late as the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty the six strokes were on the whole kept separate even in hieratic, e.g. .<sup>6</sup> At any time, however, the three strokes in each row could be ligatured, though the upper ligature was still separated from the lower: ; but as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty a form is met with in which all six strokes are ligatured into one group, the three lower strokes having become a single horizontal line: . Except for very cursive hands

<sup>1</sup> Hayes in *Chron. d'Ég.* 24 (no. 47 of Jan. 1949), 96 and fig. 9, C-F; *JNES* 10, 42-43 and 87-88.

<sup>2</sup> Hayes, 'Egypt. Internal Affairs from Tuthmosis I to the Death of Amenophis III' (*Cambridge Ancient History*, ed. 2, vol. II, ch. ix), pt. 1, 36, n. 2. Hayes does not name the author of the reading.

<sup>3</sup> In Bezold-Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1892), pl. 23 (upper right).

<sup>4</sup> Kindly supplied by Dr. R. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum.

<sup>5</sup> It is naturally based on the forms collected in Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* I and II, nos. 619, 622; I have, however, used some hieratic texts unknown to Möller.

<sup>6</sup> This is the prevailing form in Pap. B.M. 10056 (Tuthmosis III), see Glanville, *ÄZ* 66, p. 1\*; 68, pl. i (recto, col. 5).

which may render  $\text{𓆎}$  as **2** or similarly, that is, following the same trend as  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  which becomes **3**, the upper three strokes of  $\text{𓆎}$  remain clearly distinct.

The figure  $\text{𓆎}$  for '9', on the contrary, becomes ligatured very early. The top three strokes coalesce into a continuous curved line, the middle three remain indicated by two or three separate slanting strokes, and the bottom three are transformed into a tail running downwards to the right: . This tail is sometimes rather short: the wine-jars from the Tomb of Tutankhamūn show both  (Cairo J. 62321) and  (J. 62311) or  (J. 62320).

It is therefore clear that the characteristic and distinctive part of '6' and '9' is not the tail at the bottom, but the top of the sign: three separate or ligatured strokes at the top point unmistakably to '6', while a hook at the top immediately suggests '9'.

Consequently, the second numeral of the tablet EA23 is certainly  $\text{𓆎}$ , and the date is 'year 36'. We do not know whether the image of Ishtar helped Amenophis III or not, but he lived on for another two years.

## 2. The supposed year 7 of Smenkhkerē

Helck's observations made on the hieratic docket of the 'Amarna wine-jars have now been published in his *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, IV, p. (728). His contention that the title of the wine overseers changes from *hry-kmw* to *hry-bch* in year 13 of Akhenaten is correct. Indeed, having collected the published dates and adding some unpublished ones from my note-books, I find that we have:

*hry-kmw* in years 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13;  
*hry-bch* in years 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 1, 2.

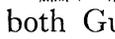
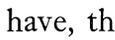
This clear picture is unfortunately marred by *two* occurrences of *hry-kmw* in 'year 15': P. 4,<sup>1</sup> where, however, the reading of *hry-kmw* is uncertain (the facsimile is poor) and the mention of a 'House of Nebmarē' does not exclude the possibility that 'year 15' here belongs to Amenophis III; and CoA, I, N [*hry*]-*kmw*, where it can also be argued that we are in the reign of Amenophis III. In addition to this, however, we have CoA, III, 76 with a *hry-kmw* in a 'year 16', and it becomes somewhat difficult to assign this reference to Amenophis III. On the other hand, there is, as Fairman points out to me, at least one docket (BM 55679) dated in year 10 and mentioning [*hry*]-*bch*.

Of the dockets of the years 1 and 2 mentioning *hry-bch* one of the 'year 1' (CoA, III, 35) may indeed belong to the reign of Smenkhkerē, since it mentions a 'House of Smenkhkerē'; but this is no more than an assumption, since a 'House of Smenkhkerē' might have continued to exist under Tutankhamūn, and these dockets of year 1 and 2 might belong to the reign of the latter. Helck's contention that the three dockets CoA, III, 55-57 contain proof that in year 1 of Tutankhamūn the practice of having the jars filled under the supervision of a *hry-kmw* was resumed, is not correct. Of the three

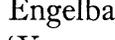
<sup>1</sup> P = Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*; CoA = *City of Akhenaten*.

dockets in question only the first (55) has the 'year 1' actually preserved; but neither this docket nor the other two contain anything which would justify assigning them to the reign of Tutankhamūn. All three of them, however, record the same *hry-kmw*, namely *Rwfy*, and might therefore be contemporary.

It is only in 'year 4' of Tutankhamūn that the wine-jars are indisputably filled again under the supervision of a *hry-kmw*, as is shown by five jars from the tomb of this king.<sup>1</sup>

When Helck attributes the jar *CoA*, I, G (on pl. LXIII), which records a *hry-bch* in 'year 7', to the reign of Smenkhkērē, and consequently claims that he reigned for that length of time—much longer therefore than our other evidence warrants—he would of course be right, although it would involve also emending Gunn's reading of the title  to . 'Year 7', however, is due to a misreading on his part, since both Gunn's transcription and facsimile show unmistakably , 'year 17'. We have, therefore, again a year of Akhenaten, as one would have expected, namely his last year. As for Smenkhkērē, the last year of his reign properly attested remains as before 'year 3'.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. The highest regnal date of Tutankhamūn

The highest known regnal date of Tutankhamūn has so far been thought to be year 9.<sup>3</sup> This is based on a statement of Engelbach<sup>4</sup> that several hieratic dockets on wine-jars from the tomb of the king are dated in 'year 9'. This is correct: I have seen and copied six such dockets, two of them expressly mentioning the 'House of Tutankhamūn-Ruler-of-Southern-Ōn', besides a number of others dated in years 4 and 5. Engelbach, however, overlooked my transcription of the docket<sup>5</sup>  'Year 10. Good wine of *Isty*'.<sup>6</sup> Although this little text does not mention Tutankhamūn, it can hardly be doubted that the 'year 10' in question refers to him, as do the dockets of years 4, 5, and 9. It makes practically no difference to the chronology of the 'Amarna Period, but it proves that Tutankhamūn reigned a *full* nine years. He perhaps died in the course of the tenth year of his reign; this, however, is no more than an assumption.

<sup>1</sup> Cairo J. 62303, 62305, 62306, 62318, 62324.

<sup>2</sup> Graffito in the tomb of Pere, *JEA* 14, pl. v.

<sup>3</sup> See Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. Serv.* 40, 163.

<sup>5</sup> Carter's no. 500, now Cairo J. 62300. A photograph will appear in my forthcoming volume on the hieratic inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamūn.

<sup>6</sup> The locality *Isty* seems to be otherwise unknown.

## SHEKELESH OR SHASU?

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

IN *JNES* 22 (1963), 167-72 Dr. Wenté repudiates my view that the captive chief labelled š, ʃ by Ramesses III at Medînet Habu was a Shekelesh.<sup>1</sup> Although he is very definite in his belief, and expresses it forcefully, that the man is a Shasu, there is much, and to my mind definite, to be said in favour of the Shekelesh.

In the first place I would point out that Dr. Wenté is correct when he says that 'he (Wainwright) supposes that the name was never completely spelled out'. It is not a matter of supposition, for whichever name may have been intended it certainly was not 'completely spelled out'. He is, however, not correct when he says that I 'assume an error within a lacuna'. On these grounds he disapproves of my assuming that the name was intended for Shekelesh. Yet he does the same in assuming that it was intended for Shasu.

Further than that, I do not assume an alteration. I am fully in accord with Dr. Wenté that there is no sign either of alteration or of any recutting and that the two signs š and ʃ are correct for the name whichever it may have been. However, I cannot agree that because there is no recutting and the spelling, so far as it goes, is correct, the result is that 'therefore it (the name) could not have been Shekelesh'.

Then, from his intimate knowledge of the Medînet Habu sculptures Dr. Wenté himself supplies evidence that the man was not intended for a Shasu. He emphasizes the care with which a supervisor had gone over the sculptor's work and had had even most trivial changes made. Our man's name has never been finished off, yet, as Dr. Wenté has to admit, 'the name Shasu would admirably fit the [empty] space'. Why, therefore, did not the careful supervisor have the signs filled in and the name completed? Surely because the man was not a Shasu but a Shekelesh, and the supervisor realized that it was not possible to complete so long a name, and left it at that.

Dr. Wenté has misread my remarks about the panelled kilts or at any rate has failed to understand the use I made of them. In discussing the attributes of the captive chief at Medînet Habu he says 'it is futile to introduce the nature of the kilt or skirt as evidence here', as if I had done so. Of course, if I had, it would have been futile to have discussed a thing which does not exist. Needless to say, I did no such thing. What I did do was to discuss the kilts of various other people who wear the same head-cloth as the chief under discussion, and to deduce his nationality from theirs, which their kilts make clear. Thus, for instance, my fig. 1 provides an example of such people and there the kilt is pointed and panelled as is usual with those of the Sea Peoples, though in this case it is not tasselled as it so often is. These men also, or at least some of them, carry the pair of spears, another characteristic of the Sea People. These men are, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 47 (1961), 71 ff.

clearly one of the Sea Peoples. Dr. Wentz has little success in his attempt to minimize the value of this kilt as an indication of the wearer's nationality, and the fact remains that it is eminently the characteristic dress of the Sea Peoples.

As the kilts of these people in my fig. 1 prove to be such as are distinctive of the Sea Peoples presumably their head-cloth is also. Hence, it follows that the same head-cloth worn by Ramesses III's captive chief is a Sea Peoples' dress and hence that the chief is a member of that community; in other words that he is a Shekelesh. Instead of being 'futile' I would suggest that my study of the dress that goes with the head-cloth is of first-rate importance in discussing the nationality of the man of whom we know little more than that he wears that head-cloth. But, deduction apart, we have definite proof that the head-cloth was indeed the Shekelesh dress, as will be seen in the next paragraph.

This valuable piece of evidence about the head-cloth is produced by Dr. Wentz himself, though his anxiety to make our man into a Shasu has obscured for him the significance of this most important scene. Dr. Wentz says 'the only places at Medinet Habu where we find captives with this headdress and other appurtenances supposedly characteristic of the Shekelesh are in the scene relating to the return from the campaign in Amor (*Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 98) and the scene of the general presentation of various prisoners (*ibid.*, pl. 99)'.<sup>1</sup> He overlooks the fact that Amor is the very place where Ramesses III encountered the Shekelesh.

Ramesses gives a good deal of information about his campaign in Amor, and as 'the wretched chief of Amor' figures in the row of captives on the High Gate this row ought to be studied in the light of all this. In the first place, in his general account of his northern war of his year 8 he says of the northern invaders that 'a camp [was set up] in one place in Amor' and continues: 'Their confederation was the Peleset, Tjekker, Shekelesh, Denye(n), and Weshesh'.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere he shows his assault on 'the town of Amor'<sup>3</sup> and on his return he brings Hittites, Philistines, Tjekker, the strange man of my fig. 7a, and the man whom Dr. Wentz claims as a Shasu.<sup>4</sup> In this campaign he stormed a number of cities, of which two are defended by the usual fat-faced Hittites.<sup>5</sup>

With all this in mind it is noticeable how well the row of captives at the High Gate fits this information. We have here the wretched chief of Kheta followed by the wretched chief of Amor, and then a series of Sea Peoples, Tjekker, Sherden, Teresh, and Peleset. As the only other one included is our man under discussion, who can he be but another of the Sea Peoples, in other words a Shekelesh? This is just what has already been suggested by the similarity of his head-cloth to that of the men wearing

<sup>1</sup> This man on pl. 99 is bearded and wears the head-cloth and even the medallion of the captive in the row at the High Gate. He also wears the tasselled, though not here panelled, kilt characteristic of the Sea Peoples. Why should he be anything but one of them, that is to say a Shekelesh? He also shows us very clearly what the kilt would have been if the captive at the High Gate had been given one.

<sup>2</sup> Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramesses III*, 53, ll. 17, 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 101, l. 21 = pl. 94.

<sup>4</sup> *Med. Habu*, pl. 98. In the upper row there is another man who wears the panelled and, in his case, much tasselled kilt, though there is nothing to identify his tribe from the Sea Peoples. Curiously enough Ramesses includes Libyans.

<sup>5</sup> *Med. Habu*, pl. 87 = Edgerton and Wilson, 94, 95.

the Sea Peoples' kilt and carrying their pair of spears in my fig. 1. It will not go unnoticed that there is no mention of Shasu anywhere in the texts, and that, therefore, it is highly improbable that the man should be one of them.

But to return to the kilts. While those of the Sea Peoples are panelled those of the Shasu are not, but are quite plain. Also the cut is quite different, for in Sethos' sculptures at least they flap open in front, a thing which those of the Sea Peoples never do. Dr. Wentz realizes the difficulty with which he is faced by the pointed, panelled, and generally tasselled kilt worn by the head-cloth wearers. He seeks refuge in the fact that kilts with panels, points, and tassels are sometimes worn by Syrians, Shasu, and other Asiatics. One of these men he describes as a 'typical Asiatic' (*Med. Habu*, II, pl. 99). Yet it may be asked in what way the man is a 'typical Asiatic'. He is definitely unusual, and I would suggest would be more correctly described as one of the lesser known Peoples of the Sea.<sup>1</sup> We of course are yet far from a complete knowledge of all the various tribes that went to make up the confederation of the Sea Peoples.

Dr. Wentz also falls back on a somewhat similar kilt that is not uncommonly shown as being worn by 'Syrians'.<sup>2</sup> However, it differs from that of the Sea Peoples in having a loop hanging from the waist-belt, a thing that is not shown on the kilts of the Sea Peoples, and moreover it has no tassels. In any case what do we mean by 'Syrian'? Syria is a large place and the people of the far north were no doubt very different from those of the south. In any case the population of Syria was very mixed and suffered influences from many places. Apart from the migrations southwards that I mentioned on p. 88 of my article, there were also Sea Peoples at Amor, as has just been recorded. Then a century and more earlier there had been Pidasu, Dardany, Masa, Karkisha, and Luka<sup>3</sup> at Kadesh where Ramesses II met them. These latter people came from western Asia Minor, not far from the probable homeland of the Shekelesh and Teresh.

Furthermore, Dr. Wentz overlooks the fact that the spears are regularly a pair that are carried by the wearers of the head-cloth and the panelled and often tasselled kilt, see my p. 85 for a number of references. My fig. 1 shows such people where the front man carries the two spears, and his four companions have six between them, no doubt intended for eight or at any rate providing at least one more of the company with a pair of spears. This is as much the armament of such definitely Sea People as the Philistines<sup>4</sup> as the panelled and often tasselled kilt is their dress. It should not be ignored that the head-cloth wearers in my fig. 1 are provided with both the pair of spears and the panelled kilt. They are, therefore, Sea People. Once again and elsewhere the pair of spears goes with the Sea Peoples' panelled, and here tasselled, kilt of the strange man, my fig. 7 *b*. The single man among Sethos' many Shasu who might perhaps be thought to be carrying a pair of spears<sup>5</sup> is an isolated phenomenon. As a matter of fact it is very doubtful whether he is actually intended to be doing so. The spears do not lie together in the hand as a pair but are awkwardly spread apart. He holds only one of them, the

<sup>1</sup> Such people are the strange man in the bottom row, pl. 98 = my fig. 7*a*, the second man in the top row of the same plate, and the first man following the three Sherden on pl. 62, second row top left = my fig. 7*b*.

<sup>2</sup> Pritchard in *BASOR* 122 (1951), 39, fig. A.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, 7.

<sup>4</sup> See for example everywhere on *Med. Habu*, I, pl. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pl. 39.

other passes behind his hand and looks as if it were an uncorrected error. In any case even if he were intended to be carrying a pair this could not alter the fact that such armament was not characteristic of those people but does characterize a man as one of the Sea Peoples unless he can be proved to be not so. In my submission the pair of spears, like the panelled kilts, is strong evidence, or as I should say proof, that their bearers are Sea People. Hence, their wearing of the same head-cloth as the prisoner from Amor and as the captive chief at Medînet Habu shows that he also was one of the Sea Peoples, and therefore a Shekelesh.

Apropos of the spears, I must refute the statement that Dr. Wenté imputes to me. On p. 171 he states that 'the spear and the *khopesh*-like weapon are, as he (Wainwright) points out, p. 85, also found in the hands of the Beit el Wâli Bedouin'. As a matter of fact I did not mention spears at Beit el-Wâli at all, but only the *khopesh*-like weapon.

Again, the captive at Medînet Habu wears a medallion, as do many of the Egyptian mercenaries of his type. On the other hand this is not a Shasu adornment, as Dr. Wenté has to admit. Out of his many Shasu he can only find one who wears such a thing, and that is at Soleb away up in Nubia. Hence, Dr. Wenté's argument falls to the ground when he claims that the wearing of medallions by Syrians is due to a Shasu migration northwards. As I have shown, such things were worn in Asia Minor at least from about 2100 B.C. and later again at Gordion, but still before the time of the Sea Peoples. At about 1500 B.C. the Egyptians themselves knew it as an ornament worn by a man from 'the ends of Asia'. This man not only wears a medallion but also a panelled kilt falling to a point in front.<sup>1</sup> While this is somewhat different from the kilt we know so well on the Sea Peoples, it is almost a replica of that worn three hundred years later by the Tjekker-Teucrian at Salamis in Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> The Tjekker would have come from western Cilicia,<sup>3</sup> while the man with the medallion of three hundred years earlier came from much the same neighbourhood. 'The ends of Asia' are the extremest north of Syria, and this we cannot say did not include the plain of eastern Cilicia. This country was always in close contact with its eastern neighbours—northern Syria and Mesopotamia, the Hurrians, Mitanni, and so on.

Hence, the wearing of medallions in Syria was not due to a northward movement of the essentially medallionless Shasu, as Dr. Wenté supposes, but to a southward movement from Asia Minor and its neighbourhood. On p. 88 I recorded a good number of such migrations down into Syria and Palestine, and influxes of many other Asiatic tribes have just been noted. Though not of much value it may be finally remarked that medallions appear on the glazed tiles, on those, admittedly vague, representations of prisoners, along with other definite Sea Peoples' attributes. The ability to find a single exception does not destroy a rule, which in this case is that medallions are not characteristic of the Shasu but are of the people of northern Syria and Asia Minor. Hence, the wearing of a medallion by the captive chief at Medînet Habu makes it probable that he came from this area.

<sup>1</sup> Wainwright in *JEA* 47 (1961), 86. For the picture see N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*, 1, pl. xxxi, last man in the top row, and p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Wainwright in *JHS* 83 (1963), 147, fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Id. in *JEA* 47 (1961), 77 and map.

Furthermore, the Medînet Habu man and the Teresh happen to be the only two in the row who wear a head-cloth. Now, the Teresh and Shekelesh were probably neighbours back in their homelands, for they belong to that group whose names are similarly constructed, ending as they do in š. The group is a very small one, the only other members being the Ekwesh and the Weshesh.<sup>1</sup> They also made a pair in Egyptian eyes as far back as Merneptah's time, when he singled them out together from the others and speaks of them as a group, 'Shekelesh and Teresh'. Here again at Medînet Habu the Teresh has a companion, for he and the man under discussion single themselves out from the others by wearing head-cloths which the others do not. Further, this companion's name may well have been Shekelesh. Once more, therefore, it looks highly probable that the man was indeed a Shekelesh.

However, in his objection to the Shekelesh Dr. Wentz passes lightly over the facts of the similar formation of the names and the definite group that Merneptah makes of the two peoples, saying that this is the only evidence of a link between them in the Egyptian inscriptions. But surely this is a strong enough link in itself apart from the supporting evidence just quoted. The passage comes in Merneptah's great Karnak Inscription.<sup>2</sup> There he lists Shekelesh, Teresh, Sherden, Ekwesh, giving the numbers of men and hands in each case separately. He then goes on ' . . . whose hands [were carried off] 2,362 men, Shekelesh and Teresh who came as enemies of Libya [total missing]'. The essential part of the passage is fortunately unbroken and here the two tribes are separated by the 2,362 total from what has gone before, in other words are given a paragraph to themselves. They are there picked out and treated as one group being given a lump total, which however is lost, just as are the Kehek and Libu immediately following them. On the other hand, as has just been mentioned, in the preceding lines the various peoples had each been given their separate totals. There clearly was something special shared by the Shekelesh and Teresh for Merneptah to go back and pick out those two together for special mention in one group, a thing he does not do for the Ekwesh and Sherden.

In his attempt to minimize the value of this evidence Dr. Wentz tries to show that it is meaningless by quoting a certain other passage. From this he says one might equally argue for a connexion between the Teresh and the Philistines. This, however, proves to be valueless, for on looking it up<sup>3</sup> the whole area is seen to have been destroyed. All that is left are the words 'Teresh in the midst of the sea (?)' preceded by the remains of a few signs which no doubt had formed part of the name Peleset. But that does not build up into a special connexion between these two tribes. The words may quite well be all that remains of the whole list of the Peoples of the Sea.

There is another thing which, however, Dr. Wentz would no doubt repudiate as a mere coincidence. Indeed, perhaps it might have been were it not that it does happen

<sup>1</sup> At the time of writing my original study I was much troubled by the presence of the Meshwesh apparently in this group. However, I have since discovered that the final š in their name is something quite different and turns out to be one more unfortunate coincidence to confuse the inquiry.

<sup>2</sup> Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, I, pl. 28 = Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, § 588; the essential lines are nos. 56, 57. Breasted gives the total as 2,370 whereas Max Müller shows only 2,362, a difference in reading easily accounted for.

<sup>3</sup> *L.D.* III, pl. 218 c, l. 8.

to be yet one more suggestion that the name šꜥ, ꜥ stands for Shekelesh. It is this. In the row of captives this man and the Teresh come together, with the She[kelesh] preceding the Teresh. This is the regular order in Merneptah's inscriptions. There in his great Karnak Inscription he lists Shekelesh, Teresh, Sherden, Ekwesh (ll. 53, 54), then in his special grouping of them (l. 56) he writes Shekelesh and Teresh once more. Yet again, in his so-called Athribis Stela, lines 13, 14, he lists Ekwesh, Shekelesh, Teresh. If we may suppose that šꜥ, ꜥ stands for Shekelesh, we find that Ramesses III preserves the same order, when he shows Tjekker, Sherden, She[kelesh], Teresh, Philistine. This order for the two seems strong presumptive evidence that the name is indeed to be completed as Shekelesh, not Shasu.

I have to admit that when writing my study I unfortunately thought that the scallops at the back of the Teresh's head-cloth represented a damage and that the rest was broken away. It was only afterwards that I realized that this was not so, but that the head-cloth ended in bunches. Had I realized this, of course I should have worded my remarks very differently, but the end result of the relationship of the two peoples would have been the same. Even though the Teresh head-cloth is shorter than the other, it is still a head-cloth and one that is bound with a fillet as is that of the Shekelesh.

To recapitulate:

šꜥ is correct for whichever name may have been intended. The supervisor did not have the name Shasu filled in, though there is room for signs. He, therefore, clearly knew that the name was Shekelesh which it was impossible to accommodate in the space, and left it at that.

The row of captives corresponds well with what we know of Ramesses III's campaign in Amor where Shekelesh are named, but no Shasu. Therefore, our man's name, She . . . , with little doubt stands once more for Shekelesh, not Shasu.

The head-cloth worn by this man was also worn by a prisoner from Amor, and was, therefore, no doubt the Shekelesh headdress.

The head-cloth also goes with the panelled and generally tasselled kilt of Sea Peoples.

The Shasu kilts are not panelled or tasselled but are quite plain and also differently shaped.

Besides wearing the Sea Peoples' kilts, the head-cloth wearers also carry a pair of spears, another characteristic of the Sea Peoples.

The medallion is an ancient ornament in Asia Minor and northern Syria, and perhaps even in eastern Cilicia. For one of the wearers also wears a kilt very like that of the Tjekker-Teucrian from western Cilicia. Of the many Shasu depicted only one can be found who wears a medallion. Hence, it would not have come to Syria with the Shasu from the south, as Dr. Wente supposes, but down from the north.

The Shekelesh and the Teresh formed a pair as early as the time of Merneptah, Shekelesh preceding Teresh, an order preserved by Ramesses III, if the name may be read as Shekelesh.

Ramesses III shows only two men with head-cloths and places them side by side.

They are thus a pair, and as one of them is a Teresh the probability is that the other is a Shekelesh, as indeed what there is of his name may imply.

Ramesses III's damaged passage where all that is left are the two names Philistine and Teresh is in no way comparable to all this.

In view of all that has been said above I venture to think in the first place that Dr. Wentz has not 'put identifications on a sounder footing' as he claims; then, in the next place, that my 'method of argumentation' is not as 'faulty' as Dr. Wentz has brought himself to believe, and that the medallion and head-cloth of Ramesses III's man, and his making a pair with the Teresh, all show him to be a Shekelesh, not a Shasu.

Dr. Wentz claims that 'it should have been incumbent upon Wainwright to demonstrate that the person depicted could in no wise be a Shasu Bedouin'. It is equally incumbent upon Dr. Wentz to show that the man can in no wise be a Shekelesh, and the foregoing remarks make it evident that he still has far to go before attaining that end.

## SOME NEW LIGHT ON THE ASIATIC WARS OF RAMESSES II

By K. A. KITCHEN

MANY years ago, at Lacau's suggestion, Émile Baraize executed a *sondage* along the outer face (north end) of the east wall of the Court of Ramesses II in the Temple of Luxor, in order to determine what kind of decoration it bore. Kuentz was thus able to report the existence of Syrian battle-scenes of Ramesses II on this wall,<sup>1</sup> and he published such texts as Baraize's trench had exposed.<sup>2</sup> With the refilling of the trench, this wall was not again available for study until quite recently when most<sup>3</sup> of its surface was cleared in connexion with the improvement of amenities around the temple by the Luxor and tourist authorities. While working in the Theban temples on texts containing Asiatic loanwords and on Ramesside historical and biographical inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> I had occasion to collate the texts published by Kuentz and to copy the other inscriptions on this wall as far as they were accessible and legible. Some of this material has proved to be of such general interest that it deserves to be made known without undue delay. It is the purpose of this paper to publish all the accessible texts on this wall that are legible enough to be at all intelligible, and briefly to indicate their bearing on Ramesses II's Asiatic campaigns and on Palestinian history. Exhaustive publication of the scenes beyond just texts must be left for some expedition able to cope with Luxor temple on the footing of British and American efforts at Abydos, Médinet Habu, and parts of Karnak. Pending that unknown day, photographs of the better-preserved and better-lit scenes are included here on plates III, IV, V, and VI. The texts are here presented in hand-copies based on copies that were made on the spot and collated with the originals, and checked also with enlarged photographic prints. Further intensive study of the wall-face would undoubtedly yield a few more signs, but nothing of real consequence. The copies given here should serve most needs.

### General description of the wall (see fig. 1)

Between the east gate of the court and the rear of the pylon, this wall is divided into two registers each originally containing four scenes. However, only three scenes remain

<sup>1</sup> Thus confirming a supposition made by Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines du temple de Louxor* (1893), 27.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Kuentz, *Ann. Serv.* 22 (1922), 232-4.

<sup>3</sup> All except the bottom corner at the north end (our Scene A), and of course the section hidden by the stair-ramp that gives access to the mosque of Abu'l Haggag, extending to the east doorway of the Court of Ramesses II (i.e. Scenes D and H).

<sup>4</sup> As holder of the T. E. Peet Travelling Prize of the University of Liverpool, 1962/3. I may fitly record here my gratitude to the University for the privilege of this award and also for additional support that made possible my visit to Egypt and the results attained, the first of which are published here. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the helpfulness of the Egyptian authorities, especially the Service des Antiquités, and in Theban matters of Dr. H. Sobhy Bakry, Chief Inspector at Luxor. I also wish to thank Miss F. Lynch for fig. 6.

visible in each case, as the southernmost scenes on both registers are at present masked by the stairway up to the mosque of Abu'l Haggag.

The whole series of scenes (including those still hidden) are here lettered consecutively from the pylon to the gateway,<sup>1</sup> and from the lower to the upper register. Within each scene, hieroglyphic legends have been given Roman numerals; thus the mention of Hatti and Qode in B. I.6 is scene B (= lower register, middle), text I, line 6. In what follows, each scene is described briefly and its texts translated with short notes. Wider issues are then briefly covered in a general commentary.

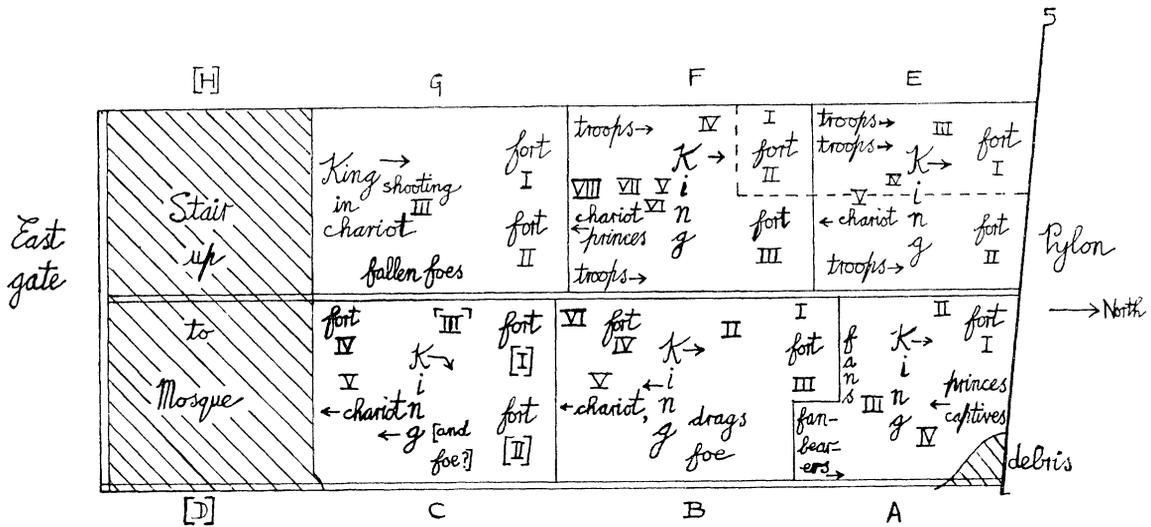


FIG. 1. Layout of scenes on East Wall (N. half), outer face, Court of Ramesses II, Luxor. Roman numerals refer to texts, capital letters to scenes. Arrows show direction in which figures face. Part of Scenes E and F enclosed by dotted line is part published by Kuentz.

**Scene A**

*Description* (cf. plate III): At the right, a deserted Asiatic fort represented in conventional Ramesside manner with two ramparts shown superposed,<sup>2</sup> and with rounded battlements. Below it, two princes lead out prisoners to the king. Below them, the bottom corner of the scene is still buried; one may surmise a file of soldiers or perhaps more

<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the order of war-scenes in other XIX Dyn. series that occupy space between the end of a wall and a doorway in the middle of that wall. The scheme is most clearly seen in the war-scenes of Sethos I at Karnak (north wall of Hypostyle Hall: Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Taf. 34-53; Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* II, 19-23) and of Ramesses II on the south wall there (Wreszinski, *op. cit.* II, Taf. 54-56a; Porter-Moss, *op. cit.* II, 23-24); also at Luxor on the west wall (outer face) of the Court of Ramesses II (Wreszinski, *op. cit.* II, Taf. 71-75; Porter-Moss, *op. cit.* II, 109). In each case, the battles proper usually occupy that part of the register furthest from the door. Then, progressively nearer the door, Pharaoh binds prisoners, etc., returns triumphant with droves of prisoners, and presents his spoil to the gods. Finally, the door itself is commonly flanked by heraldic scenes of slaughter and topographical lists. Cf. already Breasted, *A.R.* III, §§ 80 ff., and Gardiner, *JEA* 6 (1920), 99.

<sup>2</sup> For possible reconstructions of such forts, cf. Alex. Badawy, *Le Dessin architectural chez les anciens Égyptiens*, (1948), 148; all forts on our wall are of Badawy's type 2 (b), p. 152. See also W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (1962), 338-41 (hereinafter cited as Helck, *Beziehungen*); and cf. Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* (1963), 95-97.

prisoners. The king stands facing right, holding a spear (point downward) in his left hand and extending his right hand in welcome. In this scene he wears the Blue Crown

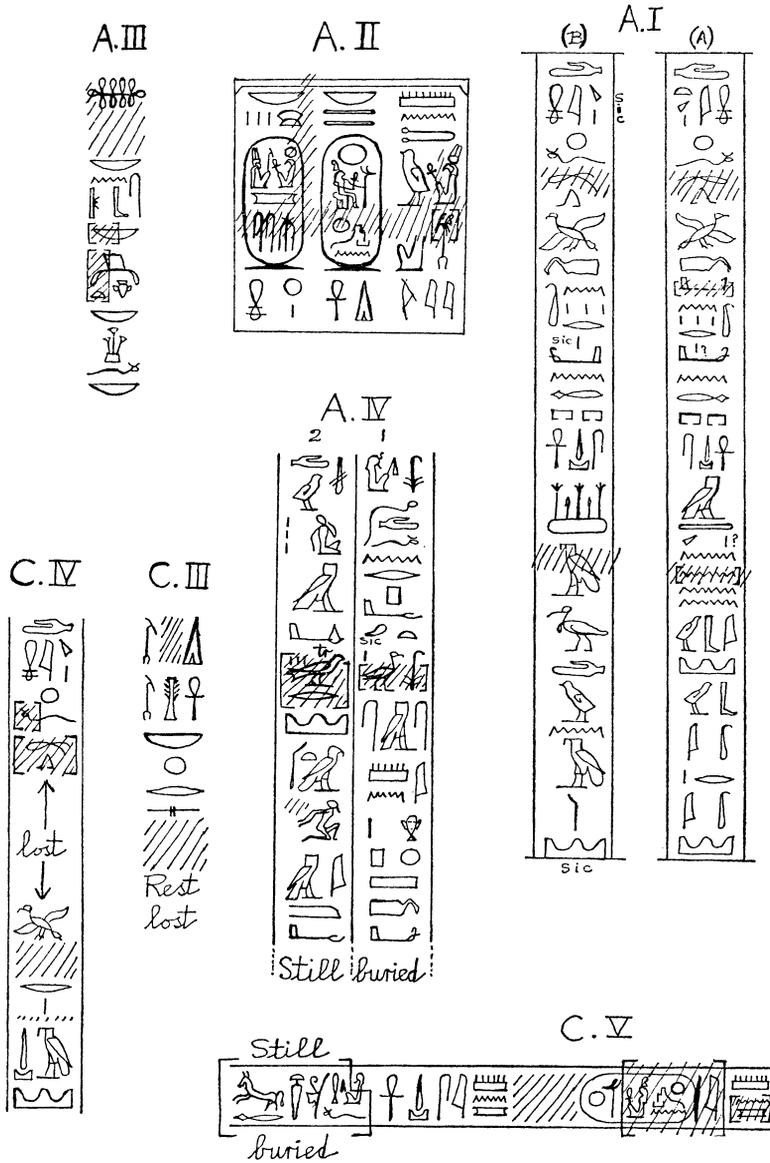


FIG. 2. Texts of Scenes A and C.

as in all the rest except C and F (lappet wig). Behind him, three tall fans are borne each by a prince, with two other men behind them.<sup>1</sup>

*Texts* (fig. 2): I. Fort. This is a palimpsest. The signs of the original inscription (A) face right, while those of the added text (B) face left.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the stance of the king attended by fan-bearers and receiving his sons who bring in prisoners, on the west wall of this same court at Luxor (Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Taf. 73; Porter-Moss, II, 109, 118).

(A) *Town which the mighty arm of Pharaoh, L.P.H., plundered in (the) land of Moab:*  
B(w)trt.

(B) *Town which the mighty arm of Pharaoh, L.P.H., plundered:* Šbdn.

The reading of the second version is crystal clear and requires no comment. Šbdn, of course, is the Shabtuna of the Battle of Qadesh<sup>1</sup> and topographical lists.<sup>2</sup>

Repeated study of the clear traces of the underlying first version has resulted in certainty of reading for practically every sign. Between the  $\curvearrowright$  and following *n* of *tnr* in the first text, there is a space for a further low, broad sign now practically expunged by the  $\curvearrowright$  of the second version: slight traces suggest  $\curvearrowleft$ . The first  $\curvearrowright$  of the *mw* of Moab, across the shoulders of the superimposed  $\mathbb{A}$ , is completely obliterated by the break between two blocks; but with following  $\mathbb{J}$  the reading *Mw-i-b* is certain. The foot of *b* is neatly swallowed by the tail part of later *b*, while the *w* coincides with the head and beak of the *b*. There can be little doubt of the order in which the palimpsest texts were carved. The Šbdn text is much more deeply carved than the Moab one. And in the next scene, one fort still bears its original legend unaltered (B. III) and this (like the Moab text) faces right; the other fort bears a palimpsest legend (B. IV) like the Moab/Šbdn one.

*B(w)trt* is otherwise unknown,<sup>3</sup> but Moab is familiar from the pages of the Old Testament as the name of a Transjordanian kingdom which, with the Edomites, opposed the invading Israelites. Only one other mention of Moab had hitherto been found in Egyptian texts. This is in a short topographical list<sup>4</sup> on the base of one of the colossi of Ramesses II that stand before the pylon of Luxor temple. For the significance of this new reference see the General Commentary, pp. 62 ff. below, and also B. IV.

## II. Above king.

Cartouches of Ramesses II with addition of *given life like Rē, beloved of Montu Lord of Thebes*.

## III. Behind king.

*All protection, [life, stability and dominion], all health, all joy attend him.*

## IV. King addresses the princes.

(1) *The king speaks to the Crown Prince<sup>a</sup> (and) Eldest Royal Son, Amen-ḥir-khopshef (. . . .)*<sup>b</sup>.

(2) *Words from<sup>c</sup> the foreign chiefs<sup>d</sup>: 'Grant (. . . .)'*<sup>e</sup>.

(a) On *iry-prt*, cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 14\*, and *JEA* 39 (1953), 10; and Christophe, *Ann. Serv.* 51 (1951), 337–8 and *passim*.

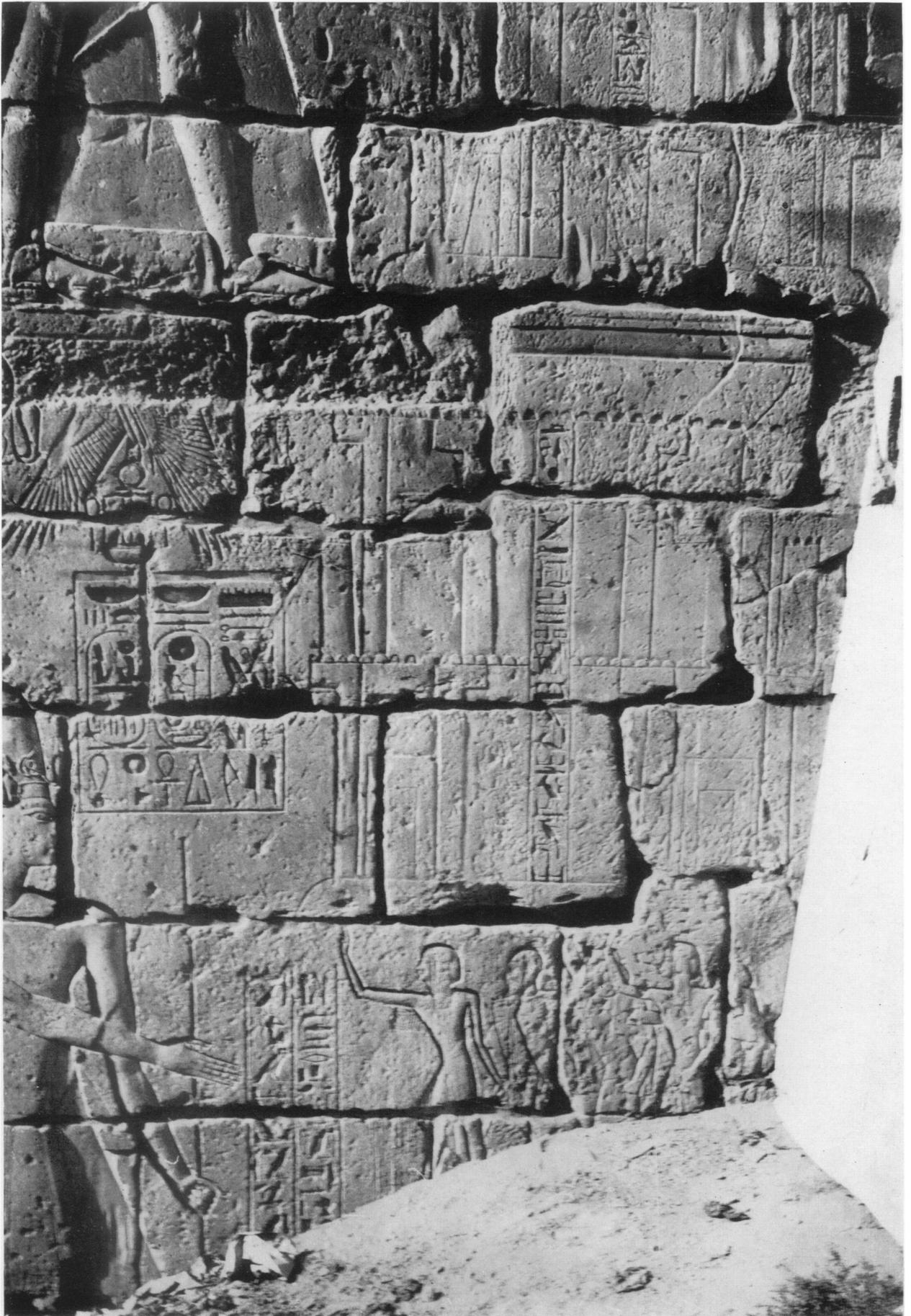
(b) The continuation is buried. Probably the name of the second prince, plus words of the king.

<sup>1</sup> *Poem*, 58–60, and *Bulletin*, 7, in Kuentz, *Bataille de Qadach*, and Gardiner, *The Qadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (1960).

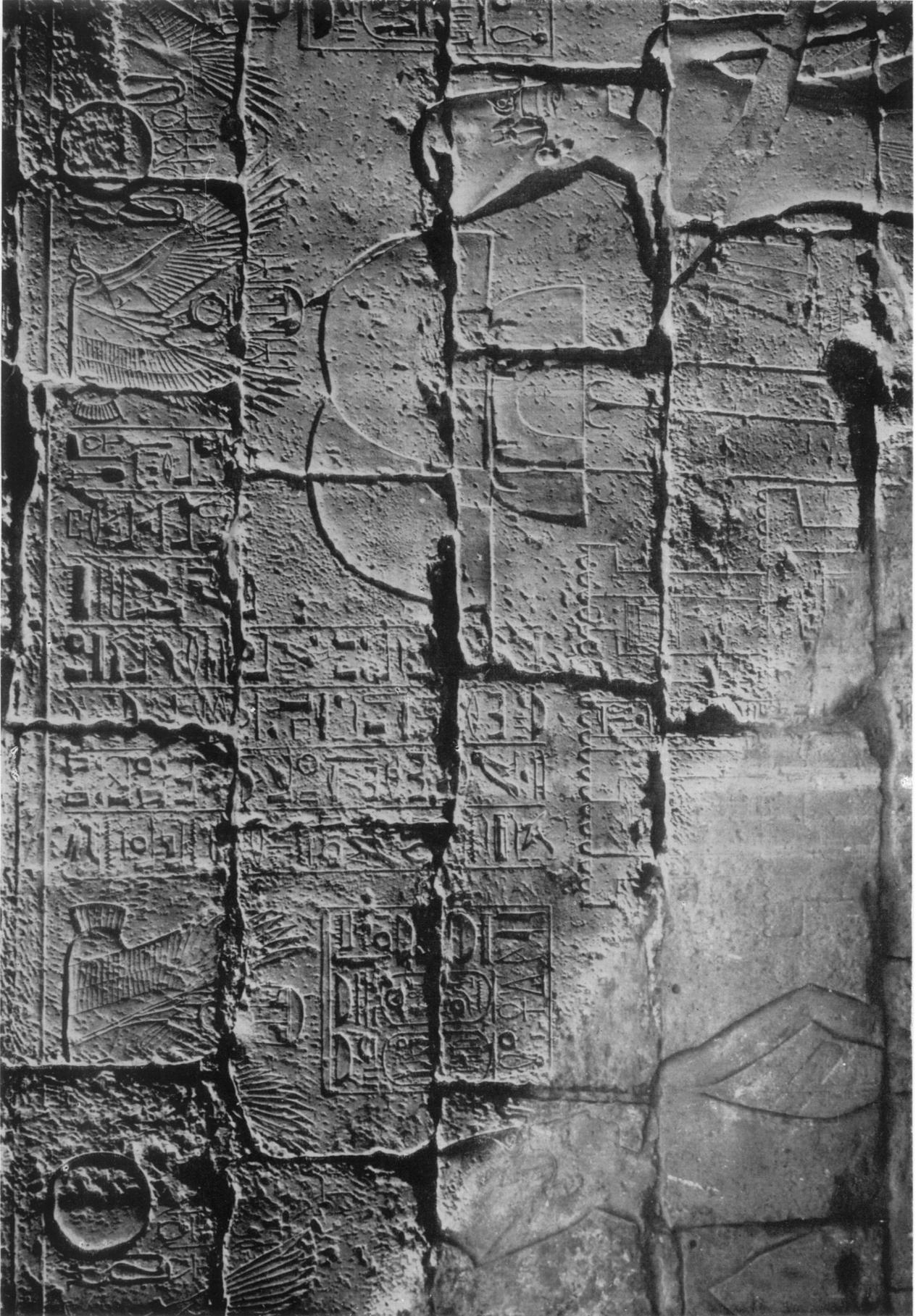
<sup>2</sup> Simons, *Handbook . . . of Egyptian Topographical Lists* (1937), Lists I, 73 (Tuthmosis III) and XXVII, 75 (Ramesses III).

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 64, for a suggested location.

<sup>4</sup> Simons, *op. cit.*, List XXII, d, 10 (pp. 155, 156); collation upholds the reading of Legrain, Kyle (with photo), and Simons against that of Daressy.



LUXOR TEMPLE, COURT OF RAMESSES II. EAST WALL (EXTERIOR). SCENE A



LUXOR TEMPLE, COURT OF RAMESSES II. EAST WALL (EXTERIOR). SCENE B

(c) For *m-di* to mark the speaker(s), cf. implicitly the words of Ramesses at Qadesh: 'I have heard this very hour from (*m-di*) these two spies', *Bulletin* 60 (Kuentz, *Bataille*, 346; Gardiner, *Qadesh Inscriptions*, 29). Closer is P. Jud. Turin, 4: 13, 'because he had heard the words from (*m-di*) Paibekkamen . . .' (= *Wb.* II, 177, 14 in *Belegstellen*), cf. de Buck, *JEA* 23 (1937), 155. One may also compare the phrase *hnw m-di ʿ3 n Pr-ʿ3*,<sup>1</sup> discussed by Caminos, *Late-Eg. Miscellanies*, 365–6. This may perhaps simply be rendered 'accusation from the greatness of Pharaoh', with *ʿ3 n Pr-ʿ3* used as a respectful, or even legal, circumlocution for 'the king', not unlike old *nt-hr nsw* ('de par le roi'). The whole may perhaps be paraphrased as 'accusation issuing from the Crown' with *m-di* used very much as in the other examples already mentioned.

(d) *wrw hstyw*. Clear traces of *ꜥ* and space for *ꜣ* over it; *r* is lost in the break.

(e) One expects something like F. I. 6–7: 'Grant us the breath of thy giving' or '. . . thy breath of life'. Future clearance must reveal the full text of these two lines.

### Scene B

*Description* (cf. plate IV): At the right, above the fan-bearers of scene A, is an empty Asiatic fort with a rhetorical text above it. Ramesses steps into his chariot (which faces away to the left), his head being turned to glance at a hapless captive whom he drags after him by the hair.<sup>2</sup> Above the horses and chariot at the left is another deserted fort.

*Texts* (fig. 3): I. First rhetorical text.

(1) *Long live the good god, mighty with his (strong) arm, (2) a hero valiant like (3) Montu, powerful of (4) arm, great in victory, whose valour is like (that of)<sup>a</sup> [Seth the Son of Nū]t, (5) abounding in booty (or, captures), knowing his business<sup>b</sup>, keen against every foreign land, (6) treading down Hatti, destroyer of Qode, making all the foreign lands as if they had never (7) existed, seizing the [base ?? of]<sup>c</sup> speech all together, hawk who seizes sparrows for himself.<sup>d</sup>*

(a) Most of a poorly-carved *ꜥ* is visible at the bottom of the line, with *o* above it at right and a small trace of *o* above at left: hence Nūt. Above this word, clear traces of the head, neck and breast of a *s*-bird. The epithet 'Son of Nūt' is sometimes explicitly accorded to Seth in texts of this kind and period;<sup>3</sup> there is possibly just room for the restoration of the figure of Seth in the break between *m* and *s*.

(b) For *rh st-drt-f* and related phrases, see the remarks and references in Caminos, *Late-Eg. Miscellanies*, 44, 404, 499.

<sup>1</sup> In P. Sallier IV, vs. 16, 1, and O. Cairo 25556, lines 5, 7–8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Taf. 56a, left, among the Syrian war-reliefs of Ramesses II on the south wall (outer face) of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. For brevity, these scenes will hereafter be referred to as 'the Karnak series'.

<sup>3</sup> Examples: obelisk of Ramesses II at Luxor, S. face, right-hand or east column (Champollion, *Monuments*, 320/1, collated); Tanis, stela IX of Ramesses II (Yoyotte, *Kémi* 13 (1954), 78, fig. 1, middle line); and a brief text of Ramesses III (Epigr. Survey, *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 114: 10). For a later example, cf. Dakhla stela, line 8 (Gardiner, *JEA* 19 (1933), 22, pl. v–vi). Much commoner is the simple phrase 'Son of Nūt' without the actual name of Seth (*Wb.* II, 214, 9), e.g. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Taf. 45/46, 5th vertical line; Taf. 40, last vertical line at left (both Sethos I); Taf. 56a, vertical line 2 over right-hand chariot, and before cartouches over left-hand one (Ramesses II); *Medinet Habu*, *passim*.

(c) *Nd . . . r*. Above *r*, traces are discernible of what was perhaps . In the space between this bird and *d* above, room for either — or \, traces too small and doubtful to decide which. Epigraphically, *s* would plausibly fit certain marks, but I have no

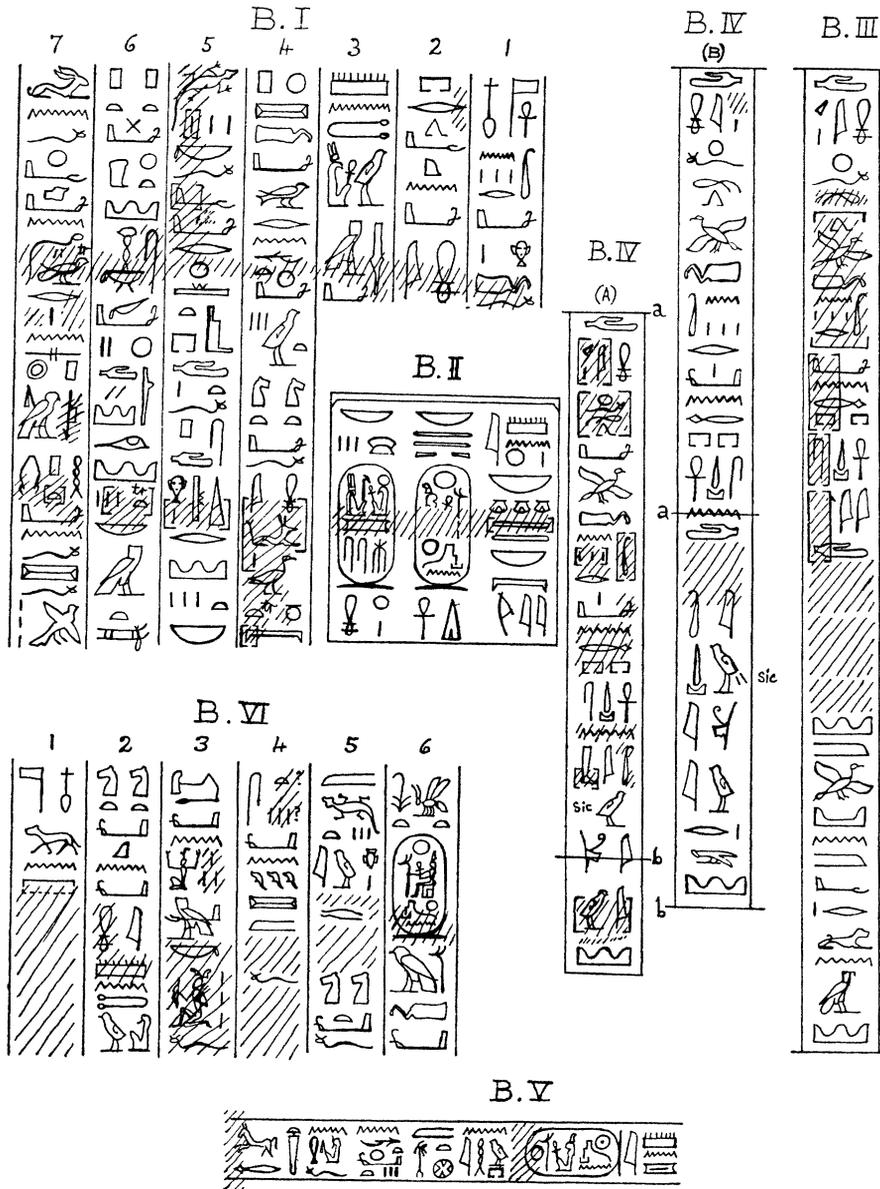


FIG. 3. Texts of Scene B.

parallel for *\*nds-r* to express ‘mean of speech’ or similar. If \ be preferred, *\*ndy-r* would be ‘base of speech’, and be related to *ndyt*,<sup>1</sup> etc., cf. *Wb.* II, 369, 8–9, and 377, 17, though again I have no exact parallel to hand.

(d) For *bik hpt n-f šfw*, the *Wb.* (III, 73, 7, and IV, 455, 3) offers an exact parallel as Zettel Karnak (386). This, in fact, is lines 10–11 of a similar rhetorical text in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Žába, *Maximes de Ptahhotep* (1956), 119 on 90–92, for P. Prisse, 6, 6, and *Peasant*, B 64–66.

Karnak series, bottom register, second scene from left (west); cf. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Taf. 56 a (collated). For other examples of *hpt* and *šfw*, see *Wb.*, *loc. cit.*<sup>1</sup> 'Sparrows' is a free rendering; strictly, small birds of indeterminate species.

II. Above king. Ramesses II as before, but *beloved of Amen-rēr*, *Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands*, *Lord of Heaven*.

III. Fort at lower right. *Town which the [mighty arm] of Pharaoh, L.P.H., plundered: Yn (?) d . . , in the mountain of Mrrn.*

In the first place-name, *y* and *d* below it are certain.

To the left of *y*, high up, is a trace that could well be the end of . If so, one cannot now say whether  or  constituted the whole group to the left of *y*. The only possible alternative to *n* and complement would be a  or . Below the *d* is room in the break for a complement and two more sign-groups. Neither *Yn (?) d . . / Yd . . .* nor *Mrrn* seems to recur in other Egyptian sources known to me.

This inscription has never been re-engraved but is original, and its signs face right, exactly as do those of the original texts in A. I and B. IV. As these refer to Moabite Transjordan, it is reasonable to suppose that *Yn (?) d . . .* and its Mount *Mrrn* are also to be sought in that region.

IV. Fort at upper left. Like A. I, this is a palimpsest with original text facing right and later one to left. For reasons unknown, the original text (A) began only at the top of the lower of the two ramparts of the fort and ran below its base-line. In more normal fashion, the later text (B) began at the top of the upper rampart and ended at the base-line. The hieroglyphs of the earlier legend are smaller than those of the later one.

(A) *The t[own, which] the mighty arm of Pharaoh, L.P.H., [plundere]d, of <sup>v</sup>Tbniw (= Dibon).*

(B) *The town, which the mighty arm of Pharaoh, L.P.H., plundered, of <sup>a</sup>D . . t d̄niwr.*

(a) At this point, the text of the second version overlaps the beginning (*dmi . .*) of the original legend. The reading of the formal part of the second version is clear after a worn beginning. Of the final proper name,  is clear. Between it and following *tī* there is space of about a square in the break, enough for a large complement like  (or this followed by a tall, narrow sign or group), or else for a small complement like  or  plus a flat, broad sign (or signs) as a middle group or radical. Hence read *Dt* or *D-?-t*. The groups *d̄*, '*inīw*' and *r* are tolerably clear after study. Above , the first determinative of the name seems clearly to be the grasshopper or locust, . This *d̄niwr* or syllabic *d̄inūr* reminds one of *d̄nr(yt)*, the New Kingdom writing of older *d̄yrt*, 'scorpion' (*Wb.* v, 526, 15-527, 5).

But on the analogy of *marom* 'height' determined by  and *šalom* 'salaam' by ,<sup>2</sup> one expects rather that *d̄inūr* should bring to mind some Semitic word for locust or grasshopper. In Hebrew, there is *šēlāšal*, 'whirring locust' (Deuteronomy 28, 42) from

<sup>1</sup> Add *šfn*, a Ptolemaic cognate of *šfw* (*Wb.* IV, 460, 3).

<sup>2</sup> Burchardt, *Altkaananäischen Fremdworte* II (1911), nos. 471 (end) and 870.



as our 'new' toponym. I have so far no useful suggestion to make for the location of this place in Syria or Phoenicia.

(b) Of the original place-name, prolonged study obtained the shaft of 𐀓, a clear 𐀓 and the leg of 𐀓 with foot now missing. Below this group a chick (*w*) a little off-centre, then clear *in* followed by tops of *iw*, a transverse gash (accidental?) and 𐀓. Hence the reading *Ti-bw-iniw*, syllabically *Tabumu* or *Tibumu*<sup>1</sup>—surely none other than Dibon or Daibon (modern Dhibān), a famous Moabite town mentioned on the Moabite Stone and often in the Old Testament.<sup>2</sup> This name has not hitherto been attested with certainty in any Egyptian text. The *Tpn* (syllabic *Ti-pu-nu*), No. 98 of the great Asiatic list of Tuthmosis III, has sometimes been identified with Dibon,<sup>3</sup> but also (perhaps more plausibly) with a Judaeian Dibon (Nehemiah 11, 25) of uncertain location in W. Palestine.<sup>4</sup>

#### V. Over chariot-team.

*First great horse of His Majesty, Victory in Thebes<sup>a</sup>, belonging to the stable of Usimarē Setepenrē, beloved of Amūn.*

(a) Favourite horse-name of Ramesses at the Battle of Qadesh; references, Gardiner, *Qadesh Inscriptions*, 36. Cf. also in Karnak series, Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Taf. 54 (top register, left (west) of door; collated), plus scene in middle register to right (east) of door (after my own copy).

#### VI. Second rhetorical text.

(1) *The good god, raging<sup>a</sup> lion . . . . . [of] (2) valour, brave like Montu, (3) fighting with<sup>b</sup> millions, protecting<sup>c</sup> his army, (4) . . . . . ing<sup>d</sup> hundreds of thousands<sup>e</sup>, . . . . . his . . . . .<sup>e</sup> (5) in multitudes, whose (??)<sup>f</sup> heart . . . . . his valour, (6) (even) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimarē Setepenrē, Horus (or, Hawk) rich in strength.*

(a) Read *nš[ni]*.

(b) *ḥ* *n*, not in *Wb.*, is also attested in the Karnak reliefs of Sethos I (war in Amurru), Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Taf. 53, line 4 over fallen foes. Compare also Abridged Marriage Stela of Ramesses II, line 13: *iryw-n-ḥ n Kmt*, 'allies in fighting against Egypt', Lefebvre, *Ann. Serv.* 25 (1925), 40; cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 22 (1936), 175.

(c) No determinative to *mk* as often; all signs down to the end of the column are badly worn.

(d) Looked like 𐀓; not *stī* 'shoot'??

(e) Illegible.

(f) *Ywib* seems clear. After it, perhaps *f* and *mḥ*, but dubious; then a break before *pḥty:f*.

<sup>1</sup> See Helck, *Beziehungen*, 589, 598, for *ti* as Semitic initial *d* and its vocalic coefficients.

<sup>2</sup> See A. van Zyl, *The Moabites* (1960), passim, especially 39–40, 77–80.

<sup>3</sup> With caution by Burchardt, *Altkanaän. Fremdw.*, II, no. 1085; Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930), 58, 17; and formerly Albright, *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (1934), p. 63, XIX, D, 3 (but rejected in *BASOR* 125 (1952), 9 n. 7).

<sup>4</sup> E.g., Tell Dibbin; cf. van Zyl. op. cit., 39–40, and Jirku, *Die äg. Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen (Klio, Beiheft 38, 1937)*, 15, n. 5 for references. Limited archaeological investigation suggests that Moabite Dibon was not properly occupied in the time of Tuthmosis III or during the 18th to 14th centuries B.C. generally. Cf. Winnett, *BASOR* 125 (1952), 19–20; Tushingham, *ibid.* 133 (1954), 11 n. 5; and esp. Morton, *ibid.* 140 (1955), 6 (on the lack of Middle and Late Bronze occupation).

## Scene C

*Description:* The sculptures here are so worn as to be hardly visible except under close and prolonged scrutiny. At the right, there seem to be traces of two of the usual Asiatic forts one above the other. The upper one at least has suppliant Asiatics on the ramparts. With its left edge overlapped by the mosque stairway, the rest of the scene is mainly occupied by the king's horses and chariot facing to the left. At the top left, above the horses, another (deserted) Syrian fort is just discernible. The king stands in his chariot, but has turned round to face right, reaching down with his arms—perhaps to deal with some hapless prisoner.

*Texts* (fig. 2): [I and II (forts at right) are both illegible].

III. Behind and above king, below wing of Nekhbet-vulture.

*May [she]<sup>a</sup> give dominion (?)<sup>b</sup>, all life, stability and dominion before her . . . . .*

(a) Restore ♂, referring to Nekhbet.

(b) Clearly ↑ in my copy, but would duplicate the same term in *cnh*, *dd*, *wss* immediately following.

IV. Upper left fort.

*Town which . . . . . plundered . . . . . : pꜣ [..] k/r-d.*

Unfortunately, the place-name is both damaged and faint. Final *dꜣ* and *⊃* are clear, likewise traces of the *pꜣ*-bird. Between it and the next sign is a break with enough space for one or two broad, low signs. One is tempted to suggest *⊃*, *pꜣ* [*dw n*] *x*, 'the mountain of *x*', but this is wholly beyond proof. After the break, a *k* or *r*. My last collation suggested *k*, but the stroke below it would go better with *r* in group writing. Under the stroke, a horizontal scratch which perhaps is not a sign. The signs of this legend face left like the second versions of A. I and B. IV. I have not been able to distinguish traces of any earlier inscription facing right as in A and B.

V. Over chariot team.

*(First great horse of His Majes)<sup>a</sup>ty, L.P.H., Beloved of Amūn,<sup>b</sup> [belonging to the (great?) stable of] Usi[ma]rēc [Setepenrēc, beloved of Amūn].*

(a) The bracketed part is still buried under the stairway.

(b) This name is attested in two scenes of the Karnak series: bottom register, over first chariot left (west) of doorway (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Taf. 56a), and likewise to right (east) of doorway (own copy). Also, in the scene N. of Hittite Treaty, Karnak (Wreszinski, op. cit. II, Taf. 57a), in the Ramesseum Dapur-scene (ibid. 109), and the Satuna-scene at Luxor itself (ibid. 66/67). Later at Medīnet Habu (*Med. Habu*. I, pl. 10; II, pl. 68).

**Scene D** is buried under the stairway, so we now turn to the upper register (north end) and to:

## Scene E

*Description* (plate V): At the right, one above the other,<sup>1</sup> two Syrian forts of the usual kind. The lower fort is already conquered and abandoned, symbolized by the skewed

<sup>1</sup> For such forts in superposed pairs, see especially the Syrian war-scenes of Ramesses II in the Karnak series, Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Taf. 54a-56.

left jamb of each of its two doors.<sup>1</sup> In the other, Asiatics make gestures of supplication<sup>2</sup> beneath a banner (?) already pierced by three royal arrows. Two small trees or shrubs (partly broken away) occupy the top right-hand corner.

In the centre, facing right, stands the king wearing the Blue Crown and a quiver slung across his back. Having just loosed an arrow, Ramesses has lowered the bow in his left hand, but still holds the right hand aloft as the arrow left it.<sup>3</sup> Behind the king stands his chariot-team, attended by a prince.<sup>4</sup> Below, all armed with large round-topped shields and spears and alternately with *khopesh*-swords and short staves, four soldiers advance towards the king. Above the chariot, two similar groups of five men each (but without spears) do likewise. All bow respectfully forward, especially the two upper groups. *Texts* (fig. 4): I. Upper fort.

*Town which the mighty arm<sup>a</sup> of Pharaoh, L.P.H., plundered:* [ . . . . . ]t?<sup>b</sup>

(a) *Hps tnr*<sup>5</sup> and *hf* (from older *fh*) seem to be first found together in the Memphite tomb of Haremhab, cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 39 (1953), 7, fig. 2, line 8 (also 7 left), unless one allows an earlier date to the example in the *Capture of Joppa* (3, 4-5, Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 84).

(b) Unfortunately, the name of the town is almost entirely lost on a missing fragment. The first group after the break might conceivably be <sup>6</sup>. The marks between this and final  are obscure.

## II. Lower fort.

*The town, which His Majesty plundered<sup>a</sup>, of Krmyn<sup>b</sup>.*

(a) This use of genitival *n* after a parenthetic relative clause occurs elsewhere, e.g. B. IV and F. II, III.

(b) The *k* is damaged but discernible; *r* is lost in the break but for tell-tale traces of the tail. The stroke at right of *r* is all but gone. Between *m* and *yn* are scratches that could just have been a *e* or *\*. This name recurs on the upper fort at the left (west) end of the top register of the Karnak series, in a very similar spelling:<sup>7</sup> . It may also be the *Kr*. . . ., , of the adjoining topographical list.<sup>8</sup>

## III. Above the king. Cartouches of Ramesses II, lord of the two lands and lord of

<sup>1</sup> Similar but more striking, Scene F. Also at Luxor, the sacked city in a devastated landscape, Wreszinski, op. cit. II, Taf. 65.

<sup>2</sup> One offers a child to the conqueror. For this gesture I can find no parallel in other Ramesside war-scenes, although children are sometimes dangled over the battlements (e.g. Wreszinski, op. cit., II, Taf. 58, 145). Presentation of infants as depicted here is found in Theban tombs, e.g. Davies, *Menkheperasonb* (1933), pl. iv.

<sup>3</sup> For this unusual and striking pose, cf. a scene at Medinet Habu, Epigr. Survey, *Med. Habu*, II, pl. 87. It has been suggested (Helck, *Beziehungen*, 248 and notes) that in fact this scene and others may actually be copies of scenes of Ramesses II.

<sup>4</sup> Behind whose shoulders are scratches that may once conceivably have been hieroglyphs, now illegible.

<sup>5</sup> So, rather than *tnr* with *Wb.*, if Albright's suggested etymology (a Canaanite *\*dallu*) has any validity; cf. his *Vocalization*, 62-63, XIX, A, 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Ti* or *ti/tà* in the respective syllabic transcriptions of Albright, *Vocalization*, 63, XIX, D, and Helck, *Beziehungen*, 598, 602.

<sup>7</sup> Collated by me. So, with Müller, *Egyptol. Researches*, II, 105, fig. 31a, and not *Qrmyn* with Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Taf. 54a (and Helck, op. cit. 222, III). *Krmyn* may possibly be the same as *Qrmn* identified by Helck, op. cit., 221, 20, with El-Qalamun, 6 km. south-west of Tripoli.

<sup>8</sup> Simons, *Handbook*, List XXIII, 43, pp. 157/9 (collated).

appearings. In the first cartouche, Ma<sup>c</sup>et is enthroned and grasps the *wsr*, not squatting (♁) as Kuentz gives.

IV. Behind the king.

*All protection, life, stability (and) dominion attend him.* The final *nb* after *h:f* seems

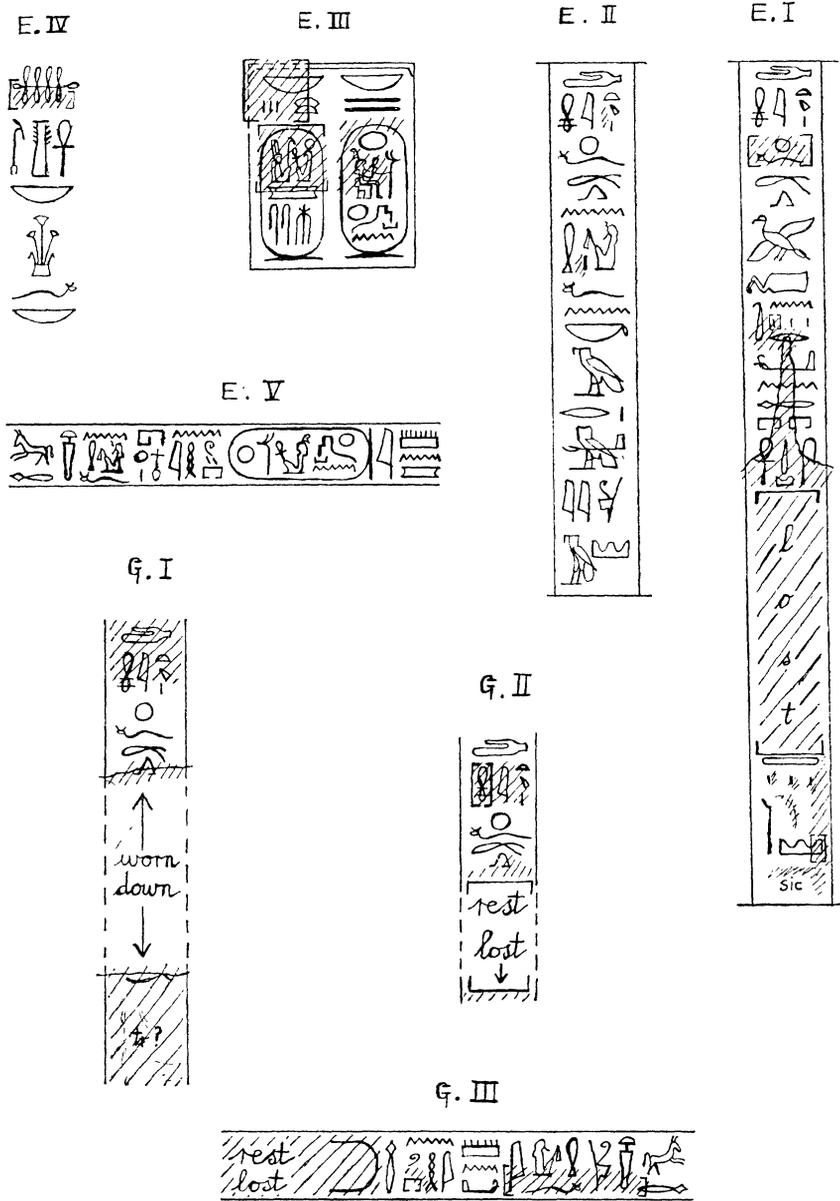


FIG. 4. Texts of Scenes E and G.

meaningless in this tag; perhaps it simply serves to enforce visual conformity upon the group (as each preceding group ends with *nb*).

V. Over chariot-team.

*First great horse of His Majesty, Happy Day<sup>a</sup>, belonging to the<sup>b</sup> stable of Usimarēc Setepenrēc beloved of Amūn.*



LUXOR TEMPLE, COURT OF RAMESSES II. EAST WALL (EXTERIOR). SCENE E



LUXOR TEMPLE, COURT OF RAMESSES II. EAST WALL (EXTERIOR). SCENE F

(a) This refers to only one of the two horses, not the span; cf. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (1960), 18. I have found no other example of *Hrw nfr* as a horse-name in Ramesside war-scenes.

(b) So, without the *ꜥ*, 'great', that often qualifies *ih* in these contexts.

### Scene F

*Description* (plate VI): As in Scene E, two forts at right. The upper one contains suppliant Asiatics, while the lower one is already abandoned, with doorways askew. Facing them, the king (wearing a simple lappet wig) stands in the centre of the scene brandishing a bow in his left hand and a *khopesh*-sword in his uplifted right. Behind him at the left waits his chariot-team. One prince bows to the king from beside the chariot, while two others hold the horses. Armed like the men of Scene E (but with spears), two files of nine soldiers each advance towards the king, one file above the chariot, the other below it.

*Texts* (fig. 5): I. Rhetorical text over the upper fort.

(1) *The ruler[s]<sup>a</sup> and chiefs who know not* (2) [*E*]<sup>a</sup>*gypt. They speak in* (3) [*paying homage (to)*]<sup>b</sup> *His Majesty,* (4) *they [magnify?]<sup>c</sup> his valour: 'Thou art<sup>d</sup>* (5) . . . . . (6) [*how great is*]<sup>e</sup> *thy [valour]. Grant* (7) [*us the brea*]<sup>f</sup>*th of thy giving* (8) [*who se(rve)*]<sup>g</sup> *thy two serpent goddesses.'*<sup>h</sup>

(a) For restorations, see fig. 5. Very little is missing in lines 1 (of *wꜣw*) and 2 (of *hmw kmt*), thus controlling the possibility of restorations for the rest, e.g. just room for radicals of the verb at the beginning of line 3, to follow *m* (1.2.) and to take the surviving determinatives (see next note).

(b) The determinative *ꜥ* indicates some word for praising, adoring, making obeisance or the like. The apparent traces of *ꜥ* indicate the lost verb as *swꜣš*. Compare the legend to a presentation-scene of Sethos I at Karnak, over prisoners:<sup>1</sup> (1) '*the chiefs of foreign lands who know not Egypt* (*hmw Kmt*) . . . . . (3) . . . . . *They say, magnifying* (*sꜥ*) *His Majesty and* (4) *praising* (*swꜣš*) *his victories, 'Hail to thee . . . . .'. Also, praising* (*swꜣš*) *this god* (*Med. Habu*, I, pl. 43, 20).

(c) If *sn* above *ph̄ty·f* is suffix to a verb now lost, one may restore something like *sꜥ* 'magnify'. Compare the Karnak legend cited in note (b) above; also in a rhetorical legend (last line) in the 'Karnak Series', Amūn is one who '*magnified his* (R's) *valour*'.<sup>2</sup>

(d) *Tw·k* begins the words of the suppliants; what line 5 contained is beyond restoring. In a similar speech, Ramesses III is addressed as 'Thou art Rēꜥ, O goodly ruler' (*Med. Habu*, II, pl. 100, line 20, cf. Edgerton-Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, 105).

(e) I venture as a suggestion [*ꜥ·wy ph̄*]*ty·k*; *ꜥ* is clear, and *ꜣ* possible. Compare exactly this phraseology before the phrase *im̄i n·n tꜣw n didi(·k)* over the prisoners in the presentation-scene in the Karnak Series, Wreszinski, op. cit. II, Taf. 56a (line 5 of legend).

An alternative would be [*wꜣ ph̄*]*ty·k*, e.g. *Med. Habu*, I, pl. 43, 21; 44, 19.

(f) Restorations already appositely indicated by Kuentz, *Ann. Serv.* 22 (1922), 234,

<sup>1</sup> North wall, great Hypostyle Hall, on bottom register and to left (east) of doorway and heraldic scene, Sander-Hansen, *Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie* (Bibl. Aeg. IV, 1933), 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Taf. 56a, over first chariot from right.

n. 1, quoting Blackman, *Temple of Derr*, p. 21. As [b3k] has no suffix-subject, perhaps one may understand it as a participle; likewise the Derr example. For b3k-n, 'that we may serve', in this context, see *Med. Habu*, I, pl. 11, 11 (bottom row of captives).

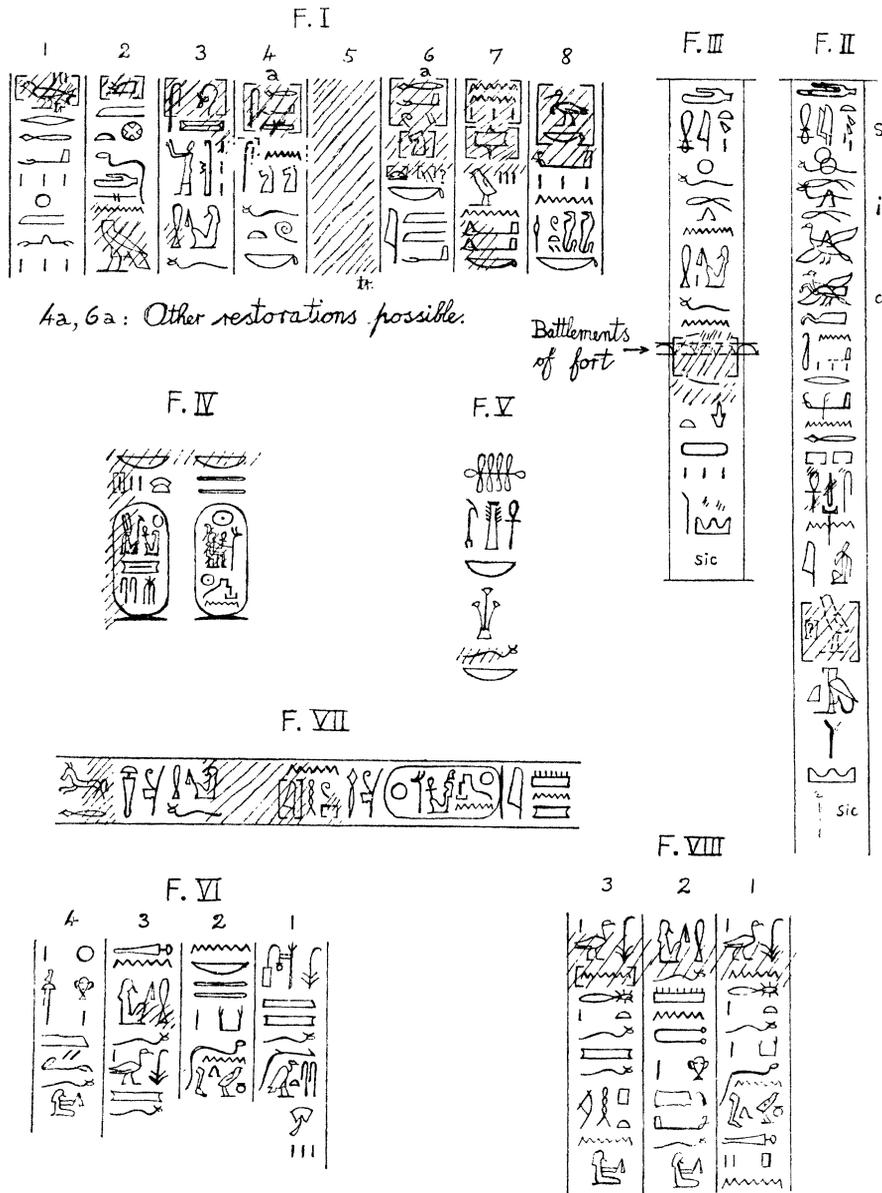


FIG. 5. Texts of Scene F.

(g) *wḏty* for *w(ḏ)ḏty*, 'the twin uraei'. Besides *Med. Habu*, I, pl. 11, 11, cf. the examples given in the autographed Belegstellen to *Wb.* I, 269, 1 that show the same use of *wḏ* for *wḏ* in the Ramesside period.

II. Upper fort.

<sup>a</sup>The town, which the mighty arm of Pharaoh, L.P.H., plundered, of 'I[p]k<sup>b</sup>.

(a) This legend is palimpsest. As far as can be traced with any certainty (down to

*ḥpš*) the original legend corresponded to the later one and faced the same way (to left) but was written in smaller hieroglyphs. Unfortunately, the original place-name cannot be recovered. Kuentz distinguished  $\text{𓂏}_{(?)}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}$  (*sic*). I had difficulty in seeing these, unless the last sign is the vertical stroke running up across *n* into the base of  $\text{𓂏}$ . The remains of a sign (bird?) can be seen under the 'L.P.H.'

(b) The later name seems quite certain. The head of *w* is clearly visible, and the sign lost in front of it was small, not a full height. In the syllabic orthography, a small sign plus *w* gives a choice between *pw*, *nw* ( $\text{𓂏}$ ), *kw* and *tw*. From theoretical *Ḥpk*, *Ḥnk*, *Ḥkk*, *Ḥtk*, the obvious choice is *Ḥpk*, 'Apheḳ, which occurs on the same register as *Krmyn* not only here, but also—identically spelt<sup>1</sup>—in the top register of the Karnak series (second scene to left (west) of door, upper fort).<sup>2</sup>

III. Lower fort.

*The town, which His Majesty plundered, of . . . . .t.*

One low group or sign is probably lost between *n* and the line of battlements that cuts across the text. The last group is clearly  $\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}$  *ti*, followed by  $\text{𓂏}$  with scratches (accidental) over  $\text{𓂏}$ . In the space between the break and *ti* can be seen some uncertain marks. One possibility is plural strokes under a low, broad sign: either *ti* again or more likely  $\text{𓂏}$ . This would give [?] -*n-t*.

IV. Above the king. Cartouches of Ramesses II as in E. III.

V. Behind the King. Tags as in E. IV.

VI. Prince by chariot.

(1) *Real Scribe of the King whom he loves, Overseer of Horse* (2) *of the Lord of the Two Lands, First* (3) *Charioteer of His Majesty, King's Son whom he loves, (4) Rē-ḥir-wenmif.*

Rē-ḥir-wenmif, more commonly Prē-ḥir-wenmif, is the third son of Ramesses II in the Ramesseum and Luxor lists.<sup>3</sup>

VII. Over chariot-team.

*First great horse of His Majesty, [ . . . . ] belonging to the great stable of Usimarē Setepenrē beloved of Amūn.* Name is lost entirely.

VIII. Princes holding the horses.

(1) *Bodily King's Son, First Charioteer of* (2) *His Majesty, Mentu-ḥir-khopshef.* (3) *Bodily King's Son whom he loves, Merenptah.*

<sup>1</sup> Collated by me. Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, Taf. 54a right, shows only the group *i*, but I saw sufficient traces of *pw* and *ḥ*; cf. also Müller, *Eg. Researches*, II, 105, fig. 31p, for *w* of *pw* (not *kw*).

<sup>2</sup> Simons, *op. cit.*, List XXIII, 30 would restore in that list (on 'context') 'I[*pk*] from parallel 'I*pk* in List XXVII, 80; cf. his p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Ramesseum (only preserved now in N. list): Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 168b; Porter-Moss, II, 154 (37). Luxor, twice (once destroyed, all but title): Daressy, *Rec. trav.* 14 (1892), 31, 32. Other references, Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, III, 83-84. This prince's main titles seem to be Overseer of Horse and First Charioteer of His Majesty. The numbering of sons used here is that of the main lists: it does not allow for the *s-nsw tpy Amen-ḥir-wenmif* of Beit el-Wali. If he is not identical with Amen-ḥir-khopshef (J. J. Janssen, *Chron. d'Ég.* 38/no. 75 (1963), 33 n. 2), then perhaps he died very early in his father's reign and was omitted from the great lists.

The fifth and thirteenth sons of the lists;<sup>1</sup> Merenptah, of course, eventually became king.

### Scene G

*Description:* As in E and F, two forts at right, both full of suppliant Asiatics. The outlines of the lower fort are badly worn. From the left, Ramesses II charges in his chariot at full gallop over the bodies of his foes, with his bow at full stretch, ready to release an arrow.<sup>2</sup> Over him, a solar disk with uraei. Between the head of the king and the forts, the top of the scene is lost from the horses' heads upwards. The left edge is concealed behind the mosque stairway.

*Texts* (fig. 4): I. Upper fort.

*Town which . . . . . plundered . . . . .* Traces of the place-name subsist, but are virtually impossible to read. Further scrutiny with the help of a ladder by day and night (using a lamp) might yield something.

II. Lower fort.

*Town which . . . . . plundered . . . . .* Everything else is worn away.

III. Over chariot-team.

*First great horse of [His] Majesty, Amūn is Victorious,<sup>a</sup> belonging to the great stable of [Usimarēc Setepenrēc beloved of Amūn].*

(a) This horse-name does not seem to occur elsewhere.

### Scene H

Scene H is, like D, still buried under the stairway. These two scenes have been given letters in the hope that some day the present stairway may be replaced by 'flying' metal steps, enabling the scenes still buried to be cleared, studied, and published.

### General Commentary

#### *Nature of the Scenes*

The layout of this section of the wall appears to follow the general pattern of Nineteenth Dynasty war-reliefs, especially that of the contemporary Karnak series. This last series and the corresponding series of Sethos I on the north wall of the great Hypostyle Hall show one basic arrangement, moving inwards from the ends of the wall to the central doorway (cf. n. 1, p. 48 above).

In the scenes of Sethos I, the division on the wall west of the doorway is clearly one register for each campaign: Hittite, Libyan, Amurru. East of the doorway, the top register is lost, and it is a moot point whether the middle register belongs to the same campaign of Year 1 that is illustrated by the bottom register and commemorated by the larger Beth Shan stela of Sethos I.<sup>3</sup> But in the corresponding Karnak series of Ramesses II,

<sup>1</sup> See Gauthier, *op. cit.*, 90-91, 94-96, respectively for these two princes.

<sup>2</sup> For a closely similar scene (but facing the opposite way), see the third scene from the left (west), middle reg., Karnak series, Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Taf. 55; Porter-Moss, II, 23 (68).

<sup>3</sup> For the wars of Sethos I, see Faulkner, *JEA* 33 (1947), 34-39; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 200-4 and refs. If one insists on making the capture of Yenoam in the Karnak reliefs the same incident as the drive on Yenoam in the Beth Shan stela, then the Karnak middle register (east side) must be of the same date and campaign as the events of year 1 in the bottom register. But there is the nagging possibility that Yenoam could easily have featured not only in the campaign of year 1 but also in some subsequent campaign.

the entire set of scenes seems quite amorphous, and it is impossible at present to attribute them to distinct campaigns with any confidence. For example, one might suggest that the middle register to the west of the Hypostyle Hall's south door constitutes an extract from one campaign: three battle-scenes, each against two forts; presentation of resulting prisoners to Amūn. But what can be said for the registers above and below this one? The top register simply has a series of five battle-scenes—no bringing back of prisoners, no presentation to Amūn or fellow deities. Without such a finale, can this rank as a separate campaign? The bottom register has three separate 'final' scenes: the king leads off prisoners from the battlefield; he leads files of them home in triumph; he then presents them to Amūn. But to all these tokens of success there corresponds only *one* battle-scene against two forts. Can this register rank as the record of a separate campaign, mentioning only two toponyms, despite the full-scale triumph-scenes? If one followed the analogy of the scenes of Sethos I, one might assume either two or three separate campaigns according as one used either the presentation-scenes or the register as criterion for the number of campaigns. While it appears that two names—*Krmyn* and *'Ipḳ*—are common to a single register both in the Karnak series and on the east wall at Luxor (top register in each case), yet this seems to afford no adequate support for a theory relating campaigns to war-scenes such as these. In contrast to Sethos I, Rameses II, one feels, has merely filled three registers of wall with assorted 'captures' from his Syrian campaigns in general and without distinction of date or occasion. Hence my calling the Karnak series 'amorphous', for historically they are.

On the analogy of the scenes on the north and south walls of the great Hall at Karnak (and of the incompletely preserved series on the west wall of Rameses' court at Luxor), one may fairly assume that the presentation of prisoners to Amūn is the subject of the buried Scenes D and H on the east wall at Luxor, or at least of D. In its *final* state, with two registers of assorted Syrian names, this wall was very similar to the amorphous Karnak series of the same king. One may assume that *Krmyn* and *'Ipḳ* could link together the top register of both the Karnak series and Luxor east wall (to which they are common) as each recording names from the same campaign, whenever it was.<sup>1</sup> But nothing more. Shabduna in the bottom register may recall either the Qadesh campaign or some later one.

But in the *original* state of this wall, the two registers referred to two distinct campaigning areas: the upper one to Syria, the lower one to Transjordan (Moab, to be exact). This division is more reminiscent of the separate registers for the Hittite, Libyan, and Amorite campaigns of Sethos I.

### *Rameses II in Transjordan*

#### 1. The Luxor Reliefs

The location of Dibon (B. IV) is well known: the site now called Dhibān 4 miles north of the river Arnon (Wadi Mōjib), east of the Dead Sea. (See map, fig. 6.)

<sup>1</sup> I see no plausible correlation between any of the names in the Karnak series and Luxor court east wall on the one hand and the series of year 8 at the Ramesseum (Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, II, Taf. 90-91), although the Dapur of the latter may perhaps date the attack on Dapur illustrated in the Hypostyle hall of the Ramesseum (*ibid.*, Taf. 107-9) and on the west wall of the Luxor forecourt (*ibid.*, Taf. 78-80).

However, the same cannot be said of the *B(w)trt* of A. I (syllabic *Butar/l(a)ta*) which is described as being 'in the land of Moab'. It is so far unknown in any other Egyptian text, and cuneiform data on Moab have yielded nothing to date. The pages of the Old

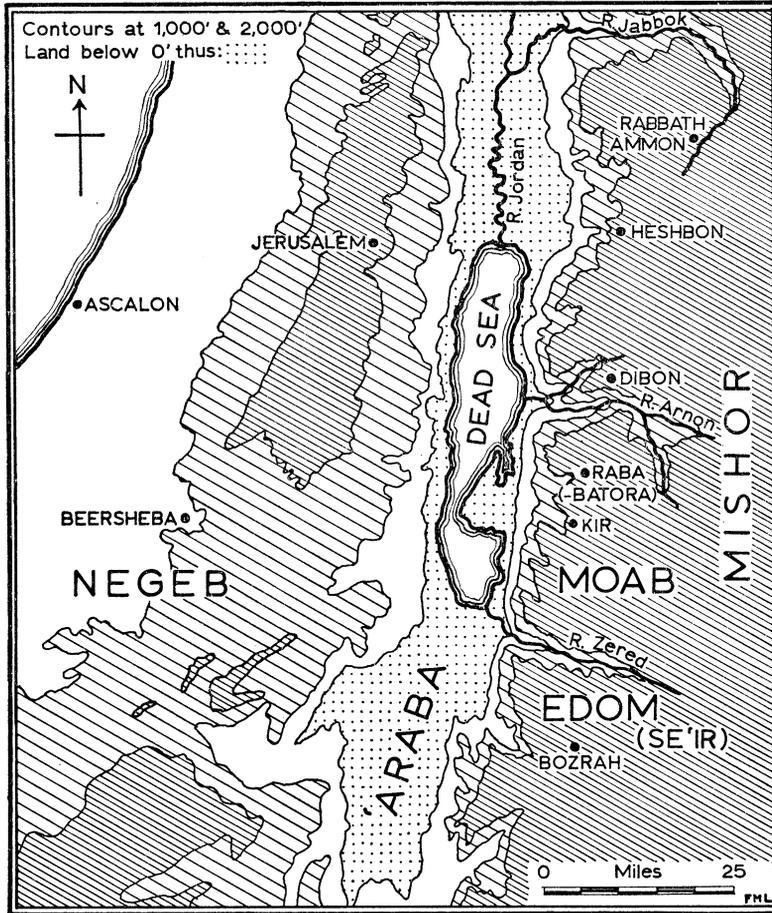


FIG. 6. Sketch-map of South Palestine.

Testament record no such Moabite name,—no \*Boter/leth or \*Betor/leth or \*Boter/lah or \*Betor/lah.<sup>1</sup> But one source of much later date may offer a hint: the Tabula Peutingeriana. On the Roman road from Philadelphia (old Rabbath-Ammon, now Ammān) to Aila (Elath) at the head of the Gulf of 'Aqaba, it names a station Raba-batora situated south of Ammān at a distance of 62 Roman miles (just under 92 km., roughly 57 English miles).<sup>2</sup> Raba-batora is a double name to distinguish this Rab(b)a(th)<sup>3</sup> from the better-known Rabbath-Ammon (Ammān). Raba is present-day Er-Rabbeh, about 23 km. (or 14 English miles) south of the Arnon in the heart of Moab proper. Aharoni

<sup>1</sup> All being possible 'Massoretic' descendants from an older \*Butar(a)ta or \*Butal(a)ta.

<sup>2</sup> For this road and this section of the Tabula, see Y. Aharoni, *Israel Exploration Journal* 13 (1963), 30-42. Also P. Thomsen, *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 40 (1917), map (Taf. I) and pp. 34 ff., on the Roman roads and milestones of this region, with earlier literature.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes marked on maps as Rabbath-Moab, late Greek Areopolis.

identifies<sup>1</sup> Batora with El-Lejjun, about 9 English miles (14½ km.) south-east of Er Rabbah. Now, Batora may philologically be identified with our *B(w)trt*: *Butartu* > \**Botárat* > \**B<sup>e</sup>tōrā*<sup>2</sup> > Gk. *Batora*. But archaeologically, no Early Iron I remains (thirteenth century B.C.) have so far been noted at El-Lejjun.<sup>3</sup> Thus, if the name Batora at Lejjun really does perpetuate that of *B(w)trt*, it must have been transferred there from an earlier site in the neighbourhood.<sup>4</sup> For *B(w)trt* to attract Egyptian attention, one requires a good Early Iron I site within range of El-Lejjun and preferably a strong point of some strategic value not too far from the main north-south route ('the King's Highway') through Moab. Selection of a suitable site is liable to be informed guesswork, but within the definition just set, perhaps Khirbet el-Medeiyina, only 3 English miles (5 km.) north-north-east of El-Lejjun, may be worth considering. It has a strategic position, is located on an easily defensible spur, and shows ruins of a fort; most pottery from the area was Early Iron I.<sup>5</sup> If the connexion between Batora and Lejjun be rejected (perhaps rather unlikely), then there might be good reason to locate Batora nearer to Rabba (associated with it in the Tabula) and the main north-south route. In that case, a site such as El-Mišna<sup>6</sup>, only 4 km. (barely 2 English miles) east-north-east of Er-Rabba, may be considered.<sup>6</sup>

For *Yn(?)d* . . . in the mountain of *Mrrn* (syllabic Mararuna, or with *l* for *r*) I have no real suggestion to make at present, unless this place were perhaps on the spurs of the Moabite plateau to the west of the north-south road, overlooking the Dead Sea.

## 2. Other Data

The new evidence is sufficient to show that the forces of Ramesses II penetrated the debatable territory north of the Arnon (taking Dibon) and probably the heartland of Moab between the Arnon and Zered (i.e. Wadis Mōjib and Ḥesa). One might assume that an Egyptian force came up *via* Gaza and Philistia past Gezer, turned eastward up the Ajalon valley, over the hills of later Judea,<sup>7</sup> across the Jordan near Jericho and

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *U>o* is a well-known vocalic change in West Semitic (e.g. Haṣur > Haṣōr, Ṣiduna > Ṣidōn, etc.), likewise vocalic metathesis. Then a shift of accent to the final syllable would entail reduction of the antepenultimate syllable. Greek did not write murmur-vowels, so in that script the antepenultimate can appear as a full vowel. Final *t*, of course, was early lost.

<sup>3</sup> Although an Early Bronze/Middle Bronze I site (late 3rd-early 2nd millennium B.C.), Nabataean remains, and the Roman camp are all known there. See N. Glueck, *Annual of Amer. Schools of Or. Res.* 14 (1934) = *Explorations in E(astern) P(alestine) I*, pp. 40 (Roman camp), 44 (Nabataean platform), 44-45 (Early Br. Age site).

<sup>4</sup> A phenomenon that is all too familiar in the historical topography of Palestine. Compare, for example, Tell es-Sultan, Tulul abu el-'Alayiq, and Er-Riḥa as successive sites of Old Testament, New Testament, and present-day 'Jericho' respectively.

<sup>5</sup> See description by Glueck, op. cit., 52-53 with fig. 22 and plate 12. On p. 52 the site is numbered 140, but on p. 63 (more correctly?) as 141. (Also, on Map IIIb of *Annual A.S.O.R.* 18/19 (1939) = *EEP III*, the site appears to be put much too far north along the south branch of the Wadi Mōjib or river Arnon).

<sup>6</sup> El Mišna' showed Early/Middle Bronze, Early Iron I/II, and Nabataean occupation; cf. Glueck, *Annual A.S.O.R.*, 14 = *EEP I*, pp. 62-63 (site 137). The similarity between *B(w)trt*/Batora and Batir (about 3.3 km. or 2¼ miles WSW. of Raba) is perhaps only a coincidence (cf. Ordnance Survey Map (1:250,000) of the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan (1949), Sheet 2: Karak, at 35° 42' 5"E., 31° 16' N.; kindly shown me by Mr. A. R. Millard).

<sup>7</sup> On this line of march and 'zone of passage', cf. D. Baly, *Geographical Companion to the Bible* (1963), 92-93 (with Map IX and fig. 19) and 51 (top) respectively.

the 'plains of Moab' just north-east of the Dead Sea. Then it could go up on to the Mishor plateau and strike south to Dibon and over the Arnon to Butartu.

But other relevant evidence needs to be considered: the claims of Ramesses II on Edom (or more precisely, Se'ir). First, the closing lines of his rhetorical stela from Tell er-Ra'âba in the eastern Delta describe the king as:

*Making great slaughter in the land of (the) Shasu,  
He plunders their tells,  
Slaying their (people) and building (sc. anew?) with towns bearing his name.<sup>1</sup>*

The reference to tells and (re)building of settlements suggests more than mere nomads. Beyond the military road across the north of Sinai isthmus, the W. Palestinian Negeb is the first region where such Shasu-tells or settlements might be found.<sup>2</sup> For (re)building, cf. p. 67 below. More general references to subduing the Shasu in texts of Ramesses II are of little help,<sup>3</sup> but the archaeological history of the Negeb which shows practically no settled occupation between the nineteenth and tenth centuries B.C.<sup>4</sup> may suggest that the tells of the Shasu should be sought in another district. The area in question is indicated by two or three other sources from the same reign. One is Obelisk I at Tanis:

*Terrible and raging lion who despoils the Shasu-land,  
Who plunders the mountain of Se'ir with his valiant arm.<sup>5</sup>*

Here, Shasu is by parallelism equated with Mount Se'ir, 'which is Edom' (cf. Genesis 36, 8-9). The second source is a topographical list of Ramesses II at 'Amâra West in which the words *tj š;sw* 'Shasu land' precede and are qualified by each one in turn of the six names *Scr*, *Rbn*, *Pysps*, *Yhw*, *Šm't*, and *Wrbr*.<sup>6</sup> Thus Se'ir is classed as being at least part of Shasu along with the rest. Of the other names, Grdseloff has aptly compared<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (1906), pls. 28, 32. Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 267 n. 1 and *JEA* 10 (1924), 89 and n. 1; Grdseloff, *Revue de l'histoire juive en Égypte* 1 (1947), 78. I render *hr-sn* as 'their people' on the dubious analogy of the common locution *hr nb* 'everyone'—unless 'face(s)' is simply *pars pro toto*. The general sense is unaffected by these details.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly seasonal settlements of tents upon ancient town-mounds, cf. Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert* (1959), 114-15, 131.

<sup>3</sup> And may not specifically refer to Transjordanian Shasu (those of Sethos I were from Sile to Canaan, and on (W.) Palestinian tells or hills; cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, 1, 183\*). These general references include: Tanis, Obelisk V, W. face: *who made a great slaughter in the land of the Shasu* (Montet-Goyon, *Kémi* 5 (1936), pls. 14, 32). Tanis, Obelisk IX, W. face: *who plunders the Shasu-land* (ibid. pl. 23).

Tanis, stela II: *he has destroyed the inheritance of the Shasu-land, and made them (= the chiefs) bring their tribute to Egypt for ever and ever* (Yoyotte, *Kémi* 10 (1949), plate 6, line 11, cf. pp. 63, 64-65).

Tanis, stela V: *who made a great slaughter in the land of the Shasu* (id., ib., 11 (1950), plate 7, line 6, cf. p. 62).

Tanis, stela [VIII], frag. 3: . . . *the Shasu, taken off as ca[ptives . . .]* (id., ib., 12 (1952), 88, fig. 7).

Tanis, stela IX, face B. 3: *who plundered Shasu-land* (id., ib., 13 (1954), 78, fig. 1, 81).

Karnak, south of Hittite treaty and Ascalon-scene: . . . *the Shasu whom His Majesty plundered*, over a file of prisoners (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Taf. 58b; collated).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Glueck, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 32 (1961), 12, 13-14.

<sup>5</sup> Montet-Goyon, *Kémi* 5 (1936), plate 3: Obelisk I, E. face; cf. Grdseloff, op. cit., 78.

<sup>6</sup> H. W. Fairman, *Amarah West I: The Temple* (forthcoming); see provisionally Grdseloff, op. cit., 79-83.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 79-81, a, b, d. His identification of *Wrbr* ('*Urbil*') as the Arbil of Eusebius and particularly with modern Irbid in Transjordan (ibid. 82-83, f) is less certain, as we have no evidence so far for Early Iron I occupation there (cf. G. L. Harding, *The Antiquities of Jordan* (1959), 54-55).

*Rbn* with the Laban of Deuteronomy 1, 1 (and Libnah of Numbers 33, 20–21)<sup>1</sup> and *Šmct* with the Shime‘athites of 1 Chronicles 2, 55, all in the area of Se‘ir/Edom, the Negeb, or the ‘Araba rift valley between them. Thirdly, one may cite a stela of Ramesses II from Gebel Shaluf.<sup>2</sup> On the right edge (among other things) ‘Anath says to the king (*I*) *give to thee (the) Shasu-land . . .*, while line 2 on the front of the stela surely must be read *ḥꜣk ḏw [n] s[ʿr . . .]*, i.e. *who plundered the mountain [of] Se[‘ir]*. Again, Shasu and Se‘ir go together.

This evidence clearly suggests<sup>3</sup> that Ramesses or troops of his raided the Negeb, the uplands of Se‘ir or Edom, and perhaps part of the intervening ‘Araba rift valley. If this be attributed to one expedition, one may assume that the Egyptians crossed the northern Negeb, then descended into the ‘Araba (*via* Scorpions’ Ascent?) and struck up into the hills of Se‘ir. Ramesses III must have done something like this, if one credits his words: *I destroyed the Secirites among the Shasu-tribes, I plundered their tents of people and goods.*<sup>4</sup>

Thus we have evidence for the activity of Ramesses II (or at least of his forces) in both Edom and Moab. But did the undertakings in Edom and Moab form part of one campaign or at least two? This we do not know. If both were raided on one campaign, one may suggest the sequence: eastwards across W. Palestine and the Jordan, then southwards through Moab and Edom (Se‘ir), finally westwards across the ‘Araba<sup>5</sup> and Negeb to Gaza, and home. It is possible (but less likely?) that they might have followed this route, but in reverse.<sup>6</sup> If Moab and Se‘ir were invaded on different occasions, one may suggest the northern approach for Moab, and the southern one for Se‘ir. At this point, perhaps I may hazard a daring suggestion concerning the Setirite campaign. In his survey of N. Edom, Glueck recorded<sup>7</sup> a site (Early Iron age and Byzantine occupations) and its district that curiously enough were named Ramses, about 2 km. (1½ English miles) north-west of ancient Bozrah (mod. Buṣeira). Would it be over-bold to suggest that in fact Ramesses II did have here—and perhaps elsewhere—a fort in his name, as the Raṭāba stela suggests, and that somehow the name stuck ever after?<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not verse 18 as Grdseloff prints.

<sup>2</sup> Ismailia no. 2758. See Goyon, *Kēmi* 7 (1938), pls. 22 right and 21 respectively.

<sup>3</sup> As already noted by Grdseloff, *op. cit.*, 83. His suggestion (pp. 83–85) that the Shasu who spied on the Egyptians for the Hittites near Qadesh and the Shasu of P. Anastasi I, 19, 1–3 are from Se‘ir is rather speculative, as Se‘ir was only one part of ‘Shasu’.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the semi-nomadic element, rather than the fortress-dwellers? P. Harris I, 76, 9–11, cf. Grdseloff, 87–88.

<sup>5</sup> The campaign of the four kings in Genesis 14 follows such a route: straight down through Transjordan into Mt. Se‘ir, and west across the ‘Araba and Negeb before returning north whence they had come.

<sup>6</sup> A little like the early Hebrews who went *via* Sinai and the Negeb into the ‘Araba—but had to skirt round Edom and Moab before taking the Dibon area from the Amorites.

<sup>7</sup> *Annual A.S.O.R.* 18/19 = *EEP III*, 37–38, site 33 and map IIIb.

<sup>8</sup> I have no great confidence in this idea; but compare the suggestion made long ago by Calice, *OLZ* 6 (1903), col. 224, that *ma‘yan-mē-nephtōah* in Joshua 15, 9 and 18, 15 should be rendered not ‘spring of the waters of Nephtoah’, but ‘well (*ma‘yan*) of Merenptah’ (*Mēneptōah* from a form like Meneptāh, showing the common vowel-change *ā > o*, plus ‘furtive’ *a* before the laryngeal). This is plausible (cf. also Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930), 113–14), but doubted by some. The site is now Liftā, north-west of Jerusalem.

*The Campaigns of Ramesses II*

It is difficult to place these Transjordanian activities within the general pattern of Ramesses II's Asiatic wars as at present known, and a summary must suffice.

The first campaign would be that of year 4; the 'middle' stela at Nahr el-Kelb north of Beirût gives this date clearly.<sup>1</sup>

The second campaign—explicitly so called<sup>2</sup>—is that of year 5 in Syria that ended in the notorious battle of Qadesh.<sup>3</sup>

Then, a campaign in year 8 in Palestine, Syria, and Phoenicia is commemorated on the rear face of the pylon of the Ramesseum.<sup>4</sup>

Then comes the south stela of Ramesses II at Nahr el-Kelb, perhaps dated in year 10, indicating further activity in Phoenicia.<sup>5</sup>

At some time in this general period belong the Syrian wars commemorated by the Karnak series of reliefs<sup>6</sup> and related scenes at Luxor,<sup>7</sup> besides other traces.<sup>8</sup>

However, the Egyptians had also to deal with matters nearer home, in Palestine. An undated scene at Karnak showing the submission of Ascalon is usually ascribed to Ramesses II.<sup>9</sup> And in his year 18 is dated a stela from Beth Shan that records virtually no concrete facts,<sup>10</sup> but in itself may indicate activity in that region.<sup>11</sup> This brings us to year 21 and the Hittite Treaty,<sup>12</sup> after which dated records of warfare cease.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 197b; Weissbach, *Denkmäler u. Inschr., Mündung des Nahr el Kelb* (1922), Taf. 9; Porter-Moss, VII, 385; I collated the year-number in 1961.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Bulletin*, 3; Kuentz, *Bataille de Qadech*, 329, and Gardiner, *Qadesh Inscriptions*, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Latest convenient study is Helck, *Beziehungen*, 204-39; add Montet, *Revue hittite et asianique* 18, fascs. 66-67 (1960), 109-15 and *Kémi* 16 (1962), 76-79; A. R. Schulman, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 47-53.

<sup>4</sup> Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Taf. 90-91; Simons, *Handbook*, 148-9; cf. Helck, *op. cit.*, 219-20 and references. The capture of Dapur illustrated at both Luxor and the Ramesseum may belong to this date, cf. p. 63, n. 1 above.

<sup>5</sup> Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, 197 c with *Text*, v, 390 end; Weissbach, *op. cit.*, Taf. 6; Porter-Moss, *loc. cit.* The modern motorway-cutting has made this stela a little precarious of access.

<sup>6</sup> Porter-Moss, II, 23-24 (66-73), esp. Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, Taf. 54-56a (incomplete).

<sup>7</sup> Porter-Moss, II, 108-9, 117-25, esp. Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, Taf. 65-80.

<sup>8</sup> Unpublished and broken rhetorical stela from Tyre (Leclant, *Orientalia*, NS 30 (1961), 394); the 'Job stone' (see below, p. 69, n. 7); and a relief of the capture of 'Irqata at 'Amâra West (*Amarah West I*, forthcoming—my thanks go to Professor Fairman for his permission to mention this fact).

<sup>9</sup> Porter-Moss, II 49 (3), esp. Wreszinski, *op. cit.* Taf. 58. A very close scrutiny of the cartouches both in this scene and in the war-scenes north of the Hittite Treaty (Porter-Moss, II, 47 (1); Wresz., Taf. 57, 57a) shows only the names of Merenptah usurped by Sethos II, and no recognizable traces of the names of Ramesses II. However, the presence of Prince Khaemwas in the scenes north of the Treaty must imply that at Merenptah's usurpation of these scenes all trace of Ramesses' names was expunged. Presumably the same explanation holds for the Ascalon-scene; otherwise, it would have been in order to suggest that Merenptah's name was original, and that the scene was an illustration of the occurrence of Ascalon on his so-called 'Israel stela'.

<sup>10</sup> So, and not year 9, according to Černý, *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958), 75\*-82\*; earlier references, Porter-Moss, VII, 379.

<sup>11</sup> As do the far more explicit stelae of Sethos I (refs., *ibid.* 380, and Helck, *Beziehungen*, 200-1, 203).

<sup>12</sup> Last study with references, Helck, *op. cit.*, 223-31; his paper (p. 646) on *KUB*, XXI, 38 appeared in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 17 (1963), 87-97.

<sup>13</sup> In year 34, Ramesses married a Hittite princess (Helck, *op. cit.*, 231-2; new version of text of Abû Simbel marriage-stela by Černý, Donadoni and Edel, ed. by Centre de Documentation sur l'Ancienne Égypte: C. 17, 1960), and later a second such princess (Coptos stela, Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. 18, 1, l. 7, with an unpubl. fragment, Cairo Cat. 34511, after my own copy; Helck, 233). Of other wars of Ramesses II, little definite is known. For Libya and Sherden, cf. Yoyotte, *Kémi* 10 (1949), 65 end, 67-69. For Nubia, cf. Fairman, *JEA* 34 (1948), 8 and pl. 6, 1.

The foregoing picture may suggest that for his first ten years, Ramesses' Asiatic activities were concentrated on Syria and the Hittite problem. Perhaps this gave way to a stalemate ending in the treaty of year 21. In the meantime, in years 11–20, unrest had developed in Palestine (Ascalon relief; Beth Shan stela; 'Job stone'). Perhaps one may also place the Edomite and Moabite undertakings within this period.<sup>1</sup>

### *Wider Aspects*

The new information about Egyptian activity in Moab cannot fail to be of interest to students of Palestinian archaeology and history, and not least for Old Testament studies.

From the archaeological point of view, the Egyptian data on Palestine east of the Jordan support the general results obtained by Glueck from his comprehensive surveys of sites in that whole region.<sup>2</sup> These surveys have shown a nearly complete lack of settled occupation of Transjordan (south from the Ammān area) during the eighteenth to fourteenth centuries B.C.<sup>3</sup> It is significant that, after the mentions of *Shutu* in the nineteenth century B.C.,<sup>4</sup> no more clear Egyptian references to southern Transjordan occur before the reign of Sethos I, c. 1300 B.C.

In his time Egyptian control in northern Transjordan is evidenced by a stela of his from Tell es-Shihâb,<sup>5</sup> while the Shasu that troubled him from Sile to south Palestine may have originated not only in the Negeb and Sinai but also in the 'Araba or further east. Under Ramesses II the emergence of the new kingdoms of Edom, Moab, and Ammon probably led to internal conflicts in Palestine on both sides of the Jordan,<sup>6</sup> and so to the Egyptian intervention in Moab and Edom that is the concern of this paper, besides continued activity further north hinted at by the rock-stela near Sa'adiya in Bashan.<sup>7</sup> The new concern with southern Transjordan (Edom and Moab) was something unheard-of in the Eighteenth Dynasty. After Ramesses II, Egypt continued to have intermittent contacts with this region.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e. within c. 1280–1270 B.C. on the commonly accepted (and to my mind, still preferable) dates of 1290–1224 B.C. for Ramesses II; or else c. 1294–1284 on Rowton's more recent choice of 1304–1238 for that king (*Journ. Cun. Stud.* 13 (1959), 1–11; *JNES* 19 (1960), 15–22; Hayes, *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, I, ch. 6, p. 19).

<sup>2</sup> Published in his *EEP I–IV*, 1934–51 (= *Annual A.S.O.R.*, vols. 14, 15, 18/19, 25–28). See for a briefer account his book *The Other Side of the Jordan* (1940), 123 ff., 128 ff., 134 ff., 140 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Except in certain important or better-favoured spots (like the Ammān area), cf. G. L. Harding, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 90 (1958), 10–12. Harding's Middle and Late Bronze finds in these limited areas qualify, but do not fundamentally alter, Glueck's results based on very extensive work.

<sup>4</sup> Located in the general region of later Moab, Hebrew Sheth. The parallelism in Numbers 24, 17–18 indicates clearly that Sheth or Shutu is equivalent to Moab—cf. there, Jacob // Israel, Moab // Sheth (English versions, 'tumult'), Edom // Se'ir. Cf. already Albright, *BASOR* 83 (1941), 34, n. 8. *Šwtw* occurs in the Execration-texts (Helck, *Beziehungen*, 50, S. 2, and 60, P. 52–53), and perhaps at Beni Hasan (*ibid.*, 46).

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *Pal. Explor. Fund Quar. St.*, 1901, 347 (fig.), 348 ff.; other references, Porter–Moss, VII, 383.

<sup>6</sup> Such as those recorded on the Beth Shan stelae of Sethos I (Pahil is just east of the Jordan), and compare the tradition of Moabite interference west of Jordan in Judges 3, 12 ff., not to mention Midianite inroads (Judges 6, 1–6).

<sup>7</sup> The so-called 'Job-stone', Erman, *ZÄS* 31 (1893), 100–1, with which should be compared Albright, *Annual A.S.O.R.* 6 (1926), 45 n. 104; other references, Porter–Moss, VII, 383.

<sup>8</sup> Edomite tribes of Shasu entering the E. Delta in late Dyn. XIX (P. Anastasi VI, 51–61); campaign of Ramesses III in Se'ir (above, p. 67 and n. 4); an Edomite prince in Egypt in David and Solomon's time (1 Kings 11, 14–22); part of the campaign of Shoshenq I (cf. Mazar, *Vetus Testamentum*, Supplement-Vol. IV

For Old Testament studies, the new information has some bearing on the date of the Hebrew conquest of central Transjordan and their entry into W. Palestine, not to mention the date of the Exodus.<sup>1</sup> The Old Testament offers the following sequence of events:

The Moabites occupied not only the territory between the Zered and Arnon rivers (Wadis Hesa and Mōjib) but also at first the area north of the Arnon up to Heshbon, i.e. the plateau of Medeba. But then Sihon—the Amorite king of Gilead, just to the north of this area—conquered the Medeba plateau from the Moabites. The latter were thus confined to the region south of the Arnon.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, a new king, Balak, arose in Moab;<sup>3</sup> the Amorite defeat may well have cost his predecessor the throne.

In Balak's time, the Hebrews had to skirt round the well-guarded borders<sup>4</sup> of Edom and Moab.<sup>5</sup> When they sought passage westwards, through the territory of the Amorite Sihon, he mobilized against them only to be defeated. The invading Hebrews thus took over all Sihon's realm including the ex-Moabite plateau of Medeba as far south as the Arnon,<sup>6</sup> it being assigned to the Reubenites. Thereafter, the Israelites penetrated westwards across the Jordan under Joshua.

Now it would be highly unrealistic to have Ramesses' forces invading the region of Dibon north of the Arnon once the Hebrews under Moses and Joshua had taken over this area;<sup>7</sup> and it would perhaps be preferable also not to have his campaign tangled up with the rather earlier activities of Sihon. It would be much more realistic to suppose a still earlier date for Egyptian intervention in Moab and Edom. Thus one may envisage the following sequence of events: (i) Perhaps in the second decade of his reign (and possibly still later), Ramesses II or forces of his invaded the kingdoms of Edom (Se'ir) and Moab—whether in one campaign or separately is not clear. (ii) Subsequently, Sihon the Amorite seized Moabite territory north of the Arnon, and (iii) Balak succeeded the former (and discredited?) king of Moab. (iv) Later still, the Hebrews skirted round Edom and Moab, and overcame Sihon to pass westwards. Event (i) occurred some time in the first half of the thirteenth century B.C., but the intervals between (i) and (ii) and each successive event are unknown; at least several decades may be involved (except, perhaps, between (ii) and (iii)).

As on other grounds the Hebrew invasion would fall into the second half of the thirteenth century B.C.,<sup>8</sup> the new evidence fits into the existing picture quite well. The Ramesside sources for Egypt's political history and foreign relations are more often tantalizing than enlightening, but from time to time they yield some fresh morsels to fortify our understanding of that age.

(1957), 57 ff.—Negeb and across the Jordan). Also (end of Dyn. XX?) the writer of Pap. Moscow 127 (5, 5) envisages relations with 'those of Se'ir', see Korostovtsev, *Ieraticeskii Papirus 127* (Moscow, 1961).

<sup>1</sup> For the probable date of these episodes on the evidence known hitherto, see Douglas, Bruce, Packer, Tasker, and Wiseman (eds.), *New Bible Dictionary* (1962), 214-16. <sup>2</sup> See Numbers 21, 26-30.

<sup>3</sup> His title, Num. 22, 10. Num. 21, 26 speaks of a 'former king' who lost the area north of the Arnon.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Glueck, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 11 (1936), 142-4, and the site-details in *Annual A.S.O.R.* 15 (1935) = *EEP II*. Cf. also May, Hamilton, and Hunt, *Oxford Bible Atlas* (1962), map on p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Num. 21, 11-20, cf. Judges 11, 17.

<sup>6</sup> Num. 21, 21-25.

<sup>7</sup> Otherwise, one might expect a mention of 'Israel' in the same class of records of Ramesses II that mention 'Se'ir' and 'Moab', before its known occurrence on Merenptah's famous Israel stela.

<sup>8</sup> For which see the reference cited in n. 1 above.

## THE NITOCRIS ADOPTION STELA

By RICARDO A. CAMINOS

THE ancient Egyptian record dealt with in the present paper is a large though incomplete granite stela of the Late Period preserved in the Cairo Museum. The stela is inscribed with a hieroglyphic text which essentially documents the formal entrance of Princess Nitocris into the college of priestesses at Karnak with a view to her eventual accession to the supreme office of God's Wife of Amūn. Princess Nitocris was a daughter of King Psammetichus I, the founder of the Twenty-sixth (Saite) Dynasty, at whose behest she took the veil, so to speak, in the ninth regnal year of that sovereign, which corresponds to 656 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

### Introductory remarks and bibliography

The stela under consideration was unearthed by Georges Legrain while engaged in clearing and strengthening the western end of the great temple-complex at Karnak in February 1897. It was found lying face down in the forecourt of the temple of Amūn near the triple shrine of Sethos II which, as is known, stands in the north-west corner of the said forecourt. The original position of the monument could not be determined by Legrain and still remains problematic.<sup>2</sup>

Transferred from the Karnak temple to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo at an unrecorded date, the stela was registered in 1903 in the Museum's *Journal d'entrée*, vol. vii, under No. 36327, and is now set up in the so-called Late Period Room on the ground floor of the Museum.<sup>3</sup>

The stela, which is of coarse-grained red granite,<sup>4</sup> is incomplete. The upper part is broken off and missing. Although ragged and uneven the plane of fracture is nevertheless neat and distinct in that it has no flaked or worn borders but exhibits, on the contrary, a sharp, well-defined edge which is discernible in the photograph on pl. VII and still more clearly in the line drawing on pl. VIII.<sup>5</sup> In its present mutilated condition the stela is a rectangular monolith, a large slab about 184 cm. high,<sup>6</sup> 145.5 cm. wide, and varying in thickness from 83 to 85 cm. The volume of the block is therefore 2.25 cubic metres with an estimated weight of 6,007.5 kilogrammes. There is no way of ascertaining how much is lost at the top; there can be little doubt, however, that the

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 451, quoting Parker, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 15, 212.

<sup>2</sup> Legrain, *ZÄS* 35, 12; id., *Ann. Serv.* 7, 56; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, II, 11; Bargout, *Temple d'Amon-Ré*, 52 with n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*<sup>3</sup>, 205 (878).

<sup>4</sup> On this stone see Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 58.

<sup>5</sup> Damage suffered by the stela after its discovery and affecting the uppermost preserved line of text is described below, p. 76 with n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> The maximum height is on the left end: 188.4 cm. The minimum height is in the centre: 179.8 cm. The height on the right end is 184.6 cm.



THE NITOCRIS ADOPTION STELA  
*(photograph taken at Karnak shortly after its discovery)*

surviving portion now kept in the Cairo Museum represents the main body and bulk of the original monument. As far as can be judged from what remains only the face or front of the slab was dressed smooth and carved upon, the sides and back having been left rough, from which it may be surmised that the stela was not a free standing memorial but formed a panel embedded in a wall. On the left side or thickness of the stela, some 105.5 cm. from the top and 83 cm. from the bottom, and much nearer the back than the face of the stone, there is a round cavity or hole about 10 cm. in diameter and 12.5 cm. deep. The function of this obviously man-made hole is obscure to me. Legrain, *ZÄS* 35, 16, described it as a bolt-hole and concluded from its position that the slab had been 'le montant gauche d'une porte monumentale'.

The inscribed field, as preserved, is framed around and divided horizontally by thin incised lines. The width of the inscribed field between the frame lines is 138.5 cm. at the top and 140.4 cm. at the bottom, with margins on either side which vary from 2.5 to 3.5 cm. The distance between the horizontal dividing lines is from 5.7 to 6 cm., but the last inscribed band, which is an addendum to redress an omission in the body of the text, is only 4.7 cm. high. The lowest framing-line is 8.5 cm. from the bottom of the stone. There is no trace of colour anywhere.

Thirty-one horizontal lines of hieroglyphic text are preserved; just how many lines of writing are missing at the top of the stone is unknown. The uppermost hieroglyphic line extant, marked no. 1 on pl. VIII, is badly damaged and for the most part lost, while the rest of the inscription (ll. 2-31) is in an excellent state of preservation. The text runs in the normal direction, from right to left. The hieroglyphs are cut in shallow sunk relief, entirely without interior detail. The style of the signs leaves much to be desired; they are often too thin and of ungainly appearance, the coarse grain of the stone having by no means helped the efforts of the rather indifferent craftsman who carved them. An average full-height  $\downarrow$  measures 4 cm., while a full-breadth — averages 3.7 cm.

Georges Legrain made the text available to scholars for the first time in *ZÄS* 35 (1897), 16 ff. For an *editio princeps*, published with commendable dispatch, the Legrain copy must be deemed extremely good. It contains very few misreadings, its main shortcoming being the method chosen to reproduce the text, which is printed in run-on lines of type from the Theinhardt fount. Short excerpts from the text were included by Erman in his *Aegyptische Chrestomathie* (1904), 83 ff. Subsequently, in 1940, the text was reproduced in its entirety in Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, Textanhang 2. Both Erman's and Sander-Hansen's editions are hand-drawn, but in executing them the authors made no effort to achieve faithful reproductions of the original; these editions merely reproduce the Legrain copy and therefore possess no independent value. There seems to be no other publication of the text; apparently the Legrain edition has been the basis of all work and research done on this remarkable document since its discovery over sixty-seven years ago.

So far as I can determine there are only two translations of the stela in print. One, the earlier, is by Erman in *ZÄS* 35, 24 ff., published in 1897. The other is to be found in Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, §§ 935 ff., which appeared in 1906. Breasted's English version is avowedly largely based on Erman's German rendering.

Unanimously recognized as one of the most important records surviving from the Saite period, the stela has been repeatedly utilized and quoted. Scholars have on the whole adhered to the substance of the rendering and interpretation set forth six decades ago by Erman and Breasted, deviating therefrom on points of detail only. I have made full use of my predecessors' works; for practical reasons I have, however, abstained both from giving details of my borrowings and from indicating explicitly just where my hieroglyphic readings or my translation or my interpretation are at variance with the readings, translation, and interpretation of previous students of this text. Only very exceptionally have such discrepancies been pointed out in the commentary. Those interested in comparing my results are referred to the literature quoted at the foot of this page.<sup>1</sup>

The present paper is primarily and essentially based on the direct, meticulous study of the original document in the Cairo Museum. The preparation of a natural-size facsimile copy, undertaken chiefly as a practical exercise in epigraphy and also as part of an inquiry into the palaeography of the Late Period, occupied me intermittently from 1959 to 1963; the resulting facsimile is shown on a 1:4 reduction on pls. VIII-X.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following references are listed chronologically, ranging from 1897 to 1963: Legrain, *ZÄS* 35, 16 ff.; Erman, *ZÄS* 35, 24 ff.; Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient classique*, III, 493; Bénédite, *Sur un étui de tablette*, 9 ff.; Budge, *History of Egypt*, VI, 206; Maspero, *Ann. Serv.* 5, 88 ff.; Erman, *Aeg. Chrest.*, 39\* ff.; Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, I, 260 n. 2; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, III, 337; Legrain, *Ann. Serv.* 7, 48 f., 56 f., 191 f.; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, IV, §§ 935-58; Buttes, *The Queens of Egypt*, 218 f.; Ranke, *ZÄS* 44, 51; Griffith, *Catalogue Dem. Pap. Rylands Library*, III, 72 ff., 78 n. 11, 89 n. 1; Breasted, *History of Egypt*<sup>2</sup>, 567; Steindorff, *Abhand. Leipzig*, 1909, 888 f.; Legrain, *Rec. trav.* 36, 63; Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, IV, 83 n. 2, 84 n. 2; Kuentz, *BIFAO* 14, 254; Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 18, 30 ff.; Knight, *Nile and Jordan*, 315; Moret, *Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne*, 407 f.; Hall in *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, 286, 294, 307; Roeder, *Statuen ägyptischer Königinnen*, 8 (cf. id., *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 436); Moret, *L'Égypte pharaonique*, 547; Gauthier in *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, I, 204; Erman, *Religion der Ägypter*, 319; Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Égypte*, p. ix n. 2; Kees, *Nachr. Göttingen*, N.F. 1, 96 (cf. Sauneron and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 50, 201); id., *ZÄS* 72, 47 f.; Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchesneferibre*, 2; id., *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 10 (Nos. 26, 27), 30, 43; Vandier, *Religion égyptienne*, 151; Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrer in Ägypten*, 64, 66; Lichtheim, *JNES* 7, 164; Macadam, *Kawa*, I, Text, 119 f., 124 n. 6, 126, 128 (cf. Leclant and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51, 34 f.); Scharff and Moortgat, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum*, 182; Van Wijngaarden, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen*, N.R. 32, 19 f.; Yoyotte, *Rev. d'Ég.* 8, 232 (cf. Christophe, *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 35, 147 n. 1); Elgood, *Later Dynasties of Egypt*, 77 f.; Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 133; Christophe, *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne*, Sér. iv, fasc. 3-4, 232 ff.; Kees, *Priestertum*, 266 f., 276 f., 281; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 15; Edwards, *BM Quart.* 19, 82; Christophe, *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 35, 144, 147 with n. 1 (cf. id., *BIFAO* 55, 78 n. 1; *Ann. Serv.* 54, 93 with n. 5); Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord*, IV, 127 f.; Otto, *Ägypten: Der Weg des Pharaonenreiches*<sup>2</sup>, 233; Helck and Otto, *Kleines Wört. der Ägyptologie*, 125 f.; Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 29, 50, 67; Leclant, *Rev. hist. rel.* 151, 130; id., *JNES* 13, 160 n. 32; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 231 ff.; Kees, *Mitt. Inst. für Orientforschung* 6, 165 (cf. id., *ZÄS* 58, 99; Vandier, *Papyrus Jumilhac*, 25 n. 1, 58 n. 4); Drioton, *L'Égypte pharaonique*, 178 f.; Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 15; Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 239, 264, 268, 275; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 354; Drioton and Vandier, *Égypte*<sup>4</sup>, 577 f.; Kees, *ZÄS* 87, 62; Goedicke, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 18, 48; Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 5; Vandier, *Papyrus Jumilhac*, 58 with nn. 3-4; 77 f. (cf. id., *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 14, 212); Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne*, III, 116.

<sup>2</sup> The work was carried out during three full weeks in July-Aug. 1959, a week in Nov. 1960, and a week in Oct. 1961. In Sept. 1962 a final collation was made, and outstanding problems were rechecked and resolved on Jan. 23, 1963. I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Victor Antun Girgis and Mr. Gamal Salem, Chief Keeper and Keeper of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, for the liberal facilities of work afforded me, including the loan of a ladder, drawing-board, and spot-lights. Special thanks are also due to Mrs. Martha Hough, formerly of Pembroke College, and Mr. Carlos H. Caminos of Brown University, who painstakingly and accurately inked in my pencil facsimile. The photograph on pl. VII was taken at Karnak shortly after the

### Translation

[THE BEGINNING OF THE TEXT IS LOST] . . . ‘. . . . (1) to play the sistrum [before] him in . . . . who perceives his goodness (?) and he knows him as one heavy of wrath (also). I have acted for him as should be done for my father. (2) I am his first-born son, made prosperous by the father of the gods, fulfilling the ritual requirements of the gods; (a son) whom he begat for himself in order to gratify his heart. I have given to him my daughter to be God’s Wife and have endowed her better than those who were before her. Surely he will be gratified with her worship and protect the land of (3) him who gave her to him. Now then, I have heard that a king’s daughter is there, (a daughter of) the Horus Lofty-of-diadems, the good god [Taharqa], justified, whom he gave to his sister to be her eldest daughter and who is there as Adorer of God. I will not do what in fact should not be done and expel an heir from his seat, seeing that I am a king who loves (4) truth—my special abomination is mendacity—and (that I am) a son who has protected his father, taken the inheritance of Geb, and united the two portions as a youth. I will give her (my daughter) to her (Taharqa’s daughter) to be her eldest daughter just as she (Taharqa’s daughter) was made over to the sister of her father.’

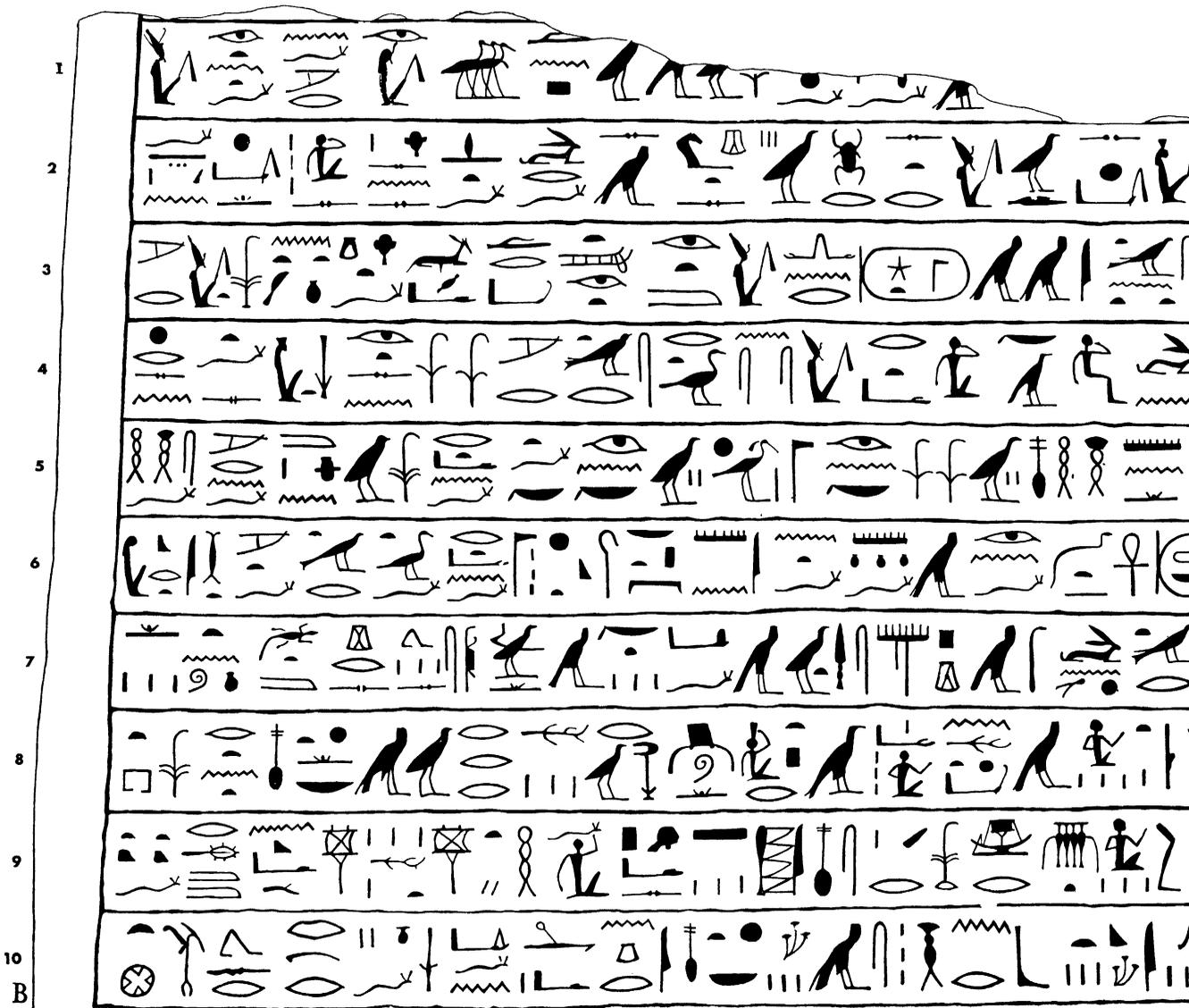
Then they (5) pressed the forehead to the ground and gave thanks to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Wahibrēt, may he live for ever; and they said: ‘Firmly and enduringly till the end of eternity your every command will be firm and enduring. How good is this which God has done for you! How advantageous is what your father has done for you! He put (it) in the heart of him whom he loved that he should cause (6) his procreator to thrive upon earth, seeing that he wants your personality to be remembered and rejoices at men pronouncing your name: The Horus Great-of-heart and King of Upper and Lower Egypt Psammetichus, may he live for ever, he made as his monument for his father Amūn, lord of heaven, ruler of the Ennead, the giving to him of his beloved eldest daughter Nitocris, (7) her fair name being Shepenwepe, to be God’s Wife and play the sistrum to his fair face.’

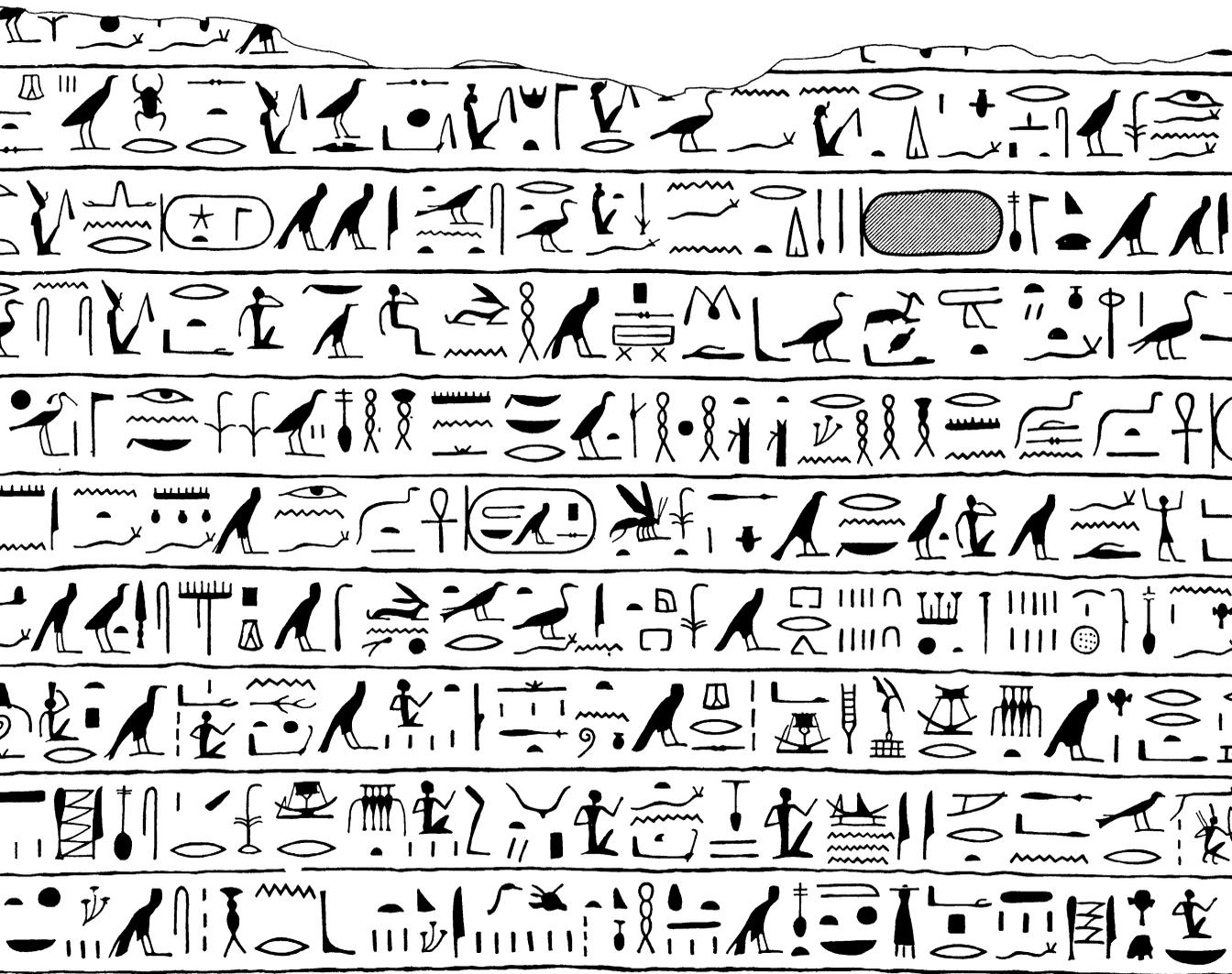
Regnal year 9, first month of Akhet, day 28: Departure from the king’s private apartments by his eldest daughter clad in fine linen and adorned with new turquoise. Her attendants about her were many in number, (8) while marshals cleared her way. They set forth happily to the quay in order to head southwards for the Theban nome. The ships about her were in great numbers, the crews consisted of mighty men, all (the ships) being laden up to their gunwales with every good thing of the palace. (9) The commander thereof was the sole friend, the nomarch of Naṛ-khant, generalissimo and chief of the harbour Santowetefnakhte, messengers having sailed up-river to the South to arrange for provisions ahead of her. The sail of the mast was hoisted and the rising wind pricked his nostrils. (10) Her supplies were obtained from each nomarch who was in charge of his (own share of) provisions and was furnished with every good thing, namely bread, beer, oxen, fowl, vegetables, dates, herbs, and every good thing; and one would give (way) to the other until she reached Thebes.

(11) Regnal year 9, second month of Akhet, day 14: Putting to land at the quay of the city of the gods, Thebes. Her front hawser was taken, and she found Thebes with throngs of men and crowds of women standing and jubilating to meet her, surrounded (12) by oxen, fowl, and abundant provisions, many in number. Then they said: ‘Let Nitocris, daughter of the King of Upper Egypt, come to the House of Amūn, that he may receive her and be pleased with her. Let Shepenwepe, daughter of the King of Lower Egypt, come to Ipet-sut, that the gods who are in it may praise her.’

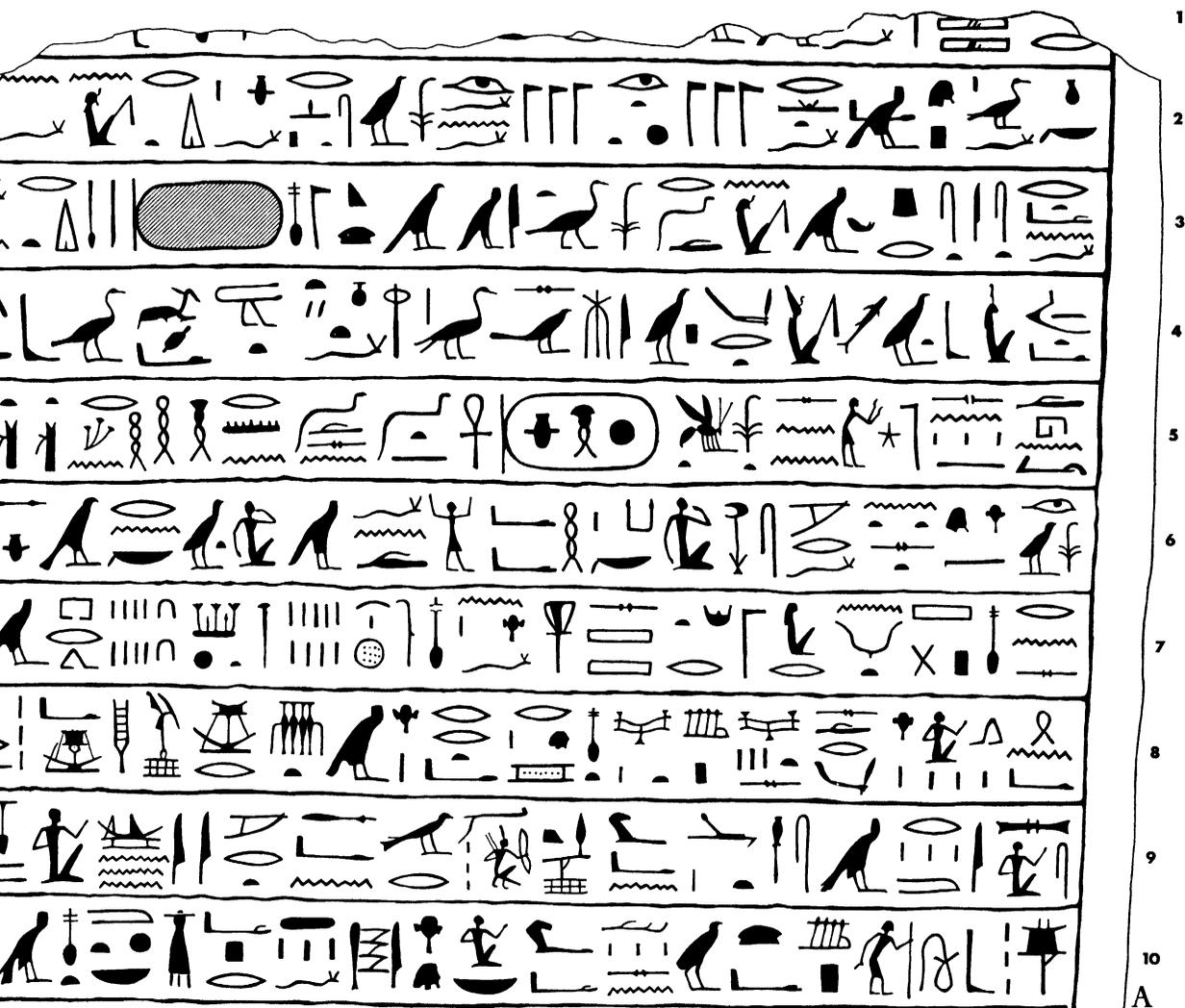
Firm and abiding is every monument of (13) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Psammetichus, may he live for ever unto eternity. Amūn, lord of heaven, king of the gods, welcomed what was made for him by his son the Horus Great-of-heart, may he live for ever unto eternity. Amūn, ruler of the

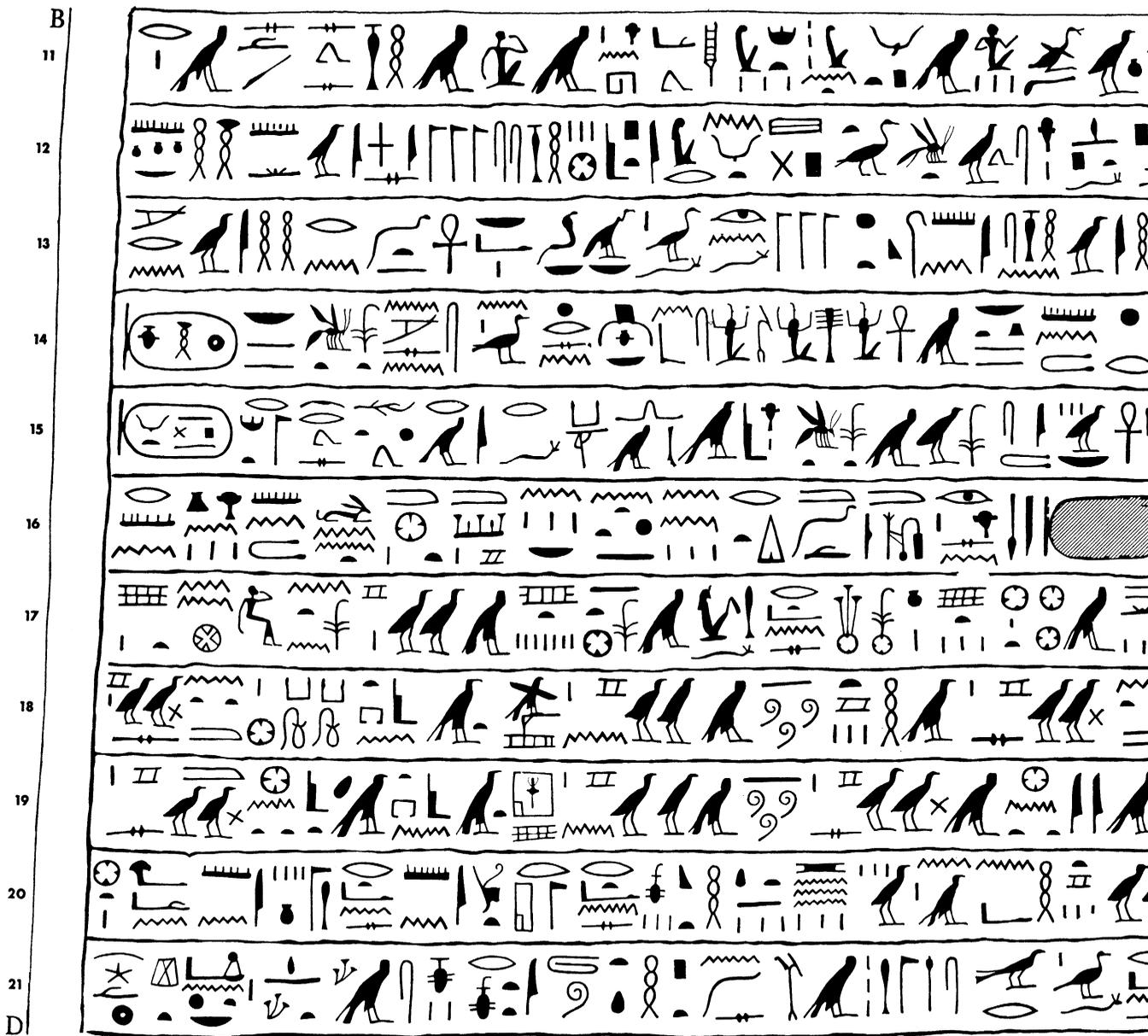
discovery of the stela; the print, here reproduced, is kept in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, and is published by the courtesy of Dr. R. L. B. Moss and the Centre of Documentation, Cairo, where the negative is lodged.

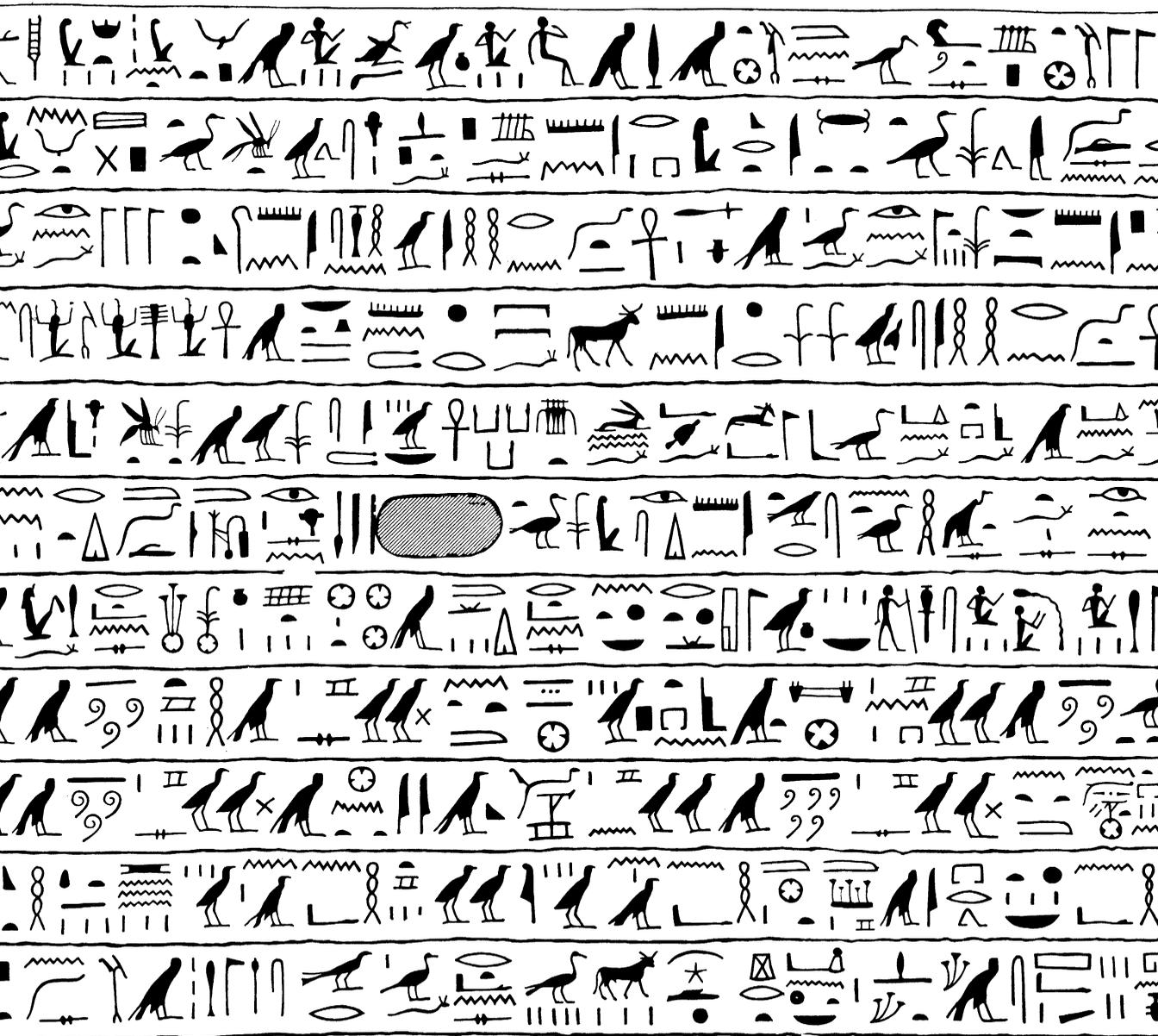




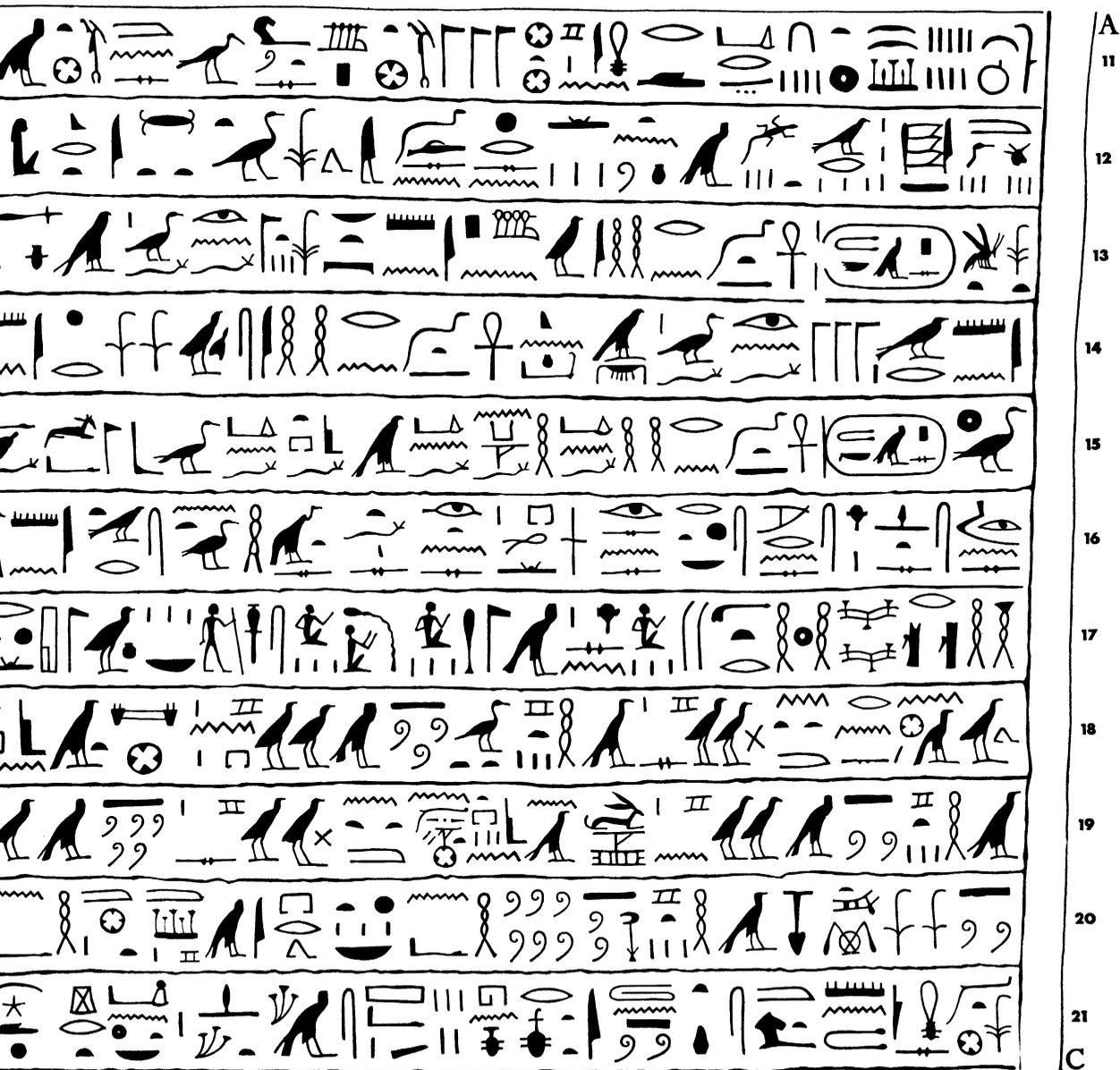
THE NITOCRIS ADOPTION STELA. Lines 1-10. Scale 1:4



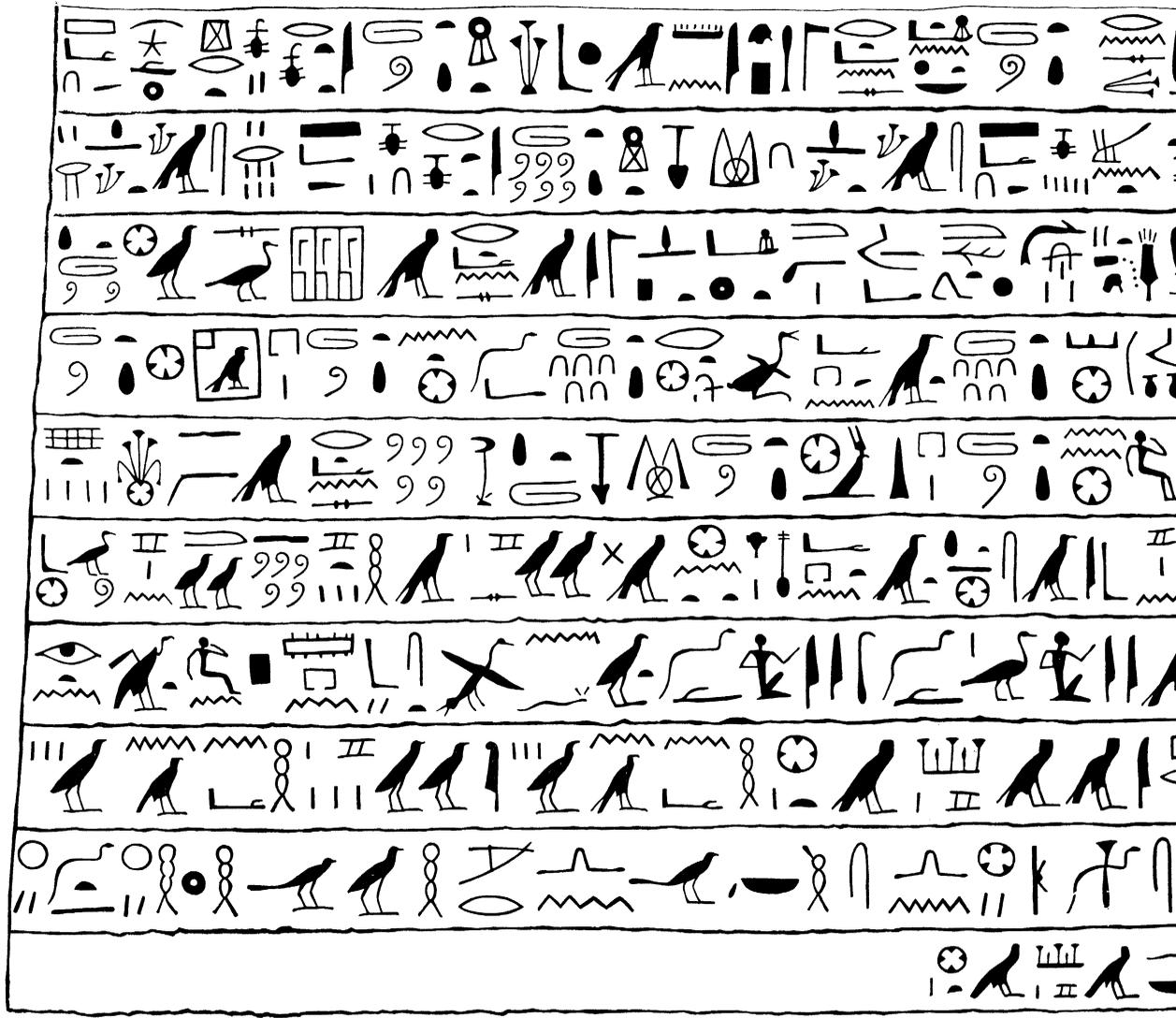


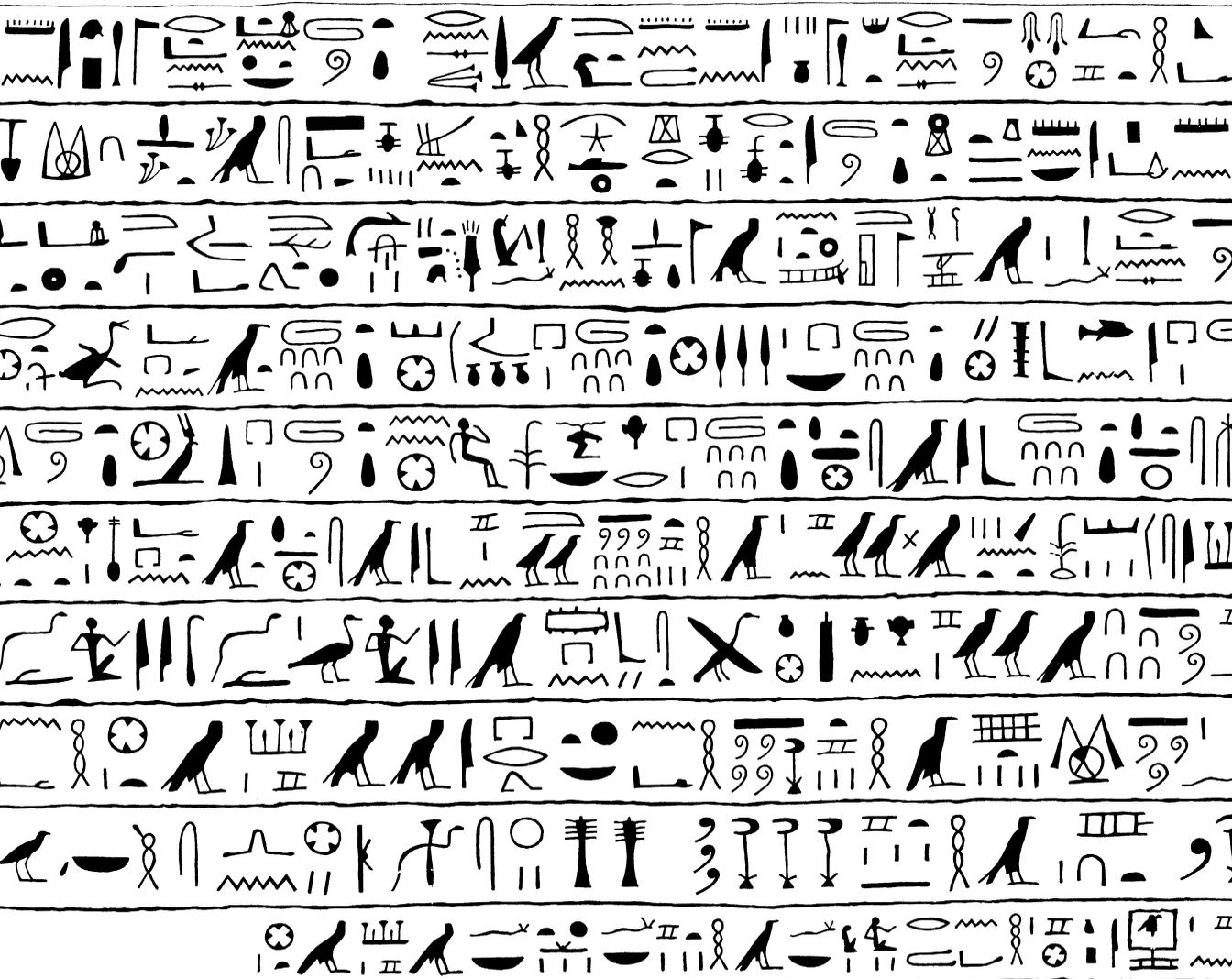


THE NITOCRIS ADOPTION STELA. Lines 11-21. Scale 1:4

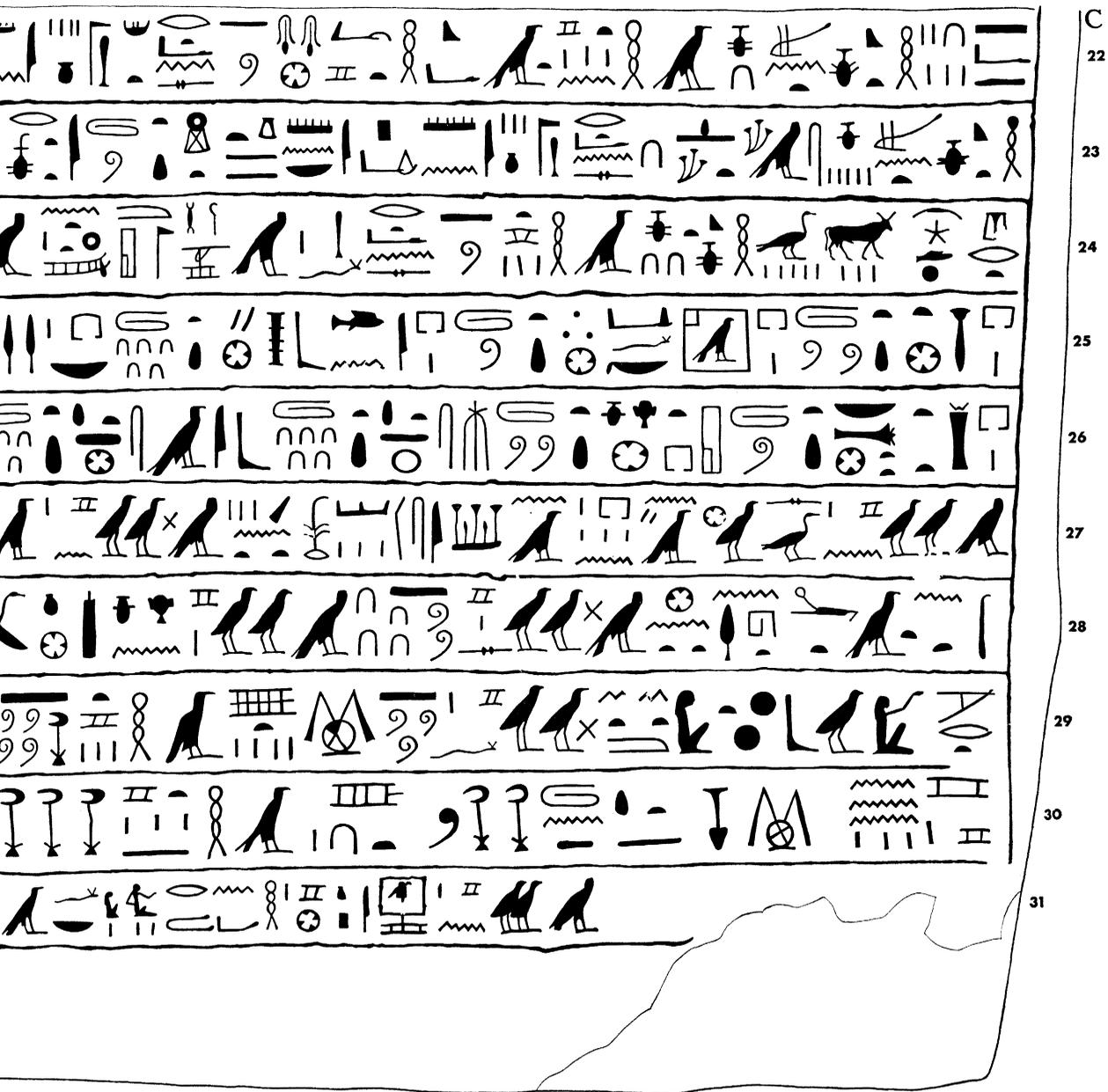


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THE NITOCRIS ADOPTION STELA. Lines 22-31. Scale 1:4



Ennead, praised what was made for him by his son the Two-Ladies Possessor-of-rank, may he live for ever unto eternity. (14) Amūn, the greatest of the gods, esteemed what was made for him by his son the Horus-of-Gold Mighty, may he live for ever unto eternity. The requital for this from Amūn, the bull of his two heavens, and from Mont, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, is a million years of life, a million years of stability, and a million years of dominion; and all health and happiness from them is for their beloved son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands Wahibrē, (15) son of Rē Psemmetichus, may he live for ever unto eternity. <Amūn> has given to him <that he should be joyful> together with his soul, Horus has given to him his throne, and Geb has given to him his inheritance: he will be pre-eminent among the spirits of all the living; in fact he is the King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus, a personality without equal (?).

Now after she came to the God's Wife Shepenwepe, (16) the latter saw her and was pleased with her; she loved her more than anything and made over to her the testament which her (Shepenwepe's) father and her mother had executed for her; and her eldest daughter Amonirdis, daughter of King Ta[harqa], justified, did likewise. Their bidding was done in writing, to wit: 'Herewith we give to you all our property in country and in town. You shall be established upon our throne firmly (17) and enduringly till the end of eternity.' Witnesses of their bidding were all the prophets, priests, and friends of the temple.

List of all the property given to her as a gift in towns and nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt. What His Majesty has given to her in seven nomes of Upper Egypt:

In the district of Ninsu: an estate called (18) Iwna which is in its territory, 300 arouras of field.

In the district of P-emdje: the place of Putowe which is in its territory, 300 arouras of field.

In the district of Dwen-tanwy: the place of Kwkw which is in its territory, (19) 200 arouras of field.

In the district of Wen: the places of Nesmin which are in its territory, 500 arouras.

In the district of Edjō: K̄ay which is in its territory, 300 arouras.

In the district of H̄e-sekhem: the place of H̄arsiēse which is in its territory, (20) 200 arouras.

All this, sum-total: 1,800 arouras of field together with everything that comes forth thence in country and in town, together with their dry lands and their canals.

Bread and beer to be given to her destined to the temple of Amūn:

What the fourth prophet of Amūn, mayor of Nō (21) and governor of the entire Upper Egypt Montemḥat, healthy, has to give to her: 200 *deben* of bread, 5 *hin* of milk, 1 cake, and 1 bundle of herbs in the course of every day; monthly due: 3 oxen and 5 geese.

What his eldest son, the instructor of prophets in Thebes Nesptaḥ has to give to her: 100 *deben* of bread, 2 *hin* of milk, and 1 bundle of herbs in the course of every day; monthly due: (22) 15 cakes, 10 *heben* of beer, and (the yield of) a 100-aroura field belonging to the nome of Tjebu.

What the wife of the fourth prophet of Amūn Montemḥat Udjarens, justified, has to give to her: 100 *deben* of bread in the course of every day.

What the first prophet of Amūn Harkhēbe has to give to her: Daily due: 100 *deben* of bread and 2 *hin* of milk; monthly due: 10 cakes, (23) 5 *heben* of beer, and 10 bundles of herbs.

What the third prophet of Amūn Pdamennebnestowe has to give to her: Daily due: 100 *deben* of bread and 2 *hin* of milk; monthly due: 5 *heben* of beer, 10 cakes, and 10 bundles of herbs.

Sum total: Daily due: 600 *deben* of bread, 11 *hin* of milk, 2½ cakes, and 2½ bundles of herbs; (24) monthly due: 3 oxen, 5 geese, 20 *heben* of beer, and (the yield of) 100 arouras of field.

What His Majesty has to give to her from the temple of Rē-Atum in the H̄eḳ'adje nome in the form

of divine offerings instituted by His Majesty: 3 *khar* of first-class emmer after it has been offered in the (divine) presence, every day, and the god has been satisfied therewith.

What has to be given to her from the temples of: Sais, 200 *deben* of bread; (25) Pi-Edjō, 200 *deben* of bread; Pi-Ḥathōr-mefke, 100 *deben* of bread; Pi-inbwey, 50 *deben* of bread; Pi-neb-imu, 50 *deben* of bread; Pi-manu, 50 *deben* of bread; T-ʿat-en-Tjar, 50 *deben* of bread; Tanis, 100 *deben* of bread; Pi-Ḥathōr, 100 *deben* of bread; (26) Pu-Bast-neb-Bast, 100 *deben* of bread; Ḥat-ḥrib, 200 *deben* of bread; Mest, 50 *deben* of bread; Baset, 50 *deben* of bread; Pi-Ḥershef-neb-Ninsu, 100 *deben* of bread; Pi-Sopd, 100 *deben* of bread.

Sum total: 1,500 *deben* of bread.

What has been given to her in four nomes of Lower Egypt:

(27) In the district of Sais: the estates of the southern bedouin which are in its territory, 360 arouras of field.

In the district of Baset: T-ʿat-en-Nofreḥor which is in its territory, 500 arouras of field.

In the district of Geb: (28) Tent-tawatnuhe which is in its territory, 240 arouras.

In the middle district of Ōn: The-wall-of-Ḥory-son-of-Djedty (also) called The-wall-of-Psherin-mut-borne-by-Mertwebkhe (29) which is in its territory, 300 arouras.

Total: 1,400 arouras of field (in) four nomes together with everything that comes forth hence in country and in town, together with their dry lands and their (30) canals.

Sum total: 2,100 *deben* of bread and 3,300 arouras of field (in) eleven nomes.

Enduring and flourishing! Without perishing nor decline eternally and for ever!

[ADDENDUM IN SMALLER CHARACTERS] (31) In the district of Tawēr: Inup together with all its people, all its fields, and all its property in country and in town.

### Notes on the translation

LINE 1. Read *r sš n ḥr·f* as in l. 7; the broken sign after the suffix *·f* is . For the role of the God's Wives of Amūn as sistrum-players to the god see Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 24; Christophe, *BIFAO* 55, 75 (*b* with n. 1); Leclant, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 15, 170 with n. 7.

Following the long gap, traces and spacing suggest , 'who perceives his goodness'; see, for instance, *Urk.* IV, 347, 14; Cairo 34010, 1 and 34011, 1 (Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 1, 19 and 22 respectively); and further examples in the Belegstellen to *Wb.* II, 8, 3-5; 260, 2-4; also the much earlier parallels quoted by Goedicke, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 17, 75 f.; Fischer, *ZÄS* 90, 39 (8).

Read , 'he knows him', following Legrain's copy confirmed by the early photograph on pl. VII, where all five characters are intact and clearly discernible.<sup>1</sup> Obviously the top edge was slightly injured after the discovery of the stela; the break affected the words *rh·fsw* leaving them in the mutilated condition shown in the drawing on pl. VIII.

*Wdn bꜣw*, 'heavy of wrath' or else 'oppressive of might'. For *bꜣw* as a noun often denoting not just 'might' but angry, punitive, or even vindictive power, especially of a god, cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 122 (§ 192, *i*); 'wrath' is the *mot juste* and was suggested by Gardiner, *JEA* 48, 62 n. 3, apropos of a text which speaks of

<sup>1</sup> This is quite plain on the original print on file at the Griffith Institute; it may not be so distinct on the half-tone reproduction on pl. VII.

'heavy (*dns*) wrath'. Note also *bꜣw·k wdnw*, 'your wrath (*or* might) is heavy', Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42, 25 (iii, 2). As a purely conjectural explanation I would suggest that *bꜣw* was antithetic to the partially restored *nfr(w)*, those two contrasting qualities belonging to one and the same god, namely Amūn, the point being that somebody or perhaps anybody who saw and was aware of Amūn's benignity also knew him to be capable of wrath.

*Mi irt n (i)t·i*, 'as should be done for my father'. The speaker is King Psammetichus I; by 'my father' he probably means the god Amūn.  $\overline{\text{Σ}}$  is a late writing of the preposition *mi*; so too in l. 4 below; cf. *Wb.* II, 37. For the passive participle *irt* expressing moral obligation see Gunn, *Studies in Eg. Syntax*, 103 (top), and Lefebvre, *Grammaire*<sup>2</sup>, § 436, quoting *mi irtt n ntr*, 'as should be done for a god', *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 147. Contrast *mi ir n Rꜥ*, 'as was done for Rē', apparently with no nuance of compulsion, in Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42, 17 (i, 27).

LINE 2. *Sꜣf tpy*, 'his first-born son', to be distinguished from *sꜣ smsw* or *sꜣ wr*, 'eldest son' alive at a given time; cf. Sethe, *Die Thronwirren unter den Nachfolgern Königs Thutmosis' I.*, 59 n. 1; *Wb.* III, 409, 2-3.

*Ht ntrw*, lit. 'things of the gods'; a phrase denoting all that was required by the gods for their daily nourishment, clothing, and so on; cf. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, 19.

*Irꜣ nꜣ sw*, lit. 'he made him for himself', the god Amūn begat Psammetichus I for himself for the gratification of his heart.

*Rdi·n·i*, 'I have given'; note the presumably otiose *t* which often occurs with finite forms of *rdi* in this inscription and elsewhere in late texts; cf. Caminos, *JEA* 38, 52 (12). A *sdm·nꜣ* is here followed by the *sdm·f* 1st sing. of *shwd*, 'to enrich, endow'; cf. the alternation of those forms at the beginning of l. 16 and note thereon on p. 86 below.

LINES 2-3. *Tꜣ n rdi nꜣ st*, 'the land of him who gave her to him', with the sing. masc. active participle of *rdi* showing an intrusive *t* (see immediately preceding note). As an alternative, the *t* may be regarded as the feminine ending of the infinitive *rdit*: 'he will protect the land because of the giving of her to him'; for *n* of cause before an infinitive cf. *n rwd*, 'because of being strong', Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegypt. Sammlung in Leiden*, II, pl. 10, lunette l. 9; and for the objective pronoun *st* after *nꜣ* cf. Lefebvre, *Grammaire*<sup>2</sup>, § 398 *in fine*. For this second possibility see l. 6 of the present stela: 'he made as his monument for his father Amūn *rdit nꜣ stꜣ f* the giving to him of his daughter'.

LINE 3. The Horus *Kꜣ hꜣ(w)* is the Ethiopian king Taharqa (cf. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, IV, 32 ff.), whose nomen-cartouche is thoroughly erased here, as it is also in l. 16 below and elsewhere; the defacing was done by order of Psammetichus II, cf. Yoyotte, *Rev. d'Ég.* 8, 215 ff. and particularly p. 223, no. 55. That the late king Taharqa should be called *ntr nfr*, 'the good god', is noteworthy, for this epithet is applied in the vast majority of cases to the living Pharaoh and only in exceptional circumstances to the dead king.<sup>1</sup>

Taharqa's daughter referred to here is Amonirdis (II); see below p. 86 note on l. 16.

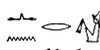
Taharqa's sister alluded to here is the God's Wife Shepenwepe explicitly mentioned

<sup>1</sup> *Wb.* II, 361, 10-14; Peet, *JEA* 10, 126 n. 2; Gardiner, *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia*, 52; Stock, *Ntr nfr = der gute Gott?*, 10 f.

in l. 15 below; cf. Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 10 (No. 26); Kees, *Priestertum*, 266 f.; Macadam, *Kawa*, I, Text, 121 (cf. Leclant and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51, 35); Yoyotte, *Rev. d'Ég.* 8, 219 n. 1. To distinguish her from her namesakes this Shepenwepe, who was God's Wife and sister of Taharqa, is usually referred to in our literature as Shepenwepe (II); cf. Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoxes et les sanctuaires égyptiens*, 3 n. 3.

*S:t-s wrt*, 'her eldest daughter', periphrastically for 'her adopted daughter'; cf. Malinine, *GLECS* 6, 13 f.

*Dwst ntr*, 'Adorer of God'; it might be thought on the strength of this passage that this was the title of the heiress apparent of the *hmt ntr* or God's Wife;<sup>1</sup> such was not the case, however, as shown by other sources; cf. Zeissl, *Äthiopen und Assyrer in Ägypten*, 67. The Adorer of God alluded to here is Amonirdis (II), who is mentioned by name in l. 16 below.

 *mn iw-f(r) sdm* var. *bn iw-f(r) sdm*. 'I will not do what in fact should not be done'. I am indebted to Goedicke for the important observation that  here is a writing of  in the well-attested Late Egyptian construction *mn iw-f(r) sdm* var. *bn iw-f(r) sdm*. For the archetype see the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty Paḥeri example quoted by Gunn, *Studies in Eg. Syntax*, 173 (E), also Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, § 468, 4. For strictly Late Egyptian instances of this construction with occasional omission of the preposition *r*, as is the case in the sentence under discussion, see Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 752; further examples with ellipsis of the preposition *r* are to be found in Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, II, pls. 32 (12, 8), 33 (13, 25); Černý, *JEA* 27, 109 (23) = *ZÄS* 90, 14; id., *Late Ramesside Letters*, 7, 13; 73, 1. For *m* introducing the object of *irt* cf. Caminos, *JEA* 38, 54 n. 35 *in fine*; Jacquet-Gordon, *JEA* 46, 18 (l. 3); and particularly a valuable note by James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, 104, 6, brought to my attention by Goedicke. James points out the emphasizing function of *m* when used in this particular fashion and suggests rendering it 'in fact', a rendering which I have adopted here; the restrictive 'only' proposed by Baer, *JAOs* 83, 5 n. 26, is inapplicable to the present context. For *tm* here cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, §§ 371 and 397; Lefebvre, *Grammaire*<sup>2</sup>, §§ 436 and 456; the masculine expressing the meaning of the neuter is good Late Egyptian usage, as is the infinitive *irt* after *tm* instead of the earlier negatival complement.

LINE 4. *Rdi-i n-s s*, 'I will give her to her'; Psammetichus I states here his intention to give his daughter Nitocris to the Adorer of God Amonirdis, Taharqa's daughter. *Rdi* shows an apparently intrusive *t* for which see remark on l. 2 above. Note the second *s*:  is the writing of the 3rd sing. fem. dependent pronoun in Old Egyptian, but it may be doubted that it occurs here as a deliberate archaism; in any case, the dependent pronoun which is the object of *rdi* stands for Psammetichus I's daughter Nitocris. On the other hand, the suffix  here governed by the datival *n* refers back to Taharqa's daughter Amonirdis, who is the other woman spoken of in this part of the king's speech. It is Amonirdis who is the subject of Psammetichus I's remarks when he says: 'I have heard that a king's daughter is there, a daughter of the Horus Lofty-of-diadems, the good god Taharqa, justified, whom he gave to his sister to be her eldest

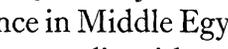
<sup>1</sup> Thus, for instance, Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 15.

daughter and who is there as Adorer of God.' Observe that he is talking of Taharqa's daughter, the reference to Taharqa's sister being only incidental and required to explain the former's position. Taharqa's daughter Amonirdis is heiress to the office of God's Wife, and Psammetichus I goes on speaking of her when he promises not to exclude her from the succession. It is again Taharqa's daughter Amonirdis whom Psammetichus I has in mind when at the end of his speech he explains the sort of adoption which he envisages for his own daughter Nitocris, who is to be made over as eldest daughter to Amonirdis 'just as she (Amonirdis) was made over to the sister (Shepenwepe) of her father (Taharqa)'. In other words: Psammetichus I, who is aware of just how Taharqa's daughter Amonirdis stands in the college of priestesses of Amūn in Thebes, declares that she shall remain undisturbed as Adorer of God and adopted daughter of Shepenwepe, the then God's Wife, and shall thus continue to be the heiress apparent to this exalted religious office. What he is then resolved to do is to give over his own daughter Nitocris to Amonirdis, so that Nitocris, by becoming her adopted child, should be second in the succession, bide her time, and in due course attain to the position of God's Wife at Karnak. It is clearly to Amonirdis, not to Shepenwepe, that Nitocris is made over as eldest daughter or heiress by King Psammetichus I. That is the gist of the adoption commemorated in the stela, as I see it. Erman and Breasted took, however, another view, as did, explicitly or implicitly, the scholars who subsequently wrote on the subject.<sup>1</sup> They understood *n-s*, 'to her', to mean to Taharqa's sister Shepenwepe, thus giving a very different meaning to the main point of the entire document. According to them Psammetichus I's move made Nitocris direct heir and successor to Shepenwepe and put Amonirdis out of court; on the strength of which scholars have written at length, and in my opinion gratuitously, about the ousting and supplanting of Taharqa's daughter and the Saite king's policy of expansion southward and his tactics to do away with the last remnants of Ethiopic influence and authority in Upper Egypt. Such views and inferences are wholly unwarranted, it seems to me. Not only does the present text indicate clearly enough, at least as Egyptian texts go, that Psammetichus I appointed his daughter successor to Amonirdis, but moreover the circumstances of the case admit of no other interpretation. Here is a king making public profession of his uprightness, love of justice, and sense of duty, and giving formal assurance that he will not deprive the already appointed heiress to the highest religious office in the land of her succession. How could he then announce, literally in the same breath, a course of action to bring about the eviction of the said heiress in favour of his own daughter? Above all, it is unthinkable that such flagrant contradiction, a breach of promise so crude and damning to the king's character, should have been allowed to go on permanent record in a document which is wholly and unreservedly encomiastic about him. Surely the stela says nothing of the kind.

For  $\text{𓆎}$  as a writing of the preposition *mi* see above, p. 77 note on l. 1. *Mi nn* is a variant of *mi nw*, 'like this, even as', the latter form being much commoner; cf. the Belegstellen to *Wb.* II, 37, 10, also Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents*, 98,

<sup>1</sup> See the literature quoted on p. 73 n. 1 above.

n. v. Here *mi nn* is followed by *šdm·f* passive voice of *iri*, this verb being used with the meaning 'to dedicate, make over'; cf. *Wb.* I, 111 (xiv).

LINES 4–5. Particle *hr* + subject in anticipatory emphasis + *šdm·f* has always future or prospective reference in Middle Egyptian,<sup>1</sup> hence , 'then they pressed the forehead to the ground', with past meaning, is perhaps to be taken as a Late-Egyptianism; so too , 'then they said', in l. 12. I know of no example of just this construction in Late Egyptian, but the closely related *hr šdm·f*, which in Middle Egyptian is future or at all events prospective in meaning, is found in Late Egyptian introducing a new incident or merely marking a new sentence in past narrative; cf. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 51, 7; Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, II, pl. 3, 6, ll. 5 and 11; Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 18, 3. The 3rd person plural pronoun refers back to the king's listeners, no doubt courtiers, officials, and priests mentioned in the now missing top of the stela.

LINE 5. *Wšh-ib-Rc*, 'Waḥibrēc', King Psammetichus I's prenomen; cf. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, IV, 66 ff.

*R mn wšh r hntt nhh* may be taken as a composite adverbial phrase placed at the beginning of the sentence which it qualifies in accordance with Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, §§ 148, 5 and 208; note also ll. 16–17 in the present text where the same double adverbial phrase occurs in its normal collocation at the end of the sentence. The awkwardness of the English 'firmly and enduringly till the end of eternity your every command will be firm and enduring' reflects a paronomasia in the original not at all distasteful to the Egyptians.<sup>2</sup> As an equally plausible alternative *r mn wšh r hntt nhh* could be rendered 'firm and enduring till the end of eternity!', viewing it as an interjectional adverbial phrase with elliptical subject (the king to whom the speech is addressed);<sup>3</sup> of the same kind, though with expressed postpositive subject, is the exclamation uttered by the priests of Heliopolis to signify their complete submission to Piṅankhy's will, before whom they too have prostrated themselves upon the ground: not only the words but also the circumstances provide a good parallel; see Schäfer, *Urk.* III, 40, 1–4.

*Rdi·n·f sw m ib n mr·n·f swšh·f ir sw*, 'he put (it) in the heart of him whom he loved that he should cause his procreator to thrive'. For the obtrusive *t* in the *šdm·n·f* form of *rdi* see above, note on l. 2. *Sw* is for the enclitic particle *swt*, cf. Caminos, *JEA* 38, 58 (54); id., *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 211 s.v. *sw*, particle. The noun clause *swšh·f ir sw* is the object of *rdi·n·f* and is separated from it by an adverbial phrase; for the word-order here see Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, § 507, 2, noting particularly the example he quotes from Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 198, 5–6; for another instance of exceptional word-order in this stela see *r hntty·f*, 'at his nostrils', in l. 9 (see below, p. 83 note on ll. 9–10).

LINE 6. *Ntt* introduces a clause of cause as in l. 3 above (*ntt ink nsz*, 'seeing that I am a king').  is in all probability the particle elsewhere written  or , also  or .

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, § 239; note also James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, 105, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Grapow, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Stilistik*, 117 s.v. Paronomasie; Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, I, 139 s.v. Paronomasia; also the stylistic device pointed out by Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 309 (on *m nvyt nfr*, 'with good care'), adding Gunn, *JEA* 41, 89 (on § II, 8).

<sup>3</sup> Lefebvre, *Grammaire*<sup>2</sup>, § 639; Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, §§ 153 and 258.



56, 6. Turquoise is a semi-precious stone apt to deteriorate in colour and lose its sheen, hence the qualification 'new' used here and elsewhere to indicate a stone yet unaltered by time and still retaining its original appearance; cf. Loret, *Kēmi*, I, 109; Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens*, 79 n. 29; Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 10. Much of what has been written on the subject has to be used with caution, however, on account of the general misunderstanding of a crucial term in the Sinai inscription of Ḥarwerrēc, a text often quoted apropos of turquoise. For the correct meaning of the term and gist of that text see Goedicke, *JEA* 47, 155; id., *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 18, 14 ff. For turquoise in ancient Egypt cf. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*<sup>4</sup>, 404 f.; Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 106 ff.

*Hr·s*, 'about her', again below l. 8 in *ḥrw hr·s*, 'the ships about her'; cf. Coptic *ⲅⲁⲣⲟⲗ*, *περι-*, 'about (a person)', Crum, *Dictionary*, 632 b.

LINE 8.  is the causative *sdsr*, 'to clear (way, road)', *Wb.* IV, 394, 10.

*Tp·š*, 'quay' or similar; cf. *Wb.* V, 291, 16; Chassinat, *Edfou*, V, 351, 6; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, II, 366, 16 and 19; further comments by Alliot, *Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, 245 n. 6, 267, 483; Baret, *BIFAO* 51, 110; id., *Papyrus N. 3176*, 41. In the Belegstellen to *Wb.* V, 291, 16 there is a reference to *Lebensmüde*, 74, *tp š*, 'on a lake'; one could add  in Gardiner, *JEA* 38, pl. 7 (col. 69 top) with p. 16, 8. Palaeographically the dotted channel sign finds a parallel in Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, pl. 3; the *š* or garden-pool sign with a row of dots inside it is, however, not infrequent in Late Period and Ptolemaic hieroglyphics.<sup>1</sup>

*W3st*, 'the Theban nome'; for the writing of nome names in this stela see Kees, *ZÄS* 72, 46 f.

*Hr·s*, 'about her'; see note on l. 7 above.

*H3w* is an extremely rare word of uncertain meaning; the translation 'gunwales' is a guess and appears to have first been suggested by Budge, *Dictionary*, 530 a; see also Glanville, *ZÄS* 68, 23 n. 2; *Wb.* III, 224, 3-4.

, 'thereof'; with *w* written out is noteworthy, for it confirms the reading *irw*; cf. Daumas, *Les Moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien*, 15 with n. 1.

LINE 9.  reads *m*, here preposition of predication; for the writing see Fairman, *Ann. Serv.* 43, 225 no. 175 (a), 268 note xl; similarly Drioton, *Ann. Serv.* 44, 133 (c).

*Ncrt hntt*, lit. 'Pomegranate tree, upper', name of the XXth nome of Upper Egypt of which the capital was *Nn·nsw*, 'Ninsu' or Heracleopolis Magna; cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 113\*; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 185 ff. On the writing of the nome name here see Kees, *ZÄS* 72, 47 n. 1.

*Sms-t3wy-t3f-nht*, lit. 'The Uniter of the Two Lands is his strength'. On this important officer see Griffith, *Catalogue Dem. Pap. Rylands Library*, III, 62, 72 ff., 84 n. 7, 108 n. 8; Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 18, 29 ff. Full references and summary of views on Samtowetefnakhte will be found in Yoyotte, *Rev. d'Ég.* 8, 232 f.

LINES 9-10. *Nkr r hnmtyf t3w bw3*, 'the rising wind tingled or pricked his nostrils'. *Nkr*, 'to cut, rip, scratch, prick, incise', and the like; demotic *nkr*, 'to scrape', hence used

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Fairman, *Ann. Serv.* 43, 238 no. 250.

of carving as well as defacing, for instance, an inscription; Coptic ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲣⲉⲣ, 'to prick, incise'. It occurs in a variety of contexts, yet never, it would appear, in a context in any way resembling the one under discussion. See Keimer, *Acta Orientalia*, 6, 300 ff.; also Griffith, *Catalogue Dem. Pap. Rylands Library*, III, 363; Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 229; Crum, *Dictionary*, 224 a. The present passage would seem to suggest that as the fleet gathered way the rising wind let itself be felt on the expedition leader's face or, literally, 'at his nostrils'. On *hnmty*, 'nostrils', a term not found in medical or technical texts,<sup>1</sup> see *Wb.* III, 376, 14-16; 377, 1; Blackman and Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 419 n. 92; Fairman, *Ann. Serv.* 43, 225 no. 175 (b), 269 note xl (c). For the adverbial phrase *r hnmty.f* preceding the subject of the verb *nkr* cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, § 507, 2. *Bwz*, 'to become high', here 3rd sing. masc. old perfective.

LINE 10. For *šsp* construed with *n* of disadvantage, 'to receive, obtain from', cf. Peet, *JEA* 20, 119; Gardiner, *JEA* 27, 60 n. 7; Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 10. One wonders whether the supplies and sundry items provided by the nomarchs were paid for or not. I incline to think they were, and it is just possible that the present passage may be even explicit on this point: *šsp* with the meaning 'to buy, purchase' occurs in a Ramesside text; cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 21, 143, who points out that such meaning is frequent with the Coptic ⲩⲟⲛ (Crum, *Dictionary*, 575 a).

*hrw*, common with the meaning 'weapons' and often best rendered 'utensils, implements', is actually a blanket term which, like English 'gear, equipment, outfit', denotes a set of articles of a particular kind or required for a special purpose (such as writing, sailing, outdoor entertaining, fighting a battle, having a proper burial), the nature of the articles being inferable from the context or explicitly defined by a genitival adjunct. The context indicates that in the passage under discussion *hrw* refers principally to items of food and drink needed by Nitocris and her retinue for the long upstream journey to Thebes, hence 'supplies, provisions, foodstuffs' seems to me to be the right rendering<sup>2</sup> despite the not very apposite determinative and my inability to quote an indubitable occurrence of *hrw* with just that meaning elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> See *Wb.* III, 243, 3-15; Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 115 with n. 3; Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 264.

*Hr-tp* appears to be the verb 'to command, be at the head of, be over', here probably with the nuance of being in charge of, responsible for; cf. Macadam, *Kawa*, I, Text, 29 n. 22.

In *ꜥpr m ht nb nfrt*, translated 'furnished with every good thing', *nfrt* may well have the meaning 'necessary' pointed out by Macadam, *JEA* 25, 125; so too at the end of the list of items.

<sup>1</sup> The term for 'nostrils' in medical texts is *msdty*, cf. Von Deines and Westendorf in *Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, VII, part 1, 393 f.; part 2, 864 f.; Edcl, *ZÄS* 79, 88 f.

<sup>2</sup> For a different view see *Wb.* III, 243, 5, where the present occurrence of *hrw* is taken to mean the 'tackle' of ships. Breasted, *Anc. Records*, IV, § 944, translates 'weapons'.

<sup>3</sup> In Turin *Love-songs*, 2, 9, the *hrw* brought out by slaves for the purpose of a garden party are picnic things, probably mats, light furniture, vessels, and like 'utensils', and *may* of course include foodstuffs also, even though the actual articles of food and drink appear to be brought out later by servants. See for the text Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, I, 227 and plate; annotated translation by Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der Alten Ägypter*, 40; Schott, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder*, 60, 226.

*Ḥkt* is old *ḫkt*, strictly 'leeks', also for 'leek-like vegetables' (alliaceous plants), and even perhaps 'vegetables' in general. I take it to be used in its generic sense here as in, for instance, *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 48, and Westcar, 9, 20. See Loret, *Rec. trav.* 16, 1 ff.; Neustupný, *Archiv Orientální*, 20, 364 ff.; Von Deines and Grapow in *Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, VI, 12.

*Bnr*, 'dates', might conceivably be used here as a generic term for 'sweet fruits' or the like; cf. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 192, with bibliography, to which add now Von Deines and Grapow in *Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, VI, 172 ff.

*Ḥt nb nfrt*, 'every good thing' or 'every necessary thing'; see above p. 83 bottom.

*In gr wr di:f n smw:f* is an emphasizing construction with future meaning in both Middle and Late Egyptian; cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, § 227, 2; Erman, *Neuaeg. Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 701. Nevertheless, the context makes translation 'and one gave or would give way to the other' almost mandatory; see, however, remarks by Gunn, *Studies in Eg. Syntax*, 56 (92). This sentence and the passage in which it occurs suggest that Nitocris' journey to Thebes was very much like a progress in the old sense of state journey. It was the responsibility of the prince of every nome through which she passed to provision her and her party while they were within his territory,<sup>1</sup> and he would give way to the next nomarch as soon as they had moved out of his jurisdiction into the following nome.

LINE 11. *Ḥt-sp*, 'regnal year', again spelt with  $\curvearrowright$ ; see p. 81 above, note on l. 7. I take it on the authority of Professor Parker that the date given here corresponds to March 18, 656 B.C. This second date indicates that the river journey from the north to Thebes took sixteen days; on the unmentioned locality which was the starting-point of the voyage see p. 81 above, note on l. 7.

$\curvearrowright$ , *wḏi r tꜣ*, 'to put to land', cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 31 (§ 46, b). Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 18, 31 f., arguably thought that the landing of Nitocris at Thebes here verbally described was illustrated by reliefs on blocks found in the temple of Mut at Karnak; see, however, Griffith, *Catalogue Dem. Pap. Rylands Library*, III, 73 with n. 2; note also Drioton and Vandier, *Égypte*<sup>4</sup>, 580, 677 f., quoting Yoyotte, *Rev. d'Ég.* 8, 232 f. The present passage affords a particularly clear example of *dmi* with the meaning 'quay, landing-place', cf. Posener, *Littérature et politique*, 89 n. 2; Baer, *J.AOS* 83, 5 n. 30; Simpson, *JARCE* 2, 54 with n. 4a.

*M dꜣmw nw tꜣy m wpt nt ḥmwt*, 'with or consisting of throngs of men, with or consisting of crowds of women'; for the function of the preposition *m* here cf. Spiegel, *ZÄS* 71, 79 (§ 24).

*M ḥs:s*, 'to meet her'; cf. *m ḥs:f*, '(coming) to meet him', Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mirēc*, II, pl. 26, 6, quoted by Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 160\*.

LINES 11-12. *Sd-m-r m kꜣw ꜣpdw ꜣbt wr*, 'surrounded by oxen, fowl, and abundant provisions'; old perfective of the rare verb *sd-m-r*, lit. 'to be tail-in-mouth', i.e. like a snake biting its tail and thus forming a circle,<sup>2</sup> cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*,

<sup>1</sup> The provisioning was not necessarily done gratis by the nomarchs. See remark on *šsp* above p. 83, l. 10 of text.

<sup>2</sup> Known in Egyptian iconography but not as a character in the Egyptian system of writing, the figure of a snake biting its tail is one of the 'hieroglyphs' described by Horapollo (i, 2): the symbol of the Universe, according to him; cf. Sbordone, *Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica*, 4 ff.

102 (§ 156, *b*), overlooking Goodwin, *ZÄS* 12, 38 f.; for the literal meaning cf. 'he shall triumph over you, *wnn sd·k rdit m r·k* your tail shall be placed in your mouth, and you shall chew your own skin'; Faulkner, *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 79, 7; id., *JEA* 24, 44 (top).

LINE 12. *Hr·sn dd·sn*, 'then they said'; see above p. 80 note on ll. 4-5.

LINES 12-14. The concourse urges Nitocris-Shepenwepe to go to the Karnak temple to receive there the blessings of Amūn and other local deities. The details of her visit to the great temple are omitted from the narrative; only Amūn's wholehearted approval of what King Psammetichus I did for him (obviously the sending of his daughter to Thebes) is explicitly stated, from which it may be safely inferred that she was given a favourable reception by the great god, preliminary to the equally good reception she would shortly after have on the part of the God's Wife Shepenwepe.

LINE 13. Note the Late Period writing  of the word for 'heaven' (*Wb.* 1, 490) in Amūn's epithet 'lord of heaven'.

LINE 14. *Ysw nn*, 'the requital for this', cf. *Wb.* 1, 131, 4, quoting the present passage; also Macadam, *Kawa*, 1, Text, 14 n. 77.

*Kꜣ pty·f*, 'the bull of his two heavens', as epithet of Amūn is unknown to me elsewhere, but in another inscription of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty an almost identical phrase, , 'the bull in his two heavens', is found as an epithet of Rēꜥ,<sup>1</sup> Rēꜥ's two heavens being also mentioned in Faulkner, *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 79, 6. Some might object to this reading and prefer to take  not as the dual *pty* but as *hy*, 'heaven', for which see Wilke, *ZÄS* 76, 94 with n. 14; also De Wit, *BIFAO* 55, 117. Several texts explicitly mention, however, the two heavens<sup>2</sup> of a given deity; thus, for instance, *pty·f* in Mariette, *Abydos*, 1, pl. 52, 8; *pty·k* in Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, IV, 114, right-end column on left hand; *pty·fy* in Gauthier, *La Grande Inscription dédicatoire*, 13 col. 62.

The epithet *nb nswt tꜣwy*, 'lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands', is only exceptionally given to Mont. Apart from the present passage one other instance is known to me, namely Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord*, IV, 101 (18); it is not found in the many texts referring to Mont gathered by Legrain, *BIFAO* 12, 75 ff., and Bisson de la Roque, *BIFAO* 40, 1 ff.

LINE 15. , something has been omitted in error; read perhaps   
 <> , 'Amūn has given to him that he should be joyful together with his soul'.<sup>3</sup> For the cliché *ꜣw-ib·f hꜣr kꜣ·f* cf. Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 31 (l. 22); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 564, 8; Griffith, *JEA* 13, pl. 40, 3; Clère, *Rev. d'Ég.* 11, 29 (partly restored); similarly with other suffixes, Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, II, pl. 51 (right end); Legrain, *Rec. trav.* 23, 196 (l. 8); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 572, 15; see further Naville, op. cit., II, pl. 55; III, pl. 59.

*N wꜣm kꜣ rf*, meaning and grammar obscure. The suggested rendering 'a personality (or king) without equal' is most uncertain; even more uncertain and questionable would

<sup>1</sup> Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchesneferibre*, 128 (416).

<sup>2</sup> One heaven above the earth and one below are probably meant as a rule, cf. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter*, § 207; occasionally, however, the meaning of 'two heavens' may be different, cf. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, II, 164.

<sup>3</sup> A simpler emendation would be to read , 'Hu has given to him his fortune', in parallelism with the next two sentences; yet the mention of the god Hu here does not seem right somehow.

be to ignore  $\ominus$  and translate 'there will be no repetition of his personality'. In any case the sentence is strongly reminiscent of the epithetical phrase *nm* (var. *n*) *whmwtꜣf dt*, 'there will be none to repeat him ever' or 'there will never be his like again', for which see Gardiner in Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, 1 f., correcting *Wb.* 1, 341, 1, and Caminos, *JEA* 38, 59 (57); note also Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, 12 f. See particularly Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 80, 10 (cf. *ibid.* 81, 7 var. 9); Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, 53 (collated); and Mariette, *Abydos*, I, pl. 22, where that epithetical phrase occurs in contexts similar in meaning to the passage now under discussion. For *kꜣ* in the sense of 'personality' see Gardiner, *JEA* 36, 7 n. 2. As shown by the standard  $\ast\Upsilon$  the royal *kꜣ* is here meant, or at any rate a soul or personality of divine nature, and it is therefore possible that 'king' would more adequately convey the sense of *kꜣ* here; it will be remembered that *kꜣ* is used sometimes as a respectful circumlocution for Pharaoh; cf. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 76.

In Shepenwepe's cartouche the  $\ominus$  is extremely flat and might be taken for the land sign  $\omin�$ . On Shepenwepe see above pp. 77 f. note on l. 3.

LINE 16. For the alternation of *šdm·n·f* and *šdm·f* forms at the beginning of this line see Kuentz, *BIFAO* 14, 254. See also above p. 77, note on *rdi·n·i* in l. 2.

*Imyt-pr*, lit. 'content of a house', is a well-known designation of a deed of transfer and cession of ownership; here translated 'testament' in the sense of 'will'. Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 29 with n. 70, suggests 'Hausurkunde', but 'house-document' is a term which, unless explained and glossed over, conveys little sense to the English reader and is at best misleading.<sup>1</sup> Note also Kees, *Nachr. Göttingen*, N.F. 2, 114 ff.

*Hn(ꜣ) sꜣt·s wrt Imn-ir-di-s(t)*, 'and her eldest daughter Amonirdis did likewise'. *Hnc*, lit. 'together with', is used here very much like a preposition of resemblance. That Amonirdis did exactly as Shepenwepe had done (i.e. Amonirdis also approved of Nitocris and made over to her her own testament) is shown by the 3rd and particularly the 1st person plural pronouns in the passage that follows: *their* bidding, *we* give, *our* property, *our* throne.<sup>2</sup> A very similar use of *hnc* has been pointed out by Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, III, 278. That *hn(ꜣ)* in the present passage does not express coordination but resemblance was already noticed, without comment, by Kuentz, *BIFAO* 14, 254, for he translated '(Shepenwepe gave to Nitocris) par testament tout ce qu'elle avait hérité de son père et de sa mère. *En fit autant* sa fille aînée N., fille du roi N. justifié.'

The Amonirdis daughter of the Ethiopian king Taharqa mentioned here is usually referred to in our literature as Amonirdis (II) to distinguish her from her namesake, King Kashta's daughter, generally known as Amonirdis (I). The available documentation on Amonirdis (II) is scanty and uninformative in the extreme; moreover, it is not always possible to determine with certainty whether a given record refers to her or to her predecessor and namesake Amonirdis (I). For source materials see Barguet and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Seidl in Glanville (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt*, 199 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For a different interpretation see Leclant, *Rev. hist. rel.* 151, 130; *id.*, *JNES* 13, 160 n. 32. To Leclant the use of the 1st person plural pronoun is indicative of a coregency: the office of God's Wife of Amūn was occupied jointly by Shepenwepe (II) and Amonirdis (II) the daughter of Taharqa; Leclant's view seems to be shared by Arkell, *History of the Sudan*<sup>2</sup>, 134. Note also Macadam, *Kawa*, I, Text, 124 n. 6; 126.

Leclant, *Karnak-Nord*, IV, 112 with n. 4 (pls. 106 f.), 127 n. 3; cf. also Leclant, *JNES* 13, 160 n. 32. See further Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 10 under no. 26; Macadam, *Kawa*, I, Text, 119 with n. 3, 120, 126 ff.

The wilfully obliterated cartouche is that of Taharqa; cf. p. 77 above, note on l. 3. Only the right end of the — sign is still discernible, much as in the Wâdi Hammâmât graffito quoted by Yoyotte, *Rev. d'Ég.* 8, 223 (62).

*Ir hr·sn m sš*, 'their bidding was done in writing'; for *iri hr*, 'to do the bidding', see Gardiner, *JEA* 4, 34 n. 7.

*M š; m nwt*, 'in country and in town', i.e. everywhere; distinctly a legal formula, see p. 97 below, note on l. 31.

LINE 17. *Hr·sn*, 'their bidding'; see note on l. 16.

*Hmw-ntr wcbw smrw nb*, 'all the prophets, priests, and friends of the temple'; it is uncertain whether *nb* qualifies *smrw* only or all three categories of people mentioned here. The attestation and witnessing by these various temple functionaries of the document referred to in ll. 16–17 mark the end of the formal proceedings of the 'adoption', at least as far as our stela goes. It is quite likely that there were other ceremonies and functions, about which, however, we have no direct information. I doubt that the damaged beginning of the text on the statue of the Chief Steward Iba (Cairo *J. d'Ent.* 36158) refers to the ceremony of the installation of Nitocris as heir to the office of God's Wife in Psammetichus I's Year 9, as stated by Breasted, *Anc. Records*, IV, § 958A. Iba's text rather describes her actual induction into the office of God's Wife (which took place at an unknown later date), or even some other stately ceremony at which she appeared in great pomp and style; for the text see Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 5, 94 ff.; Daressy's copy is reproduced in Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, Textanhang 3.

 'all the property which has been *or* was given to her';  'what His Majesty has given *or* gave to her'. The verb forms involved are perfective passive participle and perfective relative respectively; they are here rendered by the English present perfect *or*, alternatively, past tense, because 'His Majesty' is undoubtedly Nitocris' father King Psammetichus I who would appear, according to his statement in l. 2, to have endowed her *or* made her wealthier (*shwd*) some time *before* her departure from Thebes. Even so, the possibility that these two verb forms should be used here with a prospective meaning implying obligation<sup>1</sup> cannot be wholly ruled out. In fact the perfective passive participle + dative  in ll. 20 (twice), 21, 22 (twice), 23, and 24 (twice) has consistently been rendered 'what has *or* is to be given to her' on account of the nature of the items (bread, milk, herbs, and such) which are there apportioned to Nitocris and also because of the recurrent character of the stipulated contributions; while again  in l. 26 appears to me to refer to a land settlement already effected and has therefore been translated 'what has been given to her'. In the last analysis this is admittedly guess-work, for there seems to be nothing in the stela to indicate unmistakably the precise time-position of these verbs.

*Div*, 'gift'; cf. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. I, 33, n. 1; id., *Wilbour*, II, 118 n. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, §§ 371, 389 (2, b).

*Ww*, 'district', here and elsewhere in this inscription with the meaning 'nome' (old *spst*); cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour*, II, 40, quoting Kees, *ZÄS* 72, 46 ff. *Nn-nszw*, 'Ninsu', capital of the XXth (Pomegranate tree, upper) nome of Upper Egypt; see above p. 82 note on l. 9, also Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 16 (§ 25). *Ww n Nn-nszw*, 'the district of Ninsu', is tantamount to 'the nome of Natr-khant'; the name of the main town or metropolis of a nome was sometimes used for the nome itself, cf. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 261, where the Wilbour reference ought to read II, 40.

LINE 18. *Iw-nz*, 'Iwna'; place-name unattested elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, 54.

*Pr-mdd*, 'P-emdje', the Oxyrhynchus of the classical authors, modern El-Bahnasa, on the west bank of the Baḥr Yūsuf, in the XIXth nome of Upper Egypt. *Ww n Pr-mdd*, 'the district of P-emdje', is equivalent to 'the nome of the Double Sceptre' (cf. above apropos of *wzw n Nn-nszw* in l. 17). P-emdje would appear from this passage to have been the metropolis of the XIXth Upper Egyptian nome at least at the time of Psammetichus I; from Ramesside times onwards the most important town in that nome had been, however, *Spr-mrw*, 'Spermeru', whose exact location yet remains to be determined, and which the author of the great Edfu nome-list gives as the capital of the Double Sceptre nome. See Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 110\* f.; id., *Wilbour*, II, 54 with n. 4; also Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 83; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 181, 183; Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie*, 42.

*Tz st n Pw-tzwy*, 'the place of Putowe', unrecorded elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 77; for *st* as component of place-names see *Wb.* IV, 3, 7.

*Dwn-cnwꜣy*, lit. 'he of the outstretched wings', is the XVIIIth (Falcon) nome in Middle Egypt, on the east bank, across the river from the town of P-emdje referred to above. H-nēsia, modern El-Kôm el-Aḥmar Sawâris, appears to have been its capital during the Twelfth Dynasty, but there is no way of determining whether that town was the nome's metropolis under Psammetichus I also. The very existence of *Dwn-cnwꜣy* as a separate nome in its own right during that reign has been denied by Kees, who has unconvincingly explained away its mention in the present passage as a misreading of the hieratic original for *Hr-dy*, 'Hardai' (XVIIth nome of Upper Egypt).<sup>1</sup> For a recent discussion of the XVIIIth (Falcon) nome see Vandier, *Papyrus Jumilhac*, 25 ff., 77 f., with full retrospective literature, to which add now Montet, *Géographie*, II, 172 ff.

*Tz st n Kwkꜣw*, 'the place of Kwkꜣw'; not attested elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 79. For a hypothetical identification of this place see Vandier, *Papyrus Jumilhac*, 77 f.

LINE 19. *Wnt*, 'the Hare nome', XVth of Upper Egypt, earliest capital *Wnw*, 'Unu'; subsequently the metropolis was a town adjoining it, Khmūn, Hermopolis Magna, the modern El-Ashmūnein; cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 79\* ff.; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 146 ff.

*Nz swt n Ns-Min*, 'the places of Nesmin'; not attested elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 102; v, 78.

*Wzdt*, 'the Edjō nome', the Xth of Upper Egypt, the Aphroditopolis nome of the

<sup>1</sup> Kees, *Mitt. Inst. für Orientforschung* 6, 165.

Greeks; the complex problem of its capital or capitals is discussed at length by Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 55\* ff.; see further Montet, *Géographie*, II, 115 ff.

Καϣ, 'Kay'; place-name not attested elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 153.

*Hwt-shm*, lit. 'the Mansion of the Sistrum', the VIIth (Sistrum) nome of Upper Egypt, capital He-sekhem, Diospolis Parva, on the west bank between Abydos and Dendera. See Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 33\* f.; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 92 ff.; Fischer, *JARCE* I, 15.

*T3 st n Hr-s3-3st*, 'the place of Harsiese'; not attested elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 79.

LINE 20. The sum total of 1,800 arouras equals 492.30 hectares or 1,216.48 acres of field. The total is correct in that it represents the addition of the fields in the six districts listed so far; the area of the land given to Nitocris in the omitted district (Tawēr, entered as a postscript in l. 31) appears to have been included in the sum-total of 3,300 arouras in l. 30; see below p. 96 note thereon.

The numeral for 1,800 is followed by a legal formula which indicates the comprehensiveness of the field endowment and which recurs verbatim in l. 29 of the stela and again, with a slight variation, in l. 31; see below p. 97 note on l. 31.

On the perfective passive participle + dative  $\sum_{\text{g}}$ , twice in this line and taken to convey prospective obligational meaning, see above p. 87 note on l. 17.

LINES 20–21. The powerful Theban prince Montemḥat, whose long civil and priestly career developed under Taharqa and Psammetichus I, is here given his best-known and highest titles. His own name is followed by  $\text{||}$ , which fuller writings prove to be for *snb*, 'healthy'. Found appended to Montemḥat's name and to other names elsewhere, the adjunct *snb* has long been taken to indicate that the person qualified by it is alive in contradistinction to another, mentioned along with him, who is dead.<sup>1</sup> Although apparently valid in most cases, such interpretation of *snb* would appear to apply rather lamely here in view of the context: this is a list of people who are expected to make periodical contributions in kind to Nitocris; it is therefore reasonable to assume that they all should be alive, not only the healthy Montemḥat himself but also Nesptaḥ and the two prophets Harkhēbe and Pdamennebnewt, even though none of these three is said to be *snb*.<sup>2</sup> Some might suggest, however, that Montemḥat is here called 'healthy', that is to say 'alive', as opposed to his wife Udjarens who is mentioned in the present list as being also pledged to provide Nitocris with a certain quota of bread every day and who is at the same time given the epithet *msc-hrw*.<sup>3</sup> It is within the

<sup>1</sup> This interpretation goes back to Devéria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens au Musée du Louvre*, 92 n. 1. For further references see Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 248 n. 92; Christophe, *Ann. Serv.* 53, 52 n. 9; De Meulenaere, *Rev. d'Ég.* 12, 71 n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> These three individuals are mentioned again in documents drawn up several years after the events of Year 9 of Psammetichus I which are recorded in the Nitocris Adoption stela. From those later documents it transpires that the first prophet Harkhēbe was still alive and in office in Year 14 of that king, while Pdamennebnewt was probably dead or in any case retired from office by Year 14; as for Nesptaḥ, he was alive as late as Year 17 and had by then succeeded his father Montemḥat as fourth prophet of Amūn and governor of Upper Egypt. See Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 22 (29a), 24 (33), 29 (50).

<sup>3</sup> For  $\text{||}$  (the type form is not accurate) as a writing of *msc-hrw* and fem. *msc-hrw* see *Wb.* II, 17, 16–18, quoting Erichsen, *Acta Orientalia*, 6, 272 f., where this curious writing is discussed with convincing examples to which Epigraphic Survey, *The Bubastite Portal*, pl. 20, A 8 = B 8, could be added.

realm of possibility that Udjarens died in the interval between the stipulation of her commitment and the carving of the stela, and that her name and the particulars of her intended contribution were nevertheless kept on the list as a matter of record. This is just possible though admittedly a bit far-fetched and wholly conjectural. Unfortunately the 'true-of-voice' epithet is no safe, irrefutable criterion to decide whether a person bearing it is dead or alive;<sup>1</sup> just what it means as applied to Udjarens here remains an open question, and likewise the exact purport of Montemḥat's epithet *snb* in the passage under discussion must be left to others to determine. For Montemḥat in the present context see Legrain, *Rec. trav.* 36, 63 f.; Kees, *Priestertum*, 277; Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 239, 264, 267 f., 275; Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 5, 15 (2). See also Kees, *ZÄS* 87, 60 ff.

LINE 21. , another perfective passive participle + dative presumably combining the notions of compulsion and futurity; see above p. 87 note on l. 17.

On Nesptah note particularly Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 24 (33); von Beckerath, *ZÄS* 87, 3 with n. 3; Kees, *ZÄS* 87, 66, and other references quoted apropos of Montemḥat in note on ll. 20–21.

LINE 22. *Tj kçht Tbw*, 'the nome of Tjebu', exactly as in Glyptotek Ny Carlsberg stela A 759, l. 3 (*temp.* Apries), for which see Kees, *ZÄS* 72, 40 ff. For *kçht*, 'tract', with the meaning 'nome', cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 132 (§ 207, ii) and literature quoted there. Tjebu, Greek Antaeopolis, modern Qâw el-Kebîr, on the east bank of the Nile, and regularly, though perhaps not always, the capital of the Xth (Cobra) nome of Upper Egypt, see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 49\* ff.; id., *Wilbour*, II, 40 with n. 5, 57 n. 4; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 116. Of considerable palaeographic interest is the shape given to the two sandal-hieroglyphs in the present passage; I can quote no parallel.

That Nesptah should have undertaken to give Nitocris a 100-aroura (67·58-acre) field in the nome of Tjebu every month is, of course, out of the question, particularly if one considers that there seems to be no time limit set on the contribution. Accordingly, either the 100-aroura field does not fall under the heading 'monthly due' but is just one single non-recurrent contribution, or else, as suggested in the translation above, the *yield* from that much farmland in the Cobra nome is what is due monthly.

*Rdît n·s*, 'what (N.) has to give to her'; see above p. 87 note on l. 17.

Udjarens, a lady of Ethiopic descent, is the last recorded wife of the fourth prophet of Amūn and mayor of Nō Montemḥat. See Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 264 f. Note her epithet *mꜣrt-hrw* and cf. above p. 89 with n. 3.

On the first prophet of Amūn Ḥarkhēbe see Kees, *Priestertum*, 267, 277; Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 29 (50); Kees, *ZÄS* 87, 62.

LINE 23. *Rdît n·s*, 'what (N.) has to give to her'; see above p. 87 note on l. 17.

On the third prophet of Amūn Pdamennebnestowe see Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 22 (29a); Kees, *ZÄS* 87, 64 f.

LINE 24. *ꜣht stꜣt 100*, '(the yield of) 100 arouras of field'; see above note on l. 22.

*Rdît n·s*, 'what (N.) has to give to her'; see above p. 87 note on l. 17.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 15 (§ 24, a), quoting id., *JEA* 38, 58 (56).

*M Ḥkꜣ-cḏ m ḥwt-nṯr nt Rꜥ-Tm*, lit. 'in (or from) Ḥkꜣ'adje, from the temple of Rꜥ-Atum', shows the type of apposition discussed by Spiegel, *ZÄS* 71, 70 (upper; particularly his Abydos reference n. 3). Ḥkꜣ'adje is the XIIIth nome of Lower Egypt; capital Ōn, the Greek Heliopolis. The literal meaning of *Ḥkꜣ-cḏ* is uncertain, 'le Souverain gaillard' recently proposed by Montet, *Géographie*, 1, 155, is not above question; cf. Leclant, *Orientalia*, n.s. 28, 81, 85 with n. 2, overlooking Grdseloff, *Ann. Serv.* 42, 110 f. No locality of the XIIIth nome except its capital appears to have had a sanctuary of the sun god, therefore there can be little doubt that the temple of Rꜥ-Atum mentioned in this passage is that which irrefutable archaeological and philological evidence places at Ōn, the nome's metropolis. The present text clearly refers to it as *one* sanctuary, 'the temple of Rꜥ-Atum', which militates against Ricke's contention that at Ōn there were two separate and equally large temples for Rꜥ-Ḥarakhti and for Atum.<sup>1</sup>

The spelling  of the measure of capacity usually rendered 'sack' points to the reading *hꜣ(y)*, earlier *hꜣr*; cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour*, II, 61 n. 2.

*Sꜣw*, 'Saw', the Greek Sais, modern Ša el-Ḥagar, capital of the Vth (Neith-North) nome of Lower Egypt in the western Delta; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 2; Montet, *Géographie*, 1, 80 ff. It was the dynastic capital at the time of the events recorded in the Nitocris stela. The Saite bread contribution stipulated in this passage may be thought to have been imposed upon the temple of Neith, which was the main religious foundation at Sais, and in which Psammetichus I himself was eventually buried.<sup>2</sup> Note, however, that within the precinct of Neith's temple there were places of worship devoted to other deities,<sup>3</sup> and these annexes or minor temples might have been called upon to share in the contribution.

LINE 25. *Pr-Wꜣdyt*, 'Pi-Edjō', Buto, modern Tell el-Farâ'in in the western Delta, in the VIth nome of Lower Egypt. It was originally two separate towns, Pe and Dep, which merged in one at an early date. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 191\*, remarks that *Pr-Wꜣdyt* in the present passage is the second oldest occurrence of this term as a substitute for the more ancient and much commoner appellation Pe-and-Dep; the earliest recorded instance of *Pr-Wꜣdyt* is in the Golénischeff Onomasticon, 5, 12, a document which antedates the Nitocris Adoption stela by about 420 years. In addition to the great sanctuary of the local cobra-goddess Edjō, which was the seat of an oracle rated by Herodotus (ii, 83) as the most celebrated in all Egypt, there was at Pi-Edjō a temple of Horus and Bubastis.<sup>4</sup> There is no way of telling whether the 200-*deben* quota of bread was to be supplied by one of these temples only or by both of them jointly. See Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 187\* ff., with copious references; also Montet, *Géographie*, 1, 91; Habachi, *ZÄS* 90, 42.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ricke, *ZÄS* 71, 131 ff., whose contention was sceptically regarded by Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 145\* f.; id., *Wilbour*, II, 125 (§ E), 145 (§ 144). Gardiner appears to have been unaware of the strong support lent to his own view by the passage now under discussion. <sup>2</sup> So explicitly Strabo, xvii, 1, 18; cf. Herodotus, ii, 169.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mallet, *Culte de Neit*, 33 f., quoted by Posener, *Première domination perse en Égypte*, 14 (ac). Note also Ranke, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 12, 118 (2); Habachi, *Ann. Serv.* 42, 381 f.; Andrzejewski, *Rocznik Orientalystyczny* 25, pt. 2, 10 f.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus, ii, 155. Cf. Sethe in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der class. Altertumswissenschaft*, III, part 1 (= 5. Halbband), 1086 ff.

*Pr-Ḥwt-ḥr-mfk*, probably hypocoristic for ‘house of Ḥathor lady of the turquoise’, the classical Terenuthis, modern Kôm Abû Billo, near the village of Ṭarrâna on the western edge of the Delta. There was a temple of Ḥathor which might have dated back to Ramesses II; it was in any case reconstructed under the Ptolemies. See Montet, *Géographie*, I, 61 f., with literature; also Gauthier, *Nomes d’Égypte*, 96; Gardiner, *JEA* 30, 35 n. 6, 36 n. 1; Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscr. of Sinai*, II, 3 n. j; Yoyotte, *Mél. Maspero*, I, fasc. 4, 144 with n. 2, 147 (§ 38); id., *Rev. d’assyriologie*, 46, 213 f.

*Pr-ḥnbwy*, lit. ‘house of the walls’; exact location unknown, yet likely to have been in the western Delta in view of its position in the present roster, in which places seem to be given not pell-mell but in topographical order. Ranke, *ZÄS* 44, 49, thought, probably rightly, to have found two other mentions of it in a biographic text *temp.* Psammetichus I; cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 231. Other identifications have been proposed, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, I, 81; II, 56; Yoyotte, *Rev. d’assyriologie*, 46, 212 f.

*Pr-nb-I(ḥ)mw*, lit. ‘house of the lady of Imu’, modern Kôm el-Ḥiṣn in the western Delta, capital of the IIIrd nome of Lower Egypt. There was a temple of Ḥathor there which is known from both philological and archaeological evidence; see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, II, 91; id., *Nomes d’Égypte*, 96 f.; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 170\*; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 57 f.; Yoyotte, *Mél. Maspero*, I, fasc. 4, 147 (§ 38).

*Pr-mṣnw*, lit. ‘house of the western ridge’; exact position unknown, though very likely it was in the western Delta, perhaps in the IIIrd nome of Lower Egypt; thus Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, II, 82, and Yoyotte, *Mél. Maspero*, I, fasc. 4, 146. The god Heka is known to have been worshipped in that particular region of the Delta; a Dendera text calls him ‘the great god dwelling in Pi-manu’,<sup>1</sup> which hints at his having had a temple there. In any case the Pi-manu of the Nitocris stela and that of the Dendera text are in all probability one and the same Delta locality, and this particular locality should be carefully distinguished from the Pi-manu which is mentioned in Kôm Ombo and Edfu inscriptions and which was situated in the Upper Egyptian autonomous district ‘Horus of the West’.<sup>2</sup>

The rest of the list of bread-contributing institutions is devoted to temples in eastern and middle Delta localities.

*Tḥ-ḥt-n-Tḥr*, lit. ‘the dwelling or enclosure of Tḥel’, probably only here, calls to mind, though it can hardly be the same as, the well-attested *Pḥ ḥtm n Tḥr(w)*, ‘the fortress of Tḥel’, often simply *Tḥr(w)*, ‘Tḥel’ or ‘Sele’, modern Tell el-Aḥmar, near El-Qanṭara.<sup>3</sup> Nor is there any valid reason to think that T-ḥat-en-Tḥar in the present passage is but a later designation of the fortified outpost variously named ‘the dwelling of the Lion’, ‘the dwelling of Sese’, and ‘the dwelling of Raḥmesse-miamūn’, which was on the road to Syria and could be reached by boat from Tḥel.<sup>4</sup> For *tḥ-ḥt* as a prefixed component

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Denkm.* IV, 58 a, quoted in Belegstellen to *Wb.* II, 29, 18, and by Yoyotte, *Mél. Maspero*, I, fasc. 4, 146 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> At variance in one way or another with the above statement are Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, II, 82 (which in turn clashes with id., *Nomes d’Égypte*, 62 n. 3), and Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, v, 185. On the term ‘autonomous (or supplementary) district’ see Gardiner, *JEA* 30, 36 f.

<sup>3</sup> See, however, Helck, *Verwaltung*, 233.

<sup>4</sup> For references and literature on the various localities mentioned here see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, I, 163 (at variance with VI, 66); Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 202\* ff.; Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 111; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 190.

of place-names cf. Yoyotte, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 16, 415 n. 2; just what *ct* means in this preformative is not always certain, for *ct* may denote various kinds of bounded spaces like a room, a house, or an enclosure; cf. Gunn and Peet, *JEA* 15, 168 with n. 3; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 206\* f.

*Dcnt*, 'Tanis', modern Şân el-Ḥagar, in the XIVth nome of Lower Egypt. Psammetichus I is known to have added to a vast temple built there by one of the last Shoshenks and dedicated to the Theban triad, but whether this was the particular sanctuary that was singled out to provide Nitocris with a 100-*deben* quota of bread is a question. See Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 199\* ff.; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 192 ff.; Andrzejewski, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 25, pt. 2, 12 ff.

*Pr-Hwt-ḥr*, lit. 'house of Ḥathor', presumably the same Delta town of Pap. Anastasi III, 3, 3, for which see Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 80. Exact situation unknown.

LINE 26. *Pr-Bꜣstt-nbt-Bꜣstt*, lit. 'house of Bastet, lady of Bubastis', elsewhere simply *Bꜣst* or *Pr-Bꜣstt*,<sup>1</sup> the Greek Bubastis, modern Tell Baṣṭa; XVIIIth nome of Lower Egypt. A divine triad made up by the cat goddess Bastet and the gods Ḥar-ḥekenu and Atum was worshipped there. The main local temple was of course that of Bastet, but Ḥar-ḥekenu had his own, though lesser, temple, and it is possible that there was a special building for the cult of Atum also; see Habachi, *Tell Basta*, 110; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 75; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 173 ff.; Andrzejewski, *op. cit.*, 25, pt. 2, 16.

, fuller writings show the original reading to have been *Hwt-tꜣ-ḥrt-ib*, see *Wb.* III, 3; VI, 10 (s.v. Athribis); for other views cf. Montet, *Géographie*, I, 119 f., with references, to which add Albright, *JEA* 23, 200 n. 4 (on p. 201). 'The mansion of the land of the centre' was the Greek Athribis, modern Tell Atrîb, just outside the town of Benha, Xth (Black bull) nome of Lower Egypt. The chief temple was that of Horus Khentkhet; our knowledge of this and other local sanctuaries depends mainly on textual references rather than on archaeological evidence; cf. Bergmann, *Rec. trav.* 7, 185 ff.; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 116; Jelinková-Reymond, *Les Inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-her-le-sauveur*, 5 n. 3, 87 n. 4, 100 n. 10; Habachi, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 15, 71 f.; but see Fairman, *JEA* 46, 81 with n. 2.

, 'Mest'. Except for the town determinative this place-name could be a writing of the word for 'supper'. This peculiar orthography renders slightly uncertain the identification with *Msd* in the IXth (Busirite) nome of Lower Egypt, proposed by Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 12, 213; 17, 124. The ruins of *Msd* are at Tell Umm Ḥarb, close beside the village of Tell Muṣṭâi, which has preserved the ancient name of the place. Ramesside blocks re-used in the Libyan period have been found there; they are probably the remains of the ancient local temple which, to judge from the inscriptions, appears to have been dedicated to Thoth and his consort Neḥem-ṯaway, though Horus and the lion god Miūsis might have also been held in honour there. See Edgar, *Ann. Serv.* 11, 164 ff.; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 62; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 100 f.

*Bꜣst*, unidentified place, probably of some political or administrative importance because in l. 27 below it is used almost as a nome name, or at all events as the eponym of one of the four Lower Egyptian nomes in which Nitocris was given fields. There the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Habachi, *Tell Basta*, 121.

text reads *m wꜛw n Bꜛst*, ‘in the district of Baset’, with *wꜛw* for ‘nome’ and in exact parallelism to *m wꜛw n Nn-nsw*, ‘in the district (i.e. nome) of Ninsu’, and similar adverbial phrases in the list of Upper Egyptian fields of ll. 17–20 and 31 of this stela. See Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 14 (quoting Daressy, *Sphinx*, 14, 160, 6); Bénédite, *Sur un étui de tablette*, 10. The spelling  $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$  is noteworthy and curiously shows the same ending as the immediately preceding place-name *Mst*.  $\text{𓏏}$  is hardly group-writing for *t* here, but rather hints that this place-name might be also a word for food or some related notion. There is no evidence to justify a connexion with *bst*, a word which denotes a bread or loaf of unknown description and which occurs as a component in the name of a Fifth Dynasty domain.<sup>1</sup>

*Pr-Hršf-nb-Nn-nsw*, lit. ‘house of Arsaphes lord of Ninsu’. Probably a locality in the eastern Delta or at any rate a town doubtless in Lower Egypt like the rest of the places mentioned in the present list; it must therefore be distinguished from the Upper Egyptian Ninsu or Heracleopolis Magna. The highly probable suggestion has been made by Ranke, *ZÄS* 44, 49 n. 4, that Pi-Hershef-neb-Ninsu might be the Heracleopolis Micra mentioned by Ptolemy, *Geogr.* iv, 5, 24, as capital of the Sethroite nome of Lower Egypt to the east of the Bubastite arm of the Nile, and known also to have lain half-way between Tanis and Pelusium. Another name for Heracleopolis Micra appears to have been Sethroë or Sethroïs according to classical sources.<sup>2</sup> For further identifications, localizations, and references see Daressy, *Sphinx*, 14, 163 (20); id., *Ann. Serv.* 17, 124; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 116; III, 94 (top); id., *Les Nomes d’Égypte*, 23 ff.; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 176\*. Of the local cult and of the temple or temples at the time of Psammetichus I which might have been called upon to contribute the 100-*deben* quota of bread to Nitocris nothing is known.<sup>3</sup>

*Pr-Spd*, lit. ‘house of Sōpd’, modern Şaft el-Ḥinna, probably became the capital of the XXth (Arabia) nome of Lower Egypt at about the time of the Assyrian domination. There was a temple there dedicated to the chief local god, Sōpd, a warrior-god, protector of the eastern frontier and worshipped as a mummified falcon. For references see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 127 f.; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 206 ff.; Yoyotte, *Rev. d’assyriol.* 46, 214; id., *Rev. d’Égyptol.* 15, 107 f.

On the perfective passive participle + dative  $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$  here rendered by the English present perfect ‘what has been given to her’, see above p. 87 note on l. 17. Unlike the case of the fields given to Nitocris in Upper Egypt, here no mention is made of the donor or donors of the fields given her in Lower Egypt. Was the king again the donor?

LINE 27. *Wꜛw*, ‘district’, with the meaning ‘nome’; cf. above p. 88 note on l. 17.

*Wꜛw n Sꜛw*, ‘the district of Sais’, is equivalent to ‘the nome of Neith-North’; cf. above p. 88 note apropos of *wꜛw n Nn-nsw* in l. 17. For *Sꜛw* see above p. 91 note on l. 24.

*Nꜛ šꜛꜛꜛw rꜛꜛw*, ‘the southern bedouin’; there is no determinative  $\text{𓏏}$  to suggest that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jacquet-Gordon, *Noms des domaines funéraires*, 359 (12), 364 (97).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Müller, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, I, part 2, 712 n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> It may be pointed out, for what it is worth, that according to Junker, *ZÄS* 75, 78 f., there was a shrine of Seth at Sethroë in the Old Kingdom; and many centuries later, during the Roman period, ‘the coins of the Sethroite nome show as its god a warrior falcon-god who was doubtless the Horus of Tjel’, thus Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 176\*.



cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 25. As for the personal names involved, Ḥory is common in the New Kingdom and the Late Period, Psherinmut is likewise well attested from the Twenty-first Dynasty onwards, whereas Djedty and Mertwebkhe appear to occur only here; see Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 118 (19), 158 (19), 251 (17), 412 (11). I can find no trace of any of these persons in other records.

LINE 29. The sum total 1,400 arouras equals 382.90 hectares or 946.15 acres of field. The figure is correct.

The numeral for 1,400 is followed by a legal formula already met with in l. 20. The formula stresses the all-embracing character of the land grant and recurs in a slightly modified form in the last line of the inscription; see note on l. 31 below.

LINE 30. The sum total of 2,100 *deben* of bread undoubtedly represents the 600 *deben* to be contributed daily by the five persons mentioned in ll. 21–23 plus 1,500 *deben* from the temples of 15 Delta localities listed in ll. 24–26. Only the personal contributions amounting to 600 *deben* are explicitly described as day-by-day quotas; the text is silent upon the periodicity of the bread contributions from the Delta temples. However, if modern book-keeping practice and ways of thinking can legitimately be applied to this seventh-century B.C. account, it is inevitable to conclude that the 1,500 *deben* of Delta bread of ll. 24–26 as well as the ultimate 2,100-*deben* sum total are daily amounts too. Converted to modern weight systems 2,100 *deben* equals 191.10 kilograms or 421.37 pounds.

As to the land endowment, the fields in six nomes of Upper Egypt cover 1,800 arouras according to l. 20 and those in four nomes of Lower Egypt add up to 1,400 arouras according to l. 29, which yields 3,200 arouras of field in ten nomes. Now the grand total in l. 30 is 3,300 arouras of field in eleven nomes. It may be safely asserted that the 100-aroura field in the Xth (Cobra) nome of Upper Egypt mentioned in l. 24 is not included in the 3,300-aroura grand total; if that were the case the total of nomes would be ten, not eleven, seeing that the Xth nome has already been counted in as ‘the district of Edjō’ in l. 19. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Upper Egyptian district of Tawēr in the addendum at the bottom of the stela (l. 31) is the nome required to make eleven; the amount of fields in Tawēr is not stated; it must have been 100 arouras, no doubt, if the 3,300 grand total is correct.

For *sp sn*, ‘twice’, as an exclamation mark see Schott, *ZÄS* 79, 54 ff.; Hintze, *ZÄS* 80, 76 f. The *sp*-sign  $\circ$  occurs four times in this line: in three instances it is made as a ring  $\circ$ , as also in l. 11 above; in one case, immediately after *swsd*, it has wrongly been cut as  $\otimes$ . The sign is given its traditional, orthodox form  $\circ$  in l. 7 above.

*Nn mrhw*, ‘nor decline’; on *nn* as a conjunction with the meaning ‘nor’, Gunn, *Studies in Eg. Syntax*, 163 (B).

LINE 31. This line is an addendum, in smaller characters, doubtless meant to complete the list of ll. 17–21, where particulars are given of fields in *six* different nomes while according to the heading the number of nomes concerned is explicitly seven. The postscript is unsatisfactory, at all events from our point of view. It mentions, to be sure, a specific locality in a particular nome of Upper Egypt and then develops rather redundantly the formula of endowment; that is all. It is left to the reader to guess that

it is fields that the text is dealing with, and as regards the area of those fields, it is also left unmentioned and must be calculated on the basis of the totals in ll. 20, 29, and 30; see above, note on l. 30. If I am right in assuming that this postscript is meant to complete the list of ll. 17–21, then the donor of the fields in the district of Tawēr is the king.

On *T3-wr*, 'Tawēr', the VIIIth (Thinite) nome of Upper Egypt, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* VI, 11, 65; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 99 ff. The present occurrence is palaeographically noteworthy, for the frame (*sit venia verbo*) round the fetish of Abydos is very unusual.

*Inwp* is a place-name unrecorded elsewhere.

The place names are followed by a legal formula which indicates the comprehensiveness of the field endowment and which is just a variant of the one used in l. 20 and again in l. 29; cf. Kees, *ZÄS* 72, 42 (on Z. 4), quoting Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* 27, 217, 219 f.; see also Massart in *Mélanges bibliques André Robert*, 44 with nn. 2 and 5.

### Conclusion

The text of the Nitocris Adoption stela is straightforward enough and may on the whole be left to speak for itself. Such points as call for elucidation and comment have been dealt with in the preceding notes. Here, by way of conclusion, I shall merely give a running account of the narrative portion of the text according to my own interpretation of it, followed by a tabulation of Nitocris' itemized endowment.

Towards the middle of the seventh century B.C. King Wahibrē<sup>c</sup> Psamtik, otherwise called Psammetichus I, the founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, held sway over Upper and Lower Egypt following long years of Ethiopian rule. Sais in the western Delta was the dynastic capital, but Thebes continued to be the religious metropolis of the nation. There in Thebes the votaresses of Amūn formed a college or sisterhood which wielded enormous temporal and spiritual power and was therefore possessed of considerable political influence. The head of that college of priestesses was at the time the God's Wife of Amūn Shepenwepe (II), a sister of the late King Taharqa, and she had with her as adopted child and heiress apparent her own niece, a daughter of Taharqa named Amonirdis (II). Amonirdis (II) bore the title of Adorer of God and had been placed there as direct successor to the office of God's Wife by her own father. The civil authority not only of the city of Thebes and the Theban nome but also, it would seem, of the entire South continued to rest, as in the last years of Ethiopian rule, with the celebrated Montemḥat, who held the posts of mayor of Nō and governor of Upper Egypt;<sup>1</sup> his rank in the priestly hierarchy was, however, not particularly exalted, for he was only fourth prophet of Amūn; but then even the first prophet or high priest appears not to have enjoyed in those days the vast authority and prominence which the incumbent of that office had commanded of old. The fact was that the God's Wife of Amūn had by then surpassed the high priest in power and importance.

In Year 9 of Psammetichus I, or 656 B.C., Princess Nitocris, eldest daughter of the Saite sovereign, left the court in the north at her father's behest and went to Thebes to

<sup>1</sup> For the extent of Montemḥat's jurisdiction cf. Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 64 (x), 268 (Doc. 9); also Helck, *Verwaltung*, 232.

join the sisterhood of votaresses of Amūn. She was to enter it not as just another acolyte pure and simple, but as Amonirdis (II)'s adopted daughter and heiress apparent, and was thus to become second in the succession to the supreme office of God's Wife of Amūn. Nothing is known of the negotiations which may reasonably be surmised to have been carried on between the Saite king and the Theban group by way of preliminary discussions; once Nitocris' entrance into the college of priestesses of Amūn was agreed upon in principle it must have been necessary to arrange the etiquette and legal details of her formal admission and particularly to settle the all-important matter of her endowment. Whether or not these preliminaries were in any way recorded or alluded to in the now lost portion of the Cairo stela we shall probably never know. At all events, the preserved text starts abruptly in the middle of a speech delivered by Psammetichus I before an audience made up, presumably, of courtiers and high officers of his administration. Time, place, and other circumstances of the gathering, if ever recorded, have not been preserved; very likely it took place at Sais, the dynastic capital, and certainly at a time when the negotiations with the Theban college were already well advanced or had even been brought to a satisfactory end. Mutilated though the speech is today, its gist can still be readily grasped. Psammetichus I announces in it his resolve to consecrate his daughter Nitocris to Amūn that she may become God's Wife. He has generously endowed her for the purpose. He is perfectly aware that the post he seeks for her is by no means vacant, for even the current incumbent has already a duly appointed successor. This was all arranged by the late King Taharqa, who caused his daughter Amonirdis to be received by the God's Wife Shepenwepe as her adopted daughter and heiress apparent. Taharqa's dispositions must stand. He (Psammetichus I) is a just and righteous ruler and will not do what indeed should not be done, as he emphatically puts it: he will not dispossess the rightful heiress Amonirdis of her claim. Amonirdis will simply take Nitocris as her adopted daughter and direct successor. Thus the king, whose idea was then that Nitocris should wait her turn to attain the dignity of God's Wife. When he had done with his announcement his listeners broke out in the usual praises and exclamations of obsequious, unreserved approval.

Nitocris' journey to Thebes was an elaborately organized affair, her train consisting of a whole fleet of fully manned, richly fitted-out vessels under the command of Samtowetefnakhte, a functionary of great consequence who held, among other posts, the governorship of the Heracleopolitan nome of Upper Egypt. The party left the court on the twenty-eighth day of the first month of Akhet, regnal year 9, that is to say on March 2, 656 B.C. Just where the court happened to be at that moment is not stated; it might have been at Sais, the nation's capital; in any case the place of departure must have been a northern locality because the fleet proceeded upstream to reach the Theban nome. The voyage appears to have had all the pomp and circumstance of a royal progress. The nomarchs of the various districts through which they sailed had been required to look after the comfort and safety of the princess and her party, and having with them heaps of fresh provisions in readiness they were prepared to satisfy the travellers' every want.

Thebes was reached in sixteen days. There Nitocris was met by huge rejoicing crowds.

At the great temple of Amūn she was given, probably oracularly, a warm welcome by the supreme god. Following Amūn's blessing and sanction it was the God's Wife Shepenwepe (II) who gave the Saite princess her official approval, and clearly this was not a merely verbal, *pro forma* gesture on her part because concurrently the title-deed which Shepenwepe (II) had received from her father and adopted mother was endorsed by her in favour of Nitocris, this being probably one of the preconcerted stipulations of the adoption. Finally Amonirdis (II), the Adorer of God and heiress apparent of Shepenwepe (II), also signified in the same handsome way her acceptance of the newcomer, her own immediate successor. These proceedings were properly recorded in writing, a document being drawn up attesting that Nitocris was the recipient of both Shepenwepe (II)'s real property and Amonirdis (II)'s real property, and that her right to succeed to the throne or office of God's Wife was officially sanctioned and acknowledged. Temple officials of various ranks witnessed the document, and in this manner Psammetichus I's eldest daughter Nitocris was, in the ninth year of her father's reign, formally established in Thebes as the successor to Amonirdis (II), who herself was Shepenwepe (II)'s heiress apparent to the office of God's Wife of Amūn.<sup>1</sup> Nitocris must have been very young at the time, since she is known to have died seventy years later, in 586 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The date of her induction to the office of God's Wife is unknown.

The narrative portion of the stela takes up almost exactly one half of the preserved text, the second half being a detailed account of Nitocris' endowment. Her endowment consisted of (1) real property and (2) periodical contributions in kind. Analyses of these two categories are given in tabular form below. Although the tables are, I trust, self-explanatory, a few complementary remarks may not be altogether amiss.

The properties owned by Shepenwepe (II) and Amonirdis (II) in country and in town which they professed to have given to Nitocris seem not to have been included in the itemized account recorded in the present stela, unless such properties were the various fields in the Delta which amounted to 1,400 arouras and whose donor or donors our text fails to name. This is extremely doubtful, however, and I cannot escape the impression that Shepenwepe (II) and Amonirdis (II) made over to Nitocris their title-deeds merely, and that they retained possession of their land-holdings as long as they lived. Nor can I help the feeling that the 1,400 arouras of land in four nomes of Lower Egypt were a present of Psammetichus I to his daughter, though why the compiler should have left the donor's name out is a question. As for the fields assigned to Nitocris in seven Upper Egyptian nomes, they are explicitly described as the gift of the sovereign; their topographical distribution is, incidentally, worthy of note: covering in aggregate 1,900 arouras those fields were scattered over the northern sector of Upper Egypt only, from the Heracleopolitan nome through the Sistrum nome to be precise, and not one single plot of land lay further upstream. Hardly sheer chance, this, one should think, but rather deliberate choice. Or was it perhaps dictated by the circumstances, the Crown

<sup>1</sup> For a similar, though by no means equally circumstantial, record of 'adoption' see the Cairo stela first published by Maspero, *Ann. Serv.* 5, 84 ff.; for additional references see Christophe, *Karnak-Nord*, III, 115 (11); id., *Ann. Serv.* 54, 88 f.

<sup>2</sup> Nitocris' death occurred in Year 4 of Apries, fourth month of Shōmu, day 4, according to ll. 7-8 of the Cairo stela quoted in the immediately preceding note. Professor Parker tells me that the date is Dec. 16, 586 B.C.

being drastically short of land south of the VIIth nome? Psammetichus I pledged himself, furthermore, to a daily contribution of not less than 6 bushels or over 200 litres of grain, a goodly amount indeed; and one strongly suspects that it was he too who had imposed upon temples in fifteen different Delta localities the obligation to supply Nitocris with a good 300 pounds (136½ kilograms) of bread every day. In addition, it is just possible that the substantial contributions in kind to be paid out to her in daily and monthly quotas by a group of prominent Thebans were also largely his own contriving. Psammetichus I claimed that he had so endowed his daughter that she would be a wealthier God's Wife than any of her predecessors. Somehow it may rather be thought he had.

*Nitocris' endowment*

TABLE I. *Real property*

Location	Donor	Field areas measured in		
		arouras	hectares	acres
Upper Egyptian nomes				
1. XXth	the king	300	82·05	202·75
2. XIXth	the king	300	82·05	202·75
3. XVIIIth	the king	200	54·70	135·16
4. XVth	the king	500	136·75	337·91
5. Xth	the king	300	82·05	202·75
6. VIIth	the king	200	54·70	135·16
Total (l. 20)		1,800	492·30	1,216·48
7. VIIIth <sup>1</sup>	the king	100	27·35	67·58
U. Eg. Total		1,900 : 1,900	519·65 : 519·65	1,284·06 : 1,284·06
Lower Egyptian nomes				
1. Vth	unspecified	360	98·46	243·29
2. unidentified	unspecified	500	136·75	337·91
3. unidentified	unspecified	240	65·64	162·20
4. XIIIth	unspecified	300	82·05	202·75
L. Eg. Total		1,400 : 1,400	382·90 : 382·90	946·15 : 946·15
<i>Sum Total</i>		3,300	902·55	2,230·21

<sup>1</sup> Added in l. 31. Donor and area figure are conjectural; cf. above pp. 96 f. notes on l. 30 and on l. 31.

*Nitocris' endowment*

TABLE 2. *Periodical contributions in kind*

Source	Per day				Per month						
	Bread	Milk	Cake	Herbs	Emmer	Oxen	Geese	Cake	Beer	Herbs	Yield of
Fourth prophet of Amün	200 <i>dbn</i> : 18.20 kilos	5 <i>hncv</i> : 2.51 litres	1	1 bundle		3	5	15	10 <i>libnt</i>		100-aroura: 27.35-hectare field
Instructor of prophets	100 " : 9.10 "	2 " : 1.01 "		1 "							
Wife of 4th prophet of Amün	100 " : 9.10 "										
First prophet of Amün	100 " : 9.10 "	2 " : 1.01 "							5 "	10 bundles	
Third prophet of Amün	100 " : 9.10 "	2 " : 1.01 "							5 "	10 "	
The king through Re'-Atum's temple at Heliopolis					3 <i>hrr</i> : 218.04 litres						
Temples of											
Sais	200 " : 18.20 "										
Pi-Edjö	200 " : 18.20 "										
Pi-Hathör-mefke	100 " : 9.10 "										
Pi-inhwey	50 " : 4.55 "										
Pi-neb-imu	50 " : 4.55 "										
Pi-manu	50 " : 4.55 "										
T-'at-en-Tjar	50 " : 4.55 "										
Tanis	100 " : 9.10 "										
Pi-Hathör	100 " : 9.10 "										
Pu-Bast-neb-Bast	100 " : 9.10 "										
Hat-hrib	200 " : 18.20 "										
Mest	50 " : 9.10 "										
Baset	50 " : 9.10 "										
Pi-Hershef-neb-Ninsu	100 " : 18.20 "	11 <i>hncv</i> : 5.54 litres or 9.75 pints	2½ <sup>1</sup>	2½ bundles <sup>1</sup>	3 <i>hrr</i> : 218.04 litres or 6 bushels	3	5	[35] <sup>2</sup>	20 <i>libnt</i> <sup>3</sup>	[20 bundles] <sup>2</sup>	100-aroura: 27.35-hectare field or 67.58-acre field
Pi-Sopd	100 " : 18.20 "										
Totals	2,100 <i>dbn</i> : 191.10 kilos or 421.37 pounds										

<sup>1</sup> Figure includes the monthly contribution. Size of the unit undetermined.

<sup>2</sup> Amount is included in the *per diem* total. Size of the unit undetermined.

<sup>3</sup> Size of the unit undetermined.

## POST-PHARAONIC NUBIA IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGY. I

By WILLIAM Y. ADAMS<sup>1</sup>

SINCE the dawn of history Nubia has been the connecting bridge between the civilized lands of the Mediterranean Basin and the primitive world of trans-Saharan Africa. For five thousand years it has lain upon the frontiers of the civilized world, never fully a part of it and yet never entirely out of contact with it. The high tides of history have washed over the country again and again, and have just as regularly receded, leaving land and people much as before. Where Egypt has a continuous recorded history of some five millennia, and sub-Saharan Africa less than two centuries, Nubia has intermittent snatches of recorded history alternating with what can only be called non-historic periods. Perhaps for this reason, Nubia has been uniquely the meeting-ground of the philologist and the archaeologist: from the beginning the study of its history has depended upon the conjunction of documentary and archaeological evidence.

It must be recognized, however, that the pioneer students of Nubian history were nearly all trained in philology and not in field archaeology, and they tended to regard purely archaeological evidence as no more than an adjunct to the reconstruction of history from documentary records. In cases of conflict or inconsistency between the archaeological and the historical record, they were always inclined to accept the latter and to reinterpret the former accordingly. Our picture of Nubian cultural history from the time of the Pharaohs onward is therefore drawn largely from documentary sources, and is only filled in to a secondary extent by archaeological evidence. This approach, while appropriate to the study of political history, has its limitations in the study of cultural evolution, as will be made clear in later paragraphs.

The building of the first Aswan Dam at the beginning of the present century, and its enlargement on two subsequent occasions, gave the initial impetus to the study of Nubian archaeology. The pioneering work in the field will always be associated with the names of Garstang, Griffith, Woolley, and pre-eminently Reisner, supplemented at a later date by Emery and Kirwan, Steindorff, and Monneret de Villard. The work of these scholars has stood largely without challenge and without addition for 30 years, and forms the basis of our present-day view of the history of Nubian culture.

<sup>1</sup> The writer, a Unesco Specialist in Archaeology, has been directing the field surveys and excavations of the Sudan Antiquities Service in Nubia since 1959. Prior to that time he was engaged in similar archaeological salvage work in the Southwestern United States, and had never heard of Nubia in an historical or archaeological context. His scholarly training is in the field of Cultural Anthropology, and his familiarity with Nubian archaeology and history has been acquired entirely through his own field work and the library research necessarily connected with it. He is, therefore, an archaeologist and not a historian *per se*, and is inclined to interpret cultural history primarily in the light of archaeological rather than documentary evidence. This background, with whatever biases and limitations may be implicit in it, should be borne in mind by the reader of the present article.

Today, however, with a still larger dam under construction at Aswan, archaeological interest has returned to Nubia for the first time in a generation. Some two dozen expeditions are at work in the region between the First and Second Cataracts, and surveys more detailed than any previously undertaken are going on simultaneously. More than 700 sites have been recorded in one 50-mile reach of the Nile above and below Wâdi Halfa.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious, therefore, that we have a vast and rapidly increasing body of fresh evidence, most of it purely archaeological, bearing upon the cultural history of Nubia.

The final results of the current work in Nubia will not be available for many years. To judge by past experience, it appears likely that some of them will not be published for decades. It is not too early, however, to consider some of the results which have already been achieved, and their impact upon our commonly accepted view of Nubian history. At the same time it is worth while to reconsider carefully the earlier archaeological work in this field, in the light of more recent discoveries and theories. In this way we may hope to define what we now know, and even more importantly what we must still hope and endeavour to learn, in the few years which remain to us for the study of Nubian archaeology.

In this paper I propose to re-examine, in the light of archaeological discoveries new and old, the nearly three millennia of Nubian cultural history between the Egyptian conquest of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the final dissolution of the Christian kingdoms in the fourteenth century A.D. I have divided this span of history into the five cultural phases into which, from the standpoint of archaeology, it naturally falls: New Kingdom, Napatan, Meroitic, X-Group, and Christian. I have begun the discussion of each period with a brief paraphrase (set in italics) of the cultural and political history of the era as it is generally represented, on the authority of such standard sources as Breasted's *History of Egypt*, Arkell's *History of the Sudan*, Säve-Söderbergh's *Ägypten und Nubien*, and Monneret de Villard's *Storia della Nubia cristiana*. I have then followed with a detailed discussion of the archaeological evidence bearing upon the period, and have concluded with a re-statement (again set in italics) of the cultural history incorporating such additions and modifications as I feel are suggested by the archaeological record.

### I. Nubia under the New Kingdom

1580<sup>2</sup>– (?) B.C.

*The Egyptian reoccupation of Nubia was begun under Amosis, continued under Tuthmosis I, and finally consolidated under Tuthmosis III. Land and administration were reorganized along purely Egyptian lines. Considerable numbers of Egyptian colonists—officials and soldiers—settled in the vicinity of the principal administrative centres. The rural population remained largely native,<sup>3</sup> but was rapidly Egyptianized in culture, until*

<sup>1</sup> See especially *Kush* 10, 10–105, and *Kush* 11, 10–69.

<sup>2</sup> All the inclusive dates given for the various phases of Nubian history are necessarily approximate. The use of a question mark in place of a date indicates that in the writer's view there are not sufficient data even to make a valid estimate of the date in question.

<sup>3</sup> See esp. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 187–9.

by the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty there was no longer any cultural distinction between colonists and natives. Nubia from an outlying colony had been transformed into an integral province of Egypt.

Nubia was governed by a titular viceroy until about 1100 B.C., after which there is some evidence that the functions of the office were absorbed directly by the royal family at Thebes.<sup>1</sup> Upper Nubia, beyond the Second Cataract, was probably relinquished by the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty,<sup>2</sup> but Lower Nubia may have remained a dependency of Egypt as late as the Twenty-third Dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

This view of history represents a compromise of sorts between the archaeological and the documentary evidence available. Unfortunately the two do not furnish a consistent picture of events in Eighteenth Dynasty Nubia, and neither by itself is wholly reliable. The archaeological record is palpably incomplete, while the documentary record is distorted by a generous measure of imperial propaganda which is not supported by concrete evidence.

On the basis of reliable archaeological and historical indications, we can be fairly certain of two developments over a large part of Eighteenth Dynasty Nubia: the appearance of numbers of Egyptians, and Egyptian culture, and the disappearance of the native (C-Group and Kerma) cultures. A direct causal relationship between these events has always been assumed, but it remains to this day almost purely inferential.

If we consider first the Egyptian colonization of Nubia, we find it generally represented as an outright military conquest<sup>4</sup>—a side-effect of the imperialist chain reaction set off by the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt. This was unquestionably the official propaganda line fostered by the Tuthmosid princes,<sup>5</sup> and it has generally been accepted as history. Yet we have graves enough from the Hyksos era<sup>6</sup> to suggest a fairly considerable Egyptian population already settled in Nubia at that time, and we might question whether the conquest really amounted to any more than the formal annexation of an area already heavily infiltrated—rather like the American annexation of Texas. At any rate it would seem to have been a bloodless campaign, for we do not find the casualties in either Pharaonic or C-Group cemeteries.

The motives which brought the Egyptians back to Nubia can hardly have been colonization in the usual sense, for the Nile was already beginning to fall at this time,<sup>7</sup> and the native population was becoming progressively poorer. Moreover, the Egyptians remained concentrated in a few 'industrial' and commercial localities.<sup>8</sup> It is clear that, as in previous penetrations into Nubia, they were bent upon the exploitation of mineral

<sup>1</sup> Reisner, *JEA* 6, 63.

<sup>2</sup> Emery and Kirwan, *Survey and Excavations*, 17-18.

<sup>3</sup> The principal authorities for the above paraphrase are Arkell, *History of the Sudan*, 80-109; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 537-8; Reisner, *op. cit.* 28-55; Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records* 1, 217-37; and Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.* 186-205.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Arkell, *op. cit.* 80-89, and Breasted, *op. cit.* 253-7.

<sup>5</sup> The various proclamations of the Tuthmosids pertaining to their Nubian campaigns are cited by Breasted, *op. cit.* 256.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., Emery and Kirwan, *op. cit.* 168 (Cem. 167); Reisner, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1907-1908*, 1, 339-42; Säve-Söderbergh, *Kush* 11, 58-59; Steindorff, *Aniba*, 11, 153-241.

<sup>7</sup> See Fairbridge, *Kush* 11, 104.

<sup>8</sup> Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1910-1911*, 26.

resources, and perhaps of the native population as well.<sup>1</sup> At any rate they never formed a majority of the population until long after the so-called conquest, if at all.<sup>2</sup>

The circumstances of the native (C-Group) inhabitants of Nubia at this time are somewhat obscure. If, as seems to be indicated, the annual flow of the Nile was gradually diminishing, we may assume that the Nubian farmers were finding irrigation and cultivation increasingly difficult, and perhaps were already beginning to drift away in search of more productive regions. The Egyptian colonization could even be interpreted as a 'squatter' occupation drawn into the vacuum created by a receding native population, although we know enough of the military prowess of the Egyptian state at this time to be sure that it was quite capable of maintaining its dominion by force over a large subject population.

We have now to consider what happened to the C-Group people of Nubia under the Eighteenth Dynasty. It used to be thought that the Egyptian conquerors simply drove them out and seized their lands and assets.<sup>3</sup> However, continuing excavations revealed a number of C-Group cemeteries dating from the early Eighteenth Dynasty; that is, contemporaneous with the Egyptian occupation. In addition, Nubian names were recognized among the roster of Egyptian civil officials. These indications led Junker<sup>4</sup> and Säve-Söderbergh<sup>5</sup> to conclude that the native population, far from being dispossessed, was simply absorbed and assimilated by its Egyptian overlords. By the latter half of the Eighteenth Dynasty the Nubians were so fully acculturated that they were no longer recognizable archaeologically as a separate people. This is the view of Nubian history which generally prevails today.<sup>6</sup>

The archaeological evidence for the Egyptianization of the C-Group must be recognized as essentially negative: the absence of recognizable C-Group remains after the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty. We do not, however, see in the late C-Group remains a well-defined process of cultural transition ending in the ascendancy of Egyptian norms. The C-Group cemeteries of the Eighteenth Dynasty are predictably somewhat different from those of earlier epochs, reflecting a closer and more direct Egyptian influence, but they remain distinctly non-Egyptian to the end.<sup>7</sup> Reisner, who probably excavated more C-Group cemeteries than any other archaeologist, asserted that there was never the least difficulty in distinguishing C-Group from Egyptian graves even when they occurred in the same cemetery.<sup>8</sup> Recognizably distinct Kerma graves<sup>9</sup> also appear sporadically until fairly late in the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Firth, loc. cit., and Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 206-30.

<sup>2</sup> Firth, loc. cit.; Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit. 187-9.

<sup>3</sup> See Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit. 187.

<sup>4</sup> *Friedhöfen von Ermenne*, 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 187-9.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Arkell, op. cit. 100-4; Breasted, op. cit. 537-8.

<sup>7</sup> See esp. Säve-Söderbergh, *Kush* 10, 90-95, and *Kush* 11, 57-58.

<sup>8</sup> *Arch. Surv. Nubia* 1907-1908, 335-6.

<sup>9</sup> Reisner originally proposed to restrict the Kerma culture to the time of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, and re-interpreted a good deal of archaeological evidence accordingly (cf. *Kerma*, IV, 327-8). However, on the basis of recent discoveries at Mirgissa and elsewhere in Lower Nubia, there can no longer be any doubt that the culture actually persisted through the Hyksos period and at least into the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. See Adams and Nordström, *Kush* 11, 20-21; Vercoutter, *Kush* 12, 59.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, 134-5 (Tomb J33).

The greatest difficulty in accepting the disappearance of C-Group graves as evidence for the acculturation of the C-Group people lies in the fact that there is nothing like a proportional increase in the number of Egyptian or Egyptianized graves. In fact, just the opposite is true. It is remarkable that over three-fourths of the dated New Kingdom graves in Nubia belong to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty;<sup>1</sup> that is, to the period when there was still a visibly distinct C-Group population in the area. If we were to base our reconstruction of this phase of Nubian history on graves alone (as in general we must in the case of the C-Group), we should have to consider the following circumstances:

*Late Seventeenth Dynasty:* large numbers of C-Group graves and considerable numbers of Egyptian graves.

*Early Eighteenth Dynasty:* fairly large numbers of both Egyptian and C-Group graves.

*Late Eighteenth Dynasty:* small numbers of Egyptian graves and few or no C-Group graves.

*Nineteenth Dynasty:* very small numbers of Egyptian graves; no C-Group graves.

*Twentieth and later Dynasties:* virtually no graves of any sort.<sup>2</sup>

In sum, we must recognize a positive, not a negative, correlation between Pharaonic and C-Group graves during the New Kingdom. When the one is common the other is common; when the one is scarce the other is scarce. What we see here, from the

<sup>1</sup> The truth of this assertion can be verified only by tabulating the individual graves in the various New Kingdom cemeteries of Nubia. At Aniba, where a large number of the graves have been quite accurately dated, we find 17 graves attributed to the Hyksos period or early Eighteenth Dynasty; 45 graves specifically attributed to the early Eighteenth Dynasty; 23 graves attributed to the Eighteenth Dynasty without specification as to early or late; 6 graves attributed to the later Eighteenth Dynasty; 25 graves attributed to the Nineteenth Dynasty; and only 2 graves (including the famous tomb of Pennut) definitely dated to the Twentieth Dynasty (Steindorff, *Aniba*, II, 153-241). At Buhen, the New Kingdom graves are nearly all dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty (MacIver and Woolley, op. cit. 130-1), and among the 'royal' scarabs the cartouche of Tuthmosis III predominates (ibid. 217-21). At Semna and Kumma the New Kingdom graves also appear to belong very largely to the Eighteenth Dynasty, although whether early or late is uncertain in most cases (Dunham and Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, 74-108).

The most convincing evidence of a sharp decline in the Egyptian population of Nubia during the later Eighteenth Dynasty is to be found in the reports of the first and second Archaeological Surveys of Nubia. Here, and only here, we have evidence from Egyptian cemeteries which are not directly associated with forts and/or temples, and which are therefore much more likely to represent a self-sustaining population. Although in the reports of Reisner, Firth, and Emery and Kirwan very few Pharaonic graves are attributed to specific reigns or even dynasties, it may be noted that the total of graves attributed to the 'later New Empire' is less than 100. At the conclusion of the original survey, Firth was able to assert that not more than a dozen graves attributable to the Nineteenth or later Dynasties had been encountered in the entire four years of field work (*Arch. Surv. Nubia 1910-11*, 28).

Within the Eighteenth Dynasty the evidence is not as clear-cut, and we must rely chiefly on datable scarabs and plaques. Altogether we find 44 of these bearing the cartouche of Tuthmosis III or one of his immediate predecessors, as against only 4 bearing the cartouche of a later Pharaoh (Reisner, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1907-1908*, I, pl. 71a-b; Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1908-1909*, pl. 42b; Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1909-1910*, pl. 41; Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1910-1911*, pls. 35-36; Emery and Kirwan, op. cit. 517-28). The same phenomenon has been encountered in more recent excavations in Sudanese Nubia—see especially Säve-Söderbergh, *Kush* 10, 96-97, and *Kush* 11, 63. If the graves with datable scarabs constitute a valid sample of all Eighteenth Dynasty graves, we thus have a ratio of about 10:1 as between graves of its earlier and later halves.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence in support of these tabulations is cited in the preceding footnote.

middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty onward, is not 'Egyptianization' but a simple process of depopulation involving all the inhabitants of Nubia, native and foreign.

We must, therefore, regard the hypothetical Egyptianization of the Nubians as not proven. While it is quite clear that the C-Group population was not driven out by the advancing armies of the Tuthmosids, and that for a time after the Egyptian annexation peaceful relations prevailed between the two groups, we have still to consider the possibility that the native inhabitants may eventually have abandoned Nubia for other reasons, perhaps quite unconnected with the coming of the Egyptians.

For a possible explanation we need not look beyond the declining annual flow of the Nile, which began in the Hyksos period and continued throughout the New Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Probably by the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty it was no longer feasible to irrigate along the steep-banked, deeply-channelled lands of Nubia with no more mechanical aid than the simple *shaduf*. This phenomenon would account for the eventual abandonment of Nubia by both Egyptians and natives, and would also explain why it was more rapid and more complete in the case of the latter. The C-Groupers, farmers and herdsmen, were totally dependent upon their native subsistence resources. When these failed, they had no choice but to look for greener pastures, or perhaps to find employment in and around the surviving Egyptian colonies. The Egyptians, on the other hand, were engaged in various industrial and commercial enterprises,<sup>2</sup> and were probably sustained to some extent by imported supplies.

We may surmise, therefore, that a substantial part of the native C-Group population abandoned Nubia as a result of declining agricultural productivity in the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is easy to guess that the yoke of Egyptian taxation was the final straw which provoked the exodus. On the other hand, considerable numbers of Nubians had from the beginning served as satraps and servants in the Egyptian colonies, and these 'collaborationists' no doubt chose to cast their lot permanently with the Egyptians.

If we accept the hypothesis of a Nubian exodus in the Eighteenth Dynasty, there can be no doubt as to the direction it took. The door to Egypt was barred, and the deserts offered no sustenance. The C-Groupers were in any case an African people, united by race and tradition with their neighbours to the south. Like other, more recent inhabitants of Lower Nubia, they fell back in hard times upon the more fertile and protected Dongola Reach, between the Third and Fourth Cataracts.

It must be said at once that there is no direct archaeological evidence to support this hypothesis. There are no verified C-Group remains south of the Second Cataract from any period in history. Yet centuries after the disappearance of the C-Groupers from Lower Nubia, C-Group traditions reasserted themselves with astounding thoroughness at Napata, once the Egyptian veneer had been stripped away from the Napatan kingdom. This phenomenon, which might be termed the 'de-Egyptianization' of Nubia, will be discussed in more detail later. For the period between the Eighteenth and the Twenty-fifth Dynasties, however, we can only speculate that the C-Group pottery and

<sup>1</sup> Fairbridge, *op. cit.* 104-5; Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1909-1910*, 21; Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1910-1911*, 25-28.

<sup>2</sup> Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1910-1911*, 26.

burial customs must have been kept alive by human carriers somewhere in the wilds of Upper Nubia. Whether or not they were hiding from the Egyptians, they have so far hidden with complete success from the archaeologists.

If we return now to the Egyptian colonies in Nubia, it would seem, on the basis of datable graves, that they too declined rapidly in the latter half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. As they were also to some extent dependent upon the waters of the Nile, and even more perhaps upon exploitation of the native populace, the reason for their decline is not far to seek. By the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty almost all productive activity in the region had probably ceased,<sup>1</sup> although Ramesses II did his best to alleviate the general unemployment with a vast programme of public works.<sup>2</sup> However, there are not more than 100 known Nineteenth Dynasty graves from the whole of Nubia, and fewer than 10 from the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>3</sup> It is clear that the handful of Egyptians who remained in Nubia at this time were merely engaged in 'showing the flag' in time-honoured Egyptian fashion—by building and maintaining royal monuments.

After the Twentieth Dynasty the Egyptian sovereignty in Nubia was an empty claim to an empty land. Whether or not there continued to be a titular viceroy,<sup>4</sup> his domain was dead and deserted. It could have been, and perhaps was, claimed as well by the African kings in Upper Nubia.

To sum up the foregoing discussions, I would propose the following re-statement of Nubian history under the New Kingdom:

*During the Hyksos period Egyptian settlers began to penetrate Lower Nubia, and their numbers increased in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. The region was formally annexed to Egypt under the Tuthmosids. Egyptian settlers reoccupied the abandoned fortresses of the Middle Kingdom and several other centres as well. They engaged chiefly in exploitative and commercial activities, administering the native C-Group population and collecting taxes from them.*

*The native Nubians continued to occupy most of the land, tilling the soil and raising livestock as in earlier times. A certain number of Nubians early attached themselves to the Egyptian colonies and became in fact Egyptianized, but the greater number remained ethnically distinct, although strongly influenced by contact with their Egyptian overlords.*

*Throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty, the annual flow of the Nile was constantly diminishing. Declining agricultural productivity, aggravated by the burden of furnishing taxes and slaves to the Egyptians, depleted the ranks of the native Nubians. During the fifteenth century B.C. there occurred a general exodus of what remained of the indigenous population, until in the later Eighteenth Dynasty the only Nubians who remained in the region were those who had been absorbed into the Egyptian colonies. These colonies themselves rapidly declined in size and importance, and practically ceased to function after the Eighteenth Dynasty. Small numbers of Egyptians remained on frontier duty for another two centuries, building monuments to proclaim the glory and sovereignty of their pharaoh over a deserted land. After the Twentieth Dynasty even this pretence was abandoned, and Nubia vanished entirely from history. Its erstwhile Egyptian conquerors had returned to their native soil,*

<sup>1</sup> Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1909-1910*, 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 21; Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1910-1911*, 28.

<sup>3</sup> See n. 1, p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Reisner, *JEA* 6, 53-55.

*and the indigenous population had retreated somewhere into the wilderness of Upper Nubia, whence they were to emerge with a vengeance three centuries later. For the time being, however, the link between Africa and the civilized world was broken.*

## II. The Napatan Empire

(?)-(?) B.C.

*For three centuries after the retreat of its Egyptian colonists, the history of Nubia is shrouded in obscurity. About 750 B.C. there arose in Upper Nubia a powerful line of local kings, of unknown ancestry. They styled themselves Lords of Upper and Lower Egypt, and established an Egyptian-style royal state at Napata, near the Fourth Cataract. Asserting their hereditary sovereignty over the whole of Egypt, they made good the claim by military conquest within a generation, and reigned as the Pharaohs of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.*

*The Nubian kings ruled Egypt for about half a century, until they were driven out by the Assyrians. There was no reoccupation of Lower Nubia at this time, but large numbers of Egyptians were brought to Upper Nubia as artisans and officials, and the royal and priestly city at Napata was transformed as far as possible into a Nubian copy of Thebes. After the retreat from Egypt the Napatan royal state survived for several centuries in the relative isolation of Upper Nubia, becoming progressively less Egyptian and more barbarous in character. Eventually the main centres of wealth and power shifted to the southward, and the royal capital was removed upstream to the already flourishing city of Meroë. However, the kings continued to be buried in the vicinity of Napata for another two centuries, and the city of Napata remained a centre of some importance. We may mark the close of the Napatan era with the death of Nastasen, the last king to be buried in the great pyramid cemetery at Núri.<sup>1</sup>*

There can no longer be much doubt that Lower Nubia remained uninhabited throughout the whole of the Napatan era. Intensive archaeological surveys in the Wádi Halfa region have failed to reveal any trace of this period among a total of more than 700 sites.<sup>2</sup> At this phase of Nubian history we have therefore no new archaeological evidence to add to the record which was compiled more than 30 years ago. We should nevertheless re-examine that record in the light of what we now know about earlier and later periods.

If Lower Nubia was abandoned from the Twentieth Dynasty onward, it is clear that the antecedents of the Napatan state must be sought in Upper Nubia. Here we come up against the hard fact that the archaeological history of this region has simply not been studied systematically, and probably will not be until a dam project is inaugurated at the Third Cataract. In the absence of any compulsion to systematic investigation, archaeologists have inevitably confined their attention largely to royal

<sup>1</sup> The sources for this summary are Arkell, *op. cit.* 110-48; Breasted, *op. cit.* 537-61; Griffiths, *LAAA* 9, 68-72; Reisner, *JEA* 9, 34-77; and Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records* 2, 35-67.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Kush* 10, 14-15, 98-99.

monuments, which are singularly uninformative for the study of some phases of the history of a culture. To say that the origin of the Napatan state is lost in obscurity is only to say that the whole history of Upper Nubia—before, during, and after the Twenty-fifth Dynasty—largely remains to be studied.

Our knowledge of Nubia during the Napatan period is derived, to an overwhelming extent, from royal temples, inscriptions, and tombs. The disadvantage in basing the study of history on such evidence is that we are forced to accept the Napatan kings at their own valuation: not as they necessarily were, but as they wished to appear to their subjects, their enemies, and especially to posterity. This acceptance of propaganda in lieu of history is always dangerous, but especially so in the case of the Napatan kingdom, where the disparity between image and reality was probably greater even than in the last days of dynastic Egypt.

On the basis of archaeological data alone, the history of the Napatan culture divides itself readily into three phases:<sup>1</sup> the period preceding the conquest of Egypt, the period of the short-lived Twenty-fifth Dynasty and the century immediately following it, and the later period during which the kings supposedly reigned at Meroë but were buried at Napata.<sup>2</sup> The first of these periods includes the reigns of all the Napatan kings before Piankhi; the second covers the royal reigns from Piankhi to Aspetla, or thereabouts; and the third covers the reigns after Aspetla until the death of Nastasen.

For the first period of Napatan history we have, as has been said, very little archaeological evidence. The Pharaohs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties built temples at various places in Upper Nubia, at least as far south as Gebel Barkal, but it is by no means certain that these played any important part in the later development of the Napatan culture. Like the temples of Lower Nubia they were built to proclaim the glory of the reigning Pharaoh, and they do not necessarily betoken the presence of a significant local population, either Egyptian or native. From what we have seen in Lower Nubia we can be reasonably certain that they were abandoned and neglected from the Twentieth Dynasty onward. They had certainly long since fallen into decay by the time the Napatan kings seized control of Egypt in the eighth century B.C.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the aforementioned temples, we have nothing on which to base a reconstruction of early Napatan history except the tombs of Piankhi's royal predecessors in the cemetery of El-Kurru.<sup>4</sup> These furnish a picture of a vigorous local monarchy gradually increasing in power and prosperity. Presumably the organization of the state was similar to that which was common to Egypt and most of the Middle East at the time, and included a divine king, a state religion, and a powerful priestly caste which was largely responsible for state administration. The early Napatans were, however, far from being fully Egyptianized in culture, and their royal tombs show many traits

<sup>1</sup> These do not correspond to the phases of Napatan history proposed by Dunham (*Sudan Notes and Records*, 28, 9-10). Dunham's first phase comprises only the reigns of the Napatan kings who actually ruled all or part of Egypt (from Kashta to Tanutamūn), while his second phase covers all the remaining kings down to Malenaqen.

<sup>2</sup> See Dunham, *Sudan Notes and Records*, 28, 5-10; Smith, *Kush* 3, 20-25; Wainwright, *JEA* 38, 75-78.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Macadam, *Kawa*, I, xiii and II, 14-16; Reisner, *JEA* 4, 215-24; Schiff Giorgini, *Kush* 10, 152-69.

<sup>4</sup> Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, 1.

which are clearly derived from the Kerma culture.<sup>1</sup> We may surmise, from what we know of earlier and later epochs, that the common people were considerably less Egyptianized than were their monarchs and priests. Whether their traditions derived from the C-Group, from the Kerma, or both, is one of those issues which can only be 'settled with a shovel'. For the time being we have simply no non-royal remains from the early Napatan period.

The second phase of Napatan history, covering approximately the two centuries from the accession of Piankhi to the death of Aspelta, is the only one which is even moderately well known to us archaeologically. Apart from royal tombs, virtually all our surviving Napatan monuments date from this relatively brief period, and in fact very largely from the first half of it, when the Napatan kings were in effective control of Egypt. The period of Napatan rule in Egypt, and the century which immediately followed, appear in many respects as the most thoroughly Egyptianized phase in the history of Nubian culture. In other words, the cultural conquest of Nubia by Egypt was most complete at the very time when Egypt was physically conquered by Nubia. The circumstances involved in this seeming paradox are worthy of special scrutiny.

To begin with, the Egyptianization which appears in the royal tombs before Piankhi<sup>2</sup> was undoubtedly the legacy of many centuries of cultural contact and intermittent experiences of Egyptian domination. It was part of a general complex of Egyptian-derived religious and political beliefs which was widely diffused among native populations in North Africa and the Near East. At Napata, it was accompanied by a technology which was markedly non-Egyptian.

The specific, detailed imitations of Egyptian culture which appear from the reign of Piankhi onward<sup>3</sup> are quite another matter. They can be explained neither as a heritage of earlier Egyptian domination nor as the logical outgrowth of a gradual process of cultural transformation. On the contrary, it is quite clear that the Napatan kings deliberately arrogated to themselves the titles and traditions of the Pharaonic court<sup>4</sup> in order to give a semblance of legitimacy to their invasion of Egypt and their claim upon the allegiance of the Egyptian dynasts. Later, having established a dominion of sorts through a combination of threats, promises, and intrigues, they sought to reinforce and legitimize their rule in Egypt by making themselves, their court, and their capital as Egyptian as possible. In this development we see an early instance of an historical process which has been repeated again and again, in such far-flung empires as China, Persia, Byzantium, and Rome, whenever a barbarian people has established its dominion over a civilized one.

On this point the archaeological evidence from Kawa, Napata, and Meroë is clear and unmistakable. Virtually all the surviving Napatan temples date originally from the 50-year period during which the Napatan kings ruled Egypt,<sup>5</sup> and they were almost certainly designed and built by Egyptian artisans imported for the purpose.<sup>6</sup> After the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arkell, *op. cit.* 119-20; Dunham, *AJA* 50, 381-2.

<sup>2</sup> Arkell, *op. cit.* 115-20; Dunham, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dunham, *op. cit.*; Griffith, *LAAA* 9, 70.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Breasted, *op. cit.* 539.

<sup>5</sup> See Garstang, *LAAA* 7, 8-9; Griffith, *LAAA* 9, 85; Macadam, *Kawa* II, 14-16; Reisner, *JEA* 4, 224-6.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Griffith, *op. cit.* 70.

time of Taharqa the temple-building activities of the Napatan kings seem to have been confined for the most part to routine repairs and minor additions.<sup>1</sup> For the major construction programmes claimed by some of the later kings<sup>2</sup> we have only their own testimony as evidence. As they still continued to style themselves 'Lords of Upper and Lower Egypt'<sup>3</sup> we need not doubt that they were capable of considerable exaggeration.

In a material sense, the Napatan kings successfully transformed their capital into an Egyptian city during the half-century when they reigned as the Pharaohs of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.<sup>4</sup> During this period they imported not only Egyptian artisans but also a whole Egyptian technology into Nubia. The pottery and other artifacts which have been found in their tombs are all either Egyptian-made or Egyptian-inspired and they bear no relation to local archetypes.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting and indeed rather amusing to observe the preference of the Napatan kings for mass-produced Egyptian-style pottery, since it was quite probably at that time, as it has been at nearly all other times throughout history, artistically inferior to some of the native wares. Regardless of its quality, this pottery would appear to have been considered a status symbol simply by virtue of its Egyptian associations.

After the loss of Egypt the number and importance of the Egyptian artisans at Napata must have diminished considerably, as is indicated by the marked decline in temple-building activity after Taharqa. However, the Napatan kings continued for another century to proclaim their perhaps fictitious exploits in reasonably grammatical hieroglyphic texts, and they were buried under well-constructed pyramids, accompanied by Egyptian-made offerings. We may surmise, therefore, that with the help of a certain number of Egyptian craftsmen who had remained, the kings, at least until the time of Aspelta, were able to maintain the semblance of an Egyptian imperial court and culture.<sup>6</sup>

How far the veneration of Egyptian culture ever extended below the level of the court and the priesthood, even in the heyday of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, is a question which will not be answered until there is some investigation of everyday domestic remains in Upper Nubia. In the cemetery of Sanam, one of the few non-royal sites of this period which have been investigated, we find what are essentially C-Group burial customs, accompanied in effect by C-Group pottery, reappearing with disconcerting thoroughness at the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.<sup>7</sup> The C-Group tradition seems almost to pop back up like a jack-in-the-box.

The implications of this phenomenon are of enormous importance to our view of Nubian cultural history, and need to be considered carefully. In the C-Group culture we have a tradition of hand-made pottery which is smudged, polished or burnished, and decorated with incised designs often executed with comb-pricks, and afterward filled with white pigment.<sup>8</sup> This pottery was made only by native Nubians and is found

<sup>1</sup> See Garstang, *op. cit.*; Griffith, *op. cit.* 85; Macadam, *op. cit.* 16-22; Reisner, *op. cit.* 216-17.

<sup>2</sup> Arkell, *op. cit.* 143-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 136.

<sup>4</sup> Griffith, *op. cit.* 70-71.

<sup>5</sup> See Arkell, *op. cit.* 142-3; Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, II, *Nuri*, 7-120; Griffith, *loc. cit.*; Reisner, *Nuri*, 28-44.

<sup>6</sup> See Arkell, *op. cit.* 140-4; Griffith, *op. cit.* 70-71.

<sup>7</sup> Griffith, *op. cit.* 71.

<sup>8</sup> For extended technical descriptions and illustrations see, e.g., Emery and Kirwan, *op. cit.*, pls. 34-36; Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1908-1909*, II, pls. 39-40; Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1910-1911*, 23-25; Steindorff, *Aniba*, I, 65-105 and pls. 33-59.

only in and around native Nubian graves, always in association with contracted burials. Its last important occurrence in Lower Nubia was in the C-Group cemeteries of the early Eighteenth Dynasty and in the Nubian 'castle' at Amada.<sup>1</sup> It has never been found in Upper Nubia in any context earlier than the late Napatan period, although its absence here is probably indicative only of the lack of systematic exploration. From the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty until well into the Meroitic period, however, it is constantly found in Nubian sites, and derivative wares continue to be made to the present day.

The resemblances between C-Group incised pottery and Napatan-Meroitic incised pottery are not merely general, and they cannot be explained as separate ramifications of a widespread and persistent tradition. They are, rather, specific and precise in every detail, including surface colour, polish, and the technique and style of decoration. Many vessel forms are also identical.<sup>2</sup>

Such correspondences lie far outside the realm of chance, and we are left to conclude that the C-Group people, together with their pottery and burial traditions, somehow and somewhere survived the evacuation of Lower Nubia and the long centuries of isolation to become in time an integral part of the Napatan and Meroitic populations.<sup>3</sup> We might speculate, without any supporting evidence, that upon their migration into Upper Nubia they became subject to the Kerma warrior-kings, and that their descendants became the *fellahin* of the Napatan empire even as the Kerma overlords may have become its Pharaohs.<sup>4</sup>

If we turn now to the final phase of Napatan history, following the death of Aspelta, we find once again that we have almost no archaeological evidence upon which to build except from the royal cemeteries. From the two and a half centuries between the death of Aspelta and the death of Nastasen we have no certainly identified temples of any consequence, and only three rather uninformative inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> The later pyramids at Nûri would seem to suggest that the last of the Egyptian artisans at Napata had died or departed, and the Egyptianization of Napatan culture from this time forward was little more than a hollow pretence maintained by the royal court. The later Napatan kings were buried under poorly-built pyramids decorated with hieroglyphs which had obviously been executed by lapicides who did not understand them. The burial offerings were of local manufacture, and included hand-made Nubian pottery in the C-Group tradition.<sup>6</sup>

Our conception of late Napatan as well as early Meroitic history rests very largely upon Reisner's chronology of the royal tombs.<sup>7</sup> This painstaking reconstruction, although a brilliant *tour de force* in its way, is neither wholly plausible nor is it very

<sup>1</sup> MacIver and Woolley, *Areika*, 14-16.

<sup>2</sup> For examples see Garstang, Sayce, and Griffith, *Meroë*, pls. xlii and xlvi; Griffith, *LAAA* 10, pl. xxxiv; Griffith, *LAAA* 11, pls. xli-xliv; MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, pl. 69; MacIver and Woolley, *Karanog Cemetery*, pls. 101-2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Griffith, *LAAA* 10, 102; MacIver and Woolley, *Karanog Cemetery*, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> We should also take note here of the occasional reappearance of the Kerma tradition in Napatan and Meroitic pottery; see, e.g., Griffith, *LAAA* 10, 99-101 and pls. xviii, xxxiii, and xxxiv; Griffith, *LAAA* 11, pl. xxx (type lxxiv d); Macadam, *Kawa*, II, 160-1, figs. 48-51.

<sup>5</sup> Arkell, *op. cit.* 153.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *JEA* 9, 34-77.

instructive in regard to cultural history. Every major excavation in a Napatan or early Meroitic site has necessitated substantial revisions in it,<sup>1</sup> and new ones are still being suggested.<sup>2</sup> In the absence of sound archaeological or historical evidence, the chronology is forced at many points to rely upon *a priori* assumptions which are questionable. The most far-reaching of these is the notion, still by no means proven, that the pyramids at Nûri, Barkal, and Meroë represent, with minor exceptions, one and only one uninterrupted succession of monarchs.<sup>3</sup>

The circumstances and the date of the transfer of the royal capital from Napata to Meroë likewise remain obscure. Smith<sup>4</sup> has challenged the previously proposed date of 538 B.C. on a number of grounds. To these should be added the even more cogent argument that the city of Meroë was supposed by its excavators<sup>5</sup> to have been abandoned and uninhabited between 400 and 300 B.C. It only remains to add that even if we accept the idea of a sudden reduction in the number of queens buried with each king at Nûri,<sup>6</sup> it could be explained by any number of hypotheses other than the removal of the royal capital. In short, we must end the discussion of the history of the Napatan culture by observing that its conclusion is shrouded in the same mystery as its beginning. The basis for this assertion will be made still more clear in later paragraphs, dealing with the Meroitic culture.

In the long view of history, the rise and fall of the Napatan empire would seem to have been an event of more political than cultural significance. It was from first to last a Nubian culture and a Nubian population, which for a brief time took upon itself an artificial veneer of pharaonic tradition.

In the light of the foregoing discussion I would propose to characterize the Napatan phase of the history of Nubian culture in the following terms:

*After the abandonment of Lower Nubia, a native population which may have been of mixed C-Group and Kerma stock continued to occupy the Nile Valley above the Third Cataract. Recovering in time from the natural and political reverses of the Egyptian occupation, they developed a prosperous economy and a strong local dynasty. Although by no means Egyptianized in culture, they retained from their earlier contacts a complex of Egyptian religious and political beliefs, including divine kingship, a state religion, and a dominant priestly caste.*

*Despite the uninhabited region which separated them, there must have been some continued intercourse between Napata and Egypt, and the Napatan kings were obviously aware of the progressive 'Balkanization' which was taking place in Lower Egypt. Seeing an opportunity to fish in these troubled waters, they assumed the titles and trappings of earlier Pharaohs, and appeared in Egypt in the guise of protectors against the encroachments of Asiatic peoples. The Delta dynasts were always in the unhappy position of having to give their allegiance to whatever conqueror was closest upon their frontiers, and the Napatan kings were therefore able to make good their imperial claims so long as they could maintain an*

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, IV, 2-8; Dunham and Macadam, *JEA* 35, 139-49; Macadam, *Kawa*, I, 119-30; Reisner, *JEA* 9, 157-60; Smith, *Kush* 3, 20-25.

<sup>2</sup> Hintze, *Kush* 10, 177-8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Reisner, *JEA* 9, 35, 66-67.

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

<sup>5</sup> Garstang, *LAAA* 7, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Arkell, *op. cit.* 149.

army in the field. They were, however, consistently defeated in their military encounters with the Assyrians, and after half a century were driven out of Egypt altogether. They then retired upon their own borders in Upper Nubia, where they continued the pretence of ruling Egypt for a considerable time.

During the heyday of their empire, the Nubian kings set about Egyptianizing themselves and their capital with diligence and thoroughness. They established at Napata the full panoply of the pharaonic court, and they brought in Egyptian artisans to build temples and tombs and to advertise their deeds in hieroglyphic texts. They adopted the use of Egyptian-made household goods, and had their dead mummified and buried in coffins. This elaborate self-deception was maintained throughout the period of Napatan control in Egypt, although it may never have extended beyond the court and the priesthood.

After the retreat from Egypt the artificial veneer of Egyptian culture at Napata was rapidly stripped away. Temple building, except for repairs and minor additions, practically ceased. The royal court, however, with the aid of a remaining handful of Egyptian technicians, managed to present a creditable imitation of imperial Egypt for another century. The common people, on the other hand, apparently reverted very promptly to Nubian traditions, if indeed they had ever abandoned them.

After the time of Aspelta much of the Egyptian veneer disappeared even from the court, and the last pyramids and hieroglyphic texts are almost a mockery of Egyptian culture. The final episodes in this process of cultural disintegration are lost in obscurity.

### III. The Meroïtic Renaissance

(?) B.C.—350 A.D.

The Meroïtic culture was a direct continuation of the Napatan, evolving after the royal capital and cemeteries had been moved southward from Napata to Meroë. The dividing point between the two periods is essentially an arbitrary one and could perhaps be fixed with equal justice at several points in history.

The history of the Meroïtic culture reveals a continuation of the process of decline which began in Napatan times. There were intermittent periods of prosperity, and some new cultural impulses filtered through from the Mediterranean world, but the general trend was one of decay and dissolution. 'It was the Egyptianized kingdom of Napata running gradually downhill to a miserable and inglorious end . . . the last two or three centuries were ones of unrelieved degeneration and gloom when compared to the glories of the past.'<sup>1</sup> The Meroïtic kingdom was finally overrun and its power destroyed by a series of barbarian invasions in the fourth century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Nowhere in Nubian history is the discrepancy between archaeological evidence and historical interpretation greater than in the case of the Meroïtic kingdom and culture.<sup>3</sup> To begin with, there is not a scrap of concrete evidence, either documentary or

<sup>1</sup> Arkell, *op. cit.* 138.

<sup>2</sup> The principal authorities are Arkell, *op. cit.* 156-73; Breasted, *op. cit.* 560-1; Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records*, 2, p. 67; Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records*, 5, 173-96.

<sup>3</sup> For a thorough discussion of the interpretational problems involved in the study of Meroïtic history, as well as a comprehensive bibliography of this period, see Gadallah, *Kush* 11, 196-216.

archaeological, directly linking the Meroïtic to the Napatan culture. The dividing line between the two may theoretically be arbitrary and indistinct,<sup>1</sup> providing we accept Reisner's interpolations,<sup>2</sup> but it is perfectly clear stratigraphically. Wherever there is a juxtaposition of Napatan and Meroïtic remains, whether in temples, towns, or cemeteries, they always appear as distinct occupations separated by an unmistakable hiatus.<sup>3</sup> We must, therefore, recognize that we have a lacuna in the archaeological record nearly as great as that which separates the New Kingdom from the Napatan culture.

At this point we turn inevitably to Reisner's chronology of the pyramids,<sup>4</sup> which for 50 years has stood in lieu of a cultural history of the Napatan and Meroïtic periods. It must be recognized at once that this ingenious reconstruction does not in fact establish a connecting link between Napatan and Meroïtic; it merely assumes *a priori* that such a link exists, and manipulates the data accordingly.<sup>5</sup> In view of the fact that no more than five of the pyramids at Nûri, Barkal, and Meroë are datable on direct evidence, and that almost half of them are not definitely assignable to any specific ruler,<sup>6</sup> the assumption that they must represent an uninterrupted royal succession appears surprisingly ill founded. If we set aside any such hypothesis for a moment we can readily see points in the chronology where there might have been one or more interruptions.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, the idea of an uninterrupted royal succession seems to have taken a fixed hold on our historical imagination, with some rather ambiguous results. Argument has simmered for more than a generation as to whether the royal capital was at Napata or at Meroë during the fourth century B.C., resulting in the awkward compromise proposal of a line of kings who lived at Meroë but died at Napata.<sup>8</sup> Yet it is by no means clear that there were not two capitals and two kingdoms during most or even the whole of this period. Negative evidence cannot be taken as conclusive in an area which is as poorly explored and in a time which is as poorly documented as is the case in Upper Nubia during the last millennium before Christ. Reisner, however, was willing to postulate rival dynasties only when he could not account for his data in any other way; he clung to the idea of a single succession as long as the pyramids could be squeezed into it.<sup>9</sup> This is one of the many examples of a preoccupation with fixed frontiers and stable governments—in short, with European-style political institutions—which has tended to confuse the interpretation of post-pharaonic Nubian history.

It would be foolish to suggest that the Meroïtic culture is not lineally descended from the Napatan, and it may even be that Reisner's pyramid chronology is substantially correct. On the other hand, to see in the Meroïtic nothing more than a continuation of the process of cultural decline which began in the Napatan period, and the final

<sup>1</sup> Arkell, *op. cit.* 148-9.

<sup>2</sup> See esp. *Sudan Notes and Records* 5, 179.

<sup>3</sup> For confirmation cf. Garstang, *LAAA* 7, 4, 9, 11; Griffith, *LAAA* 9, 76, 85-86; Macadam, *Kawa*, II, 12-27, 208, 231-7; Reisner, *JEA* 4, 219, 226-7.

<sup>4</sup> *JEA* 9, 34-77.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. esp. *ibid.* 63-67; Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records* 5, 179-80.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, II, 2-3; Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, IV, 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> As Reisner himself originally suggested; see *JEA* 9, 35.

<sup>8</sup> For the background of this historical interpretation see Smith, *Kush* 3, 20-25.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *JEA* 9, 35, 66-67.

pathetic glimmer of the pharaonic tradition in Nubia,<sup>1</sup> is patently absurd. The Meroïtic kingdom and culture exhibit a whole series of developments and accomplishments which are by no means prefigured in the late Napatan era, and which are symptomatic of a marked return of cultural vigour.<sup>2</sup> The Meroïtic achievements in the political and religious fields were nearly as great as the Napatan of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and in the material and artistic fields surpassed them—especially when we recall that they were to a far greater extent the work of local craftsmen.<sup>3</sup> It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Meroïtic at its peak, far from being a period of cultural disintegration, actually represents the highest level attained by native Nubian culture up to that time.<sup>4</sup> We see in it for the first time a homogeneous blend of native and imported traditions, both Egyptian and Graeco-Roman, and not merely a veneer of Egyptian culture imperfectly grafted on to a Nubian base.

Foremost among the accomplishments of the Meroïtic era must be accounted the tremendous territorial expansion of the kingdom, or at least of its cultural influence. Meroïtes not only reoccupied Lower Nubia in force,<sup>5</sup> but also extended their dominion southward to Sennar and Kosti and westward to Kordofan and perhaps even Darfur.<sup>6</sup> The Meroïtic kingdom at its height was perhaps as geographically extensive as the Napatan, although it is doubtful that it was ever a true empire in the sense of including large subject populations. The reoccupation of Lower Nubia must however be accounted a major accomplishment in itself, especially as there is some evidence that it was contested by the Ptolemies.<sup>7</sup>

Further evidence of renewed cultural vigour in the Meroïtic period is to be seen in the wave of temple building which took place under various Meroïtic rulers in the first century of the Christian era—especially under the famous royal pair Natakamani and Aminatari.<sup>8</sup> Their work cannot be regarded simply as a continuation of an established tradition, for there had been nothing on a comparable scale since Taharqa, and no temple building of any significance at all for 200 years. Natakamani and Aminatari were the last Nubian rulers to employ Egyptian craftsmen in the design of their monuments, and their temples and mortuary chapels are undoubtedly the finest of the Meroïtic era. Nevertheless, the work of the strictly local artisans in the following reigns was still of a high artistic order.<sup>9</sup>

Another noteworthy development of the Meroïtic era was the beautiful and far-famed Meroïtic decorated pottery. The origins of this industry remain obscure. The designs combine elements of Egyptian and of Graeco-Roman origin, but the combinations and their execution are uniquely Nubian, and the ware is far superior both technologically and artistically to anything made in Egypt at the time. It represents, in fact, one of the highest attainments in the history of Nubian material culture. Meroïtic

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Arkell, *op. cit.* 156; Breasted, *op. cit.* 560-1; Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records* 2, 67.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vercoutter, *Syria* 39, 296-7.

<sup>3</sup> See Woolley and MacIver, *Karanog Cemetery*, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vercoutter, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> See Emery and Kirwan, *op. cit.* 23-25; Griffith, *LAAA* 11, 120-2; Wolley and MacIver, *op. cit.* 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> Crawford, *Fung Kingdom*, 14-20; Dixon, *Kush* 11, 227-34; Vercoutter, *op. cit.* 265, 296-7. See also Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* VII, 273.

<sup>7</sup> Arkell, *op. cit.* 159.

<sup>8</sup> See *ibid.* 162-6; Reisner, *JEA* 9, 67-71.

<sup>9</sup> Arkell, *loc. cit.*

pottery was very widely manufactured, and appears in surprising quantities even in the humblest Meroitic dwellings.<sup>1</sup>

A final cultural achievement which we must credit to the Meroitic era was the development of the Meroitic system of writing, which for the first time in history enabled the Nubians to record the language in which they habitually spoke.<sup>2</sup> The numerous graffiti and ostraca which survive in this script may be of little intrinsic importance, but they give evidence of a more widespread literacy than at any other period of Nubian history.

Unfortunately, it is impossible on the basis of available evidence to trace any of the aforementioned developments to its source, or to place them in any sort of meaningful chronological framework. They did not originate in the Napatan period, and we must presumably look for their origins in external contacts and stimuli.<sup>3</sup> Many of the answers may be locked for all time in the unpublished field notes of Garstang and Griffith. On the basis of the excavations at Meroë, Garstang devised an elaborate chronological reconstruction of Meroitic cultural history,<sup>4</sup> but in the absence of supporting evidence later scholars have quite rightly ignored it. Dunham's later chronology<sup>5</sup> is largely a dynastic chronicle, and its cultural implications likewise remain to be substantiated. It is worth recording here, however, that a full and proper publication of the excavations hitherto carried out at Meroë would still contribute as much to the study of Nubian cultural history as any expedition now working in the field is likely to do. A more practical hope, however, is offered by the excavations now in progress at Musauwarât.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from the aforementioned excavations, we have no fresh archaeological data bearing upon the Meroitic period except from Lower Nubia. Here there is nothing suggesting a developing cultural sequence. The Meroitic culture arrives full-blown at the height of its prosperity, probably in the last century before Christ, entrenches itself as far north as el-Maharraqa, and remains vigorous and fairly prosperous nearly to the end.<sup>7</sup> If we do not see a gradual evolution of the classic Meroitic tradition, neither do we see the long process of degeneration and impoverishment which Reisner professed to see at Meroë, and upon which he based his chronology of the late Meroitic pyramids.<sup>8</sup> We find consistent stratification in late Meroitic sites, but little evidence of change.<sup>9</sup> It should be added that Griffith's proposed chronology for the Meroitic graves at Faras<sup>10</sup> has not been verified by subsequent excavations, except in the case of the out-and-out X-Group graves of his 'D' period. The differences among his other three grave-types are more readily explained on socio-economic than on chronological grounds.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The origins and distribution of the Meroitic pottery industry are discussed at length in Adams, *Kush* 12, 169-73. See also Woolley and MacIver, *op. cit.* 51-58.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Macadam, *Kawa*, I, xiii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Arkell, *op. cit.* 138; Emery and Kirwan, *op. cit.* 23-25; Vercoutter, *op. cit.* 296-9.

<sup>4</sup> *LAAA* 7, 8-10.

<sup>5</sup> *Sudan Notes and Records* 28, 10.

<sup>6</sup> See especially Hintze, *Kush* 10, 170-202; *id.*, *Abhandlung der Deutschen Akad. Wiss., Klasse Sprach., Lit. und Kunst*, in press.

<sup>7</sup> Emery and Kirwan, *op. cit.*; Griffith, *LAAA* 11, 120-2; Woolley and MacIver, *op. cit.* 4-6.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Arkell, *op. cit.* 157-8, 169-70.

<sup>9</sup> Adams and Nordström, *Kush* 11, 26-28.

<sup>10</sup> *LAAA* 11, 144-6.

<sup>11</sup> Adams and Nordström, *op. cit.* 29; Woolley and MacIver, *op. cit.* 81-84.

It remains to be determined whether there was in fact continuous Meroïtic settlement from Sennar to Karanog, or whether Lower Nubia was a detached and perhaps even an autonomous province.<sup>1</sup> If, as historical evidence suggests,<sup>2</sup> Berberi-speaking invaders had reached the west bank of the Nile in the Dongola Reach by the second century B.C., it seems probable that they drove a wedge between the northern and southern Meroïtic provinces. The new-comers may in time have become subject to a Meroïtic king,<sup>3</sup> but we know from later evidence that they were not culturally assimilated (see The X-Group Upheavals, in part II of this study, to appear in *JEA* 51).

It is curious that we find few monuments or other expressions of Meroïtic royal authority in Lower Nubia, although we know that the region was already reoccupied and prosperous at the time of the great wave of temple building at Meroë, Musauwarât, and Naga'. Griffith<sup>4</sup> was inclined to the idea that Lower Nubia was an independent province, and even went so far as to suggest that it may have been more prosperous than the Meroïtic homeland. It also appears likely that the Meroïtic pottery industry originated in Lower Nubia.<sup>5</sup> At all events the centres of economic prosperity and political power from this time forward shifted increasingly back to the north, and it is primarily in Lower Nubia that we must follow the remaining phases of post-pharaonic Nubian cultural history.

In the long view of history, we must almost certainly regard the Meroïtic culture of Nubia and the Ptolemaic culture of Egypt as parallel and related developments.<sup>6</sup> It is unfortunate that our view of both is so consistently refracted through the eyes of Egyptologists, who are inclined to see in them little more than perversions of a classic tradition. If we put aside this bias for a moment it is clear that both in fact represent marked revivals of cultural vigour and initiative, resulting from the cross-fertilization of Egyptian and Graeco-Roman ideals.<sup>7</sup> Both are characterized initially by a return of political stability and economic prosperity and a renaissance in the arts, and especially in temple building.<sup>8</sup> The Meroïtic culture was considerably the less sophisticated of the two, but it was possibly the more vigorous. In Lower Nubia, where Meroïtic and Ptolemaic stood figuratively face to face, the Meroïtic culture and state do not appear markedly inferior.<sup>9</sup>

The *causa prima* for the Meroïtic and Ptolemaic renaissance is almost certainly to be found in the introduction of the *sagia*,<sup>10</sup> which made agricultural productivity for the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Griffith, *LAAA* 11, 122.

<sup>2</sup> Arkell, *op. cit.* 177-8; Kirwan, *Sudan Notes and Records* 20, 47-49.

<sup>3</sup> Emery, *Royal Tombs*, 22; Kirwan, *op. cit.* 49.

<sup>4</sup> *LAAA* 11, 120-2. See also Woolley and MacIver, *op. cit.* 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> Adams, *Kush* 12, p. 171.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Emery and Kirwan, *op. cit.* 22-25; Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1909-1910*, 23; Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1910-11*, 29-31; Griffith, *LAAA* 11, 119-23; Woolley and MacIver, *op. cit.* 4-6.

<sup>7</sup> See Budge, *History of Egypt*, VIII, vii-ix; Emery and Kirwan, *op. cit.* 22-25; Griffith, *LAAA* 11, 119-23; Noshay, *Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt*; Vercoutter, *op. cit.*; Wolley and MacIver, *op. cit.* 4-6.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1908-1909*, 30; Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1909-1910*, 29; Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1910-1911*, 23; Noshay, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> See esp. Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1910-1911*, 29-31.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Firth, *Arch. Surv. Nubia 1909-1910*, 23.

first time relatively independent of the level of the Nile. So long as pits could be deepened and ropes lengthened, irrigation could be continued even at the lowest period of the annual flow. There can be no doubt at all that the *saqia* led directly to the re-occupation of Lower Nubia, where steep banks and deep channels had always made irrigation difficult. This theory is supported by the fact that sherds of *saqia* pots (which are very easily recognized by their fastening-knobs) are invariably found in Meroitic sites in Lower Nubia.<sup>1</sup>

The ultimate fate of the Meroitic culture, particularly in Lower Nubia, is a subject which must be reserved for discussion in connexion with the succeeding period. We may merely note here that in Lower Nubia it was from first to last a stable and prosperous phase in native history.<sup>2</sup>

To sum up, I would propose to re-phrase the cultural history of the Meroitic period in the following terms:

*The Meroitic culture arose upon the ashes of the Napatan after an interlude of cultural and economic impoverishment, about which we know virtually nothing. There may have been an uninterrupted succession of kings, or rival dynasties, or interruptions in one or both lines. There were definite interruptions in the occupation of all the major Napatan sites. When the dust of confusion finally settled, the Meroitic royal capital and cemeteries were firmly established at Meroë, and Napata was no longer a centre of economic and political importance.*

*At Meroë and neighbouring cities there began a remarkable cultural and economic renaissance, stimulated undoubtedly by the arrival of fresh cultural impulses from the Graeco-Roman world. The outburst of temple building in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt was paralleled by a revival of temple building at Meroë, resulting in some of Nubia's finest architectural achievements.*

*Economic prosperity returned with the introduction of the saqia, and led to the re-colonization of Lower Nubia as well as the extension of the Meroitic dominion into Sennar and Kordofan. The occupation of Lower Nubia restored the long-broken link between Nubia and the Mediterranean world, and brought about an enduring contact with Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt which was on the whole peaceful and undoubtedly stimulating to both cultures. There is considerable evidence of decline in the last centuries at Meroë, but Lower Nubia remained relatively stable and prosperous nearly to the end of the Meroitic period, perhaps as a result of its closer proximity to Roman Egypt.*

(Concluding sections of this study, dealing with the X-Group and Christian periods, and the coming of Islam, will appear in the next volume of the *Journal*.)

<sup>1</sup> Broken *saqia* pots were commonly re-utilized as cooking and storage vessels in Meroitic houses.

<sup>2</sup> Griffith, *LAAA* 11, 122.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE KINGDOM OF KUSH (NAPATA-MEROË)

By D. M. DIXON

IN view of the great part played by the Kingdom of Napata-Meroë in the diffusion of Egyptian civilization in Africa,<sup>1</sup> the problem of its origin is of interest to Africanists and Egyptologists alike. In a recently written but not yet published paper,<sup>2</sup> I have discussed the evidence for Egyptian contact with the lands of the Upper Nile and beyond, prior to the ninth century B.C. During the Twentieth Dynasty, the area between the First and Fourth Cataracts was abandoned by the Egyptians and thereafter for nearly three centuries an almost complete blanket of silence descends on events in that land.<sup>3</sup> During the ninth century B.C., however, there arose in Upper Nubia an independent kingdom whose chief centre was at Napata.<sup>4</sup> This district (fig. 1), for such it was rather than a single town, lies just downstream of the Fourth Cataract where the Nile, entering the area of Nubian Sandstone, forms the easily navigable Dongola Reach which extends as far as Tumbos, with flat, cultivable, alluvial land on either side of the river. On the west bank, about a mile west of the river near the modern village of Kareima, rises the spectacular flat-topped mass of Gebel Barkal,<sup>5</sup> the 'Holy Mountain' (*Dw wrb*) of the Egyptian inscriptions, under the eastern edge of which a great temple of Amūn had been built in the Eighteenth Dynasty and subsequently added to and repaired by Ramesses II.<sup>6</sup>

The exact location of the ancient administrative centre of Napata has not been determined with certainty, but the excavations of the Oxford Expedition under Griffith produced some evidence which suggests that it may have been at or near the modern district headquarters of Merowe, four miles downstream from Gebel Barkal on the east bank of the river. Masses of potsherds and rubbish lying on the surface for a kilometre inland from the river-bank indicated the site of a considerable town. Near Merowe hospital a large cemetery was uncovered and further upstream the remains of

<sup>1</sup> General references: B. Davidson, *Old Africa Rediscovered* (London, 1959), 47 ff.; A. J. Arkell, 'The Valley of the Nile', in R. Oliver (ed.), *The Dawn of African History* (London, 1961), 7-12; R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1962), 39 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Egyptian Penetration of Africa down to the end of the New Kingdom'.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the course of events see my *History of Nubia from the decline of the Ramesside Empire to the fall of Meroë* [in preparation], chaps. i and ix.

<sup>4</sup> The earliest occurrence of the name Napata (Egyptian *Np-t*) is on the 'Amada stela of Amenophis II (1436-1413 B.C.) wherein this king records that he hung the body of a Syrian prince on the town wall (*Urk.* IV, 1297-8).

<sup>5</sup> J. H. Dunbar, 'The Holy Mountain', *Antiquity* 3 (1934), 408-13, pl. i; *JEA* 32 (1946), pl. XI; H. N. Chittick, *JEA* 43 (1957), 42 ff., pl. IV; J. Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne*, III (Paris, 1963), fig. 30, facing p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> G. A. Reisner, 'The Barkal Temples in 1916', *JEA* 4 (1917), 213-27.

a sandstone temple. Upstream and east of this temple were discovered the badly eroded ruins of a complex of mud-brick buildings, in some rooms of which were found elephant tusks and quantities of unworked obsidian, quartz, and other stones, which suggested that here the kings kept their stocks of raw materials.<sup>1</sup>

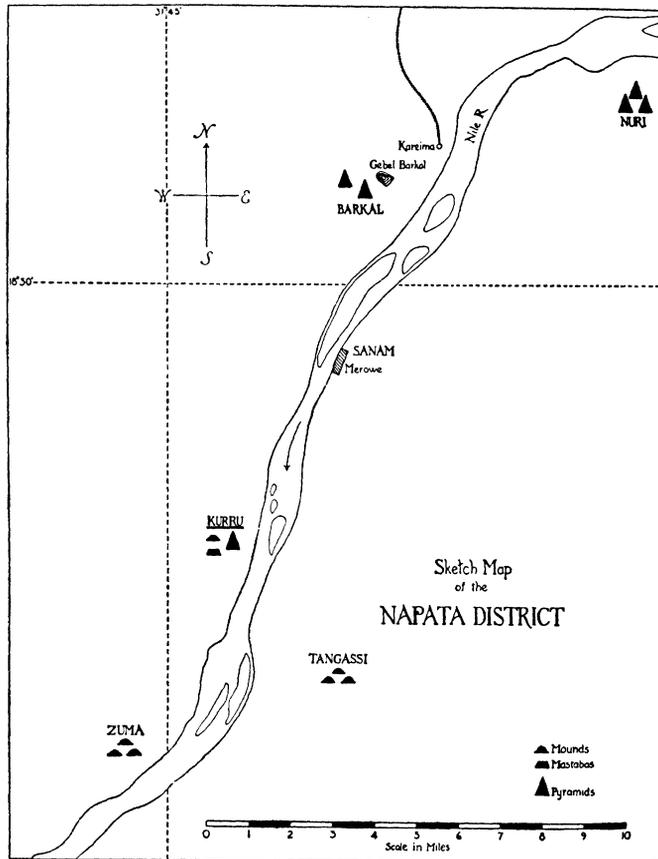


FIG. 1

About a mile west of the Nile and about ten miles downstream from Gebel Barkal, lies El-Kurru, the site of the earliest of the royal cemeteries of the kingdom.<sup>2</sup> About six miles upstream of Gebel Barkal, on the opposite side of the river, is another royal cemetery at Nûri,<sup>3</sup> while close to Gebel Barkal, on the south and west, are two small groups of pyramids.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. Ll. Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', *LAAA* 9 (1922), 67-124, pls. 4-62 (the temple: pp. 79-114, pls. 4-49; the 'Treasury': pp. 114-24, pls. 50-62); id., *LAAA* 10 (1923), 73-171, pls. 12-66 (the cemetery). See also Sauneron and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 50 (1952), 176, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Reisner, *Bull. Mus. Fine Arts*, Boston, 19 (1921), 21-38; id., *Sudan Notes and Records* 2 (1919), 237-54; definitive report: D. Dunham, *El Kurru (The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, I*, Boston, 1950).

<sup>3</sup> Dunham, *Nuri (The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, II*, Boston, 1955).

<sup>4</sup> Dunham, *Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal (The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, IV*, Boston, 1957). A series of prominent burial mounds at Tangâsi on the east bank about eleven miles downstream from G. Barkal date from post-Meroitic times (P. L. Shinnie, *Kush* 2 (1954), 66-85). Similar mounds exist at Zûma on the other side of the river, fifteen miles below Barkal.

On the east bank of the Nile, some 150 miles across the desert south-east of Gebel Barkal, lay the city of Meroë, another important centre of the kingdom, and its capital from the sixth century B.C. onwards. Part of the ancient site is now covered by the village of Begarawīya.<sup>1</sup> East of the city, where a wide plain extends back from the Nile for about two miles, are the three royal cemeteries of Meroë, the West, North, and South.<sup>2</sup>

The name 'Ethiopia' applied to this Nubian kingdom by the Classical writers, and some modern authorities too,<sup>3</sup> is unsuitable, for to the Greeks and Romans 'Ethiopia' embraced a vast area with no clearly defined boundaries, extending from India to West Africa,<sup>4</sup> and 'Ethiopians' were all those dark-skinned peoples who inhabited this region.<sup>5</sup> It thus included large tracts which never formed part of the Nubian kingdom. Moreover, the term was liable to be confused with the modern Empire of Ethiopia, formerly known as Abyssinia. For these reasons, it has generally been replaced by the designation 'Kush'<sup>6</sup> which, by the late New Kingdom, was applied to the area stretching from Aswân upstream to Abû Ḥamed.<sup>7</sup>

As is well known, the history of the Kingdom of Kush falls into two periods, the Napatan and the Meroitic, so named after the capital at these times. The Napatan Period extends from the foundation of the kingdom until about 591 B.C., and is subdivided into two 'phases':<sup>8</sup> the first, during which the Kushite monarchs rose to the height of their power and ruled an empire extending from the shores of the Mediterranean to at least as far south as the northern Gezira,<sup>9</sup> lasted until 654 B.C., when the Kushites finally lost control of Upper Egypt; the second phase covers the years from 654 to c. 591 B.C.,<sup>10</sup> when the seat of government was transferred from Napata further south to Meroë, which retained this status until the collapse of the kingdom in the fourth century of our era.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Garstang, A. H. Sayce, and F. Ll. Griffith *Meroë, the City of the Ethiopians* (Oxford, 1911); Garstang *et al.*, *LAAA* 3 (1910), 57-70, pls. 21-23; 4 (1911), 45-71, pls. 6-16; 5 (1912), 73-83, pls. 6-10; 6 (1913), 1-21, pls. 1-7; 7 (1916), 1-24, pls. 1-10. Cf. Sayce, *LAAA* 3, 53-56.

<sup>2</sup> The North Cemetery and the royal tombs in the South Cemetery are published in Dunham, *Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal*. The remaining burials in the South Cemetery and all those in the West Cemetery are being prepared for publication (Dunham, *Kush* 3 (1955), 74).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. G. A. Reisner.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. A. W. Budge, *A History of Ethiopia, Nubia, and Abyssinia*, 1 (London, 1928), vii, 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> On 'Aithiops' cf. G. H. Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization. A Study of the Ethiopian Type* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 4, Baltimore, 1929), p. xii: 'Greek literature . . . gives very generally to any member of any dark-skinned tribe the name *Αἰθίοψ* which the Greek geographers derived from *αἶθος* and *ὄψ*, that is to say, a man with a (sun)burned face. *It is not at all restricted to the kingdom of Meroë south of Egypt* [italics mine].' Cf. also F. M. Snowden, Jr., 'The Negro in Ancient Greece', *American Anthropologist* 50 (1948), 31 ff.; id., *L'Antiquité classique* 25 (1956), 112, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Dunham, *Sudan Notes and Records* 28 (1947), 1-2; id., *El Kurru*, 1, followed by Arkell, *History of the Sudan*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1961), 113. Some French writers, however, still use the name 'Éthiopie', cf. Leclant, *Kush* 5 (1957), 98, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. J. Vercoutter, *Kush* 7 (1959), 128, 132.

<sup>8</sup> Dunham, *Sudan Notes and Records* 28, 9-10; id., *AJA* 50 (1946), 387.

<sup>9</sup> On Kushite activity in this region see my *The Kushite Empire in the South* [in preparation], ch. iv.

<sup>10</sup> Arkell, *Kush* 3, 93-94; id., *Hist. Sudan*<sup>2</sup>, 145-6, 148.

<sup>11</sup> The traditional date for this event is A.D. 350. Following U. Monneret de Villard (*Storia della Nubia cristiana*, Rome, 1938, 37), Shinnie (*Kush* 3, 82-85) places it somewhat earlier. Cf. Dunham, *Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal*, 7 (A.D. 339); F. Hintze, *Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie und zu den Opfertafeln aus den Pyramiden von Meroë* (Berlin, 1959), 30 ff. (c. A.D. 320).

Reisner believed that during the rule of the Twenty-second (Libyan) Dynasty in Egypt (945–730 B.C.) Nubia remained a province of that land ruled by one of the king's sons. On the break-up of Egypt into a number of semi-independent principalities soon after the death of Shoshenq I, Nubia too, according to Reisner, became independent under its Egyptianized Libyan governor, who thus became the ancestor of the Kushite royal family.<sup>1</sup> This man Reisner identified with the 'Commander of the Army, Pashedenbastet, son of King Shoshenq' whose name occurred on a fragment of an alabaster vessel found in the pyramid of Queen Akheqa at Nûri;<sup>2</sup> and he thought that Pashedenbastet was the father of Kashta,<sup>3</sup> the first of the Kushite rulers about whose activity anything is known. In that case, Kashta's occupation of Upper Egypt and his action in forcing the Divine Adoratress Shepenwepet, the daughter of Osorkon III, to adopt his own daughter Amenirdis, would have to be seen as part of a struggle between rival Libyans for supremacy in Egypt—an unconvincing theory.

Although his later discoveries in the earliest royal cemetery, at El-Kurru, caused Reisner to modify his views regarding Pashedenbastet, they seemed to him to strengthen his theory of the Libyan origin of the Kushite monarchy.<sup>4</sup> The highest point in the cemetery at El-Kurru (pl. XI)—a low knoll at the north-west end of the central of the three parts into which the site is divided by two wadis<sup>5</sup>—was occupied by a circular tumulus (Ku. Tum. 1) of gravel with rubble pitching, beneath the centre of which was a burial-pit, orientated north to south, with a step along the east side and a side-chamber on the west<sup>6</sup> (pl. XII, *a*). Lower down the eastern and southern slopes of this knoll were three other similar graves—Ku. Tum. 2, 4, and 5. In the first (pl. XII *b*), the shallow open pit, orientated north to south, was roofed with transverse stone slabs and within the mound were traces of roughly rectangular stonework.<sup>7</sup> Still lower down the east slope stood a more developed form of tumulus (K. 19), probably originally cased with masonry, which was enclosed by a well-built horseshoe-shaped sandstone masonry wall.<sup>8</sup> On a side-spur north of this tomb was another tumulus of the same type (Ku. Tum. 6) against the east face of which was built a plain mud-brick chapel (pl. XII, *c*).<sup>9</sup> Just below K. 19 stood a row of eight stone mastabas (K. 14, 13, 11, 10 (pl. XII, *d*), 9, 23, 8, and 7). Of these, K. 14 appeared to have been planned as a cased tumulus and converted later into a mastaba, for the rubble mound was clearly apparent inside the masonry of the mastaba.<sup>10</sup> With this exception, all the mastabas as far as K. 9<sup>11</sup> were of the same type and had burial-pits just like those of the tumuli with the same north-to-south orientation. The superstructure was a practically square block of sandstone masonry with nearly vertical sides, but the form of the top could not be determined. On the east side was a plain sandstone masonry chapel, and round the whole, a rectangular sandstone enclosure wall about 0 m. 80 cm. high with rounded top. The next two

<sup>1</sup> *Sudan Notes and Records* 2 (1), 43, 50, 56, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., 43.

<sup>3</sup> Dunham, *Nuri*, 130, fig. 97, pl. 80 *j*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sudan Notes and Records* 2 (1), 43; *JEA* 6, 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Sudan Notes and Records* 2, 238.

<sup>6</sup> Dunham, *El Kurru*, Map ii; Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records* 2 (4), pl. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *El Kurru*, 12–13.

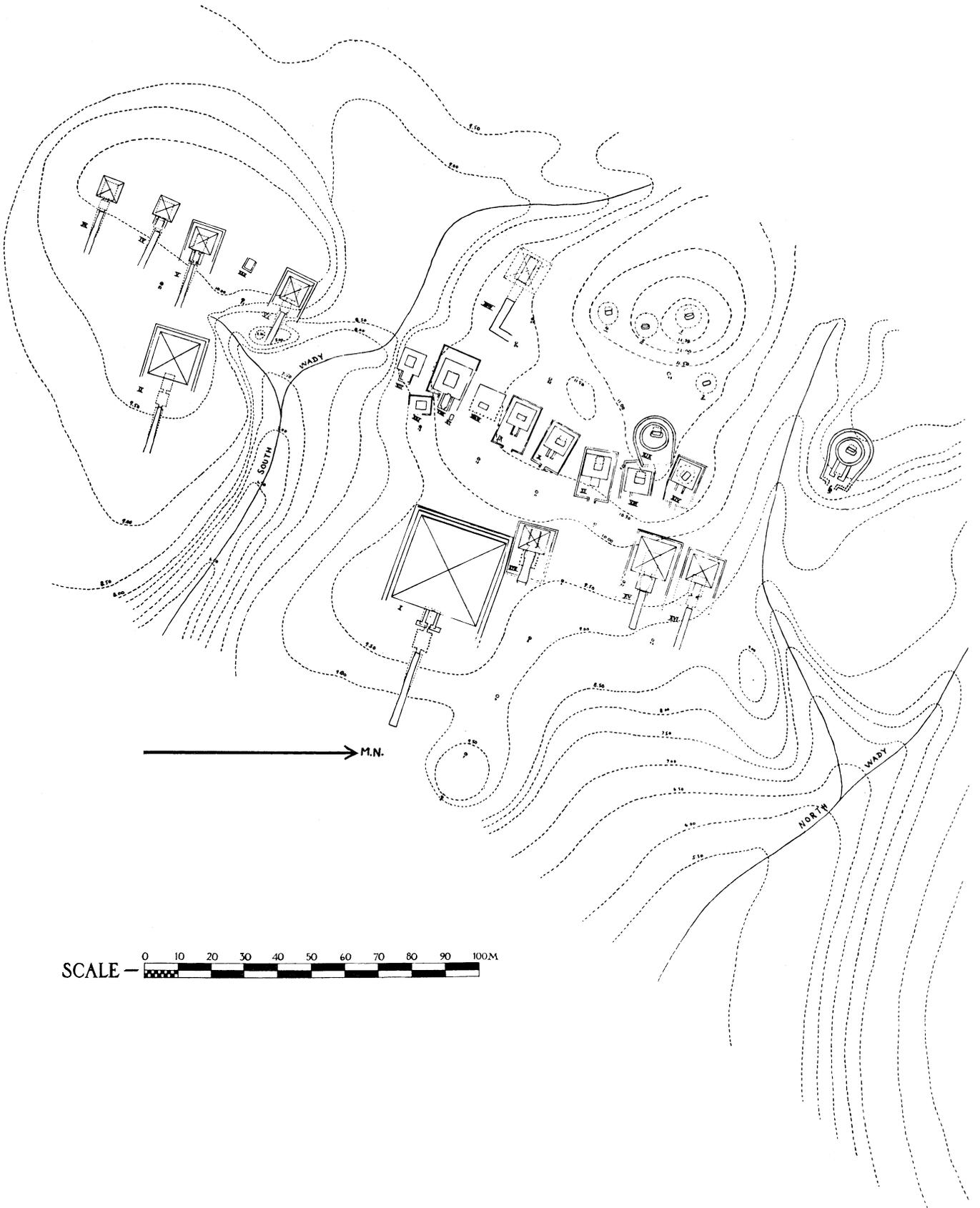
<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 15.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 72; pl. 24 *a*.

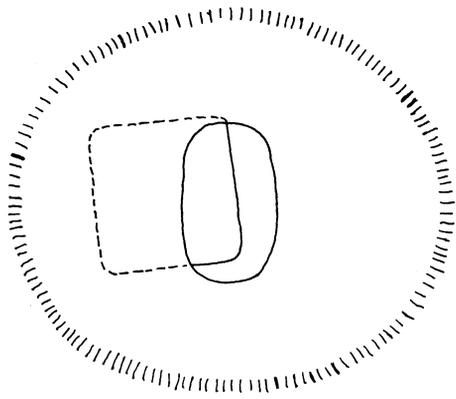
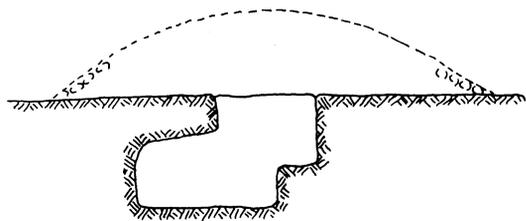
<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 21; pl. 4 *b*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 54; pl. 15 *b*. Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records* 2, 240.

<sup>12</sup> *El Kurru*, 47–49, 51; pls. 12 *b*, 13, 14 *b*, 15 *a*.

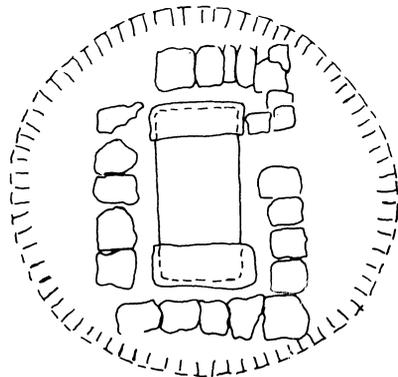
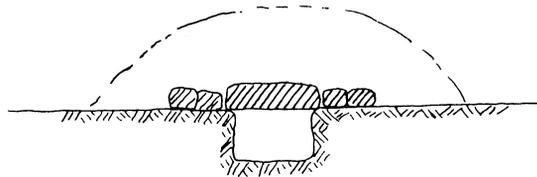


THE ROYAL CEMETERY AT EL-KURRU



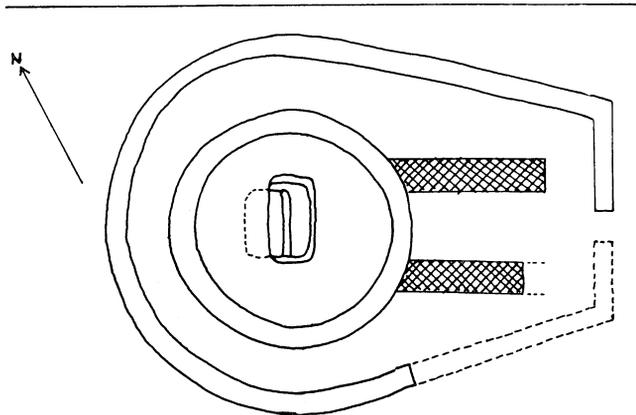
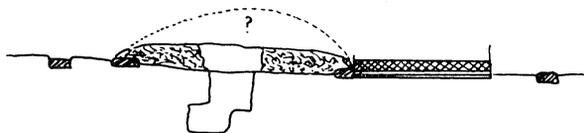
0 1 2 3 4 5 M.

a. K. Tum. 1



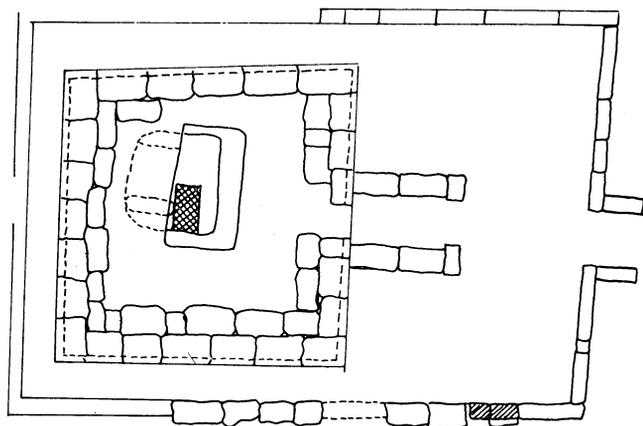
0 1 2 3 4 5 M.

b. K. Tum. 2



0 1 2 3 4 5 M.

c. K. Tum. 6



0 1 2 3 4 6 10 M.

d. K. 10

mastabas, K. 23 and K. 21, though like the earlier mastabas in all else, had a simple open pit without side-chamber for the burial-place, orientated north to south as before.<sup>1</sup>

In all but one of these tombs the burial had been completely plundered, but judging by the surviving remains in the tumulus Ku. Tum. 2, dating from the fourth generation (c. 800–780 B.C.), the body was laid on its right side with the head to the south.<sup>2</sup>

These thirteen tombs were clearly the earliest in the cemetery and were assigned to five generations of ancestors of the kings of Kush preceding Kashta, the ruler who began the occupation of Egypt. No names were recovered from the excavations which could be assigned to any of the ancestral tombs.<sup>3</sup>

An indication of the prosperity of these early rulers of Kush is afforded by the considerable quantity of gold found in their tombs, despite extensive plundering. Most of it, however, came from the debris or siftings and there can be no certainty that it formed part of the original deposit. In the tumulus Ku. Tum. 2, however, the upper part of the body was intact. Round the neck were two gold necklaces, one of large double-cone beads, from which were suspended as pendants a double figure of Pataikos and a hawk-headed deity and a large natural nugget of gold inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs (fig. 2). The second string consisted of gold udjat-eyes alternating with ball beads of garnet. On the left hand was a plain gold finger-ring, and by the head a gold ear-ring.<sup>4</sup>

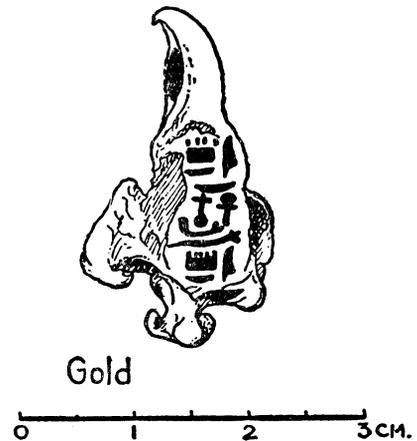


FIG. 2

The ancestral tombs were followed by three mastabas numbered K. 8, 7, and 20, which belonged to Kashta and two of his queens. The first two were similar in plan to the older mastabas and had open pits like K. 23 and 21, but differed from them in that their superstructures were built of smaller stones and the burial-pits were orientated east to west, the traditional Egyptian orientation which is found in all the royal tombs of Kush from this time onwards.<sup>5</sup>

Now according to Reisner's chronology, the youth of the man buried in Ku. Tum. 1 fell within the reigns of the earliest kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty of Egypt.<sup>6</sup> In the tumuli was discovered a considerable quantity of gold, including the already mentioned nugget inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs. In addition, these graves, and the mastabas, yielded fragments of alabaster and decorated faience vessels of Egyptian manufacture.<sup>7</sup> Reference has already been made to the alabaster fragment from Nuri

<sup>1</sup> Dunham, *El Kurru*, 76–77, pls. 2 a, 24 b.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 15. If the upper end of a tibia found at the north end of the burial pit in the mastaba K. 10, dating from the same generation, was in its original position, an indication is afforded that the body had in this case been placed on its left side with the head to the south and facing west (*ibid.* 48).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 15–16, figs. 2 c–d; pls. 5 d, 52 a–b, 57 b, 3–6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 44–46, pls. 11 b, 12 a.

<sup>6</sup> Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records* 2, 246. Cf. Dunham, *El Kurru*, 2, who allowing 20 years per generation, in place of Reisner's 30, and taking 751 B.C. as the commencement of Pi'ankhi's reign, places the earliest burial at El Kurru at c. 860 B.C.

<sup>7</sup> *El Kurru*, 13, 14 (fig. 1 b), 19, 21, 72, 75 (fig. 24 f), 77.

bearing the name of Pashedenbastet. In Ku. Tum. 1, 2, 4<sup>1</sup> and K. 19 were found stone arrow-heads with recessed and tanged bases<sup>2</sup> which were stated by Reisner to be 'of well-known Libyan types'.<sup>3</sup> Finally, in the tomb (K. 53) of Tabiry, one of Pirankhi's queens, was found a battered granite stela, the text of which mentions this lady's ancestry and titles.<sup>4</sup> Among the latter is one which Reisner<sup>5</sup> read as 'the great chieftainness of the Temehu (southern Libyans)'.

From these facts Reisner concluded that 'while the northern Libyans were entering the Delta, or soon thereafter, the southern Libyans, the Temehuw, pushed into the Nile Valley in Ethiopia [i.e. Kush] coming no doubt over the old road of the oases. . . . During the reign of Sheshanq I, or possibly a little later, a Libyan chief, the man buried in Ku. Tum. 1, established himself on an estate at el-Kurruw near Napata. . . . In all probability this first chief of the el-Kurruw family seized at once on the powers of the old Egyptian Viceroy and became like all the other Libyan chiefs in the Nile Valley nominally tributary to the Libyan King of Egypt.'<sup>6</sup>

The fact that the chieftain buried in Ku. Tum. 1 was roughly contemporary with the early part of the Twenty-second Dynasty of Egypt in no way proves that he too was a Libyan. Apart from the inscribed nugget and the jewellery mentioned above, the major part of the gold from the tumuli, and all the alabaster and faience fragments, came from debris or siftings<sup>7</sup> and there can be no certainty therefore that they formed part of the tombs' original contents. In any case, they need be no more than evidence of sporadic trade with Egypt or, more likely, casual 'drift'. It is true that arrow-heads of the type claimed by Reisner to be 'Libyan' have been found widely distributed west of the Nile Valley,<sup>8</sup> but their range of occurrence does not seem to have been very closely determined. It must also be noted that at El-Kurru an almost equal number was found of the lunate arrow-tips which are typically Nubian. Furthermore, Tabiry's title cannot be cited in support of Reisner's theory, since the correct reading is 'Great One (or 'Chieftainness') of the Desert-dwellers (or 'Barbarians', *ḥstyw*)'. None of the Kushite kings or their queens bears any title(s) which can be connected with Libya. Griffith, however, apparently considered that the suffix -qa in which a large proportion of the kings' names end (e.g. Taharqa, Amtalqa, etc.) 'was identical with the Meroitic -qe and vocalized -qō, and came from Libya, being first attached to royal names in that of Shoshenq, whose name is variously written Shasha, Shashaqa, Shashanq(a) [Assyrian: Šušinqū]'. This last form, according to Griffith, = Shasha + -qa (-qo), 'the *n* represent-

<sup>1</sup> Not Ku. Tum. 5 as Reisner states, *Sudan Notes and Records* 2, 246.

<sup>2</sup> Ku. Tum. 1 : 4 tanged arrow-heads (*El Kurru*, 13-14, fig. 1 c); Ku. Tum. 2 : 3 with recessed base (op. cit. 15-16, fig. 2 c); Ku. Tum. 4 : 11 tanged (op. cit. 17-18); K. 19 : 14 recessed base (op. cit. 72, 75 fig. 24f).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypter*, 68: 'Pfeilspitzen aus Feuerstein und Chalcedon, die die typische libysche, geflügelte bzw. gestielte Form aufwiesen. Mit Recht schliesst Reisner daraus auf einen nicht unbedeutenden libyschen Einfluss. . . . Dass die Pfeilspitzen den auch ohne solche Funde vorauszusetzenden starken libyschen Einfluss in Nubien beweisen, ist selbstverständlich richtig.'

<sup>4</sup> *El Kurru*, 87, 90, fig. 29 f, pl. 30 a.

<sup>5</sup> *Sudan Notes and Records* 2, 246; id., *BMFA* 19, 28; followed by G. A. Wainwright, *Sudan Notes and Records* 28, 18, n. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Sudan Notes and Records* 2, 247; cf. id., *BMFA* 19, 28. 31.

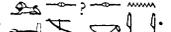
<sup>7</sup> See n. 7, p. 125 above.

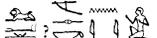
<sup>8</sup> O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1913), 145-6.

ing the nazalization before a guttural as in Meroitic. In the names Shabako and Shebitku the explosive in the unfamiliar Libyan suffix has been transcribed with *k*.<sup>1</sup>

Reisner claimed that the names of Pi'ankhi's commanders in Egypt, Lamarsekny and Puren, are also Libyan.<sup>2</sup> The reading of the first, which occurs only in Pi'ankhi's inscription,<sup>3</sup> is uncertain.<sup>4</sup> The second, however, does occur in Lower Egypt and the Delta during the Libyan Twenty-second Dynasty. A limestone polychrome stela from the Serapeum at Memphis belonged to the 'Commander of the Army, Puren',<sup>5</sup> and a large blue faience vase found at Tûkh el-Qarâmûs in the Delta is inscribed in hieratic: 'dedication of a vessel for the offering-table of the great Isis, mother of the gods, for the *ka* of the Great Chief of the Ma Puren, by his son Haryotes (and) his son Penhen. In year 33(?)'.<sup>6</sup> The title of the father clearly dates the inscription to the time of the Libyan dynasty and the year number 33 assigns it to the reign of Osorkon I, Shoshenq III, or Shoshenq IV, the only kings of that dynasty for whom so long a reign is attested.<sup>7</sup> Naville<sup>8</sup> had noted that, with a minor graphic variation, the father's name is the same as that of Pi'ankhi's general. It is not impossible that Pi'ankhi did have in his army an officer of Libyan descent, which would perhaps explain why this man was chosen to receive the surrender of his fellow Libyan, Pi'ankhi's wily foe Tefnakhte of Saïs.<sup>9</sup> It is possible, too, that the Kushite kings' fondness for horses<sup>10</sup> may have owed something to their contacts with Libya. It would indeed be surprising if the relations between Kush and the peoples west of the Nile Valley did not result in some Libyan influence in Kush. However, apart from the presence of Libyan-type arrow-heads, the possible Libyan origin of the -qa termination and the name(s) of Pi'ankhi's commander(s), such influence does not, on present evidence, appear to have been at all marked. At any rate, it is far from proof that the founders of the Napatan monarchy were Libyans. Indeed, a strong indication that they were not, is afforded by Pi'ankhi's attitude towards the Libyan dynasts of Lower Egypt and the Delta. With the exception of Namlot of Hermopolis, he regarded them as ritually impure because they were uncircumcised and ate fish.<sup>11</sup> As Hölscher remarks, even if Pi'ankhi's family had belonged to a Libyan tribe which practised circumcision, he would scarcely have acted so disparagingly towards related tribes among whom this operation was not customary.<sup>12</sup> Säve-Söderbergh,<sup>13</sup> on the other hand, thinks that Pi'ankhi's treatment of the dynasts does not necessarily prove him to be of non-Libyan origin. He gives no

<sup>1</sup> M. F. L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, I (Oxford, 1949), 124, n. 1, cf. 73-74. Cf. Sauneron and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 50, 185, n. 1. <sup>2</sup> Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records* 2, 47. <sup>3</sup> *Urk.* III, 7, 6.

<sup>4</sup> H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 328, no. 24: Šnc . . . sknj, . Schäfer (*Urk.* III, 7,

6) reads  Lmrskny, but adds in a footnote: 'könnte auch  sein' [for ].

<sup>5</sup> E. Chassinat, *Rec. Trav.* 22 (1900), 15, no. 50.

<sup>6</sup> E. Naville, *Rec. Trav.* 10 (1888), 57-58; F. von Bissing, 'Zu Tell el Yahudiyeh Taf. VIII', *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 86-87; W. Spiegelberg, 'Zu der Inschrift von Tuhk el Karmus', *Rec. Trav.* 23 (1901), 100-1; von Bissing, *Fayencegefässe* [Cat. gén. Caire] (1902), 74, no. 3842.

<sup>7</sup> Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 23, 101. Cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 448.

<sup>8</sup> *Rec. Trav.* 10, 58.

<sup>9</sup> *Urk.* III, 52, 5 (l. 140).

<sup>10</sup> See my forthcoming paper on 'The Horse in Nubia'.

<sup>11</sup> *Urk.* III, 54 (ll. 150-1 of the inscr.); Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, § 882.

<sup>12</sup> Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypter*, 68.

<sup>13</sup> T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 13 (1956), 123.



There is much to be said for the view, which is gaining increasing support, that they were natives of Kush, the descendants of the chiefs who had ruled from Kerma, 'overlaid with a rather thick veneer of Egyptian civilization'.<sup>1</sup> The oldest ancestral graves at El-Kurru were covered by simple circular mounds of gravel with pebble or rubble pitching. This is a characteristically<sup>2</sup> Nubian form of superstructure which is found a thousand years earlier in C-Group burials in Lower Nubia<sup>3</sup> and at Kerma,<sup>4</sup> at the other end of the Dongola reach, during the Middle Kingdom; and it was revived in X-Group burials of post-Meroitic date at Ballâna and Qustul,<sup>5</sup> Gammai,<sup>6</sup> Firka,<sup>7</sup> and elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> It was not until the reign of Pi'ankhi, apparently, that the pyramidal form of superstructure was adopted.<sup>9</sup>

In all the tumulus-graves and in six of the eight mastaba-tombs which succeeded them, the burial-pit was orientated north to south, in contrast to the Egyptian east-to-west orientation, which only appears, as we have seen, in the generation of Kashta, who began the occupation of Egypt.

Owing to extensive plundering, the method of burial in the ancestral mound-graves and mastabas could not be determined, but of the kings of Kush for the first six generations, three (Pi'ankhi, Shabako, and Shebitku) were buried on beds,<sup>10</sup> the evidence for two (Kashta and Tanwetamani) is inconclusive, and all their queens were buried in this manner.<sup>11</sup> This un-Egyptian form of burial had been practised a thousand years

<sup>1</sup> Dunham, *Sudan Notes and Records* 28, 3; cf. Arkell, *Hist. Sudan*<sup>2</sup>, 115, 120, 136; J. Vercoutter, *Sudan Notes and Records*, 40, 14; J. Yoyotte, 'Égypte ancienne' in *Histoire universelle*, 1: *Des origines à l'Islam* [Encyclopédie de la Pléiade] (Paris, 1956), 231; Vandier, *L'Égypte*<sup>4</sup>, 675: '... il est difficile de donner un avis définitif sur l'origine des rois de la XXV<sup>e</sup> Dynastie [of Egypt = Pi'ankhi and his successors], et, s'il n'est pas impossible de supposer qu'ils étaient des Libyens, il est peut-être plus vraisemblable d'admettre... qu'ils étaient des indigènes, en d'autres termes, des Nubiens, égyptianisés depuis longtemps et convertis à une religion amonienne de stricte observance. Cette hypothèse est celle qui explique le mieux les difficultés auxquelles on se heurte lorsqu'on étudie ce problème.'

<sup>2</sup> Though, of course, not exclusively Nubian.

<sup>3</sup> W. B. Emery and L. P. Kirwan, *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi Es-Sebua and Adindan 1929-1931* (Cairo, 1935), *passim*; G. Steindorff, *Aniba*, 1 (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1935).

<sup>4</sup> G. A. Reisner, 'Excavations at Kerma', Parts i-iii, *HAS* 5, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> W. B. Emery, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul*, II, pls. 3, 10 a, 11 a, 12 b, 13 a, 14 a, et *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> O. Bates and D. Dunham, 'Excavations at Gammai', *HAS* 8, 29 ff. 69 ff., pl. 41.

<sup>7</sup> L. P. Kirwan, *The Oxford University Excavations at Firka* (Oxford, 1939), pls. 3, 2-3; 4, 1; 6, 4.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Tangâsi (P. L. Shinnie, *Kush* 2, 66 ff.).

<sup>9</sup> In view of the recent discovery in the Sudan of Egyptian pyramids of New Kingdom date at Sidi Oweis el-Qûrani (El-Qûrnein), c. 20 km. north of Wâdi Halfa (T. Säve-Söderbergh, 'The Tomb of the Prince of Teh-Khet, Amenemhet', *Kush* 11 (1963), 159 ff., pls. 37, 38 a), and at Sulb (M. Schiff Giorgini, *Kush* 6 (1958), 86 ff., 97-8, pls. 8, 12-13, 15, 18-21; id., *Kush* 7 (1959), 160 ff.; cf. J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 31 (1962), 134-35) and the existence of small N. K. Egyptian pyramids at 'Aniba (G. Steindorff, *Aniba*, II, 'Cemetery S'), it is unnecessary to attribute Pi'ankhi's adoption of this form of superstructure to his sojourn in Egypt. In fact, although it is generally assumed to have been a pyramid, the superstructure of Pi'ankhi's tomb at El-Kurru (K. 17) was so ruined that its form could not be determined with certainty (Dunham, *Kurru*, 64, pls. 21, 22 a).

<sup>10</sup> (a) Pi'ankhi (K. 17), 'free-standing rock coffin bench... with cut-outs for bed-legs' (*Kurru*, 64); (b) Shabako (K. 15), 'free-standing masonry coffin bench with niches for bed-legs' (op. cit. 55); (c) Shebitku (K. 18), 'free-standing coffin bench, the lower part rock, the upper part of masonry. Deep cut-outs for bed-legs. Ten holes in the floor of the burial chamber round the bench suggest the use of poles for a canopy' (op. cit. 67, pl. 23 c).

<sup>11</sup> For example, attached to the south wall in the rock-cut burial chamber of Queen Tabiry (K. 53), wife of

earlier in the tumuli at Kerma.<sup>1</sup> It was apparently not until the reign of Taharqa that the Kushite kings, presumably as a result of their contact with Egypt, abandoned their custom of bed-burial.<sup>2</sup> Somewhat later this practice was dropped also by lesser members of the ruling class and disappeared entirely, but reappeared in graves of post-Meroitic date at Meroë, where Garstang found burials on angarîbs.<sup>3</sup>

Yet another characteristic of the Kerma burial customs appears again in the late Meroitic period, namely the practice of killing wives and servants to accompany their dead lord in the next world—the so-called *sati*-burial.<sup>4</sup> That the founders of the Kingdom of Napata were of local origin is further suggested by the circumstance that their descendants continued to rule in Kush for nearly a thousand years after their expulsion from Egypt.

Anatomical evidence bearing on the origin of the founders of the Kushite kingdom is meagre. That from the cemetery at El-Kurru was very scanty and fragmentary, but two female skulls from Tumulus 2 and the mastaba K. 11, both of the ancestral period, and one from K. 18, which is probably that of King Shebitku, 'fit into the so-called Predynastic Egyptian type, the basic white stock of Egypt . . . . There is no sign that it had been touched by any negroid influence in the case of these individuals of the ancestral period . . . . No prognathism, which would be an expected indication of negroid admixture, is evident in these "ancestors". Any difference between them and contemporary groups further down the Nile must be attributed to isolation rather than admixture.'<sup>5</sup>

It is true that on a stela which the Assyrian King Esarhaddon erected at Sinjirli in north Syria, on his homeward march after his victorious campaign against Taharqa in 671 B.C., a kneeling figure of a Kushite, with uraeus on his forehead, is depicted as a negro.<sup>6</sup> Whether the figure is that of Taharqa himself is uncertain; more probably it represents his son and heir Ushanuhuru,<sup>7</sup> for in the text of this stela, and in that carved on the walls of the Dog River near Beirût, this prince and Taharqa's queen are said to have been captured at the fall of Memphis.<sup>8</sup> However, the fact that Taharqa, and perhaps still more his son by some dusky southern queen, may have had a trace<sup>9</sup> of

Pi'ankhi, was a rock bench with cut-outs for bed-legs which stood in square floor-sinkages (*Kurru*, 86). In K. 54 and K. 55, the tombs of other (unknown) women, the bench was free-standing and there were no floor-sinkages for the bed-legs (op. cit. 91. 93).

<sup>1</sup> Reisner, *HAS* 5, pls. 8, 4; 9, 3-4; 10, 1; 11, 4; 23, 2, 4, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Dunham, *Sudan Notes and Records*, 28, 6-7; id., *Nuri*, 9, pl. 3 b.

<sup>3</sup> J. Garstang *et al.*, *Meroë, the City of the Ethiopians* (Oxford, 1911), 30 ff., pls. 38, 1; 40, 2.

<sup>4</sup> At Kerma: Reisner, *HAS* 5, 65 ff.

<sup>5</sup> A. M. Brues in Dunham, *El Kurru*, 118-19.

<sup>6</sup> J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, fig. 181; H. Schäfer, *ZÄS* 33 (1895), pl. 7, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Egyptian: Esanhûret (?), Macadam, *Kawa*, I, 124.

<sup>8</sup> D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II, §§ 580, 585.

<sup>9</sup> Taharqa's features do show a definite trace of negro origin. Cf. for example, the relief from the temple of Amûn at Barkal (Schäfer, *ZÄS* 33 (1895), 116, pl. 7, 3); the granite head in the Cairo Museum (W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 178), and his colossal statue from Gebel Barkal, now in Khartûm Museum [No. 1841] (ibid. pl. 177). Ignoring the material (black granite) of which these last two monuments are made, and the rather flattened appearance of the nose, the result of chipping, both of which tend to give a superficial impression of negro origin, there remain: (a) the treatment of the hair, (b) the thickish lips, and the rather heavy jaw, though admittedly these features are not confined to negroes. Cf., too, the granite sphinx

negro blood is of no relevance to the question of the racial origin of the founders of the dynasty some two centuries earlier.<sup>1</sup>

The proponents of both the Egyptian and native Kushite origin of the Napatan monarchy both assume the presence in Upper Nubia, prior to the establishment of the kingdom, of a group of Egyptians. According to the former, they were the priestly founders of the dynasty,<sup>2</sup> while the latter see them merely as the medium whereby the native rulers were Egyptianized. Thus Arkell<sup>3</sup> writes: 'at Jebel Barkal a colony of Egyptian priests of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> had been resident by this time [Twenty-fifth Dynasty] for some centuries. . . . In addition . . . there were also no doubt a considerable number of Egyptians still resident between the Second and Fourth Cataracts. . . . It seems . . . probable that they [the founders of the kingdom] were natives of Cush . . . , who had been Egyptianized by close contact with the priests of Amen at Barkal.'

There is no real evidence, however, for the presence of Egyptians in any capacity, in the Napata district, or indeed anywhere in Upper Nubia, in the period between the close of the Twentieth Dynasty and the foundation of the kingdom of Kush, for, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> after the Egyptian abandonment of Nubia during the Twentieth Dynasty, the area between the First and Third Cataracts was almost devoid of a settled population of any sort for over four hundred years. It is, of course, not impossible that small numbers of priests and others did choose to remain at Gebel Barkal, where a temple of Amūn had been in existence since the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but there is no definite evidence that such was the case or that they were later joined by other Egyptians who fled from Thebes on the accession of the Twenty-second Dynasty.<sup>5</sup>

In the South and West Cemeteries at Meroë, among the non-royal burials contemporary with the second to the twelfth generations of the kings of Kush were a number of poorly-furnished narrow pit-burials in which the body, extended on its back, had frequently been placed in a wooden coffin, sometimes of anthropoid form. In the West Cemetery the mummy in these pit-burials was frequently covered with a bead net in the traditional late Egyptian manner.<sup>6</sup> Dunham, who postulates the existence of 'a considerable group of real Egyptians' (priests, artists, scribes, etc., living with and working for the local Kushite rulers), says that these pit-burials contained 'people of Egyptian tradition who were relatively poor'.<sup>7</sup>

from Kawa (Macadam, *Kawa*, II, pl. 74; S. R. K. G[lanville], *British Museum Quarterly* 7 (1932), 46, pl. 19 b) and the bronze statuettes from this site (Macadam, op. cit. pl. 79); also the statuette published by Schäfer (*ZÄS* 33, pl. 6; cf. pp. 114-16). Nevertheless, Taharqa was probably not as negroid as he appears in Mrs. Brunton's reconstruction (W. M. Brunton, *Great Ones of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1929), coloured plate facing p. 160; cf. p. 33), which is based on the Cairo head.

<sup>1</sup> Likewise the appearance on reliefs in the pyramid-chapels at Meroë and on the walls of the 'Lion Temple' at Naga (c. 1st century A.D.) of steatopygous females, some with negroid features (S. Chapman and D. Dunham, *Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroë and Barkal* (Boston, 1952), pls. 10 B, 11, 15 B, 16, 17, 23 E; Smith, op. cit. pl. 192), is irrelevant, for by that time the negro element in Kush was very strong.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., Drioton and Vandier, op. cit. 537-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Sudan*<sup>2</sup>, 112-13, 115.

<sup>4</sup> *A History of Nubia . . . to the fall of Meroë*, chap. ix.

<sup>5</sup> So Arkell, op. cit. 112-13.

<sup>6</sup> Dunham, *Sudan Notes and Records* 28, 4-5; id., *AJA* 50, 383-4.

<sup>7</sup> *Sudan Notes and Records* 28, 5. Cf. Arkell, op. cit. 120-1.

A full assessment of the evidence must, of course, await the appearance of the definitive report on these cemeteries. However, it seems one cannot regard these pit-burials as evidence of the presence of Egyptians in Kush prior to the foundation of the kingdom, for the earliest of them are apparently not earlier than the *second* generation of the kings of Kush, i.e. the time of Pi'ankhi.<sup>1</sup> If the people buried in them were in fact real Egyptians, they could presumably be artisans, etc., brought to Meroë by Pi'ankhi, or perhaps by his predecessor, Kashta. It is in any case unnecessary to account for the Egyptianization of the early Napatan monarchs by postulating the existence of real Egyptians in the region of the Fourth Cataract prior to the foundation of the kingdom. Kush had been subject to Egyptian influence in the time of the Middle Kingdom when an Egyptian trading-centre was established at Kerma,<sup>2</sup> and the employment by Nubian rulers during the Second Intermediate period of Egyptian expatriates<sup>3</sup> and the presence of Nubian mercenaries in Egypt<sup>4</sup> served to further this Egyptianization. From the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, the great centre of Amūn-worship at Gebel Barkal had been subject to the influence of Egyptian religious culture and to Egyptian control. By the time of the Egyptian withdrawal from Nubia, therefore, generations of native Kushites had become thoroughly Egyptianized. Moreover, all around them stood tangible evidence of Egyptian civilization in the form of the great temples and other buildings of the New Kingdom. Even though they may have fallen into ruin in part, and become encumbered with sand by the ninth century, they would nevertheless have remained a source of inspiration to the native founders of the monarchy of Napata.<sup>5</sup>

### Postscript

On Kashta in Upper Egypt see now J. Leclant, *ZĀS* 90 (1963), 74 ff. The only known representation of Kashta, on a fragment of a small sandstone stela found at Elephantine, shows him with, in Maspero's words (*Ann. Serv.* 10 (1909), 10), 'un nez camard, un menton en retrait et de grosses lèvres saillantes, bref un type à demi négroïde'. However, the only published photograph of the piece (Leclant, loc. cit., 75, fig. 1) is very indistinct.

<sup>1</sup> Dunham, *Sudan Notes and Records* 28, 4; id., *AJA* 50, 383-4: 'South Cemetery. The site was first occupied about the reign of Pi'ankhy (2) . . . The West Cemetery was in constant use from the time of Pi'ankhy (2) until the final destruction of Meroë. . . As was the case in the South Cemetery, the burials from Pi'ankhy (2) to Malenaqan (12) are divided into the same two types, bed- and pit-burials.'

<sup>2</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 103 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, 'A Buhen stela from the Second Intermediate Period (Khartoum No. 18)', *JEA* 35, 50 ff.; id. in J. W. B. Barns, 'Four Khartoum Stelae', *Kush* 2, 19 ff.; id., 'The Nubian Kingdom of the Second Intermediate Period', *Kush* 4, 54 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Äg. u. Nub.*, 135 ff.

<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to Mr. Dows Dunham of the Boston Museum for permission to reproduce illustrations from *El-Kurru*. Figs. 1 and 2 come from that volume, pp. 6 and 16; the material on plates XI and XII also comes from *El-Kurru*.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE SPEAR. II

By E. A. E. REYMOND

IT would appear from a study of the Edfu ritual scenes which contain references to the sacred spear of Horus<sup>1</sup> that this symbol of protection was regarded as the physical body (*dt*) of a divine being who in the primeval age was believed to have come into existence as a snake; his name was the 'Segemeh'. He then assumed the appearance of a divine being described as the *Ntr-shm-hr*, the 'God-Mighty-of-Countenance'. The implication of this belief is that the *Ntr-shm-hr* must have been a deity older than the snake 'Segemeh'.

Another mythical story tells us that Ptaḥ was also believed to have adopted the appearance of the *Ntr-shm-hr* and that he revealed himself in this form while coming into the 'primeval world of gods' for the first time. We read in the text added to the scene of adoration of the Shebtiw at Edfu<sup>2</sup> that *when the Great Primeval Mound came into existence by the agency of Hedjeti, Ptaḥ came forth therefrom to protect his twins in his likeness of Shm-hr*.<sup>3</sup> Here, in an entirely different context, we have the same belief that a god coming to this world to protect another deity assumed the appearance and the properties of the *Ntr-shm-hr*, the 'God-Mighty-of-Countenance'. We see here a link and a possible common background between the 'Legend of the Fight of Horus against Seth' and the other myth. According to the former the primeval protector originated in the earth. He was, therefore, an Earth-god whose role was to protect the deities living on the earth. The other tradition reveals that Ptaḥ issued from the earth pictured as the 'Great Mound'. He, too, was conceived as being an Earth-god whose appearance on the mythical scene resulted from the emergence of the 'Mound'. It looks as though the Egyptians believed that the appearance of the protecting power coincided with the emergence of the earth. We conjecture from this evidence that there was a belief in an Earth-god-protector born from the earth who was originally called *Ntr-shm-hr*, the 'God-Mighty-of-Countenance' with whom other deities were equated according to various local traditions. We are already familiar with the idea of the Falcon representing this primeval *Ntr-shm-hr*, and here we are told that he was an Earth-god.

At Edfu we find another and a somewhat more explicit version of the tradition concerning the equation of Ptaḥ with the primeval protecting power, which is recorded in the following words: *Ptaḥ*<sup>4</sup> *was in the primeval water to protect (ḥn) the god (ntr)*<sup>5</sup> *in the capacity of the Ntr-shm-hr, the Sgmḥ, (even) the likeness of the Radiant One with the face like unto the Heter-Ḥer*.<sup>6</sup> Thereafter a gloss is added that his 'blessed face' resembled

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JEA* 49, pp. 140-6.

<sup>2</sup> For the translation and interpretation of this text see *ZÄS* 87, 41 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *E.* IV, 358, 17.

<sup>4</sup> The writing of the name shows the determinative .

<sup>5</sup> For the reading *ntr* of the sign  cf. *JEA* 48, p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> *E.* VI, 15, 3-4.

the *si*-falcon who looks backward<sup>1</sup> and the narrative follows telling us that *Men say the Protector-god (ḥn-ntr) came forth thereupon in this place to protect the god (ntr) within the Wetjeset-Neter in the capacity of the Segemeh*.<sup>2</sup>

The study of the Edfu cosmogonical records makes it clear that the two short inscriptions used as the starting-point of this paper give a very brief summary of a myth about what was believed to have happened in a primeval land where the Creator of the Earth had his cultus-place. These summaries are certainly of a later date; they might also be an abbreviated version of the original myth made by the priests of the Edfu Temple with special reference to the history of the Temple of Horus the Beḥdetite. The copy of the original version of this myth surviving among the Edfu inscriptions<sup>3</sup> indicates that originally the Protector-god was called *Ptḥ-nwyt*, the 'Creator-of-the-Primeval-Water', and that he was, indeed, regarded as the *Likeness of the Radiant One with the face like unto the Heter-Her*.<sup>4</sup> The names *Ntr-shm-ḥr* and the *Sgmḥ*, however, do not occur in this context. It seems to us most likely that these two primeval deities were originally different from this *Ḥn-ntr*, 'Protector-god' who seems to have been associated with Ptḥ at a later date according to the evidence of one of the Edfu ritual scenes referring to Ptḥ of historical times. Ptḥ is there described by the name of the primeval *Ḥn-ntr*, 'Protector-god'.<sup>5</sup> The suggestion that the Egyptians believed in the *Ḥn-ntr* on the one hand and in the *Ntr-shm-ḥr* on the other hand receives some support from another portion of the same cosmogonical record which brings us into another primitive sacred place of the Creator of the Earth.<sup>6</sup> The narrative is enigmatic, indeed, and no parallels can be cited that will enable us to reconstruct the mythological situation in detail. Nevertheless, the essential features of this primitive sacred place can be with a reasonable degree of probability deduced from the surviving account. It is highly probable that in the most sacred part of this area there was a willow underneath which was placed a symbol described as the 'Arm' (r), and in which the original creative power was believed to dwell. Rites were performed and offerings were presented on its behalf. There was also a shelter (*nht*), probably created over the place in which the 'Arm' was. Tanen seems to have lived there and was believed to come into the shelter in the presence of a divine being who seems to have lived there and who bears the name *Ntr-shm-ḥr*, the 'God-Mighty-of-Countenance'.<sup>7</sup> The writing of this divine name shows here the determinative  $\text{𓂏}$ . The *Ntr-shm-ḥr* was, therefore, a divine being who lived in the island of creation, exactly in a shelter that enshrined the symbol of the creative power who created this world. It is most likely that originally he was in a way connected with the Creator of the Earth. He might have been his protector, specially the protector of his relic represented by the object which our myth describes as the 'Arm'.

In the same sacred place we find in his company other deities—among them a divine being who is said to be the *Ḥd-wr*, 'Great White'. We regard the name *ḥd-wr* as that of a god since it shows again the determinative of god  $\text{𓂏}$ . This 'Great White', therefore, would appear to have originally been a companion of the Earth-god. He seems to have

<sup>1</sup> E. VI, 15, 5.

<sup>2</sup> E. VI, 15, 7-8.

<sup>3</sup> E. VI, 182, 15-183, 2.

<sup>4</sup> E. VI, 182, 18.

<sup>5</sup> E. III, 132, 4-5.

<sup>6</sup> E. VI, 184, 2-10.

<sup>7</sup> E. VI, 184, 5.

had a special function in this primitive cultus-place and seems to have been regarded as a deity who acted. We read that he was believed to complete an act which is described as *sꜣwi gmḥ*, 'to cut the leaves' of the willow<sup>1</sup> after this became the resting-place of the primeval Falcon.<sup>2</sup> The sacred name *Pꜣ-sgmḥ* originated as a result of this action. This narrative may eventually provide the interpretation of the circumstances under which the name *Pꜣ-sgmḥ* was believed to have originated. The rite of cutting the leaves of a willow is mentioned only in this context and it seems possible that it might have been connected with the creation of the magical protection of sacred places. As to the *Sgmḥ*, it is not certain from the first whether it signifies the origin of a new divine name borne only by the god who completed this action, the 'Great White', or the coming into existence of a new divine being as a result of the action completed by the 'Great White'. If we agree with the first interpretation, it follows that *Pꜣ-sgmḥ* was originally only a subsidiary name of the 'Great White' and that this name was given to him in connexion with the activities which he had completed in the cultus-place of the Creator. If, however, the second interpretation is the right one, it means that the *Pꜣ-sgmḥ* was a creation of the 'Great White', that it might eventually be a symbol upon which a magical power might have been conferred thereafter. The connexion of this name with the cutting of the leaves seems to give a hint of the probable significance of the name *Pꜣ-sgmḥ*. The first occurrence of this name in our narrative shows the writing ;<sup>3</sup> two interpretations are possible. On the one hand *s* is here used with the meaning *sꜣ*—the 'Falcon'. The occurrence of the sign  in the second part of the name suggests the meaning 'to look backward'.<sup>4</sup> If this interpretation be admissible it would mean that while the 'Great White' was cutting the leaves of the willow a falcon-like divine being came into existence. On the other hand, if we take  with the meaning of  *s*, 'man', the determinative  being wrongly used instead of the determinative , the interpretation 'the man of the leaves' may, very tentatively, be suggested. We do not see any connexion between such a name and the significance of the myth. We would prefer the first interpretation because the same myth describes on one occasion the *Sgmḥ* as ,<sup>5</sup> though this is in connexion with another sacred place in the island of creation. It is therefore suggested that he was a falcon created in connexion with a magical rite that occurred in the island at the moment when the willow became the resting-place of the Sacred Falcon.

It seems to result from this mythical episode that the *Ntr-shm-ḥr*, the 'God-Mighty-of-Countenance', was originally a god dwelling in the island of creation, being closely associated with the Creator's resting-place and protecting the image of the nameless creative powers who created the primary substance. Apparently he was believed to have had as a companion the 'Great White', who originally was also a living god. The *Segemḥ* seems to have originated in the home of these two deities. It is important that there is nowhere in this description allusion to the *Ḥeter-Ḥer*, and we take this as support for the theory that the Egyptians did not believe in a relationship between the *Ḥeter-Ḥer* and the three deities from the cultus-place of the nameless Creator.

<sup>1</sup> *E.* VI, 184, 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> *E.* VI, 184, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *E.* VI, 184, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the writing of the name of the Falcon in *E.* VI, 15, 5, *sꜣ ḥr gmḥ* <*r*> *rꜣwty*, the Falcon who looks out-side, i.e. who is vigilant or perspicacious.

<sup>5</sup> *E.* VI, 183, 7.

The same Edfu record pictures yet another sacred place which was believed to have existed in the island of creation, in which the Earth-Maker was believed to have dwelt and which bore the name *Hwt-Isdn*, the 'Mansion of Isden'.<sup>1</sup> The 'Great White', the 'God-Mighty-of-Countenance', and the Segemeḥ are said to have been there, but they appear in an entirely different form. The 'Great White' is no longer referred to as a living being. The determinative } accompanies his name and this is a hint that he might have been thought to dwell in a wooden object. We think that there is allusion to an eventual metamorphosis of the 'Great White' and imagine that in his life he was closely connected with a particular sacred place. When he has appeared in a place other than his home, he was no longer of the same nature. It was, perhaps, his derivative form, his likeness, which the Egyptians believed to be able to appear in places other than his home. We found on several occasions during the study of the Edfu cosmogonical records that the Egyptians believed that all the original divine beings, after they had lived in the island of creation, entered into another form which is described as being of a somewhat more substantial nature than their original appearance. Through this procedure also the Egyptians seem to have believed that their original deities were made eternal. The secondary forms of the original powers are usually referred to as sacred images that protected the new generation of gods who succeeded to them.<sup>2</sup> If our suggestion be accepted the story of the 'Great White' would be only additional evidence of the general application and significance of this belief. We have seen that the 'Great White' was believed to have lived and acted in the shelter of the Earth-god. The other mythical scene shows him in the form of a mace, which was one of the emblems of the Earth-god with whom he originally dwelt. And in this very form the 'Great White' appears as the protection of the Falcon in his first cultus-place and also later in his temples of historical times. This mythological episode seems to clarify why at Edfu the mace (*hd-wr*) was adored as a god and is described as a deity who came into being at the beginning of the world.<sup>3</sup> We do not know about the way in which the 'Great White' was believed to have undergone his metamorphosis and entered into the staff. The Edfu records, however, reveal what happened to the 'God-Mighty-of-Countenance' and the Segemeḥ. They too seem to have been present in the 'Mansion of Isden' but only in their abstract appearance. The ensuing narrative tells us of Tanen arriving in this 'Mansion' with a staff (*tbw*)<sup>4</sup> at the moment when the primeval domain of gods suffered an attack by the enemy snake. Tanen uttered the names of the *Ntr-shm-ḥr* and *Pꜣ-sgmḥ* over his staff. Through this procedure the staff became the chief means of the protection and prevented the snake coming near. The 'Mansion of Isden' was not the home of these two divine beings. As it is known, they were deities originally belonging to another cultus-place of the Creator of the world where he rested underneath a willow,<sup>5</sup> and was never said to be the same god as the Earth Maker (*Ir-Tꜣ*). This name is not known in connexion with the first sacred place which we have been describing above. We imagine that from the place under the willow they might have come to the

<sup>1</sup> *E.* vi, 183, 4-9.

<sup>2</sup> This belief is studied in detail in our forthcoming work, *The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *JEA* 48, 81-82.

<sup>4</sup> *E.* vi, 183, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 134.

'Mansion of Isden' at Tanen's appeal, and they came most likely in their abstract appearances. They do not seem to be physically real deities who would act in the same manner as they did before or as Tanen did. When Tanen called their names he has not only brought them into the 'Mansion of Isden' but he seems to have caused them to enter into his staff in their abstract appearances. Through this operation their magical power was embodied into Tanen's staff. If we recall the belief that Tanen revealed himself in the mythical world as the *s*' 'protection',<sup>1</sup> it is admissible that Tanen was regarded as the only divine authority who was capable of creating the concrete shape of the everlasting protection of sacred places and their inhabitants, i.e. the spear. As Tanen was an Earth-god, it follows that the physical means of the god's protection was the creation of an Earth-god. No precise authority can be cited in support of our suggestion. That the myth might have been interpreted thus appears plausible if we recall the belief that the emerging earth brought out the essential power of the magical protection. Probably this mythical event introduces us to one of the mystical acts which were later described as the god's 'entering into the body (*dt*)',<sup>2</sup> and shows the wide application of this belief. It was through this procedure also that the spear was created when a primeval protector-god entered into a wooden object which gave him the physical form. On the ground of the primeval 'Mansion of Isden', therefore, the prototype of the Egyptian sacred spear was created by agency of an Earth-god, who is Tanen, and this may perhaps explain why at Edfu the spear is occasionally referred to as the 'Image of Tanen'.<sup>3</sup> This episode concerning the origin of the spear is unique at the present stage of our knowledge. We have no doubt that it is important for the history of the Egyptian sacred spear and that it discloses trends of thought other than those found in the inscriptions which we studied in our last paper. We suggested in that paper that the Egyptians regarded the sacred spear of the Falcon as a divine being equal in its nature to the *shmw*, 'Powers'.<sup>4</sup> The textual evidence discussed in this paper proves that the Edfu tradition concerning the sacred spear is underlain by beliefs of a remote date. The spear was originally a *sh**m*-'Power' and became real only when the Earth-god gave it a concrete shape. We also mentioned that it looks as though there were two different traditions concerning the god who was believed to dwell in the spear: according to the one this was the Ancestor-god called *Htr-hr*, according to the other he was the *Ntr-shm-hr*.<sup>5</sup> The mythical event which we have attempted to outline in this note enables us to follow these beliefs in greater detail. Our Edfu texts tell us of an unspecified god who emerged from the Nun and is described only as the *Hn-ntr*, the 'protector-god'; on one occasion, however, he bears as a subsidiary name that of *Pth-nwyt*, on another occasion he is said to have made himself like unto the *Ntr-shm-hr*. It would seem to follow that the Egyptians believed that the Creator himself initiated the magical protective power and that this power emanated from the primeval water and was originally imagined as a divine being of indefinite appearance; it was the *Hn-ntr*, also called *Pth-nwyt*. This context tempts us to modify our previous interpretation of this sacred name as the 'Creator of the Primeval Water'.<sup>6</sup> It seems to us

<sup>1</sup> *E.* vi, 183, 3.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Blackman, *JEA* 5, 159-60.<sup>3</sup> *E.* III, 121, 11.<sup>4</sup> Cf. *JEA* 49, 144-5.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 143.<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 134.

more likely that this name describes what the Creator created in the Nun; consequently we would suggest another interpretation of this name—the ‘Creation-of-the-*Nwyt*-god’, a name which would seem to have been the original one of the god who dwelt in the spear of the Falcon.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing is said of the origin of the *Ntr-shm-hr* and no information is given of his original appearance. We know only that his primary function was to protect the relic of the Creator and that he was most probably regarded as a deity older than the Segemeḥ and the other protector gods since we are told that they adopted his likeness while coming to this world. This circumstance, however, suggests that he might perhaps have been the secondary form of the *Hn-ntr*. This, at least, appears likely in the light of the short texts translated as the beginning of this study. They seem to conceal the idea of the emerging earth which brought out of the Nun the magical power of protection. The spear as a physically real form came to be regarded as the likeness of the intangible Protector God of the primeval age who was believed to have revealed himself from the Nun at the beginning of the world through the medium of the emerging earth. He was the *hn*-protective power who was imagined as the *Ntr-shm-hr*, the ‘God-Mighty-of-Countenance’. Then later on, under the influence of the second tradition concerning the protecting image in which an ancestor-god dwelt, the god residing in the spear of the Falcon was conceived to be a falcon-like deity.

To sum up what can be deduced from the Edfu evidence: we can state that the sacred spear of the Falcon was believed to have originated in a mythical sacred place described as the ‘Mansion of Isden’ which was primarily the resting-place of the Earth-Maker, and in which the Falcon was believed to have become his successor. It was there that Tanen created for the Falcon the means of his security in the primeval world, and consequently in any place created for the Falcon thereafter, even in his final resting-place—the historical temple at Edfu. Stressing that these accounts formed part of a sacred book in which the origin of Egyptian sacred places and temples was interpreted,<sup>2</sup> we are convinced that the Edfu texts yield genuine traditions. The origin of the spear, therefore, appears, in the light of this evidence, as the procedure of the ‘entering into the body (*dt*)’ by the protector gods of the Creator of the Earth. The spear or spears used in the historical temples were believed to enshrine the magical power which was created by the Earth-god at the beginning of the world.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 133, the text cited from *E.* VI, 15, 3–4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *JEA* 48, 84 with n. 4.

## THE THEBAN ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

By J. DAVID THOMAS

THE geographical area which comprised the ancient Egyptian capital of Thebes and the surrounding district was known in the Ptolemaic period as *Περὶ Θήβας* or *ὁ Περὶ Θήβας*, an expression we may perhaps translate 'Greater Thebes'.<sup>1</sup> The main lines of its development as an administrative district are as follows.<sup>2</sup> In papyri of the third century B.C. it is sometimes called a *τόπος* and it was certainly a toparchy at this date.<sup>3</sup> But in the second century we hear of an upper and a lower toparchy of Perithebas itself, and may deduce from this that the area was now a nome; this is confirmed by the fact that *strategi* of Perithebas appear from the middle of the second century onwards.<sup>4</sup> At this date the *strategi* controlled not only Perithebas but the neighbouring nomes also, particularly those to the south, and this seems to have been the regular practice in Ptolemaic times; occasionally, however, a *strategus* appears to have charge of Perithebas alone.<sup>5</sup>

There is less evidence about the area in the Roman period and it is no doubt for this reason that it has attracted very little attention.<sup>6</sup> There are, however, two points which are worth considering: (i) the extent to which the nome functioned as an independent unit as opposed to being united with neighbouring nomes under a common *strategus* etc.; and (ii) whether its name was at any time changed to *Διοπολίτης μέγας*.

On the first of these points the evidence is conflicting. An inscription, which seems to belong to the reign of Tiberius, is a dedication from a certain Apollonius, *strategus*

<sup>1</sup> Adopting a suggestion put forward by Bataille, *Chr. d'Ég.* 26 (1951), 344-5, who compares the expression with 'Grand-Paris'; he also points out that there is no need to see in this title any degradation of the old capital. The inclusion or omission of the article seems to be without significance, see Wilcken, *UPZ* II, 213, II, 2 n.

<sup>2</sup> This has been the object of much study. Of the older works most important is Gerhard, *Philologus* 63 (1904), 498-577; other references are given in Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte depuis Hérodote jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (1935), 116-19; since Gauthier the following have dealt with the subject: Henne, *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens* (1935); A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the E. Roman Provinces* (1937), 302 and 470; Kees, *RE* s.v. Thebai II, 1574 ff., and Pathyris, 2164 ff.; Van't Dack, *Chr. d'Ég.* 23 (1948), 147-61, esp. 152-5; *Stud. Hell.* 7 (1951), 9 ff. (cf. also n. 5); Bataille, *op. cit.*, 342-5; id., *Les Memnonia* (1952), 40-64; Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus* (1952), 3 ff.; Bengston, *Die Strategie*, III (1952), 111-20; Wilcken, notes to *UPZ* II, 153, 11 and 162, 1, 3.

<sup>3</sup> It is never in fact called *τοπαρχία*, but in *UPZ* II, 153-5 (255-4 B.C.) a certain Dorion is described as *τοῦ τοπαρχήσαντος ἐπὶ Στράτωνα τὸν Περὶ Θήβας τόπον*. (For a later study of these papyri see *REG* 58 (1945), 184-94).

<sup>4</sup> A lower toparchy first appears in *P. Baraize* = *SB* v, 8033, usually dated *c.* 160 B.C., and *UPZ* II, 217, I, 6 (131 B.C.); for an upper toparchy see *UPZ* II, 218, I, 3 (131/30 B.C.); for *strategi* see the article by Van't Dack referred to in note 5 below and *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, I. It is worth remarking that the expression *ὁ Περὶ Θήβας νομός* nowhere occurs.

<sup>5</sup> See Van't Dack in *Aegyptus* 29 (1949), 3-44, esp. 18-34.

<sup>6</sup> It is discussed by Gauthier, *op. cit.* 159-61; Jones, *op. cit.* 314; Henne, *op. cit.*, suppl. p. 10; *BIFAO* 25 (1925), 185-7 and 190, cf. *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 27; but in each case the discussion is very brief.

[Ὁμβείτου] καὶ τοῦ περὶ Ἐλ[ε]φαντίνην καὶ Φίλας [καὶ πε]ρὶ Θήβας καὶ Ἐρμωνθείτου,<sup>1</sup> and an ostrakon dated A.D. 38/9 or 42/3 gives the formula for sending notifications to the βασιλικῶν γραμματεῖν Κοπ(τίτου) καὶ περὶ Θ(ήβας).<sup>2</sup> Against this there are five references to a *strategus* of Perithebas alone: an inscription of the first two centuries A.D. which cannot be more precisely dated;<sup>3</sup> two ostraca, one merely dated second or third century A.D. by its editor,<sup>4</sup> the other belonging to A.D. 141;<sup>5</sup> and two papyri, a letter addressed to a person whose name is lost *γενομένῳ στρατηγῶν* (l. *στρατηγῶν*) *Περιθ(ήβας)*, which dates from A.D. 57,<sup>6</sup> and a tax report to the *στρατ*[ηγῶν] *Περὶ Θήβας* in which the 14th year of Hadrian (A.D. 129/30) is mentioned.<sup>7</sup> This could lead to the deduction that Perithebas was united with other nomes in the early Roman period and was then later treated as a separate unit; but the evidence is too slight to permit us to draw any firm conclusions. We must also take into account a Rylands papyrus which dates from A.D. 133 or slightly later and which has been thought to show Perithebas combined with other nomes.<sup>8</sup> Its first eleven lines contain an edict of the prefect Petronius Mamertinus; the next line is missing at the left and reads [. . . c. 16 letters . . . π]ερὶ Θή[βας καὶ Ἐ]ρμωνθ[ίτ . . . after which the papyrus is broken off. The editors suggest that this line began a petition to the *strategus* of Perithebas and the Hermonthite nome, based on the edict to which it was subjoined (a format that occurs in *P.Oxy.* vi, 888, c. A.D. 287). That there was a single *strategus* for these two nomes at this date is, however, hard to believe, since inscriptions of A.D. 130 and 134 in which the Hermonthite nome is mentioned clearly imply that it was not combined with Perithebas.<sup>9</sup> For this reason I prefer to regard l. 12 of the Rylands papyrus as forming part of instructions to the *strategi* of all the nomes affected by the edict, i.e. all those south of Coptos,<sup>10</sup> even though such instructions elsewhere precede the edicts they accompany; it is noteworthy that the first two nomes south of Coptos in geographical order are Perithebas and the Hermonthite. If this is correct the papyrus accords with the other evidence, all of which suggests that Perithebas was a separate administrative district in this period.

<sup>1</sup> Ruppel, *Der Tempel von Dakke (Les Temples immergés de la Nubie)*, III (1930), no. 15 = *SB* v, 7922 = *IG* 5077; Ruppel discusses the date in dealing with no. 21a in his collection, which is also a dedication by Apollonius, this time *strategus* of the Ombite nome and Peri Elephantine and Philae only. We must reckon with the possibility therefore that no. 15 represents a *cursum*. <sup>2</sup> *O. Bruss. Berl.* 14.

<sup>3</sup> *SB* iv, 7272, first published by Henne, *BIFAO* 25 (1925), 185 ff. Henne appears to date it to the first century A.D., but his discussion suggests that his grounds for doing so are that he did not believe the name Perithebas was in use after the first century. The inscription is reprinted as *SEG* viii, 695, where it is placed in the second century, but there seems no justification for this. In the inscription ἡ πόλις, i.e. Diospolis Magna (Thebes), honours Δημήτρ[ιων] στρατηγ[όν] Περὶ Θήβ[α]ς.

<sup>4</sup> *O. Petrie* (= *O. Tait*, I, p. 132), 342; ll. 9–10 read *στρα(τηγ) Περὶ Θήβ(ας)*.

<sup>5</sup> *O. Tait* II, 2530; l. 1 reads Ὀνομαστο στρατηγῶν Περὶ Θήβας. I adopt the editor's conjecture that this should read Ὀνομάστῳ στρατηγῶν Περὶ Θήβας.

<sup>6</sup> *BGU* iv, 1095, vs.

<sup>7</sup> This is an unpublished document in the Merton collection (inv. no. 107); it will be published in *P. Merton* III.

<sup>8</sup> *P. Ryl.* II, 74, most recently published in *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani* III, 513–14; on the document in general, and especially its date, see Wilcken, *Archiv f. Pap.* 6, 373 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *SB* v, 8343 (= *OGIS* 683) and *SB* v, 8346; in both the Hermonthite is united with the Latopolite.

<sup>10</sup> The prefect states that he is unable to carry out his intention to visit (l. 3) τοὺς ὑπὲρ Κόπτον (sc. τόπους ἢ νομούς).

We may now turn to consider the second point mentioned above, the name of the Theban nome. The evidence already considered, to which several ostraca can be added,<sup>1</sup> shows that *Περί Θήβας* continued in use as the name of the nome throughout the first century A.D. and for at least the first half of the second; the latest dated example belongs to A.D. 141.<sup>2</sup> Of the second-century documents, all are from unofficial sources, with the possible exception of *P.Ryl.* 74. If the interpretation of this papyrus suggested in the preceding paragraph is correct, it is an official document and so proves that the Theban nome was known as *Περί Θήβας* in A.D. 133. If this interpretation is not correct, the evidence we have is insufficient to prove that Perithebas remained the official name of the district in this period, but it does strongly suggest that this was so.

Let us now examine the use of the name *Διοπολίτης*.<sup>3</sup> Two Diopolite nomes certainly existed: a Lower Diopolite in the Delta and a Diopolite in the Thebaid, the seventh nome of the old hieroglyphic lists. The capital of the latter was called *Διόσπολις ἡ μικρά* to distinguish it from *Διόσπολις ἡ μεγάλη* (Thebes) and the nome is sometimes known as *Διοπολίτης μικρός*.<sup>4</sup> For convenience I shall refer to it as the Lesser Diopolite. It is usually assumed that a third Diopolite, *Διοπολίτης μέγας*, whose capital was *Διόσπολις ἡ μεγάλη*, had come into existence at least by the second century, superseding the old nome Perithebas.<sup>5</sup> This view has been challenged, but has never been subjected to a thorough examination.<sup>6</sup> The problem is to decide whether any references to a Diopolite nome are to be referred to a Theban nome of this name, and this is complicated by the fact that a nome is sometimes called *Διοπολίτης* without any indication of which Diopolite is meant. It will be convenient to deal first with the period up to the middle of the second century when the name Perithebas was still in use. In this period there are no relevant inscriptions and only one papyrus and one ostrakon which refer to a Diopolite nome without further qualification. Of these the papyrus certainly means by 'Diopolite' the Lesser Diopolite;<sup>7</sup> the ostrakon, *SB* I, 2078, a letter to *Ἰέρακι στρατηγῶι Διοπολ(ίτου)*, and said to come from Thebes, might seem to refer to a Greater Diopolite (Theban) nome, but as its date is 5 B.C. this conclusion is unacceptable. We can adopt one of two explanations: either 'provenance Thebes' means merely 'bought at Luxor';<sup>8</sup> or the ostrakon is a copy of a letter sent to the *strategus* of the Lesser Diopolite.<sup>9</sup>

So far we are on firm ground; but difficulties arise when we come to the evidence of the nome-coins. These coins were issued by the Alexandrian mint in the period

<sup>1</sup> *WO* 1399 (67/8), 1410 and 1411 (85); *O.Theb.* 145 (1st cent.); *O.Tait*, II, 1696–8 (104); *WO* 1567 (105), 1056 (113), 1569 (119); *O.Tait*, II, 2528 (c. 130); cf. *P.Aberd.* page v, n. 3 (2nd cent.).

<sup>2</sup> *O.Tait*, II, 2530 (see n. 5 on p. 140).

<sup>3</sup> This, and not *Διοσπολίτης*, seems to be the correct orthography; cf. Dittenberger on *OGIS* 184.

<sup>4</sup> *SB* v, 8666 (74 B.C.); *SB* I, 3997 (Ptol.); *BGU* III, 981 (Vespasian). Cf. Henne, *Stratèges*, suppl. p. 10 on the various Diopolite nomes.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. Jones, op. cit. 314.  
<sup>6</sup> Otto and Bengston, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches*, 7, say 'es einen "großen" Diopolites als Gau unter den Ptolemäern und ebenso unter den Römern niemals gegeben zu haben scheint'; but they do not pursue the point further, merely referring to Gauthier, *Les Nomes*, 159–61, which will be discussed below.

<sup>7</sup> *BGU* IV, 1095. As it is addressed to an *ex-strategus* of Perithebas, there can be no doubt about this; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv f. Pap.* 5, 276.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Henne, *Stratèges*, suppl. p. 25.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Otto and Bengston, loc. cit., n. 5.

A.D. 91–145 and bear the names and emblems, etc., of the nomes.<sup>1</sup> Coins of the thirteenth year of Trajan and the eleventh year of Hadrian bear the legend ΔΙΟΠΟΛΙΜΕ or a more abbreviated form of this. The obvious expansion of this is Διοπολί(της) Μέ(γας). The conflict between this, which suggests that there was officially a Greater Diopolite nome at this date, and the evidence we have examined above, seems to have been noticed only by Henne, who does not however offer any solution.<sup>2</sup> The way out of the difficulty lies, I believe, in following up a suggestion put forward tentatively by Gauthier: the coins are to be taken as referring to the city of Diospolis Magna—i.e. we should expand the legend into Διο(ς) Πόλι(ς ἡ) Με(γάλη); the use of the name of a city on the nome-coins is paralleled in the case of Naucratis, and possibly Hypselis and Pelusium as well.<sup>3</sup> The correctness of this interpretation is strongly supported by the existence of two coins from the reign of Trajan, presumably overlooked by Gauthier, which read ΔΙΟΣΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΜΕΓΑΛΗ without abbreviation.<sup>4</sup>

This is not, however, the end of the difficulties. Two coins of the eighth year of Pius read ΔΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤ<sup>5</sup> and ΔΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣ respectively.<sup>6</sup> If we accept that the readings are correct (and it is worth noting that a coin once read ΔΙΟΠ[Ο]ΛΕΙΤΗΣ has since been found to read ΔΙΟ(C)Π[ΟΛΙ]C Η ΜΕΓΑΛΗ),<sup>7</sup> two explanations are possible: (i) that a Greater Diopolite nome had been created by this date (A.D. 144/5); as noted above the latest dated example of the use of the name Perithebas belongs to A.D. 141; or (ii) that the coins refer to the Lesser Diopolite. In favour of this second hypothesis we may note that the coins do not specify to which Diopolite nome they refer, unlike those belonging to the Lower Diopolite which read ΔΙΟΠ(ΟΛΕΙΤΗΣ) Κ(ΑΤΩ), and so suggest that only one Diopolite apart from the Lower existed; and that omission of the Lesser Diopolite from the nomes represented on the coins would be very surprising since almost every other nome then existing is included. When first published the coin reading ΔΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣ was attributed to the Lesser Diopolite, but subsequently a coin appeared with the same picture and the legend ΔΙΟΠΟΛΙΜΕ so that the ascription was changed.<sup>8</sup> But as

<sup>1</sup> On the nome-coins in general see Milne, *Ancient Egypt*, 1932, 73–78; Schwarz, *Bull. de la Soc. fr. d'Ég.* 15 (Feb. 1954), 19–32; cf. Head, *Hist. Numm.*<sup>2</sup> 864; Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Munzen* (1924), 57–64; Jungfleisch, *Rev. Num.* 17 (1955), 259–65. I have found no comprehensive list of publications of these coins, so that it may be helpful if I give a list of works I have consulted: Tôchon, *Les Médailles des Nomes* (1822); Mionnet, *Descriptions des médailles antiques* (Paris), VI (1813) and Suppl., IX (1837); Langlois, *Numismat. des Nomes d'Égypte* (1852); Feuardent, *Numismatique: Ég. ancienne* (Coll. Demetrio), II (1873); De Rougé, *Monnaies des nomes d'Égypte* (1874); Poole, *Brit. Mus. Cat.: Coins of Alex. and the Nomes* (1892); Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* (1901); Macdonald, *Coins in the Hunter Coll., Glasgow*, III (1905); Milne, *Cat. of Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Mus.* (1933); articles by Dutilh, De Rougé, and Daressy cited below, and J. Lallemand, *Chr. d'Ég.* 38 (1963), 318 ff. Gauthier gives a useful survey of the early publications in *Bull. de la Soc. Sult. de Géog. d'Ég.* 9 (1920), 276–81.

<sup>2</sup> See his article in *BIFAO* 25 cited in n. 6 on page 139.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gauthier, *Les Nomes*, 160–1; Gauthier, however, retains the Greater Diopolite in his list of nomes.

<sup>4</sup> See Dutilh, *Riv. ital. Num.* 7 (1894), 38–41; *Rev. belg. de Num.* 60 (1904), 44–48; Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 21 (1921), 7–16.

<sup>5</sup> Mionnet, Suppl., IX, 14 (p. 149).

<sup>6</sup> Feuardent no. 3505, with a list of earlier publications. I leave out of account Dattari 6237, said to read ΔΙΟΠΟ . . . . . [NO]ΜΟC, and 6238, ΔΙΟCΠ . . . . . Μ . . (both 12th year of Trajan), as the reading is too uncertain. Langlois 14 is said to read ΔΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΜ, but this is a misprint, as it is a republication of Mionnet VI 41, which reads ΔΙΟΠΟΛΙΜ (cf. Feuardent, loc. cit.).

<sup>7</sup> Daressy, op. cit., corrects De Rougé's original reading in *Annuaire de la Soc. de Num.* 6 (1882), 146–8.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Feuardent's note to his no. 3505.

the Alexandrian mint seems to have issued these coins with little regard to the correctness of the deities etc. represented for the nomes to which they are attributed,<sup>1</sup> it is clearly possible that they put the same picture on coins from the Lesser Diopolite nome and from Diospolis Magna. In sum, the evidence of the nome-coins does not, in my opinion, justify a belief in the existence of a Greater Diopolite nome.

The nome finds no support in the literary sources. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v, 49, does include a *Diospolites* in his list of Egyptian nomes, but as he mentions it between the Tentyrite and the Antaeopolite, he must be referring to the Lesser. He includes no nome of the Theban district, but his account of the Thebaid is defective.<sup>2</sup> The list in Ptolemy, iv, 5, includes a Diopolite nome, described as *Διοπολίτης νομὸς τῶν ἄνω τόπων*; this is the Lesser Diopolite as its metropolis is *Διὸς πόλις μικρά* (sect. 67). He also mentions a *Θηβῶν νομὸς καὶ μητρόπολις Διὸς πόλις μεγάλη* (sect. 73) which is presumably his description of Perithebas.<sup>3</sup>

It would seem then that the Greater Diopolite nome was not in existence at least until the middle of the second century. We must examine, in conclusion, whether it came into being after this date. At first sight the question seems to be answered for us by *P.Mich.* VIII, 503, a letter addressed to Antonius Minor, a former royal scribe of *Διοπ(ολίτου) [Μ]ε(γάλου)*; the papyrus can be approximately dated, as Antonius also occurs in *M. Chr.* 227 of A.D. 189. We should hesitate, however, to accept the evidence of the Michigan papyrus at its face value for two reasons: first, ascription to the Greater Diopolite rests upon a single letter (*epsilon*); secondly, *P.Oxy.* iv, 708, of the same period as the Michigan document (A.D. 188), contains official instructions to the *strategus Διοπ(ολίτου) Θηβ(αῖδος)*; if there were two Diopolite nomes in the Thebaid one may well wonder how the sender of the instructions can have failed to specify which was meant. It is hazardous, therefore, to place much weight on the Michigan papyrus, which should perhaps be read differently.<sup>4</sup> Of the other references to Diopolite nomes after the middle of the second century two specify that it is the Lower to which they refer and one that it is the Lesser.<sup>5</sup> The others give no indication, but in no case is there any reason to think that they belong to a Greater Diopolite rather than the Lesser.<sup>6</sup> With the evidence we have at present, therefore, I suggest that we are justified in deleting the Greater Diopolite from the list of Egyptian nomes.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Milne, *Ancient Egypt*, 1932, 78, goes so far as to say 'in short, the nome-coins have no genuine connexion with the nomes whose names they bear'.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that he omitted the Greater Diopolite according to his principle of including only one nome of any particular name, but this is obviously no argument for the existence of a Greater Diopolite. Why he omitted Perithebas is uncertain, but we may note that he also omitted *Περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην καὶ Φίλας*.

<sup>3</sup> A *Θη[β]ῶν νομὸς* is also mentioned in *P.Oxy.* xiv, 1773, a private letter of the third century A.D.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. *Διοπ[ολ]ε[ίτου]*. The papyrus is now in Egypt. Dr. Hagedoorn very kindly attempted to look at it at my request, but was unable to do so.

<sup>5</sup> *O.Theb.* 132 and *P.Oxy.* xxiv, 2415 (both 3rd cent.) refer to the Lower Diopolite; the unspecified Diopolite in *P.Ryl.* iv, 616a (c. A.D. 312) is also the Lower. *P.Antin.* I, 32 (A.D. 339) refers to a Diopolite *περὶ Χηνοβ(όσκιον)* (i.e. the Lesser).

<sup>6</sup> *P.Cair. Cat.* 10685 (A.D. 222-35); *P.Oxy.* x, 1255 (A.D. 292)?; *P.Ryl.* II, 427 (3rd cent.); *P.Mey.* 20 (3rd cent.).

<sup>7</sup> I wish to thank Professor B. R. Rees for reading the typescript draft of this article.

## SOME RECENT ACQUISITIONS IN THE CAIRO MUSEUM

By ABD EL-MOHSEN EL-KHACHAB

### 1. A golden girdle from Ptolemaic Egypt (pl. XIII, 1 a-c)

*Dimensions:* length 79 cm.; width 3 cm.

*Weight:* 405 gr.

*Provenance:* unknown

*Preservation:* good

Cairo Museum, JE. 89612

From a group of antiquities acquired some years ago by the Cairo Museum from the former royal collection in the Quba Palace, the most marvellous piece is a golden girdle now exhibited in the numismatic cabinet. Such objects are rare; one, of the same period, probably found in the Faiyûm, is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.<sup>1</sup> They are characterized by the use of granulation arranged in geometrical designs.

This girdle consists, in its greater part, of three bands of plaited gold chains, each composed of two strands of plaits held together by two rows of gold beads (56 in each), by means of the loops of wire with which they are threaded. Their inner ends are attached to the central medallion by means of two gold hinges, joining two curved flanges of gold, ornamented with fine granules, fixing the three gold bands of chains.

The medallion (diameter 6 cm.), in which is inserted a golden octadrachm of Ptolemy III, is ornamented with granular decoration arranged in triangular forms pointing inwards from the outer rim and outwards from the central inset space. The inner and outer edges are embellished with concentric circular borders. The description of the inserted octadrachm (pl. XIII, 1 b, c) is as follows:

*Obv.:* Bust of Ptolemy III, facing right, wearing radiate diadem and aegis; behind shoulder, sceptre-trident.

*Rev.:* ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Radiate cornucopiae bound with a fillet; below ΔΙ.<sup>2</sup>

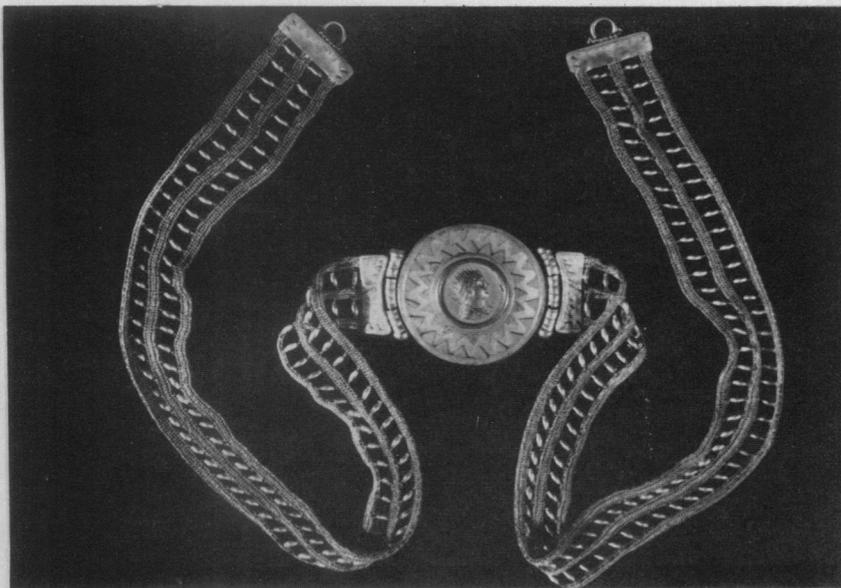
The outer edges of the girdle are formed by rectangular flanges decorated with granular work like that on the flanges attached to the medallion. Both the outer flanges are equipped with rings for fastening.

Granular ornamentation was known in pharaonic Egypt,<sup>3</sup> but it became common only in the Ptolemaic Period. This girdle may well have been made in an Alexandrian workshop.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Charlotte R. Clark, *Bull. MMA* 30 (1935), 162-4.

<sup>2</sup> See *B.M. Cat. of Gk. Coins. The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt*, 56, no. 103, pl. 12, 4; Svoronos, *τὰ Νομισμ. τοῦ κράτους των Πτολ.*, II, 178, no. 1117, pl. 36, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, nos. 52977-8; also see de Morgan, *Dahchour*, I, 67; Petrie, *Arts and Crafts*, 90-91; Lucas and Brunton, *Ann. Serv.* 36 (1936), 196-200.



1a



2



1b



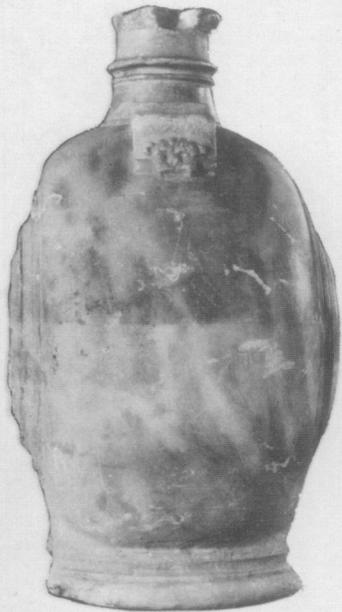
3



1c



1



2a



2b



2c

## 2. A charming glass bust (pl. XIII, 2)

*Height:* 3 cm.

*Provenance:* unknown

*Preservation:* good

Cairo Museum, JE. 89659

This fine miniature bust was presented to the Museum by Dr. Puy-Haubert of Alexandria, a distinguished amateur and coin-collector. It is made of green glass, and is noteworthy not only for its rarity, but also for its technical excellence. It represents a royal lady with a diadem on her head, and wearing a folded garment. From the features the piece can be dated to the Roman Period.

## 3. A terracotta medallion (pl. XIV, 1)

*Dimensions:* diameter 13 cm.; width of rim 0·1 cm.

*Provenance:* Sakha (Xoïs), 1963

*Preservation:* Broken along the line of the nose, and partly restored

Cairo Museum,  $\frac{222}{6311}$

This unusual piece, which is of high artistic quality, was found in the excavations at Sakha in 1963. It shows in relief, distinguished by precise lines and careful detail, a frontal bust of a bearded man in military dress, the head looking left, with close-cropped hair. It is coloured red, and there are traces of white, red, and blue behind the head. It possibly represents a military officer of Asiatic origin.<sup>1</sup>

In close association with this medallion, which was found near the main funnel in a big ceramic workshop, a large hoard of early Ptolemaic coins was discovered. Beneath the medallion was a considerable collection of bronzes datable to the reigns of Ptolemy II and III. The piece may therefore be dated to the early Ptolemaic Period.

## 4. Head of a woman (pl. XIII, 3)

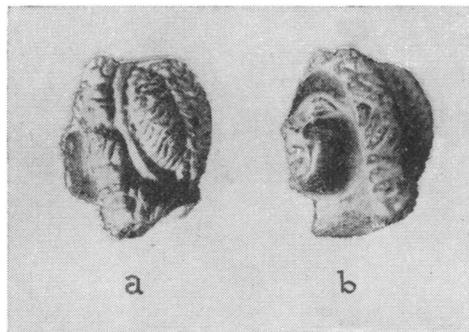


FIG. 1

*Dimensions:* height 4 cm.

*Provenance:* unknown

*Preservation:* good

Cairo Museum,  $\frac{2311}{6112}$

<sup>1</sup> Bearded Syrians similar to that shown on the medallion are common in Egyptian art of the New Kingdom, cf. Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, II, pls. 24-26; N. M. and N. de G. Davies, *JEA* 27 (1941), 96-98.

Formerly in the collection of the Montaza Palace in Alexandria, this head, broken from a statuette, is made of schist; in itself it is well preserved and reveals a remarkably refined style. Traces of a necklace can be seen. The head inclines slightly to the left, the hair being shown as drawn back and braided into a large fat plait which extends from the crown to the nape of the neck (fig. 1a). In front of the fillet are short wavy locks which gradually become longer as they approach the shoulders (fig. 1b). On the top centre of the head is a hole, designed probably to receive a crown.

#### 5. A circular marble bottle (pl. XIV, 2 a-c)

*Dimensions*: height 27 cm.; diameter 20 cm.

*Provenance*: unknown

*Preservation*: mostly good

Cairo Museum,  $\frac{23}{61} \frac{11}{22}$

This bottle, a superb example of high elaboration in craftsmanship in the Roman Period, was formerly in the collection of the Montaza Palace in Alexandria. Its short neck is decorated with ribs, and the opening has a flattened rim. Two vestigial handles, or strap-holders, are set high on the shoulders of the vessel on either side of the neck; they are ribbon-shaped with outer ends in the form of lions' heads with open mouths (pl. XIV, 2 a). Both of the flat sides of the bottle carry embossed medallion-designs, one representing the Emperor Trajan, looking right, with head laurel-crowned, wearing the paludamentum (pl. XIV, 2 b); the other bearing the bust of the Emperor Hadrian, looking left, and similarly crowned and wearing the paludamentum (pl. XIV, 2 c). Traces of gilt can be seen on both medallions. The stone of the lower part of the bottle is clearer in colour than that of the upper part. It is provided with a broad base.

## Π Α Ν Ν Υ Χ Ι Σ

By DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

AMONG the most characteristic and tantalizing of Hellenistic creations in Egypt are the plaster casts and moulds taken from metalwork. Since very few actual metal objects have survived from the days of the Ptolemies, we may regard the example presented here as an interesting representative of a rare class. It is a small plaster relief taken from a mould made in antiquity from a bronze or silver vessel. It was bought recently in Cairo and is now in a private collection.

Most such plaster pieces that are now known came from the ruins of the houses of craftsmen at Memphis.<sup>1</sup> Others have been discovered at distant Begram in Afghanistan.<sup>2</sup> Scholars are amazed at the wide diffusion of these modest objects which reflect myths, ritual scenes, pastoral themes, magic, and historical incidents such as were rendered on the precious plate of Hellenistic princes and Roman millionaires.<sup>3</sup>

Our example is among the most puzzling of its class (pl. XV, 1, 2).<sup>4</sup> It is hard to interpret; it is also hard to date. These difficulties are in part due to its condition, for it is much rubbed and some of the modelling is erased. Certain details can be observed only on the relief itself. Owing to the pock-marked nature of the material, the photographs can give little conception of the crisp chasing that evidently characterized the original. The colour of the plaster is a warm cream.<sup>5</sup> It contains some unassimilated

<sup>1</sup> O. Rubensohn, *Hellenistisches Silbergerät in antiken Gipsabgüssen aus dem Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim* (Berlin, 1911), 1-10; C. C. Edgar, *Greek Moulds* (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, Cairo, 1903), 1-111; E. Pernice, 'Untersuchungen zur antiken Toreutik', *Öst. Jahresh.* 7 (1904), 154-80; A. Ippel, 'Guss und Treibarbeit in Silber', *97tes Winckelmannsprogramm* (Berlin, 1937); A. Adriani, 'Il vaso argenteo di Ingolstadt e un suo modello alessandrino', *RM* 67 (1960), 111-25.

<sup>2</sup> J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, Paris, 1954 (Mémoires de la Délégation française archéologique en Afghanistan, xi), figs. 274-321.

<sup>3</sup> G. M. A. Richter, 'Ancient Plaster Casts of Greek Metalware,' *AJA* 62 (1958), 369-77; A. Adriani, 'Segnazioni alessandrine, I. Le scoperte di Begram e l'arte alessandrina', *Archeologica Classica* 7 (1955), 124-38. In my study of this relief, I owe much to personal discussions with Miss Gisela Richter, Professor Erika Simon, and Professor Bernard Ashmole.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to the following for help with the illustrations:

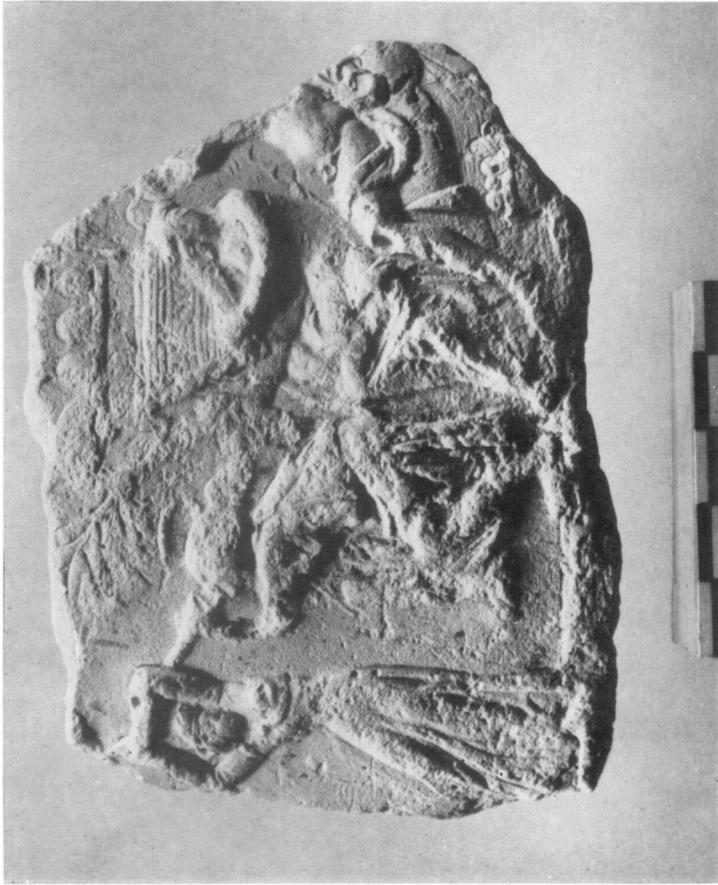
Pl. XV, 1, photograph by Alison Frantz.

Pl. XV, 2, 3, photograph by Willard Starks.

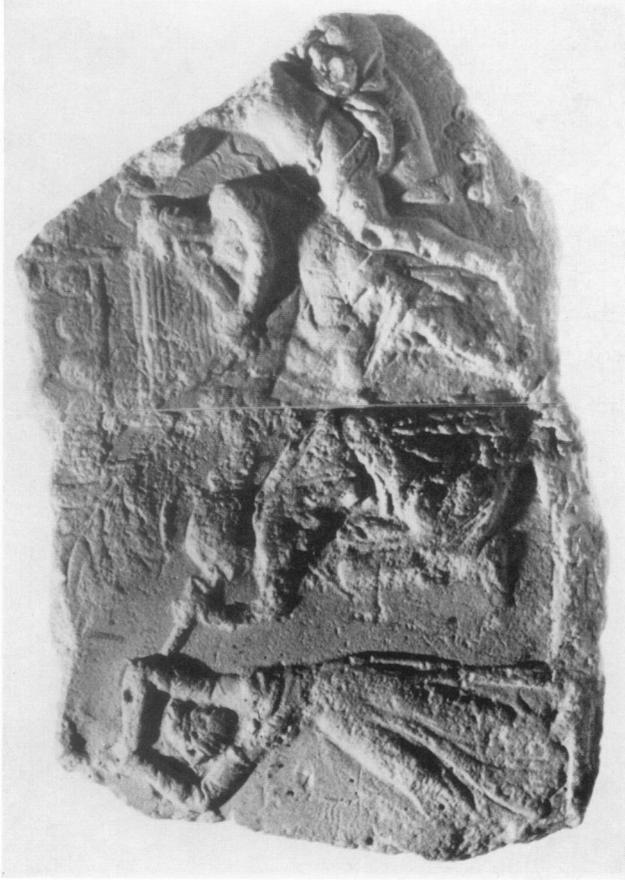
Fig. 1, drawing by L. T. Shoe and J. Travlos.

<sup>5</sup> The composition of the plaster was analysed through the kindness of Dr. Marie Farnsworth as follows: 'The material of your replica is . . . 93% plaster of Paris . . . The rest appears to be clay with a little iron. Refractories (clay is a refractory) are often added to plaster.' This compares with analyses given by C. C. Edgar, *Greek Moulds*, 111, as calcium sulphate and water, 96%; cf. A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup> (London, 1962), 473. For the techniques of preparing and using plaster in antiquity, see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. gypsum (Blümner), and Lucas, op. cit. 76-79. Gypsum is present in rock-like formations west of Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt; it was calcined to produce plaster of Paris.

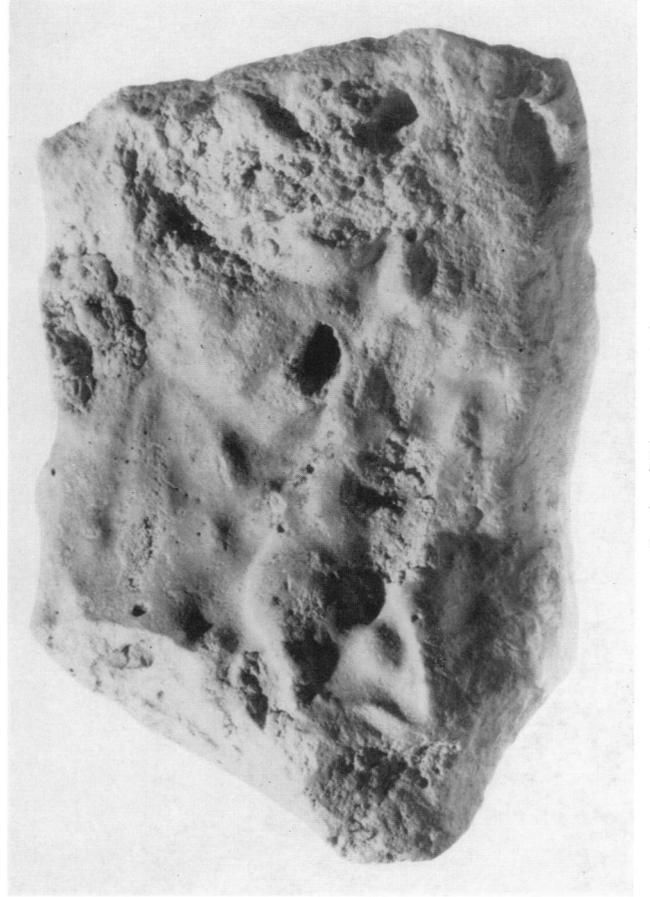
Theophrastus refers to the use of gypsum in making impressions: (περὶ λίθων 67): διαφέρειν δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀπομάγματα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων . . . γλισχροῦτητι καὶ λειότητι. That ἀπομάγματα must mean 'impressions' or 'casts' is clear



1. Plaster relief



2. Plaster relief (composite photograph)



3. Back of Plaster relief

A PLASTER RELIEF WITH SCENES OF REVELRY

lumps of calcium carbonate as well as cavities from which other bits have evidently fallen. It shows many pinholes which were made by the air bubbles that often form in plaster and soon break to pock the surface.<sup>1</sup>

The height of the piece is *c.* 8 cm.; its width is 11 cm. The curvature is uniform throughout, giving a diameter close to 14.4 cm. (fig. 1). This cast must have been

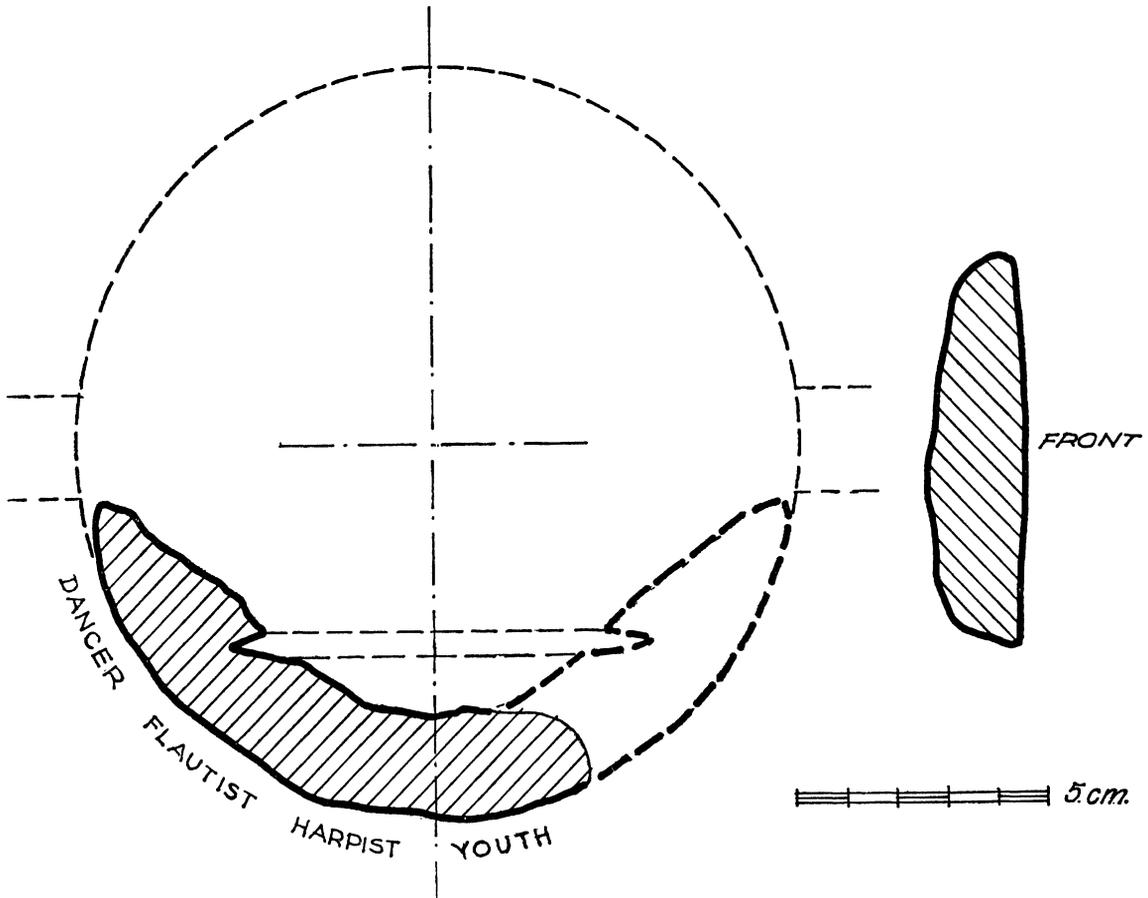


FIG. 1. Sections through plaster relief.

taken from a vessel with cylindrical sides. Since in addition it must have had a rim and a base, we may assume that the total height of the original was somewhere between 9 and 10 cm. This shape and these measurements are consistent with those of ancient skyphoi of the late Hellenistic period, of which the sides are almost vertical. Our measurements conform fairly well to those of the silver skyphoi showing pastoral scenes from the Casa del Menandro in Pompeii.<sup>2</sup> These cups, nos. 1 and 2, have a relief zone

from Theophrastus, *περὶ φυτόων αἰτίων* VI, 19, 5, where the term is used for those made from seal rings. See E. R. Caley and J. C. Richards, *Theophrastus on Stones* (Columbus, 1956), 219, section 67.

<sup>1</sup> Rubensohn, *Hell. Silbergerät*, 3; Ippel, *op. cit.* 10, fig. 5; 14, fig. 9 etc.

<sup>2</sup> A. Maiuri, *La casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria* (Rome, 1932), 265-310, pls. xvi-xxiv. H. Kühmann, *Beiträge zur späthellenistischen und frührömischen Toreutik* (Kallmunz-Opf, 1959), 88-91, dates these vessels *c.* 75-50 B.C., but in general his dating seems to be late.

of *c.* 6.5 cm. in height, a total height of 8.2 and 8.5 cm., and a diameter of 12.5 cm. Skyphoi from the Boscoreale treasure in the Louvre are closer in scale; nos. 5 and 6 have a height of 9.4 cm. and a diameter of 13 cm.; no. 17 has a height of 8.1 cm. and a diameter of 12 cm.<sup>1</sup> Küthmann, who has recently tried to date late Hellenistic metal-work, places these pieces *c.* 50–25 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Examples from the time of Augustus and Tiberius are even taller.<sup>3</sup> The trend toward higher relief zones probably reflects the need to accommodate larger figures in the full renderings dear to the Romans. In general, these cups maintain the same diameter, but increase their height. The proportions that we calculate for our cup would relate it to the earliest of the Pompeian vessels.

The portion of our plaster relief that is preserved represents a little more than one quarter of the total circumference (fig. 1). Five figures remain: a reclining pair on the right, a pair of entertainers on the left, a minor Eros in the centre. The distribution of figures suggests that there was another group, presumably also entertainers, on the right (fig. 1). Two handles would have occupied about 2 cm. on each side, which is approximately the space they fill on similar Pompeian cups. Since it was customary on drinking-cups to keep the weight of interest equal on the two sides so that both the drinker and his toast shared the enjoyment without prejudice, we may assume that the reverse of our cup showed a similar scene. Moreover, drinking-cups usually came in pairs, to facilitate the exchange of *skolia* or toasts: we should like to hypothesize another cup with scenes of revelry, dance, music, and amorous incident, wrought in silver that must have given the effect of moonlight playing across the figures as the cups were lifted in the symposium.

Certain holes in our plaster indicate that it was hung by a loop of cord (diameter 0.2 cm.) that was embedded in the damp plaster. The wall of the plaster is thickest just at this point and tapers away to the preserved edge (pl. XV, 3). This hanging loop was placed just behind the space between the heads of the two central figures, which on the plan falls exactly in the centre of the side (fig. 1). This evidence corroborates our restoration and makes a third figure unlikely in the central group. Another larger, deeper hole is also visible on the back. It had a diameter of *c.* 0.5 cm., and depth of *c.* 1.5 cm. It was evidently impressed by a small pointed stick of which the ends had been embedded in the wet plaster horizontally so that the stick would have cleared the back and re-entered the plaster at approximately the same distance from the other edge (fig. 1). Soft dark earth that was found in this hole might well be the rotted wood. Such a stick would have formed a convenient handle for lifting the damp cast and for withdrawing it from the mould. No such hole has been found to my knowledge on other examples, but suspension-holes exist in other such casts.<sup>4</sup> The most complete of such casts that has survived is now in the Ägyptische Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen of Berlin; it comes from Athribis in the Delta (pl. XVI, 1).<sup>5</sup> Although it was

<sup>1</sup> A. Héron de Villefosse, 'Le Trésor de Boscoreale', *Mon. Piot* 5 (1899), nos. 5 and 6, pp. 52–57, pls. v f.; no. 17, pp. 83 ff., pl. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 148, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Piot* 5 (1899), pls. xxxi–xxxvi, nos. 104 f., pp. 134–48.

<sup>4</sup> Rubensohn, *op. cit.* 7 f.

<sup>5</sup> T. Schreiber, *Die alexandrinische Toreutik (Abhandlung der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* XIV, 5, 1894), 470–9, pl. v; Ippel, *op. cit.* 13 f., fig. 8; A. Adriani, *Divagazioni intorno ad una coppa paesistica del Museo di Alessandria* (Rome, 1959), 18 f., pl. b, 1. Upper diam. 9 cm., lower diam. 8 cm., H. 11 cm.

considered by Schreiber to be a plaster model, it now appears on close examination to be a cast, made in two halves, from a metal original. This is indicated by the blurred and distorted condition of the heads of the figures. Had the plaster been 'carved' as suggested, the heads might well have been broken or damaged, but could not have been pulled out of shape as they are. This handsome relief therefore seems also to be a cast from a metal cup, probably a beaker. We may suppose that such casts were hung on the walls of workshops to serve as models to the craftsmen and purchasers.

A remarkable feature of our relief is the preservation upon it of a few flecks of colour. In the groove over the harpist's head, under the youth's cloak, beneath the overfold of the flautist's dress lurk touches of deep red; in the banqueter's cup, pink; on the coverlet and on the basket of fruit, yellow. Finished plaster reliefs were always coloured, but it seems strange to find a cast like this painted. But colour does appear on other plaster 'models', for instance, on the hair and eyes of an Eros and on female heads from Memphis.<sup>1</sup> In addition, inscriptions were sometimes added in ink, two such appear on our relief.

It has generally been assumed that these plaster casts and moulds were retained in the shops to assist in making new models of wax for casting, in the ancient Egyptian manner.<sup>2</sup> Certain examples, among them ours, show, however, that they were made from worn and scratched originals. Moreover, the presence of coloured detail on such models and reliefs implies that they were sold as objects in their own right. In this connexion a remark by Pliny is enlightening. A certain artist made cups 'the delicate chasing of which was so liable to injury that it was impossible to take a cast of them. . . . nowadays we only value wrought silver for its age and reckon its merit established when the chasing is so worn that the very design can no longer be made out' (*NH*, xxxiii, 157, transl. Jex-Blake). We need not therefore be surprised that our cast was made when the surface of the metal vessel was damaged. We must however express our pain at the thought of such pieces rendered in the crass colours that cover Graeco-Egyptian terracottas, but the evidence is clear. We might argue that this questionable taste could occur only in the Roman period when many casts were sold.<sup>3</sup> The style of the relief, however, is pure Hellenistic.

The subject, at first glance, seems to be merely a revel, with music. But who are the participants; where are they performing; what is the nature of their gathering? We should also like to know who was the artist of the original cup, when he worked, and when and where the cast of his apparently famous piece was made.

One question at least can be answered: the setting is clearly Egyptian, out of doors, no doubt in the cool of evening when revelry began. This is intimated by the palm-tree that leans across the background. A couch is set beside it on which a youth reclines and a female harpist sits at his feet. The palm naturally appears in Egyptian landscapes;

For the beaker shape see V. Spinazzola, *Le arti decorative in Pompei* (Milan-Rome-Venice-Florence, 1928), pl. 237. I am most grateful to Dr. A. Greifenhagen, Dr. Werner Kaiser, and Dr. J. Karig for the privilege of examining this object, and for photographs, of which one is reproduced in our pl. XVI, 1.

<sup>1</sup> Ippel, *op. cit.* 11, fig. 6; Rubensohn, *op. cit.* 72 f., nos. 60 f., pl. xvi no. 78, pl. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Edgar, *Greek Moulds*, vi-ix; Pernice, *Öst. Jahresh.* 7 (1904), 175 f.; Ippel, *op. cit.* 26-28.

<sup>3</sup> Richter, *AJA* 62 (1958), 376 f.

it may carry a suggestion of sanctity, for the tree was regarded as beneficent in its Phoenician homeland.<sup>1</sup>

Behind the harpist rises a curious structure that might be regarded as a crenellated wall on analogy with the wall on the plaster relief from Athribis (pl. XVI, 1).<sup>2</sup> But the 'crenellations' on our piece are not uniform; they vary in size. Moreover, they rest on a narrow shelf-like support rising above them and appearing clearly to turn to right and left. A similar shelf can be seen beneath that on which rests the row of hemispherical objects. In other words, this structure must be a piece of furniture composed of open shelves on which is stored a series of inverted bowls. Such a cupboard has clearly been defined by Athenaeus (XI, 460 d):<sup>3</sup> *κυλικεῖον τοδί—εἶρηται γὰρ οὕτως ἢ τῶν ποτηρίων σκευοθήκη* and especially if the cups were of silver (XI, 480 b). Since, in one case, a small statue of Hermes was kept in a kylikeion, we may regard it as a repository of precious household objects, committed to the god for safe-keeping (and incidentally to be admired and envied by the guests).<sup>4</sup>

Kylikeia are frequently portrayed on sculptured reliefs of funerary banquets in Asia Minor of the Hellenistic period. One example<sup>5</sup> shows a lower shelf on which rest four hemispherical bowls very like ours; above them rises another cupboard on which two rhyta and a krater have been set. The setting of these reliefs is also *al fresco*, as indicated by trees rising behind the kylikeia, much as on our plaster.<sup>6</sup> We know that these kylikeia were also common in Alexandria from passages in the famous description of the procession of Philadelphus by Callixeinus (Athenaeus, v, 199 f).<sup>7</sup> One was itself made of silver, with figured legs, and was eighteen feet wide and nine high.<sup>8</sup> The example on our relief cannot then be considered too large or too sumptuous for a revel. We note that hemispherical bowls in faience, as also in bronze and silver, have survived from Alexandria and that their clay counterparts, the Megarian bowls, indicate their great popularity at this period. We may be able to see, with sympathetic effort, a suggestion of ornament on the vague shapes of vessels on our shelves. They would not, however, have reached the extravagance of those presented by Cleopatra to Antony at their meeting in Cilicia. These were golden and set with gems. We smile when we read that the queen at her vulgar symposion also gave each of Antony's officers the couch on which he lay, its coverlet, and its kylikeion (Athenaeus, v, 148 a).

In the Athribis relief just mentioned (pl. XVI, 1,) the scene is laid in a sanctuary in

<sup>1</sup> G. Gullini, *I mosaici di Palestrina, Archeologica classica, Suppl. I* (Rome, 1956), pls. xvi f. H. Danthine, *Le Palmier-dattier et les arbres sacrés dans l'iconographie de l'Asie occidentale ancienne* (Paris, 1937), concludes (pp. 163 f.) that the tree was deeply revered, though not worshipped, as evinced by its prominence in the Philadelphus procession (Athenaeus, v, 202 e).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 149, n. 5. It is interesting to compare this with a purely non-Egyptian rendering of a cult scene, Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches à Begram*, 119, fig. 408.

<sup>3</sup> This identification was made by Dr. Nezih Firatlı of the Istanbul Museum to whom I am most grateful for the following references. In general, cf. F. Studniczka, *Das Symposion Ptolemaios II (Abhandl. der Philolog.-hist. Klasse, K. Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, II, Leipzig, 1914)*, 163-9, figs. 46-51.

<sup>4</sup> Athenaeus, XI, 460 e.

<sup>5</sup> *Jahrb.* 20 (1905), 123, fig. 20.

<sup>6</sup> G. Mendel, *Musées impériaux ottomans, Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, 188, no. 975; 191, no. 978.

<sup>7</sup> I owe this and the following references to Dr. Marjorie Milne.

<sup>8</sup> Athenaeus, v, 199 c.

the presence of the deities, Isis and Harpocrates. We see the bustling activity within the great temple court, as described in the astrological texts.<sup>1</sup> But within the narrower stage of our plaster relief the atmosphere does not seem religious, but merely gay, in a manner that, at first glance, seems purely Greek.

The youth who lies upon the couch is a typical komast. A narrow chlamys is drawn about his hips; his left leg emerges from it to stretch out to the ground. He supports his weight on his left elbow; his left hand holds a deep bowl, undoubtedly taken down from the kylikeion behind the couch. His right arm is thrown upward to his head in a pose indicative of fatigue, intoxication, or sleep.

A coverlet is spread over the couch. It is lightly incised in a checker-board pattern to suggest the colourful weaving of Oriental textiles,<sup>2</sup> like those of Cleopatra. On the floor beside the couch, where a table stands in Anatolian reliefs, is placed a large basket of fruit of which the clearest specimen is a pine-cone. This little still-life, sensitively rendered, is reminiscent of Pompeian paintings of *Xenia*.<sup>3</sup> The pine-cone calls to mind the cone that tops the thyrsos and appears frequently in Dionysiac scenes.<sup>4</sup>

Is this youth Dionysus? His pose is that characteristic of the god in his relaxed and amorous moods, as for example on many Pompeian paintings and even in terracottas from Myrina.<sup>5</sup> In these scenes a woman appears, but not in the role of a harpist. If the youth is Dionysus the setting is unusual, and the absence of satyrs, maenads, and symposiasts is striking unless we can relegate them all to the other side of the vase. Nor do the common Dionysiac symbols appear: there are no thyrsos, no lagobola, no kantharoi, not even a jar of wine or a sprig of ivy. In view of the plethora of such objects on late Hellenistic vessels, it seems unlikely that we are in the presence of that god.

In Egypt at this time Syrian cults were popular; could the youth be Attis or Adonis? The basket filled with fruits reminds us of the silver baskets of Adonis in the festival of Queen Arsinoë<sup>6</sup> more than any associated with Attis. The music of flute and harp, even the whirling dance are to be found in representations of the festival of the dying god.<sup>7</sup> But we must consider more in detail the nature of the participants of this scene before we can properly interpret it.

The harpist who sits at the foot of the couch looking backward over her shoulder at the youth is a most perplexing figure. Like the common entertainer of earlier classical days she delights the komast with music.<sup>8</sup> But this woman is no common hetaira. She

<sup>1</sup> F. Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues* (Brussels, 1907), 142-77. Cf. J. A. S. Evans, 'A Social and Economic History of an Egyptian Temple in the Greco-Roman Period', *Yale Classical Studies* 17 (1961), 149-283.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Maiuri, *Casa del Menandro*, pls. xxxi-xxxv.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. F. Eckstein, *Untersuchungen über die Stilleben aus Pompeji und Herculaneum* (Berlin, 1957), 15, no. 31, fig. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Note the example among the fruit carried by Africa on the Boscoreale dish, *Mon. Piot* 5 (1899), pl. i; cf. pl. xvi, 2.

<sup>5</sup> For the group composition, see E. Simon, *Jahrb.* 76 (1961), 130 f., figs. 14 f.; terracottas: E. Pottier and S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina* (Paris, 1888), pl. xxv.

<sup>6</sup> Theocritus, xv, lines 112-18.

<sup>7</sup> Full discussions of the festival of Adonis under the Ptolemies are given in G. Glotz, 'Les Fêtes d'Adonis sous Ptolémée II', *REG* 33 (1920), 169-222; A. S. Gow, 'The *Adoniazuse* of Theocritus', *JHS* 58 (1938), 180-210; W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig, 1911), 121-33.

<sup>8</sup> H. Metzger, *Représentations dans la céramique attique du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1951), 126, pl. xvii; 363, pl. xlviii; Pottier and Reinach, *Nécropole*, pl. xl, 2.

wears a long chiton that is girt high, though it droops down over the left shoulder. Her himation is wrapped around her legs and her head is muffled in a soft tiara or Phrygian cap,<sup>1</sup> and, so far as can be told from the damaged surface, a thin face-veil is drawn tightly across her features. Its lower edge is not visible, but its upper edge is clearly defined above the forehead and likewise its large eye-holes are distinct,<sup>2</sup> through which she regards the youth. She must have been singing or humming through the veil, but now she pauses, tipping the harp back upon her shoulder to look at her companion with anxiety or with yearning. Assisting her to support the corner of the harp is a little Eros, whose body can just be made out beneath the instrument. His left leg is extended; his right leg is bent back; traces of his stomach, right arm, wing, and head can be detected on close examination.<sup>3</sup>

The harp belongs to a large class of instruments which were called trigona from their shape.<sup>4</sup> It has a curved top, which on our relief is just visible above and behind the player. Its twelve strings are set at an angle to both sides of the frame and are bound around its bottom. This form of harp, descended from the original Sumerian variety, includes the larger Syrian *sambyke* and the smaller Phoenician *nablas*.<sup>5</sup> Known to the Greeks of the fifth century B.C. as 'Phrygian', 'Syrian', or 'Egyptian', it was thoroughly naturalized in Hellenistic Egypt.<sup>6</sup> Small types like ours were carried while dancing or walking in processions. It was presumably harps like this that were used at religious festivals: ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸ βονὶ ὄργανόν τι τρίγωνον ἐναρμόνιον, ᾧ χρῶνται οἱ ἱεροψάλται ἐν τοῖς κώμοις (I. A. Fabricius, Josephus, *Hypomnestikon. Codex pseudepigraphicus veteris testamenti*, 1718, II, 330).

We might readily identify our harpist as a hieropsaltist at a sacred revel, were it not for one peculiar element. She appears to be winged. Close examination reveals the curved top of what looks like a wing behind her head beside the top of the harp. The lower edge of the wing, which is not smooth, but scalloped into three sharp points, is clearly traceable between her and the youth. Its surface is not feathered, but it is lightly treated with delicate irregular crescents such as are employed by Pompeian painters to indicate the texture of skins. Although this treatment is not proper for the representation of the wing of a bird, it is suitable for that of a bat, which the Greeks called *δερμόπτερος*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the Phrygian cap as the Persian tiara, J. H. and S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus* (Philadelphia, 1955), 208.

<sup>2</sup> This veil, which is clear on the original, appears to have the form of several others from Egypt; cf. *AJA* 54 (:950), 371 ff., particularly 382, figs. 14-16; D. B. Thompson, *Troy, The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period, Supplementary Monograph*, 3 (Princeton, 1963), 50-52. It is not impossible that the figure is so muffled in order to represent a bat, as the face is not unlike that of a snub-nosed type of bat.

<sup>3</sup> The Eros was first detected by the sharp eye of Dr. Clairève Grandjouan. Eros often helps with the harp, e.g. R. Herbig, 'Griechische Harfen', *AM* 54 (1929), 182, fig. 9; Metzger, *Représentations*, pl. xlvi, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Herbig, *op. cit.* 164-93.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 190-3. For an actual Egyptian harp, E. Closson, 'Une Harpe angulaire égyptienne antique', *Chron. d'Égypte* 9 (1934), 35-38.

<sup>6</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. Lyra, cols. 1448 f. Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet*, 121 on no. 327.

<sup>7</sup> I owe this interpretation to Professor Erika Simon, who cited the references in the next note. Dr. George Watson of Yale University agreed that a bat's wing lay at the bottom of the fanciful wing, which, like those of the Psychai on our pl. XVI, 2, are contaminated with a bird's wing. Most of the ancients classified bats erroneously as birds; cf. O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* (Leipzig, 1909), 11-14.

That is, although the general shape of the wing is based on the ornithological structure, its edge is different and the membrane is shown as though covered with fur. Such wings, though rare, can be paralleled among Pompeian wall paintings (pl. XVI, 2). One type has been identified by Helbig as Nemesis, the instigator and particularly the avenger of passion.<sup>1</sup> Pausanias (I, 33, 6) records this interest of Nemesis in lovers, but he states definitely that when she took on wings, they copied those of Eros and presumably therefore were of ornithological form.<sup>2</sup> The daimon in the Pompeian paintings is therefore best left nameless.

Iconographically the wings of our harpist resemble those of another class of super-human being, namely, the little Psychai who pluck flowers in the Elysian fields as portrayed on the walls of the House of the Vettii at Pompeii (pl. XVI, 2).<sup>3</sup> The wings of these Psychai are deliberately contrasted with the bird-wings of their companion Erotes. The fact that they are the wings of bats must have therefore some basis in the Hellenistic conception of the soul. Perhaps they owe their inspiration to the famous description of the flitting souls in the Underworld that followed Hermes twittering (*τρίζουσαι*) like bats from a cave, to the meadows where dwell the dead (*Odyssey* xxiv, 6 ff.). It is easy to see how Hellenistic artists, well versed in Homer and well acquainted with the winged creatures of their ambience, would have seized upon this metaphor to enhance their allegory. The little souls, who lived fluttering in the darkness of the Underworld, become the companions of the bird-like Erotes. Love, which can conquer the wild beasts like the lion and leopard, as we see them frequently in Hellenistic art, is thus portrayed as bringing the souls back to life.

The word used of the twittering of the bats perhaps plays its part in the symbolism of our difficult figure.<sup>4</sup> The verb, *τρίζειν*, with which Homer describes the voices of the souls, as of the bats, was also used for the twang of ancient string-instruments. An epigram (*Anth. Pal.* vi, 54) tells us how once in a contest the string of an instrument broke, but a kindly cicada (*τέττιξ*) perched upon it and continued the note in key:

*ἀβρὸν ἐπιτρύζων κιθάρας ὕπερ ἔζετο τέττιξ,  
καὶ τὸν ἀποιχομένου φθόγγον ὑπήλθε μίτου.*

Our harpist, then, has an eminent claim to her wings; her twittering music is visualized by implication.

This concept of Psyche as a twittering *tettix* occurs also in an epigram by Poseidippus, who already in the third century B.C. presents Love and the Soul in an idyllic piece of imagery (*Anth.* XII, 98):

*τὸν Μουσῶν τέττιγα Πόθος θήσας ἐπ' ἀκάνθαις,*

<sup>1</sup> W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (Leipzig, 1868), pl. xv, p. 258, no. 1231; cf. nos. 1227-30. Note the bronze bat on a lamp from Pompeii, Spinazzola, *Arte decorative*, pl. 287.

<sup>2</sup> P. Perdrizet, 'Nemesis', *BCH* 36 (1912), 248-67; B. Schweitzer, 'Dea Nemesis Regina', *Jahrb.* 46 (1931), 175-246, particularly 210 f., 228-31, on daimons in the syncretic religion of Alexandria.

<sup>3</sup> P. Hermann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums* (Munich, 1904), on p. 33, pl. 21. Our pl. XVI, 2 is reproduced through the kindness of Dr. Ernest Nash.

<sup>4</sup> I owe my discussion of this word to the inspiration of Dr. Marjorie Milne. The forms *τρίζειν* and *τρύζειν* seem to be interchangeable variants.



1. Plaster relief from Athribis



2. Painting from the House of the Vettii, Pompeii



1. Painting from the Temple of Isis, Pompeii



2. Columbarium painting in the Villa Pamphili, Rome

κοιμίζειν ἐθέλει πῦρ ὑπὸ πλευρὰ βαλῶν;  
ἦ δὲ πρὶν ἐν βύβλοις πεπονημένη ἄλλ' ἀθερίζει  
ψυχῇ, ἀνηρῶ δαίμονι μεμφομένη.

True, this early literary image refers to the torture rather than to the union of love and is later shown in figures of Eros singeing the wings of a butterfly at an altar.<sup>1</sup> It is far removed from our amorous scene of love or marriage, which by its central position on our cup must surely represent a sacred drama or epiphany. On two late monuments, the Towneley sarcophagus and a papyrus illustration of the tale of Eros and Psyche, we find the two lovers, reclining in somewhat the same iconographical form.<sup>2</sup> Usually, however, the lovers stand, as adolescents or children, the 'innocents' dear to late Hellenistic thought.<sup>3</sup> If our strange musician, muffled from human eyes, a winged dweller in darkness, is really Psyche, she represents an early Hellenistic form of which no more than a faint hint has come down to us. Winged daimons were actually so prevalent in late Hellenistic art that we need not give them all names. Even the 'mourning Sirens' that stood over graves and on sarcophagi were beneficent soul-birds and musicians in early folklore; they did not become devastating daimons until Roman times.<sup>4</sup> Our harpist, then, seems at home in her world, though she remains anonymous, as befits a daimon.

Let us now look at the other musician in our scene, the flute-player. She belongs to the world of ancient Egypt, but she too is a strange figure. From the dawn of history, the flautists who played upon the reeds of the Nile were famous: 'Nile, tuus tibicen erat' (Propertius, IV, 8, 39).<sup>5</sup> Ours is a typically Egyptian character, vigorously piping and stamping time as she leads the dance. She wears an ample garment with full sleeves; it is girt low and it clings closely to her buttocks. The way in which the crinkled material falls is reminiscent of that worn by certain vulgar dancers whose dresses cling to their protruding buttocks as they perform the age-old 'danse du ventre' or 'twist'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. Psyche, p. 747, fig. 5840 etc.

<sup>2</sup> O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, 174 ff. (sarcophagus); K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illustration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 109-11, pl. lvii, fig. 117 (papyrus).

<sup>3</sup> R. Reitzenstein, 'Eros und Psyche in der ägyptisch-griechischen Kleinkunst', *Sitzber. Heidelb. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Philol.-hist. Klasse*, 1914, 12, summarizes the Alexandrian material and relates it to the story by Apuleius.

<sup>4</sup> Roscher, s.v. Sirenen, cols. 616 f. (Weicker); G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1902), 17-22. Cf. the winged musicians on Arretine pottery, G. H. Chase, *Catalogue of Arretine Pottery* (Boston and New York, 1916), pl. x, no. 26 etc., on paintings, H. G. Beyen, *Die pompeianische Wanddekoration* (The Hague, 1960), II, 1, p. 32, no. 86; p. 34, no. 88a, etc. Even in classical poetry vague daimons flash wings; e.g. Euripides, *Bacchae*, lines 370-73,

῾Οσία πότνα Θεῶν,  
῾Οσία δ' ἄ κατὰ γᾶν  
χρυσέαν πτέρυγα φέρεις . . .

or the *νύμφαν φοινικοπτέρυγα* of unknown character, D. L. Page, *Select Papyri*, III (Loeb, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1940), 392, no. 87 e, line 1; cf. 87 f, line 5. It is interesting to note that the *φοινικόπτερος* was a flamingo, a common Egyptian bird.

<sup>5</sup> P. Perdrizet, *Les Bronzes grecs d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet* (Paris, 1911), 68; Athenaeus, IV, 129 a.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. E. Breccia, *Terracotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del museo di Alessandria*, II (Bergamo, 1934), pl. vii, no. 283; Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet*, pl. xlv, 6, p. 48, no. 141 bis. For dancing dwarfs, E. A. W. Budge, *Osiris*, I (London and New York, 1911), 231-46. Diodorus Siculus, I, 18, 4.

Figurines from Egypt and Sicily and in particular a relief of Roman date show the popularity of this type of performer.<sup>1</sup> The stocky figure appears to be that of a native woman and immediately calls to mind the even more dwarfish dancers portrayed in bronze from the shipwreck of Mahdia.<sup>2</sup> They are castanet-players; our dancer is a flautist who plays a single flute with both hands. A thin rod is visible behind her knee.<sup>3</sup>

This little figure might easily be called typical of the streets of Alexandria were it not for the peculiar cap upon her head. Its surface is largely gone, but its edges are clear. Rising from the top of the cap is a curious curved object which is closed at the left by a lightly indicated re-entrant edge. Perhaps it is an ornament at the top of the cap, but at present it defies identification. It might be a wing, seen from within. For from the back of the cap springs what appears to be another wing. It is sharply defined as curving at the top and feathered at the lower edge.<sup>4</sup> The wing is fastened to the back of the cap, not to its sides, as in classical representations of the wings of Hermes or of Medusa. But it should be noted that in the Hellenistic period and later, in reliefs and painting, the wings tend to slip backward and to be represented in profile. For example, they thus appear on the plaster head of a Medusa from Memphis.<sup>5</sup> But even if we grant that the flautist wears a winged cap, can we explain its presence on an Egyptian temple follower?

The only winged cap associated with Egyptian cult costume known to me is that of the *πτεροφόρος* or secretary priest, who is mentioned on Ptolemaic decrees describing official cult processions.<sup>6</sup> This priest is also portrayed on monuments of the Roman period showing the college of priests of the Isis cult. On one of these in the Temple of Isis at Pompeii a priest, carrying a scroll of holy writ, wears a cap to which two small hawk's wings are attached at the back and curve up much in the same way as on the cap of our flautist (pl. XVII, 1).<sup>7</sup> The identification of this cap as that of the *pterophoros*, strange as it seems, is the most likely that we can offer. It is not within our present knowledge to explain why this cap of a high-ranking priest should appear upon the head of this frisky flute-player. But the intricacies of the mixed religions of Egypt of this period are obscure. Nor is it impossible that the whole scene presents a solemn ritual in a mocking spirit, a mood for which Alexandria was famous. On analogy with our interpretation of the harpist, we might suggest that the high squeal of the flute is

<sup>1</sup> *Not. Scavi*, 16 (1919), 106–12; F. Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike* (Halle/Salle, 1926), 22, fig. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Piot* 18 (1910/11), pls. i, ii; these are presumably to be dated before 85 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> The rod does not align with the sickle-shaped object above the head. The shape of this object might be considered a lagobolon but it is too sharply curved; nor is it the shape of a Phrygian flute.

<sup>4</sup> The serrated outline of the pinions is so clear that we cannot interpret the mass as hair. Besides, the characteristic 'lampadion' of this period is wispy; cf. an example on a Mahdia bronze, *Mon. Piot* 18 (1910/11), 11, fig. 2, and the history of this coiffure in *Troy, Suppl. Monograph* 3, 41 f.

<sup>5</sup> Rubensohn, *Hell. Silbergerät*, pl. iii, no. 4; cf. pl. vi, no. 37.

<sup>6</sup> W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, I, no. 56, line 4, n. 13; no. 90, line 7; cf. Diodorus Siculus, I, 87, 8: τοὺς ἱερογραμματεῖς φορεῖν φωνικοῦν ῥάμμα καὶ πτερόν ἱερακοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς.

<sup>7</sup> O. Elia, *Monumenti della pittura antica*, III, Pompei, fasc. iii–iv, p. 16, fig. 18. I am indebted to Dr. Ernest Nash for this photograph and to the Fotografia della Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Campania, Naples, for permission to reproduce it. This painting is dated by P. von Blanckenhagen, in *Paintings from Boscotrecase*, 24, no. 6, as c. 25 B.C. Note also that the wings on a helmet in a painting from Parthia of the first century A.D. are rendered in much the same manner, E. E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London and New York, 1941), pl. civ.

implied by the wings of the kite that hovers, piping, over Egypt, even to this day.<sup>1</sup> But all these strange details are open to further study and more convincing interpretation.

The dancer for whom the flautist plays is doing a 'spin' to her left, trailing her long skirts and clasping her hands over her head. She wears a headdress like that of the harpist, the tiara or Phrygian cap. Her features seem lumpy. Her underdress has sleeves; it is worn beneath a thin, full garment that is tied between the breasts in a knot, leaving the left breast not bare, but covered by the inner dress. The skirt is not the short garment of Phrygian dancers, but it is long like that worn by several figures on the Athribis scene. This costume may be called 'Oriental' and characterizes Hellenistic Dionysiac and stage costume, originally imported from the luxurious East.<sup>2</sup>

Dancers performed everywhere in Ptolemaic Egypt. Terracottas reveal their steps and their gyrations; papyri record their prices and their demands for fine clothing and jewellery.<sup>3</sup> This particular dancer is, however, not performing the characteristically Egyptian dance which was accompanied by clapping, but seems rather to be doing the Phrygian *oklasma*.<sup>4</sup> This dance, though Eastern in origin, was performed all over the Hellenistic world. It must have been depicted on the tapestries that hung in the palace of Arsinoë II, for the visitors delighted in the whirling figures woven upon them: (Theocritus, *Adoniazusae*, xv, lines 82 f.):

ὥς ἔτυμ' ἐνδινεῖντι,  
ἔμψυχ', οὐκ ἐνφαντά. σοφόν τοι χρῆμ' ὠνθρωπος.

What has our examination of the character of the participants told us regarding the scene in which they take part? If it is a mystery cult, they guard its secrets well. The presence of the winged harpist implies that the central group is not mortal, but the nature of the figures is mysterious; they are not gods whom we know. The scene is not canonically Dionysiac, nor do we recognize Attis. Can we identify the youth as Adonis?

If the protagonist is Adonis, Aphrodite must be present in the scene. Perhaps she hovered on the other side of the couch, surrounded by attendant Erotes, as on paintings of the subject.<sup>5</sup> It is conceivable, but scarcely likely in a Greek milieu, that the winged figure is herself an Oriental form of Aphrodite. Nor have we ever seen an Adonis to whom Aphrodite plays the harp. Our scene is not like the well-known representations of Aphrodite and Adonis; it is set far from the hillside on which the youth died. It is an essentially Egyptian scene and a street-scene at that. The komos is lively; the

<sup>1</sup> Note that the kite has a shrill cry which gave its name to a type of flute, the Latin *milvina*, O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, II (Leipzig, 1913), 18.

<sup>2</sup> A. Alföldi, *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, jr.* (Princeton, 1955), 41-44; cf. *Delos* 14 (1933), pl. iii; Perdrizet, *Bronzes Fouquet*, no. 116, pp. 77 f., pl. xxix.

<sup>3</sup> T. Grassi, 'Musica, mimica, danza secondo i documenti papiracei greco-egizi', *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* 3 (R. Accad. Scientifico-letteraria, Milano, 1920), 117-25; cf. *AJA* 54 (1950), 384 f. Grassi, op. cit. 130.

<sup>4</sup> The hands appear to be clasped rather than engaged in clapping; cf. Weege, *Tanz in der Antike*, 110 ff., figs. 150-2; Thompson, *Troy, Suppl. Monograph* 3, 100 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See particularly Gow, *JHS* 58 (1938), 199, fig. 6, a vase-painting showing Adonis and Aphrodite with Erotes and a mourning woman in the background. The most famous examples are gathered by S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1922), 64 f., but we await a fuller treatment promised by G. Rizzo, *Mon. della pittura*, Pompei, I, p. 25, n. c.

participants of the sacred drama, perhaps a *hieros gamos*, are vivid characters to inspire so much merriment. Whatever their names—Oriental Aphrodite and her Greek Adonis, or Eros and his twittering Psyche—the scene reeks more of native superstition than of holy mysteries. We feel that this is the sort of festival that Antony and Cleopatra joined when they roamed the streets of Alexandria in disguise rather than that which Gorgo and Praxinoe beheld when they pushed their way into the Queen's palace. We can only stand aside and marvel at the spirit of incongruity, perhaps mockery, that pervades the scene: the combination of the graceful dancer, the caricature of an Egyptian priest, the bat daimon and her soothing music, lulling to sleep some Alcibiades and his ribald companions.

But we must not be too strict in our interpretation of this piece of Hellenistic eclecticism. Probably no Alexandrian who looked upon this scene was puzzled by these incongruities. According to his ways of thinking, the name of a god was a local matter; the same divinity in different lands had different names, but he was one—call him Attis, Adonis, Dionysus or Osiris.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, was the occasion significant? Whether it was a scene of mourning or of merriment, dancing, music, drinking were the order of the day.

We must now consider the date of the original vessel from which our plaster cast was taken. It is not likely that it belongs to the time of Theocritus, so far as we now understand Alexandrian art. The closest plaster parallel is the example from Athribis, but it shows a more Egyptianized spirit and its technique is less delicate and somewhat later in character. Such vague feelings, however, cannot serve to date our object and we must search for closer parallels.

Among metal reliefs we have previously noted some resemblance to the pictorial Pompeian cups, particularly those bearing the loves of Ares and Aphrodite. The figures on these cups are, however, in higher relief; the detail is more lavish; the whole atmosphere of the scenes is classicizing. Our youth is not a muscular warrior but an androgynous ephebe, more like the soft Dionysiac Erotes from Myrina or the satyrs on an undated plaster relief from Memphis.<sup>2</sup> Nor does our piece resemble the landscape reliefs on metal vases that are usually regarded as late Hellenistic, although they may be somewhat earlier.<sup>3</sup> The shallow relief, the delicate modelling, the slender but not elongated figures, all place our plaster well before the earliest of the Pompeian metal cups.

<sup>1</sup> Gressmann, *Or. Religionen*, 10–15; Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, 185–202. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 5, gives the monotheistic creed as spoken by Isis. R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1927), 240–2, summarizes this trend of late classical times, which was intensified by the attempt of Stoics to find the place of origin of man and of his religions: '... man in den Heiligtümern selbst nicht mehr recht weiss, ob der sterbende und auferstehende Gott Adonis oder Attis oder Osiris (oder Dionysos) ist' (p. 241).

<sup>2</sup> D. Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Vienna, 1934), pl. ix, no. 20; pls. xxii f. Rubensohn, *Hell. Silbergerät*, 31, no. 21 and fig. 3, pl. xv.

<sup>3</sup> Adriani, *Coppa paesistica*, 1–9, pls. i–iv, considers a bronze vase of a sacro-idyllic scene as probably an early Hellenistic original of the class later prevalent in paintings and landscape relief. Despite his arguments, it seems to me that the weight of the following evidence is stronger:

1. The shape, though derived from that of West Slope krateriskoi, is closer to that of the abundant candelabra cups from Pompeii and Herculaneum, as Adriani, pl. vi, 18 and 20; cf. Spinazzola, *Arti decorative*, pls. 294 f.
2. The ovolo ornament, with triangular-headed darts, finds Pompeian parallels; Spinazzola, *op. cit.* pl. 288; cf. those on Arretine vases, which, however, are flatter and not of this type, which more closely resembles

It might be suggested that our metal original could have been a copy of an earlier piece. This hypothesis does not bear close analysis. If we look at the many classicizing metal reliefs, such as we have just mentioned, or at their echoes on pottery of the late Hellenistic period, we note immediately a great difference in the style. It is true that Arretine ware shows several of the themes that appear on our relief: the reclining youth with the harpist entertainer at his feet, the twirling dancer accompanied by the dancing flautist.<sup>1</sup> But although the themes are similar, the spirit is not the same. Arretine figures are fundamentally decorative, small, widely spaced, dissociated from time and setting, and related to one another only by fortuitous stamping. Moreover, Arretine figures are rendered in a mannered style, sometimes even archaistic; they wear fluttering draperies that ultimately derive from classical prototypes. Our figures, in contrast, move in a real setting and take part in a living drama. Their style exhibits no trace of archaism, but is in a purely Hellenistic idiom, a light, flowing naturalism.

Comparisons with painting of the late Hellenistic period tell the same story. Our flautist certainly belongs to a great company of lively entertainers such as appear among the terracottas of Myrina, the Mahdia bronzes, and the Dioskourides mosaic.<sup>2</sup> Roman paintings also show such revellers. On the paintings in the columbarium of the Villa Pamphili<sup>3</sup> we meet a cousin of our dancer, half-naked and debauched, and a cousin of our flautist, apparently a negress, as hunched and stocky as our figure (pl. XVII, 2).<sup>4</sup> These types obviously derive from Alexandrian originals; they date c. 20–10 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

If we try to go back to the originals that inspired these echoes, we find that no very clear evidence is available. A general indication of the trends of relief during the earlier part of the Hellenistic period can be derived from the study of marble reliefs, particularly the funerary stelai that were mentioned in connexion with the representation of kylikeia. These give considerable detail of furniture and setting, such as we also see on the Telephos frieze of c. 160 B.C.<sup>6</sup> The style of the figures is simple in a naturalistic manner.

the ovolos on Megarian bowls of the late second to early first centuries B.C.; cf. *Hesperia Suppl.* 10 (1956), pl. 49, no. 119.

3. The naturalistic garlands, passing *behind* the skulls, fit best into the later series, which also show the fillets tied in bows; cf. A. E. Napp, *Bukranion und Guirlande* (Heidelberg, 1930), 16, 21 f., and *BSA* xxvi (1923/5), p. 289, fig. 5 f, on a late 'Delian' bowl.
4. The pictorial style of the scene is extremely close, in numerous details, such as the trees, rocks, idol, altar, etc., and especially in the evanescent effect skilfully presented by the shallow modelling, to those of many reliefs and paintings that date in the first century B.C., as suggested by Adriani himself, pp. 4 f.

It seems probable, at least on the existing evidence, that this bronze vase belongs to the latest phase of Hellenistic styles rather than to an earlier phase of which we have no other firmly dated monument. The same might be said of our plaster, except that the parallels with late Hellenistic material are not nearly so close.

<sup>1</sup> Chase, *Cat. of Arretine Pottery*, no. 34, pls. xii f.; no. 138, pl. xxviii; id., *The Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery* (New York, 1908), pl. iv, no. 76; pl. v, no. 125, etc.

<sup>2</sup> F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1903), 426, nos. 5 and 6; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich, 1923), fig. 684.

<sup>3</sup> G. Bendinelli, *Mon. della Pittura*, III, Roma, v (1941), 22, tav. agg. 3b.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. a similar figure, *ibid.* tav. agg. 2a.

<sup>5</sup> I owe this opinion to Professor von Blanckenhagen, who dates it, *op. cit.* 25, no. 10.

<sup>6</sup> The best example, approximately dated to the mid-second century, is the Telephos frieze; cf. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955), 152.

Similar figures appear on the frieze of the temple of Dionysus at Teos, which is dated by a decree as close to 193 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Despite its battered and in some cases reworked condition, we can compare the reclining Dionysus (Hahland, fig. 27) with our youth and a dancer on the same slab, whose leg is outlined by thin, lightly swinging folds, with our performer. Similarly, the flautist of the revel at Teos (Hahland, fig. 33; cf. figs. 34–36) is handled in the same manner. This simple naturalistic style, the creation of the third century, lingered long in areas unaffected by the bolder and more mannered style of Pergamon. Since this style cannot be closely dated, it merely suggests that our piece falls somewhere within the second century B.C.

Evidence for the nature of the missing silver plate of this period is given by a well-documented series of clay copies of metal vessels, namely the 'Megarian bowls'. One class in particular, the so-called 'Homeric bowls', were obviously cheap substitutes for expensive vases on literary subjects. Although they were apparently made in Boeotia, they presumably copy Alexandrian plate. The silversmiths of that rich city, which boasted of its Museum and Library, must have found it profitable to flatter the literati by providing their tables with scenes from poetry and drama. Close ties of commerce with Boeotia would explain the presence in Greece of clay copies of the magnificent vessels that the poorer Greeks could not purchase. Both the original metal pieces and the clay copies and versions appear to have been derived from the illuminated books of the period.<sup>2</sup> Homeric epic is particularly popular in this series and reflects the enthusiasm engendered by the dedication of a temple to Homer in the reign of Ptolemy IV (222–205 B.C.).<sup>3</sup> We should note that this same king, who fancied himself as a literary figure, wrote a play on Adonis.<sup>4</sup> It seems possible that the drama by the king would have inspired the silversmiths to treat that myth just at this time.

The development of the style of the Homeric bowls offers interesting commentary on the trends of the day. It has recently been fully analysed.<sup>5</sup> The style follows a logical sequence. The floral designs that appear on the first Megarian bowls, deriving clearly from Alexandrian and Near Eastern prototypes, are invaded in the early second century by figures, animal and human, often echoes or copies of well-known sculptural types.<sup>6</sup> In this series, the 'Homeric' bowls are a class apart. Their first representatives show wide zones in which sizable figures move in violent action. They are often set against backgrounds detailed by trees, columns, doors, altars, tents, tombs; even houses and, in a few cases, towns are shown in perspective, as on medieval maps.<sup>7</sup> These look like metal bowls and obviously copy them. An example from Corinth in a predestruction level before 146 B.C. serves as fixed point in the series.<sup>8</sup> It shows a dry incisive style, a

<sup>1</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1950), 274, agrees with the dating given by W. Hahland, 'Der Fries des Dionysostempels in Teos', *Öst. Jahresh.* 38 (1950), 66–109, particularly 104 f.

<sup>2</sup> K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 39 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 31–62. Page, *Gk. Literary Papyri*, no. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Aristophanis, *Thesm.* 1062. That the king's minister, Agathocles, wrote a commentary on this tragedy suggests that the court was a mutual admiration society with strong literary preoccupations.

<sup>5</sup> U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und böotischen Werkstätten* (Stuttgart, 1959), 15–52.

<sup>6</sup> For chronology, G. R. Edwards, *Hesperia Suppl.* 10 (1956), 90 f.

<sup>7</sup> Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 48 f., 53, 57, 75; cf. *Eph. arch.* 1932, 70, fig. 28, a crater with a similar scene.

<sup>8</sup> Hausmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 40.

simplification of the metal originals. Soon thereafter the clay vases degenerate; they have smaller, more widely spaced figures without setting,<sup>1</sup> and in a few cases single characters are stamped as decorative motifs between columns.<sup>2</sup> This treatment points the way to Arretine. Hausmann, by studying all possible evidence, has placed this series of bowls in the second and third quarters of the second century B.C.<sup>3</sup> The sudden extinction of this ware was probably due to the cessation of metal models. We can readily understand that such sophisticated and expensive plate would no longer find a market in the troubled and illiterate days of Ptolemy VI.<sup>4</sup>

Although these clay bowls are poor specimens with which to compare our delicate relief, the general trend of development suggests that our original was made during the period of the finest of these clay copies of metal ware. The degree of relief, the lively naturalistic style, the scale of the figures against an architectural background, all find their best parallels among the earliest of the 'Homeric' bowls.<sup>5</sup> The economic condition of Egypt during the later second century suggests that our original would have been made early in the period, or even as early as the first quarter of that century. It seems therefore that the resemblances that we have noted between late Hellenistic painting, sculpture, and metalwork are due to their common derivation from the repertory of the creative period of Alexandrian art.

We have previously noted inscriptions on our plaster; do they confirm this dating? There are two of these inscriptions, written in dark brown ink, such as was employed on papyrus, across the face of the cast. In the upper field just above the dancer's elbow we see clearly a vertical and a horizontal stroke of fairly large scale (H. 0.6 cm.). Under the glass, the horizontal stroke appears irregular as though it may have been the base of a letter of which the upper part is missing. Further to the right, in the crack formed by branches of the tree, appear more traces of ink. They are possibly only the tops of letters that have rubbed from the surface.<sup>6</sup> It would be dishonest to attempt to make a serious reading of this inscription. On analogy with other such inscriptions, it would probably refer only to the cast, not to the scene. The other inscription is clearer. It is written upon a smooth narrow space above the head of the harpist, probably the upper shelf of a kylikeion. One letter is clear: Z; the other could be O or only the left-hand loop of Ω. The Z has a good Hellenistic form, but we must not press the evidence. If we restore the head of the youth, we note that the inscription, to reach out to the edge of his figure and thus centre it over the central group, would have seven letters. In such a position the inscription would presumably give the name of the artist. A similar, casually appended, ink inscription that appears to give the name of the artist, Ἐπιμάχου μνημόσυνον, occurs on a plaster emblema from Memphis.<sup>7</sup> We must seek, therefore, the

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pls. 33-36.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pls. 38 f.

<sup>3</sup> Hausmann, op. cit. 45-51.

<sup>4</sup> A vivid description of the conditions in Egypt c. 170 B.C. is given by a group of papyri from Memphis; cf. J. P. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies* (London and New York, 1895), 358-63; I. Noshy, *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt* (London and Oxford, 1937), 96.

<sup>5</sup> Hausmann, op. cit., pls. 12-15; pls. 26 f. Cf. the treatment of the drapery on pl. 28 with that of our dancer.

<sup>6</sup> Although I have had the help of several noted papyrologists, it seems impossible to read the left-hand inscription.

<sup>7</sup> Rubensohn, *Hell. Silbergerät*, 16-18, pl. iii, no. 3; cf. G. M. A. Richter, 'A Plaster Cast of a Horse's

name of a silversmith beginning *ZO* or *ZΩ*. Happily, we find one immediately among Pliny's list of famous metalworkers (*NH*, xxxiii, 156). It is Zopyros. Pliny tells us that this artist made a pair of silver cups with reliefs showing the trial of Orestes before the court of the Areopagus, cups which were valued at the immense sum of 1,200,000 sesterces. It happens that a silver skyphos of Roman classicizing style was found in 1759 showing the same subject.<sup>1</sup> This cup was naturally associated by scholars with those attributed to Zopyros, but its exact relation to the cups described by Pliny has not been determined. The date of the artist is not given by Pliny, but it is unlikely that the work of a classicizing artist even of the first century B.C. would have been so highly esteemed as both the price of the skyphoi and their fame would suggest. It seems more likely that Zopyros was at least in a modest sense an 'old master' and that the Corsini cup mentioned above is a Roman copy or echo. Certainly its style in no way resembles that of our plaster relief; the artists cannot be the same. Since our cast seems to have been taken from a worn original, it is safe to assume that our artist was working at least as early as the Hellenistic period.

The question now arises: what is the date of the cast itself? Miss Richter believes that most of the existing plasters were made in the Roman Imperial age.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions on our piece, however, may well be Hellenistic, but at the moment we have no definite evidence whereby we may make any plausible guess at the date.

It is a pity that we do not know where our cast was found. The rich black earth that covered it implies that it came from arable land, not from graves in the desert. Memphis, the source of most of the plasters on the Cairo market, is a likely provenience. But none of the plasters found at Memphis resembles ours. The piece in the Berlin Museum is much closer; it is said to have come from Athribis, a town of the Graeco-Egyptian Thebaid.<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy IX (146-117 B.C.) built a temple there; Ptolemy XIII, Auletes (80-52 B.C.), erected another, which is interesting to us because it bore painted plaster reliefs. We see that it lies within the bounds of possibility that a silver cup could have been dedicated there in the latter half of the second century B.C. and that the local plasterworkers existed to make casts to sell to tourists. Even as early as the first century B.C. Romans were paying fortunes for plaster models, as Pliny relates of Lucullus' friend Arcesilaus: 'He also made a plaster model for a talent for a Roman knight, Octavius, to use for making a crater' (*NH*, xxxv, 155 f.).

Whatever the provenience, whoever the artist, our relief is a characteristic product of its brilliant age. The banqueter who lifted the original silver cup to his lips must have greatly relished, as do we, this glimpse into the night-life of Alexandria. In a world 'pullulating' with strange cults and ceremonies, the scene would have been familiar.

Nosepiece', *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, 18 (1959), 53-59, and A. E. Raubitschek on the signature, p. 60. Here the object is designated *γυψινον* (a noun?). The inscription is incised in letters not dissimilar from ours. The plaster represents a warrior sitting on a shield beside a trophy, rendered in a vigorous classic style (except the head, which suffered in casting) dated by Miss Richter in the late third or second century B.C. Although our piece is more exotic, it seems to fall into the same group with this piece. On these metalworkers in general, G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Italy* (Ann Arbor, 1955), 56-60.

<sup>1</sup> G. Hafner, 'Iudicium Orestis, klassisches und klassistisches', *113ter Berlin Winkelmannsprogramm*, 1958.

<sup>2</sup> *AJA* 62 (1958), 376 f.; Adriani, *RM* 67 (1960), 125. <sup>3</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Athribis* (London, 1908), 4-12.

He would have thought instantly of Theocritus and the court Adonia, or, closer to the mood, of Callimachus, whose poem, *Παννυχίς*, gives the festival in a demotic version:

‘Apollo is here for the dance; I hear his lyre playing,  
And I see little Loves and Aphrodite herself . . .  
He who madly keeps the night vigil till dawn  
Will receive the prize of cakes and of kottabos stands:  
And he may kiss whom he will of the girls  
And whomever he wants of the boys—’

(R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, Oxford, 1949, I, p. 217, frg. 227).

The poem, like the scene, breaks off; no more than a glimpse is fitting for the uninitiated.

## THE GEROUSIA IN ROMAN EGYPT

By M. A. H. EL-ABBADI

THE *gerousia* was one of the common features of Greek city life in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Like the association of *νέοι*, which was a union or club for young citizens in order to maintain the bond between them after their *ephebeia*, the *gerousia* was an organization for citizens of mature age. Unfortunately, there is no agreement as to its nature and function; and opinion is divided into two principal views: one is that the *gerousia* was a public institution concerned mainly with religious matters, and that it sometimes participated in the administration of the city. The other view is that it was essentially a social organization with no official or public character.<sup>1</sup> This article does not purport to deal with this general problem, it attempts only to discuss the available evidence on the *gerousia* in Egypt and to define, if possible, its main character.

The evidence from Egypt on this institution is still meagre and limited to two cities only, i.e. Alexandria and Oxyrhynchus. From Alexandria there is evidence that the *gerousia* existed there under the Ptolemies. An inscription from the second or first century B.C. seems to be an honorary decree of that body and in it the word *γερουσία* occurs once (line 5).<sup>2</sup> Another late Ptolemaic inscription is a dedication by the city in honour of a distinguished citizen called Lycarion, son of Noumenius, who held a strange combination of civic and royal offices among which *κατὰ τεμιμὴν ἀρχιγέροντα* figures.<sup>3</sup>

As to the Roman period, evidence is gradually accumulating. P.Oxy. 1089 of the *Acta Alexandrinorum* relates events that seem to have happened about A.D. 37–38. The *Acta* depict an interview between Flaccus, the prefect of Egypt, and the two Alexandrian leaders Isidorus and Dionysius, in which an old man advises the latter not to act on his own, but to 'sit down (in council) with the elders' (lines 35–36: *ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς γέρουσιν [κα]θί[ζ]ανε*).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The basic study on the *gerousia* and its diffusion in the Hellenistic and Roman world is Franz Poland's *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (190). On the different opinions cf. J. Lévy, 'Études sur la vie municipale d'Asie Mineure. III', *Rev. ét. gr.* VIII (1895), 203 ff., who recognized a double character in the *gerousia*, i.e. private and public, but stressed strongly its public and official aspect. In this view he is followed by Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* (1896), 3; Poland, *op. cit.* 98 ff.; Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, 565 f.; Chapot, *La Province procons. d'Asie*, 218; and J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerosia* (1941), 7 f. (he divided the *gerousia* into ethnic and geographical groups different in character: the Doric (political), the Asiatic (social), and the Attic (religious)). The social character of the *gerousia* has been maintained by Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, I, 354, n. 1; and A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, 255 f. and 353, n. 31; and in *JRS* 34 (1944), 145–6, where he reviews Oliver's work mentioned above.

<sup>2</sup> Breccia, *Iscrizioni greche e latine*, no. 162, is believed to be from Alexandria; cf. M. L. Stack, *Archiv* III, (1906), 138, no. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Preisigke, *S.B.* I, 2100, from Alexandria; cf. Schubart, *Klio* 10, 69, 1.

<sup>4</sup> For a recent edition and discussion see Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, Text, 4 ff.; Comment., 93 ff.

A second document, also of the *Acta*, is P.Giss. 46, which is in very poor condition and much of its sense and historicity is disputed.<sup>1</sup> One is left with the impression that it describes an Alexandrian embassy to Rome in the reign of Gaius (A.D. 37–41). In spite of its doubtful condition, it at least offers further evidence for the existence of the Alexandrian *gerousia*. It mentions '173 elders' and this is followed by the figure 180,000! (Col. I. 14–15: ἀπὸ ῥογ̄ γερό[ντων]ν /—δ]έκα καὶ ὀκτὼ μυριάδα[s]). The same two figures appear again in col. II. 2–3, 5. The relationship between the two figures is not clear, and von Premerstein's suggestion, that the envoys were informing the Emperor Gaius of a secret *gerousia* of 173 members who were illegally elected by the popular assembly of 180,000 citizens, is only hypothetical and based on his own doubtful reconstruction of the text.<sup>2</sup> The only safe deduction that can be made from the document is that in Alexandria, at the time of the embassy (c. A.D. 37–39), there was a *gerousia* of possibly 173 *gerontes*, odd number as it is.<sup>3</sup> The figure 180,000 could be either *drachmae* or men.

Next comes the Hawâra inscription.<sup>4</sup> It is a funerary slab which mentions the Alexandrian family of Tiberius Julius Asclepiades, who was among other things a gymnasiarch and an archigeron (ἀρχιγέρο[ντος]). This Ti. J. Asclepiades seems, as Heichelheim suggested, to have been a close relation of Marcus Julius Asclepiades, the Alexandrian delegate mentioned in the letter of Claudius.<sup>5</sup> In this case the date of the inscription would be about the first half of the first century A.D.; no exact date is possible. Heichelheim's suggestion of A.D. 37<sup>6</sup> is based entirely on von Premerstein's hypothesis that, under the principate, Alexandria had no *gerousia* except the short-lived one of A.D. 37–38. Furthermore, we have no evidence for placing the death of our archigeron in that year.<sup>7</sup>

A fourth piece of evidence has also been adduced as proof that the *gerousia* lasted at Alexandria until the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., that is, Codex Theodosianus, XIV. 27. 1 (= Cod. Just. I. 4. 5) of A.D. 396: *De Alexandrinae Plebis Primatibus: . . . Archigerontes et dioecetae ergasiotanorum numero diligantur etc.* The *archigerontes* mentioned in this clause were thought to refer to the *archigerontes* of the *gerousia* we heard of in the previous Ptolemaic and Roman documents.<sup>8</sup> But Musurillo<sup>9</sup> was quite right in preferring the old interpretation of the sixteenth-century jurist Gothofredus, who realized that the codex meant the heads or chiefs of the artisans.<sup>10</sup> These *archigerontes* were at

<sup>1</sup> Also re-edited by Musurillo, *op. cit.*, whose text p. 8 I follow. The original edition of the papyrus was made by A. von Premerstein, in *Mitt. a. d. Papyrussammlung der Giess. Universitätsbibliothek*, v (1939, 'Alexandriensche Geronten vor Kaiser Gaius').

<sup>2</sup> Von Premerstein, *op. cit.* 43 ff. and 57 ff. For criticism of von Premerstein's reconstruction see Musurillo, *op. cit.* 105 ff. and n. 1, where he gives a full bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, 353, n. 31, remarks that the total of the members of the *gerousia* of Isteria, refounded by Hadrian, does not come to a round number (*S.E.G.* I, 330).

<sup>4</sup> Fr. Heichelheim, *JHS* 62 (1942), 17.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bell, *Jews and Christian in Egypt*, P.Lond. 1912, line 17.

<sup>6</sup> Heichelheim, *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> Also cf. Musurillo, *op. cit.* 109, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> This interpretation was first made by M. San Nicole, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer*, I (1913), 41 f.; he is followed by Turner, 'The Gerousia of Oxyrhynchos', in *Archiv* 12 (1937), 181; Heichelheim, *loc. cit.*; Momigliano, *JRS* 34 (1944), 114.

<sup>9</sup> Musurillo, *op. cit.* 109, n. 2.

<sup>10</sup> J. Gothofredus in the 9th edition of his commentary on Codex Theodosianus (1741), vol. v, 303.

the head of the different guilds to which freeborn workers belonged. We cannot therefore be certain if the *gerousia* continued in Alexandria until the fourth and fifth centuries. But since Oxyrhynchus possessed a *gerousia* in A.D. 226<sup>1</sup> we may safely assume that Alexandria, too, maintained hers in the third century.

Very little indeed can be deduced from this survey; it shows only that Alexandria had a *gerousia* since Ptolemaic times, that this *gerousia* was probably limited in number to 173, at least under the early principate, and finally that the *gerousia* had a president who carried the title of *archigeron*.<sup>2</sup> As for the character of the Alexandrian *gerousia*, it will be considered later on in this article.

So far for Alexandria; we now turn to the evidence from Oxyrhynchus, which brings us to our main problem. The only pieces of evidence available so far are two documents from the third century A.D., which may indicate that the introduction of the *gerousia* to the *χώρα* in Egypt was a Roman creation, following the general trend in the Empire.

The first document, P.Ryl. 599 (A.D. 226),<sup>3</sup> is an application presented in the following manner:

Ἀὐρηλίῳ Διδύμῳ τῷ καὶ Διο-  
 σκουρίδῃ ἐξηγητεύσαντι  
 βουλ(ευτῆ) διέποντι καὶ τὰ στέμματα  
 τῆς Ὀξυρυχειτῶν πόλεως  
 5 παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίου Κλαυδιανοῦ Σάρατος  
 τοῦ Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς Ἄμμω-  
 νοῦτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. γε-  
 γονῶς ἤδη πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστ(ὸς) 5 (ἔτος) (ἔτη) ξη  
 καὶ ὀφείλων ἐνταγῆναι τοῖς ἀπὸ  
 10 τοῦ γερουσίου τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικί-  
 αν βεβιωκόσιν ὡς τὸ μετέχειν  
 τῶν τῆς γερουσίας τιμῶν.

(Following this are the documents that prove his age.)

We understand from the above extract that the applicant, Claudianus, was sixty-eight years old and that every Oxyrhynchite of the *gerousia* (?) (ἀπὸ τοῦ γερουσίου, l. 10)<sup>4</sup> who reached that age was entitled to certain privileges of the *gerousia* (ὡς τὸ μετέχειν τῶν τῆς γερουσίας τιμῶν, l. 11). The application is presented to a special official (διέποντι

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P.Rylands 599 (A.D. 226).

<sup>2</sup> Although the *gerousia* in the Roman Empire generally had a gymnasiarch who managed its administration, yet there is no need to doubt the validity of ἀρχιγέρον as the actual title for the acting president of the *gerousia*. San Nicolò took κατὰ τεμὴν ἀρχιγέρον (of SB. 2100) to show that the title meant an honorary president of the *gerousia*, *Ägypt. Vereinsw.*, 41. Musurillo, op. cit. 108, n. 3, compromised by suggesting that it was originally an honorary title acquired after a certain number of years of service in the *gerousia*, and that later it seems to have designated an official status. There is no indication of such a development. The title ἀρχιγέρον can be compared with a similar title in the *ephebeia*, i.e. ἐφήβαρχος, which is also found in the form ἀρχιέφηβος for the senior ephebe. A further indication that ἀρχιγέρον designated an actual position in the *gerousia* is the existence of that post elsewhere outside Egypt with similar titles, e.g. in Thessalonica, τὸν γυμνασίαρχον καὶ γερουσίαρχον γερουσιῶν δυο (Oliver, *Sacred Gerosia*, 56, 4); in Apama, ἀρχῶν τῶν γερόντων (ibid. 53, 11); and in Athens, ἀρχὴς τῆς ἱερᾶς γερουσίας (ibid. 27, 9). <sup>3</sup> First published by Turner, 'The Gerosia of Oxyrhynchus', *Archiv* 12 (1937), 179 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For a different interpretation, cf. P.Ryl. 599, n. 1. 9.

καὶ τὰ στέμματα, l. 3), whose main duty was to maintain the roll of citizens, according to their social standing, their property, and the civic functions they had occupied. That official was accordingly responsible for deciding the suitability of candidates for civic offices and honours, as is illustrated by this extract.<sup>1</sup>

Professor E. G. Turner in his study of this document draws the conclusion that 'nothing, therefore, stands in the way of the hypothesis that the *gerousia* at Oxyrhynchus was a kind of age-group, composed of persons of a certain minimum age and social standing'.<sup>2</sup>

The second document, *P.S.I.* XII. 1240,<sup>3</sup> is also from Oxyrhynchus of the year A.D. 222, in which according to the census of year A.D. 215/16 (lines 25 ff.):

Ἡρα/κλήης Θέων τοῦ Δωράτος, μητρὸς Τανεσέως  
τῆς καὶ Ἀπολ[λων]ίας Ὠρίωνος, ἄτεχνος ἄση-  
μος ἰβς ἀπὸ γ[υμ]μασίου ἐτῶν μζ̄. διὸ ἐ-  
ξι[ῶν]  
πιδίδωμι [κατατ]αγῆναι ἐκ τῶν προσγει-  
νομένων διακοσίων [γε]ρόντων. ἔτους α  
αὐτο[κράτορος καίσαρος Μά]ρκου Αὐρηλίου  
[Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχ]οῦς = A.D. 222.

There is also a duplicate of this document in which B, lines 29–31, read:

διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὰ βιβλίδι-  
α ἀξειῶ[ν] καταταγῆνε <ἐ>κ τῶν διακο-  
σίων [γερόντ]ων. κ.τ.λ.

With this application, Heracles presents several citations beginning with a census return in which he was registered as a child by his father, followed by each subsequent *πεδιακὸν ἐπικρίσεως* of the census of years A.D. 177/8, 201/2, 215/6. In the last he was 47 years old (A. line 28); his age at the time of the application A.D. 222 would only be 54, which is considerably less than Claudianus of the Rylands papyrus. Besides, we notice that in Heracles' application the emphasis is laid on status and not on age; he wants to prove that he was always a *δωδεκάδραχμος ἀπὸ γυμνασίου*. Apart from this, the papyrus is mutilated at both ends.

Turner examined this document and saw in it no contradiction of Claudianus' application; he considered that it could not be correct that Claudianus' age of 68 years was the lowest legal age. He therefore suggested that perhaps the legal age was one in the early fifties. Furthermore he suggested that the additional two hundred *gerontes* (*προσγεινόμενοι διακόσιοι [γε]ρόντες*) of the Florence papyrus were two hundred new members about to be enrolled in the *gerousia* during the same year in which Heracles made his application.<sup>4</sup>

After an examination of the two documents, Turner's argument and conclusions do not seem convincing. The two documents in fact appear to be dealing with two different

<sup>1</sup> On this official, cf. also *ibid.*, note on l. 3, and F. Zucker, *Gött. gel. Anz.* year 211 (1957), 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* 185; Musurillo seems to agree with this view, cf. *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 108, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Aegyptus* 15 (1936), 209 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 185.

matters. The Rylands papyrus is not an application by Claudianus to become a *γέρων*, but an application for old-age honours which were the right of the members of the *gerousia* when they reached the age of sixty-eight. We must understand *ὀφείλων* (line 9) to imply a right, rather than an obligation: *γε/γονῶς* (*ἔτη ξη*)

καὶ ὀφείλων ἐνταγῆναι τοῖς ἀπὸ  
τοῦ γερουσίου τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικί-  
αν βεβιωκόσιν ὡς τὸ μετέχειν  
τῶν τῆς γερουσίας τιμίων κ.τ.λ.

The Florence papyrus, on the other hand, is an application by Heracles who asks (*ἀξιῶν*) to be enrolled among the additional two hundred *gerontes*. It is obvious that there is no implication in his request that he is asking for something that is his by right.

If this interpretation of the two documents is accepted, we may proceed to deduce the following points concerning the regulations governing the *gerousia* at Oxyrhynchus:

1. Since Heracles asks to be enrolled among an additional two hundred *gerontes*, we can safely deduce that the *gerousia* was originally of a limited number,<sup>1</sup> and that it was augmented in that year, or a short time before, by two hundred new *gerontes*. A similar increase, as we know, took place in the case of the senates of certain cities in the Roman provinces.<sup>2</sup>

2. The *gerontes* were recruited from the privileged class of *δωδεκάδραχμοι οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου*, to which Heracles belonged. Although he refers to his age, yet the main emphasis is laid on his financial and social status, which in this case was more important than age in view of a limited membership.

3. No age limit seems to have existed: although Heracles' age at the time of his application was about 54, there is no indication whatsoever that this was the lowest legal age, as Turner assumed.

4. We understand from the Rylands papyrus that Claudianus was one of *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γερουσίου*. Are we to understand by this that he was a *γέρων* in the sense that he was a member of the *gerousia*? We cannot avoid answering in the affirmative, since he claims the honours of the *gerousia* (*ὡς τὸ μετέχειν τῶν τῆς γερουσίας τιμίων*). It seems furthermore that membership was for life, and that *gerontes* who reached the age of 68—not a very common happening then—received special privileges such as seats at the games, as Turner suggests.

5. Since the *gerousia* at Oxyrhynchus was limited to a fixed number of members for life, we may envisage, by analogy with the example of Pergamum, that vacancies by death were filled by contested elections.<sup>3</sup>

It is always advisable in the study of Roman Egypt to avoid generalizations from particular cases. But with regard to the problem under discussion, if we accept, at least in principle, the idea that municipal organs of the *metropoleis* in Roman Egypt were modelled on the pattern of Alexandria,<sup>4</sup> we may be justified in assuming that the regula-

<sup>1</sup> E.g. at Sidyma and Pergamum, cf. Jones, *The Greek City*, 225 and 353, n. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pliny, *Epist.* x. 112.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* 1907, 294 f. and 298 f. Cf. however Jones, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Jones, *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* (1938), 171-3; and *JEA* 24 (1938), 64-72.

tions of the *gerousia* in both Alexandria and Oxyrhynchus were not very different. This assumption gains support from the deduction made above that the 173 *gerontes* mentioned in P.Giss. 46 refer to an Alexandrian *gerousia* of a limited number. Oxyrhynchus too, as has been proved, has a *gerousia* of a limited number.

Finally, I should like to consider the nature of the *gerousia* in Egypt, whether it was a private or a public body. On this point, the evidence from Oxyrhynchus is of little help. The case is different with regard to Alexandria, where a *gerousia* and *gerontes* figure in two different places in the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. This may be rather deceptive and can lead to the assumption that the Alexandrian *gerousia* was a public institution participating in the political life of the city.<sup>1</sup> But it is perhaps safer not to hasten to such a rash conclusion, for Alexandria under the principate was deprived of a normal civic life by the absence of the *boulē* from its political system. Under such conditions it could be possible for members of the *gerousia*—which was an organized body though originally non-political—to acquire special prestige and exercise an influence in the affairs of the city. Hence the appearance of *gerontes* in the *Acta*. Yet it should be noted that these *gerontes* exercised their influence merely in their personal capacity as individuals and not as a body, since it was possible for Dionysius of P.Oxy. 1089 to act on his own without consulting the other *gerontes*. This proof may not be conclusive, but it is perhaps proof enough for us to postulate that the *gerousia* in Roman Egypt was essentially a social institution and had no legislative or official political status.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Von Premerstein's reconstruction of P.Giss. 46, ii, 14–15, πο[λειτικὴ γερουσί]α ἀπὸ ῥοῦ γερ[οντων] should not be taken seriously and no conclusions should be drawn from it. It is unfortunate that Oliver, op. cit. 8, n. 11, adopts this reconstruction and concludes that the Alexandrian *gerousia* was a political body.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to thank Professor E. G. Turner for making some useful comments on this paper.

## SIR ALAN HENDERSON GARDINER

1963 was a black year for Egyptology. Denmark, Holland, France, and the United States all lost one or more scholars of repute, and finally the blow fell on our Society when on December 19th last we lost our President and most eminent scholar, Sir Alan Gardiner, who in his eighty-fifth year succumbed to that disease all too common today, a stroke. Although he had been ill and unable to study and write for some considerable while before his actual death, in one respect he was fortunate; at least he had the satisfaction of feeling that the task to which he had devoted the whole of his working life was done, and well done; in the Preface to his book *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, published in 1961, he concluded with these words: 'This being in all probability my swan-song, I can only hope that my colleagues' final performances may be made as happy as mine.'

Born at Eltham on March 29, 1879, the course of his education took him first to Charterhouse. Even as a schoolboy he was drawn to Ancient Egypt, and spent much of his spare time in the collections of the British Museum; it was there at the age of fifteen that he attracted the attention of Dr. (later Sir) E. A. Wallis Budge, at that time Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, who encouraged him in his predilection for Egyptology. On leaving school, he went for a while to the Sorbonne, where he studied under Sir Gaston Maspero, and then entered the Queen's College, Oxford. Curiously enough, his first published writings were not at all Egyptological, being two short notes on the postage stamps of Baden, published while he was still in his teens, in Vol. 3 of *The Philatelic Journal of Great Britain*. His father, however, did not deem philately a worthwhile pursuit, and encouraged him to concentrate on his Egyptological interests. As a result, already in 1895 he published his first Egyptological article, *The Reign of Amen-em-hat I*, in Vol. 7 of *Biblia*; in 1896 he contributed notes on the newly discovered 'Israel Stela' of Meneptah to *Revue archéologique*, 3rd series, Vol. 29, and in 1897 published 'Notes on Some Stelae' in *Recueil de travaux*, 19—all this before his twentieth birthday. From 1900 to 1914 a long series of articles came from his pen, mostly published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* and the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, while he was one of the band of scholars who in 1914 launched our *Journal*. Apart from being one of its major contributors, he acted as Editor during the years 1916-21, in 1934, and again for the period 1941-6.

The steady output of scholarly articles from Gardiner's pen in his early years attracted attention in Germany, where in 1894 Erman had published the first edition of his revolutionary *Ägyptische Grammatik*, and where in 1897 the great enterprise of the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* had come to birth. Early in the nineteenth hundreds he was invited to Berlin to act as sub-editor of the *Wörterbuch*, a post he held

for several years. This brought him into intimate contact with Erman and Sethe, the two giants of those days in the study of Ancient Egyptian, and he absorbed—and in the course of time made great advances on—all that they could teach him. His work on the *Wörterbuch* consisted mainly of writing the slips for the vast collection of Ramesside hieratic material in the Turin Museum, but he was able not only to write the long series of articles already mentioned, but also to produce full-scale works as well. In 1905 appeared *The Inscription of Mes*, a study of an Egyptian action-at-law which formed part of Vol. 4 of Sethe's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*; in 1906 came *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* and *Die Erzählung des Simuhe und die Hirtengeschichte*; in 1908 he collaborated with F. Vogelsang in *Die Klagen des Bauern*; and in 1911 he published *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Part I, containing transcriptions and translations of the papyri Anastasi I and Koller. Subsequent parts did not appear in this form, but many years later, from 1932 onward, he continued his work on New Kingdom hieratic texts in his *Late-Egyptian Stories*, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, and *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, with the last of which we must couple his massive edition in four volumes of *The Wilbour Papyrus*. From 1906 to 1912 Gardiner also held the Laycock Studentship at Worcester College, Oxford, and in 1911 he left Berlin to settle in England. For two years, 1912–14, he rather reluctantly filled the post of Reader in Egyptology in Manchester University, but his heart was not in academic work, and never again did he accept a teaching post in a university.

During the war of 1914–18 Gardiner was able to continue his researches, and in 1916, the year he first undertook the Editorship of the *Journal*, he published in Vol. 3 his famous article, 'The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet', in which he demonstrated that the Sinai script, clearly derived from contemporary Egyptian hieroglyphs, expressed in writing a language of a Semitic nature. About 1917 Battiscombe Gunn, later to be Professor of Egyptology at Oxford, came to Gardiner as his assistant, and stayed with him until 1920. The discussions between these two scholars would have been worth listening to! Gunn himself was brilliant, and his *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (1924), which had to be prised out of him almost by force, at once put him in the front rank of Egyptian philologists. It was out of these discussions that there sprang in 1927 an even more important work, Gardiner's own full-scale *Egyptian Grammar*, which is not only the standard work on its subject, but also an Egyptological best-seller.

My own acquaintance with Gardiner began, if I remember aright, in 1924, when the well-known orientalist bookseller, the late George Salby, told me that Gardiner would be glad to hear from anyone who was really interested in Egyptology. I accordingly wrote to him and received an invitation to tea at his house in Holland Park, where we had a talk which to me was both interesting and instructive. I have already remarked that Gardiner disliked academic obligations, but he enjoyed teaching privately, and in 1925, when the first edition of his *Grammar* was in proof, he invited a few people to his house for a weekly session, as he put it, 'to try it on the dog'. Among those who attended were Glanville, Frankfort, Warren Dawson, for a short while Dr. Margaret Murray, and myself. Probably others came from time to time, but my memory does not recall their names. We worked steadily through all the exercises, which were corrected by

Gardiner, and to me those sessions proved profitable above all things. The following year I joined him as his assistant, and remained working alongside him for thirteen years until in 1939 we were parted by the outbreak of war, though right up to the time of his stroke we were in constant touch. Of my years with Gardiner I will say only that not only was it most instructive to work with him, but he was always kindness itself whenever I wanted help or advice in publishing work, and he never failed to give credit in his books for help received, however small. We formed a friendship which endured.

This is not the occasion to enumerate Gardiner's publications at length; a complete bibliography up to 1949 will be found in Vol. 35 of this *Journal*, and many of his major works have been mentioned above. Nevertheless, it is not possible to pass over in silence his *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, which is a mine of information both lexicographical and geographical, while the views on linguistic theory in general to which his grammatical studies led him were embodied in his *Theory of Speech and Language*. Although Gardiner's work was mainly philological, it was not exclusively so, for he contributed articles on Egyptian religion to Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* and to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, while his 'swan-song' referred to above, his *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, is a historical work suited both to the student and to the general reader. Among the honours he had so justly earned, I think none pleased him more than his Fellowship of the British Academy and the knighthood which was conferred on him in 1948.

Alan Gardiner was the last member of a genus which in times past was not entirely rare in learned circles—a scholar whose means were sufficient for him to pursue his studies without having to earn his living by academic work. In Gardiner's case, not only did he devote himself whole-heartedly to his researches, but he spent much time and labour serving in an editorial or advisory capacity on projects for which he was not directly responsible. Many organizations, especially our own Society, benefited from his generous financial support, the cost of most of his books came out of his own pocket, and many are the publications by others which he subsidized or helped to subsidize; he threw both brain and fortune into his work. Apart from his editorship of the *Journal*, already mentioned, he filled in turn the offices of Chairman, Vice-President, and President of the Society, and in a variety of ways he exercised in his lifetime an influence on the course of Egyptological studies which none had exerted before and which no single individual is likely to exert again. For myself, I mourn not only a master of his craft, but also a friend the like of whom we shall not see again. R. O. FAULKNER

#### Editor's Note

The photograph of Sir Alan Gardiner reproduced on plate XVIII was taken on 25 March 1963, some months after the onset of his last illness, and kindly provided by Mr. Alan Chappelow, M.A., F.R.S.A., of 9 Downshire Hill, Hampstead, London, N.W. 3. Mr. Chappelow, who is a son of Gardiner's old tennis partner, Mr. A. C. Chappelow, believes that the photographs he took on that date were the last made. A photograph of Gardiner in his late prime serves as the frontispiece of *Journal* 35.

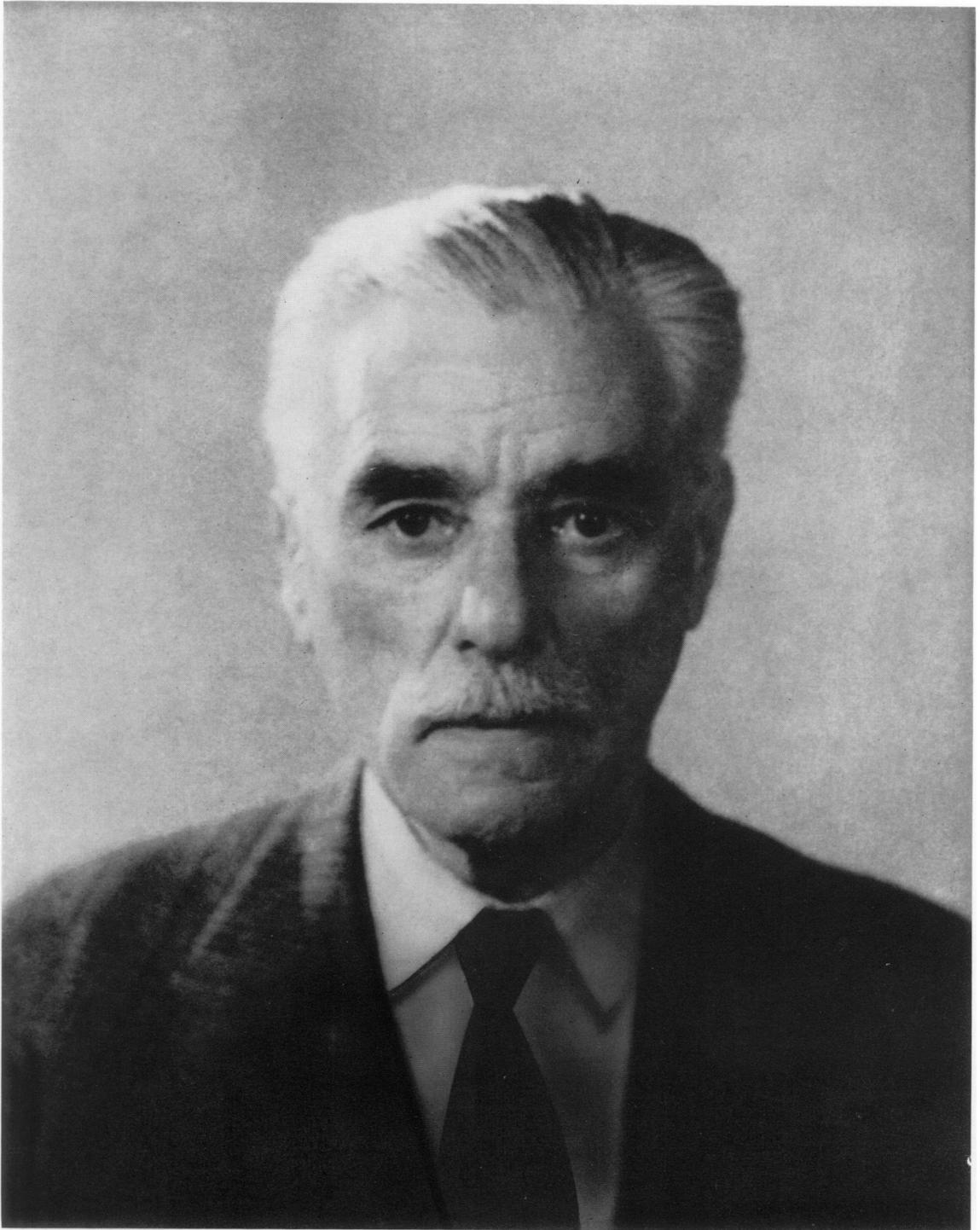


SIR ALAN HENDERSON GARDINER  
*(Portrait by, and copyright of Allan Chappelow, M.A., F.R.S.A.)*

## G. A. WAINWRIGHT

GERALD AVERY WAINWRIGHT died on May 28, 1964, aged 85 years, and this Society has lost a generous supporter and Near Eastern Archaeology has lost a tenacious scholar whose interests were many and deeply studied. Wainwright was a man of vision and insight, of energy and enterprise, forthright in expression and meticulous in his methods, an old Tory, rebel at heart, whose untiring curiosity kept him abreast of events and enabled him to make close friendships with younger students.

He came to Archaeology by no ordinary route. His grandfather was a Suffolk farmer, and when his father married the daughter of a Bristol timber importer he forsook farming, joined the timber business, and Gerald was born in Clifton in 1879. The family finances allowed him to go to Clifton College as a day-boy in the South Town House; but they did not allow him to continue his education through the university. The school was passing through a lean period when some of the distinctive characters whom Percival had originally appointed to the staff were leaving, and the Headmaster, Canon Glazebrook, was almost morbidly harsh. Some words of his are on record when he condemned a mind that 'spends its force in accumulating insignificant details of archaeology or in mastering the antiquated subtleties of dead controversies'. This, he preached, was 'false learning', and 'under the weight of such useless burdens reason may often totter'. The future publisher of Balâbîsh and champion of a Cilician Keftiu may have heard such words from his Headmaster; but the Classical teaching with its mass of established detail had no attraction for him when he had already discovered that there were realms of the unknown infinitely more attractive and demanding. As a day-boy, aged 14, he got leave off an evening lecture at the school, and next day his mother heard the same lecture in the town and told him what he had missed. It was Miss Amelia Edwards showing slides of Egypt, and his mother's account of it started his life interest. For the next Christmas his present was Rawlinson's *Ancient Egypt*, and he set himself to the lists of Pharaohs, especially to Sneferu's Sinai cartouches which also began Gunn's interest in Egyptology. Two things relieved the dullness of school life. For one spare hour each week Mr. Wollaston, father of the Everest Wollaston, was allowed to amuse them as best he could, and early explorations, botany, geology, the recently discovered palaeolithic art fascinated Wainwright, who loved to be reminded of it whenever he saw again the grazing reindeer engraved on the staff from Switzerland. The school, too, had its attractive library where he went whenever he could, and he read Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, Prescott's *Mexico and Peru*, Perrot and Chipiez's *Art of Ancient Egypt*, and Tylor's *Anthropology*. Anything strange in human story attracted him: he wrote to Burma for books and began to study Burmese, he bought a Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon, he bought Budge's 3s. 6d. book and taught himself hieroglyphs from it. At the age of 17 he began his life in the timber office where he was utterly bored by the



GERALD AVERY WAINWRIGHT

daily business of book-keeping, though later in life he recognized the value to him of a business training and his methods of study were thoroughly businesslike. One spring morning as he walked to work he made up his mind that, come what may, he would save every penny he could to keep himself alive and then break away to the thrills of research. In 1900 he went to evening classes in Egyptian and Coptic given by Professor Sibree at the University College, Bristol, and he saved enough to buy Breasted's translation of Erman's Grammar. He was joined there by another enthusiast, Mackay, who went to Egypt in 1906 with Petrie and thrilled him with his account of it. Sibree introduced him to Mr. A. Hudd of Clifton who had a collection of Egyptian antiquities, and Wainwright spent many evenings there helping to catalogue it. In 1904 an income of £40 per annum was left to him by his mother, and Hudd invited him to join him on a visit to Egypt. Wainwright kept a careful diary of the visit, and his comments show considerable knowledge, a keen eye for detail, and interest in Arab customs. So the man emerges as his friends and readers were to know him—wilful, determined, acutely observant, passionate for knowledge, scornful of what he considered hide-bound, and in argument uncompromising or even querulous, as his last article in this *Journal*, written when he was a sick man, rather sadly shows. Never having enjoyed the full academic life he was an individualist quick in ingenuity and sometimes liable to stretch the evidence. Those early experiences, too, probably explain the characteristic which many gratefully remember, his burning desire to encourage and help younger students, and the deep humanity in his dealings with the Arabs whom he employed. His servant Ibrahim remained faithfully with him through all his years in Egypt.

In 1907 Petrie stayed with Hudd for a lecture, and Wainwright was introduced and asked to be taken on his digs. Petrie was frank and gave the advice which several of Wainwright's younger friends have been given in their turn, that there were no posts available but that those who are worth their salt will manage to come through satisfactorily. So at the age of 28 he took cargo boat to Egypt with £25 in his pocket, and he joined Petrie at Sohag, paying for his board. Till 1912 he dug with Petrie, for a salary of £100 per annum after the second season, contributing to five of the volumes of reports; during the summers he stayed and studied with Petrie and Margaret Murray in London, and Griffith paid him for help at Oxford with his Nubian finds and read hieroglyphs with him. In 1912 he decided to work for £150 per annum, and very reluctantly he left Petrie. He joined Wellcome at his Sudan dig for a short time, and he saved enough to work in Oxford for the B.Litt. He was allowed to take Responsions, and being admitted as a non-collegiate student he started on 'The Foreign Relations of the New Kingdom' with Keftiu as the main theme, for he was already convinced that Keftiu was not Crete. On the evening before the viva Evans invited him up to Youlbury where he found his two examiners, Hogarth and Hall, as guests, and till late at night they tussled over Keftiu so that at the subsequent viva there was no more to be said. Hogarth insisted that the thesis was doctorate work, and some of it was published in *LAAA* 6 as the first of his Keftiu articles. In 1913-14 he dug for this Society at Abydos and El-Şawâmca, and in 1915 on behalf of the American branch of the Society

at El-Balâbîsh. In 1914 he much enjoyed two months with Woolley and Lawrence at Carchemish—‘One Wainwright,’ wrote Lawrence in a letter, ‘excellent person to be described later, is lord of the digs’—and still more enjoyed spending the summer with Newberry whom he helped at his predynastic studies. The War came, and he volunteered but was not passed as fit. He taught for two terms at Christ’s Hospital, and from 1916 to 1921 he taught at the Tewfikiah School in Cairo where his later anecdotes suggested that both master and pupils enjoyed the experience. From 1921 to 1924 he was Inspector in Chief of Middle Egypt for the Department of Antiquities, whence came a flow of stories he loved to recall and some of which add to the interest of his ‘Studies in the Petition of Peteesi’ in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library* 28, a document which he called ‘one more proof of “as it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be”’.

His father had retired to Bournemouth, and in 1926 Wainwright retired with considerable savings and a compensation given to retiring officers by the Egyptian Government under the 1922 Treaty. He also settled at Bournemouth with his sisters, devoting his time to research and making frequent visits to London and Oxford. Thus at age 45 the dream of his youth was realized. He published two books, *Balabish* and *The Sky-Religion in Egypt*; and the rest of his work is in at least fifteen journals and in reviews for the *Times Literary Supplement*. His main studies were technical—obsidian, tin, bronze and iron—and anthropological, the gods Amûn and Min, and the peoples of the Levant. ‘The Wainwright Theory’ became a cliché for his thorough and penetrating study of the still unsolved problem of Keftiu; but it was no mere theory, nor was he the first to proclaim it. There was some venom in his discussions of it, and he was stung himself when Hall said that he was postulating pseudo-Minoans or Syro-Minoans in Cilicia, which was a travesty of his arguments, and his scorn was roused when Hall implied that the foreigners in Senenmut’s tomb were labelled Keftiuans, a mistake which was perpetuated as late as 1961 in Huxley’s *Crete and the Luwians*, p. 4. But Wainwright weakened his strong case by assuming that after his 1931 *JHS* article, repeated and strengthened in *AJA* 1952, it was proved; and in subsequent references to the problem he showed no knowledge of Vercoutter’s discussion in *Égyptiens et Préhellènes*, and, more inexcusably, he mentioned Furumark’s discussion in *Opuscula Archaeologica* 6 only for its recognition of a Cilician Keftiu, but he never discussed Furumark’s careful weighing of the evidence which included criticisms of some of his own arguments. When Sir Alan Gardiner and Säve-Söderbergh were withholding judgement, and when Davies in *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rê* and Ward in *Orientalia* 30 and Vercoutter were still pro-Cretan, the case could not be considered as proved. Wainwright’s tenacity could become obstinacy; but to ignore it in this notice would be to conceal it and to falsify the picture of this remarkable man. What Wainwright did was to throw a flood of light on the problem, as he did on so many others, and to prevent it from being misunderstood in the excitement of Minoan excavations. He remained to the end a restless student, his fingers itching for the latest publications, his eye quick for significant detail, and his mind enlivening the cacophonous lists of the Sea-Peoples.

Always eager to encourage others, in 1937 he offered anonymously a prize of £50 for an essay on Egyptian Archaeology. Late in life money came to him from two

aunts, and he persuaded the University of Oxford to accept an endowment for the study of Near Eastern Archaeology. In his lifetime the gift was anonymous, and now it is to be known under his name. £50 a year is offered for essays by boys at schools represented at the Headmasters' Conference, and further sums are available for fellowships in this rapidly developing field of research. It was like him to insist on strict conditions and to form an examining board of the ablest scholars available, and still more like him, as the senior examiner in each year, to read each essay with exacting care, to cover the scripts with his neat and precise corrections or approvals or suggestions for further reading, all of which showed the range of his own knowledge. Each statement had to be referenced, drawings were encouraged, and the worth of the work was tested by the evidence for the boy's own observations. Candidates were encouraged to consult him beforehand and were bombarded with references and suggestions. He would do anything to urge them forward; and his happiness was complete when boys who had written remarkable essays remained his friends, visited him at Oxford, or wrote to him from the country or from the work which his generosity had enabled them to study. They were 'my boys', and life brought its reward in the enthusiasm of those talented friends working in the fields to which he had devoted himself and which Petrie had done so much to foster—the thorough study of material evidence and the techniques of manufacture, and the treatment of the whole Near East as an integral study.

G. A. D. TAIT

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A determinative of *psd* 'back'

IN line 26 of the Kahun Veterinary Papyrus (Griffith *Kahun*, pl. vii, l. 26 according to the numeration of the transcription), the word *psd* 'back' is determined by a sign, here reproduced as *a* in the ac-

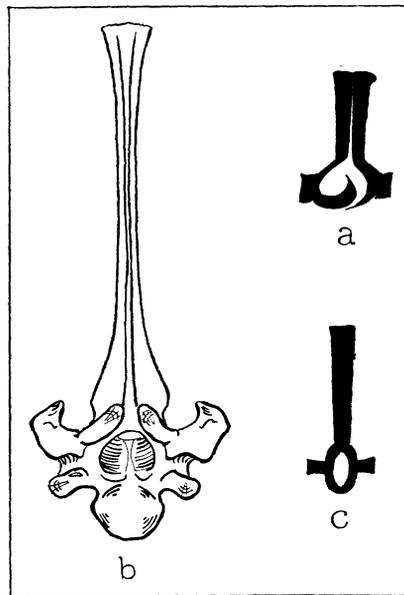


FIG. 1

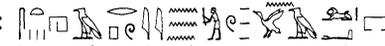
companying figure. Griffith transcribed it formally as  $\text{J}$ , and as far as I have been able to discover no suggestion has yet been made to identify the sign with a known object. It can, however, be compared in form—allowing only a little for the abbreviated character of the cursive script—with the shape of a typical thoracic vertebra of an ox. In the figure is given a drawing (*b*) of a vertebra, and it can scarcely be doubted that the Kahun sign presents a delightfully simple and most accurate statement of the essential features of such a vertebra viewed in the antero-posterior plane.

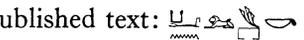
A second example of this determinative of *psd* is found in a passage in the texts in the pyramid of Pepi I (Sethe, *Pyr.* 1547c); it is here shown as *c* in the figure.

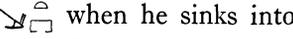
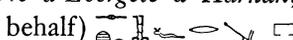
R. E. WALKER

A new meaning of the word  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ 

IN the course of preparing a new edition of the *Teaching of Amenemope* it has been possible in several instances to make use of the progress made in Egyptian philology in recent years to improve upon the initial attempts to deal with this text. Similarly, study of the text has helped to solve at least one minor problem of Egyptian lexicography and this solution is now brought to the attention of readers of the *Journal*.

*Amenemope*, 10/3 reads as follows:  which Griffith<sup>1</sup> translates, 'And they (stolen goods) have sunk themselves in the corn-store'; other translators give similar versions. The translation was obvious enough and no one saw any need to explain exactly what this line meant, although the *Wörterbuch*<sup>2</sup> was unwilling, in this instance, to attribute to *šnr* the usual meaning of 'granary' and listed it under 'Verschiedenes'. This unsatisfactory expedient can now be replaced by a much more conclusive translation.

In *Amenemope*, 10/3 the phrase *hrp m šnr* is parallel to 10/1 which reads:   'And it (the earth) has plunged them into the Underworld'. Now it is to be noted that *dšt* and *šnr* also appear in close connexion in the *Teaching of Ani*, 4/14 and 4/16, where both are to be rendered 'tomb'.<sup>3</sup> The primary meaning of *dšt* is 'Underworld' but it has a well-known secondary use as 'tomb' and the context in the *Teaching of Ani* makes it certain that *šnr* is there to be rendered 'tomb'. *Šnr*, 'tomb', also occurs, again in parallelism with *dšt*, in an unpublished text:  'I have guarded thy tomb and protected thy grave', Vienna (212) (quoted by *Wörterbuch*, Beleg. zu v, 416, 5).

This meaning of *šnr* does not contribute to our understanding of the *Amenemope* passage but it indicates the direction in which the clue is to be sought and two occurrences of *šnr* in Ptolemaic texts, to which Professor Fairman has directed my attention, provide us with the solution: in each instance the Moon is the subject: '(He deputizes for Rēc)  when he sinks into the Underworld (and illumines the earth by night)',<sup>4</sup> Kuentz, *La Porte d'Evergète à Karnak*, 2<sup>e</sup> partie, pl. 60 = *Urk.* VIII, 74, 14-15. '(You deputize for Rēc (on) our behalf)  when he sinks into the Underworld; (You illumine (for) us the earth after dark)', Kuentz, *op. cit.*, pl. 18a = *Urk.* VIII, 41, 9-11 = *L.D.* IV, 10.

In these two examples there can be no doubt that the correct translation is 'Underworld'. It would seem, therefore, that the uses of *dšt* and *šnr* are parallel and that both, in appropriate contexts, mean 'Underworld' and 'tomb'. Thus we may now render *Amenemope*, 10/3 as: 'And they have sunk themselves in the Underworld'. The evidence of *Amenemope* shows that the Ptolemaic  is to be read *šnr*, and not *hbt* which otherwise would be theoretically possible.

A further consequence of this clarification is that it would appear that Suys has misread the hieratic in his edition of the *Teaching of Ani*<sup>5</sup> and his explanation of how  came to mean 'tomb' is now unnecessary.

JOHN RUFFLE

### Once more the Egyptian word for 'comb'

In the latest volume of this *Journal* (Vol. 49, 173) Goedicke suggested that a word \**nšī* in the Turin Strike Papyrus (= *RAD*, 48, 5) might be the Egyptian word for 'comb'. Unfortunately, Goedicke has been the victim of a slip of Sir Alan Gardiner, since the word has to be read not \**nšī* but .<sup>6</sup> This was recognized not only by the *Wb.* (I, 560, 1, Belegstellen, s.v.), but also by Sir Alan himself in *JEA* 3 (1916), 194, where he discusses the same word, written  as it occurs in Ostr. Cochrane.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the facsimile of Pleyte and Rossi, pl. 39, shows a clear .

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 12 (1926), 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Wb.* IV, 508, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Volten, *Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii*, 75 and *Wb.* IV, 508, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Fairman, *ZAS* 91 (1964), 10.

<sup>5</sup> Suys, *La Sagesse d'Ani*, 37, 41. Professor Posener has confirmed this correction in a letter to the writer.

<sup>6</sup> Prof. Černý, who autographed the text of the *Ramess. Admin. Doc.* for Gardiner, was kind enough to inform me that he agrees with this reading.

<sup>7</sup> Now nearly completed by Ostr. Gardiner 264 (unpublished).

<sup>8</sup> The facs. shows , the less usual form of , known also from .

The same object, always said to be made of ivory,<sup>1</sup> is also found in *Hier. Ostr.* 32, 5, I, 1 (only  left of  or a variant of it) and, not recognized by Goedicke and Wenté, in *Ostr. Michaelides*, 8, vs. 1 (read                    ).<sup>2</sup> There possibly exists still another example of the same word, but the reference of *Wb.* 1, 560, 2, Belegstellen s.v. (Pap. Tur. (209)), makes it difficult to control. The sentence in which it occurs remains too vague.<sup>3</sup>

As for the meaning of *pšī* it seems to me that Goedicke, in spite of his reading, has been correct. The word is clearly derived from the verb *pšš**pš* 'to divide', and what else could an ivory 'divider' be than a comb to disentangle the hair? Combs of ivory have been fairly common in Egypt,<sup>4</sup> though very few seem to have been found at Deir el-Medīna, whence our first four examples and probably also the fifth originated. The determinative of the doubtful reference of the *Wb.* (an open hand like , if correct, would also point to the same translation.

However, though the ivory and wooden combs are known from predynastic times onwards,<sup>5</sup> the word *pšī* seems to occur only during the New Kingdom. Possibly an older name for this object will eventually turn up.

JAC. J. JANSSEN

### The oath *sdfi-tryt* in Papyrus Lee, 1, 1

IN his recent article on the harem conspiracy against Ramesses III, Goedicke translates the beginning of Papyrus Lee as follows:

[He took an Oath of the] Lord, l. p.h., for substantiating every trustworthiness by swearing at every [time, saying 'I did not give a piece of writing to any person] of the office in which I was (or) to any person of the country',

and concludes that the expression [*rnḥ n*] *Nb*, *ṛ. w. s.*, *n sdfi-tryt* in Pap. Lee, 1, 1 signifies an oath to "establish the veracity" of a statement differing from the views held by the investigating party' in a judicial setting.<sup>6</sup> Essentially this view agrees with that of Wilson, who lists this example, and nos. 3 and 4, below, under the heading 'An Assertion of Truth in a Juridical Setting'.<sup>7</sup>

It seems difficult to reconcile this usage of the oath *sdfi-tryt* with its other function: it was administered to a defeated enemy and is usually interpreted as an oath of fealty.<sup>8</sup> Closer examination, however, shows that it was, in all cases, a negative promissory oath, specifically, swearing not to misuse one's office for treasonable or criminal purposes:

1. Gebel Barkal Stela, 24: 'Then my Majesty caused them to be made to *sdfi-tryt*, saying, "We will not do evil again against Menkheperre<sup>c</sup>, given life, our Lord, as long as we live, for we have seen his might . . ."'<sup>9</sup>

2. Memphis Stela of Amenophis II, 10: 'His Majesty arrived at Ḳadesh. Its prince went out in peace to his Majesty. One caused them to make a *sdfi-tryt*, and all their children li[kewise].'<sup>10</sup> While there is no reason to suppose that the prince of Ḳadesh had revolted against Amenophis II on this occasion,<sup>11</sup> it would not seem unreasonable, in view of the difficulties that Ḳadesh had

<sup>1</sup> Hence the determinative. In the ostraca the determinatives usually point to the material of the objects.

<sup>2</sup> H. Goedicke and E. F. Wenté, *Ostraka Michaelides* (Wiesbaden, 1962), pl. 61. The reading of the authors does not seem to give sense, the facsimile is clear as soon as one realizes what might be expected.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Wb.* the text reads . . . . *ir tš*   *hr pš*  . . . , ' . . . to put (?) the *pšī* on the face . . . '.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 63 (with a picture in fig. 23 top left), 188, 402; Bénédite, *Objets de toilette* (*Cat. gén.*, 1911), pl. iv (Cairo 44315). <sup>5</sup> Cf. Klebs, *Reliefs und Malereien des Neuen Reiches*, I, 154.

<sup>6</sup> Goedicke, *JEA* 49 (1963), 78-80. <sup>7</sup> Wilson, *JNES* 7 (1948), 136; cf. Edel, *ZDPV* 69 (1953), 143.

<sup>8</sup> Wilson, *JNES* 7 (1948), 130, 142; exx. 1 and 2, below.

<sup>9</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1235, 16-19.

<sup>10</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1303, 19-1304, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Edel, *ZDPV* 69 (1953), 165-6.

caused in the past, to make him swear not to rebel in the future. Unfortunately this example does not give the wording of the oath, but the situation does not exclude a negative promise.

3. Pap. Salt 124, *rt.* 1, 16: '[Though he swore an oath] *sdḫ-tryt*, saying, "I will not upset a stone in the neighbourhood of the Place of Pharaoh", so he said.'<sup>1</sup>

In Pap. Salt, Paneb is accused of rummaging among the royal tombs though he had sworn not to; nothing in the text suggests that he had been brought to trial earlier and escaped by perjury. His office required him to be 'in the neighbourhood of the Place of Pharaoh'. It seems more than likely that a chief workman in the Valley of Kings would be made to swear that he would restrict his excavations to the work on new tombs.

4. Turin Strike Pap., *rt.* 4, 3-4: 'Pharaoh, my good Lord, made me *sdḫ-tryt*, saying "I will not hear anything or see any damage in the great and deep places and conceal it."<sup>2</sup>

This again is the oath of a worker at the royal tomb.

In the last example, incidentally, the phrase *nṣ swt ʿyww mdwt* includes the Valley of Kings, the Ramesseum, and, apparently, Deir el-Medina. This casts substantial doubt on Goedicke's interpretation of *ty kt st ʿst mdt* in Pap. Lee, 1, 4 as referring to the High Gates at Medinet Habu, and of the resulting circumstances of the attempt on the life of Ramesses III.<sup>3</sup>

The example Amenemope, 21, 11 adds little useful information, though the context of malfeasance of office seems clear. The evidence already cited should be sufficient to demonstrate the function of the oath (*n*) *sdḫ-tryt*. The beginning of Pap. Lee is too badly damaged to permit a convincing restoration, but it is highly probable that the accused official had broken an oath promising not to give access to 'any [part] of the place in which I am (i.e. not his office, but the royal residence) to anybody in the world,' and had given Penhuybin written authorization to enter; whether he was armed with magic only or had more effective means of doing away with his sovereign need not concern us here.

Some meaning such as 'an oath for establishing what is to be respected' may have been the origin of the term.<sup>4</sup> But etymology is a notoriously unreliable guide for determining later usage.

KLAUS BAER

### A New Kingdom royal funerary estate mentioned in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty

THE publication of Papyrus Wilbour and many other land-revenue documents of the New Kingdom by Sir Alan Gardiner has inaugurated a new era in the study of ancient Egyptian land-tenure, providing a much better understanding of the way in which temples and other *waqfs* held fields widely scattered throughout Egypt, which were administered under the patronage of high officials and worked under the direction of subordinate officials or parcelled out to tenant-farmers who worked for a share of the crop. It is clear that the Saite land leases of the reign of Amasis II studied by G. R. Hughes (*Saite Demotic Land-Leases*, Chicago, 1952) reflect a similar pattern, though all the tenants in the written leases seem to enjoy only annual leases. Probably long-term tenants continued to hold their land purely under customary law. Written leases are very rare until Ptolemaic times, and even then the main point seems to have been to obtain many witnesses to the contract. The temples, especially

<sup>1</sup> Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), 245, 247 (16), pl. xliii. *Bn sḫm-f* is normally future in oaths: Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 765 (his one exception is our example); Černý, *JEA* (1937), 188 and n. 7; *JEA* 31 (1945), 40 (b); Malinine, *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 98-99, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 57, 8-10 (Goedicke cites the old facsimile published by Pleyte and Rossi). For the tense, cf. Edgerton, *JNES* 10 (1951), 141. For *ty* 'damage,' cf. Pap. Chester Beatty III, *vs.* 4, 3; Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri, Third Series*, 25 and n. 2. <sup>3</sup> Goedicke, *JEA* 49 (1963), 85-87.

<sup>4</sup> For *sdḫ* in the senses 'establish (a religious foundation), provide', cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour* II, 116-18; *Wb.* IV, 383, 14, earlier example Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 259.

the Amūn-complex, still possessed vast lands which were farmed by direct labour or let out to ordinary priests, herdsmen, or others.

Unfortunately, however, at the time of the publication of these leases *The Wilbour Papyrus* had only just appeared and the importance of several mentions of 'fields of Usimarēc-miamūn' in year 17 of Amasis, in lines 4, 5, and 6 of P.Louvre 7845A (Hughes, Document III), was not appreciated, especially since Hughes was unable to read the latter part of the name (the name is in semi-hieratic, as is customary with royal names in early demotic documents, and appears to give little difficulty since *mry* corresponds closely to the hieroglyphic form, and the shape of the word Amūn is well attested, cf. Erichsen, *Dem. Gloss.*, p. 30 bottom). Since it does not appear that Piankhi built new temples at Thebes, Ramesses III is almost certainly referred to by the papyrus. As the lease indicates that these fields were to some degree autonomous of the estate of Amūn, it appears probable that they belonged to the funerary temple at Medīnet Habu, the continuous survival of which is thus established as a 'living' institution, rather than to his small temples at Luxor and Karnak.

Little evidence for such late survival of New Kingdom royal funerary cults has hitherto been discovered and it is therefore worth while to note that several fields, forming two distinct groups on good land close to a canal, are mentioned as belonging to Usimarēc-miamūn. If such good-quality land had not been re-apportioned by later kings, it may be that the Medīnet Habu temple still retained considerable estates, which could explain why it was not used as a quarry in ancient times. It also goes to show how little the character of Upper Egyptian land-tenure altered between late New Kingdom times and the commencement of the Ptolemaic dynasty. It is even likely that the high status still enjoyed by Ramesses III and Ramesses II, which caused the pious forgeries of their cartouches at Karnak in Ptolemaic times, was partly owing to the survival of their funerary cults—like that of Amenhotpe son of Hapu.

BRYAN G. HAYCOCK

### The Death of Cleopatra VII

IN his article on this subject (*JEA* 47 (1961), 113–18), J. Gwyn Griffiths adduces various classical authors for his belief that Cleopatra used two snakes instead of one for her suicide. I should like to challenge some of his interpretations and assumptions.

His first passage is from Virgil's description of the Battle of Actium. He cites *Aen.* 8, 697: *necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit angues*. He objects to the view of Henry, which he seems to know only from T. L. Page's note, that the *angues gemini* are a regular symbol of death and do not refer specifically to Cleopatra's suicide. He notes *en passant* that Henry had adduced parallel passages from the *Aeneid*, but does not cite them; instead he hastens to claim that 'the glaring objection to all this is the fact that Virgil's adjacent lines refer to the sistrum, to *omnigenum deum monstra*, and to *latrator Anubis*. An Egyptian allusion is plainly demanded in *geminos angues*.' He is far too eager to prove his point. The first of Henry's parallels was *Aen.* 2, 203–4, which refers to the *gemini angues* that came out of the sea to destroy Laocoon at Troy. Henry's other main parallel is *Aen.* 7, 450, describing the vision sent to Turnus by Allecto. Here the hideous vision has *geminos angues*; what is more, Turnus is ordered to gaze upon the horrid spectacle by the imperative *respice*, the same verb as that used in the first Cleopatra passage. This triple repetition of *gemini angues* is surely significant. They all presage doom, for Laocoon and Troy, for Turnus and his clan, for Cleopatra and Egypt. Virgil deliberately uses the same symbol in these three manifestations of the same context of impending death. Nor is an Egyptian allusion demanded, as Griffiths asserts, by the adjacent lines. The snakes as a symbol of death are most apposite in the context of an Egyptian queen who has relied upon the aid of animal deities against the gods of Rome. This is the ironical point Virgil is making. And, in so far as the allusion is to the defeat of Cleopatra, the demand for an Egyptian allusion is satisfied!

The passages from Horace (*Odes* 1, 37, 26–8) and Propertius (3, 11, 53–4) can be taken together. Propertius certainly is referring to the depiction of Cleopatra's suicide carried in Augustus' triumph; Griffith notes this interpretation by Butler and Barber with apparent approval. But even if two snakes were shown in the representation, this would not prove that two were actually used. Griffiths will not allow that poets exaggerate for effect, but he can hardly deny that military conquerors frequently do! In fact, it is not legitimate for Griffiths to adduce Plutarch, *Antony* 86, for the artistic representation, as he does (p. 116). I say this because in his account Plutarch uses the singular 'asp' in his Greek for the depiction. Griffiths, who ridicules the explanation of the Horatian passage as 'plural for singular' as being a mere 'grammatical refuge', can hardly use this Plutarch singular to account for poetic plurals!

The other question I wish to ask in this communication is this: did Cleopatra really die by the bite of an asp, or asps? Griffiths mentions Plutarch (*Ant.* 86) and Dio Cassius (51, 14) as sources for the one-asp theory. But both these authors cast doubt on the very tradition. Plutarch says that those who believed in the asp theory claimed that the snake was smuggled in to her in a bowl of figs. Yet nobody could find the asp in the room afterwards! Cleopatra's corpse only showed two small punctures. A rival theory was that she took poison from a hollow comb which she wore. So Plutarch. Dio is even more sceptical. He says that no one really knew the cause of death. Upholders of the asp theory make no mention of a bowl of figs, but believed in a water jar or a bowl of flowers as having secreted the reptile. The other view was that Cleopatra used a poisoned hairpin. Earlier (51, 11) Dio notes that Cleopatra had been known to keep asps 'and other reptiles (έρπετά)' with a view to using them for suicide, but he will go no further than this. What he does say is that, upon the demise of Cleopatra, a eunuch killed himself by the bite of snakes; but he uses the word έρπετοίς, not 'asp'.

Augustus certainly believed in the asp theory. Dio says that he tried to revive her by the use of *Psylli*, tribal medicine men famed for their ability to suck out poison from snake bites, but in vain. This story is also given by Suetonius (*Aug.* 17). I have no desire to prove that Cleopatra could not have perished by the bite of one or more snakes, and I accept many of Griffiths' religious reasons as plausible. But his classical testimonia for his two-snake theory do not prove anything. Moreover, in writing such an article, he should surely have noted alternative theories about Cleopatra's death which are just as ancient and just as well-founded as the asp tradition. B. BALDWIN

### An Appeal to Nut in a Papyrus of the Roman Era

IN Ch. 12 of his *De Iside et Osiride* Plutarch describes the birth of the gods on the five epagomenal days. They are born of Rhea, who clearly represents Nut, and the myth is authentic and ancient. What is somewhat problematic is the relation between the gods as described in the beginning of the chapter. Rhea has secret intercourse with Cronus, and Helios consequently sets a curse on her, that she shall not give birth in any month or year. Hermes also falls in love with her and conveniently wins from the moon the five additional days. It is to be noted that according to Plutarch the three lovers of Rhea become procreators: Helios is the father by her of Osiris and Aroueris, Hermes of Isis, and Cronus of Typhon and Nephthys. It is the sun-god Helios that seems to be her legitimate consort and not Cronus or Geb.

In 'Une Allusion égyptienne à la légende de Rhéa rapportée par Plutarque', *BSFE* No. 24 (1957), 39–43, Drioton has a valuable discussion of an Egyptian papyrus of the Roman era where a reference is made to Nut which may possibly be relevant. Indeed Drioton claims that it is the first allusion yet found in an Egyptian text to the Sun's anger with Nut and to his ban on her bearing children in the 360 days. Dated to the first century A.D., the papyrus contains a version of part of the Ritual of

Embalming and is written for the sake of one *Tj-hmt-ꜣw*, 'the servant of the Three Great Ones'. There is an invocation of Nut, requesting her protection of the mummy of Osiris T. in her sarcophagus. Then, after a reference to the precious stones in the amulets fixed to the bandages, comes this ending, which is here reproduced from Drioton's publication:<sup>1</sup>



Drioton translates thus: 'O cette mère, qui a désiré concevoir une fille dans le Per-Douat, que tu nourrirais parmi les dieux et les déesses et que tu leur associerais, te voici enceinte en temps libre, sans que personne ne manifeste de haine, éternellement.'

Certain difficulties arise, however. Can we be sure that Nut is addressed? She is not named in this passage, and the previous invocation of her in the papyrus does not immediately precede. Nor is she the only divine mother. Nevertheless, the funerary purpose of the papyrus and the explicit emphasis of the previous invocation make it very likely that Nut is meant. Further, the present passage probably alludes to the myth of Nut, although not, perhaps, in the way suggested by Drioton.

In his transliteration of the third word Drioton gives *ꜥrr*, but appears in his translation to regard it as a Perfective Participle agreeing with *mwꜥt* ('qui a désiré'). The feminine ending, however, is not present, and the omission of the 1st person sing. fem. suffix pronoun may rather be suggested; such an omission is of course not uncommon: cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, § 34 and Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 62. If this be so, it is the desire of the deceased woman that is involved, and not that of Nut. Again, Drioton construes  and  as relative forms with a 2nd person fem. sing. suffix, transliterating them *rrt.t* and *hmt.t*. It is equally possible that the suffixes are 1st person fem. sing.: see Erman, *op. cit.*, § 60. The same will apply to . The second occurrence of  is apparently taken by Drioton to be an Old Perfective with exclamatory force which constitutes the main clause of the sentence. It may be agreed that it is an Old Perfective, but it may well be linked subordinately with *sꜣt*. The following version will then result:

'O mother, I desire to conceive a daughter in the Per Dat, whom I may bring up and associate with gods and goddesses, she being conceived within me in a free (= carefree) time, there being nothing odious for ever.'

This may mean that *Tj-hmt-ꜣw*, in asking that she may bear a daughter in the Per Dat,<sup>2</sup> is appealing to Nut to grant the magic of a repeated or similar action, for Nut conceives the sun in Dat during the night and gives birth to him in the morning. So too, as Nut's children were divine, T. asks that her future daughter may have converse with deities—a request which is quite out of place if ascribed to Nut, whose children were deities without the asking. The final phrases may have no mythological significance at all, implying rather a time of uninhibited bliss; cf. *Urk.* IV, 504 = *Wb.* II, 154, 11: 'I was summoned as one free from what is odious ()', where purity and innocence are suggested. 'A free time' will not refer, in that case, to any escape from a prohibited time imposed by the Sun-god, nor will the odiousness or hate allude to his enmity.<sup>3</sup> Reluctantly, then, a link with Plutarch's narrative will have to be abandoned.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

<sup>1</sup> The full publication is in *Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture, Commerce et Arts du département de la Marne* 72 (1957), 19–23, which I have not been able to see.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps *Dꜣt* should be read here. At least the phrase seems to be equivalent to this in meaning. *Pr Dꜣꜣt*, 'the House of the Morning', would hardly suit the context. For the sense proposed cf. the Cairo Papyrus of the Ritual of Embalming, 13, 20 f., 'Thou goest to thy place in Dat'.

<sup>3</sup> Such a meaning does not necessarily emerge even if the whole passage refers to Nut as Drioton takes it.

## An alternative etymology of the Bohairic word for 'interpreter of dreams'

IN a note in this *Journal* 4, 252, Gunn explained the term **ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲛⲩ** designating interpreters of dreams in the Bohairic translation of Genesis xli. 8, 24, as ⲩⲃⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ, *sh pr-cnḥ*, 'scribe of the House of Life'. The explanation cannot but be called ingenious and is certainly convincing at least as far as the second element **-ⲫⲣⲁⲛⲩ** is concerned. The initial **c-** for ⲩⲃ, *sh*, however, presents some difficulty: ⲩⲃ, *sh*, is known to have preserved its *h* in all Coptic dialects (<sup>s</sup>ⲥⲁⲟ, <sup>b</sup>ⲥⲁⲩ, <sup>a</sup>ⲥⲁⲟ, <sup>r</sup>ⲥⲉⲟ), and this is lacking in **ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲛⲩ**. Its disappearance in a longer compound such as **ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲛⲩ** is not unthinkable, but it is perhaps worth while to draw attention to another title which suits **ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲛⲩ** equally well, if not better. It is *sb(ḥ) pr-cnḥ*, 'teacher of the House of Life', attested—though with the genitival particle—as ⲩⲃⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ on a Middle Kingdom scarab in the Cairo Museum (Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. xiii, 34 = Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pl. 40, k). One has only to assume an assimilation of *b* to the following *p* of *pr-cnḥ* to obtain **ⲥⲫⲣⲁⲛⲩ**. *Sb n pr-cnḥ* is to be added to the rich collection of examples of *pr-cnḥ* collected by Gardiner, *JEA* 24, 157 ff., where, however, the Middle Kingdom is only thinly represented. *Sb(ḥ)*, of course, could in itself be either 'pupil' (*Wb*. IV, 84, 16) or 'teacher' (*sbḥw*, *Wb*. IV, 85, 1), but a teacher is more likely to be important enough to have owned a scarab bearing his title and name.

J. ČERNÝ

## REVIEWS

*My First Hundred Years.* By MARGARET MURRAY. London, William Kimble, 1963. Pp. 208, Price 30s.

It is a very rare event to read an autobiography which covers an entire century, but such is the lot of the present reviewer, who received his first instruction in Ancient Egyptian from the author of this book. Although Dr. Murray remarks in her Introduction that hers was 'a life without a single adventure'; yet surely a life as full as hers which spanned a full century is itself an adventure to one with such a great zest in life; to quote her Introduction again, she indeed acted up to 'the motto of the mongoose family as recorded by Kipling—"Run and find out"'.

Dr. Murray was born in Calcutta a few years after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, and her account of her early life gives a good impression of how a civilian family in India lived during the second half of last century; her first attempt at a career was nursing in the Calcutta General Hospital. In the 1880's she came to England for good, and after a period of parish work, for which she really was not suited, she took a course of study under Petrie at University College, London. Griffith was then in charge of the language side of the course, and Dr. Murray gives an amusing account of her early struggles with Ancient Egyptian. This course determined her future career; she became Petrie's assistant, and from then on Egyptology was her prime interest, though excavations in England, Malta, and Minorca and studies of the witch-cult in Europe also attracted her attention. What, however, will strike the reader of this book is not so much the events and opinions she records as the remarkable way in which her personality appears from its pages; I have felt in this case, as in the case of no other autobiography that I have read, that it is Dr. Murray herself who is speaking, and not a pale simulacrum.

R. O. FAULKNER

*A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum.* Pp. xiii and 267, 88 illustrations. London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 1964. Price 10s. 6d.

This new introductory guide to the British Museum's Egyptian collections has been designed and written by the Keeper, Dr. I. E. S. Edwards, and the Assistant Keepers, Mr. T. G. H. James and Mr. A. F. Shore, to replace Dr. H. R. Hall's revision of Sir Wallis Budge's original introductory guide of 1909. Like that work, it is in no sense a catalogue, nor is it arranged for use as a *vade mecum* round the galleries. Its intention is to provide a background of knowledge about the land of Egypt, its natural resources, its ancient inhabitants, their culture and history, which will enable this fine collection to be fully appreciated and enjoyed. Thus, though there are plentiful references throughout the text to exhibits in the galleries, it is primarily a book to be read for information before or during study of the collection rather than a reference work.

The book is arranged as follows. In the first chapter Mr. James sketches the essential facts concerning the physical and political geography of Egypt, the régime of the Nile and the agricultural cycle it imposed, and the natural resources of the valley and the neighbouring deserts. In chapter 2 he summarizes Egyptian political history from the earliest times down to the death of Cleopatra, relying mainly on written sources. The language of these sources, the scripts in which they were written, the materials used by the ancient scribes in writing them, and the history of their decipherment in modern times are succinctly presented in chapter 3 by Dr. Edwards. In the following chapter he gives a conspectus of Egyptian literary and other writings, in which by précis and apt quotation he succeeds in imparting some of their flavour. In general he omits demotic writings from this survey. In chapter 5 Mr. James writes an introduction to Egyptian religious and magical ideas, which he follows with a chapter on funerary beliefs and practices. In view of the Museum's riches in funerary material this is necessarily a rather compendious chapter, and might perhaps have been expanded with advantage. There follows a chapter by Mr. Shore on arts and crafts, which is the longest in the book; this seems justified, for there is no doubt that an understanding of the material and technical

difficulties which the Egyptians overcame increases admiration for their artistry. The chapter is divided into short sections on each craft; these are the portion of the guide most likely to be useful during an actual tour of the collection. Roman and Christian Egypt are concisely and lucidly treated in the final chapter by Mr. Shore. A list of the principal kings of Egypt, the names of the majority of whom are drawn out in hieroglyphs by Mr. James, and a full and accurate index, close the volume.

Thus the new guide treats in a logical order and an integral manner of those aspects of ancient Egyptian civilization about which any interested person might most reasonably wish to be informed. Though, through circumstances beyond the authors' control, it is not as full as its predecessor, its scope is adequate, and it benefits from advances in knowledge since the publication of Dr. Hall's edition. The factual information is, as one would expect, reliable. Many of the matters of greatest interest to the general reader are however questions, not of fact, but of the interpretation of facts. Here scholars disagree; and it must be admitted that there are views expressed in this work to which certain Egyptologists would take strong exception. However, where disagreement exists, all that the authors of a short general work of this character can do is to select from current interpretations or advance their own, and ensure that their work is self-consistent. This they have done; and those who read the book and study the collections with its aid will be inspired to pursue their interest in the ancient Egyptians, and will discover for themselves the many fascinating controversies which exist concerning them.

We therefore welcome this introductory guide and recommend it to the public, whose heritage the splendid collection of Egyptian antiquities at the British Museum is. In particular we hope that it will be used by students and teachers to bring to life the exhibits in the cases. It is to be feared however that the price (10s. 6d.), though reasonable in comparison with commercial productions of similar scope and format, may be just a little more than most schoolchildren can afford or be induced to spend, however enthusiastic they may be. Clearly the authors have done everything in their power to keep the price down, by curtailing the text, by avoiding hieroglyphic type, by re-using old blocks for the plates, and by binding in paper covers. It seems a pity that they should be reduced to such stints, and that in the interests of true education such publications cannot be more heavily subsidized by the Treasury.

H. S. SMITH

*Gli scavi italiani a El-Ghiza (1903)*. By SILVIO CURTO. Centro per le Antichità e la Storia dell'Arte del Vicino Oriente. Monografie di Archeologia e d'Arte I. Pp. 110, 47 figs., 39 pls. Rome 1963. No price given.

In 1903–1904 an Italian expedition under Professor Ernesto Schiaparelli began excavations at a number of sites in Egypt, including the extensive Old Kingdom necropolis round the Great Pyramid of which Francesco Ballerini took charge. The following winter, however, Schiaparelli transferred his activities to the more profitable area of the Valley of the Queens at Thebes, the objects discovered were deposited in the museum at Turin, and the Giza concession was taken over by the German–Austrian and Harvard–Boston expeditions; the results of this brief but fruitful season have, however, remained unpublished ever since. In recent years the entire necropolis has been dealt with in great detail by Reisner, Junker, Selim Hassan, and others, and now this small remaining gap has at last been filled by the researches of Dr. Curto. His task has been a very arduous one, the only sources available being Schiaparelli's meagre notes consisting of lists of objects with no details or inscriptions, and a summary description by Ballerini with plans and copies of some of the monuments. By a careful study of this scanty material and comparison with actual objects in the museum, Dr. Curto has succeeded in equating almost all the mastabas concerned with those in Reisner's plans of the necropolis, and in giving a complete account of the tombs and objects discovered.

The Italian excavations at Giza were confined to four separate sites: the Mortuary Temple of Cheops, two sets of mastabas east of the Great Pyramid, and a strip in the central part of the Great West Cemetery which yielded practically all the false doors and relief fragments recorded and studied here. The Mortuary Temple itself proved a disappointment, and it was left to later expeditions to explore and to attempt to reconstruct the building and its causeway.

Dr. Curto's excellent publication is admirably produced. At the beginning is an interesting history of the rich collection of Egyptian antiquities in the Turin Museum from the time of Drovetti in the early nineteenth

century, and a useful account of the successive excavating expeditions in the cemeteries at Giza during the last sixty years. This is followed by line drawings taken from Ballerini's manuscript, photographs of the museum objects, and a translation with commentary of the inscriptions. Very full indexes complete the volume, which is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Old Kingdom monuments.

ROSALIND MOSS

*The Records of a Building Project in the Reign of Sesostri I. Papyrus Reisner I.* Transcription and Commentary by WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1963. Folio. Pp. 142, pls. frontispiece + 31 colotype + 23 lithographic (transcriptions). Price not given.

Whilst excavating at Nagr ed-Deir in 1904 for the University of California Dr. G. A. Reisner found four papyrus rolls lying on a coffin in a Middle Kingdom tomb. Eventually these papyri were sent to Berlin to be unrolled and restored by Dr. Ibscher. By the outbreak of war in 1939 only one had been sent back to the United States and is the subject of this book. Happily the other three have survived in Germany and these also it is hoped to publish in due course.

Papyrus Reisner I contains, on both the recto and the verso, only accounts, largely in a disorderly scatter both as regards subject-matter and date. To me they give the impression of being the result of collecting together material from the day-to-day records that must have existed, for the purpose of writing up a finished report to the appropriate authorities justifying the expenditure in labour and rations incurred.

These accounts belong to the early part of the Twelfth Dynasty. Some are dated in years 24 and 25 of an unnamed king, probably Sesostri I. The hieratic in which they are written thus falls between that of the Hekanakhte papers and that of the papyri from Illahun, presenting in consequence a valuable palaeographic record. 15 pages are devoted to tables displaying the forms of the signs, thus making all the evidence readily available for use.

The individual accounts have been labelled in sequence from A to Q, but are discussed in four groups, to each of which a chapter is devoted.

The first group (A, B, D, P) although comprising four accounts reduces, in effect, to two because D and P contain mainly material which is reused in B. Account A tells how many men were at work each day over a 122-day period extending from the first month of Inundation to the first month of Winter. Account B deals with the same period but gives the names of the individuals involved, how many days each worked, and other dates applicable to each case. For 34 days the work was at Koptos. Then it removed to Per-Kay for the remaining 88 days. The situation of Per-Kay is unknown but it appears to have been at no great distance south of Koptos. All looks straightforward. Nothing should be simpler than to draw up a table showing the number of men at work daily, from account A, and who they were, from account B. Especially should this be true of the supplementary gang which worked during the last 61 days of the period and for which the relevant figures are preserved largely intact. In fact it proves quite impossible to do this. I have tried several methods without success. Simpson, facing the same difficulties, suggests certain possible explanations but has no real solution. It is clear that these accounts, for all their apparent simplicity, contain factors which are not understood at all.

The ordinary men involved are referred to as *hbsw* which Simpson renders, confessedly without elegance, as 'enlistees': I would prefer 'the enrolled'. These particular *hbsw* are further described by the word *my* suggested to mean 'labourers', 'fieldhands', which seems likely enough. The activities of these men are divided between 'what he spent upon the road', 'what he spent upon the project (?) (*mhw*)', and 'what he spent fleeing (*wrrw*)'. The first of these is, of course, obvious, but the others occasion great uncertainty. The meaning suggested for *mhw* is a guess. If the word could be derived from the verb *mh* 'to fill', one of the meanings of which is 'set about', 'begin' doing something,<sup>1</sup> then *mhw* would be 'what has been set about'. This would support Simpson's plausible meaning 'project'. Unfortunately the spelling and the determinative of the word are rather against such a derivation. *Wrrw*, literally 'fleeing', is the most awkward of all. Few workers complete the entire period, some do nothing at all, but in what sense are they 'fleeing'? Simpson writes at length upon the matter, but is unable to reach any definite conclusion. Some specialized

<sup>1</sup> Caminos, *Late Eg. Misc.*, p. 97; Faulkner, *Concise Dict. of M.E.*, p. 113.

sense must be present indicating that the men are either 'elsewhere', whether under orders or of their own volition, or that they are 'evading' an obligation. It is unfortunate that these matters are not clearer for they have an important bearing upon the workers listed whose actual status remains quite obscure.

The next group of accounts (C, E, F, O, N) consists of long lists enumerating the foremen and members of gangs. Various figures follow the names, except in the case of C where none has ever been entered. N is remarkable because it is the only list of females in the papyrus. The most interesting of the group, however, is O which deals with a gang of 20 men in This. It is divided into six periods of 12, 12, 11, 12, 10 and 15 days respectively, gives the number of days worked by each individual and the number of bread-units earned. These bread-units are called *trsst*, a term otherwise known only from Heḳanakhte Papers V. The days worked are converted into these units here and elsewhere in this papyrus. Simpson works out that in nearly 50 per cent. of examples the rate is exactly 8 *trsst* per day, in other cases he gets rates with awkward fractions (e.g.  $7\frac{5}{8}$ ,  $7\frac{3}{11}$  per day). This is because he treats the day as indivisible so that only the rate varies. It must be confessed that nothing in account O, apart from these awkward rates, hints at any other possibility. If, however, it is assumed that the day could be divided into parts and that the bread-unit rate was always 8, then it will be found that the days are either whole or divided into one or more quarters. Taking as an example plate 21, line 14: it is stated that 12 days were worked in the first period and 94 bread-units allowed. Simpson's method yields a rate of  $7\frac{5}{8}$  bread-units per day, whilst the suggestion just put forward would give a rate of 8 bread-units per day earned over a period of  $11\frac{3}{4}$  days. This idea, of course, necessitates account O having been compiled from more detailed day-to-day figures.

The third group (L, M, Q, R) comprises a miscellany of accounts the most striking single feature of which is the occurrence of black and white *mnw*-stone. This is treated as a semi-precious stone by Harris, who concluded that '*mnw* is primarily quartz'.<sup>1</sup> The material occurs here apparently in some quantity, although the units used are not known, and in a context where it seems to me that anything of special value is unlikely. The word has no determinative so that it is not possible to be sure that a stone is intended and, indeed, Simpson does consider the possibility that a type of woven material might be meant. Nevertheless I agree with Simpson that the colours favour a stone. An item *mhc dhs*, literally 'flax straw', occurs in account L (pl. 18, line 15). I would suggest that this may be flax which has been allowed to ripen completely so that it may be used for the manufacture of ropes and mats.<sup>2</sup> This avoids the difficulty of two apparently dissimilar items being listed as one.

The final group of accounts (G, H, I, J, K) is easily the most interesting of all. It concerns work on a building, probably a temple, carried out between dates, the earliest of which is the fourth month of Winter, day 6, and the latest the second month of Summer, day 20, although neither date is of necessity a terminal one. The extent of the work and the 75-day time period give me the impression of repairs or additions to existing buildings. This is contrary to Simpson's opinion, however. The accounts G, H, I, J are concerned with the handling of *hmcw* (rubble?), blocks of stone and sand-filling, bricks and some possibly related materials, and the man-power used on the various aspects of the work. Account K is entitled 'Summary of this'. In this account each activity is listed from accounts G–J and, where appropriate, the total volumes of the materials used are entered. These volumes, remarkably enough, are converted by fixed ratios to man-days (e.g. 4435 cubic cubits of *hmcw* are equivalent to  $443\frac{1}{2}$  man-days, a ratio of 1:10). Each item in the account has a man-day figure and the grand total is  $4312\frac{1}{2}$ . How this total was obtained from the figures given again cannot be determined. Several of these accounts involve the working out of the volumes of such objects as blocks of stone. It is to be noticed that these volumes are computed on the basis:

1 cubic cubit = 7 cubic palms = 28 cubic digits, and not as might have been expected:

1 cubic cubit = 343 (i.e. 7.7.7) cubic palms = 21,952 (i.e. 28.28.28) cubic digits.

Simpson discusses at length the terms used and the dimensions that occur with respect to the building operations and even provides a large diagrammatic exposition. Reluctantly he has to confess himself still largely baffled in this pioneer attempt to explain the facts.

In addition to the extensive commentary a continuous translation is printed, while as well as a general index there are indexes of words and of male and female names. The personal names found are especially

<sup>1</sup> Harris, *Lex. Studies in Anc. Eg. Minerals*, pp. 110–111.

<sup>2</sup> Lucas, *Anc. Eg. Materials and Industries*, 4th. ed. (revised by J. R. Harris), p. 143.

important because of their large number, all of one place and time. Simpson devotes several interesting pages to discussing them. Noteworthy is the complete absence of foreign names and of names derived from royalty. In names compounded with a divine name, Sobk is the most common god represented, with Onuris second. Surprisingly, Rē<sup>c</sup> is completely absent.

The publication of the papyrus itself leaves little to be desired. It is produced in a series of facsimiles on colotype plates, section by section, with plates of hieroglyphic transcription opposite. In addition there is a series of facsimiles half the size of the first on which the papyrus is shown frame by frame. This second series enables a general view of the papyrus to be obtained and the relation between the sections to be readily discerned. It would have been of assistance if the line numbers had been repeated on the facsimile plates as the eye does not easily leap the inevitable gap between the lines of the transcription and those of the original hieratic.

As can be seen this papyrus is a most interesting but tantalizing document. The understanding of it is bedevilled throughout by the occurrence of words which are either rare or otherwise unknown. It must be kept in mind that this is one of four papyri and that the study of the other three may well solve some problems and modify the solutions proposed for others. Simpson emphasizes that his work is only preliminary and that he has reserved detailed comment on many points until all the Reisner papyri have been published. I have read Simpson's commentaries with the greatest interest and with admiration for the skill and determination with which he has tackled the very difficult problems presented by these accounts.

C. H. S. SPAULL

*A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tutankhamūn's Tomb.* Compiled by HELEN MURRAY and MARY NUTTALL, Tutankhamūn's Tomb Series I. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1963. Quarto. Pp. viii + 22. Price 18s.

This slender volume is exactly what the title says, a 'Handlist'. The objects found in the tomb were given numbers at the time and, in the case of objects found within objects, letters also under the initial general number. Here these numbers and letters are set out in due order, accompanied in each case by the briefest of descriptions with a reference to the illustrations in Carter and Mace's three-volume *Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen* where such exist. It is hoped in the preface that this list will serve as a convenient reference for scholars, and indeed it would have done this admirably if only the descriptions had been a little less brief and references to other publications had been included. Fox's *Tutankhamun's Treasure* gives the object numbers so that these are able to be identified in the list without trouble, but Mme Noblecourt's recent book does not, nor do the many valuable sets of illustrations published over the years in the *Illustrated London News*. It is true that Porter and Moss's latest volume<sup>1</sup> does contain an extensive bibliography and rather fuller descriptions, but this involves consulting a second book, a book moreover which is inevitably too costly to be on every scholar's shelves.

The list does, of course, give a general view of what was found in the tomb and enables one to see what the various boxes and other containers had in them. The index groups the objects by categories so that it is simple to trace, for instance, every box that was found.

C. H. S. SPAULL

*L'Expression de la louange divine et de la prière dans la Bible et en Égypte.* By ANDRÉ BARUCQ. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'Étude, t. XXXIII. Pp. x + 586. Cairo, 1962. Price not stated.

The student of Egyptian usually first confronts the theme of this book, or a part of it, in the section of Sethe's *Lesestücke* which is headed 'Gebete und Hymnen an Götter'. It will become apparent to him, however, even after reading extended publications of religious literature, that no systematic study has been made of the form, style, and content of Egyptian hymns and prayers. It is true that we have Sainte Fare

<sup>1</sup> *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings.* I. *The Theban Necropolis.* By Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. Pt. II. *Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries.* Second Edition. London, 1964.

Garnot's *L'Hommage aux dieux etc.*, but this study is confined to the Pyramid Texts.<sup>1</sup> Professor Barucq's lengthy analysis is therefore welcome. It omits Old Kingdom material, but is otherwise very comprehensive.

His book is complicated, admittedly, by the fact that it conducts an elaborate examination of both Egyptian and Hebrew literature in this field, accompanied with frequent quotations of original texts. The Hebrew is unpointed, but the hieroglyphs have the advantage of appearing in the fount of the French Institute at Cairo. Many of the chapters are devoted exclusively to one or other of the literatures studied, so that Egyptologists could use the book without facing the problems of comparison. It need hardly be said that such a procedure would be perverse. In the present case the comparative method is highly appropriate, and the affinities and contrasts which emerge are often illuminating.

In a preliminary survey of the Egyptian genres, Barucq finds that the hymns contain six elements: introduction, salutation, laudatory development, presentation of self, prayer, and a finale. The prayers are mostly those of request, and some begin with the same three elements as occur in the first part of a hymn; after these come the prayer proper and the finale. A second category of prayers reveals an opening appeal for divine assistance, whereas the element of praise is less prominent; the prayers of penitence, on the other hand, a smaller group, are not schematically distinctive, being notable rather for their tone of humility. Many compositions are of a mixed character, and an imposed schematization is wisely eschewed. The common Egyptian designations for hymn and prayer are shown to have been *dwꜣw* and *ꜥꜣw*; both include the sense of 'praise', and the former is translated by *ᾠμος* in the Decree of Canopus, 34. It may be noted that the central part of a hymn of praise corresponds to some extent with the elements of the Greek hymn, where the god's nature, power, deeds, and discoveries are treated and where the last element only, the *εὐρήματα*, forms a distinctively Greek feature; cf. the discussion in D. Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien*, 18 and in *JEA* 49 (1963), 196.

For the Hebrew material the author has by no means confined himself to the Book of Psalms, although he naturally finds typical examples there. Taking Psalm 135 as a pattern of a hymn, he traces the following sequence: an opening which includes an invitation, a statement of reasons for the praise offered, a laudatory development, and a conclusion which takes up the initial formula. Psalm 54 typifies a prayer and it contains, first, an invocation mentioning the name of God, then an exposition of the suppliant's situation, a declaration of confidence in God, the prayer itself, and finally a promise of active gratitude. In both cases no rigid scheme is generally adhered to, but some of these elements are present. An interesting variation of the prayer sequence is the inclusion, usually after the initial invocation, either of a declaration of innocence or of a confession, as in Psalm 26.

Each element is studied in subsequent chapters with due regard to the terminology and the religious character of the approach. Barucq's general conclusion is that the ideas expressed in the body of the hymns and prayers do not betray a literary contact; whereas the Egyptian writings are preoccupied with the divine names, the cult centres, the divine genealogies, and the mythic career of the gods, the Hebrew devotion to the attributes of transcendence and benevolence is very different. On the other hand, he sees in certain Egyptian compositions, especially the hymns to Amūn and the Aton, in which the relation between the divine creator and his world is described, characteristics which at least pose the question of contact between the two literatures, but without enabling one to assume an imitation, still less a borrowing on the part of the Hebrews. The case is otherwise, he concedes, with Psalms 33 and 104: their kinship with Egyptian texts is very likely although the psalmists have imprinted on their compositions a number of distinctively Hebrew features. Again, a contact is seen in the protestations of virtuous conduct, such as 'I have given bread to the hungry', which occurs in several Egyptian texts; Barucq compares Isa. 58. 7, Tobit 1. 17 and Matt. 25. 35. A still more impressive affinity is recognized in texts expressing penitence or confession, and in this case the Hebrew works are credited with an Egyptian origin.

Barucq shows commendable caution in considering the various possibilities. He distinguishes between a borrowing which follows the original closely and an imitation which involves a loose adaptation. Examining the complaints of lowly people in the Stela of Nebrē<sup>c</sup> and similar texts which were studied by Gunn,<sup>2</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> On matters of style and form cf. Firchow's *Grundzüge der Stilistik in den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Berlin, 1953).

<sup>2</sup> 'The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt', *JEA* 3 (1916), 81-94.

finds many parallels in Hebrew, but thinks that an element in these works was the mark of a spontaneous popular devotion, as natural in Egypt as in Israel, which in its expression reflected an identical spiritual state arising from a similar situation. Prayers for the king reveal similarities too, and in the case of Psalm 72 an imitation of an Egyptian original is found likely. Psalmists of the professional class, it is suggested, became acquainted with the classics of the wisdom literature of Egypt, as well as those of the royal and religious literature, either in Egyptian schools or in Palestine under the direction of Egyptian scribes, whose presence at the court of David is attested in the Bible. In other instances of borrowing or imitation the precise nature of the contact is debatable. It has been argued that Hebrew scribes had access to Egyptian models through the intermediary influence of Phoenicia, a view which attracted Blackman in the admirable essay contributed by him to *The Psalmists* (ed. D. C. Simpson, Oxford, 1926). Barucq seems disposed to accept rather the idea of direct contact by way of the schools (the 'mansions of life') and more particularly of those schools which were secular in their basis although their productions could sometimes be religious in character. At the same time he wisely stresses the plurality of influences to which Israel was exposed and also the hard core of originality which remained unaffected.

Concerned primarily with hymnography, this work takes account also of contacts in other spheres, such as the wisdom literature. There are six appendixes in which texts are quoted or translated *in extenso*; these are followed by various indexes including one of the large number of *loci* discussed. Some typing errors occur in the script which the publication reproduces, but they are of minor import. The author has consulted a wide range of relevant studies, and this enhances the value of his work. On p. 496, where Psalm 23 is discussed, one would have welcomed consideration of Dieter Müller's exposé of the comparable Egyptian concept of 'Der gute Hirte' (*ZAS* 86 (1961), 126-44), but this may have appeared after the present book was finished.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

*Von ägyptischer Kunst: Eine Grundlage.* By HEINRICH SCHÄFER. Fourth improved edition, edited, with a *Nachwort*, by EMMA BRUNNER-TRAUT. Wiesbaden, 1963. Pp. xvi and 462, figs. 330, pls. 56. Price Ln. DM 62; br. DM 58.

The three foregoing editions of Professor Schäfer's great work were published in 1918, 1922, and 1930, and were reviewed in this *Journal* (7, 222 ff. and 9, 263 by N. de Garis Davies; and 17, 147 ff. by Professor T. E. Peet). Schäfer died in 1947, and it was left to his pupil Emma Brunner-Traut to undertake the task of working into the third edition all the notes and comments which had occurred to him during the last twenty-five years of his life. This was not a straightforward matter, even for someone who had worked closely with Schäfer and was devoted to his scholarship, because there was no order or cohesion in the accumulated mass of notes and ideas that he had left. This is explained by the editor in her preface, although she believes that she has succeeded in abstracting Schäfer's real meaning from his notes.

The whole book has been reconsidered in careful detail and expanded, although the fundamental ideas remain the same, thus underlining the single-mindedness of Schäfer's life work as noted by Davies in 1922. Some reorganization has been carried out, especially in the central portion of this *Grammatik der Kunst*, but the contents remain essentially the same. The headings of each chapter and section have been made more brief in the Table of Contents, so that quick reference becomes easier. The effect of the redesigning of parts of the central section is the achievement of a smoother flow of thought between the different subjects considered.

The assimilation of Schäfer's later work into the text is assisted by the addition of 62 new line drawings to the 268 admirably clear illustrations of the third edition. Besides including more recent archaeological discoveries, they give further evidence of the wideness of Schäfer's interest in original art forms throughout the world, for comparative purposes. Examples of Mexican and Chinese Han art as well as Spanish rock paintings are now included. The whole book has been filled out and deepened, and there are naturally many more footnotes and references.

The new section of the book is the editor's *Nachwort*. Its purpose is to propose the word *aspektive* (English: aspective) in place of Schäfer's *geradvorstellig*. The whole problem of terminology is considered at some length in the *Nachwort*. Schäfer used *geradvorstellig* to denote what was to him the fundamental characteristic of Egyptian art—the depiction of each part of an object as it is when viewed directly, rather than as it appears to the eye of the observer, which is the characteristic of the perspective art of the Greeks. The Egyptian artist portrayed his subject part by part, seeing the individual components in their relation to each other, although not all these parts could be shown at once. The Egyptians worked out a canon of allowable patterns and used it as a guide to interpret their subject. Taking a simple example, the right and left sides of the face each have one eye. In profile only half the face is visible and so one eye must be shown. However, half the face includes a whole eye, and therefore the eye had to be drawn complete as in the full-face view, and not as it actually appears in the profile view. Schäfer's book fully explains the other conventions: he constructed the word *geradvorstellig* to describe the attitude of the Egyptian artist to his subject. He derived this word from *geradaufsichtig* (looking at an object directly) and *vorstellig* (representational). His word bore no relation to any word in common use, and so did not succeed in evoking any immediate conception, even with his German readers. The editor explains Schäfer's dislike of words from foreign roots. However, during his later work Schäfer himself began to search for a term that would replace the cumbersome *geradvorstellig*. *Aspektive* is the editor's own proposal, although it is not entirely a happy choice, especially for foreign readers, because its immediate impact seems to suggest that its intended meaning is the direct opposite of perspective. In fact the word is derived from the German *Aspekt-sehen*, that is, what Schäfer intended by *geradvorstellig*. Therefore while *perspektive* is taken to mean 'seeing as a whole', *aspektive* in the editor's sense means 'seeing individual parts' in relation to the whole, a more philosophical interpretation.

Since Professor Schäfer's book is no mere description of Egyptian art forms, but seeks to penetrate deeply into the philosophical background which produced them, a thinking knowledge of the German language is demanded if his ideas are to be considered and discussed as they deserve to be. It is a fascinating book, even for non-Egyptologists, and it is a pity that so few English people will read it. The fourth edition has gained considerably from the choice of a clear and attractive type-fount in place of the Gothic type of previous editions, and the photographic plates are of high quality. The editor notes in her preface that the remarkably low price of this edition is due to the generosity of Frau Schäfer, who realizes the importance of the publication of her husband's life work in its completed form.

DOROTHY SLOW

*Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen.* By JÜRGEN SETTGAST. *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Ägyptologische Reihe, Bd. 3.* Pp. 122, pls. 14. Glückstadt, 1963. No price stated.

A conspectus of Egyptian burial representations from private tombs has not hitherto been attempted although aspects of them have naturally been the subject of frequent discussion. The fourteen plates of the present work assemble the representations in a handy form, the plan being to pursue each separate ceremony chronologically; in the first three plates, for instance, depictions of the procession concerned with dragging the funerary bier are collected. The most comprehensive show of ceremonies in a single tomb occurs in the tomb of Rekhmirē<sup>c</sup>, which is the theme of pl. 14. It would have been useful to print somewhere near this plate the explanation of the scene-divisions given on p. 2, n. 2. Separate scenes from the tomb of Rekhmirē<sup>c</sup> take their place also in the preceding plates.

The text is devoted to interpretation, and the task is not an easy one. Three chapters provide a discussion, chronologically arranged, of the procession with the funerary bier; then come remarks on the processions with the canopic chest and the *tekenu*, processions which do not assume prominence until the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. A chapter on the 'sacred precinct' deals with the hall of the *Mwv*, the women's tent, the 'pool garden', the gods of the great gates, the shrines of the gods, the three pools, the slaughtering-yard, the four troughs, and the voyage to Saïs in the Old Kingdom. Little attention has been hitherto paid to several of these items, and the treatment is therefore all the more valuable even if one must still be uncertain, in some cases, as to what went on in the places depicted. The remaining chapters deal with the

river-crossing in the early group (from the M.K. to shortly after Amenophis I); the crossing to the west bank and the rites in the 'sacred precinct'; the *pr-cw* and adjacent scenes; the journey to the *sh-ntr n'Inpw*; the voyage to Saïs in the late group (from the time of Hatshepsut to that of Tuthmosis IV); and the rites near the mooring-posts. Material from the O.K. is discussed in an early chapter which is unrelated to the series of plates. General results and conclusions are stated in a final chapter.

One of the difficulties in interpreting the evidence here compiled is that the scenes delineated, especially in the late group, do not preserve a consistent or coherent order. Sometimes a scene appears twice; and this means that it is occasionally inserted where it does not belong. The accompanying inscriptions have also suffered in the course of a long period of transmission. Often they are brief and elliptic and there are signs that the original meaning has sometimes escaped the scribe. In spite of these inherent intractabilities Dr. Settgast has managed his investigation well. On occasion he is a little dogmatic on points of translation, but in general he argues a case on the detailed terms of the evidence.

It was in 1941 that Grdseloff published his penetrating study, *Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt*, in which he put forward the idea, among others, that a funeral in the O.K. included two processions, the first involving the taking of the corpse by land and water to the purification tent and to the place of embalming, while the second entailed a further crossing to the west bank after the time for mummification had elapsed, in order to transport the empty sarcophagus to the place of embalming and put the mummy in it, after which a further visit to the purification tent allowed the opening of the mouth to be enacted; only then was the deceased taken to his tomb. On the basis of the publication of the tomb of Pepi-ankh in Blackman's *Rock Tombs of Meir*, v (1953) Settgast has made a strong case for assuming that only one processional movement is really represented, and that this, when the west bank was reached, had the purification tent as its first destination, and its next goal in the place of embalming, whence the last phase was started. It is true that this explanation involves regarding some of the scenes depicted as being nothing other than erroneous duplications. The reason for the error is found in the approach of an artist who was manifestly highly individualistic and wilful. In a later era, of course, such duplications are not uncommon.

The striking changes in the burial representations of the N.K. pose the important questions of motive and of relation to reality. Were these changes introduced in order to indicate changes in actual practice, so that we can regard the representations as a contemporaneous record of rites enacted? Settgast's reply is a firm negative. He shows clearly that most of the scenes occurring in his late group can be connected with pictorial prototypes in the M.K. and O.K. At the same time there is plenty of evidence to show that the Eighteenth Dynasty scribes and artists understood only imperfectly the early materials used by them: witness the combination of scenes that originally had no connexion, the new interpretations deviating from the original meaning, the defective reproduction of crucial details, and the duplication of scenes. The motive of the harking back is well pointed by Settgast in a quotation from a stela in Theban Tomb 110: 'The procession is made for thee in the fashion of the forefathers', after which it is said, 'The *Mw* to thee in jubilation'. There was clearly a strong desire to preserve in some way the ancient, authentic forms; if they did not continue to be practised, yet their depiction on the sarcophagus and in the tomb was thought to be effective.

In a discussion of the voyage to Saïs, a ceremony performed in the 'sacred precinct', it is suggested that Junker's theory of a second voyage, namely to Buto, is not acceptable. In this connexion a new suggestion is made about the name *Dbrwt*: it was not applied exclusively to Buto, thinks Settgast, but was a term rather for a Lower Egyptian ritual precinct which was exemplified also in Saïs. The last word has evidently not been spoken on this difficult theme. A convincing interpretation of the *tekenu* is offered: in one form it can be traced to the Fifth Dynasty and its origin is found in the prehistoric type of burial in which the unmummified body was in a crouching position; cf. the present reviewer's remarks in *Kush* 6 (1958), 119 f., where it is stressed that the covering animal skin also points to an early type of burial. The *Mw* are shown to belong to the same stratum, and there can be little doubt about the claim made in the author's concluding words: the Egyptian burial ceremony is in essence a Lower Egyptian royal rite of prehistoric or early historic origin.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

*Die Palmen im Alten Ägypten. Eine Untersuchung ihrer praktischen, symbolischen und religiösen Bedeutung.*  
By INGRID WALLERT. (Münchener ägyptologische Studien I). Berlin, 1962. 8vo. Pp. 159, pls. xiv.  
Price DM 15.50.

Ingrid Wallert has written a most interesting monograph on the palms of Ancient Egypt. These are three in number, the date palm, the dôm palm, and the argun palm. The two latter still grow wild in the countries to the south of Egypt and their presence in antiquity can be in little doubt. The case of the first is, however, very different. From prehistoric sites there are only sporadic finds of date-stones and from the Old Kingdom none at all. Today the date palm is of the greatest economic importance throughout North Africa and the adjacent parts of Asia and is obviously a native of this part of the world. Several allied species still grow wild in the region but the cultivated form (*Phoenix dactylifera* L.) is not found wild anywhere. Its place of origin is consequently a matter for speculation. In addition, to produce a worthwhile crop it is necessary for the female tree to be artificially pollinated, while to grow new trees resort has to be had to planting shoots from the base of the stem because, like the English apple, the date palm does not come true from seed. Economic cultivation of the date is then a matter of some agricultural sophistication.

It has been held that the cultivation of the date palm originated in Mesopotamia and reached Egypt only during the Middle Kingdom. Wallert sets out to prove that this palm always existed in Egypt and that the inhabitants of the Nile Valley understood its cultivation from prehistoric times. She admits that Täckholm and Drar remain firmly against her.

That the date palm existed in Egypt at least from protodynastic times is indicated by the scene of two giraffes flanking a date palm on the reverse of the Battlefield Palette and by the faience inlay of such a palm found at Abydos, but whether the objects claimed to be such on certain prehistoric pottery are so I remain very sceptical. Further and even more convincing evidence of its existence in the Old Kingdom comes from the fact that tombs have been found ranging from the Second to the Fifth Dynasty roofed with palm logs or their imitation in stone. Some of the objects from the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Hethêphêres have decoration derived from the date palm. Finally the sign { *rn̄p* }, going back to the First Dynasty and one of the best-known objects of Egyptian symbolism, is, as Gardiner says, a 'palm-branch stripped of leaves and notched to serve as a tally'.<sup>1</sup> The evidence presented by Wallert, only a selection from which has been mentioned here, leaves the actual presence of the date palm in Egypt incontrovertible, yet its absence from the rich variety of Old Kingdom scenic representation remains puzzling.

So much for the actual existence of the date palm in early Egypt. For its cultivation before the Middle Kingdom I do not see that there is any physical evidence at all and it is necessary to call in linguistic evidence, which again Wallert presents in exhaustive detail. There can be no doubt that the word *bnrt* means 'date palm', or that *bnr*, *bnrt* means 'dates'. The former is known from the *Coffin Texts* and the latter from ceiling stelae of the Second Dynasty as well as from the *Pyramid Texts*. The word for dates is also found as a label attached to storehouses and to heaps of harvested foodstuffs in Old Kingdom tombs. The verb *bnr* means primarily 'to be sweet' and is a very common word indeed, known as far back as the *Pyramid Texts*. Was the date named from the verb or did the verb arise from the date, the chief characteristic of which is its sweetness? Wallert thinks the latter. The hieroglyph ¶ which has the ideographic value *bnr* is an enigma. Gardiner described it as a 'sweet-tasting root',<sup>2</sup> but Wallert calls attention to the suggestion made many years ago that the object which is clearly not a date is, in fact, the sheath in which the date-flowers first appear and from which they later burst forth. I cannot help feeling that this is quite the most likely explanation of the sign. Nor does it seem to me strange, since the date itself would not make a very distinctive hieroglyph, whereas its sheath is very characteristic. It can thus be seen that the ancient root *bnr*, the storehouses and the heaps, as well as the hieroglyph, all point inescapably to the existence of the cultivated date in Old Kingdom Egypt. The medical texts also point the same way. It is true that none of them is earlier in date than the Middle Kingdom, but the recipes they contain are generally admitted to be in many cases much older. These recipes make great use of the date.

This book deals exhaustively with every aspect of Egypt's three types of palms. Much space is devoted to the religious connexions and everywhere there is a rich apparatus of references. I have dwelt upon the

<sup>1</sup> *Eg. Gram.*<sup>4</sup> p. 479, M 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Eg. Gram.*<sup>4</sup> p. 483, M 30.

side of the book which concerns the evidence for the presence and cultivation of the date palm in very early times in Egypt because this seems to me the most important single factor by far.

C. H. S. SPAULL

*The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, v. The West and South Cemeteries at Meroë.* By DOWS DUNHAM. Boston, 1963. Pp. viii and 456, pls. 3, text-figs. 243, map in pocket. Price \$40.

This penultimate volume of the publication of Reisner's excavations in the royal cemeteries of Kush (there is to be a final volume devoted to the study of the inscriptional material) contains the detailed records of the material obtained from the private tombs and the tombs of minor royalties in two of the three cemeteries at Meroë. The West Cemetery, which is by far the largest of the three, was in continuous use from the time of Piankhi down to the end of the Meroitic Period. The South Cemetery, which was also first used in the time of Piankhi, was abandoned about 275 B.C. Dunham, who here continues in admirable manner the posthumous publication of Reisner's material, reiterates in his *Introduction* the view, which he has argued at length elsewhere, that the presence of two cemeteries which were used at the same time (c. 750 B.C.–275 B.C.) can be explained 'by the existence of two parallel groups of people living there [Meroë] which he has called the Napatan and Meroitic groups, the latter being the indigenous inhabitants of what was at first an important provincial city subservient to Napata, and the former consisting of Napatan officials stationed at Meroë but belonging to a different clan'.

Problems of this kind, which abound in the field of Meroitic studies, are not, however, carried any further towards solution in this volume. The editor has wisely confined himself to the task of presenting the extensive evidence obtained from the excavations. Studies of the material may follow, and at the present moment, when Sudanese archaeology is being intensively prosecuted for the first time, the appearance of this volume is particularly opportune. For the graves in these two cemeteries yielded a remarkably rich harvest of small objects which are here illustrated in full either in photograph or in line-drawing.

The method adopted by Dunham is direct and simple. Each tomb with its contents is described in a straightforward manner with an economy of comment, the illustrations of the material from each tomb being set out on the same page or on adjacent pages, in text-figures. It is therefore easy to examine with a minimum of page-turning the objects from a particular tomb. An objection to this method, which, however, could only have been remedied by the sacrifice of much convenience, is that the half-tone text-figures do not reproduce well on the paper used, and there is a considerable loss of clarity. This loss is especially to be regretted when significant detail needs to be clearly visible, e.g. in the case of scarab-legends. But much has been done to overcome this deficiency by the addition of supplementary line-drawings. The examiner of detail is not, however, invariably satisfied.

In dealing with each cemetery, the editor first gives the descriptions of selected tombs, arranging them in chronological order as far as possible. He then gives a summary description of every tomb according to tomb-number. This is an immensely convenient method of arrangement; it enables the student in the first place to follow through the archaeological history of the cemeteries in a progressive manner; it also enables him to refer easily and quickly to any tomb if he possesses its number.

Much of the material, especially for the earlier tombs, is in so-called Egyptian style, and it commonly presents that debased character which has earned a reputation for decadence for Meroitic art. Many of the objects which may be regarded as non-Egyptian are, on the contrary, delicate and refined in style, and they substantially controvert this reputation. The jewellery, in particular, is frequently outstanding, and it is noteworthy that gold was found so freely in burials which were largely non-royal. Bronze objects are also of splendid quality and design. The most astonishing object found, however, is the Attic rhyton by Sotades, in the form of an Amazon on horseback, dated to about 400 B.C. Its presence in remote Meroë is unexplained; but it was clearly a much valued possession.

At the end of the volume are three plates with views of the cemeteries, and a large plan of the cemeteries is contained in the pocket inside the back cover. The work is produced in the splendid manner now to be

associated with this series. It is a mine to be heavily quarried by students of Meroitic archaeology, and it will surely become a trusted *vade-mecum* for present and future excavators of Meroitic cemeteries.

T. G. H. JAMES

*Les Inscriptions du temple d'Opet, à Karnak. II. Index, croquis de position et planches.* By CONSTANT DE WIT. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, XII. Pp. 28, pls. 38. Brussels, 1962. Price 230 francs belges.

This volume is supplementary to Dr. De Wit's publication of the texts of this important temple (Vol. XI in the series, reviewed in this *Journal* 47 (1961), 168 f.) and it provides an index of titles, of divine names, and of geographical names. There follow 8 plates with sketch-plans of the representations together with references to the location of the relevant texts in the preceding volume. A welcome boon, this. The remainder of the plates provide photographs of the exterior of the temple made by the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute at Luxor and also those made by the author himself of the west gate of the hypostyle hall. Although, as Dr. De Wit points out, the photographic record does not include the reliefs in the interior halls, a very useful supplement has resulted.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

*The King is Dead.* By SAMUEL K. EDDY. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, U.S.A., 1961. Pp. x + 391, 8 plates, 1 map. Price \$ 8.50.

This volume is a survey, region by region, of the history of the Near East in the Hellenistic period with special reference to native resistance to alien rule. The general conclusion reached is that the major resistance to Hellenism came from three countries, Egypt, Persia, and Judah, and that it had three main causes: the overthrow and suppression of the native kingship by a foreign dynasty, the economic exploitation and social degradation of the natives, and the threat to religion. The force of the resistance was strongest when the three reasons for it were combined; it was often lessened when Greek city life was introduced on a large scale and offered new positions of importance and new privileges to the local aristocracy; it increased in violence and intensity as the Hellenistic kings tightened political and economic control over their subjects in order to ensure their own survival in the struggle with neighbouring rulers. Again, Egypt, Persia, and Judah shared two common characteristics which were lacking in other regions: their religion was highly ethical in content, and they possessed some kind of ecclesiastical organization. But this did not mean that there was a conscious resistance to the rationalism of Hellenism as revealed in its science and philosophy, or indeed to Hellenistic culture in general; the real struggle was against Hellenistic kingship, its military and economic policies, but it was waged with spiritual weapons as well as in open warfare, because the latter by itself was hardly likely to succeed in the earlier stages of Hellenistic rule and because kingship could be explained and understood by the Orientals only in theological terms. This spiritual resistance showed itself in resort to prophecy, in archaizing glorification of legendary heroes, in yearning for a messiah, and in deliberate proselytism. Thus, a dissatisfaction which, from our point of view, could be traced to political and economic motives was basically religious and found expression in religious movements. To sum up, the Oriental resistance to Hellenism was essentially a religious resistance; it resulted in the weakening of the Hellenistic monarchies at a time when they were already under pressure from outside; it ignored the positive advantages of Hellenistic rule and prepared the way for the harsher régime of the Romans.

This thesis is in direct opposition to the views of Tarn and Rostovtzeff, both of whom minimized the part played by religion in the Oriental reaction to Hellenism. It also contradicts the conclusion of Tchirikov, who drew a distinction between the 'rational-cultural' protest of Egypt and the 'chiefly political' reaction of Asia and saw the common factor of opposition as social and economic. Not one of these great Hellenistic historians now lives to argue their case against Eddy. But I imagine that their main objection would be to his use of the term 'religious resistance'. It is possible that Eddy's use of it conceals an ambiguity which, if admitted, would detract from the apparent originality of his conclusions: Tarn and others would surely have maintained that by 'religious resistance' is meant resistance on religious grounds to the religion which others are trying to impose upon you; Eddy would argue that 'religious resistance' means the expression of resistance through religious forms, not necessarily directed against an alien religion.

Certainly there is no denying that religion often provided a rallying-point for the discontented and gave them ammunition which they could use in their battle against the intruder; for how else, as Eddy well points out, could they articulate their objections when faced by a government which was supported by great military and economic resources?

A disturbing feature of the book is Eddy's use, or misuse, of modern comparisons in trying to extend the scope of his generalizations. British colonial policy is the favourite target for 'liberal' historians of ancient imperialism, but it is a very dangerous one, as many have found to their cost, and Eddy would have been well advised not to have turned to modern Africa for the bulk of his analogies. What value, for example, can we attach to the following statement: 'In modern Africa, violent resistance propped up by revived belief in native cult and witchcraft is going on among the Mau Mau in Kenya, and in Northern Rhodesia a messiah is still expected to come to drive out the white man'? Or, again, 'The people dwelling along the Congo or Zambesi or Ganges do not hate the West because of these men [*sc.* Shakespeare, Kant, and Voltaire]. They hate the gunboats and the plantation overseers.' Little profit is to be had from comparing modern colonies just emerging from tribal systems with the already highly cultured and articulate societies which had for centuries formed part of the ancient empires of the Near East. The history of modern Africa is being rewritten every day, and those who seek from it analogies with which to bolster their views about ancient imperialism are chasing a will-o'-the-wisp. It would be unfair to condemn their competence as ancient historians for their rashness in the employment of modern analogies, but it is legitimate to suspect them of a certain degree of historical immaturity.

Be that as it may, the picture of Hellenistic Egypt which Eddy draws for us is in the main a reliable one, though not noticeably different from that which is provided by standard histories. His special contribution is to have illuminated the forms taken by 'religious resistance'. It is a pity that he was unable to make use of studies of the cult of Sarapis which appeared at about the same time as his own book: he has been content, as many others have been, to accept the traditional views of the origin and development of the cult and to press them into service as a significant illustration of the way in which the religious policies of the Ptolemies were frustrated by the native population. Some of us have often suspected that these views were by no means final, and we have now had our suspicions confirmed by C. Bradford Welles's penetrating article in *Historia* 11 (1962) and P. M. Fraser's admirably thorough monograph in *Opuscula Atheniensia* 3 (1960); it would seem that the whole picture of Sarapis needs revision and that, when the revision has been completed, Eddy may well find that he has overestimated the value of Sarapis as a prop for his arguments. Indeed, in his selection of sources for Sarapis, he betrays a weakness to which the synthetic historian is often a special prey, for any discussion of Sarapis which can afford to overlook the contributions of Wilcken, Roeder, Visser, Lauer, and Picard has a strangely partial and derivative appearance. Naturally he has to rely to a great extent on translations of his original and primary sources; but in the citation of secondary sources one has a right to expect more than a cursory and rather arbitrary choice, if one is to establish with justice the grounds of the author's opinion.

This is to take only one of the problems which face the historian who chooses to cover a vast area without being able to apply to its particular fields the deeper knowledge of a specialist. But it is by his approach to these problems that specialists will judge him. Eddy has offered us some conclusions of great interest; each one must now be tested by those who have a special knowledge of the particular events and movements on which they are based. To do complete justice in a single review to a book which surveys as wide a field as Eddy's would call for a Tarn or a Rostovtzeff, and your reviewer is but an ordinary mortal. B. R. REES

*Daily Life in Roman Egypt.* By J. LINDSAY, London: F. Muller, 1963. Pp. xxi + 392. 1 map, 44 text-figs. Price 42s.

The information supplied by the papyri is so rich in human interest that it would seem to be promising material for a book on life in Greco-Roman Egypt aimed at attracting the general reader. It is not surprising, therefore, that Lindsay thought this a suitable subject for his latest book on the ancient world. The plan of the work, with chapters on topics such as marriage, birth, death, education, and farming, is sound, and the papyri themselves are quoted extensively throughout. But a cursory reading is enough to show that the

book has been hastily thrown together, with scarcely any attempt to present the vast amount of data it contains in an attractive and readily digestible form. Closer inspection reveals an astonishing picture. We may take the chapter on marriage as an example. What this consists of for the most part is Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, 105–8, 112–18, and 125–7, Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, 118–25, and *The Legacy of Egypt*, 276–80, in part abridged, rearranged, and paraphrased, but often copied almost verbatim. Lindsay has added one or two extra examples of papyrus texts and very little else. Sample checks elsewhere suggest that large parts of the volume are the product of ‘book-making’ of this kind.

The result is made worse by the slipshod way in which this book-making has been carried out. Little effort is made to fill in the background for the non-specialist. There is only the flimsiest attempt to cover up the joins between excerpts from different sources, so that often a paragraph (and sometimes even a sentence) has no logical connexion with the one preceding or with the subject nominally being discussed; cf. the digression on trees, pp. 93–96, in a chapter headed ‘Brothers and Sisters’. There are numerous small errors, mostly the result of careless proof-checking, but some caused by misunderstanding, e.g. on p. 27 the fact that an Oxyrhynchus papyrus describes a hearing before the prefect is misinterpreted by Lindsay to mean that the prefect held court at Oxyrhynchus. Much more serious is the error in chapter seven, where Lindsay appears to regard any mention of the terms ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ as proof of that relationship.

The worst feature of all is that Lindsay has given his book the appearance of being a work of original scholarship. Unfortunately the untutored reader, at whom the book is primarily aimed, may well be misled by this scholarly façade. There is a bibliography of well over five hundred items and more than fifty pages of closely packed notes. These notes appear to have been taken over wholesale from the works used in compiling the text, even to the extent of leaving some wrong references uncorrected. Furthermore, the errors which Lindsay has liberally sprinkled throughout his text become a deluge in the notes. I have counted no less than fourteen in one note alone (n. 1 on pp. 315–16).

From what has been said it will be clear that the book has no value for the scholar. It is questionable whether the general reader will be attracted by it. The few chapters which do not draw on documentary papyri, those on Strabo, Juvenal in Egypt, and Mimes, are interesting, and the reader who is prepared to dip here and there in the rest of the book will probably get some idea of the charm of the papyri. He will not often be wrongly informed on matters of fact, as is natural in view of the way in which the book has been produced. But the faults of construction already indicated seem likely to deter all but the hardiest of laymen, who would in any case be much better advised to read Winter. One must hope that in further volumes on related subjects which he promises to write Lindsay will adopt a different format. The present volume is a great disappointment in view of his very real talent for writing historical works with a wide popular appeal.

J. DAVID THOMAS

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*bk̄-ib* (for *bk̄-ib*) 'be resentful', 46, 20.  
*bdt* (written *bdt̄*) 'emmer', 47, 14.

*p̄ šri nfr n p̄ Itn ʕnh* 'the goodly child of the living Aten', 47, 28.

*Pywd* 'Libyans(?)', 46, 20.

*pr* 'house, family', 47, 105.

*ph-ntr* 'arrival of the god', 49, 82.

*psd̄* 'back', 50, 177.

*pš̄i* 'comb', 50, 179.

*pḏtyw* 'bowmen', 50, 15.22.

*f̄rw* 'splendour', 46, 15.

*m̄tt* 'mandrake' or 'parsley, celery'(?), 49, 183.

*mi* part of a building, 46, 44.

*mnw* a stone(?), 50, 188.

*mr* = *mi* 50, 77.

*mrw* a cloth, 49, 69.

*mryt* 'serf', 50, 17.

*mrhm̄* uncertain meaning, 49, 33.

*mḥ ib* 'trust', 50, 27.

*mḥw* 'project'(?), 50, 187.

*mshnt* 'resting-place', 48, 30.

*mss* uncertain meaning, 49, 69.

*mtnw* 'blade', 46, 41.42.

*mtr* 'precept, instruction', 47, 102.

*mdwt(y)* 'plotter', 49, 89.

*md̄ȳw* ethnic term, 50, 14.22.

*n-sw-bit̄y* royal title, 47, 167.

*nw* 'hunter', 48, 158 f.

*nb* used of the king, 47, 167.

*nb* 'every', strange writing, 46, 18.

*nbi* 'reed', 49, 183.

*npḏwt* 'knives', 48, 38.

*nḥ* 'blow out of nose', 49, 183.

*nḥm* 'shout', 50, 35.

*Nḥsy-ḥtp* 'pacified Nubian' as mercenary troops, 46, 63.

*nḥsyw* 'Nubians', 50, 14.22.

*nḥwt* 'complaint', 50, 25.

*nḥb* 'lotus-blossom', 49, 33.

*nsw* 'king', 47, 167.

*nš̄i* 'comb(?)', 49, 173; see *pš̄i*.

*ngz̄* 'be deprived of (*m*)', 49, 32.

*nḳ̄r* 'tingle, prick', 50, 82.

*ntr* 'god', used of the king, 47, 167.

*nḏ* 'flour', 47, 14.

*r* = *iw*, 50, 78.

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*rwd̄* 'commissioner', 49, 87 f.

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*ḥnw̄w* (for *ḥnw̄?*) 'adherents', 46, 20.

*ḥnmwt* 'illness, sadness', 48, 54.

*ḥny* 'coffer', 47, 103.

*hr* 'be satisfied', with *m* (written *n*), 46, 19.

*ḥw̄wt* 'stake, box(?)', 46, 68.69.

*ḥrw* 'body', 47, 103.

*ḥwt ntr* 'sanctuary', 46, 32.

*ḥw̄w* late form of *ḥwi* 'strike', 46, 18.

*ḥbsw* 'enrolled persons', 50, 187.

*ḥm* used of the king, 47, 167 f.

*ḥm* 'slave', 50, 17.

*ḥmw̄y* 'fenugreek', 49, 69.

*ḥm̄gt* 'carnelian(?)', 50, 25.

*ḥnt* 'occupation, purpose', 50, 32.

*ḥm̄kt St(y)w̄* 'Nubian beer', 46, 36.

*ḥnt̄i* 'cut up', 50, 32.

*hr tp t̄* 'upon earth', 47, 102.

*ḥry-r* 'infant', 47, 154.

*ḥry-bḥ* 'wine-overseer', 50, 38.

*ḥry k̄mw̄* 'wine-overseer', 50, 38.

*ḥryt* 'readiness', 50, 33.

*ḥs̄* 'milk', 48, 41.

*ḥsmn* 'amethyst', 50, 25.

*ḥtp-d̄i-nsw*-formula, 48, 27.

*ḥtr-hr* name of the divine spear, 49, 141 ff.

*ḥd̄* 'destruction', 50, 25.

*ḥd̄-wr* divine name, 50, 134 ff.

*ḥr̄* 'abandon', 47, 104.

*ḥr̄ ḥty* 'set the mind on', 47, 105.

*ḥr̄ hr ḥt* 'sacrifice', 48, 53.

*ḥrw* 'plumb-line', 46, 30.

*ḥrw* 'gunwales(?)', 50, 82.

*ḥstyw̄* ethnic term, 50, 15.20.

*ḥrw* 'implements', 50, 83.

*ḥpr* 'become', in constr. *iw̄f ḥpr*, 49, 72 f.

*ḥps̄* 'conquer', 50, 24.

*ḥmm* 'belabour', 50, 30.

*ḥmmwt* uncertain meaning, 47, 8.

*ḥm̄t* 'prison, court of law', 50, 18.30.

*ḥr* 'further', 46, 39.

*ḥr ḥni ḥnw̄/n ḥnw̄ ḥni* name of the Valley of the Kings, 49, 57 ff.

*ḥrp-r* 'controller of foreign troops', 46, 60 ff.

*ḥt* 'steering-post', 49, 186.

*ḥni* 'approach', 49, 77.

*ḥnw̄* 'residence', 47, 6; 50, 19.

*s̄* 'son' = 'commoner', 48, 30.

*s̄t* 'pavement, floor', 46, 48.

*s̄kn* 'destroy', 46, 20.

*syḥ* 'excitement', 49, 84.

*sc̄b* 'saw, circumcise', 49, 183.

*sc̄k̄ hr mit* 'set on a path', 47, 102.

*sw̄t* 'wheat', 47, 14.

*sw̄dn* 'make heavy, complain', 50, 31.

*sb̄* 'doorway', in *w̄n s̄* 'open the door' = 'start the work', 46, 32.

*sb̄y* 'astronomer', 49, 173.

*sbw̄* 'boards(?)', 49, 33.

*sp̄wt* 'domain', 48, 29.

*sm̄* for *dm̄ sm̄* 'combined total', 46, 31.

*smryt* 'confederates', 46, 69.  
*smrw* a cloth, 49, 69.  
*snt* 'podium', 46, 46.  
*snf* 'let breathe, relieve', 48, 34.  
*snm m* 'feed on', 48, 31.  
*snhy* 'muster', 46, 45.  
*shd-r* 'inspector of foreign troops', 46, 61 ff.  
*sh* 'blow', 46, 35.  
*shn* 'cake, loaf(?)', 46, 36.  
*shnn* 'stir up rebellion', 49, 74.  
*ssndm* a costly wood, 50, 25.  
*skr* 'pluck' (strings of harp), 46, 54.  
*sk* 'fell' (trees), 50, 28.  
*sgmh* 'spear', 48, 82 ff.; 49, 140 ff.; 50, 133 ff.  
*sty* a fruit(?), 49, 69.  
*sty* 'volume', 46, 107.  
*stwh* 'cause unintentional inactivity', 49, 74.88.  
*stj-ntr* 'corridor in a tomb', 48, 58.  
*sttyw* ethnic term, 50, 15.  
*sdj-tr* 'establish the veracity', 49, 79 f.  
*sdj-tryt* a form of oath, 50, 179.  
*sdm mdw* 'investigate', 48, 33.

-š terminal syllable in ethnic names, 47, 72 ff., 83 ff.  
*šryt* 'cake', 46, 36.  
*šrd* 'piece', 49, 173.  
*šbb* 'beads', 49, 173.  
*šbtyw*-deities, 48, 82.  
*šf* 'small bird', 50, 53.  
*šf-tbt(?)* month name, 49, 183.  
*šnt* 'passageway', 46, 48.  
*šnr* 'tomb', 50, 178.  
*šsp n* 'receive from', 50, 83.  
*štzw* 'brushwood', 50, 26.  
*šd* 'raft', 50, 27.  
*šdi* 'depose', 50, 31.  
*šdw* 'skin-rug', 50, 32.

*kʷ* 'high', 47, 104.  
*krtkt* 'handle' of steering oar, 49, 186.  
*kṇw* 'many', 49, 33.  
*kḏ[r]* type of incense(?), 49, 69.

*kʷ* of the king, 47, 167.  
*kʷ* 'name', 50, 81; 'personality', 50, 86.  
*kryt* 'high ground, arable land', 48, 60.  
*kʷwy* 'foreigners', 50, 26.  
*kʷpw* 'roof', 46, 46.  
*kʷhs* 'disrespectful', 48, 28.  
*kḃnt* 'Byblos-boat', 46, 67 f.  
*km* 'profit', 50, 26.

*gyt* 'steering platform', 49, 186.  
*gmī* 'find, acquire', 47, 105.  
*gnw* 'branches(?)', 50, 28.  
*grg hr* 'trust in', 50, 28.  
*gs-pr* 'workshop', 46, 48.  
*Gsy* 'Qûš', 49, 34.

*tʷš* 'boundary', 47, 105.  
*tp-š* 'quay', 50, 82.  
*tnbh* 'run at random', 50, 32.

*ty* 'acquire', 48, 66.  
*ty n* 'find fault with', 49, 32.  
*tbw* type of vase, 49, 68.  
*tm* 'cadaster', 50, 31.  
*tmhw* 'Libyans', 50, 22.  
*tms* part of a building', 46, 45.

*dī* 'cause', 46, 21; 'sell', 48, 66.  
*dmi* 'quay, landing-place', 50, 84.  
*Dmīwr* a place-name, 50, 53.

*dt* 'slave', 50, 17.  
*dʷyt* part of a building, 46, 33.  
*dʷdʷw* (det. □) 'landing-stage', 46, 36.  
*dʷ* 'gale', 47, 103.  
*dbʷ* primeval place, 48, 81 ff.; 49, 140 ff.  
*dbʷ nst* 'occupy a seat', 48, 39.  
*dnn* 'strive', 48, 61.  
*dʷwt* 'hall(?)', 50, 25.  
*dd irm* 'speak with', 48, 60.

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 οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου type of soldier, 46, 111.  
 ἀπόμαγμα 'impression, cast', 50, 147.  
 ἀσπορος 'unsown' of land, 47, 171 f.  
 ἀστός, ἀστή 'citizen' of Alexandria, 48, 106 ff.  
 βάρβαρος 'foreigner', 46, 61.63.  
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καρπιστής uncertain meaning, 46, 96.  
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 πεντετηρίς a festival, 46, 97.  
 πολίτης 'citizen' of Alexandria, 48, 106 ff.  
 σπιθαμή 'span', 46, 79.  
 τρίζω 'twang' (of harp), 50, 154.  
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