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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

IT falls to the lot of few men to become legends in their own lifetime. Of the few, most are men of action who, by their deeds achieve such fame that in their twilight years their very act of living inspires others to emulate their achievements. Scholars who live long, on the other hand, often find that their achievements are surpassed or set aside by younger men; it is the rare exception who can hope to maintain his reputation in his old age; even rarer is he who can add to it. But such was Sir Harold Bell, the Vice-President of the Egypt Exploration Society since 1945, who died on January 22, 1967. Professor Turner and Mr. Skeat pay tribute to him later in this volume. Those of us who did not know him well will feel cheated by life; it is rare for a scholar to attain such fame and at the same time to inspire so much affection.

Our field workers have had much success and experienced unusual adventures during the year. At Şaqqâra Professor Emery has enjoyed a season marked by dramatic discoveries; he has found almost something for everyone, as his report below reveals. The excitement of discovery must be followed by the less spectacular work of conservation and study, and in these respects Saqqâra has yielded as many problems as excitements. At Qaşr Ibrîm Professor Plumley, in a very short visit, again has demonstrated the interest and importance of the site. 'What next?' is the question to be asked here. His report, which follows this Foreword, is tantalizing in its promise. Hostilities curtailed the season at Tell el-Farâ'in in the late spring. In the five weeks in which work could be undertaken Dr. Seton-Williams continued the systematic examination of the site according to the plan developed in previous years. At least one notable discovery was made before the work was brought to a close after the cease-fire. Readers will be glad to know that every assistance was given to Dr. Seton-Williams and her party by the Egyptian police and port authorities when they left the country. It is our hope that all the Society's expeditions will be able to resume their activities next season.

Mr. Oliver H. Myers, who before the war was for many years closely associated with the work of the Society as Sir Robert Mond's field director at Armant, died suddenly on November 26, 1966. As a young man he was destined for a military career, but he preferred the uncertainties of archaeology, dug initially with Petrie, and in 1929 joined the Mond expedition at Armant. Most of his working life as an Egyptologist was spent with Sir Robert Mond at Armant, and he was largely responsible for memoirs on the excavations there, *The Bucheum*, *The Cemeteries of Armant*, and *The Temples of Armant*. These volumes reveal an original approach to publication: by enlisting the aid of specialists in every aspect of the work an attempt was made to produce truly reliable reports on the material found. By abandoning the old 'amateur' approach to publication and by appreciating the importance of scientific studies and the use of statistical methods, Oliver Myers did much to bring maturity to archaeological publication.

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

Others whose deaths occurred in the past year are Professor Dr. Gunther Roeder, the doyen of German Egyptologists, who died in Cairo in November 1966, and Dr. Rolf Ibscher, the *Papyruskonservator*, son and notable successor of the great Dr. Hugo Ibscher. In July this year, after a long illness, Dr. Walter Federn died at the age of 57. Born a Viennese, he moved to America before the war, settling in New York City where he worked as a private scholar using mostly the resources of the Wilbour Library in the Brooklyn Museum. His modest output in no way reflected the depth of his scholarship. In Egypt too there have been sad losses: Professor Girgis Mattha, an outstanding demotist, and a pupil of the late F. Ll. Griffiths; Mr. Zaki Nur, a well-known senior official of the Antiquities Service who was in charge of the works at Gîza which led to the discovery of the Cheops boat in 1954; also Dr. Mohammed Mahdi, Director General of the Antiquities Service, whose untimely death as the result of an accident robbed all who work in Egypt of a good and helpful friend.

Here we must welcome the appointment of Dr. Gamal ed-Din Mukhtar as the new Director-General of the Antiquities Service. His task will not be easy, but those who know his work for the Documentation Centre will appreciate that he is excellently suited for his new duties. Equally we extend our best wishes to Dr. Henry Riad, the new Chief Keeper of the Cairo Museum.

Readers may be interested to know that incomplete stocks of some of the Society's publications which have long been unavailable have now been made up, and that copies will shortly be ready for sale. The titles of the volumes are: *Cemeteries of Abydos*, I-III, *Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, *Beni Hasan*, IV, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, I, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, II, *Tomb of Antefoker*, and *Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth*.

Some members of the Society who do not keep their copies of the *Journal* return them to the Society's office when they have no further use for them. Such returns are much appreciated, and can be made available to students at modest price. This small service may not generally be known by members, and we would wish to encourage the practice. We do not like to think of *Journals* ending their lives in the dustbin.

Postscript

While this volume was in the final stages of preparation, news reached us of the death on August 24, 1967, of Professor Dr. Hermann Grapow in his eighty-second year. To him especially belonged the credit for the completion of the publication of the Berlin *Wörterbuch*. His services to Egyptology were many, not the least among them being the supervision of the monumental series, *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, many of the volumes of which he compiled himself. His mature scholarship will be much missed.

QASR IBRÎM DECEMBER 1966

By J. MARTIN PLUMLEY

IN the place of a full-scale expedition to Qaşr Ibrîm in the 1966-7 season, a short visit was made to the site in December 1966 to carry out a number of limited but important investigations. The members of the staff under the direction of Professor J. Martin Plumley were Mrs. G. A. Plumley and Messrs. Kenneth Frazer and Colin Walters.

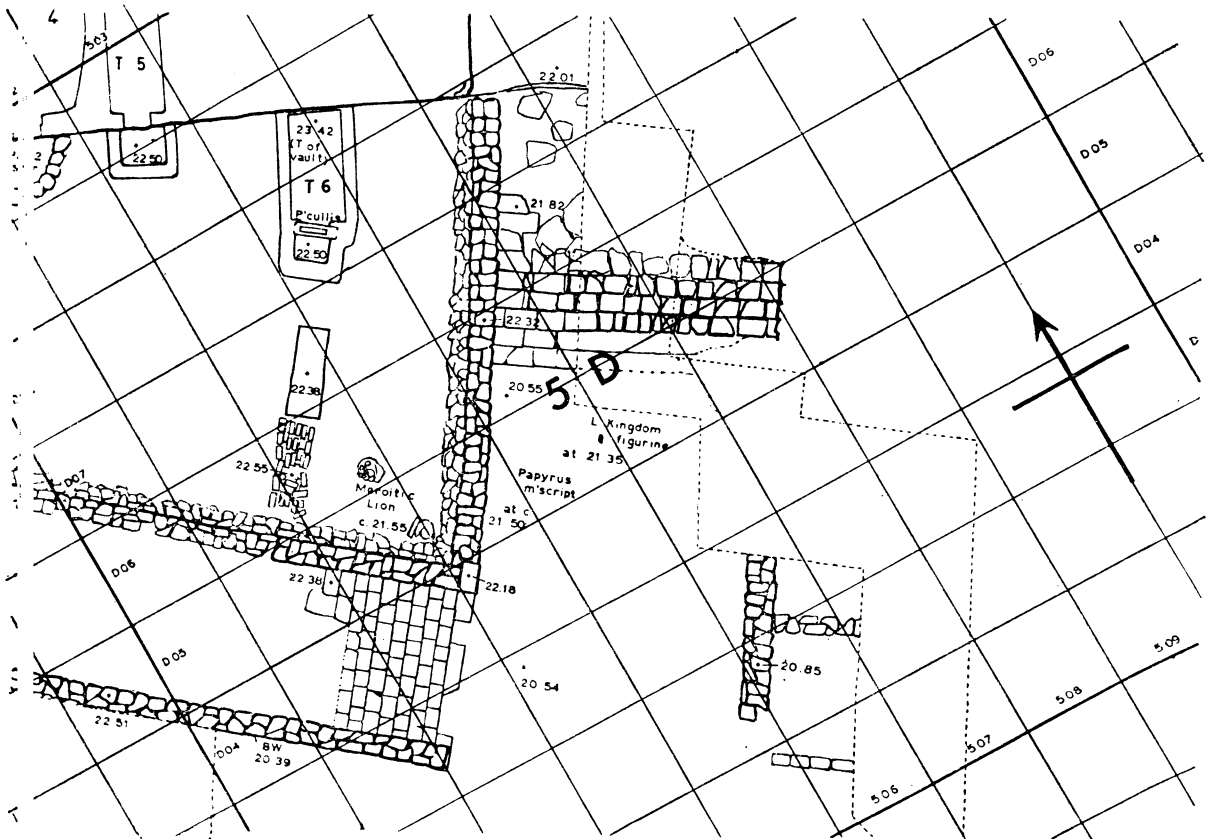


FIG. 1. Ground plan of East Stairway

Mr. Mahmoud Hamza represented the Antiquities Service. Ten workmen from Quft were under the charge of Reîs Ismail Fayyid. The Society is grateful to the late Mr. Mohammed Mahdi, Director-General of the Antiquities Service, and to his colleagues for their unfailing assistance and kindness, and, in particular, for the loan of the Antiquities Service boat *Sheikh El Belad* on which the staff were accommodated during their stay in Nubia. The members of the Expedition would also wish to record their appreciation of the help given to them by Mr. Mahmoud Hamza.

Though the visit to Qaşr Ibrîm was short (December 9–13), several important discoveries were made. The first objective of the visit was an examination of the east stairway which had been discovered in March 1966 (fig. 1). The stairway proved to be much greater than had appeared when the work of the January–March Expedition was terminated. Removal of part of the baulk to the south of the stairway revealed that the width of the stairs was no less than 5·25 m., that is to say, considerably wider than the north stairway which measures 3·10 m. in width. The remains of nine steps, rising to a height of 1·30 m. were uncovered. The workmanship of the east stairway differs from that of the north stairway, and may be earlier (pl. I, 1). Two trenches, which were dug in the area east of the stairway, revealed that under the remains of the foundations of a number of later buildings, some of mud-brick and some of rough stone, lie the remains of massive stone walls resting directly upon the *gebel*. It would therefore seem most probable that the east stairway originally led to an important building, but only a complete clearing of the area above and behind the stairway can determine its true purpose.

On December 11 work was concentrated on the south angle of the west wall of the fortress. The upper angle of the wall consists of a finely constructed wall of large blocks of sandstone, and contrasts strongly with the roughly built wall in which it is embedded. During excavations of an adjoining area of the west wall in 1963 Dr. G. Dale uncovered a part of the inner surface of this wall, and ventured the opinion that the later peculiar semicircular structure of roughly built stonework abutting on to the south side of the angle might conceal an early gateway. The latest excavation has substantiated Dr. Dale's opinion. An area about 5 m. square inside the south angle of the west wall was cleared to a depth of about 4 m., thereby revealing the upper parts of the jambs of a well-constructed gateway with an opening of 3·30 m. (pl. I, 2). The wall in which this gateway is set is 3·50 m. in width and of finely constructed sandstone. The gateway had been sealed in antiquity by a wall 1 m. thick. At a later date a semicircular structure of rough stonework, nearly 2 m. in thickness, had been built up against the seal (pl. II, 1). A flight of steps outside the fortress and hewn out of the *gebel* a short distance to the south (pl. II, 2) must in all probability be associated with this long-concealed entrance to the fortress. Some indication of the possible dating of this gateway may be afforded by the discovery in the debris of Meroïtic painted pottery and, most unexpected find of all, ostraca and papyri fragments inscribed in the cursive Meroïtic script (pl. II, 3). This appears to be the first find of Meroïtic papyri. The gateway cannot be later than the last phase of the Meroïtic period. It may prove to be of Roman work, of the time of the occupation by Petronius in 23 B.C., if not earlier. The relation of this gateway to the Podium can only be determined by further excavation on this part of the site. A number of small finds in the area of the gateway bore witness to the successive occupation of the site during the Meroïtic, Christian, Islamic, and Bosnian periods.

Before returning home it was possible to arrange for a division of the finds made by the Society at Qaşr Ibrîm in January–March 1966. As a result of the division a number of objects illustrating most of the cultures which followed in succession on Qaşr Ibrîm have been secured for study and display in the United Kingdom. Unfortunately the



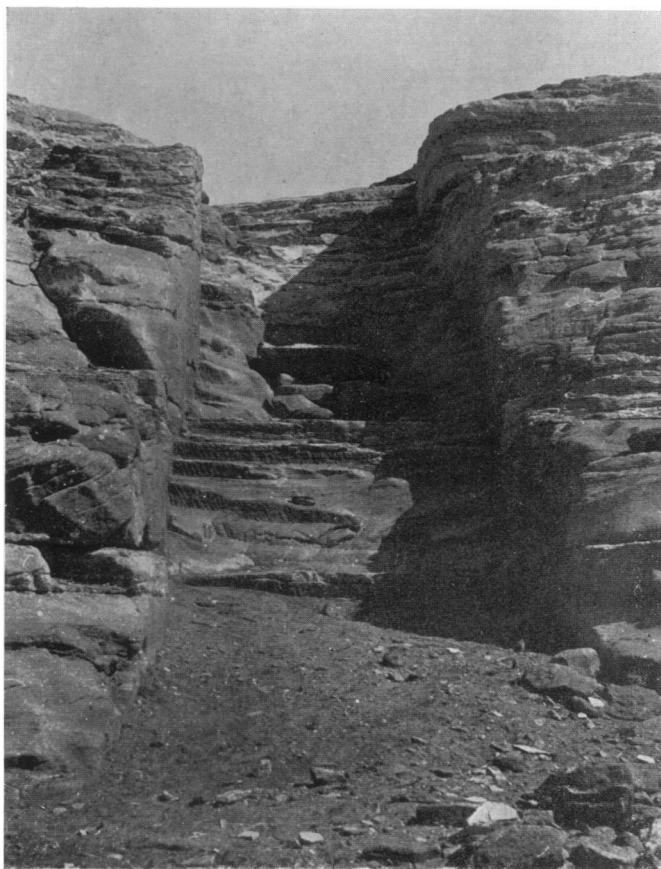
1. The East Stairway



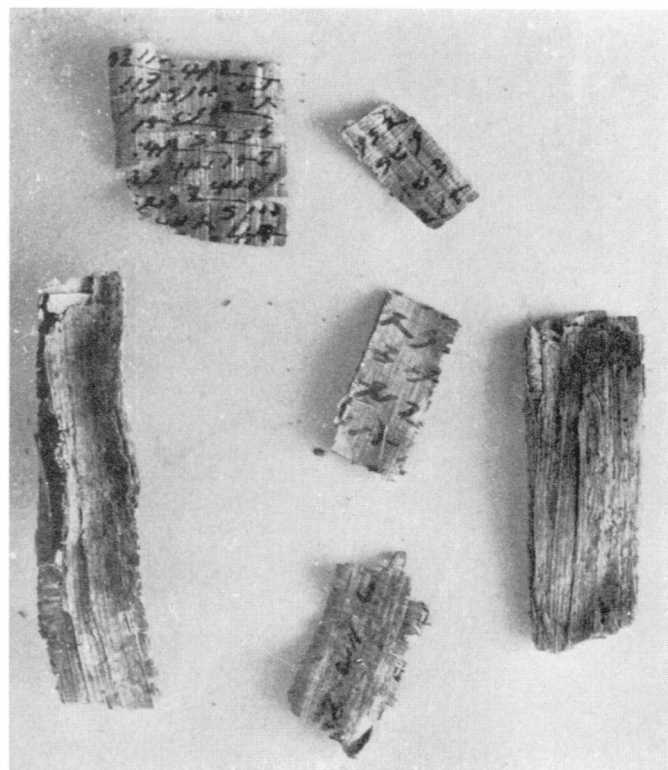
2. Interior of gateway, showing the tops of the jambs on each side



1. South angle of west fortification showing the edge of the early wall and the semi-circular structure in front



2. Rock-cut steps to south of blocked gateway on west fortifications



3. Fragments of Meroitic papyri as found in debris

representatives of the Antiquities Service did not then feel themselves able to make a division of the written material found by the Expedition. While it is to be hoped that a further division of this material may be made, we also hope to be able to make arrangements in the meanwhile whereby this material may be made available temporarily in England for conservation, assembling, and study.

SINUHE'S MESSAGE TO THE KING: A REPLY TO A RECENT ARTICLE

By J. W. B. BARNES

IN 'Sinuhe's Reply to the King's Letter' (vol. 51 of this *Journal*, pp. 29–47) Dr. Hans Goedicke has made extensive and, I believe, injudicious use of the late text of the autobiographical story of Sinuhe published by myself, with apparatus and commentary, in *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe* (1952), cited hereinafter as *AOS*. The following observations do not profess to be a general exposition of the section of the work treated in Goedicke's article, but discuss particularly some of his statements there.

Before treating the passage in question Goedicke translates the last few words preceding it. I have two remarks to make about his rendering:

B 202 / Ashm. *vs.* 20. *ḏrḏrywt* may be 'barbarian', 'strange', 'foreign', or 'barbarous', 'hostile'; hardly 'distant'.

B 203 / Ashm. *vs.* 20. *wšḥ-ib*: not 'loyalty', but 'longsuffering', 'clemency'; the instances cited by *Wb.* and Faulkner, *Dict.* s.v. seem to admit or favour this meaning—the attitude of a superior to an inferior; for Sinuhe to claim that his own *loyalty*, rather than his sovereign's magnanimity, has saved him would be an impertinence.

To proceed with the message itself:



B 204 / Ashm. *vs.* 21. After *wḏ pn* Ashm. adds *ir n*, which Goedicke takes as relative form, agreeing no doubt with *smi*. It might equally well be a passive participle (agreeing with *wḏ*)+*n* dative, 'for'. I would reject it, however; not because I am, as Goedicke says (p. 29, n. 4), 'predisposed to consider B the better version', but because it looks like a mistaken anticipation of *wrt tn irt-n bšk im* in B 205 / Ashm. *vs.* 21, below.

B *bšk ḥ* / Ashm. *bšk{i}*¹ *n ḥwt-ḥst*: although *ḥwt-ḥst* with the meaning 'palace' could hardly be better attested, Goedicke would make it here signify a funerary institution in contrast to *ḥ*. This is typical of his treatment of the variant texts throughout; difference of meaning, rather than correspondence, seems preferred, even when the readings are virtually identical.

B 205 / Ashm. *vs.* 21. *ḏd* should surely be taken (as by previous editors) as introducing the message beginning *m ḥtp nfr wrt*; to attach these words to *ḏd* as an adverbial phrase is unnatural, and is certainly not supported by the expression *ḏst biḥ m ḥtp nfr wrt* cited from Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. 39 by Gardiner, *Notes*, 78; it seems strange that the latter should say earlier in the same note that 'the phrase *m ḥtp* is an abbreviation of *iw m ḥtp*', since it is plainly not so in the example last cited. *iw m ḥtp* would,

¹ I use brackets { } to indicate superfluous or unnecessary written signs with phonetic value.

of course, mean 'welcome', but *m htp* by itself does not; so there is no point in Goedicke's objection to it as an exclamation here.

B 205 / Ashm. *vs.* 21 f. Goedicke's observation here is most valuable. It was not (as he says) *impossible* to read B's  (as Gardiner and others did) as *rh·t(w)*, but Ashm.'s  should have directed me (*AOS*, 21 f.) to the readings *r (i)ht* / *hr (i)ht*.¹ To analogies with the vague use of *(i)ht* here we might add *mi (i)ht r* in B 161.

B 205 ff. / Ashm. *vs.* 22. B *in k·k . . . mrw Rc*: I think that Goedicke's suggestion that this is a case of *in* + noun + rel. form, with which he compares a couple cited by Gunn, *Studies*, 59, is also very likely.

B 206 / Ashm. *vs.* 22. Goedicke says that the longer reading of Ashm. *mr cnh Rc hs sw cnh Rc nb ihty* is 'unquestionably superior'. He does in fact (see refs. p. 32, n. 3) produce a striking parallel to the phraseology of Ashm. here, but until its meaning in the present context can be explained it can hardly be described in such terms.

I would prefer not to pronounce in general upon the division of the catalogue of divinities contained in B 206–11 / Ashm. *vs.* 22–26,² or on the significance of the order in which they are enumerated; for a recent discussion, in which previous views are stated and criticized, see Yoyotte, *Kémi* 17 (1964), 69 ff. This discussion will have appeared too late to have been seen by Goedicke, whose explanation of the passage hardly inspires confidence in view of his treatment of some of the names and words in the text.

B 207 / Ashm. *vs.* 23. The early connexion of 'Sobk-(Rē) Lord of Sumenu' (whose local epithet in Ashm. Goedicke would make 'a late addition') with the Kings of the Twelfth Dynasty may be stronger than he supposes; see Hayes, *The Burial Chamber of the Treasurer Sobek-mose from El-Rizeikat* (Metr. Mus. of Art Papers, New York, 1939), 29.

For the addition of *ntrw nbw Tj-mri* by Ashm. in this line see below (on B 210 / Ashm. *vs.* 25).

B 208 / Ashm. *vs.* 24. Goedicke's remarks on the four divine names beginning *Spdw* (note that Ashm.'s addition of *Rc* between *Nfr-bꜣw* and *Smsm* might be attached to the former—as I should think more likely—or to the latter) suggest that he has not understood my note in *AOS*, 22a or Gardiner's in *JEA* 29, 75, where the latter remarks: 'it is difficult to discern whether we are here dealing with one composite god or four separate ones'; cf. Kees, *ZÄS* 79, 39. The conclusion plainly expressed by me in my note is that *all four* names belong to one divine person, not merely the first two; it is based upon the fact that in Ashm. the *hnskꜣw Mntꜣw* are mentioned in connexion with *Hr-iꜣbty*, whereas in the other two places (*Rec. trav.* 11, 90³ and Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *Inscr. of Sinai*, 1, pl. 64, no. 198) the expression is applied to Soped-Semseru and

¹ This disposes of the division after *m htp* favoured by Lefebvre, *Romans et contes*, 18; Grapow, *Unters. z. äg. Stylistik*, 1, 77 f.; Yoyotte, *Kémi* 17 (1964), 69; cf. Sethe, *Erläuterungen z. äg. Lesest.*, 14, which made *nfr wrt* the predicate of a noun clause, *rh·t(w)*. Goedicke's note on p. 31 is beside the point; *m htp nfr wrt* has no grammatical connexion with the next clause.

² My translation of this passage, p. 14 below, must be understood to be provisional.


³ The reference in Goedicke's article is to be corrected.

Semseru respectively. My proposal to supply *hmr* before *hnskw* is supported not only by the former of these two references, but by the determinative of the lost verb ('[grasp]', Gardiner, *JEA* 29, 75) in the latter.¹ Goedicke's treatment of *nbt imht* [sic] is characteristic: a flat denial² of Gardiner's virtually certain emendation of B's text, unsupported by evidence and followed by a list of references for *imht* whose relevance here is undemonstrated.

B 208 f. / Ashm. vs. 24 f. B *hnm·s tp·k d̄d̄t tpt nw* / Ashm. *hnm̄t·s m tp·k d̄d̄(w?) tpy n ym*. Goedicke's explanation of these words is remarkable. Pronouncing the latter reading the better, he rejects the accepted interpretation of B which makes *tp·k* the object of *hnm·s* (taken as *sdm·f*) and *d̄d̄t tpt nw*, the next divine name in the enumeration. He would understand *tp·k* (or, better, *m tp·k*) as an adverbial expression to be taken closely with *hnm·s* (or, better, *hnm·t·s* [sic]),³ while the object of *hnm* is *d̄d̄t tp(y)t nw* (B) *d̄d̄(w) tpy n ym* [sic] (Ashm.); the whole being translated 'who upon you protects the wayfarers over the sea'.⁴ It would be interesting to know how Goedicke would justify (a) the position of (*m*) *tp·k* in the sentence, as an 'adverbial adjunct'; (b) his interpretation of *d̄d̄t tpt nw* in face of the collective testimony for the application of this expression to a corporation of gods; see (besides Gardiner, *Notes*, 80) Barguet, *BIFAO* 50, 58 f.

B 209 / Ashm. vs. 25. B *hr(y)-ib* / Ashm. *hry-tp*: the latter is said to be preferable. Why?

B 210 / Ashm. vs. 25. After *Hr-wr-Rr* (of whom Goedicke makes two separate deities) B has *ntrw nbw T̄-mri*; Ashm., however, inserted the latter earlier, after *Hr Hwt-hr*; this has Goedicke's approval, although it necessitates excluding from the enumeration of the gods of Egypt Atum and others who plainly belong to it. In place of B's *T̄-mri* here, Goedicke cites Ashm. as reading *T̄-d̄rt*.⁵ We might well ask how *ntrw nbw T̄-d̄rt* could mean 'all the gods of abroad'; the question, however, would be an idle one, since Ashm. in fact reads *T̄-d̄rt* [sic], 'necropolis'—which makes nonsense here.

B 211 f. / Ashm. vs. 26. The text of Ashm. here is plainly vicious and we should follow B. But here we have Goedicke's interpretation at its most perverse. Nothing could be plainer than the fact that Ashm.'s *d̄·sn n·k (n)h̄h dt hnty·fy* (det. with ) is simply a defective and senseless writing of B's *d̄·sn n·k nh̄h nm drw·f dt nm hnty·s*. Goedicke, however, would attach Ashm.'s *hnty·fy* (as a substantive which he does not attempt to translate or explain) to the *next* sentence—despite the fact that Ashm., whatever its errors, does at least expressly assign it to the preceding one by beginning the rubric *after* it.⁶

¹ Goedicke's proposal to see here the verb of doubtful meaning cited in *Wb* III, 116, 3 instead of the well-attested word for 'locks' need hardly be considered.

² 'Although a connexion with the uraeus might be implied, there is certainly no justification in seeing here a reference to the goddess of Buto.'

³ 'If I am right, the words *m tp·k* are to be taken as an adverbial adjunct to 's.' What part of the verb is *hnm·t·s*?

⁴ 'The latter collective is in both texts determined in a secular manner and thus cannot be considered a divine corporation; the reference is to mortals.'

⁵ This transliteration occurs once on p. 32 and four times on p. 34, so there can be no question of typographical error.

⁶ 'Remarkable is the separation of *hnty·fy* from the salutation and its connexion with what follows.' Not merely remarkable, but impossible.

B 212 / Ashm. *vs.* 26. *whm* in B and Ashm. might in the absence of indications to the contrary be assumed to be saying the same thing. Gardiner (*Notes*, 81) takes *whm* as passive *šdm·f*, and so would I, in both texts. Goedicke, however, makes B read *whm(·i)* (active *šdm·f*) and Ashm. *whm(w)* (Old perf., agreeing with *hntyfy*)!

B 213 / Ashm. *vs.* 26. *wcf* means 'bend', 'curb', 'subdue', not 'grasp'.
B does not read *sšnt*, but *šmnt*.

B 213 f. / Ashm. *vs.* 27. Instead of taking *šd* as a participle, as others have done, Goedicke would make it an imperative; *šd* (+*sw* Ashm.) *m imnt(t)* being the actual words of the request (B *nḥ*, Ashm. *nḥt*);¹ after *šd* in B his transliteration adds *<wi>*.² Goedicke's interpretation is impossibly harsh and abrupt.³

The problem which has exercised scholars—whether *nḥ(t) . . . imnt(t)* belongs to the words preceding or following—does not seem to me particularly important; I think that the sentence refers to the *whole context* from *in* in B 205 / Ashm. *vs.* 22 to *whm st* in B 216 / Ashm. *vs.* 28; and that (*pace* Grapow, *Unters. z. äg. Stylistik*, 80 ff.) the whole *must* be addressed to the King.

B 215 / Ashm. *vs.* 27. *m ḥm n stp-s*: the translation 'as manifestation in the Palace' is hardly to be extracted from either of the passages cited by Goedicke in its support.⁴

B 215 f. / Ashm. *vs.* 28. I think that Ashm.'s addition of *r . . . r* in *r dd st . . . r whm st* is an improvement, and would agree with the sense of the translation proposed first by Goedicke and regarded by him as preferable; the second (p. 36), besides involving an awkward intrusion, would destroy a neat antithesis. But *dd st . . . whm st* (note *st* in both texts!) presents some difficulty. One might take *dd* and *whm* as participles—lit. 'frightened more than one who says it . . .'; or possibly understand in both texts *dd(·i) st . . . whm(·i) st* (noun clauses, or exceptional use of pronouns after infinitive, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³, § 301).

B 216 / Ashm. *vs.* 29. I would read in B *šs*, with Goedicke, rather than *sšs* (caus.), understanding it to have the transitive sense 'know'; this would continue the sense of *nb sš*, etc. (B 214 f.).

B 218 / Ashm. *vs.* 30. Ashm. here reads *nḥt·tw* (not *·ti*, as Goedicke transliterates). *nḥt·tw·k t·zw nbw* in Ashm. Goedicke would make refer to the King's protection of his *subjects* of (or '<in>', <*m*>?) all lands. *nḥt·tw* means 'townspeople', not 'subjects', and the passage cannot be made intelligible without emendation; what justification can there be for the rejection in its favour of B's *nḥt (wy·k(y) r t·zw nbw{y}*, which is straightforward and makes excellent sense?

B 219 / Ashm. *vs.* 30. Goedicke, who describes my interpretation of Ashm.'s text at this point (*AOS*, 23b) as 'rather strange', appears not to have understood my note. Ashm. here has not *gr*, as Goedicke transliterates, but *hr*; my note expresses the suspicion that

¹ Why Goedicke should say that Ashm.'s reading makes this 'clear' I do not see.

² He adds: 'B, as before, omits the pronoun, which is a sign of modesty.' Are we to understand that the use of angular brackets, < >, normally indicating accidental omission, is for Goedicke an indication of modesty?

³ Surely not 'save him *in* the West' (as also Gardiner, *Notes*, 82), but 'from the West'.

⁴ Does he suggest that this is the meaning in the examples quoted by Gardiner, *Notes*, 83?

this erroneous substitute for B's *grt* caused *w{ }d* to be taken as Old Perf., agreeing with the preceding *tw nbw*. Note that B reads *int·f*, not *in·tw* as Goedicke gives.

B 219–21 / Ashm. *vs.* 30 f. The evident corruption of this passage may be accounted for by the fact that it contained barbarian names; Goedicke's attempt to eliminate a couple of them makes matters worse. *Mki* and *Mnws* have been taken by editors as proper names of Asiatic individuals; I pointed out (*AOS*, 23b, n.) that both are found as Syrian place names. Goedicke (p. 39, n. 3) simply denies the relevance of this in the case of *Mki* and ignores that of *Mnws* altogether. His equation of *mki* with the Arabic *rafiq* would by itself be dubious, and combines with an obviously desperate etymology of *mnws* to make a wholly unconvincing explanation of the passage. Why, in any case, should Sinuhe in a crucial letter to his King wish to discuss his travel arrangements? He is, of course, naming the men whom, thanks to his efforts, the King can trust in Syria. In place of B's . . . *Ḳdm ḥntiwiwš* [sic] *m ḥnt Kšw*, Ashm. has . . . *Ḳd m ḥnty 'Iḥ m ḥnty Kšy*. To consider Ashm.'s reading first: of 'Iḥ here Goedicke remarks (p. 39, n. 9) that the name is 'not attested outside the story of Sinuhe'; thereupon, however, he cites Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, 15, where we are referred to the geographical list of Tuthmosis III at Karnak, in which 'Iḥ is mentioned (Müller, *Eg. Res.* II, 81; see also Simons, *Eg. Top. Lists*, 123 f.).¹ It is a considerable relief to find that Goedicke does not add much to the existing diversity of opinion about the term *Fnhw*. My own suggestion about this passage is that B's *ḥntiwiwš*, which seems to begin at any rate with an Egyptian word, is an uncomprehending corruption of *ḥntiw-š*, '(Lebanese) foresters': see *Wb.*, III, 311, 4; cf. 310, 12.² *Mki* and *Mnws*, both determined with 𓆎 , are not really proper names, but 'the *Mki*-man', 'the *Mnws*-man'³—i.e., the respective princes of the towns so named. The *ḥntiw-š* are a collective body of chiefs—cf. the remarks of Posener, *Princes et pays*, 88, on the same country *K(w)šw* spoken of by Sinuhe here.

B 221 / Ashm. *vs.* 31. The strangeness of what follows in Goedicke's interpretation almost passes belief. The reading of the manuscripts is: B *ḥkšw pw mtrw rnw ḥprw m mrwt·k* / Ashm. *ḥkš pw mtrw rnw ḥpr mrwt·k*. B's reading gives eminently satisfactory sense here; Sinuhe ends with a general appraisal of the partisans he has won for the King in Syria: 'They are princes of attested reputation (lit. 'witnessing names') who have grown up in love of you'; Ashm. contributes to this nothing but minor corruptions (*ḥkš*, sing. for plural; *m* om. before *mrwt*). *rnw* is determined in B with 𓆎 , in Ashm. with 𓆎 . Influenced perhaps by the second determinative (𓆎) in the latter (though he does not say so), and disregarding the 𓆎 which precedes it, Goedicke proposes to read (in *both* texts!) *rmnw*, 'porters', citing a rare archaic or defective writing of *rmn*; *mtrw* is attached not to this but to the previous word and rendered 'righteous'; the parallel for *mtrw rnw* cited by me (*AOS*, 24a) from the Armant Stela: *ntyw ḥr mw·f*,

¹ Both Müller and Gardiner (*Notes*, 155) appear to regard the name as fictitious, and dismiss the mention of it in the inscription as an echo from this 'story'—a conclusion which I find simply incredible. Assuming, as it does, that *Sinuhe* is a work of fiction—an assumption which I shall presently discuss—it is as if the compiler of an official guide-book to Britain should include Bassetshire in it because he had read Trollope.

² In *Edfu*, I, 459 *ḥntiw-š* is parallel with *Fnhw*. Note that *ḥnt-š*, 'grove', is corrupt in B 306.

³ Cf. examples cited by Edel in Firchow, *Äg. Studien* (Berlin, 1955), 56 ff. (I owe this reference to J. Baines of New College).

mtrw rnw [is ignored; and the whole sentence is put (abruptly and on no evidence whatever) into the mouth of the King. If the suppositions so far given were right, B's text would have to be translated 'O thou [*sic*] righteous rulers, may porters exist by thy [*sic*] wish'; Ashm.'s 'O righteous ruler, may porters exist (by) thy wish'.¹

B 222 f. / Ashm. *vs.* 31. We are now asked to believe that (again without indication) Sinuhe resumes speaking (as of course he has been doing throughout). The reading of B seems best interpreted *nn sh:(i) (R)tnw; n(i)·k-im(y) s(y) mitt tsmw·k is*, 'I will not recall² Retjenu; it is thine even as³ thine hounds.' *ink is* of Ashm. is evidently a case of phonetic substitution for an archaic expression no longer understood. Goedicke, however, states dogmatically that 'it cannot be considered erroneous', and that it 'shows that B does not indicate a possession'. In fact, the use *n(i)·i-im(y) + dep. pronoun*, 'to me belongs . . .', is well attested,⁴ and this is a plain instance of it. It is not clear what Goedicke means by his translations here. Both make *sh:* a *šdm·f*, with *Rtnw* as subject: B 'Not shall Retjenu think: Your subject there (*ny·k im·s* [*sic*]: what is ·s?) is like one of (!) your dogs'; Ashm. 'Not shall Retjenu think: I am like one of (!) your dogs'. *Who* is? Sinuhe or Retjenu? If the former, the sentence is pointless; if the latter, it means precisely the opposite of what we should expect.

B 223 f. / Ashm. *vs.* 31 f. Goedicke's transliteration here is inaccurate and his rendering full of misconceptions. Some of these seem due to a quite unjustified reluctance to supply the first person sing. suffix when this is left unwritten. The texts should be transliterated thus: B *wcr̄t tn irt·n b̄k (im)⁵ n hmt(·i) s(y) nn s(y) m ib·i n kmd·i s(y) n rh·i iwd w̄i r st(·i)*; Ashm. *wcr̄(t) tn irt·n b̄k{i} im n hm·f n rh(·i) st n k{s}md(·i) st n rh·tw in w̄i r h̄s{w}t tn*. Since, as I have shown (*AOS*, 24b), Ashm.'s variants here are mostly accountable by interpolation from elsewhere, Goedicke's statement (p. 43) that its text is preferable cannot be maintained. His rendering of B 'I did not realize my separation from home', besides making Sinuhe utter a pointless untruth, seems to abandon Gardiner's convincing explanation (*Notes*, 86), which, however, is applied in translating Ashm.'s parallel *in w̄i* here!

B 224 f. / Ashm. *vs.* 32. B *iw m̄i* / Ashm. *iw·i m̄i*: it seems open to us either to explain this (as Gardiner does, *Eg. Gr.*³, 98) as a case of actual omission of subject before an adverbial predicate, and take ·i in Ashm. as a mistake, or (as I would prefer) to supply (·i) in B. There is, once more, no need for different translations of texts which can be taken as identical in B and Ashm.

B 226 / Ashm. *vs.* 33. *n snd·i* does not mean 'I had not to be afraid', but just 'I was not afraid', 'did not take fright'.

B 227 / Ashm. *vs.* 33. Goedicke attempts a novel explanation of (*ts*) *hwrw* which is cancelled by his excellent (and traditional) translation of it as 'slandorous' on p. 43, n. 4.

¹ In Goedicke's rendering B *m mrwt·k* and Ashm. *mrwt·k* are in fact translated differently.

² So Gunn; this seems better than *nn sh:* (infin.), 'without recalling . . .'.

³ *mitt . . . is*. For *is*, 'like' (ignored by Goedicke), see Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, § 828; Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³, § 247, 5.

⁴ See Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³, § 114, 4.

⁵ The *im* in Goedicke's transliteration is in fact omitted in the original.

B 230 / Ashm. *vs.* 34. Goedicke's treatment of the words which follow is perhaps the most extraordinary thing in his article. First we must consider B, where *kꜣ sꜣ* is followed by *hnt*; the latter has been taken by previous commentators as an adverb; some have made it 'excessively', others 'formerly'; Goedicke, following the latter, translates 'before'. Then B has *snḏ s rh tꜣf*. This I believe to be corrupt, and, as it stands, meaningless; Goedicke's attempted translation of it makes no sense and is ungrammatical. The next sentence in B, however, presents no difficulty, and exemplifies the Egyptian taste for antithesis: *dī·n Rꜥ snḏ·k ht tꜣ hꜣryt·k m hꜣst nbt*. The reading of Ashm. after *kꜣ sꜣ* is *hnty·f rdi·n Rꜥ snḏ·k ht tꜣ hr hꜣryt·i(?) ht hꜣswt nb(w)t*. Undeterred by the fact that B interposes *snḏ s rh tꜣf* between *hnt* and *hꜣ*, Goedicke would attach *hnty·f* in Ashm. to *hꜣ*, translating it 'its gist' and observing that it 'seems to refer to the contents of the letter. . . . The suffix *·f* thus refers back to *smi* at the beginning of the letter'. The next signs are read by him as *ꜥn* in B, *r ꜥn* in Ashm.; in both cases we are to suppose that the determinative *ⲗ* normally used with *ꜥn* has been omitted. After this, *Rꜥ* is described as 'an exclamatory assertion', 'by Rēꜥ!'. Ashm.'s obviously mistaken addition *hr* before *hꜣryt* is transliterated *hry* and translated as if *hryw—h. hꜣryt*, 'fearful ones'.

B 232 f. / Ashm. *vs.* 34 f. Here as elsewhere Goedicke takes the variant but obviously parallel readings of B and Ashm. and gives them totally different interpretations. B's *ntk is hbs* [sic] *ꜣht tn wbn itn n mrt·k* he renders 'It is you:² This horizon was covered, (but) the sun arose by your kindness'; Ashm.'s *ntk is šnt·n itn wbn Rꜥ n mrwt·k* he makes '. . . you are what the sun encircles. As Rēꜥ rises for love of you . . .'; this he proceeds to attach to the following clause. His next remark, which credits me with making *hbs ꜣht tn* an epithet of the King, suggests that he has not read my note in *AOS*, 25 f., where this interpretation by previous commentators is expressly contested. I suggest there emending B to *ntk is hbs(t)* (cf. Ashm. *šnt·n*), *ntk* in both texts being taken as *possessive*. I would maintain this despite a shrewd observation by Derchain, *Bibl. Or.* 10 (1953), 106b, in support of the older interpretation. The whole passage B 232–4 / Ashm. *vs.* 34 f. simply asserts that the King is lord of the whole world, and that its inhabitants breathe its air and drink its water by his will and permission. The funerary and other implications alleged by Goedicke on p. 45 to be seen here are sheer fantasy and should not detain us.

B 235 / Ashm. *vs.* 36. *tꜣt* is indeed a collective indicating a group of human beings, as I had already pointed out in *AOS*, 26. Determined as it is, however, with *ꜣꜣ* in both texts, it is unlikely to mean 'male children'. I would suggest a derivation, not from *tꜣy*, 'male', but from *tꜣ*, 'chick', 'child'.

B 236 / Ashm. *vs.* 36 / OP² 1. After *m st tn* Goedicke's transcription and translation continue with Ashm.'s text alone: *iw·s pw iry n bꜣk im m hntyꜣt*, omitting B's *iwꜣt pw iry r bꜣk im* and OP²'s *iw pw ir n bꜣk* [. Can this be because he is using an edition (e.g. Sethe, *Lesest.*, 13; cf. Gardiner, *Notes*, 89; Lefebvre, *Romans et contes*, 20) which has taken the rash step of transferring this sentence elsewhere (B 238)? Their reason for

¹ No parallels to this expression are cited.

² *What* is?

wishing to do so is the apparent inappropriateness of *iwt pw iry* . . . to anything but a narrative passage. If we suppose this to lie behind Ashm.'s obviously faulty reading here, Goedicke's rendering 'when the servant here comes . . .' is impossible.

B 236 / Ashm. vs. 37. Here we have a final example of the way in which Goedicke assigns quite different meanings to virtually identical words in corresponding places in the two texts. Ashm. *m tꜣw n dd n·k* is translated 'by the breath of what you have given', but B's *m tꜣw n dd·k* is made 'from the breath of your *deeds*'; comparison being made with a word *dd* alleged to occur in a text edited by Goedicke in *JEA* 48 (1962), 25 ff.; see also 31, 34.

I must now make some general observations. First, I see no reason to alter my estimate of the value of Ashm. as set forth in the Commentary and Conclusions of *AOS*. One or two works which have appeared since its publication in 1952¹ have seen fit to ignore the Ashmolean text altogether; no less open to objection than this neglect is the exaggerated respect paid to it by Goedicke's article, and his unwarranted attribution to me of prejudice against a text whose readings I have in fact carefully considered even when their meaning was obscured by superficial corruption. Comparison of this and the other Ramesside texts of *Sinuhe* with B and R shows them to be generally inferior to the latter, except at the very end, where the quality of B deteriorates seriously, and the Ramesside L must (as I have observed, *AOS*, Conclusions) be recognized as basically the sounder of two corrupt texts. The late texts abound in errors of incomprehension; they omit some passages found in the older manuscripts (including, significantly, some difficult ones; cf. my note on B 230 here); and they make many additions which are demonstrably due to interpolation from elsewhere in the text. In spite of this, however, Ashm. frequently corrects or explains passages in B which have given trouble to editors and are now seen to be corrupt. Its value lies above all in the fact that, with all its faults, it is (as I have observed and demonstrated in my Conclusions) certainly not a descendant of B or any close ancestor or relative of it, but must represent a tradition which diverged from B's at an early stage. This difference leads us to ask whether these traditions had in fact a single written archetype. The answer to this question will depend on our view of the nature of the composition generally known as 'The Story of *Sinuhe*'. If, as most authorities seem to have assumed, and its inclusion among Egyptian tales and romances would imply, it is a work of fiction, with a possible *early* history of oral tradition,² we might not feel obliged to say that of two manuscript variants one was necessarily right rather than the other. Such an attitude to the text might perhaps be possible in the case of (say) the *Eloquent Peasant*. But here, I feel sure, it would not be permissible. *Sinuhe* bears in fact little resemblance to any Egyptian work of fiction.³ I am convinced that it is a real autobiography; that its archetype was a monumental inscription, so elaborate and perfectly composed that its text passed into Egyptian literature as a masterpiece of style; and that the original stone

¹ For instance, Schenkel's *Grundformen mittelägyptischer Sätze* (Münchener äg. Stud. 7 (1965)).

² It shows every sign of having been learned by heart subsequently.

³ A text from the New Kingdom with which some might wish to compare it—*Wenamün*—is not fiction either, but a document.

bearing the text of which existing ones are more or less imperfect copies might one day be recovered,¹ as happened in the case of the narrative text of King Kamose.²

I append, with all reserve, an attempt at a translation of the passage here discussed, in which readings from B and Ashm. are used indifferently, without prejudice, and on their merits in so far as I can judge them:

Copy of the acknowledgement of this decree:

The servant of the Palace Sinuhe saith: In very good peace! In the matter of the flight which this humble servant did in his ignorance: it is thy spirit, O good god, Lord of the Two Lands, which Rē^c loveth and which Montu lord of Thebes favoureth, and Amūn lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, and Sobk-Rē^c lord of Sumenu, and Horus, Ḥaṭhor, Atum with his ennead, and Sopdu-Neferbau-Rē^c-Semseru-Horus-the-Eastern (grasping) the locks of the Mentiu, and the Lady of Yemet—may she enfold thy head!—and the conclave upon the flood, and Min-Horus in the midst of the foreign countries, and Wereret lady of Punt, Nut, Haroeris-Rē^c, and all the gods of Ta-meri and the isles of the sea—may they give life and joy to thy nostrils, may they endue thee with their bounty, may they give thee eternity without limit and infinity without bounds! May the fear of thee be noised abroad in lowlands and highlands! Thou hast subdued all that the sun encircles. This is the prayer of this humble servant to his lord who hath saved him from the West. The lord of understanding, who understandeth the commonalty, may he understand in the majesty of the Court, that this humble servant will be too fearful to say it; it is as it were too great a matter to repeat it. The great god, the peer of Rē^c, knoweth the heart of him who hath served him of his own accord. This humble servant is in the hand of him who taketh counsel concerning him; these matters are placed at his disposal. Thy Majesty is Horus the Conqueror; thine hands are victorious over all lands. Let now thy Majesty command that there be brought unto thee the Meki man from Ḳedmi, the Foresters from out of Keshu, and the Menus man who spreadeth thine influence in the lands of the Fenkhu; they are princes of attested reputation, who have grown up in the love of thee; I will not make mention of Retjenu—it belongeth unto thee, even like as thine hounds. This flight which this humble servant did, I did not foresee it; it was not in my mind; I did not plan it; I know not what parted me from my place. I was in the condition of one in a dream, even as if a man of the Delta should see himself in Elephantine, or a marshman in Nubia. I did not take fright; none pursued me; I heard no reviling utterance; my name was not heard in the mouth of the reporter; excepting only those things whereat my flesh crept, and my feet hastened, my heart taking control of me, the god who ordained this flight drawing me on. I was not haughty aforesaid (?) Rē^c hath set the fear of thee throughout the land, the dread of thee in every foreign country. Whether I am at the Residence, or whether I am in this place, thine is all that is covered by this horizon; the sun riseth at thy pleasure; the water in the rivers is drunk when thou desirest; the air of heaven is breathed at thy bidding. This humble servant will hand over to my brood whom this humble servant hath begotten in this place. This humble servant hath been summoned. Thy Majesty doeth as he pleaseth; one liveth by the breath of his giving. May Rē^c and Horus and Ḥaṭhor love these thine august nostrils which Montu lord of Thebes desireth shall live for ever!

¹ The possibility was suggested to me by the late Professor Gunn.

² Gardiner's supposition, *JEA* 3 (1918), 109 f., that the hieratic text of this 'tale' in the Carnarvon Tablet was a copy of an epigraphic original was confirmed by the discovery of fragments of the original inscription; see *Ann. Serv.* 39 (1939), 245-71.

THE FISHES AND OTHER AQUATIC ANIMALS ON THE PUNT-RELIEFS AT DEIR EL-BAHRI

By EVA DANELIUS *and* HEINZ STEINITZ

1. The Problem¹

THE study, the results of which will be published here, was undertaken with a double purpose in mind: (1) to enrich our knowledge of the water-fauna observed by the ancient Egyptians on their sea-voyages to Punt and pictured by them in the Deir el-Bahri reliefs, and (2) to try and locate this country with the help of the water-fauna shown in its harbour.

The exact location of the country called by the ancient Egyptians Punt and Ta-netjer ('God's Land') is still much disputed, notwithstanding the many references to it in Egyptian texts. Brugsch² thought that the two names designated two different countries: for Punt he looked to the Arabian peninsula; for Ta-netjer he suggested an identification with Erez-Hakodesh = 'Land of the Holy One' of the Hebrews, adding that the land might have been considered holy already before its conquest by the Israelites.

With the discovery of the so-called Punt-reliefs at Deir el-Bahri³ it became obvious that the two names designated the same geographical locality. Though two-thirds of the reliefs were missing, the surviving third provided scholars with enough representations of the people of Punt, its animals, and plants to introduce an entirely new line of research into the question of its whereabouts. Since then, Punt/Ta-netjer has been supposed to have been somewhere around the Red Sea, or south of it.

Ninety years after Brugsch's monograph had reached the scientific world, von Bissing published a critical survey of the literature dealing with the problem, including essays on the murals of Deir el-Bahri and the fauna represented on them.⁴ As to the fish von Bissing tried to identify some of them with the help of Brehm's *Tierleben*, a German compendium on animal life. In this way von Bissing 'identified' freshwater- as well as seawater-fish, which he took as proof that Maspero and Naville had been right in their assumption that Hatshepsut's fleet had anchored 'at some distance inland', i.e. up a river mouth.⁵ von Bissing's special interest, however, was aroused by a

¹ This section is by Dr. Danelius.

² H. Brugsch, *Die Geographie der Nachbarlaender Aegyptens* (Leipzig, 1858), 2 Bd. *Das Ausland*, 14 and 17.

³ By Mariette, in 1858. Unfortunately, Mariette's publications on his excavations of Deir el-Bahri (in the years 1858, 1862, and 1866) could not be consulted by this author.

⁴ F. W. von Bissing, 'Pyene (Punt) und die Seefahrten der Ägypter', *Die Welt des Orients*, 3. Heft, Aug. 1948, 146-57 (esp. 156/7).

⁵ E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari. Introductory Memoir* (London, 1894), 22, where Naville stresses the identity of his opinion with that of Maspero on this particular point.

crustacean¹ which, according to him, had never been dealt with properly, and which he now also 'identified' with the help of Brehm. The result was somewhat baffling in that the 'identified' crustacean did not exist south of the Mediterranean.

By this time Brugsch's fascinating equation of Ta-netjer with Erez Hakodesh—the only country other than Egypt which borders on both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea—had long since sunk into oblivion. Von Bissing, who firmly believed that Punt lay somewhere around the Red Sea, was therefore obliged to suggest the existence of a hitherto completely unknown channel connecting the two seas. Such a channel, naturally, would have contained sea water,—otherwise the crustacean would have died. Von Bissing, therefore, left the question of a connecting waterway open, adding as an afterthought that 'a treatise on the fishes and other water-animals reproduced at the walls of Deir el-Bahri would be most welcome'.²

When, therefore, it became known that a South Red Sea Expedition would be organized within the framework of the International Indian Ocean Expedition, it was decided to try and follow up this suggestion. The planned expedition materialized in 1962, under the leadership of Dr. H. Steinitz from the Department of Zoology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. A team of nine Israelis was reinforced by additional specialists from elsewhere—four Americans, two Dutch, and one Ethiopian. For the major part of the time they were stationed on an island 50 km. off Massawa, Eritrea. Among many other animals, they collected more than 280 species of fish, including new species and established new records for the Red Sea.³

In the year following the expedition's return, its leader, Dr. Steinitz, was approached and acquainted with the problem just outlined. It was soon realized that the main obstacle to any identifications lay in the fact that the representations could be studied neither on the original reliefs, nor on any reproductions other than those published by Naville.⁴ Nevertheless, it was decided to embark on the venture and to try to make the best of the material available.

In order to get as reliable results as possible under the circumstances, it was decided to ask several specialists of international reputation for co-operation. We are happy to state that all answered in the affirmative and did their best to identify as many fishes as possible. To all of them we feel profoundly thankful.

As a first step, pls. lxix, lxxii–lxxv of Naville's report were photographed, the horizontal strips showing the water and its fauna enlarged, and the prints, together with an explanatory note, sent to the following ichthyologists (names in alphabetical order):

Dr. E. Clark, Cape Haze Marine Laboratory, Sarasota, Florida, U.S.A.

¹ Actually, there are two crustaceans: one on Naville's pl. lxxiii, which was the one observed by von Bissing; the second, of which he had knowledge, but failed to locate, is clearly visible in the upper register on pl. lxix in Naville's publication. As will be shown below, both crustaceans belong to a kind examples of which were caught off Massawa. Thus the problem was solved.

² von Bissing, *op. cit.*, note 52: 'Eine Bearbeitung der auf den Deir el-Bahri Reliefs dargestellten Fische und Wassertiere wäre höchst erwünscht.'

³ O. H. Oren, 'The Israel South Red Sea Expedition', *Nature*, 194, no. 4834, June 23, 1962, 1134–7. Quotations are from a reprint. I am happy to use this opportunity to thank Mr. Oren for his interest and help in providing the publications giving the results of the expedition, on which he served as deputy leader.

⁴ E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, part iii (London, 1913), pls. lxix, lxxii–lxxv.

Dr. M. Dor, College of Kibbuz Education, Post Beth Berl, Israel.

Dr. P. H. Greenwood, British Museum (Natural History), London, Great Britain.

Professor George S. Myers, Division of Systematic Biology, Stanford University, Stanford, California, U.S.A.

Dr. M. Poll, Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika—Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale. Tervuren, Belgium.

Professor L. A. Walford, Columbia University, Director, Sandy Hook Marine Laboratory, Fort Hancock, Highlands, N.J., U.S.A.¹

Concerning the crustacean advice was asked for, and received, from Dr. L. B. Holthuis, Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, Leiden, Netherlands.

After the answers had been received, a synoptic table of the identifications by the various specialists was worked out and sent back for reconsideration—a step which provoked much useful and illuminating comment. The detailed report contained in part 2 is the result of these combined efforts.

From the standpoint of the Egyptologist the most important conclusion reached by the ichthyologists seems to be that the water-fauna on the reliefs does not permit us to locate the land of Punt. According to the unanimous opinion of all the ichthyologists the seawater fishes represented belong to the Indian-Ocean–Red-Sea fauna, and so do the crustaceans. This fauna is to be found anywhere from the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of 'Aqaba (Eilath) to the farthest coasts of the Indian Ocean—a fact that has been known to Egyptologists since the late nineteenth century.² Nevertheless the close study of the drawings of these reliefs by so many ichthyologists has resulted in an accumulation of combined observations, and identifications, which seems likely to be of interest to a wide circle, as von Bissing thought. It may also serve as a modest beginning for research into the way in which Red-Sea fauna was represented by Egyptian artists and craftsmen in the Nile valley.

2. The evidence³

As indicated in the preceding section, an exhaustive analysis of the Deir el-Bahri fauna was not possible because of the inaccessibility to this author of the original reliefs. Further, should the plates of Naville's work be in certain details suspected of having been retouched or in other ways of deviating from the originals, the conclusions reached by the zoologists would become partly or wholly invalidated. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the zoologist is not, in fact, asked to name real animals but only to offer interpretations of representations of animals depicted by one or more artists. Several questions arise, once these points are made clear. Did the artists see the fishes with their own eyes or not? If they themselves saw them (and this is the view taken in the present paper), there is no way of knowing whether they observed them alive and

¹ Professor Walford, who had been approached through a mutual friend, referred the question, and the material pertaining to it, to Professor Myers, as he himself specializes in a different field.

² W. M. Flinders Petrie: *A History of Egypt during the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties* (1896, with additions to 1904, 6th ed. London, 1917), 83: 'The great variety of fishes in the sea beneath the ships is no mere fantasy. The species have been identified with Red Sea fishes. and show close observation,' Unfortunately, Petrie does not quote his source for these statements.

³ This section is by Dr. Steinitz.

swimming about, or examined them after their capture, still living or dead. A fish seen in the first instance alive in its element and later observed at close quarters impresses the perceptive artist in one way; the same fish observed alive, but not at close quarters, although seen frequently and for some length of time, conveys different impressions; the fish studied from all sides, if it can conveniently be handled by the artist, is again a different object.

Further, was the artist free to express what had impressed him? Was he under instructions to comply with set rules? Was he required to adapt his drawings to what may be called a prevailing style? In other words had he to impart a certain uniformity to his drawings? We do not know, and yet we are about to judge drawings or reliefs which are works of art; as such they naturally and necessarily present us with a selection only of relevant details.

As analysis proceeds, other difficulties come to light. Is the omission of certain details,¹ which can be noted in several representations, deliberate? Were the details, in fact, observed but considered unnecessary? Or was the omission the result of failing powers of observation? Or were certain details neglected as a result of carelessness? Again we have no means of knowing.

With regard to the particular set of depictions considered here, the following points are important: Not only have we in them, as is the rule for every artistic representation, a premeditated selection of details, but also a more or less strict style, possibly even various styles. In general the figures are simple outline drawings with extremely scanty detail inside the drawing. In all the complete drawings, however, the eye has been put in place, and in most of them also the opercular slit of the gill chamber. But no details of skin-cover (scales) and of fins (spines, rays, membranes) have been rendered, and all such details are of great value in the identification of fishes. This simplification of representation is combined with an almost uniform tendency to insert the pelvic fins nearer to the head than is natural.

The difficulties confronting us in naming the fishes in these reliefs are, then, very many, and certainly much greater than those facing the ichthyologist who studies reliefs with fishes in the tombs of the Old Kingdom. Gaillard² achieved considerable success in making identifications for the fishes represented in these latter, but two circumstances greatly favoured his undertaking. First of all, the artists of the Old Kingdom went to considerable trouble in showing detail for the fishes, and whatever inaccuracies and even mistakes there may be, it is the addition of positive detail which increases the prospects of a correct identification. Secondly, and not less importantly, what is represented in those reliefs is the fish-fauna of the Nile—a fact which in itself restricts the number of fish species from which identifications are to be made.³ The Deir el-Bahri fishes on the other hand are largely marine fishes, and since their correct

¹ Commonly, bony fishes (Teleostei) have three unpaired median fins (dorsal, caudal, and anal) as well as two pairs of fins (the pectoral and pelvic fins). In two of the representations, the unpaired anal fin has been omitted, while the ventral fin is missing in at least six representations, and the pectoral fin in at least five.

² C. Gaillard, *Recherches sur les poissons représentés dans quelques tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* (Le Caire, 1923).

³ The number of fish species occurring in the Red Sea is well over 650 and may even be near to 800; that of

identifications were thought by us to offer a way towards the identification of the land of Punt, we were in a more precarious situation.

In the light of what has been said of the 'quality' of the representations analysed in the present paper, it is natural that a fairly safe identification of a fish down to its very species,¹ can be suggested in only very few cases (e.g. pls. lxix, 3; lxix, 9; lxxiv, 4). More numerous are those depictions to which generic¹ names can be attached with some probability. Some depictions which direct us fairly well towards particular families¹ of fishes do not allow any closer identification. Several fishes are rendered in so generalized a fashion that more than one family can be suggested as the possible home for each 'candidate'. Finally, there are some representations in the Deir el-Bahri reliefs which offer even less possibility of identification. It should be emphasized, on the other hand, that unanimously expressed opinions do not necessarily point convincingly to a particular fish species. Cases in point are pls. lxxiv, 1 and lxxv, 8 (figs. 1 and 2); these representations can only be interpreted as long-tailed skates. But that is as far as the unanimous opinion goes; species and genus are evidently disputed, and even the specification of family is not beyond doubt.

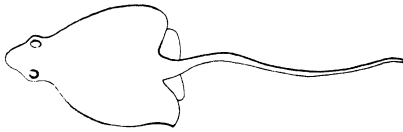


FIG. 1

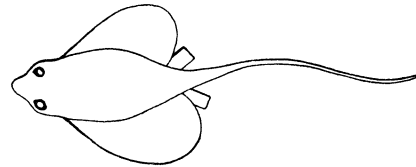


FIG. 2

The present writer made his identification on a basis different from that of the ichthyologists whose kind assistance has already been mentioned in section 1 of this article. Each of them made his choice independently. This writer, however, had the opinions of all before him: then, having compared them he assessed them in conjunction with descriptions and illustrations published in standard ichthyological works and by reference to preserved specimens in the Hebrew University fish collection. He found the opinions most valuable in establishing his own conclusions.

As to the manner in which the fishes are represented, it is to be noted that the majority are illustrated in purely lateral aspects (thirty-eight out of forty-one). This method has most frequently been used up to this day if the fish is to be shown in its 'typical' view, that is to say where the purpose of the illustration is to present the maximum of diagnostic features. It is not surprising, therefore, that, again as is common to this day, the skates (pls. lxxiv, 1; lxxv, 8) are shown in purely dorsal aspects; for in this aspect they exhibit their distinctive characteristics. It is extremely interesting, for the same reason, that fish no. 6 on pl. lxxv is shown in what must be interpreted as a mixture of dorsal and lateral views (fig. 3). If the suggested systematic assignment of this fish, as a so-called species living in the Indian Ocean is still higher. No good estimate is available to the author of the number of species found in the Nile river system; however, in suggesting approximately 200 species, we can provide a base for rough comparison.

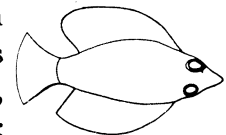


FIG. 3

¹ Of the three terms used *family* is the largest unit, it is composed of *genera*, these latter comprising several *species*.

flat-fish, is accepted, then the drawn fish faces us with its right side, correctly showing its two eyes on one and the same side of the body (a morphological detail typical of all the flat-fishes, and of them only). This anatomical feature, however, was probably not known to the ancient Egyptians who consequently believed that the fish was resting on its broad, flat ventral side. Therefore they produced a picture with a symmetrical body-structure.

In this connexion it should not be overlooked that the fishes viewed laterally are drawn in a way which, in the technical sense, can be called projection. This is confirmed by an almost complete failure to attempt three-dimensional representation. It is true that fig. 9 on pl. lxxix and fig. 2 on pl. lxxiv bear indications of shading, and the same can be said, although to a lesser extent, of a few more, but, on the whole, these figures are exceptions. It is therefore worth noting that in other exceptional cases an attempt to present paired organs in perspective has been made. In four figures both the right and the left pelvic fins are given, (lxxiii, 1 (threadlike); lxxiv, 2; lxxiv, 4; lxxiv, 5), while fig. 1 on pl. lxxv shows the two pectoral fins, and fig. 5 on pl. lxxv (fig. 6) shows the complement of the pectoral as well as of the pelvic fins.

Another point of interest is to be found in the spatial position of the fishes in the Deir el-Bahri scenes. Except for the few examples of dorso-ventrally orientated figures (see above), all but two fishes have their body axes given a horizontal direction. The exceptions are pls. lxxix, 7 and lxxii, 1 where the body axes of the fishes ascend with the head towards the water-surface, and it may be asked whether the artist wanted to emphasize a characteristic habit of the species concerned.

The combination of fishes illustrated on the Deir el-Bahri reliefs makes it clear that no particular regard was given to the relative size of the fishes included. Very large fishes like the sword-fish, and fairly large ones like *Bolbometopon muricatus* (pl. lxxix, 3), are shown along with a variety of medium-sized and even quite small fishes (e.g. pl. lxxiii, 1, a juvenile stage of *Platax*). It should also be pointed out that identical or at least very similar fishes are shown in several of the figures. The scorpion-fishes (pls. lxxix, 8 and lxxiv, 3), the sword-fishes (pls. lxxix, 9 and lxxiv, 4), and possibly the catfishes (pls. lxxv, 4 and lxxv, 5) are cases in point. This duplication prompts the further question whether emphasis was being laid on the relative abundance of those fishes. With this possibility in mind the origin or zoogeographic nomination of the fauna represented will shortly be discussed.

It was stated in the first section of this paper that the answer to the question of faunal origin is rather unsatisfactory as the data point neither to definite boundaries nor to a fairly small area. In other words we must abandon the hope that the fish fauna would resolve the problem of the location of the land of Punt. Still, several useful points emerge from the analysis which includes also five figures so far not mentioned, three of which represent invertebrate animals, and two turtles.

The drawings pls. lxxix upper row 3, and lxxiii, 9 will be interpreted either as identical or at least as closely allied creatures. We follow Schmitt,¹ who identifies one of them as a spiny lobster, *Panulirus*.² Pl. lxxiii, 7 depicts a squid of the genus *Loligo*.

¹ W. L. Schmitt, *Shelled Invertebrates of the Past and Present* (Smithsonian Scientific Series, 10, 1931), 94.

² With Dr. L. B. Holthuis we do not accept the specific identification, suggested by Schmitt, because the

A new consideration is introduced by the first and the last figures in the lower register on pl. lxxix, which have been interpreted by the present writer as the freshwater turtle, *Trionyx*.¹ In this connexion mention must be made of the suggestion of one of

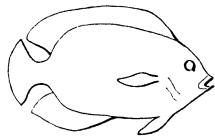


FIG. 4

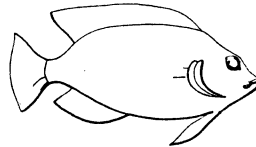


FIG. 5

the expert consultants, that the fish on pl. lxxiii, 3 (fig. 4) may be a *Tilapia*; another consultant made a similar suggestion for pl. lxxv, 7 (fig. 5)—suggestions which appear to the present writer to be the best guesses. *Tilapia* is a genus of freshwater fishes abundantly known from the Nile, among other waters.² It is interesting and important,

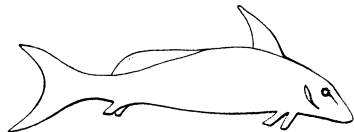


FIG. 6

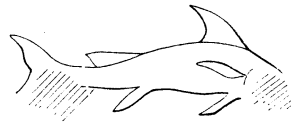


FIG. 7

however, to point out that two of the experts consulted (Professor G. S. Myers and Dr. P. H. Greenwood) took an opposite view and expressed their surprise at the apparent absence of such common Nile fish as *Tilapia*.³

The marine fauna of the reliefs is wholly tropical, or at least, subtropical, and those species represented which occur also in more temperate zones of the seas offer no contradiction to this general statement. The Mediterranean Sea must be excluded, as Acanthuridae, Monacanthidae, Holocentridae, Siganidae, Platacidae, and so on, do not belong to the Mediterranean fish fauna. On the other hand, all of the marine species (invertebrates included) represented in the reliefs do occur in the Indian Ocean including the Red Sea and its gulfs.⁴

figure does not permit differentiation of species. That von Bissing's view, that lobsters do not occur south of the Mediterranean Sea, cannot be upheld, has already been stated in the first section of this paper. Lobsters of the genus *Panulirus* are recorded as having been found in the Indian Ocean and Red Sea; specimens of *Panulirus* were also collected in the Massawa region, during the Israel South Red Sea Expedition, 1962.

¹ For pl. lxxix, 1, this identification is supported by Dr. M. Dor; and for pl. lxxix, 13, by Professor G. S. Myers.

² Attention should also be drawn to the proposed interpretation of pls. lxxix, upper register, 2; lxxii, 2; lxxv, 4 (fig. 7), and lxxv, 5 (fig. 6) as freshwater catfishes. Since catfishes, however, are known to be at least in part not only tolerant of marine salinities but also capable of venturing into the sea, their presence in the reliefs may not offer a very strong argument in favour of the view that freshwater fauna are involved.

³ Professor G. S. Myers wrote (under the date of 2. 2. 65): 'I was particularly careful to try to identify, if possible, any fresh-water fishes, such as *Tilapia*. I simply do not believe that any of the carvings represented a *Tilapia*.' Dr. P. H. Greenwood (under the same date) wrote: 'I too, was impressed by the lack of *Tilapia*. But I am quite convinced that no *Tilapia* is represented in these murals. The Egyptians knew *Tilapia* well and every painting, relief or petroglyph I have seen in which *Tilapia* is represented makes it quite clear that *Tilapia* was the species they intended to represent. In the Punt murals there is no fish that I would consider to be as accurate a representative of *Tilapia* as those in other Egyptian works of art.'

⁴ Thanks are due to Mrs. B. Amir who drew the figures.

TABLE OF EXPERT OPINIONS

Note. The opinions arranged in five columns below are not classified according to the individual experts, but in random manner to prevent precise identification of experts, and to avoid invidious comparison of results. Question marks indicate doubt in identifications and dashes indicate that no opinions were offered.

<i>Number of plate and drawing</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>Authors' remarks</i>
lxix, upper register, 1	—	—	large Pomacentrid??	—	—	Drawing incomplete and inconclusive. Large Pomacentrid not excluded
2	Freshwater fish??	—	—	—	—	Several freshwater catfishes to be considered (<i>Schilbe</i> , <i>Eutropius</i> , etc.)
3	—	Spiny lobster	—	—	—	<i>Panulirus</i> , a spiny lobster
lxix, lower register, 1	Turtle, unidentifiable	—	Turtle	—	—	<i>Trionyx</i> , a freshwater turtle
2	?	?	?	—	—	Damaged, incomplete drawing; no conclusion permissible
3	?	? Callyodontid	<i>Bolbometopon</i>	—	—	<i>Bolbometopon muricatus</i> (Scaridae; parrot-fish)
4	?	Acanthurid	—	—	—	Acanthurid (surgeon-fish)
5	?	? possibly a wrasse	Serranid	—	?	Drawing damaged; no judgement of consequence
6	trigger-fish	Balistes	Balistid	? Balistid	—	Monacanthid (file-fish) more probable than Balistid (trigger-fish)
7	?	—	—	—	—	Drawing incomplete?, no conclusion warranted
8	Scorpaenid	Scorpaenid-fish	<i>Naso</i> or some Scorpaenid	Scorpaenid or Synacejtid	Scorpion-fish	Scorpaenidae (scorpion-fish)
9	<i>Xiphias</i>	<i>Xiphias gladius</i>	Marlin	<i>Xiphias</i>	—	<i>Xiphias gladius</i> (sword-fish)
10	—	<i>Acanthurus</i>	—	? Pomacanthid	Acanthuridae	Pomacanthinae
11	adult <i>Platax</i>	—	<i>Platax</i>	<i>Pampus</i>	Serranidae	<i>Platax</i>
12	?	—	a wrasse	Probably <i>Trionyx</i>	—	Probably a Labrid (wrasse), but Serranid not excluded
13	—	—	turtle	Puffer	—	<i>Trionyx</i> , a freshwater turtle
lxxii, 1	<i>Tetraodon</i>	<i>Tetraodon</i>	?	?	? perhaps <i>Aphantius</i>	Information included in drawing is inconclusive
2	?	?	? <i>Balistes</i>	—	—	Freshwater catfish to be considered
3	—	Balistidae	—	trigger-fish?	<i>Monacanthus</i>	Monacanthid (file-fish)

Number of plate and drawing	I	II	III	IV	V	Authors' remarks
4	—	<i>Myripristis</i>	?	<i>Plectorhynchus</i>	?	Holocentrid (soldier-fish) with
5	—	? <i>Siganus</i>	?	<i>Acanthuridae</i>	?	<i>Myripristis</i> as possibility
6	<i>Balistidae</i> (<i>Odomus</i>)	<i>Balistid</i>	<i>Balistes</i>	<i>Balistes</i>	—	Siganid, probably <i>Siganus</i> Balistid (trigger-fish) with <i>Balistes</i> a possibility
7	—	Acanthurid	Acanthurid	<i>Acanthurus</i>	Acanthuridae	Inconclusive; Acanthuridae doubtful but not entirely excluded
8	<i>Lethrinus?</i> <i>Variola?</i>	Wrasse, cf. <i>Hologymnus</i>	Serranidae	—	—	Labrid (wrasse) preferred, but the other suggestions not absolutely excluded
lxxiii, 1	<i>Platax</i>	Juvenile <i>Platax</i>	<i>Platax</i>	<i>Platax</i>	<i>Stromateus</i>	<i>Platax</i>
2	Perhaps a Chaetodontid	—	<i>Zebrasoma</i>	<i>Zebrasoma?</i>	<i>Acanthurus</i>	Acanthurid (surgeon-fish), very likely <i>Zebrasoma</i>
3	? Chaetodontid	<i>Lobotes?</i>	<i>Tilapia</i>	<i>Acanthuridae</i>	<i>Holocanthus</i>	<i>Tilapia</i> considered the best guess
4	<i>Serranidae</i>	? <i>Lethrinid</i>	Serranid?	<i>Lethrinus?</i>	—	Inconclusive; both suggested families acceptable
5	<i>Hemiochus?</i>	<i>Drepane</i>	—	?	Acanthuridae or Mono- dactylidae	<i>Drepane</i> supported more strongly by drawing
6	?	<i>Serranidae</i>	?	?	—	?
7	?	?	? Tetraodontid	—	—	<i>Loligo</i> , a squid Tetraodontid
8	—	—	Trygonidae	Skate	—	<i>Panulirus</i> , a spiny lobster
lxxiv, 1	<i>Dasyatis</i>	<i>Aetobatis</i> <i>narinari</i>	?	Skate	—	One of the numerous long-tailed skates
2	<i>Holocanthus</i>	—	? juvenile <i>Naso</i>	Acanthurid	Acanthuridae	Acanthurid and <i>Holocanthus</i> not considered very likely; inconclusive
3	<i>Naso</i> or <i>Scorpaenidae</i>	Obviously a scorpion-fish	? Scorpaenid	Scorpaenid fish	Scorpaenidae or Synance- jidae	Scorpaenid
4	<i>Xiphiidae</i>	<i>Xiphiidae</i>	Sword-fish or Marlin	<i>Xyphias</i>	<i>Xyphius</i>	<i>Xiphias gladius</i>
5	<i>Acanthuridae</i>	<i>Naso</i>	<i>Naso</i>	<i>Naso</i>	<i>Acanthurus</i>	<i>Naso</i>
lxxv, 1	—	Selachii?	? <i>Elops</i>	<i>Elops</i> or <i>Chanos</i>	?	<i>Elops</i> considered better suited
2	Young puffer	<i>Arothron</i>	?	?	Ostracion?	Canthigasteridae or Tetraodontidae
3	—	? <i>Lutjanid</i>	?	?	Serranidae	Lethrinidae and Pomadasyidae suggested as additional possibilities

Number of plate and drawing	I	II	III	IV	V	Authors' remarks
4	Selachii (Mustelidae?) <i>Carcharhinus</i>	—	Probably a catfish, <i>Bagrus</i> ?	? <i>Arius</i>	Freshwater catfish?! <i>Trachysurus</i> (<i>Arius</i>)	(Freshwater catfishes a strong possibility, and marine catfishes not entirely excluded
5	<i>Arius</i>	Freshwater catfish?; less likely <i>Sciaena</i>	Probably a catfish, <i>Bagrus</i> ?	Probably a catfish; <i>Bagrus</i> ?	—	? flatfish
6	Flounder?	Flat-fish Acanthuridae	Flounder	—	—	<i>Tilapia</i> considered the best guess
7	—	A deep-bodied wrasse, or more probably <i>Tilapia</i> ?	A deep-bodied wrasse, or more probably <i>Tilapia</i> ?	—	—	—
8	<i>Taeniura</i> ?	Rhinobatid ray	Skate	<i>Urogymnus</i>	—	Long-tailed skate

NAMES AND HISTORY OF THE SANCTUARIES BUILT BY TUTHMOSIS III AT DEIR EL-BAHRI

By JADWIGA LIPIŃSKA

THE results of the latest excavations carried out at Deir el-Bahri by the Polish expedition working on the reconstruction of the Ḥatshepsut temple on behalf of the Egyptian Antiquities Department invite a reconsideration of the problems of the historical topography of that area.

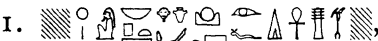

Beside the two monumental temples built at Deir el-Bahri by the king Mentuḥotpe and the queen Ḥatshepsut, which have long been known, remains of a third monumental building belonging to Tuthmosis III have been revealed by the recent excavations on the rocky platform separating the western parts of these temples.¹ This discovery necessitates a revision of certain theories previously put forward; to begin with there is the problem of the identification of two sanctuaries whose names are known from texts and which had been thought to be connected with the area of Deir el-Bahri. These names are: I. Djeser-akhet, and II. Djeser-menu.

I. The sanctuary , *Dśr-akhet*, 'Holy of Horizon'

This name has been thought to apply to the Ḥathor Chapel built by Tuthmosis III in the north-western corner of the Mentuḥotpe temple,² an identification which has now to be reconsidered in view of the recent discoveries.

During the fourth season of excavations in the new temple of Tuthmosis III there were found several inscriptions proving that Djeser-akhet was the name of this building. These are as follows:

Inscriptions on the fragments of protodoric columns (vertical):

1. , inv. no. F 7490.³
2. , inv. no. F 460.⁴

*Inscriptions upon fragments of the north jamb of red granite doorway (vertical):*⁵

3.  . . .

¹ Cf. L. Dabrowski, *Ann. Serv.* 58 (1964), 43-47; J. Lipińska, 'List of objects found at Deir el-Bahari (temple of Tuthmosis III)', *Ann. Serv.* 59 (1966), 63-96.




² Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* II, 129; Otto, *Topographie*, 61, in some doubt about the identification describes it as 'vielleicht'.

³ Cf. J. Lipińska, 'A list of objects found at Deir el-Bahari, IV season of excavations, 1964-1965', *Ann. Serv.* (in press), Cat. no. 114.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Cat. no. 115.

⁵ Idem, 'Preliminary report on the reconstruction works of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, season 1964-1965', *Ann. Serv.* (in press).

*Inscriptions upon fragments of wall blocks:*¹

4. , inv. no. F 6633.²
 5. , inv. no. F 7944.³
 6. 

Inscriptions on the statues of Tuthmosis III found in the western part of the temple:

7. On the base of a black granite statue, inv. no. F 7478:⁵
 On the left-hand side (vertical):

← 

On the right-hand side (vertical):


→ 

8. On the dorsal pillar of a red granite standing statue (vertical):⁶

← 

Upon the base of the statue, in front of the right foot (vertical):

1. ←  2. → 

Here also should be mentioned the fragment of wall inscription, now in Brussels,⁷ found by the Egypt Exploration Fund at Deir el-Bahri and dated to the Eleventh Dynasty by Speleers.⁸ The published photograph,⁹ however, shows nothing which would confirm such an early dating, and the inscription can be confidently attributed to the Eighteenth Dynasty (vertical):¹⁰ 

In the light of the other inscriptions found recently, this text can be safely included among the fragments belonging originally to the temple of Tuthmosis III.¹¹

There seems to be no doubt now that the name Djoser-akhet was applied to the temple of Tuthmosis III; it is worth while, however, to study the documents in which this name is mentioned, for they supply valuable details concerning the history of the temple and supplement the archaeological data obtained from the excavations.

¹ A number of fragmentary inscriptions were found, cf. my 'List of objects . . . season 1964-1965', *Ann. Serv.* (in press), Cat. nos. 97-101. As examples only two of the best-preserved fragments are quoted here.

² *Ibid.*, Cat. no. 95.

³ *Ibid.*, Cat. no. 96.

⁴ Part of a sandstone wall-block, pillar, or lintel, found among the fragments stored in the temple of Mentuhotep, in front of the Hathor shrine; without inventory number. Presumably it is the same fragment as that mentioned by Hayes, *JEA* 46 (1960), 49.

⁵ 'List of objects . . . season 1964-1965', *Ann. Serv.* (in press), Cat. no. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Cat. no. 2.

⁷ E. 5187.

⁸ *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes*, 14, no. 62, followed by Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* 6, 132.

⁹ M. Werbrueck, 'La décoration murale du temple des Mentuhotep', *Bull. des musées royaux d'art et d'histoire*, Bruxelles, 3^e série, 9^e année, no. 2 (Mars-Avril 1937), 43 and fig. 26.

¹⁰ So Fischer in *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 24, (1958), no. 2, 33 and n. 17.


¹¹ It is now clear that almost half of the fore-part of the temple collapsed at some moment in the past and blocks from there slid into the Mentuhotep temple; some of these blocks are still stored in the lower temple.

on ostraca mentioned above, the supervisor of the work on the construction of Djoser-akhet. It appears next in the list of temples on the statue of Dedia,¹ and in the tomb of Nebwenenef.² For the last time it is mentioned in the tomb of Imiseba.³ Besides these, a number of other inscriptions contain references to the temple: the high priest of Amūn in the temple of Tuthmosis III at Qurna also held the same position in the temple Djoser-akhet;⁴ Djoser-akhet is mentioned twice in the tomb inscriptions of the officials of Tuthmosis III, Menkheperre'seneb⁵ and Amenemḥab.⁶ On the statues of a chief of artists, Teti,⁷ and of Amenemḥet called Kerabi,⁸ Djoser-akhet is again referred to. It was also the place that marked the point of arrival of the procession during the Feast of the Valley.⁹

Chronologically all these inscriptions fall into the period between the early Eighteenth Dynasty¹⁰ and the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.¹¹ Nothing has been found in the excavations to prove the existence of an earlier cult-place on the platform occupied by the temple of Tuthmosis III. The votive statue of Senenmūt dedicated to Onnophris and Amūn (?), 'The great [god], Lord of the Gods at Djoser-akhet', was obviously prepared earlier than the last decade of the reign of Tuthmosis III; but the evidence it affords for an earlier building, taken with that provided by the inscription in the doorway to the Chapel of Rēc in the Ḥatshepsut temple, remains unsupported. There is, nevertheless, the possibility that the place was thoroughly cleared for the new structure, and it may be presumed that this was done. The rest of the inscriptions conform with the archaeological data gained from the excavations. There are no royal names inscribed on the blocks of the temple other than those of Tuthmosis III. Very

often they are written in their late forms; e.g.



,¹² or with an epithet ¹³

The main god worshipped there was Amūn, according to the hundreds of partly preserved wall-inscriptions and reliefs found in the temple. The numerous fragments of the representations of the procession of the Feast of the Valley confirm that the temple played a part in these festivities.¹⁴

The small shrine of Ḥathor built in the north-western corner of the platform of the Mentuḥotpe temple was certainly connected with the main temple above forming part of the temple-complex, in the same way as a chapel of Ḥathor was incorporated into the temple-complex of Ḥatshepsut.¹⁵ The name Djoser-akhet seems to have been applied to the whole Tuthmosis III complex, including the Ḥathor shrine, as is indicated by

¹ Legrain, *Statues* (CGC), 72, no. 42122.

³ Lepsius, *Denk.* III, pl. 236 A.

⁴ *Urk.* IV, 1457.

² Otto, *Topographie*, 15.

⁵ *Ibid.* 925.

⁶ *Ibid.* 935.

⁷ Naville and Hall, *XIth Dyn. Temple*, III, pl. 8 F.

⁸ Carnarvon and Carter, *Five years' exploration at Thebes*, 29 and pl. 19, 2.

⁹ *Urk.* IV, 929.

¹⁰ The earliest are the text on the statue of Senenmūt and that on the doorway to the Rēc Chapel in the Ḥatshepsut temple.


¹¹ The last is that in the tomb of Imiseba of the reign of Ramesses IX.

¹² The base of statue no. F 7478.

¹³ Cf. *Urk.* IV, 601.

¹⁴ Cf. Lipińska, 'List of objects . . .', *Ann. Serv.* 59 (1965), Cat. nos. 18-41.

¹⁵ Even the architectural scheme is similar—the shrine of Ḥathor is located to the south of the main structure and is built at a lower level than the sanctuary.

inscription no. 6 above with its feminine ending: 'hryt-ib Djeser-akhet', and by the inscription of Teti: . . . .¹

The remains of a ramp,² thought to be a ramp to the festival kiosk,³ and the causeway⁴ running parallel to the older causeway of the Mentuhotpe temple through 'Asâsîf to Deir el-Baḥri were also units of the temple-complex of Djeser-akhet.⁵ Certain finds indicate the existence of a valley-temple of Tuthmosis III at the lowest part of the 'Asâsîf; these are the portrait relief of the king found in the foundations of the Ramesside temple built close to the hypothetical valley-temple of Mentuhotpe,⁶ a name-stone with the name of Tuthmosis III, and some objects from the foundation deposit, inscribed with the name of the king, but without mention of the building, which were found in the vicinity of the lower end of Tuthmosis III's causeway in the 'Asâsîf.⁷ In the Metropolitan Museum of Art there is a fragment of a wooden board covered with stucco, with part of an architect's plan of a shrine built on the water-edge.⁸ This object is thought to have been made in the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The drawing shows a rectangular shrine (about 15 m. × 12 m.) built on a raised podium with short flights of steps on both sides, surrounded by a huge wall. Hayes has already suggested that this drawing should be connected with the valley-temple of Tuthmosis III, which probably disappeared during the construction of the great Ramesside temple on almost the same site.⁹

To return to the historical data concerning the temple Djeser-akhet, this building existed presumably until the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. In the meantime the names and reliefs of Amūn had been erased during the 'Amarna Period, then restored again. No restoration text has been found to indicate who did the work. It seems to have been done by two different restorers—some of the reliefs and inscriptions were restored in an exquisite style, but some rather poorly. The first restoration could have been done as early as the time of Ḥoremḥeb. The second, most probably, was executed by the craftsmen from the Ramesseum, in the time of Ramesses II. This supposition is supported by the discovery in the ruins of Tuthmosis III's temple of a collection of votive objects offered by various priests and officials from the Ramesseum, all dated to the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁰

In the Ramesside Period the cult of Ḥaṯḥor took first place in the temple, and the name of Amūn is only mentioned in a few cases among hundreds of hieratic graffiti of Ramesside date, which covered the columns and walls of the temple.¹¹ The votive objects found in the temple, dated to the Ramesside Period, were also offered mainly to Ḥaṯḥor. None of the graffiti or of the votive objects presented to the temple can be dated later than the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. Considering this evidence, it seems

¹ Naville and Hall, *XIth Dyn. Temple*, III, pl. 8 F.

² *Ibid.* I, 19 and pl. 6, fig. 5.

³ Borchardt, *Aegyptischen Tempel mit Umgang*, 58–61.

⁴ Winlock, *Bull. MMA* 1914, 14–15; *ibid.*, March 1932, part II, 30–31.

⁵ The axes of the temple, the ramp, and the causeway are practically the same.

⁶ Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, II, fig. 60.

⁷ *Ibid.* 119.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fig. 97.

⁹ *Ibid.* 176.

¹⁰ Cf. Lipińska, 'A list of objects . . .', *Ann. Serv.* 59 (1965), Cat. nos. 1, 2, 3.

¹¹ The separate publication of the graffiti found in the temple is being prepared by Mr. M. Marciniak of the Polish Centre of Archaeology in Cairo.

probable that the temple was destroyed (presumably by the rock-slip) about that time. Moreover, the last mention of the tomb of Mentuhotpe as being intact was made at the same time;¹ it is almost certain that the Mentuhotpe temple was destroyed simultaneously with the building located above it. The results of the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund in the temple of Mentuhotpe² confirm the history of the parallel destruction of both temples—the discontinuance of graffiti and votive objects at the end of the Ramesside Period, and the wilful later destruction caused by quarrymen. In both sites their tools and stone blocks prepared for re-use were found. In the temple of Mentuhotpe, however, there was evidence that the work of destruction was stopped in the time of the Twenty-first Dynasty and that the site was turned into a necropolis. In the ruined temple of Tuthmosis III there were found no burials earlier than those dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, but most probably the activity of the quarrymen ceased in both temples at the same time.³

The following conclusions can therefore be drawn concerning the newly discovered temple at Deir el-Bahri, now found to be the previously unidentified shrine of Djoser-akhet:

The building was erected by Tuthmosis III in the last decade of his reign. The site was possibly in use earlier as a cult place.

The temple was consecrated to Amūn and played a part in the Feast of the Valley.

The temple was still intact during the 'Amarna period—all the representations and inscriptions related to Amūn and other gods were then erased and restored afterwards.

Hieratic graffiti found in hundreds on the fragments of walls and columns over the entire area prove that the building was still intact in the Ramesside Period, although the main god worshipped in the temple was then Ḥathor, not Amūn.

The writing of these graffiti and the presentation of votive objects to the temple ceased about the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, indicating that the destruction of the edifice took place at that time.

The further history of the temple-ruins is roughly parallel to that of the Mentuhotpe temple: first it was handed over to quarrymen, then, when the work stopped for an unknown reason—presumably another rock-slip—the heaps of debris covering the ruins became a burial ground.

The temple Djoser-akhet, like the other two temples at Deir el-Bahri, was built on a raised platform approached by a ramp and a long, broad causeway leading through the valley of the 'Asâsif. The architectural plan of the temple, although difficult to define in some places, roughly resembles that of the upper part of the Ḥatshepsut temple, but there is no rock-cut sanctuary such as is incorporated into the structure of the latter. The sequence of the temple units is nevertheless similar.

¹ Pap. Abbot 3, 14.

² Naville and Hall, *op. cit.* 1, 14–16.







³ In both sites many new and unused tools were found together with half-cut stone blocks; it seems that some violent cause led to the end of quarrying in the ruins, probably another rock-slip that frightened the quarrymen away.

With the clearance of the entire area one astonishing fact was revealed: it could hardly have been possible to find another site as inconvenient for erecting a monumental building as the narrow rocky slope in the centre of Deir el-Baḥri.

Almost half of the temple platform was built on an artificial substructure over 10 m. high, while the remaining part was cut in the rock. The area was limited in the north by the temple of Ḥatshepsut, in the west by high, overhanging cliffs most dangerous because of falling stones, in the south by the Mentuḥotpe temple, and in the east by the precipitous rock-slope. As the site was so small (roughly 50 m. × 60 m.) Tuthmosis III chose to make the temple impressive by building it in monumental proportions; in fact all the elements found scattered were larger than the corresponding elements of the Ḥatshepsut temple. As the temple pavement was laid on a level much higher than the upper terrace of the Ḥatshepsut temple, the new edifice surely dominated the older ones. This determination to dominate seems to be the explanation for the existence of the Djoser-akhet temple on such an inconvenient site. Tuthmosis III had already built his mortuary temple at Qurna and had erased the names of Ḥatshepsut in her temples; towards the end of his life he decided to move again and to deprive the temple of Ḥatshepsut of its predominance at Deir el-Baḥri and to establish his own domination there.

II. The sanctuary , *Dśr-mnw*, 'Holy of Monument'


With the building activity of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Baḥri is also connected the building called Djoser-menu. Its name is mentioned on the Berlin ostrakon P. 10615, which, though not found in excavations but bought in the Theban necropolis, undoubtedly forms part of the set already mentioned above (p. 27), hieratic ostraca found at Deir el-Baḥri and dated to the reign of Tuthmosis III. It is dated in the 'second month of the winter season, day two' of his forty-third regnal year and records a corvée organized to quarry the local limestone for this building. The sole difference between this document and the rest is that while in the others the supervisor of the construction of Djoser-akhet is the vizir Rekhmirē, the work on Djoser-menu is controlled by the 'overseer of the two granaries of Amūn Sendḥout'.

Djoser-menu is again connected with the name of Tuthmosis III in a set of foundation deposits bought on the market in Cairo but said to have come from Deir el-Baḥri.¹ It consists of nine faience plaques and sixteen model tools in an unusually good state of preservation and all, except for one hoe, bearing with slight variations an almost identical inscription:    on the plaques, and    on the model tools.

Another set of similar foundation deposits, formerly at Alnwick Castle, is now in the Egyptian Collection of the University of Durham.² It consists of nine rectangular and three oval plaques, the former of glazed steatite, the latter of blue faience, with

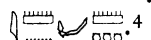
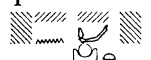
¹ Badawy, 'A collection of foundation-deposits of Tuthmosis III', *Ann. Serv.* 47, 145-56 and pls. 19-20; now in the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago, accession no. 3188; cf. Nims in *JNES* 14, 118, n. 86 and Hayes, *JEA* 46, 50, n. 3.

² Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, 129, nos. 945-6.

horizontal cartouches of Menkheperre^c and, below them, the vertically disposed inscription: .

The identification of Djeser-menu presents difficulties and cannot be solved at present. Hayes¹ believed that it applied to the pavilion or kiosk situated on the axis of the Tuthmosis III avenue. The remains at the end of this avenue can now be safely recognized as the foot of a long ascending ramp leading to the main temple up on the rocky platform. It is true that the part between this platform and the foot of the ramp has completely disappeared, but if the angle of ascent of the preserved lower part is measured and the ramp extended upwards, it is found to lead precisely to the step of the stone platform in front of the Tuthmosis III temple. The ramp was built on the axis of the avenue and this was the axis of the temple itself. This settles the interpretation of the previously enigmatic ramp which had been considered by Borchardt² to be perhaps the *heb-sed*-kiosk of Tuthmosis I, and by Hayes³ a chapel built by Tuthmosis III for the bark of Amūn. The problem of identifying the remains of foundation walls of some structure visible beside the ramp remains, however, open.

If this structure were connected with the ramp, as seems to be indicated by the traces on the preserved parts of these foundations and the foundation of the southern side of the ramp, there is the difficulty of defining its architectural design; the building would have been adjacent to the ramp and connected directly with its southern wall. If this was the case then the purpose of such an unusual structure remains enigmatic. It is much more tempting to consider the foundations as belonging to an earlier edifice, used by the builders of the ramp as a part of its foundations. Unfortunately, there is nothing to support this last theory. If the unidentified structure was built by Tuthmosis III and called Djeser-menu, it was possibly never finished, the work being stopped when the foundation was laid; the only documents which attest the existence of Djeser-menu are inscribed objects from its foundations and a record of its being built in the forty-third year of Tuthmosis III. There is no reference to it as a finished structure or to the cult of a god having been established there.

Beside the ostrakon and the foundation deposits already mentioned, one other monument is known bearing the name of Djeser-menu, the central doorway leading to the upper court of Ḥatshepsut's temple. According to the inscription the doorway was called ⁴. Nims therefore supposed⁵ that both the Deir el-Bahri ostrakon and the foundation deposits referred to the construction of this doorway just as the similar foundation deposits with the name Djeser-akhet belonged to the Rē^c chapel of the Ḥatshepsut temple where he traced a part of an inscription reading  (see above, p. 27). This conclusion seems hardly justified. According to the foundation deposits of both Djeser-akhet and Djeser-menu the founder of these structures was Tuthmosis III and the name of Ḥatshepsut does not occur on them at all. As to the granite doorway, however, this was without any doubt erected by Ḥatshepsut, since in its inscriptions only in the cartouches were her names erased and replaced by those

¹ *JEA* 46, 50.

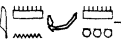

² *Aeg. Tempel mit Umgang*, 58–61 and pl. 14.

³ *Op. cit.* 50.

⁴ *Urk.* IV, 295 = Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, v, pl. 122.

⁵ *JNES* 14, 118.

of Tuthmosis III; her Horus-name was left intact. How can one claim that the effacing of her memory in her own temple was so ruthless that her foundation deposits were dug up and replaced by the deposits of Tuthmosis III? Such an idea is quite absurd, the more so since several foundation deposits have been found elsewhere in the temple inscribed with the name of the queen. It is true that the name of Tuthmosis III does occur on a number of small objects in Ḥatshepsut's foundation deposits, but these items were clearly inscribed with his name and placed in the deposits when he was still young and at a very early stage in the construction of the temple. It is therefore extremely improbable that the foundation deposits of Djeser-menu bearing his name were destined for any part of the temple of Ḥatshepsut.

The name of the granite doorway therefore seems only incidentally similar to that of the structure Djeser-menu built by Tuthmosis III. Possibly it refers to another construction already in existence in the reign of Ḥatshepsut. This may explain the slight difference between the name of the doorway and the building of Tuthmosis III: in the former Amūn is called —'Amūn (of) Djeser-menu', while in the Deir el-Baḥri ostrakon and the foundation deposits he appears as —'Amūn in Djeser-menu'.

No part of the temple-complex of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Baḥri seems to qualify for probable identification with the enigmatic Djeser-menu. We know now that the main temple, Ḥaṭhor-shrine, and kiosk on the causeway¹ were named Djeser-akhet and the hypothetical valley-temple presumably bore the same name.² In 1904 an ostrakon was found at Deir el-Baḥri with a sketch of a plan of a shrine.³ The small structure of 27×27 cubits there represented corresponds with no building actually preserved in the area of western Thebes, and it was already considered just possible that the sketch purported to be the plan of the kiosk of Tuthmosis III. If so, the building was still in existence at the beginning of the Twentieth Dynasty, which seems to be the date of the hieratic inscription accompanying the sketch. But it is much more probable that this kiosk was built at this latter time and had nothing in common with the obscure building called Djeser-menu founded by Tuthmosis III.

The above considerations have only a temporary character, which will almost certainly be modified by the discovery of further evidence. From all that is now known about the buildings of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Baḥri it seems possible that the sanctuary Djeser-menu either was never finished and the structure abandoned, or was located outside Deir el-Baḥri though somewhere in its neighbourhood.

¹ According to the recent discovery of the German expedition.

² This supposition is supported by the fact that the main temple of Ḥatshepsut and her valley-temple bore the same name—Djeser-djeseru, cf. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, v, pl. 134; for the valley-temple, cf. Carnarvon and Carter, *Five years' Exploration*, 39.

³ Glanville, 'Working plan for a shrine', *JEA* 16, 237-9.

STELOPHOROUS STATUETTES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By H. M. STEWART

IN *JEA* 46, 84 the development was outlined of a type of statuette in which the subject is represented in an attitude of worship and bearing a stela inscribed with a prayer to the sun-god. A more detailed study followed in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* 4, 165 ff., in which four main stages were distinguished, datable as shown below except for a very few archaistic examples.

- I (early Eighteenth Dynasty)—without stela, the inscription usually beginning on a filling between the raised arms and continuing on the skirt.
- II (*c.* Tuthmosis III)—the inscribed filling extending to the thighs.
- III (Tuthmosis III–IV)—the filling transformed into a stela resting on the knees, the hands now behind it.
- IV (from *c.* Amenophis II)—the stela resting on the ground.

All four stages are represented in the British Museum's examples, of which several have already been published, principally in *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*¹ Those dealt with below² are either unpublished or have been noted only briefly. Because of the shortness of the period of development the first three types are much less common than the fourth. The Museum's only example of the first, no. 1735, has been described elsewhere.³ Of the second that included here, no. 21980 (pl. III, 1), is fairly typical, although the filling-piece between the arms is in some other cases already round-topped like a conventional stela.⁴ The hands set within the filling are rendered either in incised relief as here or in bas-relief.⁵ Types I and II have the plain or simply striated *coiffure* prevalent during the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁶ No 65340 (pl. III, 2), which is of type III, shows the duplex *coiffure* in an early form (i.e. without sharp division between the upper strands and lower curls), which was current during the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II.⁷

With the reinterpretation of the inscribed filling between the arms in type III as a stela it became customary to insert in the arched top the *wedjat*-eyes, *shen*-circle, etc., which occur on funerary stelae from the Middle Kingdom onwards. During the

¹ E.g. v, pl. 39; vii, pl. 5; viii, pls. 10, 30–32, 43.

² By kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. The writer is grateful to Dr. I. E. S. Edwards, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, for his help and co-operation.

³ Edwards, *Hierogl. Texts*, viii, pl. 43; Stewart in *Bull. Inst. Arch.* 4, 166 f., pl. 12(1); 5, 67.

⁴ E.g. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, iii, pl. 160(4).

⁵ E.g. Edwards, *op. cit.*, pl. 31 (= Stewart, *op. cit.* 4, pl. 12(2)).

⁶ Vandier, *op. cit.* 482 f. (C).

⁷ Vandier, *op. cit.* 484 (Eb).

Nineteenth Dynasty, however, these motifs were usually replaced on the statuettes by the solar disk, bark, etc.

Of the examples of type IV, no. 26270 (pl. III, 3) is stylistically the earliest, showing a 'Tuthmoside' type of portraiture common in the mid Eighteenth Dynasty. The stela, slightly inclined and tapered, is still fairly small. No. 29944 (pl. IV, 1), simply dressed but with duplex *coiffure* of a sharply differentiated pattern and more massive stela, seems to date to about the time of Amenophis III. The elaborately costumed no. 1305 (pl. IV, 3) is probably Ramesside.

Most unusual is the standing figure, no. 2294 (pl. IV, 2). Although the attitude is common in paintings and reliefs representing worship and even in the determinative of *dww*, 'adore', on the kneeling statuettes, presumably the lower centre of gravity afforded by the latter was normally preferred for greater stability. The date of the sculpture is difficult to determine, but might well be late Eighteenth Dynasty. Two other such figures have been published: University of Durham Oriental Museum no. 507, which was dated by Birch¹ to the Nineteenth–Twentieth Dynasties, and Berlin no. 9571² of 'New Kingdom' date, the latter example differing in having the hymn inscribed on the back—the publications make no mention of a stela.

Although the inscriptions often extend to the plinth and back of the statuette, that on the stela is usually the most important. It normally contains an introductory formula describing the action of the figure, his name and titles, and a short hymn leading to a funerary prayer. The introduction often takes the traditional form: *rdit iw n . . .*, 'Giving praise to . . .', sometimes followed by *sn t3 n . . .*, 'doing obeisance to . . .' (no. 65340). This formula, common on statuettes of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, tended later to be superseded there by more specifically solar expressions such as *dww Rr hft wbn/htp:f*, 'Adoring Rē when he rises/sets'.³ From about the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty a special form appears, evidently devised for representations such as these of the deceased in perpetual adoration: *dww Rr hft wbn-f r hprr htp:f m rnh*, 'Adoring Rē when he rises until there occurs his setting in life' (no. 2294).⁴ This is varied in no. 26270.

After the words *in N dd:f*, 'by N; he says', the hymn proper usually opens with the traditional greeting *ind hr-k*, 'Hail to thee'. There follows a string of titles and epithets concerning the god's characteristics, dignities, and beneficence, often with various mythological allusions.⁵ Many of the hymns were traditional⁶ (e.g. no. 1305), some at least deriving from the temple liturgy. With the expansion of the empire during the Eighteenth Dynasty emphasis was placed on the universal beneficence of Amen-Rē, now the imperial god. Of this some indication appears in no. 29944, which also contains the epithet *rnḥ m mꜣt*, 'living on truth',⁷ ordinarily applied to gods, and later adopted by Akhenaten in his titulary.

¹ *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, 66.

² *Ausf. Verz.* 142; *Aeg. Inschr.* II, 62.

³ Hymns to the setting sun are comparatively rare on these monuments. See, e.g., Edwards, *op. cit.*, pl. 30.

⁴ Cf. Davies, *El Amarna*, VI, pls. 24, 31 (= Sandman, *Texts*, 87, 97).

⁵ See Barucq, *L'expression de la louange divine* (Inst. fr. arch. or., Bibl. d'étude, t. 33).

⁶ For comparative texts see *Bull. Inst. Arch.* 6, 29 ff.

⁷ Gardiner in *JEA* 32, 50(h).

Many statuettes of the kind described came from Theban private tombs, where they may have occupied a niche in the surmounting brick pyramid. In the provinces, possibly because of differences in funerary architecture, such statuettes were more rare, the only known instance in the present collection being a small, crudely made, and apparently uninscribed example of type III from Crocodilopolis (no. 37884).¹

Particulars of the monuments illustrated on pls. III and IV are given below.

No. 21980 (pl. III, 1)

Type II, limestone, height 23 cm., from Thebes.

References: Budge, *Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Rooms* (1922), 125. Vandier, *Manuel d'arch. ég.*, III, 471, 473.

Stela

dwꜣ ʿImn-Rꜥ wbn·f [in] nby [Sꜥnh-ʿImn-kn]. dd·f: ind hr·k [Rꜥ m] wbn·k nfr. dwꜣ·i [nfrw·k] m hrt-hrw m hꜥw·k imy . . . di·k wn·i . . . hm·k . . .

Adoring Amen-Rē when he rises [by] the goldsmith [Sʿankhamūnken]. He says: Hail [O Rē at] thy beautiful rising. I adore [thy beauty] daily at thy appearances, O thou who art in (?). . . Grant that I may be . . . thy Majesty. . .

Back of statuette. *htp di nsw*-formula.

No. 65340 (pl. III, 2)

Type III, limestone, height 34 cm., provenance unknown.

Stela. In arch: trace of *wedjat*-eye.

[rdi]t iꜣw [n ʿImn, sn] tꜣ n Hrꜣhty [in] . . . n nsw, Sn-nꜥr, mꜣꜥ hrw. [dd·f: dwꜣ·i tw] stwt·k m hr·i [ꜣhw·k(?)] bꜥhw hr šnbt·i. di·i n·k iꜣw skꜣ·i tw mi di·k(wi) m-hꜣt rꜣyt m ꜣ smrw·f.

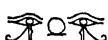
[Giving] praise [to Amūn], doing obeisance to Harakhti [by the] . . . of the king, Sennetjer, justified. [He says: I worship thee], thy rays being in my face [and thy sunlight(?)] having flooded upon my breast. I give thee praise and extol thee according as I am placed at the head of the common people as a senior of his (i.e. the pharaoh's) courtiers.

Knees of statuette. Funerary prayer.

No. 26270 (pl. III, 3)

Type IV, black granite, height 37 cm., provenance unknown.

References: Budge, *op. cit.* 125. Vandier, *op. cit.* 472.

Stela. In arch: 

dwꜣ Rꜥ m hrt-hrw swꜣꜣ·f htp·f m ꜥnh in imy-r pr wr n nsw, sꜣm hb n ʿImn, hꜣy n nꜥr nfr, ʿImn-m-ipt. dd·f: ind hr·k wbn m nbw shꜣ tꜣwy m stwt irt·f. dwꜣ·i tw nfrw·k m irty·i m hrt-hrw nt rꜥ nb.

¹ Budge, *Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms* (1922), 125.



1. 21980



2. 65340



3. 26270



I. 29944



2 2294



3. 1305

Adoring Rē^c daily, extolling him when he sets in life by the king's chief steward, conductor of the festivals of Amūn, favourite of the good god, Amenemope. He says: Hail, thou who shinest as gold and illuminest the Two Lands with the rays of his [*sic*] eye. I worship thee, thy beauty being in mine eyes in the course of every day.

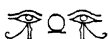
Front of plinth. Name of deceased.

Back of statuette (stela-formed). Name and titles of the deceased and dedication by his brother (name lost).

No. 29944 (pl. IV, 1)

Type IV, limestone, height 38 cm., from Thebes.

References: Budge, op. cit. 125. Vandier, op. cit. 472.

Stela. In arch: 

[*hry nb*] *yw n ʾImn, ʾImn[-m-ḥb] dd·f, dwꜣ·f Rꜥ-ʾItm, wbn m ꜣht rꜥ nb shꜣ·n·f tꜣwy m nbw. dd·f: ind ḥr·k Rꜥ k[ꜣ] ntt, nb tꜣ tmꜣw, ir wnnꜣwt, nꜥr wꜥ, ꜥnh m mꜣꜣt, bik ꜣꜣ sꜣb ꜣwt, ir ꜣꜣp n ḥmmnt. di·k mꜣꜣi nfrw ḥm·k m ḥrt-ḥrw nt rꜥ nb.*

[The overseer of the gold]smiths of Amūn, Amen[emḥeb] says, when he adores Rē^c-Atum, who rises on the horizon every day, illuminating the Two Lands with gold—he says: Hail, O Rē^c, who plannest(?) all that exists, lord of the entire land, who makest that which will be, the unique god, who livest on truth, great falcon, many-coloured of plumage, who makest the daylight for the sun-folk. Grant that I may see the beauty of thy Majesty in the course of every day.

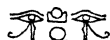
Plinth. *ḥtp di nsw*-formulae.

Back of statuette. 'Revered by the gods who are in the necropolis, the Osiris N.'

No. 2294 (pl. IV, 2)

Type IV (standing), sandstone, height 40 cm., provenance unknown.

References: Budge, op. cit. 125. Vandier, op. cit. 464.


Stela. In arch: 

dwꜣ Rꜥ ḥft wbn·f r ḥpr(t) ḥtp·f m ꜥnh m imꜣḥw(?) imy sktt, ḥtp m mꜥndt(?), in Wsr-ḥꜣt, mꜣꜣ ḥrw. dd·f: ind ḥr·k Rꜥ nb nhḥ, ḥkꜣ dt. di·i n·k iꜣw, skꜣ·i tw, swꜣꜣi bꜣw·k r trwy. di·k ꜥk·i pr·i m ḥrt-nꜥr, tꜣi·i tꜣw (continued on plinth) n didi·k m ḥrt-ḥrw nt rꜥ nb.

Adoring Rē^c when he rises until there occurs his setting in life as the revered one(?) who is in the night-bark, and who rests in the day-bark(?), by Userḥet, justified. He says: Hail, O Rē^c, lord of everlastingness, ruler of eternity. I give thee praise, I exalt thee, and extol thy might at all times. Grant that I may enter and go forth from the necropolis, and breathe the air [continued on plinth] which thou givest in the course of each day.

No. 1305 (pl. IV, 3)

Type IV, limestone, height 44 cm., provenance unknown.

Stela. In arch: 

rꜣwdꜣ mnḥ n nb·f, Ḥꜥ-m-Wꜣst, dd·f: dwꜣ Rꜥ ḥft wbn·f m ꜣht iꜣbtt nt pt. nmi·k ḥrt,

ib·k 3w, mr nh3(?)¹ hprw m htpw,² sktt m ršwt, psdt m ḥcwt, shrw hftyw n Rc. in rwdw Hc-m-W3st, m3c hrw.

The agent, useful to his lord, Khaemwēse says: An adoration of Rēc when he rises in the eastern horizon of heaven. Thou travellest across the sky, thy heart joyful and the Sea of Knives(?) having become at peace. The night-bark is in rejoicing and the Ennead in jubilation, for the enemies of Rēc have been overthrown. By the agent Khaemwēse, justified.

Notes

1. See Brief Communication, 'The mythical Sea of Knives', p. 164.
2. The passage *nmi . . . htpw* is an extract from a popular traditional hymn. See *Bull. Inst. Arch.* 6, 47 ff.

FOUR EGYPTIAN PIECES IN BIRMINGHAM CITY MUSEUM

By JOHN RUFFLE

OF the four objects described here only one has been previously published¹ and that only as a work of art. The principal purpose of this publication is to record the names and titles of the persons involved.

I am grateful to Mr. T. G. H. James of the British Museum and Mr. K. A. Kitchen of the University of Liverpool for several helpful comments.

1. Part of a New-kingdom funerary group (69'96)

The Museum inventory records that this piece (pl. V) was presented in 1896 by Miss Hanson and contains no more information. Petrie's article records that the bust was given to the Museum by a friend of Sir Whitworth Wallis, the Director, who was moving house and told him that he could have 'two old stones that are in the stable'. The article in *The Connoisseur* by H. C. M. (whom I have not been able to identify) records a much more romantic story of how the bust was acquired in Egypt by a Dr. Antony who bequeathed it to Miss Hansom, a Birmingham lady, in whose house it enjoyed a central position on the mantelpiece. There it was seen and admired by Whitworth Wallis, and when Miss Hansom's antiques were to be auctioned she decided instead to give the collection to Sir Whitworth Wallis who immediately called a cab and carried off his prize. H. C. M. also recounts that Dr. Antony acquired a small gold figure of Bast which went to the British Museum. His story receives a certain amount of confirmation, although the details are almost all wrong, from the fact that the British Museum received the bequest of a small group of objects in 1895 from a Dr. J. Anthony through Miss Hanson of 31 Mayfair, Northampton, one of which was a small gold figure of Thoth (B.M. 23426). H. C. M.'s account apparently embodies a confusion of several transactions. Neither Mr. James (to whom I owe the knowledge of the B.M. bequest) nor I have discovered any other information about Dr. Ant(h)ony.

The piece comprises the head and shoulders of the man from a funerary dyad. It has been cut cleanly from the base but irregularly from the adjoining figure. The rather feminine formation of the breast is typical of the Eighteenth Dynasty just before the 'Amarna period, and the face reminded Aldred² of representations of Amenophis III himself. The femininity rather surprisingly deceived Petrie, and H. C. M. rhapsodized at length on the 'Mona Lisa of Ancient Egypt'. For many years the statue was referred to as 'The Birmingham Isis' and not a few plaster casts were sold to continental

¹ 69'96; see *The Connoisseur*, vol. XXXIX, no. 153 (May, 1914), 27-28; W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Egypt*, Part I (1914), 48; and C. Aldred *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (1951), pl. 93, p. 70. ² Op. cit., 70.

museums. However, there can be no doubt that the figure is male: the wife's hand, clasping her husband's waist, can be seen at the back (pl. V, 2) and both wig and dress are typically male.

The over-all height of the figure as it remains is 30 cm. The stela at the back measures in its present state 25 cm. in height and 14 cm. at its widest part. The material is a hard limestone capable of retaining a smooth finish but containing patches of softer limestone and some visually crystalline areas which have weathered, leaving the surface rather badly pitted. The workmanship of the portrait is very fine indeed but the cutting



FIG. 1

of the inscription is uneven. Several signs are completely lost by weathering, but there are places where the surface, although appearing to be uneroded, yet offers no trace of any sign. The bottom of the third vertical dividing-line, for instance, should pass across a completely smooth area to the right of the word *ht* which is in fact totally devoid of any mark.

The worn state of the inscription can be seen in pl. V, 2 and an attempt has been made on pl. V, 3 to show what signs can actually be distinguished. The traces have been filled out as far as possible to produce the restoration in fig. 1. The text may be translated thus: *A boon which the king gives to Rē-Ḥarakhty-Atum-Khepri, lord [of the Two Lands, lord of] Heliopolis, lord of heaven. . . . [The usual list of funerary offerings is lost at the bottom of the line and is followed by something like on every calendar feast]² which takes place and every day . . .³ [too fragmentary to be translatable] . . .⁴ Hail to you, Hornedjitef, eldest son of Onnophris*

Notes

For the restoration of *m tp-tr* before *nb hpr* see examples from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties and Late Period, e.g. Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut*



1. No. 69'96 Front



2. No. 69'96 Back



3. No. 69'96 Text

in *Asher*, 326, no. xii, l. 6 (= Borchartd, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, II, no. 549) reading *m tp <tr> nb hpr*; Benson and Gourlay, op. cit. 341, no. xx, l. 3 (= Borchartd, op. cit. III, no. 917); Borchartd, op. cit. IV, nos. 1056 and 1286.

Date

Aldred has dated this piece without hesitation to the reign of Amenophis III but a similar piece is dated by Müller to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty on the ground of the style of wig.¹ The wavy wig with the strands ending in tied ringlets which appears to be superimposed over another wig composed entirely of ringlets is well known in the reign of Amenophis III,² but the ringlets are usually cut short at shoulder level. In some examples they begin to come forward by the neck,³ but I know only a few examples in which the wig falls forward over the dress which can be dated before the 'Amarna period, although there are numerous examples of this style belonging to the late Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Dynasties. For this reason I should prefer to assign this sculpture to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

2. A New-kingdom funerary stela (70'96)

According to museum records this stela (pl. VI) was also presented by Miss Hanson in 1896, probably being another of the 'old stones' referred to by Petrie.⁴ There is no record of its Egyptian provenance.

The height of the stela is 43.5 cm. and its width 28 cm.; its thickness is uneven, but on average approximately 10 cm. The material is a fine grey limestone.

The stela's decoration is of indifferent workmanship, and has suffered some damage. The left-hand *wḏ:t* and part of the inscription below it are almost completely abraded. A large piece at the bottom has been broken off and replaced in modern time, and both edges of the face have been chipped in places.

The Lunette

Originally two opposed *wḏ:t* eyes flanked a central solar disk. The right-hand eye remains intact with traces only of the left eye and of the disk surviving.

Upper Register (fig. 2)

Seated right is the deceased, the *wrb*-Priest Neb-yot (A) facing left, with his wife Djehuty (B) behind him on the extreme right. Neb-yot smells a lotus flower and his wife clasps his left arm with her left hand. Centrally, facing them, stands the deceased's son Qaw (C) with a lotus in his right hand, pouring a libation with his left. One would expect to find an offering table before Neb-yot and Qaw but although there is space for a small one and the surface of the stele is admittedly damaged at this point,

¹ *Die Aegyptische Sammlung des Bayerischen Staates*, no. 53 (Ä S 5460).

² e.g. Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, frontispiece and *passim*.

³ Davies op. cit., pl. xli-lii for examples from the tomb of Ramose; Drioton et Sved, *Art égyptien* (1950), pl. 79 for examples from the tomb of Kha-em-hat.

⁴ See p. 39, n. 1.

there appear to be no traces at all of a table. In some other New-kingdom examples this table is very insubstantial (e.g. Cairo, 34,134; 34,109; 34,110, in Lacau, *Stèles du*

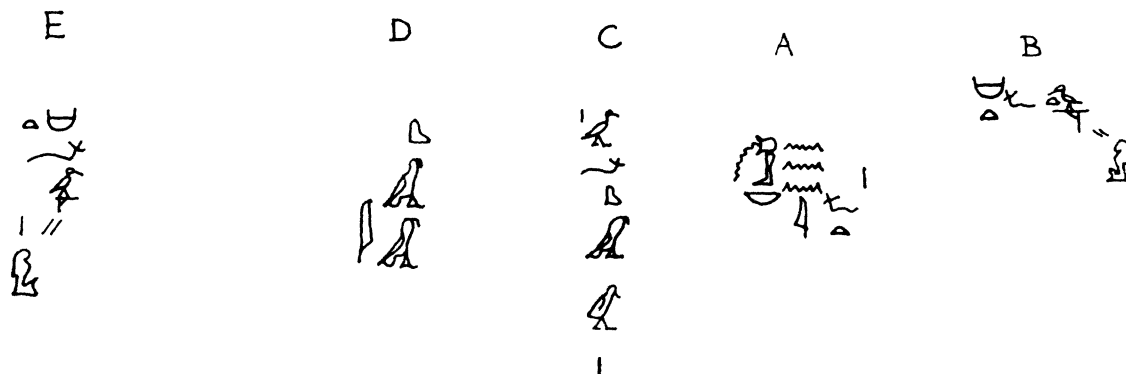


FIG. 2

Nouvel Empire) but it is unusual to find it completely absent although examples do exist (e.g. Cairo, 34,060; 34,107). Behind Qaw, seated facing right, is Qaa (D) with his wife Djehuty (E) behind him in the same postures as Neb-yot and his wife.

Lower Register (fig. 3)

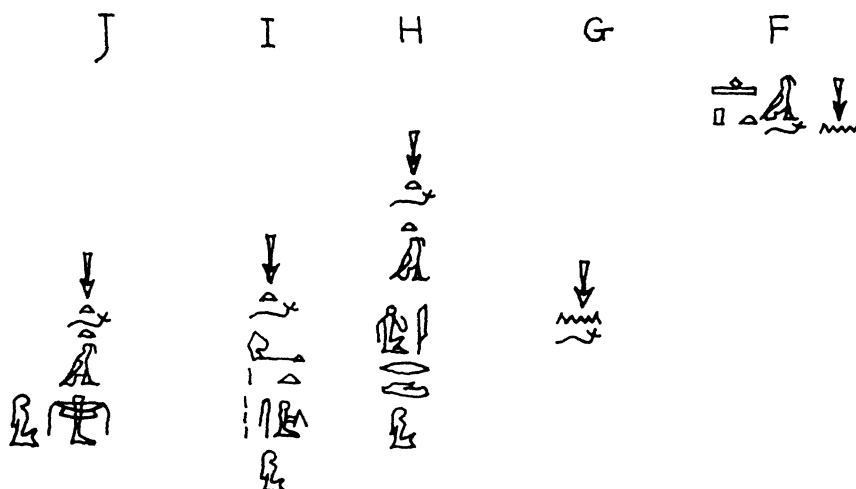
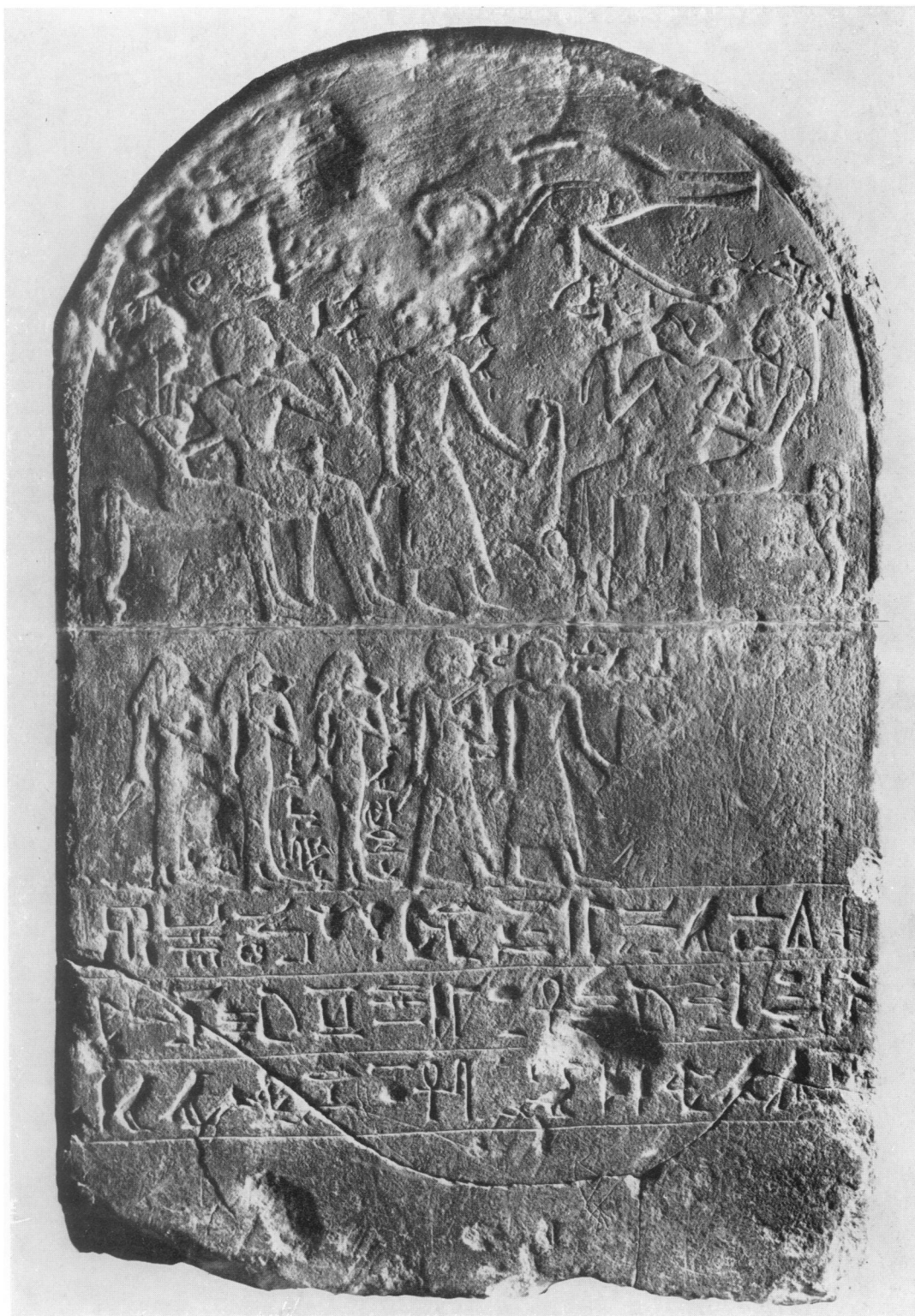


FIG. 3

The area in this register corresponding with that occupied by the seated figures of Neb-yot and Djehuty in the upper register has been left uncarved. Standing facing this area are depicted two men followed by three women each described as *his brother* or *his sister* and named as follows: Harhotpe (F), unnamed man (G), Ta-ired (H), Hatshepsut (I), and Ta-nubty (J).

The Inscription (fig. 4)

The inscription below the lower register exhibits some graphic errors: in line 1 the *t* and *p* of *pt* are transposed, and in line 2 the *m* of *im* is reversed and the plural strokes of *sn* omitted. It may be translated: *An offering which the King gives to Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven and to Osiris, living in Behdet that they may give a*



No. 70'96

EGYPTIAN PIECES IN BIRMINGHAM



2. No. 688'66



1. No. 243'33

EGYPTIAN PIECES IN BIRMINGHAM

funerary offering of bread and beer, ² oxen and fowl and every good and pure thing on which a god lives to the k3 of the wrb-priest Neb-yot ³ and to the k3 of Qaa. It is his son Qaw who causes his name to live.



FIG. 4

Relationships

From the inscription it is clear that the stela was erected on behalf of Neb-yot and Qaa and their wives by Neb-yot's son Qaw. Qaa's relationship to Neb-yot and Qaw is unknown because of the damage above his name. Qaa might be the brother of Neb-yot or his father, i.e. Qaw's grandfather. Conceivably the Djehuty to whom he was married was also the wife of Neb-yot in which case Qaw is shown before his father, mother, and stepfather. Whatever Qaa's relationship to the others, he is certainly represented as being of secondary importance to Neb-yot. This fact is demonstrated by the direction in which the figures face and by Neb-yot's precedence in the inscription over Qaa. We may therefore take it that Neb-yot is the person to whom the pronoun *f* refers in the lower register and that Harhotpe and (G) are his brothers and Ta-ired, Hatshepsut, and Ta-nubty his sisters. It is unusual to find a man's brothers and sisters subscribing to his monument instead of his children, but it may be that Qaw was his only child. Alternatively the pronoun *f* refers to Qaw, in which case the people in the lower register would also be Neb-yot's children. If that were the case one would expect them to be described as his children more explicitly. It is, however, at least plausible to suggest that Neb-yot came from a modest family and was, as it were, the elder brother who had achieved some success—he is the only person on the stela who has any kind of title—and that the stela represents an expression as much of family pride as of filial piety.

The Names

- A. Neb-yot is known from the First Intermediate Period and from the Middle Kingdom, cf. Ranke, *Ägyptischen Personennamen* (cited hereafter as *PN*), I, 183. 19.
- B. Djehuty is common as a masculine or feminine name from both the Middle and New Kingdoms (*PN* I, 407. 13).
- C. Qaw is written in the first instance with a final stroke, and secondly with a final *i*, both of which probably represent the seated man determinative, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.* Sign-list Z1 and A1; also Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 249–50. On the occurrence of this name see D.

- D. Qaa is also written with or without a final *i*, which again probably serves as a determinative. Names similar to Qaa and Qaw date from the Old Kingdom (*PN* II, 319. 25; 319. 26), the Middle Kingdom (*PN* I, 332. 25; 333. 2) and from both Middle and New Kingdoms (*PN* I, 333. 1).
- E. See B above.
- F. Ḥarḥotpe. Found throughout the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms (*PN* I, 250. 7).
- G. An undeciphered incised hieratic group cut in front of the man's head seems to contain his name. Its position is strange, coming before the group *sn.f*.
- H. Ta-ired. A feminine name with exactly the same spelling occurs in the Twelfth Dynasty, see Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, Cairo, 23015 (*PN* I, 254. 8).
- I. Ḥatshepsut is a common name in the Middle and New Kingdoms (*PN* I, 232. 23).
- J. Ta-nubty is attested in the Middle Kingdom and is common in the New Kingdom (*PN* I, 360. 22).

Date

From the evidence of the names the stela could be dated to either the Middle or the New Kingdom, but the use of this particular style of carving with the figures in relief and hieroglyphs incised is not found in the Middle Kingdom although it is common in the New Kingdom.


3. Lower part of a block statue (243'33)

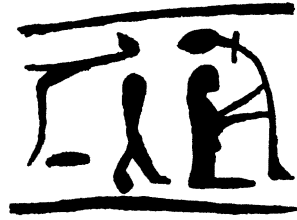
The details concerning the acquisition by the Museum of this block statue (pl. VII, 1) are even more vague than those concerning the first two pieces published here. It is described as having been bequeathed by Dr. Christopher Martin in 1933, and it formed part of a collection of objects ranging from an English nineteenth-century fire-rattle to an Etruscan cremation urn. Apart from his eclectic tastes we know nothing more about Dr. Martin, or of the circumstances in which he acquired the statue.

The base of the statue is 19 cm. wide at the front, tapering to 18 cm. at the back, and 26 cm. deep from front to back; it is 5.5 cm. high. The over-all height of the preserved portion of the squatting figure is 18.5 cm. The material is fine whitish limestone on which traces of paint are preserved: brick-red on the hands and feet and blue in the incised hieroglyphs. The head of the statue is missing and the name of Amūn has been hacked out, presumably during the 'Amarna period. One or two other chips of stone are missing but, as the photograph shows, the inscription is sufficiently well-preserved and clear to make a hand-copy unnecessary except in the case of one or two signs. The text is conventional: *A boon which the King gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, ² lord of Abydos^a, that he may give funerary offerings of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster and clothing, ³ incense and unguent and every good and pure^b thing on which a god lives to the k3 of ⁴ the w^cb-priest^c, overseer of craftsmen^d of [Amūn] Matji^e ⁵ justified. ⁶ It is his son who perpetuates his name, It-nufer.^f*

Notes

- a. The word is clearly written with \dagger in error for \ddagger —a common New-kingdom confusion, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, Sign-list R.15.

- b. Traces of \ominus remain below the *wrb* sign.
 c. The form  used here is strange. Its exact form is reproduced here in facsimile.



- d. I hesitate to suggest a reading for this sign which is also reproduced here in facsimile. It appears to conceal a misinterpreted hieratic sign, but no obvious original for what has been carved can be suggested. The title, with its determinative 𓂏 , was surely one connected with some positive activity. The signs 𓂏 or 𓂏 would yield good sense, the former being perhaps the more satisfactory; but the common Eighteenth-dynasty hieratic forms for these signs are not very like what the sculptor has carved, cf. Möller, *Hier. Pal.* II, nos. 42, 486.
 e. One example of the name *Mti* is recorded by Ranke (*PN* I, 167. 15), who dates it to the Middle Kingdom; but the same example is dated by Erman to the Hyksos period (*Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen*, Anhang i. 1).
 f. The name *'It-nfr* is common in the New Kingdom, cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 50. 22.



The Date

The erasure of the name of Amūn indicates a date no later than the reign of Amenophis III and, applying Vandier's criterion (*Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III, 455) that block statues in which the feet are exposed do not appear before the reign of Amenophis III, we arrive at a date within the reign of that pharaoh. The style of the statue is similar to that of others of this period except that the legs are rather more sharply inclined than in most contemporary pieces. We may, however, compare the statue of Meri-ptah, Chicago Oriental Institute, no. 10796 (see Vandier, *Manuel*, III, album, pl. clii, 3).

4. Part of a relief depicting the Opening-of-the-mouth Ceremony (688'66)

This fragment of relief was given to the Museum in 1966 by the present Director, Mr. J. E. Lowe. It was purchased from a dealer in Alexandria during the Second World War. There is no record of its Egyptian provenance.

The fragment measures 43 cm. high and 40 cm. wide at the top, and it has an average thickness of 4.5 cm. The bottom and side edges represent breaks but the top preserves the original edge of the block, and chisel marks may be clearly seen there and on the back. The material is a cream-coloured limestone with only one major flaw which coincides with the lower part of the face of the central priest. The relief is of uneven depth; at the most it is about 0.5 cm. deep, but in places it is reduced to a mere scratch. There are traces of red paint on the faces and hands of the priests, in the vertical line between the titles and in the horizontal line below the left-hand title; there is a single speck of blue at the very top of the leg in the *wrb*-sign of the left-hand title. The

nature of the scene is clear from the photograph (pl. VII, 2) and depicts part of the Ceremony of the Opening-of-the-mouth. The inscription above the figures is also clear in the photograph. From right to left it may be read: *The wꜥb-priest, draughtsman^a of Min, Ḥor-nakhte^b justified. The wꜥb-priest, sculptor^c of the House of Osiris . . .* Beneath the outstretched arms of the central priests is a vertical line of inscription which appears to be unfinished. The first sign seems to give the title of *lector priest* but the following name is undecipherable. The first sign might be  and there are two horizontal scratches below. After them is what appears to be .



Notes

- a. On *sš kd* as 'draughtsman' see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 71*.
- b. For the name Ḥor-nakhte see Ranke, *PN* I, 249. 10. After the seated noble which acts as determinative is the vertical *mꜣ* sign but the *hrw*-sign is omitted.
- c. On *ḥrw mdꜣt* 'sculptor' see Gardiner, loc. cit. The name of the sculptor is missing but traces of *ḥrw* can be discerned after the name of Osiris.

Date

The fragment is probably from a tomb-relief of the late Eighteenth or early Nineteenth Dynasty. A close parallel, but painted not carved, occurs in the Theban Tomb 181 of Nebamūn and Ipuky, see Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*, pl. xix.

EINE ABSTANDSURKUNDE AUS DER ZEIT DES NEUEN REICHES

Von S. ALLAM

IN der Publikation der von J. Černý und A. Gardiner zusammengestellten Ostraka stößt man hie und da auf Texte juristischen Inhalts von besonderer Bedeutung. Einige davon bestätigen das, was wir vom altägyptischen Recht bereits wissen, während viele andere manches altägyptische Rechtsinstitut oder -verfahren ins rechte Licht rücken. Einen Text dieser Art enthält O. Gardiner 104¹ aus der Zeit der 20. Dynastie. Der Text lautet folgendermaßen:

Jahr 31,² Monat 1 der Winterzeit, Tag 10
(*ḥst-sp* 31, *jbd* 1 *prt*, *sw* 10).

Was der Wasserholer *P₃-r₃-m-t₃-ḥnt* gesprochen hat (*ddi-n jn-mw P₃-r₃-m-t₃-ḥnt*): 'So wahr Amun dauert (*wšḥ ḥmn*)! So wahr der Herrscher, L.H.G., dauert (*wšḥ p₃ ḥk₃, rnh wd₃ snb*)! Wenn ich gegen diesen Esel rede³ (*mtw-j mdw m p₃y r₃*), dann soll (ich)⁴ 100 Hiebe erleiden (*jw-f ḥr* 100 *n šht*).'

In Gegenwart (*m-b₃ḥ*) (von):

dem Schreiber (*sš*) *ḥmn-nḥt*,
dem Maler (*sš-ḥd*) *Nb-nfr*,
Nfr-ḥr,
ḥn-ḥr-ḥr,
P₃-n-t₃-wrt (und)
dem Schreiber (*sš*) *P₃-n-t₃-wrt*.

Gemacht⁵ für ihn im Jahr 31, Monat 1 der Winterzeit, Tag 13
(*jr n-f m ḥst-sp* 31, *jbd* 1 *prt*, *sw* 13).

Aus diesem Wortlaut geht hervor, daß der Wasserholer an dem genannten Tag sich durch Eid vor mehreren Zeugen band, eine Abmachung über einen bestimmten Esel nicht anzufechten. Drei Tage später wurde jedoch der vorliegende Text für eine bestimmte Person niedergeschrieben.⁶ An seiner Ausfertigung scheint diese

¹ Faksimile und Transkription in J. Černý und A. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* (Oxford, 1957), pls. xlvi, xlvi A, 3.

² Also aus der Regierungszeit Ramses' III.

³ d. h. gegen (die Abmachung über) den Esel reden.

⁴ Im Text steht an dieser Stelle das Pronomen der 3. Person Singular. Der Schreiber des Textes vermied aus abergläubischen Gründen die Wiedergabe der 1. Person, wohl deshalb, damit ihn die sanktionierte Strafe nicht treffen soll.

⁵ Im Sinne von: Ausgestellt.

⁶ Diese Person kann mit dem besagten Wasserholer nicht identisch sein. Denn eine Protokollierung der eigenen Erklärung wäre für diesen kaum von Interesse. Sie kann dagegen für den Geschäftspartner, in dessen Interesse der Wasserholer die eidesstattliche Erklärung abgab, von großer Bedeutung sein. Daß dieser Geschäftspartner im Text nicht benannt wird, ist unerheblich. Ihm wurde das Schriftstück wohl ausgehändigt; damit sollte es auf den Inhaber selbst lauten. Zum anderen können die genannten Zeugen im Falle eines Streites zur Feststellung der protokollierten Vereinbarung jederzeit zugezogen werden. Wohl deshalb schien dem Schreiber unseres Schriftstückes die Nennung des Geschäftspartners nicht wichtig zu sein.

Person rechtliches Interesse gehabt zu haben. Denn für sie muß die Erklärung des Wasserholers rechtserheblich und eine Niederschrift derselben beweiserheblich gewesen sein. Demnach handelt es sich dabei um eine Urkunde, die für den damaligen Rechtsverkehr bestimmt war. Der Sinn dieser Urkunde ist allerdings nicht ohne weiteres klar; er erhellt sich aber, wenn wir weitere Texte, vor allem aus derselben Epoche, heranziehen.

Zunächst kommt O. DeM 56,¹ ebenfalls aus der Regierungszeit Ramses' III., in Betracht. Nach M. Malinine ist der Inhalt des Textes als ein Kaufgeschäft über ein Rind aufzufassen.² Dabei hatte der Verkäufer vor einem Zeugen eidlich zu erklären: '50 Kupfer-*dbn* (ist) dieses Rind (wert)³ (50 *n dbn n hmt pꝓy jh*). Ich werde in Zukunft nicht dagegen reden (*bn mdwꝓ j jmꝓ f m dwꝓ sꝓ dwꝓ*).' Mit diesen Worten bestätigt der Verkäufer wohl den Empfang des Kaufpreises und bekräftigt anschließend die Nichtanfechtung des Kaufvertrages durch ihn. Durch sein Nichtanfechtungsversprechen geht sein Eigentum auf den Käufer über. Demnach enthält dieser Text wohl eine Quittung über die Preiszahlung sowie eine Erklärung des Verkäufers, von den eigenen Rechten an der verkauften Sache Abstand zu nehmen.

Ähnlich formuliert ist der auf dem unpublizierten O. Turin 6672 verbriefte Kaufvertrag über einen Esel. Dort ist nach Angabe des Datums die Zahlung des Kaufpreises in Höhe von 26 *dbn* ausführlich protokolliert.⁴ Nach der Preiszahlung bekräftigt der Verkäufer eidlich u. a. (Z. 4): 'Ich werde gegen diesen Esel nicht reden (*bn mdwꝓ j m pꝓy ꝓꝓ*).' Demnach liegen auch in diesem Text eine Quittung über die Zahlung des Kaufpreises sowie eine Abstandserklärung des Verkäufers vor; in dieser verspricht er, das vom Käufer erworbene Eigentum nicht streitig zu machen.

In unserer Urkunde findet sich lediglich eine Abstandserklärung, wie sie in den beiden oben besprochenen Kaufgeschäften vorkommt; von einer Preiszahlung ist keine Rede. Dabei könnte man erwägen, daß die Beurkundung der Preiszahlung und gleichzeitig der Übertragung des Eigentums an der Kaufsache nur bei einem Bargeschäft möglich ist. Das Wesen des Barkaufes erschöpft sich ja in Leistung und sofortiger Gegenleistung und bietet daher keinen Raum für Kreditierung der letzteren. Ein reger wirtschaftlicher Verkehr erfordert andererseits oft ein Hinausschieben der Gegenleistung, da sofortige Erfüllung nicht immer möglich ist. Darüber hinaus wissen wir aus der Spätzeit, daß jeder demotische Immobilienverkauf in der Form von zwei Urkunden vor sich ging: eine Geldzahlungsurkunde (*sh dbꝓ hd*, συγγραφή πράσεως) und eine Abstandsurkunde (*sh n wꝓj*, συγγραφή ἀποστασίου).⁵ Die Geldzahlungs-

¹ Faksimile und Transkription in J. Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh*, I (= Documents de fouilles publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, tome III, Le Caire, 1935), pls. 45, 45A.

² M. Malinine, 'Notes juridiques', in *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 102 sqq. So auch I. Lurje, *Očerki drevneegipetskogo prava* (Studien zum altägyptischen Recht, 16.-10. Jh. v. Chr., Leningrad, 1960), 200 sqq.

³ M. Malinine, loc. cit., übersetzt diesen Satz: '(J'ai reçu?) les 50 deben de cuivre (équivalent au prix) de ce boeuf.' Ähnlich übersetzt ihn I. Lurje, loc. cit. Für die Rinderpreise s. neuerdings W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, III (= Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1963, Nr. 2), 485.

⁴ Für die Eselspreise s. Helck, op. cit., 499 sqq.

⁵ Hierzu L. Mitteis in L. Mitteis und U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* (Leipzig-

urkunde enthält den Konsens der Parteien über den Umsatz der Kaufsache gegen den Preis, also ein Kausalgeschäft, gleichzeitig auch die Quittung über vollzogene Leistung des Käufers, sowie die Erklärung des Verkäufers, für die Sache die Gewähr übernehmen zu wollen. Die Abstandsurkunde enthält hingegen die Bestätigung der Leistung des Verkäufers und entspricht der modernen Auffassung.¹ Diese Trennung hat auch den Vorteil, daß der Vorleistende sein Eigentumsrecht behält und trotz Übergabe bis zum Empfang der Gegenleistung ein dingliches Rückforderungsrecht an dem Gegebenen besitzt. Erst nach Preiszahlung begibt sich der Verkäufer des eigenen Herrenrechts an der Sache und macht dadurch den Käufer zum Eigentümer. Diese Anerkennung des Rechts des Erwerbers hat sich zweifellos aus dem Verzicht auf die eigene Vindikationsbefugnis bzw. aus dem Nichtanfechtungsversprechen des Verkäufers entwickelt.

Die Tötigung eines Kaufgeschäfts in Form von zwei Urkunden war zwar hauptsächlich Immobilien vorbehalten. Jedoch besitzen wir eine Abstandsurkunde aus dem 6. Jh. v. Chr., die die Übereignung einer Eselin zum Gegenstand hat. Es handelt sich dabei um P. Loeb 43,² eine der ältesten demotischen Abstandsurkunden. Der Herausgeber dieses Papyrus, W. Spiegelberg, hat die Frage geäußert, ob zu dieser Schrift eine verlorengegangene Kaufurkunde gehört. Inzwischen hat R. Taubenschlag darin einen Verkauf erblicken wollen.³ Demzufolge könnte man auch O. Gardiner 104 im Rahmen eines Kaufgeschäfts verstehen. Zwar ist der Text des P. Loeb reicher und ausführlicher formuliert, als der lapidare Wortlaut des O. Gardiner. Dies ist wohl aus der Beschaffenheit des Schreibmaterials zu erklären: im Gegensatz zu einem Papyrus bietet ein Ostrakon nicht so viel Raum für detaillierte Protokollierung; darum begnügte sich der Protokollschreiber mit der Niederschrift der wichtigsten Daten. Außerdem ist die demotische Rechtssprache viel reicher an Formulierungen als die der hieratischen Urkunden, da sie weiter entwickelt ist. Daher kann es nicht wundernehmen, wenn die Abstandserklärung in O. Gardiner zu kurz erscheint. Sie gibt trotzdem denselben Sinn wie die Abstandserklärung in P. Loeb. Ebenso wenig darf uns das Vorkommen der Eidesleistung und der sanktionierten körperlichen Strafe in O. Gardiner überraschen; beides kommt des öfteren in den hieratischen Verträgen vor und scheint dafür charakteristisch zu sein.

Die Funktion der Abstandsurkunde erschöpft sich allerdings nicht in der Abwicklung eines Kaufgeschäfts. In der Spätzeit wurde sie auch im Prozeß verwandt; mit ihr erklärte sich die unterlegene Partei dem Urteil des Gerichts unterworfen.⁴ Jedoch

Berlin, 1912), II. Band (juristischer Teil), 167 sqq.; J. Partsch in W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Hauswaldt; Verträge der ersten Hälfte der Ptolemäerzeit (Ptolemaios II.–IV.) aus Apollinopolis (Edfu)* (Leipzig, 1913), 11 sqq.; W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptologische Mitteilungen, V. Der Ursprung und das Wesen der Formelsprache der demotischen Urkunden* (= Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1925, 2. Abhandlung, München, 1925), 25 sqq.; R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Graeco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (332 B.C.–640 A.D.) (2nd ed., Warsaw, 1955), 317 sqq.

¹ Andere Meinung vertritt E. Seidl, 'Altägyptisches Recht', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden-Köln, 1964), Ergänzungsband III, Orientalisches Recht, 30.

² W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb* (= Papyri der Universität München, I. Heft, München, 1931), 73 sqq., Taf. 24.

³ R. Taubenschlag, *op. cit.*, 334.

⁴ Für das Vorkommen der Abstandsurkunde in dem kursiv-hieratischen und dem früh-demotischen Material s. E. Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit* (= Ägyptologische Forschungen, Heft 20,

begegnet uns die Abstandserklärung nach verlorenem Prozeß auch in den Prozeßprotokollen aus der Zeit des Neuen Reiches. Dies können uns zwei weitere Ostraka verdeutlichen.

Auf O. Gardiner 23¹ haben wir einen Text, der ein Gottesurteilverfahren wiedergibt. Dabei handelt es sich um einen Rechtsstreit über Immobilien. Das Verfahren endete damit, daß das Besitzrecht an diesen Immobilien einer Streitpartei zugesprochen wurde. Darauf mußte die unterlegene Partei vor Zeugen eidlich versprechen (Z. 9–10): 'Ich werde gegen keinen Platz² (von) denen des *ꜣ-nḥt*, ihres Vaters, reden (*bn mdw·j m st nb n ꜣ-nḥt ꝑꝣy·w jt*). Sie (scil. die Immobilien) sollen dem, der in seinem Haus wohnt, gehören (*jw·w n ꝑꝣ nty ḥms m ꝑꝣy·f ꝑꝣ*).' Mit diesen Worten erklärt die unterlegene Partei ihre Unterwerfung unter das Gottesurteil: sie verspricht, keinen weiteren Streit in derselben Sache zu führen und erkennt gleichzeitig das Besitzrecht der obsiegenden Partei an.

Ein ähnlicher Rechtsstreit, der auf dem unveröffentlichten O. Genf 12550 protokolliert ist, wurde ebenfalls in einem Gottesurteilverfahren entschieden. Danach wurde der unterlegenen Partei der Eid auferlegt; sie versprach (recto Z. 11): 'Ich werde gegen dieses [Haus] nicht reden (*bn mdw·j m ꝑꝣ [wdꝣ]*). Kein Mensch (aus) meiner Verwandtschaft wird dagegen reden (*b[n] mdw rmt nb n ḥ[ꝣw]·j jm·f*).' Mit dieser Erklärung wird der Streitverzicht seitens der unterlegenen Partei zum Ausdruck gebracht.

Wenn wir nun die beiden letzten Abstandserklärungen mit der Äußerung des Wasserholers in O. Gardiner 104 vergleichen, so fällt uns gleich eine starke Ähnlichkeit im Wortlaut auf. Die Äußerung des Wasserholers hebt sich von jenen lediglich dadurch ab, daß sie eine körperliche Strafe vorsieht, falls der Versprechende seinem Versprechen zuwiderhandelt. Dies ist aber als Erweiterung der eigentlichen Abstandserklärung anzusehen. Hieraus könnte man folgern, daß der Wasserholer in unserer Urkunde seine Abstandserklärung vielleicht nach verlorenem Prozeß über den Esel abgeben mußte.

Zusammenfassend können wir sagen, daß es sich bei O. Gardiner 104 um eine Abstandsurkunde handelt, die entweder im Rahmen eines Kaufgeschäfts für den Käufer eines Esels durch den Verkäufer oder aber nach verlorenem Prozeß über das besagte Tier für die obsiegende Partei durch ihren Gegner ausgestellt wurde. Nach dem derzeitigen Stand der Forschung stellt dieses Ostrakon den frühesten Beleg für die Abstandsurkunde im Alten Ägypten dar.

Glückstadt, 1956), 24 sqq. Für die Verwendung der Abstandsurkunde in der Ptolemäerzeit s. E. Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte* (= Ägyptologische Forschungen, Heft 22, 2. Auflage, Glückstadt, 1962), 51.

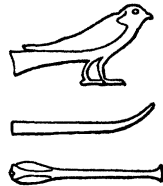
Beachtung verdient dabei die Tatsache, daß die Abstandsurkunde in dem aramäischen Material aus der jüdischen Kolonie von Elephantine in Oberägypten aus der Zeit des 5. Jh. v. Chr. vorkommt; dort wurde sie in der gleichen Weise beim Verkauf und im Prozeß verwendet. Hierzu R. Yaron, *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford, 1961), 33 sqq.; 81 sqq.

¹ Faksimile und Transkription in Černý und Gardiner, op. cit., pls. xliii, xliii A, 4. Eine Übersetzung findet sich in Helck, op. cit., 337 sqq.

² Ein Terminus für Grundbesitz.

THE PRACTICE OF DENTISTRY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

By F. FILCE LEEK



HERODOTUS, during his travels in Egypt about 450 B.C., wrote: 'The practice of medicine is so divided among them, that each physician is a healer of one disease and no more. All the country is full of physicians, some of the eye, some of the teeth, some of what pertains to the belly, and some of the hidden diseases.'¹

If only Herodotus had needed dental care during his residence in Egypt he might also have described the methods and remedies used. Unfortunately such is not the case and we have to rely for much of our knowledge on the surviving medical and other papyri. From these documents we can gain an insight into and understand a little of the philosophy underlying the remedial practices of the ancient Egyptians.²

A very human document which occurs in a literary miscellany of the Nineteenth Dynasty contained in Pap. Anastasi IV (B.M. 10249, 12. 5-13. 8) consists of the lament of an Egyptian official who bewails the hardships he endures in his station at a lonely outpost. At the end of his harangue he mentions the sufferings of one of his colleagues: 'A *mns*-scribe is here with me, every muscle of whose face twitches; the *wštt*-disease has developed in his eye, and the worm grows into his tooth. I cannot leave him to his fate.' This is one of the earliest instances known of the belief that toothache is caused by a worm.³

The examination of a selection of skulls of the New Kingdom shows clearly that the sufferer was indeed fortunate that only one tooth was affected. To illuminate this last sentence it is necessary to digress from the theme of the foregoing discussion and consider some aspects of dental pathology. By far the greater proportion of the teeth of adult ancient Egyptians shows extensive wear of the occlusal surfaces (pl. VIII, 1)

¹ II, 84. Translation of A. D. Godley (Loeb Classical Library).

² Much of what is written here depends on the published work of Warren R. Dawson and also on private correspondence and conversation between him and the present writer. Two essays of his which are particularly fruitful are 'Egypt's Place in Medical History' in *Science, Medicine and History*. Essays on the evolution of scientific thought and medical practice written in honour of Charles Singer (Oxford, 1953), 47-60; and 'Medicine' in S. R. K. Glanville (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt* (Oxford, 1942), 179-98.

³ For the text see Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brussels, 1937), 48-49; the sentences here quoted are from 13. 6-13. 7 in the translation of Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954), 189. For references on the worm as a disease and as a cause of toothache see Caminos, *op. cit.* 197.

and this wear, in a large number of instances, leads to the exposure of the dental pulp (pl. VIII, 2). Especially is this so in cases where the wear has proceeded faster than the laying down of the protective secondary dentine. When this results in the death of the pulp, bacteria invade the surrounding alveolar bone which eventually becomes infected. This infection leads usually to one of two classes of abscesses, the first a chronic type, in which the bone destruction around the tooth apex proceeds at a slow rate and a growth of inflammatory tissue is produced which varies in size from that of a small to that of a large pea. When pus is associated with the inflammatory tissue it causes absorption of the adjacent alveolar bone and a breakdown in the neighbouring gingival tissue, thus providing a pathway for its escape into the labial or buccal sulcus. When this condition is seen in a dried skull a circular opening is present through the outer and sometimes the inner alveolar plate in the region of the apex of the tooth (pl. VIII, 2). In some cases a cyst may develop (pl. VIII, 3). But pain and discomfort are infrequent symptoms of any of these conditions. The second class of abscess is more virulent, causes great pain, swelling, high temperature, and pus-formation, and can lead, especially without radical treatment, to serious consequences such as osteomyelitis, a condition often observable in ancient Egyptian skulls (pl. IX, 1, 2).

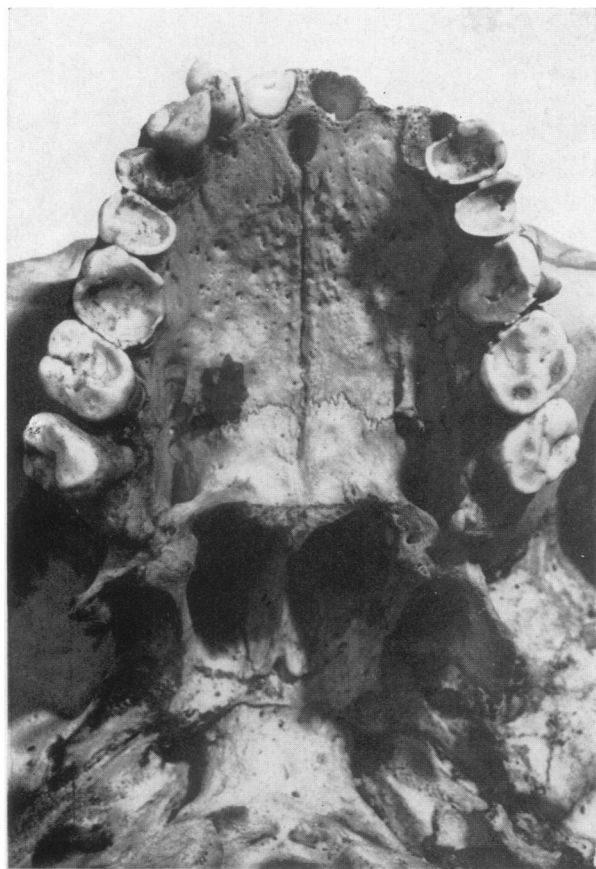
Much of the contents of the medical papyri, some of which contain recipes for diseases of the teeth and gums, dates from the Middle Kingdom, but in some cases the material is preserved only in papyri written during the New Kingdom. The information given in the surviving papyri falls into two groups, that which may claim to be essentially medical in character and that which is mainly magical or superstitious. The contents of some of the papyri fall wholly into the first group, others into the second, and again others contain elements of both, more or less indiscriminately combined.¹ The two most important medical papyri are the Ebers Papyrus, in the University Museum, Leipzig, and the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, now in the possession of the New York Academy of Medicine. It is essential to study the maladies described in these texts and the treatments suggested in order to understand the philosophy on which the approach to the causes and treatment of a disorder was based.²

The following is a summary of eleven dental prescriptions taken from the Papyrus Ebers.

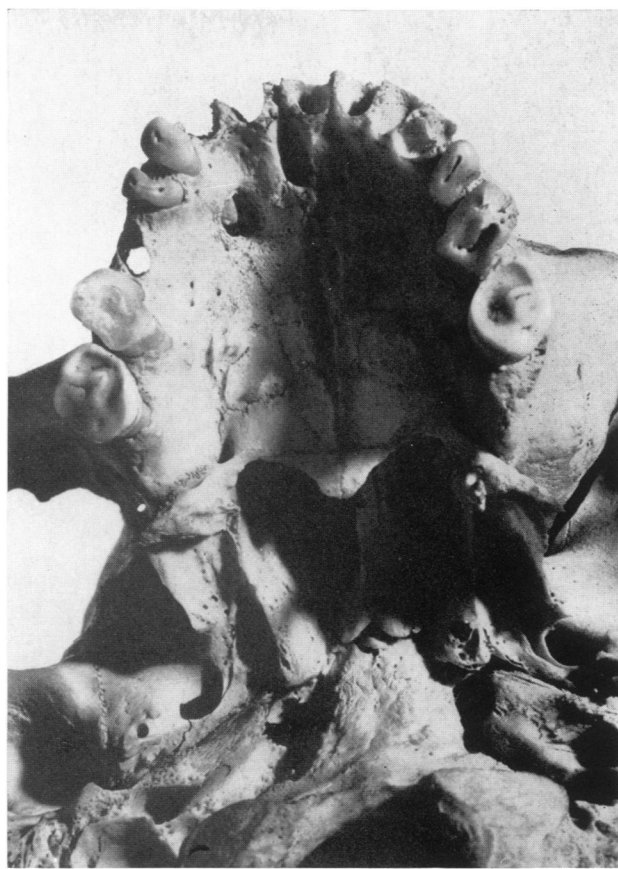
1. Eb. 89. 2-3. For fixing a loose tooth. A mixture of crushed seeds, ochre, and honey made into a paste and applied to the tooth.
2. Eb. 89. 3-4. Another, similar, for pain in the teeth.
3. Eb. 89. 4-6. For toothache. A paste of ground-up vegetable and mineral substances with honey.

¹ The surviving medical documents are treated exhaustively in the important series *Grundriß der Medizin der Alten Ägypter* (8 vols., 1954-63). For an analysis of the principal texts see H. Grapow, *Von den medizinischen Texten* (*Grundriß*, II, 1955); for diseases see id., *Kranker, Krankheiten und Arzt* (*Grundriß*, III, 1956); for translations, id., *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte* (*Grundriß*, IV, 2 parts, 1958); for hieroglyphic transcriptions, id., *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert* (*Grundriß*, V, 1958).

² The text of the Ebers Papyrus is most accessible in Wreszinski, *Der Papyrus Ebers* (Leipzig, 1913); that of the Edwin Smith Papyrus with translation and commentary, in J. H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1930).



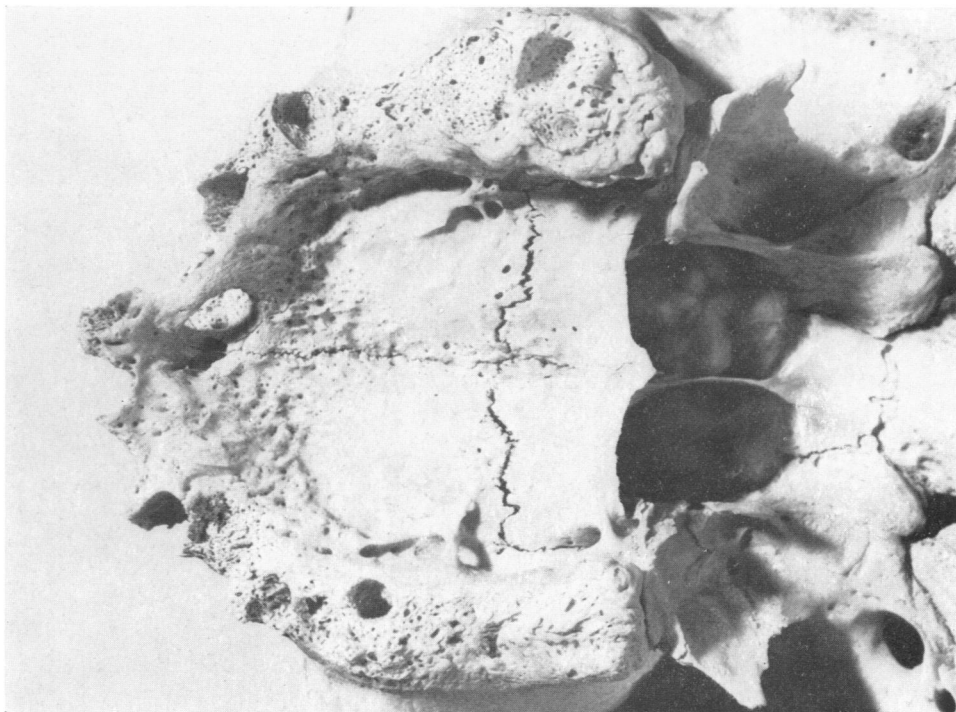
1. Only upper left lateral incisor missing ante-mortem, probably the result of trauma, as indicated by extensive loss of surrounding labial bone; the labial plate being fractured at time of accident and later lost as sequestrum. Excessive wear of cusps of premolars and first molars by attrition has resulted in exposure of pulp-chamber of left second premolar and first molar teeth. *Qâw*



2. Marked occlusal attrition of all posterior teeth, especially premolars, the pulps of which have been exposed. The abscess formation around apex of right premolar has resulted in a large circular area of bone destruction. *Qâw*



3. All the buccal teeth were lost ante-mortem except last tooth on each side. Immediately in front of these teeth are cystic cavities, the one on the left being 13 mm. \times 11 mm. \times 12 mm.; the one on the right being 12 mm. \times 8 mm. \times 10 mm. *Qâw*



1. All teeth except two lost ante-mortem. The extensive loss of alveolar bone is the result of osteomyelitis. Note the circular opening in the apical region of the lateral incisor area which is the result of a cyst. *Hierakonpolis*



2. An edentulous maxilla showing extensive bone destruction resulting from osteomyelitis and abscess formation. *Tarkhiâv*



3. Roots of the molar teeth are denuded of alveolar bone below the bifurcation. A large crater seen on the buccal side of the second molar is the result of a periodontal abscess. *Qurna*

4. Eb. 89. 6-7. For a septic tooth (lit. 'a tooth that gnaws into an opening in the flesh'). The ingredients are of an astringent nature: cumin, colocynth, and frankincense.
5. Eb. 89. 7, 9. For fixing a loose tooth.
6. Eb. 89. 8. Another for the same.
7. Eb. 89. 8-9. For treating the teeth by rinsing in the mouth. In this case two plants are to be chewed and spat out. The vehicle is sweet ale.
8. Eb. 89. 10-11. For inflammation of the gums, perhaps stomatitis. The drugs are the homely date and beans, which are to be exposed to the dew, mixed with milk, and chewed and spat out, for nine days.
9. Eb. 89. 11-12. Another for the same. In this case the vehicle is oil and water.
10. Eb. 89. 12-13. A paste for 'making healthy' the teeth. Two vegetable drugs, mandrake and species of *Potentilla*, chewed and spat out. The vehicle is sweet ale.
11. Eb. 89. 14-15. For 'eating blood' in a tooth. This idiomatic expression is understood by Dr. Ebbell to mean 'scurvy'.¹

All the above remedies are simple external applications, many of the ingredients being of a gritty nature—pounded ochre and other minerals, one of which, called *wꜥd*, 'greenstone', is possibly malachite or copper sulphate.² The choice of drugs in these and countless other prescriptions for ailments of every kind was probably dictated by the belief in their magical rather than their therapeutic value. It will be noted that most of the remedies are for 'fastening a tooth' or for treating some disorder associated with the gums. None relates to the treatment of carious cavities. This limitation again is what would be expected from an examination of the dental disease seen in skulls of those times. Very few cavities do exist but periodontal lesions are numerous. This condition leads to the loosening of the affected teeth with the sequelae of inflammation and a most painful condition of the surrounding gingival tissue. Mention has previously been made of the almost universal consequence of eating coarse and gritty foods—that of the wearing down of the crown of the tooth. Not only can this attrition be followed by all the pathological sequelae associated with the death of the pulp, but frequently the occlusal equilibrium is altered. In this case masticatory pressures are exerted which are much greater than the supporting tissues can sustain and this leads to inflammation and absorption of the alveolar bone. This loss of the surrounding alveolar bone can progress until the tooth is held in position only by a gingival attachment, and in such cases can be dislodged by digital pressure. During this time the pain and associated minor swelling are noticed in the sulcus, and it is through a sinus or by the gum margin that pus is discharged (pl. IX, 3).

These conditions, which can be diagnosed as 'purulency' or 'eating ulcer', were treated locally with medicaments rather than by removal of the real cause of the

¹ The Ebers Papyrus is translated into English in B. Ebbell, *The Papyrus Ebers* (Copenhagen, 1937).

² Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), 102, accepts malachite as the most satisfactory identification for *wꜥd*. See also H. von Deines and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen* (*Grundriß*, VI, 1959), 125 ff.

disturbance, namely the affected tooth. This kind of treatment, whilst sometimes ameliorating the painful symptoms, does not prevent the pathological changes from spreading in the surrounding bony and gingival tissues, and these can progress until such time as a whole segment of the jaw is affected. Such cases are frequently to be seen. Unfortunately the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus does not contain any reference to dental disease. It is, as its name implies, mainly surgical in character, being concerned principally with wounds, fractures, sprains, and tumours. One of the cases described is, however, of great interest to dental practitioners, as instruction is given for correcting a dislocated mandible, the interesting feature being that the method prescribed is exactly the same as that practised today to restore a displaced mandible to its normal position:

If thou examinest a man having a dislocation in his mandible, shouldst thou find his mouth open (and) his mouth cannot close for him, thou shouldst put thy thumb(s) upon the two ends of the rami of the mandible in the inside of his mouth, (and) thy two claws (meaning two groups of fingers) under his chin (and) thou shouldst cause them to fall back so that they rest in their places.¹

The dental references in the other papyri are similar to and sometimes identical with those mentioned in the Ebers Papyrus.²

There is a complete lack of direct evidence from human specimens concerning any practice of dentistry prior to this time and all the theories concerning it are based on textual evidence. Before reviewing this evidence, especially in so far as it concerns the existence of a dental profession during the Old Kingdom, it is desirable to examine some of the Egyptian terms that appertain to the subject. There are two words in common use meaning tooth: 𓂏 , *ibh*, often written 𓂏 , and 𓂏 or 𓂏 , *nhdt*, *nhdt*; a rarer word is 𓂏 *tst*. The contexts in which these various words occur provide few clues to distinguish differences in meaning between them. In some texts *ibhw* and *nhdwt* occur together and it has been concluded that the *nhdwt* may be the larger or molar teeth.³ It will be noted that the common determinative used in these words, 𓂏 , is not a human tooth, which would be quite difficult to delineate with convincing detail, but the tusk of an animal, probably an elephant.⁴ This use is in accordance with Egyptian practice in the writing of anatomical terms whereby the word for the human part is often determined by its animal equivalent.⁵

In a study of the stela of Iry, a monument from Gîza of the late Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period, Junker has much to say on the practice of medicine in the Old Kingdom.⁶ Iry held several titles which indicate medical offices and Junker

¹ Breasted, *Edwin Smith*, case 25, vol. 1, 303 ff.

² See Grapow, *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte (Grundriß, IV)*, I, 65 ff.

³ For the words for 'teeth' and for this suggested distinction between *ibhw* and *nhdwt* see Lefebvre, *Tableau des parties du corps humain mentionnées par les Égyptiens* (Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités, Cahier 17, Cairo, 1952), 20; Grapow, *Anatomie und Physiologie (Grundriß, I, 1954)*, 41 f. See also Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3rd series, the Chester Beatty Gift (London, 1935), I, 126, where in a magico-medical text, tooth (*ibh* written 𓂏) and molar (? *nhdwt*) are contrasted.

⁴ Cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign List F. 18.

⁵ Cf. Gardiner, op. cit. Sign List F. 13 (animal horns for 'brow'), F. 20 (ox-tongue for 'tongue' in general), F. 21 (animal ear for human and other ears), F. 23 (foreleg of an ox for 'forearm'), and others.

⁶ See H. Junker, 'Die Stele des Hofarztes 'Iry' in *ZÄS* 63 (1928), 53-70.

examines the question of specialization and general practice in ancient Egypt. Commenting on the passage in Herodotus quoted in the opening paragraph of this paper, and linking it with the evidence provided by the stela of Iry, he says:

Das darf aber nicht wörtlich genommen werden; neben den Spezialisten standen gewiß auch zu Herodots Zeiten die Doktoren der gesamten Heilkunde in größerer Zahl; aus der Stele des 'Iry geht hervor, daß jedenfalls im Alten Reich die Verhältnisse anders lagen und ein Arzt Spezialist für mehrere Fächer sein konnte. Andererseits lassen aber die Titel dieser Zeit die Ansätze zu eine weiteren Entwicklung in der Richtung des Spezialistentums klar erkennen, und es ist interessant, daß die von Herodot erwähnten Sonderfächer der Medizin zum größten Teil schon hier erscheinen.¹

Junker extended his examination of medical titles beyond the scope of those included in the stela of 'Iry and noted the existence of some specifically dental titles: 𓏏 , which he read *ibhy*, 'he who is concerned with teeth' i.e. 'dentist'; 𓏏 , *irw ibh*, 'he who deals with teeth' i.e. 'dentist' also; and the senior titles *wr ibhy* and *wr irw ibh*, 'chief dentist', and *wr ibhy pr-c*, 'chief dentist of the Great House'.² He also noted that the title *wr ibhy* occurs with *sinw* among the titles of Hesy-Rē, a Third-dynasty official whose mastaba at Saqqâra has yielded finely carved wooden panels. The collocation of titles *wr ibhy sinw* found on one panel is used to introduce this paper and it may be seen in its full context on pl. X, 1. In dental literature it has become common to regard Hesy-Rē as the first recorded dentist. B. W. Weinberger, an American dental historian, quotes a letter of Hermann Ranke, written in 1942, in support of this claim.³

Philological evidence alone, however, cannot establish the existence of a true dental profession in ancient Egypt, and it was Junker again who provided the one piece of supporting evidence of the practice of prosthetic dentistry in existence. During his examination of shaft 984 at Giza, a number of articles were found, all of them being, he believed, of the late Fourth or Fifth Dynasty. Among the remains of a body were two teeth, a lower second and a lower third molar joined together by a piece of gold wire woven around the gingival margins. Professor Euler, who made an examination of this most important find, was of the opinion that judging by their colour and anatomical form both teeth belonged to the same individual (pl. X, 2). The crown of the third molar showed extreme wear of the occlusal surface and its roots were almost completely absorbed. Also, and this is almost the most vital part of the evidence, he contended that tartar was found on both the gold wire and the tooth, indicating that the dental work was performed in the mouth of a living person.⁴

It has been possible to examine this vital evidence only from a photograph and it is certainly impossible to verify that tartar was indeed present. In fact its presence could only be accepted if a piece underwent microscopical examination, since concretions of extraneous and contiguous matter form on teeth and skulls that have been buried

¹ Ibid. 69.

² Ibid. 69. The dental titles are further discussed in Lefebvre, *Essai sur la médecine égyptienne de l'époque pharaonique* (Paris, 1956), 69.

³ B. W. Weinberger, *An Introduction to the History of Dentistry* (St. Louis, 1948), vol. I, 67.

⁴ Junker, *Giza*, I (Vienna, 1929), 256 f., pl. 40c; the report includes Euler's findings.

for a long period, and these concretions often by their colour and texture resemble salivary calculus. There are other very good reasons for doubting the validity of the conclusions drawn from the evidence of these two joined teeth. In the first place, although Junker states that the teeth were found *im Schutt von den Resten der Leiche*, he makes no mention of the skull or of other teeth. Secondly, the two teeth which would have been close together in the mouth (they are certainly lower second and third molars), are widely separated by the twist of wire. Thirdly, if they are from the same person, it is strange that the third molar (on left) shows much more marked attrition than the second molar (on right); for the second molar by natural process should be several years older than the third molar. A more simple explanation would be that the owner of the teeth preserved them when they fell out and wore them joined together by gold wire around his neck. The first to fall out would have been the second molar, being less worn down; the third molar was lost from the mouth at a much later date when the root became absorbed as the result of an infection. Their presence with the remains of the body, in spite of the absence of the skull and other teeth, is in this way reasonably explained. What should be emphasized is that they do not provide evidence of dental practice.

A further piece of evidence, often quoted in support of the existence of a medical profession in ancient Egypt, is supplied by a Fourth-dynasty mandible found by Reisner at Gîza and described in detail by E. A. Hooton.¹ It shows two circular openings in the region of the apex of a lower right first molar. Breasted states his concurrence with the opinion that these perforations were deliberately drilled to the root of the tooth in order to drain the pus from an abscess.² Earlier in this paper is described the pathological sequence of a chronic alveolar abscess in which it was seen that the circular openings through the alveolar plate were caused by the presence of pus associated with an infected apical area (pl. X, 3).³ It is therefore quite impossible to agree that the holes in this mandible were the result of human intervention and they cannot be accepted as supporting evidence of the existence of an organized dental profession.

To refer once more to the interpretation of the dental titles discussed by Junker, there are a number of authorities on Old Egyptian who accept the suggested renderings. Those whom the author has been able to consult, while accepting the renderings, are unable to agree that there was in fact any practice of dentistry in ancient Egypt as it is known today, since they have been unable to find any corroborative evidence.⁴ A very different opinion, however, is held by Dr. Hans Goedicke who is unable to accept that the titles on the Hesy-Rê panel denote an administrative office or are remotely concerned with dentistry, and suggests that they designate a function connected with a ceremonial event or the ritual of a feast.⁵

¹ E. A. Hooton, 'Oral Surgery in Egypt during the Old Kingdom', in *Harvard African Studies*, 1 (1917), 29 ff.

² *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, 1, 53, pl. 1.

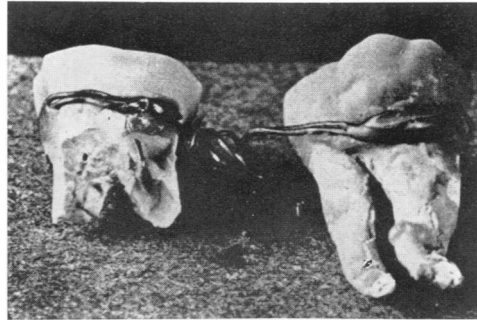
³ Hooton, *op. cit.* 31, gives reasons for rejecting this explanation for the holes, but his reasons are unfortunately fallacious. The direction of the sinus caused by the exit of the pus is determined by the line of least resistance in the alveolar bone, and all angles are possible, see Leek in Brothwell (ed.), *Diseases in Antiquity* (in press).

⁴ So Dr. R. O. Faulkner and Dr. Henry Fischer, in private correspondence, 1966.

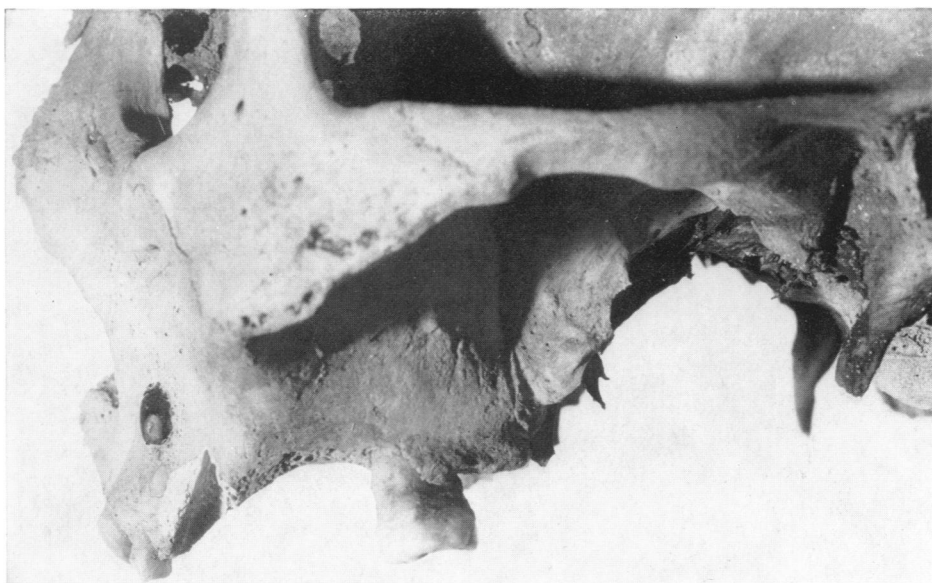
⁵ In private correspondence, 1966.



1. Panel of Hesy-Ra^c



2. Two teeth united by gold wire (after Junker, *Giza*, I, pl. 40c)



3. Apex of the central incisor is visible through a circular hole in the alveolar plate, caused by apical sepsis. Extensive absorption of bone in premolar and molar region was the result of infection of the bone. *Tarkhân*

Warren R. Dawson is also of the opinion 'that it is extremely unlikely that there was any distinct profession in Egypt before Ptolemaic times. There were physicians in the Old Kingdom but their methods were more magical than therapeutic'.¹

Sir Marc Armand Ruffer who devoted many years to the study of the pathological histology of mummies and the skeletal remains of the ancient Egyptians says the following about the practice of dentistry in concluding an essay on the dental pathology seen in skulls:

The writer's studies have not revealed any facts showing that the Egyptians practised operative dentistry, in fact, the evidence rather points to the conclusion that even extraction was very seldom performed. It is not rare to find in Egyptian cemeteries diseased teeth almost dropping out of abscess cavities, or carious teeth which have caused extensive disease, and yet the patient was allowed to die without the relief that would have been afforded by a very simple operation. It is difficult to believe that extractions were not practised at times, but the evidence on that point is nil. No tooth filled with gold or any other metal has been found.²

From the foregoing it will be realized that there are large gaps in our knowledge of this subject. The only acceptable evidence is that revealed in the skulls themselves. A number of diligent studies of some of the available material have already been made, but it will be only by the careful examination and the recording of every dental detail to be seen in each ancient Egyptian skull that light may eventually be shed on the dawn of dentistry.

The author has examined over 3,000 skulls, and although statistically this is an insignificant number, in not one skull was there a sign of active human interference with the course of any dental disease.

The surviving medical papyri do little to solve the problem and it is unlikely that any document more specific than the Edwin Smith Papyrus will be found. It is fortunate that the hard bony structures of the skull and the enamel of the teeth, like pottery and sherds, have, under good conditions, an almost indefinite existence. The hard dental tissues for ever bear testimony of the type of food eaten, of any operative care taken of them, and of the results of any disease that had affected them. As the photographs of the ancient Egyptian skulls here illustrated show, this testimony is very real and unalterable except where there has been post-burial damage.

While collections of skulls, be they large or small, can only represent a minute proportion of the population, they nevertheless exhibit a cross-section of the people. They have all been removed from their graves without any thought of subsequent study in connexion with dental problems. Many will have belonged to members of the poorer classes who would probably have received no dental attention in any case, but others will be of members of the wealthier classes who would certainly have received treatment if it had been available.

Although Junker found two teeth joined together with gold wire, the evidence this provides is of very doubtful value, and even if accepted, is more than counterbalanced

¹ In a letter, 1966.

² See Sir M. Armand Ruffer, *Studies in the Palaeopathology of Egypt* (Chicago, 1921), 314.

by the fact that it is unique as an example of dental craftsmanship in over 3,000 years. During this time it was the custom to bury with the dead a variety of articles to be used in the after-life, and one can be confident in the supposition that any form of dental restoration would have been left *in situ* for use during life in the after-world.¹

If anyone received expert dental care, surely it would be a Pharaoh. Such is not the case; not in one royal mummy is there any evidence of dental interference to be seen, in spite of, in some cases, its very obvious need.

In conclusion, while it must be acknowledged in view of the frequent ante-mortem loss of teeth that a method of extraction other than that achieved (under the right conditions) by simple digital pressure may have been known, there is no acceptable evidence to prove that any human interference took place on the tooth structure for relief of pain. The only active remedies that could have been used were applied to the surrounding soft tissues, and such remedies never retard the progress of dental disease.²

¹ See A. W. Lufkin, *A History of Dentistry* (London, 1949), 314.

² The observations which led to the writing of this paper were made while conducting anthropological investigations in Cairo, Cambridge, and London. The author is most happy to acknowledge the interest and help given in its preparation by Warren R. Dawson and T. G. H. James. Some of the relevant data were published in *JEA* 52, 59-64. The material presented on pls. VIII-X, apart from the panel of Ḥesy-Rē and the two teeth from Giza, is part of the Karl Pearson Collection of skulls preserved in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography, Cambridge.

ZUM OSTRAKON BRITISH MUSEUM 5637

Von S. ALLAM

IN seiner Skizze *Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung* hat W. Spiegelberg den Text auf O. B.M. 5637 erstmalig in Übersetzung vorgelegt.¹ Darin hat er die 'Klageschrift' eines Arbeiters erkannt. Laut dieser Schrift sollen diesem Arbeiter einige Sachen entwendet worden sein, denn dort spricht dieser — nach der Übersetzung Spiegelbergs — folgendermaßen: 'Bericht über alles, was mir der Arbeiter Nachtemmut gestohlen hat. Sie liefen nach dem Haus und stahlen meine . . . etc.' Auf diese einleitenden Worte läßt der klagende Arbeiter eine detaillierte Liste des ihm entwendeten Guts folgen. Den Schlußsatz in dieser Schrift hat Spiegelberg außer acht gelassen; die Bedeutung dieses Satzes wäre damals noch im dunkeln geblieben. Wichtig für uns ist die Annahme, daß der genannte Nachtemmut (oder Nachemmut) der Dieb sei.

Etwa 30 Jahre später konnte der Text eine neue Bearbeitung erfahren, als A. Blackman bei seiner Untersuchung des Gottesurteilverfahrens im Alten Ägypten diejenigen Texte zusammenstellte, die für das Verständnis dieses Verfahrens maßgebend sind.² Bei der Zuordnung unseres Textes zu jener Textgruppe war er anscheinend von dem Schlußsatz geleitet.³ Denn in diesem Satz richtet die in ihrem Vermögen geschädigte Person ihr Petitum an einen Gott, dieser möge ihr zum Ersatz des erlittenen Schadens verhelfen. Eine sachliche Würdigung des gesamten Kontextes konnte Blackman jedoch nicht vornehmen. Außerdem war ihm bei der Übersetzung ein Fehler unterlaufen, der ihm das richtige Verständnis des Sachverhaltes verbaut hat. Er hat nämlich die einleitenden Worte so, wie auch Spiegelberg seinerzeit getan hatte, übersetzt: 'Details of every theft perpetrated against me by the workman Nekhemmut. They went to the house, and they took . . .' etc. (*r rdjt rh·tw tꜣwt nbt j·jr r·j m rmt·jst Nh·m·mwt, st hn r pꜣ pr, jw·w jtꜣ . . .*). Auch er nahm an, daß der Arbeiter Nachemmut der Dieb sei. Seiner Übersetzung ist leider mancher spätere Bearbeiter⁴ gefolgt, was jetzt eine neue Betrachtung des Textes geboten erscheinen läßt.

¹ W. Spiegelberg, *Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung im Pharaonenreich unter den Ramessiden* (Straßburg, 1895), 11; s. auch J. Capart, 'Esquisse d'une histoire du droit pénal égyptien', extrait de la *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 5 (1899-1900), 16.

² A. Blackman, 'Oracles in Ancient Egypt', in *JEA* 12 (1926), 183 sqq.; Photographie und Transkription, *ibid.*, pls. 37, 42.

³ Jedoch hatte A. Erman, *Zwei Aktenstücke aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt* (= Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe, 1910, XIX), 345, diesen Text auf Grund des Vorkommens des Namens des verstorbenen, vergöttlichten Königs Amenophis I. als zu jener Textgruppe zugehörig erkannt. Bei seiner Untersuchung stützte sich Blackman wohl nicht auf die Ausführungen Spiegelbergs und Ermans, da er sie nicht zitierte.

⁴ W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Teil III (= Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1963, Nr. 2), 340; I. Lurje, *Očerki drevneegipetskogo prava* (Studien zum altägyptischen Recht, 16.-10. Jh. v. u. Z., Leningrad, 1960), 316; H.-M. Schenke, *Die Orakel im alten Ägypten* (ungedruckte Dissertation, Berlin, 1960), Quelle 26.

Das richtige Verständnis des Kontextes scheint J. Černý in seiner Abhandlung über 'Egyptian oracles' gefunden zu haben, wenn er in den einleitenden Worten des Schriftstückes 'Nachemmut' als den Namen des bestohlenen Arbeiters auffaßt,¹ und nicht des Diebes, wie es die übrigen Bearbeiter verstehen wollten. Denn gegen die von diesen vertretene Übersetzung spricht folgendes:

1. Wäre der Dieb eine einzige Person, so wäre grammatikalisch nicht erklärlich, warum in der folgenden Liste des entwendeten Guts diese eine Person ständig durch das Pronomen der 3. Person Plural wiedergegeben wird. Diese Unstimmigkeit wollte I. Lurje zwar beseitigen, indem er das Pronomen der 3. Person Plural für das unbestimmte Subjekt 'man' erklärte.² Damit bleibt aber die Frage unbeantwortet, warum in der folgenden Liste des entwendeten Guts der schon namentlich bekannte Dieb immer durch das unbestimmte Subjekt 'man' wiedergegeben wird; der ständige Gebrauch des unbestimmten Subjekts in der Liste nach der Nennung dieses Subjekts wäre sprachlich höchst ungewohnt.
2. Hinzu tritt eine sachliche Schwierigkeit. Wäre der Dieb bereits bekannt, so wäre unverständlich, warum sich der Bestohlene in seinem Petitem, das im Schlußsatz des Schriftstückes ausgedrückt wird, an einen Gott wendet und nicht an ein (weltliches) Vollstreckungsorgan, das ihm das gestohlene Gut wieder verschaffen kann. In diesem Petitem ruft nämlich der Bestohlene unzweideutig einen Gott an. Auch die Annahme, daß ihm der ersuchte Gott auf irgendeinem anderen Wege den erlittenen Schaden ersetzen soll, wäre angesichts unserer Kenntnis von dem damaligen Alltagsleben und der damaligen Volksfrömmigkeit unzulässig.

Die erste, sprachliche Schwierigkeit läßt sich jedoch ausräumen, wenn wir in 'Nachemmut' den Bestohlenen erblicken. Es ist grammatikalisch einwandfrei, wenn wir in den einleitenden Worten vor dem Namen 'Nachemmut' das prädikative *m* (*m* der Identität) zur Einleitung einer Apposition erkennen.³ Damit erhalten wir folgende Übersetzung: 'Verzeichnis aller Diebstähle, die gegen mich, nämlich den Arbeiter Nachemmut, verübt worden sind.'⁴ Auf diese einleitenden Worte folgt die Liste des entwendeten Guts, in der nun die Handlungen des unbekanntem Täters (oder der unbekanntem Täter)⁵ aufgezählt werden. Durch diese Folgerung wird auch die zweite, sachliche Schwierigkeit zwangsläufig beseitigt. Denn, wenn der Dieb unbekannt ist, so kann das Petitem des Bestohlenen in dem Schlußsatz den Sinn haben, daß der Gott in einem Verfahren um die Bekanntgabe des Diebes ersucht werden soll. Demnach können wir den Schlußsatz so übersetzen: 'Handele, mein Herr, um mir jeden Frevler (bekannt)-

¹ J. Černý, 'Egyptian oracles', in R. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum* (P. Brooklyn 47. 218. 3) (Providence, 1962), 41.

² Cf. A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (2. Auflage, Leipzig, 1933), § 269.

³ Ein Beispiel, in dem eine Apposition einem Suffix nach einer Präposition unmittelbar (also ohne *m*) folgt, findet sich in P. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1945. 96, recto 3, wo es heißt: 'Nb-nfr, mein Gatte, errichtete eine Urkunde für mich, die Sängerin des Gottes Sutech N₁-nfr' (*ḥc-n jry Nb-nfr p₁y:j h₁y sš n₁j, šmcyt n Stḥ N₁-nfr*); s. A. Gardiner, 'Adoption extraordinary', in *JEA* 26 (1940), pl. V. Zur Einführung der Apposition durch die Präposition *m* cf. J. Spiegel, 'Zum Gebrauch der Apposition im Ägyptischen und Arabischen', in *ZÄS* 71 (1935), 74 sqq.

⁴ Anscheinend hat der Bestohlene den Text in der 1. Person Singular dem Schreiber diktiert. Daraufhin hat dieser den Namen des Bestohlenen in appositionelle Verbindung gesetzt, um keine Verwechslung aufkommen zu lassen.

⁵ Je nach dem, ob wir das Pronomen der 3. Person Plural für das unbestimmte Subjekt 'man' ansehen wollen.

zugeben (*jr pꜣyꜣ nb r rdjt nꜣ pꜣ th nb*)!¹ Ist der Dieb einmal festgestellt, so kann danach ein (weltliches) Vollstreckungsorgan durchgreifen, um den Rechtsfrieden zu wahren und den Besitz am gestohlenen Gut dem rechtmäßigen Eigentümer wieder zu verschaffen. Diese Annahme kann durch einige Fälle aus derselben Gegend und demselben Zeitraum erhärtet werden, in denen beim Vorkommen eines Diebstahls ein Gott um die Ermittlung des Diebes ersucht wird.

Unter den wohl an einen Gott gestellten, schriftlichen Fragen, die diesem zur Beantwortung mit 'ja' oder 'nein' vorgelegt werden sollten,² findet sich ein Ostrakon (O. IFAO 501)³ folgenden Inhalts: 'Ist er es, der diese Matte gestohlen hat (*n mntf jtꜣ pꜣy tmꜣ*)?' Durch eine bejahende Antwort des Gottes auf diese Frage würde jene zwar im Text unbekannt, den Teilnehmern am Verfahren jedoch bekannte Person ermittelt. Bei einer anderen Verfahrensart zur Feststellung des Diebes werden Blätter angefertigt, deren eines mit dem Namen eines in Verdacht stehenden Hauses beschriftet ist. In einem Auslosungsverfahren kann das Haus ermittelt werden, in dem sich die gestohlene Sache befindet.⁴

Von dem Verfahren für die Feststellung eines Diebes haben wir Kunde auch durch O. Gardiner 4.⁵ Dort wird berichtet, daß einem gewissen Graveur zwei Gewänder gestohlen worden waren. Darum wurde der Gott Amenophis angerufen. In einem Verfahren las man ihm die Namen der Häuser, die in Verdacht standen, vor. Als man nun beim Haus eines gewissen Schreibers anlangte, soll der Gott gesprochen haben (recto 6): 'Sie (scil. die Gewänder) sind bei seiner Tochter (*st m-dj tꜣyꜣf šrjt*).' Auf diese Weise wurde die Diebin ermittelt.

Aufschlußreicher ist der Bericht in P. B.M. 10335⁶ von einem ähnlichen Gottesurteilverfahren zur Ermittlung des Täters in einem Diebstahlsfall. Als der Angestellte Amenemwia das Fehlen von fünf Kleidungsstücken in dem unter seiner Aufsicht stehenden Inventar bemerkte, wendete er sich an den Gott Amun-pa-Chenti mit den Worten (recto 3): 'Mein guter, geliebter Herr (*pꜣyꜣ nb nfr mr*)! Würdest du mir ihre (der Kleider) Buße⁷ geben (*jwꜣ dj <nꜣ>ꜣ pꜣyꜣw tꜣwt*)?' Unmittelbar danach gibt der Text wieder (Z. 3-4): 'Daraufhin bejahte der Gott sehr, sehr (*chꜣꜣn pꜣ nꜣr hꜣmꜣ r-wr, sp sn*). Daraufhin wiederholte ihm der Diener Amenemwia alle (Namen der Bewohner)

¹ Auch andere Übersetzung wie: 'Handele, mein Herr, um mir jeden Schaden zu ersetzen!' würde der von uns vertretenen Auffassung keinen Abbruch tun. Denn damit kann nur die Mitwirkung des ersuchten Gottes bei der Ermittlung des Diebesnamen gemeint sein. Dies geht aus der Anrufung eines Gottes durch einen Bestohlenen in dem unten zu besprechenden P. B.M. 10035, recto 3 und dem anschließenden Verfahren deutlich hervor.

² Gleichviel, ob diese Beantwortung durch eine Stimme oder eine bestimmte Bewegung der Gottesbarke erfolgt.

³ J. Černý, 'Questions adressées aux oracles', in *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 43.

⁴ Hierzu J. Černý, 'Le tirage au sort', in *BIFAO* 40 (1941), 135 sqq.

⁵ Faksimile und Transkription in J. Černý und A. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* (Oxford, 1957), pls. xxvii, xxvii A, 3. Hierzu J. Černý, 'Le culte d'Amenophis I^{er} chez les ouvriers de la nécropole thébaine', in *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 178 sqq.; Jac. Janssen, 'Ostracologie', in *Phoenix* (Bulletin uitgegeven door het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux), 10 (1964), 119.

⁶ Transkription von W. Dawson, 'An oracle papyrus B.M. 10335', in *JEA* 11 (1925), pls. 35-38; Übersetzung und Kommentar von A. Blackman, 'Oracles in Ancient Egypt', *ibid.* 249 sqq.

⁷ Für *tꜣwt* mit dieser Bedeutung s. J. Černý, 'Restitution of, and penalty attaching to, stolen property in Ramesside times', in *JEA* 23 (1937), 186 sqq.

des Ortes (*ḥr·n sdm ḥmn-m-wj; whm n·f n·y p; dmj r-dr·w*). Daraufhin bejahte der Gott bei (der Nennung des) Bauern Pazawemdiamun mit den Worten, "Er ist es, der sie gestohlen hat" (*ḥr·n p; ntr ḥn[3] r ḥwtj P3-t3w-m-dj-ḥmn r-dd: mntf r-jt3¹ st*).¹ Als sich der Angeklagte mit diesem Gottesurteil nicht zufrieden gab, mußte das Verfahren vor einem zweiten und sogar einem dritten Gott wiederholt werden, wobei es jedesmal mit demselben Ergebnis endete. Schließlich wurde der Angeklagte dem ersten Gott wieder vorgeführt; von diesem wurde er wieder für den Dieb erklärt. Daran schloß sich nun die (weltliche) Vollstreckung an.

Aus dem Gesagten ergibt sich, daß wir es bei O. B.M. 5637 mit einem Schriftsatz des bestohlenen Arbeiters Nachemmut zu tun haben. Darin berichtet dieser von dem ihm durch mehrfach verübten Diebstahl zugefügten Vermögensschaden. Im Anschluß daran wendet er sich mit seinem Petitum im Schlußsatz an eine bestimmte Gottheit zur Ermittlung des Diebes. Anscheinend stellt dieser Schriftsatz eine Eingabe dar, die der zuständigen Stelle für das Gottesurteilverfahren unterbreitet werden sollte.²

¹ Für das Partizip *j-jt3*.

² Hierzu Lurje, op. cit. 76; Schenke, op. cit. 48 sqq. und 124 sqq.

THE ILLUSORY YEAR 36 OF OSORKON I

By HELEN K. JACQUET-GORDON

EVER since 1905 when Petrie, in the third volume of his *History of Egypt*, revealed the existence of a stela apparently dated in the 36th year of Osorkon I, this king has been universally credited with a reign of at least 36 years.¹ The stela, of which Petrie gives a translation without reproduction or commentary, was bought by him at Abydos and is now in the Egyptological collection at University College, London.² It is of unprepossessing aspect, being fragmentary, its upper half missing, its right-hand and bottom edges broken. This unfavourable appearance perhaps accounts for the fact that no further interest has been taken in it and that it has never been fully published. Nevertheless it deserves closer examination (pl. XI).

As Petrie pointed out,³ the stela is remarkable in any case because of its unusual subject matter, but its greatest interest lies in its date. The mention of a Year 36, if proved correct, would prolong the reign of Osorkon I 24 years beyond the latest date known to us for him from any other source.⁴ This circumstance in itself, although by no means conclusive evidence against a 36-year reign, is nevertheless somewhat surprising and justifies a re-examination of the text for corroboration.

The surviving part of the stela measures 33 cm. in height and 36 cm. in width. It is of limestone. Nothing remains of the scene which occupied its upper half except, on the right-hand side, the feet of a man advancing towards the left. The text below consists of seven lines and is to all appearances complete, the space remaining below the seventh line having probably been left blank. One group of signs is missing at the beginning of each line but this loss does not cause any very vexatious interruptions in the text, the meaning of which is clear throughout.











The first line contains the date and the cartouches of Osorkon I. Inspection of the facsimile will immediately reveal that far from mentioning a Year 36, the text here has preserved for us only the season name *prt* (the winter season) and the words 'day 26', the year date having completely disappeared together with the indication of the month. Petrie's erroneous reading arose from the fact that the word *prt* is written in a very abbreviated fashion using only the syllabic sign □ whose form, rather high than wide, somewhat resembles the numerical sign for 'ten', n. He no doubt envisaged the reconstruction of the date as follows:→ [𓂏𓂏𓂏]

¹ Petrie, *History of Egypt*, III, 241-2; Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 325, but cf. n. 4 where he expresses a doubt on the subject; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 3rd ed., 567; Wm. S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt*, 199; Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak*, 99; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 330; to mention only the most recent.

² My thanks are due to Mr. H. S. Smith, Curator of the University College Collection, for photographs and for his kind permission to examine this stela and to publish it here.

³ Petrie, *op. cit.* 242.



⁴ His Year 12 is mentioned in the Karnak quay inscriptions. Cf. below, p. 67.

Several points militate against this reconstruction. In the first place it is evident that at least one full square is missing at the beginning of each line since the text requires the intercalation of the signs \rightarrow  at the beginning of line 3 in order to complete the well-known name Mahasun, the first half of which is written at the end of line 2. The year sign alone therefore would hardly be adequate to fill the available space in line 1. Secondly, the arrangement of the individual signs necessitated by the above reconstruction would be most unusual. Ordinarily, one would expect \rightarrow    or   . Finally, the first of the three supposed 'ten' signs, besides being noticeably larger than the other two, is clearly rectangular at the top whereas the others are rounded. There can therefore no longer be any reasonable doubt but that the beginning of the line is to be restored as follows: \rightarrow [  ] *hst-sp ? 3bd ? prt sw 26*, 'Year ?, ? month of the winter season, 26th day'.

The entire stela can now be translated as follows:

(1) [Year ?, ? month] of the winter season, 26th day under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Sekhemkheperre-Setpenre, son of Re, lord of diadems, beloved of Amun, Osorkon, may he live eternally. (2) [On this day^a] the fourth prophet of Amen-Re, king of the gods, the royal son of Ramesses, chief of the Mahas-(3)un and Leader, Pashedbastet^b, justified, was strolling about^c on the desert and there he found (4)^d a stela of the necropolis^e beside the cliff of Hapetnebes^f similar to those which are brought from the necropolis beside 'Ankh-(5) tawi^g. He cleared it^h and surrounded it with boundary-stones, presented it with fields (6) . . . and established for it daily offerings consisting of a divine offeringⁱ of bread, beer, wine, incense, cool water, (7) . . . daily for his lord Osiris Khenty-amentyu, lord of Abydos, throughout eternity.

Commentary

(a) The words \rightarrow   (cf. the writing of *hrw* in l. 7) which occur frequently at this period to introduce the narrative (cf. Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 15, 140-3; *Rec. trav.* 18, 52-53; Gardiner, *JEA* 19, 21) would suit the lacuna well.

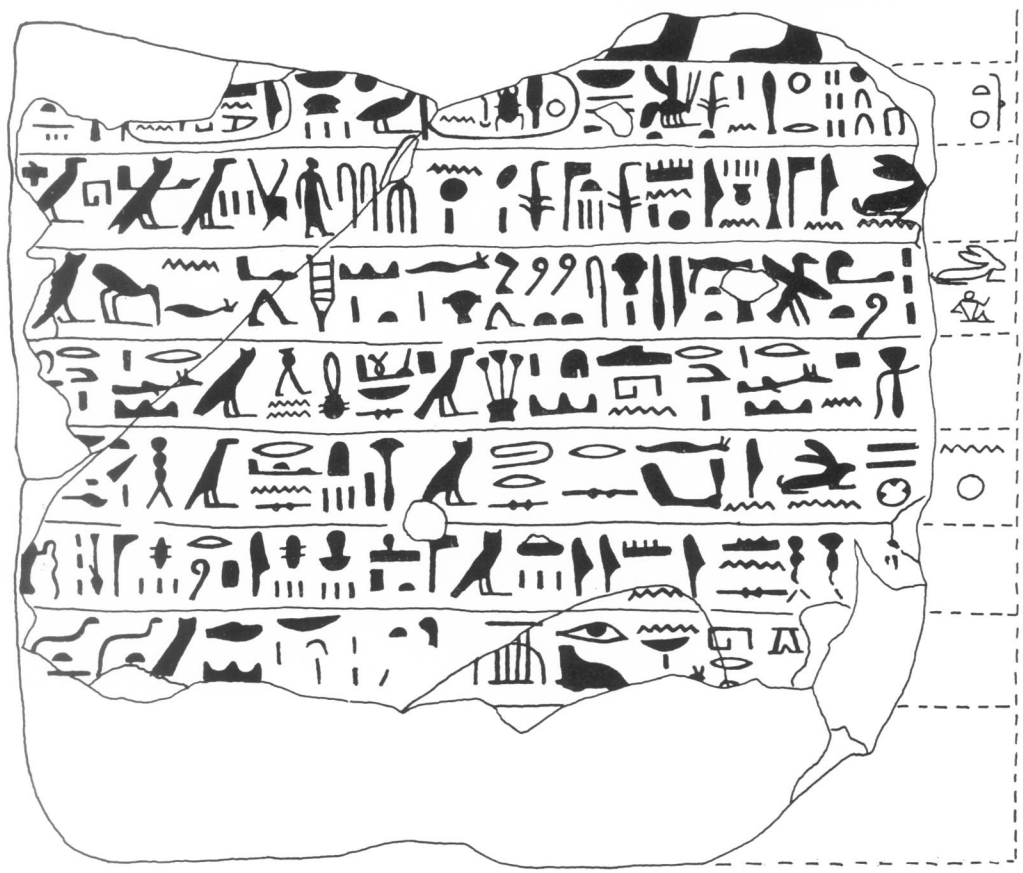
(b) This is probably the same person as the royal son of Ramesses Pashedbastet whose name appears on a gold and lapis lazuli ram found in the tomb of Hornakht, son of Osorkon II, at Tanis (Montet, *Kémi* 9, 29-30). For the title chief of the Mahasun cf. also the Karnak cachette statue of Padimut (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes*, CGC 42218) whose great-grandfather was the fourth prophet of Amen-Re king of the gods, great chief of the Mahasun and Leader, Nesy, who lived at the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty. (Cf. also Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 53, 114.)

(c) *wn in NN hr swtwf hr hst*, the *f* is superfluous, cf. Erman, *Neu-Äg. Gram.*, § 513.


(d) It is difficult to visualize what could have filled the lacuna at the beginning of line 4 since all that is required is \Leftarrow , unless, to the form *ch·n·f gm* (Erman, *Neu-Äg. Gram.*, § 565) was added another superfluous *f*.

(e) *wḏ n r-stꜣw*, not necessarily a tombstone; probably a votive stela dedicated to Osiris as indicated in the last line.

(f) *dhnt Hꜣpt-nb·s*: Hapetnebes, 'She who hides her Lord', the name of the necropolis of Abydos. Gauthier (*Dict. géogr.* IV, 10) states that this name was used also to designate



UNIVERSITY COLLEGE STELA OF OSORKON I

the necropolises of Thebes and Memphis. Clear proof in favour of this contention is not forthcoming. Ḥapetnebes as a goddess is cited together with deities of the Memphite region in Louvre Papyrus 3079 (Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 1063). Likewise in a text from tomb number 7 of the Valley of the Queens (Brugsch, *op. cit.* 1253) Ḥapetnebes appears as a goddess of the West together with Imentet-wert. In both cases she seems to represent a personification of the Abydene necropolis, mentioned in connexion with other deities who preside over regions of the dead. There is no reason to suppose that the name applied to any particular parts of the necropolises of Thebes or Memphis. On the other hand there is very specific proof that it did thus apply to the necropolis of Abydos. The name 'She who hides her Lord' is, of course, peculiarly appropriate to Abydos where Osiris was reputed to be buried, while there was no such reason for the use of the name at either Thebes or Memphis. Furthermore, a text in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos itself states clearly that the temple was built next to the cemetery: , 'Words spoken by the Ennead which resides in the temple of Menmaratrēr: How beautiful is the monument which you have made beside Ḥapetnebes' (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, pl. 34a, l. 17). Here the monument in question cannot be other than the temple itself which is in fact in close proximity to the necropolis. Another text, that of Berlin stela no. 14399 (Borchardt, *ZÄS* 44, 55), speaks of the 'secret mountain of Abydos . . . whose name is Ḥapetnebes'. In the case of our stela also, given the provenance and the fact that the offerings established by Pashedbastet were destined for Osiris, it is evident that the necropolis of Abydos was intended. The 'cliff of Ḥapetnebes' no doubt refers to the chain of hills which rises to the south-west of the Thinite cemetery and which the Berlin stela calls 'the secret mountain of Abydos'. The same stela further specifies that people had been clandestinely quarrying stone there 'between the two falcons which protect this secret mountain', the two falcons being in all probability two prominent peaks whose form resembled that of a bird, as suggested by Borchardt.

(g) 'Ankh-tawi: one of the sectors of the city of Memphis. This passage seems to reflect the fact, well attested archaeologically, that the cemeteries of the Memphite region were being regularly pillaged at this period, and even earlier, for stone to be re-used as building material; cf. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh* 1956, 79, where the Ramesside tomb reliefs found re-used in Twenty-first-dynasty tombs within the precincts of the small temple of Ramesses II are thought to have come precisely from this cemetery 'beside 'Ankh-tawi'.

(h) *ḏsr*, usually 'to clear the way before someone'; also possibly 'to raise' (cf. Ember, *ZÄS* 51, 120). *hr* is to be understood before each of the four verbs which follows *wn in-f* in this sentence.

(i) Alternatively, 'as a divine offering of . . .'. Usually this phrase is worded differently, cf. Pap. Harris I, 57, 12: *wḥi n-s ḥtp-ntr m imnyt*, 'I established for it divine offerings as a daily offering'; also *The Bubastite Gate* (*Or. Inst. Publ.* 74, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, III), pl. 18, A27: *r dit mꜣc ḥtp-ntr . . . m imnyt*, 'in order to cause divine offerings to be offered . . . as a daily offering'.

Now, since we have been forced to abandon Petrie's reading 'Year 36' at the beginning of our inscription, all reason for assigning to Osorkon I a reign of 36 years vanishes. In order therefore to make a new attempt at evaluating the probable length of his reign, it will be necessary to re-examine the other dated monuments which can be associated with him. They can be summarized as follows:

1. Year 1 of a king Osorkon is mentioned in the Annals of the priests of Amūn at Karnak (Legrain, *Rec. trav.* 22, 54, no. 17) in connexion with the introduction into the temple service of a grandson (?) of a king Psusennes. This is more likely to be Osorkon I than Osorkon II.

2. Years 1-4 appear in a chronologically arranged list of gifts presented by Osorkon I to the small temple of Bastet at Bubastis (Naville, *Bubastis*, I, 61-62, pl. 50-52).

3. Year 10 is cited in the *stèle de l'apanage* (Legrain, *ZÄS* 35, 12-16). In this inscription the first prophet of Amūn, Iwelot, presents to his son a certain parcel of land which had been given to him 'while he was still a child in the Year 10 of his father, King Osorkon'. Now the position of Iwelot in the chronology of the early Twenty-second Dynasty is firmly established by the genealogical information contained in the extensive records of the family of the vizir Nakhtefmut.¹ The evidence of these records proves Iwelot to have been contemporary with and of the same generation as the vizir Nakhtefmut, the brother-in-law of Osorkon II (whose half-sister *Ist-wrt* was Nakhtefmut's wife). The Year 5 of an unnamed king in which Iwelot held the position of first prophet of Amūn at Karnak, and the Years 8 and 14 in which his brother Smendes held the same position,² can therefore with considerable certainty be taken to refer to the regnal years of Osorkon II, and the king Osorkon, his father, in whose tenth year Iwelot was still a child, can be no other than Osorkon I.³

Iwelot's tenure of office as first prophet, thus documented for the Year 5 of Osorkon II, may possibly have followed that of Osorkon II's young son Ḥornakht or, very probably, was contemporaneous with it. Ḥornakht's youth (he was about 8 years old when he died),⁴ the fact that he was buried in Tanis and that no trace of him has been found at Thebes, seem to indicate that though he held the title he never actually

¹ See the genealogical table in fig. 1. The dossier on the vizir Nakhtefmut and his family consists primarily of the following documents: statues: CGC 559, 42210, 42211, 42212, 42214, 42215, 42217; ushabti (Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. xxvii, 7); coffins (ibid., pl. xxiv, 4, xxv, 3; *Aeg. Inschr. Berlin*, nos. 20132, 20134, 20136); mummy wrappings (*Aeg. Inschr. Berlin*, 20135). Kees (*Priestertum*, passim) has introduced an inextricable confusion into his genealogies by including in the dossier on the vizir Nakhtefmut another series of documents which in fact belong to quite a different person. The latter is *Dd-Dḥwty-īw-f-ṛnh*, called Nakhtefmut, who held many high positions but was not a vizir. The similarity in the names of these two persons, together with the fact that the fathers of both are called *Dd-Ḥsw-īw-f-ṛnh*, is at the root of this confusion. Careful study of the two families shows that they are quite distinct though probably contemporaneous.

² Karnak quay inscriptions 16, 17, 18 (Legrain, *ZÄS* 34, 113).

³ See also to this effect Kees (*Priestertum*, 195-7), who attributes the regnal Years 5, 8, and 14 to Takelot I. But it is probable that Takelot I reigned not more than 7 years (cf. Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 331). The Florence stela (no. 1806; Daressy, *Rec. trav.* 15, 175), on the basis of which a 23-year reign has been meted out to him, does not in fact belong to him at all. I have preferred to consider all these dates mentioned in the quay inscriptions as referring to the same reign and have therefore assigned them to Osorkon II. However, the Year 5 of Takelot I cannot be entirely ruled out as a possibility.

⁴ Cf. Derry, *Ann. serv.* 41, 150.

exercised the functions of high priest.¹ It is very possible that Iwelot held the position *de facto* from the moment of the death of the previous incumbent, his nephew Ḥorsaese I or the latter's son, whose mutilated name appears on the libation basin from Koptos now in the Cairo Museum (J.E. 37516) with the title of first prophet of Amūn in Karnak. The latter perhaps exercised the functions of high priest after his father had assumed royal titles as king of Upper Egypt.² The early death of Ḥornakht confirmed Iwelot in his position and he was succeeded therein, between the Years 5 and 8 of Osorkon II,

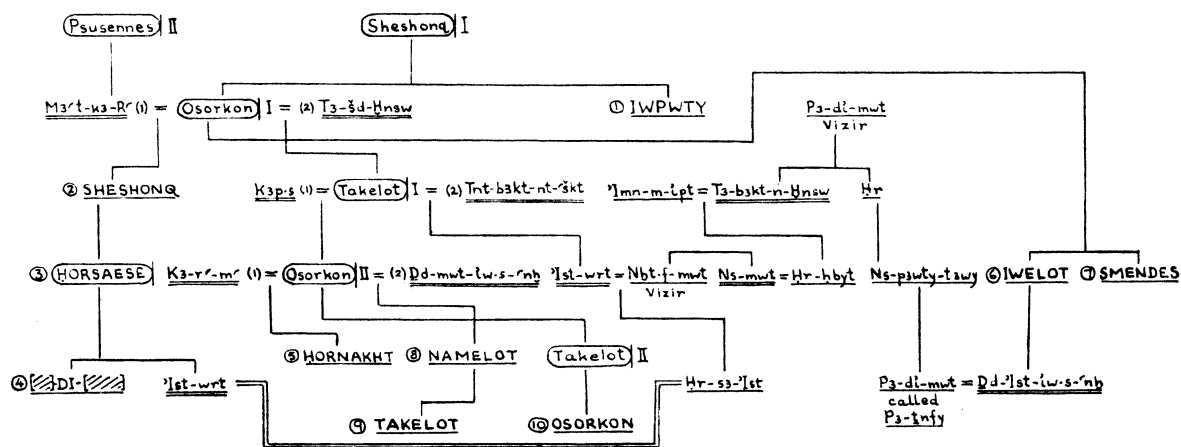


FIG. 1. Genealogy of the First Prophets of Amūn in Karnak. Single underline = male. Double underline = female. The names in capitals are the First Prophets arranged in probable sequence (1-10) from the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty to the end of the reign of Take lot II.

by his brother Smendes.³ Only on the latter's death was Osorkon II finally able to install a member of his own family at Karnak in the person of his son Name lot who took possession of his office only after his father's sixteenth regnal year since, in that year, his principal title is still that of first prophet of Ḥeryshef at Heracleopolis.⁴

4. Year 12 is attested by the Karnak quay inscription no. 2 (Legrain, *ZÄS* 34, III).

No regnal dates higher than the Year 12 have come to light for Osorkon I, and if we take into consideration the fact that Manetho assigns to him a reign of 15 years, we can with safety assume that 15 years was in truth the extent of his reign, since all indications point to its being probable and none contradicts it. The consequent curtailment of Osorkon I's reign by 21 years will of course entail changes in the internal structure of

¹ See my forthcoming article in the *Bulletin of the Brooklyn Museum*, 'A Statue of a Son of Karoma'. Kees (*Priestertum*, 179) considers him to have been first prophet of Amūn in Tanis, not in Karnak.

² To my knowledge the only instance in which Ḥorsaese's name is not enclosed in a cartouche is on the Bes-statue from the Alnwick Castle Collection (Birch, *Catalogue*, 33, no. 313).

³ Iwelot's son Was kes has also been called 'first prophet of Amūn'. This is based on a misreading of the inscription on his small silver plaque (Petrie, *History*, III, 265, fig. 108). The text reads: 'Words spoken by Thoht, lord of Khmūn, the great god, lord of the sky. I give life, prosperity, and health to the son of the first prophet of Amūn, Was kes, son of the first prophet of Amūn Iwelot.' The text is repetitious but clear: Was kes himself did not hold the title of first prophet; it belonged to his father.

⁴ Donation stela, Cairo J.E. 45327 (Iversen, *Two Inscriptions concerning Private Donations to Temples*, pl. i, 5-6).

Twenty-second-dynasty chronology as well as in the relations of the latter to the general chronology of the period between the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty and the conquest of Piankhy. Such large considerations do not come within the scope of this article, but the elimination of one inaccuracy in the basic chronological material will perhaps facilitate future studies in the field.

THREE PHOENICIAN SEALS OF THE EARLY FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.

By W. A. WARD

THE seals described below are representative of the artistic tradition usually termed 'Phoenician' which arose in Syria-Palestine during the second and first millennia B.C. These seals illustrate the often superb blend of Egyptian, Aegean, Anatolian, and West Asiatic elements which was the true genius of Phoenician art. Even though almost every design or motive can be traced to a foreign origin, Phoenician art became a tradition in its own right, combining what it took from others into a distinct new art form. It is this inventive syncretism which enables us to speak of Phoenician art as creative.

All three seals date from the eighth to sixth centuries B.C. when there seems to have been a burst of lapidary activity in Syria-Palestine. Seal no. 1, which was obtained by purchase, is in the writer's collection. Nos. 2 and 3, also obtained by purchase, are in the collection of Mr. D. Sarrafian of Beirût who has kindly permitted their study and publication. The photographs were taken by Mr. John Bassili; the drawings are by the writer.

Seal no. 1

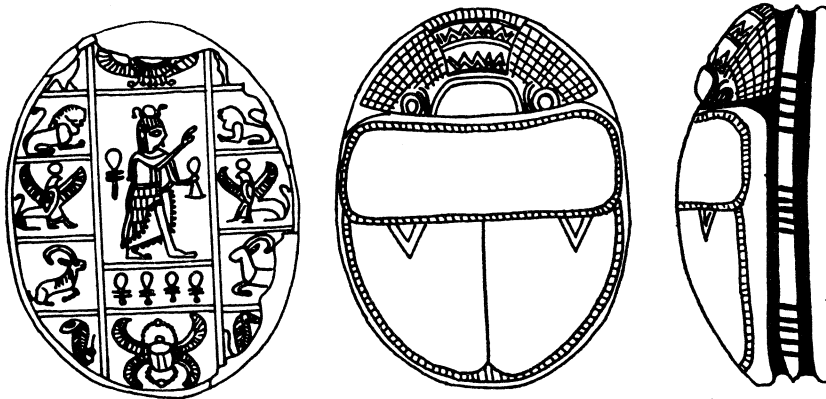


FIG. 1

Seal no. 1 (fig. 1, pl. XII, 1) is a scarab of dark grey stone having a thick coat of buff paint.¹ It measures $29 \times 19.5 \times 10$ mm. and is pierced lengthwise. The back is of an interesting type for which no overall parallel is forthcoming. The *clypeus* is decorated with two rows of double wavy lines. The head is of the square type, the eyes being strongly marked and the plates incised with criss-cross lines. The *thorax* and *elytra*

¹ The stone seems to be steatite which has been badly fired in glazing; the specific gravity is 2.67.



1. Seal no. 1



2. Seal no. 2



3. Seal no. 3

PHOENICIAN SEALS OF THE EARLY FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.

Scale about 3 : 1

are marked off by a 'rope' or 'ladder' border with double V-notches on the *elytra*. The base design is beautifully done, the figures being hollowed out with intricate detail added. Following the technique of certain traditions of cylinder-seal cutting joints in the human and animal figures are sometimes made with drill holes, as are other details of the design.

The base is divided into fourteen sections by double vertical and horizontal lines.¹ The central panel contains a winged disk, a standing figure, a row of four *ankh*-signs and a winged beetle. Pairs of animals fill the sections in the two side panels. Several of these figures are quite distinctive, leaving no doubt as to the Phoenician origin of this scarab and its date, which is clearly the eighth or seventh century B.C.

The central motive of the design is a royal or divine figure wearing a costume which is a combination of Egyptian and Syrian elements. The disk and uraeus, the headdress, the cloth thrown over one shoulder and the tail hanging down the back to the ankle are all elements of Egyptian royal or divine dress. The long fringed robe worn in this manner is Syrian. The figure has one arm raised in adoration, the other holds an *ankh*-sign. Behind the figure is another *ankh*-sign which, like the row of four beneath the figure, has double cross-bars, a detail native to Syro-Palestinian art. A close parallel to this figure occurs on an ivory panel found in the nineteenth century at Nimrud.² This panel is part of the decoration of a ritual bed which Barnett feels is of Phoenician origin and dates from the eighth century B.C.³ A similar costume is seen on ivories from Arslan Tash.⁴

Probably the most distinctive figure of this scarab is the winged beetle or 'flying scarab' motive at the bottom of the design. The winged beetle motive is very common in Egyptian art, though the representation of four wings is a specifically Syro-Palestinian variant.⁵ This motive can be divided into three main types:

- (a) with straight wings, the upper pair slanted upwards, the lower pair at right angles to the body or slanted downwards⁶
- (b) with curved wings, both pairs curving upwards⁷
- (c) with curved wings, the upper pair curving upwards, the lower pair curving downwards.

¹ Similar divisions by means of double lines are found on other seals of the earlier first millennium B.C.; cf. Gallig, *ZDPV* 64 (1941), pl. 6, no. 61a, and pl. 8, no. 103.

² Barnett, *The Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957), pl. 3, no. C 1; discussed on p. 171 where Barnett says of the costume: 'It is not an Egyptian garment but seems to reflect a traditional robe worn by divine figures in Syrian and Assyrian art.' However, the Nimrud example also shows such Egyptian features as the tail, the cloth thrown over one shoulder, etc.

³ *Ibid.* 133. On p. 135 Barnett cautiously suggests Hamath as the place of manufacture.

⁴ Decamps de Mertzfeld, *Inventaire commenté des ivoires phéniciens* (Paris, 1954), pl. 86, nos. 836-7.

⁵ The writer knows of only two examples from Egypt, on a coffin and a scarab, both of the Saite period; Gabra, *Ann. Serv.* 28 (1928), 69; Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs* (London, 1925), pl. xi, no. 595.

⁶ Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (Cairo, 1936), no. S. 100; Tufnell, *Lachish III. The Iron Age* (Oxford, 1953), pl. 45, no. 167; Vercoutter, *Les objets égyptiens et égyptisants du mobilier funéraire carthaginois* (Paris, 1945), 318, third register.

⁷ Myers, *JHS* 53 (1933), 26; Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer* (London, 1912), vol. III, pl. 209, no. 9; Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1956), fig. 97.

The winged beetle on seal no. 1 is of Type (c), examples of which are found on Syro-Palestinian seals of the first half of the first millennium B.C.¹ This is also a common motive on the royal stamped jar-handles from Palestine of the seventh century B.C.² The more detailed examples of all three types show the front and back legs holding a sun-disk, as on seal no. 1.

The winged griffin which occupies the central section of both side panels also shows characteristics which are specifically Syro-Palestinian. While winged sphinxes and griffins appear frequently in Egyptian art, they are generally thought to be of Asiatic origin. The falcon-headed griffin, however, which is the type shown on seal no. 1, is an Egyptian variety.³ The particular Syro-Palestinian feature is the splayed position of the wings, one behind the head and one in front. This wing-position is not found in Egyptian art,⁴ but is frequent in Western Asia. It appears, for example, on ivories from Megiddo, Hama, Arslan Tash,⁵ and Nimrud,⁶ and it also occurs on seals and scarabs found outside Egypt. A close parallel is a seated falcon-headed griffin with splayed wings on a scarab from Pyrga, Cyprus.⁷ This wing position appears again on a couchant griffin on a scarab from Megiddo stratum III,⁸ and on a couchant sphinx on a Megiddo seal of the sixth century B.C.⁹

The winged disk at the top of seal no. 1 is unfortunately damaged, but enough remains to reveal the salient features. The disk itself consists of an inner plain circle (now almost completely destroyed) which appears to rest on a crescent. Below this is another band, marked with parallel strokes, attached to which are two curled projections on either side of a group of four strokes ending in drill-holes. A close parallel is found in the Nimrud ivories which shows the curled projections, the crescent below the central disk, and the band below the crescent, here delineated as a double row of small feathers.¹⁰ Another close parallel is found on a sculpture from Tell Halaf which shows the curled projections and four rosettes on a panel between them connected to the wings by vertical lines.¹¹ These rosettes correspond with the four drill-holes in the same position on seal no. 1.

¹ Galling, *op. cit.*, pl. 6, no. 61, etc.; Driver, *PEF Annual*, 6 (1953), 52-53, and *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, 2 (1953), 63, pl. 8, no. 3; Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos I* (Paris, 1939), pl. 127, no. 1291.

² Cf. Driinger, *PEQ* 1941, 91 ff., and *Le iscrizioni antico ebraiche palestinesi* (Florence, 1934), 145 ff.; Albright, *AASOR* 21-22 (New Haven, 1943), 74-75; McCown, *Tell en-Nesbeh I* (New Haven, 1947), 156; etc.

³ There is a substantial literature on sphinxes and griffins in ancient art. The most recent detailed studies are those of Bisi, *Il grifone. Storia di un motivo iconografico nell'antico oriente mediterraneo* (Rome, 1965), and Dessene, *Le sphinx. Étude iconographique. Vol. 1, Des origines à la fin du second millénaire* (Paris, 1957).

⁴ This is a general rule to which there may be rare exceptions. Note, for example, the oblong seal engraved on all four sides shown in Ward, *The Sacred Beetle* (London, 1902), pl. 13, no. 339. One of the scenes portrays a griffin attacking an antelope, and it appears from the photograph that the griffin has splayed wings. This piece is said to have come from Saqqâra or Dahshûr, and Petrie believed it to show 'Assyrian' influence (*ibid.* 103). It is also quite possible that this object originated in Syria-Palestine, having come to Egypt in antiquity.

⁵ Decamps de Mertzfeld, *op. cit.*, pl. 30, nos. 324-5; pl. 66, no. 745; pl. 78, no. 871.

⁶ Barnett, *op. cit.*, pl. 19, no. S 13.

⁷ Charles, *Ann. Serv.* 58 (1964), 26.

⁸ Loud, *Megiddo I* (Chicago, 1939), pl. 67, no. 44.

⁹ Galling, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, no. 15. Note also the falcon with splayed wings on a seal from 'Ain-Shems in Rowe, *op. cit.*, no. SO. 50 (Dyn. 25).

¹⁰ Barnett, *op. cit.*, pl. 125, no. V 12. Another winged disk with these details on a relief from Sakjgözü is shown in Frankfort, *op. cit.*, fig. 89.

¹¹ Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pl. 159A.

Seal no. 2



FIG. 2

Seal no. 2 (fig. 2, pl. XII, 2) is a scaraboid of lapis lazuli measuring $12.5 \times 9.5 \times 5.5$ mm. The back and sides are plain and it is pierced lengthwise. The design consists of a winged falcon-headed griffin wearing a disk with uraeus, and a cobra in front of the forelegs. This design must ultimately go back to one common on Hyksos scarabs—a lion or sphinx trampling on the tail of a cobra.¹ The griffin, like that of seal no. 1, shows the non-Egyptian position of the wings.

An excellent parallel occurs on a seal of the first half of the first millennium B.C., now in Berlin.² While the latter is carved with a more delicate and refined technique, it shows all the features of the representation on seal no. 2, namely, the falcon-head, wing position, and cobra in front. Another feature common to both seals is that the griffin is portrayed wearing a kilt. This is part of an elaborate costume often shown on Egyptian and Asiatic sphinxes and griffins. The vertical lines on the griffin's body indicate another part of this costume which fits over the back and sides.³

Falcon-headed griffins with both wings behind the head are found frequently on Egyptian scarabs from the Empire and later,⁴ and on scarabs and scaraboids found outside Egypt.⁵ Ben Dor has recently published a new example of a falcon-headed griffin of this type, including the cobra before the forelegs, and has discussed this motive in general as it appears in Palestinian art.⁶

Seal no. 3

Seal no. 3 (fig. 3, pl. XII, 3) is a scaraboid of brownish-red jasper and measures $24 \times 19 \times 11$ mm. The back and sides are plain and it is pierced lengthwise. The figures of the design are hollowed out with details filled in, though the cutting is shallow, especially in the central portion of the design. This is due to excess wear in the centre as the base is slightly convex. At the top of the design is a falcon with outstretched wings. The central motive shows two kneeling figures, arms raised in adoration, facing a plant or

¹ Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals* (Cat. Gén. Caire; London, 1907), no. 36342; Petrie, *Ancient Gaza I* (London, 1931), pl. 14, no. 84; etc.

² Galling, op. cit., pl. 12, no. 174.

³ On the costume of sphinxes and griffins see Guéraud, *Ann. Serv.* 35 (1935), 13 ff.; Dessene, op. cit., *passim*.

⁴ For example, Newberry, op. cit., nos. 36985, 36424, 36771, 36492, etc.; Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc. in the British Museum, I, Royal Scarabs* (London, 1913), no. 996.

⁵ For example, Vercoutter, op. cit., nos. 123-5; Rowe, op. cit., no. SO. 2.

⁶ Ben Dor, *QDAP* 12 (1943), 77 ff.

tree, possibly a pillar. The group is in a boat or bark with identical decorative elements on prow and stern. At the bottom is a *neb*-sign to which have been added the end-strokes of the 'gold' hieroglyph.

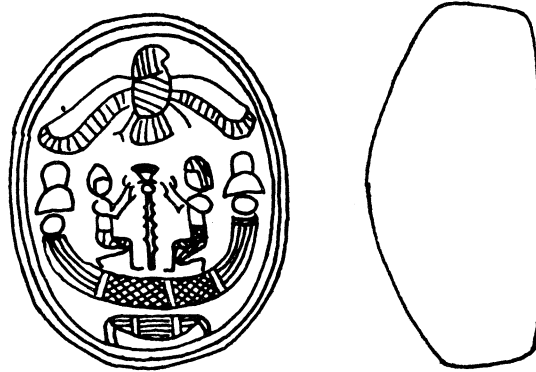


FIG. 3

An outstanding parallel is presented by a seal in a private American collection recently published by Horn.¹ This shows two kneeling figures adoring a stylized palm tree. Below this group is what Horn calls an 'undefinable decoration' which he considers a space-filler.² In reality we can define it as a boat; on Horn's seal there are circular and cup-shaped decorations at prow and stern which correspond with those on seal no. 3. While Horn notes parallels for his seal only from scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and Hyksos period, he states that this seal cannot be earlier than the eighth century B.C. owing to the Aramaic inscription with which it is inscribed.

There can be little doubt that the kneeling figures are in a bark made of bundles of reeds bound together. The bundles and binding are both well represented by incised lines, showing the reeds bound at both ends and at three points towards the centre. These details can be seen frequently on the numerous portrayals of such barks in Egyptian art.³

The motive of two figures facing a tree, the whole group in a bark, is repeated on a scarab from Carthage. Here the figures are seated apes and the bark is done in the style normally found on Egyptian scarabs, with sun-disks over prow and stern.⁴ A variation of this motive appears on a Phoenician bowl from Palestrina, carved with Phoenician variants of Egyptian designs. Here two kneeling figures holding wands adore a human-headed winged scarab, the whole group placed in a reed boat with the bundles and bindings clearly shown.⁵ The motive of two kneeling figures adoring a tree or plant undoubtedly finds its origin in a similar motive found on Palestinian scarabs of the Hyksos age⁶ and of the Empire period.⁷ The pairs of kneeling figures and the tree are

¹ Horn, *BASOR* 167 (1962), 16 ff.

² *Ibid.* 17.

³ For example: an Eighteenth-dynasty faience bowl found in Cyprus, Hall, *JEA* 1 (1914), pl. 34; a relief chalice of the post-Empire period, Tait, *JEA* 49 (1963), pl. 18b; note also the reed boat shown on a seal from Amrit, Galling, *op. cit.*, pl. 8, no. 104. For Assyrian examples see Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pls. 99-100.

⁴ Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, no. 582 (550-500 B.C.).

⁵ Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 199, and fig. 97, left side of bowl.

⁶ Rowe, *op. cit.*, no. 297. This motive is undoubtedly echoed on a scarab of the late Empire which shows two kneeling kings adoring the name of Tuthmosis III on an obelisk; Hall, *op. cit.*, no. 1463.

[footnote 7 on page 74]

also portrayed on Syrian cylinder seals of the later second millennium B.C.,¹ and on cylinders of the Neo-Babylonian period.²

Two close parallels to the figures and tree on seal no. 3 come from Nimrud. The first forms the decoration on the handle of a fan or fly whisk found by Mallowan at this site.³ The other is part of the design of a bronze bowl.⁴ In both cases the object of adoration is a pillar surmounted by a fan-shaped object resembling that on seal no. 3. This pillar is, no doubt, one variety of the sacred tree motive; examples quite similar to those on the Nimrud objects and seal no. 3 can be seen on cylinder-seals of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.⁵

The falcon shown facing frontwards with outstretched wings is a typically Egyptian motive, though here the wings bend downwards to fit the curved space at the top of the design. Similar falcons are found on scarabs from Egypt and elsewhere, and on Syro-Palestinian cylinder seals.⁶

⁷ Rowe, *op. cit.*, no. S. 77. Standing figures facing a sacred tree are quite common, especially on cylinder seals. The motive with kneeling figures, however, is relatively rare.

¹ Von der Osten, *Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Silvius von Aulock* (Uppsala, 1957), no. 307; Contenau, *La glyptique syro-hittite* (Paris, 1922), no. 239. Note also the design on a Hittite stamp seal; *ibid.*, no. 324.

² Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Corpus of Ancient Near-Eastern Seals in North American Collections, vol. 1; New York, 1948), nos. 727-30.

³ Barnett, *op. cit.*, fig. 41.

⁴ Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pl. 171; Bisi, *op. cit.*, pl. 11.

⁵ Porada, *op. cit.*, nos. 770-3.

⁶ Newberry, *op. cit.*, nos. 36365, 36784; Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, no. 412; Porada, *op. cit.*, no. 996.

TWO MUMMIES OF ANCIENT EGYPTIANS IN THE HANCOCK MUSEUM, NEWCASTLE

By P. H. K. GRAY

THERE are two mummies of ancient Egyptians on display in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle.¹ One, in an unwrapped state (pl. XIII, 1), is suspended in the lower halves of two coffins of sycamore wood. The other, still wrapped, is contained in a decorated and inscribed cartonnage coffin (pl. XV, 1).

1. The unwrapped mummy

This mummy was purchased by John Bowes Wright in Paris in 1826 at the sale of Baron Dominique Vivant Denon's Egyptian collection, lots 242 and 243. Lot 242 was the mummy (then in a wrapped condition) lying within an inner coffin. Lot 243 was the outer coffin (pl. XIII, 2). Shortly afterwards Mr. Wright presented the mummy with coffins to the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, and in March 1830 the mummy was unwrapped and examined by three Newcastle surgeons, Thomas Michael Greenhow, John Baird, and Sir John Fife. Accounts of the unwrapping are given in a letter signed 'B' (presumably John Baird), and dated March 13, 1830, to the *Newcastle Courant*, in an article in the same paper dated March 20, 1830, and in an article in the *Tyne Mercury* dated March 16, 1830. As these lengthy reports contain much speculation and irrelevant matter, only the pertinent points need be quoted. It appears that it took two hours to unwrap the mummy and that 'the quantity of nankeen-coloured cloth in which it was enveloped, was very great, and weighed no less than 50lbs and 6ozs.'. No amulets, papyri or inscribed bandages were encountered during the unwrapping. Once the mummy had been 'denuded' it was found to be that of an adult female and that the

skin is found drawn into large wrinkles, and overlapping prodigiously in various places. The nostrils, mouth and orbits were stuffed with pieces of linen so also was the rectum: some small insects were found in the mouth. The colour of the mummy was sepia brown. The cuticle had been abraded by some process of the embalmers, except for a portion adjoining the nails of the fingers and toes. The joints of the body retained some mobility; those of the shoulders and elbows had been opened, or what is more probable, the heated composition used to saturate the mummy had forced its way into these cavities, being less protected than the hips and knees. The hair upon the head was long and perfect, of a reddish tinge, but become grey. The teeth were white and perfect. The mammae were large and pendulous, reaching down almost to the spurious ribs. The arms were

¹ I wish to thank A. M. Tynan, Esq., Curator of the Hancock Museum, Newcastle, for allowing me to X-ray the mummies in his care, the Department of Photography, University of Newcastle, for supplying the photographs, and Dr. C. K. Warrick, Radiologist in Charge, Royal Victoria Infirmary, Newcastle, for allowing me to process the radiographs in his department.

upon the abdomen (bent upon the abdomen), and the hands touched below the pubis. The anus was dilated and jagged, as if cut by some instrument. The parietes were pressed close upon the spine, and formed the appearance of a cavity, bordered by the ribs and pelvis. There existed no opening, but the integuments were divided by a scalpel, and easily raised so as to expose the cavity of the abdomen. This seemed almost empty; but layers of membrane were successively raised, which appeared to consist of peritoneal reflections, and some portions of the large intestines. The remains of the liver was much wasted, the kidneys, the bladder of urine, the uterus with its appendages, were readily discovered.

The internal parts seemed as perfectly imbued with the embalming element as the external; but neither bitumen nor portions of gum were found, as it is said have been discovered in other mummies.

The exploration of the skull and thorax took place a few days later when

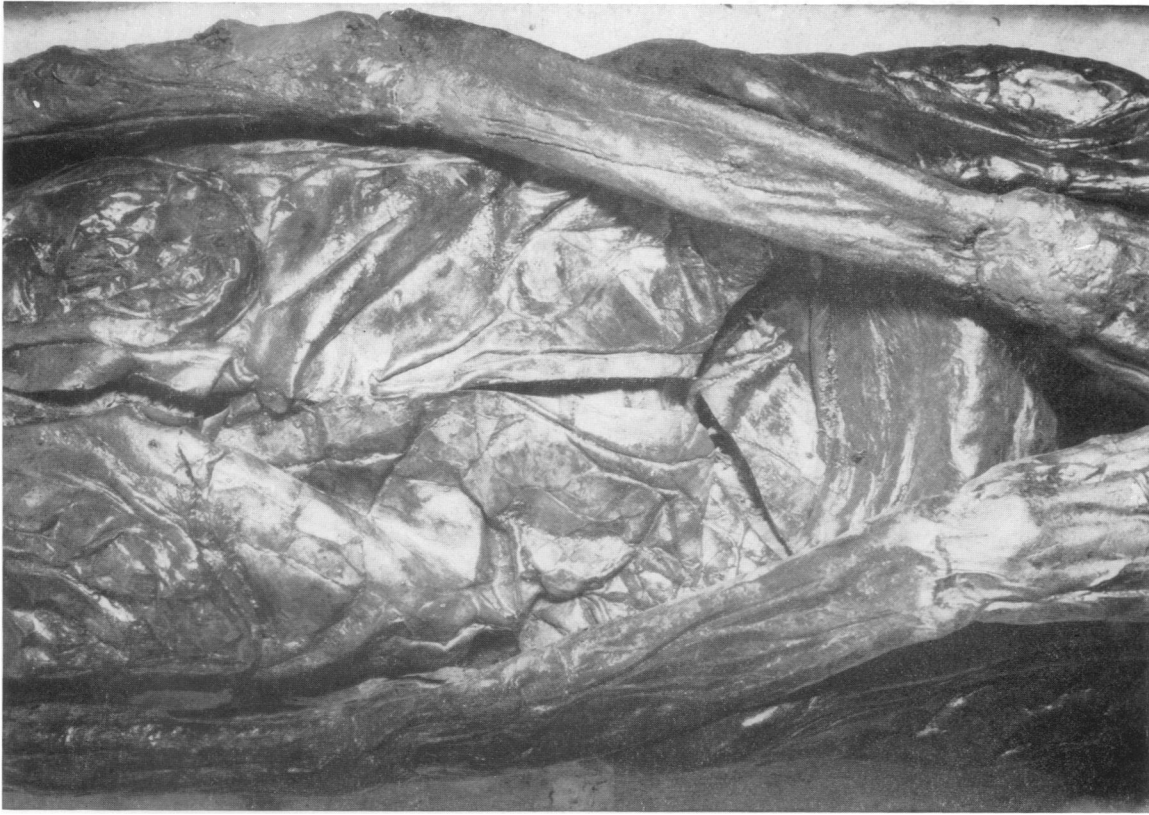
Mr Greenhow and Mr Baird speedily removed a part of the skull which had covered the cerebrum. The bone was so completely saturated with the matter used for embalming that it might almost be called a new substance. The sutures were lost sight of and the small cavities which bone commonly contain quite filled up. The dura mater was found in a state of considerable perfection. It contained a quantity of matter, which was at first supposed to be entirely bituminous; but a considerable difference in the smell of this substance and other parts of the mummy caused a more minute investigation, and a strong opinion prevailed that the brain had not been extracted at all. Some members compared the smell to rotten cheese; and Mr Hutton having submitted a part of it to the action of fire, observed that the odour then produced evidently resulted in a great deal from animal matter. The septum which divides the brain was in a perfect state. That the brain had not been removed was corroborated by the medical gentlemen not being able to discover the channel by which it might have been taken out, and it is improbable that it had been forced into a small compass by means of hot liquid sent in through a syringe, by some very small passage. The ethmoid bone and the backs of the orbits appeared to be perfect.

The chest was next laid open, and the organs were found very much collapsed. The lungs consisted of little more than the shrivelled membrane of the pleura pulmonaris. The heart was much wasted; but the four cavities were tolerably distinct, particularly the ventricles. This part of the examination exposed the liver, which was lying under the spurious ribs, and a portion of which had been cut away when the abdomen was examined. The organ retained its form very correctly, although its bulk was much diminished.

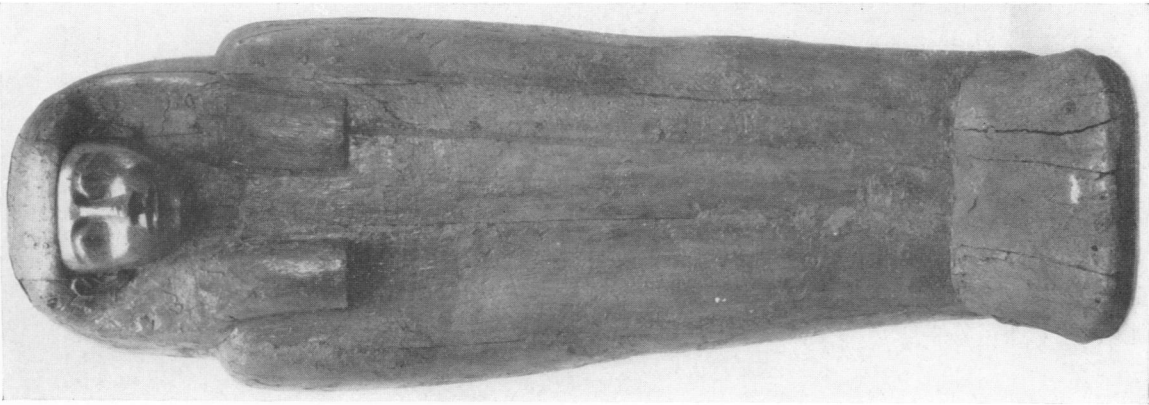
During this examination the spleen, diaphragm, and stomach were also identified. The mummy was then 'brushed over with oil of turpentine', 'strongly varnished', and 'put into a case (formed by her own coffin) with a glass before it', this concluding the earlier examination.

In April 1964, the mummy was again investigated and on this occasion subjected to a total radiographic skeletal survey. Dr. M. F. Laming Macadam, Department of Oriental Studies, Durham University, most kindly examined the lid of the outer coffin which had been heavily varnished during the last century. This varnish had become opaque, but after considerable difficulty he managed to decipher the name of the dead woman which proved to be Irterau, daughter of Pedamenope.

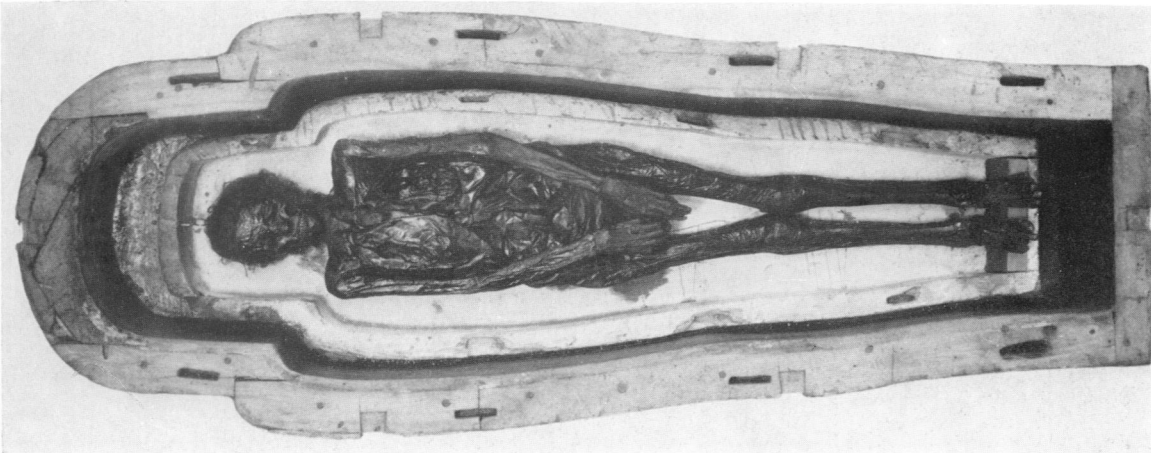
There is no need to give a detailed written description of the external appearance of the mummy as pl. XIII, 1 and 3 clearly show its present state. The hair is still of a reddish-brown colour (there is no evidence of pubic or axillary hair), but there is now no flexibility of the joints. The skin, still 'drawn into large wrinkles, and overlapping



3. Detail of the body, showing modern incisions

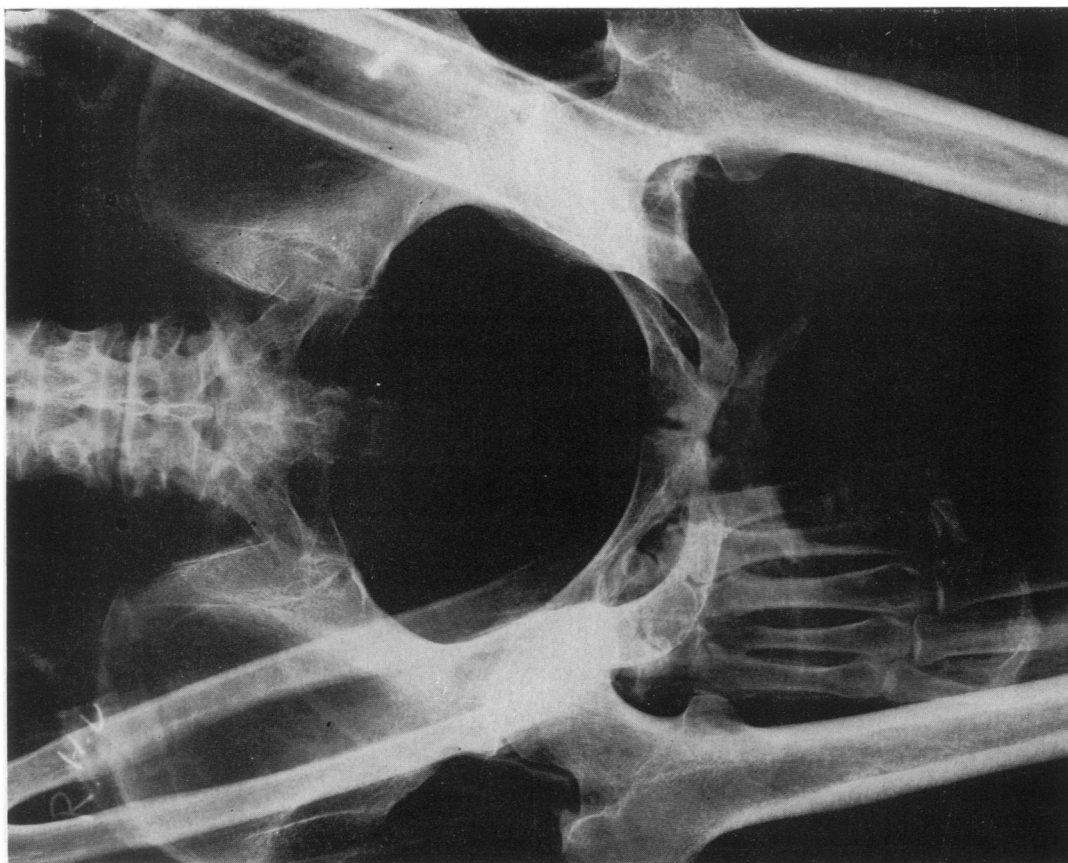


2. Lid of the outer coffin



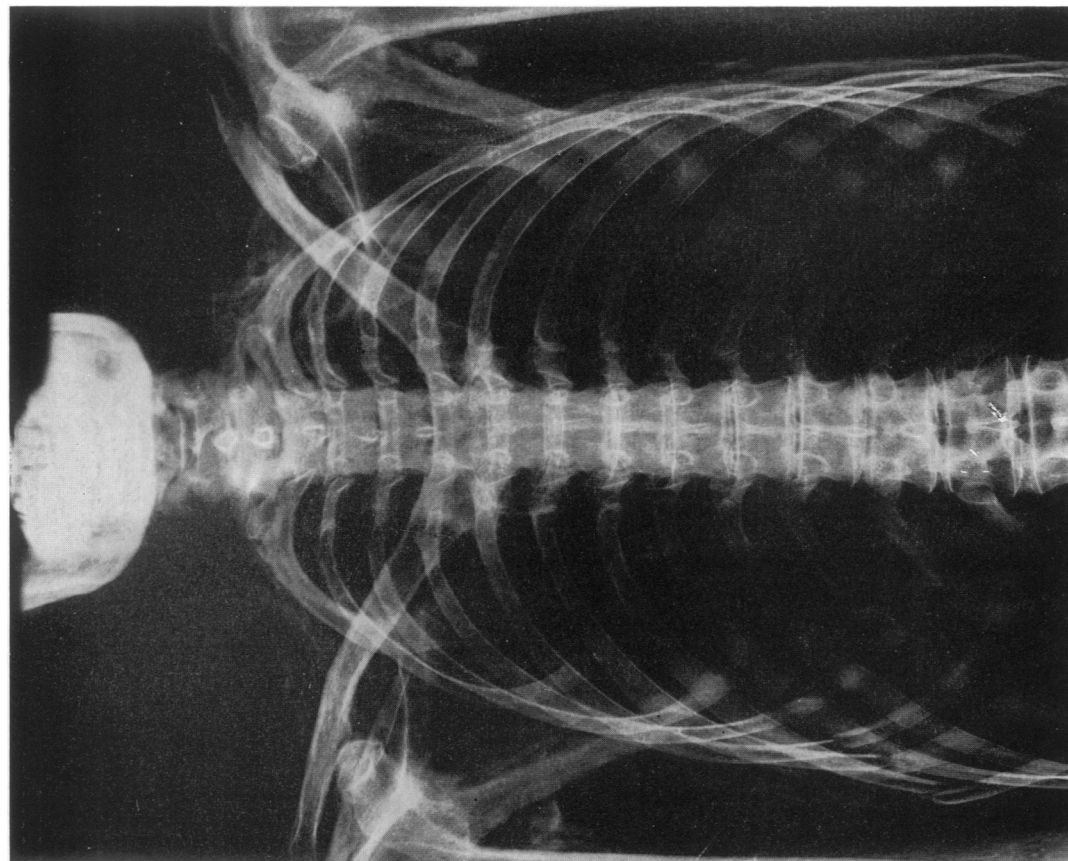
1. The mummy in its coffins

THE DENON MUMMY



1. Abdomen and Pelvis

These radiographs show apparently normal intervertebral disk spaces, sacro-iliac joints, and hip joints; also post-mortem fractures of the ribs in the lower right side of thorax



2. Thorax

prodigiously in various places' is now completely rigid and would fracture readily if incised. Pl. XIII, 3 shows the incisions made by the early nineteenth-century surgeons. That in the abdomen is in the form of an inverted Y, while that used to explore the thorax is a linear vertical cut over the sternum. The incision made to remove the vault of the skull can only be detected radiologically. Some time after the autopsy the left hand became detached at the wrist (fingers and thumb of this hand extended), but this has now been restored to its correct position. The thumb and little finger of the right hand are flexed, the remaining fingers being extended.

Radiologically (pl. XIV, 1, 2) the bones are free from any pathological changes, and are consistent in appearance with those of a youngish adult female. The spinal column and intervertebral disk spaces appear normal and closely resemble those of the naturally desiccated bodies of predynastic times. There is no evidence of lines of arrested growth to suggest an unhealthy childhood. In examining the thorax the Newcastle surgeons had removed the entire sternum save for the manubrium. The only other traces of damage to the skeleton are post-mortem fractures involving the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th right ribs.

Comments

From the autopsy findings of 1830 it would clearly appear that no evisceration or cerebral extraction had been performed by the embalmers, and the mode of treatment of the body was probably that of the third type described by Herodotus.¹ The state of the anus as found by the Newcastle surgeons could suggest an attempt at evisceration *per anum*,² but the damage was probably inflicted whilst packing the rectum with linen. Mr. Warren R. Dawson, to whom all the evidence has been submitted, states in a personal communication that the mummy 'is datable to the 26th Dynasty by the style of the coffin, the orthography of the inscriptions and the technique of embalming. The inscriptions contain the funerary formulae usual at the period.'

It should further be noted that neither the autopsy findings nor the radiographs give any indication as to the possible cause of death.

2. The mummy in cartonnage

This mummy, contained in a cartonnage case and a wooden outer coffin,³ was purchased in Qurna, Thebes in 1820 by Thomas Coates of Haydon Bridge, Northumberland, and was presented by him in 1821 to the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society.

As the foot-board had been removed by Customs officials (the damage was later restored), a brief examination of the mummy in its bandages was made in October

¹ G. E. Smith and W. R. Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies* (London, 1924), 58.

² A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, (4th edition, London, 1962), 301.

³ The outer lid of the coffin was in store during April, 1964, but Mr. Tynan in a personal communication writes 'the outer lid of the wrapped cartonnage is heavily decorated in the same style as the inner covering but it is covered in a thick layer of brown varnish which largely obscures all detail'.

1821. The extreme length was found to be 5ft. 5 in., and, making allowance for the wrappings, it was estimated that the length of the body was not more than 5ft. 2 in.¹

The decorations on the cartonnage case are well executed, and the inscriptions inform us that it contains the body of Bakt-ent-ḥor, daughter of Nakhtef-mut.²

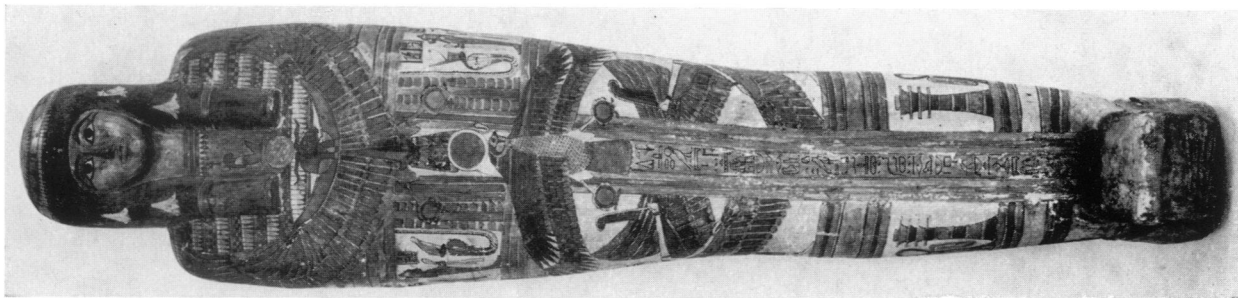
A total radiographic skeletal survey of this mummy in its cartonnage case was performed in April, 1964. The mode of treatment of the body contrasted strongly with that of the unwrapped mummy, and the radiographs suggest an embalmment during the Twenty-first or Twenty-second Dynasty during which periods the extracted viscera were returned to the body cavity in four separate bundles, each with its respective deity usually made of wax, and the intervening spaces filled with a mixture of sawdust and resin. The packing of the chest, abdomen and pelvis is clearly demonstrated in pl. XV, 2; XVI, 1, 2. The radiographs also show evidence of subcutaneous packing about the neck and thighs, another characteristic feature of the technique used during these times. However, no radio-opaque artificial eyes had been inserted into the orbits. A string of non-metallic amulets had been placed about the neck (pl. XV, 2), and below them opposite the sternum is what appears to be a winged disk (pl. XVI, 1). The rectangular amulet shown in pl. XVI, 2 may well represent a displaced flank plate.

From a medical point of view the X-rays show the skeleton to be that of a youngish adult female. The arms are extended, and the palms of the hands (fingers extended) lie on the antero-medial aspect of the thighs. The bones show no pathological changes, but despite some obscuring by foreign matter some of the intervertebral disk spaces appear opaque.³ The skeleton appears free from fractures, dislocations and lines of arrested growth, and as in the case of the unwrapped mummy there is no indication as to the possible cause of death.

¹ The details are taken from: *Minute of the subcommittee appointed to take the mummy out of the coffin, October 22nd, 1821*. Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society.

² I wish to thank T. G. H. James Esq., Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum, for reading the hieroglyphs.

³ For probable cause of opacification of the intervertebral disks see P. H. K. Gray, *A Radiographic Skeletal Survey of Ancient Egyptian Mummies*. Excerpta Medica International Congress Series, No. 120. Fourth European Symposium on Calcified Tissues. Leiden/Noordwijk aan Zee, March 28-April 1, 1966.

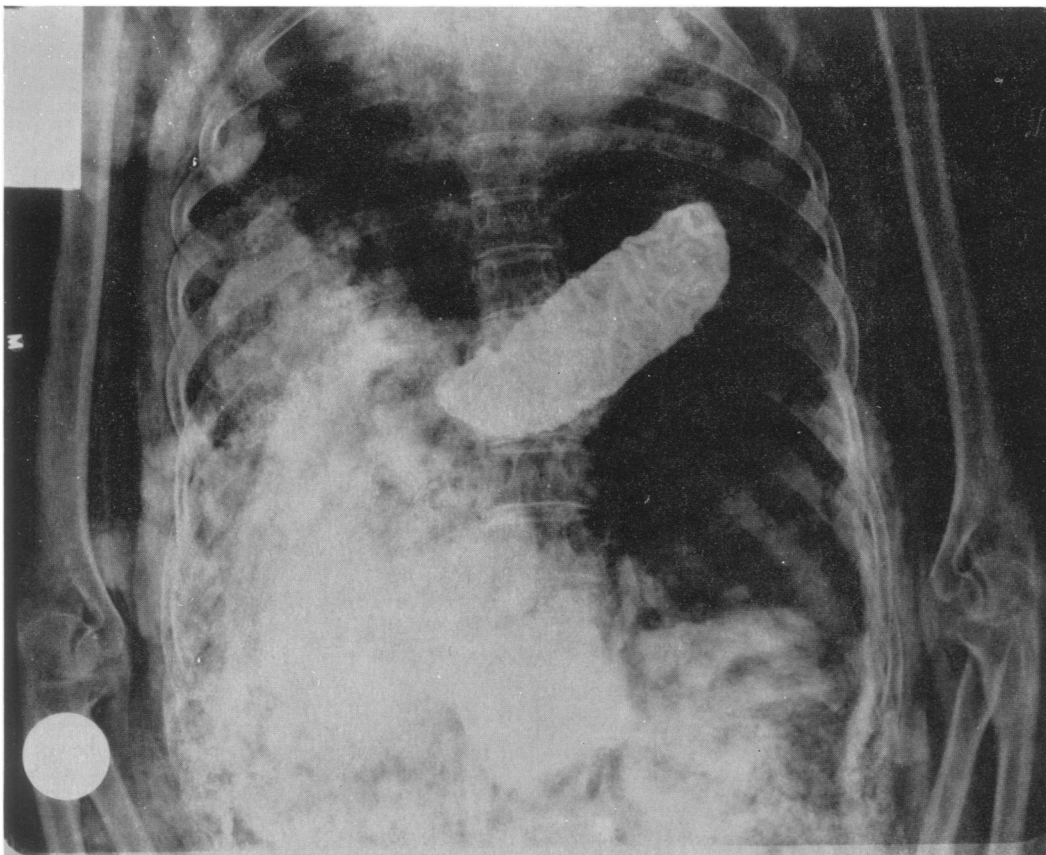


1. The cartonnage case

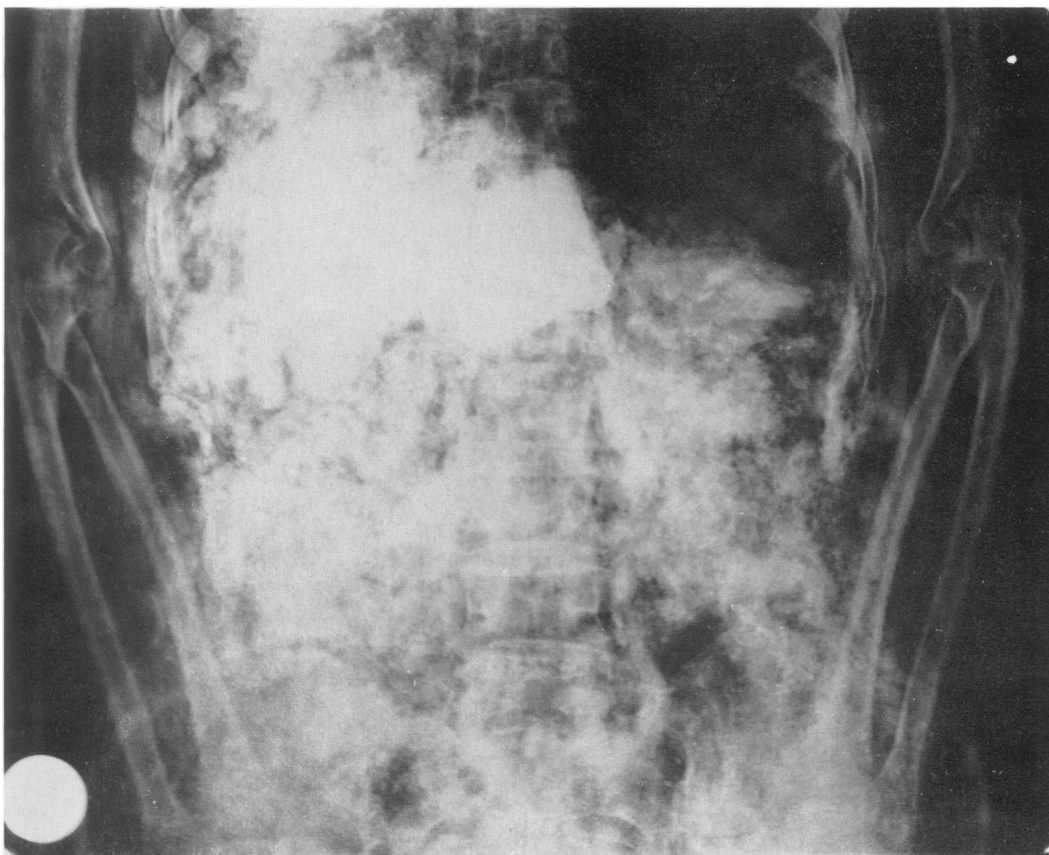


2. Radiograph of the neck and upper thorax, showing a necklace of amulets and subcutaneous packing about the neck

THE COATES MUMMY



1. The thorax, showing the winged disk amulet, and packing in the body cavity



2. The abdomen, showing the rectangular amulet. Some of the intervertebral disk spaces appear partially opaque

ALLEGORY IN GREECE AND EGYPT¹

By J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

I. An inherited tradition

THERE are several statements in the *DIO* which show that Plutarch is both consciously and avowedly applying an allegorical method in his treatment of the Egyptian myth. In no other work does he devote so much attention to the method and its meaning. In one passage (9, 354 B-C) he suggests that the material expounded by him in this treatise is particularly suited to such a method:

A king chosen from among the warriors instantly became a priest and shared in the philosophy that is hidden for the most part in myths and stories which show dim reflexions and insights of the truth, just as they of course suggest themselves when they place sphinxes appositely before the shrines, intimating that their teaching about the gods holds a mysterious wisdom.

Although he adorned the Greek literary tradition in many ways, Plutarch can hardly be said to have originated any new tendency or movement. His allegorical approach was no exception. He was here using a tradition which had persisted for many centuries before him and which was at the height of its popularity during his lifetime. It is a tradition which has survived into our own era. In Christian exegetic it is as old as the treatment of the Song of Songs as an allegory of the relation between Christ and the Church. At present it appears in some phases of the urge to 'demythologize' parts of the New Testament in the manner suggested by Bultmann.

It was the interpretation of Homer, 'the Bible of the Greeks', that gave rise to allegoristic, and the motive appears to have been a moral one. In the sixth century B.C. some of the philosophers, notably Xenophanes, Pythagoras, and Heracleitus, attacked the Homeric and Hesiodic conception of the gods. The rise of allegorical interpretation was an attempt to salvage these revered works by suggesting that the offending episodes really bore hidden meanings which were at once acceptable and elevating. Theagenes of Rhegium, Anaxagoras, and Metrodorus of Lampsacus were among the earliest allegorists,² but Tate³ showed that Pherecydes of Syros (born c. 600 B.C.) 'read some kind of new meaning into Homer', and he is earlier than Theagenes. Tate also makes the suggestion that the early philosophers, when they expressed their teaching in mythical language, which should be taken as 'symbolical and allegorical', 'may well have been the first to interpret the poetic traditions as though they were conscious

¹ This discussion has special reference to Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*, of which a new edition, with translation and commentary, has been prepared by the writer and is now in the press. *DIO* = *De Iside et Osiride*; Ziegler, *Plut.* = 'Plutarchos von Chaironeia' in *PW* 21. 1 (1951), 636-962.

² See Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, III (3rd ed. Leipzig, 1880), 322 f.; Anne B. Hersman, *Studies in Greek Allegorical Interpretation* (Chicago, 1906), 10 ff.

³ *Class. Rev.* 41 (1927), 214-15 ('The Beginnings of Greek Allegory').

allegories'. Tate's procedure seems a little dangerous in this respect; if generally applied, it would put a very different face on much ancient mythopoeic thought. According to him¹ 'the function of allegorism was originally not negative or defensive but rather (as with Anaxagoras, Metrodorus, etc., in later times) positive or exegetical'.

The difficulty in assessing the conscious motives of the early allegorists is that they themselves do not discuss the aim and nature of allegory. The word *ἀλληγορία* is not used until the time of Cicero and of Plutarch, nor is the verb *ἀλληγορέω* used in the technical sense of allegorical interpretation until the same time, Plutarch being the first to use it thus, unless he was preceded by Heraclitus in his *Quaestiones Homericae*,² a work which was written perhaps during Plutarch's lifetime. Theagenes applied physical or mental qualities to the gods' names.³ The scholiast on Homer (*Il.* 20, 67) says that this was the ancient method of *ἀπολογία*, and that Theagenes first wrote about Homer. That he wrote about Homer is stated also by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 822. In view of these two testimonies Tate's attempt to belittle the contribution of Theagenes is not entirely convincing.⁴ It is true that the Homeric scholiast's account may be inaccurate. Theagenes, for example, may well have included the etymological method in his physical explanations of the divine names.⁵ Further, it is questionable whether the mythic speculations of the early philosophers were as closely related to the allegorical approach as Tate implies.⁶

In many respects Plutarch was indebted to Plato, so that any discussion of his use of allegory must consider the possibility that Plato's views on allegoristic were accepted by him partially or fully. At first sight Plato seems to have rejected the allegorical approach. In the *Republic*, 378 D it is said that the immoral stories about the gods are not to be admitted into the State whether they contain 'deeper meanings' (*ὑπόνοιαι*) or not, for the young would not be in a position to judge what was to be interpreted thus. A well-known passage in the opening of the *Phaedrus* describes Socrates discussing the myth of how Boreas carried away the maiden Orithyia from the banks of the Ilissus. Socrates quotes an allegorical explanation, to the effect that Boreas represents the North Wind and that the girl was physically removed by the force of the wind. He tells Phaedrus, 'I regard such theories as no doubt attractive, but as the invention of clever, industrious people who are not exactly to be envied.'⁷ He urges the Delphic 'Know thyself' as more profitable advice to the serious-minded.

The etymologizing which had become a dominant method in allegoristic is one of the themes of the *Cratylus*; but the treatment is not a serious one, and the aim seems to be to poke fun at the whole method.⁸ Plato's attitude may be summed up by saying

¹ *Class. Quart.* 28 (1934), 105 ('On the History of Allegorism').

² See F. Oelmann's edition (Teubner, 1910).

³ *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, ed. Dindorf, IV (Oxford, 1877), 231.

⁴ *Class. Quart.* 28 (1934), 108: 'His barren record serves merely to illustrate the fact that grammarians and biographers of Homer could make use of the labours of the philosophers for the purpose of expounding, eulogizing and defending the poet.' He does not seem to have noted the evidence of the Schol. on the *Birds*.

⁵ Cf. Paul Decharme, *La Critique des traditions religieuses chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1904), 275.

⁶ Cf. the refusal of Decharme to enlist Heraclitus of Miletus among the early allegorists, *op. cit.* 273 n. 1.

⁷ Plato, *Phdr.* 229 D (R. Hackforth's tr., Cambridge, 1952, 24).

⁸ See especially 406 c and cf. A. B. Hersman, *op. cit.* 8.

that while he did not deny the possibility of allegorical meanings, he had little use for them; nor did he employ the method himself with any seriousness.¹ Tate² calls this the 'negative aspect' of allegorism, and maintains that Plato, in the *Cratylus*, for example, supports its 'positive aspect', which implies a nobler method exemplified by the mythical language of divinely inspired poets. On the basis of his own definition Tate is doubtless right. But it should be noted that his 'positive' category is not related by ancient writers to the question of allegorical writing. In the *Cratylus*, for instance, it is regarded as something very different.

Whereas Plutarch uses the words ἀλληγορέω, ἀλληγορία, and ἀλληγορικῶς,³ he also employs some of the words which occur in Plato's treatment of the subject. The verb αἰνίττομαι, which Plutarch uses twice in the *DIO*, is employed several times by Plato⁴ to discuss the enigmatic sayings of a poetic nature. Plutarch's attitude, however, is very different from Plato's. In the *De audiendis poetis* the difference extends to the whole estimate of poetry; for Plutarch, although he does not explicitly mention his opposition to the austere judgement of the *Republic* in banning poetry from the State, nevertheless begins his discussion with a clear statement that it is a mistake to forbid the reading of poetry by the young.⁵ Maintaining that in τὸ τέρπον one should seek and love τὸ χρήσιμον in one's study of poetry, he was nearer to Aristotle and the teaching of the Peripatetic school.⁶ He does not join forces with Plato in attacking Homer and Hesiod, but claims that careful study of the poet's literary method will remove much that seems offensive. He does not, however, adopt the attitude of the Stoics and regard Homer and Hesiod as infallible teachers whose words should be defended at all costs. He is occasionally ready to blame Homer's words. 'For not only,' he says, 'as it seems, concerning the land of the Egyptians, but also concerning poetry, it is possible to say that she gives to those who use her "many excellent drugs mixed together and many bitter".'⁷ He states emphatically that when poems say anything reprehensible about the gods or the daemons or about virtue, a whole-hearted rejection is possible.⁸ The textual improvements of Cleanthes and Zeno are not acceptable to him;⁹ and he refuses to give an astral meaning to the story of the adultery of Aphrodite and Ares, as though it signified the coming together of two planets.¹⁰ He goes on to say that the poet's intention is to give a moral lesson on the evils of licentious ways and the transitory nature of ill-gotten pleasures. Decharme¹¹ explains Plutarch's attitude as implying the rejection of the physical interpretations of the myths in favour of the moral interpretations, which (according to Decharme) ever since Theagenes of Rhegium were strongly prevalent among most of Homer's commentators. There is surely a confusion here, however,

¹ Cf. A. B. Hersman, loc. cit.; Tate, *Class. Quart.* 23 (1929), 154; R. Hackforth, op. cit. 26.

² Loc. cit.

³ See Wytttenbach, *Lex. Plut.* 1, 38.

⁴ E.g. *Lysis*, 214 D; *Charm.* 162 A; *Theaet.* 152 C. A. B. Hersman calls attention to this usage, op. cit. 8 n. 16 and 30.

⁵ *De aud. poetis*, 1, 15 F.

⁶ Cf. Ziegler, *Plut.* 806; and S. Weinstock, *Philologus* 82 (1926), 137 ('Die platonische Homerkritik und ihre Nachwirkung', 121-53).

⁷ *De aud. poetis*, 1, 15 B-C; cf. 4, 20 C.

⁸ Op. cit. 2, 16 D.

⁹ Op. cit. 12, 33 C-D. So too the etymologies of Cleanthes and Chrysippus, 11, 31 D-E.

¹⁰ Op. cit. 4, 19 E-F. This is the context where he refers to the rejected type of explanation as ὑπόνοιαι or ἀλληγορίαι.

¹¹ Op. cit. 475.

between a moral lesson¹ drawn from a story and the moral allegory which may be read into it. Antisthenes is said to have held up Nestor as a pattern of self-control, Odysseus as an example of a wise man, and Athena as a model of wisdom; but this, as Tate² rightly says, is not allegorical interpretation; the moral of a story must be distinguished from its 'hidden meaning'. On the other hand, when the same philosopher explained the god Eros as an affection of the soul, a disease deified by its sufferers, he was indulging in moral allegoristic.³

Examples of the developed method can be seen in the work of Cornutus, a younger contemporary of Plutarch. His *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*⁴ is an excellent means of knowing how mythology was treated in the first century of our era by intelligent and respected critics. He begins by discussing Uranus, whom he defines as that which surrounds in a circle the earth and the sea. He is anxious to show, then, how its name implies this, and he suggests four possible etymologies which will suit. His explanation of the word *θεός* is partly similar to that offered by Plutarch in *DIO* 60, 375 c; he offers two etymologies: the gods are 'movers' and 'establishers' (*ἀπὸ τῆς θεύσεως; θετήρες*). He tackles Zeus, Poseidon, and Pluto in the same way. In the case of Rhea, Cornutus is puzzled by an element in her iconography. Why does she wear a 'crown of towers'? He suggests that it may symbolize the founding of cities on mountains (he has previously explained Rhea's connexion with mountains) or the goddess's position as founder of the world: 'A crown of towers lies round her head because in the beginning cities were established on mountains or because she is the founder of the first and archetypal city, the world' (6, 4-5). Plutarch is equally anxious to explain iconography, dress, and all religious symbols. An urge to compare deities, whenever possible, seems also to characterize Cornutus. If the comparison is found to be well-sustained, identity is suggested. Rhea, for example, is found to be very like Atargatis: 'This goddess (Rhea) seems to be also Atargatis worshipped by the Syrians, whom they honour likewise by abstaining from the dove and fish, denoting that air and water are the elements which especially reveal the principle of real essence' (6, 11-14). It will be observed how quick he is to suggest an allegorical explanation of an abstention from food. Concerning Rhea-Atargatis he goes on: 'She has been said to be Phrygian really, because she is venerated above all by the Phrygians, among whom the attendance of the eunuch priests was fashionable, signifying probably something like what is narrated among the Greeks about the castration of Uranus' (6, 14 ff.). The comparison of cults is thus also readily taken up—a marked feature of Plutarch's writing.

A book which may belong to the same period, as we have seen, is the *Quaestiones Homericae* of Heraclitus. Like the *Compendium*, it is thorough-going in its allegorizing. Both works seem to owe much to Stoic precept and practice, but the differences in their application are clear. Heraclitus is concerned primarily with the defence of Homer and devotes his attention particularly to those passages that had been attacked

¹ Plutarch, loc. cit., uses the words *μαθήσεις, διδασκαλία, and διδάσκει*.

² *Class. Quart.* 24 (1930), 6.

³ A. B. Hersman, op. cit. 16. Tate, op. cit. 5 glosses this over as 'a very unoriginal platitude, not to be taken as a proof that he made any contribution to allegorism'.

⁴ See C. Lang's edition and preface (Teubner, 1881).

as immoral. Plato, therefore, naturally comes in for a good deal of criticism. Since Homer is to be regarded as a sacred writer, the true understanding of him is argued to be imperative; those lacking in wisdom and learning will not succeed in understanding the allegories, but the duty is more urgent, in view of this, to seek the real meaning of those stories regarded as worthy of reproach. An example of the method adopted by Heracleitus is his interpretation of the theomachies; physical and moral allegory is applied. It is fairly clear, however, that even if Plutarch was familiar with the work of Heracleitus, he cannot have been much attracted by it, since in his *De audiendis poetis* he shows that his own approach to Homer was very different. Hersman,¹ in a comparison of Heracleitus and Cornutus, describes the latter's work as 'but a tiresome list of etymologies of the names of the gods and of their epithets that aims to show that the whole hierarchy of the Greek religion was a figurative expression of physical doctrine'; she is more attracted to his closing paragraph in which she finds that he 'expresses a firm belief in the wisdom of the ancients, and proclaims his own pious purpose of leading the young to religion, but not to superstition'. It is surprising, nonetheless, that although Mrs. Hersman is mainly concerned with Plutarch's allegoristic, she fails to see that of these two writers Cornutus is much the closer to Plutarch. This is true not only of his interest in, and approach to, mythology, which dominates his book; it is also true of that part of it which is devoted to the poets, for Tate² has shown that Cornutus here deviates from the Stoic position to the extent of censuring both Homer and Hesiod for adding fictitious matter to the material they inherited. Tate has probably gone too far when he says³ that Cornutus consequently drew back 'from the extremes to which the earlier Stoics had pushed the method of allegorical interpretation'. He can point to an occasional example where he dissents from the eminent Stoics. In chapter 20 Cornutus disagrees with the Stoic explanation of Tritogeneia as deriving from the *τρία γένη* of philosophy; cf. *DIO* 75, 381 E-F; in chapter 31 he dissents from the way taken by Cleanthes to explain the labours of Heracles. On the other hand he refers to the works of the earlier Stoic philosophers as a commendable source for the allegorical system which he himself is employing (Ch. 35); and his own explanations are mostly in line with those propagated by this group. Decharme says⁴ of Cornutus rightly, 'Il est tout plein des doctrines de Zénon, de Cléanthe et de Chrysippe.'

II. Plutarch's practice

Where then does Plutarch belong? Tate⁵ classifies him as one who rejected allegoristic *in toto*. 'Thus Plutarch,' he says, 'who did not care for allegorical interpretations, explains the Homeric quarrels of the gods by pointing out that Homer elsewhere describes the gods as delighting all their days in their peaceful abode.'⁶ Plutarch accepts the latter notion as truth and rejects the former as fictitious opinion. Tate⁷ points out

¹ Op. cit. 21.

² 'Cornutus and the Poets', *Class. Quart.* 23 (1929), 41-45.

³ *Class. Quart.* 23 (1929), 44.

⁴ Op. cit. 261.

⁵ *Class. Quart.* 24 (1930), 8.

⁶ The reference is to *De aud. poetis*, 2, 17 D.

⁷ *Class. Quart.* 24 (1930), 2. Cf. eundem, *Class. Quart.* 28 (1934), 110: 'Plutarch himself . . . would have none of it.' He refers here to *De aud. poetis*, 4, 19 E and 11, 31 E.

that 'Plutarch regards the etymologies of Cleanthes and Chrysippus as belonging properly, not to philosophy, but to the specialized studies of the grammarians'. The truth is that Plutarch does reject allegoristic in the *De audiendis poetis*: he does not favour there the physical or moral allegorists, nor does he recommend the subtle etymologies of the Stoics, some of which were borrowed from Plato in spite of the latter's distaste for the allegorical approach.¹ Hersman² states that the *De audiendis poetis* 'contains only one or two allegorical explanations'; but she does not specify them. She is correct, however, in her assessment of the *DIO* as a work steeped in allegoristic, and it is somewhat remarkable that the contrast between it and the earlier work has not received more attention.

Decharme³ discusses in this connexion a fragment ascribed to Plutarch by Eusebius,⁴ where it is said that the Orphic poems, together with the traditions of Egypt and Phrygia, show the physiology (or philosophy) to be mysterious and presented enigmatically, and that the secret thought of the wise men of old was available in the mysteries and sacrifices. E. H. Gifford⁵ thus translates the beginning of the passage:

The physiology (var. philosophy) of the ancients both among Greeks and Barbarians was a physical doctrine concealed in legends, for the most part a secret and mysterious theology conveyed in enigmas and allegories, containing statements that were clearer⁶ to the multitude than the silent omissions, and its silent omissions more liable to suspicion than the open statements. This is evident in the Orphic poems, and in the Egyptian and Phrygian stories; but the mind of the ancients is most clearly exhibited in the orgiastic rites connected with the initiations, and in what is symbolically acted in the religious services.

Eusebius attributes these words to Plutarch's work *De Daedalis Plataeensibus*, and gives instances of the explanations found therein. The legend that Hera was stolen away, while yet a virgin, by Zeus, but that their clandestine love was kept secret through the kindness of Leto, is explained by the fact that Hera is the earth and Leto is night. A story that told of a quarrel between Hera and Zeus is said to refer really to a disturbance and confusion of the elements, Zeus being heat and fire, and Hera being rain and wind. Eusebius adds the comment that both the original indecency of the legends and the physiological explanations are debasing and unworthy.

Decharme⁷ finds in this 'une couleur toute stoïcienne'; for Chrysippus, Zeus is the luminous ether; for Cornutus, he is, as for the author of the *De Daedalis Plataeensibus*, the celestial fire. The whole Stoa recognized in Hera the air which is under the sky, the terrestrial atmosphere, always agitated by winds or charged with rain. How could Plutarch, who never ceased to combat the Stoics, who declares their theology ridiculous, who rejects their physical explanations of the Homeric legends, how could he, asks Decharme, be caught in such a contradiction? He suggests that this fragment either

¹ e.g. the equation of Hera and Aër (*Cratyl.* 404 B), often used by the Stoics. Cf. *DIO* 32, 363 D. See further F. Wehrli, *Zur Geschichte der allegorischen Deutung Homers im Altertum* (Diss. Zürich, 1928), 86 f.

² Op. cit. 38 f.

³ Op. cit. 475 ff.

⁴ *Praep. Evang.* 3, 1.

⁵ *Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis*, III, Part i (Oxford, 1903), 91.

⁶ Karl Mras, however, *Eusebius Werke*, Bd. 8 (Die griech. christl. Schriftsteller, 43, 1, Berlin, 1954), 106 reads ἀσαφέστερα, following Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 164. The text is given also by Bernardakis, *Plu.* vol. VII (Teubner, 1896), 43 ff.

⁷ Op. cit. 476.

has been wrongly ascribed to him or belongs to a dialogue in which one of the interlocutors held an opinion peculiar to himself. 'En réalité', he concludes, 'Plutarque n'a jamais confondu les personnes divines avec les éléments de la nature.'

This statement will certainly not stand examination in the light of the *DIO*. In 66, 377 D it is true that a vigorous protest is made against the tendency to identify gods with natural products, such as Dionysus with wine. But Osiris is identified with moisture, and physical allegory is freely indulged in. The citation in Eusebius tallies closely with the teaching of the *DIO* about the mysteries.

Elsewhere too his allegoristic is in evidence. Bernardakis¹ cites chapter 27 of the *De facie in orbe lunae* (942 F; 950 E; 1008 A). The *Vita Homeri*, which Bernardakis is there defending as genuine, is no longer considered so; but in the passage he refers to² Theon is addressing Sulla and Lamprias, and he propounds a physical explanation of the myth of Demeter and Kore: the earth is the realm of Demeter and the moon that of Kore; the coming of the moon into the shadow of the earth betokens the union of mother and daughter.³ It is impossible, he says, for Kore to leave Hades, since she is herself the end of Hades. Here Homer *Od.* iv, 563 is quoted, and he is said to have expressed this 'enigmatically' (ἐπικρυψάμενος), but not ineffectively, in his reference to the Elysian plain and the ends of the earth. This is a clear case of physical allegory, and the only way to deny its validity in the present argument is to maintain that it is Theon's view, and not Plutarch's. He is himself responsible for the views expressed in the *De Primo Frigido*, which is dedicated to the Aristotelian Favorinus and which criticizes many statements made by the Stoics. But he uses a physical allegory when he says (14, 950 E)⁴ that Homer⁵ physically rather than mythically (φυσικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ μυθικῶς) set Hephaestus in opposition to the river and Apollo to Poseidon. He suggests similarly in the *Quaestiones Platonicae*, 1007 F–1008 E, that the epithet 'highest of the lords' (ὑπατος κρείοντων), which Homer uses of Zeus, denotes physical position to start with;⁶ but this explanation is not fully allegorical.

The passage which we have quoted from the beginning of Eusebius' extract from Plutarch's *De Daedalis Plataeensibus* is similar in approach, as we have noted, to the attitude shown in the *DIO*; see especially 9, 354 B–C which has also been quoted above. One can go further than this and maintain that the *DIO* contains examples of every kind of allegoristic previously known to Greek literature, many of them being presented as acceptable to Plutarch himself. Etymology, a favourite arm of the Stoic allegorists, is used frequently. For instance, Clea is told (2, 351 F) that she worships a goddess exceptionally wise and wisdom-loving, as 'her name certainly seems to imply that to her more than anyone belong knowledge and understanding'. The name, he adds, is

¹ *Plutarchi Moralia*, vii (Teubner, 1896), p. ix.

² See *Moralia*, v, 3 (ed. Hubert and Pohlenz, Teubner, 1955), 81–82; ed. Cherniss (Loeb, vol. xii), pp. 194 f.

³ Cf. Ziegler's summary, *Plut.* 854; and R. Wiggers, *Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des philosophischen Mythos der Griechen* (Diss. Rostock, 1927), 37 f. He regards this as a philosophical myth derived partly from Xenocrates and partly from Poseidonius. H. von Arnim, *Plutarch über Dämonen und Mantik* (Amsterdam, 1921), 66 does not believe Xenocrates to have been the source.

⁴ Ed. C. Hubert, op. cit. 101–2.

⁵ The ref. is to *Il.* 21, 342 ff. and 435 ff.

⁶ He is here dealing with some of the argument of Plato, *Resp.* 443 D. Cf. R. M. Jones, *The Platonism of Plutarch*, 104–5.

Greek, and he is obviously connecting Isis with a form of *οἶδα*, 'know'. Later in the work his etymological interpretation of the goddess is elaborated, although on different lines—a readiness to swap horses which we noted in Cornutus. In 60, 375 C Isis is derived from *ἵεσθαι* (here *ἵεσθαι*) 'to hasten' with understanding (*μετ' ἐπιστήμης*), 'since she is soulful and intelligent movement'. There follows a plethora of analogous etymologies. Plutarch is here adopting the approach which is made light of in the *Cratylus*, but which the Stoics used fervently. In the same way he explains Typhon, which he also assumes to be a Greek name, as one who is 'demented by his ignorance and deceit' (2, 351 F). It is through his allegorical method, rigorously applied, that Plutarch is able to maintain, concerning Egyptian cults, that 'nothing irrational or fabulous or based on superstition, as some believe, was embodied in the religious services, but ideas which either had moral and necessary causes or were not devoid of historical or physical plausibility, such as that connected with the onion' (8, 353 E-F). This is an instructive example, for a tale about the onion is rejected; it is utterly incredible, he says, that Dictys, the nursling of Isis, fell into the river and was drowned because she tried to lay hold of a clump(?) of onions. The priests, however, abstain from the onion; they loathe and avoid it as the only plant that grows and flourishes when the moon is on the wane. A factual note is added: it is not useful either for those purifying themselves (by fasting) or for those keeping festival, for in the former it produces thirst and in the latter tears. In this case Plutarch, in disbelieving the story, clearly regards it as having been fabricated by the priests to justify a custom regarded as salutary. Here is an example of allegoristic which involves rejection of myth by suggesting its aetiology.

In one instance Plutarch consciously parades an improvement on an allegorical interpretation previously made by writers whom he does not name. He is discussing a statement by Heraclitus that Hades and Dionysus are the same:

For those who claim that the body is called Hades since the soul becomes beside itself, as it were, and intoxicated within it, are allegorizing too subtly (*γλίσχρως ἀλληγοροῦσι*). It is better to equate Osiris with Dionysus, and Sarapis with Osiris, since the latter acquired this name when he changed his nature. (28, 362 A-B)

It would clearly be wrong to explain the improvement here as a rejection of allegory in general, although this particular instance of it is dismissed.

With regard to Sarapis he proceeds to interpret the god etymologically as 'the name of him who orders the universe, being derived from *σαίρειν* (to sweep)', and he will not countenance the statements of Phylarchus that the derivation is from words meaning 'to beautify' and 'to order' (29, 362 C). The possibility that the word is Egyptian prompts him to say, 'For my part I believe that if the name Sarapis is indeed Egyptian, it denotes joy and gladness (*charmosyne*), taking my clue from the fact that the Egyptians call the Charmosyna, the festival of gladness, *Sairei*' (29, 362 D). Amenthes he explains as 'the place under the earth, to which they believe souls go after death', the word signifying 'he who takes and gives' (29, 362 D).

When he goes on to treat of the physical allegories based on etymology, similar to

those employed by the philosophers who explained Cronus as time, Hera as air, and Hephaestus as fire, it is noticeable that Plutarch's tone is respectful. The following is the counterpart cited by him as prevailing among the Egyptians with regard to Osirian theology :

So among the Egyptians Osiris is the Nile, uniting with Isis as the earth, while Typhon is the sea, into which the Nile falls and so disappears and is dispersed, save for that part which the earth takes up and receives, becoming fertile through it. (32, 363 D)

A modified and generalized version of this interpretation seems to receive Plutarch's approval in the important chapter 33 where the wiser of the priests are said to regard Osiris as the whole principle and power of moisture. Plutarch's preference here is typically Greek and is in line with the tendency of Greek philosophy from the time of the Milesians to look for the primary elements. It is not surprising that he later (34, 364 B-D) mentions the belief that Thales received from Egypt his idea that water was the source of everything. This happens to be a case where a parallel explanation was certainly found among the Egyptians, but probably in its first rather than second form. Osiris was explained by them as the Nile or as fresh water rather than as the principle of moisture. What Plutarch ascribes to the Egyptian priests is therefore a Greek refinement, on the lines of Stoic allegoristic, of the native idea.

Details added to the physical allegory are that Nephthys represents the outer borders of the earth and the parts near the mountains and the sea (38, 366 B), while the help given to Typhon by the Queen of the Ethiopians denotes 'southern breezes from Ethiopia' (39, 366 C). The enclosure of Osiris in the chest means 'the concealment and disappearance of water' (39, 366 D). After comparing Stoic interpretations of Dionysus, Heracles, Ammon, Demeter, and Poseidon, Plutarch deviates strangely from this line of exegesis to ascribe suddenly a very different allegory to the Egyptians or possibly to another group of Greek philosophers. It is still a physical allegory, but now Typhon represents the solar world, and Osiris the lunar (41, 367 C-D). Frisch has dealt acutely with the implications of this violent switch-over as they affect the possible sources which Plutarch was using. The following of a Stoic source, but a different one, is probably indicated. The new interpretation still appears to be dealt with in a kindly manner until we reach 51, 372 A, where Plutarch says that 'just ridicule attaches to those who assign the ball of the sun to Typhon, who has nothing radiant or protective about him, nor has he order or creation or the movement which has measure and reason, but rather the opposite'. In the meantime Plutarch is deciding in favour of a moral allegory as the correct explanation. Osiris is the good and restrained, Typhon is the evil and intemperate in everything; this is declared after an exposition of the belief that there are good and evil powers behind the workings of the universe (49, 371 A-B; cf. 64, 366 F-377 A). The dualism which is at the root of this explanation is undoubtedly due in part to the influence of Plato. Hopfner indeed gives the heading 'Die akademische [Platonische] Deutung' to chapters 49-64 in his commentary. Daemonology is involved too. Like allegoristic, daemonology provided a way out of ascribing evil to the gods. It was not the gods, but daemons, that is, inferior beings,

that were responsible. Plutarch's combination of daemonology and allegoristic takes him far enough from Plato.

Did allegoristic imply rejection of the myths? We have noted one instance where this appears to be so. Tate¹ suggests that it was usually so: 'But neither Plato nor the allegorical interpreters believed that the myths were true. In order to accept the rationalization it was necessary to disbelieve the myth.' The implication is particularly clear in the approach made to Homer and Hesiod, for a major aim of the allegorists was to remove the necessity of believing in immoral and unworthy stories. Tate shows that Plato's view of myths distinguished three elements: (1) the *λόγος* or narrative in its literal sense; (2) the *νόμος, τύπος, or δόξα*, i.e. the principle implied, the 'moral' of the tale; and (3) the *ὑπόνοια* or allegorical meaning. Plato is prepared to approve of stories whose narratives are false but whose 'moral' is sound; but he believes that the young are incapable of apprehending the third element.

Plutarch's attitude seems to have varied. In *DIO* 58, 374 F he says: 'We must not treat the myths as entirely factual statements (*οὐχ ὡς λόγοις πάμπαν οὔσιν*), but take what is fitting in each episode according to the principle of likeness (to truth).' This difficult sentence seems to mean that incredible and fantastic incidents may be rejected, the emphasis being on *πάμπαν*, 'entirely'. Allegoristic then provides a deeper meaning, but does not invalidate the simple truth of the greater part of the stories themselves. One crucial passage may be adduced to establish Plutarch's disbelief in certain parts of the myth. After finishing his main narration of the myth he refers to episodes which he has omitted:

The foregoing are pretty well the main points of the myth with the exception of the most outrageous episodes, such as those concerning the dismemberment of Horus and the decapitation of Isis. For if they believe and say these things about the blessed and incorruptible nature through which we mainly form our idea of the divine, as though they were really enacted or actually happened, there is no need to tell you that

One needs must spit and purify the mouth

as Aeschylus has it.

(20, 358 E)

He has said in 12, 355 D that these episodes are 'utterly useless and superfluous features'. Yet one of the cases he mentions in 20, 358 E is the decapitation of Isis; and he has just included this in a softened form in 19, 358 D, where he describes the removal of Isis' head-dress by Horus. What is implied, it seems, is a right to modify the form and meaning of some of these episodes. Reference is made in 11, 355 B to the same matter:

Thus whenever you hear the myths told by the Egyptians about the gods, those, for instance, which tell of their wanderings, mutilations, and many other such tales, you should remember what was said above and not think that any of these things is said to have actually happened so or to have been enacted so.

Here the emphasis on *οὐτῶ* 'so' seems to restrict the denial to the detailed form of the mythical episode. The instances that follow show that the second and symbolic meaning is regarded as the important one. In the case of Hermes he is not literally 'the Dog',

¹ *Class. Quart.* 23 (1929), 144-5.

and in the case of the Sun-god, his arising from a lotus-flower represents sunrise; Ochus was not actually a sword, but his brutality justified the name. These three cases are obviously not parallel, and none of them deals strictly with a myth, but rather with a symbol. At the same time Plutarch intends the principle to apply to myths.

In his attitude to the myth of Osiris, or at least to most of it, Plutarch does not suggest, however, a rejection of the initial story. If certain episodes are thrown aside or modified, the others are accepted as factual even if a deeper meaning is attached. For instance, Plutarch has no suggestion that he does not believe that Osiris was a king who actually lived. In 13, 356 D he discusses two ideas about the length of his reign and in chapter 13 talks of his contributions to civilization. In the same chapter he describes how Typhon inveigled him into the chest. Later, in 39, 366 D, he says that this incident symbolizes the concealment and disappearance of water. Does Plutarch therefore disbelieve in the incident? This is clearly not so.

His allegoristic, on this showing, leaves room for some variety of treatment. Some myths, such as that of Osiris, are mostly factual but also symbolic. Certain episodes in them must be rejected or revised. Other myths do not have a literal or factual meaning at all; they are entirely symbolical. There is no clear instance of a myth thus treated, but in chapter 11 the principle is certainly stated.

III. Anterior developments in Egypt

In its original Greek sense allegory implies that an author proclaims a meaning other than the one which is instantly apparent (*ἄλλα ἀγορεύει*). The Greeks who explained Homer from this point of view were superimposing the second meaning upon a narrative which usually does not, in our opinion, bear any traces of such a meaning being deliberate. Some of Plato's myths, on the other hand, were clearly written with a second meaning in mind; those which conclude the *Gorgias* and the *Republic* present eschatological beliefs in narrative form,¹ and in the *Republic* the description of the cave constitutes a short allegory.² Two kinds of allegory therefore occur in Greek literature, the one superimposed by critics and the other consciously intended by the author; for the former type the term 'allegoristic' is generally used today.³

Egyptian literature has not usually been credited with a tradition of allegorical writing or interpretation. The only exception seems to be *The Blinding of Truth*, a Late-Egyptian story which Gardiner⁴ edited. It is preserved only in a fragmentary form, and the three main characters are Truth, his younger brother Falsehood, and his son, who is not named. The story began, it appears, with an account of how Truth borrowed a wonderful knife from Falsehood and then lost or damaged it. For this

¹ Cf. H. Leisegang in *PW* s.v. Platon (1950), 2416 f. and 2471 ff., though he does not use the term allegory.

² Cf. J. Tate, *Oxford Class. Dict.* s.v. Allegory, where he also cites *The Choice of Heracles* by Prodicus (*apud* Xenophon, *Mem.* 2, 21) as an example.

³ Cf. M. von Albrecht in *Lexikon der alten Welt* (Artemis, Zürich, 1965), 121 ff. where the words 'Allegorie' and 'Allegorese' are distinguished; thus too J. C. Joosen and J. H. Waszink in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 1 (Stuttgart, 1950), 283-93.

⁴ He gave the *editio princeps* in *Late-Egyptian Stories* (Brussels, 1932), 30-36 and edited it again in *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series* (London, 1935). Textual details are fuller in the former, but the story's significance is elaborated in the latter work.

misdeed Falsehood proposes to the Ennead that Truth should be blinded and made his door-keeper, a proposal which the Ennead accepts and implements. An account follows of the procreation, birth, and education of Truth's son, who is nonetheless ridiculed by his schoolmates as having no father. Intent on avenging the wrong done by Falsehood, Truth's son eventually accuses his uncle before the Ennead of stealing his wonderful ox. He apparently secures a favourable verdict, as the story's tattered end seems to refer to the blinding of Falsehood. The striking feature is that the two chief characters are treated, in respect of their names, as personified abstractions; and thus Gardiner¹ was impelled to remark that 'surely this must be the earliest example of allegory in the manner of John Bunyan'. It has not been noted that the Egyptian writings very neatly combine the abstract and personal elements of the names by using \equiv and 𓆎 as determinatives of both Truth and Falsehood.² Gardiner proceeds to designate the theme as 'a but thinly disguised version of the legend of Osiris'; he equates Truth with Osiris, Falsehood with Seth, and Truth's son with Horus, and he observes the parallel role of the Ennead in the stories. He admits that Truth's consort is not much like Isis, since she is not very helpful to either spouse or son. The slandering of Truth's son on the score of doubtful parentage certainly recalls the treatment of Horus, although it is not here laid as a charge before the Ennead. In 6, 6 ff. and 10, 5 *wšb*, 'avenge', is used of the son's intention concerning his father; this verb is not apparently used of Horus, but the general sense corresponds to Horus's actions. It is the Horus-Seth legend, however, that provides the basic parallel: Truth is the elder brother of Falsehood (2, 5) as Horus is of Seth;³ the Ennead is the arbiter of their rival claims and charges; and in particular the initial and final allusions to blinding recall the seizure of the eye of Horus by Seth, although the infliction of the same fate on Seth has no part in the legend. Dr. Emma Brunner-Traut⁴ sees a further parallel between Falsehood and Seth in the wonderful knife or sword which Falsehood lost: Seth in Rēc's bark has a spear with which he attacks Apopis. Her attempt to see a connexion with Osiris in the wonderful ox of Truth is a little more circuitous.⁵ Yet she is doubtless right in refusing to regard the story as a full-blown allegory,⁶ while recognizing in it a didactic trait. In essence we have here a folk-tale which is partly allegorical and which also shows the influence of two outstanding myths. Gardiner's reference to allegory seems to concern only the names of the main characters, and this type of nomenclature, while

¹ *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series*, 1, 6.

² A third personified abstraction may have been present in the story if a conjecture by Dr. Emma Brunner-Traut is regarded as probable. In her *Altägyptische Märchen* (Düsseldorf, 1963), 41 she refers (in her translation) to Truth's consort as 'Begierde'. Unhappily the name is missing in the papyrus every time this person is referred to.

³ Cf. *The Memphite Theology*, 12 c and Junker, *Die politische Lehre von Memphis*, 32 f. In P. Chester Beatty I, 4, 8 and 8, 7 Seth is referred to as the elder brother, but the form of Horus is here influenced by the Osirian concept of Horus the Child: see J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool, 1960), 67 f.

⁴ Op. cit. 262. Cf. Lanzone, *Diz. Mit.* Pl. 378, 1; Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1959), 208 ff. Daumas, *Les Dieux de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1965), 95 describes Seth as 'dieu de la guerre et du désert stérile', but the former designation may be questioned.

⁵ Ibid: one of the insignia of Osiris is the shepherd's crook, and so the ox recalls his cattle; also the word *iwwt* is used punningly to refer to 'office' and 'cattle'. The second point is true of P. Chester Beatty I, 5, 10 ff. (as Dr. Brunner-Traut indeed remarks), but not of the present text.

⁶ Op. cit. 261.

clearly allegorical, is not here pursued actively enough to involve a sustained allegory; in Bunyan's work it is more constantly a facet of the method.¹ If Truth and Falsehood, on the other hand, hide the names of Osiris (or Horus) and Seth, a third meaning emerges, and a highly sophisticated intention would be revealed; but it is preferable to regard this as the unconscious imprint of the myth and to find in the story only the broad framework of moral allegory which is expressed in the names,² the intention being to suggest that this is how truth must eventually be vindicated against the wiles of falsehood.

The *Tale of the Two Brothers* has been shown by Jacobsohn³ to contain a wealth of mythological and theological allusion or reminiscence, but again it is a matter of unconscious reflection rather than of presenting consciously a second meaning. According to Spiegel⁴ *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* in P. Chester Beatty I provides a fusion of contemporary history and ancient myth, the former element being concerned with the tension between the kingship and the nome-governors at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.⁵ We are told that 'Osiris embodies the kingdom of Heracleopolis'.⁶ Such a procedure might seem to be allegorical, though Spiegel does not use the term.⁷ A contemporary colouring of the terminology is the limit of what is probably involved.⁸

It is possible, however, to cite stories whose allegorical intention is beyond doubt. One of the best-known allegories in classical literature is the story of the dialogue between the belly and the other members of the body. It appears in the speech of Menenius Agrippa as recorded by Livy, 2, 32 and Plutarch, *Vita Coriolani* 6: the belly is accused of having an easy time, but replies by saying that it nourishes the whole body, the moral being that all the body's members need one another and that the senate,

¹ Thus when Bunyan refers to Giant Despair he is personifying an experience. Abstractions are often personified in the medieval morality plays, as they are in the Welsh 'interludes' of Twm o'r Nant. The opposite process usually occurs in Greek allegoristic, as when Plut. *DIO* 33, 364 A favours the interpretation of Osiris as the principle of moisture. The allegorical personifications of Aristophanes, on the contrary, such as Penia, Ploutos, the Logoi, and Techne, are probably comic creations deriving from a projection of poetic metaphors: see H.-J. Newiger, *Metapher und Allegorie* (Zetemata, 16, München, 1957).

² There was, of course, a precedent for the procedure in the name of the goddess Ma'at; but although the word is feminine, both as the name of the goddess and as an abstract noun, it is used here as the name of a man. G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens* (Paris, 1949), 160, points out that Falsehood (*grg*) is briefly personified in *Peasant B* 2, 98-99. The particular antithesis of our story persists in numerous parallels in later literatures: see M. Pieper, *ZÄS* 70 (1934), 92-97 and idem, *Das ägyptische Märchen* (Leipzig, 1935), 31 ff.; Lefebvre, loc. cit.; Brunner-Traut, op. cit. 262 points to analogies relating to other features.

³ *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter* (Glückstadt, 1939), 13 ff. Earlier appraisals tended to view the story as a simple folk-tale: see A. C. Mace, *Egyptian Literature* (New York, 1928), 29 and T. E. Peet, *A Comparative Study of the Literature of Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia* (London, 1931), 113. Max Pieper, *Die ägyptische Literatur* (Wildpark-Potsdam, 1927), 78 ff. recognized its complexity and artistic skill, though he thought that its dominant idea was the wickedness of woman ('Das Ganze ist beherrscht von einer einzigen Idee: der Schlechtigkeit des Weibes . . .'); in *Das ägyptische Märchen* (Leipzig, 1935), 33 ff. he emphasized rather the mingling of varied motifs. That the story reflects ancient ideas about nature and its fertility is well shown by Spiegel in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (ed. Spuler), 1, ii (Leiden, 1952), 135.

⁴ *Die Erzählung vom Streite des Horus und Seth* (Glückstadt, 1937), 25 ff.

⁵ Op. cit. 71.

⁶ Op. cit. 77.

⁷ Cf. however, p. 79: 'Mythologische Verhältnisse werden dabei zum Ausdrucksmittel für geschichtliche Beziehungen und Spannungen.'

⁸ Cf. J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool, 1960), 78 and *JEA* 24 (1938), 255 f.; also Siegfried Schott, *OLZ* 41 (1938), 528 f.

equated with the belly, is really helpful to the plebs. That a form of this short allegory first appears in Egyptian literature, though in a severely fragmentary state,¹ is a fact of some significance. It is the head and the body that are arguing in the Egyptian tale, which begins *Wpt ht hnc tp*,² 'the body³ was disputing with the head'. The disputation characteristically occurs before a tribunal, in this case the *mcbyyt*, the 'Court of the Thirty'.⁴ In spite of the difficulties of a partially preserved text—the case against the head is missing—the general theme is clear. Nor is the purpose of the story in doubt. Such a tale can hardly have been composed for mere amusement; neither does it reflect a myth. Its purpose must have been moral in the sense of a plea for unity, and the allegory was probably political. Although the date suggested for the composition is the Twentieth Dynasty (Maspero) or the Twenty-second (Erman), Spiegel⁵ cogently suggests an ultimate origin in the era before the Middle Kingdom when the need for political unity in the 'body of the State' was sorely felt. Certainly a period of unrest and threatened disintegration, even if somewhat later than this, would provide an intelligible background. The influence of this allegory, despite the differing details, extends not only to the story told by Menenius Agrippa but also, as Dr. Brunner-Traut⁶ points out, to the Aesopic fable about the quarrel of the belly and the feet. It may be added that the Pauline doctrine of the Church as a community of members of one body owes something to the Egyptian tradition, especially when it is applied to the quarrelsome Corinthians;⁷ the concept of the *σῶμα Χριστοῦ*, however, adds a deeper dimension.⁸

It is when we turn to the animal fables of Egypt that we find a rich allegorical tradition firmly entrenched. A good example is *The Lion and the Mouse*, a story embedded in the myth of the return of the sun-god from Nubia, a demotic work (Leiden Demotic P. I, 384) which Spiegelberg⁹ edited. It relates how a lion, having spared the life of a mouse, was helped by it to escape from a hunter's net; the story is, of course, well known from the Aesopic corpus also.¹⁰ The Egyptian narrative includes a remark, before this, made by the ape to the cat, to the effect that every mighty one meets his master;

¹ Maspero, *Études égyptiennes* (Paris, 1879), 260–4 gives the only publication available. He also suggested the connexion with the later fable. Cf. Erman, *Literatur*, 224 f. and eundem, tr. Blackman, 173 f.; E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Märchen*, 126 and 278.

² Perhaps to be read *ḏḏ*, though the form is in each case ideographic only: see *Wb.* v, 530 s.v.

³ Perhaps 'belly'; *ht* can have either meaning. Maspero has 'ventre' throughout, but other translators, while following him in their versions, inconsistently refer to 'body' in their titles (e.g. Erman tr. Blackman, 'The Quarrel of the Body and the Head'). The German 'Leib', it is true, is itself ambiguous. As the *ht*'s argument is missing, the matter is not easy to decide; but in favour of 'body' is 7–8 (Maspero, p. 263): 'I am their mistress, I am the head, whom her brothers accuse', the suggestion clearly being that all the other members of the body are here accusing the head.

⁴ Probably with the sense of the divine court; cf. *Wb.* II, 46, 17 and P. Chester Beatty I, 3, 9, on which see Spiegel, *Erzählung*, 74.

⁵ In *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, ii, 136. Since the text is on a writing-board in the form of a school-exercise, an earlier origin is at once indicated; cf. E. Brunner-Traut, op. cit. 278.

⁶ Op. cit. 279.

⁷ 1 Cor. xii. 12; cf. Col. i. 18 and Eph. i. 22, where Christ is described as the head of the body.

⁸ The debt to ancient tradition and the quality of the new elaboration are admirably discussed by Rudolf Bultmann, *Glauben und Verstehen*, I (Tübingen, 1954), 166 (from an essay first published in 1929).

⁹ *Der Mythos vom Sonnenauge* (Straßburg, 1917), 43 ff.

¹⁰ See no. 155 in Hausrath's edition (Teubner, 1956–7); Perry, *Aesopica*, I, 379, no. 150.

further, the lion has asked a number of questions, particularly about the power of man. When the mouse has freed the lion from the net, they go off into the desert together, and the hearer is urged to learn therefrom that even the weakest can help the strongest when fate so wills.¹ Here is an exquisite example of moral allegory, and Dr. Brunner-Traut,² after a detailed analysis of the demotic and Greek forms, has little difficulty in showing that the Egyptian form must be the earlier. In this connexion it has been discovered that P. British Museum 274 (second or third century B.C.) contains a fragmentary Greek rendering of the demotic tale.³ In its general context the latter stands out from material which is not predominantly allegorical. Many animal stories derive from Egypt which are mythological in origin,⁴ and in her illuminating study of the sources Dr. Brunner-Traut⁵ distinguishes between this type and the more elaborate animal fable, although she shows that the religious tradition was the matrix of the fable also. It is the latter, of course, that reveals allegorical intent, and the constant pointer to this purpose is that the world of animals is seen to portray the world of men. The aim is therefore didactic and occasionally satiric as well. Many instances of this approach can be seen in the pictures on ostraca and papyri, and although an accompanying text is usually missing, it can be assumed that such texts existed, and that the pictures are illustrations of themes which were well known in literature as well as in oral tradition.

The theme of a *War of Cats and Mice* is charmingly depicted,⁶ and the representations are numerous enough to allow one to make the assumption of a literary version with some confidence. Once again there is a parallel in Greece, for the *Batrachomyomachia*, the *War of Frogs and Mice*, which parodies the *Iliad*, owes something to the Egyptian prototype;⁷ and the subject remained popular also in the Near East.⁸ The allegorical element is still clear, since human affairs are burlesqued, as for instance in the titillating depiction (from a Ramesside papyrus in Turin) of a mouse-Pharaoh in his chariot attacking a formidable cat-fortress; but the vein is humorous and satiric rather than didactic. In the case of *The Swallow and the Sea*⁹ the source is literary only, and the story of how the swallow succeeded in drinking up and removing the sea

¹ For a translation with brief commentary see E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Märchen*, 133 ff. and 282.

² *Saeculum* 10 (1959), 172.

³ See Reitzenstein, Crönert, and Spiegelberg, 'Die griechische Tefnutlegende' (*Sitzb. Heidelberg*, 1923); cf. F. Ll. Griffith, *JEA* 9 (1923), 220 and F. W. F. von Bissing, *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 25 (1949), 227 ff. The discovery does not in itself decide the question of precedence with respect to the Aesopic and demotic versions; in fact Reitzenstein leaves that open.

⁴ For the possibility that one such legend, deriving from Cynopolis and contained in the Papyrus Jumilhac which Vandier has edited, was translated into Greek by Eudoxus, see J. Gwyn Griffiths, 'A Translation from the Egyptian by Eudoxus', *Class. Quart.* 15 (1965), 75-78.

⁵ See especially her article 'Altägyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel: Gestalt und Strahlkraft' in *Saeculum* 10 (1959), 124-85; also *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder* (Wiesbaden, 1956) by the same author.

⁶ See E. Brunner-Traut, *Saeculum* 10 (1959), 147-51 and *Ägyptische Märchen*, 59 ff.

⁷ Cf. Morenz, in *Neue Beiträge zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer* (Stuttgart, 1954), 87-94.

⁸ Cf. the translation from the epic of Obeid Zakani, a fourteenth-century Persian poet, reproduced in Brunner-Traut, *Ägyptische Märchen*, 60-62.

⁹ Spiegelberg, *Demotische Texte auf Krügen* (Leipzig, 1912), 16 ff.; on p. 7 he suggests a date in the first or second century A.D.; cf. Roeder, *Altägyptische Erzählungen und Märchen* (Jena, 1927, *Die Märchen der Weltliteratur*), 312 f. and Brunner-Traut, *Äg. Märchen*, 126 f.

because it had not protected the bird's young, is intended allegorically as a hint to the Pharaoh that the Arabian prince Uski, in spite of his apparent weakness, is capable of unexpectedly powerful actions.¹

Other literary examples are provided again by the Leiden Demotic Papyrus I, 384: in the *Dialogue of the Vulture and the Cat* (2, 7 ff.)² the ethical problem of retaliation is presented, and it is given a religious solution (revenge belongs to Rēc); a similar theme appears in the *Dialogue of the Two Vultures* (13, 22 ff.),³ nor is the conclusion very different: he who kills will himself be killed, and Rēc dispenses justice. Thoth, who tells the story, applies it openly to the life of man: *for the good and evil which man does on earth are recompensed by Rēc* (15, 11-12). Talking animals are matched in Egyptian literature by talking trees;⁴ their interpolations in the love lyrics are full of poetic feeling, so that they might almost be regarded as early instances of the 'pathetic fallacy' were not their origin apparent rather in religious ideas, such as the belief that Ḥathor, a goddess of love, resided in the sycamore-tree.⁵ But unlike the animal fables these episodes are not allegorical.

The terms 'Gleichnis'⁶ and 'parable'⁷ have been used of two stories in the *Lebensmüde*, and Gertrud Thausing⁸ has treated them as allegories. From our point of view, that is from the standpoint of Greek ἀλληγορία, they are certainly moral allegories⁹ in that they adumbrate a second meaning which is intended to apply to the main theme of the work. The first story tells of a peasant who was engaged in transporting his harvest; his watchfulness enabled him to avoid the dangers of a night storm, but afterwards he lost his wife and children in a lake which was infested with crocodiles. In this crisis the peasant declares:

I do not weep for the mother¹⁰ yonder who cannot come forth from the West more than any other woman on earth.¹¹ I grieve for her children, who have been crushed in their infancy,¹² who have seen the face of the crocodile-god before they have (fully) lived.

(*Lebensmüde*, 76-80)

¹ Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, op. cit. 279 f. Previous commentators explained the piece as a letter. A similar tale is said to occur in the Indian Pantshatantra, which derives from the third century A.D.

² Spiegelberg, *Mythus vom Sonnenauge*, 13 ff.

³ One recalls the story of the nightingale and the hawk in Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*. A dialogue of birds occurs in each case and the violence inflicted by the strong on the weak is discussed in each. The Egyptian tale has a higher moral level, but Hesiod is earlier by nearly a millennium.

⁴ E. Brunner-Traut, *Saeculum* 10 (1959), 159-61; Erman tr. Blackman, *Lit.* 249-51; S. Schott, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder* (Zürich, 1950), 58 ff.; A. Hermann, *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung* (Wiesbaden, 1959), 121 and 146 f.

⁵ Cf. Ramses Moftah, *ZÄS* 92 (1965), 40-47, esp. 42 and 44.

⁶ A. Scharff, *Der Bericht über das Streitgespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele* (*Sitzungsb. München*, 1937), 34 and 39.

⁷ R. J. Williams, 'Reflections on the Lebensmüde', *JEA* 48 (1962), 55.

⁸ 'Betrachtungen zum "Lebensmüden"', *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 262-7.

⁹ From the point of view of distinctions developed in later times R. J. Williams, loc. cit., has every right to call them 'parables'. It is not necessary to seek a second meaning in all the details after the manner of G. Thausing's treatment.

¹⁰ R. O. Faulkner, *JEA* 42 (1956), 35 f. manifestly improves the interpretation of this word and of the passage.

¹¹ Faulkner, op. cit. 27: 'for another (term) upon earth', but *kt* in such an ellipse seems unparalleled. See

The story is preceded by the soul's *Carpe diem* injunction (68) and the moral seems to be linked with this: here was a man who by his vigilance avoided one peril only to be overwhelmed by another that was totally unexpected. What is the use, then, of excessive care?¹

In the second story a peasant is apparently disappointed when he asks his wife for a meal; he goes out, and when he returns he will not listen to her remonstrances. Perhaps the folly of blind impetuosity is the moral here, and its application to the main theme will be in the nature of a general rebuke administered by the soul.² The first story is clearer in its relevance, but both are allegorical anecdotes.

A much earlier work, the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus, is replete with allegory, but there is a basic difference in the treatment when we compare the approach of the allegorical tales hitherto discussed. Here we have instructions for ritual proceedings, and the allegory is tersely embodied in a series of identifications in which the ritual objects and actions are constantly assigned second meanings. A brief example will suffice:

It happened that *srmt*-beer was brought in. It is Horus that is weeping because of his father and turning to Geb.

Horus speaks to Geb. They have placed my father under the earth. Osiris. *sh*-bread.

(ll. 104-5; Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 213 f.)

Here the beer is interpreted as the eye of Horus. Probably it is poured out in the ensuing rite to suggest the weeping of the eye, an action which is explained mythologically as lamentation for the death of Osiris. This allusion is then embodied in a piece of ritual recitation, which is followed in the instructions by an apparent identification of a bread-offering with Osiris. The relevant representation (22)³ adds nothing to our understanding of the procedure, but its allegorism is unquestioned. Helck⁴ has seen two strata of interpretations, both later, in his view, than the original record of the

Scharff, *op. cit.* 37 for the above version of the phrase. One is tempted to take *tv* here as referring to the necropolis, as it does in line 152 (also after a mention of 'the West'); cf. *Wb.* v, 213, 9-10. The difficulty is that *hry tv* usually denotes someone living on earth (*Wb.* v, 213, 7 and III, 136, 1-2).

¹² R. J. Williams, *JEA* 48 (1962), 55 n. 2, aptly cites instances where the phrase *m swht*, 'in the egg', denotes extreme youth. A meaning 'in the womb' (Scharff) might seem to be supported by the clause *before they have lived*, but this may well imply life in the full sense.

¹ Scharff (*op. cit.* 38) has a slightly different emphasis: the peasant's lament shows that life itself is the supreme end. Faulkner (*op. cit.* 35) thinks that both stories were perhaps 'intended to convey to the would-be suicide that there were misfortunes worse than those of which he complains'. Williams (*op. cit.* 55) is closer to Scharff: '. . . life, however short it may be, is better than none at all, and so the *bai* suggests that the man should be thankful for the life which he has already enjoyed.'

² Scharff (*op. cit.* 39 ff.) ingeniously differentiates the two words for a meal in the story: the peasant is disappointed and rebuked because he wants a light meal at once, whereas his wife refers to a full supper which will be ready only later on. In the same way, argues Scharff, the soul is rebuking the man for demanding death prematurely. Williams (*op. cit.* 55) finds the point in the idea 'that it is useless to demand what one cannot have'; 'the *bai* hints that the man should not insist on having the luxury of death *and* funerary preparations to boot'.

³ See also Helck in *Orientalia* 23 (1954), 400, where the order of the scenes is reconstructed on the basis of a posited relation to representations in the tomb of Kheruef, published by Fakhry in *Ann. Serv.* 42 (1943), 449-508.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 383 f.

ritual: the first is drawn from the Osiris-myth, and the second, which he calls a series of 'third comments', is recognized by him either as being written in a 'modernized' speech¹ or as being manifestly appended over some lines of the older text. Whether Helck is right or not, the process of allegorism has been palpably embodied in the text as it stands. Our quotation exemplifies the two ways in which the symbolism is expressed: either there is direct juxtaposition of object and interpretation or a clause with *pw* adds the interpretation. The general result is of course not an isolated phenomenon in the history of religion. There are celebrated instances in the Christian tradition where the ritual object or the rite itself is interpreted allegorically. *This is my body* is a sentence referring to bread;² and the believer who rises from the waters of baptism is said by St. Paul (Rom. vi. 3-4) to pass from death to resurrection.

If the Ramesseum text exemplifies a combination of allegory and ritual, the story of Apophis and Seqenenrē^c seems to combine allegory and history. The story begins historically and has all the appearance of being an account of a quarrel between the two kings.³ But the main point of the letter said to be sent by Apophis cannot be taken literally, since he complains of the noise made by the hippopotami in the canal in the east of Thebes, saying that he cannot sleep because of it. Quite clearly no noise made in Thebes could be heard in Avaris.⁴ Maspero⁵ suggested that the far-fetched element is an instance of the challenging riddles which oriental kings are sometimes said to have addressed to one another, daring the rival monarch to go one better. Such a tradition attaches to Hiram of Tyre and Solomon, as well as to Nectanebus and Lycerus of Babylon; it is akin to the miraculous fantasies of folk-tale rather than to allegory. Erman⁶ suggested that Apophis was merely asserting thus his right to the canal, in that the hippopotami were crying for their true lord. He does not elaborate the point; presumably he saw the animals as sacred to Seth, and the papyrus has earlier stressed Apophis' exclusive devotion to Sutekh. The Sethian connexion is undoubtedly the key to the true explanation. From early times the royal hunting of the hippopotamus had symbolically represented the triumph of Horus over Seth, and the Hyksos king was offended by the revival of this rite in Thebes, the hyperbolic touch in his complaint being a mark merely of his anguish at the thought of the sacred animals being hunted.⁷ The allegorical element is therefore religious, involving the interpretation of a royal rite.

¹ Op. cit. 406. He refers to 105-6 thus: '“Brot und Bier” als Erklärung zu den altertümlichen Brotbezeichnungen *ih.t* und *srmt.t*.' But no evidence emerges of *srmt* having been used for anything other than a liquid.

² A literal explanation in the sense of transubstantiation in the Eucharist does not preclude the allegorical meaning of the saying in its first setting. Such a meaning is indeed compulsive, since the body had not yet been broken when the words were uttered.

³ Pahor Labib's characterization in *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Ägypten und ihr Sturz* (Glückstadt, 1936), 37 still seems valid: 'eine Geschichtserzählung in der Sprache und im Stil der Volkserzählung'.

⁴ Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 163 unduly magnifies the role of this reference when he says that 'though the theme of the whole is fantastic, the setting may well give a truthful picture'.

⁵ *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* (Ed. 5, Paris, 1911), xxvi f.; cf. G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens* (Paris, 1949), 132; Wilson in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, 1950), 231.

⁶ *Die Literatur der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1923), 216 n. 1; tr. Blackman, 188 n. 5.

⁷ See Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting* (Uppsala, 1953), 43 ff.; cf. eundem, *JEA* 36 (1950), 67. The god opposed to Sutekh in the story is a form of Rē^c: see J. Gwyn Griffiths, *JEA* 44 (1958), 81.

That allegoristic, as well as allegory, occurs in Egyptian literature has already been noted in connexion with the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus; it can be further exemplified by adducing some of the interpretations which follow certain phrases in the *Book of the Dead*. *Ky ḏd* is one of these. In many cases the phrase introduces another reading simply;¹ and the alternative recorded is sometimes very similar.² Comparable is the use in medical texts of *kt phrt*, 'another remedy', *ky gsw*, 'another ointment', and similar phrases;³ whereas in Late Egyptian letters *ky ḏd* itself is used to mark a transition to a different theme or an item of news.⁴ But *ky ḏd* can introduce, in the *Book of the Dead*, an interpretation of a statement already made, as in the case of a well-known locus in Spell 17⁵ where Atum or Rē^c is speaking:

To me belongs yesterday; I know tomorrow. This is Osiris.
As for yesterday, this is Osiris. As for tomorrow, this is Rē^c.

Thus the Middle Kingdom texts. New Kingdom versions⁶ are more expansive in their explanation:

What, then, is this? As for yesterday, this is Osiris. As for tomorrow, this is Rē^c, on that day when the enemies of the lord of all will be destroyed and when his son Horus will be established as ruler.

Another saying. This is the day when we shall remain in festival; this is the disposal of the burial of Osiris by his father Rē^c.

Two lions back to back below the sign of the horizon are shown in the relevant vignette, and the symbolism which contrasts yesterday and tomorrow as Osiris and Rē^c extends also to them. The first explanation is in reply to the question *ptr rf sw?* The second is introduced by *ky ḏd*. But both are allegorical and indicate a method of exegesis, as Rundle Clark⁷ has pointed out, which the Egyptian priests not infrequently pursued. In connexion with the locus just quoted he aptly refers to a variant on a coffin from Beni Hasan which is now at Brussels:

What then is that time in which we are now? It is the burial of Osiris and the establishment of the rule of his son Horus.⁸

¹ Hence *Wb.* v, 111, 11 and 12: 'andere Lesart' (varia lectio) referring to religious and medical texts. Cf. the phrases cited under 14-16 and p. 112, 1-4.

² E.g. Sethe *et al.*, *Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen* (Leipzig, 1925), II, 18a (=BD 115) where *that I may inherit this city has the portion of N* as an alternative. Cf. Sethe *et al.* p. 20 n.

³ Grapow, *Von den medizinischen Texten (Grundriß der Medizin etc.* II, Berlin, 1955), 45 f. He shows that *kt* sometimes occurs by itself. See also von Deines and Westendorf, *Wb. der medizinischen Texte (Grundriß*, VII, 1961), 284.

⁴ Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Bibl. Aegypt. 9, Brussels, 1939), 15, 14; 21, 15; 38, 8; cf. the variant *kt mdt* in 36, 11; see A. M. Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography* (Oxford, unpubl. thesis), 46 and 52.

⁵ Grapow, *Rel. Urk.* 11, Abschnitt 5. See also De Buck, *CT* IV, 192 a ff. In 193 c two versions have *Atum* for Rē^c. T. G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* (Or. Inst. Publ. 83, Chicago, 1960), 97, note c would translate the early variant *nnk* as 'mine is' in contradistinction to the later *ink*, 'I am'. Both forms may indicate possession; see Erman, *ZÄS* 34 (1896), 50 and cf. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 41 (1904), 135 f.; Heerma van Voss, *De oudste Versie van Dodenboek 17a*, 16 n. 2.

⁶ Grapow, *op. cit.* 12. Some minor variants have been ignored.

⁷ *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1939), 157: 'But the priests not only hid their god in awe and mystery; they also taught that the legends and ritual were symbols for metaphysical ideas. Relics of their exegesis exist in the glosses to Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead.'

⁸ Rundle Clark, *loc. cit.*: 'It is that Osiris has been buried while his son Horus is ruling.' The verbs are presumably infinitives and I take the second one to be a causative; cf. *Wb.* IV, 221, 4.

Now another saying: as for yesterday, this is Osiris; as for tomorrow, this is Rē̄.

(De Buck, *CT* iv, 193 d-f, b-c)

Here indeed, as Rundle Clark observes, there is evidence of 'disagreements in interpretation and subtle theological distinctions'. They are all, however, instances of an applied second meaning, that is, of allegoristic.

Another clear instance from the same spell uses the same introductory formulae:

I am the Great God who originated from himself. What, then, does this mean? The Great God who originated from himself, he is water. He is Nun, the father of the gods. Another saying: he is Rē̄.

(Grapow, *Urk.* v, 8, 13-17)

In this case, however, the explanation is not allegorical, but exegetical in a literal sense. This occurs elsewhere too in instances where the first saying is brief, vague, and apparently cryptic, so that a more detailed statement seems called for, as in the section following the words 'I am one who is not repelled among the gods' (Grapow's Abschnitt 4). On the other hand, in the section dealing with the phoenix, *ky dd* introduces a further meaning which is allegorical:

I am this great phoenix who is in Heliopolis, the inspector of what is and what was. What, then, does this mean? This is Osiris. What is and what was, this is his efflux.

Another saying: this is his corpse. Another saying: this is infinity¹ and eternity.¹ As for infinity, this is day; as for eternity, this is night.

(Grapow, *Urk.* v, 16, 17 ff.)

In *BD* 93, 3-4 (ed. Naville) a second version of a conditional clause is supplied: *If I am snatched away to the east with (or, on) the two horns; another saying: if anything evil or wicked is done against me at the feast of the transgressors . . .*² Save for the final phrase the intent of the explanation here seems to be the reduction of the concrete image to abstract terms. In other cases, as in Spells 69 and 70, *ky dd* introduces whole spells that are considered as alternative material, without any interpretative motive attaching to them; 70 in fact links itself to the end of 69 by supplying a variant of a particular word, as Allen³ shows.

There is also in the *Book of the Dead* much allegorization of particular objects. In Spell 153 as given in Allen's plate 48, lines 19-20 (see too his pp. 277 f.) we read: *As for the wood which is there, it is the hand of Isis*. This is a *Spell for escaping from the net* and it says that the cord is a sinew of Atum, that a blade is the knife of Osiris. A wholesale allegorization in mythological terms is applied to numerous nautical objects in Spell 99; it is said, for instance, of the vessel for baling out water, *Thy name is the hand of Isis, wiping out the blood from the eye of Horus* (ed. Naville, line 24). *Knowing the souls* in the spells which use this phrase includes a knowledge of many secret second meanings.⁴ Thus in Spell 113 *knowing the souls of Nekhen* includes an understanding of the

¹ Allen, *op. cit.* 88 translates 'endless recurrence' and 'changelessness' respectively. For a commentary see Rundle Clark, *Univ. Birm. Hist. J.* 2 (1950), 110 ff. and Heerma van Voss, *op. cit.* 58 ff.

² In one of the later texts edited by Allen the alternatives are apparently merged: see his translation, p. 168.

³ *Op. cit.* 145. An earlier version is sometimes indicated, see Heerma van Voss, *op. cit.* 9.

⁴ Cf. Sethe *et al.*, *ZÄS* 57 (1922), 11.

doctrine that the two strokes used in the writing of the appellation Nekhen refer to the hands of Horus which were fished from the water by Sebek.

IV. Affiliations

Lengthy as it is, our survey has certainly not exhausted the extent of allegory in Egyptian religion and literature. To the Greek mind *ἀλληγορία* and *τὸ συμβολικόν* were closely bound up, as Plutarch makes clear in chapters 9 and 10 of his *De Iside et Osiride*. A rich symbolism was manifestly attached by the Egyptians to such ritual objects as the Eye of Horus, the royal diadem and its components, and the *djed*-pillar. In the present study, however, attention has been focused on literature and mythology partly because this makes a comparison with the Greek tradition easier. In most of the several instances expounded above the nature of the allegory is reasonably clear. An exception is the second story in the *Lebensmüde*. It must be admitted, though, that some writers on Egyptian symbolism have produced very different explanations. Schwaller de Lubicz rightly insists in his *Temple dans l'homme*¹ on the dangers of reading modern or personal interpretations into material which is inherently far removed from our way of thinking. Yet he himself is not easy to follow when he maintains² of the *Doomed Prince* that 'le crocodile symbolise le principe contractant'; or when he says of the Ennead in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*:

L'Ennéade symbolise effectivement l'aspect mâle et l'aspect féminin, c'est-à-dire les deux aspects, actif et passif, des quatre éléments: Feu, Air, Eau et Terre, qui sont commandés par le Quint-élément, issu d'*Atoum-Râ*.

The four pairs in the Ennead consist, of course, of male and female. Shu is air and Geb is earth. But who represents fire and water? A cosmic harmony is doubtless generally adumbrated in the grouping. In this particular story, however, the augustly symbolic side of the deities is hardly conspicuous.

It is worth stressing here that we have been concerned only with allegory as consciously intended. There is a case for believing, as some psychologists urge, that the only important symbolism is that which is unconsciously produced.³ Helmuth Jacobsohn⁴ has attempted an approach of this kind, as when he sees Horus as a *filius macrocosmi* and *salvator mundi* in the Jungian senses, or when he finds a divine archetype of the 'Dead Father' in the concept of Osiris-King.⁵ Here, however, we are looking at symbolism only in the context of allegory as defined by the Greeks. Least of all are we concerned with the symbolistic procedures based on astrological and cabbalistic theories which Yoyotte⁶ has deservedly lambasted.

¹ Cairo, 1949, p. 18.

² *Le Roi de la Théocratie pharaonique* (Paris, 1961), 173. On pp. 155 ff. he is able to show that the representations and texts concerning the battle of Qadesh include a symbolical equation of Ramesses II with Rē, implying a comparison of the sun's conquest of darkness.

³ Cf. C. H. S. Spaul, *JEA* 47 (1961), 157; A. Piankoff in Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (New York, 1954), 33.

⁴ 'Das Gegensatzproblem im altägyptischen Mythos' in *Studien zur analytischen Psychologie C. G. Jungs. II. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte* (FS. C. G. Jung, Zürich, 1953), 171-98.

⁵ Op. cit. 175 f.

⁶ 'Symbolism' in Posener, *Dict. of Egyptian Civilization* (London, 1962), 277.

It is curious how Anthes¹ has gone to the other extreme. He admits the endless symbolism of Egyptian religion, which seems to him to suggest a conviction that the greater the number of symbols, the nearer is human understanding to the truth.² He is at the same time primarily concerned to show 'that logic worked in the transcendental and speculative thought of the ancient Egyptians as fully as it did among the early Greeks'.³ Later he discusses 'the increasingly mystical character of Hellenistic philosophy' and attributes this to 'the immanent character of Greek philosophy which called for a synthesis with religion', a process which was achieved, he thinks, 'by means of allegorical interpretation, first, from about 550 B.C., of Greek, and later on, of Egyptian and other oriental mythological topics'.⁴ Since the present analysis has shown that allegorical interpretations were common in Egypt long before this time, the question of Egyptian influence on the two forms of Greek allegory immediately arises.

It seemed clear to Plutarch⁵ that there was a figurative or symbolic element in hieroglyphic writing which was akin to Pythagorean sayings. As an example of the latter he gives 'Do not sit on a bushel' which means 'Do not live slothfully'. The parallel in hieroglyphic writing is, of course, the use of ideograms. Whereas Plutarch and other classical writers did not seem to realize that a phonetic element is mostly present also, the symbolic approach in the system was naturally aligned by them with allegorism. Plutarch (10, 354 E) states of the influence of Egyptian priests on Pythagoras that he 'imitated their symbolism and mysterious manner, interspersing his teaching with riddles'; here he is clearly overstating the Egyptian urge to be enigmatic, but when he gives, as an example of allegory, the interpretation that a child coming from the lotus is a depiction of sunrise (11, 355 B) he is nearer the truth. The association of the young sun-god Nefertum⁶ with the lotus is myth, it might be argued, and not allegory; and so is the idea that sunrise is suggested by the image;⁷ and yet the mode of expression is thoroughly allegorical to an outsider, for without the hidden meaning one sees simply a child emerging from a flower.⁸ A further meaning, unnoticed by Plutarch, was often added in Egyptian contexts, as in *BD* 174: the rise of Rē^c from the underworld at the moment of sunrise symbolizes the conquest of death for the deceased who is in the company of Rē^c. This is allegory consciously applied, although its source is living myth and not literary device.

¹ 'Affinity and Difference between Egyptian and Greek Sculpture and Thought in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C.' in *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.* 107 (1963), 60-81.

² *Op. cit.* 71.

³ *Op. cit.* 68.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 80.

⁵ *DIO* 10, 354 E.

⁶ Nefertum was closely associated with the sun-god and is later equated with Horus, Harsomtut, Harpocrates, and Rē^c himself. Cf. Morenz in Morenz and Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona, 1954), 65 ff. Nefertum is shown emerging from the lotus-flower in a well-known figurine of painted wood from the tomb of Tutankhamun; cf. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen* (Harmondsworth, 1965), pl. 1 and Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (New York, 1955, repr. 1962), pl. 13. The young god is doubtless identified here with the young king.

⁷ Cf. *BD* 174, 15 (Mut-ḥetep, ed. Budge): 'I have arisen as Nefertum, the lotus at the nose of Rē^c, when he emerges from the horizon every day.'

⁸ The image is of course the product of myth, and is not merely metaphorical. On the role of metaphor in myth see E. Cassirer, *Language and Myth* (tr. Langer, New York, 1946), 83 ff. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924), 9 refers to the image of the heaven as a woman lying over the earth as a well-known representation. It is an image, nonetheless, derived from myth. It can give rise, at the same time, to various metaphors, such as the description of rain as weeping.

That Pythagoras and his followers were influenced by this aspect of religious symbolism in Egypt does not seem very likely. At least no particular instance of such influence is apparent; and in these matters the only safe assessment is that based on specific affiliations. Derchain's¹ approach to the Hermetic literature is an admirable index of the method that commends itself. If the inspiration and background of these writings are thoroughly Greek, as Nock and Festugière have maintained—and expounded in some detail—it is idle to propound a theory of Egyptian influence without pointing to specific instances. Derchain has made a promising start in this task. The instances of Egyptian origin proposed by him (e.g. the concept of kingship and the doctrine of the solar demiurge) are happily not complicated by questions of dating, since the Hermetic literature follows chronologically all the works cited from Egyptian sources. A striking series of resemblances, on the other hand, between the *Instruction of Onkhsheshonqy* and some of the Hesiodic sayings, to which Walcot² has pointed, have led to the claim that Greece in this matter has influenced Egypt, since Hesiod is manifestly earlier than the Demotic document in question. Some of the Demotic sayings, however, go back to much earlier sources in Egypt.³

The rise of allegoristic in Greece shows every sign of being a native product in as much as it is essentially an intellectual adjustment to problems arising in Greek religion, in particular to the difficulty of reading Homer without moral embarrassment. It is true that one is confronted eventually by a striking philological equation when Egyptian allegoristic is examined: *ky dd* and *ἀλληγορία* are closely parallel expressions, although the former term is by no means used exclusively of allegorical interpretation. The word *ἀλληγορία* itself is not earlier than Cicero, so probably we need not attach too much significance to what may be a sheer coincidence.

A comparison of allegorical stories in the two traditions reveals the Egyptian origin of the animal fable. This was a genre that had an immense influence on Aesop and his successors, as Dr. Brunner-Traut has shown. It also appears in the *Batrachomyomachia*.⁴ The Demotic forms of some of these fables are later than their Greek counterparts, but the existence in Egypt of a rich pictorial corpus which is much earlier in date puts the question of origin beyond reasonable doubt. Another particular allegory first found in Egypt is the story of the dispute between the belly and other members of the body. Since this appears in one form in the New Testament, its diffusion has been widespread. Again, there are traces in Egypt of a divine allegory of metals: gold is associated with *Rē* and *Ḥathor*, and in an ancient rite use was made of *bī* (meteoric iron?) 'which came forth from Seth' (*Pyr.* 14 a). One may well recall the statement of Manetho (recorded by Plutarch, *DIO* 62, 376 B): 'They still call the loadstone (magnetic

¹ 'L'authenticité de l'inspiration égyptienne dans le "Corpus Hermeticum"', *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 161 (1962), 175-98.

² *JNES* 21 (1962), 215-19.

³ Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East* (Cardiff, 1966), 86 ff. He admits affinities in the *Instruction of Amen-em-ope*. The much earlier *Wisdom of Ptah-hotep* contains a number of comparable maxims, as indeed Walcot's summary makes clear.

⁴ Cf. Morenz, 'Ägyptische Tierkriege und die Batrachomyomachie' in *Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer* (Stuttgart, 1954), 87-94, where it is stressed that the sixth century B.C., when the Greek mock epic was probably written, was an era of close Graeco-Egyptian relations.

oxide of iron) "the bone of Horus" and iron "the bone of Typhon".¹ Hesiod's metallic races also come to mind, but there is a more detailed parallel in the literature of Zoroastrianism.¹

Although Egyptian religion supplied the fundamental data by which Plutarch allegorized the Osiris-myth, the ultimate process is here a Greek achievement. Yet the fact remains that the use of allegory in both its forms originated in Egypt.²

¹ Cf. J. Gwyn Griffiths, 'Archaeology and Hesiod's Five Ages', *JHI* 17 (1956), 109-19. Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East*, 86, believes that 'the Near East does not help us at the moment with the myth of the ages'.

² S. N. Kramer in *History Begins at Sumer* (1956, repr. London, 1958) claims twenty-five 'firsts' for Sumeria, but allegory does not seem to be included. An Akkadian allegorical fable (*Dispute Between the Date Palm and the Tamarisk*) is translated by R. H. Pfeiffer in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Ed. 2, Princeton, 1955), 410 f. Two allegorical animal fables are found in the O.T. in Ezek. xvii and xix; cf. also the allegory of the vine in Psalm lxxx. It was not until the second century B.C. that allegoristic was pursued by Jewish exegetes at Alexandria. See J. Massie s.v. 'Allegory' in Hastings, *Dict. Bible* (1898, repr. 1931), 64 ff.; cf. J. Geffcken in Hastings, *ERE* 1 (1908), 327-31; B. J. Roberts, *Patrymau Llenyddol y Beibl* (Liverpool, 1950), 58 f.; J. Hempel in H. W. Robinson (ed.), *Record and Revelation* (Oxford, 1938), 36 f. For developments in the early Christian era see Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (Munich, 1962), 55 ff. and E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge, 1965), 130 f.

'Living image of the Great *Isd*, the *sm*-priest who conducts ritual' and is found equated with the 'Living Soul which issued from Osiris, who pacifies the god by his beatifying spells'.¹ We have here an example of the well-known title of the *sm*-priest accompanied by designations which are not genuine priestly titles but rather epithets having every appearance of being artificial, and which most probably arose in the speculative theories of the Edfu priests because of the beliefs which formed a prominent part of the Osiris religion. The emphasis on the ancestor cult is here evident and it is strong. This led us to a somewhat closer study of the term *ih*t.

The occurrence of the word *ih*t in the Edfu texts is not uncommon as conveying a meaning other than 'offerings', or 'substances of an offering', especially 'substances of funerary offerings'. Evidence to be found in the texts decorating the walls of the Osiris chambers at Edfu makes it inherently possible to conclude that the word *ih*t describes the 'substances of the deceased god', hence his 'relics'.² These *ih*t were kept in the crypt and a special guard was set to protect them by day and night.³ This view finds support in a statement in the 'Morning Hymns' of the Edfu Temple which reads: 'the god's image hidden in thy casket, the relic (*ih*t) of thy Father which thou didst find in the domain, awaketh in peace'.⁴ Further evidence to confirm the interpretation suggested is provided by the texts of the 'Offering of the Lotus'.⁵ We read there about the *ih*t-relics of the First Primeval One which were believed to have rested in the Island of the Egg,⁶ and which seem to have been the main cult object at the performance of these rites.

In view of this mythological context it is worth recalling the ritual episodes incorporated into the Edfu Myth of Creation in which certain *ih*t played the essential part.⁷ Parallel to these *ih*t, which have every appearance of being the creative substances of the Earth, the narrative refers to other *ih*t which were regarded as the most sacred object of the original domain of the god,⁸ on which also a special guard was set.⁹ We are told that these *ih*t were found in a field of reeds in which the former domain of the nameless god *Pn* had once existed.¹⁰ These *ih*t were all that had been found surviving from the divine being when the new generation of creators arrived in the island of creation. There is, therefore, no doubt about the significance of the word *ih*t in this mythological context.

The parallel between the Field of Reeds enshrining the relics of the nameless god of the primeval time and the 'Western Field' named in the title of the King while functioning as the *sm*-priest appears so close that one can hardly resist the suggestion that in both we have an expression of the same tradition. If our deduction be admitted, the result of this short study may have relevance for the understanding of the speculative theories of the Edfu priests. It seems likely that the ancient myth about the relics

of the Opening of the Mouth is of greater importance at Edfu than Blackman and Fairman thought while writing their article 'Consecration of an Egyptian Temple' in *JEA* 32, 75 ff.

¹ *E.* IV, 243, 4.6; for the significance of *shw*, 'beatification' in the funerary cult see *JEA* 32, 81, n. 21 and 89.

² *E.* I, 116, 7; also *E.* I, 273, 16; 371, 16; 377, 3; VI, 288, 13. 17; 288, 1-2; see also *Misc. Greg.*, 418, n. 65.

³ *E.* I, 205, 18.

⁴ *E.* I, 15, 16.

⁵ *E.* IV, 140, 1; 392, 15.

⁶ *E.* VI, 339, 9; *Urk.* VIII, 50, 7.

⁷ Cf. *ZAS* 87, 43, n. (f)-45.

⁸ *E.* VI, 17, 10.

⁹ *E.* VI, 17, 9.

¹⁰ *E.* VI, 182, 2.

of the *Pn*-god formed one of the essential parts of the Osiris religion and cult in the Edfu conception. This hypothesis may be supported by the evidence furnished by a short text engraved on the Edfu Pylon where we read about the procession at which the statue of Osiris was carried to the 'Mound (*ist*) at the western side of the Island-of-Fury'.¹ We know, of course, that the name *iw nšni*, 'Island-of-Fury' was one of the subsidiary names of the Edfu Temple and that the same name was also given to the island of creation. The parallel between the actual site of the temple and the myth appears extremely close, and it is highly probable that this belief also had a deep influence on the performance of rites as far as the cult of the deceased god, the ancestor of the actual temple, was concerned. This brings to mind the belief known from the Edfu 'Morning Hymns' to which reference has already been made.

The belief that the ancestor's relics were enshrined in the domain of the temple may be confirmed by evidence of the main building texts of the Edfu Temple. We are told of the 'Djeba of the Falcon enshrining the *ih*t of his father in this domain'.² We know from the 'mythological history' of the Edfu Temple that the first sacred place of the Falcon Horus was created on the very site in which the relics of the ancestor *Pn*-god rested.³ The quotations from the Edfu building texts offer good reasons for concluding that a tradition that the ancestors's relics were enshrined on the site of the temple was one of the essentials for the existence of the actual temple. Consequently the relics of the deceased god must have played their part in the ritual life of the temple.

The designation of the King in the ritual scene referred to above makes it certain that rites were performed in respect of them and that there is an evident and close link with the ceremonies of the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth. But respecting the performance of this rite one may not postulate more than simple episodes of uttering spells over the *ih*t-relics. This is, in fact, clearly set out by the idea implicit in the word *sh*, 'beatifying'.⁴ Herein seems to lie another hint of a close connexion with the tradition of remote date; it brings to mind a ritual act known from the mythology of the Egyptian ancient places in which the creator gods are said to *sh ih*t, 'to recall the relics' of the ancestor.⁵ In the myth this episode is described as having taken place in front of the former seat of the ancestor god.

In the scene which was the starting point of this short study a reference is made to the *sh*-image of Osiris carried through the necropolis.⁶ This tempts one to think of a connexion between the rite respecting the *ih*t-relics and the eternal image of the god in which he was believed to have resided in his mysterious life. We may venture to say that this *sh*-rite performed over the relics may have been regarded as one of the stages leading to the 'making immanent' of the god's statue. The ultimate connexion between the 'making immanent' of the god's statue and the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth in the Edfu tradition was demonstrated many years ago.⁷

This suggestion, if accepted, agrees with the spell in the 'Morning Hymn'. The ancestor's relics were awakened at dawn in the same way as all the divine inhabitants

¹ E. VIII, 145, 5.

² E, IV, 328, 8; VII, 22, 10.

³ Cf. JEA 48, 89.

⁴ Cf. JEA 32, 89.

⁵ E. VI, 177, 6-7.

⁶ E. VI, 153, 13.

⁷ Cf. Blackman, JEA 5, 159 ff.; 10, 57 ff.; 21, 1 ff.; 32, 84-85.

of the temple and the temple itself. We may thus imagine that through the medium of the recital of the spells the relics were brought to life, and subsequently the god's image, his *sh*, was re-animated.

In the pieces of evidence cited in the course of this account we may have hints of ceremonies which took place outside the temple. The mention of the 'Western Field', then the reference to the 'Mound' on the western side of the temple, and then the procession carrying the god's image through the necropolis, all make it reasonably possible to say that we have allusions to the Osiris cult celebrated in front of one of the necropolis mounds. We may venture to suggest that it was there that the *sh*-field, the 'Field of the Ancestors', existed symbolizing the ancient domain of the *Pn*-god of the mythical age.¹ In an attempt to reconstruct this episode only briefly referred to in several scenes represented on the walls of the temple, we may imagine that the relics were carried from the crypt to the Mound on the western side of the temple to which also the *sh*-image of the god was brought by another section of the procession. There would take place the episode of uttering the *shw*, 'beatifying spells' the purpose of which was to re-enact the scene from the primeval age of the gods.

¹ We do not claim that this field is the same as the field which plays an important role in the performance of the rites of the Khoiak Festival.

THE LATER PHASES OF MEROÏTIC CIVILIZATION

By BRYAN G. HAYCOCK

THE historian of Napata–Meroë has to be content with much less adequate material than the student of Egypt, Greece, and the Roman Empire, owing to the lack of administrative documents and of histories written by Cushites. He is also hampered by the often fragmentary and third-hand character of the Greek and Roman references to the Sudan. Following the recent archaeological campaign in Nubia, however, there is now sufficient material to demand a new appraisal of the later stages of the centralized Meroitic empire and the beginning of the Sub-Meroitic cultures of Nubia (the X-Group of Reisner and the tribes farther south in the Sudan). The older picture of Meroitic history, especially in its later stages after the first century A.D., as presented by A. J. Arkell,¹ is of an age of decline, ‘barbarization’, and perhaps loss of foreign contacts; but Dr. W. Y. Adams has already demonstrated its much greater significance if it is viewed as a time of blending between local, Graeco-Roman, and Egyptian traditions, and not considered only from a narrowly Egyptological standpoint.² This article is intended to investigate in more detail the date and character of the assimilation of foreign influences into the life of Meroë, and the nature of Nubian society in the early centuries A.D.

As a starting-point it will be well to take the recently expressed ideas of Professor W. B. Emery in *Egypt in Nubia*, since he is perhaps the only Meroitic expert whose published views are largely in agreement with those of A. J. Arkell. He maintains:³

The towns and settlements which had not been destroyed in the struggle [the Roman invasion of 23–21 B.C.] were impoverished, and many parts of the country became uninhabited. In such important centres of Meroitic culture as Karanog, little remains which can be dated later than the early part of the first century [A.D.], and this also applied to the numerous Meroitic cemeteries, where the richer type of burial can certainly be dated to a period prior to the invasion of Petronius. Poorer graves of a later date exist in fairly large numbers, but they all show every sign of the rapid decline from the prosperous years before the advent of Rome.

Emery concludes that the Meroïtes never really recovered from the Roman war, and that, although Nubia south of Maḥarraqa was nominally part of their empire, their control gradually declined.

The omission of references in popular handbooks is now an accepted practice, but it would be easier to discuss the views of Professor Emery if he gave more evidence

¹ A. J. Arkell, *History of the Sudan to 1821*, 2nd ed., 138, 170.

² *JEA* 50, 116–20; *Kush* 12, 126 ff., esp. 169–73. A revaluation of the evidence has already been attempted by F. F. Gadallah, *Kush* 11, 196 ff.

³ W. B. Emery, *Egypt in Nubia*, 227.

or justification for them. One can think of references, notably in Pliny,¹ which, if taken at face value, would appear to support Emery; but Emery's statements must be taken with caution, since they contradict the ideas of older scholars such as the late F. Ll. Griffith, the founder of Meroïtic language studies, and are hardly in accord with the findings of most modern workers who date many Meroïtic remains to much later in the history of the kingdom. Griffith regarded the writing of the Meroïtic inscriptions of Karanog as entirely transitional to late cursive, and assigned them tentatively to the third and fourth centuries A.D.,² an opinion which is hard to dismiss since the Karanog texts 51 and 52 mention the *peshate* Abratoi known to have been active in A.D. 253, and since a number of comparable inscriptions can be dated securely to the third century A.D.³ Woolley and MacIver,⁴ independently of Griffith, considered the Karanog cemetery as beginning about A.D. 100, and continuing until the fifth century A.D.

It is much more difficult to be quite sure what Dr. W. Y. Adams is saying about the Meroïtic occupation of Lower Nubia in volume 50 of this *Journal*. It is very hard to reconcile his statement⁵ that 'The Meroïtic culture arrives full blown at the height of its prosperity, probably in the last century before Christ' with his suggestion on the next page that Berberi-speaking invaders separated Lower Nubia from the rest of the kingdom in the second century B.C.—which would obviously imply previous Meroïtic occupation of that area. It is still more troublesome to accommodate his concept a little lower on the same page that 'we must almost certainly regard the Meroïtic culture of Nubia and the Ptolemaic culture of Egypt as parallel and related developments. . . . In Lower Nubia, where Meroïtic and Ptolemaic stood figuratively face to face, the Meroïtic culture and State do not appear markedly inferior.' It is far from easy to see how Meroïtic pottery first arrived in Lower Nubia fully developed, if it originated there, as Adams accepts elsewhere in the same article.⁶

It seems to me that it is his failure to distinguish clearly between the tentative conquest of the third century B.C. of Arqamani and Adikhalamani—which left only a few highly Egyptianized temples at Dakka, Philae, and Dâbôd—and the much more serious occupation of Roman times, which leads him to the unlikely hypothesis of a complete hiatus between Napatan and Meroïtic culture.⁷ The royal pottery of Barkal and Bejrawîya in the third century B.C. is not of the classic Meroïtic type, and forms a natural continuation of the Napatan. Furthermore the tomb reliefs and inscriptions definitely support the idea of Napatan–Meroïtic continuity. There seems evidence from the inscriptions of Sabrakamani and Aryamani at Kawa for a survival of Napatan traditions into the third century B.C. To my mind the assertion of Adams,⁸ 'Wherever there is

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi, 181 ff.

² *Karanog*, vi, esp. 20–21. Griffith described them as 'doubtless written between the middle of the third century and the Christianization of Nubia in the sixth century, and rather at the beginning than at the end of this period'.

³ Griffith, *Meroïtic Inscriptions*, II, nos. 88 and 89.

⁴ *Karanog*, III, 84.

⁵ *JEA* 50, 118. Dr. Adams has now informed me that he did not intend to support such a hiatus in his article, but merely to suggest that the existence of a hiatus could not be proved.

⁶ *JEA* 50, 119.

⁷ I would regard it as a potential source of error that in *JEA* 50, 116–20 Adams treats the whole six hundred years of Meroïtic civilization (300 B.C.–A.D. 300) as a single unit.

⁸ *Ibid.* 116. Dr. M. F. L. Macadam, whose comments in *Temples of Kawa* are used in support of the theory of the hiatus, authorizes me to say that he did not intend to refer in the passage cited by Adams to a

a juxtaposition of Napatan and Meroitic remains, whether in temples, towns, or cemeteries, they always appear as distinct occupations separated by an unmistakable hiatus', is still in need of proof. The insubstantiality of the attempted Meroitic northward movements of the early Ptolemaic period is indicated by the dearth of Meroitic language inscriptions north of Sûlb before perhaps the time of Teriteqas, Amanirenas, and Akinidad, probably around 25 B.C.¹

The only example known to me of a Meroitic settlement site in Lower Nubia probably dating to the Ptolemaic period is site 6-G-9 reported by the University of Colorado Nubian Expedition across the river from Halfa.² Carbon 14 dates for this site averaged 102 ± 195 B.C. Some of the pottery, from the vague description without photographs, seems probably comparable with Meroitic types from the royal tombs of the third and second centuries B.C. It is noticeable that no classic Meroitic wares were present, which supports the contention that these only reached full elaboration in about the first century B.C. The discovery of this small peasant community,³ short-lived and the only one found of its kind, strengthens rather than weakens the view that northern Cushite (Romano-Nubian of the older writers) effective occupation and domination north of the Second Cataract only began after the Roman peace, when good trading prospects fostered rapid community development. Adams very rightly notes that the introduction of the *saqia* was possibly fundamental to the successful settlement of the region.⁴

The present writer does not wish to attack the pioneer conclusions of Dr. Adams in *JEA* 50 severely. Since his fieldwork was entirely localized in the Halfa area, these conclusions were not at all unnatural. By the time he wrote his 'Introductory Classification of Meroitic Pottery' in *Kush* 12, he clearly appreciated that almost all Meroitic pottery of Lower Nubia belonged to the later stages of the kingdom.⁵ This latter article, together with my interest in the Dodecaschoenus graffiti and visits to the important excavations of Professor F. Hintze at Musawwarât es-Sofra, which show a long development sequence culminating in classic Meroitic pottery, probably in the first century B.C., helped me greatly to realize the extremely late date of Meroitic activities in Lower Nubia. Adams does a great service to archaeology by stressing the indisputable cultural achievements of Meroë, and its elements of originality.⁶

In *Kush* 12 Adams is judiciously cautious about dating the Meroitic sites of Lower Nubia because 'chronological analysis of the Meroitic culture is surprisingly difficult. The Meroitic texts have yet to be deciphered, and there is a baffling lack of evolutionary suggestion in the archaeological remains'.⁷ He proceeds to question the chronological schemes of Garstang, Dunham, and Griffith. However, he does note⁸ that in Lower

gap in the sense in which Adams takes it. The excavations of Garstang at Meroë were not sufficiently methodical by modern standards to be regarded as automatically satisfactory evidence.

¹ *Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, 91 (a), (b), (c) and 92, Faras 43 and Karanog 126 most likely belong to this time. As Griffith observed (*Recueil Champollion*, 595-6), Faras 43 is the only example of the early type of altar apart from those at Meroë, and resembles closely the style of the Akinidad stela. Only *M.I.* 86 of Buhen is clearly much earlier (2nd cent. B.C.); it may, however, have been made by a traveller, not a Meroitic settler.

² G. W. Hewes, *Kush* 12, 175-80.

³ *Ibid.* 179.

⁴ *JEA* 50, 119-20.

⁵ *Kush* 12, 127.

⁶ *JEA* 50, 116-18. Several of his assumptions, however, may be questioned, notably the alleged conquest of Kordofan and Darfur, except for the route from Meroë to Napata, which was already held in Napatan times.

⁷ *Kush* 12, 164.

⁸ *Ibid.* 164-5.

Nubia, 'we have . . . only the later chapters of Meroitic pottery', and distinguishes three phases, Classic, Late, and Terminal (with X-Group which is in many ways a direct continuation). In another article in the same journal¹ Adams infers that all the sites of the Kasanarti area date from 'the very end of the Meroitic era, perhaps in the third century A.D'. In *Kush* 13 he opts for an even later date, the fourth century A.D. from 300 to 400, for the two Meroitic levels of Meinarti.² He describes Level 18, the lowest settlement layer at the site, as 'recognizably Meroitic, but of a very late type. Few specimens of the finer decorated wares were present, while prototypes of the later X-Group forms were numerous';³ he points out that the same pottery complex was found by Emery and Kirwan at Wâdi el-'Arab. His special pleading in *JEA* 51 for a close cultural link between Meroë and the X-Group is in fact based on the assumption that there was no great cultural or chronological gap between the two peoples.⁴ Adams informs me in a personal communication that he now agrees that the Meroitic occupation of Lower Nubia cannot have lasted for long because of the changelessness of the pottery, and the extreme thinness of habitation deposits at all sites that he excavated in the Second Cataract region.

Thus from the works of Adams there eventually emerges an archaeological picture of intensive late Meroitic settlement around the Second Cataract, and in some cases much farther north, extending far into the fourth century A.D., and eventually dissolving into the simpler style of Sub-Meroitic times. Most likely this movement did not commence until about the second century A.D. This conclusion ties in well with the published views of Griffith, Woolley, and MacIver, and seems also to be accepted by the other archaeological teams which have worked on Meroitic sites during the recent international campaign. The discoveries of the Spanish Expedition in the cemetery at Nelluah,⁵ which they date on good evidence to about the second and third centuries A.D., and at Nag' el-'Arab, which extends to the Christian period from Meroitic times,⁶ clearly point in the same direction, and will, as the excavators write, 'shed much light on the X-Group and its connexions with the Meroitic period on the one hand and the Christian era on the other'.

Unfortunately the Polish excavations of Professor Michalowski at the key-site of Faras, a Meroitic provincial capital of great importance, were mainly occupied with the rich Christian remains of upper levels, and have provided regrettably little new information about the Cushite town. However, as he reports in *Kush* 10, 12, and 13, he discovered traces of very lavish and substantial earlier buildings. He writes:⁷

Under the Church on the south slope of the Kom were discovered remnants of a stone doorway with both jambs well preserved, and a beautiful fragment of a Meroitic window-grill decorated with the sculptured representation of a female figure of Thot (ibis) (plate xxxviii b). These finds presumably indicate that some kind of a monumental edifice existed here. . . . It seems most probable

¹ *Kush* 12, 220-1.

² *Kush* 13, 150.

³ *Ibid.* 151.

⁴ *JEA* 51, 160-9.

⁵ *Kush* 13, 82-87. There can be little doubt that the fine stone head (pl. 14a and b) was a portrait of a local notable, perhaps to be used as a magical substitute in the Pharaonic tradition. Cf. the Sub-Meroitic(?) head from a mound at Gammal, O. Bates and D. Dunham, *Harvard African Studies* 8, pl. xxxvi, nos. 2 and 3.

⁶ *Kush* 13, 87-89. Regrettably the final publications of these sites are not available to me at the time of writing this article.

⁷ *Kush* 13, 180.

that there were not only dwellings, but also some monumental buildings inside the Enclosure during the late Meroitic or X-Group Periods.

Later he goes on to speculate¹ that the earlier elements found incorporated in the Christian cathedral on the citadel, the eastern door with a Meroïtic cornice *in situ* and several walls forming the base of the cathedral, originally regarded as of certainly Meroïtic date, might be the only known examples of Sub-Meroïtic monumental architecture because of the X-Group pottery found within. Once again the persistent question whether the so-called X-Group was merely post-imperial Meroë raises its head.²

South of the area to be flooded in Lower Nubia the Sudan remains very largely a virgin field of study. Literary sources show that Sedeinga (Atiye) was the next district capital south of Faras in about A.D. 250, and this fact is interestingly confirmed by the recent Italian excavations undertaken there by Madame Michela Schiff Giorgini. From the handcopy of the Meroïtic stela found in pyramid WT 3 it may be deduced that mud-brick pyramids were being constructed there in the third century A.D.³ Some provincial families ruled in quasi-royal state, or at least imitated the West Cemetery of the great officials at the capital.

It may be that the later royal sequence of Bejrawîya North is the main source of evidence for the argument used by Professor Emery to justify his position that there are no rich tombs after the early first century A.D. Yet it should be pointed out that even at Bejrawîya, despite steady decline in the size of the tombs and their construction, some were still well equipped with objects, notably Bej. N. 15, 16, 18, 29, 28, 51. These tombs date roughly between the second half of the first century A.D. and the end of the third. Private tombs, probably of the second to third century,⁴ especially W. 102, 106, 129, 175, and 179, were often very lavish indeed, and contained large numbers of objects influenced by Graeco-Roman traditions.⁵ Possibly what was happening was not a process of general impoverishment, but simply that complete royal autocracy was giving way before the growth of a rich and powerful nobility;⁶ thus the economic

¹ *Kush* 13, 181; see also Michalowski, *Kush* 12, 196-8.

² It is curious that, while Arkell, *History of the Sudan to 1821*, 181, accepts that Meroïtic influence was predominant amongst the X-Group in tombs, pottery, and religious symbols, and Emery, *Egypt in Nubia*, 69, readily admits that the horse-bridles of Qustul were probably Meroïtic in origin, that the Ballâna crowns were Meroïtic in type (op. cit. 83), and even that 'some of this X-Group pottery is very attractive, with its painted decoration reminiscent of the fine Meroïtic biscuit ware from which it was undoubtedly descended' (op. cit. 85), both adhere to the theory that Meroïtic civilization petered out in northern Nubia before the end of the empire. The continuing Meroïtic influence would be much more explicable on the hypothesis adopted in this article that, even when Meroë fell to Ezânâ, the culture was sufficiently entrenched in Lower Nubia to blend amicably with Graeco-Roman elements and to survive in recognizable form at least until the official Christianization of Nubia in the sixth century A.D. ³ M. S. Giorgini, *Kush* 13, 124-7 and esp. fig. 7.

⁴ See Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, vol. v.

⁵ This, of course, was true also of many of the tombs and houses of Lower Nubia. See Adams, 'Introductory classification of Meroitic pottery', *Kush* 12, 165, 166, and 146. For objects perhaps showing Roman influence see *Kush* 11, pl. 12b, a glass jar apparently with a Greek inscription, and *Kush* 13, pl. 14a, b, a stone head which may well show North African influence of the third century A.D. during the Severan dynasty at Rome (A.D. 194-235).

⁶ Other reasons for this change may be that skilled stonemasons became rare at Meroë during the first centuries A.D. (when burnt brick, finely made, was the usual building material) and that, following the practice of Roman Egypt where most graves were poorly equipped, the funerary cult of the Cushite kings fell into

gap between rulers and ruled may have become smaller than at any time since the establishment of the Napatan dynasty.

It is to be hoped that careful scientific excavation¹ and publication of the town site will provide more answers than did the ill-starred excavations of Garstang as to whether Meroë fell into rapid decline in the last days of the kingdom, or persisted into medieval times as the chief centre of Dar el-Abwab. There is little doubt that by late Meroitic times the great building period at Musawwarât and Naga' was over, though both show some temples (the rough stone temple behind the Lion-Temple of Arnekhamani at Musawwarât, the Kiosk in decidedly Graeco-Roman style in front of the Naga' Lion-Temple), which must belong to the last two centuries of the kingdom, if indeed the Musawwarât building is not Sub-Meroitic. Possibly the decline of these places was determined by the southward withdrawal of the belts of regular rainfall. This view can be reinforced by the observation that many settlement sites and hundreds of graves occur near the river between Kabushîya and Wad ban Naga', most apparently datable to Sub-Meroitic or Christian times, but there is comparatively little of post-Meroitic date inland in regions dependent on rain. North of the station at Wad ban Naga', perhaps four miles from the large Meroitic palace, near the Wâdi Awatêb, there are many large unexcavated burial mounds, most probably of late Meroitic type, some of which can be compared in surface form to the graves found at Nelluah and Argîn. Indeed the whole region from the river 'Atbara to Khartoum is covered with thousands of burial mounds of different types. A sample investigation of these mounds is an urgent necessity for the reconstruction of the history and ecology of the heart of the Meroitic kingdom.

Material evidence for the later Meroitic civilization is thus not inadequate in the far north of Nubia. Further south there are great numbers of promising sites, the potentiality of which remains to be realized. Material remains, however, can never provide detailed information about the leading figures and the social and political organization of an ancient people; it is fortunate therefore that the picture can be supplemented by numerous graffiti in the temples of Philae, Dakka, and Kalâbsha in Egyptian Nubia.² These texts naturally deal mainly with their own region—the zone occupied by the Romans, the Dodecaschoenus, from Aswân to Maḥarraqa—but they contain occasional references to the relationship between the northern Cushites and their distant capital.

Since virtually no inscriptions³ written by people of Meroitic origin are found in the

rapid decline after Amanishakete. That Natakamani and Amanitêre built several impressive temples, but had extremely small pyramids, may support the latter point. Possibly the deep tunnels into the *jebels* behind the Bejrawîya pyramids, excavated to obtain the best stone, were abandoned some time before the fall of the kingdom. Whatever the reason it now seems clear that showy, if shoddily constructed, buildings made partly from re-used material were still being erected in Meroë town far into the third century A.D. (notably the Lion-Temple of Teqêrideamani; see Garstang and Sayce, *Meroe, City of the Ethiopians*, pl. 2, no. 6; pls. 20–27, and pp. 21–23), at a stage when, to Reisner and Arkell, the pyramids suggested the total decline of the civilization.

¹ The town-site is now being excavated by Professor P. L. Shinnie for the University of Khartoum.

² These graffiti are published in F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus and Meroitic Inscriptions*, II.

³ Apart perhaps from the Demotic text, Dakka 15/17, which records the benefit a priest did for Isis 'for the life-breaths of the kings' (perhaps of Rome and Meroë, perhaps the two Cushite rulers, mother and son,

Dodecaschoenus before the beginning of the third century A.D. (or the very end of the second) from the end of the first century B.C., one may reasonably conclude that for 200 years this region was closely bound to Roman Egypt as a buffer area against the southern peoples, economically, religiously, and politically. When the Meroïtes returned, they apparently infiltrated the priesthoods of Dakka and Philae with the acquiescence of the weakened Roman authorities. Philae 421, the earliest text which can be certainly and exactly dated,¹ shows that they recognized the authority of the Roman emperor as something nearer and more real than that of their own king. Only ambassadors from Meroë such as Pasan in Philae 416 were careful to distinguish between the Roman emperor as the lord of the people of Philae, and 'the king our master also' (Teqērideamani), and to describe the Meroïtic ruler as specially 'the beloved son of Isis'.² Nevertheless, Philae 421 and 410, Dakka 30, 31, and 32, and *Meroïtic Inscriptions*, nos. 88–89 show that leading nobles of Lower Nubia long maintained their Cushite court titles, sometimes journeyed across the desert to live in Meroë for a time, and even had influential relatives there like 'Maqeltami, the general in Meroë'.³ As the pottery indicates, it was only gradually that these settlers on the fringes of Egypt became culturally assimilated to their Graeco-Roman milieu. Politically these virtually autonomous Sudanese immigrants probably represent the origin of the Blemmyes and Nobades. Most likely Nubia was overpopulated and its inhabitants depended on northward raiding to supplement the limited resources of the land.

Perhaps the reason why neither Emery nor Adams makes use of this rich source of evidence is that the graffiti and other texts are seldom avowedly historical records⁴ (apart possibly from the royal inscriptions of Kharemēdeye and Silko at Kalâbsha), but rather prayers to the gods, particularly to Isis who was specially revered, and memorials of visits and of repairs undertaken by the faithful in the temples; they were intended to remain there for ever as perpetual reminders to the god of the piety shown, as the introductory formulae make quite clear. It may be observed here that Adams is always acutely suspicious of the value of written evidence, sometimes unjustly.⁵ Nevertheless such texts yield most useful incidental information: lists of officials and their titles, references to Meroïtic embassies to Philae or Roman Egypt, sometimes Roman

are meant). The text was inscribed by order of the 'great assembly', and is dated to Year 3 of the Cushite king Aqragamani and his mother Naytal. Griffith, *Catalogue*, I, 23 suggests a date not later than the first century A.D. Hintze, without comment, in *Studien zur Meroïtischen Chronologie*, 33, assigns the king doubtfully to Bej. N. 40, giving him A.D. 132–7. An early 2nd-cent. date seems not improbable from the style.

¹ Year 7 of Severus Alexander = A.D. 227. It will be discussed below whether Philae 223 is in fact earlier, as Griffith believed. In l. 11 Wayikiye refers to Severus Alexander as 'the king our lord'.

² Philae 416, ll. 14–22.

³ *Meroïtic Inscriptions*, no. 89, l. 4, the tombstone of Wayikiye.

⁴ Philae 417 and some others are, however, essentially records of political happenings presented in the form of prayers to Isis.

⁵ *JEA* 50, 112–15. That the kings continued to use their ancestral titles is hardly a proof of considerable exaggeration in the late Napatan texts. It is unwise to dismiss the inscriptions of Amen-nēte-yerike, Harsiotef, and Nastasen as 'three rather uninformative texts' without considering whether the individual details each contains may throw more light on late Napatan society. Adams's treatment of the late Napatan pyramid texts would be more convincing if he regarded them as a necessary stage in the growth of the strange composite civilization of Meroë instead of as 'almost a mockery of Egyptian culture' (p. 115). In *JEA* 52, 156 Adams makes his condemnation of the ancient inscriptions far more sweeping.

imperial dates, and, very occasionally,¹ dates in Meroitic regnal years, at times when Rome was exceptionally weak or divided and Meroë unusually influential. Most of the graffiti are in known languages even when written by Meroïtes, usually Demotic, rarely Greek.² The few in Meroitic, though not yet fully deciphered, as Adams notes in claiming that they can hardly be used for chronological reconstruction,³ can be sufficiently understood to yield valuable information.

The inscriptions can be used in two main ways, chronologically and historically. Several inscriptions relevant to Meroë can fortunately be dated exactly. As seen above, Philae 421 was written in A.D. 227. Philae 416 (and doubtless Philae 417) belongs to A.D. 253,⁴ Philae 68 fairly certainly to A.D. 265/6,⁵ Philae 252 to Year 4 of Aurelian (A.D. 273). There is little doubt that *Meroitic Inscriptions*, nos. 97–111 and 119–20, naming the kings Lakhide-amani and Yesbēkhe-amani, belong to about the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth.⁶ What remains difficult, however, is to relate to these well-dated texts the great majority of the inscriptions which are otherwise inadequately dated. Various noble families can be traced for several generations, such as the connexions of Wayikiye in Philae 421; so can families of temple-craftsmen like the relatives of Petepḥut in Philae 68. But it is not always easy to arrange such families into generations owing to the frequency of recurring names. Thus Philae 223 and 409 which mention a man called Sesen, son of Harendiotef and T-shen-wayikiye, were clearly inscribed by a relative of the Wayikiye found in Philae 421 (almost certainly also in 416), especially since 409 is close to the large graffito of his son Harendiotef. Philae 223 is dated to Year 31 of an unnamed king. It would be very convenient to attribute this year to Teqērideamani (A.D. 276/7) and make Sesen the grandson of Wayikiye—a conclusion favoured by the titles, the style of writing, and the fact that the only graffito, apart from 223, where a *mr-šn* (high priest) of a specific year is mentioned, is Dakka 30, which belongs to the same Harendiotef. *Meroitic Inscriptions*, no. 88, 1, however, shows that the father-in-law of Wayikiye was called Shesenē; so Year 31 of the Roman emperor Commodus (190/1) cannot be definitely ruled out,⁷ and so what would be the latest ‘fixed date’ in Cushite history firmly established. In this context it is interesting to speculate how far the observation of Griffith⁸ and Hintze⁹ that Meroitic names seldom repeat themselves, used by Hintze to reconstruct genealogies at Karanog, is correct for Lower Nubia. That the kings never repeated exactly the same name as any of their predecessors is poor evidence for the habits of private people. Possibly repetition of names was more frequent among those families in sufficiently close contact with the north for them sometimes to choose names originating in Egypt, where the practice of giving a child his grandfather’s name was common.

Nevertheless, provided that one is aware of the pitfalls of false identification, good

¹ Certainly Dakka 15/17 and Philae 68, possibly some others—see further below.

² Third-century Meroitic examples are Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vi, Bl. 91, Greek 318 and 317 of Tami and Abratoi ‘the *psentes* of the king of the Ethiopians’, which date to A.D. 253 or 261. ³ *Kush* 12, 164.

⁴ Griffith, *Catalogue*, 119.

⁵ Dunham, *Royal Cem. of Kush*, iv, 3.

⁶ F. Hintze, *Studien*, 32–33. See also M. F. L. Macadam, ‘Queen Nawidemak’, *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 23, No. 2 (Oberlin, Ohio), Winter 1966, p. 66, n. 65.

the accession of Marcus Aurelius).

⁷ Griffith, *op. cit.* 78 (calculated from

⁸ *Karanog*, vi, 56.

⁹ *Studien*, 15.

results can be obtained from the chronological grouping of the graffiti and other Lower Nubian texts. One may postulate from the persons mentioned in them that Philae 421, 344, 416, 417 in Egyptian, Karanog 51 and 52, Faras 44, and *Meroitic Inscriptions*, nos. 88 and 89 in Meroitic (these last two tomb texts should belong after A.D. 253), and the Greek inscriptions of Tami and Abratoi mentioned above, belong approximately to one generation. Philae 257, 410 and Dakka 30, 31, and 32 belong on internal evidence to a period after the death of Wayikiye (alive in A.D. 253—see Philae 416), but the Dakka inscriptions were written while his wife was still living (i.e. before *Mer. Inscr.* no. 88, her tomb inscription).¹ There is little doubt that the writers of the Philae graffiti, 120, 254, 255, 256, and perhaps 403 were members of the same family group, but probably of a somewhat later date.² The Faras offering-table 44 is particularly helpful for chronological investigations since it suggests strongly that a number of *peshates* (? town governors), some of them known from Karanog, were approximately contemporary with Abratoi, who from Philae 416 was active in A.D. 253. Among these notables were Natewitar (Karanog 78; see also 79, 83, 124), and Khawitarēr of Karanog 47.

Within the limits of this short study it is not possible to pursue this chronological analysis of the texts further, though it is clear that ultimately there will be enough relatively dated material to build up a refined palaeographical table of Late Meroitic forms, and perhaps one of spelling changes. Professor Hintze in his 'Palaeographical Table of Meroitic Cursive'³ advances considerably beyond what Griffith achieved, but by no means explores the possibilities of close dating for these changes afforded by some Lower Nubian texts.⁴ In his important study 'Die sprachliche Stellung des Meroitischen'⁵ he does not seek to explore how far different prefixes or suffixes enjoyed chronological periods of popularity. Before we pass from the subject of chronology it is right, however, to note that Griffith, with great foresight, appreciated the potential importance of the small, but unusually well-dated, graffiti of the temple-craftsmen of the Dodekaschoenus for the understanding of events in the third century A.D., as can be seen from his comments on Girtas 1, and Philae 68, 269, 273, 301, 302, 312, 318, 290, 311, 314, 310, and 317.

Used historically the inscriptions can be made to provide evidence of great value about conditions in the northern part of the Meroitic kingdom. It seems that, in spite of the proclivity of the Nubian tribesmen for interfering in the increasingly strife-torn affairs of Roman Egypt, known from many references,⁶ and also perhaps from the

¹ Philae 223, 409, and the Greek graffiti 320 may possibly belong also to this stage—see above.

² Very likely also the Bekemēte and Manitawi mentioned in connexion with the embassy of the Meroitic king Lakhideamani belonged to the same group. See *Meroitic Inscriptions*, nos. 97, 5 and 98, 1; also nos. 105, 106, 107. A Manitawi, the son of Wayikiye, is known from Ph. 410, 4. A Bekemēti son of Qēren, who is probably a relative of Wayikiye, occurs in Ph. 417, 3. In *Mer. Inscr.* no. 89, 7 a 'Beke the agent' occurs as a relative of the dead Wayikiye. It is possible that, if Bekemēti in the Lakhideamani inscriptions was the father of Manitawi, he might be the son of Qeren in Ph. 417.

³ In *Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie*, fig. 34.

⁴ Following, and enlarging upon, Griffith in *JEA* 4, 21 ff., Hintze, *op. cit.* 11–12 and 67–68, analyses some of the differences between Early, Middle, and Late Meroitic, but does not discuss the developments within his stage III (Late Meroitic), c. A.D. 200–320.

⁵ *Afrikanistische Studien* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung, no. 26, Berlin, 1955), 355–72.

⁶ I Philae 417 Tami records a Roman expedition to the Abaton (? Biga) in about A.D. 252, probably to

prevalence of military titles among the Meroitic nobility, peace and order usually prevailed within the Sudan.¹ The fact that the Roman frontier at Maḥarraqa had faded away by the third century² should probably be explained as the result of the lack of permanent garrisons south of Aswân, not of violent invasion. On the whole it appears that temple officials in this century, whether of Egyptian or of Meroitic origin, wanted peace in order to receive gifts from both north and south. Philae 421, 416, and 417 show that, although extensive new building had ceased, Roman and Meroitic authorities sometimes tried to outdo each other in extravagant gestures towards the temples.

Nevertheless, because of acute uncertainty and the chronic civil war which afflicted the Romans, and the growing debility of the Meroitic monarchy, such gifts must have been a doubtful source of revenue, and there is reason to think that the religious centres increasingly depended on the local Meroitic nobility for help. Philae 421, 416, 410, 254 and Dakka 30, 31, and 32—to mention only a few examples—show that these nobles regularly held honorary priesthoods, no doubt expensive but clearly conferring prestige, carried out repairs to the sacred buildings, and sent tithes to Isis, even when staying in Meroë. Sometimes they stress their poverty and humility, but the magnitude of their gifts to Isis in Philae 416 provides a truer indication of their real wealth.³

The exceptionally widespread use of writing in Lower Nubia at this time, Egyptian, Meroitic, and Greek, suggests that, because of their contacts with the Roman empire and the educated priests and craftsmen of such temples as Philae, the northern Cushites had developed much more advanced cultural forms than were common among their compatriots farther south. One knows that many of the temple graffiti were written for them by professionals, and that many of these trained craftsmen were, to judge from their names, Egyptian or Egypto-Nubian during the third century (although more Meroitic in the fourth and fifth centuries), but Philae 252 preserves the memory of a goldworker of Isis, Abaryte, doubtless of Cushite origin.⁴

The concept of strong monarchical government was never accepted in the Sudan as readily as in Egypt because of the tribal and nomadic character of many of the people, and the natural barriers of desert and cataract which favoured local loyalties. One may well conclude, then, that the development of Lower Nubia beyond the stony barrier of the Batn-el-Ḥajjar and the Second Cataract as a distinct entity linked

counter Blemmye raiders; Greek 318 appears to say that he was made high priest of Isis for his peacemaking activities. Philae 252 of A.D. 273 doubtless records a later expedition sent to Blemmye territory to punish the inhabitants for their incursion into Egypt in 271/2.

¹ Philae 417, 5, however, may indicate that at the time of the accession of king Teqērideamani there was a breakdown of law, and possibly that tribesmen on the way to Meroë rebelled. Generally, however, in Philae 416 and elsewhere, people who have to travel to Meroë seem much more frightened of losing their way in the high desert than of being attacked and robbed.

² According to Procopius, *Wars*, I, xix, 24–25, this boundary was not formally abandoned until the time of Diocletian (?A.D. 297/8), who settled Nubian allies there in a vain effort to keep away the troublesome Blemmyes. How far this late tradition corresponds with what really happened seems to me open to question on a number of counts; cf. W. Y. Adams, *JEA* 51, 160 ff.

³ The gifts of the nobles in Philae 416 amount together to 10 (?) pounds of gold, plus the 3 pounds given personally by Abratoi the governor of Faras. In addition, 'out of their poverty' they gave a festival for the whole town for eight days in the name of the king at Meroë.

⁴ Griffith, *Catalogue*, I, 83–84.

increasingly to Roman Egypt, encouraged centrifugal tendencies. Indeed the growing prosperity of the whole region north of the Fourth Cataract in Late Meroïtic times threatened the primacy of the Butana cattle-peoples who had been dominant in the Cushite State since at least the days of Amen-nēte-yerike and Ḥarsiotef. It led naturally to the rise of the powerful realm of Mukurra with its capital at Old Dongola and secondary centres at Faras and Qaṣr Ibrîm for the autonomous region of Nobatia or Maris. There are several references in the graffiti to the *peshates* and the religious hierarchy which suggest that they were taking over many attributes of the absent king. Already Qaṣr Ibrîm and Faras had assumed the positions of the most important towns in Lower Nubia north of the Second Cataract, and Old Dongola was probably already rising to the status which it held in medieval times. Karanog 125 and other texts indicate that, so long as the temple of Gebel Barkal flourished, Napata could not quite lose its ancient pre-eminence.

Nevertheless, the occurrence of giraffes and cattle on a number of pots from Karanog¹ shows that the northward migration of the inhabitants, probably from the Dongola Reach,² into what must already have been an extremely arid zone, was quite recent, and that sentimental links were preserved with the Sudan. Most of the nobility intermarried probably with notable families of their own area, but some, as has been seen above with the Wayikiye family, retained connexions with areas outside Lower Nubia. Karanog 125 shows close family relationships between a number of high officials at Ibrîm, Karanog, and Napata. Karanog 56 mentions connexions with people at Adaya (Sedeinga) and Adōre (? Ṣūlb). Evidence of a family connexion with Meroë comes from Shablûl 3 and 20. Several texts from Faras (nos. 4, 21, and 44),³ and *Meroitic Inscriptions*, no. 129 show wide associations, sometimes as far as Meroë. Khartoum 5261 from Serra West says that the deceased, a woman, was 'patronised by (yetmdelê) the prince in Meroe'.⁴ In these circumstances the kingdom was not yet quite ready for dissolution in the third century A.D.⁵—and even in the fourth century external attack was most likely needed as the final solvent.

¹ Woolley and MacIver, *Karanog*, IV, nos. 8154, 8293, 8183, 8153, 8192, 8451. The representations are sufficiently lively to prove some real acquaintance with giraffes, which are hardly likely to have existed in Lower Nubia in Roman times.

² I understand that until very recently giraffes were found both east and west of the Nile north of the 'Atbara river, and possibly still exist there. In ancient times they may well have reached farther to the region of Old Dongola.

³ Griffith in *Recueil Champollion*, 565 ff.

⁴ Macadam, *JEA* 36, 44-45.

⁵ One is tempted to postulate much closer links with Napata because many people buried at Karanog were priests, *belilêkes*, or other officials of Amanap or had relatives in his hierarchy, see, e.g., Karanog 1, 3, 6, 13, 15, 17, 21, 23, 26, 30, 32, 34, 41, etc., 89, 122, 125. However, there were certainly several temples apart from the original one at Barkal belonging to Amanap, e.g. at Meroë. There was one at Pedême, according to Karanog 125, ll. 11-12. Both Ibrîm and 'Amâra were called Pedême by the Meroïtes, cf. Griffith, *Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, 10-12 and *JEA* 15, 71; but there is every reason to suppose that Ibrîm is meant in this text, since it was the administrative centre of the region in which Karanog was situated. Yet in his note to Karanog 3 (*Karanog*, VI, 55) Griffith apparently interpreted Karanog 125 as referring to 'Amâra. There may well also have been such a temple at Karanog itself. Only the existence of an important temple of Ammon of Napata in the immediate vicinity can explain the exceptional number of his priests at Karanog. The most one can legitimately suggest from the unusual fervour there for Amanap is that the people of Karanog originally came from the Napata area, as has been done above. No continuing direct connexion can be assumed except in those very few cases where Napata is named explicitly.

To complete the picture of the later Meroitic State it is appropriate to consider the relationship between the kings and their northernmost subjects. Already it has been demonstrated archaeologically that in the heart of the realm royal economic and political power was most likely under eclipse; there is little to show that in Lower Nubia it was more than symbolic, wholly delegated to officials. The essential element of real control—that the ruler should periodically inspect the area personally—seems to have been lacking. This situation, however, was not new, since there is no evidence that Napatan kings ever came north of the Third Cataract after the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and there is little to indicate the presence of early Meroitic rulers there, even when temples were built in their names. One large inscription in Meroitic of the ruler Kharemēdeye at Kalābsha (*Meroitic Inscriptions*, no. 94) may indicate direct royal intervention in the region of Kalābsha and Ibrīm. Griffith noted: ‘This Meroitic inscription is the longest yet known, and is practically complete. It consists of thirty-four lines of very late cursive.’¹ He wrote further: ‘Its position may indicate that its date lies between the inscription of Besarion in the middle of the third century A.D. and that of Silko in the fifth(?) century.’ Four Blemmye inscriptions nearby in crude Greek perhaps also suggest an extremely late date. Possibly, although he calls himself *qêre*, Kharemēdeye was not a true Meroitic king but rather a ruler of Dongola or Napata, as Silko may well have been later.² Probably he was trying to make his rule effective over the lawless frontier tribesmen, and to preserve something of his ancestral Cushite heritage. The inscription seems to record matters concerning the region from Napata to Philae, and lays very great stress on the intimate relationship of the king with many northern Cushite gods including Ariteñ, Amanap, Ammon-nēte, Isis, and Makedeke. In the course of the text Faras and Adōre (? Şûlb) are referred to by the king.

Nevertheless, although central control was slight, the various embassies to Philae and the frequency of the title ‘great ambassador to Rome’³ both in Demotic and Meroitic texts must indicate that the kings took a stronger interest in the region of the Dodecaschoenus than at any time since the Roman conquest of Egypt. Philae 416, 417, and the Greek graffito of Tami mentioned above⁴ all seem to show that long-range negotiations were taking place between Teqērideamani and the Roman authorities in Egypt about border peace and the chief prophethood of Isis in A.D. 252–3. Philae 416, l. 17 shows that part of the mission of Pasan ‘the great ambassador to Rome’ was to import objects for his Meroitic master, probably including the jar from Tubusuptus in Mauretania Caesariensis (West Algeria) found in N. 28 of Teqērideamani.⁵ The embassy of Teqērideamani has been known for many years, but unfortunately the subsequent Meroitic royal activity in the Dodecaschoenus, to which attention was first called by

¹ Griffith, *Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, 27.

² There is no clear evidence where Silko lived or was buried, but certainly his title βασιλίσκος should not be taken as showing that he was only a small chief. The word βασιλεύς at this time implied *par excellence* the Byzantine emperor.

³ Hintze makes a summary comment on the importance of this title as an indication of Meroitic-Roman contacts (*Studien*, 29), without mentioning that all known instances belong to the third century A.D.

⁴ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, Bl. 91, Greek 318.

⁵ Dunham, *Royal Cem. of Kush*, IV, 186 and fig. 122 (21–3–375).

Hintze in 1959,¹ has not been noted by Arkell in the second edition of his *History of the Sudan*;² he perpetuates the idea that contact with the outside world was becoming rarer under the later Meroïtes, and that this was a major cause of their decline.

New evidence on the subject is provided by the recently discovered lion excavated at Qaşr Ibrîm inscribed with the titulary of king Amani-Yesbêkhe in two lines of Meroïtic hieroglyphs. This appears to be the first time that Meroïtic hieroglyphs have been found anywhere in Lower Nubia, and may indicate that shortly before A.D. 300 a temple at Ibrîm was being built or repaired.³ Close study of the stela Meroë 7 discovered by Garstang convinces me that it was made by a king with the damaged name '. . . yesbêkhe'—a fact not hitherto recognized.⁴ Three kings whose names include the element 'yesbêkhe' are known to have reigned in Meroë,⁵ Yesbêkhe-ar or Aryesbêkhe (supposed by Dunham to be buried in Bejrâwîya N. 16, but shown by Hintze to be much later, most likely in N. 36, datable perhaps to about A.D. 209–28), Yesbêkhe-ariteñ or Ariteñ-Yesbêkhe (Dunham, N. 34, A.D. 128–50; Hintze? N. 34, A.D. 108–32), and Yesbêkhe-amani or Amani-Yesbêkhe (Dunham, unplaced; Hintze, ?? N. 24, A.D. 283–300). The style, traces,⁶ and space available for the damaged part of the name make it fairly certain that the last of the three was the author of the stela. The stela mentions Isis and Horus of Philae, Isis and Horus of Adaya (Sedeinga, a very important later Meroïtic town), and Isis and Horus of the Abaton. It is strong evidence against anyone who might suggest that Yesbêkhe-amani was not a king of Meroë, but just a ruler of Lower Nubia.

One may summarize by saying that the conventional view that the Meroïtes withdrew from the north of Sudan 'before the decay and final destruction of the centre of the empire in the middle of the fourth century A.D.'⁷ is no longer tenable. Rather is it safer to suppose on our present knowledge that remnants⁸ of Meroïtic civilization survived around Faras and Napata long after the expedition of Ezânâ. *Meroïtic Inscriptions*, no. 94, a text of Kharemêdeye, incontestably shows the persistence of a basically Meroïtic state organization and system of religion far into the fourth century, together with widespread social cohesion, and the same continuity is reflected in the recently discovered Aksha stela,⁹ which may well be equally late in date. This strange

¹ Hintze, *Studien*, 32–33.

² See pp. 171 and 138.

³ See J. M. Plumley, *JEA* 52, 12 and pl. iv, 3.

⁴ Garstang, *Meroe*, pl. 24. Comparison of the opening words of Meroë 7 with those of the lion bases of Teqêrideamani (Meroë 8, 9, and 10) from the same temple is useful. No. 8 reads: P[e]demk: šêbêrte: Teqêride: amni: qêre: pwide: mlêle. All show the same formula: 'O Apedemak' + epithet + name of king + qêre (ruler) + pwide (son). Dr. Macadam, who is editing the text of the Ibrîm lion, now tells me that he has independently identified the king of Meroë 7 as Amani: yesbêkhe also.

⁵ For a penetrating discussion of the date of these kings see Hintze, *Studien*, 32–33, and 49–56.

⁶ Cf. with the stela the offering tables of Yesbêkhe-ariteñ (21-3-571, Dunham, *Royal Cem. of Kush*, iv, fig. 16 and pl. 40 (b)), and Yesbêkhe-ar (21-3-573 op. cit., fig. 91 and pl. 39 (e)). The writing is definitely too late for Yesbêkhe-ariteñ, and the space is not large enough. It seems too late for Yesbêkhe-ar, and the space too big for the single letter -r- (A- is certain). The traces strongly favour -mni-.

⁷ Emery, *Egypt in Nubia*, 231.

⁸ Indeed the use of the Meroïtic language at Philae and Kalabsha might suggest that this cultural influence was stronger in the Dodecaschoenus in the fourth century A.D. than ever before.

⁹ See Vercoutter, 'Excavations at Aksha', *Kush* 11, pl. 35, and the tentative translation of Rosenvasser on p. 140.

text (ll. 15–17) seems to mention gifts of a *malē-mars* of Adaya (Sedeinga) to the temple of Aksha. Whatever reservations one may feel about regarding the culture of the Ballâna rulers as purely Meroïtic in inspiration,¹ there is no doubt that much of the symbolism attached to their crowns belongs to the complex of Egypto-Nubian religion elaborated by the Meroïtes.

What may be described as ‘the disaster theory of history’ has done much to bedevil our proper understanding of the development of the early Sudan as a continuous process from Neolithic times to the present day. Adams does well to recognize the Late and Sub-Meroïtic changes (what he calls the ‘X-Group Puzzle’) as ‘a combination of cultural and internal evolution’ rather than as the result of massive invasion or depopulation.² The simplification of Meroïtic painted design into X-Group schematized vines might well be explicable as a result of the triumph of local Nubian ideas over the elaborate court art of Meroë after the destruction of the centralized state. Clearly it was not a result of acute poverty, since the Sub-Meroïtic chiefs of Ballâna, Qus̄ul, and Gammai were extremely rich.³

Before concluding, the writer wishes to express his thanks to Dr. M. F. L. Macadam of Durham University for his encouragement and help in the study of the Dodecaschoenus graffiti, Egyptian and Meroïtic, on which so much is based, and for his invaluable suggestions, and to Professor J. M. Plumley for permission to refer to the lion of Amani-Yesbêkhe from Qaşr Ibrîm. My discussions with Professor W. Y. Adams have also been most useful in formulating the ideas expressed above, even if we differ on some points, for example the evaluation of written sources.

¹ Cf. the comments of U. Monneret de Villard, *Orientalia* 9 (1940), 61–73.

² ‘Post-Pharaonic Nubia. II’, *JEA* 51, 165–6.

³ The wealth of the X-Group of Lower Nubia has been indisputable since the Harvard excavations of O. Bates and D. Dunham in 1915–16. See especially *Harvard African Studies* 8, *Excavations at Gammai*, 28. This was further emphasized by the excavations of Emery and Kirwan at Ballâna and Qus̄ul during the Second Archaeological Survey.

MORE PAPYRI FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM¹

By REVEL A. COLES

THE five papyri here published form a second section of a group of eleven texts from the British Museum collection originally edited by myself as part of my doctoral thesis. Four official documents from this group have already appeared (*JEA* 52 (1966), 129–37); two further texts remain, which it is hoped will be published in a subsequent number of this *Journal*.

All these papyri, again, originate from the Faiyûm, and again I have had the benefit of preliminary transcripts made by the late Sir H. I. Bell for all but nos. 1–2. Nos. 4 and 5 have been mounted so that it has not been possible to examine the verso of either, but presumably both are blank.

1–2. QUESTIONS TO AN ORACLE

P.Lond.Inv. 2935–6
Socnopaei Nesus?

Third century
Plate XVII

Two small slips of papyrus, one complete, the other nearly so, each containing a question addressed to the oracle of Ammon (?). Cf. most recently P.Oxy. 2613 with the references there given. To the Greek examples given by Schubart, *ZAS* 67 (1931), 110–15, may be added P.Mil.Vogl. 127, P.Strassb. 221, and ?P.Oxy. 1567.²

Both 2935 and 2936 are written along the fibres in the same hand in a very cursive script which in places is extremely difficult to decipher. Both versos are blank.

2935

3.1 × 5.6 cm.

Κυρίῳ Ἀμμὶ
ἐὰν κατὰ πάν-

τα ἀν[θ]η-

ται ὁ ἀρχων

5 συνβάληι ὥ-

ςται προχρησ-

θα
[. . .] γραμματι-

κῶ; τοῦτό

μοι δώσ.

1. Ἀμμὶ: see note on this line below. 5–6. l. ὥστε. 7–8. l. γραμματικῶ. 9. l. δός.

¹ I should like again to thank Professor E. G. Turner, Mr. T. C. Skeat, Mr. P. J. Parsons, and Dr. J. Rea, and also Miss M. Vandoni, for their advice and suggestions; and again I am especially indebted to my former supervisor Professor John Barns. Also I should like again to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permitting me to work on the texts and to publish them here.

² P.Oxy. 1567: so a marginal note by Hunt in his copy of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XII in the Ashmolean Library in Oxford.

Translation

'To Lord Ammon (?). If the official is wholly in opposition, will it be advantageous to employ a (speech-?) writer beforehand? Grant me this.'

Notes

1. Ἄμμι: or possibly αμωι, αμμ(), αμω() or even μωι (for μου)? In any case 2935 and 2936 should surely read the same word; but in 2936 it seems much more like αμνι or αμπι than any of the suggestions here. The word in 2936 however has been written with much less sureness. Is the word an abbreviation for Ἄμμωνι? Cf. Schubart, *op. cit.*, nos. 7 and 8, and P.Strassb. 221 (all (?) from Socnopaei Nesus).

8-9. τοῦτό μοι δός: for an explanation of this phrase through native Egyptian origins see the chapter by Černý in Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, 46-48. The present two examples however (especially 2935) do not seem as if they will readily accord with this explanation, if they have been correctly read and interpreted. 2935 could be brought into line by the addition of καί between ll. 4 and 5. In 2936 εἰ would have to be understood before δύναται in l. 1: but here the solution to the lacuna at the beginning of l. 5 must be a prerequisite to the proper interpretation of the text. It is interesting to consider the possible relationship between 2935 and 2936; it is especially so if they can accord with the Egyptological explanation, in view of the procedure of submitting a pair of questions to the oracle.

2936

3.6 × 5.5 cm.

Κυρίῳ Ἄμμι·

δύναται ὑποσ-

τῆναι τ[ω]^{οἱ}ς

πράγμασι αὐτοῦ

5 [. (.)]. ἀδεικίται;

[το]ῦτό [δ]^{μο}ι[] δός.¹

1. Ἄμμι: cf. note on 2935. 1 above.

4. πραγ^μασι pap.

5. l. ἀδεικίται.

Translation

'To Lord Ammon (?). Can he endure his situation . . . he is being wronged? Grant me this.'

3. SALE OF A HOUSE²

P.Lond.Inv. 1982

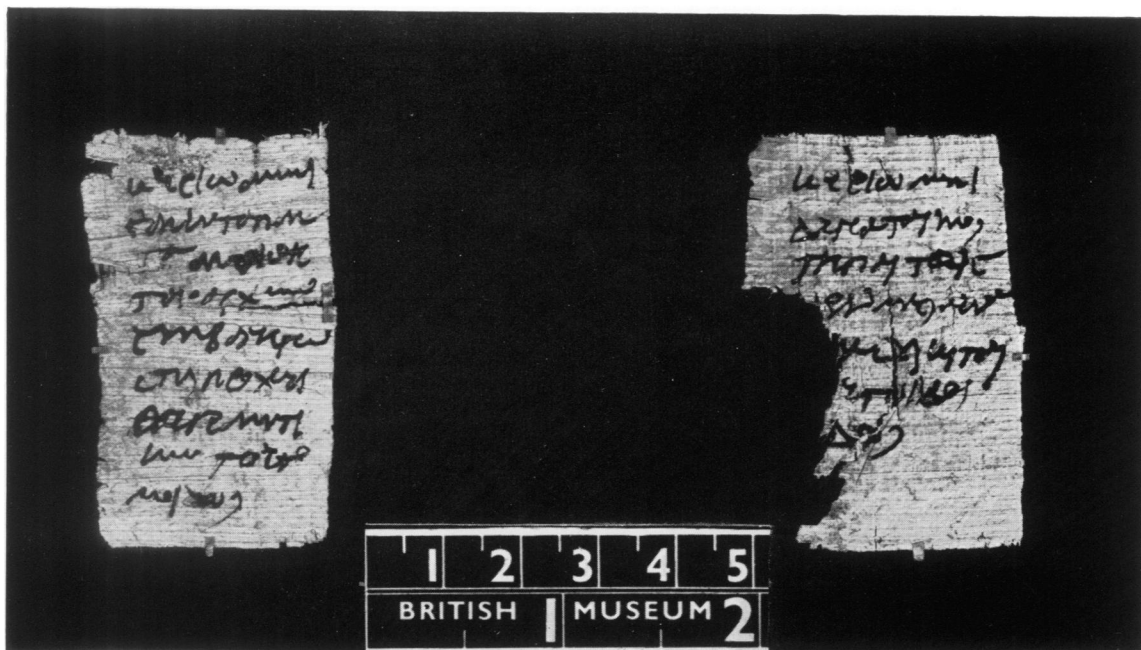
24.5 × 22.9 cm.

A.D. 194

Agreement whereby Taharpagathes acknowledges that she has sold to her son Pacusis a house and yard inherited by her from her mother. A close parallel is P.Hamb. 15 (A.D. 209); cf. also, e.g., P.Ryl. 161 (A.D. 71), 162 (A.D. 159), BGU 667 (c. A.D. 221/2?), P.Thead. 2 (A.D. 305), and P.Thead. 1 (A.D. 306). In the present case, however, the sale is not a direct transaction between Taharpagathes and her son: the property is in fact being purchased from Taharpagathes by her mother-in-law Tanephremmis (the paternal grandmother of Pacusis) as a present for Pacusis, as ll. 11-12 and 22-24 make clear: see the notes below. Tanephremmis is in addition acting as the agent of Pacusis (he

¹ Probably no writing in the lacuna, δός being written centrally.

² P.Lond.Inv. 1973 and 1976 are apparently parallels for this document.



PAPYRUS LONDON INV. 2935-6

being a minor) in the nominal transaction of sale between Taharpagathes and the latter which is recorded in the present document. The text is written along the fibres in long closely spaced lines, the main body of the document being in a small thick cursive hand. The subscription of Taharpagathes that follows is in a larger unpractised upright hand, while the docket of registration that concludes the document is in a yet larger and somewhat flourishing cursive. On the verso are two stamp-impressions in red ink.¹

[“Ε]τους δευτέρου Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος² Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σενήρου Περτίνα-
 κος Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Καισαρείου
 Μεσορῆ τῆ, ἐν Πτολεμαίδι Εὐεργέτιδι τοῦ Ἄρσινοεῖτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Τααρ-
 παγάθης Ἐριέως τοῦ Ἐριέως
 ...[... οὐ]λῆ πτέρρη ποδὸς [δε]ξι[ο]ῦ μετὰ κυρίου το[ῦ] ἀνδρὸς Πακύσεως Κατα-
 βοῦτος τοῦ {τοῦ} Ἀνχώφσεως ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκον-
 τα ἕξ [λευ]κὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀμφοτέρωσι τῷ ἑαυτῆς υἱῷ Πακύσι Πακύσεως ἀφήλικι
 5 διὰ φρον[τ]ιστρίας τῆς κα[τὰ] πατέρα ξαν-
 3τῆς μά[μμ]ης Τανεφρέμμεως, πάντων ἱερέων θεοῦ κώμης Κοκνοπαίου Νήσου,
 πεπρακέναι τῷ ἀ[φή]λικι ἑαυτῆς
 [υἱ]ῷ Πα[κύ]σι τὴν ὁμ[ο]λογοῦσαν Τααρπαγάθην κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρ[όν]ον⁴ τὰ ὑπάρ-
 [χ]οντα [αὐ]τῇ ἐν τῇ [π]ρογεγραμμ[έ]νῃ κώμῃ Κοκνοπαί[ο]υ Νήσου οἰκίαν καὶ
 αὐτὴν μητρικὴν καὶ τὰ εἰς[υ]γκ[ύ]ροντα πάν[τα]
 [ἐ]πὶ τ[οῖς] οὕτοις τῶν ὄλων μέτροις καὶ πηχισμοῖς καὶ θεμελείοις καὶ τείχεσι καὶ
 φωσφ[ο]ρείαις καὶ ἰσόδοις καὶ ἐξόδοις
 [κ]αὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις χρήσεσι καὶ δικαίοις πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν
 10 συνήθειαν, ὧν γίτογ[ε]ς καθὼς ἐξ
 [ε]μφύρου ὑ[πη]γόρευσαν νότου ρύμη τυφλῆ βορρᾶ ὁμοίως ρύμη τυφλῆ ἀπηλιώτου
 ρύμη βασιλικῆ λιβὸς
 [ἐ]τέρων οἰκία, [καὶ] ἀπέχιν τὴν ὁμολ[ο]γοῦσαν Τααρπαγάθην παρὰ τῆς τοῦ
 ἀφήλικος κατὰ πατέρα μά[μμ]ης τὴν
 [ε]μπ[ε]φω[ν]ημ[έ]νην τῆς πεπραμ[έ]νης αὐτῷ ὡς πρό[κ]ιται τειμῆν πᾶσαν ἐκ
 πλήρους ἀργυρίου [δ]ραχμὰς
 πεντακοσία[ε] πα[ρα]χρήμα διὰ χειρός, καὶ βεβαιώσιν αὐτὴν τε καὶ τοὺς παρ’ αὐτῆς
 τῷ ἀφήλι[κι] ἐ[αυ]-

¹ The stamp would appear to be a plain disk, with no trace of any inscription. Each impression is approx. 8 cm. in diameter: the right-hand one is much fainter than that on the left. For other exx. of such stamps cf., e.g., P.Hamb. 15; P.Ryl. 174, 174a, 179; P.Teb. 397.

² The first α of Καίσαρος, and approximately one letter at this point in the line for the next five lines, is obscured because the papyrus, which is broken vertically here, has been mounted in such a way that the left-hand side of the fracture overlaps the right.

³ The beginnings of the lines at this point are supplied by a fragment which is a late addition to the text and which has warped. The lacuna in the papyrus should be slightly wider—note especially μά[μμ]ης in this line, and Πα[κύ]σι in the line below.

⁴ χρόν(ον): the abbreviation is unexpected, but there would not seem to be room for four letters in the lacuna unless they were written exceptionally closely. Or perhaps read χρόν(ον)?

- τῆς υἱῶ Πακύσι καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πεπραμένα αὐτῶ ὡς πρόκειται οἰκίαν καὶ
 αὐτὴν πάσῃ βεβαιώσῃ,
 15 ἃ καὶ παρέξα[σ]θαι ἀνεπάφα καὶ ἀνεχύραστα καὶ ἀνεπιδάνιστον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀπὸ
 παντὸς ὀφειλήματος δημο-
 κύου μὲν ἀπὸ τ[ῶ]ν ἔμπροσθε χρόνων μέχρι ἐτέρας εἰκονισμοῦ ἀπογραφῆς ἀπὸ δὲ
 ἰδ[ιωτι]κῶν καὶ πά-
 ρης ἐμπουή[εως] ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, καὶ μηδένα κωλύοντα τὸν Πακῦσιν μηδὲ
 τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ κυριεύ-
 οντας τῶν ἀ[ὐτ]ῶν πεπραμένων αὐτῶ ὡς πρόκειται οἰκίας καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ ἐξ
 αὐτῶν περιγεγόμενα
 ἀπ[ο]φερομένους καὶ ὑποτειθέντα[σ] καὶ ἑτέροις ἐξαλλοτριούντας καὶ οἰκ[ο]νομ-
 οῦντας περὶ αὐτῶ[ν] ὡς ἐὰν αἰρώσι.
 20 ἐὰν δέ τι τ[ῶ]ν προγεγραμμένων παραβῆ ἢ Τααρπαγάθης χωρὶς τοῦ αὐτὰ κύρια
 εἶναι καὶ πάντα τὸν ἐπ[ελε]υσόμενον
 [ἀ]φιστάνῃ [παρ]αχρήμα ἔτι καὶ προσεκτίειν αὐτὴν τῶ ἀφήλικι Πακύσι τὴν τειμὴν
 μεθ' [ἡμι]ολίας καὶ τὰ
 τέλη καὶ ἀγαλώ[ματα] δ[ι]πλᾶ καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀρ[γ](υρίου) δραχμὰς δ[ι]ακοσίας
 πεντήκοντα καὶ ἰς τὸ δη(μόσιον) τὰς ἰ[σ]α[σ]. τὰς δὲ τῆς
 [τ]εμῆς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς φεντακοσίας ἀποκεχαρίσθαι τῶ ἀφήλικι Πακύσι ὑπὸ τῆς
 κατὰ πατέρα ἑαν-
 [τ]οῦ μάρμης Τανεφρέμμεως χάριτι ἀναφαιρέτω καταβεβλη(μένου) τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐπι-
 στ[άλ]μα[τ]ος ὠρισμέ[νου].
 25 (2nd hand) Τααρπαγάθης Ἐριέου τοῦ Ἐριέου εἰρία θεοῦ κόμης Κοκονπαίου
 Νήσου μ[ετὰ] κυρίου τοῦ
 ἀνδρὸς Πακύσεως Καταβοῦτος τοῦ Ἀγχόφιος συνειρέως τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶ[ν] πέπρακα
 τῶ ἀφήλικι μου υἱῶ Πακύσι τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν μοι ἐν τῇ προγαγραμ[μ]ένη κό-
 μης Κοκονπέω Νήσου μητρικὴν οἰκίαν καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπέχω τὴν τιμὴν ἀργ[υ]ρίου
 δραχμὰς φεντακοσίας καὶ βεβεῶσι ὡς πρόκειται. Πακῦσις ἔγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γυ-
 30 ναικὸς ἀγαμμάτων.
 (3rd hand) κατεχω(ρίσθη) β (ἔτους) Μεσορῆ ιε̄.

1. ε of ἔτους evidently enlarged. 1. *Κεουήρου*. 2. The line evidently begins a little to the right, owing no doubt to the enlarged initial letter of the previous line. 4. *πα* of *πατέρα* apparently a correction. 4-5. 1. *ἑαν/τοῦ*. 6-7. 1. *τὰς ὑπαρχούσας*. 7. 1. *Νήσω*. 8. *ἰσοδοῖς παρ*. 1. *εἰσόδοις*. 9 *fin*. 1. *ἐκ*. 13. 1. *πεντακοσίας, βεβαιώσῃν*. 14. 1. *τὰς πεπραμένας, βεβαιώσῃ*. 15. 1. *ἄσ, παρέξεσθαι, ἀνενεχυράστους, ἀνεπιδανείστους, καθαρὰς*. 17. 1. *κωλύειν*. (Cf. P.Hamb. 15, 13, and *app. crit.* ad loc.) 21. 1. *προσεκτείσειν*. 23. 1. *πεντακοσίας*. 25 1. *Ἐριέως bis, ἰέρεια, Κοκονπαίου*. 26. 1. *Ἀγχώφεως*. 27. 1. *τὰς ὑπαρχούσας, προγεγραμμένη*. 27-28 1. *κόμη*. 28. 1. *Κοκονπαίου Νήσω*. 29. 1. *πεντακοσίας, βεβαιώσω*. 30. 1. *ἀγαμμάτων*.

Translation

'The second year of the Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus, the month Caesareus, Mesore 15, in Ptolemais Euergetis in the Arsinoite nome. Taharpagathes daughter of Herieus son of Herieus . . . having a scar on the heel of the right foot, with her guardian her husband

Pacuis son of Satabous son of Anchophis, aged about thirty-six years, having a cataract in both eyes, acknowledges to her son Pacuis son of Pacuis, a minor, through his guardian Tanephremmis, his grandmother on his father's side, all being priests of the god of the village of Socnopaei Nesus, that she, Taharpagathes, the acknowledging party, has sold to her son Pacuis, a minor, in accordance with this agreement from the present time henceforth for ever the house and yard inherited from her mother and belonging to her in the aforesaid village of Socnopaei Nesus, together with all appurtenances, with all existing measurements, dimensions, foundations, walls, windows, entrances and exits of the whole, and all the other usages and rights, according to the custom from the beginning until the present time; the boundaries of which are, as declared by mutual agreement, on the south a blind street, on the north likewise a blind street, on the east a public street, on the west a house belonging to others; and that she, Taharpagathes, the acknowledging party, has received in full forthwith from hand to hand from the grandmother of the minor on his father's side the whole price agreed upon of the (house property) sold to him as aforesaid, five hundred silver drachmae, and that she and her assigns will guarantee with every guarantee to her son Pacuis, a minor, with his assigns, the house and yard sold to him as aforesaid, which she will produce unencumbered, unpledged, unliable and free from every debt, both from public charges from former times until the next census and from private charges and every claim from all time, and that no one will hinder Pacuis or his assigns from the exercise of ownership over the same house and yard sold to him as aforesaid, or from appropriating everything accruing therefrom, or from their mortgage, alienation or management in whatever way they may choose. If Taharpagathes shall transgress any of the aforesaid conditions, apart from the said conditions remaining valid and her repelling forthwith any person laying claim (to the property), she shall further pay to the minor Pacuis the price increased by one half, double the taxes and costs, and a fine of two hundred and fifty silver drachmae, and the same sum to the State. The five hundred silver drachmae of the price have been given to Pacuis, the minor, by his grandmother on his father's side, Tanephremmis, by gift inalienable, the fee fixed for the notification having been paid.'

(2nd hand.) 'I, Taharpagathes, daughter of Herieus son of Herieus, priestess of the god of the village of Socnopaei Nesus, with my guardian my husband Pacuis son of Satabous son of Anchophis, fellow-priest of the same gods, have sold to my son Pacuis, a minor, the house and yard inherited from my mother and belonging to me in the aforesaid village of Socnopaei Nesus; and I have received the price, five hundred silver drachmae, and I will guarantee the sale as aforesaid. I, Pacuis, wrote on behalf of my wife also as she is illiterate.'

(3rd hand.) 'Registered in the 2nd year, Mesore 15.'

Notes

3. This line perhaps began with a statement of the age of Taharpagathes, though the number of years would have had to be expressed in figures, which would be contrary to the practice of this text elsewhere.

6-7. τὰ ὑπάρχοντα: for the neuter cf. line 14.

11 ff. ἀπέχιν κτλ: note that Taharpagathes receives the price *παρὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀφήλικος . . . μάμμης* and not *παρὰ τοῦ ἀφήλικος διὰ τῆς μάμμης*. Contrast Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale*, 217 (sect. II b) with 216 (sect. II a). It is this clause, with ll. 22-24 (see the note below), which is the evidence that 'Taharpagathes' acknowledgement of sale to Pacuis answers to only a theoretical transaction (see the introd. above).

12. After *ὡς πρόκειται, οἰκίας καὶ ἀλλῆς* probably omitted in error.

16. *μέχρι ἑτέρας*: the formula here has possibly been shortened through omission by haplography (cf. P.Hamb. 15. 12).

19. αἰρῶσι? For the active perhaps cf. P.Mil.Vogl. 84. 13.

22-24. τὰς δὲ τῆς τειμῆς κτλ. Cf. ll. 11 ff., with note, above. Tanephremmis is buying the property as a present for her grandson Pacusis but in doing so she has to state expressly that she has made him a gift of the purchase price, as otherwise she would remain the nominal owner. See Pringsheim, *op. cit.* 217-19; and further Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed. 324 with n. 16. Note the tense of ἀποκεχαρίσθαι (l. 23): cf. Pringsheim, 218 'the gift . . . has to be effective before the money is paid to the vendor'. Strictly speaking the διά-construction *should* have been used in l. 11 (see the note above): cf. P.Oxy. 1208 (cited by Pringsheim, 218).

24. καταβεβλη(μένου) κτλ: see Gerstinger in *Studi Calderini Paribeni*, II, 285-300.

4. WILL

P.Lond.Inv. 1945

22.2 × 18.1 cm.

A.D. 126?

Will of Apollonius in the form of a contract bequeathing his property, consisting mainly of a house and court with an adjoining yard, to his three children in varying shares. The technical term for this class of document is *donatio mortis causa*.¹ For similar documents cf. *Dai P.S.I. (Omaggio all' XI Congresso)* (1965), no. 5 (1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.); *SB* 4322 (A.D. 84-96); *SB* 7559 (99); P.Fouad 33 (1st cent. A.D.); P.Teb. 381 (123); P.Mil.Vogl. 84 (138); BGU 86 = M. *Chr.* 306 (155); P.Strassb. 122 (161-9); P.Teb. 517 (2nd cent.); P.Vars. (JfP 2 [1948], 96-99) (2nd cent.); and ?BGU 483 (2nd cent.); also the six texts published by Husselman, *TAPA* 88 (1957), 135 ff. (all of second-century date).² Cf. also, for some of the phraseology in the body of the document, BGU 1037 (A.D. 49); P.Ryl. 156 (1st cent.); P.Oxy. 503 (118); and P.Mil. Vogl. 99 (119).

Written along the fibres in a small cursive hand: cf. the very similar hand of P.Mil. Vogl. 84 (A.D. 138) cited above. The handwriting in ll. 33-34, although the document is very fragmentary here, seems rather different in character and suggests the presence of subscriptions at this point. Lines 31-32, however, certainly seem to be from an enumeration of witnesses with their descriptions (cf. P.Mich.Inv. 5589. 17 ff., publ. Husselman, *op. cit.* 137), and the content of ll. 33-34 seems similar, so that the apparent difference of hand may not be a real one.

Ἐ[τους δ]εκάτου Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβας]τοῦ μηνὸ[ς]
 Και[σαρε]ί[ο]ν κε ἐν Τεβτύνι τῆς
 [Πολέ]μονος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτου ν[ομοῦ. ὁμολο]γ[εῖ Ἀπο]λλώνιο[ς] .[.].[.]-
 μήδου τοῦ Μενεμάχου
 μητρὸς Δημητρείας ἀπὸ κώμης Κερκεκ[ο]ύ[χων τῆς Ἡρα]κλ[εῖδο]ν μερ[ίδ]ος ἐτῶν
 με οὐλή παρὰ ἀντικνήμιον
 ἀρι[ς]τερόν συνκεχωρηκέναι μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελε[ε]ντήν τοῖς γεγονόσι αὐτῶι ἐκ
 τ[ῆ]ς συνούσης αὐτῶι

¹ Among modern literature on the subject for a brief discussion see Berger, *Encycl. Dict. of Roman Law*, 433; further Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed., esp. 204-7; Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, 215 ff.; and Kraus, *Die Formeln des griechischen Testaments* (1915), 81-84. Note also, for a juristic discussion, Simonius, *Die Donatio Mortis Causa im klassischen römischen Recht* (1958). Note also the commentary of Husselman in *TAPA* 88 (1957), 135 ff.

² An unpublished document among the Oxyrhynchus papyri in Oxford also belongs to this class (A.D. 38?), although not precisely parallel in format.

- 5 κατὰ νόμους γυναικὸς Ταόρσεως τῆς Ψεγατύμιος τέκνοις Μ[εν]εμάχῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ
καὶ Μεγεμ[ά]χ' ἰω'
νεωτέρῳ καὶ Θερμοῦθι τοῖς τρισι τοῖς μὲν δυσι ἄρρεσιν οὗσι [Με]νεμάχῳ πρε[σ]β(υ-
τέρῳ) καὶ Μεγεμάχῳ νεω(τέρῳ) τ[οῖς δυσι?]
ἐξ ἴσου τ[ὸ] ὑπαρχον αὐτῶι Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἡμις μέρος οἰκίας [καὶ] αἰθρίου ἐν κώμηι
Κερκεσοῦχοις, ὃ ἔχ[εται?]
τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτῶι [ἡ]μίς μέρος τοῦ ὑποκάτω [.] ταμείου. ἀπὸ δὲ
τῆς ἐπιβεβληκυείης [αὐτῶι]
Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ κ[α]ὶ λείβα μέρος τῆς οἰκία[ς καὶ αἰ]θρ[ί]ου αὐλῆς
διατεταχέναι τῶι μὲν
- 10 Μενεμάχῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ τὸ κατὰ μέρος τῆς αὐλῆς [ἡ]μις μέρος διατίνον λ[ε]ίβα
ἐπ' ἀπη[λι]ώ[την]
κατ' ἐπιβολὴν τοῦ ὄντος τῆς αὐλῆς παντὸς ἐδάφου[ς, τῶ]ι δὲ Μενεμάχῳ νεωτέρῳ
τὸ λο[ι]π(όν)
ἡμις μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς αὐλῆς, ἀφ' οὗ τέταρτον μὲ[ν] ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς νότον μέρος τὸ
δὲ λοιπὸν
τέταρτον ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρος, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων διατίνων{των} λείβα ἐπ'
ἀ[πη]λιώ[την] κατ' ἐπιβολὴν
τοῦ παντὸς ἐδάφους, ἀμφοτέρων κοινῶς ὑπολείπων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἀπηλειώτην
μέρος
- 15 δι' ὅλης τῆς αὐλῆς κοινῆν εἴσοδον καὶ ἐξοδον, ἧς πλάτος λειβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλειώτην
πηχῶν
δύο ἡμίς μέρος ἀρχομένης ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπὸ βορρᾶ δημοσίας ὁδοῦ μέχ[ρι] τῆς κ[ατα]-
λειμμέ-
νης τῆ αὐτῆι αὐλῆι καθ' ἣν ἀ[ν]ήνεγκεν ὁ Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ος πρὸς τὸν τοῦ [ἀ]δελφοῦ
αὐτοῦ Ἡρωνο(ς)
υἱὸν Μεγεμάχου διαίρεσι(ν) εἰς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐξ ὁδοῦ δι' ὧν εἰς[ὁδ]ῶν καὶ ἐξ ὁδῶν εἰς-
οδ[εῦ]ς[ο]υσι καὶ ἐξοδεύουσι
ἀμφοτέροι Μενεμάχος πρεσβ(ύτερος) καὶ Μενεμάχος νεώτ(ερος), ἔτι [δὲ] καὶ τοῖς
δυσι καὶ τὰ ὑπ' [α]ὐ[τ]ῶι Ἀπολλωνίου
- 20 καταλειφ[θ]ησόμενα καθ' ὧν δήποτε τρόπον καὶ κκεῦη καὶ ἐνωφιλόμενα αὐτῶι
.κ.
τὴν οἰκίαν ἐνοικήσουσι οἱ υἱοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβεβ[λη]κυίαι[ς] αὐτῶι Ἀπολλωνίῳ κατὰ τὴν
διαίρεσιν διαίταις ὃ [μ]ὲν Μενεμάχος πρεσβύ[τερος] ἐν οἴκῳ ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρ[α]ς
στέγης[?]
ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ καὶ λείβα μέρος ὃ δὲ Μεγεμ[α]χος νεώτερος ἐν οἴκῳ ἐπὶ τῆς
πρῶτης στέγης[?]
ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ καὶ λείβα μέρος ἀμφοτέροι δὲ ἐ[νοική]σουσι ἐν οἴκῳ τὴν
δευτέρ[αν] στέγην[?]
- 25 ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς νό[το]ν καὶ ἀ[πη]λειώτην μ[έ]ρος ε. . [c. 8. II. ἀκολ]ούθως τῆ προνομ-
[α]σθείη διαίρεσει[?]
τελ[ε]ιοθείη[ς] δι[α] τ[οῦ] γραφείου τῶι ζ (ἔτει) Ἀ[δριανοῦ] c. 6. II.
]. . εχ. []. τὸ δίκαιον[

υἱοῖς ἐκάστῳ [c. 6 ll.] [. . .]. θ[υ]γατρ[c. 13 ll.]. η. πρὸς ἀπηλεῖ[ώτην?

Fragmentary remains of 9 more lines

1. ε of ἔτους enlarged. 13. 1. διατῖνον. 14. 1. ἀμφοτέροις? 18. 1. εἰσόδου, ἐξόδου.

Translation

'The tenth year of the Emperor Caesar [Traianus Hadrianus Augustus(?)], the month Caesareus 25, in Tebtunis in the division of Polemon of the Arsinoite nome. Apollonius, son of medes son of Menemachus, his mother being Demetria, from the village of Kerkesoucha in the division of Heracleides, aged 45 years (?), with a scar along the left shin, acknowledges that he has ceded after his death to the children born to him by his wife married to him according to the laws Taorsis daughter of Psenatumis, Menemachus the elder and Menemachus the younger and Thermouthis, to the three of them (property as follows): to the two males on the one hand Menemachus the elder and Menemachus the younger to the two of them (?) in equal shares the half-share of a house and court belonging to him, Apollonius, in the village of Kerkesoucha and adjoining (?) the half-share falling to him of the store-room below the . . . From the yard which has fallen to him, Apollonius, on the north and west side of the house and court he has assigned to Menemachus the elder the middle half-share of the yard stretching from west to east for the extent of the whole area of the yard; and to Menemachus the younger the remaining half-share of the same yard, of which one fourth part is on the south side and the remaining fourth part on the north side, stretching in both from west to east for the extent of the whole area. He leaves to both in common the common entrance and exit on the east side through the whole yard, of which the width from west to east is two and a half cubits, beginning from the public road on the north as far as the entrance and exit left to the same yard in accordance with a settlement which Apollonius made with Menemachus the son of his brother Heron, through which entrances and exits they shall both enter and exit, Menemachus the elder and Menemachus the younger; and further also to the two also what shall be left by him, Apollonius, in whatever manner, both utensils and what is owed to him . . . the sons shall inhabit the house in the quarters which have fallen to him, Apollonius, in accordance with the settlement, Menemachus the elder in the house on the first floor in the north and west part and Menemachus the younger in the house on the ground floor in the north and west part, and both shall inhabit (?) in the house the first floor in the south and east part . . . in accordance with the afore-said settlement (?) registered through the . . . record-office in the 7th year of Hadrian (?) . . .'

Notes

1. [Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβασ]τοῦ: this supplement is rather cramped but seems the best to fill the space available from palaeographical comparisons. (Note also l. 26.)

3. ἐτῶν με: the writing here is broken and not easy to interpret. A statement of the age of Apollonius is clearly to be sought at this point, but against the reading given it must be noted that there is a lacuna with space for at least one letter between the supposed ν and μ.

11. κατ' ἐπιβολήν κτλ: cf. P.Mil.Vogl. 99, 8, with note.

14. ἀμφοτέρων κοινῶς ὑπολείπων: some correction is clearly required here. I originally conjectured ὑπολειπομένων for ὑπολείπων: Dr. Rea has suggested ἀμφοτέροις for ἀμφοτέρων. I do not think this can actually be read on the papyrus, but it is perhaps a more attractive emendation than my original conjecture.

22 ff. ἐπὶ τῆς - - στέγης: see Lewis, *Classical Weekly* 26 (1933), 171-2.

26. On the γραφεῖον here note the discussion on Lourios and the Tebtunis γραφεῖον in Husselman, *TAPA* 88, 152 ff.

5. LEASE OF BULLS

P.Lond.Inv. 2210

10.0 × 15.5 cm.

10/9 B.C.

Acknowledgement by Arignotus, slave of one Gaius Servilius and perhaps his bailiff, to two Persians of the Epigone of the lease of two bulls for the ploughing(?—see the note on l. 4) of one year. The rent is to be paid in corn at the harvest of the same year. On the leasing of livestock in general see Johnson, *Econ. Survey of Ancient Rome*, II, 228–39; and Taubenschlag, *Law*², 368–70. Written along the fibres in an upright hand.

Ἐμίθωσαν Ἀρίγνωτος δο[ῦ]λος Γαίου Σερου-
 ηλίου Ποπλίου υἱοῦ Σεραπ[ί]ωνι Σεραπίωνος
 καὶ Ἀπολλωνίω Ἑρακλεῖδ[ο]ν ἀμφοτέροις
 Πέρσαις τῆς ἐπιγονῆς εἰς τὸν ἀρυτήρα τοῦ ἐν-
 5 εστῶτος ἐνὸς καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους Καίσαρος
 τοῦ Σερουηλίου ταύρου[ς τελείους?] μέλανας δύο
 ὧν εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ λεγόμενος[ς c. 5] ὁ δ' ἄλλος Ἀρ-
 ρινοειτικός καὶ μετὰ τούτ[ων] ἄρυτρον, φόρον
 τοῦ ἐσταμένου πρὸς ἀλλή[λο]υς πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν
 10 εἴκοσι ἐπτὰ ἐφ' ᾧ χωρὶς τούτων [ἐ]κθρέψαι τὰ κτή-
 νη ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ὄντα ἀκίνδυνα ζῦ[ν τ]ῶ ἀρότρῳ
 καὶ τῶ φόρῳ παντὸς κινδύνου, βεβαιούτω δὲ
 καὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίγνωτος αὐτοῖς τὴν μίσθωσιν ἀπὸ
 15 πάντων πάσει βεβαιώσει. βεβαιουμένης δ' αὐ-
 τῆς ἀποδότῳσιν οἱ μεμεμισθωμένοι τῶ
 Ἀριγνώτῳ τὸν φόρον ἐν τῶ Παῦγι μηνὶ τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Εἰβιῶνα Ἀντιλόχου ἄλω(ν)
 πυρὸν νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολον μέτ[ρω] τε[τρα]ραχοι-
 νίνκῳ ἀγο[ρ]αγομ[ικῶ]]
 20 τιμῆν . [ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπο-?]
 δῶσι . []
 τους []
 ἀρυτ. []
 μενο []
 25 .. [] .. []

1. Initial letter enlarged. 1. ἐμίθωσαν. 1–2. 1. Σερουηλίου: so in l. 6. 2. 1. Ποπλίου.
 4. 1. ἀροτήρα? See note below. 8. 1. ἄροτρον. 12. There is a crack in the papyrus about
 two-thirds of the way along the line, extending from this line to l. 18, of which the sides have over-
 lapped: this is particularly clear in the third μ of μεμεμισθωμένοι in l. 15. 13. καυτος pap.:
 for καὶ αὐτός? 14. 1. πάση. 15. 1. μεμισθωμένοι. 17. 1. Ἰβιῶνα. 18–19. 1.
 τετραχοινίκῳ. 19. The lines below this are spaced farther apart than they are above. 23. Cf.
 line 4 above: 1. ἀροτ.[?] 24. ρ: or ε.

Translation

'Arignotus, slave of Gaius Servilius, son of Publius, has leased to Sarapion, son of Sarapion, and Apollonius, son of Heracleides, both Persians of the Epigone, for the ploughing (?) of the present twenty-first year of Caesar, two full-grown(?) black bulls belonging to Servilius, of which one is the one called . . . and the other Arsinoiticus, and with these a plough, at the rent agreed upon by the two parties of twenty-seven artabae of wheat, on condition that apart from this they are to maintain the beasts at their own expense, being free from every risk with the plough and the rent. Arignotus on his part is to guarantee the lease to them from all risks with every guarantee. The lease being guaranteed, the lessees are to pay the rent to Arignotus in the month Pauni of the same year, at the threshing-floors near Ibion Antilochi, in new pure and unadulterated wheat, measured by the four-choenix measure of the agoranomi'

Notes

4. Πέρραις τῆς ἐπιγονῆς: see now Oates, *Yale Classical Studies* 18 (1963), 1–129. ἀρυτῆρα: see LSJ⁹ s.v., where this papyrus is cited with the suggested meaning of 'irrigation'. LSJ⁹, however, reads τὰς ἀρού[ρας in l. 6, not ταύρου[ς as in the text above: but note that bulls were used in irrigation for operating the *saqia*: cf. P.Oxy. 729, esp. l. 16, and also P.Flor. 16. However, possibly one should correct ἀρυτῆρα to ἀροτῆρα, with the meaning 'ploughing': cf. ll. 8, 11; although the use of a noun of this termination to express such an abstraction would be unusual, cf. Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, 302. If this is correct, then the papyrus will probably date from the autumn of 10 B.C.

7. ὁ λεγόμενος: for the phrase in the context of naming animals, cf. especially P.Cair.Isid. 137. 10–11, and also P.Oxy. 922. 13, with n., and 140. 22. Should Ἀρσινοειτικός (ll. 7–8) be taken as a name? Contrast P.Oxy. 922. 5; but to explain the term as generic seems less convincing when the papyrus itself, as the present text, comes from the Faiyûm. For the naming of cattle cf. P.Princ. III, 151, after the suggested emendation by Keyes, *AJP* 65 (1944), 187, and P.Gen. 48 (cited by Keyes as a parallel); note also P.Cair.Isid. 85 (a mare). Note that all these examples are much later than the present text.

18–19. For the formula cf., e.g., P.Oxy. 836 (1st cent. B.C.).

SIR HAROLD IDRIS BELL

I

SIR HAROLD IDRIS BELL died on January 22, 1967 in his 88th year. He was a prince of scholars, and a good friend of the Society, of which he was Honorary Secretary from 1923 to 1926, and on the Committee of which he served from 1922 to 1959. He was made a Vice-President in 1945.

Bell's working life was centred in the British Museum. He entered it as an Assistant in the Department of Manuscripts in 1903 and retired from the same Department as its Keeper and Egerton Librarian in 1944. The present writer can visualize him still as he saw him on visits in the thirties to the Keeper's room, a spare figure with twinkling eyes and kindly demeanour sitting in front of a huge fire blazing away behind the padlocked wire fire-guard. During this forty-year span he achieved world-wide recognition as a scholar, and was much sought after by learned Societies other than our own. To many he gave willing service: the Hellenic Society (of which he was made Vice-President in 1930), the Roman Society (Vice-President 1935, President 1937-45), the Classical Association (President 1955). He was elected Fellow of the British Academy in 1932, and was its President from 1946 to 1950. He was awarded the C.B. in 1936 and the honour of knighthood in 1946. Four universities (Wales, Michigan, Brussels, and Liverpool) gave him honorary Doctorates, and he was a member of many foreign Academies. From 1935 to 1950 he made regular visits to Oxford to lecture in his capacity as Honorary Reader in Papyrology in the University. Even at an advanced age he admitted that he had trouble with his nerves before a public lecture, and his University lectures cost him much toil and effort: 'how you academics can stand up and talk every day beats me'.

The scholarly world knows the harvest of these years at the Museum from the flood of books, editions, and papers of which he was author. Down to the year 1954 they are recorded in the *Bibliography of H. I. Bell* which was included in Volume 40 of this *Journal*, the special number presented to him on his seventy-fifth birthday. Mr. Skeat below rightly gives special mention to the valuable critical bibliographies of Greek papyri he contributed to the numbers of this *Journal* from 1914 onwards. They were compiled single-handed from 1914 to 1925, and continued thereafter in commission. It is worth recalling also that Bell was responsible for adding the large stock of new Greek words from the papyri to the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon*. To his *Bibliography* an important supplement needs to be provided for the years since 1954—works of such interest as his Presidential Address to the Classical Association (1956), *The Merton Papyri*, Part II (1959), or *The Abinnaeus Archive* (1962). A supplement is printed as appendix to this notice. It must be remembered that this bibliography refers



Photo. Bassano & Vandyk Studios

SIR HAROLD IDRIS BELL

only to items which come within the scope of this *Journal*. It makes no mention of the book, studies, and translations on Welsh poetry and literature, which earned Bell the Presidency of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in 1947. Such studies are not without relevance to our own. The discipline of translation (the nature of which he discussed most fruitfully in *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymmrodorion*, 1941) sharpened Bell's sensitivity to the nuances of language and contributed to that felicity of phrase which throughout characterizes his writings.

Mr. Skeat has aptly revived the story, often told with pleasure by Bell, of the happy accident that set him to work on papyri. In the early years of the twentieth century the study of documentary Greek papyri was still in its infancy, its palaeography was in process of working out, and *Hilfsmittel* were totally lacking. No one knew what to expect in the contents, language, and style of the texts. Bell was fond of telling how the first-generation men, Kenyon and Grenfell and Hunt, grew up with their science, and therefore carried the stages of its progress in their heads. He himself brought a critical intelligence to bear on the London texts, shown by the new standards found from Volume III onwards in *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, and the mass of corrections for Volumes I and II that figure over the rubric 'H. J. B. brieflich' (German scholars almost always turned the I. into J.) in the pages of the *Berichtigungsliste*.

It would be best to begin an estimation of Bell's manner of work and success as a scholar with the extraordinary speed at which he could write a good round hand (to be described in palaeographical terms as 'medium-sized clear upright cursive'). He could pen this as fast or faster than a good typist can type. Allied to speed of pen over paper was clarity of thought, so that he could draft a report or a critical note in terms that required almost no correction. He himself claimed that this valuable gift was learned by excerpting enemy information about rationing in his war-time service. It helps to account for the amount of work he was able to produce in a life crowded with all kinds of distracting occupations. In the preface to *The Abinnaeus Archive* he tells how he could work on papyri at the Museum only during his dinner-hour or in the hour between four o'clock, when official duties ceased, and five, when the Museum closed.

About his work itself there is nothing hasty or ill-considered, in spite of the fact that new ground was constantly being broken and the subjects of which knowledge was required were of a wide range (Bell self-deprecatingly and unjustly called himself a 'dabbler'). The papyrologist is constantly creating new evidence, conjuring it, as it were, out of the air, and applying it to the solution of old problems. He can hardly hope completely to escape error; but he can maintain a remarkably high standard by awareness of fallibility, and by cultivating a professional attitude to his work. Texts dated, transcribed, and interpreted by Bell may be susceptible of improvement, but they will not lightly be corrected. The author of this notice had the privilege of being associated with him in the republication of *The Abinnaeus Archive*, and can remember his firm but kindly insistence that the fourth letter in the word $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta$] (it had been so published in the *editio princeps*) really was δ , though it looked like τ ; the diagonal stroke that normally runs from top left to bottom right was both shortened and written on a horizontal line, but it was the diagonal of δ nonetheless, not the cross-stroke of τ . He can remember

also the way in which Bell would reject a given reading on the ground that it was contextually impossible, or incompatible with an intelligent understanding of the passage. H. C. Youtie has in the last ten years worked out in some detail the theory that lies behind the act of 'reading' a papyrus. Bell had come by long practice and skill to a just appreciation of its hazards and rewards. A short note of his on 'The Gospel Fragments P. Egerton 2' is worth quoting here.¹ 'It is necessary to emphasize that I, a mere papyrologist, am not an authority on the often very intricate questions of New Testament criticism which are involved; I can only claim such right to a judgment as belongs to an editor, who has of necessity studied the problems presented by the papyrus with some care. As may be seen from the pamphlet, *The New Gospel Fragments* (British Museum, 1935), my original view was early modified in several respects, and I am far from thinking that I, or indeed anyone else, can pretend to have reached finality.'

The early history of the New Testament is one field of study to which the new materials he contributed and interpreted made a first-rate contribution; another is the history of Egypt and Alexandria in the early principate, illuminated brilliantly by the publication of Claudius' letter; a third is the study of Byzantine Egypt, the inner life of which fascinated Bell. But it would be invidious and wearisome to turn an appreciation into a catalogue. There are many themes on which scholars turn to Bell's pronouncements—for instance, the chapter in *Egypt from Alexander the Great to Justinian* on the intermittent character of papyrus evidence, which would have made an admirable basis for that general handbook on Greek papyri which Bell projected but never completed. Ideas gripped him. He felt impelled to challenge and examine such statements as Rostovtzeff's that 'In Roman Egypt the voice of sympathy is dumb'. And he had the gift of intuitively understanding the background to papyrus documents, and identifying himself with the personalities who figure in them.

One aspect of Bell's work deserves a special mention. His post at the British Museum placed him at a kind of switch-board of scholarship, and he was the most kindly and helpful of operators. A query would bring an answer (in that round clear hand) by return of post. Foreign scholars would receive reports of readings, or the whereabouts of texts, or advice on their careers, which they appreciated, for they have written eloquently about it to the present author. With Bell at the Museum the phrase *amicitia papyrologorum* was translated into action. Friendships were maintained with foreign scholars (such as V. Martin and W. Schubart) even during the Great War, utilizing the means offered by the Red Cross. Universities as widely separated as Oslo, Geneva, Columbia, and Michigan benefited from the syndicate for buying papyri over which Bell presided in the years 1921-5. It was, therefore, particularly fitting that he should have held the Presidency of the International Association of Papyrologists from 1947 to 1955, and been Vice-President of C.I.P.S.H. from 1949 to 1952. Scholars in many lands have lost a benefactor.

'In gratitude for the friendship of H. I. Bell' was the dedication which Norman Baynes prefixed to his contribution to the volume of essays in honour of Bell. It is a

¹ *HTR* 42 (1949), 54-55.

phrase which will be widely echoed. No one could have had less pomposity or affectation, or been so readily approachable as he. Anecdotes flowed from his memory. He was a delightful person to have as one's chairman if one were giving a lecture. The writer particularly remembers a week spent in Paris in 1949, culminating in a day's happy visit to Chartres, rounded off by fireworks at Versailles. Next day Bell crossed the channel and at the age of 70 went on by the milk train to Aberystwyth. And one could count on warm sympathy, and a ready welcome on a visit to the Bell household. It was a 'happy family', the description applied by Bell himself to another such family revealed in papyrus-letters from Graeco-Roman Egypt. A son, David, was a first-rate draughtsman and sensitive translator, and his death in 1963 was a great sorrow. Lady Winifred Bell died just a week before her husband. He had been 'steeling himself to live alone'. In death they are not divided.

E. G. TURNER

II

By the death of Sir Harold Idris Bell on January 22, 1967 the Society lost one of its Vice-Presidents and one of its oldest and most distinguished members, and an era in the history of British papyrology came to an end. His long and fruitful career and astonishingly wide range of interests have earned him a unique place in the British world of learning, and if in these few lines space can only be found for the briefest outline of those of his activities which are relevant to the objects of this Society, it must constantly be borne in mind that this is inevitably a partial and one-sided account.

Bell was born on October 2, 1879 at Epworth in Lincolnshire, the son of Charles Christopher Bell, from whom he imbibed his literary tastes, and Rachel Hughes, whose Welsh birth gave him a sentimental and lifelong interest in the language and literature of the Principality. From Nottingham High School he went up to Oriel College, Oxford in 1897, where he obtained a First in Mods in 1899 and a Second in Greats in 1901—a result which certainly did not do justice to his talents. The year 1901–2 he spent in Germany, at the universities of Berlin and Halle, at the former of which he listened spellbound to the eloquence of Wilamowitz, as he vividly recalled fifty-five years later. On his return from Germany he obtained a post as an Assistant in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, where he took up his duties on June 24, 1903.

The work of the Department of Manuscripts, then as now, involves acquaintance with a wide range of disciplines, and Bell threw himself into the tasks allotted to him with enthusiasm. The event which canalized his energies into papyrology was almost accidental. Kenyon, at that time a Senior Assistant in the Department, had already won an international reputation as the editor of Aristotle and Bacchylides and compiler of the first two volumes of the *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. In 1904 he was hard at work on the third volume of the Catalogue and Bell used to pass his desk, laden with piles of papyri on which he cast envious eyes, until in casual conversation Kenyon learned that he had studied Hellenistic history. This suggested to Kenyon

that he would make a promising recruit to papyrology, and soon after, with official approval, Bell began to take a share in the work of deciphering and editing texts for the *Catalogue*.

Volume III of the *Catalogue* was published in 1907, and Bell's name appears as joint editor with that of Kenyon on the title-page. His rapidly growing stature was demonstrated in other ways. He had already persuaded Kenyon, who had a predilection for Roman numerals, to abandon these for the more convenient Arabic figures for the numeration of the papyri, and—a far more radical innovation—he successfully advocated a change in the clumsy and time-wasting system of designating papyri by their inventory numbers only, with the result that they do not appear in the *Catalogue* in numerical sequence. This reform could not indeed be introduced in Volume III of the *Catalogue*, but its adoption is announced in the preface to that volume, and it was implemented in the next.

Volume III of the *Catalogue* contained a varied assortment of texts of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, and thus provided Bell with an excellent general initiation into papyrology. But long before it appeared he was already mastering a new and wholly uncharted region of study. In the year in which he had entered the Museum the Department had acquired the lion's share of the first great find of papyri from Kôm Ishgau (Aphrodito), consisting of documents of the early Arab period, mainly falling within the years A.D. 708–11. Once again it was chance rather than design which was to mould his future: 'I must frankly confess,' he admitted to the Papyrological Congress at Munich in 1933, 'that when, by the mere accident of fortune, I began to specialise in papyri of the Byzantine and Arab periods, rather than in those of the Ptolemaic age, which I should myself have preferred, my chief qualification for the task was a comprehensive ignorance of all that the word Byzantium stands for. . . . It is only by a shameful fraud on the public that I have ever been able to pose as a Byzantinist at all.' Despite this characteristic modesty, the appearance, in 1910, of Volume IV of the *Catalogue*, subtitled 'The Aphrodito Papyri', was an epoch-making event. The huge volume of 648 pages was published over Bell's name alone, with an Appendix of Coptic texts by W. E. Crum. The broad sweep of the General Introduction ushered in a work of monumental quality which conceals the exceptional difficulties which faced the editor—the total unfamiliarity of the material, the fragmentary condition of the papyri, the use of three different languages, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic, and last but not least, the vast and complicated accounts, the unravelling which, as he once confessed to me, 'drove him nearly mad'.

Meanwhile, in 1906, a further large purchase had been made, this time of papyri from the later finds at Kôm Ishgau, consisting of documents of the mid-sixth century A.D. These, with other Byzantine papyri, including a group from Syene, constituted Volume V of the *Catalogue*, a smaller but hardly less valuable publication than its predecessor. When it appeared, in 1917, Bell had extended his grasp over the whole of the Byzantine period in Egypt, an epoch which remained for life in the forefront of his interests. But despite his deep understanding of the period, he viewed it with no uncritical eye, and in an article in this *Journal* which has become a classic, 'The Byzantine Servile

State',¹ he castigates it, not so much for such features as its arbitrary government or oppression of the peasantry as for its 'appalling dullness'. The creeping paralysis of life and culture in Byzantine Egypt is further analysed in his article 'The Decay of a Civilisation'.²

Before Volume V appeared, the ordered routine of Museum life had been disrupted by war. The activities of the Museum were progressively reduced, and finally, on November 18, 1915, Bell was seconded to the War Office, where he remained for the duration, working on reports and abstracts of the foreign press, for which his knowledge of languages and speed of work made him especially suitable. Here he worked for long hours, and to someone of his sensibility the increasing evidence of disintegration in enemy countries towards the end of the conflict was distressing, so that it was with infinite relief that he was enabled to return to the Museum and re-establish the personal friendships with continental scholars which he had formed before the war.

Almost from the beginning of his papyrological career Bell was closely linked with the activities of our Society. He was formally elected a member on December 2, 1913, but at this period a distinction existed between 'Members' and 'Subscribers', and in fact Bell's name appears in the latter category as early as the year 1906-7. From the start he was a strong supporter of the *Journal*, and Volume I, issued in 1914, contained the first of his celebrated annual bibliographies of papyrology. These bibliographies, offprints of which he broadcast to friends and colleagues on a lavish scale, never consisted of mere lists of publications, but always included some penetrating analysis and comment. As papyrological literature grew, so did the labour of compilation, but despite this Bell continued the work single-handed until 1925, when he organized a team of contributors, of which he remained one himself, as well as acting as general editor, until 1933.

Between the wars Bell was at the height of his powers. He had already planned a sixth volume of the *Catalogue*, to contain, *inter alia*, the important papyri of the Roman period acquired in 1911, when fate again intervened. In 1921 the Museum acquired what is perhaps the most important single historical document to come out of Egypt, the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrines. This was closely followed in 1922 and 1923 by the acquisition of the fourth-century archives of correspondence of adherents of the Meletian schism and of letters addressed to the anchorite Paphnutius. The desirability of making these texts available to scholars as quickly as possible led to the publication, in 1924, of the volume *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, in which Bell demonstrated once again his extraordinary capacity for assimilating a vast literature on such complicated subjects as the relationship of Greeks and Jews in Alexandria or the theological controversies of the fourth century. With this publication, too, Bell swept away the last traces of the Kenyon tradition, the texts being printed in modern form with accents and breathings, while the cumbersome Victorian format of the *Catalogue* was abandoned.

These papyri had been purchased by the Museum through the operations of the Papyrus Syndicate. This organization, which flourished for something like a decade,

¹ *JEA* 4 (1917), 86-106.

² *JEA* 10 (1924), 207-16.

was jointly organized by Bell and F. W. Kelsey of the University of Michigan, then engaged in building up its famous collection of papyri. At this period large collections of papyri were being thrown on the market, with all the risks of their being split up, or damaged by being hawked around. To minimize these risks and to bring some order into the situation it was agreed that collections should be examined and reported on by Bell, and distributed among the contributing institutions in accordance with their interests and available funds. Although the work imposed a heavy burden on Bell, the system performed a most useful service in helping to ensure that separated portions of the same archive, or sometimes even scattered fragments of the same papyrus, were brought together in the same institution. Eventually membership of the Syndicate included virtually all American libraries interested in papyri, the British Museum, Oslo, Geneva, and even some private collectors such as Merton and Chester Beatty. But the Italians could not be induced to join, and the Syndicate thus never acquired the character of a monopoly. It was in order to study the operations of the Syndicate at first hand that Bell paid his only visit to Egypt, in the winter of 1926-7.

All this time Bell was constantly improving and extending his knowledge, and a steady stream of articles and reviews flowed from his pen. His complete grasp of the Roman period in Egypt was shown not only by specialist studies in subjects which particularly appealed to him, such as Anti-Semitism, the problem of the Alexandrian Senate, the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, or the Hadrianic foundation of Antinoopolis, but also by comprehensive studies in depth such as the two masterly chapters on Roman Egypt which he contributed to the *Cambridge Ancient History*. But other factors now began to exercise a decisive influence upon his output of work. As he rose in seniority in the Department, his share of administrative work increased. In 1927 he was promoted to Deputy Keeper, a post the more arduous since the Keeper, J. P. Gilson, though a superb scholar, was a man of almost legendary taciturnity. Less than two years later, on June 16, 1929, Gilson died suddenly after an operation, and Bell succeeded to the headship of the Department which he was to hold for just over fifteen years.

This is not the place to expatiate on the great services which Bell rendered both to his Department and to the Museum during his Keepership, but some explanation must be given of the means whereby he still managed to lengthen the list of his papyrological publications. His magnificent private library facilitated work at home after office hours, and his great collection of offprints, all meticulously indexed, constituted a unique tool for research. But primarily it was Bell's own character and capabilities which enabled him to achieve so much. He possessed, as already mentioned, a remarkable facility for reading and digesting learned literature, a superlative memory, and an orderly mind, the fruits of which were immediately obvious when he put pen to paper. I have myself repeatedly watched him take a quire of foolscap and write out a long and complicated report with extraordinary rapidity and almost without correction, the sentences flowing from his pen without interruption and without apparent effort. Above all, he possessed a conscientiousness and capacity for hard work which one associates with the Victorian age; and despite his mildness of manner and apparent lack of robustness, he was in fact endowed with immense reserves of mental, moral, and physical endurance.

In 1939 the onset of war once again transformed the Museum, as the collections were evacuated to places of safety and most of the staff transferred to other occupations. Throughout this period Bell remained in London with a small nucleus of staff, beset with administrative problems and dealing with essential business. When he finally retired on July 8, 1944, he had completed forty-one years of service, and no honour was more fully deserved than the knighthood conferred on him in 1946.

Retirement brought to Bell something of an Indian summer. Soon after leaving the Museum he carried out a long-planned move to Aberystwyth, where the proximity of the University and the National Library provided him with an intellectual atmosphere in the setting of his beloved Wales. Freed from the trammels of official duties, he could now devote himself wholly to his favourite pursuits, and during the ensuing years his work showed increased momentum. This period saw the publication of the two stately volumes of the Merton papyri, the volume *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* in which he synthesized his knowledge of Egypt during the Greek millennium, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, and finally the re-edition of *The Abinnaeus Archive*, which he had planned with Victor Martin forty-six years earlier and which the addition of Denis van Berchem and Eric Turner to the list of editors had brought to fruition.

Bell's services to papyrology were immense. Though not one of the actual founders of the science, he belonged to that slightly younger generation to which it fell to organize and codify the discipline. His exact and painstaking scholarship, linked with his superb flair for decipherment, contrasted with the somewhat rough-and-ready methods of Kenyon and helped to establish the high standards of editing which we now regard as normal. At the same time his breadth of vision enabled him to transmute his detailed knowledge into a coherent picture. The embodiment of what Wilcken so happily christened the *amicitia papyrologorum*, he maintained to the end a wide circle of friendships nourished by an exemplary attendance to correspondence. In controversy he was courtesy itself, and one can search in vain through his writings for a harsh or sarcastic expression, even where he found good cause for criticism or dissent. In other ways, too, his contribution was crucial. From his earliest days he had maintained the closest friendship with Grenfell and Hunt, and when, after Hunt's death in 1934, the Chair of Papyrology at Oxford lapsed, Bell's appointment as Honorary Reader in Papyrology in 1935, and his tenure of the post until 1950 kept the torch alight at the University, while his succession to the editorship of the Society's Graeco-Roman Memoirs ensured the continuance of the *Oxyrhynchus* series. At the same time he played an increasingly important part in the affairs of our Society. From 1922 to 1959 he was continuously a member of the Committee, and from 1923 to 1926 Honorary Secretary, while in 1945, after his retirement, he was elected Vice-President. The universal affection in which he was held, and recognition of his services to the Society, were embodied in the special number of the *Journal* which was dedicated to him in 1954 in celebration of his 75th birthday. On that occasion I sent him a copy of some seventeenth-century verses which I believe gave him pleasure and which may serve to bring this all too inadequate tribute to a close. They are taken from Theodore Bathurst, 'Ode to the Memory of

Mr. John Thoresby', 1679, and are printed in Ralph Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 1816, p. v:

Time's com'ly rags with cost and pain
 He did retrieve again,
 And make the worn-out letters be
 As young as in their first minority.
 Learning's old reliques he had seen,
 And some at home companions were
 The Elephantine Leaves of Ivory
 And parchment that in Attalus' days had been,
 The Egyptian books most rare
 Compos'd of Bark or Fenny reed,
 And wooden leaves with waxen covering spread,
 By Roman pencil into letters cut,
 The shipwrackt Fragments of Antiquity
 From the old Ship of venerable Time
 Were driven ashore and in his harbour shut,
 Our British, Saxon, Norman rolls he knew
 And at a glancing View
 Each Age's differing character could shew
 In the Time Glass of History. . . .

T. C. SKEAT

III

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Additions and corrections to the list published in *JEA* 40 (1954), 3-6

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J. DAVID THOMAS

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT NORTH, SAQQÂRA 1966-7

By W. B. EMERY

THE Society's excavations at North Saqqâra were reopened on December 6, 1966 in the vicinity of the ibis mausoleum which was discovered in 1964. The staff of the expedition consisted of Mr. G. T. Martin (Christ's College, Cambridge), Miss A. Millard (University College London), Mr. Ali El-Khouli (Egyptian Antiquities Service), Mr. Kenneth Frazer (a member of Professor Plumley's staff at Ibrîm), my wife, and myself. Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Smith joined the expedition on February 21, 1967. We also had visits from Dr. I. E. S. Edwards, Professor and Mrs. Turner, Mr. A. H. K. Slater, and Miss M. Drower.

Examination of the ibis galleries so far explored showed that further progress was impossible until considerable shoring up at various danger points was completed. As at this time we had no facilities for such a task, it was decided to look for another entrance some distance to the north on the edge of the escarpment overhanging the Abusîr-Serapeum road. My reasons for exploring this area were threefold. First, heavy deposits of Saïte-Ptolemaic pottery, much of a votive character, were much in evidence over this ground; secondly, air maps showed the vague outlines of a rectangular enclosure with an orientation similar to that of the chapel-entrance of the ibis mausoleum; and third, the fact that Gallery 56 in the mausoleum, which is obviously a communicating passage with no ibis burials, led in the direction of the proposed excavation area (fig. 1).

Before large-scale excavation could be undertaken safe dumping areas had to be found, and so test pits were sunk farther down the valley. Although most of these pits, cut to a considerable depth, revealed only clean drift sand, one resulted in the discovery of a medium-sized mud-brick mastaba of the Third Dynasty, which although plundered was well preserved, standing to a height of 2.10 m. above the original ground level. This discovery, showing that the archaic necropolis extends into a hitherto unsuspected area, is of considerable interest, for it indicates the extreme congestion which must have existed at that time, for the valley, in constant danger of flooding from the nearby wâdis, would certainly not be an inviting site for monumental building. It must be confessed that this discovery was not entirely welcome to us, for the probable presence of more of these tombs makes the problem of safe dumping more difficult than ever. In the event we have had to take the calculated risk of dumping into the valley in areas which may or may not cover ancient remains. There is no other solution, and we must accept the possibility that future discoveries may force us to remove our own dumps. This, of course, can be safely done by bulldozers if such are available. Another discovery made during the tests was the presence of cattle bones in

considerable quantities lying at a high level below the drift sand; but at the time the importance of this find was not realized and it was not until much later in the course of our research that the significance of this discovery was fully appreciated.

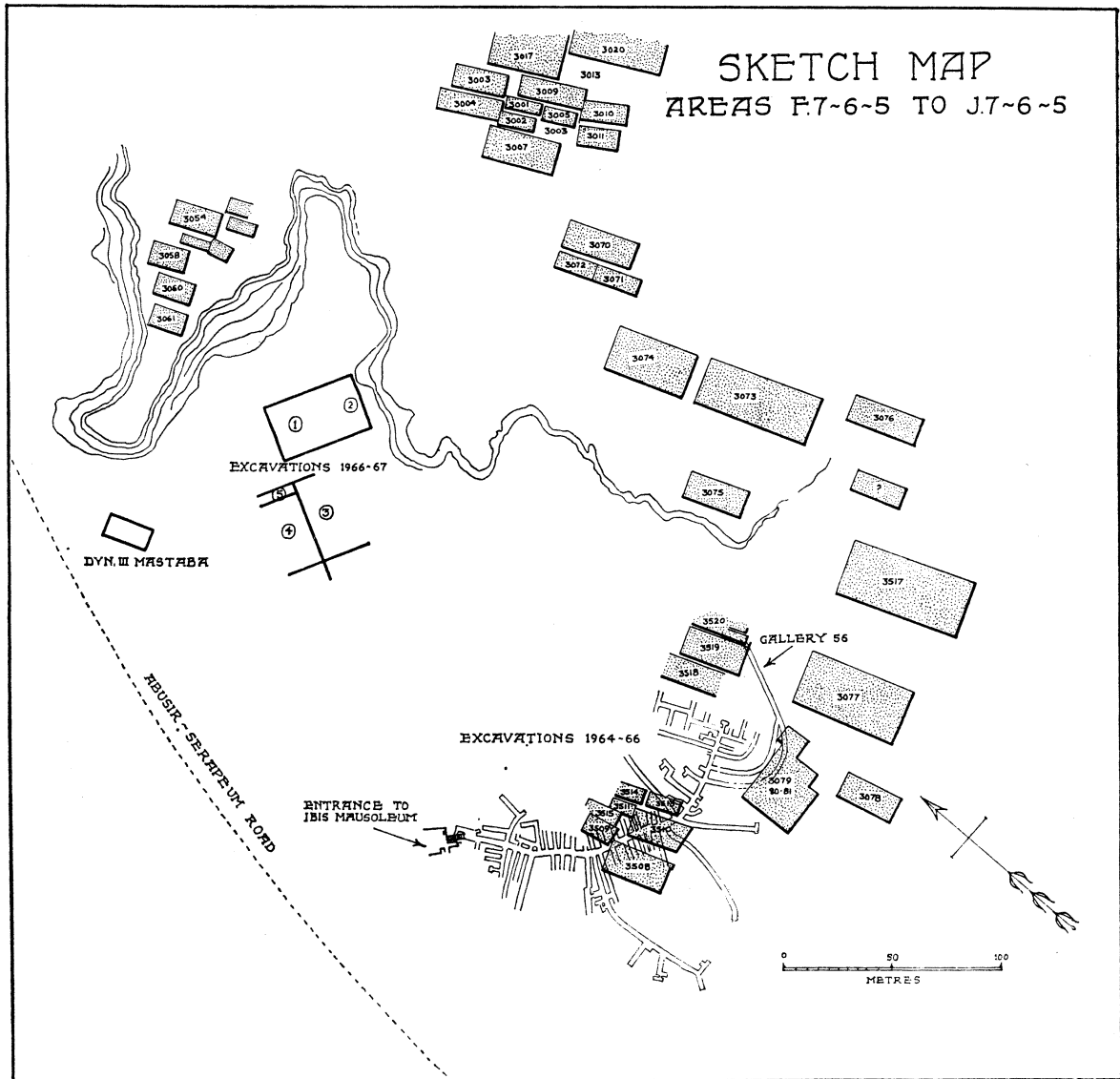
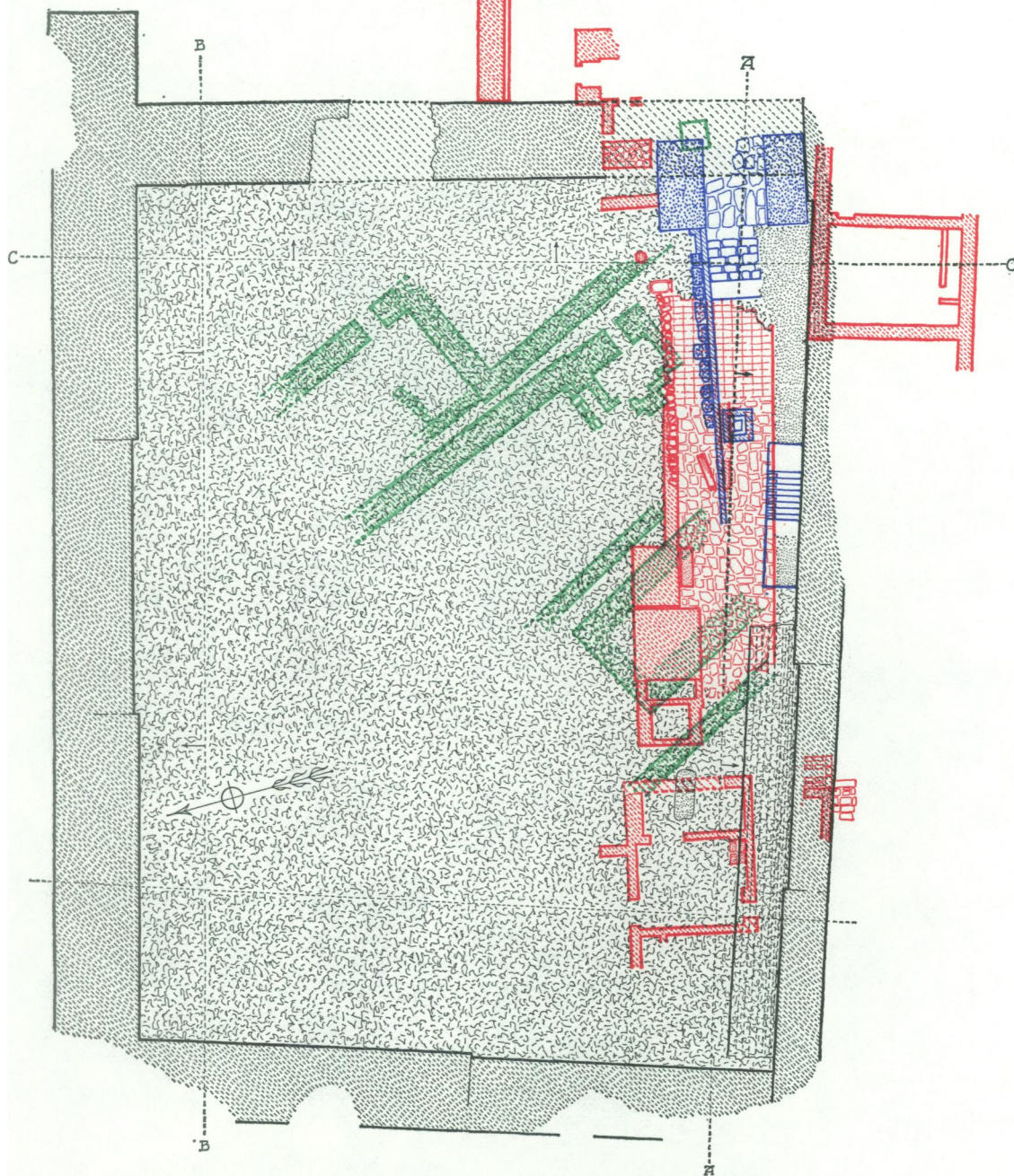


FIG. 1





On December 17 large-scale excavation with 330 men was started in Sectors 1 and 2 in area H.5, and within a few days the top of a massive mudbrick wall was revealed. Gradually the outline of a large enclosure measuring internally 39×29 m. was uncovered, with the interior filled with sand, rubble, and roughly cut blocks of limestone (pls. XIX and XX). These latter showed unmistakable evidence of having belonged to a large structure which had been deliberately destroyed, for on many of the stones one or more sides had been carefully faced and plastered. This earlier use was confirmed

SECTORS 1&2 AREA H.5

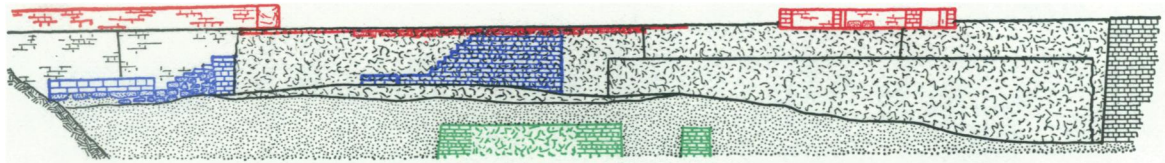


PLAN SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 METRES

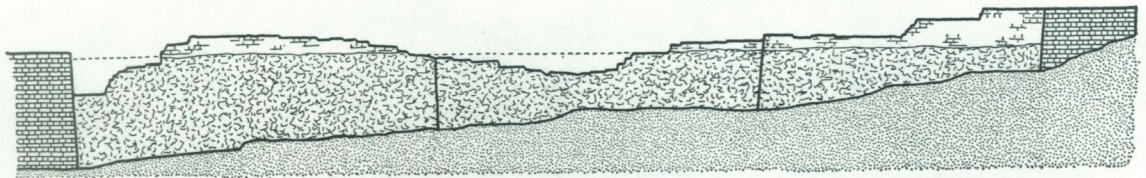
REFERENCE

PERIOD A - BLACK		BRICK
PERIOD B - BLUE		STONE
PERIOD C - RED		RUBBLE FILL
PERIOD D - GREEN		SAND DRIFT

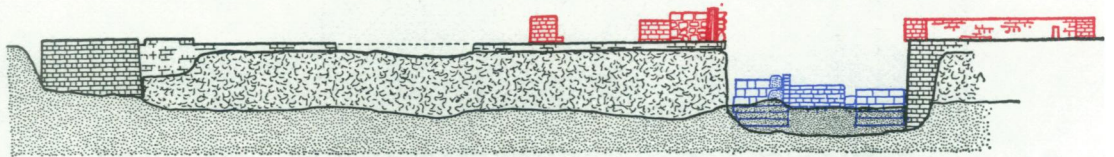
SECTORS 1&2. AREA H.5



SECTION ON A-A



SECTION ON B-B



SECTION ON C-C

REFERENCE

PERIOD A - BLACK
PERIOD B - BLUE
PERIOD C - RED
PERIOD D - GREEN

BRICK
STONE
RUBBLE FILL
SAND DRIFT

SCALE: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 METRES

NORTH SAQQARA 1966-7

by the presence on some of the blocks of demotic graffiti in black ink, containing in numerous cases prayers and invocations to 'Isis, Mother of the Apis' (pl. XXII, 2). Further references to the mother of the Apis were found on small demotic votive stelae (pl. XXII, 1) and offering tables which were discovered in the rubble filling of the enclosure (pl. XXII, 4).

As the clearance of the filling proceeded, it became more and more obvious that we had here a structure of the Saite-Persian period, which consisted of a platform of stone and rubble encased in brick on which had been built a temple or shrine that had been deliberately destroyed. There remain many features which are at present inexplicable, such as the stairway against the south wall which had been built at a later date (Period B) after a passage had been cut in the filling of the temple platform. The stairway and passage were made to give access to two stone-built plinths which may have formed the base of an unfinished shrine. Above the passage and stairway was a pavement of stone flags which extended nearly the full length of the south side of the great enclosure. The date of this construction is uncertain but it and the remains of the brick buildings above it are probably of Christian origin.

As the clearance of the filling of the enclosure layer by layer progressed, it became obvious that the central area had been opened up by ancient plunderers and our hopes ran high that this might lead to the underground galleries connected perhaps with the ibis catacombs, but as the plunderers were disappointed, so were we, for at a depth of 3.20 m. we uncovered the remains of archaic mastabas which had originally occupied the site more than 2,000 years before the enclosure and its filling were built.

To ascertain the depth of the filling a test pit was dug in the north-west corner of the enclosure and it was here that the first startling discoveries were made. At a depth of 3 m. we found the crushed remains of a large shrine built of bound reeds and below this a schist statue of the Royal Scribe *Bsk-n-nf-w* (pls. XXI, 1, XXIII, 1, 2), and three limestone statues of the seated Anubis jackal (pl. XXII, 5, 6). With these remains of undoubted Saite date was the lower half of a seated statue of the Archaic period, probably Second Dynasty. The clearance of the filling of Sectors 1 and 2 continued until February 28, and during this period deposit after deposit of objects, comprising the remains of fine quality temple furniture, more than 300 bronze statuettes, stone offering tables, stone and wooden statues, etc., were discovered. There is little doubt that deposits of temple images and furniture were deliberately concealed, probably after the destruction of the temple to which they belonged. Although the date of the deposit was undoubtedly Saite, some of the objects belonged to earlier periods. For example the unusual, complex, cult object of blue glass bearing the prenomen of Ramesses II (pl. XXV, 5), a fragment of wooden furniture bearing the cartouche of Ramesses IX, the wooden door of a miniature shrine bearing the nomen of Amasis II. From other contexts came a green stone statue of Tuthmosis II, and a cornice of a miniature shrine inlaid in gold with the prenomen of Necho. Perhaps the most important feature of these discoveries was the presence of large quantities of papyrus which lay scattered in the filling over the whole area, together with ostraca and inscribed stone chips. Mr. H. S. Smith reports on this inscribed material as follows:

Of the papyri so far treated and provisionally catalogued 306 are inscribed in demotic hands probably ranging from the sixth to the third century B.C.; four in late hieratic religious book-hands; 51 in Aramaic script of the fifth-fourth century B.C.; and two in fourth century B.C. Greek uncials, though one of these texts is not in the Greek language (information due to Professor E. G. Turner). These represent perhaps a half or less of the total quantity found, but include most of the bigger pieces. The papyrus had been deliberately torn up as waste, and has suffered from worm; only a few small documents are intact, but many fragments are of substantial size. The demotic documents are of varied character; in round figures there are at present 140 accounts and lists of various types, mostly pertaining to priests or temples; 60 legal documents; 35 letters, petitions, pleas and complaints, mostly addressed to deities; 10 literary fragments, and a few spells. The largest document is an accounts papyrus (57.5 × 35.0 cm.) with six columns of text on the recto. The finest is a large piece from a literary papyrus, exhibiting parts of two columns on the recto and two on the verso preserved to their full height: the text is of a hitherto unknown story concerning Pharaoh, of a man named Harma'khem and a young woman. The variety of persons, places, and institutions mentioned in the documents strongly suggests that these papyri did not emanate originally from a single library or archive. The Aramaic documents, not yet studied, also include some considerable pieces (largest 32 × 27 cm.); some appear to be letters.

Out of over 200 ostraca and inscribed stone chips the majority are in demotic, a few in hieratic, and two in Aramaic; they are as yet unstudied. One large amphora bears several demotic texts of legal character; the remainder mainly comprise very brief texts, the most common being invocations to Isis.

A few minor personal possessions such as sandals and a scribe's palette have been found bearing the owners' names and titles in demotic.

Although the excavation of the fillings of Sectors 1 and 2 is by no means complete, further clearance was postponed for technical reasons on February 28, and we turned our attention to the area south of it. Indications of the existence of a large structure on this site were shown by a continuous buttress built along half the length of the south wall. This buttress had been added and had obviously been built to counteract the filling on the other side of the wall whose outward thrust was caused by the weight of a heavy construction which had been built on it. The excavation of this area (Sectors 3, 4, and 5), was commenced on March 1 and continued until the end of the season. During this time a large courtyard was revealed with its back wall a continuation of the west wall of Sector 1. This wall also had a continuous buttress (pl. XXI, 3) and behind it there appears to be another rubble-built enclosure which would form a platform of some large building since destroyed. Access to this platform from the courtyard was apparently gained by a ramp (fig. 2). On the upper part of the platform are the scattered remains of houses of the Christian period and it was under a wall of one of these buildings that we found a cache of eleven gold coins in mint condition; they are of Constantius (2), Julian (1), Valentinian (3), Valens (4), and Arcadius (1).

The condition of the ground in the centre of the courtyard and the presence of pottery torch handles (Sector 4) suggests that the entrance to a substructure may be located here, and clearance will be concentrated in this area in the opening stages of our work next season.

It is as yet impossible to define the exact character of the buildings we have uncovered, for only a small part of what is obviously a long continuous line of monumental



1. Schist statue found beneath the remains of a reed pavilion



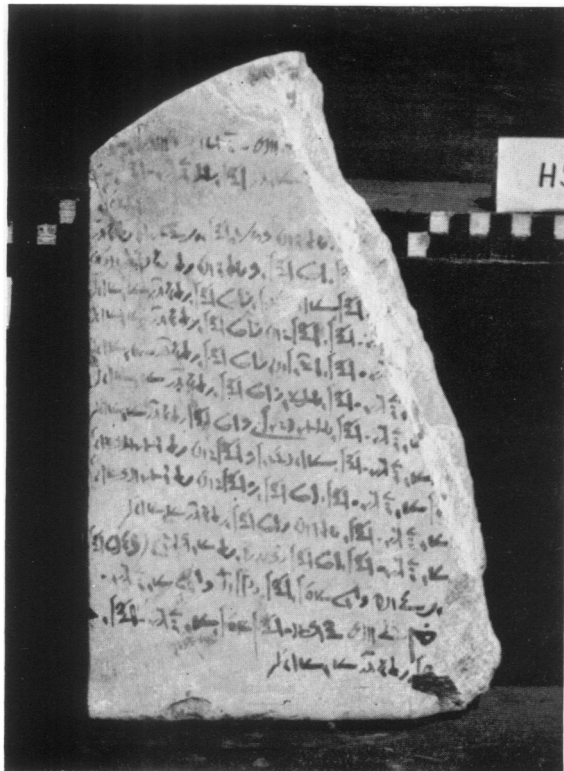
2. Statue of an Anubis jackal as found



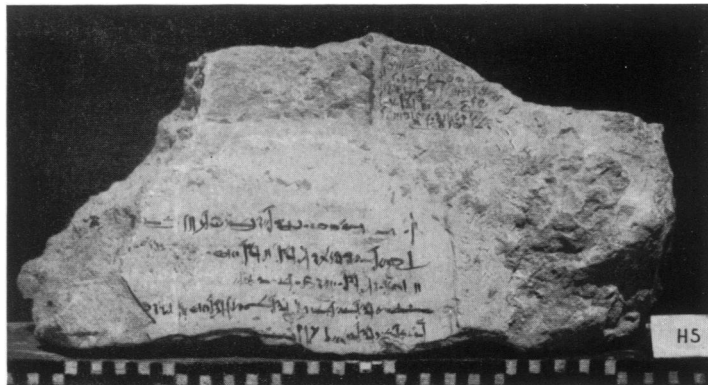
3. Excavation of the courtyard of Section 4. Note buttress built against the west wall



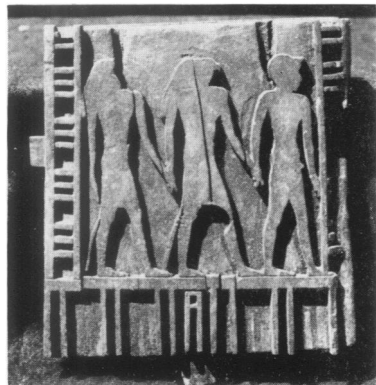
4. A group of wooden statues as found



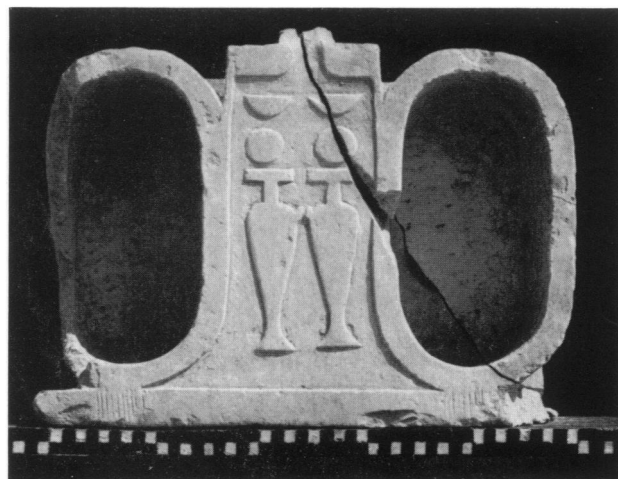
1. Demotic votive stela. 25 cm. high



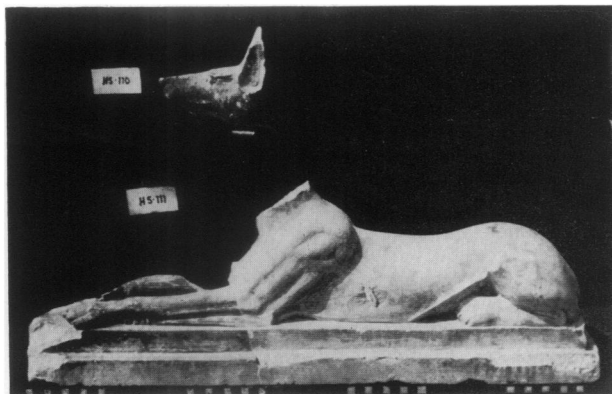
2. Quarried block of limestone from destroyed building bearing demotic votive texts



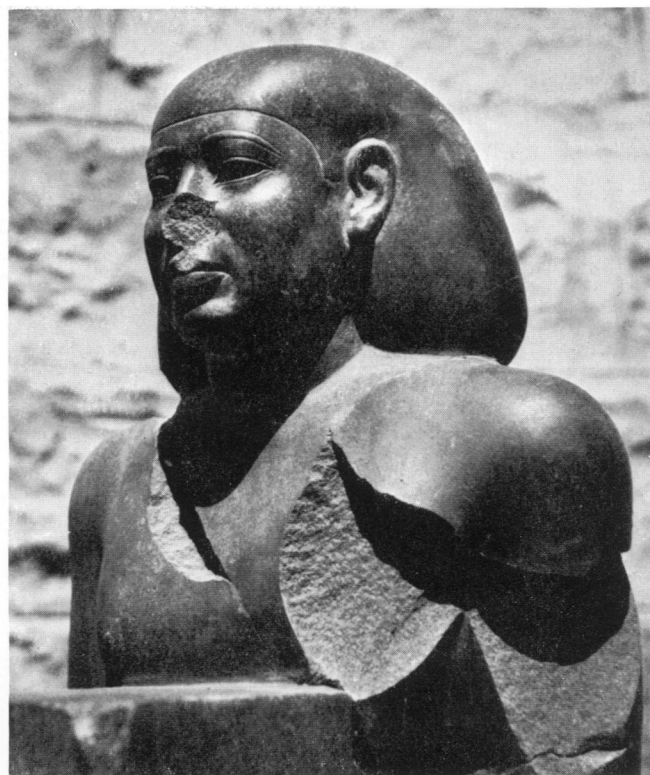
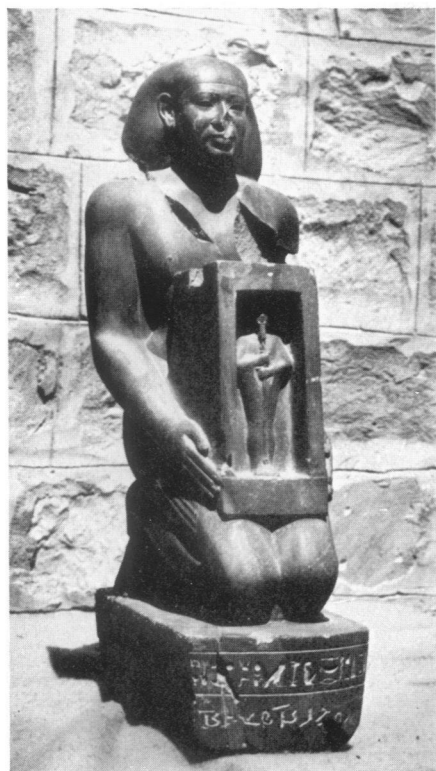
3. Wooden panel with fretwork figures. 10 cm. high



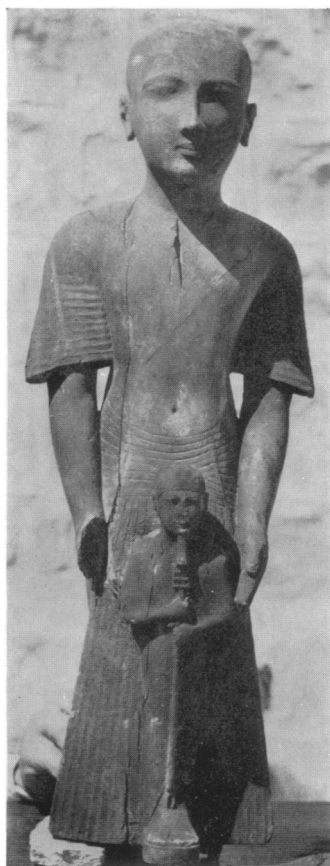
4. Limestone table of offerings. 48 cm. long



5 and 6. Limestone statues of Anubis jackals



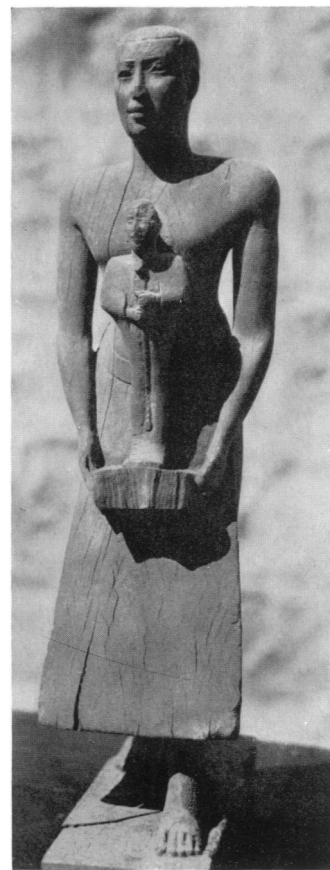
1 and 2. Schist statue of the royal scribe Bak-en-na-nefu, holding a shrine of Ptah. 59 cm. high



3. Wooden statue of a priest holding a figure of Ptah. 58 cm. high



4. Standing figure of a sphinx in wood, originally gilded. 43 cm. high



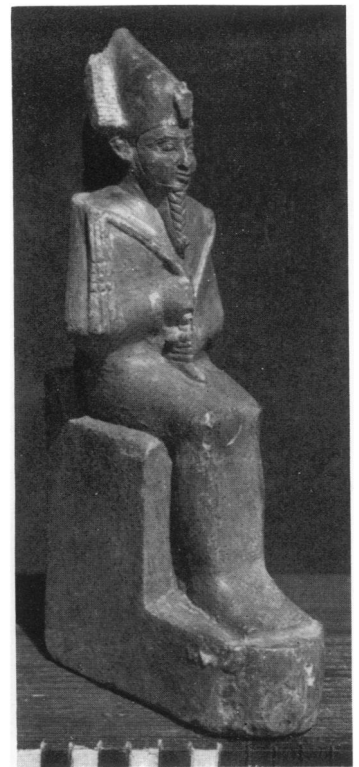
5. Wooden statue of an official holding an image of Ptah. 39 cm. high



1. Schist statue of a priest holding a figure of Osiris. 32 cm. high



2. Wooden statue of a priest with a figure of Ptah. 20 cm. high



3. Schist statue of Osiris, originally gilded. 25 cm. high



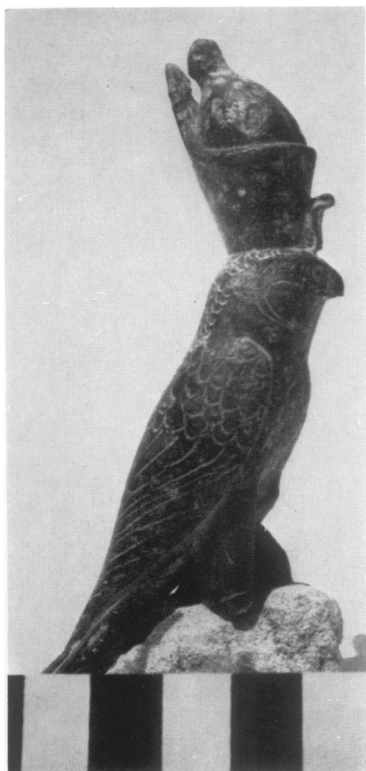
4. Wooden *djed*-pillar, painted in blue, green, red, and white. 27 cm. high



5. Upper part of a bronze seated figure of Isis. The eyes and necklace are inlaid in gold. Height of whole, 46 cm



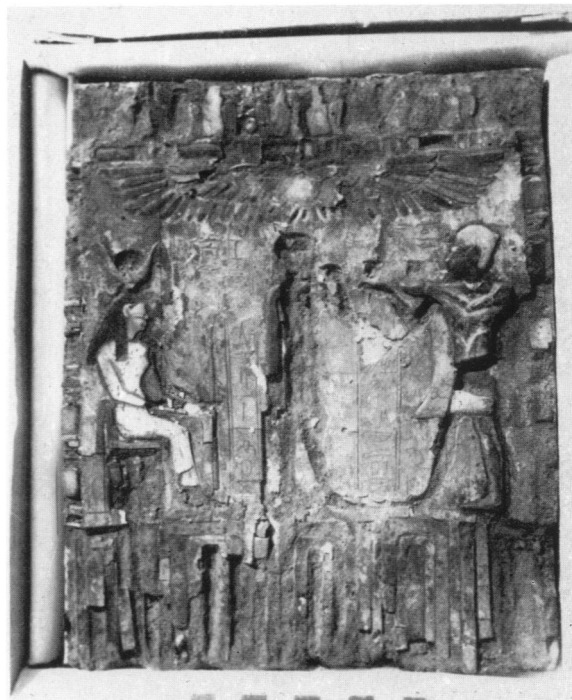
6. Bronze aegis of Isis. 22 cm. high



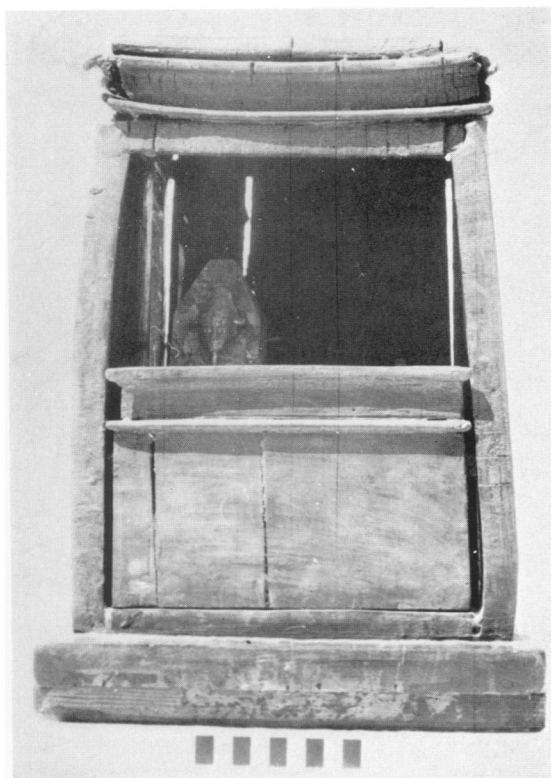
1. Bronze statuette of a falcon wearing the double crown. 11 cm. high



2. Bronze situla. 21 cm. high



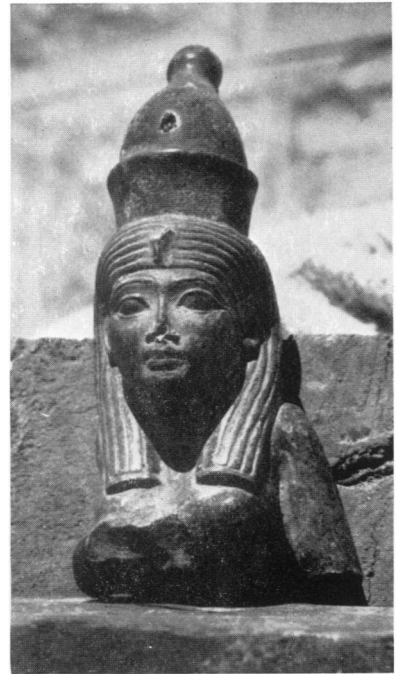
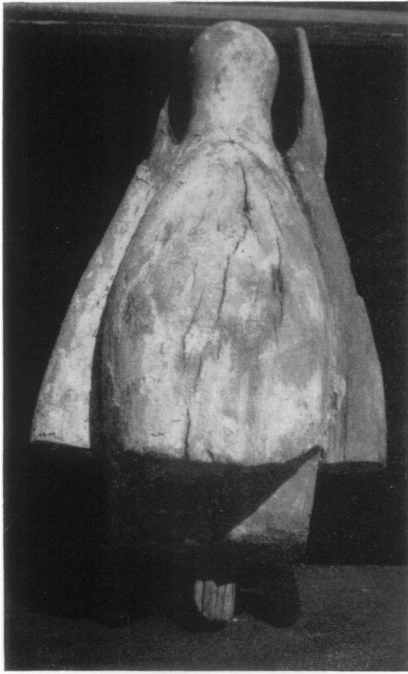
3. Wooden panel with a scene of an unknown king offering to Isis and Harpocrates. The figures are inlaid in red, white, and blue glass on a gilded background. 22 cm. high



4. Wooden shrine containing statuettes of Osiris, Isis, and Harpocrates. 39 cm. high



5. Part of a blue glass statue-group of a uraeus-serpent supporting a pillar with a broken top. On the base is the cartouche of Ramesses II. 12 cm. high



1 and 2. Wooden crown of Upper Egypt flanked by human forearms and hands. The crown is painted white and the arms red. This object is complete in itself and is not part of a statue. 52 cm. high

3. Upper part of a schist statuette. 12 cm. high



4. Bronze plaque with a seated figure of Amün in relief. 15 cm. high



5. Wooden head of a lioness. 18 cm. high

structures has been examined in any detail. Of one thing we can be almost certain and that is the imminent discovery of the burial installation of the mother cows of the Apis bull. It will be recalled that Paul Lucas, who explored part of the Apis mausoleum in

SECTORS 3.4 & 5 AREA H.5

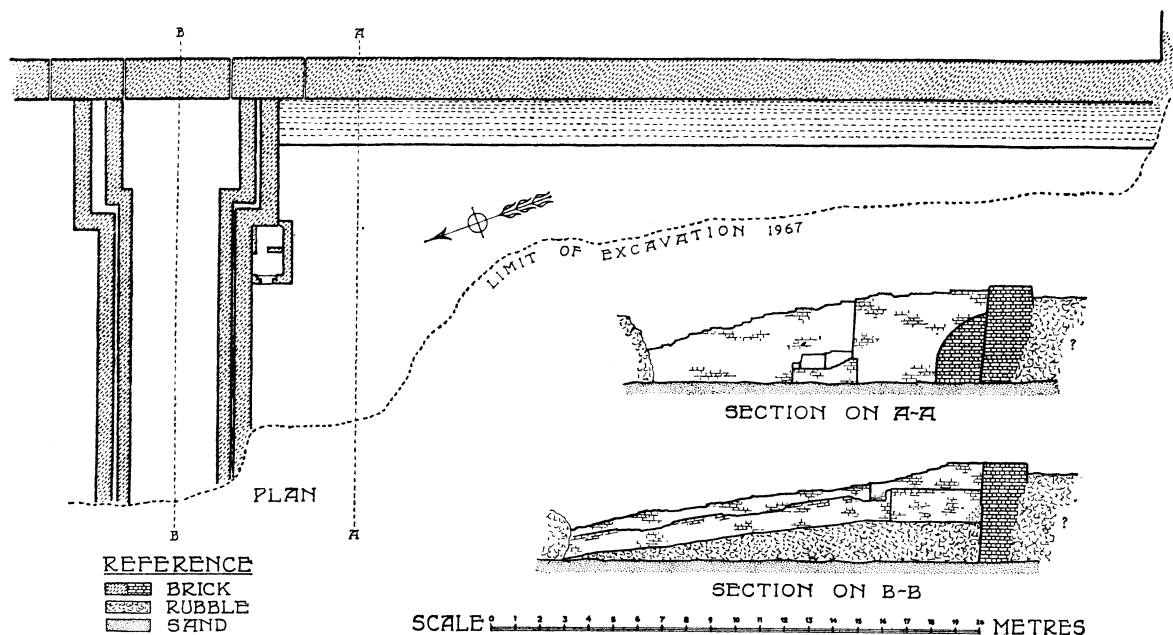


FIG. 2

1716, states that in one part of it he found the burial of a bull in a great chest which was gilded and painted and surrounded by a fine balustrade also gilded and painted. This fact taken in conjunction with our discovery at the beginning of the season of cattle bones and the numerous inscriptions referring to Isis, mother of the Apis, strongly points to the likelihood of our discovering a second Serapeum. It is known that the worshippers of Apis also honoured the mothers of the bulls whom they identified with Isis. The cult of the Apis bull was closely connected with that of Imhotep, for when it died its successor was taken to the temple of Imhotep so that it might be touched by the God and thus consecrated.

THE TELL EL-FARÂ'ÎN EXPEDITION, 1967

By M. V. SETON-WILLIAMS

THE third season at Tell el-Farâ'în lasted from May 6 until June 10 when the Middle East war led to the curtailment of the work after five weeks. The Expedition was evacuated from Alexandria on June 13 by the last available ship. If, however, the season was short, it was extremely profitable.

We were particularly indebted to the Department of Antiquities for their assistance and to our Inspector, Ahmed Sayid Hindi: and also to our reis, Hadj Ismayin Ibrahim Fayid of Gîza, who has been with us every year. My thanks are due to Captain Gamal Abdul Salah, the commandant of the El-Aguzein police, to Captain Mahomed Abdul Joad of Dissuq, and to Colonel Mustapha of Kafr el Sheikh as well as to the commandant and officers of the *muhafazet* of Kafr el-Sheikh, and to the police officials at Alexandria.

My thanks are also due to the members of the Expedition: Miss Dorothy Charlesworth and Mr. Joseph Clarke who supervised the furnace and temple sites respectively and have written a section of this report; Miss Bari Leonard who drew the pottery and small finds; Miss Irene Radford who surveyed and supervised; Miss Valerie Needham for recording; Mr. James Gilmer for his work on the survey, Mr. Michael Champion who assisted with the fieldwork, Mrs. J. Martin who drew the plan; and to Mrs. Gee for her help in preparing this report.

In addition to the original supporters of the Expedition, the Corning Museum of Glass assisted with a fellowship to Miss Charlesworth, the money to be spent on investigating further the industrial areas with a view to finding evidence in connexion with the manufacture of glass and faience. The work this season was helped by the loan of a light railway and two trucks by the Department of Antiquities and also by the use of horses and carts to remove the overburden above the stratified deposits in the temple area.

1967 was unusual in that the weather was much cooler and damper than it has been over the last few years and early in May there was considerable rain necessitating the interruption of work on more than one occasion.

Site B: The Temple area (fig. 1). The timely assistance of the Department in supplying the light railway was much appreciated, because as work proceeds into the temple area the distance from the dump is greatly increased and mechanical aid has become a necessity. The area of Hh 22/21 and Ii 22/21 was extended this season to obtain further information about the limestone pavement already discovered in 1965. This was cleared for another 8·70 m. extending in an easterly direction. At this point it had been robbed out. It had, however, been laid on sand mixed with charcoal, and we were able to follow the line of the pavement for a further 2 m. until it disappeared under the section. To the north of the pavement was a very thick mudbrick wall which had been

very much denuded and cut into. Over the pavement was a series of pits, the largest of which was Pit 6, dug in Ptolemaic/Roman times, which reached the surface of the pavement and in places must have been the means by which the stone was removed. At the base of this pit a large cylindrical jar was set upright but contained nothing of interest.

TELL EL FARA'IN 1967
SITE B

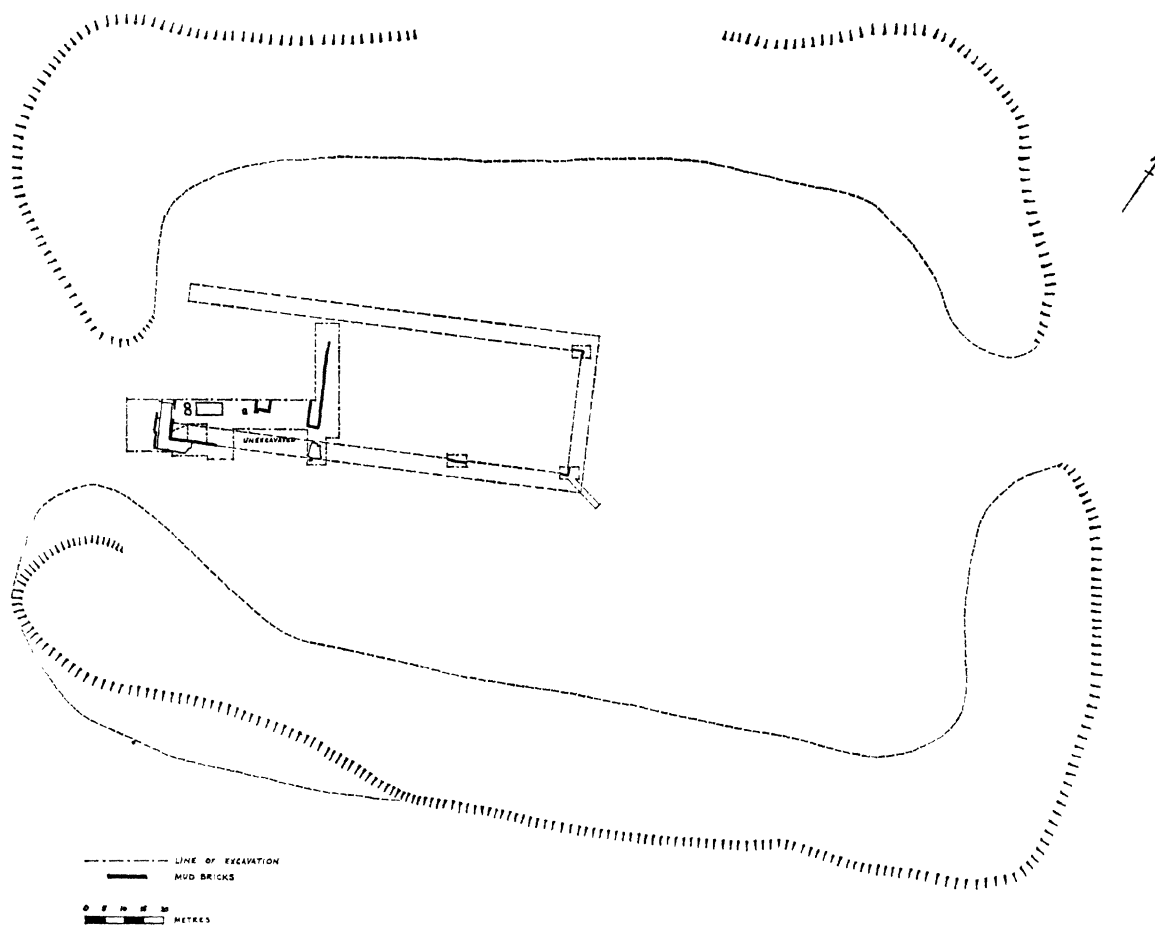


FIG. 1

In deepening the area of Ii 22, opened in 1966, many fragments of black granite statues were found: this was the area from which last year's black granite royal head came. With this year's fragments it would appear we have the remains of a group of statues, because some of the granite is fine-grained and some of it coarse-grained. One of this year's most important finds from this area was a lion-headed statue (pl. XXVII, 1). Like last year's royal head its fracture surfaces show pink granite. Identification of this lion-headed figure is at present uncertain but it could be either Edjo or Sakhmet. The head has deep eye sockets and marked tear ducts. The height of the head from the top

to the chin is 30 cm. A fragment bearing broken cartouches, reading . . .]stp-n-rc s3 Rr-[ms-sw]-mry-'Imn, suggests a date of Ramesses II for this work, and it is worth noting that the grain of this piece is almost identical with that of the lion-headed figure (pl. XXVII, 2). All these statues had been deliberately destroyed. The pieces were scattered over a wide area (pl. XXVII, 3, 4). In an attempt to find the rest of them and to find the continuation of the limestone pavement, a further $5\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ m. in Ii 21 were cleared. Unfortunately the work was interrupted before the statue level could be reached.

In clearing the areas covered by large numbers of stone blocks in 1966 two layers of sand were discovered, indicating two different construction levels, one with yellow and one with white sand. These reached to the edge of the inner inclosure wall. It appeared that there was an entrance at one side, probably one of a pair, although the companion one was not cleared and it was not possible to determine the width of this entrance because the mudbrick wall at this place was overlaid with a later limestone platform which had not been removed when we stopped work. This again showed evidence of a two-phased construction, with a stone lintel in place above 6 cm. of clean sand. The inner inclosure wall, at this place 3 m. wide, had been very much disturbed by later pits and tunnels of stone robbers.

It was decided to attempt to find the outline of the inner inclosure wall, the rough points of which could be gauged by the piles of *radim* and stone chippings left by earlier robbers. A line was therefore taken along the existing wall and a series of pits dug which enabled the two eastern corners to be found and a position midway along the wall. The area inclosed was 31×65 m. This mudbrick wall, which at present must only be assumed to be about 3 m. across, as the diagonal trench cutting the corners was never completed, was faced with mud plaster and had a ledge part-way up it against which clean sand was resting. The wall had fallen into disuse, presumably indicating the abandonment of the temple at some time prior to the abandonment of the site, as structures of late Ptolemaic-Roman date were found situated above the wall and below a thick deposit of wind-blown sand. The material here consisted of a series of pots, lamps, and a small plastered tank as well as fragmentary house walls. It was interesting to see that the houses on the wall contained similar pottery to that from the kilns on site Jj 33/34. In this diagonal trench was found the lower half of a kneeling statue in fine-grained black granite of a deceased priest of Edjo making the funeral offerings.

It had been hoped this season to investigate the area inside the inclosure wall with a view to determining whether any structure was left, and also to trench the main temenos wall to look for foundation deposits and the structure, and to see on to which level the outer wall had been built. Samples of reeds from the matting between the bricks were obtained for dating purposes. The discovery, even out of position, of a statue of a priest dedicated to the goddess Edjo would lead one to believe that this temple-inclosure is most probably that of the goddess herself.

Site C: W. 8. This stratification-sounding now reaches a depth of over 13 m. which only leaves just over 1 m. to reach datum level. It should be possible to establish in the

next season if Mound C is set on a natural mound or not. Further mudbrick walls were found here, and industrial remains in the shape of slag, kiln furniture, and ash. The type of pottery remained that of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and was similar to that found in the previous season. It is confirmed that certain of the pottery from this level is imported Greek material of sixth- to seventh-century date from the islands. This section has been extremely useful as it serves as a guide to the material from the lower levels on the other parts of the site.

Jj 33/34 and Kk 33/34. In this industrial area a number of kilns were uncovered and a curious water system probably indicating dyeing and fulling. The interesting point about this section is that it was earlier in date—mainly Ptolemaic—as against the Roman industrial area excavated last year: and the principal find from this area, though not in context, was a black steatite cylinder seal, Early Dynastic in date (pl. XXVIII, 2). Its inscription contains the sign of a horned animal with head turned back, probably to be read *ỉḥ* (by assimilation to the *ỉḥ*-bird), an epithet or title meaning 'shining one' or 'spirit'. It indicates that the seal is funerary in character and not used by its owner in his lifetime.¹ The owner's name may be read *Sk*,² and his official title *śns Dp*.³ The discovery of this seal increases the possibility of the excavation of further Early-dynastic material at Tell el-Farā'in, and it also considerably confirms the identification of the place with ancient Buto. Dep was the site of the shrine of Edjo, from which Buto takes its name.

Survey. This year the survey of Mound A has been almost completed with the addition of many of the standing buildings and some of the structures lying between Sites A and B. The survey of Kôm el-Dahab was also undertaken in readiness for work to begin.

The Industrial Area (Jj 33/34, Kk 34)

By Dorothy Charlesworth

In 1967 a start was made on a large slag-covered mound *c.* 3.80 m. high, at the north end of the site, west of the temple. About half the north end, that nearer the cultivation at the edge of the site, was excavated. The surface slag is similar to that on the mound (Cc 19/20 Dd 18/19) which was examined last year, but as this mound stands considerably higher it was thought that the remains would be better preserved; and indeed this is so. The remains are not, however, similar in character in spite of the similarity of the surface material.

In the higher part of the mound, the west part, three different types of kiln were found, none of which corresponds with those dug last year. In the east part (Kk 34) the remains of a circular cistern, troughs, and tanks, which probably form part of a fulling and dyeing establishment, were partly excavated. The premature closure of the season on June 10 has left much work half done, and it is not possible at this stage to present a coherent picture of the use of the east part of the site.

¹ For this reading (first suggested by Petrie) and the significance of the title see Kaplony, *Inscr. der äg. Frühzeit*, I, 37 f.; II, 676 n. 93.

² Ibid. II, 640.

³ For other examples of the group *śns* see *ibid.* III, nos. 371, 528, 537, 551, 554 *bis*, 558. Kaplony takes the group as an element in names.

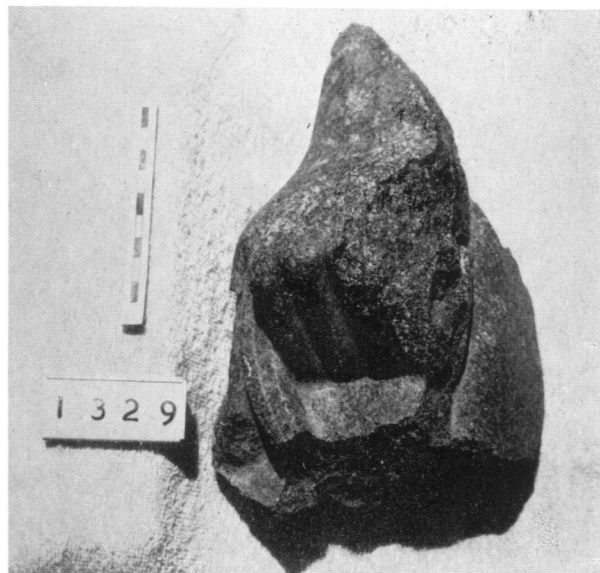
The circular cistern, diameter 2.75 m., depth to the water 2 m., was filled by a closed, baked-brick conduit leading into it from the north. On its east margin is a shallow trough, 95 × 64 cm. and from this an open conduit leads south into a tank, 2 × 2.53 m. and 1.25 m. deep. At its south end, but at a higher level, is part of one side of another tank. East of the cistern and its trough is another trough, 60 × 95 cm., which had cracked across. The structures at this level were much damaged and the connexion between this second trough and the rest of the works was not apparent. This establishment was earlier than the kilns, the ash and debris from them overlying the fringes of the area, but largely separated from it by a mudbrick, curving wall on the west side of the cistern and at a higher level than its rim. Between the two, west of the southernmost tank, is the much damaged remains of a heated, circular bath, built of baked brick and lined with plaster. This was not fully excavated.

The main work was concentrated on the kiln area. The majority are circular pottery kilns, and although none was still loaded when uncovered sufficient wasters were scattered around to indicate the types of ware produced. In general terms they date to the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods, but a study of comparative material will probably narrow this down. The series is still continuing. The earliest kilns were not reached. Altogether ten kilns were completely or partly examined. Seven of these are typical updraught, pottery kilns, well known from excavations on Roman sites, but virtually unchanged from the earliest known examples, e.g., of the fourth millennium at Susa.

Kiln 1, the latest kiln, near the surface of the mound, had an internal diameter of 1.19 m., a flue on the north-west side, and stood to a height of 60 cm. None of its internal fittings remained. It was built into the ash and rubble of earlier kilns which lay near it at a lower level. A mudbrick wall separated it from kiln 2, an earlier kiln of a different type which is discussed later. Kiln 3, which also lay high on the west side of the mound, had an internal diameter of 84 cm. at floor level and a flue on the west side, slightly projecting, 42 cm. high by 32 cm. wide. The upper part of the kiln stood 38 cm. above the floor and towards the top started to curve in for the dome. This kiln had a permanent floor with a series of holes, some broken away at the edges, and had been very heavily used. The whole was extremely friable. Kiln 5, east of these, diameter 1.04 m., height 1.60 m., had no floor remaining. Its flue was on the west, and part of an earlier structure was attached to its north side, but almost entirely broken away. Kiln 7, its top located but the kiln not yet excavated, lies up against the south side of kiln 5 and is obviously earlier than it. Kiln 6, like kiln 3, had its floor *in situ*, a permanent floor 1.05 m. in diameter with 8 holes round the edges and 5 more round the central hole. The wall stood 45 cm. above the floor and at that height had not started to curve in for the dome. It is in any case probable that the kiln was loaded from the top and that the dome, or at least part of it, was a temporary capping, rebuilt for each firing. The flue was on the west side, a hole in the wall of the kiln with no projection beyond it. Unlike kiln 3 which had fired red, kiln 6 had fired black, showing that it was used for reduced fabrics, i.e. black wares, produced by completing the firing and cooling in an atmosphere free from oxygen. Kilns 9 and 10, which lie at a lower level and to the north-east of kiln 6, were probably similar to it. Neither was fully excavated. Kiln 9, however,



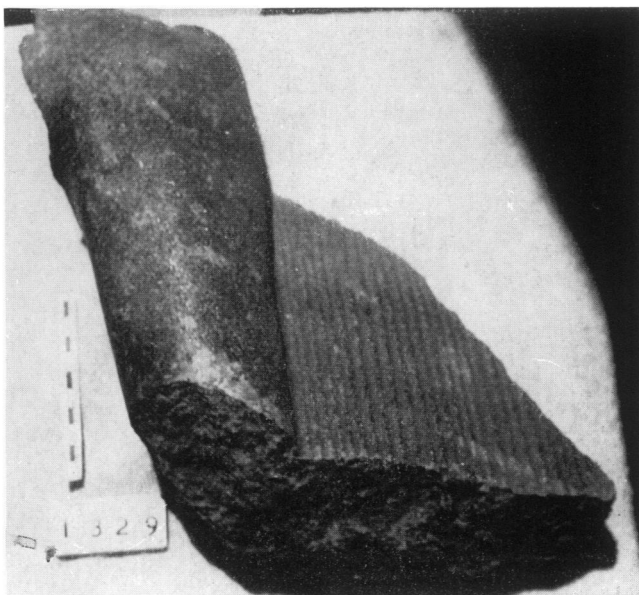
1. Black granite head of a lioness goddess. From site B. 80 cm. high



3. Fragment of a black granite statue. From site B



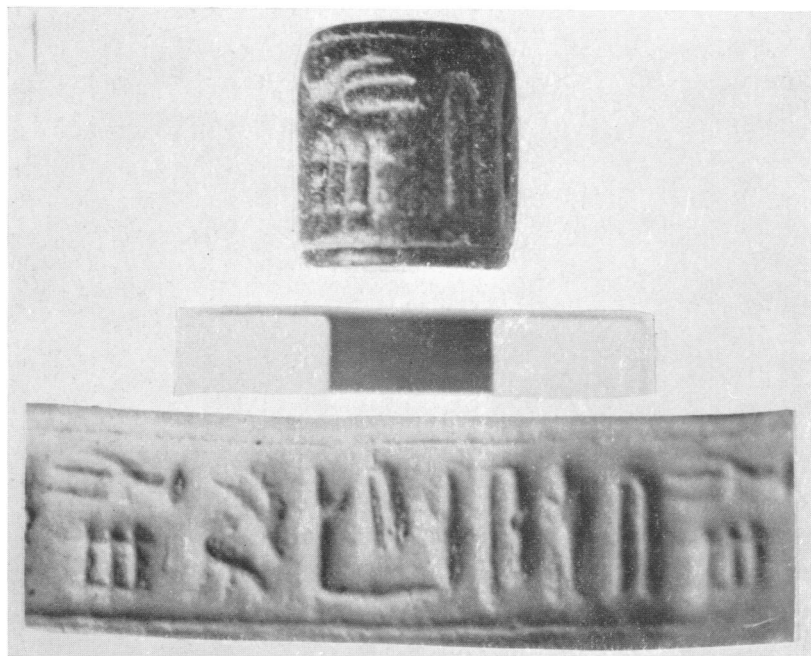
2. Block with the cartouches of Ramesses II. From site B



4. Fragment of a black granite statue. From site B



1. Kiln 2 before the clearance of the flue



2. Cylinder seal of black steatite. Length 1.3 cm.; diameter 1.2 cm

was seen to have a permanent pierced floor and was of a brownish-black colour. Its internal diameter was 1.21 m.

It is possible that here are two different types of pottery kiln; 3, 6, and 9 have permanent pierced floors, such as are known as early as the fourth millennium at Susa and much later, but substantially the same, in Britain at Crambeck in the third and fourth centuries A.D. The other kilns from which the floor had vanished before excavation, may have had temporary structures, such as fire-bars, which might have to be renewed after each firing. In kiln 5 it was obvious from the stripes of heavier and lighter burning on what remained of the superstructure, that the floor had had a series of holes round the edge. With broad fire-bars, as with the brick-built openings in kiln 2, this would be the expected result. In the case of kiln 3 the beginning of the dome could be seen and it is quite a low-built kiln. In the other examples it is not clear whether they are the same or whether they are tall kilns, like those depicted at Beni Hasan, where the whole process of pottery making, *c.* 1900 B.C., is illustrated.

Various fragments of thick, coarse, baked clay objects were found, such as pieces of large flat disks both with and without perforations. These are obviously kiln furniture of some sort. Some may be parts of a temporary floor structure. Unglazed pottery is normally stacked directly on the floor of the kiln. Some of the smaller oblong objects may be baffles. Two small cylindrical pots with deliberately made holes in the base may have served as stands to space out the pots for firing. One fragment of a large saggar with a lunate opening was found, but nothing else to suggest that glazed pottery or faience was made on this part of the site. A fair quantity of faience fragments, however, were found, but much pottery, which was clearly not made on the site, had been dumped there, when it had gone out of use as a potters' quarter.

Enough wasters were scattered among the debris to indicate the types of pottery made. Fragments of dried but unbaked pots were dug out near Kilns 3, 6, and 9. They were of dark grey clay. It is not known where the clay was brought from, but the lower levels of Tell el-Farâ'in, near the water-table, produce such clay, which on the temple site each season is moulded into figurines by some of the basket girls. The earlier kilns, 6, 9, 10, seem to have been used for a good quality black ware, some of it decorated with rouletting or palmettes. Other wasters range in colour from black through various shades of grey and brown to red, as though the potters could not always control the firing of their kilns. The surface of the pots is not always of a uniform colour, and the variegated colour of the core shows that many pieces have been insufficiently fired. The bulk of the output is black, or attempted black, ware plates or shallow bowls and deep bowls, many with an inturned rim. Many of the inturned rim bowls are deliberately of red ware as are the fragments of round-based, ridged cooking pots.

Kiln 2 is much larger than those discussed above and it is not apparent whether or not it was a pottery kiln. It is well preserved (pl. XXVIII, 1) but when excavated it was full of rubbish which had been thrown in when it was cold and bore no relation to its function. Indeed the flue gave evidence of its having been repaired after the last firing and never re-used. The inner edge of it had a lining of unbaked clay. The kiln had been

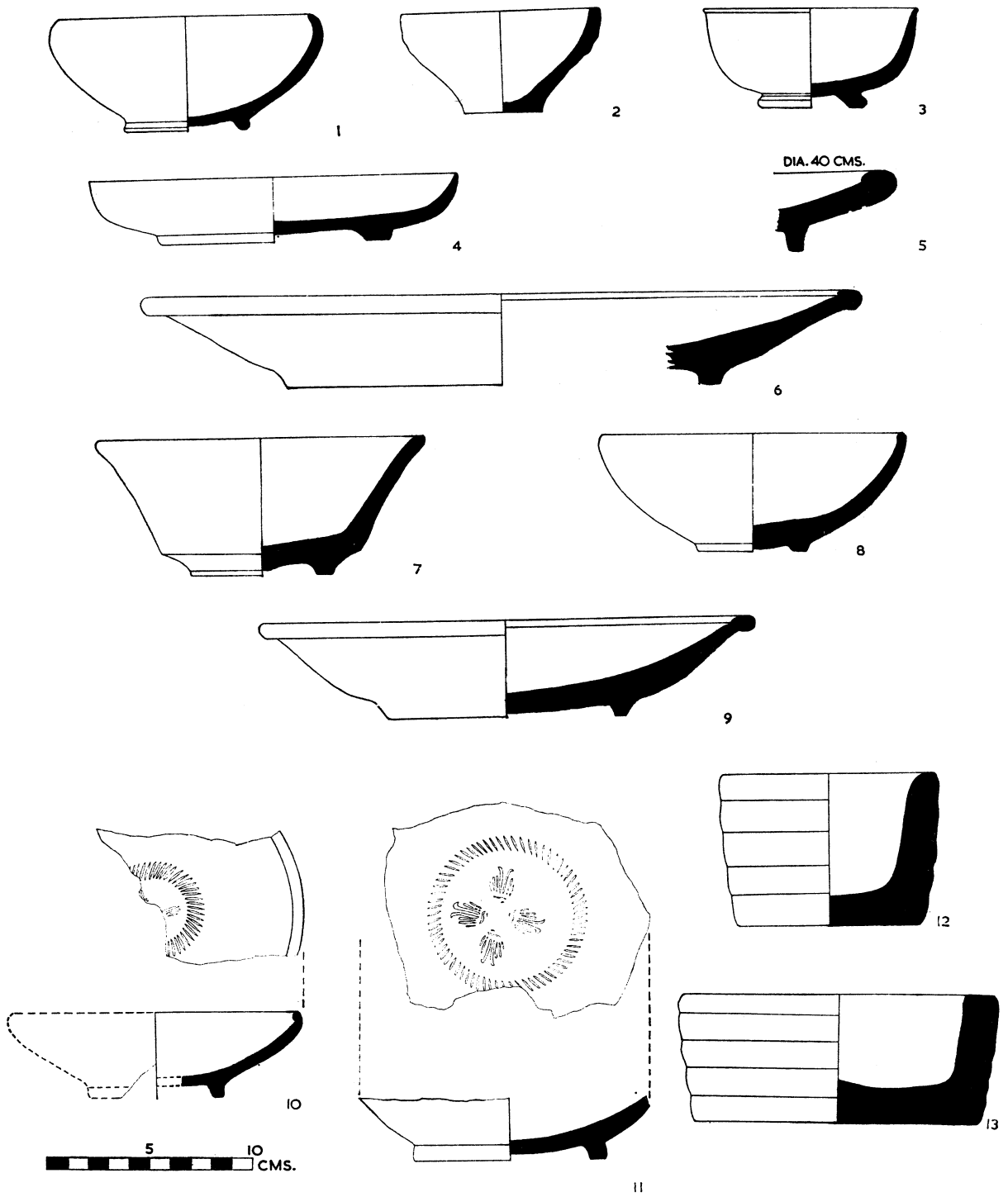
unexpectedly abandoned. The internal diameter at ground level is 2.40 m. and the walls curve in slightly to floor level where, round the edge, a series of twelve openings slope back into the thickness of the wall. They are wedge-shaped in plan, 36 cm. at the outer edge, 26 cm. at the inner. There was nothing to indicate any central structure or floor to the kiln. The empty space has a diameter of 2.10 m. The flue at the north-west side stands 1.37 m. high and 56 cm. wide, large enough for a man to enter. Opposite it at a higher level is another opening, chimney or door, at floor level, below this a possible opening *c.* 84 cm. high, but this could not be cleared as it faced in towards the centre of the mound and the excavation outside that side of the kiln had not gone deep enough. It seems likely that the upper opening is a door such as is illustrated on a black-figure clay plaque from Corinth of the sixth century B.C. The chimney would be in the centre of the dome. Part of the dome stood to a height of 1.35 m. above the floor and showed the same uneven burning as did the remains of the dome of kiln 5. It had been relined and the secondary lining was partly cut away to expose the original 35 cm. behind it. Possibly this large kiln was used for pottery. There are many examples of large vessels, both bowl-shaped and amphorae, which are thought to be made locally and which could not be made in the normal small pottery kiln. In each of the twelve openings a human skull was found. These skulls had been pushed into the openings after the kiln had fallen into disuse, and they were too crushed to allow measurements to be made.

The presence of second- and first-century B.C. pottery lying within the kiln after it had been disused suggests that it was constructed some time before this date.

The third type of structure, kilns 4 and 8, is very much smaller and is certainly not for pottery. Kiln 4 is no more than a solid limestone floor, diameter 32 cm., surrounded by a single course of crumbling baked brick. There was no indication of a flue. Kiln 8, at a lower level, had a diameter of 48 cm. and a break in the circle of brick indicating the flue. This kiln must certainly have been used with bellows to create the draught and the two tuyères (clay nozzles into which the end of the bellows would be inserted) most probably belong to this kiln although not found in direct association with it. These two kilns might be used for metal working.

A phenomenon which remains unexplained is the surface appearance of the mound with its probably metallic slag and the contradiction of a ceramic industry below it revealed by excavation. The two small hearths could not account for the quantity of surface slag. The 1966 season produced the same problem. This year it was not possible to bring out any samples for analysis. It is hoped that work can be continued on this industrial area, which has proved particularly rewarding and should produce results of more than local significance when time allows for a full study of all the relevant material.

Pottery. Site Jj 34/33 Kk 34, the industrial area excavated this season, produced a number of kilns where pottery had been manufactured. The types found consisted of red, black, and brown wares, although there were many variations within these categories as the potters appeared to have difficulty in controlling the firing. The wares are of two periods—Roman and Ptolemaic. Both red and black wares follow the



main lines of Hellenistic pottery development, but as time went on local variants were introduced (fig. 2).

Red Ware. This is mainly gritty and micaceous, unevenly fired, often with a black core. Many vessels were cracked and damaged and appeared to be kiln wasters.

1. Bowl with incurving rim and ring base, FN 671.
2. Similar but with a flat base, FN 859.
3. Small red-burnished bowl with buff paste; Eastern Sigillata A. This belongs to the same type as the Athenian Agora V, Group F. FN 829.
4. Shallow bowl with deep ring base belonging to Eastern Sigillata A, Samaria, form 1, Antioch 126, Augustan in date, FN 814.

The Eastern Sigillata A is common from the first century B.C. until the first century A.D. The earliest examples come from the Athenian Agora Group E.¹

Another class of red ware which was made locally (but not dealt with here) and found in very large quantities in the industrial area, is the cooking pots.

Black Ware. These usually have a grey core, grit- and straw-tempered, and a black burnished surface. The earlier forms are more highly burnished than the later. They are Ptolemaic in date and range from the third to the first century B.C. The majority were shallow platters and bowls.

5. Shallow bowl with rounded incurved rim and ring base. Two grooves on the exterior under the rim indicate a third century B.C. date. Well-burnished surface. Examples were found at the base of Pit 6, Site B, and in Jj 33/34 (2). FN 655.

6. Platter with rounded rim, slight ring base, very shallow. Standard Hellenistic form of the first century B.C. FN 1089. Found north of Kiln 2 Jj 34 (2).

7. Bowl with slight carination and either flat or ring-based. The example shown has a ring base. FN 619. Type specimen from Dd 18 north of furnace 5; at least 50 other examples from Jj 33/34 in 1967.

8. Bowl with incurved rim, a development of Hellenistic matt-glazed ware. FN 632. Found on site B Gg 22 Room 2 (2) 1966; forty other examples from Jj 33/34 some inside Kilns 5 and 6.

9. Half-section of a large black platter with a black core found inside the arch of Kiln 2. FN 1097.

10. and 11. Black bowl with palmette design and impressed circle on inside of base, ring base. First century B.C./A.D. FN 650 and FN 573. Found in site 13 Gg 22 Room 3 (3).

12. Small mixing pot in brown gritty ware with ridged sides and flat base, found in association with the kilns in 1966 and 1967 and probably used for mixing colours or glazes. FN 598.

13. Furnace container slightly larger than the previous example of similar ware: straight-sided vessel similar to those found by Petrie at Memphis.² FN 635.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. John Hayes who visited Tell el-Farâ'in and examined the pottery for the identification of certain of these wares.

² Petrie, *Memphis I.*, pl. xlix, 1; also Petrie, *Historical Studies*, II, pl. xix, 239.

Another interesting piece of industrial equipment were the two tuyères used at the end of blow-pipes or bellows.

At least twelve Hellenistic jar stamps were found on Site Jj 33/34 this season. On a preliminary examination they appear to date from the third to the first century B.C. and to be mainly Rhodian in type.

Finally it may be said that this season has yielded evidence to prove for the first time the identification of Tell el-Farâ'in with the site of Dep, one of the ancient capitals of Egypt. Furthermore the presence of the votive statue within the temple precinct with the name of Edjo indicates the strong probability that this temple was dedicated to the Cobra goddess of Lower Egypt. The finding earlier of the collection of bronze hawks on Site C would probably indicate the site of Pe.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Papyrus and the adhesive properties of its cell sap in relation to paper-making

In this account we are primarily concerned with the adhesion of the strips of papyrus pith during the manufacture of papyrus-paper. In recent times papyrus has been made in the ancient manner by a number of people (e.g. Lucas, Baker, Hepper) with considerable success. Briefly, the method consists of peeling a length of the lower part of the stalk of the papyrus sedge (*Cyperus papyrus*) and thinly slicing the pith longitudinally. The strips are placed side by side on a hard, smooth surface with their edges touching and a second layer is arranged at right angles across them. The two layers must be carefully tapped with a round-ended mallet—or Pliny recommended simply pressing the strips—and when every portion has been crushed the juicy sheet is left to dry thoroughly. The smooth under-surface of the dried sheet forms the *recto*, or side on which one would write with the fibres running horizontally. (The *verso*, or reverse side with the fibres lying vertically, was not always used for writing.)

A technique for the manufacture of papyrus is soon acquired and Lucas and Harris¹ describe various refinements of the process which need not concern us here, although their suggestion that the surface of the sheet may be improved by burnishing is of doubtful value. They thought that this 'was probably done with a smooth pebble or with a special instrument of hard wood or ivory'. The attempts of one of us (F. N. H.) in this respect, however, only served to loosen the tough fibres instead of smoothing the surface. Pliny actually implies that the polishing was limited to rough patches, rather than to the whole sheet, and where it has been rubbed the shinier surface does not take the ink well.

In describing the processes of paper-making Pliny² states that the strips were 'moistened with water from the Nile, muddy liquid supplying the effect of glue'. There is no evidence that muddy Nile water has the peculiar properties of glue imputed to it by Pliny, although theoretically it is possible that the abundant decaying vegetable debris in the Nile could produce colloidal matter sufficient to glue the strips together. One may question, however, whether any additional substance is necessary, for in our experience the papyrus strips closely adhere by themselves. The tapping process crushes the plant cells and liberates the juices which cause the strips to stick together. In dry atmospheric conditions ordinary tap water added to the sections helped to prevent shrivelling of the papyrus strips before the completion of the lengthy process. In the normal moist atmosphere of Britain small pieces of paper were prepared without the addition of even water. Pliny's comments on the special properties of Nile water have long been doubted, and the *Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* (1964), states on page 81 that natural starch in the juice acts as the adhesive. This seemed a very reasonable assumption as starch is a widely occurring substance in plants and possesses well-known adhesive properties. On testing a fresh sample of papyrus with iodine, however, no starch was found to be present.

An aqueous extract of the pith of papyrus³ was prepared (by T. R.) for chemical analysis, and

¹ *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed. (1962), 138.

² *Natural History*, XIII, 23 (transl. H. Rackham).

³ Material of the papyrus sedge was obtained in August from greenhouses at Kew, and it is unlikely that the chemical constituents of it would be markedly different from naturally occurring plants. Comparison of paper prepared (by F. N. H.) from this material with ancient papyrus revealed that the fibrous strands (i.e. vascular bundles) of the recent papyrus are farther apart than those in old samples prepared from wild plants.

attention was turned to the presence of water-soluble gums. Fuller details of the analysis and its results have been published elsewhere.¹ For the purpose of this account it is sufficient to state that a water-soluble polymer of galactose, arabinose, and a trace of rhamnose was obtained. This substance was insoluble in 80 per cent. ethanol as are all vegetable gums.

The significance of this gum may be appreciated in relation to papyrus manufacture when it is realized that arabinose is the principal break-down constituent of gum arabic, and rhamnose is also sometimes present in it. Another well-known adhesive, gum tragacanth, is a polymer of galactose and arabinose.² The natural gum occurring in papyrus is therefore clearly a very suitable substance for gluing the strips together.

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Lebensmüde 83

THE second brief anecdote in this part of the *Lebensmüde* tells of a peasant who asked his wife for a 'meal' (*mšrwṯ*), to which she replied that there was something for 'supper' (*msyt*). The peasant was evidently disappointed, perhaps because, as Scharff³ attractively argued, what he wanted was a light meal⁴ at once; it was little comfort to him that a full supper would be ready later in the evening. We are then told that he went out and (83) that *he returned to his house in a state like that of another man* (*iw-f mi ky*). It is then said that *his wife spoke wisely(?) to him, (but) he would not listen* (*n sdm-n-f to her*).⁵

The clause *iw-f mi ky* is obviously troublesome here. Scharff takes it to imply that the man after a fit of rage regains his normal poise; he is now *like anyone else*. But while the translation is sound, the interpretation is demolished, as Faulkner⁶ rightly points out, by the following sentence, which depicts the peasant as being still unreasonable in his refusal to listen.

Faulkner's own explanation is not entirely acceptable. His translation (*he . . . returned to his house as if he were someone else*) introduces a hypothetical twist;⁷ and Gardiner's idea, which he tends to accept, that 'sudden insanity' is implied, seems wide of the mark, since 'to be like someone else' suggests quite the opposite—normality.

Yet this clause, as Faulkner urges, must surely denote the man's continued raging. The solution, I suggest, is a simple emendation: ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ here is an error for ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ 'ape', and the sentence means, *He returned to his house (acting) like an ape*. It is only the determinative that differs. If we recall the fact that this is a Middle-Kingdom text and compare the full writings of the ape determinative in the hieratic of *The Shipwrecked Sailor*, 165 (where it occurs with both *gwfw*, 'monkeys' and *kyw*, 'apes'), then the possibility that this determinative was consciously intended but badly written in our locus (see Erman's facsimile, pl. 6) can be practically ruled out. A scribal error is probably involved, the common word having momentarily displaced the rare one.

The appositeness of the suggested simile hardly needs elaboration. Animal similes are naturally used to denote rage, fury, and terror, as in *Two Brothers* 3, 8 (*The lad became like an Upper-Egyptian*

¹ T. Reynolds in *Chemistry and Industry* (1967), 704, 705.

² E. L. Hirst and J. K. N. Jones in *Modern Methods of Plant Analysis*, 2 (1954), 275, 276.

³ *Der Bericht über das Streitgespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele* (Sitzungsb. München, 1937), 39 ff. He adduces an engaging parallel from modern Egypt in the light repast which follows sunset during Ramadan, whereas the main meal comes only later. In my experience, however, this sequence is by no means invariable; a heavy meal is sometimes attacked with gusto immediately the sunset signal is heard.

⁴ G. Thausing, *MDAIK* 15 (1957. FS. Junker), 265 suggests an allegorical interpretation: the meal desired by the peasant is death, but his wife, who represents the *ba*, does not grant it at once.

⁵ See Faulkner's text and note, *JEA* 42 (1956), 24. *He was not in the habit of listening to her* may be the force of the verb; cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.* § 418, 2.

⁶ Op. cit. 36, n. 68.

⁷ *Mi* as a conjunction doubtless has such a meaning in *Ship. Sailor* 50 and *Sinuhe* B 225. Cf. Blackman, *JEA* 16 (1930), 69. G. Thausing, loc. cit., renders 'Er ist ein Anderer geworden'.

leopard in fury; cf. 5, 4 f.) and *Urk.* IV, 616, 9 f. (*I cause them to behold thy majesty as a crocodile, lord of terror in the water, unapproachable*, from a poem that compares the King also with a bull, a lion, a hawk, and a jackal.) In the case of the ape it is worth noting that the feminine *kyt* is once used of Hathor in the form of the raging eye of Rēc.¹

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

The Father of Khnumhotpe II of Beni Hasan

IN his publication of Khnumhotpe's autobiographical inscription at Beni Hasan² Newberry was struck by the similarity of the title *ḥkꜣ nīwꜣwt mꜣwt* borne by Nehry son of Sebekonkh, the father of Khnumhotpe, to *imy-r nīwꜣwt mꜣwt*, a common title of the Old-Kingdom nomarchs of the fifteenth nome of Upper Egypt.³ This parallel, together with the evident popularity of the name Nehry at El-Bersha and Hatnub, apparently led Newberry to the conclusion that Khnumhotpe's father had, in fact, been the prince of the neighbouring Hermopolite nome;⁴ and in histories written subsequently this is often stated categorically to have been the case.⁵ There is, however, in the genealogical table of the baronial family of the Hermopolite nome no Nehry who could possibly be identified with Khnumhotpe's father. Since Khnumhotpe came into possession of Monat-Khufu as a young man in Ammenemes II's nineteenth year,⁶ he was probably born towards the close of Sesostris I's sole reign, when presumably his father was in the middle of his career. Khnumhotpe's contemporary at Hermopolis was the long-lived Thuthotpe who, like Khnumhotpe, was brought up under Ammenemes II, and who survived into the reign of Sesostris III.⁷ The paternal grandfather of Thuthotpe was a nomarch named Nehry,⁸ but he cannot possibly be identified with Khnumhotpe's father; for not only did he flourish too early,⁹ but his father was a certain Kay, not Sebekonkh.¹⁰ Between this Nehry of Hermopolis and Thuthotpe his grandson Thutnakhte occupied the office of nomarch in the fifteenth nome,¹¹ and there is no evidence whatsoever that he was either preceded or followed by another Nehry.

The clue to the place of origin of Khnumhotpe's father is provided by the site of his tomb. Khnumhotpe says,¹² 'it was a prime mark of distinction that I embellished a tomb; a man should emulate what was done by his father, and my father made himself a *ka*-chapel in Mer-nofret of fine Turah limestone, in order to perpetuate his name for ever'. Newberry, doubtless influenced by his mistaken notion that Nehry had been a Hermopolite prince, located Mer-nofret in the vicinity of El-Bersha.¹³ Gauthier inexplicably located it inside the sixteenth nome, 'dans le voisinage actuel de Béni Hassan';¹⁴ and the recent work of Montet follows suit.¹⁵ In fact, Nehry's Mer-nofret cannot

¹ *Wb.* v, 110, 6. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924), 83 cites examples where similes involving this animal refer to rejoicing and to size.

² P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I (London, 1893), 60 n. 2.

³ N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheik Said* (London, 1901), *passim*.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*; cf. also *Beni Hasan*, II, 9.

⁵ G. Maspero, *History of Egypt* (London, no date), II, 402; J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (Bantam ed., New York, 1964), 135; *id.*, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago, 1956), I, § 620; A. Weigall, *A History of the Pharaohs* (London, 1907), II, 79; J. Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation égyptienne* (Brussels, 1961), II, 71.

⁶ *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 25, 78 f. ⁷ Newberry, *El Bersheh* (London, 1894), I, pl. 5. ⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 33.

⁹ Probably late in Ammenemes I's reign; Nehry's son Amenemhet (therefore the uncle of Thuthotpe) was a grown man in the thirty-first year of Sesostris I: R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub* (Leipzig, 1928), pl. 31. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 31, 2. ¹¹ Tomb 1 at El-Bersha: Newberry, *op. cit.* II, pl. 4 ff.

¹² *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 26, 170 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 9.

¹⁴ *Dictionnaire géographique*, III (Cairo, 1927), 51 f.

¹⁵ *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, II (Paris, 1961), 160 f. To make Nehry a member of the family of the sixteenth nome is to fly in the face of the evidence. Khnumhotpe says explicitly (*Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 25, 74) that Ammenemes II called him to 'the inheritance ruled by my maternal grandfather', i.e. Monat-Khufu in the sixteenth nome. That his father was not native to that nome is proved by the locution Khnumhotpe uses to

be separated from the only town of that name attested from Middle Egypt, viz. the one mentioned on antiquities coming from Tihna, which Vandier has shown must be identical with the town, or a close neighbour of it.¹ Since it was the constant wish of ancient Egyptians to be buried in the neighbourhood of home, one cannot doubt that Mer-nofret was the town of Neḥry's birth, the place 'he ruled . . . as a lad before he had been circumcised'.² The name of Neḥry's father, Sebekonkh, adds further support to our thesis, for the principal cult of Mer-nofret was one devoted to Sobek.³ In Ptolemaic times, when the Jumilhac Papyrus was written, Mer-nofret belonged to the eighteenth nome; and this was undoubtedly also true during the Middle Kingdom when, according to the White Chapel of Sesostris I, the seventeenth nome was centred upon Henu (Saka), well to the west of the Nile,⁴ leaving the east bank as far south as Tihna to the eighteenth nome.⁵ Neḥry consequently must have been a scion of the family which ruled the eighteenth nome, and was probably interred in the ancestral burial ground at Tihna which dated back to the Fourth Dynasty.⁶ Whether he ever achieved the office of nomarch is not known, but his appointment to the governorship of the residence suggests that, like Kay at El-Bersha,⁷ he was a younger member of his family. Khnumḥotpe of Beni Ḥasan was thus related by birth to the ruling families of both the sixteenth and the eighteenth nomes, and by marriage to the family of the seventeenth nome.

D. B. REDFORD

Remarks on some aspects of Egyptian art

ALTHOUGH many publications have appeared, especially since the end of the Second World War, dealing with ancient Egyptian art,⁸ most of them are either descriptive in the manner of a catalogue, or devoted to interpretations based upon modern standards. Needless to say these modern standards must, to some extent, be taken as a *Massstab*; otherwise we may fail to appreciate Egyptian art or to respond to the works of Egyptian artists when our modern standards do not function adequately.

The purpose of these remarks is to draw attention to factors which it is dangerous to neglect in this connexion, so that our judgement may be founded on a full realization of the details of the environment.⁹

Nature of wall-representations and sculpture

It should be stressed from the very beginning that we shall be dealing mostly with representations of scenes from life, the motive of which has been hitherto explained as securing the *continuation*, in

describe his mother's marriage (ibid., pl. 25, 64 ff.): 'My mother moved away (*wḏ*) . . . to become the wife of the hereditary prince and count . . . Neḥry.'

² *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 26, 184 f.

³ Vandier, op. cit. 48.

⁴ P. Lacau, H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak* (Cairo, 1956), 229; Vandier, op. cit. 55; cf. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London, 1947), II, 97* ff.

⁵ The same situation probably prevailed in the Old Kingdom; cf. Frazer, *Ann. Serv.* 3 (1902), 76. The fact that nome lists of the Old and Middle Kingdoms name the eighteenth nome immediately after the sixteenth may be construed as evidence that at that time the two nomes were contiguous on the right bank: A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, II (Cairo, 1961), pl. 14 f., p. 43, A. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes* (Cairo, 1906), pl. 2.

⁶ Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* IV (Oxford, 1934), 127 ff.

⁷ Newberry, *El Bersheh*, I, pl. 33.

⁸ I may mention the following: C. Aldred, *The Development of Egyptian Art* in three parts (1949-51); H. Schäfer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, 3rd ed. (1942); W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (1958); also *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (1949) and *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Boston Museum* (1961); W. Wolf, *Die Stellung der ägyptischen Kunst*, etc. (1951); E. Drioton and E. Sued, *Art égyptien* (1950); A. Mekhitarian, *La Peinture égyptienne* (1954); A. Lhote, *La Peinture égyptienne* (1954).

⁹ It is the author's hope that these remarks will be followed by a more detailed discussion in the form of a book.

the hereafter, of the activities which were enjoyed in the life on earth. Apart from representations of the deceased before a table of offerings and other depictions of food supplies, there is no evidence that a connexion is intended with the hereafter. What is intended rather is a record of the deceased's activities in this world, the purpose clearly being to establish the *identity* of the owner of the tomb, and to provide a biographical survey of his achievements.¹ This is confirmed by the details provided in the text. Many of the representations cannot be interpreted except with reference to the past; for instance, scenes of rearing cattle,² quarrelling on a ship, or fighting of bulls,³ transport of statues,⁴ hunting and fishing,⁵ captives and starvation scenes,⁶ and especially depictions of activities connected with the deceased's office in this world.⁷ All these must refer to the career and life of the deceased, and need not be *magically* explained as having reference to his future life in the other world.

The purpose of identification also characterizes the sculpture in the round which is a feature of Egyptian tombs. It is clear that the main interest is in the head, and it may, therefore, be designated as *portrait* sculpture,⁸ so that the underlying motive is manifestly to establish again the identity of the tomb's owner. Why was this so important? Plainly it was to enable the man's soul to recognize him in the tomb, and of course the face is the key to such recognition.

It is noteworthy that the provision of these portraits, both in relief and sculpture, was a preserve limited to a minority: the king and the nobility.

Narrative aspect of art

Apart from the fact that many of the scenes can be shown to refer to the past, it is further noteworthy that they give expression to this interest in a series of depictions which are tantamount to the use of *narration*. Naturally the degree of elaboration in this process varies both according to the theme and according to the space available. This has occasionally resulted in the crowding of the surface used by the artist. The traditional view is that *horror vacui* was the cause of such crowding,⁹ but there is no need to resort to such an explanation. Examples of the narrative approach are to be found in the war scenes, which show the progress on the battle-field from the moment of engagement until the capture of enemies;¹⁰ again, there are the detailed scenes showing the stages in the sacrifice of a bull beginning with holding and tying of the animal and ending with the dismemberment of its slaughtered carcass.¹¹ Equally clear instances are to be seen in the festival scenes, such as those of Opet in the Luxor temple and those of the coming forth of Min in the temple of Medînet Habu. Many other examples could be cited.

A changing background

While reference is often made to the *development* of Egyptian art in various phases and eras, it is more correct to interpret the changes that occur as being due to the innovations in the environment of the artist of which he has to be the interpreter, such as political or social trends and particularly religious conceptions. This is clear with regard to the style in the architecture of the royal tombs. In the Old Kingdom the archaic mastaba is succeeded by the pyramid tomb in a varying sequence;

¹ A similar view is propounded by Groenewegen-Frankfort in *Arrest and Movement*, 29.

² See Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, pls. 128-9.

³ See Davies, *Tomb of Ptahhetep*, II, pl. 14 and Blackman, *Meir*, I, pl. 11.

⁴ See Newberry, *El Bersheh*, I, pl. 12.

⁵ See Blackman, *Meir*, II, pl. 8 and Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-rê*, II, pls. 41-46.

⁶ See Borchardt, *Sahure*, II, pl. 5 and Unas causeway in *Ann. Serv.* 25, fig. 3.

⁷ See Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-rê*, II, pls. 24-32 (rules for the administration of the office of a vizier).

⁸ See 'portrait heads' published by W. S. Smith in *Ancient Egypt*, etc., 34, 35 and the example in relief on p. 36.

⁹ Cf. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement*, 39.

¹⁰ For sieges see Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 4 and the well-known battle scenes in the temples at Luxor.

¹¹ See, for example, Blackman, *Meir*, I, pl. 11.

while in the Middle Kingdom, whereas Mentuhotpe combined in his tomb the pyramid form with a rock-cut tomb, the accepted norm eventually was the rock-cut tomb which persisted into the New Kingdom. The mastaba-form corresponds to a stage before the rise of a solar religion, whereas the rock-cut tomb signifies the combination of the solar religion with Osirian ideas. Political and social trends have affected the size and elaboration of the tombs pertaining to the higher and lesser nobility. A basic factor which related to all forms of tombs was a social one, namely the desire to avoid the interference of robbers. It must not be forgotten that sculpture and reliefs were also affected by this *changing background*.¹

Reliefs

It is customary to assert that there is a lack of perspective² in the technique adopted in the Egyptian reliefs. Perspective is a modern term which stresses the form as it is *momentarily* seen rather than the *permanent* and *immortal* scheme.³ The Egyptian motive was to represent each form in its abiding aspect which gives it *individuality*. That is why we have the diagrammatical method which is consistently followed in the reliefs. A feature of the same method is the avoidance of the representation of movement, since movement is something changing and transitory, whereas the aim of the art is to convey permanence and immortality. Again, this static attitude has changed little with the change of the political and social background.

Convention and freedom

It might appear that one result of the conventions governing the art which related to royalty and nobility was a certain restrictive force which prevented the artist giving full sway to his powers. It is rather striking that when other subjects are represented, namely, animals, or men and women of the lower classes, then the artist's use of his freedom has produced some outstanding masterpieces;⁴ the same truth applies to jewellery.

Conclusion

From this general *exposé* the nature of Pharaonic art and its place in the modern theoretical framework appears evident to us. Egypt has a wealth of monuments and fine artistic achievements. In spite of numerous discoveries and theories, we can still quote Champollion, who wrote in 1824: 'The history of Egyptian art, as it appears to me, is still in need of deep study; for all evidence points to the fact that we both evaluate this art and ascertain (or, delineate) the style of its production, even the extent of its correspondence to reality, in a hasty manner.' ABD-EL-MOHSSEN BAKIR

Was Queen Mutnedjemet the owner of Tomb 33 in the Valley of the Queens?

DR. ERIK HORNING has referred me to Robert Hari's *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet*, a study that should have been noted or queried several times in my *Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*. Hari's proposal that the tomb QV 33⁵ should be identified as the tomb of this queen warrants special

¹ As clear examples compare particularly the statues of the Twelfth Dynasty which show rather a 'juxtaposition' of two styles; see Aldred, *Development of Ancient Egyptian Art* (Middle Kingdom), 25.

² Cf. the use of the term *aspective* of Egyptian art used by Emma Brunner in the recent new edition of Schäfer, *Ägyptische Kunst*.

³ Thus what is known as *surrealism*, which is more concerned with *mental* rather than with *visual* expression, may originate in the *theory of transparency* in ancient Egypt; e.g. cattle fording stream in Steindorff, *Grab des Ti.*, pl. 112 and the flower vases above the musicians in Davies, *Tomb of Nakht*, pl. 17.

⁴ As examples see 'papyrus harvest' in Blackman, *Meir*, II, pl. 3; Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, III, pl. 31.

⁵ His QV 37 (pp. 238-40 particularly), after Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I (1st ed.), 39, rather than the revised identification of this and other tombs resulting from my investigations of 1959-60 and incorporated in *Top. Bibl.* I (2nd ed.), pt. II, 749 ff. For my plan and discussion of QV 33 see *Necropoleis*, 200, 212, and Index I.

consideration and also the publication of the one cartouche now visibly inscribed, to be found on the left end wall of the first room, shown in the accompanying figure.

As this illustration indicates, the tomb is just accessible, being now filled irregularly to within two to three feet, approximately, of its original ceiling. The decoration, in shallow relief, is polychrome on a white ground. Both accessible cartouches are yellow, this colour representing gold,

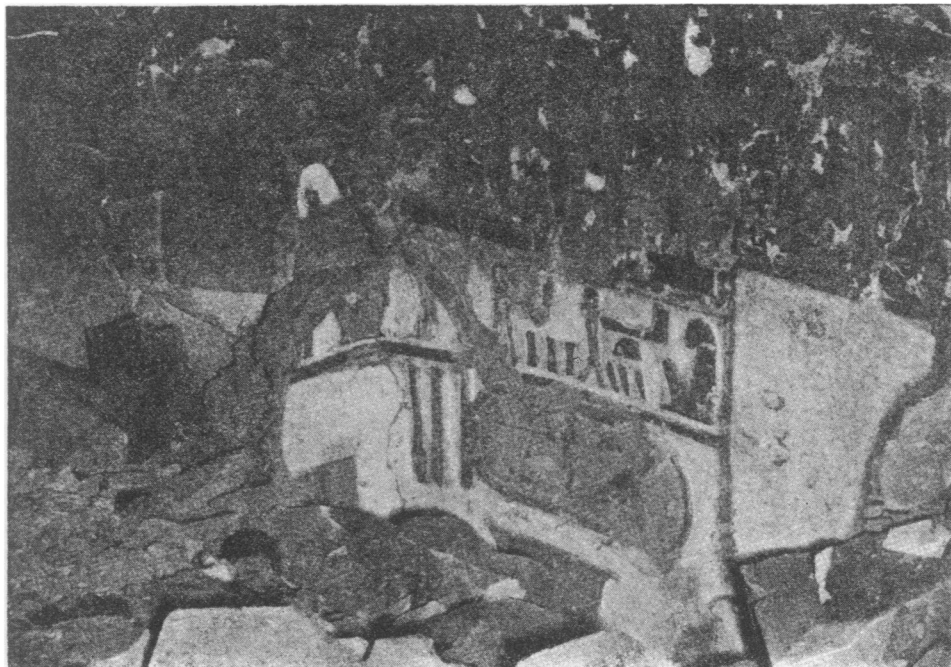
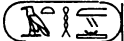


FIG. 1. The corner of the left and end walls of the first room in Tomb 33 of the Queen's Valley.

as usual. For each Lepsius records hieroglyphs that were simply inscribed—'später', he reasonably suggests—in black ink: .¹ In the first, to the right of the entrance where neither Professor Wente nor I could read anything in 1959, the bird's head is shown hatched by Lepsius; the other cartouche, found by Lepsius on the left end wall, and thus obviously that of our figure, was purportedly intact. When we saw it, the bird's head was damaged. Is it possible that the damaged name contained in Lepsius's first cartouche is actually that of our cartouche and that only this cartouche was actually inscribed? In any case, we had reason to emend only the ξ of Lepsius to η .² And in my photograph the ν -vulture appears certain, granted that the ω was simply placed in the larger blank space, over the back rather than in its customary position in front of the bird. The body and legs of the ν - and mwt -vultures could not admit confusion if delineated with the care given the sculptured signs of this tomb. But this portion of the inked bird is conceivably comparable with the poorly incised mwt -vultures of Hari's figs. 58, 60, and 63, in contrast with the distinctive example in fig. 61. Is it, therefore, possible to suppose with him that the otherwise unknown Tanedjemy[t] is, or was actually meant to be, Mutnedjemet?

Certainly the vulture should be re-examined in the tomb. More importantly, however, the photograph indicates and I have said, that positive evidence of ownership may remain on the tomb walls or in its fill, as may also be the case with the partly or totally inaccessible tombs nos. 27–29,

¹ L., *D. Text*, III, 236.

² Cf. Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 228.

31, and 32 below 33, and 34 and 35 above it.¹ In QV 31 the visible cartouches were apparently never inscribed in any manner; if these cartouches, those in QV 33 and others in the necropolis, were once excised and later replastered (perhaps a possibility), no evidence of such changes was apparent to me.² If QV 33 is indeed the tomb of Mutnedjemet, the neighbouring tombs may include those of her contemporaries before the reign of Ramesses I. Thus it is scarcely necessary to urge once more that these tombs be carefully cleared before further loss of potential historical evidence can occur.

With further regard to Hari (pp. 239 f.), the Queens' Valley was used by the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty for pit-tombs,³ not first in the Nineteenth Dynasty. His 'No 61' is actually an unnumbered tomb, my 'A';⁴ we agree that Mut-Tuy, wife of Sethos I, was the probable owner. But since in the entire *wādi*, as yet, only one tomb (QV 36) has been found in which the owner is simply *syt-nswt*, 'king's daughter' with no cartouche,⁵ another tomb for 'Ankhesenamūn is more likely. If it were quarried in this valley, perhaps it lies below QV 33, for sites do tend to follow along chronologically as Hari suggests. However, the rule is not inflexible.

Regarding his hypothesis that Mutnedjemet 'a été reléguée dans l'ombre à la fin' of Horemḥeb's reign, one may ask if the presence on her canopic jar of a single civil title, *hmt-nswt wrt*, following two denoting religious functions, is as significant in the scope of the limited texts of this funerary object as Hari believes (p. 226).

ELIZABETH THOMAS

Vizier Mentehetef



IN his famous review of Helck's *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*,⁶ Černý mentioned some viziers who, until then, had been unknown. One of them is *Rmssw Mnt(-hr)-hstf*, whom he placed, although with some hesitation, between the viziers Khaemwēse and Wennofrē. Definite proof of this supposition is to be found in a text which, although known for a long time, seems never to have been studied carefully.

At the rear of the temple of Month in the Northern group of the Karnak complex, on the back wall of this temple in what is clearly a chapel, added to the building at a later date, there occurs a text of Wennofrē, one of the viziers of Ramesses XI.⁷ The upper part of this text, nearly all that is left of it, was published long ago by Bouriant,⁸ and more recently Varille reproduced a photograph of the inscriptions and the scene in between them.⁹ However, in studying them *in situ*, it seemed possible to recognize some signs in the lower parts of the lines, which are mainly destroyed, particularly of the fifth and last line at the right side. These signs were not mentioned by Bouriant, while Varille's photograph is not clear enough to recognize them. Repeated study¹⁰ at different hours and therefore with different lighting enabled me to decipher some signs of his father's name, which is written behind the figure of the vizier.

¹ The tomb plans, as far as possible, are gathered in *Necropoleis*, 200, and the discussions listed in Index I; all are corridor-tombs with the possible exception of QV 32. The omitted QV 30 is the pit-tomb of Nebiry.

² Both inked and sculptured cartouches occur in QV 74 (Duatintipet); inking is possible in one case in 73 (Henuttawy??), cf. *Necropoleis*, 218.

³ *Ibid.* 184-8; tombs of two princesses and two officials, whether primarily or secondarily, have been definitely identified.

⁴ *Ibid.* 160, 213-15. It is perhaps represented on the 1:1000 map of the *Survey of Egypt* by the small rectangle west of QV 66. Does Ballerini intend to indicate here and in the similar rectangle south of QV 3, also unnumbered, what he believed to be unfinished shafts?

⁵ *Necropoleis*, 212 f.

⁶ *Bibl. Or.* 19 (1962), 140 ff.; cf. particularly 142a and 143b.

⁷ Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* II, 5 (19).

⁸ *Rec. trav.* 13, 172 f.

⁹ Varille, *Karnak*, pl. LXX.

¹⁰ This study was made during a stay in Luxor made possible by a grant from the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO). I gratefully acknowledge the help of Dr. Wentz, who discussed the problem with me in front of the text itself and could agree with me on the reading of the signs.

The Symbolism of a Mummy Case

WHILE examining the lid of a typical late mummy case (c. 500 B.C.) in the Colchester museum,¹ I noticed that the scenes were arranged from foot to head in logical order. Symbols of the netherworld occupied the lower half, while those of the sun and sky were seen above.² Moreover, the registers seemed to echo the night journey of the sun-god as illustrated in the *Books of Imy-Dwāt* and *Gates*. Sunset was represented beneath the feet. Nephthys welcomed the deceased. The gatekeepers of the Dwāt sat before their gates. Anubis equipped the mummy. Sokar provided offerings. The heart was weighed before Osiris. Then came the façade of the tomb, whence the deceased ascended to the sky. And, lastly, on the head were symbols of the sunrise.

A large red sun on the horizon, the sign *ḥt*, was painted below the feet. This could be the rising or the setting sun. However, the sunrise was seen above the head, which suggested that this might be the setting sun. In the *Books of Imy-Dwāt* and *Gates* the sunrise is seen at one end, and the sunset or entrance to the netherworld at the other. In the *Book of Gates* the sun-god is seen entering the netherworld through a gap in the desert hills. And in the *Book of Imy-Dwāt* the entrance to the netherworld is described as 'The beginning, the gap of the west, the limit of darkness. This god enters the earth in the district of the western horizon.' Moreover, on the alabaster sarcophagus of Sethos I in the Sir John Soane Museum the sunrise is shown in detail on top of the head, while the sunset is beneath the feet. Again, beneath the feet of a coffin in the British Museum (no. 30720) the pied bull of Amentet is seen entering the netherworld with the deceased lying on its back. Now the deceased is often identified with the setting sun, e.g., 'I am Tem when he was alone in Nenu'.³ Thus the picture, while representing the sunset, symbolizes the death of the deceased. *The Book of Imy-Dwāt* informs us that, 'as for him who knows this representation like the great god himself, it will go well with him on earth (a true method), and it will go well with him in the Dwāt'.

Over the foot of the coffin the goddess Nephthys extended her wings in welcome, while the feathers of truth which she carried reminded the entrant that the just only were admitted. Isis usually takes the place of Nephthys here at the entrance to the netherworld.⁴ She is seen sitting in this place also in royal tombs, e.g. in the sarcophagus chamber of Sethos I, where she sits above the text of the *Book of Imy-Dwāt* over the passage describing the entrance of the Dwāt.

The twin jackals of Ophois often occur here.⁵ A relief on the stone coffin of Djeh̄er in the Louvre shows them on each side of Isis. Their functions are explained in the accompanying text—'The southern Ophois says, I am the protector of Osiris Djeh̄er, justified. I lead his steps on earth, and his ways in the necropolis. I present his *ka* to the great god'; and 'The northern Ophois says, I am the protector of Osiris Djeh̄er, justified. I lead him along the paths of the sky to Rē̄ when he rises, and Tem when he sets.'

The *wdt*-eyes are also seen here with or without the jackals.⁶ Like the latter they often occur at entrances.⁷ Their functions, largely protective, are described in a hymn to the setting sun, 'The Eye of Horus protects you (Tem). You hide in it. It drives ills from your heart. It makes you healthy and you live. It gives protection to your flesh.'⁸

Above the figure of Nephthys sat the gatekeepers of the Dwāt beside their gates, a very common scene. Each held the feather of truth instead of a knife, signifying as before that the just only would be admitted. In the middle stood the Abydene totem of Osiris, the wig and double feathers on a pole. Coffins in the British Museum show two goddesses pointing at the totem as if directing the deceased to the realm of Osiris.⁹

¹ Similar coffins in the British Museum nos. 6693, 22814.

² The backs of coffins illustrate the same theme: the *ḏd*-emblem below, the rising sun above, as in the *Book of the Dead*, cf. B.M. 6693, 6676.

⁴ Cf. B.M. 22940.

⁵ B.M. 6660, 6693.

³ Shorter, *Cat. of Eg. Relig. Pap. in the B.M.*, p. 83.

⁶ B.M. 6676, 22940.

⁷ *B.M.M.A.* 1916-17, 15.

⁸ Naville, *Todtenbuch*, II, 23.

⁹ B.M. 6691, 6682.

In the next register Anubis tended the mummy on a bier, while Isis and Nephthys stood at head and foot in attitudes of protection.¹ This scene is described in Chapter 157 of the *Book of the Dead*, where we are told that Anubis places his hands on the mummy and furnishes it with necessary things.

The register above showed the mummified hawk of Sokar² accompanied by a *wdjt*-eye, and surrounded by standing gods holding the feather of truth. This was Rostau, 'sacred place of Sokar', and the fifth hour of the night. In the *Book of Imy-Dwāt* we are told that 'he who knows them (these figures) shall be at peace. His soul shall enjoy the offerings of Sokar. Khemyt shall not cut up his body, and he shall pass by her in peace.' A prayer for funerary offerings accompanied the scene. Possibly the attendant gods were to protect the deceased from the fiend Khemyt.

The judgement hall of Osiris, the seventh hour of the night, occupied the next register. On the right Thoth weighed the heart of the deceased in the presence of Ammut 'the eater of the dead', and on the left led her to the company of gods to proclaim her innocence.³ The *Book of Imy-Dwāt* explains that 'he who knows this scene shall be in the boat of Rē^c in the sky and in the earth (i.e. the netherworld). But he who lacks this knowledge shall not know how to repel Terrible Face (i.e. Apophis).' This scene always occurs over the actual heart of the mummy.

Immediately above was the façade of the tomb whence the deceased flew up to heaven.⁴ The latter was represented by the Goddess Nut, the sun on her head, her wings extended in welcome, and carrying the feathers of truth. Sometimes the figure of Nut is replaced by the winged sun-disk with pendent uraei: the wings to welcome the just, the snakes to repel the wicked.⁵ At other times the winged ram of Amūn hovers above the hawk of Rē^c, taking precedence over the older god.⁶ And often the birth of the sun is depicted as in the *Book of Gates*.⁷ The protective *wdjt*-eyes are also seen here at the entrance of heaven;⁸ likewise the jackals which led the deceased 'along the paths of the sky to Rē^c'.

On the head of the mummy case was depicted the sun-disk above a scarab beetle,⁹ which reads, 'the coming into being of the sun', that is the sunrise; and so the resurrection of the deceased. Symbols of east and west were on either side and a *sn* loop below, indicating the sun's circuit, and the deceased's future journey. In the *Book of Imy-Dwāt* we are told that 'he who knows these secret figures is a fully equipped spirit. He may leave and enter the netherworld. He may speak to the living.'

Thus the underlying idea expressed on the mummy case was the familiar one of death and resurrection, which may be summed up in the words of the Christian creed, 'He descended into hell. The third day He rose again from the dead, He ascended into heaven.' JOHN BENNETT

Spoken and written Meroitic: a note on the terminal formulae in Meroitic funerary inscriptions from Armenna West

IN 1963 five Meroitic funerary stelae were recovered by the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt in Cemetery B at Armenna West. Preliminary illustrations of these stelae were published by William K. Simpson in *JARCE* 3 (1964), pl. XII. These stelae have since been turned over to me for study and have been renumbered 1 to 5. Stelae 1 and 3 bore two inscriptions each (labelled *a* (right) and *b* (left)), bringing the total of funerary texts from the cemetery to seven. Since the analysis of the terminal formulae of these texts has proved to be of exceptional interest, I should like to present the results of this examination without delay.

A terminal formula normally consists of two or more words (probably nouns and adjectives) followed by what appears to be a verb. The latter consists of a prefix (containing the elements

¹ B.M. 22814.

² B.M. 6686.

³ The occupant of the coffin was a certain lady Tahathor. The figure on B.M. 22814 is very like her.

⁴ B.M. 22940.

⁵ B.M. 6682, 22814.

⁶ B.M. 6691, 30721.

⁷ B.M. 6678, 6679.

⁸ B.M. 52949, 48001.

⁹ B.M. 52949.

pš, *bš*, or *y*) followed by a root which normally remains the same in any one formula (except for what appear to be minor spelling differences), and then by certain particles, any one of which may or may not be present in a given formula, but which, when they are, are arranged in a set order.

The following table shows the various elements encountered in formula A at Karanog and Shablûl and (reading from left to right) the order in which they stand to each other.

Prefix ^a	Root ^b	Plural ^c	Others		
<i>pš</i>					
<i>pši</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>bhe</i>			
<i>bši</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>ke^d</i>	<i>te^e</i>	<i>s^f</i>
<i>pšê</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>tê</i>	
<i>bšê</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>b</i>			
<i>piši</i>					
<i>pišê</i>					
<i>bišê</i>					
<i>pwî</i>					
<i>yî</i>					

(Other prefixes noted in Hintze, *Sprachliche Stellung* are *p*, *pe*, *peši*, *piš*, *pitêši*, *bš*, *y*, *ye*, *a*.)

(a) It would appear that many, if not all, of the variants of *pš* and *bš* are forms of the same morpheme. Some variants, particularly the more complex ones, occur frequently in the A and B formulae but only rarely in C, where simpler forms seem to be preferred and the prefix is often dispensed with entirely. As yet no one has been able to formulate rules of agreement that would account for some or all of this variation. Much of it may have a complex morphophonemic rather than a grammatical origin. This is a subject worthy of careful study.

(b) The root varies from formula to formula, *he* being normal in A, *hr* in B, *hêl* in C, *th* in D and J, *hêl* or *dêtedi* in E. *h*, *he* and *h* appear to be variant spellings of *he*. In only a few texts (e.g. the A formula in Karanog 2a, 77, 84, 111, and 124 as reported by Griffith) does the root appear to be missing altogether. Where this is actually the case it may be the result of an accident or a shortened writing in which the existence of the root was counted on as assumed.

(c) The 'plural' affix is found only in verbs that are in agreement with a plural subject, that is, in funerary texts that commemorate more than one person. Our text 3a, however, is one example in which this affix was omitted even when the subject was plural.

(d) *ke* may or may not be present, and as yet no rule has been formulated to account for its occurrence. It always appears after *bhe* and before *te* when these particles are present.

(e) The grammatical significance of *te* (*tê*) is likewise uncertain. It always follows *ke* and/or whatever precedes it.

(f) *s* and *te* occur together so rarely that they well might be believed to be parts of a single conjugation. For examples of their occurrence sequentially in the same verb see Karanog 9 (formula B), Karanog 33 (formula C), Meroë 20 (formula L).

The following are the transliterations of the terminal formulae found in each of the texts from Armenna West. The divisions of the verb are marked by dashes. The plate numbers refer to *JARCE* 3.

Text 1a (commemorating a single person) (pl. XII, 8)

A.	<i>atê mhe: pši-he-ke-s</i>
B.	<i>at mhe: pši-kr-ke-s</i>
C.	<i>yetepêke: dêtlhe: piši-t-ke-s</i>

Text 1b (commemorating a single person) (pl. XII, 8)

- A. *atê mhe: p̄ši-he-ke-s*
 B. *at mhe: p̄ši-kr-ke-s*
 J. *yetepêke: dêtlhe: p̄ši-tk-ke-s*

Text 2 (commemorating two people) (pl. XII, 7)

- A. *atê mhe: p̄ši-[he-b]he-ke-s*
 B. *at mhe: p̄ši-kr-bhe-ke-s*
 J. *[ye]tepêke: dêtlhe: p̄ši-tk-bhe-ke-s*

Text 3a (commemorating two people) (pl. XII, 10)

- A. *atê mh[e]: p̄ši-he-b-ke-s*
 B. *at mhe: p̄ši-kr-ke-s*
 J. *yetepêke: [dê]tlhe: p̄ši-tke-ke-s*

Text 3b (name(s) of deceased lost) (pl. XII, 10)

- A. *atê mhe: p̄ši-he-ke-s*
 B. *at mhe: p̄ši-kr-ke-s*
 J. *yetepêke: dêtlhe: p̄ši-tk-ke-s*
 D. *hmlêwithe: pi-tk-ke-s*

Text 4 (names(s) of deceased lost) (pl. XII, 11)

- A. *atê mhe: p̄šê-he-ke-te*
 B. *at mhe: p̄ši-hr-ke-te*
 C. *hmlél: p-hél-ke-te*
 E. *nsdêkel: dêlek: pi-hél-ke-te*

Text 5 (commemorating a single person) (pl. XII, 9)

- A. *atê mhe: p̄ši-he-ke-te*
 B. *at mhe: p̄ši-hr-ke-te*
 C/D. *hmlél: yi-th-ke-te*

(The classification of the final formula in this text is uncertain. The initial word is that of formula C, but the verbal root is that of formula D. Griffith, *Karanog*, 52, notes, however, that these two formulae are closely connected and 'their elements are almost interchangeable'.)

Certain stylistic features suggest a division of these texts into two distinct groups. The first grouping, consisting of texts 1a to 3b has in common the following characteristics:

1. In each text formulae A, B, and J and, with the exception of text 3b, only these formulae are present.
2. The first two words in each formula are alike in each text.
3. Every verb ends with the particle *s*.
4. The verbal root in formula B in every text has the unusual form *kr*.
5. The verbal root in formulae J and D is in every case *tk* or *tke* (see our note on text 1a above). The usual root is *th*.

The second group, which consists of texts 4 and 5, shares the following characteristics which differ from those found in group 1:

1. In each text formulae A, B, and C/D are present but not J. Text 4 also has E.
2. Every verb ends with the particle *te*.
3. The verbal root in formula B in both cases is *hr* not *kr*.

A comparison of these two sets of inscriptions suggests that the verbal roots *kr* and *hr* found in formula B are not different words but two writings of the same word. The sound that the author of the first set of texts chose to write with a *k* was written with an *h* by the author of the second set. Proof that this differing preference was not limited to one word can be obtained from a comparison of the verbal root found in the J and D formulae in the first set of texts and the verbal root found in the C/D formula in text 5. The latter is the *th* that normally occurs in formulae D and J. In the first set of texts, however, the verbal root is not the expected *th* but instead is *tk*. Here again a sound that normally was written as *h* has been written as a *k*.

This apparently systematic substitution of *k* for *h* in certain environments in the first set of texts provides further evidence (if this were needed) that Meroitic was written phonetically (i.e. lacked a standardized orthography) and that the Meroitic alphabet was in many respects not well adapted to the phonemic structure of the language. Since all these texts came from the same cemetery and seem to be about the same age the chances of dialectic variation seem minimal. This suggests that these two sets of formulae, and by extension the texts themselves, were composed by at least two scribes or (since there is evidence of considerable literacy in Meroitic sites) two literate stonemasons, each of whom had different conventions for recording the language. The terminal formulae used in these inscriptions appear to have been the personal choice of the composer, and while the sample is small it seems highly likely that the use of *s* or *te* at the end of the verbs was a personal idiosyncrasy as well.

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BRUCE G. TRIGGER

REVIEWS

Sir Alan Gardiner, 1879–1963. By J. ČERNÝ. Offprint from the Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. 50. Oxford University Press. London, 1965. Octavo. Pp. 12, pl. 1. Price 3s.

This is an account of the life of Sir Alan Gardiner compressed into the small compass of twelve pages which every Egyptologist will wish to possess. His life is traced from boyhood to the grave not only as a specialist in Egyptology but also as an ordinary human being. His development, student days, marriage, and working methods are described and, as always, one cannot but wonder at and feel deep respect for his untiring activity and application to his chosen science. The steps in his career as an Egyptologist are well set out: the early years with the Berlin Dictionary, the work on hieratic papyri and ostraca which arose during and out of it and led to so many well-known books and articles, the *Inscriptions of Sinai*, The Theban Tombs Series, the *Egyptian Grammar*, the *Chester Beatty Papyri*, the *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, the *Wilbour Papyrus*, and lastly his swan-song, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. Sir Alan Gardiner's important activities as an editor are also dealt with, as is his deep interest in general linguistics. C. H. S. SPAULL

Egypt to the end of the Old Kingdom. By CYRIL ALDRED. The Library of Early Civilisations, Ed. Professor Stuart Piggott. Thames and Hudson, London, 1965. Pp. 143. Price 30s.

This book has been expanded from a chapter in the *Dawn of Civilisation* (Thames and Hudson, 1961), and has inherited one of the best features of the original volume: an excellent layout with text and illustrations skilfully incorporated together plus a few interesting yet careful reconstructions. The result is an example of the best sort of introduction to the period for the general reader. The text is accurate and stimulating through the author's particular emphasis on the period's surviving products and monuments. The illustrations are very important and great care has been taken with them. An unusually high proportion are in colour, each one is annotated in detail and the distribution of objects appears listed at the end. Several of the objects shown, such as the fragment of painted linen from Gebelein occur here for the first time in a work of this kind. As a final recommendation the price of the book is very reasonable. JANINE BOURRIAU

Furniture in the Ancient World. Origins & Evolution, 3100–475 B.C. By HOLLIS S. BAKER, with an Introduction by Sir GORDON RUSSELL, C.B.E., M.C., R.D.I. The Connoisseur. London, 1966. Quarto. Pp. 351, monochrome illustrations 474, coloured pls. 16. Price £6. 6s.

Hollis S. Baker was (for unhappily he died just before his book was published) a manufacturer of fine furniture, a business which is still carried on by his family. He took the widest possible interest in his profession and strove to learn all he could about it, being especially interested in design. As a result of his researches he became acutely aware that on the subject of pre-classical furniture little or nothing had been written. To the filling of this gap he devoted much of his time during the latter years of his life, visiting the museums of the Near East and of the Western World, assiduously gathering information, viewing and examining every specimen or reproduction he could find. The result is the present really admirable book, the work of a specialist but written for the lover of furniture and not only for the archaeologist—not that the interests of the latter are by any means forgotten.

The strength of a book such as this lies inevitably in its illustrations, and Baker wisely lets the evidence supplied by his copious provision in this respect speak for itself. Nevertheless this is far from being just another picture-book, for it possesses an ample and smoothly written text that is quite as essential as the illustrations.

The matter of the book is treated under three main heads: Egypt, the Near East, the Aegean. India and the Far East are omitted for lack of any contemporary evidence. Egypt bears the main emphasis since, with

very few exceptions, all actually surviving pieces come from that country: several hundred in fact. In addition, of course, painting and sculpture provide good illustrations of furniture century by century and sometimes even generation by generation. The Near East includes Sumer, Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, Palestine, Persia, and Asia Minor. Here it is necessary to depend almost entirely upon such evidence as is given by seal-impressions, bas-reliefs, sculpture in the round, and a few clay models. Some of the bas-reliefs provide very detailed representations, however. The actual furniture recently found at Gordion in Asia Minor, which is described and illustrated, calls for special mention because of its unique and often almost unbelievable design. The Aegean covers the furniture of Minoan Crete, Mycenaean Greece, and the Greece of the Archaic Period. The type of evidence is not very dissimilar from that which had to be used for the Near East except that vase-paintings begin to provide good and detailed information towards the end of the period which is the subject of this book. There is a short concluding chapter which tells how the designs evolved in Archaic Greece mature in Classical Greece and continue on into modern times. Finally there is an appendix on Techniques devoted, because of the absence of specimens from elsewhere, to Egyptian methods. This appendix has also a set of measured drawings of Egyptian pieces: three chairs, a jar-stand, three stools, a table, and a toilet chest. These drawings, from which, incidentally, the illustration numbers have been accidentally omitted, are for the practical woodworker, but the detail given is scarcely enough to enable actual replicas to be made, particularly in the case of the table. At the very end of the book there is a set of notes to each chapter; a list of illustrations and plates, to each item of which is added information as to provenance, present location, size, material, date, etc.; and an extensive index.

This review is naturally intended primarily for those who are interested in Ancient Egypt, so that it is desirable to enter into more detail with regard to the part of the book which treats of the furniture from that country. In this respect Baker's book is very welcome indeed for it provides a veritable compendium of Egyptian household furniture in wood which everyone concerned with the art and archaeology of Ancient Egypt will need and desire to possess. It is true that most of the pieces have been published before, but scattered so far and wide that only the most comprehensive Egyptological library could supply them all.

The fundamental facts about Egyptian furniture can be summed up in two actual quotations. 'All five of the usual categories of ancient Egyptian household furniture appear',¹ says Baker in speaking of a scene in the tomb of Ramose in which a bed and a stool, four chests, a chair, and a variety of light tables are being carried at the funeral. And again much earlier in the book Baker, speaking generally, says 'the basic traditional forms of Egyptian furniture, reproduced from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period, were already established by the end of the Third Dynasty. In the techniques of wood-working also the principles already established set the pattern for the future, and they have continued with little change until the present time. New tools have been invented and machines now turn out much of the work formerly done by hand, but the basic joinery is much the same today as it was forty-six centuries ago.'²

After describing and illustrating what is known from the first three dynasties Baker devotes a chapter to each of the great finds of furniture. The pieces of a restrained and elegant beauty from the tomb of Hetepheres, the mother of Cheops, then the charmingly beautiful pieces from the tomb of Yuia and Thuiu and from the tomb of Tutankhamun, and finally the somewhat plainer and more everyday pieces from the tomb of Kha; these last three finds being all of Eighteenth-dynasty date. The series of illustrations of the very interesting furniture from the tomb of Kha is particularly welcome as this find, which is exhibited in the Turin Museum, tends to be not so well known as the others.

The Egyptian section of the book is rounded off by a chapter entitled 'Household Furniture Types' in which each of the five categories of furniture mentioned above is discussed generally with further examples from various sources. Perhaps nothing is more revealing of the soundness of Egyptian furniture design than the demonstration of the resemblance between a plain Eighteenth-dynasty chair and 'a hypothetical chair which illustrated a study of the modern chair in relation to human posture, made . . . at the Bauhaus'.³ In one respect only, even remembering that this is a general book, is the information supplied not quite as full as could be wished, and that is with regard to the chest. Egyptian chests are fascinating and of great variety and it would have been both useful and interesting to have been given more details about the hinging of the lids and the internal arrangements.

¹ P. 124 and pl. X A.

² P. 39.

³ P. 132 and illustrations 186, 187.

There are a few minor slips which are listed below:

- p. 84 and illustration 110. The sign 𓏏 is printed upside-down.
 p. 337, illustration 118. The T.T. numbers are not 493, 494 but 493, 594.
 p. 337, illustration 140. The T.T. number is not 403d but 403c.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Die Mastaba des Uhemka. Ein Grab in der Wüste. By HANS KAYSER. Zeitschrift des Museums zu Hildesheim. Neue Folge, Heft 15. Hannover, 1964. Pp. 80, pls. 24, line drawings 4. Price not stated.

The Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim is fortunate enough to possess an Old-Kingdom mastaba from Giza, a fruit of the excavations largely supported by Wilhelm Pelizaeus and conducted initially by Steindorff and later with such brilliant success by Junker.

This particular mastaba was discovered in 1906, but owing to the 1914 war did not reach Hildesheim until 1925. Here it was erected, dismantled because of the 1939 war, again erected in 1948 and yet again dismantled for transference to the new museum which had been built. Its erection there was delayed because of the necessity to carry out work to stop deterioration of the stone, so that it was only in 1964 that it was again on view.

The actual mastaba was 12 × 6 m. in dimensions, but in the museum it is only the cult-chamber (2.30 × 1.20 m.), which alone is decorated, that is on display. Incidentally it is stated that London is among the places in Europe that has such a chamber, but this is unhappily no longer true.

The present book is a guide for the visitor to this monument. It begins with a general account of the context in which such mastabas were built and what purpose they were supposed to serve, continues with a statement of what little is known of Uhemka himself, and then goes on to a detailed description of the cult-room itself. Each of the four walls is the subject of a complete line drawing accompanied by a full description.

After the general account of mastabas and the particular description of this one, an amount of space comprising nearly half the whole text of the book is devoted to setting out each hieroglyphic legend or passage individually and accompanied by a translation. The use of this to the lay reader is dubious, firstly because the texts are, one or two small restorations apart, already fully printed in the line drawings with the exception of the façade, and secondly because it would be quite impossible for a non-Egyptologist to correlate the text with the translation. Incidentally these texts and translations are not entirely without small errors and inconsistencies. I have noticed:

- p. 45, 1st text. Translation of *rh niswt* is omitted.
 p. 49, 3rd text. Translation of *mitrt* is omitted.
 p. 50, 5th text. 𓏏 is represented by *z*, in p. 60, 6th text, by *tsch*, in p. 66, 4th text, by *t*.
 p. 52, 5th text. Not Niwosret but Njsutwosret as in p. 60, 2nd text.
 p. 54, 2nd text. Not Neferzes but Noferzes as in p. 50, 5th text.
 p. 61, 1st text. Kahersetef not Kachersetef.
 p. 68, 2nd text. Surely Nenofer not Nofer.
 p. 69, line 3. Surely a garment not a sack.
 p. 76, 5th text. Mertitfes not Mertites.
 p. 77, 5th text. 𓏏 not 𓏏 .

This section ends with a note on Uhemka and his family including their titles and showing how the information available stretches through five generations: grandparents, parents, Uhemka himself, his children and grandchildren.

The book concludes with a set of twenty-four plates of good quality and apposite to the subject. Only eight of these, however, are detailed illustrations of the mastaba in question. This is a pity, for it would surely have been both instructive and interesting for the visitor to the museum to have been provided with a full pictorial record of what he had seen.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, Dynasties VI–XI. By HENRY GEORGE FISCHER. *Analecta Orientalia*, Commentationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui, 40. Rome, 1964. Quarto. Pp. xv+142, pls. xl, map. Price L. 9,900 (\$16.50).

The nome of Coptos, the fifth of Upper Egypt, lies at the point where the Nile approaches within 100 miles of the Red Sea. Here the Wādi Ḥammāmāt provides a convenient road connecting the river and the sea, enabling articles of trade originating from Southern Arabia and Somaliland, if not further afield, to reach the very heart of Egypt, whence they could go north to Memphis or, at a later date, south to Thebes. In the Eastern Desert, and reached by the same route, there was gold to be mined and valuable stone to be quarried. Geographical position thus inevitably conferred importance on this region, and the nature of its activity is reflected in the stelae depicting their owners, not with staff and sceptre, but with bow, arrows, and hunting dogs.

Fischer has set himself the task of gathering together all the Sixth- to Eleventh-dynasty inscriptions he could discover, the well-known royal decrees and a few other royal pieces from Coptos excepted, which were known to have been found in the nome or which could be shown with a probability amounting to virtual certainty to have originated from it. In this way he has assembled forty-eight inscribed objects of which thirty-two are stelae. No less than twelve of these stelae are published for the first time, while three others are only to be found in publications not easy to obtain. This material Fischer has here divided into six sections arranged according to date and locality. The first section is devoted to Sixth-dynasty material from Naqāda and Zawayda; the next to Eighth-dynasty material from Coptos and Qūs; then three to First Intermediate Period material from Khozam, Naqāda, and Coptos respectively; and the last to Middle-Kingdom material from El-Deir. Each section is headed by an introduction, sometimes of some length. The book is rounded off with adequate indexes and a map.

A series of plates at the end of the book provides a photograph of each object. It is, however, difficult in the case of some stelae from the First Intermediate Period to make out the hieroglyphs in places. Here a line drawing in addition would have been helpful.

The text of the book deals with the pieces individually and in the fullest detail, including a translation and a commentary, often extensive, in each case.

Some of the Sixth-dynasty pieces are beautiful, particularly the architrave of *Tti* from Naqāda. Later pieces from the First Intermediate Period are, as is to be expected, rough and poor in execution. They are, however, not without interesting features which include the men with bows, arrows, and dogs already mentioned, and the dress of the women, many of whom have a belt and shoulder straps of peculiar form and decoration which, I feel, must reflect not a local artistic convention but a local style of dress. A most interesting piece of Eleventh-dynasty date is a portion of a royal inscription found at El-Deir. This has been published before but an additional fragment is here added for the first time. The fact that only the beginnings of twelve lines survive naturally makes any attempt at translation very hazardous, nevertheless Fischer attempts this at length. It is interesting to compare his version with that of Schenkel published subsequently but written previously and before the new fragment was available.¹

I have noticed while reading this book a number of points of detail on which I should like to comment.

Dealing with the stele of *Htp-nb(i)* Fischer refers to the title *imy-r hnty(w)-š pr-r* which he translates 'Overseer of the Tenant Landholders of the Great House'. I feel that 'Overseer of the Leaseholders of the Great House' would be better. The literal rendering of this title put forward in the footnote (p. 20 n. 1) 'one who is before a lake' seems to me unlikely and I would suggest 'one who is before an irrigated garden'. The stele of *Htp-nb(i)* follows this title with the words *imy-r hwt-k*, rendered by Fischer 'Overseer of the Ka-houses' and discussed by him at some length with speculations as to which *ka*-houses were in the charge of *Htp-nb(i)*. While obviously Fischer does not agree, the position of this title and the discussion of *hwt-k* by Junker in *Giza* III, 119–22, make it, I think, quite likely that the meaning is 'Overseer of the *ka*-farms'.

The stele of *Iwt* from Naqāda exhibits two examples of an interesting and carefully executed form for the apron-sign (No. S 25 in the sign-list in Gardiner's *Grammar*) of which Fischer says 'the most unusual features are the fringe at the top and the vertical folds or pleats on the skirt below'. I think that what is

¹ *Memphis · Herakleopolis · Theben* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 214–16.

represented is an apron with strings for tying round the waist: the apron being formed of strips (of leather?) hanging down in front and held by knots at the top. Despite Goedicke's article in *JEA* 46 Fischer retains the translation 'interpreter' for the word *ꜣ* represented by this sign. In *JEA* 52 Goedicke replies and defends, I think successfully, his rendering 'foreigner'.

In the case of the stele of *Hnms* the difficult sentence *sip·n·(i) ꜣꜣꜣ n ꜣꜣꜣ nb·t* is rendered 'I made an account of absolutely everything'. 'I accounted for the issue of all grants' occurs to me as possibly a better suggestion.

In the stele of *Snn* there occurs *iw h·n·(i) it-šmꜣꜣ n sꜣnh n niwt tn mi kꜣd·s* given by Fischer as 'I measured out reviving grain for all this city', but it seems to me that 'I measured out Upper Egyptian grain for sustaining all this city' gives a better sense.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Altägyptische Grammatik. By E. EDEL. *Analecta Orientalia* 34/39. Rome 1955/64. Pp. lxxxiii and 246. Price \$20.

The first part of this *Grammatik* was published in 1955 and was reviewed in volume 45 of this *Journal* (pp. 113 ff.). Judgement on the whole work was then reserved until the whole had been published. It is indeed a great pleasure to greet the appearance of this second part, and to celebrate the conclusion of a major work of both analysis and synthesis. Some bibliographical details, however, need first to be mentioned, for the germs of several problems lie concealed in the pagination of the two parts. Part I, explicitly so numbered, appeared in 1955 as volume 34 of *Analecta Orientalia*; it contained pp. i–xliv of introductory matter and pp. 1–397 of text (including indexes), followed by paradigms of verbs in pages numbered 1* to 15*. Part II, now published, but not so numbered, is theoretically volume 39 of *Analecta Orientalia*, and it contains pp. 379–625 (including new indexes for the whole); it also contains pp. i–lxxxiii of introductory matter which includes additions and corrections for the two parts, this section superseding the introductory pages of Part I. From the title page of the new part it is clear that the two parts are now to be considered not as independent volumes, but as making up a single volume. The title-page is headed *Altägyptische Grammatik*, and its imprint contains the dates 1955/64; the work as a whole is described as *Analecta Orientalia* volume 34/39. The author and his publisher clearly envisage that the owners of the two parts will bind them up together; and here a note of caution is offered to librarians and others who intend to bind. Care is needed to ensure that the correct pagination is achieved. This reviewer has concluded that the following order is required:

1. Title-page and introductory pages to lxxxiii (from Part II).
2. pp. 1–378 (from Part I, discarding the indexes on pp. 379–97).
3. pp. 379–625 (from Part II).
4. Paradigms of verbs on pp. 1*–15* (from Part I).

A typed sheet inserted loosely into the second part warns readers about the new introductory section and the new indexes, but nothing is said about the repositioning of the paradigms. Purchasers of expensive books should be given greater consideration than is offered here. It will be to the advantage of all users if the two parts are bound up in one volume, as is clearly intended, but owners of the first part who have already had it bound will consider themselves to have been badly misled. A grain of comfort may be found in the fact that the new part is so poorly put together (at least in the case of this reviewer's copy) that owners will quickly be driven to the binder's workshop.

This criticism of the formal character of the book is not mere carping. Carelessly considered production can influence greatly the success of a work, for ease of consultation is not an unimportant factor. The one volume bound-up *Altägyptische Grammatik* will weigh at least one pound heavier than Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*, and the latter has often been criticized for its weight.

Scholars will, however, be very ill-advised if they fail to give this work the attention and study it richly deserves, because it represents one of the most important contributions to our science in recent years. For many reasons the earliest literate stage of the Egyptian language has always been much neglected. Texts in Old Egyptian are stilted and formal; very few non-religious and non-official texts have survived, and of those that are secular the majority preserves little that gives much indication of the contemporary spoken language. Writings are spare and economical, and yield insufficient evidence of verbal forms. Yet the gram-

matical contours of the language as it is best understood in Middle Egyptian may be equally distinguished in the *Pyramid Texts* and the royal and private inscriptions of the Old Kingdom. The evident difficulty which early scribes found in committing the language into writing in the cumbersome form of hieroglyphs both limited the scope of expression and often rendered the results ambiguous and uncertain. The penetration of the writing to establish grammatical forms is in consequence particularly difficult for the Old-Egyptian phase of the language. In the absence of texts with fuller writings than those found in extant inscriptions an uncertainty of interpretation will always remain. Can we ever hope to find an archive of letters or a collection of literary compositions of Fifth- or Sixth-dynasty date which will reveal fuller writings and more flexible syntax?

In spite of the inherent difficulties of his subject Professor Edel has wonderfully tamed it and confined it within the conventional framework of a full grammatical and syntactical study. Part I contained sections on phonology, the pronouns, nouns, and verbs. In this new part, particles are first dealt with; then comes an extensive study of the sentence—word-order, sentences with verbal, adverbial, and nominal predicates, the uses of *iw* and *wmn*, clauses of all kinds, both main and subordinate. A long and interesting section deals with negation, which is a particularly rich field of study in Old Egyptian. Throughout the book Edel approaches his work in a non-controversial manner, stating his views on form and structure with a minimum of discussion of conflicting opinions. On points of detail therefore it is easy to find places where one might wish to differ in interpretation; but in general Edel's exposition is so well founded that it is wholly to be trusted. He has applied the grammatical analysis of Egyptian, relatively well-established for its Middle-Egyptian stage, to Old Egyptian, and has succeeded in providing a coherent explanation of most of the forms exhibited by texts written in Old Egyptian. The real test of his success will emerge in the regular application of his findings to the translation of texts, and particularly to new texts. From initial use of the first part for some years, and of the second part for some months, there is every indication that the translation of Old-Egyptian texts is more solidly based now than ever before. We have had to wait a long time for such a grammar, but the wait was not in vain; the task is most ably accomplished by Professor Edel. Our understanding of Old Egyptian will in future owe much to his long labour, here brought to successful fruition.

T. G. H. JAMES

Memphis · Herakleopolis · Theben. Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7–11. Dynastie Ägyptens. (Ägyptologische Abhandlung, Band 12.) By WOLFGANG SCHENKEL. Wiesbaden, 1965. Pp. xi and 306. Price DM 34.

This exceptionally useful book is a welcome addition to the small shelf of works devoted to the translation of Egyptian monumental texts. The sub-title states the scope of the contents, but the author more precisely defines the limits as the end of the Sixth Dynasty and the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. It is the First Intermediate Period with a little bit added at the upper end. Dr. Schenkel's intention was to include all texts from this period which occur on stone, including graffiti and rock-inscriptions, and also a few on wood. Literary and other texts on papyrus, and religious texts in tombs and on coffins are not included. The volume represents, therefore, a translation of the epigraphic records for the First Intermediate Period collected from all published sources.

The author, who has already shown himself to be a discerning student of grammar and an acute observer of epigraphic minutiae, has approached his task with great deliberateness. In a thoughtful introduction he explains that his purpose in preparing this collection is threefold—historical, philological, and exegetical. The inscriptions are offered as historical documents: their texts are established, where difficulties and uncertainties occur, in short but pertinent footnotes; the actual translations are designed accurately to convey the meaning of the originals without loose paraphrasing. It is indeed refreshing to find someone who regards the task of translation worthy of such careful attention.

Three principal divisions accommodate the texts. The first is concerned with the period following the collapse of the Memphite kingdom at the end of the Sixth Dynasty; it includes the Coptos decrees and also the texts from the tomb of Ankhthifi at Mo'alla. The second division contains texts of the period of rivalry between Thebes and Heracleopolis, among which are those from the early tombs at Asyût, the important early Eleventh-dynasty inscriptions from Thebes, such as that of Tjetji (B.M. 614), and many well-known private stelae from provincial centres. Texts from the time of the ascendancy of the Theban rulers occupy

the third division, from the reign of Mentuhotpe Nebhepetrē to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty; here are many rock-inscriptions and graffiti which testify to the expansion of interests outside Egypt proper by the new Theban line of kings.

In total Dr. Schenkel has here translated 502 texts which form by far the largest collection of source material for this obscure period. Many of these texts are relatively unimportant, even trivial, but it is important to have them all assembled within one volume. There cannot be much that has escaped his net, although there must be unpublished texts in many museums.¹ Some indeed are to be found in H. G. Fischer's *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome* which appeared almost at the same time as Schenkel's book;² most noteworthy are several texts from Garstang's excavations at Naqāda, now in Liverpool. In spite of omissions of this kind, which can in any case be easily repaired at some future date by the issue of a supplement, *Memphis · Herakleopolis · Theben* (to be abbreviated to *MHT* by the author's suggestion) will be a source-book of lasting value for historians in particular. Many may regret the absence of the hieroglyphic texts, but very good bibliographies of all pieces are provided. The cost of the book is in consequence relatively modest for these days.

There is little to be said here about the translations, which seem in general to be very accurate and not too stilted. Schenkel has wisely not 'edited out' dull parts of the texts, but has included everything, even introductory formulae, offering lists and repetitive epithets. The reader is therefore not left wondering what may be represented by dots, what may have been omitted by an editor who thinks he knows what may be ignored. The footnotes, which are used sparingly, are admirable; they clarify doubtful readings, suggest parallels for uncertain passages, explain peculiar and interesting grammatical points; they also include clarifications of meaning. Introductory notes on many texts or groups of texts are helpful in particular on questions of dating.

In short, this is a really useful volume, which will surely be used with great profit in the future. It may also serve as a pattern for collections of material from other obscure periods. The pattern is good and deserves to be copied. It might, however, have been provided with a good index. T. G. H. JAMES

Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. I. The Theban Necropolis. Part ii. Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries. By BERTHA PORTER and ROSALIND L. B. MOSS, assisted by ETHEL W. BURNEY. Oxford, the Griffith Institute, 1964. Pp. xxxvii and 393 (numbered in sequence from Part i, 495-887), 18 maps. Price £10.

When this review appears, the volume under discussion will have been published over three years. Apologies to the authors need to be tendered, but in offering apologies this reviewer wishes to extract some merit from the delay. A cursory glance through the volume when it was received revealed an exceptionally promising tool, of much improved design in comparison with its prototype. Three years of use have more than confirmed this promise; it has become an essential adjunct to studies which concern the Theban Necropolis, a book consulted almost daily, the prosopographer's friend.

It will be remembered that the present editors of the *Topographical Bibliography* decided to publish a second, revised, edition of the early volumes dealing with Thebes and Memphis, before proceeding to the final volume of the series which will contain indexes and concordances. The bulk of material on the Theban Necropolis which had accumulated since 1927, when the first edition was published, was so great that the new edition could only be considered in terms of two parts. The first part appeared in 1960 (reviewed in *JEA* 46, 114 f.), and was devoted to the private numbered tombs alone. Part ii continues with royal tombs and with all other inscribed monuments from Western Thebes with the exception of temples. What the student is offered here is such a vast improvement on the corresponding section in the first edition that there is a danger of underestimating the achievement represented by the first edition. It should never be forgotten that the first volume I of the *Topographical Bibliography* opened up new possibilities of study for Egyptologists by providing them with a working instrument of unique value. In every subsequent volume the general lines established in volume I were followed, but elaborations of method were added, experience showing what was needed by scholars. The essential practical value of the whole series is now completely established,

¹ It may be noted here that the text no. 258 is B.M. 1783.

² Reviewed on p. 173 of this *Journal*.

the editors having always borne in mind ways by which its usefulness could be improved. Practical considerations, not the slavish following of a system, have determined the form and content of each volume. The improvements introduced into the two parts of the revised volume I represent a synthesis of experience drawn from the use of the seven volumes by all Egyptologists.

The treatment of monuments is very different here from that used in the first edition. A topographical order is followed, working from north to south, from the Valley of the Kings to the neighbourhood of Deir el-Shelwit. As with the numbered private tombs in Part I the royal tombs are now treated in full, with descriptions of all scenes, whether published or unpublished. Thus the four and a half pages devoted to the tomb of Sethos I in the first edition have now become ten pages; over sixteen pages are allotted to the tomb of Tutankhamūn and its inscribed objects. The section on the Valley of the Kings ends with lists of objects found in the Valley but unassigned to specific tombs, with the ancient rest-houses and shrines in the neighbourhood, and with graffiti noted and published by Spiegelberg and Černý. This comprehensive treatment is applied in turn to all the districts of Western Thebes. Not only are specific tombs included, but also minor burials excavated by the many expeditions which have operated in the whole area, and all the inscribed objects found in the course of these excavations. The result in part is that the book contains detailed summaries of the results of all expeditions which have worked in Western Thebes; it is a triumph of patient detective work and the unravelling of published and unpublished excavation records. Well-published work like that of Bruyère at Deir el-Medīna, generally available in many volumes, is reduced here, as far as inscribed objects and monuments are concerned, to very manageable size. Less accessible work, like that of the Metropolitan Museum or of Schiaparelli, and of the many smaller expeditions which have worked throughout the Necropolis, is at last in great part made comprehensible and available. In this respect what is here achieved lies far outside the scope of a bibliographer's duty; we need therefore to be specially grateful to the editors for exceeding their duty.

In the preparation of the volume every new publication has been ransacked for relevant material; manuscript sources and photographic archives have been scoured; museums in Europe and North America have enjoyed the personal visits of Dr. Moss and Mrs Burney. There can be few collections where the documentation of objects has not been materially improved by the careful cross-referencing and collation of past and present records in the headquarters of the *Bibliography* in the Griffith Institute. From their detailed inquiries into museum collections the editors have compiled long lists of objects vaguely assigned to the Theban Necropolis, and a most valuable section containing such objects is included in this new part. Many assigned provenances will in time prove to be mistaken, but no one can doubt that it was right to include such objects here.

A final word should be said about the excellence of the production of this volume. Its standard of accuracy is exemplary: in the citation of a vast body of references, in the listing of museum numbers (always susceptible of numeral transposition), and in the printing of the many names in hieroglyphic type, errors are hard to find. It is a joy to consult, for it nearly always provides an answer if the right question is asked.

T. G. H. JAMES

Private Tombs at Thebes. Vol. IV. Scenes from some Theban Tombs. By NINA DE GARIS DAVIES. Griffith Institute, 1963. Pp. 22, pls. 24. Price £3.

This volume, the second to appear in the series devoted to private tombs at Thebes admirably published by the Griffith Institute, will be warmly welcomed. Readers of the *Journal* need no reminder that the work of accurate recording and publication of standing Egyptian monuments is no less urgent than the excavation of new sites. Nor will they be unfamiliar with the scholarly and artistic excellence achieved by Norman de Garis Davies and his wife Nina in a lifetime devoted to the painstaking work of copying, recovering, and interpreting the detail of painted scenes in Theban tombs, despite dirt, damage, and decay.

With the exception of two registers depicting the grape harvest and the trapping of birds which, untraced at the time, are reproduced from Wreszinski, *Atlas*, i, pl. 230, virtually all that can be recovered from the surviving scenes of three tombs are included, No. 38 (Djeserkerē'sonb), No. 66 (the vizier Ḥapu), both of the reign of Tuthmosis IV, and No. 162 (Ḳenamūn). In addition select scenes from one of the most

interesting of the early tombs, No. 81 (Ineni), are included. The tracings of tombs No. 38 and No. 162 (the latter now inaccessible) were made by Norman de Garis Davies in 1908 and 1922 respectively. The other drawings are by Mrs. Davies.

Incomplete though the tombs are, the scenes together give a representative cross-section of the repertoire of compositions: an agricultural scene which includes the measuring of the fields; a convivial occasion—apparently not a banquet since no food is represented—with drink circulating freely with the result that one of the male guests is vomiting; musicians and dancers; a workshop showing leather-workers. The unusual scene of Syrian ships and wharveside market, already illustrated and discussed by Norman de Garis Davies and R. O. Faulkner in *JEA* 33, 40 ff., is also included. The liveliness of the Egyptian draughtsman in depicting animals is well exemplified in the recovery of a detail beneath the chair of the wife of *Ḳenamūn*, a pet monkey eating a cake with one hand, grasping with its other the wing of a pet duck which is pecking the nose of a dog crouched before it.

To read the description to the plates is to appreciate the detailed knowledge of ancient Egyptian drawing and social habits which, combined with her acute observation, enabled Mrs. Davies to point to the significant and distinctive details in a composition which might otherwise seem stereotyped. Particularly interesting are her comments on the number of toes depicted on the near feet of two standing women in the tomb of *Djeserkerēsonb*—five instead of four, a change generally said to have been introduced in the 'Amarna Period. Unusual too is the reversal of the general rule that the advanced leg should be the farther one in the case of the young girl accompanying the musicians in the same tomb.

A. F. SHORE

The Chronology of the Amarna Letters, with Special Reference to the Hypothetical Coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten. By E. F. CAMPBELL, JR. Baltimore, 1964. Pp. ix+163. No price quoted.

To the unabated flow of works on the 'Amarna age Dr. Campbell adds this closely reasoned volume on the alleged co-regency of Amenophis III and IV, appealing particularly to the Near-Eastern evidence. Originating as a doctoral thesis in 1959, this book was already completed when relevant works by Helck and the reviewer¹ appeared, but Campbell managed to include consideration of these nevertheless. Of the six chapters I is introductory. In Chapter II Campbell reviews possible evidence for the supposed co-regency in nineteen paragraphs, correctly pointing out that not all the data can be used to support every suggested length of co-regency (some items and suppositions are mutually exclusive). The real heart of the book (III–V) deals with the data of the 'Amarna letters themselves: 'royal' letters, e.g. from or for Babylon, the more useful letters of vassals, and three 'chronological focal points' with remaining letters, ending in a schematic chart (pp. 134–5) for a relative chronology of the letters. In Chapter VI Dr. Campbell states his conclusions: for him, a co-regency of Amenophis III and IV encounters several serious objections, especially that of compressing too many letters into too short a time-span. Thus, a twelve-year co-regency would be all but excluded and an eight- or nine-year one not much better, although final certainty is not yet attainable.

The appearance of such a book, devoted particularly to the Near-Eastern data, is specially welcome. The book is undoubtedly strong in the cuneiform field, but, alas, is somewhat weak on the Egyptian side. The considerations offered against the conjectured co-regency (lacking still, as it does, final formal proof or disproof) by Campbell carry no conviction, at least with this reviewer. The following notes will illustrate these two criticisms.

On pp. 4 with n. 10, 122 Campbell still thinks that 'the length of *Tut'ankhamūn*'s reign is in question, the choice being between four-plus years and nine years', which will hardly seem credible to most Egyptologists. Wine-jar docketts from his tomb are explicitly dated to Year 9 mentioning the estate of *Tut'ankhamūn*,² as Campbell admits. The royal name precludes attribution of this Year 9 to any earlier reign. Nor can

¹ W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 1962; K. A. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, 1962. More recent works include E. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches*, 1964; Kitchen, *Chron. d'Ég.* 40 (1965), 310–22; H. Klengel, *MIO* 10 (1964), 57–83, and *Geschichte Syriens I*, 1965, etc.

² R. Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.* 40 (1940), 163; J. Černý, *JEA* 50 (1964), 39; *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn* (1965), ad loc. (also Year 10).

it refer to any later reign than Tut^cankhamūn's, because the wine-jars in the 'Annexe' were among the first objects placed there, covered by other objects *at the time of the burial*, and when the tomb was subsequently broken into and resealed, the Annexe was the one room which was *not* in any way tidied up or restored by the necropolis inspectors.¹ Therefore, Dr. Campbell's scruples against accepting a nine-year reign are needless.

On p. 56, while agreeing that *Nibhururiya* (e.g., in EA 9) cannot be Neferkheperurē^c (Akhenaten)² and that Edel reaffirmed its identity with Nebkheperurē^c (Tut^cankhamūn), Campbell then credits Edel with failing to prove and even doubting their historical identity. But wrongly so, as Campbell has misunderstood Edel who affirms (*JNES* 7 (1948), 15) the very opposite: 'I do not believe that decisive, valid grounds from historical considerations can be brought forward against it (*sc.*, the historical identity of *Nibhururiya* in EA 9 and Tut^cankhamūn).³ Hence, EA 9 can *only* be dated to Tut^cankhamūn, likewise the Egyptian queen's appeal to the Hittite king in the *Deeds* of Suppiluliuma. And therefore, despite Campbell (pp. 58, 59, 62), the old idea that this queen might have been Nefertiti rather than ^cAnkhsenamūn cannot be considered today. EA 170 is doubtless irrelevant; Hittite troops and Lupakkis could be active in Central Syria at any time after Suppiluliuma's Syrian conquests in Akhenaten's reign.

With Campbell (p. 74) and others one may agree that Tutu of Tomb 8 at El-'Amarna is probably identical with the Dudu of the 'Amarna letters. But it is not true that the late form of the Aten's titulary is absent from Tomb 8, implying a relatively early date for Tutu. See Davies, *El Amarna*, VI, 7 (outer lintel), 8 with pl. XIA (entablature of niche), 9 and pl. XIV (abacus), and 14, for three occurrences and (*pace* Davies) not entirely hidden away (e.g., outside lintel). Hence, Tutu *did* survive Year 8/9 of Akhenaten, and there is no positive evidence for his supposed rapid eclipse. 'Only . . . Aziru' appealing to him proves nothing except Aziru's personal confidence in Tutu. That only three daughters of Akhenaten appear in Tomb 8 proves nothing; apart from doubt of the reliability of this criterion,⁴ only three daughters in a tomb proves nothing about a tomb-owner's length of career. Tomb 25 at El-'Amarna is a classic example: it lies in the South group, shows only the early titulary of the Aten, has only three royal daughters, and was never completed. Did its owner disappear by Akhenaten's eighth year? Assuredly not—its owners were that Ay and Ty who served this and the two following reigns to become king and queen almost twenty years later! Such criteria do not fix a lower limit on officials, and so Tutu's value for the co-regency debate is nil.

In the case of one Maya (p. 75) Campbell feels that 'if anything the facts are more conclusive'. He adopts Albright's view (*JNES* 5 (1946), 15; *ibid.* 6 (1947), 59) that the commissioner Maya of the 'Amarna letters is none other than the owner of Tomb 14 at El-'Amarna. But this identification is in the highest degree unlikely. The Maya of the letters (unlike Tutu at court) is engaged almost throughout in the administration of Palestine; he can requisition a 'house' from a local ruler for a colleague (EA 292), is to be protected by Hiziri (EA 337), and is listened to in Lachish (EA 328).⁵ He has authority, but not supreme authority. The Maya of Tomb 14 at El-'Amarna, however, *does not bear a single title* that connects him with Palestinian administration. He looks after landed estates and labour forces: King's Scribe, Scribe of Recruits (?), Steward of (the estate) Sehetep-Aten, Steward of (? the estate of) Waenrē^c in Heliopolis, Cattle Overseer of the Estate (*pr*) of Rē^c in Heliopolis, Overseer of all royal works, and military officer (*mr mšr*) of the Lord of the Two Lands.⁶ *Sš nfrw* has wider reference than purely military usage,⁷ while *mr mšr* is not uniformly 'general' but (it seems) merely a military officer of high or low degree,⁸ and not always that.⁹ Rather than the equation of the two Mayas being virtually inevitable (cf. Campbell, p. 128), it looks well-nigh impossible;

¹ See H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut^cankhamen*, III (1933), 104, 149 (original deposition of jars), 98–99 (no tidying in Annexe).

² The matter of doubled *r* in *Nibhururiya* in EA 9 (p. 62) is irrelevant.

³ ' . . . ich glaube nicht, dass entscheidende stichhaltige Gründe aus geschichtlichen Erwägungen heraus dagegen vorgebracht werden können.'

⁴ Cf. Fairman in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, III (1951), 153.

⁵ EA 216–18, 300 are less explicit; EA 62, a Maya in Šumur, may refer to another person.

⁶ For these titles cf. (e.g.) Davies, *El Amarna*, v, pl. IV.

⁷ Cf. A. R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (*Mün. Äg. St.* 6, 1964), 45, 144 (*mr nfrw*), 160, § 461c (*sš nfrw*).

⁸ Note *ibid.* 41–44.

⁹ *Ibid.* 44, § 98.

a cattle-keeper and land-bailiff is not likely to be found in the foreign service. Hence Albright's and Campbell's identification must be rejected without further ado, leaving one of Campbell's main grounds of objection to the supposed co-regency (cf. pp. 75–77, 105, 128–30, 139–40) entirely without any foundation in fact. In any case the points made above about dating 'Amarna tomb-owners by princesses, etc.', would also apply to Tomb 14.

Far superior is the former identification of the Maya of the letters with the father of one Kamose, 'Standard-bearer of the Company Nebmarē Tjehen-Aten', namely 'the Companion, greatly beloved, Royal Envoy (*ipwty-nsw*) in Foreign Land(s), Seal-bearer . . . , and Chief of Bowmen, Maya', on British Museum statue 1210.¹ By the Atenist regimental title one may attribute Maya and his adult son Kamose to the latter half of Amenophis III's reign, and his titles are most appropriate for the Maya in foreign service.² With this identification it is easier to assume that father and son served Amenophis III and IV if there was a co-regency rather than over two successive reigns.

It is a pleasure to commend the convenience, clarity, and generally judicious presentation of Campbell's nineteen-paragraph review of previously offered 'evidences' for the alleged co-regency, and their varying relevance according to length of co-regency proposed. But he seems not to grasp the nature of the Athribis-block datum (pp. 23–24, 29 top). One king offering to another could be a memorial—but not two kings *acting side by side*, as implied by the orientation of the Athribis block cartouches.³ The reviewer sees no escape from this.

Certain other of Campbell's difficulties are artificial. The existence of two courts (p. 30) is not significant: each king has his estates (*pr*),⁴ and the direct supply to the court depends on its location.⁵ The 'lack of interaction' (pp. 29–30) is no greater than, for example, during the *known* co-regencies of the Twelfth Dynasty (double-dated monuments quite rare, and literary witnesses like Sinuhe almost unknown); the parallel regnal dates that trouble Campbell did not worry the Egyptians, whether in the Twelfth, Eighteenth, or Twenty-second/Twenty-third Dynasties. Full-scale *open* hostilities between Aten and Amūn before Years 8/9 of Akhenaten remain to be proved. On pp. 36, 138, and *passim*, Campbell talks of the court having left Thebes for El-'Amarna or (under Tutankhamūn) of its leaving El-'Amarna to return to Thebes. This is pretty certainly a misconception. Ever since Tuthmosis I the kings had a palace at Memphis, which became the real seat of government from Tuthmosis III onwards.⁶ Note the reference in Haremhab's great Decree⁷ to the king visiting Thebes (i.e., not residing there) annually for the Opet Festival, from Tuthmosis III onwards. Amenophis II was 'born at Memphis',⁸ and conducted his Syrian campaigns from there.⁹ Amenophis III favoured the city.¹⁰ Tutankhamūn's famous restoration decree was promulgated from the old Memphite palace in the estate of Tuthmosis I.¹¹ Hence we must think of the 'Amarna letters in terms of El-'Amarna and Memphis, not Thebes. The simplest answer to Campbell's problem (pp. 76–77) over foreign correspondence during a possible co-regency lies in the quite different attitudes of the Egyptians and their neighbours. In Egypt both co-regents have full royal status,¹² and the more active partner is apparently the

¹ First published by Newberry, *PSBA* 23 (1901), 218–19 (I owe this reference to Professor Fairman), then by Edwards, *Hierogl. Texts*, VIII (1939), 12–13, pl. XIII.

² Identification proposed by Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 30 (1916), 299–300, dating Maya unnecessarily to Amenophis III and possibly earlier (e.g. Tuthmosis IV). This identification was rejected by Albright, *JNES* 5 (1946), 15, without a scrap of evidence, solely on Spiegelberg's over-high date.

³ Incidentally the cartouches would be above the royal figures, not *vice versa* as Campbell, p. 24 has it; any temple-wall will show this.

⁴ e.g., cf. Helck, *Materialen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, II (1960), 201 ff.

⁵ e.g., supplies from Memphis area when the court visits Memphis, Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I* (1896), etc.

⁶ See in general A. Badawi, *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich* (1948).

⁷ Lines 28–29; cf. Helck, *Urk.* IV, Heft 22 (1958), 2150; *ibid.*, *Deutsch* (1961), 419, § 5.

⁸ Helck, *Urk.* IV, Heft 17 (1955), 1366, A (Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders* (1917), pl. XXX, 18, 7, 1).

⁹ Memphis war stela, ll. 15, 29; Helck, *op. cit.*, 1305, 1308.

¹⁰ Cf. (e.g.) Kees, *Priestertum*, 1953, pp. 66–67, 81–82. Tuthmosis IV had lived in the Memphite region as a prince (Sphinx Dream-stela).

¹¹ Line 11; Helck, *op. cit.*, Heft 22, 2028, 7.

¹² From known co-regencies it is clear that the junior partner had full titles, regalia and crowns, regnal years, etc., from the start. There is no warrant for assuming any second coronation after the senior partner's death.

younger one.¹ But in Western Asia this usage did not hold at this period, and so Near-Eastern rulers simply followed their *own* usage in always addressing the senior king while he yet lived, and the younger only after his becoming sole (i.e. senior) ruler.

On the cuneiform side, happily, Campbell's book is more useful. In dealing with the vassal letters he well states (p. 66) the chronic ambiguities inherent in such documents historically and chronologically. It is just such ambiguity, in fact, that ultimately robs the cuneiform data of any really decisive role in the discussion of matters such as this co-regency. Campbell ably tabulates the clues given by Akizzi of Qatna and Abimilki of Tyre (Mayati/Meritaten ref.). On Tutu and Maya see above. The principal link between northern and southern vassal-state letters is the figure of the commissioner Yanhamu, well brought out on pp. 90–102. However, the lack of a tomb for him at El-'Amarna (p. 90) may mean nothing chronologically—he could well have been buried at Memphis (cf. Haremhab before accession). Other letters are grouped by Campbell around three 'focal points', a useful device. Abdi-ashirta of Amurru and Abimilki of Tyre serve as early and late reference-points respectively, and permit some treatment of Aitakama (Etaqqama) of Qadesh. The latter connects with Suppiluliuma's campaigns (cf. pp. 117–21), but Campbell refuses to draw conclusions from this material, because of 'variables' in the data (p. 121, end). Some variables are illusory, e.g. the length of Tutankhamun's reign and identity of the queen who wrote to Suppiluliuma (see above), and Forrer's interpretation of a twenty-year period in Suppiluliuma's reign that must be discarded.² Campbell's failure to use the Hittite/North-Syrian data further in favour of restricting himself to the 'Amarna letters (pp. 122–3) must be deemed unfortunate. The third 'focal point', letters concerning Maya, is not a readily datable entity, for reasons already given.

In his 'Conclusions' (Chapter VI), Campbell sums up what seem to him to be 'several major stumbling-blocks in the way of' a co-regency (p. 138). The first is his notion that Tushratta's letters to Tiyi and Akhenaten (EA 26, 27) and that of Suppiluliuma (EA 41) show Akhenaten beginning his sole reign 'totally uninformed about the international situation' (ibid.). This reads more into the letters than is there. Both kings merely seek from Akhenaten and Tiyi certain 'gifts' allegedly promised to them by Amenophis III; this proves nothing about Akhenaten's wider knowledge or ignorance. The nature of co-regencies has been noted above, and likewise Campbell's second point on parallel dating in co-regencies. The third point, on the identification and dating of Maya, was shown above to be fallacious; the real identification points in the opposite direction. Fourthly, Campbell appeals to the relative chronology of the 'Amarna letters themselves, and queries whether so many of them can be squeezed into five or seven years of Akhenaten's sole reign on a co-regency hypothesis. But the relative dating of so many of these is so flexible as to decide nothing.³ This is particularly so when one proceeds on assumptions that are theoretically possible but are unsubstantiated. Thus (for example) Abimilki's letters *may* come in immediately after the Ribaddi archive (as Campbell assumes), but other arrangements are possible.⁴ Hence, on the grounds that he offers (and regardless of whether there actually was a co-regency or not), Campbell's 'strong negative vote' against a co-regency (whether twelve or eight-to-nine years long) is quite illusory, it would appear.

In dealing with the co-regency problem Campbell has not stopped to consider the relevance of Tutankhamun's parentage, an omission he shares with other writers including Helck, Hornung, and the reviewer. If Tutankhamun was a son of Akhenaten (and this would apply also to his brother Smenkhkarē), why is he never shown as such in preference to the crowd of daughters? Because he was (unlike them) not a son of Nefertiti? This reason would cease to be valid after her disappearance from chief queenship by about Year 14, and goes against longstanding oriental pride in sons rather than daughters. Aged about nine at his accession, Tutankhamun could not be a son of Smenkhkarē who then died aged about 20.⁵ Hence he could only be as a prince a son of Amenophis III. With Akhenaten dying in his Year 17, and allowing either nil or one year for Smenkhkarē as either wholly co-regent or briefly sole king, this parenthood of Amenophis III

¹ Cf. the statements of Sinuhe, B 50–51, for Ammenemes I and Sesostris I; note order of cartouches (Amenophis IV and III) on the Athribis block.

² Cf. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs* (1962), 1–5.

³ Helck (*Beziehungen*, chap. 15, 174–98) presented one possible outline without a co-regency; the reviewer (*Suppiluliuma . . .*, *passim*) presented an equally probable one including a co-regency.

⁴ Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma . . .*, Table, pp. 42–45 and refs.

⁵ Cf. R. G. Harrison, *JEA* 52 (1966), 95–119.

implies the latter's death in Year 8 or 9 of Akhenaten at the earliest. An eight- or nine-year minimum co-regency would then be unavoidable. These considerations ought at least to be weighed.

In conclusion, one of the most valuable features of Campbell's book is the veritable crowd of detailed suggestions for better textual readings and improved translations and interpretations in many 'Amarna letters, stemming either from Dr. Campbell, or from Professor Albright or other colleagues (notably W. J. Moran). Quite apart from the general contribution to the thorny business of trying to work out the inner chronology of the 'Amarna letters for which the book is useful, these textual matters alone make it an essential companion for all who have need to study the 'Amarna tablets. An index of EA tablets enables such data to be found readily. Thus, while Campbell's main thesis on the co-regency is less than convincing in this writer's view, yet the need to document this aspect must not be allowed to detract from the real value of the work for the historical and textual study of the 'Amarna archive; Dr. Campbell has not written in vain.

K. A. KITCHEN

Soleb. Vol. 1. 1813-1963. By MICHELA SCHIFF GIORGINI, C. ROBICHON, and J. LECLANT. Florence, 1965. Pp. viii and 161. Text figs. 130. Maps and plans 3. Price L. 15,000.

For six long seasons between 1957 and 1963 an expedition sponsored by the University of Pisa worked at Soleb, a site between the second and third cataracts of the Nile in the Sudan. Here was a temple built in the reign of Amenophis III, much admired by visitors in modern times, but little known because of its remote situation. In the course of these six seasons the whole site was exhaustively examined, the temple cleared, and much work of restoration and consolidation completed. Madame Schiff Giorgini, the inspirer and leader of the expedition, was assisted by Monsieur Clément Robichon and, initially, by Professor J. M. A. Janssen; after the latter's sad death, Professor J. Leclant joined the team as epigrapher. The determined and efficient way in which the actual expedition was conducted is well known from the reports in *Kush*, vols. 6, 7, and 9-12. Clearly the same determination is being applied to the production of the final report of the work at Soleb. From this first volume it is apparent that the publication will be comprehensive in all respects; for we are promised six volumes altogether.

In volume 1 are collected all the relevant documents bearing on the site and the temple, gathered from modern published and unpublished sources. Volume 2 will be devoted to the cemeteries in the neighbourhood, and volumes 3-5 to the temple. Indexes are reserved for volume 6.

This handsomely produced book augurs well for the whole series. It is principally an introductory volume containing the recent history of the site from the time when the temple was first sighted, though not visited, by Burckhardt in 1813, down to the years when the Schiff Giorgini expedition was at work. After a short introductory chapter containing a sketched account of this history, comes a second chapter which provides the 'meat' of the book. Here we are given the documents which support the narrative of chapter 1—the accounts of travellers and archaeologists who have visited Soleb. It is a remarkable collection of material, and forms as complete an archaeological dossier as has ever been produced for any Egyptian site. The extracts from published works are given in their original languages (the editorial language of the volume being French), and they are supported wherever necessary by figures incorporated in the text containing photographs of plans and drawings taken from the original publications. Many of these publications are now difficult to find and not easy to consult, so that it is extremely useful to have the whole body of published Soleb material gathered together in one place. Where necessary the reproduced extracts and illustrations are annotated and explained—a particularly useful practice when what is published does not correspond with what was found by the expedition on the ground. The best early published account is that of Cailliaud in his *Voyage à Méroé* (1823-7); the fullest and most useful is that of Lepsius in the *Denkmäler*, the plates in the great volumes supplemented by the notes published posthumously in the *Text*, vol. 5. In this particular case the present authors provide a further supplement in the form of the relevant pages of Lepsius's original *Notizbuch* from which the *Text* was prepared by Naville and others. We are given then reduced reproductions of the plates of the *Denkmäler*, followed by photographs of the pages of the *Text*, and the pages of what may be called the 'Urtext', found in the *Notizbuch*. Copious notes and comments elucidate difficulties and discrepancies between the accounts.

For the documentation of the site before the arrival of the Schiff Giorgini expedition the Lepsius

publications were the most comprehensive and the most important. But a mass of useful, carefully recorded information remained to be studied in the unpublished notebooks and sketch-books of travellers and students like Linant de Bellefonds, Lord Prudhoe, and Wilkinson, and in documents of Bonomi and Major Felix preserved among the Burton papers in the British Museum. These sources contain views of the temple, detailed drawings of architectural elements and of texts, and plans. All are reproduced photographically in full here, and annotated transcriptions of the often difficult handwriting provided. Such records contain much of use to the modern student, for in many cases they preserve details of decoration or readings of signs now lost. The skill and facility of early copyists, some of whom could have understood little of the texts they copied, are astonishing.

Two final chapters contain a discussion of the names of the site found in various documents and a summary account of the campaigns of the Schiff Giorgini expedition.

It might be complained that the plan of publication outlined for this site is extravagant and unnecessarily lavish. It is true that no publication of a single site has been prefaced by such a detailed 'excavation' report on the existing literature, and it may be doubted that such a preliminary study is desirable. To judge the whole Soleb publication at this point would be improper and very unfair; but some general remarks in defence of the adopted plan may be made. Soleb has always been a site difficult of access, and it is unlikely to become more accessible now that the Nile Valley to its north is being turned into a vast lake. The work done there by this expedition is, as far as can be judged from the preliminary reports, of notable thoroughness. It is improbable, therefore, that further work will be undertaken at Soleb for many years to come. Consequently it is right that publication should be as complete as possible. In this case, happily, the possibility is being realized splendidly. Because of the paucity of recent work at Soleb early accounts achieve an importance rarely encountered when dealing with sites in Egypt. The inclusion of these accounts in the publication is therefore of special value. This volume is exemplary; the subsequent volumes are awaited with great expectation.

T. G. H. JAMES

Mit Rahineh 1956. By RUDOLF ANTHES and others. Museum Monograph of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1965. Pp. x and 170. Plates 79. Text figs. 21. Price \$7.50.

Memphis has always proved to be a difficult site to dig, and one that requires a great deal of courage and persistence on the part of the excavator. In the first place, it is an area of habitation; secondly, it is much disturbed; thirdly, subsoil water is close to the surface; fourthly, it presents particular stratigraphical problems. It is, furthermore, like most town-sites, an uncertain yielder of objects. Yet it is a site of prime importance for the history of ancient Egypt, having remained a city of maximum importance throughout the Dynastic Period. No one who has dug at Memphis has failed to find interesting and important things, but the results have nearly always been of a somewhat haphazard kind, and overall have served more as a discouragement from further work than as an incentive thereto.

Some of the reasons mentioned above, and others besides, led to the discontinuing of the joint expedition of the University Museum, Philadelphia and the Antiquities Service after two seasons. This closing of a promising and interesting excavation was much to be regretted because already the expedition had achieved some useful results. The record of the first season's work was published in 1958 (reviewed in *JEA* 46, 119 f.), and now we are given the record of the second season in a volume edited by Professor Anthes, to which many scholars have contributed. The volume is an extremely useful compilation, and is introduced by Anthes's general report which ranges widely and in detail over the problems of the site and the specific tasks which were undertaken and accomplished. In some respects he is obliged to modify preliminary conclusions and views which were arrived at soon after the excavations were finished; as some of these conclusions and views are retained in the sections prepared years ago but now printed for the first time, an impression of confusion and lack of co-ordination obtrudes itself on the reader. Perhaps a little tighter editorial control in the final stages of preparation might have resulted in a more coherent work.

The principal tasks of the expedition during the season 1956 were to continue the study of the small temple of Ramesses II just outside the great enclosure wall of the temple of Ptah, and to make soundings and other investigations in various places in an attempt to pursue a general study of the history of Memphis. The greater part of Anthes's introduction deals with the small temple. He discusses in particular the purpose,

date, and name of the building, concluding that it may have been built about Year 34 of Ramesses II, and used for his second *sed*-festival. The name cannot be determined with certainty, but Anthes's discussion of this problem, taken with an important contribution later in the book by Yoyotte ('Le nom de Ramsès "souverain d'Héliopolis"'), is of great value in demonstrating the usefulness of names and epithets in studying topographical, chronological, and religious matters. The continued work on the great enclosure wall produced proof that the structure was very late, possibly not being earlier than the first century B.C. Soundings established the line of the wall on the south side of the enclosure, and further work in the area of Merenptah on Kôm el-Qala revealed that the relationship between this latter site and the great enclosure, formerly accepted as a fact, was not valid.

Anthes's introduction is followed by the report of the expedition's architect, M. Jean Jacquet. He makes initially some pertinent observations on the importance of stratigraphic methods of excavation in a site like Memphis. He emphasizes, as Anthes does earlier in the volume, that the establishing of the results presented here depended to a great extent on excavation conducted not horizontally, but by vertical cuts with minute observation of levels. Jacquet deals systematically with each sector of the excavations, and includes an interesting comparison of ancient pottery kilns found at Memphis with kilns still being used in Upper Egypt.

A short chapter by Dr. Labib Habachi contains a description of the northern tower of the pylon which originally formed the entrance to the small temple. The remains of this tower had been found by him in 1950. A translation of the few surviving texts is given.

After Yoyotte's section already mentioned comes the catalogue of the finds which carefully lists and describes all the objects considered worthy of publication. Most of these objects are illustrated in the plates. Of special interest are the libation tank of Amenemhat (already published in *MDAIK* 16, 161 ff.), and re-used slabs from the tomb of Iyry, of which two bear remarkably fine, though elongated, representations of Iyry and his wife. Perhaps a personal interest may allow individual mention to be made of object no. 50, a small, headless, kneeling figure of a woman in a pleated garment, with raised arms, one of which is supported by a papyrus-cluster column. A very similar object in the British Museum (no. 2366) consists of a headless figure of a nude woman, kneeling on a basket-shaped base; one arm is supported by a papyrus-cluster column, and the other was clearly supported similarly, though the second column is now lost. The carving of this piece, which is of steatite and 6.8 cm. high, is exceptionally fine, and probably of late Eighteenth- or early Nineteenth-dynasty date; its provenance is not known. The significance of these pieces is undetermined, but it seems possible that they embody some reference to the *sed*-festival.





















The very full catalogue of pottery prepared by Dr. Henry Fischer contains many useful observations on dating, and includes references to related material from other sites as well as Memphis. The volume ends with a concordance of numbers from the excavation catalogue and from the catalogue in the publication. There is no index.


T. G. H. JAMES

The Cairo Calendar No. 86637. By ABD EL-MOHSEN BAKIR. Antiquities Department of Egypt. Cairo, 1966. Pp. x+142, pls. 100, frontispiece and 2 folders. No price given.

The publication of the great Cairo Calendar Papyrus represents the culmination of much patient work by Professor Bakir, who announced his project as early as 1948 (see *Ann. Serv.* 48, 427 ff., where its contents were summarized), and has since published two articles on points arising from his material (*JEA* 39, 110 f.; *Ann. Serv.* 56, 203 ff.) The text, written on both sides of a roll 690 cm. long, is not a unity. The main text, which occupies cols. iii-xxx of the recto and i-xiii of the verso, is a complete calendar of lucky and unlucky days, containing entries which up to the end of the third season show the same arrangement: after the date follow (normally) three signs meaning 'favourable' or 'adverse' in various combinations, which the editor formerly took to mark a triple time division of the day (see *Ann. Serv.* 56); but he now believes that they indicate a proportional estimate of its quality; see p. 7 of this book. After this, in variable order, come some or all of the following: designation of the day as a feast of a particular deity; a short account of a mythological event commemorated on this date; particular recommendations or prohibitions about courses of action to be taken on it; and occasional predictions about persons whose birthday it is. A close parallel to this text is P. Sallier IV (P.B.M. 10184) which contains many similar or identical entries, but is incomplete at the beginning and end; P.B.M. 10474 is much more summary, containing no explanations, injunctions, or remarks.

The Calendar ends with entries of a rather different type (including spells) for the epagomenal days, and finally entries for a whole month unspecified which may have bearing on a standing calendrical problem (see p. 4 n. 1). It is preceded on the recto by two columns (written on a palimpsest sheet) containing the beginning of a day-by-day enumeration of *pryt*-feasts of various divinities, with injunctions and predictions; this is a mere fragment, covering only the first half of the first month of Akhet. The rest of the verso is occupied by various short texts: *vs.* xiv gives the hours of daylight and darkness respectively for each month of the year, citing the names by which those months are familiar to us in later antiquity; col. xv contains magical names of the epagomenal days, and col. xvi invocation spells for use on these days; xvii a list of magical divine names; xviii–xx short jottings including the measurements of (apparently) a royal tomb; finally (xxi–xxiv) the beginning of another calendrical text, stating shortly whether each day is propitious and favourable to activity or not, and naming the gods whose feast it is.

The publication is well conceived. After an account of the recent history of the papyrus and a description of its format, accompanied by two folders with plans of each side of the whole roll, showing the positions of columns and lines and the recurring patterns of damage, the editor summarizes its contents; he then briefly discusses the composition of the main text, which both vocabulary and grammatical forms stamp as Middle Egyptian, its writing, which plainly belongs to the New Kingdom, and the orthography, whose faults are attributed largely to writing from dictation. His final remarks in this introductory section include a study of the scribe's use of rubrics and a note on the patterns observable in the favourable or unfavourable nature of the same dates in different months. After this come the translations and commentaries, of which more below; then enumerations of the mythological entries in the main Calendar, first according to dates (pp. 86–94) and then according to divinities, sacred objects and localities (pp. 95–122); the printed part of the work ends with an index of formulae, a general index verborum, and a concordance of the Cairo Calendar with the two B.M. Calendars, showing how far they agree in their pronouncements about the favourable or adverse quality of the same days. The rest of the volume is devoted to plates in which a photographic reproduction of the text faces a hieroglyphic transcription, made by Professor Bakir's pupil, Mr. Abd el-Aziz Sadek, in a beautiful hand which reminds us of his teacher's own calligraphy. The photographic plates are in half-tone, which does not lend itself to minute examination, but the hieratic of the main text is generally clear; comparison with the transcription suggests the following corrections and remarks: *rt.* col. i, l. 2: ; viii, 6:  of *grh* om. in original; x, 2: delete  in *tp-f*? xii, 3: I am a little doubtful about the reading of the first sign as , but can suggest no alternative; xxii, 1:  om. after *wcb-k*; xxiii, 6: restore , not ; xxiv, 7: , not  at end of line? xxviii, 2:  of *in* om.; xxx, 3: begins ? *vs.* ii, 4:  om. before *sp*; iv, 2:  om. after *hnty*; ib. 12:  om. from date; vii, 2: *pr m* ; ix, 9:  om. before *snb*; xii, 3:  (*rn(p)yt*?) om. after *hnkyt*; xvi, 2: there seems to be a word (which I cannot read) between *mk st hft* and *pwyt*; ib. 8: the sign after  looks like ; io: ? Other small errors, mostly omissions of a single sign, occur in *rt.* xii, 9; xiv, 10; xvii, 10; xxiv, 7; xxvi, 11; *vs.* i, 3; iii, 1; 13; iv, 9; ix, 4; x, 5; xvi, 7; xxii, 3; xxiv, 1; there are also a few places (as *rt.* vii, 5; ix, 12; xi, 10; xxvi, 8; *vs.* iii, 6, where damage or loss to the text should have been indicated by hatching or brackets. Few of these instances show more than minor slips in transcription; when one considers the extent of the text—about fifty columns of a dozen closely written lines each—the standard of palaeographic accuracy and acumen will be seen to be very high. The editor's reading of fragmentary passages and mutilated signs and his restoration of lacunae, which some random tests show to have been carefully measured, are especially praiseworthy. His presentation of such a sound text is enough to establish the value of this book. The printed parts of the work suffer somewhat by comparison. The obscurity of the translation in places is generally due to the corruption of the text, which seems understated in the editor's introduction (p. 6); there are many passages where a rendering was hardly to be attempted. We note occasional omissions, e.g. pp. 11 (*rt.* i, 5; 6; 12); 24 (xiv, 2; 5); 25 (xv, 3); 26 (xvi, 2); 32 (xxii, 10); 35 (xxv, 8); 45 (*vs.* v, 1); superfluities, e.g. pp. 24 (*rt.* xiv, 3); 43 (*vs.* iii, 7); 46 (vi, 5); 52 (xii, 12); and places where afterthoughts seem to have altered a word in the text without a corresponding change in the translation, or vice versa, e.g. pp. 19 (*rt.* ix, 11: *isdt*; cf. n. 12 on p. 68); 23 (xiii, 12: *rdi[n]sn*); 24 (xiv, 7: 'ibis (?)'); ib. 10: *[nh]m/[sd]m?*); 29 (xix, 6); 54 (*vs.* xv, 1: *hrw*). A few comments might be made on the interpretation of words or phrases: p. 11 (*rt.* i, 4): this interpretation preferable; alternative suggestion on p. 62 n. 16 involves impossible word order; 13 (iii, 4):

hr-(*t*)*w r*? 15 (v, 2): cf. pp. 25 (xv, 5); 44 (*vs.* iv, 4): *dbc* confused with *wḏr*? Correctly p. 22 (*rt.* xii, 12); *ib.*: sc. *th-t(y):f(y)*? 17 (vii, 1): *(n) sp* 'together (with him)'? *ib.* 12 : latter sign = 2nd pers. sing. fem. suffix? 22 (xii, 2): *šzw = šꜥr* 'begin' work? (cf. D'Orb. 2, 7); 32 (xxii, 4): *mrw* 'illnesses'; 39 (xxix, 4): alternative interpretation, on p. 76 n. 4, seems preferable; 51 (xi, 6; cf. xvi, 3): *stp* 'strip' (of linen); 52 (xii, 12): *šsp* 'conceive'? 55 (xvi, 8; 10): why is *šht* interpreted differently in these two places? 56 (xvii, 1); cf. p. 80 n. ad loc.: *gꜥ* for *kꜥ* or *ngꜥ*? *Ib.* (xix, 1): *(nb) hrw*? The part of the book which seems most open to criticism is the commentary. It is here that the work of its printers leaves most to be desired; corrections are mostly self-evident, but 'healthy' for 'hostility' on p. 62 (on *rt.* i n. 13) might puzzle the reader. Imperfections of typography are no doubt responsible for many of the rather numerous incorrect references (e.g. p. 68, on *rt.* ix n. 7, where we should read *JEA* 24, 52; P. Bremner-Rhind 32, 48; *JEA* 23, 177); but the editor must be held responsible for some (e.g. p. 65, on *rt.* iii n. 10; 66, *rt.* iv n. 6; *ib.* n. 8; *ib.* v n. 9), which are vague and sometimes untraceable. The commentaries on the whole err on the side of brevity, and give the impression that the author had found it necessary to condense his work. They contain much valuable information which is sometimes presented obscurely: e.g. p. 63 (*rt.* ii n. 4); p. 70 (xiii n. 2); *ib.* (n. 3 ff.); p. 73 (xxi n. 3 f.); p. 75 (xxvi n. 2); *ib.* (n. 10 (read *wḏ*, not *hḏ*)); p. 79 (*vs.* x n. 3); p. 81 (xxiv n. 3); there are also cases where the identification of a word, though probable enough, calls for supporting evidence, or the discussion of a difficult passage might have helped us to follow the editor's reasoning and appreciate his conclusions: *rt.* i, 9 f.: *ḏꜥꜥꜥ* (see p. 62); *ib.* 12: *t šw*; ii, 4: *rwd, šnc*; vi, 7: *tmyt*; vii, 4: *ḥꜥf hꜥp* (and below); xii, 3: (*imy·k*) *šꜥk r . . .*; xvi, marginal signs: do these include *gm·k* in l. 12? xix, 10: *itn*; xx, 9 f. *šsp*, etc.; xxiv, 7: *hst*; *ib.* 13: *mrt*; *vs.* v, 8: *wḏ m bnw*; viii, 10: *r-ntt*, etc.; *ib.* 12: *ipw*; x, 10. Above all we feel the need for the full citation of parallels from the other calendar texts. I understand, however, that we may hope for this in a future publication by Professor Bakir. Whatever more he may have to say on the subject, the interest of the present work should ensure that it will be welcome.


JOHN BARNES

Le Papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte. By PHILIPPE DERCHAIN. (Koninklijke Academie van België. Verhandelingen, 58.) Brussels, 1965. 2 vols. Vol. I, pp. 216+10 fig. Vol. II, pp. 72+18 pl. Price 450 Belg. fr.

First discussed by Birch in 1863, the text here edited with translation and commentary as well as with an elaborate introduction has been basically re-interpreted by its present editor. That he has been able to improve on Birch's treatment goes without saying. What is significant is that Derchain has been able to define anew what the whole text is about. Viewed hitherto for the most part as a somewhat uninteresting manual of magic, it is now shown to contain remains of an authentic ritual.

In an introduction of 110 pages such matters as physical and theological ideas, mythology, geography, the actors, and the content of the ritual are discussed. Then comes a section covering the factual data about the papyrus and its language, followed by the translation and commentary. The first volume is rounded off with a select vocabulary of the text and indexes of divine and geographical names and also of the passages cited; a general index is given too. Photographs of the original hieratic are given in the second volume, preceded by a transcription and textual notes. Derchain's hieroglyphs may not be calligraphic, but they are clear and consistent. To be dated possibly to the early Ptolemaic era, the papyrus provides a text of varied content, the kernel of which is explained as a ritual aiming at the conservation of life. The symbolic centre of the ritual is a statuette of Osiris enveloped in a ram's skin and kept in a special sanctuary at Abydos called the 'House of Life'; the rites follow the traditional funerary pattern in part, but they include also a number of apotropaic spells recited by priests representing Shu, Tefēnet, Geb, and Nut, the general purpose being the maintenance of uninterrupted cosmic order.

After an admirably clear and indeed eloquent exposition of the ideological background, Derchain expresses the fear (p. 20) that reading the document itself will produce a less favourable impression. There are certainly some remaining difficulties of interpretation. One of these concerns the opening section which describes a scene of desolation mourned even by the gods. Of this state of darkness we are told that *Naunet*¹ totters,

¹ . Derchain, p. 137, says 'Le Noun', but his Index, p. 198, seems rightly to find 'Nounet' here. Schott, however, in *Studia Biblica et Orientalia. III. Oriens Antiquus* (Rome, 1959), 321, clearly reads *Nwt*,

the earth is toppled, the water is not navigable. Derchain (p. 24) explains the description as referring to a kind of end of the world. He very aptly cites the Hermetic *Asclepius*, 25 where the final cataclysm is portrayed in terms which include *nam et tenebrae praeponentur lumini . . . ; tunc nec terra constabit nec navigabitur mare.* It will be noted that the verbs here are future, and no future reference can easily be read into the Egyptian passage nor into any of the passages quoted by Schott¹ in a study to which Derchain refers. Schott (p. 320) talks of 'Vorstellungen . . . , welche sich mit einer möglichen Unterbrechung des Weltlaufs oder dem Ende der Welt befassen'. The first alternative is what is actually implied in each case, and Derchain concludes that the passage in P. Salt 825 is concerned with a threatened cosmic calamity—threatened, that is, unless the ceremonial afterwards prescribed is carried out. The text does not explicitly indicate this, but it is a good way of fitting the passage into the purpose of the whole. Another possibility, alternative or concomitant, is to relate the description to the death of Osiris, comparing P. Bremner-Rhind 12, 10 ff. (*Heaven is merged in earth, and a shadow exists on earth today; heaven is felled(?) to earth*—thus Faulkner, *JEA* 22 (1936), 129) and Jelínková-Reymond, *Djed-Her-le-Sauveur*, 111–12, pp. 49 and 55, where the gods are portrayed as being aghast at the drowning of Osiris. In favour of this interpretation is the fact that the papyrus expressly refers afterwards, as in 18, 1, to the death of Osiris, and is centrally concerned with the idea. Derchain, it should be added, is fully aware of the parallel passages, and he is probably right in seeking to combine the two interpretations. One wonders, at the same time, whether the emphasis is not more on the mythic event.

A remarkable section (14, 8–10) refers to a revolt against Shu by his son. Derchain is reluctant to connect this with the well-known story of the rebellion of Geb, and thinks that Osiris is involved. If so, Osiris will have the unparalleled role of a rebel, although he is not explicitly named in the allusion to the revolt. He is named immediately afterwards, but it seems possible that *r ḏb: z:f Wsir* in 14, 10 means 'instead of his son (= descendant) Osiris', in which case the previous allusion will not be to Osiris but to Geb. Derchain points out that in figs. 19 and 20 Shu is called the father of Osiris, and Tefēnet his mother. In fig. 20, however, Geb and Nut are also named as father and mother of the god. It is a difficult passage. The apostrophe to ḌAnkhy that follows is shown by Derchain to be problematic, since the attributes mentioned appear to suit Rē better than either Geb or Osiris.

In connexion with the disaffection of the son of Shu, Derchain maintains (p. 32) that Geb's character was 'certinement maléfique'. He adduces allusions which connect Geb with fears concerning the chthonic realm of the dead, for which compare Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 95–96. In Osirian associations, nonetheless, Geb is predominantly benevolent; he is so too in references to the bountiful earth which he represents. It may also be questioned whether Nedyet, the traditional scene of the death of Osiris, was originally connected with Busiris, and only afterwards, and for ritual purposes, sited in Abydos (see pp. 45 and 183, and supplement the General Index accordingly). Its Abydene association is the earliest attested; see my *Origins of Osiris*, 82; that the association persisted is well illustrated by the present papyrus.

A detailed account of the 'House of Life' and its divine officiants occurs in the text, and Derchain conducts a searching examination of its function both here and elsewhere. It will be recalled that Gardiner in *JEA* 24 (1938), 157–79 came to the somewhat negative conclusion that the administration of the 'House of Life' was 'not wholly divorced from that of the temple', but that the room was 'apparently in the main only a workshop' (p. 177). Derchain makes a strong case for the view that the 'House of Life' was not only the centre of the life-giving Osirian ritual, but also the temple library, where copies were made of carefully preserved manuscripts and where new texts were composed as well, whereas the *pr mdjt* was only a small repository where papyrus rolls were kept in readiness for particular rites; cf. Fairman, *Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple*, 169, where the 'House of Books' is said to contain 'a selection of the books required for the services'.

The work has been well planned and effectively produced. Some may regret the division into two volumes, but in practice it is very handy to be able to look at the text and the commentary together. Derchain shirks no difficulties whether linguistic or conceptual. His rich documentation is especially welcome, and it shows how well he knows the related literature, not excluding classical material such as the *Corpus Hermeticum*;

since he translates 'Der Himmel fiel im Finstern'. The predicate is better explained by Derchain ('Le Noun vacille'), with a reference to *Wb.* v, 205.

¹ 'Altägypische Vorstellungen vom Weltende', op. cit. in previous note.

in the latter connexion he has been able to show recently that the conclusions of Nock and Festugière must be seriously reconsidered.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt. By ROGER A. PACK. Second revised and enlarged edition. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965. Pp. x+165. No price given.

Although the first edition of this catalogue, published in 1952, was not reviewed in this *Journal*, it is sure to have become such a familiar aid to all scholars interested in literary and sub-literary papyri that it is unnecessary at this stage to give a detailed account of the methods and terms of reference used by Pack in compiling it.

Broadly speaking, the second edition follows the lines laid down by the first. The categories of papyri included correspond to those in the earlier edition except that Pack has now added an Appendix in which he lists sixty-four patristic texts. Still excluded are all papyri not found in Egypt or neighbouring countries (three western papyri listed in Pack¹, 2290, 2325, and 2352 = 2354, are now left out), as well as biblical, Jewish, Gnostic, and Christian texts, with the exception of the few mentioned above. Such omissions, though many will no doubt regret them, are readily comprehensible, as is Pack's decision not to include horoscopes since they have recently been catalogued by Neugebauer and Van Hoesen. Less justifiable, it seems to me, is the continuing exclusion of magical texts in general (though the footnote to p. 2 lists those that have been published since Preisendanz, *PGM* II), especially as no indexes to *PGM* have appeared.

The information given about the individual papyri shows a few alterations from the first edition, all of them improvements. Pack now gives, wherever possible, the inventory number of the papyri, their provenance, their present whereabouts, and their number in museum or library catalogues. Pack also states much more frequently than before where facsimiles are to be found, though on this point his list is by no means comprehensive. A minor change, but one that adds much to the clarity of the entries, is the printing of the authors' names in block capitals. Some concordances with older lists, e.g. Oldfather's, are no longer included. The few errors and omissions noted by reviewers of the first edition seem to have been put right, and the work as a whole shows as clearly as its predecessor Pack's thoroughness and reliability.

The entries have increased by approximately a third in comparison with the first edition, and it has not proved possible to keep to the original numbering. A concordance of Pack¹ = Pack² will prevent this being more than a minor irritation, but why is there no reverse list of Pack² = Pack¹? It is a great pity too that Pack has still not found room for an index of the papyri listed, arranged according to the collections or periodicals in which they were published.

When Pack has given us so much, it is perhaps somewhat churlish to complain. If Pack¹ proved an indispensable work of reference, Pack² will prove no less indispensable and will be even more useful. As, however, there is no sign that the publication of literary papyri is abating, and as the secondary literature on the published texts continues to proliferate, Pack² is likely to become out of date even more quickly than its predecessor. If, as it seems not unreasonable to suppose, we shall have to wait another thirteen years for the surely inevitable Pack³, would it not be possible in the interim for supplements, perhaps biennial, to be issued?

J. DAVID THOMAS

Papiri Milanesi (P. Med.) I nn. 13-87, a cura di SERGIO DARIS. Pubblicazioni di Aegyptus 2. 1966. Pp. xii +151. 27 half-tone plates. Price L. 5000.

In this volume S. Daris has collected and republished the greater part of the Greek papyri owned by the Università Cattolica in Milan. It contains 75 texts, 1 biblical, 7 literary, the rest documentary ranging from mummy cartonnage of the third century B.C. from Lycopolis to deeds of the sixth century after Christ. The plates fold out in a practical way, and facilitate reading against the transcripts. They illustrate several old friends of the papyrologist—e.g. the prologue to Euripides *Telephus*, or a piece of Libanius in a Coptic hand. A very few texts are quite new. The rest have been revised and reread. It is interesting to see the replacement of the original reading in 64, 5 by δεσποτικῆ (undoubtedly right) μηχανή. In 24, 2 one expects a statement of the carrying capacity of the vessel, which no doubt Mr. Daris has in mind (ἀγ(ωγῆς) ἀρταβῶν) 21). In no. 31, 1 ἀρχικισωματοφυλάκων is a misprint. It is good to see that P. Med. 1-12, published in a volume now unobtainable, is being reprinted.

E. G. TURNER

The Buried City, Excavations at Leptis Magna. Introduction by R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI. Descriptive text by E. VERGARA CAFFARELLI and G. CAPUTO. Translated by D. Ridgway; pp. 126, 3 colour plates, 252 black-and-white illustrations and text figures. London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1966. Price £5. 5s.

The excavation of Leptis Magna was one of the outstanding achievements of Italian colonial enterprise in North Africa. The work, carried out from 1910 onwards and systematically from 1920, not only revealed one of the most fascinating ruined cities in the whole Roman Empire but opened up a new chapter in the history of Roman art and architecture. Publication hardly ever keeps pace with excavation, and if Professor Bandinelli in his introduction is right to rebut the accusation that the Italian authorities were more concerned with the touristic than with the scientific aspects of the work, the fact remains that the site as a whole is unpublished. A few individual buildings, for example the harbour and the theatre, have been the subjects of monographs and there have been studies of the mosaics and the paintings, but no general account of the site. This translation of a book first published in Italian provides the English reader with the first easily accessible illustrations, plans, and reconstructions of the buildings of the city. It originated as a collaboration between the artist-turned-photographer, Fabrizio Clerici, and the archaeologist Vergara Caffarelli who became director of antiquities for Tripolitania in 1951 and died in 1961 at the age of 54. Its publication is an act of *pietas* to Vergara with Professor Caputo, Vergara's predecessor, completing his description of the monuments and Professor Bianchi Bandinelli supplying an historical and art-historical introduction.

Leptis was always the most important of the three cities from which Tripolitania takes its name. Its early Imperial development from the old Phoenician and Punic nucleus round the harbour was not spectacular, but some of the buildings, such as a theatre erected by a native benefactor Annobal Rufus, were grand enough. There was a burst of building activity under Hadrian and the Antonines as in most cities of the Empire, but it is to Septimius Severus that the city owes its most impressive monuments. Septimius, made emperor in A.D. 193 as governor of Upper Pannonia, was a native of Leptis, and during his reign the city was adorned as a fitting birthplace of an emperor. Whether or not Septimius ever visited the place during his reign—a question that Professor Bandinelli discusses in detail in his introduction—there is no doubt that it was he who inspired the building of the city's most spectacular monuments in a programme which appears to have begun shortly after A.D. 202. The buildings include a magnificent forum, a colonnaded street, and a triumphal arch decorated with historical sculptures, monuments which have now taken a central place in the history of Roman art and architecture.

Professor Bandinelli's account of the origins and development of the city is clear and readable in a very good translation, and since he is one of the most perceptive writers on Roman art, his section on Severan monumental art is an important contribution to the problems of Roman artistic development, and in it he says much that has never been said so well before. Caputo's fairly detailed descriptions of the most important buildings and the accompanying plans are of great value to the student, who will not find them readily accessible elsewhere. But fundamentally this is a picture-book, and there are some very fine pictures. Clerici has a taste for strong black-and-white effects; his dark scenes of ruins are often very dramatic but lose something thereby for record purposes. On the other hand some of the details of sculpture are brought out very well by Clerici's technique which emphasizes the chiaroscuro effects at which the sculptors were aiming. Some of his more casual shots, a study of sand and ruins, a pavement of cut marble washed by the sea, are very evocative of the place. The colour is less successful, as it usually is.

There is a bibliography, an index of proper names, a glossary, and a list of plates; and all in all this is a book which combines a great deal of visual pleasure with a considerable practical usefulness.

D. E. STRONG

Die Binnenwanderung. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte Ägyptens in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit. By HORST BRAUNERT. (Bonner historische Forschungen, Band 26.) Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1964. Pp. 422. Price not given.

The task Braunert has set himself is to collect and analyse all the evidence relating to the movement of population within Egypt in the Graeco-Roman period, a subject to which a monograph has not hitherto been devoted, even though, as Braunert stresses (p. 16), the papyri enable us to make a demographic study which is virtually without parallel in antiquity. He is concerned with all forms of *Binnenwanderung*,

permanent, long-term, or temporary, within the nome or beyond it, but especially with a permanent change of dwelling from village to metropolis or from the *chora* to Alexandria or vice versa. As his sub-title implies, Braunert is not content merely to collect material; he also examines the causes and effects of *Binnenwanderung* and relates it to its historical setting. In one respect the sub-title does the book less than justice: Braunert's survey does not end with the Roman period but goes on to include the fourth century A.D., as well as glancing at the later Byzantine period. The result is a solid and useful piece of work.

Within each of the three major chronological divisions Braunert examines his subject from two angles, dealing first with *Die Binnenwanderung einzelner Bevölkerungsgruppen* and then with *Die Bevölkerungszusammensetzung als Ergebnis der Binnenwanderung*; each of these chapters treats separately Alexandria, the other Greek cities, the metropoleis, and the villages. Some repetition is inevitable, but on the whole the two approaches are complementary and enable the author to consider his subject from a legal and social, as well as a geographical, point of view. Braunert has clearly experienced much difficulty in presenting the vast amount of relevant data, and the result is somewhat indigestible and occasionally not easily comprehensible. To some extent he has minimized this drawback by adding a section in each period which repeats and amplifies his main conclusions and suggestions. Almost a hundred pages at the end of the book are devoted to Appendixes on the colonists of Antinoopolis and the *hypomnematographi*, extensive indexes, and *addenda et corrigenda* covering works published up to 1963. Indexes 2, *Formen der Binnenwanderung*, 5, *Terminologie zur Binnenwanderung*, and 6, *Schlagwörter*, which facilitate reference to specific points, will prove especially valuable.

The wide scope of the book can perhaps be judged from a summary of some of the main points. In the Ptolemaic period Braunert distinguishes sharply between the early years, represented for us primarily by the Zenon archive which he treats separately (pp. 29–54), and the last two centuries B.C. In the third century he believes that the Greeks went to live among the Egyptian fellahin in the villages and by their leadership produced general prosperity. From the second century on, however, there is increasing evidence of Alexandrians in the metropoleis and of the growth of a Hellenized middle class holding land in the villages but living in the towns. This led to a gulf between town and country, with a tendency for the inhabitants of the former to be concerned merely with what they could get out of the land they owned, and this, Braunert argues, together with the drift from village to town which he claims to have detected in these years, was a major cause of the economic decline of Ptolemaic Egypt. Augustus' reform of the metropoleis increased this gulf between their inhabitants and those of the villages, and Braunert suggests that this, added to his creation of large estates belonging to absentee landlords, counteracted his economic improvements and led directly to the crisis under Claudius and Nero. From the second half of the first century A.D. Braunert believes that a class of medium-sized landowners developed, of whom Sarapion of Hermopolis is an example (see J. Schwartz, *Les archives de Sarapion et de ses fils*), which resulted in the prosperity of the second century. He claims, however, that it was the metropoleis that were flourishing, not the villages. As he points out on pp. 165–8, *anachoresis* now becomes a recurrent phenomenon; he suggests this is one form of the rural depopulation which was now again prevalent, as the peasants were drawn to the metropoleis and Alexandria. The seeds of economic decay were therefore already present in the Egyptian villages in the second century A.D. and in the third the decay spread to the towns, which could no longer offer work to any who cared to move there. For this reason, and because the Severan reforms, which should have increased the attractiveness of the towns, created a *bourgeoisie* jealous of its privileges, the drift of population from country to town ceased. Indeed, Braunert claims that there is some evidence to suggest a movement away from the towns and back to the villages by the end of the century. After the early fourth century population movement declined steeply, primarily because the government sought to prevent transfer from village to city, and by the late Byzantine period it is so rare as to be specially marked in the terminology of the documents (cf. pp. 304–5; 317–19). The gulf between city and country, made still deeper by the reforms of Severus and again by Diocletian's municipalization, led to a split between the Hellenic culture of the towns and the native culture of the rural areas, which gave rise to the revival of Egyptian nationalism reflected in our sources from the third century onwards.

In general Braunert's opinions are not new, but his work has the merit of establishing these opinions on firmer foundations. Many of them still remain controversial and, like his new suggestions, will certainly not be found universally acceptable. Braunert's book is valuable, however, not so much for his general

views as for the material collected and the many interesting and important suggestions on points of detail, especially on the reading and interpretation of the papyri examined. The pitfalls inherent in a study of this kind are on the whole avoided. The extreme difficulty of using the papyrological evidence statistically is acknowledged (pp. 19 f.), but I am not sure that he always resists the temptation to treat the partial picture they give us as representative: e.g. pp. 91 ff. and 99 ff. come close to taking third-century B.C. Philadelphia as typical of Egypt at that date, even though he stresses elsewhere (e.g. p. 83) that these large Faiyûm villages are quasi-towns, quite unlike the hamlets we meet in the other nomes. At times his approach is perhaps too schematic, especially when he divides the Roman period into its separate centuries: did the second century differ from the late first? And when should the 'third century' begin—with Commodus (pp. 265 ff.), the Severan reforms (pp. 237 ff.), Caracalla's visit (pp. 242 ff.), or the reign of Severus Alexander (pp. 186 ff.)? On the other hand he makes very clear the distinction between *de iure* and *de facto Binnenwanderung* and the difficulty this causes for his study (pp. 22 ff.), and the vagueness of the terminology employed in the papyri (pp. 23–28). In one respect, however, I feel that his own terminology can be misleading, in the tendency to equate 'metropolitan' meaning 'inhabitant of a metropolis' with 'metropolitan' meaning 'a member of the Hellenized upper class', though he is well aware of the difference, as is particularly clear in pp. 297 ff. on the fourth century A.D. There are two important omissions: that of the demotic evidence is readily understandable if regrettable, but the failure to pursue the examination of the subject in the same detail into the late Byzantine period can hardly, I think, be justified.

It would be unfair to end on a note of criticism. This is an important book in which Braunert's grasp of the papyrological evidence, as well as the literary where appropriate, is impressive. It deepens appreciably our understanding of the social history of Graeco-Roman Egypt.

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