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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

PROFESSOR JAROSLAV ČERNÝ, to whom this volume is offered as a tribute of affection and respect by his colleagues and friends, celebrates his seventieth birthday on August 22 this year. His long association with this country has resulted in special ties which we all cherish, and members of our Society have many good reasons for greeting him on this occasion; but no scholar in our field is so truly international, at home in so many countries, and as fluent in so many languages. Some measure of the friendship and regard he has rightly earned is indicated by the papers printed here, written by scholars of many lands, on a wide variety of topics. We all hope that he will enjoy them. We are grateful to the Provost and Fellows of The Queen's College, Oxford, and to the Allocators of the Sir Alan Gardiner Voluntary Settlement for Egyptological Purposes, for generous grants towards the costs of printing this volume.

The occasion of Černý's birthday has resulted in the early appearance of the *Journal* this year, and, for various reasons, it has been decided to continue summer publication in the future. Prospective contributors should note that the Editor would appreciate the delivery of scripts by September for publication in the following summer.

While this editorial is being written, the latest season of work at Saqqâra is coming to a close. At the same time Dr. Seton-Williams is about to start her season at Tell el-Farâġîn. Full reports of these campaigns will appear in our next volume. Here an interim report on Saqqâra can be included. It is written by Professor Emery who happily was able to return to Saqqâra after recovering from a serious illness last autumn:

The Society's excavations at North Saqqâra began on February 3, 1968, and will end on April 11. The expedition consists of Professor and Mrs. W. B. Emery, Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Smith, Mr. G. T. Martin, Mr. K. Fraser, and Mr. J. Ray. By the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum and Dr. I. E. S. Edwards, Mr. S. Baker joined the expedition for six weeks as conservator. Mr. Ali el-Khouli again represented the Egyptian Department of Antiquities as inspector on the work, and was of the greatest assistance to the expedition. The Society's Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. H. K. Slater, visited Saqqâra in April.

Work was begun in the area to the front (west) of the great walled terrace discovered last year. From the foot of the wall came small hoards of Saïte bronzes, which tended to confirm the sacrosanct nature of the site. Under the sand was found an Archaic mastaba, and, at a distance of thirty-five metres from the terrace wall, a small vaulted house, the first of a series. In and below the main room of the house large numbers of dismembered cattle skeletons and fragments of cow mummies were found; also one complete cow image. The head is modelled in mud over a real cow skull, but the body is of wood, on a miniature scale in proportion to the head. The whole is plastered and gaily painted, showing Apis markings: floral garlands on the forehead, a rich saddle-cloth, and a winged hawk on its rear. Evidently these remains had been dragged forth either from the temple or from catacombs. They therefore provide clear confirmation of the inference drawn last season

from demotic documents that the site was sacred to the cult of the cow-goddess, Isis, mother of the Apis.

The terrace when cleared proved to be occupied by a Christian settlement with a small apsidal church, originally decorated with frescoes. A contemporary burial ground lay to the south. The period of occupation can be approximately estimated from two finds; a hoard of gold coins dating to the emperors Constantius, Julian, Valens, Valentinian, and Arcadius, found in a wall of a house last year; and a late-Coptic grave-stela, found this year. Thus the settlement, which showed several levels, was occupied at least from the fifth to approximately the twelfth century A.D. Its most puzzling feature is a series of vaulted passages and cells cut from the fill of the terrace far below the level of the house floors.

In front of the church ran a main north-south street, on the north side of which was an imposing limestone wall founded on inverted, re-used cornice blocks of a temple, bearing the cartouches of Nectanebo II of the Thirtieth Dynasty. Large palm capitals found in the debris indicate a column height of about twenty-five feet. The temple was clearly of considerable size, perhaps rather larger than that of Deir el-Medîna. Other inscribed blocks lay loose or were re-used in the Christian houses. One of these bears a scene of Nectanebo II worshipping the bull-headed Apis-Osiris, and a second deity, unfortunately lost. Undoubtedly the limestone blocks discovered last season bearing dedications to Isis, mother of the Apis, also came from this temple or its subsidiary buildings. Its identification as a temple of Isis, mother of the Apis, is confirmed by the large number of prayers to her on ostraca from the site. While some of the invocations date from Nectanebo II, one is dated to Psam-muthis and one to Hakoris of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty. Recent work has revealed the rear (east) wall of the temple terrace with two of its gateways. Though the temple itself was clearly almost completely destroyed by the Christians, sufficient may well remain to establish its plan.

The temple of the mother of the Apis must have stood close to the catacombs containing their mummified remains. The search for an entrance to these catacombs is impeded by the vast mounds of chippings from the original cutting of the ibis galleries close by, and by later excavators' dumps. There is, however, every reason to believe that it lies within a radius of one hundred metres of the area now being explored. At the time of writing it is hoped that access may be obtained to the vaults under the house where the mummified cows were found.

During the season, Mr. Baker cleaned most of the finer bronzes found during last season and this season. He also treated all the papyri from last season's work, and a complete new photographic record has been made by Mrs. Smith. The catalogue shows 485 demotic documents, 82 Aramaic, 4 hieratic, and 5 Greek; several hundred small fragments contain too little text to deserve individual recording. Most of the documents listed are fragmentary, but the whole body of material will be of real value for reconstructing the history of Memphis and its necropolis from the seventh to the second century B.C.

In a division of the finds of the last three seasons, excluding inscribed material, which took place on March 3, the Antiquities Department were most generous and a large consignment of antiquities is now on its way to London.

Additions and Corrections to Volume 53 of the *Journal*

Page 51, line 15. For 'grows' read 'gnaws'.

Page 56, line 18. For 'medical' read 'dental'.

Page 77, bottom. The length of the unwrapped (Denon) mummy is 5 ft. 2 ins.

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This Volume is dedicated
to
JAROSLAV ČERNÝ
on his
seventieth birthday

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Photo. Zemina, Prague

JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

HOMMAGE D'UN VIEIL AMI

Par BERNARD BRUYÈRE

C'EST avec un très vif plaisir et une profonde reconnaissance à nos aimables confrères anglais de l'Egypt Exploration Society que je saisis l'occasion qu'ils m'ont offerte de pouvoir me joindre à eux pour célébrer ensemble le 70^{me} anniversaire de naissance de mon cher ami Jaroslav Černý. Il y aura maintenant plus de 43 ans que sur la haute recommandation du Président de la République Tchéco-Slovaque, S. E. M. Masaryk, arrivait en Égypte un jeune égyptologue, brillant élève de M. le Professeur Lexa. Accueilli avec empressement en qualité d'attaché à notre Institut d'Archéologie Orientale, Černý fut affecté aussitôt par le Directeur, M. Georges Foucart, au chantier des Fouilles de Deir el-Médineh en Haute Égypte, dont je me trouvais chargé depuis déjà plusieurs années. C'était répondre au désir le plus cher caressé par lui et je partageais cette chance inespérée puisqu'elle me donnait un compagnon de très grande valeur, un aide précieux, qui venait demander à l'archéologie pratique le complément et le contrôle de ses vastes connaissances livresques et muséographiques relatives à un site vers lequel l'avait dirigé l'orientation préférentielle de ses études. A partir de l'année 1925 et pendant plus de trente ans, la plus intime collaboration et la plus sincère amitié n'ont cessé de nous unir dans une même passion pour la découverte des secrets concernant l'existence d'un antique village du Nouvel Empire, voué par une destination spéciale à toutes les œuvres funéraires des nécropoles pharaoniques.

A cette époque, la prise en charge récente du chantier, offrait des ressources plutôt sommaires et un confort assez réduit qui, dans ce désert libyque, auraient pu, par les difficultés du travail, décourager l'ardeur de tout autre que mon camarade. Au contraire, il sut s'en accommoder et accepter les fatigues inhérentes à une surveillance constante de nos ouvriers, à celles des nuits passées à déchiffrer des inscriptions dans la profondeur obscure et sans air des hypogées, à risquer sous un soleil de plomb, de périlleuses ascensions dans la chaîne libyque, pour calquer, sur les parois rocheuses, les graffiti des ouvriers d'antan, enfin à se plier avec le dévouement le plus empressé à toutes les obligations, matérielles et autres, toujours pénibles et souvent dangereuses, que peut comporter la bonne marche d'un chantier de fouilles en pleine activité.

A ce prix aura pu être extraite, par nos efforts conjugués, la matière de très nombreux *Rapports* et *Mémoires* sur la vie et l'œuvre de la corporation artistique et artisanale des nécropoles pharaoniques. Les maisons du village, les tombeaux de son cimetière et toute la région funèbre environnante ont fourni aux patientes recherches de mon compagnon les doctes éléments de tant de publications qui composent déjà un imposant ensemble de sujets embrassant la philologie, l'histoire, la mythologie et les autres chapitres relatifs à un site archéologique complet et particulièrement intéressant. A la faveur de cette documentation, rien ne sera plus ignoré des détails, même infimes et

anecdotiques, de quatre cent cinquante années de durée de cette petite bourgade thébaine. Non seulement on connaîtra les généalogies de toutes les familles, inscrites sur les murs des tombes, les stèles et les divers monuments funéraires; mais encore, à ces données onomastiques, à ces titulatures hiérarchiques et corporatives, s'ajouteront les particularités concernant l'organisation complémentaire de confréries laïques vouées au culte des rois défunts, des divinités du panthéon populaire, à la pratique des oracles et de la magie.

Mais pour Černý, ces investigations dans tous les domaines, ces articles de revues, ces catalogues d'ostraca du Musée du Caire et de l'Institut français, ces traductions et commentaires de papyrus judiciaires, ces différents écrits si remarquables pourtant, ne sont que hors-d'œuvre préliminaires annonçant pour une date prochaine, on veut l'espérer, la parution d'une magistrale synthèse de ses quarante ans de labeur à Deir el-Médineh. Une tâche d'une telle envergure, seul pouvait l'entreprendre un savant d'une érudition très étendue, un polyglotte connaissant les langues anciennes et modernes, un philologue averti doublé d'un ethnologue et d'un historien familiarisé avec les us et coutumes de l'Orient et surtout un observateur attentif ayant vécu pendant de longues années sur le site même de son travail d'analyse. Par bonheur ce cumul scientifique s'est trouvé réalisé en la personne d'un hiératisant d'une rare valeur qui a su tirer la signification de plusieurs dizaines de milliers d'ostraca découverts au cours de nos fouilles. Hélas le temps a manqué pour en traduire la totalité. Toutefois ceux qui sont édités montrent que les gens de la cité ouvrière furent, par leur vocation particulière aux œuvres royales, si étroitement mêlés à des péripéties de la grande Histoire que leurs propres petites histoires, même insignifiantes en apparence, en ont acquis une importance documentaire historique indéniable par leur relation avec les faits et gestes du trône. Si la France eut disposé d'un plus grand nombre de postes et de chaires d'égyptologie, peut-être aurions-nous eu l'avantage de pouvoir conserver parmi nous notre cher camarade Černý quand le chantier des fouilles cessa, pour raison majeure indépendante de notre volonté, de lui offrir les moyens de parachever son œuvre. Attiré en Angleterre par l'amitié de Sir Alan Gardiner, qui possédait une importante collection d'ostraca acquise pour lui par Norman de Garis Davies, il vint d'abord à Londres, puis à Oxford où sa réputation lui valut de devenir l'un des professeurs les plus estimés de cette grande Université. Grâce à son long séjour sur un chantier français, et riche du matériel scientifique qu'il en retira, Černý est aujourd'hui le meilleur et même le seul interprète capable de faire revivre la cité antique des 'Serviteurs de la Place de Vérité'. C'est pourquoi je suis très heureux de lui exprimer mes félicitations, ma reconnaissance et, en terminant, de lui renouveler mes vœux les plus sincères de bonheur et de santé à l'occasion de son anniversaire et pour de très nombreuses années.

TOMB 3070 AT SAQQÂRA

By W. B. EMERY

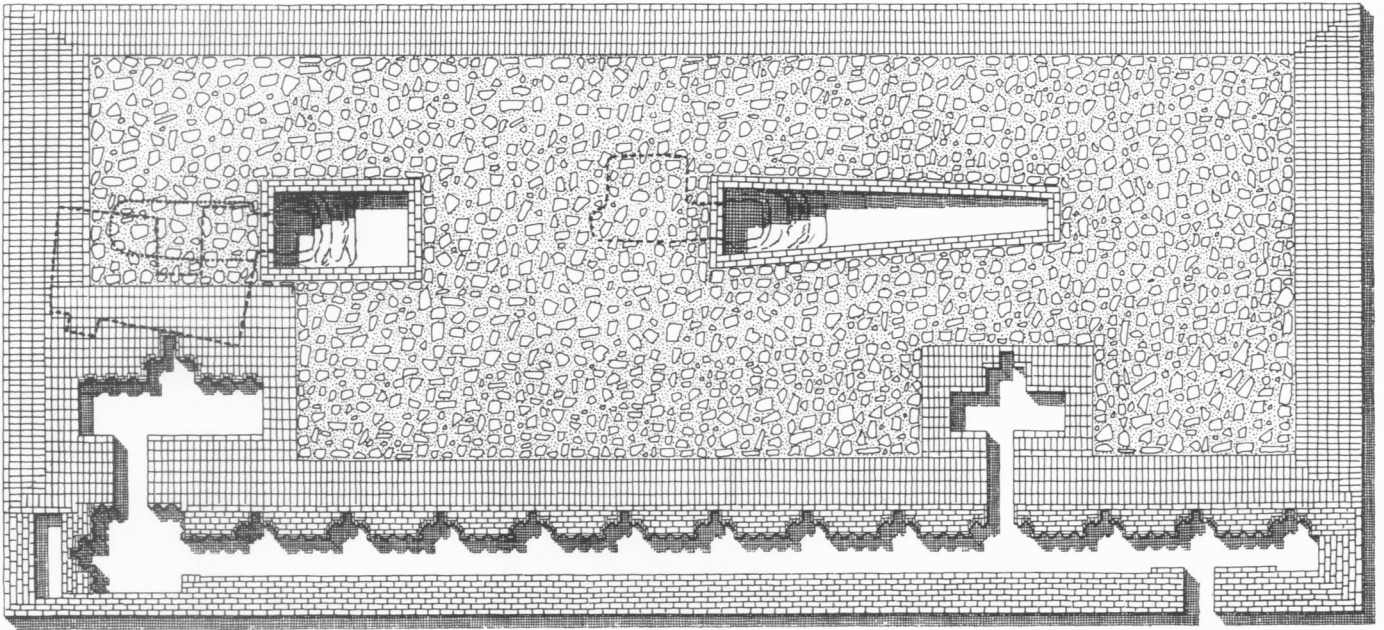
TOMB 3070 in the archaic necropolis of Saqqâra was partly cleared by C. M. Firth in 1931 and completely re-excavated by the writer in 1936. Although thoroughly plundered and practically devoid of objects, it is architecturally of considerable interest, for in its design we have what might be termed the 'return of the palace façade'.

During the First Dynasty the superstructures of all large tombs were embellished on all four sides with elaborate panelling, now generally called the palace façade. But at the close of this period, during the reign of *Ḳaḳa*, this form of architectural decoration was abandoned and the superstructures of large burial installations had plain façades, apparently with no painted decoration beyond white plastered surfaces; all this being in sharp contrast to the elaborate decoration simulating wood and matting of the earlier period. Throughout the Second Dynasty, this austere design was adhered to except that two false doors were introduced, the larger at the south end and the smaller at the north end of the east façade of the superstructure. Towards the end of the period and during the early part of the Third Dynasty, these small niches developed into the larger cruciform chapels; but with these exceptions the eastern façade remained entirely plain. Then, later in the dynasty, the palace façade reappeared, although not on all four sides of the superstructure, as in the First Dynasty, but confined to the east side.

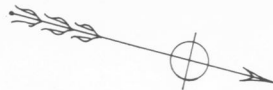
The fact that tomb 3070 (pls. II and III), originally of the typical plain façade type of the Third Dynasty, was after completion, down to its white plastered exterior, altered with the addition of the palace façade, suggests that it was the first example of the return to this archaic form of architectural embellishment (pl. II, 1). Unfortunately because of the paucity of material in the burial chambers, we have no evidence of its exact date, although fragments of stone and pottery vessels show that it was more or less contemporary with the tombs of *Ḥesy-reḳ* (3073) and *Khaḳ-bau-sokar* (2405). In the additional construction of the palace façade two important devices are to be noted: one, special mud bricks ($5 \times 5 \times 10$ cm) were used in the building of the delicate recessed panelling (fig. 1), a revival of a feature used during the middle period of the First Dynasty, best exemplified in tomb 3035¹ which is dated to the reign of Den. The other unusual feature is the panelling in the ante-room to the south of the chapel (pl. III, 2), which was formed not of brickwork but of long strips of sun-dried alluvial mud held in place by wooden pegs (fig. 2). This material is of great strength and weight, obtained apparently by reinforcing the mud with small strips of cloth and drying it when under great pressure. We have no evidence of the way in which this pressure

¹ Cf. Emery, *The Tomb of Hemaka* (Cairo, 1938), 3.

TOMB 3070



PLAN

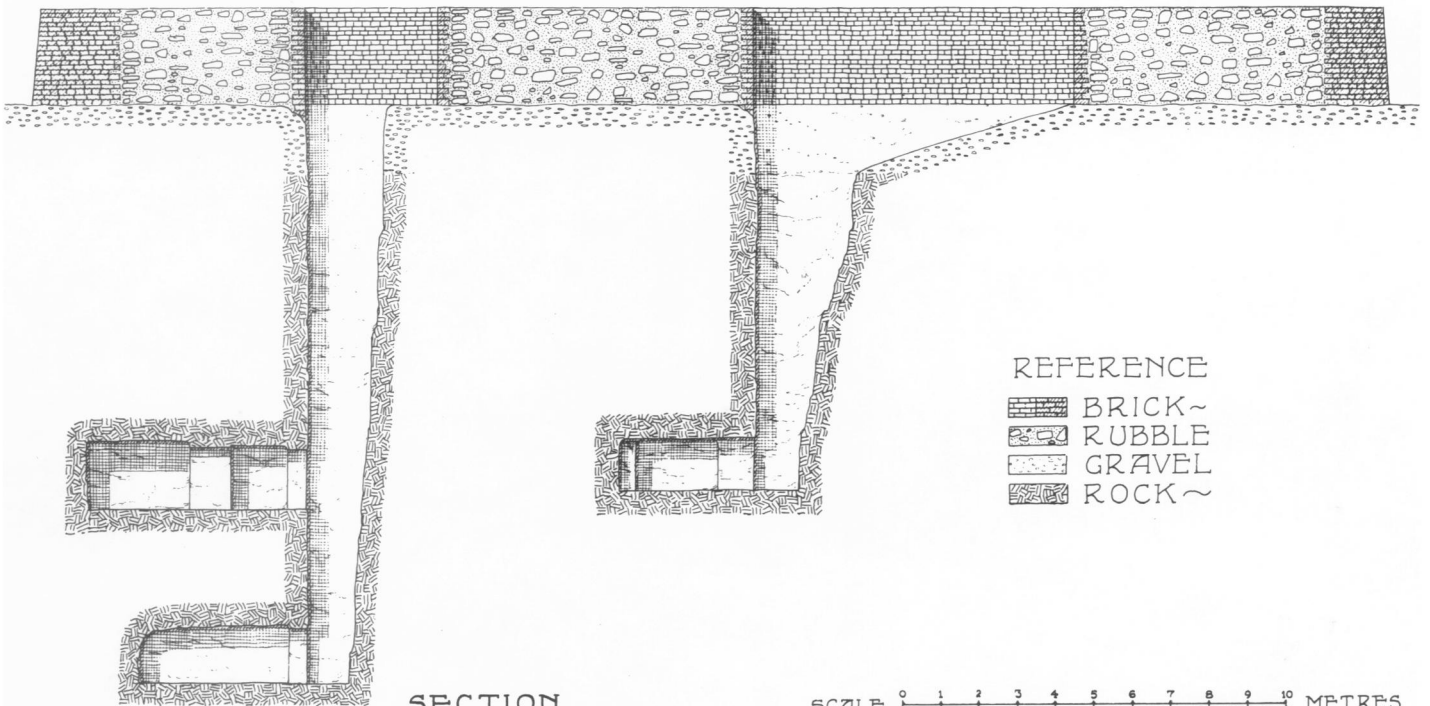


SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 METRES

WALTER B. EMERY
1967

I

TOMB 3070



SECTION

SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 METRES

WALTER B. EMERY
1967

2

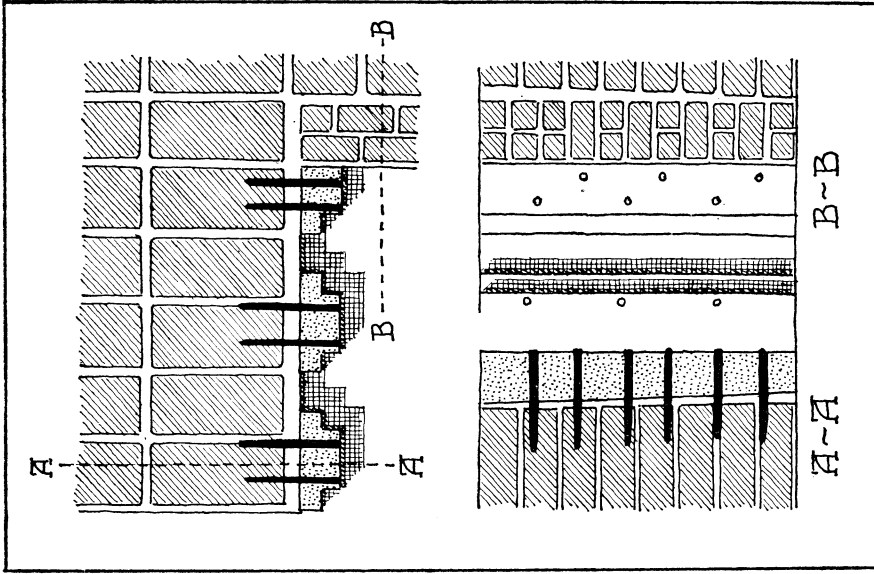


FIG. 2

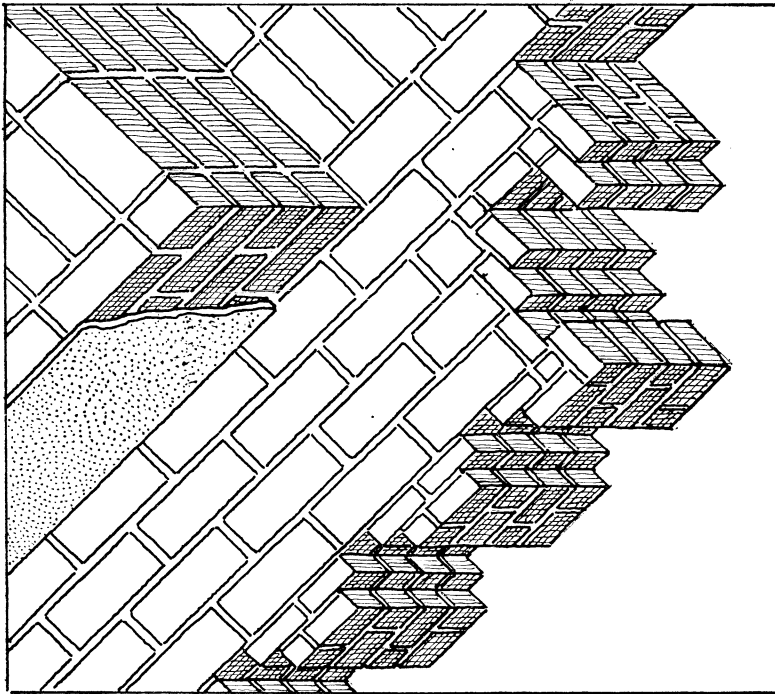
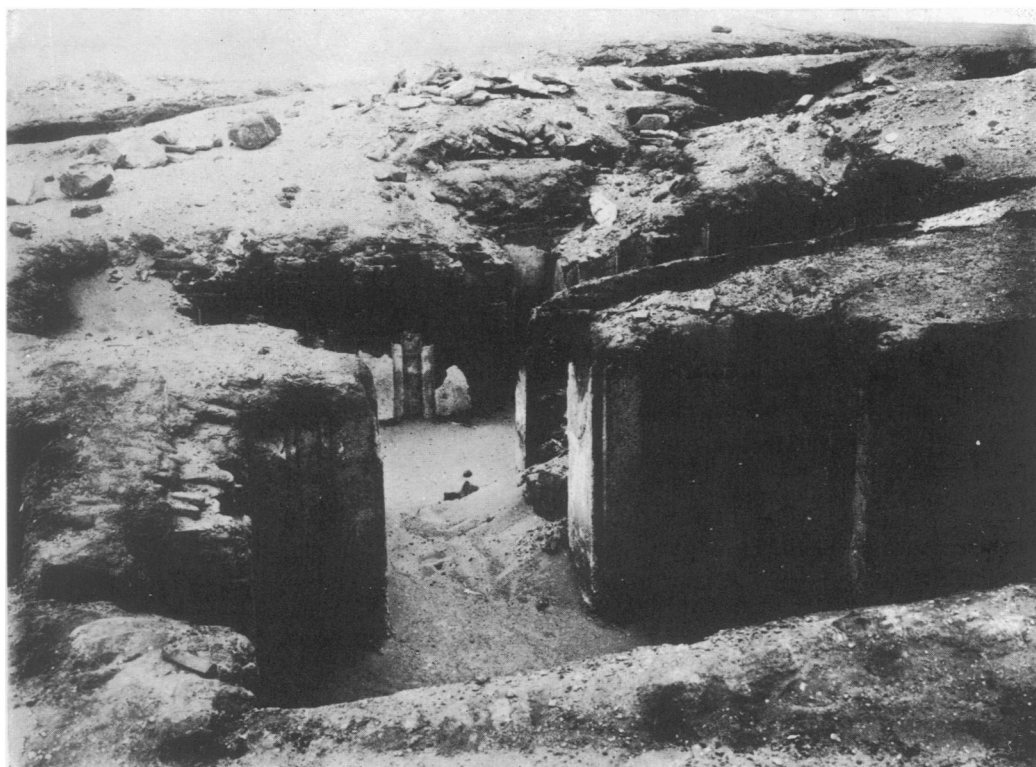


FIG. 1



1. East façade



2. South chapel

TOMB 3070 AT SAQQÂRA

was applied. The same material was used in the construction of lintels over the niches of the palace façade of the tomb of Kha'-bau-sokar. Although largely denuded of its painted decoration, the superstructure of 3070 was sufficiently preserved to show that originally the palace façade was embellished with the conventional mat-designs painted in yellow, red, black, blue, and green. The abandonment of the palace façade architectural motif at the close of the First Dynasty, and its revival in the Third Dynasty, is at present without satisfactory explanation, but as with most features of Egyptian funerary architecture I think we may consider the possibility that it was connected in some way with the political and religious changes which apparently occurred at this time.

UNA LETTERA INEDITA DELL'ANTICO REGNO

Di ALESSANDRO ROCCATI

ALCUNI anni or sono, durante una sua visita al Museo di Torino, il prof. Černý mi additò un vetro polveroso, riferendolo ad una 'lettera dell'Antico Regno'. Più tardi, grazie alla cortesia dei conservatori, il prof. Scamuzzi e il prof. Curto, ho potuto consultare ripetutamente il documento, ottenendone in ultimo il permesso di pubblicazione; cosicché, quantunque lo studio receda tuttora di fronte ad ardue difficoltà, mi pare di porgere il mio tentativo in omaggio al Maestro dell'ieratico, per sciogliere insieme un debito di riconoscenza.

Trattasi di alcuni brandelli di papiro, i due frammenti maggiori dei quali, coperti da nitida scrittura ieratica in colonne verticali, si raccordano nella parte più guasta in un solo complesso, fornendo l'uno la metà superiore delle linee, l'altro quella inferiore, non senza lasciare grossi buchi al centro. La pagina così ottenuta raggiunge un'altezza di cm. 21,8 (conforme alle dimensioni, cm. 21-24, osservate per i papiri dell'Antico Regno),¹ mentre in larghezza misura cm. 25 sovrapponendosi a due fogli la cui giuntura si riconosce sotto la linea 11. Il principio è mutilo e si trova in parte nei frustuli; uno di essi si connette al testo principale per mezzo della linea che descrive il margine superiore; sul suo verso affiorano segni estremamente cancellati, eventualmente l'indirizzo, conforme ad una pratica notata solo dalla fine della VI dinastia; con questa sola eccezione, la scrittura non è vergata che sul lato con fibre orizzontali. L'insieme nello stato attuale ha assunto colore bruno rossastro, con sensibili variazioni locali.² Rimangono tracce di una decina di pieghe, indicanti che la lettera fu chiusa cominciando dal fondo; e in tale condizione fu probabilmente scoperta.

In alto a destra, sopra il margine, era la data orizzontale, ridotta ora all'indicazione del giorno. Sotto il margine, orizzontalmente, è notato il nome del destinatario preceduto dai suoi titoli (in lacuna), come nelle lettere P. Bulaq 8³ e P. Berlino 8869.⁴ È possibile che uno dei frammenti non collocati (riprodotto nella fotografia) contenesse il nome del mittente, scritto secondo l'uso verticalmente all'inizio. Oltre a questa indicazione è probabile che non più di due colonne siano perdute. Margini, verticali alla fine dello scritto, occorrono su altri esemplari, ma è peculiare della missiva torinese il margine orizzontale superiore, che ne provoca il singolare sviluppo in senso longitudinale.

Il nuovo testo, per la data che sarà verificata con osservazioni fraseologiche e

¹ J. Černý, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt*, 14 sq.

² Sull'associazione di due colorazioni attuali in uno stesso foglio di papiro, cf. G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, 5, n. 1.

³ A. Mariette, *Les Papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq* (Parigi 1871), 10, no. 8; K. Baer, *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 1 sq. Cf. Scharff, *ZÄS* 59 (1924), 22 e nota 2.

⁴ P. C. Smither, *JEA* 28 (1942), 16-19.

paleografiche, si aggiunge all'esigua rassegna che ne offre l'Antico Regno,¹ e, con ogni verisimiglianza al gruppetto che raduna il lungo governo di *Pjꜣj* II, ma, a differenza di quei documenti, per ognuno dei quali si ricorda il luogo del rinvenimento, manca per esso una precisa indicazione d'archivio sulla provenienza. Incerta è pure l'identificazione secondaria con il numero di catalogo 1890, che menziona due frammenti epistolari assimilabili forse alla lettera presente, se non fossero descritti come opistografi. D'altronde la prima riproduzione fotografica disponibile nel Museo risale all'inizio del '900.² La notevole affinità della paleografia con quella dei papiri di Elefantina potrebbe indurre a cercare rapporti con quel gruppo, trovato da indigeni nel 1896.³ Se la lettera torinese è realmente menzionata nel Catalogo del 1881 questo tentativo fallirebbe; mentre, anche se essa fu acquistata dallo Schiaparelli⁴ sul mercato antiquario di Tebe, mancano connessioni di sorta a carattere onomastico o toponimico con il fondo di Elefantina. Rimane la menzione di Rizeiqât nella lettera, che sembra ancorarla al nomo tebano, una soluzione in accordo anche con le somiglianze paleografiche.

Fuori dal tono convenzionale e schematico dei documenti ufficiali, tra le lettere che spiccano per originalità del contenuto (richiesta d'assistenza, proteste contro l'amministrazione, denuncia di crimini, ecc.), l'argomento della missiva di Torino non delude, prospettando una scena rurale che la avvicina al tenore delle lettere del più tardo *Hkꜣ-nht*,⁵ echeggiante delle insolite minacce di un burbero superiore. Come nelle comunicazioni di *Hkꜣ-nht*, lo stile omette ogni cerimonia, introduce i due attori con 'io' e 'tu' senza mezzi termini, e coglie con efficacia la situazione. Sotto questo aspetto è forse non casuale l'abbondanza di locuzioni finora attestate solo dal Medio Regno, perché la lettera torinese si inserisce nel contesto di trasformazione e di rottura con il passato, che in parecchi documenti datati a *Pjꜣj* II rivela strutture proprie già del nascente medio-egiziano.

Traduzione

1. . . . di 3.^a
2. (A) . . . *Mmj*.^b
3. NP dice:
4. . . .
5. . . .
6. . . . arare per (?) . . .
7. . . .
8. . . . Mi^c ha detto che hai fatto seminare^d
9. una misura di farro da semina nel nomo ieracompolita(?)^e . . . che ha arato^f questo *Mmj*^g

¹ Alla lista del Baer, loc. cit., si aggiungano documenti da Nag' ed-Deir nel Museo di Boston, il più recente dei quali, databile all'VIII dinastia, è pubblicato dal Simpson, in *JEA* 52 (1966), 39-52.

² Neg. E 238, 239 (Schiaparelli); B 37 (Farina); B 769 (Curto).

³ A. Erman — F. Krebs, *Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen* (Berlino 1899), 91; *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, III (Lipsia 1911), *Vorwort*.

⁴ Nel ricordo del prof. Botti e del prof. Černý, i migliori conoscitori della papiroteca torinese, la lettera è associata al nome dello Schiaparelli.

⁵ T. G. H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York 1962).

10. accanto all'amico (unico),^h superiore dei profeti Xⁱ di (?) Rizeiqât,^j
11. sotto la direzione^k dell'amico unico Šmj.^l Ora, quando l'amico unico Sn-k:w
12. sia venuto in questo nomo,^m io (mi occuperò?) dentroⁿ il podere^o
13. a lavorare^p i terreni asciutti^q con il farro di ciascuno^r ed il suo orzo meridionale. Ora,
14. se sei cattivo^s (nell'esecuzione?),^t presenterò querela^u davanti al
15. nobile, . . . del distretto, deputato Y, insegnandoti^v quanto son brutte^w
16. la trasgressione^x e l'insolenza^y dei cattivi.
17. Orbene,^z sta attento^{aa} ai magistrati^{bb} ché io farò
18. in modo che non ti piacerà.^{cc}

Commento filologico

a. L'inizio è perito. È attraente l'ipotesi che il mittente si celi nello *sdꜣwtj bjtj* menzionato sul frammentino minore, ma le incertezze di lettura impediscono di confermarlo.

b. Il destinatario è apparentemente *Mmj*: un diminutivo di *K:(j)-gm(j)·n(j)* e *N(j)-rnh-Hnmw* (H. Junker, in *ZÄS* 63 (1928), 63). Il nome ricorre ancora nella lettera (l. 9), quando è accostato ad altre persone.

c. *dd·n·f n(j) wnt rd(j)·n·k (stt)* è tipica formula epistolare, cf. le lettere di *fꜣzꜣj*: *dd·n·k hr hm(j) wnt·k r jrt* 'hai detto a mia Maestà che farai', *sk tw dd·k hr hm(j) wnt·k r . . .* 'dici a mia Maestà che . . .' *Urk.* I, 62, I. 3,—e di *Pjꜣj* II: *dd·n·k r mdꜣt·k tn wnt jn(j)·n·k* 'hai detto nella tua lettera che hai portato' *Urk.* I, 128, II. 15.

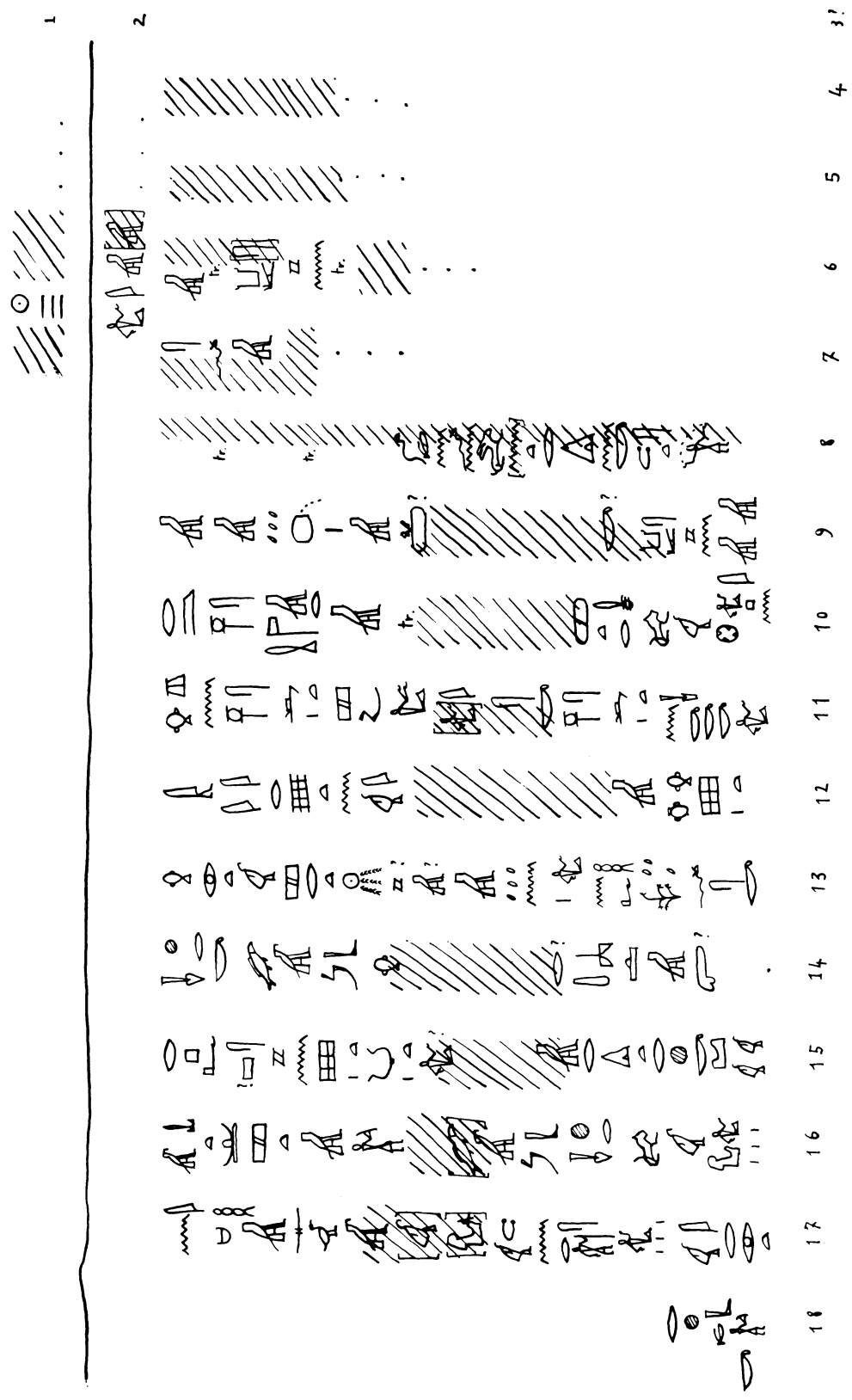
d. *stj*: *Wb.* IV, 347, 5. L'ideogramma del seminatore si ritrova in *Coffin Texts*, I, 364 c; 366 c. La lettura 'seminare' è confermata dall'oggetto *mm*, per il quale il Gardiner, in *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 113 sq. riscontrò un significato analogo a *bdꜣ* con riferimento alla seminazione. Il vocabolo compariva già nell'AR nella raffigurazione di granai, *Wb.* II, 58, 9, ma il presente è l'unico contesto esplicito. Per l'uso della misura *hkꜣt* nell'AR, cf. *Rev. d'ég.* 15 (1963), 141-2.

e. *Nhn*: l'identificazione dell'ideogramma è meramente ipotetica a causa della lacuna, e poggia su forme del segno nella tomba di Moalla, il testo più vicino nel tempo e nello spazio alla lettera che ne fornisca un modello, cf. P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, II (Parigi 1961), 40. Si tratta del resto di un nomo (il terzo d'Alto Egitto) confinante con Gebelein, unito a questa città da strette relazioni politiche e culturali bene attestate nell'età successiva.

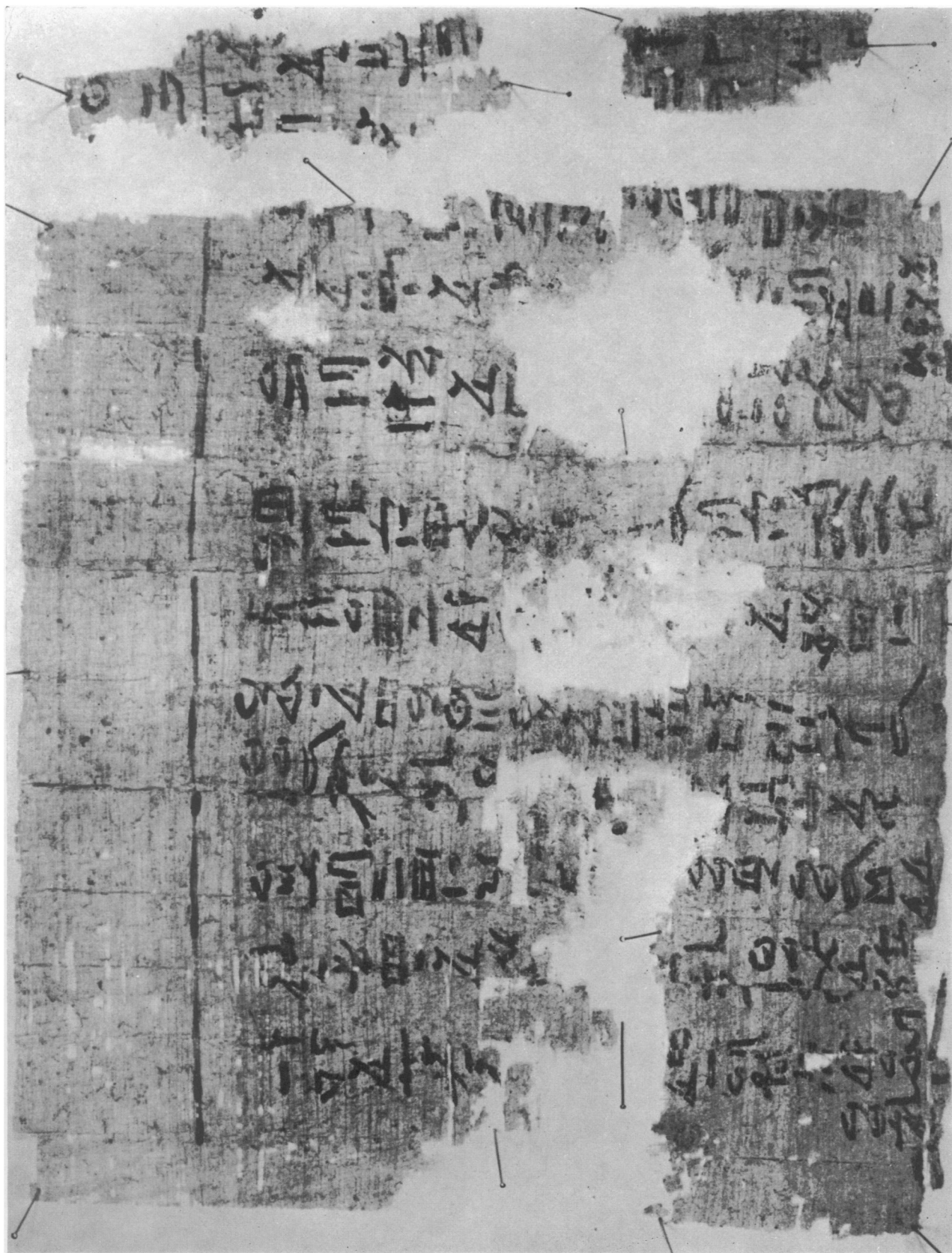
f. *skꜣ*: siccome le lacune nella linea 6 e nella linea 9 appaiono complementari, la lettura di questo verbo è probabile e favorita dal contesto agricolo, nonostante la difficoltà paleografica del determinativo; altrimenti il segno dell'aratro seguito dal pezzo del terreno è l'ortografia normale in *Hkꜣ-nht* (es.: I *rt.*, I. 4), si ritrova a Nag' ed-Deir (Dunham, *Stelae*, n. 84), e nei Sarcofagi (*Coffin Texts*, III, 287 b: B 5 C). Come richiamato dal James, *Hekānakhte Papers* (New York 1962), 18, 3, *skꜣ* vale 'coltivare': 'arare e seminare'.

g. *Mmj pn*: il dimostrativo *pn* accompagna spesso nomi di persone già note o menzionate, cf. numerosi esempî nel papiro giuridico di Elefantina, *ZÄS* 61 (1926), 71; e Edel, *Altäg. Gram.*, § 186.

h. *smr mr hm(w)-nꜣr* sta per *smr wrꜣt(j) mr hm(w)-nꜣr*, cf. H. Fischer, *Inscriptions from*



UNA LETTERA INEDITA DELL' ANTICO REGNO



UNA LETTERA INEDITA DELL' ANTICO REGNO (Neg. B 37)

the *Coptite Nome* (Roma 1964. *Analecta Orientalia* 40), 29: la riduzione di *smr wrt(j)* a *smr* dinanzi ad altro titolo è un uso bene attestato nella VI dinastia. I *mr hm(w)-ntr* non avevan solo mansioni sacerdotali, ma nella biografia di *Wnj* dirigono contingenti di truppe.

i. La lettera *M* è probabilmente iniziale di un nome proprio come *Mttj*, *Mštj*, ecc.



j. *fw-m(j)trw*: l'esempio presente è ora il più antico che si conosca. L'attestazione immediatamente posteriore, circa mezzo secolo più tardi, si trova sulla stela Cairo 20001, cf. Montet, *Géogr.*, II, 52.

k. *hr-hr* è la forma arcaica, non nel *Wb.*, di *hr st-hr*, ben nota nel MR (*Wb.* IV, 4, 13). Al contrario *hr-hr* è l'uso dell'AR, nella IV dinastia: *hrt-f hr-f* 'in suo possesso' *Urk.* I, 13, 5 — nella VI dinastia: *Urk.* I, 84, 16 (*Ttj*); 250, 15 (*Mr-n-Rc*) — frequente nei decreti di Copto: *hr-hr* + suffisso, *Urk.* I, 299, 6. 8; 301, 2; *hr-hr n(j)* + sostantivo *Urk.* I, 300, 4. 6; 301, 18 — Edel, *Altäg. Gram.*, § 793, cita un esempio inedito dalla via di *Wnjs*.

l. *Smj* è nome comune alla fine della VI dinastia e durante l'Età feudale (per lo *j* finale, cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, appendice A, p. 124-5). Esso è pure il nome di un principe di Elefantina contemporaneo e di un visir noto dai decreti di Copto, ma il presente *Smj* non è in alcun rapporto con essi, essendo, come del resto i suoi colleghi della lettera, un semplice *smr wrt(j)*. *Sn-kꜣw* non è noto al repertorio del Ranke, che conosce però la rispettiva forma femminile *Snt-kꜣw* per l'AR (*Personennamen*, I, 311, 25).

m. Stessa grafia di *spꜣt tn* in *Urk.* I, 170, 14; cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gram.*, § 102.

n. *m-hr-jb*, altri esempî: Petrie, *Deshasheh*, tav. 15 (Edel, *Altäg. Gram.*, § 794) e *Pyr.* 582 a; cf. *r-hr-jb* in *Mereruka*, tav. 169.

o. Il contesto richiede un termine assimilabile a 'podere'. Nel MR il segno per *spꜣt* 'nomo' sembra in certe circostanze doversi leggere *dꜣtt* 'podere': Gardiner, *Eg. Gram.*³, 540, segno *Aa* 8. Tuttavia il Fischer, nella sua dissertazione *Denderah in the Old Kingdom and its Aftermath*, 26, osserva che *spꜣt* nell'AR può designare un distretto agricolo di importanza secondaria rispetto alla città *nwt*, e a p. 373 distingue un prototipo  nell'accezione di 'campo', e  in quella di 'nomo'. Cf. inoltre James, *Hekānakhte Papers*, 28, n. 68.

p. *jrj* 'coltivare': Blackman, in *JEA* 16 (1930), 69 e James, *Hekānakhte Papers*, Appendice B, p. 109.

q. *wšrt* è un termine accostabile a *wšr*, *Coffin Texts*, IV, 138 b (S I P e, S I Chass.), tradotto dal Kees, *Totenglauben*, 214 'das Verdorrte'. Esso designa un terreno 'secco, asciutto' (cf. *Wb.* I, 174, 11) o 'arido, di difficile irrigazione' (cf. certi termini discussi dal Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 94). Il verbo *wšr* 'esser secco' ricorre con ortografia identica a quella della lettera in *Coffin Texts*, III, 28 c.

r. *mm(?) n(j) z(j) wr(?)*: è restituzione ipotetica per l'incertezza paleografica dei primi due segni, quanto per il valore da assegnare a *z(j) wr*, posto che il tratto verticale vada letto. La traduzione adottata intende *m mm*; ma forse sarebbe possibile leggere *hr* nelle tracce visibili e comprendere 'in cambio di', considerando farro ed orzo quale prezzo dell'affitto.

s. *hr(w)·k*: l'ortografia dei sostantivi in *w* tende ad omettere il complemento fonetico relativo allo stato pronominale, cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gram.*, § 235-6. Non mancano eccezioni, tuttavia anche nella lettera torinese si osserva l'opposizione tra *hr(w)≠* e *hrw* in stato assoluto nella linea successiva. Per la scrittura di *hrw* si possono aggiungere anche gli esempi riportati dall'Edel, *Altäg. Gram.*, § 748, dato che in origine e ancora nell'AR il presunto verbo difettivo non sembra esser altro che lo stesso sostantivo 'voce'.

t. *h̄sb*: il nome in questione si apparenta ad una radice *h̄sb/h̄sb*, *h̄sm/h̄sm*, che significa 'esser storto', 'piegare' (*Wb.* III 361, 13; 229, 7 sq.; 231, 2 sq.) onde deriva il sostantivo 'falce', che fornisce il determinativo nel caso attuale, il quale designa appunto una 'stortura' morale: *h̄sb*, *JE A* 28, 18 i; *Urk.* I, 204, 9; *Coffin Texts*, I, 173 d — con la variante femminile *h̄sbt*, *Urk.* I, 71, 9 (cf. *Wb.* I, 7, 10); *Ann. Serv.* 42 (1943), 38; *Coffin Texts* IV, 87 j (B 5 C); VII, 123 f (T I NY); 184 q (P. Gard. III); cf. *JE A* 28, 18, i. Il processo semantico è analogo a quello dell'arabo *h̄lb* 'ingannare' e *m̄h̄lab* 'falchetto', con cui *h̄sb* è in rapporto etimologico (M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif* (Parigi 1947), n. 158). Il valore ultimo in egiziano di *h̄sb* come aggettivo è il contrario di *m̄sr* 'retto', come risulta dall'opposizione dei due termini in P. Berlino 8869, 8 (= *JE A* 28, 17); *Coffin Texts*, VII, 184 q-r (P. Gard. III); IV, 87 j (B 5 C); *LdM* (Lepsius) 125, 4. Nell'esempio attuale si individua in *h̄sb-hrw* esattamente il contrario di *m̄sr-hrw*, ed in tale accezione esso è sinonimo di *h̄bn-hrw*, *Kêmi* I (1928), 138; cf. J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leida 1960), 289-90 e p. 42. È degno di nota che la lettera torinese scrive *h̄sb* come quella di Elefantina, mentre i testi menfitici mantengono l'ortografia arcaica *š̄sb*.

u. *wd̄r mdw* ha senso attivo, come stabilito da E. Edel, 'Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches' in *MDAIK* 13 (1944), § 12, 9 sq.; tuttavia la rarità di *m-b̄sh* in tale connessione (cf. *Coffin Texts*, I, 21 d; VI, 252 b) impedisce di garantire una trascrizione che non va immune da una seria difficoltà paleografica. *Rpr* è il personaggio più importante, il cui nome è distrutto; oscuro è il titolo specifico *sš(?) n(j) sp̄t*, che non possiede eventualmente più di una semplice assonanza con il ben noto *zš n(j) sp̄t*. Per l'equivalenza *sr-jpwt(j)*, cf. *Ptahh.* 416.

v. *rdj rh̄* è formula epistolare: *Urk.* I 60, 17; 61, 4. 18 (*ŷzzj*); 126, 9; 128, 7 (*Pjppj* II: *Hr-hw(j)·f*); 136, 2. 10; 137, II (*Pjppj* II: *S̄bnj*); *Ann. Serv.* 25 (1925), 254 (*Pjppj* II).

w. *d̄w(j)-w(j)*: costruzione di Edel, *Altäg. Gram.*, § 949. In *Urk.* I, 204, 9 *d̄w(j)* è parallelo a *jw* e a *h̄sb*; l'ultimo accostamento ritorna nel presente contesto, donde risulta per *d̄w(j)* un valore più generico che *h̄sb*.








x. *d̄st* è probabilmente il sostantivo di *Wb.* v, 518, finora non attestato prima del MR. Il determinativo della barca lo collega alla consuetudine dei Piramidi circa il verbo di *Wb.* v, 514. In *Coffin Texts*, I, 173 d, *d̄st* è sinonimo di *h̄sb* 'male'.

y. *štm* sembra collegarsi al vocabolo di *Wb.* IV, 557, 13-14, del quale fornisce ancora la più antica attestazione; la lacuna impedisce però di assicurarne il senso e la costruzione.

z. *jn hm*: l'enclisi di *hm* dopo la particella enfatica *jn* è rara, ma ricorre nel fraseggio epistolare (Edel, *Altäg. Gram.*, § 840), in alternamento con *rr(j)* (ibid. § 848) e con *sk hm* (ibid. § 852). *Urk.* I, 61: linea 2 *jn rr(j) wn m̄sr* 'è proprio vero', linea 5 *jn hm*

wn r hpr 'certo accadrà'; alle linee 9 e 14 la formula introduttiva è *sk hm*. Nella lettera torinese invece *jn* suggella le frasi precedenti introdotte da *sk*.

La costruzione *jn hm* è attestata nei Piramidi, anche se *jn* funziona in questo caso da particella accentuante il soggetto, es.: *jn hm kdw hnn(j)w Rc, ntsn hn(j)·sn N* 'i marinai certo che trasportano il Sole, trasporteranno il Faraone', *Pyr.* 711 *a*, cf. 711 *c*, 123 *d*. I Sarcofagi ne possiedono esemplari analoghi: *jn hm Dhwtj smꜛ·f hrw·j r hftw·j* 'certo Thot giustificherà la mia voce contro i miei nemici', *Coffin Texts*, IV, 333 *e* (B 1 L, B 3 L); cf. II, 265 *b*, e James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, II, 42-43: *n-ıw hm wꜛ im·tn r whd* 'sopporterebbe uno di voi . . .?' (in interrogativo). Forse *jn hm* è da accostare alla locuzione letteraria classica *nhmn*, Gardiner, *Eg. Gram.*³, § 236; Lefebvre, *Gram. ég.*², § 508.

aa. zꜛ[w]: l'ortografia di questo verbo (Edel, *Altäg. Gram.*, § 425) si accosta sensibilmente, per quanto si può giudicare dalla parte non in lacuna, a quella del MR, per la quale fornirebbe l'attestazione più antica. I Piramidi si servono infatti di una grafia assai semplice  (*Pyr.* 391 *a*) o , che si ritrova nella lettera regale di *Pjppj* II (*Urk.* I, 130, 9). Successivamente i Sarcofagi mescolano il prototipo con l'uso del MR, che consiste nel collocare l'ideogramma dopo i segni fonici,  es: *Coffin Texts*, I, 70 *c*; V, 44 *b* (B 3 L); VI, 64 *k* (B 1 Bo); VI, 270 *r* (G 1 T); VII, 510 *h* (B 1 P, B 5 C); VII, 517 *i* (B 4 L). Simile è  *Coffin Texts*, I, 71 *d* (B 3 Bo) e le lettere di *Hkꜛ-nht*; mentre il Dévaud, *L'Âge des papyrus égyptiens* (Parigi 1926), n. 15, riscontra  per i mss. letterari della XII dinastia, presente pure in *Coffin Texts*, IV, 284 *a*; 413 (Sq 7 Sq). Stranamente *Wb.* III, 416 ignora l'ortografia classica e non riferisce che quella posteriore alla XII dinastia: . Per colmare la lacuna nella lettera mancano due segni, ed è probabile che essi siano .

Circa le preposizioni che determinano l'oggetto dal quale bisogna guardarsi, *Wb.* III, 417 non conosce che *r*, *hr* per il NR, e *hr*, *m* per il MR (*P. Prisse*). Ma i Sarcofagi forniscono attestazioni per il MR di *r*, *zꜛ tw r rmt(w) jpf* 'guardati da quegli uomini' *Coffin Texts*, VII, 41 *passim* (B 10 C), cf. l'espressione parallela *chꜛ tw r* 'bada a' James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, III, 5 (*d*); e forse di *n*: *zꜛw n hd-kꜛw* 'che stanno attenti al Corrotto di spiriti (*Rrk*)' VI, 206 *l* (S 1 C), cf. VI, 241 *h* (T 1 C) (?). Questo uso di *n* sarebbe comparabile alla funzione esplicita da tale preposizione dopo verbi come *hsf* (costruito anche con *r*: *Oasita* B₁ 297-8); e ancora all'*n* causale, Lefebvre, *Gram. ég.*², § 489. Inoltre *zꜛw n* contiene una connotazione di 'aspettare' (*JEA* 43 (1957), 112-13) con una variante *zꜛw r* (*BIFAO* 53 (1953), 106-7).

bb. srw sono importanti ufficiali provinciali che si occupano dell'amministrazione e della giustizia. *Zꜛw srw* 'bada ai *srw*!' (*Oasita* B₁ 132) si esclama in una requisitoria contro i dirigenti del paese. Ma lo *zꜛw tw n srw* della lettera cela una minaccia il cui retroscena è scoperto da altre ricorrenze: *tm sn m-bꜛh srw* 'non litigare davanti ai magistrati', *Urk.* I, 13, 10 (Chefren); *n zp hw(j)·t(j) m-bꜛh sr nb* 'non fui mai battuto davanti ad alcun magistrato', *Urk.* I, 75, 14; *jr ht nb dddt r(j) m-bꜛh srw, pr(j)·n(j) hr·s m htp — sk hr hr ddw, dr bꜛk(j) jm m-bꜛh srw* 'quanto ad ogni cosa che fu detta a mio carico davanti ai magistrati, ne uscii felicemente, mentre essa ricadde sugli accusatori, dopo che ne fui discolpato davanti ai magistrati', *Urk.* I, 223, 12-13 (fine

VI dinastia). Illustrazioni relative son riprodotte in W. S. Smith, *A History of Eg. Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*² (1949), 341, fig. 223, e *Mereruka*, tav. 38. Viceversa privilegio di *Wnj* (linea 10 della biografia) fu di istruire il processo senza alcun visir né *sr*. Sulla funzione dei *sr* in generale cf. J. Pirenne, *Histoire des institutions*, II (Bruselle 1934), 91. 134. 162 sq. 248 sq.

La grafia con due determinativi è menzionata da Edel, *Altäg. Gram.*, § 55, 25.

cc. *jw(j) r jrt r hbd·k*: si tratta anche in questo caso di formula connessa con lo stile epistolare, come dimostra la contropartita *iw·i r irt r hzt·k* nella sezione V della *Kmyt*. Si osserva ancora che la formula *jw(j) r* + infinito è l'enunciazione tipica di minacce e di promesse, E. Edel, *Untersuchungen*, § 13-14, p. 12-15; § 16-18, p. 16-17. Sotto l'aspetto ortografico 𓏏 quale determinativo di *hbd* si incontra qui per la prima volta, essendo ignoto al *Wb*. Il senso del verbo fu stabilito da una nota del Gardiner, in *ZÄS* 50 (1912), 56 (*r*), che ne dimostra la contrapposizione a *hztj*. Siccome Edel, *Altäg. Gram.*, § 784, p. 369, stabilisce che *jrj·j r hzt·k*, var. *jrj·j hz(j)·k* vale 'agisco in modo che tu lodi, che ti piaccia', il presente esempio significherà 'agirò in modo che tu biasimerai, che non gradirai'. La forma *hbd* con *d* è già medioegizia, mentre i Piramidi ed i Sarcofagi (es.: *Coffin Texts* IV, 20 c: B 1 Bo) conservano *hbd*. Etimologicamente esso è collegato a *nbd* (*Wb*. II, 247) 'cattivo' e 'esser battuto'.

Cenno paleografico

I segni ieratici usati nella lettera concernono: (con asterisco son notate le forme assenti nella paleografia del Möller, o diverse da quelle da lui riportate nella colonna 'Elefantina') A 1 (33); A 21* (11); A 24 (15); A 60* (-); B 1* (61); D 2 (80); D 4 (82); D 21 (91); D 28 (108); D 46 (115); D 52*? (95); D 58 (124); E 23* (125); F 13 (155); F 34 (179); G 1 (192); G 17 (196); G 39 (216); G 43 (200); I 9 (263); I 10 (250); K 4 (257); M 17 (282-3); M 18 (284); M 26 (291); M 33* (295); N 5 (303); N 8* (306); N 18* (330); N 23 (324); N 24* (325); N 26 (320); N 37 (335); N 41 (98); O 34 (366); O 49 (339); P 1 (374); P 8 (381); Q 3 (388); R 8 (547); S 19 (423); S 29 (432); S 43 (456); T 21 (461); T 22 (596); T 28 (397); U 1 (469); U 9 (470); U 13 (600); U 23 (484); U 28 (391); V 13 (528); V 28 (525); V 31 (511); W 19 (509); X 1 (575); X 8 (569); Y 1 (538); Z 2 (561); Aa 1 (574); Aa 13 (328); Aa 21 (583).

A 1 ricorre nella forma normale ed in quella breve (nota dalla VI dinastia); G 1 ricorre solo nella forma breve.

Legature: Möller X; XXVIII; XLVII; 658; 𓏏 ; 𓏏 ; 𓏏 (?); 𓏏 .

La maggioranza dei segni stessi offre grande affinità con quelli noti dai documenti della fine della VI dinastia e del Primo Periodo Intermedio, benchè già la Coppa di Qaw manifesti forme lievemente divergenti, come è osservabile per casi particolari estratti nella tabella annessa.

Tra le peculiarità della lettera torinese: A 21 riproduce la forma del capo secondo un modello altrimenti ignoto fino ad Hatnub nel Medio Regno, mentre le attestazioni dell'Antico Regno, ad Elefantina e a Hatnub omettono questo particolare. Per altri segni è colmata una lacuna nelle attestazioni, o sono proposte forme inaspettate, che

TABELLA DI SEGNI NOTEVOLI				
GARDINER	GROGL.	LETTERA TORINO	PAPIRI ELEFANTINA	ALTRI DOCUMENTI
A 21		 17	 Berlino 10523	 Hatnub 27,5
D 2		 11. 13	 P. 10523 1163,3	 Lino del Cairo Coppa di Qaw
E 23		 10 16	—	 Nag ^s ad-Da JEA 52, tav. IX
K 4		 14	 P. 8863, 2 P. 10523 (o) 282	
M 18		 12	 str 2 (Ba) 5	 Lino del Cairo Coppa di Qaw
M 33+26		 13	 str 6 (Be 3)	 Coppa di Qaw n 5
N 18		 10	—	 Hq1-nbt Coppa Cairo 7 Nauf. 152
U 9		 9	 Berl. 13665	 Coppa di Qaw n 5
U 23		 10	 str 6 (Be) 1 str A 5	 Coppa di Qaw
		 15	 str C6 et str C4 ut 7	 Coppa di Qaw n 5
		 10	 P. 8863 2f 3	
		 17	 str CC us 2	 .str C6 us 3 = Stri Ba et 6 = Str Cc et 1

FIG. I

non vanno immuni da difficoltà di interpretazione. A 60 traduce il prototipo geroglifico del seminatore.

E 21 è assicurato dal contesto e da un'altra occorrenza del leone nella lettera da Nag' ed-Deir edita dal Simpson in *JEA* 52 (1967), tav. IX (nella fotografia son visibili tracce non riprodotte dal facsimile). La forma dell'Antico Regno assomiglia in modo imbarazzante alla figura di uno sciacallo-Anubi, ed è diversa nella struttura dal tipo del Medio Regno, cf. la paleografia in James, *Hekanakhte Papers*; Sethe, *Ächtungstexte*, ecc.

N 18 restituisce all'Antico Regno una forma che è il preciso archetipo di quelle occorrenti nelle lettere di *Hkꜣ-nht*, nella Coppa del Cairo e nel Naufrago.

Meno sicuro è il riconoscimento dell'aratro in *skꜣ*, a causa del contesto frammentario, e del fallo in *m-bꜣh* (?), anche se, per ora, non si vedon ragioni valide per respingere l'ipotesi.

Come nei papiri di Elefantina la disposizione è in colonne verticali, ma i titoli si presentano talora in successione orizzontale (es.: *Hierat. Pap.*, tav. III 12: P. 8869; tav. IV: Str. A 5).

Le linee 6-7 sono probabilmente successive. Nonostante l'apparente complementarità dei segni, le due righe non sono unificabili a causa della diversa distanza di essi dal margine superiore.

Nella linea 16 nella montatura del papiro s'è prodotto uno scorrimento delle fibre, da valutare per l'esatta ricostruzione dei segni e l'ampiezza delle lacune. Le tracce sotto la linea 17 appartengono a frammentino fuori posto. Il segno informe a destra dell'occhio nella medesima linea è probabilmente un infortunio dovuto a strascico del calamo.

FOUR HIERATIC OSTRACA OF THE OLD KINGDOM

By HANS GOEDICKE

ONLY few ostraca dating from the Old Kingdom have survived. The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden has four Old-kingdom ostraca among its many treasures.¹ Nothing is known about their origin except that they belonged to the Anastasi Collection and thus must have been found in the early part of the nineteenth century. Most of the Old-kingdom objects in the Leiden Museum originated in Saqqâra so that it might seem tempting to assume that the ostraca were found there. However, such an attribution is highly conjectural as no comparable object has been found at Saqqâra. Only at Ḥelwân have ostraca of similar kind been discovered,² so that this site can be considered a possible origin of the pieces.

The four ostraca are of hard greyish limestone. Two consist of two fitting pieces each with the writing on one only of the inner surfaces while the other stone serves as cover.³ The stones were broken for this purpose, as such fitting pieces could not be found in nature. While this arrangement provides great protection for the inscription, it makes it invisible until the two parts are separated. The purpose of the curious arrangement can only be the maximum safeguarding of the inscription. This unusual concern seems unwarranted for the kind of inscription which gives the details about a deceased person, as long as the ostraca were intended to be part of burials. As they could not even be read in their covered form the purpose for which they were designed in this particular fashion must have operated prior to the burial of the persons they concern. These considerations prompt the hypothesis that the original purpose of this type of inscription was the identification of the person before his burial. In other words they were primarily used to identify the deceased until he was buried; they found their last use in the burial in which they were included. The application of this type of ostraca is thus twofold, so that they can be compared with the later mummy-labels; the first is the identification of a deceased person until his burial, the other is the specification on the grave.

With one exception the inscriptions are well preserved. They are written in black ink with some red additions. The writing is bold and the signs are individually spaced.

¹ The ostraca are included in Leemans, *Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, pl. ccxxviii and briefly described in Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monuments égyptiens du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, 130. The photographs were most kindly supplied by the former Director Dr. van Wijngaarden. To him and the present authorities of the Leiden Museum I am indebted for repeated help and kind support.

² Zaki Saad, *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan (1941-1945)* (CASAE 3), 106 f., pls. xlii f.

³ A similar piece was found in the excavations at the cement works at Tura. I saw it in 1957 but do not know what became of it.

There are no ligatures; the signs are detailed and follow closely their hieroglyphic prototypes so that their reading encounters no particular difficulties despite the limited paleographical knowledge of the early script. This limitation affects much more the attempt to date the inscriptions. The signs are more developed than those of the Third Dynasty on the stone vessels from Beit Khallâf and the Step Pyramid.¹ On the other hand, they are less cursive than those found in the Abusîr Papyri of the later Fifth Dynasty. Closest in form is the writing on the Hêlwân ostraca of the later Fourth Dynasty or early Fifth Dynasty. The similarity of the type of inscription supports such an identification. The date stated on the ostracon J 429 does not provide any clue, as it lacks the attribution to a particular reign. The occurrence of the term *tnwt* 'counting' in it is only of limited significance. Although it seems that *ipt* 'counting' is the older term which was replaced at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, the evidence is not absolutely conclusive.²

Two of the ostraca show an identical organization of the text; the one badly preserved follows the same pattern. The fourth contains only a date; in its original form it was probably part of the same type of inscription as the others.

I. Ostracon Leiden J 426 (pl. V, I)

Height 17 cm., width 12 cm. It has a second part of approximately identical shape which is uninscribed and serves as a cover for the inscription. The writing is arranged in seven lines of differing length each one containing one of the elements of the inscription.



It states: 'The director of the crew *Hnms*'s subaltern (from) *Hwwt* in the Snake-district the son of the herdsman *Nb* and *Wnn-nfr*, the oarsman . . . -*rhw*.'

The title *hrp rprw*, which occurs also as the designation of the responsible superior in O. Leiden J 427, is attested in this form for a certain *Tnti* (Mariette, *Mastabas*, B 1)

¹ Cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 1, 2.

² The Palermo Stone uses *tnwt* in all cases, even those earlier than the Fifth Dynasty, while other early instances (*Urk.* 1, 16, 14; 160) have *ipt*. It might be that the terminology of the Annals was adapted to the current usage when they were transferred to stone.

and *HzyMnw* (Couyat and Montet, *Les Inscriptions du Ouâdi Hammâmat*, no. 201) and also in the compounds *hrp cprw kzw* (*Snb* = Junker, *Gîza*, v, 15) and *hrp cprw nfrw* with the more precise variant *hrp cprw n nfrw* (*Rçhtp* = Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 9; *Idw* = Mariette, *Mastabas*, B 1; *Nfr* = Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, 66; Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis*, I, pl. 30 b; *ÿhthp* = Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles*, fig. 4; *Hmi* = Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 17; *Sndm* = *ibid.*; *ÿbdw* = *ibid.*, no. 13; *Mrntr Izzi* = *ibid.*; *NyrnhMnw* = *ibid.*; *Hrw* = *ibid.*; *Dri* = Couyat and Montet, *op. cit.*, no. 157; *Wnisnh* = *ibid.*, no. 157; *Rwdÿsw* = *ibid.* 159, 202; *Kri* = *ibid.*, no. 165; *Ipihrssnb* = Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, 190; *Hryÿfnht* = *ibid.* 192; *Ipi* = *ibid.* 213). Gunn¹ translates the last title 'director of a Company of Recruits'; Junker² 'Leiter einer Kadettenmannschaft', Faulkner³ 'controller of gangs and recruits', and Černý⁴ 'commander of a crew of recruits', but he gives for it also 'Sea-captain'. The navigational character of the designation can be deduced from its connection with the *kzw*-ships, but also from the common usage of the compound *cpr* to denote a ship's crew.⁵ The etymology of the term suggests a connection with the verb *cpr* 'to equip', 'to supply'; thus it is rather a qualification of the people acting as crew than a specification of their navigational abilities. The term indicates that the people denoted were 'supplied', i.e. that they were paid for their work. They apparently differed in this respect from others who were drafted or who sailed at their own expense. Thus the people denoted as *cprw* should be considered as professionals who received a remuneration for their activities.⁶ Consequently *hrp cprw* is not a navigational title proper but rather the designation of the official in charge of the employed people. They seem to have served primarily in commercial navigation, while their military equivalent bore the designation *hrp cprw nfrw*.

For the name *Hnms* cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 270, II.

Hry-c denotes the employer and specifies the form of the relationship between him and the man employed. For obvious honorific reasons the order of the words is reversed and the superior is mentioned first. For *hry-c* cf. *Wb.* III, 386, 24 and in particular *Urk.* I, 99, 13. This passage suggests that the degree of submission was restricted to accepting orders, and that it did not entail legal dependence. The term occurs also in two other Leiden ostraca but not in the *Helwân* ostraca.

The rest of the inscription is arranged in the same way as that found on the *Helwân* ostraca. The indications consist of a place-name preceded by the mention of the district where it was located. A place *Hwwt* is mentioned in the tomb of *Nfrmsrt* at Maidûm;⁷ without a specification of the district the identification remains uncertain, although likely.⁸ The two personal names following the geographical specification

¹ *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 190.

² *Gîza*, v, 160; XII, 173.

³ *JEA* 39 (1953), 35. He considers the holders of this title 'the foremen or gangers who had charge of the actual mining operations'.

⁴ *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 12, 14. Cf. also Boreux, *Études de nautique égyptienne*, 137.

⁵ *Wb.* I, 181, 6; cf. in particular *Urk.* I, 99, 13.

⁶ The parallelism with the later use of the term *cprw* is conspicuous.

⁷ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 21; cf. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, IV, 45 and H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les Noms des domaines funéraires*, 446.

⁸ The place is, of course, unrelated to *Hwt*, Diospolis Parva, in the seventh Upper Egyptian district.

belong to the parents of the person named at the end of the inscription, as is indicated by the presence of the term *ꜣ* 'son' before the last name. The father has the common name *Nb*¹ and the designation *mn̄w* 'hersdman'.² For the hieroglyphic prototype of the sign for *mn̄w* cf. Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, 99. The term, which occurs also in O. Leiden J 428, is uncommon as a personal designation, as is understandable from the fact that its bearers would have had a low social status; it occurs also in the compound *hrp mn̄w* LD II, 76; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, 14; Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles*, fig. 9; Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis*, I, fig. 236. The mother is named *Wmnfr*, a name unattested and curious for a woman;³ the reading is certain and the application is confirmed by the determinative which the preceding masculine name lacks. The same practice in the use of determinatives after names occurs also in O. Leiden J 427 and in O. Heliwan 322 H 2.

The name of the person whom the inscription concerns is introduced by *ꜣ* 'son'. For the form of the *ꜣ*-sign cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, 216. The professional designation is written by a sign depicting a seated man holding an object in front of him. Although the details are indistinct the pose of the figure prompts the reading *hnw* 'rower' or *hmw* 'oarsman'.⁴ The former is supported by *Urk.* I, 148, 10 with the later parallel in *Sinai*, no. 137, the latter by *Urk.* I, 183, 3. Neither is attested as a personal designation but this is not surprising because of the lowness of the social rank. The man's name contains the element *rhw* 'companions', but the reading of the first element remains uncertain.⁵ Beneath the name stands the determinative. It shows a seated man from whose forehead gushes blood which is indicated in red ink, as is a stroke after the sign.⁶ The sign is also attested in hieroglyphic writing as indicating a dead person; e.g. *Urk.* I, 50, 15.

According to the determinative the inscription concerns a deceased person. The various specifications serve all to identify this person. The mention of the names of the parents is self-evident. Of particular interest is the geographical specification which can only be taken as indicating the home of the person. This 'home' can be regarded as the physical or as the legal residence. The isolated reference about the registration of people in the Dahshûr decree of Pepi I⁷ makes it more likely that the place was the legal home of the person where he was registered without requiring the permanent physical presence of the person in that place. The fact that this inscription and O. Leiden J 427 concern sailors with different superiors and different geographical specifications supports this interpretation.

¹ Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 183, 1. The name is probably identical with *Nbi* (ibid. 192, 21). A connection with *Nbw* 'the swimmer' (ibid. 192, 24) is feasible but not very likely.

² The hieratic form is attested only from the Twelfth Dynasty (Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, 48).

³ Cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 79, 19.

⁴ Cf. also Fischer, *MDIK* 16, 137.

⁵ In the Old Kingdom only the names *Wrhw* and *Kmrhw* are attested; the tempting reading *Hrprhw* (cf. Ranke, ibid. 274, 2) is paleographically improbable. For the names composed with *rhw* cf. also *Rec. trav.* 9, 52.

⁶ Cf. Posener, *JEA* 35, 77.


⁷ *Urk.* I 211, 6 ff. Cf. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich*, 56; id., *Private Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 190 ff.

II. Ostrakon Leiden J 427 (pl. V, 2)

Limestone; height 18 cm., width of the inscribed surface 12 cm. Like the preceding piece it consists of two parts, one inscribed, the other being blank and serving as a cover for the inscription. The text follows the same pattern as that on O. Leiden J 426, except that it is arranged in five lines. The writing is a little smaller and was done by another scribe; the date is basically the same. Like O. Leiden J 426 it contains the various specifications which establish the identity of a deceased person. It states:



'The director of the crew *Nfrhw*'s subaltern from *crk-int* in the Harpoon-district, the son of the priest *Hnmw* and of 'Itt, the oarsman *Tti*.'

The official's name *Nfrhw* is well attested but not with the title listed here; cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 199, 6; Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles, Mémoires . . . Mission archéologique française au Caire*, I, 205. The reading of the district emblem, so far unattested, is certain; cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, 461. The Harpoon-district was originally undivided and comprised the entire coastal region of the Delta as far as it was 'Egyptian'; cf. Goedicke, *MDIK* 21, 22. The place *crk-int* does not seem to be attested elsewhere. Its meaning 'completion of the valley' does not provide any clue; a connection with the collective 'Inwt ()', attested in the tombs of *3hthtp*,¹ *K3nfr*,² *Ty*,³ and *Phnwk*,⁴ seems possible but its significance is as uncertain as is its location.⁵

The father's name *Hnmw* has an uncommon spelling, which is paralleled in Jéquier, *Monument funéraire du Pepi II*, III, 75; for the usual orthography cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 275, 5.⁶ The cult served by this priest is not specified, but such abbreviations are frequent. It is noteworthy that his son did not follow the same career but died in the lowly position of an oarsman. The name of the mother is not attested in this form, but the masculine equivalent *Iti* occurs frequently.⁷ *Iti*, the name of the deceased, is common throughout the Old Kingdom; cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 384, 4.

¹ Weill, *II^e et III^e Dynastie*, 313 ff.

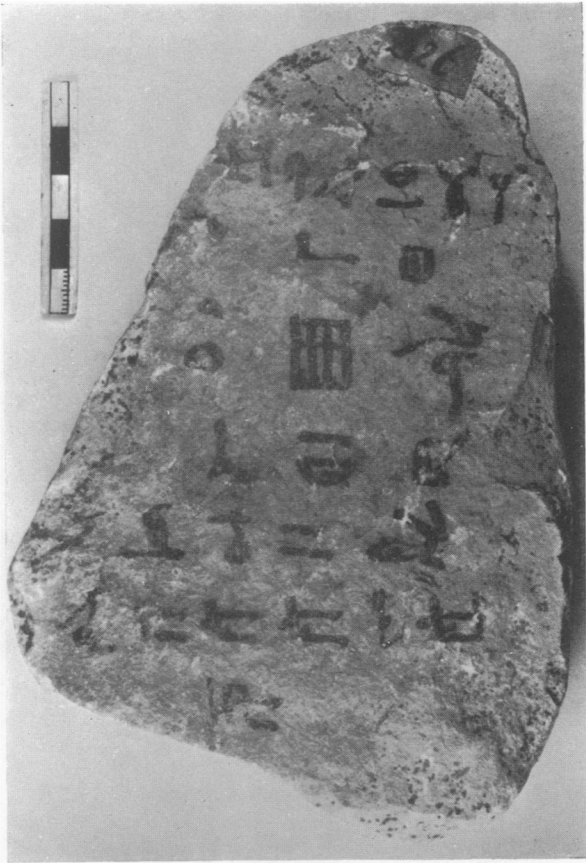
² Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis*, I, fig. 260, p. 444.

³ Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, Tf. 3; Epron, Daumas, and Goyon, *Tombe de Ti*, pl. iv. ⁴ LD, II, 46.

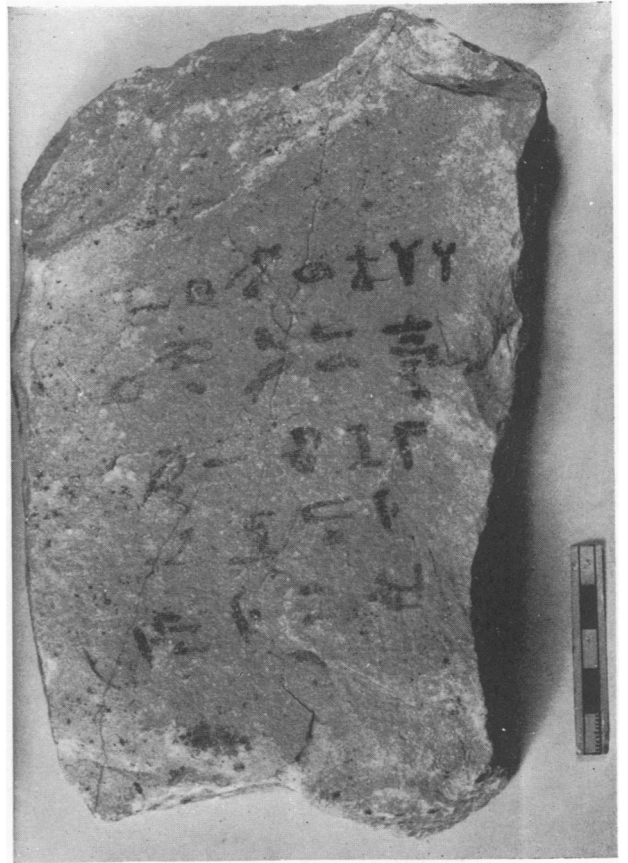
⁵ H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les Noms des domaines funéraires*, 48 assumes for it a meaning similar to *grgt* 'fondation'. However, the consistent indication that it was a multiple settlement makes it possible to see in *int* a special type of settlement or a region, in which case a specification by *crk* becomes meaningful.

⁶ Despite the similarity the name is not connected with the god Khnum.

⁷ Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 52, 29.



1. O. Leiden J 426



2. O. Leiden J 427



3. O. Leiden J 428



4. O. Leiden J 429

Grammatik, § 412. For the uncommon spelling of *ḥt* cf. Sethe, *ZÄS* 41, 89 f. and Edel, *op. cit.*, § 415.

Even without any detailed knowledge of the archaeological context in which the ostraca were found they are important witnesses for the administrative details connected with the burial of people even of inferior rank. That the people concerned were apparently connected with navigation makes these inscriptions still more interesting but also tantalizing for the scantiness of the information they convey. The conspicuous mention of the superior official at the top of the ostraca suggests that he was responsible for the burial of the deceased. In view of the different homes in two cases, one in Upper Egypt, the other in the extreme North, it is wholly improbable that the deceased were buried in their domestic cemeteries. Their profession as sailors makes it possible that they died during the work on a specific project, so that men of different geographical origin were interred at the same place. In this case the detailed identification of the deceased would seem unnecessary, especially in the given form. Although the ostraca have undoubted funerary significance they cannot be considered as kinds of tombstone. The discovery of the similar Ḥelwân ostraca in graves shows that they were not primarily intended to specify a tomb after the burial had taken place. The detailed specification of the deceased has elements which can only be explained as administrative requirements. They suggest that the ostraca were originally designed to accompany the deceased immediately after death and became only subsequently parts of the burials. Thus the hypothesis can be put forward that the people did not die in the place where they were buried but that they were brought there for the specific purpose of burial after their deaths in some other place. The reason for their transfer to a specific burial-site could be surmised from the nature of their employment. I should tentatively like to suggest that these people were in royal service which entailed the right to burial under royal patronage in case of death. This explanation accords with the implication of the title of the responsible official who was in charge of employed people. The association of service for the king, with consequent funerary rights, was one of the main features of the society of the Old Kingdom.¹ It is well documented for the upper social strata, but apparently it applied equally to the lower levels of society. As the provincial cemeteries with royal privileges were a development of the Sixth Dynasty, in earlier times those entitled to receive a burial in a royal cemetery had to be brought to the Memphite region for this purpose. For these reasons I am inclined to consider the Leiden ostraca like the Ḥelwân ostraca as labels which accompanied the deceased during their transfer to the final burial-place. Thus they represent a kind of prototype of the later mummy-labels, and not a continuation of the early form of tombstone established in the First Dynasty in Abydos. Although it may be assumed that such labels were very common, only a small number is known. The explanation for this

¹ The petitioning of the king (cf. *Urk.* 1, 99 etc.) does not exclude the claim of royal followers to be taken care of in death. It finds its reflection in the tomb inscriptions which refer to the royal deeds granted for the burial.

discrepancy might be sought in a change of administrative practice. It seems that for only a short time and in only one cemetery were ostraca used as labels to identify deceased persons. The procedures elsewhere and at other times can be surmised only from scanty indications. They point to the existence of 'licences' for burial written on papyrus.¹ No such permit has survived. Thus the Leiden ostraca together with the Helwân ostraca deserve special attention as being apparently the only surviving representatives of a specific type of administrative inscription used to identify deceased persons who qualified for the receipt of special funerary care.

¹ A reference to the requirement of a written permit to build a tomb occurs in *Urk.* I, 147, 3. The permits for ritual burial are mentioned in the recurrent expression šzpc 'receiving of the deed'; cf. Vandier, *Ann. Serv.* 36, 37.

BEMERKUNGEN ZU EINIGEN PROBLEMEN DER ÄGYPTISCHEN GRAMMATIK

Von RUDOLF ANTHES

DER vorliegende Beitrag entstand aus einer Untersuchung des objektlosen *iri n*, 'handeln zugunsten jmds.', in den *Pyramidentexten* und aus dem Unbehagen an einer naheliegenden Überforderung des Begriffes der Ellipse des pronominalen Objektes. Durch diesen zweifachen Aspekt wurde aber die Arbeit zu lang für diese Festschrift. Dem Herrn Herausgeber danke ich auch hier sehr dafür, daß er sich sofort hilfreich anbot, den Aufsatz geteilt in zwei Bänden des *JEA* zu bringen. Ich habe das freudig angenommen, den Aufsatz aber auf den Kopf gestellt, so daß seine Fundierung aus der Evidenz der *Pyramidentexte* im späteren Bande folgen wird. Denn es ist nicht diese Spezialuntersuchung, die dem Jubilar und guten Freunde aus fast 50 Jahren in erster Linie zudedacht war, sondern die sich daraus ergebende Folgerungen für einige Sorgenkinder unserer Grammatik. Allerdings habe ich diese Folgerungen entsprechend ihrem ursprünglichen Rahmen insofern oberflächlich behandelt, als ich manche fernerliegenden unberücksichtigt gelassen habe und für das Belegmaterial außerhalb der *Pyramidentexte* fast ausschließlich auf die von Gardiner und Edel in ihren großen *Grammatiken*¹ vorgelegten Zitate mich stütze. Dennoch erscheint mir das Thema geeignet für die Ehrung des Gelehrten, dessen Studien immer verknüpft sind mit kritischer Besinnung auf die Grundlagen der ägyptischen Lexikographie und Grammatik und auf die geschichtliche Entwicklung der sprachlichen Phänomene. So mögen er und jeder Leser mir freundlichst zugute halten, daß ich hier mit einer These beginne, deren Begründung ihnen erst später zugänglich wird.²

Jene Untersuchung hat gezeigt, daß das objektlose *iri n* der *Pyramidentexte* nicht aus der Unterdrückung eines rückbezüglichen 'es' oder eines anderen Objektes verstanden werden darf. Vielmehr ist es eine in der Konstruktion eigenständige, idiomatische Redewendung. Ihre Bedeutung ist hier nicht allgemein 'handeln zugunsten jmds.', 'jmdm. Gutes tun', sondern sie bedeutet, mit dem Horuskönige oder einem Gotte als Subjekt, die Zeremonien zu vollziehen oder sonst die Verklärung zu bewirken für den verstorbenen König, und daneben oder zugleich bedeutet es, als König tätig zu sein zugunsten einer Person oder von Festen. Diese Spezialbedeutungen ergeben sich aus dem Tenor der *Pyramidentexte*. Der Grundbedeutung sind wir näher gekommen mit den Übersetzungen und Paraphrasen 'er tut alles das zugunsten eines

¹ Sie sind im folgenden zitiert als 'Gardiner § ...' und 'Edel § ...'.

² In dem angemeldeten Artikel, 'Das objektlose *iri n* in den Pyramidentexten', sind die sicheren, dazu drei fragliche Vorkommen der Redewendung in Listenform geordnet, übersetzt und kommentiert als Zitate 1-19. Vergleichsstellen, auf die ich hier unten zurückkomme, sind als Zitate 20-49 gegeben. Diesen Zitatnummern sind im folgenden die üblichen Textverweise beigegeben.

Anderen, was von ihm erwartet wird', 'er tut alles das, was hier geschieht, zugunsten eines Anderen', 'er tut hier seine Pflicht zugunsten eines Anderen'. Wir werden darauf zurückkommen, daß bei diesen Paraphrasen nicht ein unbestimmtes Objekt eingesetzt wird, sondern ein genau bestimmtes Objekt, das aber als Tätigkeit ein umfassender, nicht ein vereinzelter Begriff ist, also kollektivischen oder pluralischen Charakter hat.

Die gleiche Bedeutung des 'hier und jetzt das Richtige tun', also nicht nur 'arbeiten', sondern 'seine, die ihm zukommende Arbeit leisten' finden wir auch in den vereinzelt mir bekannten anderen Textstellen aus dem A. R. *Urk.* I, 162, 13: *hm(w)-k ipf irw n-i hr-c-f* 'diese Ka-Diener, die ihre Arbeit für mich unter seiner Aufsicht verrichten'; *ibid.* Zl. 11: *mi iri-sn n iht-i ds-i* 'wie sie, meine Kinder, für meine eigenen Angelegenheiten ihre Arbeit tun'; *Urk.* I, 231, 15: *n sp irtw n s nb* 'niemals vorher wurde dies alles für jmd. getan, jemandem geleistet' (ähnlich *ibid.* 146, 15). Ebenso finden wir diese Bedeutung bei objektlosem *iri* ohne *n*: *Pyr.* Aba Zl. 631: *iw NN iry m sbb Rc m mxy-f* 'NN tut seine Königspflicht als welcher den Re für (d. i. in) seine beiden Maat-Boote geleitet';¹ *Urk.* I, 70, 8: *mryn-sn irt, n šnn-sn is irt c3 wrt* '(die Werkleute beim Grabesbau) liebten ihre Arbeit, und sie disputierten nicht darüber, daß sie dabei hart und viel arbeiten mußten'; *Urk.* I, 162, 11: *irr-sn hr-c s3-i šmsw* '(die jüngeren Kinder) sollen ihre Arbeit (im Haus) tun unter der Aufsicht meines ältesten Sohnes'.

Zitate 6, 8 und 9 (*Pyr.* 970 c,² 477 c, 1473 a) zeigen beispielhaft, daß eine säuberliche Trennung von 'transitivem' und 'intransitivem' Gebrauch von *iri n* das Wesen dieses Ausdrucks nicht treffen würde. Dementsprechend finden wir in einer bestimmten umfangreichen Gruppe des Gebrauches von *iri c.* obj. mit oder ohne Präposition *n* (Zitate 20–49) die gleiche Bedeutung des pflichtgemäßen Handelns, des Handelns hier und jetzt, wie wir sie für objektloses *iri* festgestellt haben. Diese Gruppe ermöglicht uns, weiterzukommen auch in der Auswertung des objektlosen *iri*, und ihr Gebrauch muß deswegen kurz hier besprochen werden. Sie besteht aus den folgenden Untergruppen: 1. *iri ir(w)t* und *iri irw* 'das zu Tuende tun für jmd.', Zitat 39 (*Pyr.* 1368 b) und, durch die Determinierung von *irw(t)* mit \rightleftharpoons als Vollzug schriftlich festgelegter Zeremonien gekennzeichnet, Zitate 47–49 (*Pyr.* 1191 b, 298 b, 414 b); 2. *iri* mit bloßem *nn* oder *nw* 'dies alles' als Objekt, worauf wir im übernächsten Abschnitt zurückkommen werden; 3. der gesamte Rest der Zitate: *iri* in der Relativform nach den Mustern *irtn-f* und *nw* (oder *nn*) *irn-f* und *iri* mit dieser Relativform (vereinzelt auch *ddtn-f*, *nw wdn-f*) als Objekt. Wir vergleichen dabei *nw* (oder *nn*) *irn-f* mit *irtn-f* in jeweils gleichem syntaktischen Gebrauch durch folgende Nebeneinanderstellung: Zitate 31, 32 neben 21 (*Pyr.* 1007 a–b, 1879 a neben 1976 a–b); Zitate 30 neben 20 (*Pyr.* 2022 a neben 903 c); Zitate 27 neben 22 (*Pyr.* 1297 a neben 2115 a); Zitate 46 neben 40 (*Pyr.* 622 b neben 625 a); Zitate 28, 29 neben 23=6 (*Pyr.* 608 c, 1090 e neben 970 c nach hier Anm. 2); dazu auch Zitate 34=7 neben 41=10 (*Pyr.* 967 c zu 2082 a). Aus dieser Nebeneinanderstellung kann ich nur schließen, daß der Unterschied zwischen *nw* oder *nn* *irn-f* und *irtn-f*, 'dies alles, was er getan hat', in der Sprechweise,

¹ Zur Sache vgl. *Pyr.* 1785 b–c nach *ZÄS* 82 (1957), 87.

² Zur Ergänzung von *mi* am Zeilenende s. meine Bemerkung zu Zitat 6.

mehr oder weniger deutlich in der Betonung liegt, nicht aber in der inhaltlichen Bedeutung. Mir scheint in der Verwendung von *nw* oder *nn* in diesen Fällen eine Tendenz zur Determinierung zu liegen, zur präziseren Bestimmung in der Art wie sie später zur Entstehung des Artikels führte. Ist das richtig, so kennzeichnen *nw* oder *nn* *irn·f* eine spätere Stufe der Sprach-Entwicklung als *irtn·f*. GleichermäÙen sah auch Sethe in seiner Inhaltsangabe von Spruch 505 'die Umschreibung des substantivierten Relativsatzes durch *nw*' in *Pyr.* 1090 e (Zitat 29) als 'sehr auffallend' an in einem scheinbar sehr alten Texte. Die Vermutung, daß *nw* oder *nn* *irn·f* sich eingedrängt hat an die Stelle von *irtn·f*, natürlich ohne es zu verdrängen, scheint mir im weiteren Verlauf unserer Untersuchung so gut bestätigt zu werden, daß ich schon hier die mögliche Folgerung daraus für eines der klassischen Probleme unserer Grammatik einfügen möchte.

Gardiner § 511, 3 und Edel § 1071 haben auf das Phänomen hingewiesen, daß das Pronomen, das sich auf eines der sonst maskulinisch konstruierten Demonstrativa *nw* oder *n3*, anscheinend auch *nn* (Gardiner) zurückbezieht, im Femininum steht. In den von ihnen zitierten Beispielen, die ich nicht vermehren kann, bezieht sich das Suffixpronomen *-s* auf das von der Relativform gefolgte *nw* oder *n3*, also nach dem Muster unseres *nw* *irn·f*. *nw* *iddw* *mšdrwy* *hr·s* (Gardiner) könnte nun nach unseren Ausführungen sich eingeschoben haben an die Stelle eines *iddt* *mšdrwy* *hr·s* der gleichen Bedeutung 'das, wodurch die Ohren taub werden'. Dabei wäre also trotz des grammatischen genus masculinum von *nw* das genus femininum von *iddt* in dem Suffixpronomen *-s* sinngemäÙen erhalten geblieben. Zur sinngemäÙen Beibehaltung eines ursprünglichen Genus trotz des grammatischen Ausdruckswandels s. andere Beispiele im letzten Absatz dieser Untersuchung mit Anm. 1, S. 39, unten. Dasselbe würde übrigens gelten für das von Gardiner zitierte *bw* *dwy* *mšdw* *rmš* *hr·s* 'das sehr Böse, wegen dessen Menschen gehaÙt werden'. Denn *ir* *r·k* (*Pyr.* 2112 a) entspricht in seiner Bedeutung einerseits einem *irw* *nn* *r·f* (*Pyr.* 290 c), 'die ihm dies alles angetan haben', andererseits aber, abgeschwächt,¹ einem *ir* *mrt* *ir·k* (*Pyr.* 1685 b), 'der dir Schaden zugefügt hat'; so können wir auch hier gewiß ein ursprüngliches *mšdw* *rmš* *hr·s* voraussetzen, das dann durch *bw* *dwy* statt *nw* präzisiert wurde. Wir wollen hier natürlich nicht Prototypen einzelner Sätze postulieren, sondern eine Erklärung versuchen dafür, daß der Gebrauch des pron. suff. sing. fem. in diesen Fällen idiomatisch zu sein scheint.

Die zweite der oben genannten Untergruppen der Zitate 20–49, *iri* *n* mit bloÙem *nw* oder *nn* als Objekt, kenne ich nur in den Fragen und der Antwort, Zitate 36–8 (*Pyr.* 1565 c, 1173 a, 1174 a), *inn* (*ti*) *ir* *n·k* *nn* und *in* *wr* *r·i* *ir* *n·i* *nw*, bei denen es darum geht, wer denn wohl den NN als ein verklärtes Wesen an den Himmel gebracht hat. Zitate 8–10 (*Pyr.* 477 c, 1473 aM, 2082 a) zeigen, daß die komplexe Prozedur der Verklärung des NN durch bloÙes *iri* *n* 'dies alles für jmd. tun' bezeichnet werden kann. Deswegen können *nw* und *nn* hier schwerlich die Bedeutung von *iri* *n* modifizieren. Vielmehr sind sie wohl dazu benutzt, die Ungeheuerlichkeit des Geschehens hervorzuheben in einem ausdrücklichen Erstaunen, das die Rede verlebendigt wie vielleicht auch das *ti*=*tr* in *Pyr.* 1173 a, vermutlich also angepaÙt an die Umgangssprache. Einerseits dieser Textzusammenhang, andererseits die Fülle der Zeugnisse für objektloses *iri* *n*

¹ Vgl. S. 34 Mitte.

gegenüber diesem praktisch einmaligen Fall der Verwendung von bloßem *nw* oder *nn* als Objekt bestätigen uns eines: wir gingen davon aus, daß in *iri n* nicht etwa ein Objekt ausgefallen ist, und es wird uns nun bestätigt, daß es nicht etwa mit der Ellipse eines Objektes *nw* oder *nn* verstanden werden darf. Wir werden auch hier zur Vermutung geführt, daß diese Demonstrativ-Nomina in diesem Zusammenhang in eine spätere Sprachstufe gehören, wie wir das für die vorher besprochenen Fälle *nw* (*nn*) + Relativform bereits zu erkennen glaubten.

Diese Folgerung soll hier betont werden, daß nämlich *iri n* im Sinne von 'dies alles tun für jmd.' keinesfalls verstanden werden darf als Kürzung aus *iri nw (nn) n*, sondern daß vermutlich eine Weiterbildung mit diesen Demonstrativen vorliegt. Diese Folgerung trifft sich erfreulich mit der auf einfacher Überlegung beruhenden Feststellung, daß die Ellipse eines Demonstrativums einen Widerspruch in sich selbst bedeuten würde: die charakteristische hinweisende Kraft eines Demonstrativums ist nichts und mausetot, sobald es unterschlagen wird. Ein Demonstrativum kann seiner Natur nach nicht in einer Ellipse ausfallen. Wohl aber kann es umgekehrt in einen Satz eingefügt werden, wo nach dem zeitlich bedingten Sprachgefühl ein ausreichendes Objekt zu fehlen scheint. Auf unser Thema angewandt bedeutet diese These, daß die Bedeutung von *iri:f n:k* 'er tut dies alles zu deinen Gunsten' allmählich zu einer Abschwächung in der Richtung auf 'er tut dir Gutes' tendierte, wie sie im M. R. vorzuliegen scheint,¹ und daß dabei die ursprüngliche Bedeutung durch die Einfügung des Demonstrativums wiederhergestellt wurde. Soviel ich sehe widerspricht diese Annahme nicht dem Befunde. Übrigens scheint mir, daß eine entsprechende Abschwächung auch bei dem objektlosen *irn:f r:k* 'er hat dir dieses Böse angetan' stattgefunden hat zu 'er hat dir Böses getan', mit der gleichen Abhilfe durch *nn* oder *nw*, wie ich das schon oben gelegentlich vorausgesetzt habe. Aber einen Exkurs ins Allgemeinere wollen wir hier für unsere Argumentierung noch zurückstellen.

Die bekannte 'Widmungsformel' des A. R., *in s:f X ir n:f*, allein oder mit folgendem *nw* oder *nn*, lehrreich zusammengestellt in *Urk.* I, 225-30, enthält nach allem zweifellos das objektlose *iri n* wie es sich als lebendige Redewendung in den *Pyramidentexten* gezeigt hat. Dieser Schluß erscheint mir klar bestätigt durch die Inschrift für einen Sohn des Snofru: $\text{Q} \leftarrow nw \text{ in } s:f \text{ šmšw rh-nsw } K_3\text{-wcb } irr \text{ n:f}$ 'Was dies alles betrifft: es ist sein ältester Sohn Kawab, der hiermit seine Pflicht tut zu seinen (des Vaters) Gunsten, da dieser im Westen ist, gegangen zu seinem Ka' (*Urk.* I, 227, 6). Wäre hier an *iri c. obj.* gedacht, so müßte unausweichlich das vorangestellte Objekt hinter *irr n:f* wiederaufgenommen sein, oder der Satz müßte anders lauten. Von einer Ellipse kann in diesem Falle natürlich nicht gesprochen werden, und ein Schreibfehler oder nachlässige Sprache darf bei diesem vielleicht ältesten Vorkommen der Formel nicht angenommen werden. Also haben wir hier sicher das objektlose *iri n*. Mit diesem Verständnis gewinnt die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieser sog. Widmungsformel ein neues Gesicht für uns. Sie bekundet, wenn wir sie richtig so verstehen, wer für das Begräbnis und den Totendienst gesorgt hat, und es ist durchaus denkbar, daß ihre lapidare Niederschrift rechtliche Kraft hatte als Nachweis dafür, wer der Erbe des

¹ Fr. Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, S. 102.

Verstorbenen war. Pap. Boulaq 10, recto 10–11, *hr idtw iht n krs hrtw pꜣ hp n pr-ꜣ* heißt, soviel ich sehe, 'die Erbmasse (? oder ein Teil davon) soll dem gegeben werden, wer auch immer das Begräbnis ausrichtet — so besagt das Gesetz des Pharao',¹ und dieser Grundsatz galt gewiß schon im A. R. Dieser Sinn der Formel blieb durch die Einfügung des *nn* oder *nw* als Objekt zunächst unangetastet, 'sein Sohn X ist es, der dies alles für seinen Vater pflichtgemäß getan hat'. Ich kann jetzt nicht feststellen, ob im Verlaufe des A. R. dieser Sinn sich etwa verändert hat, so daß die Formel nur die Widmung eines bestimmten Stückes anzeigte. Auch sehe ich nicht, ob und wie weit sie im Laufe des M. R. durch die M. R.-Formel *m ir sꜣf mrr n itf* im Sinne von 'damit hat sein liebender Sohn für seinen Vater gehandelt' ersetzt wurde. Auf die Gleichheit dieser Konstruktion und der von *m irw n-k Inpw* hat Sethe zu *Pyr.* 808 b hingewiesen; s. die Bemerkung zu Zitaten 12–13 (*Pyr.* 808 b, 1723 d).

Auch die königliche Widmungsformel *irn:f m mnw:f* kann nur durch das objektlose *iri n* richtig verstanden werden. Sie findet sich zuerst auf dem Palermostein nach dem Muster (*Urk.* 1, 240) *irn:f m mnw:f n bꜣw Twnw smnt n-sn htp-ntr ...* und *n Rc stꜣt 44* '(König Userkaf) hat seine königliche Pflicht erfüllt in seinen Denkmälern, (und zwar) für die Seelen von Heliopolis: die Stiftung eines Gottesopfers für sie, bestehend aus ..., und für Re: 44 Aruren Feld.' Ausgeschlossen erscheint, daß dieser Satz mit transitivem *irn:f* normal, also in der Folge *irn:f* + Objekt + präpositionale Bestimmungen in der Kanzlei konzipiert und dann deswegen in einer alles umwerfenden Wortstellung niedergeschrieben wurde, weil (nach Gardiner § 507, 2) das grammatische Objekt sich so in die Länge ziehen konnte, daß *m mnw:f* schließlich nachgehinkt haben würde. Dieses Problem der Übersichtlichkeit eines Satzes konnten die Schreiber des A. R. leicht lösen durch den ihnen gewohnten und auch an dieser Stelle des Palermosteines angewandten Wechsel von horizontalen und vertikalen Zeilen. — Die hier vorliegende adverbiale Bestimmung des *iri n*, durch *m* resp. *mi*, *mi kd*, findet sich auch in den Zitaten 6, 8–9, 15–16 (*Pyr.* 970 c, 477 c, 1473 a, 1748 c, 657 b–d), und auch Zitate 12–13 (*Pyr.* 808 b, 1723 d) kann man wohl dazu rechnen.

Von möglichen weiteren Folgerungen aus dem Nachweis der ursprünglichen Bedeutung des objektlosen *iri n* seien zwei mir naheliegende erwähnt, die mir wohlbegründet zu sein scheinen.

Ist es richtig, daß der sachliche Unterschied zwischen objektlosem *iri n* und *iri nw* (oder *nn*) *n* in der Tongebung, nicht aber in der Bedeutung liegt, so müssen wir daraus schließen, daß diese Demonstrativa ursprünglich ebenso eine Mehrzahl oder eine kollektive oder komplexe Einzahl bezeichnen, wie wir solchen pluralischen oder komplexen Charakter für das immanente Objekt des *iri n* festgestellt haben. *nw* und *nn* müssen dann heißen 'diese', 'dies alles' und 'dies insgesamt', können also nicht gebraucht werden, um singularisch einen einfachen Gegenstand zu bezeichnen. Dieser ursprünglich pluralische Charakter der mit *n-* gebildeten Demonstrativa wurde bisher wohl von uns allen angenommen,² aber anscheinend wendet Edel §§ 196–200 sich

¹ W. Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien*, S. 16. S. den Nachtrag hier unten S. 39.

² Gardiner § 111 spricht von den mit *n-* gebildeten Pluralen der Demonstrativ-Pronomina, die auch im neutrischen Sinne als 'dies' oder 'jenes' alleinstehend gebraucht werden. — Sethe zu *Pyr.* 264 b, *nw n(y) sꜣsꜣ*,

dagegen, indem er neben ihre singularische Konstruktion, die hier nicht angezweifelt werden soll, auch ihre singularische Bedeutung herauszustellen sucht. In Wirklichkeit aber können alle in §§ 197–9 genannten Beispiele im Sinne von Sethe (S. 35, Anm. 2) als kollektivische oder komplexe Einheiten verstanden werden.¹ Nach meinem Urteil würde, als einziges Beispiel für die Anwendung von *nw n(y)* auf einen eindeutig singularischen Begriff, Nt Zl. 697 (ibid. §§ 199, 200) bleiben, NN *pw nw-k n(y) mtr hr mꜣt* (mit einem Götterdeterminativ zu *mtr*; Edel: ‘dieser dein Zeuge’). Das aber können wir jetzt nur pluralisch übersetzen, wie wir es auch in einem Text der klassischen Sprache tun müssen: ‘NN ist alle diese, welche Zeugnis ablegen für dich hinsichtlich der Maat’. In dieser Übersetzung dürfen wir uns nicht durch die daraus entstehende Frage beirren lassen, wie solche Identifizierung einer Person mit einer Vielzahl verstanden werden kann. Im Gegenteil müssen wir nun wohl den Schluß ziehen, daß in allen Nominalsätzen der Formen ‘*X pw nw*’,² ‘*X nw*’ oder ‘*X nn*’,³ ‘*X pw nn*’⁴ die Demonstrativa jeweils einen komplexen, kollektivischen oder pluralischen Begriff darstellen. Die Begründung für diese Ausdrucksweise mag in der uns unbekannt begleitenden Handlung des Rituals liegen; wo es sich z. B. um den Verstorbenen, das *wꜣt*-Kleid oder Horus handelt, dürfen wir etwa denken an eine besonders zusammengesetzte Aufmachung der Leiche oder des handelnden Königs. Es bleiben ungelöste Fragen betreffend *nw* und *nn*,⁵ aber es erscheint mir zunächst ratsam, die Übersetzung dieser Demonstrativa auf ‘diese alle’, ‘dies insgesamt’ auszurichten entsprechend ihrer anscheinend ursprünglichen Bedeutung. Die weitere Entwicklung geht uns hier nichts an.

Zuletzt kommen wir zurück auf das anfänglich genannte Unbehagen über eine versteht *sꜣš* als ‘vielleicht kollektivischen Begriff’, etwa ‘Busch’; man kann auch an ein Blumengebinde denken. Aber Sethe fragt sich, ob nicht doch eine rein singularische Bedeutung von *nw* hier vorliege, wie er sie für *nw n(y) irt-Hnmw(-Boot)* in 1227 dM, *nw n(y) tmsꜣt* in 1460 aM und *nw-k n(y) mtr* in Nt 697 anzunehmen bereit ist. Aber m. E. ist ein beladenes *irt-Hnmw*-Boot (s. 1769 b?) durchaus ein kollektivischer Begriff. In 1460 a spricht nichts dafür, daß *tmsꜣt* ein einfacher Gegenstand ist; wir dürfen übersetzen (P:) ‘dies alles hier ist NN, (nämlich) die *tmsꜣt* (-Masse)’ und (M:): ‘NN ist diese *tmsꜣt* (-Masse)’. Nt 697 wird oben besprochen.

¹ Zu Edel §§ 197–8: die Grabanlage, das Gesagte, Befohlene, Getane sind kollektivische Begriffe. *iw nn tꜣ* und *nꜣr n-i nn* können wir ohne weiteres mit kollektivischen Wörtern wiedergeben, ‘dies ist ganz (alles) heiß’, ‘halte mir dieses Zeug (nämlich den sich wehrenden oder blutig abgeschnittenen Rinderschenkel)’. Zu § 199: ‘die Inschrift’ ist ein Kollektivum; zu *Pyr.* 264, 1227, 1460 aM Nt 697 s. Anm. hier oben; auch das Horusauges kann gegebenenfalls als Kollektivum verstanden werden, aber in *Pyr.* 2090 a, *gm nn irt Hr*, kann ich *nn* nur als Subjekt verstehen: ‘so hat dies alles (eingeschlossen wohl ‘Kopf’ und ‘Scheitel’, 2090 b) das Horusauges gefunden’. Mit dieser Lesung von 2090 a ist übrigens nach 1460 aP (s. Anm. hier oben) meines Erachtens auch das zweite und letzte Beispiel für die angebliche Weglassung des Genitivwörtchens nach *nw* (*nw x* statt *nw n(y) x*) hinfällig geworden.

² Neben den genannten *Pyr.* 264 b, 1460 a auch 541 a, 1211 a. Aufschlußreich 740 (Zitat 26): *wꜣt pw nw irt Hr* ... ‘dies alles, was Horus seinem Vater Osiris getan hat, ist das *wꜣt*-Gewand’.

³ *Pyr.* 1035 b: *ink nw ꜣš rdwy-f* ‘dies alles, was seine Füße bindet, bin ich’. Weiter 636 a, 294 a–c und auch wohl 1114 c, *šn-i nn*, ‘dies insgesamt (diese ganze Erscheinung) ist mein Bruder’.

⁴ z. B. von Osiris NN (*Pyr.* 1616 a, 1872 a), Horus (741 a, 2047 c) und anderem (2047 c–d, 229 a, 249 a). — *Wšir pw nn* in 1872 a (vgl. auch 176 aW, 170 aNt536) ist offenbar Variante zu *Wšir pw pnn* in 177 a; und *ih-k nn* in 423 c ist offenbar Variante zu *ih-k pw nn* in 242 c. Deswegen kann ich *nn* in *pnn* und *pw nn* nicht mit Sethe (auch zu *Pyr.* 550 a) und Edel § 963 als adverbiale Verstärkung zu *pw* gelten lassen. Zu *pnn*, das nur in den Wiederholungen, *Pyr.* 167–79, und zwar gleicherweise in allen alten Versionen sich findet, dürfen wir uns wohl überlegen, ob es etwa eine ungeklärte Variante von *nn* und nicht eine Schreibvariante von *pw nn* ist.

⁵ So *nn* in scheinbar attributiver Stellung: *Pyr.* 1266 b, 1724 c und wohl auch 1290 a.

gewisse Überbeanspruchung des Begriffes der Ellipse des pronominalen Objektes. Wir haben gesehen, daß objektloses *iri n* in den ältesten Belegen nicht einfach heißt, jmdm. etwas Gutes zu tun, sondern es heißt, zugunsten jmds. das zu tun, was getan werden soll, zur rechten Zeit und am rechten Ort seine Pflicht jmdm. gegenüber zu leisten. Die Frage ist, ob eine ähnliche Modifizierung der Bedeutung auch bei anderen transitiven Verben erkennbar ist, wo sie ohne Objekt gebraucht werden. Statt einer hier unmöglich zu gebenden sicheren Antwort können wir ein Experiment ohne Beweiskraft machen, und vorsichtshalber wollen wir uns wappnen gegen seine Verallgemeinerung mit den folgenden drei Hinweisen. Erstens, es mag durchaus echte, d. h. eindeutig aus dem Kontext verständliche Ellipsen des Objektes geben. Zweitens, Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, § 593 b, hat mit Recht darauf hingewiesen, daß der Ausfall des Objektes auch in anderen Sprachen vorkommt ohne daß, so können wir hinzufügen, die Bedeutung des Verbums dadurch modifiziert wird. Drittens, wir glaubten schon bei objektlosem *iri n* und *iri r* eine allmählich stattfindende Abschwächung zur Bedeutung 'jmdm. Gutes oder Böses tun' zu sehen. — Versuchsweise also zitieren wir hier die repräsentative Auswahl von 'Ellipsen des pronominalen Objektes' im A. R. in Edel § 998¹ und setzen eine im oben angegebenen Sinne modifizierte Übersetzung vorschlagsweise daneben wie folgt. *Urk.* I, 78, 3 *šwt dd:f n:k* 'er wird dir dies alles sagen'. Hassan, *Giza* II, 190 (r)*dn-i n:f* 'ich habe ihm die vorliegende Schenkung gemacht'. Hier wie im folgenden haben wir das objektlose *rdi n* wie in *Pyr.* 1982 b (Zitat II). *Urk.* I, 36, 11 (ähnlich 12, 14) *igr dd:šn n mšw:šn* 'aber sie sollen ihren Kindern dies alles (oder: ihren Pflichtteil) geben' — die Alternative der Übersetzung berührt eine Frage des ägyptischen Rechtes, die ich nicht beantworten kann; aber wenn wir hier eine Ellipse annehmen, kommen doppelsinnig sowohl *m imyt-pr* als auch *imyt-pr* in Betracht, und '(etwas) geben' würde hier garnicht passen. In *Urk.* I, 36, 9 und 12, 13 ist objektloses *rdi* negiert, das ist in jedem Falle also 'nichts weggeben oder verkaufen'. *Ibid.* 37, 2 *igr ddtw n hm-k: šnn:f iht r:f* heißt in jedem Falle 'vielmehr soll sein ganzer Anteil dem Ka-Diener gegeben werden, dessen Besitzrecht er vor Gericht in Frage gestellt hat', aber eine Ellipse des Objektes, des vorhergehenden 'alles, was ich ihm gegeben habe', würde nur dann vorliegen, wenn das Suffix der Form *šdmtw:f* als Objekt empfunden wurde, und das erscheint fraglich (s. Gardiner § 39, obs., und Edel § 462). In *Pyr.* 462 c kann man einen Ausfall des Objektes nur dann annehmen, wenn man mit Sethe das transitive Verbum *ski* in W₂ annimmt, dabei aber das (*i*)*r:f* in N und dem korrigierten W₁ damit erklären muß, daß die Schreiber den Text durchaus nicht verstanden. *Pyr.* 582 d ist mein Zitat 4 des objektlosen *iri n*, und das gleiche in der Widmungsformel haben wir oben besprochen. Es ist einerseits überraschend und bemerkenswert, daß von den sorgfältig ausgewählten und zunächst überzeugenden Beispielen für eine Ellipse des pronominalen Objektes keines unserem Experiment sicher standhält. Andererseits hat dieses bei *dd* und vor allem bei *rdi* m. E. eine positive Reaktion hervorgebracht: mit der vorgeschlagenen

¹ Ich möchte betonen, daß diese zweite Durchkämmung eines Paragraphen der Grammatik Edels durchaus nicht polemisch gemeint ist. Ich habe, wie gesagt, die Texte des A. R. jetzt nicht durchgearbeitet, und Edel hat dankenswerterweise eine reiche Anzahl von Zitaten gegeben.

Modifizierung ihrer Bedeutung geben sie den Texten bessere Klarheit. So dürfen wir auf diesem Wege wohl weitergehen. Zusätzlich zu den genannten Zitaten verweist Edel hier auf seinen § 990, wo er bei der Behandlung der Genuskongruenz Stellen mit einem objektlosen *gmi* bespricht und dafür auch auf einige Zitate aus der 18. Dyn. verweist, die vollständiger von Gardiner zusammengestellt sind.


Gardiner § 506, 5 zitiert und übersetzt *Urk.* IV, 834, 14 *ist̄ gmn hm̄-i šnw m db̄t* 'after My Majesty had found (it) surrounded with brick', wobei 'it' wohl auf *ibtyw* in dem unmittelbar voraufgehenden *m ibtyw r̄-pr* 'an der Ostseite des Tempels', schwerlich auf den Tempel Karnak selbst bezogen wird. Er fügt hinzu, 'in contexts similar to (this) the omission of the pronoun seems to be even idiomatic', und verweist damit auf drei Textstellen: *ist̄ gmn hm̄-i m db̄t w̄s̄y wr̄t* '... in Ziegelwerk und sehr verfallen' (*Urk.* IV, 197, 17–198, 1; ebenso 818, 3) und *ist̄ gmn hm̄-i w̄s̄ r̄ w̄s̄* '... auf dem Wege zum Verfall' (ibid. 882, 13). An diesen drei Stellen könnte ein ausgefallenes pronominales Objekt nur auf das vorhergehende *ht-ntr* 'Gotteshaus' resp. *st̄ d̄sr̄t* 'heiliger Sitz' sich beziehen, müßte also femininum sein; aber das würde sich nicht vertragen mit der 3. masc. sing. oder plur. der Pseudopartizipien *w̄s̄y* resp. *w̄s̄*. Gardiners Klassifizierung des Fehlens des pronominalen Objektes in diesem Falle als idiomatisch konnte und sollte gewiß keine Erklärung sein, und so war es gerade an diesen Textstellen, daß vor Jahren meine Zweifel an der Ellipse des pronominalen Objektes entstanden. Bevor wir nun die Divergenz zwischen femininischer und maskulinischer Konstruktion an den genannten Textstellen zu klären versuchen, sei hingewiesen auf *Urk.* IV, 169, 10–11, *ist̄ gmn hm̄-i nw̄ m db̄t w̄s̄y wr̄t*, also genau wie das eben zitierte ibid. 197, 17 f. und 818, 3, nur mit Einschub eines *nw̄* 'dieses'. Es könnte naheliegen, auf Grund dieser Stelle alle hier zitierten Stellen mit der Ellipse eines *nw̄* zu erklären. Gardiner hat diesen Ausweg gewiß aus gutem Grunde nicht genommen, und nach unserer ausführlichen Besprechung von *nw̄* und *nn* schließen wir uns ihm an. Wir müssen von anderer Seite unser Problem angehen.

Nehmen wir nun als Arbeitshypothese die ursprüngliche Existenz eines objektlosen *gmi* im Sinne unseres *iri n* an, also etwa in der Bedeutung 'dies alles finden', so scheint die Schwierigkeit sich zu lösen. Der wohl in die 10. Dyn. gehörende Bersche-Fürst der Restaurierunginschriften in Schech Said, Lepsius, *Denk.* II, 112 e, 113 b, nennt seine Tätigkeit: *šrw̄d̄ gmyt w̄st̄, šmw̄w̄ gmyt w̄s̄y* 'die Sicherung des baufällig Vorgefundenen und die Wiederherstellung des verfallen Vorgefundenen', also mit *w̄st̄* wie *w̄s̄y* im Pseudopartizip 3. masc. sing. oder plur. Die Partizipialkonstruktion *gmyt w̄s̄y* kann, ins Aktivische gewendet, nicht einem *gmn̄-i šw̄* (oder: *šn̄*) *w̄s̄y* entsprechen wegen des fem. *gmyt*, und erst recht nicht einem *gmn̄-i š̄i w̄s̄t̄i*. Aber ein objektloses *gmn̄-i w̄s̄y* 'ich fand dies alles hier im Zustand des Verfalls', wobei also *gmn̄-i* durch das Pseudopartizip adverbial bestimmt ist, kann im part. pass. wohl nur zu *gmyt w̄s̄y* werden. Das von Edel § 990 gegebene Zitat *Hatnub* Gr. 8, 4 entspricht dem genau: *n gm̄-y iry in ky mit̄-y* 'dies alles fand ich nicht getan (pseudopart.) von einem anderen, mir gleichen', und ebenso müssen auch die oben zitierten Stellen aus der 18. Dyn. einschließlich *Urk.* IV, 834, 14 verstanden werden. Das gleiche gilt auch für die Schabaka-Inschrift, 'Memphit. Theologie' Zl. 2, *is̄ gmn̄ hm̄-f m̄ ir̄n tpyw-ε* 'das

Vorliegende fand Seine Majestät, indem die Vorfahren dies alles gemacht haben', wohl auch für *Urk.* IV, 406, 11 *n gm (·y) m sš tpyw-ꜣ* 'dies hier fand ich nicht in den Schriften der Vorfahren', und für das häufige *gmyt m sš*. Ich denke, daß die Arbeitshypothese sich bewährt hat.

Edel § 990 stellt das oben genannte A. R.-Zitat aus Hatnub, *n gm·y iry in ky mit·y*, aufschlußreich zusammen mit *Der Rifeh* I, 16–17 *n gmi·f st iry in tpyw-ꜣ* 'er fand dies nicht von den Vorfahren getan'. Hier ist, ähnlich wie wir es in *Urk.* IV, 169, 10–11 mit *nw* 'dieses' fanden, und wie es unserer vorherigen Besprechung von *nw* und *nn* entspricht, das ältere *n gm·f iry* erweitert durch das erst im M. R. auftretende *st* 'es', aber das unzweifelhafte genus femininum dieses von *stt* abzuleitenden Pronomens war nicht stark genug, das Genus des Pseudopartizips *iry* nachträglich zu ändern.¹ Ebenso ist wohl auch das in Gardiner § 511, 4 hier herangezogene *st ꜥh n·k* 'es ist nicht gut für dich' zu verstehen aus früherem *ꜥh n·k*. Andere dort² genannte Fälle der Inkongruenz des Genus mögen ihre eigene Erklärung finden. Wir hoffen aber, mit Hilfe des *iri n* der *Pyramidentexte*, diesem und anderen Problemen etwas näher auf den Leib gerückt zu sein.

Nachtrag zu S. 35, Anm. 1.

E. Lüddeckens hat mich jetzt freundlichst verwiesen auf E. Seidl, 'Vom Erbrecht der alten Ägypter' in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 107 (1957), 270 ff. Das dort gewonnene Ergebnis für unsere Frage hat Seidl mir brieflich so formuliert, 'daß ein Erbe, der den Nachlaß des Verstorbenen bekommt, ihm dafür im Sinne einer geschuldeten Gegenleistung das Begräbnis zu geben hat'. Dazu ergänze ich aus loc. cit. 273: 'Der Gedanke, daß hier Leistung und Gegenleistung vorliege, muß schon im A. R. sei es als Satz des Rechtes, sei es als eine allgemeine Anschauung vorhanden gewesen sein'. — Der Satz *hr idtw iht n krs* in dem oben gegebenen Zitat aus Pap. Boulaq 10 wurde von Spiegelberg übersetzt: 'und doch sind ihnen die Bestattungsgegenstände gegeben', aber in seiner Abschrift fehlt ein *nw* 'ihnen'. Seidl übersetzt: 'die Sachen werden wegen (i. e. als Äquivalent) des Begräbnisses gegeben'. Meine oben gegebene Übersetzung versteht *rdi* c. obj. + *n* wie üblich als 'jmdm. etw. geben'. Allerdings ist dabei  ohne Personendeterminativ und ohne Artikel als Bezeichnung eines nominal gebrauchten part. act. merkwürdig, doch wohl aber möglich; vgl. dazu Zitate in Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* § 380. Wir dürfen uns wohl fragen, ob Determinativ und Artikel deswegen ausgefallen sind, weil im Kontext des Papyrus und vielleicht schon im Wortlaut des Gesetzes eine Festlegung darauf, ob der Begrabende Mann oder Frau ist, vermieden werden sollte und ein Plural das Gesetz unklar gemacht haben wurde.

¹ Ähnlich wird vereinzelt in der 18. Dyn. der Artikel *pꜣ* vor die unverändert weibliche Relativform gesetzt: *pꜣ wdtꜣn pꜣ·y nb* 'das, was mein Herr befohlen hat', Gardiner § 511, 4, n. 14. — Vgl. weiter hier S. 33 die Besprechung von Gardiner § 511, 3, Edel § 1071.

² Gardiner § 511, 2 und 4; s. auch § 396, 2 n. 7. Vgl. weiter Edel § 985.

THE PREGNANCY OF ISIS

By R. O. FAULKNER

THE legend of the posthumous impregnation of Isis by Osiris and the subsequent birth of the child Horus is a commonplace of Egyptian religion, but like all Egyptian religious beliefs, the details are apt to vary according to the original sources used. One such source is Spell 148 of the Coffin Texts, which is concerned principally with the announcement by Isis of the fact that she is pregnant of Horus and with the steps to be taken by the gods to protect mother and child. The spell in question has already been studied by J. Gwyn Griffiths in *The Conflict of Horus and Seth*, pp. 52-3, but my translation of this text differs from his in a number of important respects, so that it seemed to me desirable to study it afresh. For instance, if my interpretation of the first sentence be correct, Isis is impregnated not by the crude physical process described in *Pyr.* §§ 632, 1636 and illustrated on the walls of temples, notably at Abydos, but by a flash of lightning which terrifies the gods. This represents, in my view, a refinement of the original myth analogous to that of the account of the creation of Shu by the exhalation of breath rather than by masturbation, and it certainly provides a dramatic genesis for the young Horus. It is impossible in a short paper to go into minute detail in respect of all the points where my version differs from that of Griffiths; it is hoped that the following translation and notes will enable scholars to decide between us.

Translation

CT II, | ²⁰⁹TAKING SHAPE AS A FALCON.¹ The lightning-flash strikes(?),² the gods are afraid, | ²¹⁰Isis wakes pregnant with the seed of her brother Osiris. She is uplifted, (even she) the widow,³ and her heart is glad with the seed of her brother Osiris. | ²¹¹She says: 'O you gods, I am Isis, the sister of Osiris, who wept for the father of the gods,⁴ (even) Osiris who judged the slaughterings of the Two Lands. His seed is within | ²¹²my womb, I have moulded⁵ the shape of the god within the egg as my son who is at the head of the Ennead.⁶ What he shall rule is this land, the heritage of his (grand-) father Gēb, | ²¹³what he shall say is concerning his father, what he shall kill is Seth the enemy of his father Osiris. Come, you gods, protect him within my womb,⁷ | ²¹⁴for he is known in your hearts. He is your lord, this god who is in his egg, blue-haired⁸ of form, lord of the gods, and great and beautiful | ²¹⁵are the barbs(?)⁹ of the two blue plumes.'

'Oh!' says Atum:¹⁰ 'guard your heart, O woman!'

'How do you know?¹¹ He¹² is the god, | ²¹⁶lord and heir of the Ennead, who made you within the egg. I am Isis, one more spirit-like and august than the gods; the god is within | ²¹⁷this womb of mine and he is the seed of Osiris'.

Then says Atum: 'You are pregnant and you are hidden,¹³ O girl! You will give birth, being pregnant for the gods,¹⁴ seeing that(?)¹⁵ he is the seed of Osiris.¹⁶ May that villain who slew his¹⁷

father not come, lest he break the egg in its early stages,²¹⁸ | for the Great-of-Magic¹⁹ will guard against him’.

Thus says Isis: ‘Hear this, you gods, which Atum, Lord of the Mansion of the Sacred Images, has said. He has decreed for me protection for my son within my womb, he has knit together an entourage about him within this womb of mine,²¹⁹ | for he knows²⁰ that he is the heir of Osiris, and a guard over the Falcon who is in this womb of mine has been set by Atum, Lord of the gods. Go up²¹ on earth, that I may give you praise.²² The retainers of your father Osiris will serve you, I will make your name,²²⁰ | for you have reached the horizon, having passed by the battlements of the Mansion of Him whose name is hidden. Strength has gone up within my flesh, power has reached into my flesh, power has reached . . .’ ‘. . .²³ who conveys the Sunshine-god,²²¹ | and he has prepared his own place, being seated at the head of the gods in the entourage of the Releaser(?)’.²⁴

‘O Falcon,²⁵ my son Horus, dwell in this land of your father Osiris in this your name of Falcon who is on the battlements of the Mansion of Him whose name is hidden.²⁶ I ask that you shall be always²⁷ | in the suite of Rē²²²’ of the horizon in the prow of the primeval bark for ever and ever’.

Isis goes down to the Releaser(?) who brings Horus, for Isis has asked that he may be the Releaser(?) as the leader of eternity.

‘See Horus, you gods! I am Horus, the Falcon²²³ | who is on the battlements of the Mansion of Him whose name is hidden. My flight aloft has reached the horizon, I have overpassed the gods of the sky, I have made my position more prominent than that of the Primeval Ones. The Contender²²⁴ has not attained my first flight,²²⁴ | my place is far from Seth, the enemy of my father Osiris. I have used the roads of eternity to the dawn, I go up in my flight, and there is no god who can do what I have done. I am aggressive against the enemy of my father Osiris, he having been set under my sandals²²⁵ | in this my name of *dmw*.³⁰ I am Horus, born of Isis, whose³¹ protection was made within the egg;³² the fiery blast of your mouths does not attack me,³³ and what you may say against me does not reach me. I am Horus, more distant of place than men or gods;²²⁶ | I am Horus son of Isis’.

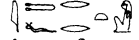


Notes

1. This rubric is found only in B4C.

2. *Ki* is recorded in *Wb.* v, 17, 1, but is not allotted a meaning. Its subject is *sšd*, determined with 𓂏 in four texts and with 𓂏 in two; B4C has lost the latter part of the word, which in S2C^a is entirely lost. Since in *Pyr.* §§ 889; 1048; 1490 𓂏 determines *sšd* in its sense of ‘flash’ (verb and noun), and thus appears as a phonetic rather than an ideographic determinative, it would appear, in view of the predominance here of the crocodile-determinative (cf. *Concise Dict.* 249), that the word means ‘flash’ here also. Since the determinative 𓂏 of *ki* implies force, and since in the next clause the gods are said to be frightened, I would suggest that the sentence may mean ‘the lightning-flash strikes’, though the fall of a thunderbolt is a possible alternative. The passage 210a indicates that the striking of the flash was nothing less than the impregnation of Isis by the dead Osiris.

3. *Hmt wnt*, lit. ‘forsaken woman’.

4. So S1P and S1Chass. The other undamaged texts have ‘who wept for the fathers’, which makes poor sense. Apparently a manuscript ancestral to these three texts omitted 𓂏 between *it* ‘father’ and the plural determinative.

5. Lit. 'knit together'.
6. S1C^b corruptly *snwt* 'sisterhood'.
7. So S1Chass.; the other texts omit the suffix.
8. For *tfrr* 'blue' cf. *Wb.* v, 300, 2-4;  'blue sky' as goddess, *CT* II, 208c. Compare the frequent use of *hsbd* 'blue' in reference to hair, e.g. Budge, *Book of the Dead*, 1898 ed., 14, 7; P. mag. Harris, 4, 9; P. Bremner-Rhind, 15, 21-3, where Osiris's hair is said to be both of turquoise (*mfkt*) and of lapis-lazuli (*hsbd*), emphasizing the blue colour. What is meant in modern parlance is blue-black hair.
9. The determinative  of *hw* suggests the 'barbs' or feathery part of a plume as distinct from the stem. The reference to 'plumes' here is obscure; perhaps they are to be worn by the young Horus.
10. Var. 'Re-Atum'.
11. Isis speaks. The attribution of these words to Isis solves the difficulty with the plural pronoun *tn* felt by Griffiths in p. 53 n. 1 of his book; it refers to the gods as a whole. Griffiths's comments on the doubt cast by Atum on the legitimacy of Horus therefore fall to the ground, so far as this text is concerned. Isis appears to overlook her previous announcement in addressing the gods invoked by her in 211a. Atum appears to be the spokesman of the gods.
12. The unborn Horus, see above, 212c, where he is said already to be at the head of the Ennead.
13. An allusion to the pregnant Isis hiding in the marshes of Chemmis.
14. S2P ends here.
15. *Wnt* appears to be used as a conjunction, after the manner of *n ntt*.
16. Griffiths's translation breaks off here, to be resumed at *CT* II, 223, and the intervening text is summarized only.
17. i.e. Horus's.
18. *M nhn:f*, lit. 'in its youth'.
19. *Wr-hkzw*, masculine.
20. So S1P, S1C^b, and S2C^a (the suffix is lost); S1C^a has *rf* and S1Chass. omits. The text here is lavish with the suffix 3rd masc. sing., but the meaning is not in doubt.
21. For the rare non-enclitic use of the emphasizing particle *m(y)* before the imperative cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.* § 250.
22. Said by Isis to her child about to be born.
23. For  see *drty·i* (var. *wy·i*) *ks* 'my hands hang down(?)', *CT* IV, 123d; 125d. The facts that *ks* here seems to bear no intelligible relation to what precedes or follows and that its suffix *f* has no discernible antecedent both point to a textual omission between *st* and *ks·f* which must have occurred in a manuscript ancestral to all the four texts which are intact at this point, for they are in agreement. It is possible that *ph·n st* in 220d may be a dittograph from 220c, but *ks·f* still remains unexplained. The possibility of a textual omission is supported by the abrupt change in topic in what follows, Horus now being regarded as being alive and active, though the speaker of the words is unknown; either Isis or Atum are possibilities.

24. S1C^a and S1P are corrupt after *šnwṯ*; the reading *wḥr* ‘the Releaser(?)’—or Redeemer?—of S1C^b and S1Chass. is shown to be correct by 222*b, c*.

25. Isis speaks.

26. Cf. 220*a*; 223*a*.

27. Reading *wnn·k* with S1P and S1Chass. in preference to *wnn kt* of S1C^a, S1C^b, and S2C^a (only *kt* preserved), which yields poor sense. The imperfective form *wnn* is employed here instead of the prospective *wn* because the state of affairs envisaged is desired to last for ever; so also 222*c*.



28. The young Horus himself speaks. S1C^b, S2C^b, and S1Chass. have *ink Hr bik* ‘I am Horus the Falcon’; S1P expands this into *ink Hr bik c3*, while S1C^a has *ink Hr* only.

29. For *i3w* ‘contender’ see *Pyr.* § 264, where the word is in the dual and is determined with a pair of opposed club-heads, the figures of the wielders of the clubs being suppressed as usual. The significance of the duck-sign in four writings of *i3w* out of six in our text is not clear.

30. Meaning unknown. The name is a bad pun on *3d* ‘aggressive’ in 224*f*.

31. Horus’s.

32. Griffiths’s translation ends here.

33. Read *n 3d wi hh n r·tn* with transposition of  and  in all texts but one; S1C^b is correct. The plural suffix refers as before to the gods in general.

The only comment on this Spell that remains is that it appears to be an extract from a dramatic text belonging to the cycle of Osirian myths. It begins by presenting the basic situation: Isis has become miraculously pregnant of a son, Horus. Following this we have a dialogue between Isis and Atum as spokesman of the gods in which Isis announces her pregnancy and is promised protection for her unborn son. In *CT II*, 220*d* we apparently have a textual omission in which has vanished the end of a speech by Isis and the first part of another speech, possibly by Atum, which refers to Horus in terms which show that he is now born and is taking his place in the celestial hierarchy. This in its turn is followed by a speech by Isis addressed to her son in his falcon-shape. Then comes a stage direction (222*b–c*) in which Isis is declared to have gone to the Releaser(?), whoever he may be, to claim his office for her son, and the text ends with Horus himself declaiming his power and might. It does not seem probable that this comparatively short text was a drama in its own right: rather it appears to be a single act from the corpus of Osirian mystery-plays which has been adopted by the compilers of funerary texts to suit their own purpose of enabling the deceased to become a falcon-god. Another drama from the Coffin Texts with a similar purpose was translated and studied by de Buck in *JEA* 35, 87 ff., in the volume dedicated to Sir Alan Gardiner, though de Buck’s text was quite different in content, so it is perhaps not inappropriate that another drama or part of a drama should appear in the volume in which we honour Gardiner’s intimate colleague and friend Professor Jaroslav Černý.

Postscript

Since the above paper was written, Mr. H. S. Smith has called my attention to certain passages in classical authors which have been collected by Mariette in his *Mémoire sur la mère d'Apis*, p. 19. For example, Herodotus, III, 28 (Loeb translation) writes: 'This Apis, or Epaphus, is a calf born of a cow that can never conceive again. By what the Egyptians say, the cow is made pregnant by a light from heaven, and thereafter gives birth to Apis'. Mariette¹ quotes Pomponius Mela, I, 9. 58 as reporting that Apis is conceived not by normal coitus but by fire from heaven, and also Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* VIII, I. 3, 718 A-B and *De Is. et Osir.* XLIII as attributing the conception of Apis to humid light emitted by the moon. The important point that emerges from the spell studied above is that the idea of the conception of a deity by fire or light from heaven is carried back to the early Middle Kingdom at latest, thus showing that the classical writers were recording a genuine Egyptian belief current already approximately two millennia before they wrote.

¹ Mariette's references have been modified to agree with those in Hopfner, *Fontes historiae religionis aegyptiacae*.

SCHREIBER UND SCHREIBGERÄT IM JENSEITS

Von SIEGFRIED SCHOTT

NEBEN Gruppen von Sprüchen zur Einbalsamierung, zum Opfermahl und zu anderen Bestattungsriten finden sich in den Pyramidentexten Spruchfolgen, die den König zum Himmel aufsteigen sehen. Vermutlich wurden sie beim 'Geleit des Dahingegangenen'¹ von Vorlesepriestern rezitiert. Der König kommt nicht von selbst. Eine Botschaft ist zu ihm gekommen (*Pyr.* 333 b, c). 'Botschaften Deines *Ka* sind zu Dir gekommen. Botschaften Deines Vaters sind zu Dir gekommen. Botschaften *Rês* sind zu Dir gekommen ...' (*Pyr.* 136 b). Nun zieht er als Sohn zu seinem Vater. Andere Vorstellungen sehen den König mit einem Gefolge fähiger Geister den Himmel erobern (*Pyr.* Spruch 273-4). Zum Fährmann des Binsfeldes kommt er einsam über die Insel zwischen den Beinen der Himmelsgöttin *Nût*, die er als zauberkräftiger Geist schwimmend erreicht hat, und stellt sich ihm als 'Zwerg und Gottestänzer' vor, 'der das Herz des Gottes vor seinem hohen Thron ergötzen wird', 'das, wovon Du in den Häusern gehört, was Du auf den Straßen erfahren hast an jenem Tage, als man Dich zum Befehlsempfang (vor den großen Gott) rief' (*Pyr.* 1188-9). Tanzzwerges waren selten und derart geschätzt, daß man sich beim Erscheinen eines solchen Zwerges unter König Pepi II. an einen lang zurückliegenden Fall erinnerte (*Urk.* I, 131, 2). In derselben Spruchfolge stellt sich der König dem Fährmann zum Opferfeld in weiteren Rollen vor, mit Aufträgen, die sofortiges Übersetzen verlangen, unter anderem an Osiris gewandt als 'Jahresherold ... mit einer Botschaft Deines Vaters Geb ...' (*Pyr.* 1195). Im letzten Spruch dieser Reihe verlangt er vom Torwächter des Osiris, ihm das Schiff bringen zu lassen, auf welchem dem Gott seine Priester frisches Wasser holen, weil er eine als 'Horusauge' gesponnene Binde bringt, den Finger des Osiris damit zu verbinden, der krank geworden ist (*Pyr.* 1201-2). Zum Sonnenschiff aufgefliegen, verjagt der tote König Kapitän oder Lotsen, 'der das Schilfdickicht nicht kennt' (*Pyr.* 366-7 a). Vermutlich als Sohn des *Rê* 'sitzt er vor ihm', dem Sonnengott, wie ein Hausmeister der Gutsherrn des Alten Reiches auf den Wandbildern ihrer Gräber, 'öffnet seine Kisten, bricht (die Siegel) seiner Erlasse, siegelt seine Papyrusrollen und sendet seine unermüdliche Boten aus'.²

Ein solcher Spruch, der den König durch den 'Wegwart (*mtn*)' am Großen Tor bei zwei großen, gewaltigen Göttern als Sohn des *Rê* anmelden läßt, verwünscht plötzlich einen Schreiber:³ 'Schreiber! Schreiber! Zerschlage Dein Schreibzeug, zerbrich Deine

¹ *Šms-wdꜣ*, *Wb*, IV, 485¹; z. B. J. Settgast, *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (1963), 271.

² *Pyr.* 490-1; vgl. *Coffin Texts*, Spell 992 mit dem Titel: 'Archivar (*irj-mꜣꜣt*) des Thoth werden, seinen Aktenbehälter (*hr-t-c*) öffnen' (*CT*, VII, 203 j-k); dort unter anderem: 'Ich öffne das, was unter ihm ist (*nt-t hr-f*) und zerbreche den Ton [seiner] Schreiben' (*CT*, VII, 204 c-d); 'ich öffne den Aktenbehälter des Gottes. Ich reiche ihm Papyrusrollen' (*ibid.* j-k; vgl. g-h).

³ Etwa den säumigen Wegwart selbst.

Binsen, zerreiße Deine Papyrusrollen! Ré, vertreibe ihn von seinem Platz, setze mich an seinen Platz ...!' (*Pyr.* 952–5). Solche Stellen geben, wie schon der Spruch, der den König als Geschäftsführer des Sonnengottes vorstellt, über die Arbeit der Schreiber und ihre Tätigkeit Auskunft. Sie vermitteln Wörter für Schreibgerät, die auf den Wandbildern nicht beigeschrieben und nur zum Teil in die Listen der Grabausstattung aufgenommen¹ sind. Aus dieser Widerspiegelung irdischer Verhältnisse in das Jenseits läßt sich so das reiche Material ergänzen, das der Jubilar über *Paper & Books in Ancient Egypt* in seiner Antrittsvorlesung am University College London zusammengetragen hat. So erfahren wir, daß im Büro des Sonnengottes 'Kisten (*hn-w*)'² stehen, wie sie nach Grabbildern Schreiber für Akten und Schreibbedarf mitführen, beweglicher als unsere Schreibtische und Aktenschränke. Der Bürochef (empfängt und) öffnet 'seine' — des Sonnengottes — 'Erlasse (*wḏ-w:f*)'³ und siegelt — an Hand dieser Erlasse geschriebene — 'Briefe (*mdj-wt*)',⁴ die er durch 'Boten'⁵ den Empfängern zustellt (*Pyr.* 491). Das 'Schreibzeug',⁶ das der unfähige Schreiber zerbrechen soll, ist das alte aus Steinpalette, Farbbeutel und Binsenkapsel zusammengesetzte Gerät. Nach den Grabbildern wird es im Gebrauch noch im Alten Reich durch eine neuartige Palette (*gstj*) ersetzt. Die Näpfe dieser neuen Palette enthalten den Farbstoff. Sie ist aus Holz gefertigt und am verlängerten unteren Ende als Binsenkasten gearbeitet.⁷ Die 'Binsen (*cr-wj*)' dieses Schreibers sind im Exemplar des Spruches in der Pyramide König Pepi II. (*Pyr.* 945 b N.) mit einer feinen und einer gröberen Binse determiniert. Das Wort steht im Dual, als schriebe man mit einem Binsenpaar, wie ja die Palette zwei Näpfe, für die schwarze und für die rote Farbe, trägt. Anstelle der Palette ist in einem Spruch gegen Dämonen, die einem Toten seine Zauber rauben wollen, eine 'Muschel (*wḏ-t*)' genannt: 'Du sollst mich nicht peinigen! Du sollst mich nicht verhöhren! Du sollst nicht meinen Zauber von mir fordern! Du sollst nicht meinen Zauber von mir verlangen! Dein Zauber für Dich! Mein Zauber für mich! Damit ich nicht Deine Binse zerbreche! Damit ich nicht Deine Muschel zerschlage!' (*Pyr.* 2029–30).⁸ 'Muschel' ist hier als 'Nadelholz' determiniert. Das Wort kehrt in gleichem Zusammenhang in einem Sargtext (*CT*, VI, 318 f.) wieder, dort mit zwei 'Muscheln' (Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, Sign-list, L 6) determiniert. Nach den Wandbildern zu urteilen, sind Muscheln zum Anreiben von Tinte und Farbe seit der 5. Dynastie beliebt. Sie werden wie die alten Schreibpaletten an Schlaufen gehalten, mit denen man sie auch am Schurz befestigt.⁹ Muschel und Wassernapf benützt Vezier Mereruka beim Malen. Der

¹ G. Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqarah. Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* (1929), z. B. S. 20, Fig. 18; S. 39, Fig. 43 in Sargkammern; G. Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du moyen empire* (MIFAO, 47, 1921), S. 266.

² A. R., z. B. H. Junker, *Giza*, III, Taf. 3; M. R., J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, IV, Fig. 84, 38 etc.; N. R., gleichförmig mit gewölbtem Deckel z. B. Vandier, *ibid.*, Fig. 85, 85.

³ *wḏ* 'Dekret' in Adressen von Schutzbriefen, *Urk.* I, 170, 12 etc.; N. R. auch (*ti*) *wḏ-t*, z. B. *Urk.* IV, 1618, 6; 8.

⁴ *mdj-t* 'Brief', z. B. *Urk.* I, 60, 16; 128, 5; 10; 14, Schreiben Untergebener an den König.

⁵ In Büros des A. R. wurden Briefe durch 'Archivare (*irj-mdj-t*)' befördert; s. A. H. Gardiner, 'An administrative letter of protest', *JEA*, 13 (1927), 75–8, ein solcher Mann als 'letter-carrier', 'facteur'.

⁶ *mnhd*, *Wb*, II, 83, 3 verweist noch auf *Urk.* IV, 509, 1.

⁷ J. Černý, *Paper & Books in Ancient Egypt* (1952), 13⁵⁵.

⁸ In die ursprüngliche 1. Person solcher Texte umgesetzt.

⁹ Junker, *Giza*, II, Abb. 18; 19.

Wassernapf steht neben ihm auf einem hohen Ständer.¹ In der Linken hält er die Muschel, mit der Rechten die Binse.

Der Dämon im Jenseits — oder ein Dämonenpaar, jeder einzeln —, dem der König Binse und Muschel zu zerbrechen droht, wird von ihm als ‘Peiniger’ und ‘Verhörer’ angesprochen (*Pyr.* 2029 a). Sethe hat in seinem Kommentar zum Spruch 316 auf diesen Spruch verwiesen und beide Namen in Spruch 556 wiedergefunden, wo der tote König mit ihnen zwei Geister anruft, die ihn zum Osten des Himmels, zum ‘Ort, an dem die Götter geboren werden’, fahren sollen (*Pyr.* 1382). In ähnlicher Weise, aber ohne Erwähnung von Schreibgerät, beschwören zwei Sargtexte zur Sicherstellung angemessener Ernährung den Dämon ‘Verhörer (*šmtj*)’ und seinen hier ‘Prügler (? *ššn·tj*)’ genannten Genossen.² In Spruch 144 des Totenbuches steht *Smtj* gelegentlich als Wächter am ‘ersten Tor’³ und hat so einen Platz in der Jenseitstopographie gefunden. In den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches ist das Thema der Drohung gegen Fragen stellende Schreiber, ihr Gerät zu zerstören oder sie ihre Schreibsachen selbst zerstören zu lassen, auf Sprüche gegen einen *Gbgj* genannten Vogel übergegangen, die nach Spruchtiteln⁴ diesen Vogel abwehren sollen. Ein solcher Spruch trägt den Titel ‘Mit Zauber ausgestattet sein; einem Mann seinen Zauber im Friedhof nicht wegnehmen lassen’ (*CT*, IV, 385 k–l), der als Titel einer Variante der zitierten Pyramidensprüche wiederkehrt (Spell 426, *CT*, v, 271 d) und dort einem Spruch gegen den *Gbgj*-Vogel (Spell 425) folgt. Im ‘Spruch, die Fährde des Himmels bringen’ (Spell 397, *CT*, v, 75 b) steht ein Spruch gegen den *Gbgj*-Vogel in größerem Zusammenhang an entscheidender Stelle. Der Tote trifft bei dieser Fährde zwei Geister. Der eine, nach seinem Namen ‘Hinter sich Schauer (*Mšj·hš·f*)’ der Fährmann selbst, stellt Fragen und will den zweiten, namens *čkn*⁵ nicht wecken. Erst als *Mšj·hš·f* am Ende des Verhörs zur Rezitation des Spruches gegen den *Gbgj*-Vogel rät (*CT*, v, 106 h–107 i), erwacht *čkn* mit den Worten: ‘Was (soll) das? Wahrlich, ich habe geschlafen!’ (*CT*, v, 108 a–b) und beginnt nun seinerseits das Verhör von Neuem. Im Spruch gegen den *Gbgj*-Vogel droht hier der Sprecher: ‘Ich zerschlage Deine Kiste. Ich zerbreche Deine Binsen.⁶ Ich zerreiße Deine Akten!’ (*CT*, v, 107 b–d). Diese Drohung weckt *čkn*, vermutlich als *Gbgj*-Vogel und Schreiber. Er ist für die Fährde zum ‘Binsfeld’ (*CT*, v, 114 f.), dem Siedlungsgebiet für Geister im Osten des Himmels verantwortlich, wo der Tote Neuland erwerben will (*CT*, v, 103 g–104 a), und soll nur Leute übersetzen, die sich auf das ‘Fingerzählen’ zum Kornmessen verstehen (*CT*, v, 115 b–116 e). Er prüft Ankömmlinge auf ihre Eignung und gewährt einem Mann, der richtig antwortet und Sprüche kennt, einen Platz auf der Fährde,⁷ kaum ohne es als Schreiber aktenkundig zu machen.

In den verstreuten Sprüchen gegen den *Gbgj*-Vogel sind gelegentlich zwei *Gbgj*-Vögel angerufen (*CT*, VI, 318 e) und dabei als ‘Stier der Stiere’ und ‘Der die Wahrheit

¹ Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägypt. Kulturgeschichte*, III, Taf. 1.

² *CT*, III, 13 b; 74 e; vgl. *CT*, VI, 407 l; *CT*, VII, 296 i (‘Zweiwegebuch’).

³ Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (1899), Papyrus of Nu, pl. 53, sheet 26, I, 1; ‘*Smtw* ist der Name dessen, der es hütet’; auch sonst, z. B. Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus* (1912), pl. 96.

⁴ Sp. 425 (*CT*, v, 269 a); Sp. 430 (v, 277 a); Sp. 688 (VI, 318 a); mit anderem Titel, ohne *Gbgj* Sp. 392 (v, 66 a).

⁵ Ob als Name ‘Tritt (nur) zu mir ein! (*čk nj*)’ zu verstehen?

⁶ Einmal, Sarg Sq2Sq, im Dual.

⁷ *Pyr.* 334 b ist vom Fährlohn der großen Fährde die Rede, der dem König nicht abgenommen wird.

ermittelt (*ḏr Mꜣꜣt*), 'die beiden *Gbgꜣ*-Vögel auf den Hütten des Töpfers (*škd*)' unterschieden (*CT*, v, 269 b–d). *Škd*, als Vogel determiniert, wird neben *Gbgꜣ* wie ein zweiter Name genannt (*CT*, vi, 295 a), auf den mit 'Töpfer (*škd*)' angespielt wird.¹ Auf *Gbgꜣ* und *Škd* folgt (*CT*, vi, 295 b) als dritter Anruf 'Der auf den Stätten'. Im oben zitierten Spruch, 'einem Mann seinen Zauber im Friedhof nicht wegnehmen lassen', wird dem *Gbgꜣ*-Vogel als einem 'jener Stiere auf den Stätten' gedroht (*CT*, iv, 385 a; vgl. v, 277 b), was ihn und seinesgleichen als Wächter an Stätten² im Grenzland zur Unterwelt bezeichnen dürfte, die im 'Zweiwegebuch' (*CT*, vii, ab 252) und in Totenbuchsprüchen (*TB*, Spr. 144–7) zusammengefaßt sind. Nicht weniger rätselvoll als solche Anrufe sind Beschwörungen, die gelegentlich an Drohungen, das Schreibgerät des *Gbgꜣ*-Vogels zu zerstören, angeschlossen sind. So klagt gegen ihn, 'den Töpfer (*škd*) und Gerichtsschreiber (*šš mꜣꜣjꜣt*)'³ der Tote 'vor Rê und beschwert sich vor den beiden Neunheiten'. 'Er sagt Deinen Namen "Stier der beiden *Gbgꜣ*-Vögel", den er auf der Feuerinsel erfahren hat. Deine Binse wird zerbrochen, Deine Muscheln werden zerschlagen, Deine Akten werden zerrissen für das, was Du gegen diesen N. zu tun drohdest' (*CT*, vi, 318 a–g). Die anschließende Verfluchung beschimpft *Gbgꜣ* mit 'schwarzer Vogel (*špd km*)': 'Zurück schwarzer Vogel ..., den sein Herz ausgesandt hat! Sage doch dem, der Dich ausgesandt hat, daß Du diesen N. nicht gefunden häst, daß Du diesen N. nicht finden wirst ... Zurück schwarzer Vogel, der aus dem 'Stierschenkel'⁴ kam, der für seinen Vater spricht, der seinen Lohn verlangt und in der Nachtbarke bestraft wird⁵ ...' (*CT*, vi, 318 h–r). 'Schwarzer Vogel' könnte *Gbgꜣ* als Krähe hinstellen. Sie wäre auch ägyptisch im Anklang an ihr Krächzen genannt. Auf der Napfseite der Schlachtfeldpalette im British Museum⁶ kreisen über den Erschlagenen, durch Gestalt und Schnäbel unterschieden, Geier und Krähen und vollziehen mit dem Löwen das Strafgericht. In den Sargtexten ist *Gbgꜣ* im allgemeinen mit der 'Gans' als Vogel determiniert. Im besprochenen Text zeichnet das Determinativ zu *Gbgꜣ* (*CT*, vi, 318 a; e) einen schwarzen Vogel mit geradem Schnabel und gedrungener Gestalt.⁷ Zu seiner schlimmen Rolle paßt, daß er *CT*, vii, 225 f. 'Mundschenk der Toten' genannt ist, von dem der Tote beschwörend sagt: 'Er schlägt nicht seine Lippen gegen mich. Er wendet seinen Hals nicht gegen mich' (*CT*, vii, 225 g–h). An anderer Stelle scheint *Gbgꜣ* als Vogel des Anubis bezeichnet. Der Tote 'kreist als *Gbgꜣ*. Er ist Anubis, Herr des Begräbnisses' (*CT*, vi, 296 b–c). Freilich verwundert es, daß man ihm regelmäßig seine Schreibsachen zu zerstören droht, als wäre er mit dem Schrecken, der an ihm haftet, zum Schreiber geworden und übe nun dir Rolle, die man ihm am Rande der Welt auf Ruinenstätten zuschrieb, als einer der mißtrauischen, unwilligen

¹ Im Fährtext (*CT*, v, 107 a) könnte der Sarg M2C '*Gbgꜣ*, der seine Kiste fährt' vor 'zerbreche Deine Kiste!' dem Zusammenhang angepaßt haben; T1C liest dort: '*Gbgꜣ*, der ein Haus baut (*škd h*).'

² Nach der Amarnazeit bezeichnet *šꜣwt* Ruinenhügel verlassener Tempel (*Urk.* iv, 2120, 4; 2027, 7); vgl. auch *CT*, vii, 468 a in der Rede des Urgottes: 'Ich habe Ruinenhügel zu Städten und Städte zu Ruinenhügeln gemacht.'

³ Noch als 'Haupt der Standarten und Mächte' bezeichnet.

⁴ *Mšhntjw*, das Sternbild 'Stierschenkel' am Nordhimmel, mythologisch Seth, der dort von den Horuskindern bewacht wird (*TB*, Spr. 17; *Urk.* v, 42, 2–3).

⁵ Vgl. *Pyr.* 485, wo beide Schiffe des Sonnengottes also Richtstätte gelten. ⁶ *JEA* 2, Taf. 14; 15.

⁷ Vgl. den schwarzen, *šnfr* genannten Vogel, der nicht weiß werden kann (Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (1924), 92) und *nfr*, ein Vogel, vielleicht Beinamen oder Bezeichnung des *Gbgꜣ* (*CT*, v, 277 c).

Wächter aus, wie man sie aus bösen diesseitigen Erfahrungen kannte. Ein Dämon der Vorzeit wäre dem Beamtenstaat angepaßt. 'Schwarzer Vogel' haften an ihm, wie Dämonen die Köpfe ihrer einstigen Gestalt als Maske und Rest ihres Schreckens tragen.

Daß im Jenseits Schreiber wirken, konnte der Ägypter auf Grund irdischer Erfahrungen voraussetzen. Er mußte annehmen, daß auch die Götter über Behörden mit Beamten, Büros und Archiven verfügen. In einem Pyramidenspruch verkündet Thoth für Osiris das 'große, gewaltige Wort', mit dem die Götter der Mythe, des Himmels, der Erde, der Gewässer und der Himmelsrichtungen, die Gau- und Stadtgötter, das heißt sämtliche Gerichtshöfe zugestimmt haben. Auf dies Wort hin bucht Anubis, der Herzenszähler, Osiris — und nach ihm nun den König — von den Göttern auf der Erde ab und zählt ihn den Göttern im Himmel zu (*Pyr.* 1520–3), Vorstellungen, die in Vignetten zu Totenbuch Spruch 125 mit wechselnder Rollenverteilung weiterleben. In einem Sargtext mit dem Titel 'Schreiber des Rê sein' (*CT*, III, 357 a) nennt sich der Tote 'Kṛkrw, Schreiber des Osiris'. 'Ich zähle die Zahl deren, die auf dem Wege sind. Was ich ausfertige, leitet sie. Osiris und Rê sind zufrieden' (*CT*, III, 357 b–e). 'Mein Mund ist Anubis, meine Akte Thoth' (*ibid.* 358 d–e). Ein anderer Sargtext stellt gelegentlich der Krönung des Osiris in der Unterwelt ihm den Toten als 'seinen Schreiber Kṛknwj mit Namen, Hṫt ist der Namen seiner Mutter' vor. 'Seine (eine) Binse ist fein. Seine (andere) Binse ist stark'.¹ 'Laß ihn passieren. Er soll die Besteuerung durchführen und Geleitscheine ausstellen,² sagt Osiris über diesen N.' (*CT*, VI, 291 m–t). Von der 'Viehsteuer des Seth' und der 'Kornsteuer der Isis für Osiris, den Herrn des Westens' (*CT*, II, 151 e) befreien Schutzbriefe des Geb, die unter seinem Horusnamen — 'Horus, der Große, Herr des Binsfeldes' (*CT*, II, 151 b) — gesiegelt sind (*ibid.* Anm. 4). Für Arbeitsleistungen stellt man 'Dienerfiguren' als Ersatz.³ In einem Sargtext sendet der Tote einen Geist, der mit Sänften reist, zu Osiris in Abydos: 'Sage ihm: Öffne Kiste und Aktenkasten (hr·t·r), auf daß Du jenen Gott 'Geheim an Gesicht' vor der Ostwüste zur Rechenschaft ziehst, der sagt, er werde mich ausheben,⁴ um jene Arbeitstrupps aufzufüllen' (*CT*, VI, 328 c–g). Hier spiegeln sich im Jenseits Mißstände, wie sie in Einzelfällen aus der Geschäftsliteratur des Neuen Reiches bekannt sind.

Lehrhaft werden auf Särgen aus Meir, dem Friedhof der Hathorstadt Kusae, 'Namen' für Schreibsachen jenseitiger Schreiber gegeben. Dort wird als 'Schreiber der Hathor' ein 'Sohn des Allherrn' genannt, 'der nicht sterben, nicht umkommen, nicht stürzen und nicht vergehen kann' (*CT*, VI, 134 g–h). In einer Spruchfolge auf einem dieser Säрге, die mit einem Spruch unter dem Titel 'Schreiber der Hathor werden' (*CT*, VI, 135 a) beginnt, gelangt der Tote neugeboren in eines der beiden Sonnenschiffe (*CT*, VI, 135 g–j), verdrängt dort die Schiffsoffiziere und ist 'über alle ihre Schreiber gestellt' (*CT*, VI, 135 k–m). 'Ich [zerbreche] ihre Binsen,⁵ wenn ich bei ihnen nicht meine

¹ Vgl. oben S. 46 zu *Pyr.* 945 b N.; hier ṛḏ und šhm; ṛḏ 'Nadel' zum Netzflicken, šhm der Befehlsstab; etwa: ein Schreiber, der mit seiner Binse sowohl zu vermitteln wie zu entscheiden vermag.

² ššmw mit der Buchrolle determiniert; vgl. oben *CT*, III, 357 d ššm 'leiten' als Verb.

³ *TB*, Spr. 6; *CT*, VI, 1 a–2 k; vgl. *CT*, III, 164 a Titel; v, 280 a Titel.

⁴ Schutzbestimmungen gegen derartiges Ausheben z. B. *Urk.* I, 282, 13; 289, 14.

⁵ 'Binsen' als šhm-w und ṛ-w unterschieden, ebenso *ibid.* 135 u; 136 c; g; vgl. oben Anm. 1 ṛḏ neben šhm.

Akte finde. Meine Schreiben (*sš-wj*) sind auf ihrem¹ Schoß, meine Palette unter ihrer Achsel' (ibid. o-r).² 'Ich empfangen jene vier Binsen³ der *Mšr-t*, die sehr gewaltigen. Sie sind gewaltiger als Himmel und Erde' (ibid. u). Die Namen dieser Binsen werden unter einem besonderen Titel: 'Die Namen der vier Binsen der *Mšr-t* kennen' (CT, VI, 136 g-n) aufgezählt. Der Spruch endet: 'Ich bin der Schreiber der Hathor. Ich öffne den Schreibkasten (*hr-t-r*) des Thoth. Ich bin sein Gehilfe (*irj-r-f*)' (ibid. t-u).⁴ In einem weiteren Spruch dieser Reihe gilt der Tote als 'Schreiber [der Hathor], reich an Fähren in Dendera' (CT, VI, 139 i). Hier gibt ein Anhang die Namen der Schreibsachen eines solchen Schreibers: 'Den Namen der Palette (*gštj*) des Gottes [kennen], um mit ihr zu schreiben' (CT, VI, 141 n) vor einem rätselhaften Namen, ebenso 'Namen der Farbe (*rj-t*)', 'des Rußes (*d'rb-t*)',⁵ 'der Binsen (*cr-w*)' und 'des Wassernapfes (*ps*)'.⁶ Solches Wissen gibt dem Geist zauberhaft Macht, hier über Schreibgerät im Jenseits, und befähigt ihn, dort Schreiber zu werden, selbst nach einer ihn betreffenden Akte zu suchen, andere Geister anzustellen, statt ausgehoben zu werden, damit ein Arbeitstrupp aufgefüllt wird. Diese Sprüche, welche seit der Pyramidenzeit dazu verhelfen, 'Schreiber' eines Gottes zu 'sein' oder es zu 'werden', und damit das Heil eines Geistes sichern, entspringen der gleichen Wertschätzung und Erfahrung, aus denen die Schülerliteratur des Neuen Reiches den Rat erteilt: 'Werde ein Schreiber!' Freilich sind die Sprüche gegen den *Gbgj*-Vogel auszunehmen. Sie schützen gegen peinigende Wächter an Wegen, Fähren und Toren zum Jenseits. Man droht mit Zerstören ihrer Stück für Stück aufgezählten Schreibsachen und denkt nicht daran, sich ihrer selbst zu bedienen.

¹ 'Ihr' bezieht sich hier und im nächsten Satz auf Hathor.

² Sitzt der Sprecher dabei selbst auf dem Schoß der Göttin, etwa als ihr Sohn *Ihj* (vgl. ibid. VI, 141 f-g).

³ *šm-w* und *cr-w*; s. S. 49 Anm. 1.

⁴ *irj-r* (von *irj-m'dj-t* S. 46 Anm. 5 zu unterscheiden?) noch CT, IV, 165 d; VII, 299 d im Zusammenhang mit Opferleistungen (165 d; VII, 300 a).

⁵ J. Černý, *Paper & Books in Ancient Egypt*, 13; 13⁴³.


⁶ Der Name des Wassernapfes ist CT, VI, 142 vor f. dem Titel des anschließenden Spruches (CT, Sp. 253) ausgefallen.

AN EARLY MIDDLE-KINGDOM ACCOUNT

By T. G. H. JAMES

THE small document, which is the subject of this paper, is in itself trivial, but it derives some interest from its probable association with the group of Middle-kingdom documents concerned with the affairs of the minor official Ḥeḡanakhte, found in the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Deir el-Bahri.¹ In offering it in this volume as a small tribute to Professor Černý, I am very conscious of the debt that I along with all who work on hieratic texts, particularly of the non-literary kind, owe to him. How often has he demonstrated that apparent trivia can in aggregate yield important information! I cannot claim that in the case of the document studied here the information will interest many apart from dedicated text-fanciers, but some points emerge which may in time help towards the understanding of early Middle-kingdom scribal practices.

At present this small papyrus is in private possession in England; it was acquired in Egypt, probably in Luxor in about 1923. No further information about its origin is available.² The Ḥeḡanakhte papers were discovered during the season 1921–2. The papyrus was brought to the British Museum some years ago in an unmounted state, and the document was reconstituted and mounted between glass by Mr. S. Baker, Senior Conservation Officer in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities. Accompanying the papyrus fragments, and clearly belonging to the document in its original condition at the time of dispatch, was a small unbaked mud seal with strands of linen thread passing through it (pl. VI, 3). The impression of the sealing stamp, probably a scarab, is preserved almost complete and, consisting of elements arranged in a symmetrical design,

can be reconstructed thus: . This pattern is in its components commonplace, but

it is identical to that found on the mud-seal which secured the one Ḥeḡanakhte document found folded and fastened in its state of dispatch.³ Both impressions are approximately 12 mm. long. In general it is hazardous to claim that similar mud impressions were made by a single original, but in the present case the probability that the same sealing agent was used for the two documents is increased by the occurrence of names in the new text which occur also in some of the Ḥeḡanakhte texts.

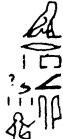
¹ See T. G. H. James, *The Ḥeḡanakhte Papers and other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York, 1962), 1 ff., for the discovery.

² I am grateful to the present owner of the papyrus for these details and also for her kind permission to publish the text here.

³ For a drawing of this seal-impression see James, *op. cit.* 45. For a detailed comparison, the photograph of the Ḥeḡanakhte seal (*ibid.*, pl. 9) should be examined along with that of the new example shown on pl. VI here.

Description

In its reassembled state the papyrus (pl. VI) measures 27·5 cm. high and 8·5–9·0 cm. wide. The four edges of the document appear intact except for small losses at the lines of the folds; internally very little has been lost. There are no sheet-joins visible. The material is somewhat coarse and uneven in quality and of a pale straw-colour. The text of the document is written on the true recto, the bulk being contained in seventeen horizontal lines; in addition there are two vertical lines. Inasmuch as the text is not continuous but made up of short independent entries, the writing does not exhibit significant variations in the darkness of the ink from which estimates can be made of the number of signs written with each dip of the scribe's brush. This recto is palimpsest, and very considerable traces of an earlier text can be distinguished. These traces are most evident at the bottom of the sheet, and from them it appears that the first text was written in vertical lines. Insufficient continuity can be obtained to establish the nature of the text, but the hand is more accomplished than that of the later text, and not dissimilar to the hand of the third of the *Ḥeḡanakhte* letters which was secured with the seal already discussed.¹ It is not improbable that the earlier text was a letter, for the verso of the document bears an erased docket which may have been the address. It

seems to read thus, , but the signs are faint and uncertain. The docket belong-

ing to the second text is written in a single vertical line on the central panel of the nine produced by the folds of the papyrus. For dispatch the document was folded twice along its length and twice laterally, the resulting packet being approximately 9·5 cm. by 3·0 cm.

Translation

1.	Account of what is in the <i>rw</i> : ^a	
2.	Consisting of northern barley	36·2(<i>khar</i>) · 3(<i>khar</i>) in the measuring vessel ^b
3.	Flax	7000(bundles) ^c
4.	Upland: ^d barley	20(<i>khar</i>)
5.	Upland: the house	1000(bundles) ^e
6.	What Nefersebau ^f brought	20(<i>khar</i>)
7.	Ip's boat ^g	30(<i>khar</i>)
8.	'Aḡa 's son(?) khered ^h	30(<i>khar</i>)
9.	His father	35(<i>khar</i>)
10. ⁱ	5(<i>khar</i>)
11.	The women (?) ^j	20·1(<i>khar</i>)
12.	The old man ^k	10(<i>khar</i>)
13.	The <i>hit</i> (?) ^l	10(<i>khar</i>)
14.	'Ab-kau ^m	10(<i>khar</i>)
15.	2007 <i>nḥw</i> -bundles ⁿ	
16.	Balance ^o 4000(bundles), 30(<i>khar</i>)	

¹ Ibid., pl. 8.

17. Upland 8(*khar*)
 18. *h*:(?)^p
 19. Another < account of what is >^q with Hūni (?), without his giving it.
 vs. 1. What is in Tjauwer.^s

Commentary

a. From its determinative ($\frac{\text{X}}{\text{I}}$) *rw* should be a term for a particular kind of district or area, and not a place-name.

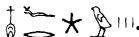
b. Two quantities appear to be listed in this line. The amount of the first, the principal quantity of northern barley, is uncertain because of the lacuna between $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ and $\circ\circ$; a trace of a thick horizontal line suggests the groups \equiv (8) and \equiv (6), the latter being perhaps the more probable. This quantity is followed by the supplementary item '3(*khar*) in the measuring-vessel'. It may be surmised that the first quantity was stored in a granary or bin at the time when this inventory was drawn up, and that the small second quantity happened to be still in the measure. Such noting of small quantities postulates either a remarkable attention to detail, or the existence of a situation in which even small quantities were of importance. A shortage of grain is the dominant theme of the letters written by Ḥeḡanakhte, cf. James, *Ḥeḡanakhte Papers*, 15, 33; in one of the accounts in that archive a quantity of emmer is listed as being *m ipt* (ibid., pl. 14, l. 4). For the notation used for measures of capacity in the early Middle Kingdom see ibid. 116 ff.; the suggestion made there that the tenth-part of the *khar*, noted as a dot, probably represents the single *heḡat*, is supported by Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 35 n. 70, although de Cenival has more recently maintained that the dot-notation represents double *heḡats*, see *Rev. d'Ég.* 15 (1963), 142. As in the case of the Ḥeḡanakhte documents it is here taken that the † represents the *khar*.

c. Flax is usually listed in bundles, but the actual word for bundle is normally omitted. From one account in the Ḥeḡanakhte archive (V, ll. 7, 8, 13) it would appear that the word used at this time for 'bundle' was *šrw*. In the present text, however, perhaps *nḥw* should be the word understood, see note *n* below.




d. *ḡst*-land has generally been taken as high-lying land requiring irrigation by artificial means, i.e. what is known as *sharaqī*-land in modern Egypt, cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour*, II, 27 f., who points out, however, that the word was clearly used for general agricultural land as well as specifically 'high' land. This last point is further emphasized by Baer, op. cit. 40, who regards *ḡ(y)t* as ordinary arable or basin land. Its use in the present document in three places (ll. 4, 5, 17) contributes little to the determination of the meaning of the term in early Middle-kingdom times. The quantities of barley and flax listed under *ḡst* may be what was grown or what was stored on the *ḡst*. In Ḥeḡanakhte document VII, l. 2, *hrw* 'low-lying ground' is listed in a context similar to that discussed here, and in my note on it (*Ḥeḡanakhte Papers*, 67) I took it as being 'probably land affected by the inundation as opposed to land irrigated by artificial means'. It is clear, however, that the terms *ḡ(y)t* and *hrw* cannot be assigned the simple meanings 'high ground' and 'low ground' without qualification.¹

¹ Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 40, suggests that *hrw* is a low-lying 'island' land.

e. The telegraphic style of this entry leaves much of its meaning to be inferred. The size of the numeral is such that flax rather than barley must be intended. □ probably indicates the place where the flax is stored, having been harvested from the *ḫyt*. It is less likely that the □ is to be taken as being necessarily on the *ḫyt*. It is possibly the establishment or household with which the entries in the list are centrally concerned.


f. The name *Nfr-sbꜣw*, which is not given in Ranke *Personennamen*, occurs in Ḥeḫanakhte document VII, 15, written .

g. In Ḥeḫanakhte I, vs. 2, a *imw*-boat is mentioned, and its use for the transporting of grain implied. It is interesting to note that Ip, the owner of the boat in the present text, is a woman. For Ip as a female name see Ranke, op. cit. I, 21, 26. Ḥeḫanakhte's mother was named Ip.

h. The first sign in this line () seems certain, but the general uncertainty of the context hinders interpretation. The following readings are possible: (1) *ḫyt* 'warship'—unlikely, but nor wholly impossible after the *imw* of the preceding line; (2) *ḫꜣwtꜣ* in the sense of 'man' rather than 'warrior'—also somewhat improbable, but rendered less so by the occurrence of *ḫmwt* in l. 11 below; (3) a name beginning with *ḫꜣ*, such as *ḫꜣ-nḫt*; several possible names are given by Ranke, op. cit. I, 44 (under *ihꜣ*). It is clear that the line ends with a name concluded by  and determined by , to be read, probably, . . . *ḫrd*. The suggested interpretations of the line are, therefore: (1) 'the *ḫꜣ*-boat of . . . khered', (2) 'the man . . . khered', and (3) 'Aḫa . . . 's son . . . khered'. Of these, perhaps (3) is most probable, in that it provides a good basis for the next entry, 'his father'. Without introduction, 'his father' would have little meaning; but after a name with filiation, both an antecedent for 'his' and the name of the father can be provided.

i. I can offer no convincing reading for the signs preserved at the start of this line; some male name, title or relationship seems required.

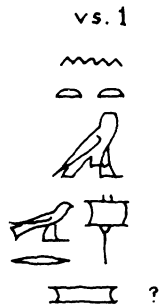
j. The qualification following *ḫmwt* here is quite uncertain.

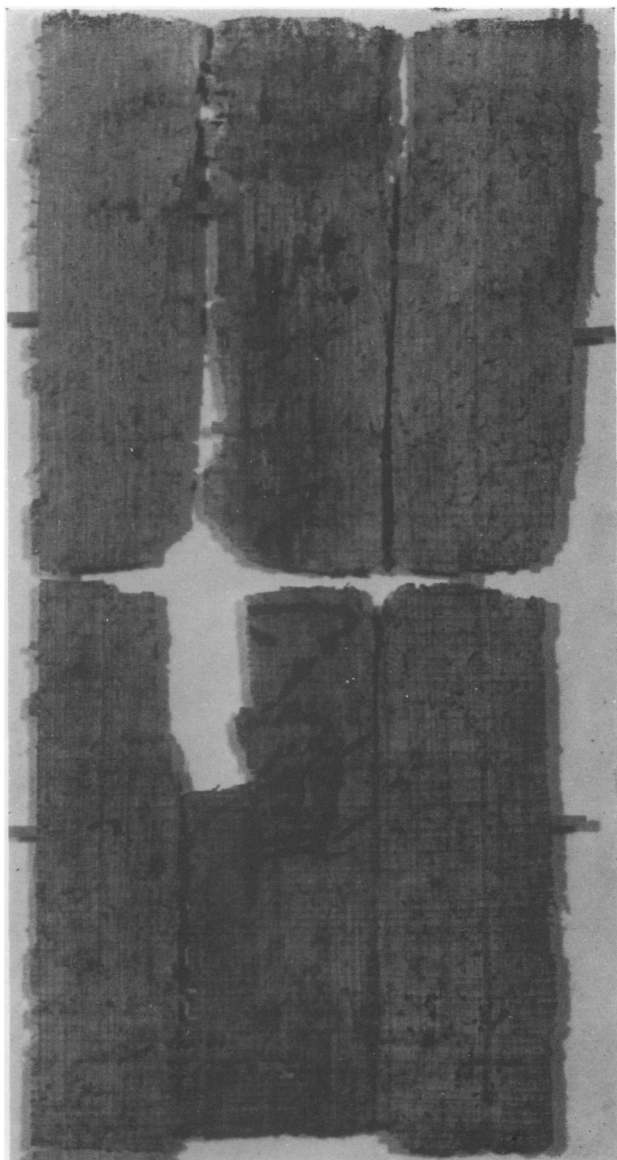
k. Possibly *isw* should be taken as a personal name, cf. Ranke, op. cit. I, 6. I can find no close parallel for the unusual hieratic form of ; the reading can hardly be otherwise.

l. The *ḫit*, for which I can find no further examples, should be some kind of storage chest or similar, which, from the determinative, must be of wood.

m. *cb-ḫꜣw* or *cb-ihw* is known from the Middle Kingdom both as a male and as a female name, cf. Ranke, op. cit. I, 59, 22. See also James, op. cit., text XI, 3, the Ḥarḥotpe Bowl.

n. The word *nḫ(w)* is the regular term used for measuring flax in the New Kingdom, cf. Janssen, *JEA* 49 (1963), 69 n. (q), and Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, v, 203 (811). The present example appears to be the earliest attested use of the word; in other contemporary documents, *šꜣrw* is the word used, see note c above. The construction here of numeral followed by noun is irregular, the usual construction for high numbers being 'number *m* noun' or 'number *n* noun', cf. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, § 398; Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.* § 262. In lists of the present kind strict adherence to normal grammatical practice cannot be expected. The terminal *w* in *nḫw* is also unexpected;





2. Verso



1. Recto



3. The Seal

the word, from New-kingdom examples, seems to be *ncḥ*, and a plural noun should not normally follow a numeral in the constructions noted above. The writing may in fact be a true plural form, incorrectly used.

o. The writing of the word for 'balance, remainder' with the initial *w* provides substantial support for accepting the reading *wḏst* for Middle-kingdom as well as New-kingdom examples. Proof has so far been lacking that the earlier reading was other than *ḏst*, because the word in the Middle Kingdom is regularly written with 𓂏 as the initial sign, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³, p. 519, U. 28, n. 5. This sign, however, can well carry the value *wḏs*, as it does regularly in the phrase 𓂏𓂏 . The numbers given here probably indicate the balances of flax-bundles and barley, but there is nothing to indicate with certainty that two separate commodities are involved.

p. The reading offered here is by no means certain, the forms of 𓂏 and 𓂏 being both unusual. The relationship of this short vertical line to the rest of the text is also uncertain, although it probably represents a gloss on the horizontal lines 4 and 5 at the same level on the papyrus. A noticeable smudge between the end of these horizontal lines and l. 18 suggests that something may have been rubbed out; it is a careless deletion, and has produced an effect quite different from that made by the deletion of the first text which originally filled this papyrus.

q. This line, which serves apparently as a heading or comment on ll. 15–17, may be read fully *ky* <*sš n ntt*> *m-ḥ* etc. The preposition *m-ḥ* is elsewhere used in lists and accounts to indicate the location of items when people are involved (*m* being used for places, see l. 1 above and vs. 1), cf. James, *op. cit.*, doc. VI. The name *Hw-n(i)* is not given by Ranke; the reading seems certain.

r. The final words here incorporate several difficulties. In the translation offered I have taken 𓂏 for *nm* (not uncommon still in early Middle-kingdom texts, cf. James, *op. cit.* 40), the suffix *-f* after the infinitive, as the subject of the infinitive (cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.* § 301), and the final word as 𓂏 , although the hieratic form of 𓂏 lacks the short horizontal stroke at the top. The antecedent of *šw* must be *ky*, with *sš* (or something similar) understood. Can the phrase mean that Hūni has failed to submit an account of his holding and an estimate has had to be made? The meaning 'present (an account)' for *rdi* seems plausible, although I have found no good parallel.

s. The place *Tḥw-wr* is probably local, and may be a village or an estate. In Hēkanakhte document VII the docket on the verso refers to emmer in a place which I took to be *Hs-wr*, reading 𓂏𓂏 . In justification of this reading, as against 𓂏𓂏 , suggested by Gardiner, I pointed out that 'the hieratic sign used here lacks the diacritical tick always present in forms of 𓂏 in the Middle Kingdom' (*Hēkanakhte Papers*, 69). In view of the present example, in which the disputed sign possesses the necessary diacritical tick, there can be little doubt that *Tḥw-wr* should be read in the Hēkanakhte example also. The final sign, written with great flourish, and with an apparently superfluous diacritical tick, is probably 𓂏 , or 𓂏 as in the Hēkanakhte example.

Comment

Physical and contextual similarities connect this text with the group of documents

known as the Hēkanakhte Papers, and there can be little doubt that they share, approximately, a common date, namely, late Eleventh Dynasty, about 2002 B.C.¹ The closest link is provided by the seal-impression which suggests that this document was sealed by the same stamp as that used for Hēkanakhte document **III**. One personal name (Nefer-sebau) and one place-name (Tjau-wer) emphasize the connection. Unfortunately, although the form of this new text is not unlike one or two of the lists/accounts of the Hēkanakhte archive (in particular **VI** and **VII**), it is not possible to derive much help from the main collection to facilitate the interpretation of the new text. It is a list of amounts of barley and flax held in a place called Tjau-wer and in a depository called the *rw*; amounts are listed under various headings which indicate either how the commodities were obtained, or how they are distributed within the neighbourhood. A supplementary list may start with line 15. It does not seem possible to strike a balance between the amounts given, and indeed it is probably not likely that a balanced account is here intended.

¹ See James, *op. cit.* 6

THE MIDDLE-KINGDOM CAIRO LETTER A RECONSIDERATION

(Papyrus 91061 = CGC No. 58045)

By ABD-EL-MOḤSEN BAKIR

THE notes I present in connection with this document have, of necessity, taken a form different from that which was originally intended. At an advanced stage in the preparation of the text I discovered that the document had already been published in T. G. H. James's volume devoted to the Ḥeḳanakhte Archive.¹ Among other things, I had intended to discuss the epistolary formulae of the Middle Kingdom, making a comparison with those of the New Kingdom which I had already dealt with in my B.Litt. Thesis of 1941, which still remains unpublished. At the time of this discovery, unfortunately, the unexpected turn of international events at the beginning of June, 1967, led to the closing of the libraries and the Museum in Cairo, and prevented my turning to another topic. Material for any kind of research became inaccessible. Yet I was reluctant to abandon my study of this text both because I felt I had something to add to the earlier publication, and because a papyrus with a letter formed a particularly suitable subject for this volume. Much of my early years of study were undertaken with Professor Jaroslav Černý whose interest in epistolary papyri is demonstrated by his notable work *Late Ramesside Letters*.

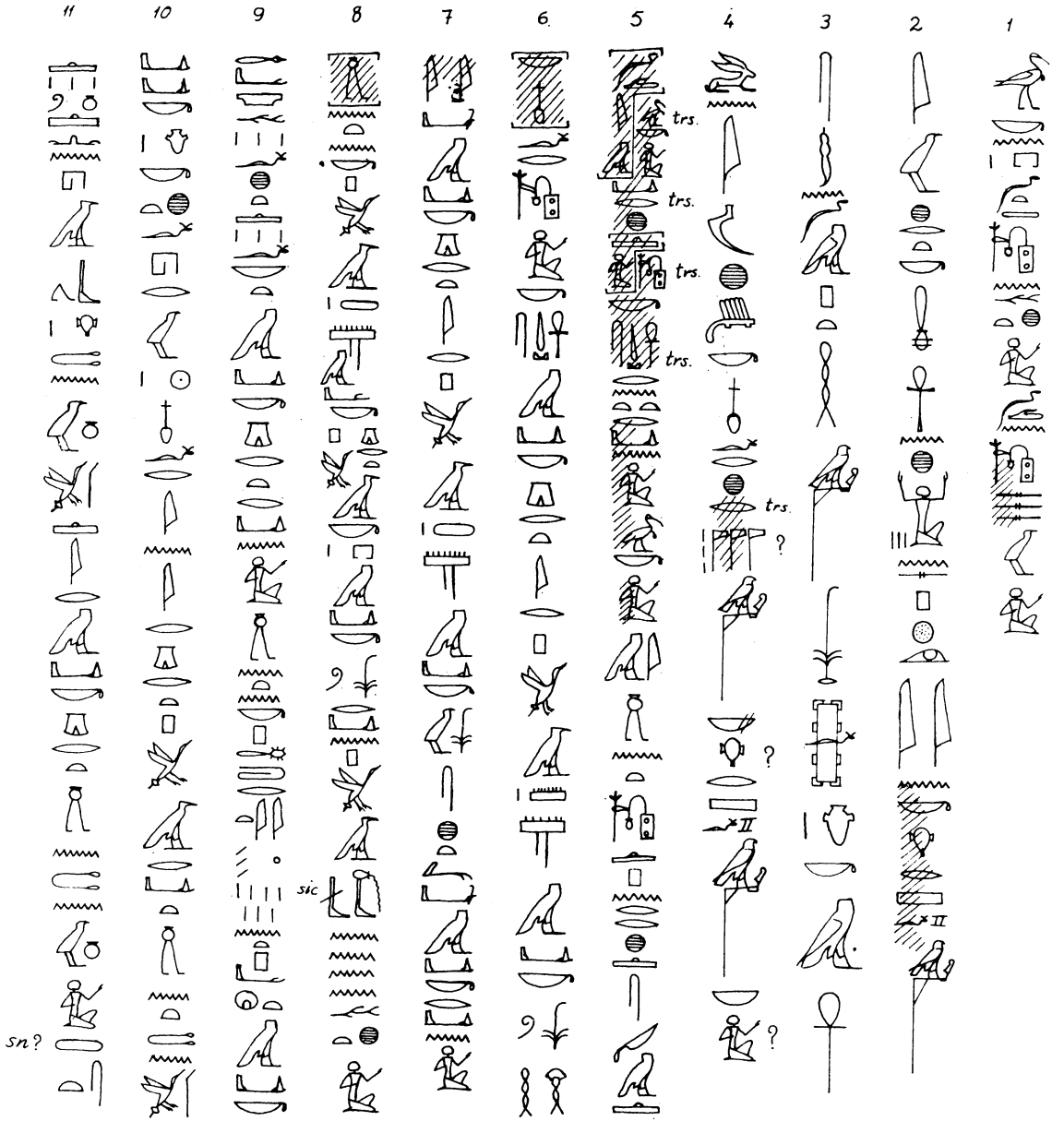
It will be noticed that the transcription of the text given here on plate VIIA is taken from that given by James on plates 26A and 27A of his publication, the only changes being represented by my new readings. The commentary which is given below has been reduced from its original size by the omission of discussions of passages where my opinion coincides with that of James. In consequence for such undiscussed passages the reader should refer to James's book. Further, I by no means claim that my study of this papyrus is final or exhaustive.

Translation

‡ The servant of the estate, the scribe Nakhte, says to the scribe *Sww(?)*:^a ‡ Your condition is like living a million times.^b May Arsaphes^c help you, ‡ may Ptaḥ-south-of-his-wall cheer you with life. ‡ May your repute be good with all the gods^d and Arsaphes, my lord.^e

‡ This servant [says]: Let your scribe (l.p.h.) know that I, this servant,^f have sent this letter to learn^g ‡ [every good] condition of your scribe (l.p.h.). Now see! the *mn*-cloth, see! it is set up. ‡ Now

¹ *The Ḥeḳanakhte Papers and other Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York, 1962), 92 ff. with pls. 26, 26A, 27, 27A.

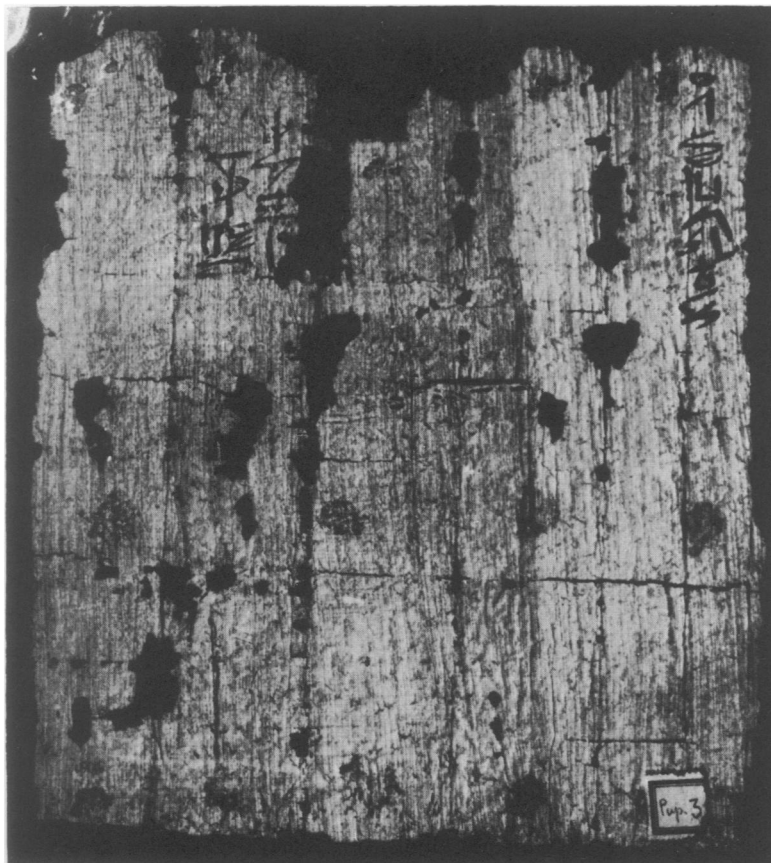


Recto





1. Recto



2. Verso

THE RELATIVE *NTY* WITH GENERIC REFERENCE

By J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

INTER virtutes grammatici habebitur semper aliqua nescire: these words, which I once found inscribed on a blackboard in the Peet Library of The Queen's College, Oxford in the handwriting of the scholar whom we are now honouring, were doubtless expounded by him to his pupils with a measure of the Socratic humility which is so characteristic of him. The following notes are offered more in the spirit of another proverbial saying: *De omnibus dubitandum*.

It is a remarkable fact that most grammarians of Egyptian have devoted considerable attention, following the lead of Gardiner and Erman, to the question of whether the antecedents of relative clauses are defined or undefined. Where precisely this pre-occupation originates is not quite clear. Among the other ancient languages Latin and Greek appear to have escaped concentrated attention on these lines. Since Greek has a definite article, it would seem superfluous to try to indicate the kind of antecedent that prevails;¹ Latin, however, lacks both articles,² and ambiguity must occasionally arise, as in the sentence *Adest puella quam iam dudum amo*: 'The (or, a) girl whom I have long loved is here.' The context generally removes the doubt; grammarians certainly have not been harassed by the problem. Perhaps it is the influence of Hebrew and Arabic grammar that has given the subject its prominence in discussions of Egyptian. Thus Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Glückstadt, 1956), § 150c, is at pains to point out that the relative אֲשֶׁר, since it is originally a demonstrative, only occasionally refers to an undetermined antecedent, as in Exod. 1: 8³ ('a new king . . ., which knew not Joseph'). Wright in his *Grammar of the Arabic Language*³, II (Cambridge, 1933), 317 states that 'there are in Arabic, as well as in the other Semitic languages, two kinds of relative sentences; namely (a) *indefinite*, i.e. such as are annexed to an immediately preceding indefinite substantive, without the aid of a conjunctive noun . . .; and (b) *definite*, i.e. such as are introduced by a conjunctive noun, whether substantive or adjective, which is definite by its very nature;' cf. his statement on p. 318: 'The Arabs . . . have no relative pronoun which they can employ when the antecedent to the


¹ Difficulty occasionally arises in Greek because of the omission of the article in the predicate after the verb 'to be'. Cf. Schwyzler and Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik*, II (Munich, 1950), 24. Sometimes of course Greek distinguishes an indefinite relative pronoun, *ὅστις*, 'whoever', from *ὅς*, 'who': see *ibid.* II, 643. The distinction affects the syntax of the relative clause.

² For occasional substitutes see Hofmann and Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (Munich, 1965), 191 ff.

³ Cf. the long section in Gesenius, Kautzsch and Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford, 1910), §§ 125 ff. on 'Determination of Nouns'; and A. B. Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax* (Edinburgh, 1896), 190 f. on relative clauses with 'determined' or 'indefinite' antecedents.

relative clause is indefinite.¹ It will be apparent that a precise parallel to these doctrines has been produced in relation to Egyptian.²

The treatment of *nty* has been fairly rigid. Erman in his *Ägyptische Grammatik* (ed. 4, Berlin, 1928),³ § 547a, states that relative clauses with *nty* are mostly attached to words which are regarded as determined or defined. He compares the procedure in Late Egyptian and Coptic, where the definite article or demonstrative often precedes the relative *nty* or its equivalent in Coptic ετ-, ετε-, and where virtual clauses, which are not introduced by the relative form, have indefinite reference. Undoubtedly this has been the decisive factor in formulating the doctrine for Old and Middle Egyptian. Since a definite article had not then been developed, it seemed reasonable to project backwards into the earlier stages of the language a number of distinctions which appeared in the later stages to constitute a clear pattern. Languages, however, do not always develop in a logical manner. Further, there may be a deceptive quality in the clear-cut scheme ascribed to the later stages. To take a random example: Volten⁴ translates the demotic of P. Insinger, 7, 13 *wn pꜣ nt cnh n sbk* as 'Es gibt einen, der von Wenigem lebt'. In spite of *pꜣ nt* he finds here an indefinite reference; and this phenomenon, as we shall see is paralleled in Late Egyptian.

Erman, it appears, was following Gardiner, who in the first edition of his *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1927), § 199 stated that 'the relative adjective *nty* . . . is normally used when the antecedent is *defined* in meaning, though sporadic instances also occur of its employment when the antecedent is *undefined*'. He then quotes Ebers 93, 1  *s nty hr st* 'a man who has a lump(?)' and refers to four other such cases.⁵ Gardiner's statement appears unaltered in his second and third editions, and no one else⁶ seems to have disagreed with it, with one exception. It is hoped here to show that his 'sporadic' is a gross understatement, and also that a generic reference of *nty* is often attested.

A part of this task has already been done by Edel,⁷ who includes in his detailed survey of Old-Egyptian occurrences a sentence from Macramallah, *Le Mastaba d'Idout*, 18: *nty sdm-f n-k*, 'one who follows you'. After citing *Urk.* I, 173, 12 and 18 *sh nty hpi ir hrit-ntr*, 'a glorified one who is gone to the necropolis', Edel propounds the view that an undetermined noun can be the antecedent of *nty* when the relative clause has an

¹ Cf. H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax* (Heidelberg, 1921), 413 ff. and 426 ff.

² Virtual relative clauses are said to have undefined antecedents; clauses introduced by *nty* are said to refer to defined antecedents: see Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.* §§ 196 and 199. Here is a theme which suggests that the case made by A. M. Bakir, *JEA* 52 (1966), 38 for the more extensive invocation of Hebrew and Arabic grammar has in fact been heeded more than he realizes.

³ In the earlier editions Erman made no specific comment on the matter.

⁴ *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Vatican, 1941), 376. Cf. also l. 14.

⁵ Erman also quotes two such instances in his § 548.

⁶ Cf. A. de Buck, tr. B. van de Walle et J. Vergote, *Grammaire élémentaire du Moyen Égyptien* (Leiden, 1952), §§ 261 ff.; G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique* (ed. 2, Cairo, 1955), § 751; H. Brunner, *Abriss der Mittägyptischen Grammatik* (Graz, 1961), § 71. Others are silent on the subject: so E. Drioton, *Cours de grammaire égyptienne* (Nancy, 1922), 151; G. Roeder, tr. Mercer, *Short Egyptian Grammar* (New Haven, 1920), 52 f.; G. Farina, *Grammaire de l'ancien Égyptien* (Paris, 1927), §§ 336 ff.; Sander-Hansen, *Ägyptische Grammatik* (Wiesbaden, 1963) §§ 610 ff. and §§ 768 ff.

⁷ *Altägyptische Grammatik* (Rome, 1955-64), §§ 1053 ff.

Old Perfective in the predicate or an adverbial predicate, and that only in Late Egyptian must such a clause be regularly introduced by *iwf* (= Coptic εϣ), since in Middle Egyptian too *nty* can be thus used.¹ A good example from Middle Egyptian, which Edel cites, is P. Westcar, 8, 15–16; *imi in·tw n·i hnri nty m hnrt wd nkn·f*. In obedience to the rule of Gardiner and Erman, Blackman² translates ‘Have brought to me the prisoner who is in the prison, when his injury has been inflicted, i.e. when he has been executed.’ Rather than postulate an idyllic one-man prison, ‘a prisoner’ is clearly preferable; the passive clause can well be conjoined also to the *nty* (cf. Edel, § 1062 δ): ‘a prisoner who is in the prison and whose injury has been inflicted’.³ Again, P. Westcar 10, 4 provides a clear example: *st pw ntt hr mn·s*, ‘There is a lady here who is in labour.’ Although Erman rendered this with reason as ‘(Hier) ist eine Frau . . .’,⁴ Blackman⁵ insisted on ‘Here is the lady (i.e. my wife) who is in travail.’ He argued that ‘in view of the following *ntt*, *st* must be defined and cannot mean “a lady”’. The context does not favour this, but Blackman added the acute suggestion that *st* is idiomatically used for ‘the lady’ = ‘my wife’,⁶ as a modern Egyptian would say *es-sitt*.⁷ In the case of *nbt pr* a defined reference of this kind seems to be common; for *st* it appears to be unconfirmed, so that one must agree with Edel⁸ in rejecting Blackman’s argument here.

Before offering other examples the question of semantic origin should perhaps be faced. Does the original meaning of *nty* provide a suggestion of determinacy or otherwise? In an early discussion Gardiner⁹ derives *nty* from the genitival *n*. He argues that ‘as English can say “a thing of beauty”, so Egyptian says $\overline{\text{r}} \text{---} \overline{\text{s}} \text{---} \overline{\text{w}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}}$. . . “a man of truth”’. Here the undefined first nouns are interesting, and a development of the genitival phrase into a clause would not seem to interfere with the possible indeterminacy. At the same time the Hebrew $\overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{s}} \overline{\text{t}}$ is invoked as broadly similar; both the Egyptian and the Hebrew words are said to provide a mere ‘connecting link’.¹⁰

A little later Gardiner¹¹ was keener on comparing the Hebrew demonstrative $\overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{t}}$; he claimed that this word ‘shows in its derivatives a strikingly parallel development to $\overline{\text{r}} \text{---} \overline{\text{s}} \text{---} \overline{\text{w}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}}$ and its derivatives, if we suppose $\overline{\text{r}} \text{---} \overline{\text{s}} \text{---} \overline{\text{w}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}}$ and $\overline{\text{r}} \text{---} \overline{\text{s}} \text{---} \overline{\text{w}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}}$ to have originated in a demonstrative $\overline{\text{r}} \text{---} \overline{\text{s}} \text{---} \overline{\text{w}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}}$. The immediate derivation is now seen to be the noun *nt*, formed from the feminine of the indirect genitive *n*;¹² and Edel¹³ well describes both *nty* and the negative counterpart

¹ He cites Ebers 35, 10; 89, 20; 93, 1; Westc. 8, 15 and 10, 4.

² *JEA* 22 (1936), 42. Thus too Lefebvre, *Gr.*, § 755, and *Romans et contes égyptiens*, 83.

³ Cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* 548 n. 1; Gunn in B. Lewis, *Land of Enchanters* (London, 1948), 53.

⁴ Cf. Sethe, *Erläuterungen* etc. 42.

⁵ *JEA* 16 (1930), 67. In his translation of Erman’s *Literatur*, 44 he naturally follows Erman.

⁶ Cf. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens*, 86: ‘. . . c’est la dame de céans qui est dans les douleurs.’ Maspero, *Contes populaires*, 38 has ‘. . . il y a ici une femme . . .’.

⁷ Or indeed, one might add, as a modern Englishman sometimes talks familiarly of ‘the wife’, or a Welshman of ‘y wraig’.

⁸ *Altäg. Gr.* 548 n. 1.

⁹ ‘The Relative Adjective $\overline{\text{r}} \text{---} \overline{\text{s}} \text{---} \overline{\text{w}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}}$ ’, *PSBA* 22 (Jan. 1900), 37–42.

¹⁰ A basic difference is that whereas the Hebrew word is indeclinable, *nty* has a variety of forms distinguishing number and gender: see Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, § 1055. See also Mahmoud Hamza, *La Lecture de l’adjectif relatif $\overline{\text{r}} \text{---} \overline{\text{s}} \text{---} \overline{\text{w}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}}$ et sa syntaxe comparée avec celle de l’adjectif relatif $\overline{\text{r}} \text{---} \overline{\text{s}} \text{---} \overline{\text{w}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}}$* (IFAO, Cairo, 1929), 19.

¹¹ *PSBA* 22 (Nov. 1900), 323 (‘Notes: (1) $\overline{\text{r}} \text{---} \overline{\text{s}} \text{---} \overline{\text{w}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}}$ and $\overline{\text{r}} \text{---} \overline{\text{s}} \text{---} \overline{\text{w}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}}$ (2). The demonstrative $\overline{\text{r}} \text{---} \overline{\text{s}} \text{---} \overline{\text{w}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}} \text{---} \overline{\text{t}}$ and its derivatives’).

¹² Cf. Gunn, *JEA* 12 (1926), 129.

¹³ *Altäg. Gr.*, § 345. The genitival use of *nty* in Late Egyptian is explicable, perhaps as a semantic reversion:

nty (𓏏𓏏𓏏) as *nisbe* formations from *nt* in its substantival sense of 'being, existence', so that *nty* will mean 'the one who exists';¹ while *nt* itself is described by him as the feminine *nisbe* of the preposition *n*. From our point of view the derivation signifies neither determinacy nor its opposite. One may agree with Gardiner² that a clause with *nty* can be regarded as 'analogous to the defining genitive', but this, of course, need not mean at all that the antecedent is already defined. Bakir³ has argued that the indirect genitive follows an undefined noun, and he produces a very tidy distinction as a result. It is preferable, in the present survey, to discount any restrictions emanating from derivation, while stressing that none of the possibilities favours an *a priori* attachment of *nty* to a determined antecedent.

Now to further examples where *nty* is undefined in reference: *Lebensmüde*, 41-2: 'I will make it (the *ba*) arrive in the West *mi nty m mr.f*, 'like one who is in his pyramid'. Faulkner's⁴ translation is similar. Lefebvre, *Gr.*, § 755 says 'comme celui qui est dans sa pyramide', adding 'Antécédent non exprimé'; but a defined reference to a particular buried person is out of the question.

Ibid. 142: *wmn ms nty im m ntr cnh*, 'In truth a man who is yonder will become a living god.' Faulkner, op.cit. 30 says 'he who is yonder', but his note (p. 39 n. 109) rightly designates *nty im* as 'the singular of the well-known expression for the dead', so that the reference is general and undefined. Two further instances of the phrase then follow in the same text and obviously with the same reference.

P. Westcar 5, 9-11 'Have brought to me' *st-hmt 20 . . . nty n wpt-sn m mst*, 'twenty women who have not (yet) given birth'. The reference is clearly not to 'the twenty women'; cf. Erman-Blackman, *Lit.* 39, 'such as have not yet given birth'. Here the meaning is 'women of the kind', and the generic relation applies also to the four examples which have been cited from the *Lebensmüde*. While the reference is still undefined in the sense that no particular person is pointed to, yet a type or class of person is really involved. This seems to be true of most cases where *nty* is preceded by *mi*. Examples are:

P. Ebers 47, 17-18: *mi nty n mr.f*, 'like one who is not ill'.⁵

P. Millingen 1, 6-7: 'I caused a man who was nobody to reach his goal *mi nty wn* like a man who is somebody'.⁶

Metternich Stela 72-3: *mi ntt ddb n-s drt*, 'like a woman who is stung by a scorpion'.

cf. Sethe, *ZÄS* 62 (1927), 6; Erman, *Neuägyptische Gr.*² (1933), § 214; Wolf, *ZÄS* 69 (1933), 108; Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 146.

¹ Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³, § 199 does not include the substantival phrase in the derivation. He says that '*nty* is nothing more than an extension of the genitival adjective formed by the addition of -y . . . to its feminine *nt*, cf. late *tpty* "chief" beside *tpy* from *tp* "head", "upon"'. The analogy he invokes is not precise, since both *tpty* and *tpy* derive from a substantive. Semantically and structurally a derivation from a substantival *nt* is more satisfactory. *Nisbe* forms can be derived from nouns or prepositions, as Gardiner shows in his § 79 f. and Edel in his § 342, but there seems to be no example of a *nisbe* form derived from the feminine of a preposition.

² *PSBA* 22 (Nov. 1900), 325.

³ *JEA* 52 (1966), 35 f. Thus *sr n Rr*, for him, means 'a son of Rē'.

⁴ *JEA* 42 (1956), 27.

⁵ Cf. P. Ebers 47, 22-48, 1: *mi nty n hpr ht nbt rf*, 'like one whom nothing untoward has befallen'.

⁶ Cf. F. Ll. Griffith, *ZÄS* 34 (1896), 40; Maspero, *Les Enseignements d'Amenemhait Ier* (Cairo, 1914), 51.

Cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor* 73: *hpr-ti m nty n m3-tw-f*, 'while you become as one who is not seen'.

Urk. IV, 7, 6: 'He who fled was laid low *mi ntyw n hpr* like ones who had never existed.'¹

Two Brothers 4, 6 *iw-st hr hprw mi nty knkn-ti*, 'while she became like one who is beaten'.²

Another group of instances with plainly generic reference stems from the use of *nty* with *nb*. Since *nb* itself means 'all' or 'any', its collocation with *nty* means that the relative clause now denotes a class or category. Thus in Louvre C 172 (= Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, § 123): 'I was higher in his esteem *r iry-ct nb nty hr-f* than any officer who was with him.' In his § 199 Gardiner duly notes this usage (with examples) suggesting 'everyone who', 'anyone who', 'whoever', or 'everything which', 'whatever' as suitable translations of *nty nb* and *ntt nbt*. Such phrases manifestly introduce not particular persons or things, but whole categories.³ In Late Egyptian *p3 nty nb* is similarly used, with the sense of 'whosoever'.⁴ The presence of *p3* need not exclude an undefined reference. Mag. Ostr. Armytage 1 contains an apostrophe *i p3 nty ii r-i*, which Shorter⁵ rightly translated 'O whoever it is that comes for me'. Dr. Sarah Groll⁶ has recently noted instances where *nty* in Late Egyptian has undefined reference; among them is *Wenamun*, I, 57: *hr rmt n Kmt n3 nty hnnw*, 'Lo, it is men of Egypt that are rowing.' In the instance from *Wenamun* the reference is at the same time generic.

Wb. II, 352, 4 and 5 gives examples of *nty* with *hr* and the Infinitive and with the Old Perfective; *s nty hr mn* is rightly translated as 'ein Mann der krank ist'.⁷ P. Berl. 3038, 4, 3 gives a typical instance of the generic nature of these clauses: *irt n s st nty hr tw* (= Grapow, *Die medizinischen Texte*, 290), 'It is done for a man (or) a woman, who suffers from heat. . . .' The medical texts are teeming with such generic clauses introduced by *nty*. They refer mostly to the type of patient, classified according to his disease. We find in these texts *irrt m gsw s nty hr swt mt*, 'what is prepared as an ointment (for) a man who is afflicted by the shade of a dead person' (P. Berl. 8, 10 = Grapow, 450 and 263);⁸ *irrt n s nty d3sw nsyt nty*⁹ (*sic*) *ck m rwty*, 'what is prepared for a man whom

¹ Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, § 201 quotes this instance and P. Ebers 47, 17-18, translating each with undefined antecedent, though he does not include them in § 199 among his 'sporadic' exceptions.

² Cf. *Wb.* II, 37, 12, correctly translating *mi nty* as 'wie einer der . . . ist'. In the examples cited there the only exceptions to the undefined and generic reference are those like *Urk.* IV, 1088, 5 *mi ntt r hp*, 'like what is according to law'.

³ Cf. the use of الذی in Arabic, and Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 427: 'Zu individuell determinierten Substantiven, öfters auch zu generell determinierten, tritt der Relativsatz mittels eines Relativpron.'

⁴ E.g. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 5, 10; *Late Ramesside Letters*, 39, 12; 40, 6. Cf. the discussion in Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography* (Diss. Oxford, unpubl.), 22 and the note by Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 17; also E. F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago, 1967), 56 n. b. Cf. too *rmt nb nty* 'any person who', *L.E.M.* 67, 14; *L.R.L.* 28, 8.

⁵ *JEA* 22 (1936), 165.

⁶ *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (London, 1967), 75. She quotes five other examples of this type.

⁷ One copy in use at the Griffith Institute, Oxford, has been 'corrected' by a zealous Gardinerian to read 'der Mann . . . '.

⁸ In this and following examples an improved text is often provided by Grapow, *Die medizinischen Texte etc.* (= *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, V). The first citation is of the page-number in this volume; the

a daemonic illness, which enters from outside, attacks' (P. Berl. 9, 7-8 = Grapow, 272 and 155); *swr in s nty hry mr pn*, 'to be drunk by a man who is suffering from this disease' (P. Berl. 14, 6 = Grapow, 188 and 108); *wnm in s nty mrwt m ht-f*, 'to be eaten by a man who has pains in his belly' (P. Ebers 13, 20-1 = Grapow, 180 and 103); *rdi r tp n s nty n skm-f*, 'to be placed on the head of a man who is not (yet) grey-haired' (P. Ebers 65, 14 = Grapow, 511 and 297); *r gs nty whrw* 'to anoint a man¹ who has *whrw*-illness in his head' (P. Ebers 47, 21-2 = Grapow, 529 and 306); *rdi r tp nty mr*, 'to be placed on a head which is ill' (P. Ebers 47, 17 = Grapow, 529 and 307), where, however, the genitival *n* may be missing,² in which case *tp n nty mr* will exemplify the same usage with reference to the patient, 'on the head of a man who is ill', with the omission of the antecedent of *nty* as in the last example; *wnm in s nty n fgn-n-f*, 'to be eaten by a man who cannot pass a motion' (P. Ebers 12, 15 = Grapow, 213 and 121); *swr in nty mrwt m ht-f*, 'to be drunk by a man who has pains in his belly' (P. Ebers 42, 5-6 = Grapow, 180 and 103), again with the antecedent omitted; *iw ht-s mi ntt hrt t3*, 'her belly is like one which is afflicted with heat' (P. Ebers 97, 3 = Grapow, 466 and 271³); *wnm in s ntt* (sic) *hrrt m ht-f*, 'to be eaten by a man who has worms in his belly' (P. Ebers 19, 16 = Grapow, 195 and 111); *nty hr cnt-f m-hr-ib n drt-f*, 'one whose thumb has fallen⁴ into the middle of his hand', (P. Edwin Smith 4, 8 = Grapow, 311 and 179); *rdi m wpt nt st ntt hr mst*, 'to be placed on the forehead of a woman who is in childbirth' (P. Ramess. IV C 29 = Grapow, 480 and 279); cf. P. Med. Kahun 3, 12 = Grapow 468 and 272. There were other ways, of course, of referring generically to patients,⁵ but a clause with *nty* was often used.⁶

References to illnesses or their causes sometimes exemplify the same usage with *nty*; e.g. 'causing a child to evacuate *tsw n nwy nty m ht-f* an accumulation of urine that is in his belly' (P. Ebers, 49, 1 = Grapow, 507 and 294); *r shyt mrt nbt im-f nty m ht tn*, 'in order to remove by means of it any pain that is in this belly' (P. Hearst 14, 2 = Grapow, 537 and 311).⁷ Many of the instances cited by Von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, 487 f. are, however, defined in reference, the reason being that the illness has been previously mentioned. Undefined evil influences are referred to in P. Lond. 7, 4 = Grapow, 103 and 60 f.: *r dr stc ntr stc ntrt d3y d3yt mt mtt hfty hftt nty d3yw-s[n] st m irty iptn s hry dbrw-i*, 'to drive out the influence of a god,

second is of the page-number in Von Deines, Grapow, and Westendorf, *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte* (= *Grundriss*, IV, 1).

⁹ A second example in the same sentence.

¹ The antecedent is omitted in Egyptian, but the reference of *nty* is similarly generic.

² Cf. *Grundriss*, IV, 2 (*Erläuterungen*), 231 n. 2.

³ Here explained as 'like a thing which is under fire' ('ihr Bauch ist wie (*mj ntt*) unter Feuer', but in *Grundriss*, III, 76 as 'eine, welche behaftet ist mit Hitze').

⁴ Perhaps negative; see *Erläuterungen*, 142 n. 5 and Breasted *ad loc.*

⁵ See Grapow, *Kranker, Krankheiten und Arzt* (*Grundriss*, III), 72 ff.

⁶ See further Von Deines and Westendorf, *Wb. der medizinischen Texte* (*Grundriss*, VII), 487-9 and Westendorf, *Grammatik* (*Grundriss*, VIII), 299 f. The examples quoted above do not include those cited by Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, § 199 n. 2: P. Ebers 93, 1; 89, 20; 102, 16. For *iwty* with generic reference see Erman, *Gr.*, § 378, quoting Lepsius, *Denk.* II, 136 i, *št iwtt šš-s*, 'ein Buch, das seine Schrift nicht hat'.

⁷ Cf. *nb nty* in P. Chester Beatty 6, vs. 2, 8: 'any enemy male or female who is in any limb'.

the influence of a goddess, of a male adversary, of a female adversary, of a male dead person, of a female dead person, of a male enemy, of a female enemy, who oppose themselves to these two eyes of the man who is under my fingers'.¹

That *nty* is often used with generic reference has been amply established. It is less often related to undefined nouns that are not generic. Doubtless the predominant usage will still involve antecedents that are defined in a particularizing sense. The concept of generic reference is not easy to relate to questions of usage involving the definite or indefinite article. Otto Jespersen in his *Philosophy of Grammar* (London, 1924), 152 refers to the generic use of the indefinite article, pointing out that in the sentence 'A thief is a coward', the subject is made generic by *a*, whereas the predicative has an individual sense, though *a* also precedes it. He goes on to maintain that the so-called definite article, *the*, would be better called 'the defining or determining article'. He cites an example thus:

In *the rose*, *rose* is restricted to that one definite rose which is at this very moment in my thought and must be in yours, too, because we have just mentioned it, or because everything in the situation points towards that particular rose.

But Jespersen curiously overlooks, as far as English is concerned, that the article can also have generic reference, as in

The rainbow comes and goes
And lovely is the rose

or as in 'Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly'. Perhaps it is on these lines that the generic use of *nty* can be reconciled with traditional doctrine. There is still a process of definition involved, but it now relates to a type or class rather than to a particular person.²

¹ For this designation of a patient see Grapow, *Grundriss*, III, 74. It is of interest here that, although a particular patient is meant, *nty* is not used. Cf. the version of this sentence by Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte (Grundriss*, VIII), 299 f. ('ein Toter, etc.).

² Cf. H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 427 (quoted above) on the application of *الذی* to nouns that are individually determined, but often also to nouns that are generally determined. The examples of *p* before *nty* with generic reference are significant in this connection.

UNE STÈLE DE HATNOUB

Par GEORGES POSENER

LES carrières d'albâtre de Hatnoub n'ont pas livré que les inscriptions rupestres, justement célèbres. Venu les relever, en 1907, G. Möller a trouvé aussi 19 stèles placées au pied d'une paroi de la principale carrière;¹ 14 ont été rapportées au Musée de Berlin, les autres enterrées sur place.² Ces stèles ne diffèrent des graffiti que parce qu'elles sont tracées sur des pierres détachées du rocher au lieu de se trouver sur le rocher lui-même; la date, l'écriture, les figurations, la nature des textes sont les mêmes dans les deux cas.³ Comme l'exploration des lieux n'a pas été exhaustive,⁴ il est possible que des stèles semblables, ensevelies sous la pierraille, soient passées inaperçues.

C'est, du moins, l'idée qui vient à l'esprit en voyant des dalles du même genre apparaître, depuis la dernière guerre, sur le marché des antiquités.⁵ En 1951 B. Grdseloff en a publié un fragment daté de l'an 22 de Sésostris I.⁶ En 1958 W. K. Simpson a édité deux morceaux d'une autre stèle du même règne, qui se trouvent dans la collection G. Michailidès,⁷ et trois ans plus tard, il y a ajouté un troisième morceau découvert par E. F. Wenté chez un marchand cairote.⁸

Je publie ici un document inédit appartenant à la même série, qui m'est connu seulement par une photographie venant d'un antiquaire (pl. VIII). La nouvelle pièce vient compléter le fragment édité par B. Grdseloff. Le raccord ne fait pas de doute bien qu'il ait été réalisé sur des reproductions, sans que les deux morceaux aient pu être réunis. Comme on le voit sur le fac-similé ci-joint (pl. IX), les traits qui bordent les lignes de l'inscription, aussi bien les traits horizontaux que verticaux, coïncident et se poursuivent d'un fragment à l'autre; pour le contenu, les bouts de texte s'enchaînent parfaitement. La partie publiée vient se placer à l'angle supérieur droit de la partie nouvelle,⁹ et il ne manque plus à cet ensemble que l'angle supérieur gauche, des éclats le long du joint ainsi que des morceaux triangulaires aux deux extrémités de la cassure.

Si on en juge d'après la photographie du fragment Grdseloff, qui 'représente le document en grandeur nature',¹⁰ la stèle reconstituée doit mesurer environ 0 m. 25 de

¹ Paroi *f*, cf. Anthes, *Hatnub*, pls. 1, 1 et 3, 5.

² Op. cit. 3, 4, 6, 75 et 112.

³ Voir pour les stèles op. cit., nos 37-41, 44-8 et 48a, 1-6.

⁴ Cf. op. cit. 5: 'Der Südostteil des Steinbruchs ist jetzt bis über die Hälfte der Gesamthöhe voller Steinmassen; wenn dort Graffiti gestanden haben, so sind sie uns unerreichbar.'

⁵ Une autre source, qu'on ne saurait exclure, serait les carrières d'El-'Amarna, peu éloignées de Hatnoub et dont on ne sait pas grand-chose, cf. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* IV, 237. Il a pu arriver aussi que des graffiti aient été détachés du rocher et transformés ainsi en stèles, cf. ce que dit Anthes, op. cit. 2 sur les 'Kartuschenräuber'. Cette explication serait à envisager, à l'extrême rigueur, dans le cas du document étudié ici. Elle ne convient pas pour la stèle publiée par Simpson, dont il sera question plus bas et qui est inscrite sur les deux faces.

⁶ *Ann. Serv.* 51, 143-6.

⁸ *JNES* 20, 25-30.

⁷ *MDAIK* 16, 298-309 et pls. 29-30.

⁹ La cassure est oblique par rapport à la surface inscrite et l'ancien fragment se loge en partie sous le nouveau.

¹⁰ *Ann. Serv.* 51, 143 et 145.



UNE STÈLE DE HATNOUB

haut sur 0 m. 27 de large. La représentation humaine, qui occupe son centre gauche, ressemble à celles des nombreux graffiti et stèles de Hatnoub, voir pour la pose, le pagne et les insignes (canne et sceptre) les nos 26, 31, 32, 36, 40, 44, 49, 52 de l'édition Anthes. Dans le cas présent, la facture est particulièrement maladroite.¹ Le pagne a l'air d'être transparent; les bras squelettiques ont été épaissis quand le dessinateur a coloré les chairs. On comparera le n° 14 d'Anthes pour le justaucorps qui paraît entourer le buste; mais l'auteur l'a peint de la même couleur, semble-t-il, que les membres, le visage et le cou (ocre rouge?). L'étroite barbe en collier se retrouve, un peu plus large, sur le graffiti 49 de Hatnoub et sur la stèle Simpson qui datent du même règne que le nouveau monument. Noter encore que la canne tenue par le personnage sert de trait de bordure au texte (*ts phr*).

L'inscription se compose, dans l'ordre, de deux lignes horizontales écrites en haut et à droite, de six colonnes placées devant l'image et de deux autres derrière elle. La transcription (pl. IXA), et la traduction qui suit, ont largement bénéficié des avis de D. Meeks et d'A. Roccati. Les restitutions, dans leur majorité, aussi vraisemblables qu'elles paraissent, ont été rejetées dans les notes car il est bien connu que les conjectures les plus habiles s'avèrent fausses, une fois le texte original retrouvé.

Traduction

(1) An 22 du roi de la Haute et de la Basse Égypte *Hpr-k3-Rc*,^a [fils de Rê] Sésostri (I), (2) qu'il vive comme Rê toujours et à jamais. L'assistant . . . [ho]tep^b (dit):^c (3) 'Je suis venu ici . . .^d pour le roi de la Haute et de la Basse Égypte *Hpr-k3-Rc*,^a fils de Rê Sésostri (I), qu'il vive toujours, (4) en mission de . . .^e [l'am]i unique, le chef trésorier Sébekhotep,^f unique sans exception, (5) qui n'a pas [son] pareil,^g [qui entre] le premier et sort le dernier,^h un homme digne qu'on lui ouvre (6) le cœur.ⁱ Quant à tout . . .^j tout scribe, tout carrier,^k tout chef d'équipe^l qui lira (7) [cette] stèle et qui [dira:] 'Millier en pains, millier en bière, millier en bœufs, millier en oies, millier en (8) [toute] bonne^m chose, chaque jour' pour cette image, il rentrera sans encombre ayant accompli ce pour quoi il était venu.ⁿ (9)^o [Quant à] celui qui abîmera cette image, il ne rentrera pas à sa maison, il n'embrassera pas (10) <ses> enfants (?),^p il ne verra pas d'heureuse issue.^q





Notes

a. La disposition rétrograde des signes dans ce cartouche est rare, cf. Grdseloff, op. cit. 144 n. 1.


b. Si on complète *htp* d'après la graphie du mot à la l. 4, cf. l. 8, il ne reste plus qu'un petit cadrat en lacune. Restituer soit un complément au titre *imy-s3* et considérer que le nom propre se limitait à *Htp*, soit un nom divin, premier élément du nom propre, auquel cas le titre se réduirait à *imy-s3*. La faible étendue de la lacune serait en faveur de la deuxième solution.

c. Restituer *dd* usuel à Hatnoub de préférence à *dd-f* qui n'y est pas attesté (une fois *dd-sn* à l'Ancien Empire, *Hatnub*, n° 9, 6); cf. Schenkel, *Frühmitteläg. Studien*, 77. Le mot aurait été omis au changement de ligne, à moins de supposer qu'il s'est effacé à la fin de la l. 2, ce qui paraît peu probable d'après la photographie. *Dd* manque aussi dans *Hatnub*, nos 19, 30, et 39.

¹ Comparer chez Anthes les nos 10-13; le n° 33 est encore plus gauche.

d. [*r Ht-Nb r int ct*] ‘à Hatnoub, pour chercher des matériaux de qualité’. Cette restitution de Grdseloff, op. cit. 144, qui s’inspire des graffiti de Hatnoub, ne doit pas être loin de la vérité. Au début,  pouvait être écrit avec ou sans , cf. *Hatnub*, n^{os} 10, 6; 14, 13; 28, 8; 43, 1; 49, 3. Compte tenu de tout ce qu’il faut insérer dans la lacune, il est plus probable que le déterminatif de *ct* était absent. *Ht-Nb* constitue malgré tout une conjecture. Pour le nom de la pierre ou des objets à rapporter de la carrière, les parallèles suggèrent différentes possibilités, cf. Anthes, op. cit. 7. Au lieu de , on peut lire . Dans les récits d’expédition comme celui-ci, le verbe *iny* a couramment le sens ‘to fetch’ qui a été mis en lumière par Černý dans *Studies Polotsky*, 81–5, pour le néo-égyptien. *Iny* a ce sens dans Sin. R, 15 où il rend compte de l’emploi de la forme *sdm·n·f*.


e. Suivant les parallèles, [*sm*]*r wrty* devait être précédé par *sdwty bity* ‘chancelier du roi de la Basse Égypte’, cf. Le Caire 20140, 20310, 20539 III, 20614 b, Florence 2500, Sināi 83. En adoptant la graphie de ces mots et la disposition des signes de *Hatnub*, n^o 49, 2, graffito contemporain de notre stèle, cette restitution comble exactement la lacune. Rien ne s’intercale ainsi entre *m wprwt nt* et la titulature de Sébekhotep. Pour des ‘missions’ confiées non par le roi mais par des fonctionnaires, cf. p. ex. Louvre C 12 = Sethe, *Lesest.* 76, 5; Semnah Dispatches, Smither, *JEA* 31, pl. iv, x+11.

f. Les deux petits signes sous le *p* de *htp* occupent la place du déterminatif du nom propre. Ils font penser à la partie inférieure de  cursif, cf. Simpson, *P. Reisner I*, 95 (A 50); *P. Reisner II*, 49 (A 50).

g. Pour ces deux épithètes jumelées, cf. *Hatnub*, n^{os} 24, 2; 26, 4.

h. Un exemple de cette épithète dans *El Bersheh*, II, pl. xiii, 16; la même inscription parle de l’exploitation des carrières de Hatnoub (l. 12); cf. Anthes, op. cit. 102.

i. Encore une épithète attestée à *Hatnub*, n^o 25, 3 et à *El Bersheh*, II, 44, Chamber, l. 2; pl. xxi, haut, ll. 4–5.

j. En complétant *g[rt]*, il ne reste plus qu’une étroite lacune. Pour la combler, on voit mal autre chose que . Il est curieux que l’homme soit écrit dans cet exemple du mot sous sa forme développée alors qu’à la l. 5 il est rendu par le signe simplifié.

k. La désinence et le contexte ne laissent pas de doute sur la lecture *ikwy* bien que le signe ne soit pas le vieillard habituel.

l. Parmi les différentes acceptions de *hrp*, c’est celle qui conviendrait dans le cas présent; voir sur ce sens Simpson, *P. Reisner I*, 38; *P. Reisner II*, 41. Dans le récit bien connu du transport de la statue colossale, taillée à Hatnoub, les *hrpw* sont nommés après les équipes de *ikwyw*, *El Bersheh*, I, pl. xiv, 3.

m. Sur *nfrw* dans ce cliché, cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gram.*, § 985 A.

n. Promesse identique sur la stèle publiée par Simpson, *JNES* 20, 28–9. Nombreux exemples à Hatnoub; *m htp* y est régulièrement remplacé par *prf snb* ‘(il atteindra) sa maison en bonne santé’. Pour une version abrégée de cet appel aux visiteurs, cf. Fakhry, *Wadi El Hudi*, n^o 11 qui date comme notre inscription de l’an 22 de Sésostri I: *ir grt šdty·fy wd(?)*, *hr·f m htp* ‘Quant à celui qui lira (mon) inscription(?), il redescendra sans encombre.’ — Espace blanc à la fin de la ligne.

o. Cette ligne et probablement aussi la suivante débutaient plus bas que celles qui sont écrites à droite de l’homme. On peut penser que la pierre présentait ici un angle coupé, comparer Simpson, *JNES* 20, 27; Anthes, op. cit., pl. 27.

p. La lecture $[h]rdw$ n'est pas entièrement satisfaisante et il n'est pas tout à fait certain que le mot n'ait pas été précédé d'un autre. En considérant que le bord gauche était ici oblique, il aurait été normal que la l. 10 débutât encore plus bas que la l. 9, auquel cas rien ne manquerait au-dessus de $[h]rdw(?)$. De toute façon, on peut être assuré que le début de la l. 10 contenait la mention des proches du visiteur. Cf. Dunham and Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, 162-4, graffiti R.I.K. 112, 115 et 116: $ph̄ty·fy pr·f ḥd$, $h̄mt·f m n̄dmt·ib$, $ḥnty·fy h̄w·f$ 'qui rentrera à sa maison en bonne condition, sa femme étant en joie, et qui embrassera ses proches'. Le passage classique pour ce thème se trouve dans le Naufragé, 133-4 (cf. 168): $m̄h·k ḥn̄i·k m h̄rdw·k$, $sn·k h̄mt·k$, $m̄·k pr·k$, $n̄fr št r ḥt nbt$ 'Tu serreras sur ton sein tes enfants, tu embrasseras ta femme, tu reverras ta maison et cela vaut mieux que tout' (trad. Lefebvre). Au retour de l'expédition, Naufr. 6, 'chacun embrasse son camarade', avec $h̄pt$ comme sur la stèle. Comparer encore Sethe, *Lesest.* 88, 22-3: $ph̄·tn m h̄tp$, $šddw·tn m̄šw·tn n hmwt·tn$ 'vous rentrerez sans encombre et vous raconterez vos expéditions à vos femmes'. Cf. Naufr. 124: 'Combien se réjouit celui qui peut raconter ce qu'il a expérimenté, une fois passés les événements pénibles.' Il y a longtemps déjà (4 octobre 1961), Dieter Müller m'avait écrit au sujet des points de rencontre entre le Naufragé et les biographies des voyageurs.

q. Même menace sur la stèle publiée par Simpson; kmt y est déterminé par le rouleau de papyrus, voir sur ce mot *MDAIK* 16, 306 (j). Dans la nouvelle inscription, kmt n'a pas de déterminatif, ce qui laisse la latitude de comprendre: 'il ne reverra pas l'Égypte', cf. $m̄·k pr·k$ 'tu reverras ta maison' venant après les embrassades dans Naufr. 134 cité dans la note précédente. Mais avec Kmt 'Égypte' on s'attendrait plutôt à un verbe de mouvement comme $h̄y$ 'descendre, revenir'. — Le texte s'arrête avant la fin de la dernière colonne; il aurait été laissé inachevé si on en juge d'après la stèle Simpson.

Pour résumer la situation, rappelons que les princes du nome du Lièvre, dont il est beaucoup question dans les graffiti de Hatnoub, n'ont jamais visité eux-mêmes les carrières;¹ ils y envoyaient le plus souvent des hommes de confiance pour en extraire l'albâtre dont ils avaient besoin ou que demandait la maison royale.² De même, les chefs trésoriers du Moyen Empire, s'ils organisaient les expéditions minières, ne les conduisaient pas d'habitude en personne; ils avaient coutume d'en confier la direction à leurs subordonnés.³ Dans le cas présent, la mission ordonnée par le $imy-r sd̄wt$ Sébekhotep a eu pour exécutant un $imy-s$, titre abrégé peut-être pour $imy-s n imy-r sd̄wt$ 'assistant du chef trésorier'.⁴ C'était un fonctionnaire de rang inférieur:⁵ sans doute ne lui demandait-on pas de ramener un colosse. Son directeur se serait certainement dérangé lui-même s'il avait su que j'aurais souhaité un monument digne du prince que ce volume honore.

¹ Anthes, op. cit. 10.

² Cf. p. ex. *Hatnub*, nos 22, 13-14; 32, 5.

³ Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 78-85.

⁴ Pour ce titre développé, cf. Le Caire 20441; Sināi, n° 122, W b.

⁵ Il ne figure même pas en dernière place dans le tableau dressé par Helck, op. cit. 83, du personnel qui dépendait du chef trésorier.



UNE STÈLE DE HATNOUB

A NEW WISDOM TEXT FROM A WRITING-BOARD IN OXFORD

By JOHN BARNES

AMONG the treasures which the Ashmolean Museum owes to the bequests of the late Sir Alan Gardiner are the remains of a plaster-covered writing-board (registration number 1964. 489a, b) of a type of which Egypt furnishes a good many examples, inscribed in the native language and in Greek. Some years ago Sir Alan suggested to me that I should publish it, but I have been unable to take the work in hand until now when first-hand information about it from its late owner is no longer available; there are, however, a few short notes which accompany a transcription by him in the archives of the Griffith Institute (Gardiner MSS. AHG 29/33a, b). In publishing the text, with the kind permission of the Museum authorities, I have profited by the use of this transcription, and have also been greatly helped by consultation, at an early stage, with Professor Georges Posener.





























Of the wooden board itself nothing now remains, but much of the plaster which covered it on both sides has been preserved, and this has been skilfully mounted in paraffin wax on two sheets of glass; many cracks show it to have been very brittle. The photographs (pls. X and XI) show the plaster as at present mounted: in Gardiner's transcription of side A,¹ however, the two separate fragments seen in the photograph to the lower right of the main piece (which measures 26.3 × 10 cm) are placed separately, which suggests that he did not take them as necessarily belonging in that position; I have accordingly transcribed them separately as Frags. I and II. On side B, however, Gardiner transcribes one detached fragment as part of line 1 of the main piece (23.8 × 13.7 cm); in this again I follow him. He takes no account of two other small fragments on this side.

The hand is clear and careful; a manuscript note by Sir Alan describes it as 'characteristic Hyksos curly writing'; another observes that it probably comes from Lord Carnarvon's excavations at Thebes. Comparison with Carnarvon Tablets I (see Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Exploration at Thebes*, pls. xxvii f.; Gardiner, *JEA* 3, pls. XII f.; Jéquier, *Le Papyrus Prisse et ses variantes*, pl. xvi) and II (Carnarvon and Carter, op. cit., pl. xxix)² seems to confirm this. In his edition of the *Kamose* text on one side of Tablet I (*JEA* 3, 95 ff.)³ Gardiner observes that Tablet II is 'written


¹ Gardiner's transcript speaks of 'obverse' and 'reverse' sides, no doubt because the latter leaves some space below; Posener, however, observes that this is not conclusive evidence that it came after A. But see below.

² Unpublished. An edition of the text on the 'reverse' side, with a number of *duplicata* of this and other parts of the book from which it comes, by Professor Posener, is in preparation.

³ For subsequent literature on this text and the inscription whose discovery confirmed Gardiner's judgement see Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 299 f., 318, 321.

in the same or a very similar hand to that of I', which he would date close to the events described by its text. It may be instructive to compare signs or groups in our text with the same ones as they occur in Tablets I and II, and in the last four columns of Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* I, numbered as in the latter work. I cite the two texts of Tablet I as *K* (*Kamose*) and *P* (*Ptahhotpe*); those of Tablet II in the order in which they appear in Carnarvon and Carter's plate, as A and B; and Möller's Math. Pap. Rhind, Westcar, Golenischeff, and Ebers as M, W, G, and E respectively: 35 , full form: once only (B 3); several identical exx. in I *K*, *P*; 35b (abbreviated form): A 4 (*bis*); 5 (*bis*); B 4; I *P* (two exx.), identical, cf. E; II several, rather variable; 61b  (abbreviated form): B 6; basically similar forms I *P*, W, G, E; 79  A 6; in I *P* two exx. very different from ours, but a similar variation seen in G; 80b, c , : all shapes can be paralleled in I *K*, *P*; 90 : B 3; two exx. II B, similar; two I *P*, more cursive; 142  A 3: exactly as an ex. in E; very variable in I and II, none exactly as ours; 204  B 6: I *P*, II B have a more cursive form; 221/223 , : several exx. exactly as E; I *K*, *P* have a more cursive form of the wings; 318 : A 6 writes  as W; I *P*  (twice); 332  = , for  A 2; B 6; also in I, II, M, W, G, E; 335  A 3; I, II shapes more cursive; similar variation in G; 391  A 6, as W; similar form II B; 469b  A 4; 6: basically similar form in W; 482  A 1; 6; B 7; horizontal as in W; in I *K* upright; 502  A 5; 6; B 3: as W; 515  B 6; form in I *P* more cursive; 529  B 6: more like W, G, E than abnormal form in I *K*; 540b  A 1; 6; B 7: as I *K* and E; 571  A 7: as M; 588  A 1: as one ex. in G; LXXIII :  B 6: as exx. in I *K*, *P*.

It would appear that despite some rather serious discrepancies (see above under 79; 318; 482) the hand might be the same as that of I or II or both, writing, however, more carefully; it is certainly contemporary with them.




If these three tablets have a similar or identical origin, what is it, and what have their texts in common? Writing-boards from Pharaonic Egypt (like later examples in Greek) seem often to have been products of the schoolroom,¹ being probably written by the schoolmaster rather than by pupils. The choice of texts on all three boards seems significant; the motif is generally didactic—moral (I *P*), patriotic (I *K*), or both (II B); the present text, I think, falls into the last category. Much of its meaning remains obscure; no line of either side can be completed, and Posener confirms that no published or unpublished duplicata exist to supplement it; but it would appear to be from a book of admonitions, and if, as I suggest (see commentary, below) the 'god' referred to in A 1; 3; 4; 5 is the King, the person to whom it is addressed will be a high and responsible official. As Posener observes, the discovery of duplicates might well show it to be from one of the didactic books celebrated in Pharaonic times, such as we find mentioned in P. Chester Beatty IV and discussed by Posener in *Rev. d'ég.* 6, 27 ff. The piece is evidently written in a high literary style; its expressive use of determinatives in particular (see A 1 *smnh sw*; 2 *stn tw*; 7 *ir m dwt* (contrast  in 4); B 7 *smnh·sn* (?)) illustrates one advantage of the Egyptian system of writing over a purely alphabetic one. The scribe's orthography and his intelligent use of red points show that he understood his text. Its mutilated state makes this difficult for us; but I have little doubt

¹ Cf. Van der Walle, *La Transmission des textes littéraires égyptiens*, 10.

that (unlike the case of Carnarvon Tablet I) both sides are from the same work, and suspect that the passage ran continuously from A 1 to B 8; the sense seems to support this supposition, since A 1–6 are (on my interpretation of *ntr* here) loyalist in sentiment, but A 7 and the whole of B contain maxims of a more generally moral nature. If this is so, the excerpt (as from its length it must be) opens too abruptly to have come from the beginning of the work.

Commentary



TEXT A (pl. X).

Line 1. . . . *smnh*]·*n ntr smnh sw*. At the beginning, restore ? If my suggested interpretation of *rs·ti* etc. is correct, *smnh*·*n* would not be ‘emphatic’ (see Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses* (Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Proceedings, vol. II, no. 5, § 45)). My suggestion that *ntr* throughout means the King meets with the approval of Posener, who compares a passage of the ‘Instruction which a Man made for his Son’, discussed by him in *Litt. et pol. dans l’Égypte de la xii^e dyn.*, 124 f. (for texts see refs. there): *mk ir·n·k chw·k m·hnw shrw ntr r·k* (l. *ntr·k*?); perhaps compare *Sinuhe* B 44, where *ntr pf mnh* refers to the King, with *ntr pf* in A 5 here. Posener further observes that *h·b* and *w·pwt* here also suggest a human King rather than a celestial being. I take  after *smnh sw* to determine the whole expression. Such a determination would be parallel with that of *stn tw* in the next line, where  seems to make ‘Him Who selects thee’ a divine (or royal) personage. See G(ardiner), *Eg. Gr.*³, §§ 61; 354.

rs·ti: exclamatory use of Old Perfective, see G. *Eg. Gr.*³, § 313? Alternatively it might be possible to take it as Old Perf. preceding a main clause; see Lefebvre, *Misc. Greg.* 129–51; Allen, *AJSL* 44, 130 (where the examples cited include *Urk.* IV 185, 1: *rs·kwi hr·s grh [mi hrw]*); G. *Eg. Gr.*³, § 314. If this were right our passage would give the first recorded example of the second person singular of the Old Perf. used in this construction: ‘Thou being vigilant for Him, He has selected thee that thou mayest act for Him.’ But I prefer the former interpretation.

What the difference in meaning is between *tn* (*tni*) and its causative in this text I cannot say.

Line 2. . . . *t]n·f (st]n·f?) w^c*: perhaps preceded by *mk* or *iw*. Has *w^c* any special complimentary sense of a ‘unique’ person? Cf. *Wb.* I, 275 f.

tn irr·k (?) n stn tw: the reading could as well be *irt·k* here and 4 below; the writing in the two places is so alike that they can hardly be read differently. In 4 *irr·k* seems to make good sense, but it is here more difficult. (It seems hardly possible that this evidently careful scribe would have confused his reader by writing *tn* for *tnw*, ‘whenever’.) I can only suggest that *w^c* refers to the person to whom the discourse is addressed, and that *tn* in the next clause is Old Perf. qualifying it; the writer then reverts to the second person singular: ‘He (s)elects one, elect that thou mayest act for Him Who selects thee.’  for : see G. *Eg. Gr.*³, § 164.

pst·n·k irt m (i)ht [: for the absence of a determinative after *pst* cf. 3 below (*htp*(?)); 5 (*gm*). ‘What thou hast done being a thing. . .’, or ‘What thou hast acquired as property. . .’?]

Line 3. □ before *r·k* must be the end of an undetermined word. An obvious possibility is *hṭp*, and the preceding traces would suit $\frac{\text{hṭp}}{\text{r·k}}$. *r·k* must from its position be the enclitic use, G. *Eg. Gr.*³, § 252, rather than the preposition employed as in examples in *Wb.* III, 189, 2. I take *hṭp r·k ntr·k* as a wish.

mšꜣw·f (?): I know of no examples of a word *mšꜣ* so determined, or with a meaning exactly appropriate to the present context. For *mšꜣw* 'envoys' see Caminos, *L.-Eg. Misc.* 445. Could it here be something like 'errands'? I cannot extract a satisfactory sense from a division *m šꜣw·f* (a word *šꜣ* so determined *Wb.* IV, 417, 12).

ꜣwy wndwt·f: *Wb.* I, 326, 4 gives *wndyt* 'Rindvieh', and *ibid.* 5–6 *wndwt* 'Leute, Angehörige jemds.', as separate entries; but different texts of Naville, *Todtenbuch* 125, Einl. 6, where the determination of *wndwt* varies between $\frac{\text{wndwt}}{\text{ꜣ}}^1$ and $\frac{\text{wndwt}}{\text{ꜣ}}^2$, suggest that the word is the same, its application to cattle or men being indicated by the determinative; the latter use being figurative and secondary. I think that we should take $\frac{\text{wndwt}}{\text{ꜣ}}^1$ here not literally, but figuratively, and that we have here a reference to mankind as the herd of God (or of the divine King)—a familiar conception; see Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 64, 89 f.; Hintze, *ibid.* 78, 55 f.; D. Müller, *ibid.* 86, 126 ff., where many examples are collected. I know of no use of *wndwt* in this connection; the most usual word is *ꜣwt*; so *rmṯ ꜣwt ntr* in *Merikarē*, P 131 (Volten, *Zwei altäg. polit. Schriften*, 73); *tꜣ ꜣwt špst*, Westcar 8, 17; the word is in one text (Berl. Stela 7317, 2 f. = *Äg. Inschr. aus d. staatl. Mus. Berl.* II, 139) written $\frac{\text{ꜣwt}}{\text{ꜣ}}^1$, the double determinative expressing its figurative application, as Hintze points out. *ꜣwy* here I take as a variant (otherwise apparently unattested before Late Egyptian) of *ꜣ*, *Wb.* I, 158, 1 ff., 'Zustand, Befinden'. This whole clause I take as an anticipation of the pronominal object of the next: 'His errands (?) and the (good) estate of His herd, He having placed them under thy personal charge'.



Line 3 f. I cannot suggest what may have been lost between *šhrw·k* and *mꜣct* in the next line.

Line 4. For *irt m* (cf. next line), 'act in accordance with', see G. *Eg. Gr.*³, § 162, 9; *Unters.* 4 (Inscr. of Mes), 107, where examples are cited.

nn hr·f rdī·tw hr šhrw·f: to take the latter words first, we may perhaps compare two passages cited by *Wb.* IV, 259, 1: *Urk.* IV, 60, 2 (from the biography of Ineni, speaking of Ḥatshepsut): *tꜣwy hr šhrw·s*, which Griffith in a manuscript note in his copy of Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* II, 142 translates 'The Two Lands were according to her plans'; and Cairo Cat. 42185 (b), 7 f. (statue of Roy): *iw hn·n·f sw hr šhr ntr·f* (= Amūn), rendered by Lefebvre (*Inscr. concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon*, 7) 'car il s'est soumis aux volontés de son dieu'. It seems in fact to have a sense not unlike *hr šhr·(f)*; cf. *Sinuhe* B 217: *dī·tw (n)ꜣ¹ hr šhr·k* (Ashm. *dī·tw nn m-bš·k*); see Gardiner, *Notes on Sinuhe*, 84. Other examples with (*r*)*dīt*: *Urk.* IV, 1044, 14; *Mém. Miss.* xv, 9, 2. If the example with *hr* from *Sinuhe* cited above is relevant, I think that here *rdī·tw* is passive with omitted subject; see G. *Eg. Gr.*³, § 486 (cf. § 145). But what is *nn hr·f* before it? I can only suggest that we have here a use of *hr* in a sense in which it is already known in the expressions (*r*)*dīt hr* 'give an order to' (see Sethe, *Unters.* v, 78 f.), and *irt hr* 'perform

¹ See Barnes, *Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe*.



the bidding (of)' (Gardiner, *JEA* 4, 34). Does *hr* indicate an order given *personally*? If so, one might render (taking *nn hr·f* as a subordinate clause, cf. *G. Eg. Gr.*³, §§ 109; 115) 'without any personal order of His, that (matters) be disposed at His discretion'; that is, the King's authority is absolute, but delegated.




h̄b·n·f ir m wpwt·f: 'When He has sent one who acts according to His commission'; I take  after  as a determinative. (*G. Eg. Gr.*³, § 354.)





Line 5. *ir wp·f . . . st-hr·k*: I would suggest that these two clauses be taken together, and that *wp* and *gm* are to be understood in a judicial sense; 'If He judges, He finds (the decision) in righteousness, that god Who places (matters) under thy personal charge.' *wp·f*, *gm·f*, and *rdi* (active participle) I take to have no expressed object.

spr r·k hst: with *r·k*, cf. line 3 above.

Line 6. *wḏ·k is hft·s tp t̄ mn̄h·k im*: probably optative.













n h̄s[:  may be negative, or for .


Line 7. The subsequently inserted  could most obviously be taken as correcting an omission, perhaps of a determinative of a word of negative meaning ending in]*m* (e.g. ). I suspect, however, that the fact that the insertion is in *red* has another significance; that the clause is *m sn r ir m ḏwt* 'do not imitate him who acts evilly'; the  being not a correction, but an explanatory note to show that *m* is here the negative word.¹ For *sn r* 'imitate' cf. *Merikarēc*, P 35: *sny r itw·k tpyw·c·k*; *Adm.* 12, 13: *sny·tw r wḏ·n·k*; other examples cited by Gardiner, *Adm.* p. 85 f.

Fr. I, 1:    ? Cf. *Urk.* 1, 223, 15: *ḏr b̄k(i) im*, 'since I was cleared (= proved innocent) therefrom'.

Fr. II. *hr·ti r*: see *G. Eg. Gr.*³, § 313; *Wb.* III, 145, 20.


TEXT B (pl. XI)

Line 3. *hr(y)w shpw*, 'those who are under government'; for a substantive *shp(w)* (*Wb.* IV, 207, 15) see *Merikarēc* P 138: *im·k ir mnt nb r·i [sic] ḏḏ shpw nb hr nswt*. Cf. the verb    , *Wb.* IV, 207, 14; and another otherwise determined in *Kheti* (P. Sall. II, 9, 5):         (cf. *btnw* in this line); the passage is obscure, and the duplicate texts differ widely; Brunner's notes (*Die Lehre des Cheti, Sohnes des Duauḏ*, 45) throw no light on our passage. After *shpw* here a red point may well have been lost.

h̄bd btnw hst: 'the defiant man loathes favour'? For *btnw* see *Wb.* I, 486, 1-2.  seem to be part of its determination.

Line 4. *tn·tw ikr m shrw·f*: 'that the good man be elected by reason of his counsels'.

iw snd n (snd·n?) rh[: cf. *Simuhe* B 230 f.: *snd s rh t̄·f*? But I suspect that this latter is corrupt: see *JEA* 53, 12.

Line 5. *h̄ms s̄ m shrw*: 'O (?) be thou submissive in counsels'? Under *h̄ms* *Wb.* III, 367, 1 cites examples (Prisse, 5, 11; 13, 9; Hatnub Gr. 49) used figuratively with *s̄* to mean 'submissive'.  would appear to be the enclitic particle discussed by *G. Eg. Gr.*³, § 245; *JEA* 34, 12 f.

¹ Posener cannot recall any parallel to such a use; but such an addition would perhaps not be out of place in a schoolmaster's text.

hr·wy btn wsd̄ : obscure to me; I cannot explain the different determination of *btn* here from *btnw* in l. 3, above.

Line 6. *hhy·tw šht n rmt*: for the expression see *Wb.* III, 151, 17 f.

bt̄ wgḡt: perhaps imperative, 'eschew grievous things'.

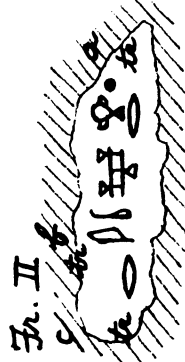
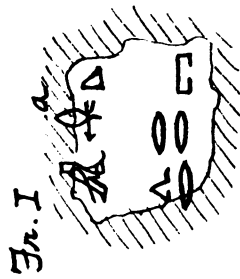
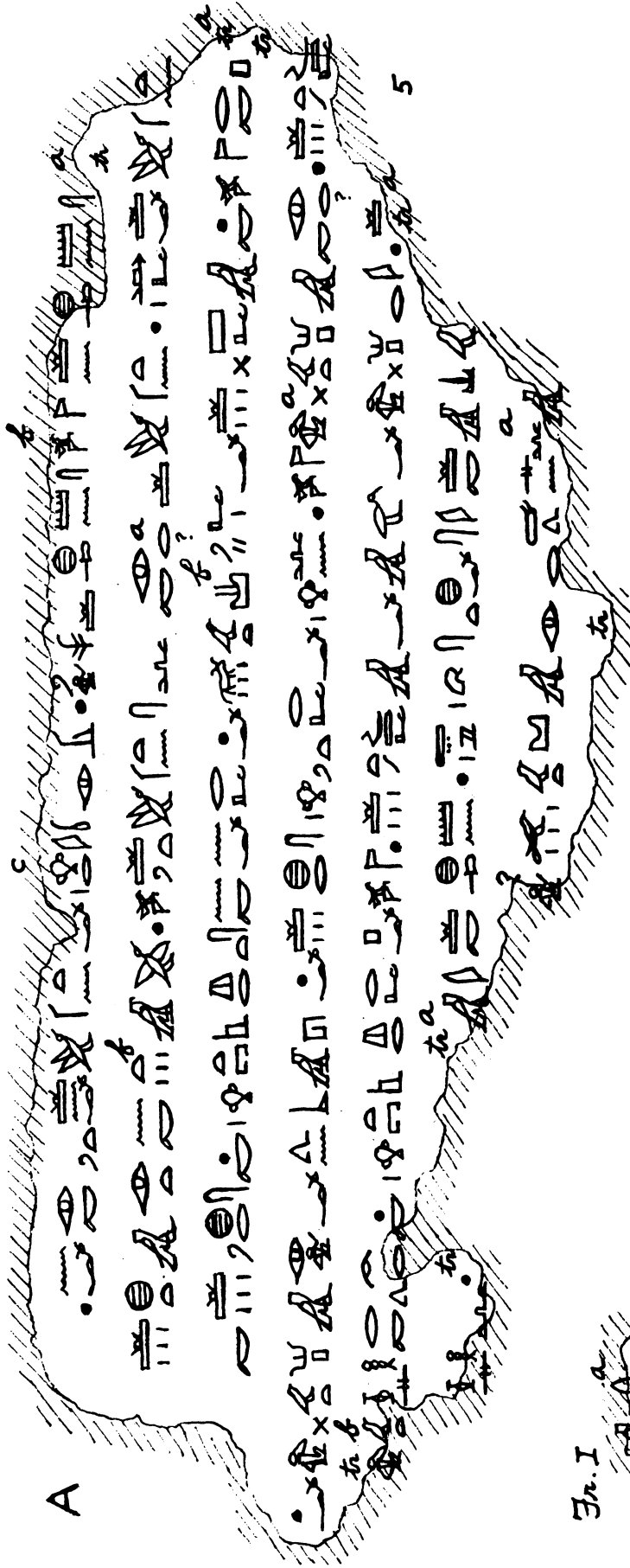
Line 7. *ny*: presumably 'therefor', *G. Eg. Gr.*³, § 205.

smnh̄ sn (participle with 3rd person dependent pronoun as object) *m smnh̄·sn* (relative form), 'He who has benefited them being benefited by them'? Note the determination of the latter with *š*; and cf. A 1, where reciprocal benefiting (*smnh̄*) is also spoken of, but differently expressed.

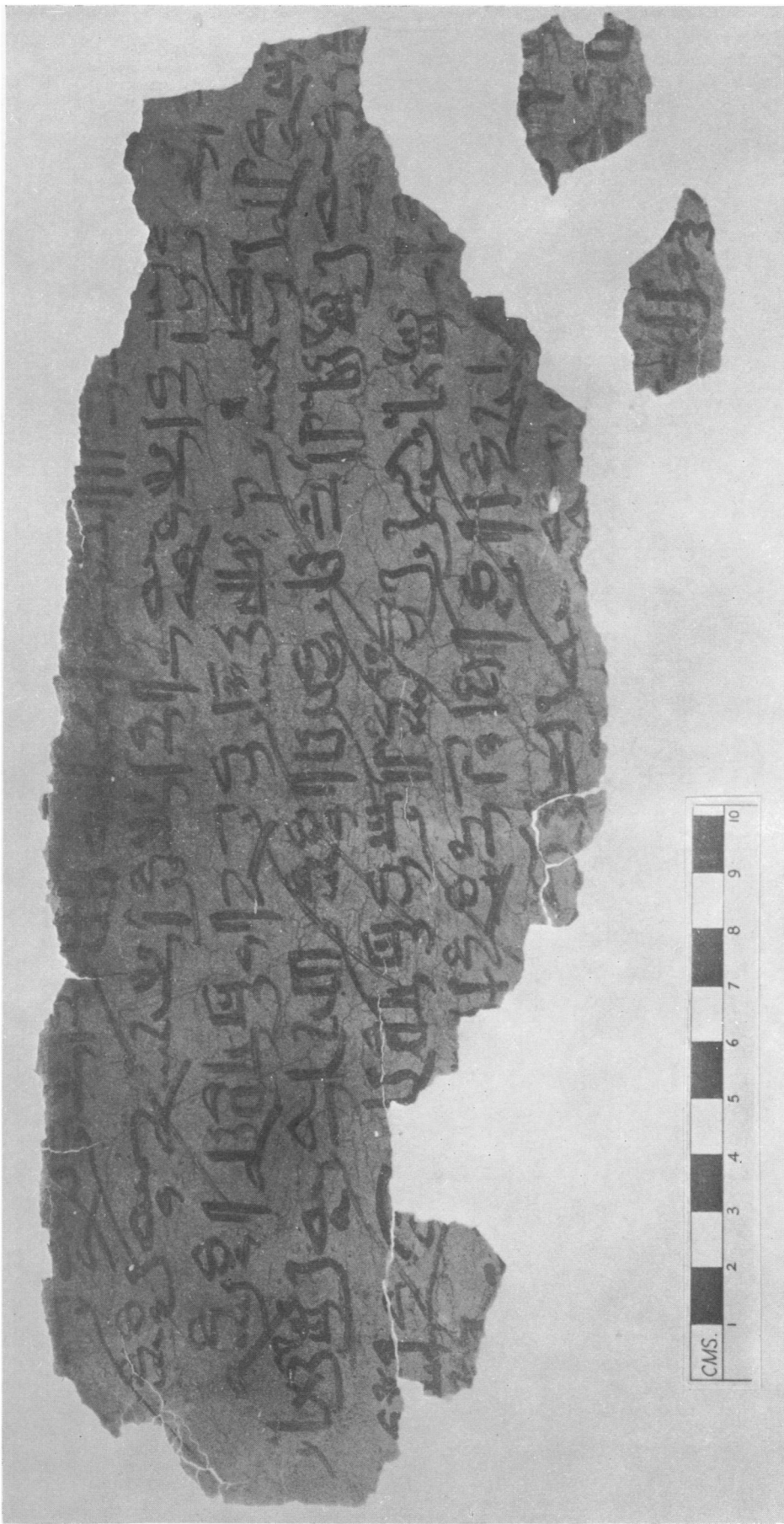
The following is a highly tentative translation of the whole:

A |¹ ' . . . Behold(?), the god has benefited him who has benefited Him. Be thou vigilant for Him, since He has elected thee that thou mayest act for Him. |² . . . He (s)elects one, elect, thou acting for Him Who elects thee; that which thou hast done being a thing(?) |³ . . . May thy god be well pleased, His errands(?) and the (good) estate of His herd—He having given them to thee under thy personal charge; thy counsels being |⁴ . . . (in) righteousness, thou acting according to the commission of the god; without any personal order(?) of His, that (matters) be disposed at His discretion, He having sent one who acts according to His commission |⁵ . . . If He judges, He finds (the decision) in righteousness, that god Who places (matters) under thy personal charge. May favour attain unto thee . . . |⁶ . . . Mayest thou indeed flourish according thereto upon earth, and mayest thou benefit thereby . . . |⁷ . . . Do not imitate him who acts evilly . . .'

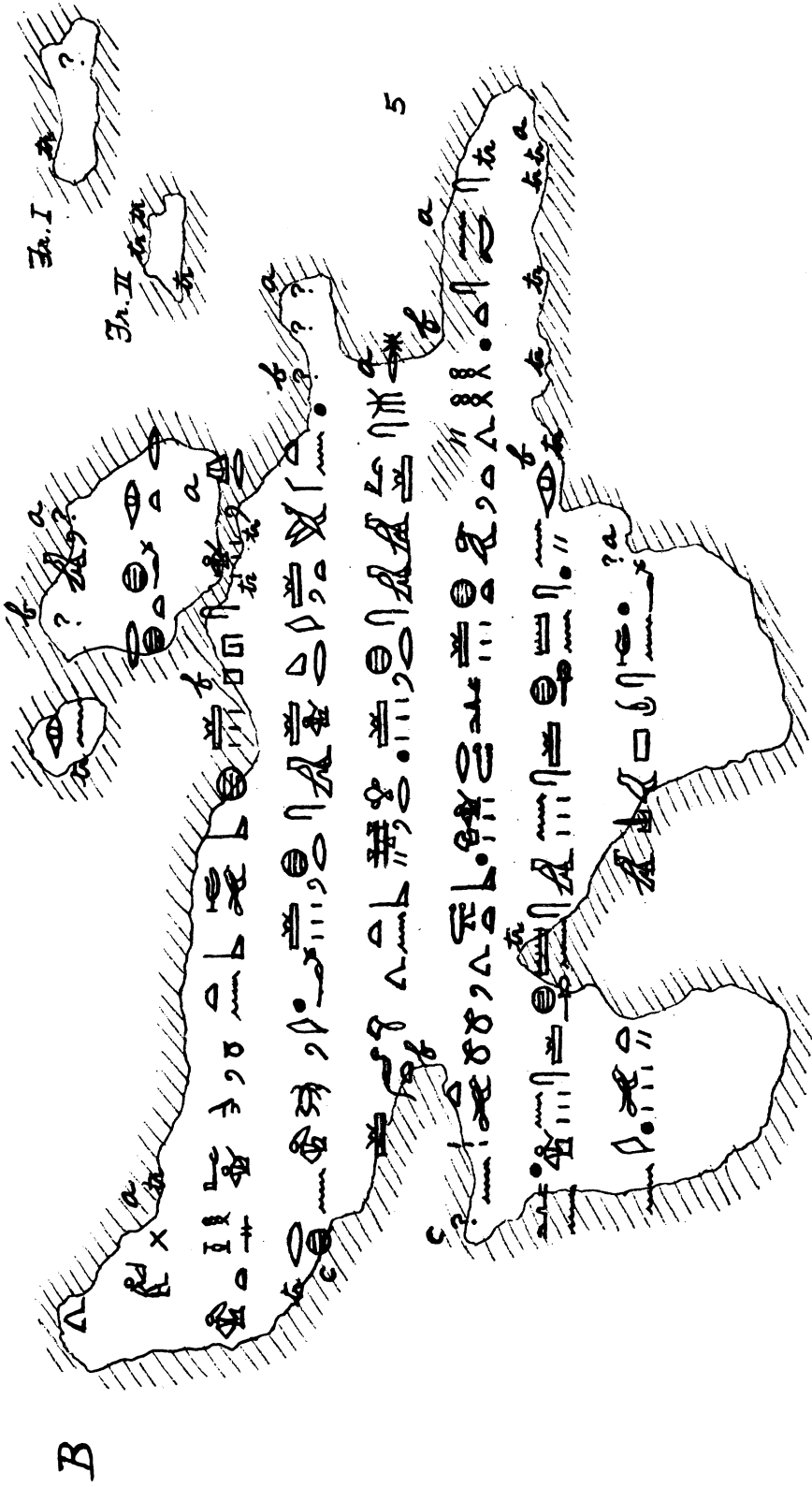
B . . . |² . . . to act according to (knowledge) . . . |³ . . . those who are under government, the defiant man loathing favour (?) . . . |⁴ . . . the good man being elected by reason of his counsels. He who knows . . . has feared . . . |⁵ . . . O(?) be thou submissive in counsels; how far is defiance(?) . . . |⁶ . . . it . . . to thee, that that which is beneficial to mankind may be sought. Eschew grievous things(?) . . . |⁷ . . . therefor, he who has benefited them being one who is benefited by them(?) . . .'



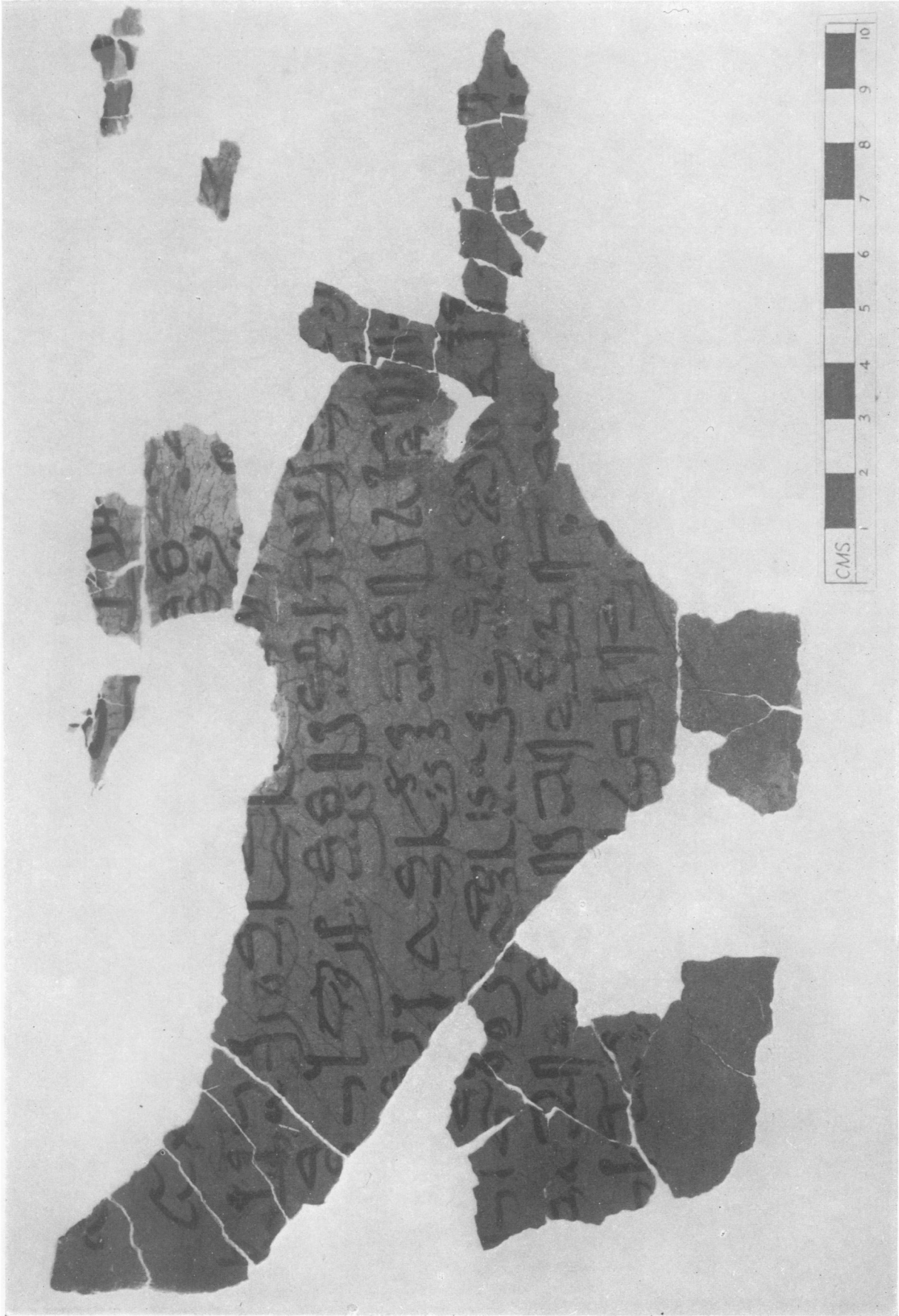
A 1a. May well be \ominus (Gardiner). f . Here and elsewhere (A2; 3; 4; 5) I transcribe f rather than f as in G.'s copy. c . g ; g . g only, but the extra sign seems clear. 2a. g here and 4; 10 g ., rather than g ; see comm. b . G.'s transcription indicates doubt about reading g , but I think it certain. 3a. Ends of two horizontal signs; g probable. d . g , so; no cross stroke. 4a. X inserted later, in black. 5a. g , III, or g ? b . Evidently top of ligature g , followed by two small traces, probably of cursive form of g . This will doubtless have ended the line. b a. Indeterminate trace of top of sign. Ta . are inserted in red. 8a. Trace of top of sign below g of previous line. g . notes that a line or more may have been lost below. Fr. Ia. Horizontal part of g is like exx. of g in Carr. Tabl. I p. g . read here as g III. IIa. Left side of a sign which could be (e.g.) g , or g . b . Between g and g , trace of tail of g ; comparison with other exx. suggests that it will have extended from two lines above, and will have begun there four or five signs to the right of its end. c . End of thin diagonal: part of g ? (So G.).



A NEW WISDOM TEXT (Ash. 1964. 489a)



B1a. Read by G. as 4; but a horizontal projection to left suggests 𓄏 . b. G. suggests 𓄏 ; the nearly horizontal stroke beneath it is probably part of 𓄏 . 2a. Tail of 𓄏 or 𓄏 , to be placed two spaces before X. 3f. Note that fragment containing right parts of 2 and tops of signs of 3 is slightly misplaced; it should be 1-2 mm. to right and 3-4 mm. higher. 3a. 𓄏 : G. read (doubtfully) as top of 1. b. Horizontal with a minute trace of vertical; \square probable. 4a-b. First sign read doubtfully by G. as 𓄏 . Then after a small indeterminate sign, little more than a point, 𓄏 ? c. G. read 𓄏 ; but this is quite different from the writing of 𓄏 in 6, below; and the lower sign is exactly like exx. of here. 5a. End of horizontal. b. 𓄏 (so G.) seems likely. 6a-b. The ink has been almost entirely washed out, but traces of 𓄏 , though faint, are almost certain; and before the red point is what might well be 𓄏 . The spacing corresponds with 𓄏 in A3, and I restore with confidence here. c. Upright. 7a-f. Probably 𓄏 , high, followed (as G. suggests) by top of 𓄏 . Indeterminate trace, high, about two signs to left of this; top of another sign, curving over to right, a little to left again; before and below 𓄏 , another trace. 8a. 𓄏 (G.), 𓄏 , or sim. Two small fragments, of which no account is taken by G. in his transcription, are mounted to right of ll. 1 and 2; I: 𓄏 or possibly 𓄏 , followed by horizontal; II: remains of bottoms of one line and tops of another: 1. Tails of two signs. 2. Top of a vertical.



A NEW WISDOM TEXT (Ash. 1964. 489 b)

NEWS OF KHA^c AND MERYTBy SILVIO CURTO AND M. MANCINI¹

I

DURING 1966 the room called the 'Tomb of Kha^c and Meryt' in the Egyptian Museum of Turin was restored, and its walls and floor renewed for exhibition.² The first-fruit of this work was proof that the large areas usually required by modern museography for exhibition purposes are not always necessary. In the case of this room a tight manner of exhibition was dictated by the small available space, but the result succeeds in giving the visitor a good idea of the place at the moment of discovery; it also provides a pleasing effect in its combination of different forms and colours, serving as a living document of an artistic outlook which invested every kind of artefact with its style—an outlook based on the belief in the unity of a man's life on earth and after death.

The second result of the work was a series of small discoveries which we here present to Professor Jaroslav Černý as a token of gratitude for his long and precious work in our Museum. Some of the discoveries indeed require further study, and our account of them here, coming rather soon after they were made, must necessarily be only too brief and undetailed; but the general association with Deir el-Medīna may also commend what we have written to the attention of the recipient.

The principal points of interest can now be listed:

1. The edges of the sarcophagus of Meryt³ bear the signs shown here in fig. 1, undoubtedly indications to help in the re-assembly of the sides of the chest after they had been introduced individually into the tomb.

2. The coffin of Meryt⁴ is covered with gold-leaf 10–11 microns in thickness, this measurement having been determined by magnetic and microscopic methods by Dr. Ing. L. Elia in the Microtecnica di Torino.

3. The interior of the same coffin is heavily coated with pitch and shows outlined in white a figure of the goddess Nut standing on a *nub*-sign with her name written above.⁵ The central part of the figure has mostly been destroyed by exudation from the mummy.

4. The mask of the mummy of Meryt⁶ is made of stuccoed linen and the stripes of the wig are indicated alternately in blue paint and gold-leaf. The face is gilded, the eyebrows and eyesockets are inlaid in blue glass, and the eyes are made of opaque white and translucent black glass. At the time of discovery the mask was damaged, probably by one of Schiaparelli's workmen who removed the left eye and brutally

¹ Part I of this paper is written by Curto, and II by Mancini.

² The Tomb of Kha^c is no. 8 in the Theban Necropolis, cf. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 1², pt. i, 16 ff.

³ See E. Schiaparelli, *Relazione*, ii, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha*, 28.

⁴ *Ibid.* 29.

⁵ In the illustration, *ibid.* fig. 29, a hand of this figure can be seen.

⁶ *Ibid.* 31.

squashed the corresponding part of the face. The whole has now been restored (pl. XIII, 1), and the result reveals a face extremely finely modelled with features of the same style as Turin statue No. Cat. 694.¹

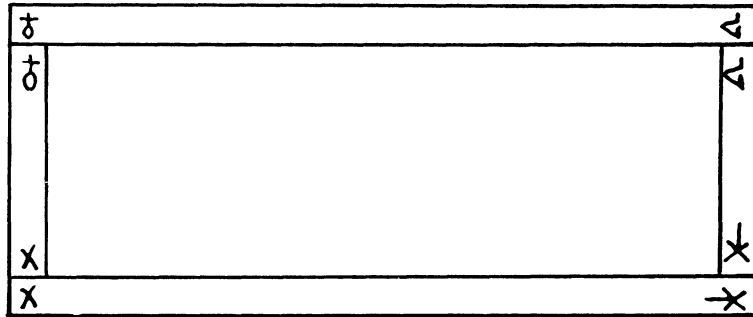


FIG. 1. Sketch (a)

5. The mummies of Kha^c and Meryt were X-rayed—the first subjects of a general programme in which all the mummies in the Turin Museum were examined radiographically by Dr. Enzo Delorenzi and Dr. Maurizio Mancini of the Ospedale Mauriziano in Turin. The radiographs shown on Plates XII and XIII reveal that both mummies carry fine ornaments, which we can here describe only in a summary manner, making allowance for the possibility of error due to the faulty interpretation of the X-rays:

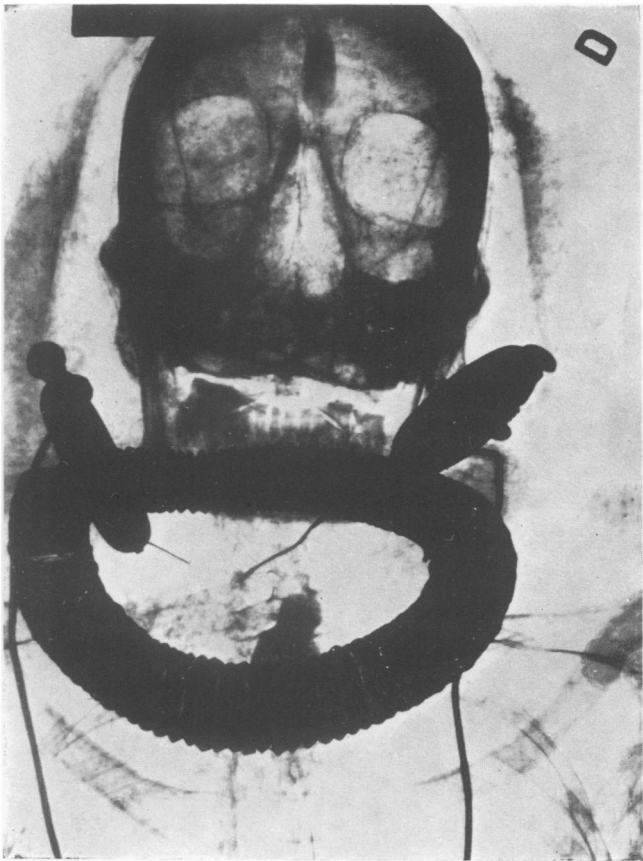
On Kha^c

a. A collar made up of a single string of gold rings, apparently without a buckle. Is this a royal reward, an example of the 'gold of honour'? Probably so, for the collar is identical with those presented by King Amenophis III to Kha^cemhet and Kheruef in the earliest known scenes of this kind of presentation, cf. Vandier, *Manuel*, iv, 638 and fig. 308. The tomb of Kha^c is contemporary with those of Kha^cemhet and Kheruef. The collars shown in the tomb-reliefs differ, however, from the one worn by Kha^c's mummy in that they are formed of two, three, or more strings of rings and have buckles. On this last point see also Drioton in *Mon. Piot* 25, 116.

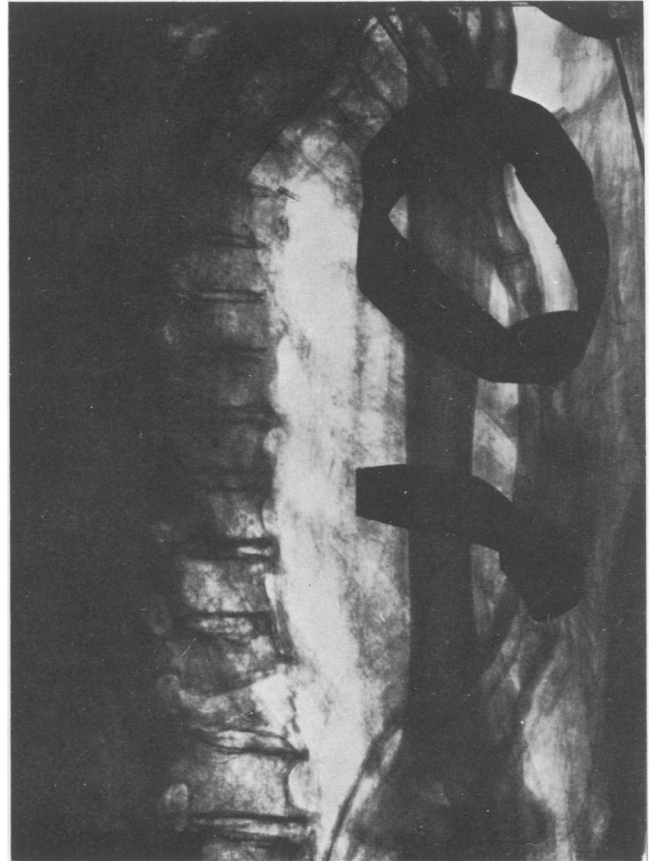
It should be added that Schiaparelli, *Relazione*, II, 168 ff., suggested that other objects found in the tomb of Kha^c were also gifts received from the king.

- b. A long necklace or chain made of spun and plaited gold, supporting a heart scarab similar to one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, cf. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, II, 224, fig. 133.
- c. A *tyt*-amulet (girdle of Isis) in carnelian probably, under the collar.
- d. A *ururet*-amulet in the form of a snake's head, also probably in carnelian, on the forehead. For this and the preceding amulet, reference to Budge, *The Mummy*, 308 and 322 is sufficient.

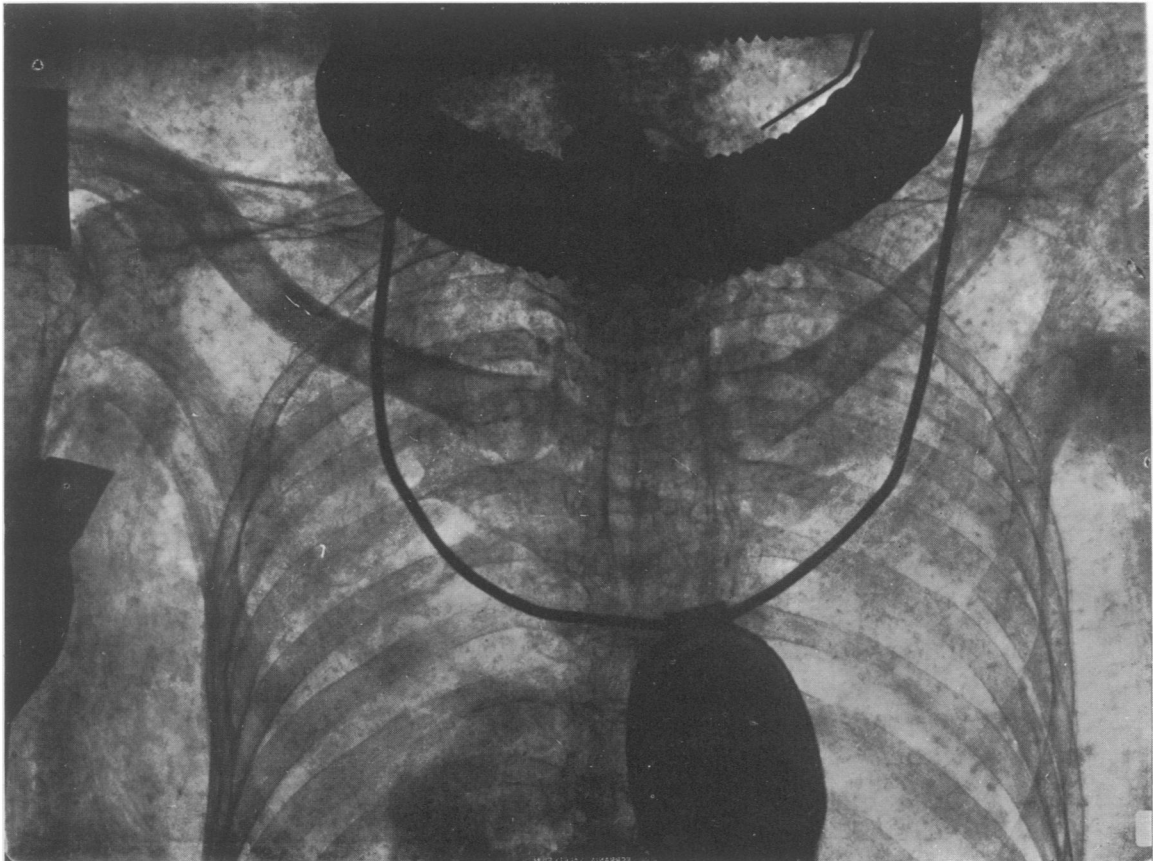
¹ See E. Scamuzzi, *Museo Egizio di Torino* (Turin, 1963), tav. xxxiv. This statue, having lost its legs from the knees, was completed with the lower part of another statue, and in Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzzone, *Catalogo* (1882) it is described as being 2.10 m. high, a measurement repeated in Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 385. The false lower part has now been removed, and the height is 1.53 m.



1. X-ray of head and shoulders showing collar, ear-rings, *tyt*-amulet and *ururet*-amulet



2. Profile X-ray of breast showing armlets



3. X-ray of breast showing collar, *tyt*-amulet and heart scarab



1. The restored mask



2. Profile X-ray of head and shoulders showing collar and ear-rings



3. X-ray of abdomen showing girdle

MUMMY OF MERYT

- e. A pair of gold ear-rings of the type shown in fig. 2 taken from Vernier, *BIFAO* 8 (1911), 25 and fig. 18; a pair from the Tomb of Tutᶜankhamūn are similar but more elaborate, cf. C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, 23.

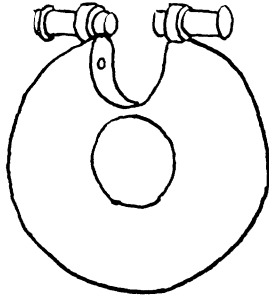


FIG. 2. Sketch (b)

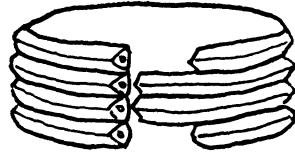


FIG. 3. Sketch (c)

- f. A bracelet on each arm between the shoulder and the elbow, made of a simple strip of gold, similar to those on Berlin statue 4667, cf. Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. cxxxviii, 1.
On Meryt
- An *usekh*-collar made up of eight strings of hard-stone plaques, which repeat roughly the form of *hek*ers in the top five strings, of bunches of grapes in strings 6 and 7, and of figs in string 8.
 - Two pairs of gold ear-rings (two for each ear), of the type shown here in fig. 3 taken from Vernier, *op. cit.* 27 and fig. 26.
 - A girdle hanging low on the pelvis, sketched here in fig. 4, consisting in front of 11 gold plaques linked by five strings of small glass or faience beads, and at the back of 3 strings of similar beads divided into six groups by larger beads set in groups of nine, three to each line. The plaques mentioned above take the form of bivalve shells, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr. Sign List*, L. 6; real shells of this type were used for poorer ornaments. A comparison with the fish-scale (Gardiner, *op. cit.* K. 6) seems therefore to be less likely.

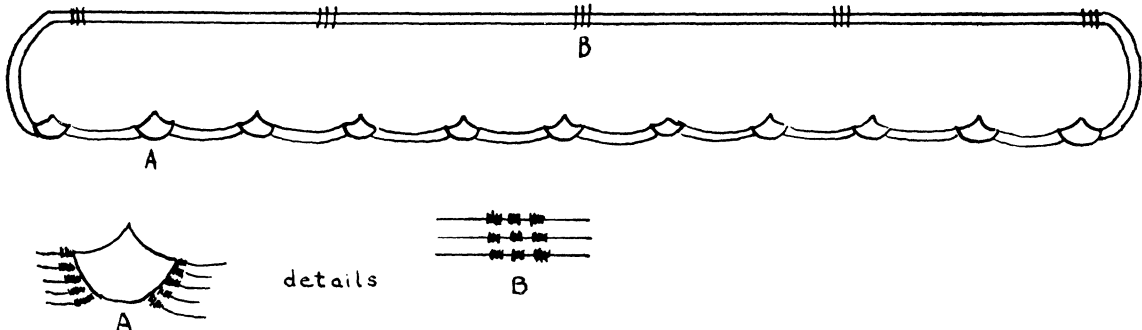


FIG. 4. Sketch (d)

Among the objects mentioned above perhaps the most interesting are the ear-rings of Khaᶜ, which provide one of the most ancient instances of the use by men of such ornaments, a custom possibly derived from the Near East, or from Central Africa by way of Nubia.

II

Facendo seguito ad una richiesta del Direttore del Museo Egizio di Torino, mi sono accinto con curiosità, inizialmente, e poi con sempre maggior interesse ad esaminare radiologicamente i segreti custoditi fra le bende millenarie delle mummie del Museo Egizio di Torino, il cui patrimonio è tanto vasto da prestarsi ad osservazioni non solo valide dal punto di vista storico ed archeologico ma anche paleopatologico. Uno stimolo non indifferente è stato indubbiamente quello di aver subito individuato dei reperti archeologici di alto valore, sui quali non sta a me esprimere giudizi, ma anche il riscontro di elementi patologici tuttora attuali.

Non è certamente la prima volta che i raggi X vengono utilizzati per esaminare materiale analogo. Nello stesso Museo di Torino già il prof. Bertolotti aveva esaminato scopicamente con Schiaparelli alcuni cadaveri ed il Prof. Delorenzi aveva radiografato una mummia dell'Antico Regno, mentre il prof. Benassi ha accuratamente radiografato una mummia conservata al museo di Biella. Tuttavia ritengo che i reperti raccolti e la sistematicità di una ricerca condotta su un materiale tanto vasto, siano certamente di interesse eccezionale.

Sto ancora raccogliendo il materiale di studio per comunicare in seguito più estesamente e sistematicamente le mie osservazioni, tuttavia ritengo che quanto riscontrato sulla mummia dell'architetto Kha^c meriti una nota preliminare.

L'indagine radiologica è stata condotta nei locali del Museo Egizio di Torino con una piccola apparecchiatura radiologica portatile monoblocco (X-Gil) montata su uno stativo appositamente costruito per aumentarne la maneggevolezza. Per ogni mummia ho eseguito una serie di radiogrammi formato 30 × 40 in proiezione frontale e latero-laterale senza con ciò sottoporre i preziosi e delicati «pazienti» a pericolosi spostamenti. I risultati ottenuti sono stati abbastanza soddisfacenti e nessun rischio ha corso ad esempio la fragile, stupenda maschera di Mirit o il delicato corpicino del piccolo Petamenophis.

Per tornare al nostro Kha^c, le radiografie ci hanno mostrato lo scheletro di un individuo di avanzata maturità se non proprio di un vecchio. Alto, di costituzione robusta, diritto come un fuso, egli probabilmente riusciva a mascherare alcune non lievi alterazioni, come ripeto, di tuttora valida attualità.

Lo scheletro è risultato ben conservato, integro da manipolazioni grossolane post mortem in rapporto al processo conservativo ed anche alle più recenti traversie non previste da chi effettuò tale processo. Le bende si sono rivelate abbastanza trasparenti (in altri casi la presenza di sostanze bituminose ha costituito un ostacolo importante) ed i radiogrammi hanno potuto essere analizzati abbastanza dettagliatamente.

A carico del cranio è stato possibile riscontrare una scarsissima pneumatizzazione dell'osso frontale con agenesia dei seni. La teca cranica non presenta segni di alterazioni. La sella turcica appare di dimensioni regolari, i processi clinoidi sono ipertrofici ed a contorni irregolari. Non si sono rilevate lesioni scheletriche della fossa cranica anteriore che possano essere riferite a manipolazioni post mortem per lo svuotamento della cavità. Notevolmente alterate si presentano le arcate dentarie che mostrano segni riferibili ad un quadro molto spiccato di paradentosi (piorrea alveolare) con denti

molto scalzati; a carico dell'arcata superiore si apprezzano monconi radicolari e focolai di carie interessanti i molari, mentre mancano i denti anteriori.

La colonna vertebrale è il segmento scheletrico che si presta alle osservazioni più interessanti dal punto di vista patologico. Il tratto cervicale è nascosto dall'esistenza di grossi monili radiopachi, ma la colonna dorsale e lombare presentano evidentissime alterazioni dei corpi vertebrali che appaiono notevolmente deformati con aspetto a rocchetto e con grossolane formazioni osteo e sindesmofitarie che sembrano realizzare un quadro abbastanza tipico di quella che oggi viene descritta come iperostosi vertebrale anchilosante di Forestier in cui al quadro dell'artrosi deformante si associano neoproduzioni ossee con aspetto a fiamma di candela situate in corrispondenza del margine anteriore dei corpi vertebrali determinando dei ponti intervertebrali. Gli spazi intervertebrali sono ridotti probabilmente in rapporto a fenomeni degenerativi che possono essersi verificati anche post mortem, ma fra la V° vertebra lombare ed il piano sacrale è osservabile un quadro assolutamente tipico di discopatia.

Un altro reperto molto interessante è l'esistenza di una deformazione a cuneo di due vertebre e precisamente della XII° dorsale e della I° lombare. Il quadro è interpretabile con buona sicurezza come determinato dagli esiti di una lesione traumatica insorta in vita mentre parrebbe di poter escludere una lesione di tipo infiammatorio (ad esempio tubercolare) o di tipo neoplastico.

Contrasta con questo quadro imponente di alterazioni vertebrali la relativa integrità degli altri segmenti dello scheletro ed in particolare delle articolazioni coxofemorali che appaiono, tenuto conto che si tratta del cadavere di una persona anziana, pressoché indenni.

Non sono state messe in evidenza alterazioni significative a carico degli arti né è stato possibile rilevare radiologicamente l'esistenza di visceri.

Questo per sommi capi è quanto l'indiscrezione fotonica è riuscita a svelarci attraverso le bende che per quasi quattromila anni hanno custodito, oltre che il segreto dei preziosi monili, anche quello della fastidiosa sciatica di Kha^c.

LA CUEILLETTE DU RAISIN A LA FIN DE L'ÉPOQUE AMARNIENNE

TOUTANKHAMON FUT-IL PORTRAITURÉ SOUS L'ASPECT D'UN PETIT PRINCE?

Par CH. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT

LE Musée du Louvre détient en ses collections une petite plaquette d'ivoire mesurant 0,065 m. sur 0,058 m., ayant approximativement 2 mm. d'épaisseur. Elle est entrée au Département des Antiquités égyptiennes en 1935 et porte le numéro E 14374 (pl. XIV).

Dans un cadre, qui paraît naturel, évoquant une tonnelle de vigne, et qui épouse les contours latéraux et la partie supérieure de la plaquette, figure une jeune silhouette de style général amarnien. L'objet publié à cette époque par Charles Boreux,¹ qui le fit entrer au Musée du Louvre, est indiqué au livre d'entrées sous l'identité suivante :

Plaquette rectangulaire (couverture d'une boîte de toilette), décorée en pyrogravure (?) de la représentation d'une jeune fille cueillant, de la main droite, des raisins à une treille, et tenant, de l'autre, deux boutons et une fleur de lotus. Époque d'Aménophis IV.

Que cette petite plaquette ait appartenu à un coffret, il semble que cela ne soit pas douteux, mais rien ne permet de penser qu'elle ait pu constituer le couvercle d'une boîte. Si, à la partie inférieure — bien que brisée à l'angle droit — le morceau d'ivoire paraît présenter une base ancienne, de même que ses côtés constituent encore l'antique limite de largeur, la partie supérieure a été brisée et devait comporter un registre dominant la scène actuelle de la cueillette du raisin. Des traces d'évidements arrondis à la base des colonnettes latérales, au sommet des chapiteaux et au centre de l'architrave légère, formant la tonnelle, montrent bien que la plaquette d'ivoire avait été maintenue sur le panneau, qu'elle recouvrait, par des chevilles analogues à celles qui maintiennent les plaques d'ivoire ornant le fameux coffre du trésor de Toutankhamon (fig. 1).²

Il ne semble pas davantage qu'il s'agisse d'un travail de pyrogravure, mais bien plutôt de l'œuvre d'un peintre, qui sut ménager sur certaines parties du relief une couleur actuellement brun-noir, et dont on ne sait si elle servit de base à des touches de bleu et de vert.³ Les autres vestiges de couleurs — à part les taches brun-noir qui recouvrent tous les contours apparaissant en teinte foncée aujourd'hui — sont ocrées. Ocre, qui — semble-t-il — avait coloré complètement le visage et les membres du personnage, ocre, qui teinte encore les têtes des deux buissons de fleurs à la base de la vignette,

¹ Ch. Boreux, 'Une plaquette amarnienne d'ivoire', *Bull. des Musées de France*, 8^e année, n^o 4 (avril 1936), 51-2.

² H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, III (London, 1933), frontispiece et pp. 118, 119; *Catalogue de l'exposition 'Toutankhamon et son temps'* (Paris, 1967), 74, 110 à 117.

³ Ainsi que cela se trouve fréquemment sur les peintures des tombes et des temples du Nouvel Empire où, à côté du jaune et du rouge, seul le noir a subsisté, qui, en réalité, servait de base aux couleurs vertes et bleues.

ocre sur les deux pans de la ceinture, et aussi sur la barrette de la coiffure et la rangée médiane du collier en forme de petite chape. Quoi qu'il en soit, la couleur de la chair ne permettrait pas de serrer de plus près l'identité de la petite silhouette, car on sait bien qu'à l'époque amarnienne les petites filles pouvaient présenter un corps aussi brun que celui des garçons.¹

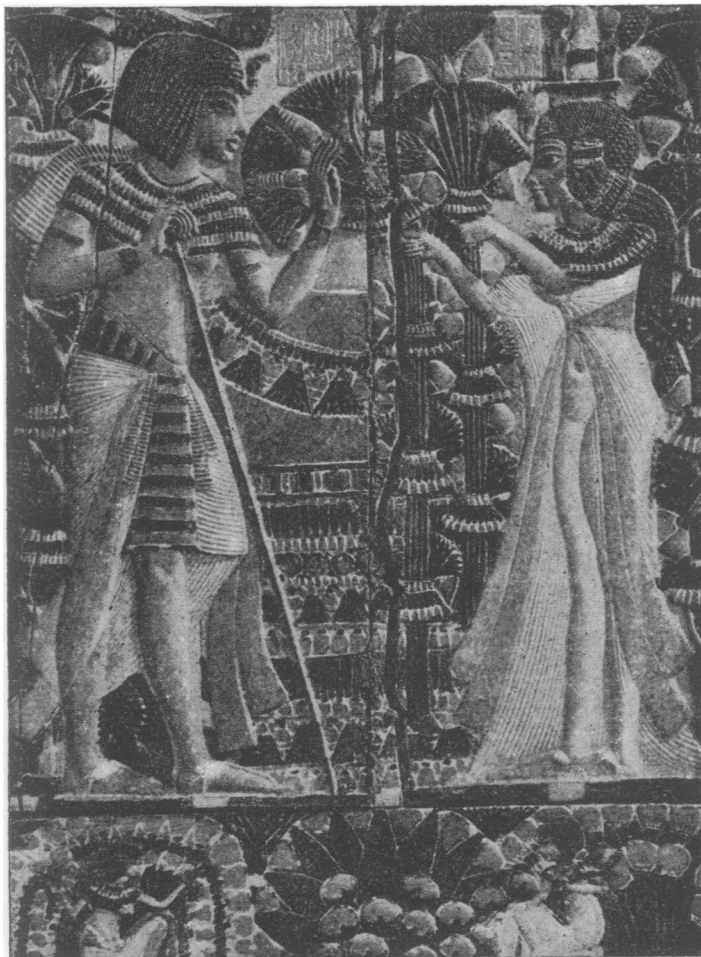


FIG. 1. Coffre d'ivoire de Toutankhamon

En fait, ce petit monument est intéressant non seulement en raison de son indiscutable attrait artistique, mais aussi par la qualité du personnage représenté.

(a) *L'attrait esthétique.* Au centre de la scène, un petit être encore au seuil de l'adolescence, debout et penché en avant, cueille d'une main une grosse grappe de raisin, dont la branche tourne autour de la colonnette papyriforme de la treille. De l'autre main, légèrement ramenée à hauteur de la ceinture, est tenu un bouquet fait d'un lotus encadré de deux boutons, dont les tiges souples tournent en une boucle pour mieux assurer la prise.

¹ N. M. Davies et A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* (Chicago, 1936), pl. lxxiv (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

La tonnelle, du type même de toutes les tonnelles du Nouvel Empire, que l'on trouve dans les vignobles, est ornée — comme c'est la règle — de colonnettes papyrifères, et les ceps s'enroulent gracieusement et régulièrement autour des fûts et pendent de l'architrave. Une abondante vendange est promise, et de grosses grappes, deux fois plus importantes, chacune, que les mains du petit être, occupent le champ libre autour de lui. Les feuilles de la vigne sont traitées dans le style de l'extrême fin de la XVIII^e dynastie et inscrites dans un cercle, creusé de petites lignes, pour en limiter les différentes parties.¹ A la base, pour compléter l'évocation de ce jardin, deux touffes de fleurs ont été réservées en relief : à main gauche quatre mandragores et à main droite trois lotus.

Il est bien évident que le sujet central doit retenir tout notre intérêt. Il a été identifié par Charles Boreux comme l'image d'une petite princesse. Peut-on le suivre complètement dans cette interprétation ? Si le charme qui se dégage du petit corps est indéniable, si un air de féminité marque aussi bien la douceur du geste que le profil du visage, il faut en attribuer l'effet à l'atmosphère amarnienne que dégage encore tout l'ensemble. Mais c'est un air amarnien apaisé, qui, s'il n'est pas typique du retour définitif à Thèbes, précède immédiatement cette période ; en un mot, l'époque de Toutankhamon.

Ne nous attardons pas trop longtemps sur les deux bouquets de fleurs, mandragores et lotus, que l'on trouve naturellement aussi évoqués, sur le célèbre coffre d'ivoire de Toutankhamon (fig. 1),² mais penchons-nous sur le personnage.

Le petit tableau est savamment composé et le modelé du corps est très soigné. Les pieds nus sont protégés de sandales, et les orteils du pied gauche (le plus proche du spectateur), sont figurés. Les mains sont extrêmement soignées, et celle qui cueille la grappe, montre ses doigts repliés contre la paume. Le torse est gonflé dans la région de l'abdomen et du bassin, et sur le devant de la poitrine, dont rien ne laisse supposer qu'elle pourrait être féminine, de très légers plis sont marqués à la hauteur de l'estomac. Les bras s'articulent avec une grâce aérienne et très sensible à la fois. Enfin, la tête au crâne portant encore les traces de l'étirement amarnien, montre un visage potelé et enfantin, au menton très arrondi, à la joue légèrement gonflée et à l'arcade sourcilière assez lourde (fig. 2).

(b) *L'aspect historique : détermination du personnage.* L'intérêt de cet ivoire est de pouvoir tenter l'identification du personnage représenté. Sans craindre de sacrifier à l'imagination, il est aisé de se convaincre qu'il s'agit d'une personne princière ou royale, par le costume d'abord (pagne et collerette), et aussi par la petite pancarte rectangulaire, située dans un espace laissé libre entre les raisins, près de l'angle supérieur droit de la tonnelle, à la hauteur de la nuque du personnage. Malheureusement, l'inscription, qui était peut-être sculptée sur une lamelle rapportée, a disparu ; ou encore a-t-elle été, sur l'objet même, complètement rasée.

¹ Elles sont plus proches de celles qui figurent dans la tombe d'Ipy et qui sont nettement crucifères (cf. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pls. 30, 33) que de celles que l'on voit en Amarna ; cf. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna*, II, pl. xxiii et surtout J. D. Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections* (Brooklyn, 1965), pls. 56 et 59.

² P. Fox, *Tutankhamun's Treasure* (Oxford, 1951), pls. 64 et 66 ; Desroches-Noblecourt, *Vie et mort d'un pharaon — Toutankhamon* (Paris, 1963), pl. v (couvercle, cf. aussi note 2, p. 82 ; *Catalogue de l'exposition 'Toutankhamon et son temps'* (Paris, 1967), 113, 114.



IVOIRE DU LOUVRE E 14374

Restent deux types d'argument auxquels il faut faire appel pour déterminer le personnage: le costume, la tonnelle de vigne.



FIG. 2. Détail de la planche XIV

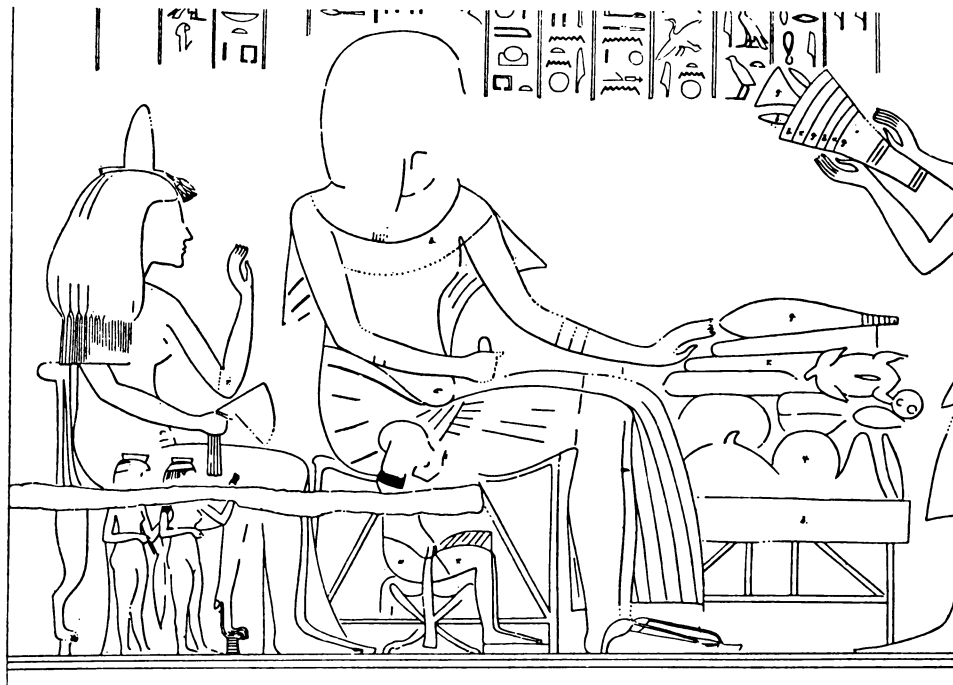


FIG. 3. Tombe de Panehésy (*El-Amarna*, II, pl. xxiii)

On est accoutumé, lorsque l'on aborde l'aire d'influence amarnienne, à éliminer l'image des enfants mâles, puisque partout seules les petites princesses accompagnent le couple royal. Mais bien que cela soit très rare, il semble pourtant que, au moins dans la tombe de Panehésy,¹ à côté des deux filles du prêtre, représentées debout, près de leur mère, un petit garçon figure, assis, contre le siège de son père (fig. 3). Comme pour la

¹ Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna*, II, pl. xxiii.

silhouette dont nous nous occupons ici, la ceinture qui retient le pagne du fils de Panehésy est longue et pend sur le côté. De plus, le crâne, nu à l'arrière, est analogue à celui du petit personnage de notre ivoire. Cependant, la mèche latérale de cheveux, qui retombe sur la joue du petit garçon de Panehésy, se termine par une frange à base horizontale, alors que la perruque du personnage de la plaquette du Louvre se termine en biais, en 'aile de corbeau', et peut donc être comparée — il faut le dire — à celle que portent parfois les petites princesses amarniennes (fig. 4 a-j).¹ De plus, dans ces représentations de petites princesses, je n'ai vraiment pu repérer² le pagne si caractéristique figuré sur l'ivoire de notre musée. Cette pièce d'étoffe, dont les plis s'écartent horizontalement en haut de la taille et sur les reins, plongeant à l'arrière, et retenue à la base de l'abdomen par le nœud d'une longue ceinture aux pans également gaufrés, montre ses exemples les plus élaborés sur le corps de l'Hérétique, et apparaît comme 'classifiée' sur les objets d'ivoire du trésor de Toutankhamon.³ La seule différence est que sur les images de Toutankhamon adulte, devenu pharaon, une sorte de devanture rayé horizontalement semble être la prolongation d'une ceinture analogue, qui recouvre largement les reins.

Un autre détail du costume ne semble se retrouver également avec ce galbe, que sur le torse masculin : c'est la collerette qui couvre la gorge, la poitrine et les épaules. Elle semble être faite de formes géométriques, évoquant des éléments floraux, mais elle diffère légèrement de la large collerette ordinaire, que l'on voit sur le souverain ou la souveraine. Elle est posée sur le haut des bras et prend à cet endroit l'allure de petites manches. On pourrait aisément établir le parallèle entre cette parure et celle qui est figurée sur l'image de Toutankhamon ornant le couvercle de son coffre d'ivoire.

Tous arguments pesés et tous éléments comparés, on pourrait opter davantage, ici, pour la représentation d'un petit prince, que pour celle d'une princesse. Sous sa tonnelle poétique, le petit Toutankhaton — si c'était lui — ne pouvait pas, évidemment encore, porter l'uraeus frontale, pas plus du reste que son front n'en était paré sur la petite tête montrant l'enfant surgissant du lotus bleu dans son trésor.⁴

Si nous datons ce petit fragment de coffret de la période de Toutankhamon, son décor doit obéir aux règles très strictes de la grammaire ornementale égyptienne, qui, quand elle était funéraire, après l'hérésie était soumise à la loi osirienne. Dans ce cas il serait tout à fait logique de trouver sous cette tonnelle de vigne un petit garçon et non une petite fille, car — à part de très rares exceptions — on sait qu'avant la période saïte les hommes seuls semblent avoir été introduits dans les vignobles.⁵

Il ne serait donc pas invraisemblable que ce petit ivoire ait pu appartenir à la décoration d'un coffret se référant à la série d'objets que j'ai moi-même tenté de réunir autour de ce que j'ai appelé la 'salle de la renaissance' dans le tombeau de Toutankhamon.⁶

¹ Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna*, I, pl. xxvi (avec la barrette à cheveux); II, pls. xxxii, xxxiv, xxxviii; III, pls. iv, vi (avec barrette), ix (avec barrette); v, pl. iii (avec barrette).

² Le seul vêtement, qui pourrait s'en rapprocher, est celui porté par l'effigie de la princesse Néfernéfouourê; cf. Desroches-Noblecourt, op. cit. 244, fig. 148: la petite princesse porte un pagne court, mais sans ceinture; elle n'a ni collerette, ni sandales.

³ *Catalogue de l'exposition 'Toutankhamon et sons temps'* (Paris, 1967), 114, 115.

⁴ Desroches-Noblecourt, op. cit., frontispiece.

⁵ Desroches-Noblecourt, 'La cueillette du raisin dans la tombe d'une musicienne de Neith à Saïs', *Arts asiatiques* (1954), n° 1, pp. 40 à 60.

⁶ Desroches-Noblecourt, *Toutankhamon*, 266 à 272.



FIG. 4. Princesses amarniennes

- | | |
|---|---|
| a = <i>Amarna</i> , II, pl. xxxiv (Meryrê II) | f = <i>Amarna</i> , v, pl. iii (May) |
| b = <i>Amarna</i> , III, pl. iv (Huya) | g = <i>Amarna</i> , III, pl. ix (Huy) |
| c = <i>Amarna</i> , I, pl. xxvi (Meryrê I) | h = <i>MIFAO</i> , VIII, pl. x (tombe du roi) |
| d = <i>Amarna</i> , II, pl. xxxvi (Meryrê II) | i = <i>Amarna</i> , III, pl. vi (Huy) |
| e = <i>Amarna</i> , II, pl. xxxviii (Meryrê II) | j = <i>Amarna</i> , IV, pl. xxxi (Apy) |

La récente étude de Westendorf¹ vient de confirmer mes hypothèses et poursuit même le chemin ainsi tracé. Je proposerais donc ici d'interpréter cette petite scène comme l'illustration poétique des prolégomènes à la renaissance. Dans un jardin où la mandragore² confirme encore l'atmosphère grâce à laquelle la préparation à la survie peut s'opérer, le futur soleil naissant est ici figuré sous l'aspect d'un jeune prince, tenant d'une main le lotus d'où surgira l'astre diurne à son lever,³ et cueillant de l'autre la grappe d'une vigne en tonnelle, qui lui sert d'abri végétal,⁴ comme ailleurs le candidat à l'éternité est protégé par le fourré de papyrus,⁵ toutes images du décor classique des pérégrinations funéraires retrouvées au lendemain de l'hérésie.

Le domaine est vaste qui permet de dédier une étude à notre très cher ami Jaroslav Černý. Dans cette si riche époque du Nouvel Empire nul n'ignore que les humbles travailleurs de la rive gauche de Thèbes sont ses sujets de prédilection, mais n'a-t-il pas aussi dernièrement magistralement publié les inscriptions hiératiques du trésor de Toutankhamon et permis d'ajouter, très probablement, une dixième année au règne du jeune souverain?⁶ Que cette charmante petite plaquette d'ivoire, où l'on pourrait peut-être retrouver une évocation du petit prince, soit pour lui un témoignage de notre bien affectueuse admiration.

¹ W. Westendorf, 'Bemerkungen zur "Kammer der Wiedergeburt" im Tutanchamungrab', *ZÄS* 94 (Festschrift Anthes, ii, 1967), 139-50.

² L. Keimer, 'La baie qui fait aimer, mandragora officinarum M., dans l'Égypte ancienne', *Bull. de l'Institut d'Égypte* 32 (1951), 351.

³ S. Morenz et J. Schubart, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona, 1954), particulièrement pp. 45 à 50; Sauneron, *Esna*, v, 272, 1-2 (p. 142); 273, 6-7 (p. 146); 274, 7-8 (p. 146); Desroches-Noblecourt et Kuentz, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, vol. I des *Mémoires du Centre de documentation et d'étude sur l'histoire de l'art et de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne* (Le Caire, 1968), 95 nn. 390, 391, et p. 111.

⁴ Pour la vigne remplaçant le fourré de papyrus, cf. Capart, *L'Art égyptien*, 2^e partie, *Choix de documents*, tome III, *Les Arts graphiques* (Bruxelles, 1942), pl. 591; Sauneron, *Esna*, v, 292, 22-4 (p. 140); 291, 22 (p. 139).

⁵ *Catalogue de l'exposition 'Toutankhamon et son temps'* (Paris, 1967), pp. 171, 172. Pour un parallélisme plus poussé entre le papyrus et la vigne, cf. Desroches-Noblecourt et Kuentz, op. cit. 116. Ajoutons qu'à l'époque copte un décor de vignes est plus que jamais substitué à celui du fourré de papyrus, devant lequel passe un bovidé. Cf. Alexander Badawy, 'The Prototype of the Coptic water-jug', *Archaeology* 20, no. 1 (Jan., 1967), 59.


⁶ J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Tutankhamun's Tomb Series, II, Oxford, 1965), 3 and 4. Il s'agit de l'inscription n° 24, c 500 (= G 3204 = J. 62300).

LA STATUE D'UN GRAND PRÊTRE DE MENDÈS

Par JACQUES VANDIER

EN commençant cet article, nous tenons à nous excuser auprès du jubilaire de ne pas avoir choisi un sujet qui touchât à l'un des domaines dont il est, et à juste titre, considéré comme le maître incontesté. Nous espérons, cependant, que la statue inédite¹ que nous publions ici (pls. XV, XVI), et qui est, à plus d'un égard, intéressante, retiendra l'attention du grand savant que nous célébrons cette année et auquel nous lie une amitié de trente-cinq ans.

La statue est entrée au Louvre en 1958.² Elle représente un personnage assis sur ses talons et tenant, devant lui, une table d'offrandes, posée sur un support. Le type est connu,³ et il est probable que ces statues, comme les statues naophores,⁴ étaient déposées dans les temples, dans le désir d'assurer, ici-bas et dans l'autre monde, les faveurs des divinités nommées et une part des offrandes divines au modèle, en l'occurrence, le premier prophète de Banebdjed, Ibéba. Celui-ci, qui est vêtu d'une jupe plissée, complétée par un 'devanteau', se terminant par une frange, porte également une chemisette à manches courtes, partiellement plissées. Le style est excellent, et il est regrettable que la tête ait disparu. On remarquera, en particulier, le modelé de la poitrine et des jambes pour sa sobriété et pour sa vigueur; les pieds sont chaussés de sandales, et, comme le personnage est assis sur ses talons, les orteils, dans le meilleur style réaliste, s'écartent en éventail.

Les inscriptions se trouvent autour du socle et sur le pilier dorsal. En outre, un cartouche, gravé sur l'épaule droite nous permet de dater la statue du règne d'Aï.⁵ Le cartouche est écrit :⁶ les trois traits du pluriel, qui devraient suivre la deuxième scarabée, ne sont pas visibles, et il semble qu'ils n'aient jamais été gravés,⁷ mais il n'y a aucun doute que le cartouche désigne le successeur de Toutânkhamon; l'épithète *ir mst*, qui suit le nom, en est la meilleure preuve (fig. 1).

Nous abordons, maintenant, les inscriptions qui, dans cette statue acéphale, constituent les éléments les plus intéressants.

1. Côté droit du socle, lorsqu'on regarde la statue. Le texte commence au milieu de la face antérieure, couvre toute la face latérale droite et toute la face postérieure (pls. XV, 1 et 2; XVI, 1).

¹ Ou, du moins, pratiquement inédite; elle a, en effet, été citée par Helck, *Materialien* (188), 140.

² E. 25429. Granit gris; hauteur: 0,52 m. Don de Madame de la Haye.

³ Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 464 et n. 6.

⁴ Cf. Ranke, *MDAIK* 12, 107 et seq.

⁵ On a beaucoup écrit, ces derniers temps, sur Amarna et l'époque post-amarnienne. Nous avons essayé de faire le point dans un article qui vient de paraître dans le numéro Avril-Juin 1967 du *Journal des Savants*, 65-91.

⁶ Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, II, 374 et seq.

⁷ On en a d'autres exemples; cf. Gauthier, op. cit. II, 377 n. 1, et 378.

minatif,¹ comme dans notre texte, soit avec un seul signe 𓆎 , suivi d'un nombre variable de compléments phonétiques et du déterminatif de la femme, accompagné des trois traits du pluriel.² Il est évident que le mot *nfrwt* désigne très souvent les jeunes filles ou des femmes ou des déesses,³ mais on le trouve aussi, assez fréquemment, avec le sens certain de 'jeunes vaches'.⁴ En l'occurrence, l'épithète insiste sur le pouvoir fécondant du dieu; ce pouvoir peut s'exercer sur n'importe quelle créature du sexe féminin, mais nous pensons que, dans l'expression que nous étudions, en dépit de l'exemple le plus ancien,⁵ il est préférable de traduire *nfrwt* par 'jeunes filles', et, cela, même lorsque le déterminatif de la femme n'a pas été écrit.⁶

b. *Ršj*, pour *ršw* ou *ršwt*. Cette graphie n'est pas citée par le *Wb.*, mais il est probable qu'elle n'est pas unique.

c. La difficulté de cette phrase vient du groupe $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$, dont nous n'avons pas pu établir la lecture exacte. Le sens général est clair: Ibéba souhaite de contempler éternellement le dieu. C'était dans le même esprit que Romê-Roÿ⁷ avait fait écrire sur une stèle $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$ ou, dans un autre texte⁸ $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$. Certaines lettres ramesides expriment, sous une forme différente, la même idée $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$ $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$,⁹ idée qu'on trouve ailleurs,¹⁰ dans des expressions plus ou moins voisines. Dans aucun exemple, nous n'avons relevé, entre le sujet et l'expression verbale, le groupe que nous avons trouvé dans le texte d'Ibéba et dont nous avons parlé plus haut. Nous avons pensé que nous avions le mot *nw*, 'le temps',¹¹ mais il n'est pas, semble-t-il, dans l'esprit des Égyptiens de dire que 'l'œil passe le temps à regarder'; en outre, l'absence de l'herminette¹² est gênante, et nous préférons avouer que nous n'avons pas compris le rôle du groupe $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ dans la phrase. La suite du texte est très effacée; sur la face postérieure du socle, il y a la place pour la préposition 𓆎 , mais il n'en reste aucune trace, et elle n'est, d'ailleurs, pas indispensable; en revanche, le verbe 𓆏 peut être

¹ Stockholm 74 (époque saïte); Bremner-Rhind, 6, 8 = Faulkner, *Bibl. Aeg.* III, 11, 7, et *JEA* 22, 125. Faulkner traduit *hrj nfrwt* par 'maître de beauté'. Si on rapproche ce passage des autres exemples, il est difficile de retenir cette traduction.

² *Urk.* II, 29, 31-2; *Edfou*, I, 164. C'est également le cas lorsque le texte dit que le dieu féconde les *nfrwt* ou qu'il est le taureau des *nfrwt*; cf. les références dans *Wb.* II, 258, 8-9.

³ *Wb.* II, 258, 4-5 (femmes et déesses), 6-10 (jeunes filles).

⁴ Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 132; aux quatre exemples cités par Faulkner, ajouter *Urk.* IV, 240, 1084, 1404-5, 1407, 1417, 1444, 1645, 1927. Cf., aussi, Lefebvre, *Gram.*, § 185.

⁵ Deir el-Bahari; cf. *supra*, p. 90 n. 2.

⁶ Ce déterminatif est, d'ailleurs, plus souvent écrit qu'omis, ce qui prouve que les Égyptiens, en utilisant cette expression, pensaient à des jeunes filles, plutôt qu'à des vaches.

⁷ Caire 42185 = Lefebvre, *Romê-Roÿ*, 5, l. 5, et 6 n. e. La même phrase revient dans une autre inscription du même personnage: op. cit. 32, l. 4 = 34, l. 4 (*irt-i hr m' 𓆎 𓆏 𓆐 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔 𓆕*).

⁸ Op. cit. 34, l. 5 = 34, l. 5. Cf., aussi, *Urk.* IV, 1971, 19.

⁹ Černý, *Bibl. Aeg.* IX, 44; cf., aussi, 54 et 57.

¹⁰ *Urk.* IV, 446, 16 (*mes yeux verront ta beauté, chaque jour*), 1804, 8 (*qu'il donne un heureux temps de vie passé à voir, chaque jour et sans cesse, son visage*), 1835, 3 (*6 hommes de Karnak, qui désirez voir Amon*), 1874, 12, 1877, 14, 1880, 7 et 1906, 18 (*tu allonges mon temps de vie, pour que je puisse voir ta beauté*), 1947, 12 (*tu me donnes, dans ta ville, la vieille, afin que je la passe à voir ta beauté*).

¹¹ 'Ir irt-i nw [r] = mon œil passe le temps à. . . Cf. *Wb.* II, 219, 11, et Caminos, *LEM* 54, 394.

¹² On attendrait $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$. On se heurte aux mêmes difficultés avec le verbe *nw* (*Wb.* II, 219, 16) qui signifie *passer le temps*.

considéré comme certain : directement reconnaissable sur l'original, il est tout à fait net, lorsqu'on s'aide d'un frottis.

d. Hst.k. Ce mot, avec le sens de *visage*, de *front*, est utilisé au singulier, au pluriel, et au duel.¹ Dans ce dernier cas, Gardiner² a proposé de le traduire par 'les deux uraeus'. Cette acception, si elle *peut* être admise lorsque le mot est au duel, ne doit pas, à notre avis, être retenue, lorsque le mot est au singulier comme dans notre texte, ni lorsqu'il est au pluriel.³ C'est la raison pour laquelle nous avons conservé, dans notre traduction, le sens de visage.

e. Ibéba. Ce nom, sous cette forme, n'est pas cité par Ranke et nous n'avons trouvé aucun autre monument appartenant à ce personnage⁴.

2. Côté gauche du socle, lorsqu'on regarde la statue (pls. XV, 1; XVI, 2).



a. Le signe $\underline{\text{a}}$ est commun, on l'a déjà dit, à cette inscription et à celle de droite. Le texte, ici, ne couvre que la moitié de la face antérieure du socle et toute la face latérale gauche.

β. Dans la lacune, on peut supposer qu'il y avait, soit la fin du nom de Nébet-Hétépet, par exemple $\underline{\text{a}}\text{H}$,⁵ soit⁶ une des épithètes les plus fréquentes de la déesse, *nbt pt* ou *irt Rc*.

γ. Q , plutôt que f .

δ. Peut-être $\frac{\text{a}}{\text{H}}$, comme dans l'inscription du côté droit.

Offrande royale à Hathor-Nébet-Hétépet . . .,⁷ souveraine des Deux Pays, pour qu'elle donne un heureux temps de vie, constamment consacré à son service^a de telle sorte que je puisse la contempler^b [éternellement (*bis*) (?)].⁸

a. Dans cette formule,⁹ le mot *rwḏ* exprime, semble-t-il, l'idée de constance,¹⁰ de persévérance et de fidélité. Dans le texte d'Ibéba, *rwḏ* est, soit un infinitif substantivé, soit un pseudo-participe exprimant une circonstance qui développe le substantif *ḥꜣw*.¹¹ Dans les deux cas, l'idée est la même.

¹ *Wb.*, III, 19, 2-6 (singulier); 28, 14-16 (pluriel); 29, 1-3 (duel).

² *ZÄS* 42, 27. Il est suivi par Lefebvre, *Romé-Roy*, 6, note *e*, et 34, l. 4; cf. *supra*, p. 91 n. 7.

³ Cf., par exemple, pour citer des passages analogues au nôtre, *Urk.* IV, 1639, 1804, 1836(?).

⁴ Au sujet de ce nom, cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 19, 13 et seq., 21, 6 et seq.; l'auteur cite plusieurs noms qui se rapprochent du nôtre, mais aucun n'est exactement semblable. D'autre part, nous avons écrit à H. De Meulenaere, qui s'occupe, actuellement, de Mendès, pour lui demander s'il connaissait d'autres monuments appartenant à ce personnage. De Meulenaere, à qui nous adressons tous nos remerciements, nous a répondu qu'il n'avait rien trouvé dans son fichier, confirmant ainsi notre propre recherche.

⁵ Ou autre chose, les graphies du nom de la déesse étant très nombreuses. Cf. nos articles dans la *Rev. d'Égypt.* 16-18.

⁶ Le nom peut s'écrire $\frac{\text{a}}{\text{H}}$; cf. *Rev. d'Égypt.* 16, 76, a, a, 1.

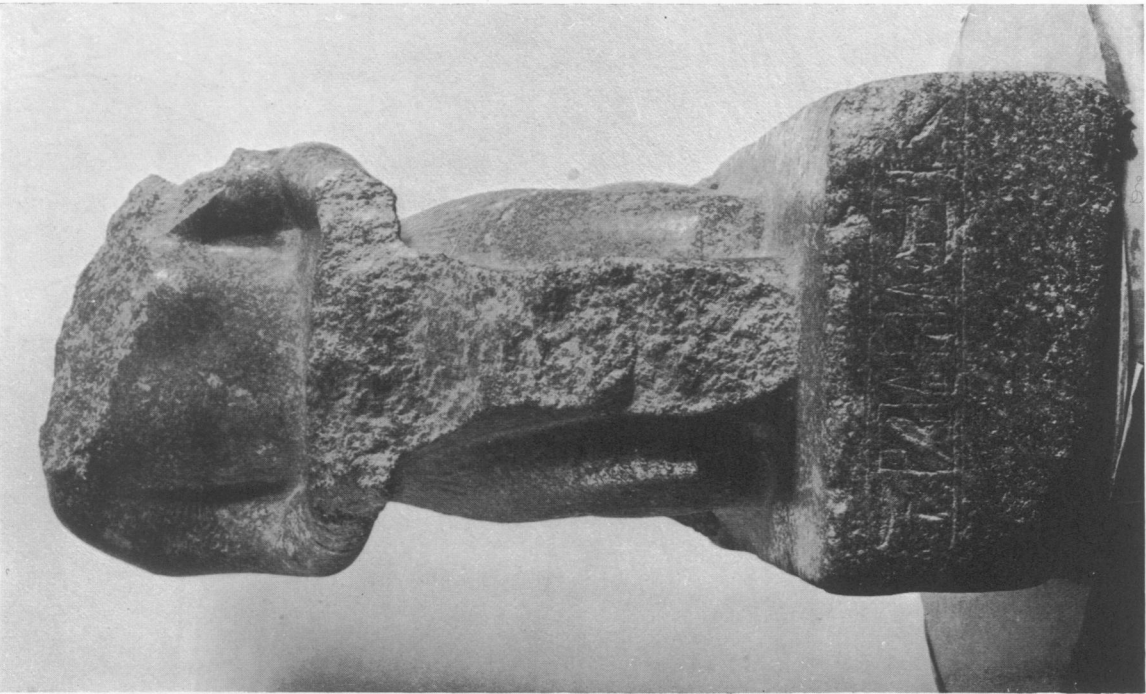
⁷ Cf. *supra*, n. β.

⁸ Cf. *supra*, n. δ.

⁹ Phrase analogue dans *Urk.* IV, 2170, 6 (règne d'Horemheb).

¹⁰ *Rwḏ hr*. Cf. Sethe, *Unt.* v, 2, 18 (75), et Caminos, *LEM*, 381.

¹¹ Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, § 314, et Lefebvre, *Gram.*, § 348. C'est l'hypothèse que nous avons retenue dans notre traduction.

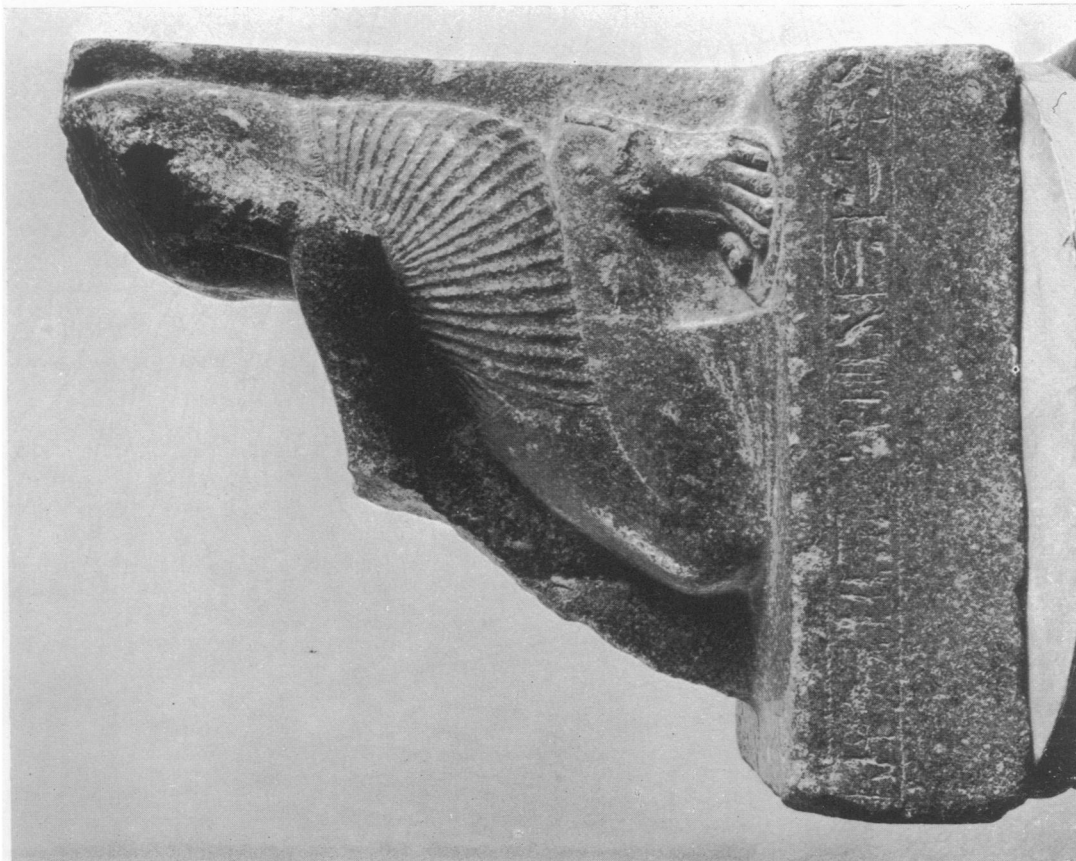


I



2

STATUE D'UN GRAND PRÊTRE DE MENDES (Louvre No. E.25429)



I



2

STATUE D'UN GRAND PRÊTRE DE MENDÈS (Louvre No. E.25429)

La statue d'Ibéba, sur l'origine de laquelle nous ne savons rien, mais dont on peut supposer, avec beaucoup de vraisemblance qu'elle vient de Mendès, est, on le voit, loin d'être sans intérêt. Nous réunissons, ici, en un très bref résumé qui nous servira de conclusion, les renseignements qu'elle nous a apportés. D'abord, elle nous fait connaître un grand prêtre du Bélier de Mendès,¹ dont nous ne soupçonnions pas, auparavant, l'existence. En second lieu, elle remonte à l'époque d'Aï, et elle est la seule statue privée, avec une statue du Brooklyn Museum,² qui soit *datée* du règne de ce roi; en outre, elle fait partie du groupe, assez restreint, des statues dont l'attitude est décrite par les textes. Enfin, les inscriptions mentionnent Hathor-Nébet-Hétépet.³ Celle-ci, qu'elle eût ou non⁴ partagé la table d'offrandes du Bélier de Mendès, avait, sans aucun doute, un culte à Mendès, sous le règne du roi Aï. On comprendrait mal, autrement, qu'un premier prophète de Banebdjed eût, dans une formule d'offrandes gravée sur une statue qu'il avait, très probablement, placée dans le temple de Mendès, nommé la déesse de Hétépet, conjointement avec son propre dieu. Par son étroite parenté avec Hathor, Nébet-Hétépet, à partir de la XVIII^e Dynastie, a joué un rôle assez important dans les cultes locaux. Mais c'est la première fois que nous trouvons, parmi les dieux qui lui sont associés,⁵ Banebdjed, la première fois aussi que nous la voyons installée à Mendès. Nous avons pensé que cette statue, à ces divers titres, auxquels s'ajoute son excellente qualité artistique, méritait d'être connue et qu'elle n'était pas trop indigne du savant auquel est dédié ce Recueil.

Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 61 (1962), 32; Vandier, *Rev. du Louvre*, 11, 6 (1961), 254, et fig. 12. En outre, Clère, à qui nous adressons tous nos remerciements, nous a passé les références qu'il avait lui-même réunies: Touraïeff, *JEA* 4 (1917), 119, A. 2 = Gunn, *JEA* 5 (1918), pl. XXI, A. 2; Caire 662 et 1236; Steindorff, *Cat. of Eg. Sculpture in the WAG* (1946), 61, pl. xxxi et cxvii, 176 F = Baltimore, WAG 22. 159; Brooklyn Mus. 36. 615. Tous ces exemples, à l'exception de cette dernière statue et de celle que nous publions ici, sont postérieurs au Nouvel Empire. Le fait méritait d'être souligné.

¹ Sur le culte de Banebdjed, cf. référence, *supra*, p. 90 n. 1.

² Brooklyn Mus. 66. 174. 1. Cette statue, que nous connaissons grâce à l'obligeance de B. V. Bothmer, conservateur du Département d'art ancien au Brooklyn Mus., est publiée par lui dans un article (sous presse), intitulé 'Private Sculpture of Dyn. XVIII in the Brooklyn Museum', dans *Brook. Mus. Annual* (1966-7).

³ Sur cette déesse, cf. *Iousâas et (Hathor)-Nébet-Hétépet*, ouvrage réunissant nos trois articles de la *Rev. d'Égypt.* (cf. *supra*, p. 92 n. 5).

⁴ Cf. *supra* p. 93.

⁵ *Iousâas et (Hathor)-Nébet-Hétépet*, [116]-[119]. Nous reviendrons sur ce point dans le tome 20 de la *Rev. d'Égypt.*

HOW LONG WAS THE REIGN OF ḤOREMḤEB?

By J. R. HARRIS

ANY attempt to challenge the generally accepted view¹ that ḤoremḤeb reigned for between 25 and 30 years requires some justification, for it might be thought that the available evidence has long been exhausted. Yet the bearing of one particular document appears in fact to have passed unnoticed, and in that it belongs to that class of *ostraca non littéraires* whose appreciation we owe to Professor Černý it seems an appropriate motive for the present note, offered in token of his outstanding contribution to Egyptology and in personal gratitude for his teaching and guidance.

The essential facts may briefly be recapitulated. Only three regnal years of ḤoremḤeb have survived intact in contemporary inscriptions—Year 1 in the temple of Ptah at Karnak,² Year 3 in the Theban tomb of Neferḥotep (No. 50),³ and Year 8 in a graffito in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV.⁴ A further date is partially preserved on a fragmentary stela and could be Year 5 or 7, although a higher figure is not impossible,⁵ and Year 7 is later attested from two Ramessid ostraca,⁶ the year in each case being of ḤoremḤeb's actual reign.⁷ Beyond this there is uncertainty. The Manethonian tradition is clearly corrupt but may conceal an original total of 12 years 3 months,⁸ a graffito from Medinet Habu has been thought to indicate a reign of some 27 years,⁹ a well-known date in the inscription of Mes is generally taken as proving a similar length,¹⁰ and latterly a Year 28 and a Year 30 on dockets from El-'Amarna have also been ascribed to ḤoremḤeb.¹¹

The validity of the higher dates is open to question. The least convincing are the two derived from the 'Amarna dockets, which hitherto have been assigned to Amenophis III (so figuring in discussion of his alleged co-regency with Akhenaten)¹² and for whose attribution to ḤoremḤeb there is no foundation. Not only is it unlikely that any dockets from El-'Amarna postdate the third or fourth year of Tutankhamūn,¹³ but difficulties raised by the presence at Akhetaten of wine jars labelled in Years 28

¹ With the notable exception of Helck and Otto, *Kleines Wörterbuch der Aegyptologie*, 139.

² *Urk.* iv, 2132 (832); Hari, *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet*, 390, pl. lx.

³ *Urk.* iv, 2177 (853); Hari, *Horemheb*, 403, pl. lxxviii.

⁴ Carter and Newberry, *Tomb of Thoutmōsis IV*, xxxiii–iv, figs. 7–8; *Urk.* iv, 2170 (849); Hari, *Horemheb*, 393, pl. lx.

⁵ Hari, *Horemheb*, 300, pl. 1, fig. 82.
⁶ Ostr. B.M. 5624: Erman, *Zwei Aktenstücke (SPAW 19 (1910), 330 f.)*; Blackman, *JEA* 12 (1926), 176 f., pls. xxxiv–v; *Urk.* iv, 2162 (844); Hari, *Horemheb*, 400, pl. lxxvii, fig. 86. Ostr. Toronto (A. 11): Gardiner, Thompson, and Milne, *Theban Ostraca*, 16 a f.

⁷ It may be noted that the same official Thutmose is named in Ostr. B.M. 5624 and in the graffito in the tomb of Thutmose IV (above, n. 4).

⁸ Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho (Unt. xviii)*, 69; but cf. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte*, 39.

⁹ See below, p. 96 nn. 2–6.

¹⁰ See below, p. 96 nn. 10, 11.

¹¹ Redford, *JNES* 25 (1966), 123–4, following a suggestion of Giles.

¹² Cf. Fairman in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, III, 154; Helck, *Mitt. Inst. f. Orientforschung*, 2 (1954), 196–7, § 1.

¹³ Cf. Fairman in Pendlebury, *CoA*, III, 159–60.

and 30 of Amenophis III are now removed by the publication of a similar jar label of Year 31 from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn.¹ The significance of the Medinet Habu graffito is also dubious. When first published² it was interpreted as marking the accession of Ḥoremḥeb and his usurpation of the mortuary temple from Ay, the Year 27 being regarded as an inclusive date like that in the Mes inscription.³ It has since been recognized that Ḥoremḥeb did not himself employ a method of dating to include the period from the death of Amenophis III, and the graffito, with a crucial reading altered in the final publication,⁴ has thus been thought to refer to some visit made to the temple by Ḥoremḥeb in Year 27 of his actual reign⁵ or to his final entry there at his death in that same year.⁶ It has, however, been pointed out that on the original reading (supported by the first published facsimile) the text may equally relate to a visit made in Year 27 of Ramesses II, and further that the hieratic is suggestive of such a date.⁷ To this one may add that the epithet applied to Ḥoremḥeb 'beloved of Amūn, who hates his enemies and loves . . .' is more in keeping with Ramessid prejudice⁸ than with his personal attitude.⁹

The date recorded in the inscription of Mes¹⁰ is less controversial, the sole question being whether the reading should be Year 58 or 59.¹¹ Since Loret first made the point it has been widely accepted that this is an inclusive date incorporating the reigns of Ḥoremḥeb's four predecessors, some 32 years in all,¹² and thus implying a minimum of 26/7 years for Ḥoremḥeb himself. Neither the actual reading nor the broad conclusion is to be challenged,¹³ though it should be emphasized that no other example of an

¹ Černý, *Hieratic Inscr. from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn*, 3-4, 24, pl. v (no. 25). Cf. anomalous docket from Malqata (Helck, loc. cit., above, p. 95 n. 12).

² Hölscher, *Exc. at Ancient Thebes 1930/31* (OIC. 15), 51, 53, fig. 35.

³ Hölscher, loc. cit.; Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung*, 85.

⁴ Anthes in Hölscher, *Exc. of Medinet Habu*, II, 106-8, fig. 90, pl. 51 c.

⁵ Anthes, loc. cit.; Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), 128; Redford, *JEA* 45 (1959), 36; id. *JNES* 25 (1966), 123; Hornung, *Unt. zur Chron. u. Geschichte*, 39.

⁶ von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben*, 104; Hari, *Horemḥeb*, 353-5.

⁷ Fairman in Pendlebury, *CoA* III, 157-8; Helck, *Unt. zu Manetho*, 68 n. 3; Kitchen, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 40 (1965), 313 n. 2.

⁸ Cf. the text published by Erman, *ZÄS* 42 (1905), 106-9.

⁹ Much has been made of Ḥoremḥeb's supposed despite of his four predecessors, whose memory he is alleged to have persecuted by destroying their monuments and by the arrogation of their regnal years. Except, however, in the case of Ay, whose name he may have erased for personal reasons, the available evidence does not support this view. That Ḥoremḥeb was guilty of usurpation, notably at the expense of Tut'ankhamūn, cannot be denied, but this was a common enough Egyptian practice, and his erasures were by no means indiscriminate. His action in dismantling the Aten shrine(s) at Karnak also had precedents, the buildings being removed not vengefully, but to provide for extensions to the temple of Amūn, and the blocks packed neatly as core material, without defacement. It is clear, moreover, that Ḥoremḥeb did not abolish the Memphite precinct, which was still in existence in the reign of Sethos I, nor is there any proof that it was he who systematically destroyed the temples at El-'Amarna itself. The presence there of fragmentary monuments bearing his name would indeed suggest the contrary, and it is logical to suppose that the site was in fact razed under Ramesses II, by whom large numbers of blocks were undoubtedly re-used at Hermopolis.

¹⁰ Loret, *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 1 f.; Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes* (*Unt.* IV, 3). Cf. Hari, *Horemḥeb*, 405-9.

¹¹ Both Loret and Gardiner read 59, and this has recently been reaffirmed by Redford, *JNES* 25 (1966), 123. For the reading 58 see Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitl. Festlegung*, 85 n. 5, followed by von Beckerath, *Tanis u. Theben*, 104.

¹² i.e. 18 years for Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē' and 14 years for Tut'ankhamūn and Ay. For convenience I have taken mean figures (as elsewhere), admitting the possibility of a short independent reign for Smenkhkarē'.

¹³ It is unlikely that the date should represent anything but an 'aera post mortem Amenophis tertii', though other suggestions have been made.

inclusive date is known. It is evident that the existence of the 'Amarna kings was ignored officially in the Nineteenth Dynasty (or at least under Sethos I and Ramesses II),¹ but there is no indication that it was common practice to assign their regnal years to ḤoremḤeb. In a papyrus fragment of this period the death of an individual is ascribed to Year 9 of 'the rebel' (or 'the rebellion'),² the inscription of Mes itself refers to negotiations which took place under Akhenaten as having occurred in the time of 'the enemy of Akhetaten'³—with the corollary that 'the time (*hꜣw*) of ḤoremḤeb'⁴ will specify his actual reign—and the mention of Year 7 of ḤoremḤeb in the two Ramessid ostraca already cited⁵ is additional proof that dates within the 'Amarna period were identified by some alternative means. The authority of the Mes date is therefore uncertain—it may derive simply from the document copied in drafting the inscription—and in the event the possibility of confusion or mere error cannot be discounted.⁶

Essentially, then, the evidence is reduced to the following: (a) a run of incontrovertible dates spanning Years 1 to 8; (b) a presumed figure of 12 years 3 months in Manetho; and (c) a minimum of 26/7 years by calculation from the Mes inscription. The discrepancy of some 20 years between (a) and (c) is the more marked in that the first 8 years are consistently documented, and the absence of a single contemporary date thereafter is surely significant. Indirect evidence, however slight, is thus of some importance, and any such indications may now be considered.

It has been claimed that the apparent death of two Apis bulls during the reign of ḤoremḤeb is proof that he ruled for a considerable period,⁷ but in fact the argument is equivocal. Not only were the burials of the bulls rather unusual,⁸ suggesting that they had taken place within a short interval (and one not necessarily under ḤoremḤeb),⁹ but no calculation based upon the 'average' life of an Apis has any validity. Of eight bulls known to have died during the reign of Ramesses II, the first and second were buried in Years 16 and 26, the third in Year 30, and the remaining five over the next 25 years, i.e. in the lifetime of Khaemwēse,¹⁰ while again in the Twentieth Dynasty five were entombed within the 27-year reign of Ramesses XI.¹¹

Little can be deduced from the career of ḤoremḤeb himself, for although it is probable that he was no longer young by the time he ascended the throne, his early life is too obscure for any estimate of his age to be convincing. Setting aside attempts to identify him with PaatenemḤeb,¹² his first authenticated appearance is in the reign of Tutankhamūn, at which point he had already attained high military and civil rank¹³

¹ Cf. the Abydos and Saqqâra king-lists and an ostrakon published by Sauneron, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 26 (1951), 46–9.

² Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), 124.

³ Line S.14.

⁴ Lines N.3, N.11, and N.12.

⁵ Above, p. 95 n. 6.

⁶ One may suspect a simple miscalculation, but a corruption through hieratic is also feasible (if perhaps unlikely) as is some kind of 'Verlängerung' such as is found in Manetho (cf. Helck, *Unt. zu Manetho*, 81.).

⁷ Hari, *Horemheb*, 356–8.

⁸ Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, 8–11; Mariette and Maspero, *Sérapéum*, 66–7.

⁹ Cf. Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 245–6.

¹⁰ Mariette, *Sérapéum*, 12–16; Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, 206–7. One of the burials (Mariette, *Sérapéum*, pl. 21) may, however, be later (cf. Petrie, *History of Egypt*, III, 85).

¹¹ Mariette, *Sérapéum*, 16; Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, 207.

¹² Cf., most recently, Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴, 350; Hornung, *Unt. zur Chron. u. Geschichte*, 40 n. 86; Hari, *Horemheb*, 35 f.

¹³ Cf. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 371–4, 487–7; Hari, *Horemheb*, pls. xxiv a–c.

and will have been a mature man (as indeed the New York statue would suggest). But this need not imply that he was more than say 35–40 when Tutankhamūn became king, and on this basis he would have been about 75–80 had he reigned the 26/7 years suggested by the Mes inscription. This is an advanced age, but comparable to that attained in all probability by Ay.

The degree of activity in the architectural field under Horemheb is perhaps of greater significance, for apart from instances of usurpation, principally to the detriment of Tutankhamūn, the total volume of building undertaken was not exceptional.¹ Though no direct comparisons are feasible, the work attributable to Horemheb falls short of that accomplished by Sethos I within a period of no more than 15 years, and does not approach the achievements of, for example, the 32-year reign of Ramesses III. Moreover, it may be noted that the Theban tomb of Horemheb was only partially decorated at the time of his death² (whereas that of Sethos I, though on a grander scale, was virtually completed), and even allowing that he already possessed another at Memphis, the fact that his royal resting place in the Valley of Kings remained unfinished would seem to militate against a reign of any considerable length.

The document alluded to in the opening paragraph is the text of a letter preserved on an ostrakon in Toronto.³ The piece is one of four reproduced as a model exercise, but, as with other examples, the content is clearly that of an actual letter.⁴ It is in fact a communication addressed to the vizier Khay by a chief of police named Mininiwy [*sic*], in the course of which he reminds his master that he has been in the vizier's service since Year 7 of Horemheb.⁵ The date of the original letter is not recorded, but it cannot in any circumstances be earlier than Year 16 of Ramesses II, when Paser was still the southern vizier,⁶ and may well be considerably later, the earliest extant reference to Khay as vizier being of Year 30.⁷ That the writer was indeed chief of police late in the second decade of the reign is confirmed by a legal document in which he appears as a witness.⁸ Again the date of the text itself is lost, but the proceedings are concerned with the purchase of a female slave said to have taken place in a Year 15 which will have been that of Ramesses II. At the time of the original transaction the slave in question was still a girl, and it may thus be deduced that the action recorded in the papyrus is of a somewhat later date.

The significant point to emerge is that Mininiwy was a necropolis workman in Year 7 of Horemheb and was still active as chief of police some time after Year 16 of

¹ For a summary cf. Hari, *Horemheb*, 321 f., and, for work at Karnak, Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Ré à Karnak*, index s.v. Horemheb.

² Cf. Davis, *Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatânkhamanou*; Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*, 92, 95–6; Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 1, ii, 567–9.

³ Ostr. Toronto (A.11), rt. 12–30: Gardiner, Thompson, and Milne, *Theban Ostraca*, 16 g–k.

⁴ Cf. Erman, *Äg. Schulerhandschriften*, 15–16.

⁵ 'Another communication to my lord, to the effect that I am the aged servant of my lord from Year 7 of King Djoserkheperurē.'

⁶ Cf. Yoyotte, *Orientalia*, 23 (1954), 227; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 311–15.

⁷ Cf. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 321–2, 456–8.

⁸ P. Cairo, 65739: Gardiner, *JEA* 21 (1935), 140–6, pls. xiii–xvi. The name (l. 23) is fragmentary, but clearly the same.

Ramesses II—a combination of the two sources might suggest a date somewhere between Years 20 and 25. But assuming that he became a workman at the age of 18–20, the allowance of a minimal 26/7 years for Horemheb would mean that he lived to be about 75–80. This is not in itself an impossibility, but it is scarcely probable that any man should have remained chief of police at such an age. Acceptance of a shorter reign of 8 or even 12 years for Horemheb would eliminate this anomaly.¹

No firm conclusion is yet possible, but a reappraisal of the available evidence reveals the frailty of deductions based on the Mes date, and suggests that the lower totals derived from contemporary sources and from Manetho are worthy of favourable consideration. This is not the place to discuss the chronological implications of such a revision, though it will be apparent that any substantial reduction in the number of years allotted to Horemheb demands acceptance of the earlier of the two possible dates for the accession of Ramesses II. Retention of the 1290 alternative would place the reign of Horemheb (and those of his immediate predecessors) outside the limits imposed by external synchronisms,² but a viable sequence is possible taking the higher date of 1304.³ Allowing some 15 years for the reign of Sethos I and a maximum of 2 for Ramesses I, the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty will fall in 1321/20 (the accession of Ramesses I thus coinciding with the era ἀπὸ Μενοφφρεως)⁴ and the first year of Horemheb in either 1329/8 (for an 8-year reign) or 1333/2 (for 12 years)—neither of which is precluded by comparative evidence.⁵ At the same time 1504 is virtually ruled out as a possible date for the accession of Tuthmosis III,⁶ the mean total of the eight reigns down to Horemheb being insufficient to fill a gap of at least 170 years (to 1333/2), whereas the more acceptable date of 1490 can be accommodated to either of the suggested alternatives.⁷

¹ I have assumed that Mininiwy's words are not to be taken literally, but simply to mean that as a necropolis workman he was in *the vizier's* service over the years. Any suggestion of a personal association with Khay from Year 7 of Horemheb would raise additional difficulties, for Khay was still vizier in year 44 of Ramesses II—some 80 years later, given that Horemheb reigned for 26/7 years. Khay would then have been no less than 100.

² Cf. Hornung, *Unt. zur Chron. u. Geschichte*, in particular ch. ix (pp. 63 f.) and ch. xiv (pp. 107 f.).

³ Recently reasserted by Rowton, *JNES* 25 (1966), 240–58.

⁴ For the identification of Menophrēs with Ramesses I see Montet, *CRAI* 1937, 418–26; Černý, *JEA* 47 (1961), 150–2.

⁵ The dating of EA9 presents a certain problem if in fact the recipient was Tut'ankhamūn (for recent discussion see Edel, *JNES* 7 (1948), 14–15; Vergote, *Toutankhamon dans les archives hittites*, 11; Campbell, *Chronology of the Amarna Letters*, 62; Hornung, *Unt. zur Chron. u. Geschichte*, 66). On the above reckoning the letter cannot be placed earlier than 1343/2 or 1347/6, with the rider that Burnaburiash II was still alive at this point, and possibly as late as 1340/39 or 1344/3 (allowing that the letter may have been written at any time during Years 1–4 of Tut'ankhamūn). This predicates acceptance of a low date for the accession of Kurigalzu II (c. 1341/40?), and of a short span for the two preceding reigns, whose brevity is not contested. On the other hand, correspondingly lower dates for the reign of Akhenaten allow a more satisfactory overlap with Ashurballit I.

⁶ Already shown to be impossible by Parker, *JNES* 16 (1957), 38–43; cf. Hornung, *Unt. zur Chron. u. Geschichte*, 56–7.

⁷ The fixing of 1490 and 1304 as the correct dates for the two accessions would of itself necessitate a reduction in the number of years allotted to the eleven kings from Tuthmosis III to Sethos I. Even a minimum total will exceed the 186 years available, with only two openings for a substantial adjustment—one the acceptance of a long co-regency between Amenophis III and Akhenaten, the other a curtailment of the reign of Horemheb.

TWO MONUMENTS OF THE REIGN OF HOREMHEB

By CYRIL ALDRED

I

ONE of the many admirable qualities of the scholar whom we are honouring in this issue of the *Journal* is his readiness at all times to suspend his own studies so as to answer promptly and fully the inquiries of less well-endowed colleagues, and to suggest ingenious solutions to the problems they choose to submit to him. It seems appropriate therefore to publish here an inscription containing a group of ambiguous signs which he was instrumental in reading correctly after their identification had baffled others besides the present writer.

The object in question comes from the collection that the late Dr. C. T. Trechmann has bequeathed to the Royal Scottish Museum and bears the registration number 1965.318: a paper label attached to it bore the legend, 'From Bubastis', but how much reliance is to be placed on this information is problematical. It consists of a rectangular block of pink granite with three polished plane faces, the fourth being rubbed to a cambered surface: the ends are also worked to a roughly hemispherical shape by rounding off the edges (pl. XVII, 1). The object has the appearance of a weight (Griffith's 'oblong, rectangular type')¹ measuring 10.7 cm in length, and turns the scales at 880 gm. Whether it can be recognized as a weight of ten units on the Stater standard² must be left to those more confident than the writer of deciding how far variations within a particular standard can be accepted.

That it was not originally a weight is clear enough since on each of the three polished sides there is part of an inscription which has nothing to do with the metrological purposes of the object. What has obviously happened is that someone looking around for a convenient piece of stone from which to fashion a weight has selected a bar of pink granite from an earlier monument, chopped off a portion of suitable length and rubbed one face and both ends down to an appropriate shape and mass. The writer finds it difficult to decide what this granite bar was in its pristine form. It is not square in cross-section, nor are its polished faces at right-angles to each other (see fig. 1), and it tapers slightly from one end to the other. He is inclined to identify it as part of a free-standing monument and not as a portion of a larger object, such as the back-pillar of a statue, since the nature of its inscriptions leads him to believe that the cut-down, cambered face was also originally polished and inscribed, though there is now not the slightest trace of any inscription upon it. The character of the texts, however, and the tapering shape of the block suggest to the writer that when complete this object was

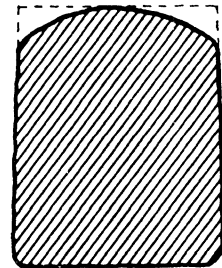


FIG 1

¹ Griffith, *PSBA* 14 (1892), 442, no. 3.² Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, 12.

originally a miniature obelisk despite its rectangular cross-section and lack of geometrical precision, and he is reminded, for instance, of the almost contemporary base of a model of the temple of Heliopolis now in the Brooklyn Museum (no. 49.183) with its emplacements for detachable buildings, sphinxes, and obelisks.¹

The inscriptions are cut in minuscule on the polished faces of a stone which has large felspathic crystals in its structure and the fracturing these have received at the hands of the stone-cutter does not make it easy to read all the signs, even in a favourable light. Nevertheless, the texts can be recovered for certain and prove on two adjacent



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

faces to be part of the titulary of King Horemḥeb,² one (fig. 2) giving the end of his Horus-name, his neby-name in full, and the beginning of his Golden Horus-name; and the other (fig. 3) giving the end of his Horus-name, and his prenomen preceded by the titles of *nsw bity* and *nb tswy*. The third face (fig. 4) gives part of the titulary of King Ramesses I, viz. the end of his Horus-name, his neby-name in full and the beginning of his prenomen preceded by the title of *nsw bity*. It is to be presumed that in order to create the usual Egyptian equipoise the fourth face in its original worked state would also have been inscribed with the titulary of Ramesses I.

The juxtaposition of the titularies of these two kings on the same monument without any traces of usurpation implies that it was made during a co-regency between them and not that a monument of Horemḥeb has been completed by his successor Ramesses I. This presumption is strengthened by the form of the neby-name of Ramesses I which is here given as *wḥm rnḫwt mī Itm* 'repeating years like Atum', for which reading we are indebted to Černý, and not the more usual *ḥr m nsw mī Itm*, 'arising as King like Atum':³ for it is extremely improbable that two versions of the neby-name of Ramesses I would have been composed during the mere sixteen months of his brief reign.⁴ Moreover, what we may identify as the later form of his neby-name as given on the monuments cited by Gauthier is more appropriate to a sovereign who has achieved sole rule.

A co-regency between Horemḥeb and Ramesses I, though not attested by any other source does not appear improbable. The transition from one reign and dynasty to the

¹ Gorrige, *Egyptian Obelisks*, 70 ff., pl. xxxii.

² Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, II, 384-94.

³ Op. cit. III, 2-8.

⁴ Hayes, *CAH*², I, ch. vi, 19.

next was accomplished very smoothly, Ḥoremḥeb escaping the odium that the Ramesides heaped on his immediate predecessors.¹ It was not unlikely therefore that during his long reign of at least 27 years, Ḥoremḥeb found it desirable in the absence of any surviving sons to have the claims of his nominated successor universally recognized, particularly as the latter was not a member of the royal family except perhaps by a marriage of convenience.²

Ramesses I must have held office as co-regent and Pharaoh for a very short period; and if, as some scholars claim, Sethos I was already his co-regent when he died,³ he is unlikely to have ruled alone for more than a few months. It is only to be expected that Ramesses I would not have been made the co-regent of Ḥoremḥeb until it was clear that the latter was not to have any sons to succeed him; and a strong recommendation for the appointment of the ageing Ramesses I must have been that he already had a vigorous heir, the future Sethos I, of mature years and great power and influence. It is doubtful on the evidence available whether Ramesses I followed the practice of the Eighteenth Dynasty in numbering his regnal years from the moment of his appointment as co-regent, or inaugurated the system in use during the Nineteenth Dynasty whereby his regnal years were counted from his accession to sole rule.⁴ In either case what is clear is that his total tenure of the Horus throne was of very brief duration.

Just how short a time he exercised power as a Pharaoh can be seen from his funerary equipment. It is true that his tomb, no. 16 in the Biban el-Moluk, with its hastily finished sarcophagus still *in situ*, is modest in size but could have been provided posthumously by the piety of his son Sethos I. What is of more significance is the condition of the royal coffin in the Cairo Museum, Cat. no. 61020,⁵ which bears hieratic docketts naming Ramesses II whose mummy it contained when it was discovered in the cache at Deir el-Baḥri. Daressy, however, has not failed to observe that it was not made for him originally but was appropriated from the burial of an earlier king. The style and size of the specimen in fact are very close to the second coffin of Tutankhamūn while the mask bears a distinct resemblance to the stoppers from the canopic chest of Ḥoremḥeb.⁶ Perhaps it is for this reason that Porter and Moss⁷ tend to ascribe coffin no. 61020 to Ḥoremḥeb, an attribution which is improbable for the following reasons. Firstly, the royal cache at Deir el-Baḥri contained no traces of the burial equipment of Ḥoremḥeb; secondly, the excellent state of its preservation shows that far from having its original decoration carefully scraped off, as Daressy avers, this coffin had never been completed with a skin of gesso and gold leaf, and therefore had received little or no attention at the ruthless hands of tomb robbers. A comparison with the conditions of the wrecked wooden statues found in the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb with their

¹ The argument of Robert Hari, *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet*, 412–17, that dynastic troubles marked the end of his long reign because the sepulchral hall of his Theban tomb remained unfinished, seems to me based upon the flimsiest of evidence, particularly when each king had to rely upon the scrupulousness of his successor in seeing that his tomb was ready to receive him. Ḥoremḥeb was unfortunate in being followed by a king who had himself the briefest of reigns.

² But see *ibid.* 412 n. 200. Ramesses I and Sethos I, however, could still have married daughters of the royal house who were not the mothers of their successors.

³ Faulkner, *CAH*² II, ch. xxiii, 3.

⁴ Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 257.

⁵ Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, 32 ff.

⁶ Davis, *Tomb of Harmhabi*, pls. lxxv, lxxvi.

⁷ Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I², 661, no. 19.

resin and gilt overlays,¹ will show the difference in the treatment that has been meted out to the coffin. It would appear therefore that the wooden shell of the coffin had been finished and lines drawn on it to demarcate the areas which were to be occupied by such details as the bracelets and the column of inscription between the legs, when further embellishment was halted by the death of the king. It was then hastily got ready for his interment by painting it yellow to represent a gold sheathing and by marking details in red and black. It is very unlikely that such a coffin would have been in a state of unreadiness on the death of Horemheb despite the unfinished decoration of his large tomb, and the logical conclusion that follows is that it was designed for a king who was his near-contemporary and had a very brief reign. Ramesses I fills both these conditions satisfactorily.² A Pharaoh whose burial equipment was so incomplete at his death and whose tomb may have been finished off by his successor can have ruled for little more than a year at the most.

II

In the north-east corner of the forecourt of the temple of Hathor at Dendera there are grouped a number of miscellaneous monuments that have been found on the site and are stored there in the open. Among these specimens the writer had occasion to observe early last year lying on its side in the sand the alabaster statue of a woman wearing a pleated gown, tied by a long ribbed girdle, and standing against a back-pillar. The head, breast, feet, and arms were wanting but even in its ruin it was clear that this monument was of the highest quality in the best style of the New Kingdom. The vertical inscription on the back-pillar declared the owner to be a 'God's Wife, King's Chief Wife, His Beloved, and Mistress of the Two Lands' (see fig. 5). Unfortunately the following name was broken away, apart from the upper curve of the ring of the cartouche. The immediate problem was to date this statue and to identify the queen, and the writer's first reaction was that this monument belonged to the immediate post-'Amarna period.

The representation of the folds in women's garments does not make its advent until the 'Amarna period, the examples that most readily spring to mind being the Berlin and Louvre torsos³ and the Curtis group,⁴ besides the wooden statuettes from a tomb at Ghurab.⁵ But because it appears to be an innovation of the reign of Akhenaten, it is possible that it also was adopted by the sculptors of Amenophis III during the co-regency with his son; and in point of fact Amenophis III is shown wearing a long pleated gown in his New York statuette which



FIG. 5

¹ Davis, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxix.

² Weigall has already pointed this out as a possibility, see *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art*, 246.

³ Berlin no. 21690, Schäfer, *Amarna in Religion und Kunst*, taf. 37; Louvre no. E 25409, C. D. Noblecourt, *L'Antienne Égypte*, no. 15.

⁴ Louvre no. E 15593, Aldred, *N.K. Art*², no. 117.

⁵ Chassinat, *BIFAO* 1 (1901), 226-7.

must date to the last years of his reign.¹ The classic examples of statues of this type, however, are the four guardian goddesses from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn,² who in addition wear the almost invariable concomitant of such dress—the ribbed girdle with long loose ends. Nevertheless, despite the somewhat heavy hips with which the owner seemed to be represented, so far as one could judge from the unfavourable position in which this torso is displayed at Dendera, there was little possibility that she could have been an 'Amarna queen since the inscription also spoke of '(shaking) the sistrum in Ipet-esut'. The conclusion that emerged, therefore, was that the probable queens represented by this fragment ranged from 'Ankhsenamūn to Nefertari, though if indeed it were the latter, the excellence of its quality showed that the statue had almost certainly been usurped from an earlier monument. In the end the choice was narrowed to Mutnodjme, the wife of Horemheb, for a reason that will be advanced later.

It was therefore with some interest that as soon as he returned to his desk the writer found that Weigall had reported in 1907 the discovery of this statue by *sebakhin* 'at the S.E. (*sic*) corner of the front of the main temple' of Dendera and had published an account in which he described it as part of a colossal crystalline limestone statue of a woman lacking the portions above the waist and below the shins.³ He also provided a copy of the inscription at a time when more of it was visible than exists today and the first sign in the cartouche could be read as *Mwt*. Fig. 5 gives a hand-copy of the text with the parts supplied from Weigall's publication in dotted outline. Weigall had identified the queen as Mutemwiya, the wife of Tuthmosis IV. In this, however, he was almost certainly wrong since, as we have argued, the pleated garment and long girdle point to a later date. Weigall's reading of *Mwt* made the ascription of this statue to Mutnodjme reasonably certain since the workmanship, the clean and precise cutting of the elegantly spaced inscription, and the slightly swelling hips did not suggest the hand of a Ramesside workman even in the earliest years of Ramesses II. Merimut-Nefertari could therefore be eliminated without any qualms.

It was at a later date still that the writer found to his agreeable surprise that the same attribution of this battered statue to Mutnodjme had already been made by Robert Hari by a remarkable piece of intuition since he has not evidently seen the object itself.⁴ He bases his identification upon the titles inscribed on the back-pillar, but in view of the incomplete state of the text, his argument is a little perilous. He claims, for instance, that because the phrase *mwt nsw*, 'Mother of the King', does not appear in the titulary, the statue could not have represented Mutemwiya who is always described by this label. Indeed he points out that it is the one title that is applied to her when there is no room for the others. Unhappily he has overlooked the fact that all the monuments which we possess of Mutemwiya were made in the reign of her son and we have no means of telling what titles she bore in the reign of her husband, though it is exceedingly improbable that she would then have been described as a *mwt nsw* since Amenophis III does not appear to have been made a co-regent during the short reign of his father.





¹ Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 236.

² Fox, *Tut'ankhamūn's Treasure*, pl. 43.

³ Weigall, *Ann. Serv.* 7 (1908), 46.

⁴ Hari, *op. cit.*, 207-8.

The epithets applied to the queen in the incomplete inscription on the back-pillar of our fragment—‘causing hearts to be joyful’, ‘Sovereign Lady exalted with the Two Feathers’, ‘soothing her Lord (or Horus, i.e. the King) with her voice’, differ from the usual clichés of such formulae and recall strongly the expressions used in praise of Nefertiti in the inscriptions at El-‘Amarna. It was for this reason that the writer was from the first inclined to identify the owner of the statue as Mutnodjme since he had already supported the idea of a close connection between these two queens and identifies the wife of Horemheb as the sister, or half-sister, of Nefertiti depicted in some of the tomb-chapels at El-‘Amarna.¹ This view, which originated long ago, was assailed by Sethe in 1905 when he chose to identify the *ndm*-pod in the spelling of her name at El-‘Amarna as one of the alternative forms (‘eine der wechselnden Formen’) of the *bnr*-root, and render the name as Mutbenret,² a reading which has been dutifully followed ever since by nearly all historians.

It is interesting to see that Davies who was in the best position to examine the sign at El-‘Amarna was also hypnotized by the scholarship of the German philologist into revising his opinion and accepting the glyph in question as *bnr* and not as one of the alternative forms of *ndm*, although he does point out that it is not quite plain whether the sides are shaped like a root or a pod, Lepsius favouring the former, while Hay and Petrie give an intermediate form.³ It is worthy of note that Lepsius elsewhere also gives this same hybrid form with pod-like sides, a spreading top and a bifurcated root.⁴ If reference is made to the two indubitable *ndm*-signs on the footboard of the ‘Amarna coffin found two years after Sethe’s article in Valley Tomb no. 55,⁵ it will be seen that they both have this intermediate shape with a bifurcated root and sides of two and three scallops, but they differ from each other in their tops, the stalk of the one being truncated to a stub in the other. The latter feature if carelessly drawn could become a spreading shoot especially if carved in friable limestone. In his recent study⁶ Hari has sought to show that the *ndm*-sign at this period can take various forms comprising from two to five rings, one or two lower tails, and either a trapezoidal or a rounded end. At the least, therefore, purely from the recognition of this isolated sign it can be claimed that the case for *ndm* is just as strong as that for *bnr*. A possible argument in favour of the reading *bnr* which Sethe did not use is that if the sign were indeed *ndm*, it should be accompanied by its phonetic complement  or , as found in the name of Queen Mutnodjme and in many other examples.⁷ This is not, however, an indispensable adjunct, and names exist from the Old and Middle Kingdoms and from the Late Period in which the *ndm*-glyph stands by itself, just as the *bnr*-sign may do.⁸ Indeed, as James points out, examples exist of names in which  interchanges with , though in one such case at least, while the pod-sign may stand alone, the root-sign is qualified by phonetic complements to make it clear that *ndm* is to be read.⁹

Hari argues that the name, Mutnodjme, does not appear on any monument earlier

¹ Aldred, *JEA* 43 (1957), 41.

³ Davies, *Rock Tombs*, vi, 18 n. 1.

⁵ E.g. Gardiner, *JEA* 43 (1957), 17.

⁷ Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 215, 8, 14; 304, 18; II, 301, 30.

⁸ *Ibid.* I, 97, 16; 215, 10, 22; II, 301, 31.

² Sethe, *ZÄS* 42 (1905), 135.

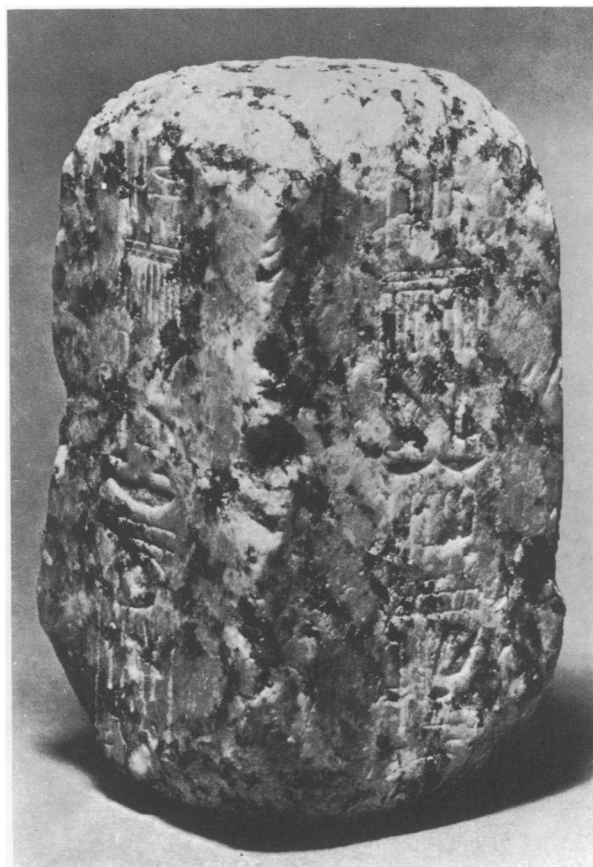
⁴ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 109.

⁶ Hari, *op. cit.* 158.

⁹ *Ibid.* I, 304, 18; James, *Heḫanakhṭe Papers*, 137.

than the tomb of Ay at El-'Amarna, after which it becomes common. It is therefore possible that the first redaction of this name might have taken an aberrant form especially as the subsidiary inscriptions at El-'Amarna are terse. It is, however, doubtful whether in practice the Ancient Egyptian would have been aware of much ambiguity since names compounded with *bnr* are very rare, whereas names with *ndm* are very numerous. The final objection, in fact, to Sethe's reading of Mutbenret is that he has created a *hapax legomenon*, a name which is an invention of his own and not that of any Ancient Egyptian.

The phrases on the back-pillar of the statue of Mutnodjme, which echo those referring to Nefertiti in the inscriptions at El-'Amarna, bring these two queens into some kind of relationship and suggest that there were ties stronger than mere literary connections between them as Brugsch first proposed over seventy years ago.



1. A GRANITE BLOCK OF HOREMHEB



2



3

2, 3. GRAFFITI OF ANHERNAKHTE ON SIHEIL ISLAND

THE OWNER OF TOMB No. 282 IN THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS

By LABIB HABACHI

ONE of the many profitable results of Professor Černý's visits to the University of Philadelphia in recent years has been the realization of the scheme initiated by Mr. David O'Connor to publish the score of tombs cleared by Clarence Fisher at Dra' Abu el-Naga more than forty-five years ago. At the time only brief descriptions of their decorations were made¹ and a preliminary report of some of them published.² The new work of recording, study, and publication was entrusted to Mr. Lanny Bell, a promising Egyptologist from Philadelphia, and he began his work early in 1967 under the supervision of Professor Černý who at that time was simultaneously engaged in recording for UNESCO, with the collaboration of the Centre of Documentation, hieratic graffiti in the area of the Theban Necropolis.

I

By chance some time ago I became interested in Tomb no. 282, one of the tombs partly cleared by Fisher,³ for the reason that the owner occupied an important post in Nubia during the Ramesside Period. The interest of Professor Černý in tombs of the Ramesside Period in the Theban Necropolis is demonstrated by his numerous important writings on these tombs, and it is a pleasure for the present author to write, on the occasion of Černý's seventieth birthday, about the owner of Tomb 282 who, as will emerge, apparently was quite different from the one proposed by Fisher.

It has to be said at the beginning that the decoration of the tomb is neither clear nor important. The tomb is cut in a part of the cliffs where the rock is of very poor quality. Big breaks and irregularities in the walls were packed with stones and bricks, and the whole covered with a layer of mud, above which a coating of stucco was applied to receive the painted decorations.⁴ Some parts of this surface have fallen down, and on the surviving parts the representations and texts have now faded so much as hardly to be traced. During my visit to the United States in 1965-6, I was able to visit the University Museum, Philadelphia, and to examine the field-records made by Greenlees at the time of the discovery of the tomb. I am grateful to David O'Connor for enabling

¹ The cleared tombs are nos. 35, 156-60, 282-9 and 300-7. Short descriptions of their scenes appeared for the first time in Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 1, 2nd edition.

² Only one article was published by Fisher, in which our tomb was spoken of more than the others, see *Pennsylvania Museum Journal* 15 (1924), 35 ff. Only one tomb (no. 158) has subsequently been fully published, in K. Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes*.

³ Fisher, *op. cit.* 35, says that the tomb was lying open; he cleared only the court and the burial chamber.

⁴ *Ibid.* 38.

me to make this examination, and also for providing me later with a copy of these records. They proved useful for my studies, but not to the extent I had hoped, for they show clearly how even at the time of discovery the inscriptions were almost as illegible as they are now.

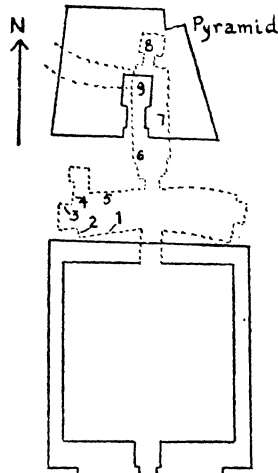


FIG. 1.

The tomb-chapel is cut in the usual form of the letter T; it is preceded by a court with walls built of sun-dried bricks, having a huge gateway or pylon at its entrance.¹ At both sides of the Hall and at the far end of the Chapel are big niches which formerly held pair-statues representing, most probably, the owner of the tomb and his wife. Above the Chapel was a pyramid, and from the passage in the Chapel opens a corridor leading to the subterranean burial chamber in which were found two sarcophagi of red granite and traces of wooden coffins. A stela, the present location of which is unknown, stood in the centre of the south side of the court. It bore a representation of the owner offering to Osiris and a long inscription below.²

Here we reproduce (in fig. 1) the plan of the tomb given in Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, 1², i, 356, and give a short summary of the scenes numbered as on the plan:³

1. Text over the lost figures of the deceased and his wife; deceased in kiosk in the ceremony of opening the mouth.
2. Deceased and [wife] before [Osiris].
3. Deceased.
4. Deceased and wife adoring Thoth.
5. Deceased purified, then introduced by Anubis to the presence of [Osiris].
6. Six scenes: (a) deceased worshipping [Osiris], (b) deceased and wife before two shrines, each containing two crouching deities, (c) wife worshipping an unknown deity, (d) wife, (e) shrine with figure(?) inside, (f) a man(?) adoring.
7. Six scenes: (a) table of offerings, (b) destroyed, (c) deceased standing with staff in hand, (d) Horus followed by deceased and wife before an offering table, (e) deceased and wife approaching the tomb, (f) Thoth approaching the tomb.
8. A list of offerings which must have had a figure of the deceased opposite.
9. Tympanum and double-scene with deceased offering to Osiris.⁴

Such are the scenes left in the tomb; none can be considered to be of any importance, while no text can be followed with certainty. In many places the name is inscribed simply as Nakhte, but in some cases this element is preceded by some unclear signs which form part of the full name. According to Fisher and Greenlees the owner was Hēkanakhte who became viceroy of Kush under Ramesses II. The surviving titles attributed to him in the tomb are:

1. *Royal scribe.*
2. *Fan-bearer on the right of the king.*

¹ Ibid. 35.

² Ibid. 36.

³ For the description of the scenes see pp. 364 f.

⁴ In preparing the descriptions of these scenes, now much more faded than when they were discovered, we were much helped by the field-notes of Greenlees, now in the University Museum.

3. *Overseer of the Southern Lands.*
4. *Head of bowmen, varied occasionally by head of the bowmen of Kush.*¹

But was Hēkanakhte the head of the bowmen of Kush before he was promoted to the important post of Viceroy? It is recorded of hardly any viceroy that he held an inferior rank in the land of Kush before he assumed his functions as head of the whole district.² Furthermore, viceroys usually retained one or more of the titles they held previously elsewhere; but none of the titles known to have been held by Hēkanakhte



FIG. 2.

reveals that he had a military career like the owner of this tomb.³ It may also be noted that if the viceroy Hēkanakhte had come originally from Thebes, he might be expected to have held one or more titles connecting him with the great capital or its main divinity; such was not the case.⁴

On the contrary the titles of the owner of our tomb fit well with those of a certain Anḥernakhte who has left three rock-inscriptions on Siheil Island which clearly demonstrate his connexion with the land of Nubia. These inscriptions read:

1. *Fan-bearer on the right of the king, head of bowmen and overseer of Southern Lands, Anḥernakhte, justified* (pl. XVII, 2 and fig. 2, a).⁵
2. *Fan-bearer on the right of the king, head of bowmen and overseer of the lands of gold of Amūn in Nubia, Anḥernakhte* (fig. 2, b).
3. *Fan-bearer on the right of the king and head of the bowmen of Kush, Anḥernakhte, justified* (fig. 2, c).⁶

¹ For the name and titles see Fisher, *op. cit.* 36. The *Top. Bibl.* gives only the name Nakhte (p. 364).

² It seems that these viceroys were chosen by the king from among those who gained his confidence, cf. Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte* (4th ed.), 463.

³ For the titles held by Hēkanakhte see Reisner, 'The Viceroys of Ethiopia' in *JEA* 6, 40 f.

⁴ Among viceroys who came originally from Thebes and who held titles connecting them with its main divinity, the following can be mentioned: Seni, Amenḥotpe, Merimose, Setau, and Ḥeriḥor, see *ibid.* 82 f.

⁵ *msc hrw* is written *msc nfr* in the original.

⁶ For these texts see *ibid.* 74 (v), and Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* v, 251.

Thus three of the titles of the owner of Tomb 282 are found also in the inscriptions of Anḥernakhte on Siheil Island. The fourth title—*Royal scribe*—may have been granted late in his career. The title *overseer of the lands of gold of Amūn in Nubia* at Siheil, but not in the tomb, may have been present among the texts now lost.

During a visit which I made to the tomb, I was able to check the name of the owner in several places. In the scene where Anubis is shown introducing the owner of the tomb to Osiris (at 5 on the plan), the name undoubtedly begins with the sign 𓂏 (*in*).¹ This reading and the identity of the titles would justify the attribution of the tomb to the Anḥernakhte of the graffiti of Siheil.

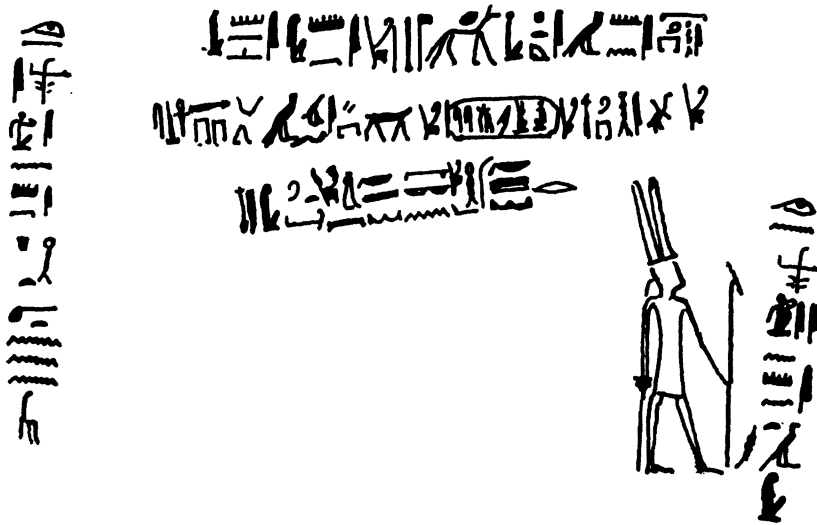


FIG. 3.

On the basis of its plan and type of decoration, the tomb has been dated to the Ramesside Period.² Happily, a fourth inscription on Siheil Island in which Anḥernakhte's name occurs, permits us to establish more closely the period in which he lived. The inscription is made up of three horizontal lines completed by one vertical line on the (spectator's) left and another on the right (pl. XVII, 3 and fig. 3): a figure of Amūn wearing the crown with double plume and with the *was*-sceptre in hand carved beside the last line seems to belong to the graffiti. The text reads:

*The head of the stable, Amenemope, son of the judge, the prophet of Amūn, Amenhotpe (2) of-the-great-stable-of-Ramesses-Miamūn-of-the-Residence, he is on a mission for the Pharaoh, l.p.h. (3) to Kush, together with the head of the bowmen of Kush, Anḥernakhte, justified. (4) Born of the chantress of Amūn, Henutmeter. (5) Born of the chantress of Amūn, Tanedjmet.*³

Here we find Anḥernakhte, bearing his main title, reported as accompanying the head of one of the stables of Ramesses II, Amenemope, the son of the prophet of

¹ In Greenlees's notes the name here is copied as if beginning with 𓂏 , but as he found that many of the titles held by the owner were usually held by viceroys, his mind was directed to Ḥeḥanakhte.

² So in *Top. Bibl.*, but Fisher, *op. cit.* 36, fixes its date to the reign of Ramesses II without giving any reason.

³ See *Top. Bibl.* v, 251. De Morgan, *Cat. de mon. et inscr.* I, gives the first four lines under no. 63 (p. 88) and the fifth line with an inscription mentioning the first jubilee of Ramesses II celebrated by a governor of Elephantine. The line does not belong with this latter text; the two texts even overlap, which shows that they were carved on different occasions.

Amūn, Amenhotpe, and the chantress of Amūn, Henutmeter. Both parents are known to us from Theban Tomb 158, the owner of which was Tjanefer, their son, who was a third prophet of Amūn, and also from Tomb 148, the owner of which was Amenemope, their grandson and a prophet of Amūn. Both tombs lie in Dra' Abu el-Naga not far from our tomb.¹ The Amenemope of Siheil must therefore be the brother of Tjanefer and the uncle of the other Amenemope. In both tombs 158 and 148 our Amenemope is described as *god's father and overseer of the cattle of the altar of Amūn*.² These titles differ greatly from those in the Siheil graffito but the identity of the parents and of their titles makes it extremely probable that he is the same Amenemope. If this is correct, then it is possible that Amenemope was charged with the work in the Temple of Amūn after having been released from his duties as head of one of the stables of Ramesses II. Tjanefer was born in the last years of Ramesses II and ended his life in the reign of Ramesses III.³ Amenemope, who seems to have been an elder brother,⁴ must have assumed office, along with Anḥernakhte, towards the end of the reign of Ramesses II, and continued during that of his successors.

II

In the ruins of the Temple of Horus of Miṭam at 'Aniba have been found many stelae of high officials of Nubia who lived during the Ramesside Period. The upper part of one of these, made of sandstone and measuring 27 cm. high and 29 cm. broad, carries two registers: in the upper is shown the sacred bark of Horus of Miṭam, the stern of which is in the form of a falcon crowned with the sun-disk; in front is the standard with a ram's head and the text, *the standard of Amūn*,⁵ and behind comes a table laden with offerings. In the surviving part of the lower register is the upper part of a figure of a man accompanied by an inscription made up of vertical lines of text of which the first is in front of the man. Only the following words remain: *made for the head of bowmen. . .*⁶ The name of the owner probably followed here, and of it there survive the upper parts of the sign ḥ with which the name Anḥernakhte begins. If this is a correct reading then it is probable that our Anḥernakhte dedicated a stela in honour of Horus of Miṭam in the course of one of his visits to the district.

Whether this is true or not, Anḥernakhte seems to have been a man of some importance. His title *head of the bowmen of Kush* identifies him as the military chief of the district, while his other titles, listed above, were ones usually held by viceroys and rarely by lesser officials.⁷

In the Siheil graffito of Amenemope and Anḥernakhte, the mothers of both men are named, Anḥernakhte's being *the chantress of Amūn, Tanedjmet*. Her title indicates that she was attached to the cult of Amūn, and therefore came originally from Thebes. Anḥernakhte's father is not mentioned in the graffito, but in Tomb 282 (in 6(f)) there are traces of his name and titles: *son of the judge and head of the bowmen, (Min)-nakhte*.

¹ Seele, op. cit. 5 f. Amenhotpe in this text is taken by Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres*, 252, as 'high priest of Amūn'; the stroke being taken by him and others as *tpy*. Seele retains this opinion, op. cit. 5.

² Ibid. 8.

³ Ibid. 7.

⁴ Ibid. 8.

⁵ *p: i:t n 'Imn*.

⁶ Steindorff, *Aniba*, II, 26 (51) and pl. 12 (49).

⁷ For these titles held by viceroys see Reisner, op. cit. 77 f.; for the title *overseer of the lands of gold of Amūn*, ibid. 79 f.

The reading of the name and titles is confirmed by a loose fragment found by Greenlees in the tomb which is inscribed—[*overseer*] of the [Southern] Lands, *Minnakhte*.¹ Of this man an important inscription exists on the road between Philae and Aswan (fig. 4). There he is shown kneeling before Ramesses II who is seated on a throne under a sun-disk and identified by the inscription in front: *Lord of the Two Lands Usimarē-Setpenrē*, (2) *lord of ceremonies Ramessu-miamūn*. Minnakhte is shown kneel-



FIG. 4.

ing, holding the fan in his left hand and raising his right hand towards his sovereign in adoration. Two vertical lines of text, one before and one behind him, describe him as *fan-bearer on the right of the king*, (2) *the king's messenger to every foreign land, and head of the bowmen of Kush, Minnakhte*. A copy of this inscription was made by Petrie, who read the name as Dukhem,² and a facsimile was made by Lepsius, who rendered the name correctly; this was exactly copied by De Morgan.³ In his enumeration of the heads of the bowmen of Kush Reisner gave a translation of this inscription, reading the name as Min, though he refers to De Morgan's publication where the correct reading is given.⁴

Among the heads of bowmen given by Reisner is one named Pennesuttaui. He must have lived during the long reign of Ramesses II,⁵ for his name is to be found on the strange monument of Amenemone in the Naples Museum, which bears the prenominal of that king, and, below it, the following text: *head of the bowmen of Kush, Pennesuttaui, brother of his father*.⁶ The same man was buried in Theban Tomb 156 where he has the titles *head of bowmen and overseer of the Southern Lands*.⁷ On the left thickness of the entrance to the shrine of this tomb, Pennesuttaui is shown with his daughter Bektwerner and his son Nakhtmin. Here the son has the title *head of the stable of his Majesty*,⁸ which indicates that he had a military career. Was he promoted later to the

¹ In both cases the name of the actual owner cannot be read before that of Minnakhte. Perhaps the latter was his father-in-law, and not his father.

² *A Season in Egypt*, pl. vi (146), where the copy is signed by Griffith who helped Petrie on this expedition. There the first and third titles are not correctly rendered.

³ *Denkmäler*, III, 175 i; in *ibid. Text*, IV, 122, Lepsius made corrections to the facsimile. For De Morgan's copy from Lepsius see *Cat. de mon. et inscr.* I, 14 (65).

⁴ *Op. cit.* 76 (ix), where he gives a correct translation of the text.

⁵ *Ibid.* 74 (vi).

⁶ *Thesaurus*, 953. For the tree of the family see Kees, *Priestertum*, 121 f.

⁷ *Top. Bibl.* 1², 265 f.

⁸ *Ibid.* 266.

post of his father? If this were the case, he would be the father of our Anḥernakhte, and it would appear that three generations of the family succeeded each other as military chief of the land of Kush.

In the tomb Anḥernakhte's wife is shown in many places accompanying him. It is most probable that she was buried with him, since two sarcophagi were found in the burial chamber. In the inscriptions her title is clearly *chantress of Amūn*, but nowhere is her name clear. Greenlees seems to have seen the signs *kr* at the beginning of the name. These cannot now be distinguished, but there are traces of 𓂏 —signs in some places; perhaps her name began with Anḥer like that of her husband.

A FRAGMENTARY HIERATIC SCHOOL-BOOK IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (PAP. B.M. 10298)

By RICARDO A. CAMINOS

THE subject of this article is a papyrus fragment which was the property of Anthony Charles Harris of Alexandria before it passed to the British Museum in 1872, when the entire collection of Egyptian antiquities which he had assembled was purchased by the Trustees. It is fairly well established that some of the papyri in the Harris collection came originally from Thebes and were acquired by him in 1854-5 or shortly afterwards,¹ but whether this is also true of the fragment under study is unknown: no indication of its provenance has been found. Papyrus B.M. 10298, as our little document is officially designated, has not been published until now, nor does it appear ever to have been quoted or in any way referred to, in print at least.² It is brought here to the notice of scholars by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum and the good offices of Mr. T. G. H. James.

The papyrus is a mere fragment torn from a record of which I have been unable to find any trace. It is roughly square in shape, being about 17 cm wide and 19 cm high; there is some reason to think that the original sheet was not much higher.³ The colour is light brown, uneven, and marred by foxing. The state of preservation is poor. Cracks indicate that for some time the sheet was tightly folded flat. The borders are all much ragged, but not the left border, which is straight. There a narrow (2 cm) additional strip of papyrus runs vertically along the edge; the overlap is left-on-right, so that the strip is uppermost, visible on the photograph on pl. XVIII. There is no way of ascertaining whether this strip is the remnant of a further sheet originally continuing to the left or a protective end-strip of the type occasionally found in papyrus rolls.⁴ It is just conceivable, in view of the superimposed strip and the straightness of the edge, that our fragment was originally the inner- or tail-end of a roll. It appears to have reached the Museum broken in two pieces,⁵ and when these were gummed on thin cardboard for mounting a faulty join was made. In 1966 Mr. S. Baker, finding it

¹ Dawson, *JEA* 35, 163.










² Even Warren R. Dawson's seemingly circumstantial list of Harris papyri in the British Museum fails to mention Pap. B.M. 10298. It was either inadvertently overlooked by him or, more likely, judged too trivial and left out. See Dawson, *JEA* 35, 164.

³ In its present condition the fragment is of almost exactly the same height as, for instance, Pap. Lansing, Pap. Harris 500, and Pap. Sallier IV; cf. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 2nd ser., pls. 15-30, 41-52, and 88-127 respectively. See also below, p. 116, apropos of marginal 𓆎 and bottom traces.

⁴ Borchartdt, *ZÄS* 27, 119; Černý, *Paper & Books in Ancient Egypt*, 19 with n. 104.

⁵ The condition in which the Harris papyri arrived at the British Museum is described by Dawson, *JEA* 35, 165 n. 3, after Budge.

unfeasible to unglue the ill-matched pieces, cut them apart and repositioned them as shown in the photograph. That in col. 2 the ends of ll. 4 and 5 are slightly out of place while the bottom lines are in good order is due to the fact that the two pieces were unevenly stretched in the course of the original mounting. Fortunately the successive manipulations have not affected the legibility of the text.

The text is on the true recto of the papyrus, the lines of writing running in the direction of the so-called horizontal fibres, which there on the recto lie topmost. The script is hieratic, entirely in black ink, without verse-points. It is a literary, as opposed to business, hand, rather heavy and devoid of ligatures. I should tentatively judge it to be post-Ramesside, but not later than the Twenty-second Dynasty. Palaeographically one of the nearest parallels that may be adduced is a Chicago papyrus dated by its editor to the Twenty-first Dynasty.¹ In particular, the signs  (col. 2, 7, 8),  (col. 2, 4), and above all  (col. 2, 12), closely resembling a hieratic , are done in pretty much the same fashion in both documents. It must be admitted, however, that these particular signs are not very reliable for dating purposes. On this moot point I shall only add that the *in*-fish  (col. 2, 5) is post-Ramesside in shape, and that the word for 'Pharaoh',  (col. 1, 4; col. 2, 10), with just one house-sign and no cartouche, is known to Möller from a Twenty-second-dynasty papyrus only.² Lastly, and for what it may be worth, note that  (col. 2, 7) exhibits the sparrow-determinative; according to *Wb.* II, 59 'die Schreibung mit  scheint jünger zu sein als die mit .

The fragment bears the remains of two columns of writing, of which a deliberately incomplete hieroglyphic transcription is given on pl. XVIII A. Although our scribe was no master calligrapher, he did write a clear enough hand which would be perfectly legible but for the miserable condition of the record, particularly towards the top of col. 2 where, to make matters worse, there is no context to help understanding—or rather, to put it candidly, I fail to recognize one. I do not know what the scribe is saying or writing about in the upper portion of col. 2. Consequently, I have refrained from transcribing anything which is not palaeographically plain and obvious: hieratic signs, whether whole or fragmentary, which are susceptible of more than one hieroglyphic rendering and which cannot be pinpointed unless one understands the words or phrases in which they occur—all such signs and traces have been left untranscribed and are given in facsimile in the drawing on pl. XVIII A.³


Column I. Very little is left, but enough remains to suggest that the lines it held were very uneven in length as are the lines in col. 2. The trace marked * on pl. XVIII appears to be not part of a line of writing but a marginal jotting, a correction or













¹ Pap. Oriental Institute 18039 (A); cf. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, 60 f. with pls. 3-4 in particular.











² For the *in*-fish see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, 23 (no. 253); III, 23 (no. 253); and for *pr-r* see *ibid.* II, 70 (no. lxvi); III, 67 (no. xxxiii).












³ The drawing should prove of help to students who may care to attempt to decipher this record. Through damp and some rubbing agency the ink has grown so faint in some places that, though still discernible on the original, it barely shows on the half-tone photograph on pl. XVIII. Signs and traces were facsimiled by inking-in a photographic copy in front of the original. In this and other tasks connected with the preparation of the present article Mr. T. G. H. James's kind help was fundamental.


































re-elaboration of a sign used in the text below.¹ At 1 and 2 the commonplace words *mtr* and *ḫḫḫ im·f* are of uncertain translation from want of context. At 3 there is an unidentifiable trace; at 4, the word for *Pharaoh*, which was, I think, the last word of the last line of the original column.




Column 2. The sign  at the top I take to be a marginal notation because there is not a vestige of writing on either side of it. Three very faint traces² along the lower edge of the papyrus do not represent traces of significant writing; as Mr. James points out, they seem to be purely accidental smudges or, less possibly, traces of an earlier text now washed out. In my opinion col. 2 consisted originally of exactly fourteen lines, and these, though rather the worse for age and ill-use, are still preserved.

L. 1. The circular sign could be , , , and even  or ,³ but not , which the scribe made with a neat -twist (ll. 4 and 7). The vertical trace in front of it would fit , , etc. All I can say about the traces after  is that the horizontal stroke before the suffix  is likely to be . The phrase *his land* or *country* is attested in Late Egyptian.⁴



L. 2 begins with a conjunctive form. Space available and tail of *f* across the drooping wick (?)⁵ of  make  or  possible; there is barely room for   . I can make nothing of the two ink blobs after . At the end of the line traces fit , but the brazier over the numeral is a most improbable group; at all events, if we credit the scribe with having been decently consistent in shaping his characters, then the last sign is neither  nor .

L. 3. There is no vestige of writing before   , but indentation, in itself an unlikely feature, may here be purely apparent, the result of a few signs having been thoroughly rubbed off, either deliberately or by accident. The verb *ḫdb*, 'to kill', which to a large extent displaces *sm* in Late Egyptian, recurs in l. 8. The rectangular sign is  rather than , for the only two certain occurrences of *š* (ll. 10 and 12) show an inner cross-stroke or dot; the heavy black dot on the left of the sign which is visible on the photograph is an ink trace on an intrusive fleck of papyrus stuck to the surface of our document; it has been ignored in the hand-drawn facsimile on pl. XVIII A. As for the next group one wavers between   and  ; unless it be  , though *iw* would presuppose a flowering reed not quite like any of the fourteen certain reed-signs found on the fragment. Other unresolved hieratic characters and traces in this line had better be left to speak for themselves.

L. 4. Here we reach firmer ground, at least palaeographically. The subject of the Late-Egyptian negative form *bw irw·f šdm* is the fem. substantive                                 , of which I can quote no other instance. One thinks of a tool made entirely or essentially

¹ Trace would suit, e.g.,  and . The former would suggest a sign done in conjunction with  on top of col. 2. For repeated marginal signs, whole or in part, cf. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, II, pl. 25 (rt. 7); Möller (ed.), *Hieratische Papyrus aus den königl. Museen zu Berlin*, I, pls. 34, 48, 50; II, pl. 23; and often. See remarks by Erman, *Die ägyptischen Schülerhandschriften*, 6 ff.

² Given in facsimile on pl. XVIII A; cf. p. 114 n. 3 above.

³ For  and  see Pap. B.M. 10299, ll. 6 and 9 respectively; cf. Caminos *MDAIK* 16, 20 with nn. 4 and 5, and pl. 4. I tentatively ascribed this papyrus to the Twenty-first Dynasty.

⁴ See, for instance, Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 29, 8; 70, 11; Müller, *Der Bündnisvertrag Ramses' II. und des Chetiterkönigs*, pl. 13 (31).

⁵ Davies, *JEA* 10, 10 with n. 5.

of stone which, under normal circumstances, will split (*ph*) a certain object, but which *cannot split it with these things in it or while these things are in it*. If, however, $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$ 𓂒 should prove to be a weapon, then the suffix 𓂓 might have referred to an animal or person. Note the insertion of 𓂔 , as a correction or afterthought, to make the sentence which it introduces subordinate in meaning, which is good Late-Egyptian usage.

L. 5 is composed of intelligible, well-known words and phrases, yet no coherent meaning emerges. The preposition 𓂕 intervenes between $\text{𓂖} \text{𓂗}$, 'gifts, tribute, produce', and *what was cast on the ground*: in what exact sense *hr* is used here is quite obscure to me. Furthermore I can discern no connection between those words and *the aspect* (lit. 'colour') *of the people*. $\text{𓂘} \text{𓂙} \text{𓂚}$ is known to be 'a common, though perverse, writing for older *iwn*'.¹ This noun, which elsewhere is well attested as masc. and has survived in Coptic $\alpha\gamma\alpha\iota\iota$, also masc., takes here the fem. sing. article *t*; genitival 𓂛 must be for *n*.²

L. 6. *To throw out.*

L. 7. *There is no justice, says he.*

L. 8. *Because the messenger, it is he who bids kill or speaks of killing.*³ By means of a superlinear insertion the old independent pronoun 𓂜 was 'modernized' to 𓂝 in keeping with the strictly Late-Egyptian quality of the sentence, both in vocabulary and in grammar: note the conjunction *pr-wn*, 'because'; the auxiliary use of *iri*, 'to make'; and *hdb*, not *sm*, 'to kill'.

Amid all obscurities and difficulties of transcription and translation one thing appears clear to me, and that is that ll. 1–8 do not and never did form a coherent text. My feeling is that they represent a collection of unconnected sentences and phrases which either stood there on their own account as, let us say, examples of expressions and idioms of one kind or another, or else were written as corrections to, or glosses on, or possibly Late-Egyptian renderings of, the text which took up the preceding portion of the manuscript, now almost wholly lost. In any case, regardless of what they might actually have been, or expressed, or meant in themselves, I think it is safe to reckon them school-work. This view is lent colour by the contents of ll. 9–14.

Ll. 9–14 undoubtedly belong together. Each carries a short sentence, and the six sentences exhibit a clearly discernible pattern of variations on a 'theme' sentence arranged in pairs. Each pair consists of a sentence in Middle Egyptian⁴ followed by a matching sentence in Late Egyptian.

L. 9 (Mid. Eg.). *The falcon loves the joy of its fledgling.*

L. 10 (Late Eg.). *Pharaoh loves the delight of his children.*⁵

¹ Gardiner, *JEA* 39, 16 n. e; *Wb.* I, 52, 10–17.

² Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*², § 215.

³ One is reminded of the Egyptian belief in 'messengers' as harbingers and angels of death; cf. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 202 f.

⁴ Not genuine Middle Egyptian, however, for at least the spelling of such words as $\text{𓂞} \text{𓂟} \text{𓂠}$, 'falcon', $\text{𓂡} \text{𓂢} \text{𓂣}$, 'joy', and $\text{𓂤} \text{𓂥} \text{𓂦}$, 'fledgling', in ll. 9 and 11 is late- and post-Ramesside. For analogies see Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, I, 11 (top).

⁵ The omission of *r* in the word for 'child' (*hrd*, cf. *Wb.* III, 396 ff.) is attested as early as the Old Kingdom; see Mariette, *Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, 113 (top), confirmed by James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, I², pl. 17.

L. 11 (Mid. Eg.). *The falcon hates the joy of its fledgling.*

L. 12 (Late Eg.). *You detest the delight of your children¹ in your turn.*


L. 13 (Mid. Eg.). *The crocodile hates him who breaks its² eggs.*



L. 14 (Late Eg.). *The crocodile detests the one who breaks its eggs.*

I submit that the first sentence (l. 9), archaistic rather than archaic, was set as a theme for a language exercise which required the student to write variations on the proposed theme and express them both in the idiom of the day and in that of times gone by. Variations on the theme or parent subject would appear to have been prompted by contrast and by similarity. 'To love' and 'to hate' are opposites that have always walked hand in hand.³ It is easy to see how an ancient Egyptian passed from 'falcon' to 'Pharaoh' and 'crocodile'.⁴ The 'eggs' of a crocodile are potentially its offspring, hence cognate with man's 'children' and a falcon's 'fledgling'—a chain of thought, this, almost worthy of Horapollo.

Apart from the large didactic compilations which the late Sir Alan Gardiner aptly called *Miscellanies*, together with the partial copies, sometimes mere snippets, on ostraca and writing boards, of literary texts made by, or for the use of, students, a number of school exercises proper have come down to us from ancient Egypt. Written in hieratic, demotic, and Coptic, they are in the form of short paradigms and word-lists⁵ and bear no resemblance to the set of sentences under discussion which I take to be a language exercise and to which I have failed to find an analogue among the published records of ancient Egypt. The artificiality of the theme and the dull variations that follow it are, however, strongly reminiscent of the *chria*, that exercise, also consisting essentially of variations on a given short theme, which Latin rhetoricians of the early Roman Empire used for drilling students in eloquence and grammar.⁶

Now as to the philological side of the exercise. It is bilingual (*sit venia verbo*), and so is the British Museum copy of the lengthy composition entitled *The Ritual of Repelling the Aggressor*. According to its learned editor, Professor Dr. Siegfried Schott, the original text of the *Ritual* was composed sometime during the New Kingdom in what may be termed Middle-Egyptian language, and was translated into Late Egyptian perhaps at the same time; be that as it may, the fact is that the two versions have been

¹ Reading  is certain: *r*, not *d* (cf. preceding footnote), and no determinative of plurality.

² 'Its' assumes the final flourish, strictly , and so transcribed, to be a slip of the pen for . For an analogue cf. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 49a n. 3a.


³ 'Ama tanquam osurus, oderis tanquam amaturus' may be traced back through a multitude of writers to Bias of Priene, the last of the seven sages (*fl.* 550 B.C.); see Cope and Sandys, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, II, 151 n. § 4, with copious references. The reader need hardly be reminded of 'odi et amo', Catullus, *Carm.* 85.

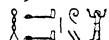
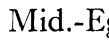

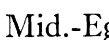
⁴ Cf. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen*, 89, 95 f.; for the king as a crocodile add to Grapow's references the passage in the text published by Barns, *JEA* 34, 44 (A, 4), which, interestingly enough, is also a school exercise.

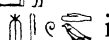
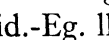
⁵ A few random references should suffice: Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I, pl. 8, no. 7 rt. and vs.; Reich, *JEA* 10, 285 ff.; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 50, 28 (quoting Brugsch, *ZÄS* 16, 1; Hess, *ZÄS* 35, 147 ff.); Boak, *Aegyptus* 4, 296 f.; Thompson in *Theban Ostraca*, 210 ff. (nos. 45–8). For discussion and further references see Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung*, 72 ff.; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 3 f.; Krall, *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* 4, 126 ff.


⁶ The working of the *chria* is explained with many examples by Diomedes, *Ars grammatica*, I, 11 (ed. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, I, 310). See also Jullien, *Les Professeurs de littérature dans l'ancienne Rome*, 287 f., 301, with additional references.



preserved side by side in Pap. B.M. 10252.¹ It would be absurd to parallel our wretched little text to the stately *Ritual* papyrus, except in that the Middle-Egyptian language to be found in both of them is not the genuine thing but an idiom which was already *passé* at the time when it was used in them.


Observe that the scribe used the independent *šdm.f* form throughout, both in Middle and in Late Egyptian. He also left the verb  unchanged in the two versions (ll. 9 and 10); the writer of the *Ritual* did very much the same thing.²


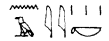
 in Mid.-Eg. ll. 9 and 11 is rendered  in Late-Eg. ll. 10 and 12; these synonymous substantives are both found in Mid.-Eg. texts as *ḥrwt* and *ršwt* respectively, but the former is a much older word;³ similarly, the *Ritual* uses the verb  in the Mid.-Eg. version and gives  as its Late-Eg. equivalent.⁴

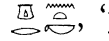
 in Mid.-Eg. ll. 11 and 13 becomes  in Late-Eg. ll. 12 and 14, which agrees with the findings of the Berlin dictionary: according to *Wb.* II, 154; IV, 27, *msd* is attested much earlier than *s;t*.⁵

In writing the word for 'crocodile' in ll. 13 and 14 the scribe appears to have been reluctant to commit himself, for he wrote it ideographically  in both versions, thus leaving it to the reader to interpret it as he chose.⁶

In Mid.-Eg. l. 13 , which but for the determinative could be the word for 'fear', I take to be a bungled writing of the active participle of *šd*, 'to break'; the abbreviation  in Late-Eg. l. 14⁷ must represent the infinitive of the same verb. The Mid.-Eg. active participle is replaced by *p; nty šdm* here as in the *Ritual*.⁸

The word for 'eggs' is the same in both versions (ll. 13 and 14), but by giving it in l. 14 the plural ending , so common in Late Egyptian, the scribe contrived to bring out the difference in idiom.

The Mid.-Eg. sentences in ll. 9, 11, 13, use the possessive suffix and no article,⁹ while the possessive adjective and the article occur, as one would expect, in the corresponding Late-Eg. sentences (ll. 10, 12, 14). The coalescence of the genitival *n* with the initial *n* of  and  is attested elsewhere.¹⁰


In l. 12 the Late-Egyptianism , 'you too, likewise, in your turn', is added;¹¹ there seems to be nothing to match it in the companion Mid.-Eg. sentence in l. 11.

¹ Schott, *Urk.* VI, 60 ff.; idem, *Abhand. Mainz*, 1954, 143 ff.



² Schott, *Abhand. Mainz*, 1954, 199 (bottom), quoting idem, *Urk.* VI, 91, 12-13.

³ *Wb.* II, 454; III, 41.


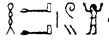

⁴ Schott, *Abhand. Mainz*, 1954, 211 (bottom), quoting idem, *Urk.* VI, 65, 17-18; 97, 19-20.

⁵ Our scribe wrote , without a *t*, as in Budge, *The Book of the Dead. Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerāsher and Netchemet*, Pap. Queen Netchemet, pl. 5, col. 8, 20.

⁶ The scribe might have been made hesitant by an *embarras de choix*: no less than eighteen different words for 'crocodile' are listed in *Wb.* VI, 92.




⁷ Cf. , first written in full and then twice abbreviated  in the next few lines, in Peet, *Great Tomb-robberies*, II, pl. 36, 1, l. 21; pl. 37, 3, ll. 3 and 13.

⁸ Schott, *Abhand. Mainz*, 1954, 230 (bottom); idem, *Urk.* VI, 99, 11-12; 119, 20-1; etc.

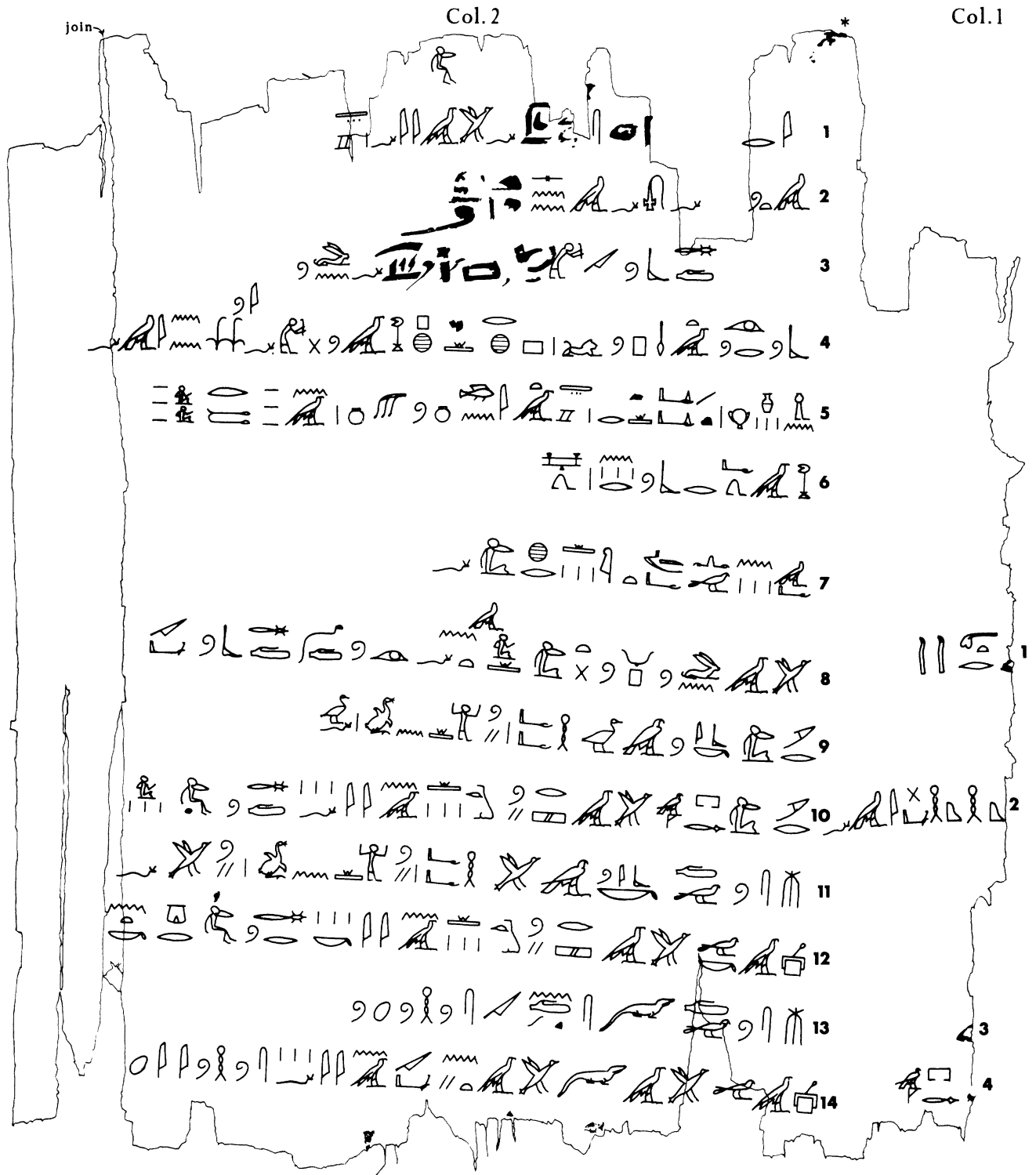
⁹ Cf.  before  in l. 11 is not the article but, like  in l. 9, the bird-determinative of the word for 'falcon'.

¹⁰ Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*², § 206.

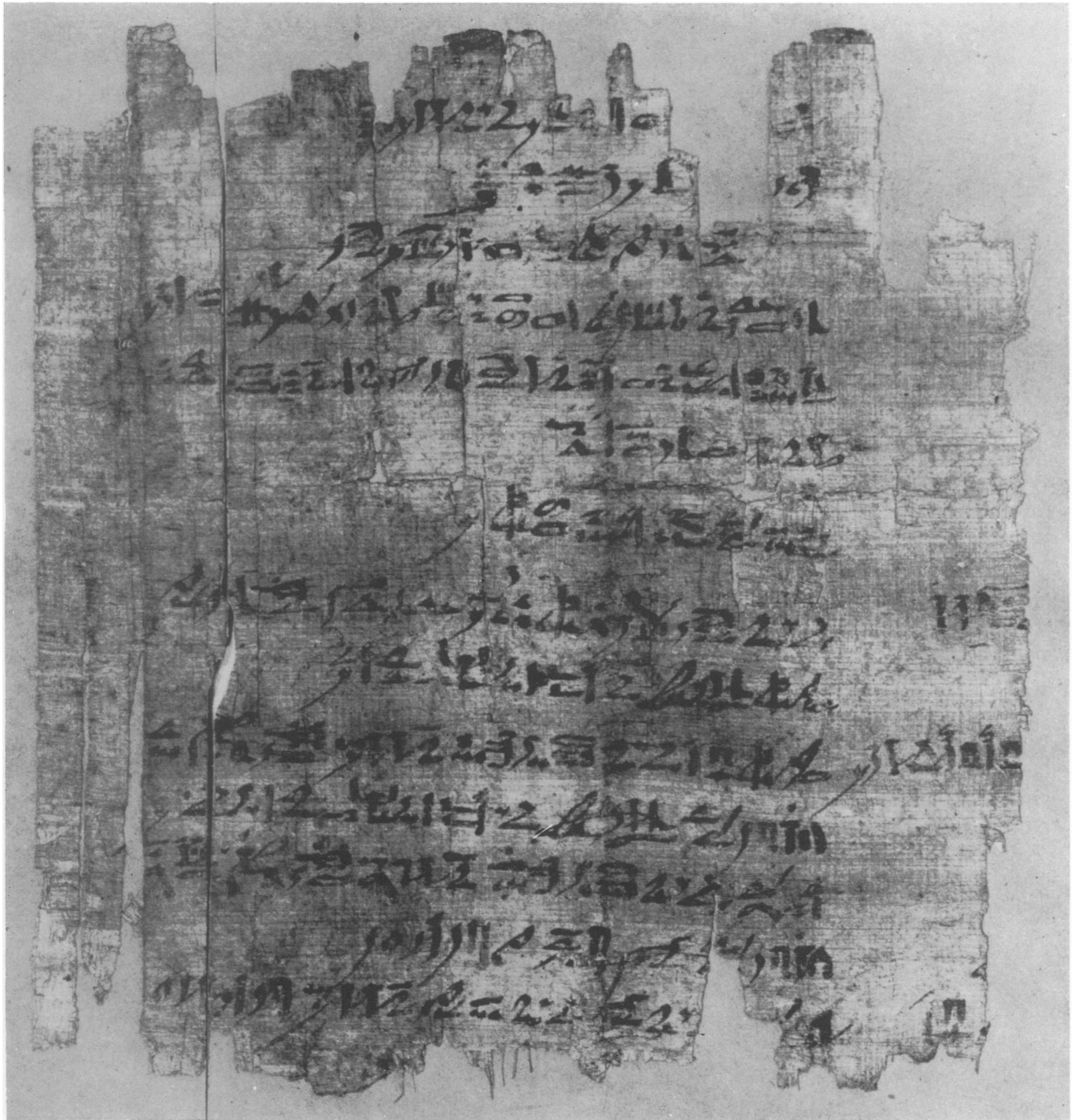
¹¹ Peet, *Great Tomb-robberies*, I, 160 (top); Černý, *JEA* 31, 33 (*h*).

Incidentally, note , the old form of the independent pronoun, which the scribe did not attempt to 'modernize', as he did by changing  to  in l. 8.

In my opinion Pap. B.M. 10298 is school stuff. A few slips in it do not necessarily indicate the work of an apprentice. A harassed teacher might equally have made them in jotting down his own notes for class use.



PAPYRUS B.M. 10298. A HIERATIC SCHOOL-BOOK



PAPYRUS B.M. 10298. A HIERATIC SCHOOL-BOOK
(Natural size)

SIND DIE NICHTLITERARISCHEN SCHRIFTOSTRAKA BROUILLONS?¹

Von S. ALLAM

IN der Ostrakologie hat sich nach und nach eine Meinung gebildet, nach der die nichtliterarischen Schriftostraka in den meisten Fällen Entwürfe zu Reinschriften auf Papyrus gewesen seien. Im folgenden wollen wir nun anhand der unzähligen, in West-Theben zutage gekommenen Ostraka aus der Ramessidenzeit untersuchen, inwieweit die herrschende Meinung zutreffend ist.

Es wird dahingehend argumentiert, daß sich ein Ostrakon — Tonscherbe oder Kalksteinsplitter — schon seiner Natur nach nicht zu einer Urkunde eigne, die man lange aufheben und im Bedarfsfalle einem Gericht vorlegen könne.² Dem kann man *a priori* entgegenhalten, daß im vorderasiatischen Altertum die Tontafel die typische Urkundenform zu allen Zeiten gewesen ist.³ Bei der Tontafel empfand man kein Hindernis, sie als Urkunde im Rechtsverkehr zu benützen. Warum sollte es anders bei den Ostraka im Alten Ägypten gewesen sein? Auch kann man Ostraka nach Belieben lange aufbewahren. Freilich ist ein Ostrakon der billige bzw. kostenlose Beschreibstoff — im Gegensatz zu Papyrus und Leder —, ebenfalls der praktische — im Gegensatz zu Holz — gewesen. Dies bedeutet keineswegs, daß es deshalb nur zum Gebrauch als Kladder bestimmt war. Es ist verständlich, daß man in unbemittelten Bevölkerungsschichten und untergebenen Behörden, vor allem bei der Beurkundung von weniger wichtigen Rechtsvorgängen, zum billigen und einfachen Schreibmaterial griff.⁴ Hierbei verdient die Tatsache beachtet zu werden, daß sich unter den Ostraka aus der Ramessidenzeit zahlreiche Palimpseste finden; dies sind Ostraka, die man wie beim Papyrus nach Abwaschen des früheren Textes zur Niederschrift eines neuen wieder verwendete.⁵ Demnach scheint ein Ostrakon mit geeigneter Oberfläche als Beschreibstoff praktisch gewesen zu sein. Daß man dabei den früheren Text abwusch,

¹ Eine besondere Freude bereitete mir die Diskussion, die ich mit Herrn Professor J. Černý über dieses Thema führen durfte, als er sich in Tübingen während des Sommer-Semesters 1967 als Gastprofessor aufhielt. Dem hochverehrten Jubilar gilt auch dafür mein verbindlichster Dank.

² E. Seidl, *Einführung in die ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Glückstadt, 1957), 22, 25, 29; s. ferner Seidl, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte und römisches Zivilprozeßrecht* (Köln, 1962), 16; Seidl, 'Altägyptisches Recht', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Ergänzungsband III, *Orientalisches Recht* (Leiden/Köln, 1964), 6.

³ M. San Nicolò, *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte im Bereiche der keilschriftlichen Rechtsquellen* (Oslo, 1931), 114 ff.

⁴ Für die häufige Verwendung von Ostraka (hauptsächlich Tonscherben) zur griechisch-römischen Zeit s. U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1899), 1, 7 f.; G. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka from the Collections at Oxford, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Cairo* (Cairo, 1945), 6 f.

⁵ Als gutes Beispiel kann O. Cairo 25517 dienen, das mindestens viermal benützt wurde; J. Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques* (Le Caire, 1935), 8 f.

braucht nicht unbedingt für den Charakter einer Kladda zu sprechen; es könnte sein, daß man den früheren Text erst dann abwusch, wenn dieser aus irgendeinem Grunde keine rechtliche Bedeutung mehr hatte.¹

Es wird weiterhin argumentiert, daß die Ostraka lapidare Texte zum Inhalt haben, da sie dem Schreiber bei der späteren Reinschrift auf Papyrus als Gedächtnisstützen dienten; deshalb begnügte sich jener, wenn er ein Ostrakon als Beschreibstoff verwendete, mit der Niederschrift von knappen Angaben.² Diese Ansicht wird dadurch widerlegt, daß mancher auf Ostrakon geschriebene Text in keiner Weise knapper formuliert erscheint, als einer ähnlichen Inhalts auf Papyrus. Dies wird deutlich, wenn wir z. B. den Text auf O. Genf 12550, das Protokoll über ein Gottesentscheidungsverfahren anläßlich eines Rechtsstreits über Hausbesitz, mit dem auf P. DeM 26, einem Sammelbericht über verschiedene Verfahren in mehreren Streitsachen, vergleichen.³ Dies wird ebenfalls augenfällig, wenn wir im besagten Papyrus (Teil A, recto) den Bericht über eine Gerichtsverhandlung, in der ein Obmann der Arbeitstruppe in Deir el-Medina als Ankläger auftritt, dem Bericht über eine ähnliche Gerichtsverhandlung auf O. Cairo 25556⁴ gegenüberstellen. Diese Beobachtung wird fernerhin bestätigt, wenn die Mitteilung von einer Gerichtsentscheidung im P. Turin (Journal vom 17. Jahr Ramses' IX.)⁵ und die von einer anderen Gerichtsentscheidung auf O. Berlin 12654, recto (unpubl.) in Betracht gezogen werden. Auch sind die Texte auf O. DeM 569, O. DeM 580, O. DeM 582⁶ und O. Gardiner 103,⁷ die allem Anschein nach Klageschriften darstellen, für die damaligen Verhältnisse ausführlich formuliert. Denselben Eindruck machen die Gerichtsprotokolle auf O. Chicago 12073, O. Nash 1 und O. Nash 2.⁸

Doch müssen wir zugeben, daß die Texte auf Ostraka des öfteren nicht leicht verständlich sind. Denn mancher Text führt uns gleich in einen Zusammenhang, der uns fremd anmutet. So hätten wir den Text auf O. Gardiner 104 nicht als eine Abstandsurkunde erkennen können, wenn wir kein Vergleichsmaterial herangezogen hätten.⁹ Auch hätten wir die Ostraka mit Fragen an den Orakelgott nicht als solche deuten können, wenn uns die Institution und Phraseologie des Orakels zur Ramessidenzeit nicht

¹ Das zeigt andererseits, daß man mit den Ostraka als Schreibmaterial sparsam umging. Neben Palimpsesten gibt es viele opisthographie Ostraka, bei denen auch die Rückseite beschrieben ist. Ferner sind zahlreiche Fälle vorhanden, in denen der Schreiber aus Sparsamkeit nicht nur einen, sondern mehrere Nachträge auf demselben Ostrakon notierte. Auch benützte man alte, schon beschriebene Ostraka, die noch freien Raum boten, zu einer neuen Eintragung, ohne den alten Text abzuwaschen, z. B. O. Gardiner 103 = J. Černý und A. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* (Oxford, 1957), pl. 52, 2.

² M. Malinine, 'Notes juridiques', in *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 96; F. Daumas, *La Civilisation de l'Égypte pharaonique* (Paris, 1965), 191.

³ Die Kenntnis von diesen beiden, ebenso von im folgenden erwähnten, unpublizierten Texten verdanke ich der Freundlichkeit Herrn Professor J. Černýs.

⁴ Černý, *OH*, 44*; Übersetzung durch Černý, 'Quelques ostraca . . .', in *Ann. Serv.* 27 (1927), 200 f.

⁵ G. Botti und E. Peet, *Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe* (Torino, 1928), tav. 43, 17-18; Übersetzung, *ibid.* 38.

⁶ S. Sauneron, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh* (Le Caire, 1959), pls. 10, 15, 17. Übersetzung des letzten Textes in W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, III (Mainz, 1963), 502.

⁷ *supra* Anm. 1; Übersetzung in Helck, *op. cit.*, 341.

⁸ Černý und Gardiner, *HO*, pls. 77; 46, 2; 47, 1.

⁹ S. Allam, 'Eine Abstandsurkunde aus der Zeit des Neuen Reiches', in *JEA* 53 (1967), 47 ff.

bekannt gewesen wäre.¹ In den Texten auf Ostraka steht aber auch mancher Satz in einem durchaus verständlichen Zusammenhang isoliert da. Dies ist bei den Worten des Verurteilten und Ersatzpflichtigen in O. Ashmolean Museum 1933.810, recto 7–8 der Fall. Erst anhand von weiteren Belegen dafür ist es uns gelungen, diese Worte als Eviktionsklausel zu erkennen, die man bei der Übereignung einer Sache zugunsten eines Geschäftspartners zu bekräftigen hatte.² Ähnlich liegt der Fall bei O. DeM 73, recto 4.³ Dort hatte ein Schuldner seinem Gläubiger einen Esel von guter Qualität zu erbringen. Bei der Übergabe, die vor einem richterlichen Schreiber vollzogen wurde, legte der leistende Schuldner den Eid ab, dessen Bedeutung sich nicht gleich aufhellt. Nach Vergleich mit O. Chicago 12073, verso, wo von einem ähnlichen Vorgang berichtet wird, können wir die Bedeutung der Eidesleistung durch den Ersatzpflichtigen bei der Übereignung des Ersatzes zugunsten des Ersatzberechtigten ausmachen: der Ersatzpflichtige hatte zu beschwören, daß er mit der Leistung an den Begünstigten einverstanden sei bzw. dagegen keinen Einspruch erheben werde. Anhand dieser wenigen Beispiele wird gezeigt, daß der altägyptische Schreiber bei der Verwendung von Ostraka seinen Text manchmal nicht vollständig niederschrieb. Dies wird verständlich, wenn wir bedenken, daß die Oberfläche eines Ostrakons beschränkt ist und nicht so viel Raum zum Beschreiben bietet. Wohl deshalb hatte der Schreiber seinen Text an mancher Stelle zu kürzen, vor allem dort, wo der Zusammenhang ihm und seiner Umwelt geläufig und unmißverständlich war. Hinzu kommt, daß die Ostraka hauptsächlich in niederen Volkskreisen bei Beurkundung von wenigen wichtigen Rechtsvorgängen als Beschreibstoff benützt wurden. Gerade deshalb darf man auf ihnen nicht immer einen fehlerfreien, vollständigen Text erwarten.

Die herrschende Meinung erhärtet sich scheinbar durch die Beobachtung, daß man Berichte über den Hergang von Bauarbeiten in der thebanischen Nekropole auf Ostraka niederschrieb; die Tatsache, daß solche Journale auch auf Papyrus gefunden wurden, spreche dafür, daß der Schreiber seinen Bericht zuerst (flüchtig) auf Ostraka verfaßte, ihn später jedoch (sorgfältig) zu Papyrus brachte.⁴ Diese Behauptung läßt sich nicht ohne weiteres halten; es könnte sein, daß die Journale auf Papyrus für einen anderen Zweck — vielleicht im Verkehr mit vorgesetzten Behörden — verfaßt wurden. Betrachten wir die auf uns gekommenen Protokolle (zwei auf Ostraka und eins auf Papyrus) ein und derselben Verhandlung, die eine mit richterlicher Gewalt ausgestattete Kommission in einer Streitsache in Deir el-Medineh geführt hat! Es handelt sich dabei um O. B.M. 5624, O. Florenz 264 (unpubl.) und P. Berlin 10496.⁵ Alle diese Texte berichten zwar von derselben Sache und derselben Augenscheins-einnahme. Jeder Text weist aber bedeutende Abweichungen von dem anderen auf, so daß wir nicht behaupten können, daß der eine dem andern als Konzept zugrunde

¹ Černý, 'Questions adressées aux oracles', in *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 54 f.; Černý, 'Nouvelle série de questions . . .', in *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 21.

² Allam, 'Zwei Schlußklauseln zur Übertragung eines Rechts im Alten Ägypten', in *Bi. Or.* 24 (1967), 15 f.

³ Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh*, 1 (Le Caire, 1935), pl. 50; hierzu Allam, loc. cit., 16 f.

⁴ B. van de Walle, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 22 (1947), 281; Sauneron, op. cit., p. x, n. 4; p. xvii f.

⁵ A. Erman, *Zwei Aktenstücke aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt* (= *SPAW*, phil.-hist. Classe, 1910, XIX).

gelegt worden wäre. Es ist daher anzunehmen, daß jeder dieser Texte für einen bestimmten Zweck verfaßt wurde. Dabei dürfen wir nicht übersehen, daß bei der Erledigung der Streitsache drei Schreiber zugegen waren; vielleicht hatte jeder von ihnen ein Protokoll darüber auszufertigen.

Unser Anliegen läßt sich durch manche Sammelberichte auf Ostraka, wo ein Bericht verschiedene Eintragungen mit verschiedenen Datierungen enthält, beleuchten. Solche Sammelberichte sprechen dafür, daß man die Ostraka damals für längere Zeit wohl in einem Archiv aufzubewahren und in sie weitere Texte nachzutragen pflegte. Einer dieser Sammelberichte ist uns auf O. Berlin 12654 (unpubl.) erhalten. Es handelt sich dabei um mehrere Eintragungen, die in verschiedenen Zeitabständen vom Schreiber des staatlichen Bauamts der thebanischen Nekropole vorgenommen wurden. Die erste betrifft die Registrierung der Nekropolenarbeiter durch ein Beamtenkollegium am 9. Tag des 3. Sommermonats im 2. Regierungsjahr (Ramses' VI.). Die zweite handelt vom Eintreffen eines gewissen Schreibers sowie von dessen Anweisung an die Obmänner der Arbeitstruppe; hinzu tritt eine Entscheidung des Lokalgerichts in einer Streitsache zwischen diesem Schreiber und einem Maler. Ferner erfahren wir von einer durch diesen Schreiber dem Bauamt überbrachten Anordnung des Wesirs. Darauf folgt die Nachricht, daß derselbe Schreiber am 29. Tag desselben Monats wieder einmal zur Registrierung der Arbeiter eintraf. Der Sammelbericht schließt mit der Mitteilung, daß die Angehörigen des Bauamts dem Wesir am 2. Tag des 4. Überschwemmungsmonats — etwa vier Monate später als die letzte Registrierung — zwei silberne Gegenstände übergeben haben. Vor allem dieser Zeitabstand von vier Monaten läßt annehmen, daß der Schreiber den Sammelbericht nicht am letzten Tag in einem Vorgang, sich auf sein Gedächtnis stützend, niederschrieb, sondern vielmehr in Zeitabständen. Während dieser Zeitabstände muß sich das Schriftstück in seinem Gewahrsam bzw. Archiv befunden haben.

Betrachten wir ferner den Text auf O. Michaelides 6,¹ so fällt auf, daß er aus drei Eintragungen verschiedenen Inhalts besteht: die erste handelt von der Leihe eines Arbeitsgeräts zwischen einem Arbeiter und dem staatlichen Bauamt, die zweite von der Auszahlung eines Arbeitslohns (?) an einen Handwerker wohl durch das genannte Bauamt, die dritte von der Verteilung von Nahrungsmitteln (als Besoldung) wohl an Nekropolenarbeiter durch ein Beamtenkollegium. Allen diesen Eintragungen ist gemeinsam, daß sie vom Bauamt und in dessen Interesse vorgenommen wurden. Dabei ist zu beachten, daß die dritte Eintragung knapp drei Jahre später als die erste erfolgte. Während dieser drei Jahre muß das Ostrakon im Archiv des Bauamts der Nekropole gelegen haben, so daß der Schreiber es, da es ihm noch freien Raum zum Beschreiben bot, für eine weitere Notierung aufgreifen und wieder verwenden konnte.

In diesem Zusammenhang sind einige Ostraka mit Sammelberichten über gerichtliche Verhandlungen von besonderer Bedeutung, da diese Verhandlungen, die in verschiedenen Zeitabständen stattfanden, ein und dieselbe Streitpartei betreffen. Denn es scheint, daß die eine Gerichtsverhandlung — sei es in derselben Sache, sei es in einer neuen — nach der anderen protokolliert wurde und daß die betreffenden Ostraka in

¹ H. Goedicke und E. Wente, *Ostraka Michaelides* (Wiesbaden, 1962), pls. 56, 57.

den zeitlichen Zwischenräumen im Gerichtsarchiv als Urkunden aufbewahrt wurden. So berichtet O. *IFAO* 388¹ aus der Zeit Ramses' V. von zwei Gerichtsverhandlungen, deren eine auf einer Seite des Ostrakons protokolliert ist. Das Ostrakon ist zwar bruchstückhaft erhalten; das Erhaltene indiziert aber, daß es sich bei beiden Verhandlungen um dieselbe Streitsache (Lieferung eines Rindes), oder wenigstens um dieselbe Streitpartei (einen Polizisten) handelt. Beachtenswert ist dabei, daß die eine Gerichtsverhandlung in der Sommerzeit, die andere aber in der Winterzeit stattfand. Unwahrscheinlich ist es nun, daß der Protokollschreiber das Ostrakon zu beschreiben begann, als die zweite Verhandlung stattfand; noch weniger, daß er zufällig den Entwurf zu dem Protokoll über die frühere Streitsache bzw. -partei aufgriff, um darauf die zweite Verhandlung zu protokollieren. Vielmehr muß er das Protokoll über die erste Verhandlung zuerst geführt haben, ehe an die zweite zu denken war. Als es zur zweiten Verhandlung kam, holte er das betreffende Ostrakon aus seinem Archiv heraus und protokollierte sie auf der Rückseite. In dem Zeitraum zwischen beiden Verhandlungen muß er das Ostrakon wohl als Gerichtsurkunde im Archiv aufbewahrt haben.

Ähnlich liegt der Fall bei O. Cairo 25555 aus der Zeit Ramses' III.² Der Text auf diesem Ostrakon unterrichtet von zwei Streitverfahren in derselben Sache; dabei bilden die Rechte an einem Weg jeweils den Streitgegenstand. In einem (weltlichen) Verfahren wurde der Kläger mit seinem Begehren von einer vierköpfigen Richterbank an einem gewissen Tage — Jahr 13, Monat 3 der Sommerzeit, Tag 24 — abgewiesen. Damit gab er sich nicht zufrieden, denn etwa 10 Monate später — Jahr 14, Monat 1 der Sommerzeit, Tag 19 — brachte er die Sache erneut zur Entscheidung, diesmal vor das Gottesgericht; in einem Gottesurteilverfahren wurde jedoch die frühere Entscheidung des (weltlichen) Gerichts aufrechterhalten, indem die besagten Rechte durch den Orakelgott, König Amenophis, dem Prozeßgegner zugesprochen wurden. Auch bei diesem Text haben wir es mit zwei selbständigen Protokollierungen zu tun. Zuerst hatte der Schreiber das Protokoll über die erste Verhandlung niedergeschrieben; später jedoch, als der Kläger um ein Gottesurteil nachsuchte, wurde auf das Schriftstück, in dem die frühere Verhandlung protokolliert ist, zurückgegriffen, um darauf das Protokoll über die zweite anzubringen. In der Zwischenzeit muß der Schreiber das Ostrakon wohl als amtliche Urkunde im Gerichtsarchiv aufbewahrt haben. Beachtenswert ist ferner die Tatsache, daß bei beiden Verhandlungen derselbe Schreiber unter den anwesenden Personen genannt wird. Dieser hat wohl beide Eintragungen auf dem Ostrakon vorgenommen; dabei benützte er es als *Realfolium*.

Noch klarer läßt O. Berlin 10655³ in das Problem Einblick gewinnen. Dem Text auf diesem Ostrakon zufolge hat ein Arbeiter einen Wasserholer wegen einer geschuldeten Leistung verklagt. Die gerichtliche Verhandlung endete damit, daß sich der

¹ Černý und Gardiner, *HO*, pl. 69, 2.

² Černý, *OH*, 43*; Übersetzung durch Černý, 'Une expression désignant la réponse négative d'un oracle', in *BIFAO* 30 (1931), 493 ff.

³ *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, III (Leipzig, 1911), Taf. 37; Teilübersetzung in I. Lurje, *Očerki drevneegipetskogo prava* (Leningrad, 1960), 198.

Beklagte unter Eid verpflichten mußte, seinen Gläubiger bis zum Monatsende zu befriedigen. Da er in Verzug geriet, kam es wohl während des darauffolgenden Monats zu einer neuen Verhandlung in derselben Sache; dabei mußte der Beklagte den gleichen Eid wie vorher leisten. Etwa einen Monat später wurde unser Arbeiter aber mit einem anderen Wasserholer in einen Streit verwickelt, der vor Gericht ausgetragen wurde. Es ist anzunehmen, daß der Gerichtsschreiber die beiden ersten Verhandlungen in derselben Sache zuerst protokollierte. Als nun eine neue Streitsache, in der eine der früheren Parteien beteiligt war, vor das Gericht gebracht wurde, wurde das betreffende Ostrakon zur Protokollierung aufgegriffen. Daraus ergibt sich, daß der Gerichtsschreiber das Ostrakon nicht nur als Gerichtsurkunde in seinem Archiv aufzubewahren hatte, sondern es auch bei der Protokollierung der beiden ersten Verhandlungen als *Realfolium* und bei der Protokollierung der neuen Streitsache als *Personalfolium* betrachtete. Dabei ist zu beachten, daß der Gesamttext auf dem Ostrakon von ein und derselben Hand geschrieben ist. Wahrscheinlich hat ihn derselbe, jeweils bei den einzelnen Verhandlungen genannte Schreiber verfaßt.

Die vorgetragene Ansicht wird schließlich durch O. Ashmolean Museum 1933.810¹ aus der Zeit Ramses' III. besiegelt. Dem Text recto dieses Ostrakons zufolge wurde ein Rechtsstreit zwischen einem gewissen Wasserholer und einer ungenannten Partei² über die Leistung eines Ersatzes des dem Wasserholer vermieteten, inzwischen bei ihm eingegangenen Esels ausgetragen. Dabei verpflichtete sich der Wasserholer eidlich, seinem Vertragspartner einen Ersatz binnen einer Frist zu leisten. Damit wurde die gerichtliche Verhandlung offenbar geschlossen. Der Text geht aber weiter: entgegen der bisher objektiven Stilisierung des Textes durch den Schreiber berichtet die begünstigte Partei in subjektiver Weise, daß ihr der Wasserholer den Ersatz neun Monate nach der gerichtlichen Verhandlung leistete. Der Übergang von der objektiven zur subjektiven Stilisierung läßt annehmen, daß der Gerichtsschreiber bei der Protokollierung der Ersatzleistung, die neun Monate später stattfand und weswegen er auf dasselbe Ostrakon zurückgriff, die Worte der begünstigten Partei in direkter Rede dem früheren Protokoll über denselben Rechtsstreit folgen ließ. Damit wurde der Streit aus der Welt geschafft. Wir erfahren aber durch einen weiteren Nachtrag, daß der Wasserholer den von ihm als Ersatz geleisteten Esel für eine gewisse Zeit genommen bzw. gemietet hat. Zur Beurkundung dieses neuen Mietverhältnisses verwendete der Schreiber demnach dasselbe Schriftstück, das er über das frühere Rechtsverhältnis zwischen den beiden Parteien errichtet hatte. Daraus ersehen wir, daß das einmal über eine Rechtssache beschriebene Ostrakon auch zur nachträglichen Notierung verwendet wurde; in der Zwischenzeit muß das Ostrakon als Urkunde in einem Archiv unter Aufsicht der Urkundsperson aufbewahrt gewesen sein.³ Es sei ferner angemerkt, daß

¹ Černý und Gardiner, *HO*, pl. 71, 1. Übersetzung des recto in Helck, *op. cit.*, 498 f.

² Daß der Kläger ungenannt ist, darf uns nicht befremden, da die Parteien in Verbindung mit der Streitsache dem Gericht und den Ortsbewohnern damals bekannt waren.

³ Es sei hier bemerkt, daß O. Petrie 9 (mit O. DeM, Inv. 424 zusammengefügt) (= Černý und Gardiner, *HO*, pl. 42, 3) fast den gleichen Text über denselben Rechtsstreit wie O. Ashmolean, recto enthält. Die einzige bedeutende Abweichung ist bei der Angabe der Leistungsfrist festzustellen; statt der Winterzeit dort wird hier die Überschwemmungszeit angegeben. Wohl deshalb war der Text auf O. Petrie fehlerhaft und man

all die vorhin besprochenen Eintragungen von ein und derselben Hand geschrieben sind, im Gegensatz zum Text verso. Dieser besteht aus zwei datierten Protokollierungen, deren eine von einer neuen, von der ersten verschiedenen Hand vorgenommen wurde.¹ Der ersten Protokollierung zufolge mußte der besagte Wasserholer etwa 11 Monate später nach der letzten Eintragung wohl vor der mit richterlicher Gewalt ausgestatteten Urkundsperson beschwören, Mißhandlungen gegenüber einem Maler zu unterlassen; mit der zweiten Protokollierung, die etwa 16 Monate danach erfolgte, wurde ein Mietverhältnis über einen Esel für die Dauer von 3 Monaten zwischen unserem Wasserholer und einem Schreiber beurkundet. Die Verbindung zwischen dem Text recto und den beiden Protokollierungen verso — jeder der drei Texte ist von einer verschiedenen Hand geschrieben und hat eine andere Rechtssache zum Inhalt — ist nur durch die Nennung des Wasserholers herzustellen; dieser war an allen Rechtsvorgängen beteiligt. Daraus geht deutlich hervor, daß die einmal auf Ostrakon errichtete Gerichtsurkunde in einem amtlichen Archiv aufbewahrt und nach Bedarf für weitere Eintragungen bezüglich desselben Rechtsstreits oder einer der früheren Parteien — im ersteren Falle als *Real-*, im letzteren als *Personalfolium* — durch verschiedene Urkundspersonen verwendet werden konnte.

Die Ansicht, daß es zur Ramessidenzeit auf dem west-thebanischen Ufer Archive gegeben hat,² in denen u. a. Ostraka als Urkunden aufbewahrt waren,³ erhält eine weitere Stütze durch zwei Tatsachen: einmal haben im Bereich der Keilschrift solche Archive, wo in der Hauptsache Tontafeln als Urkunden deponiert waren, existiert;⁴ zum anderen sind aus späteren Epochen demotische, griechische und koptische Ostraka in Archiven auf thebanischem Boden gefunden worden.⁵ War damit in untergebenen

schrrieb ihn von neuem auf O. Ashmolean, das dann zur weiteren Protokollierung verwendet wurde. Oder man fertigte vom Protokoll über denselben Rechtsstreit zwei Abschriften aus, wobei dem Schreiber ein Fehler unterlaufen ist.

¹ Aus der Verschiedenartigkeit der Hände auf ein und demselben griechischen Ostrakon aus Ägypten hat Wilcken, op. cit., 10 f. geschlossen, daß die griechischen Ostraka Originale und nicht etwa Brouillons oder Kopien sind.

² Solche Archive gab es gewiß in Deir el-Medineh und im Tal der Königsgräber, wo unzählige Ostraka zutage gefördert worden sind; in Deir el-Medineh lebten zur Ramessidenzeit die Nekropolenarbeiter, die ihre Arbeit u. a. im Tal der Königsgräber zu verrichten hatten. Vermutlich gab es auch ein Archiv beim Grab des Senenmut aus der 18. Dynastie; dort sind nichtliterarische Schriftostraka gefunden worden, die über den Hergang der Bauarbeiten an diesem Grab berichten (W. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-mût (No. 71) at Thebes* (New York, 1942)).

³ Das wird dadurch anschaulich, daß das staatliche Bauamt der thebanischen Nekropole u. a. Steinstücke verwahrt hat, deren Gewicht dem der einzelnen, den Arbeitern überlassenen Arbeitsgeräte aus Metall entsprach; auf diesen Steinen finden wir Notizen, die darauf Bezug nehmen (Sauneron, 'Ostraca et papyrus trouvés à Deir el-Médineh en 1950/51', in *BSFE* 9 (1952), 19 f.). Wir können uns jedoch schwerlich vorstellen, nach welchen Gesichtspunkten die Ostraka in einem Archiv geordnet waren, um es übersichtlich zu halten. Vermutlich hat man von Zeit zu Zeit das inzwischen von Ostraka überfüllte Archiv von älteren Beständen, die keine rechtliche Bedeutung mehr hatten, freigemacht, wenn das Archiv seiner Bestimmung entsprechend weiterexistieren sollte.

⁴ San Nicolò, op. cit., 145 f.; G. Driver, *Semitic Writing from Pictograph to Alphabet* (London, 1954), 73 ff.; A. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* (Leipzig, 1936), 47; Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, 1 (München, 1956), 2, 7 f.

⁵ G. Maspero in Wilcken, op. cit., 25 f. Für ähnliche Archive im Faijum s. L. Amundsen, *Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection* (Ann Arbor, 1935), p. ix.

Behörden der Ramessidenzeit das Ostrakon als brauchbarer Beschreibstoff für die Ausfertigung von Originalurkunden geeignet, so muß es als solcher ebenso in unbeeinträchtigten Bevölkerungsschichten gegolten haben. Sind doch unzählige Beurkundungen auf Ostraka aus dem west-thebanischen Raum und vor allem aus der Arbeitersiedlung von Deir el-Medineh zutage gekommen.

Nachtrag

Zur Veranschaulichung kann das koptische O. Wien 691 (= W. Till, *Die koptischen Ostraka der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Wien, 1960), 47) in Betracht gezogen werden. Der Text auf diesem Ostrakon stellt den Brief eines Privatmannes an einen höhergestellten Adressaten, einen Priester, dar. Die einleitenden Worte dort lauten wie folgt: 'Verzeih mir, daß ich keinen Papyrus (*χάρτης*) gefunden (d. h. zur Hand) habe!' Darauf folgt der eigentliche Inhalt des Briefes. Mit dieser Einleitung entschuldigt sich der Schreiber vorweg, offenbar dafür, daß er seinen Brief nicht auf Papyrus, wie es sich in einem solchen Falle ziemt, niederschreiben konnte.

EINE WIEDERGEFUNDENE ÄGYPTISCHE STATUE

Von HELLMUT BRUNNER

AN einen Augustabend 1965 erwähnte ich im Gespräch mit Ihnen, lieber und verehrter Herr Černý, daß ich in Bellagio am Comersee in der Villa Melzi zwei ägyptische Statuen gesehen hätte, und als ich den Würfelhocker beschrieb, stellten Sie sofort seine Identität mit einem lange gesuchten Stück her, das in einem Werk des 18. Jahrhunderts abgebildet ist. So bringe ich Ihnen mit besonderer Freude in dieser Festschrift die Veröffentlichung des Fundes dar.

I

Der Würfelhocker (Taf. XIX, 1)¹ ist 86 cm hoch, seine Basis mißt 62 cm Tiefe und 44 cm Breite bei 17 cm Höhe. Das Material ist kristallinischer, bei Verwitterung bröckelnder Rosengranit. Die Perücke ist ein gut Stück schmaler als die Schultern. Am Kinn sitzt ein kurzer, bis in die waagerechte Fläche reichender Bart. Der ganze Kubus ist organisch belebt, man sieht an seinen Flächen die Schwellungen der Glieder, ohne daß diese ausgearbeitet wären. Nur die Füße treten heraus, doch ist ein unterer Gewandsaum nicht mehr zu erkennen. Hinter den Füßen setzt auf beiden Seiten ein oben und unten von einer Linie begrenztes Inschriftband an, das hinten ohne jede Trennungslinie vor dem untersten Teil von vier senkrechten Hieroglyphenzeilen endet. Die Plinthe scheint an den Ecken abgerundet gewesen zu sein; sie ist heute stark abgeschliffen.

Die gesamte Oberfläche ist stark verwittert und vermoost. Die Gesichtszüge sind nur noch im allgemeinen zu erkennen, das Lesen der Inschriften macht große Mühe. Bei meinem ersten Besuch 1953 konnte ich zwar die Namen des Eigentümers und einige Titel feststellen, doch ergab sich kein zusammenhängender Text.

Erst mit Hilfe der mir von Černý nachgewiesenen alten Veröffentlichung² gelang es, wenigstens die Inschriften auf der Oberseite, zwischen den Beinen und auf der Rückseite bis auf wenige Zeichen wiederzugewinnen. Ein erneuter Besuch im Juni 1967 bestätigte und verbesserte einige Lesungen.³ Die seitlichen Inschriften dagegen müssen, da heute ganz verwittert, ungelesen bleiben, und zwar sowohl die Texte zwischen den Horussöhnen als auch die unteren Querzeilen.

¹ Ich glaube nicht, daß die bunte Oberfläche bei der starken Verwitterung und Vermoosung eine deutliche Aufnahme erlaubt. Diese wurde 1953 gemacht.

² Taf. XX, 1 und 2; zur Fundstelle des Bildes vgl. u. S. 133.

³ Zwischen 1953 und 1967 wurde die Statue auf einem Sockel in die Mitte eines Teiches gestellt, so daß die Kollation sehr erschwert war — so malerisch sich die ägyptische Figur jetzt in die Architektur des Parkes einfügt.

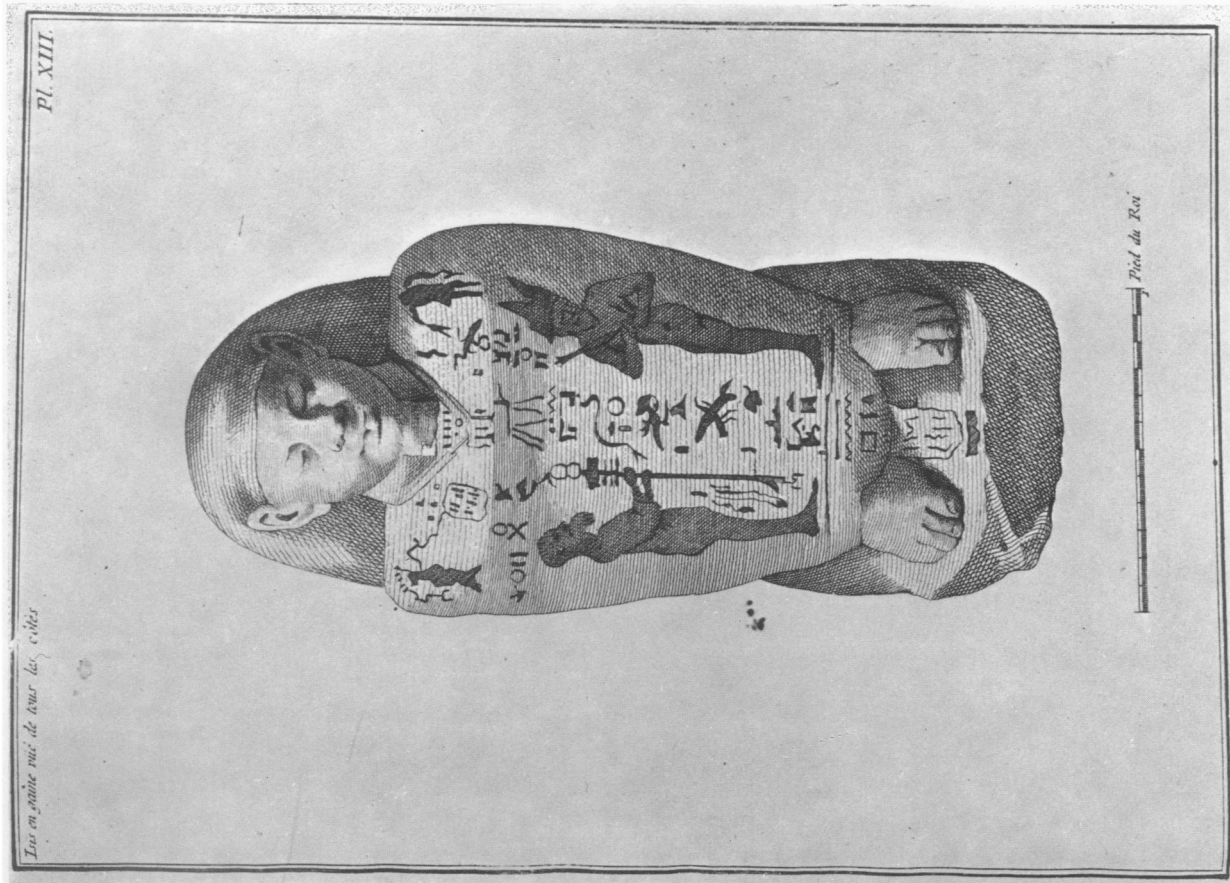


2. Eine löwenköpfige Göttin

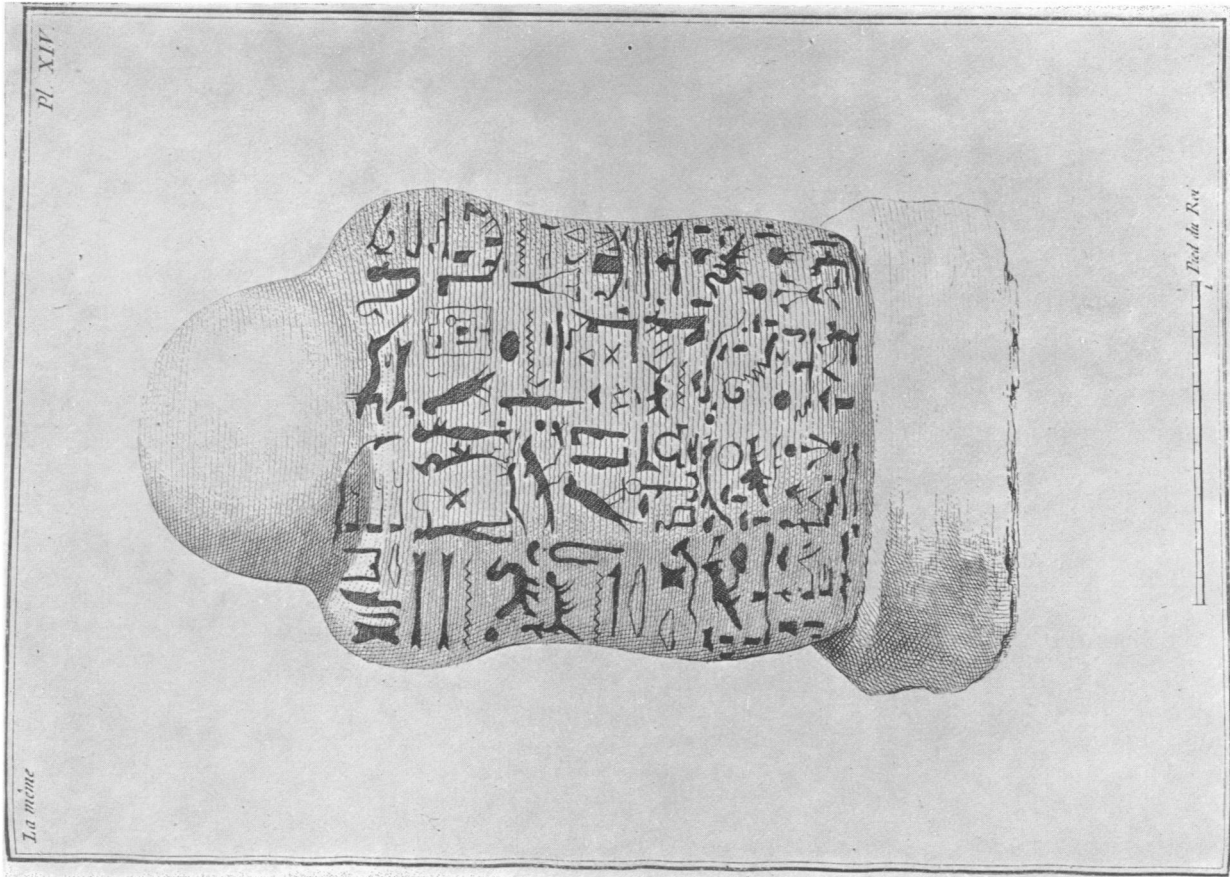


1. Würfelhocker des (Pa-)Rahotep

ZWEI STATUEN IN DER VILLA MELZI IN BELLAGIO





I.

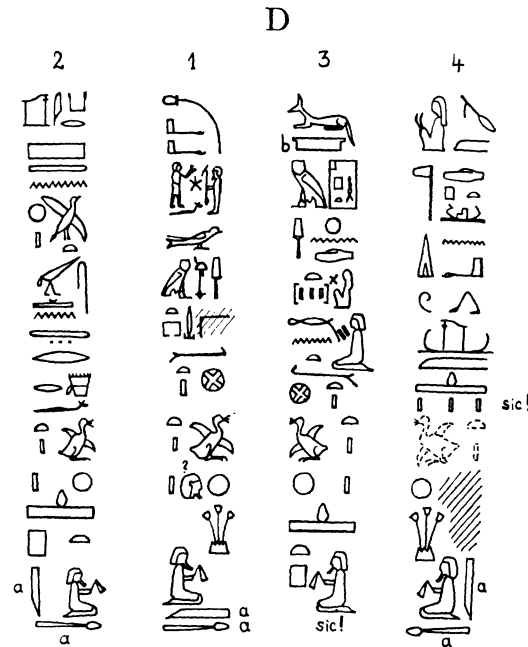


2.


DER WÜRFELHOCKER DES (PA-)RAHOTEP
 (Taf. xiii und xiv in *Altägypten* von J.W.C.D.R.)

stand: Die Zeile beginnt mit dem Namen des Atum und eines Horus(?), rechts steht ein , dem die Figur eines Gottes (Thot?) vorhergeht. Die Zeichen ganz rechts vor der Ecke könnten  sein.

Auf dem Rücken stehen vier senkrechte Zeilen (D). Sie ließen sich durch Kombination der noch vorhandenen Spuren mit der Zeichnung des 18. Jhdts. fast sicher wiedergewinnen. In der Zeichnung¹ sind Zeichen, von denen heute keine Spur mehr zu erkennen ist, punktiert.



a. Richtung unsicher, in Original nur zwei Striche




b. Oder 

¹ Der rechte Arm hat, wenn er den Ptah verehrt, Großer Leiter der Handwerker in ...^a Stadtvorsteher und Wesir Rahotep.^β

² Geheimer Schrein der Urzeit,^γ Leiter des ganzen Landes, Wesir Rahotep.

³ Vorsteher des Geheimnisses im Ptahtempel, Leiter der Weberinnen in der nördlichen Kapelle (des Neithtempels in Sais),^δ Stadtvorsteher und Wesir Rahotep.

⁴ Steuermann im Gottesschiff,^ε der die Barke in Frieden fahren läßt, Wesir Rahotep.^β

a. Die Lesung der beiden Zeichen  hat Helck vorgeschlagen; die Nachprüfung am Original hat sie bestätigt. Dagegen ist das häufig damit verbundene *mr wrbt* für das folgende nicht möglich. Die in der Zeichnung angegebenen Zeichen sind sicher, ein  unter  ist ausgeschlossen.

β. S. unten Abschnitt II.

γ. Oder auch: 'Schrein des Geheimnisses der Urzeit'. Gemeint ist, daß Rahotep um die Vorgänge der Urzeit weiß, sie aber, wie es sich für arrheta gehört, in sich

¹ Es handelt sich nicht um ein Faksimile; ein solches herzustellen erlaubt der Verwitterungszustand nicht mehr.

verschlossen hält. In profanem Zusammenhang wählt man das Alltagswort *hn* für ähnliche Bilder, vgl. *JEA* 47, 103. Zum Ideal der Verschwiegenheit vgl. z. B. Eb. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften d. Spätzeit*, 67 f.

δ. Dieser Titel scheint sonst nicht bekannt zu sein. Aus dem NR und älterer Zeit kennen wir nur die Priesterinnen-Weberinnen selbst, teils mit Zuweisung an eine der beiden Kapellen *rsnt* und *mhnt*, teils ohne diesen Zusatz.¹ Leiter dieser Weberinnen mit dem Titel *hrj hndwt*, wieder mit oder ohne Nennung einer der beiden Kapellen, sind erst aus der Spätzeit belegt.²

ε. Offenbar hat (Pa-)Rahotep bei einer kultischen Feier, vermutlich in Memphis, das Steuerruder des auf dem Nil mit dem Götterbild fahrenden Schiffes geführt. Diese Position begehren besonders Verstorbene auf der Sonnenbarke (Belegstellen zu *Wb* II, 80, 17); in der Neschet-Barke des Osiris nimmt sie mythisch Horus ein (Davies, *Neferhotep* I, Taf. 22); bei der Amunbarke tritt sogar Atum als *jjj-hmw* auf (Pleyte und Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 20, 5).

II

Drei Eigennamen erscheinen auf unserer Statue: Rahotep, Parahotep und $\circ \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$. Černý hat als erster gezeigt, daß die beiden ersten demselben Mann gehören können, indem er weitere Belege für Setzen und Fehlen des Artikels vor Personennamen der Ramessidenzeit erbrachte;³ De Meulenaere hat durch weitere Dokumente diese Annahme erhärtet.⁴ Er hat zugleich bewiesen, daß es zwei Wesire des gleichen Namens (Pa-)Rahotep gegeben hat, von denen der eine nach Unterägypten (Pi-Ramses — Memphis) gehört und aus Sedment stammen dürfte, der andere dagegen aus Abydos.⁵ Bei dem nicht ganz eindeutigen etwaigen Verwandtschaftsverhältnis der beiden brauchen wir uns hier nicht aufzuhalten — es genügt festzustellen, daß unsere Statue auf Grund ihrer Inschriften einwandfrei dem ersten zugeschrieben werden kann. So reduziert sich die Zahl der Eigennamen auf zunächst zwei — es liegt auf der Hand, daß auch die ungewöhnliche Schreibung $\circ \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ nichts weiter als denselben Namen birgt, und zwar in Kryptographie.⁶

¹ Vgl. außer den Belegstellen zu *Wb* III, 313, 24 noch *CT* VII, 21 c (mit einem Krokodil determiniert), sowie die in *Kémi* 14, 38, Anm. 5 genannte Literatur.

² Vgl. *Kémi* 14, 38, Anm. 6.

³ In der Besprechung von W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des MR und NR: Bi.Or.* 19 (1962), 142.

⁴ 'Deux vizirs de Ramsès II', *Chron. d'Ég.* 41 (1966), 223 ff. — Ähnliche Erscheinungen der 18. Dynastie sind vielleicht anders zu erklären: BM 282 (*Hierogl. Texts* VII, 19) steht *Pj-šd* neben *Šd*, und im Grabe Theben Nr. 90 aus der Zeit Thutmosis' IV. ist der Name einer Tochter des Grabherrn mit Farbe hieratisch vorgezeichnet als *Tj-wrt*, in Hieroglyphen ausgeführt ist aber nur *Wrt* (N. de G. Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, Taf. XXI und S. 28, Anm. 5; diesen Hinweis verdanke Herrn B. Kroeber). Ich möchte in diesen Fällen aber nicht meinen, daß neben der neuägyptischen Form mit Artikel die mittelägyptische ohne diesen steht, sondern daß es sich bei *Šd* und *Wrt* um Abkürzungen der Vollformen *Pj-(n)-šd* bzw. *Tj-(nt)-wrt* handelt, vgl. H. Ranke, *PN* II, 111 f.

⁵ Ausgangspunkt für seinen Beweis ist der Umstand, daß sich bei der Grabung in Sedment im Jahre 1921 ein Fragment eines Kanopengefäßes vom Typ Kebehseuef gefunden hat, obwohl in Brüssel ein vollständiges Gefäß gleichen Typs und gleichen Namens vorhanden ist. Vgl. *Bull. Musées royaux*, 4^e série, 37. Jahrg. (1965), 5 und den in Anm. 4 genannten Aufsatz.

⁶ Solche Schriftspielereien, wenn wir den anspruchsvolleren Namen Kryptographie nicht in Anspruch nehmen wollen, lieben gerade die beiden etwa gleichzeitigen Wesire (Pa-)Ra-hotep: Der unsere in Zeile 1 der

Ob der Eigentümer unserer Statue derselbe ist, von dem Chnumibre etwa 700 Jahre später behauptet, er sei bekannter als Imhotep aus der Zeit Djosers,¹ wissen wir nicht — es mag sich bei dieser Berühmtheit auch um den abydenischen Wesir handeln.

III

Die Kombination dieser Statue mit einer, die im 18. Jhdt. in der Villa Altichiero bei Padua stand, hat Černý nach der Beschreibung sofort vorgenommen, ohne zu ahnen, daß bereits 1901 E. Schiaparelli diese Gleichsetzung gefunden und sogar gedruckt hat.² Auch Gardiner, der 1918 auf die gleich zu nennende Erstpublikation des Würfelhockers hinweist,³ hatte von Schiaparellis Bemerkung keine Kenntnis.⁴ Schiaparelli aber zitiert bereits jenes Werk des 18. Jhdts., in dem unsere Statue erstmals in vier Ansichten abgebildet wird: Mad. J. W. C. D. R., *Altichiero*, Padua, 1787 (Taf. XIII–XVI). Die Verfasserin war Justine Wynne Countess De Rosenberg, Gemahlin des damaligen österreichischen Gesandten in Padua und ehemalige Geliebte Casanovas.⁵ Altichiero hieß eine Villa, die sich der venetianische Senator Angelo Querini erbaut und deren Park er durch ein 'Kanopus' nach dem Vorbild der Villa Hadriani bei Tivoli verschönert hat. Um das ägyptische Kolorit echt zu gestalten, hatte er sich mehrere ägyptische Statuen verschafft — wir wissen nicht, woher. Eine von ihnen war unser (Pa-)Rahotep, den dann ein späterer Besitzer von Altichiero, Antonio San Chirico, an den Herzog Francesco Melzi D'Eril (1753–1816)⁶ abgetreten hat; dieser überführte sie anlässlich seines Neubaus des Schlosses in seinen Park in Bellagio.

IV

Das einzige weitere ägyptische Stück der Villa Melzi sei hier noch kurz besprochen. Es handelt sich um die Statue einer stehenden löwenköpfigen Göttin aus festem grauem

Rückeninschrift, wo die Verehrung des Ptah bildlich erscheint, der südliche Wesir in einer dieser eben genannten sehr ähnlichen Schreibung auf seiner Hockerstatue aus Abydos (Petrie, *Abydos*, II, Taf. XXXV, 2 und xxxvii), jetzt in Boston (Inv. 03. 1891), die auch schwierigere ägyptische Texte enthält.

¹ S. Gg. Posener, *Première Domination perse*, Doc. 14, S. 104 (q): leider sind Lesung wie Übersetzung nicht über jeden Zweifel erhaben.

² Auf den Seiten 147–9 des 1901 erschienenen Führers von Dr. Giulio Carotti, *Capi d'arte appartenenti a S.E. la duchessa Joséphine Melzi D'Eril-Barbó*, Bergamo, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1901. Den Hinweis auf dieses Werk und eine Abschrift der Sätze von Schiaparelli verdanke ich der großen Freundlichkeit von Frau Virginia Gräfin Gallarati Scotti in Bellagio. ³ *JEA* 5, 183.

⁴ So wenig wie ich, als ich mir 1953 an den Rand meiner Kopie der Texte notierte: 'Ob identisch mit der von Gardiner erwähnten Statue in Padua, s. *JEA* 5, 183?'

⁵ Ich konnte dies Buch nicht einsehen, verdanke aber der Liebenswürdigkeit von Dr. R. Moss Reproduktionen, nach denen hier die Abb. 1 und 2 auf Taf. XX gemacht sind. Bereits 1792 haben Boucharde und Gravier in ihren *Monumens égyptiens* vol. II auf Taf. 10–13 unseren Würfelhocker reproduziert. Den Park von Altichiero erwähnen N. Pevsner und S. Lang in ihrer grundlegenden Untersuchung über die Rolle ägyptischer Kunst im Abendland vom Ausgang der Antike bis ins 19. Jhdt.: *The Architectural Review*, vol. CXIX (1956), 243–54. (Für diese Hinweise danke ich Herrn Kollegen John R. Harris herzlich.) Erwähnt wird die Villa Altichiero auch bei E. Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt*, 112.

⁶ Über die politische Rolle dieses berühmtesten Trägers des Namens Melzi, besonders sein Verhältnis zu Napoleon und damit wohl auch seine Liebe zu Ägypten, gibt Stendhal Auskunft, zunächst 1817 im Bellagio-Kapitel seines Tagebuch-Werkes *Rome, Naples et Florence*, und dann, 1839, in seinem Roman *La Chartreuse de Parme*, besonders den ersten Kapiteln, allerdings jetzt ohne Namensnennung. Vgl. auch die *Enciclopedia italiana* s. v.

Granit, ohne Inschriften (Taf. XIX, 2). Der heutige Torso ist 102,5 cm hoch. Die Beine sind etwas oberhalb der Knie abgebrochen, beide Oberarme und der rechte Unterarm abgeschlagen. Der obere Teil des Kopfes ist flach abgearbeitet, und an Stelle der Krone sitzt heute ein trapezförmiges Loch von 13 cm Länge, vorne 5,5 cm, hinten 8 cm Breite und etwa 2,5 cm Tiefe. Die Göttin hält mit der linken Hand ein Papyruszepter vor den Leib, in der herabhängenden Rechten trägt sie ein Lebenszeichen. Halskragen und Haarstrahlen der herabfallenden Perücke sowie die ringförmige Mähne sind deutlich und sorgfältig eingraviert. Der Rückenfeiler ist nach oben verbreitert (unten 16,5 cm, oben 18,5 cm) und im obersten Teil, vom Hals an aufwärts, eine Spur gedreht.

Wahrscheinlich gehört die Figur zu einer der beiden Gruppen solcher Gestalten, die Amenophis III. im Muttempel und in seinem Totentempel in Theben-West aufgestellt hat, vermutlich als Ex-Votos bei schwerer Erkrankung.

Schiaparelli gibt zwar an, daß auch dieses Stück von Altichiero stamme, und tatsächlich bildet das oben genannte Werk des 18. Jhdts. auf Tafel XIX eine löwenköpfige Göttin ab, die ebenfalls gleich unterhalb der Knie abgeschlagen ist. Dennoch kann es sich diesmal nicht um dasselbe Stück handeln: Die Figur in Padua saß nämlich! Sie hält das Lebenszeichen in der linken Hand, die rechte liegt flach auf dem Knie. Was bei der Auflösung von Altichiero aus ihr geworden ist, liegt im Dunkel. Es mag uns trösten, daß sich zu (Pa-)Rahotep, als er seine Padua-Gefährtin verloren hatte, die gleiche Göttin wieder gesellt hat, *n rh·tw bw jjs jm*.

DEUX STATUES 'GARDIENNES DE PORTE' D'ÉPOQUE RAMESSIDE

Par J. J. CLÈRE

LE Nouvel Empire, et plus spécialement l'époque ramesside, ont vu naître, ou tout au moins se manifester dans des conditions telles que les témoignages ont pu en parvenir jusqu'à nous, des croyances religieuses populaires qui se sont matérialisées sous forme d'objets de culte divers, et notamment sous forme de statues présentant des caractères particuliers nouveaux, soit dans leurs gestes, leur attitude ou leurs attributs, soit dans la teneur de leurs inscriptions, quand ce n'est pas dans les uns et les autres à la fois. Deux statuettes, datant l'une et l'autre du règne de Ramsès II, et qui, entrant dans cette catégorie de documents, présentent de ce fait un intérêt particulier, font l'objet de la présente étude.



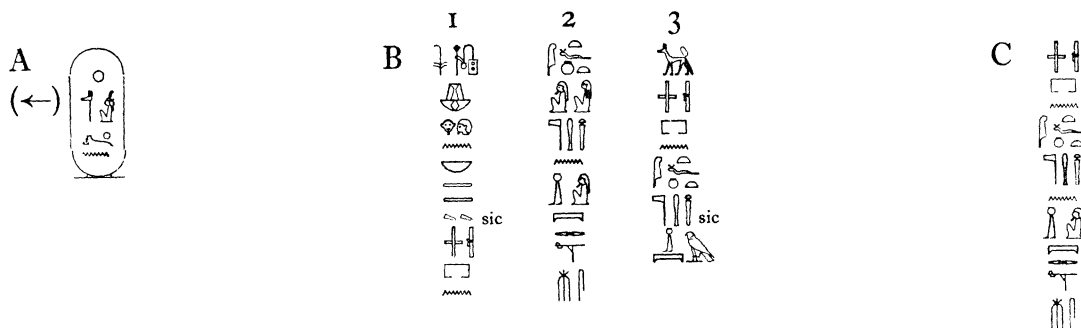
FIG. 1. Statue de Minmôse

La première (fig. 1 et pl. XXI) est une petite 'statue-bloc' conservée au Musée de Brighton, en Angleterre,¹ auquel elle a été présentée par un Mr. James Ashbury en 1878. On ne sait rien sur sa provenance. Elle a été publiée sommairement, en 1901, par

¹ Art Gallery and Museum, Brighton (Sussex). Quand j'ai examiné la statue, en 1965, elle était dans les réserves du musée, comme tous les autres objets de la petite collection égyptienne de Brighton, dont aucun n'est actuellement exposé. J'adresse mes bien vifs remerciements à Mr. H. F. Brazenore, Conservateur adjoint du musée, qui m'a très obligeamment permis de photographier la statue et d'en copier les inscriptions, en vue de sa publication.

Weigall.¹ C'est une statue de granit noir (la pierre est barrée obliquement d'une veine rosâtre), qui mesure 16 cm. de hauteur totale, y compris le socle rectangulaire, large de 9,5 cm. et long de 15 cm.,² sur lequel l'homme qu'elle représente est accroupi. Ce personnage porte une grosse perruque évasée couvrant le haut des oreilles et tombant jusqu'aux épaules, et il a une petite barbe qui est à peine ébauchée, son menton touchant presque le dessus du bloc que forment ses jambes repliées. Un vêtement dont les bords et les détails ne sont pas indiqués enveloppe complètement son corps, jambes et bras compris; seules les mains en sortent et sont visibles, la gauche posée à plat, paume en dessous, sur le genou droit, la droite tenant une 'laitue' et s'appuyant sur le genou gauche. La statue est pourvue d'un pilier dorsal assez large et montant jusque derrière la tête, mais ne formant qu'une légère saillie. Elle est d'une facture médiocre, et les signes des inscriptions qui la recouvrent, petits pour la sorte de pierre dans laquelle ils sont gravés, sont assez grossièrement formés. Les deux coins de l'arrière du socle sont brisés; pour le reste, la statue est parfaitement conservée.

Les inscriptions occupent le pilier dorsal, les deux côtés et le devant de la statue; en outre, un cartouche-prénom de Ramsès II — 'Ousermaâtrâ l'Élu de Râ' (A, ci-dessous, et fig. 1) — est gravé sur le dessus du bras droit. Il y a trois colonnes de texte (B) sur le devant de la statue, et une (C) sur le pilier dorsal, toutes les quatre composées de signes faisant face à gauche.



Les textes B et C font connaître l'identité du personnage représenté par la statue: B *Le scribe royal, prêtre-lecteur en chef du Seigneur des Deux-Pays, chambellan de Chou et Tefnout, premier prophète d'Onouris, Minmôsé, fils du dignitaire, chambellan de Chou et Tefnout, premier prophète d'Onouris, Hor*, et C *Le chambellan de Chou et Tefnout, premier prophète d'Onouris, Minmôsé*.

Sur chacun des côtés, il y a un texte de trois lignes horizontales, écrites de droite à gauche aussi bien sur le côté droit (D) que sur le côté gauche (E), où cette orientation est anormale. Ces inscriptions sont publiées ici pour la première fois; elles ne figurent pas dans l'article de Weigall qui n'a fait que les mentionner, en précisant qu'il s'agissait de 'prayers [...] for the welfare of the soul of the deceased'.³ J'ai copié ces

¹ 'A Statuette of Min-Mes, Chief Magician to Rameses II', dans ses 'Egyptian Notes', dans *PSBA* 23, 13-15, avec une figure. Cf. aussi Legrain, *Rec. trav.* 32, 30 (Doc. 24).

² La largeur de '4 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches' (= 12 cm.) indiquée par Weigall, op. cit. 13, est inexacte.

³ Ibid.



STATUE DE MINMÔSÉ (Musée de Brighton)



STATUE DE PYIAY (Collection Albert Husson)

les pieds, qui est ouvert et croisé sur le devant, le côté droit recouvrant le côté gauche; le bord en est indiqué en haut, à l'encolure, où il est nu, ainsi que devant et en bas, où il est garni de courtes franges. Les mains sont dégagées et elles sont représentées comme dans la première statue: la gauche posée à plat, la droite tenant la 'laitue'. Cette statue est aussi pourvue d'un pilier dorsal, large et peu saillant, montant jusque derrière la tête, mais qui présente cette curieuse particularité de se prolonger à plat, presque horizontalement, sur l'appendice du socle dont il a été question. (J'ignore la raison d'être de cette forme particulière du pilier dorsal, dont la statuaire égyptienne ne fournit à ma connaissance aucun autre exemple.) Enfin, sur le devant des jambes, est figuré l'emblème hathorique en forme de sistre, traité en bas-relief. La statuette est d'un travail très fin, tous les détails et en particulier les signes des inscriptions qui la recouvrent, dont les plus grands n'ont pas même un centimètre de hauteur, sont très soigneusement gravés. A part quelques ébréchures sans conséquence: une petite cassure au coude droit et deux autres aux coins avant du socle, elle est intacte.

Les inscriptions occupent le pilier dorsal et les deux côtés de la statue; il s'y ajoute, comme sur la statue de Minmôsé, un cartouche-prénom de Ramsès II — 'Ousermaâtrâ l'Élu de Râ' (F, pl. XXIII, et fig. 2) — gravé sur le bras droit, et, en outre, lui faisant pendant sur le bras gauche, le nom du personnage représenté par la statue, à savoir 'Pyiay' (G, et fig. 2). Sur chacun des côtés de la statue, il y a une inscription de quatre lignes horizontales, écrites, de la manière habituelle, de droite à gauche sur le côté droit (H), et de gauche à droite sur le côté gauche (J); sur le pilier dorsal, il y a deux lignes verticales de texte (K), dont les signes font face à droite, et qui, ainsi que le pilier lui-même, se prolongent à plat sur l'appendice occupant l'arrière du socle.¹

H Ô *Ourethékaou!* accorde-moi de demeurer dans (ton) temple — dans son intérieur — de jour en jour, et accorde que je reste indemne à ses portes, sans y être déplacé de côté et d'autre (?), jusqu'à ce que je repose dans *Ânkhtaoui*, le district des favorisés — pour le ka du serviteur *Pyiay*, justifié, fils du dignitaire *Paour*.








J Une offrande-que-donne-le-roi à *Ourethékaou*, la maîtresse du ciel, l'œil de Râ, qui est sortie de son corps, afin qu'elle accorde que mon corps reste vigoureux au service de Sa Personne, ma faculté de parler étant indemne et ma démarche assurée, jusqu'à ce que j'aie atteint l'état de bienheureux — pour le ka du serviteur *Pyiay*, justifié.



K Le serviteur *Pyiay*, justifié, dit: Ô *Ourethékaou!* holà! prête l'oreille! C'est moi (ton) portier: accorde que je reste au service de mon maître, à ouvrir (?) ses portes.

Dans le texte H, l. 1, il faut certainement — sur le modèle de *imî wî m pr·k* du texte D de Minmôsé — restituer le suffixe de la 2^e pers. fém. sg. après □1, suffixe qui manque aussi après Ⲭⲓⲓ, texte K, l. 2, où l'on doit lire *pr·y<·t> îry·s* 'ton portier'. En H 1, *pr* sans suffixe, soit 'la maison', 'le temple', ne serait pas satisfaisant dans le contexte, et *pr(i)* 'ma maison', autre lecture graphiquement possible, est évidemment à écarter;²

¹ La pl. XXIII reproduit les inscriptions dans la disposition, l'orientation et la grandeur de l'original, en des fac-similés dessinés sur des estampages, avec l'aide de photographies.

² Il ne peut naturellement être question de lire □1: le signe qui suit *pr* est nettement un *m* (de *m-hnw*), inversé comme ce signe l'est curieusement dans tous les cas dans les inscriptions de la statue, quelle que soit leur orientation (voir pl. XXIII).

en K 2,  ne peut être que l'article possessif et, dans le contexte, seul un possessif de la 2^e pers. fém. sg. peut convenir. Comme le montre la graphie  = *msdr.t* 'ton oreille' de K 2, seul autre cas d'emploi du suffixe de la 2^e pers. fém. sg. dans les textes de la statue, le scribe utilisait, pour noter ce suffixe, la graphie néo-égyptienne , et ce fait peut à lui seul en expliquer la double omission:  pouvait en effet être traité comme le signe analogue , le suffixe de la 1^{ère} pers. sg., et, à ce titre, ne pas être exprimé dans l'écriture; cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 68, et *Wb* v, 337.¹ — L'interprétation de  (H 1) — où le suffixe *f* ne peut référer qu'à *pr* 'temple' — est malaisée. J'ai traduit comme s'il s'agissait d'une sorte de parenthèse précisant ce qui précède: '... dans ton temple, et plus exactement dans son intérieur', ce qui n'est guère un procédé usité en égyptien; la même difficulté subsiste si, au lieu de faire de ces mots la préposition composée *m-hnw*, on y voit un substantif *hnw* désignant une partie déterminée du temple. — Dans  (H 3), on a affaire à un idiotisme *it-in* (*itt-int*), litt. 'emporter-(r)apporter', dont la signification et les modalités d'emploi ne sont pas encore bien établies; cf. les études de Vandier, *La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 71-3, et Gardiner, *JEA* 24, 124-5; voir aussi Faulkner, *Concise Dict.*, 34. L'expression s'applique initialement à un mouvement physique de va-et-vient continu, comme par exemple le mouvement des mâchoires (Pap. Ed. Smith, III, 17)² ou le balancement incessant d'un cobra dressé (*Pyr.* 1459b); avec une nuance péjorative, elle réfère à un mouvement physique désordonné ou irrégulier (exx. dans Gardiner, loc. cit.). Mais il y a une majorité de cas, et déjà au Nouvel Empire, où l'expression est employée dans un sens éthique, généralement sous une forme négative, comme par exemple dans *šw m it-in* 'exempt de *it-in*', c'est-à-dire, peut-être, 'constant'.³ Parmi les assez nombreux exemples de *it-in* employé négativement, il en est un qu'il convient particulièrement de comparer à celui de notre texte: il date pratiquement de la même

¹ En fait, comme le suffixe de la 2^e pers. fém. sg. était alors réduit à une simple voyelle *-ē* (cf. copte *-e*), il ne pouvait plus être noté *phonétiquement*, et c'est là une raison suffisante pour qu'il ait été parfois omis dans l'écriture. Quand il est noté au moyen de , ce signe est en réalité un *déterminatif* de la forme vocalique du suffixe, non exprimée graphiquement, exactement comme  rendant le suffixe de la 1^{ère} pers. sg. est, à l'origine au moins, un déterminatif de la forme vocalique *-i* que devait avoir dans la majorité des cas ce suffixe.

² Cf. Breasted, *Ed. Smith Surgical Pap.*, I, 186-7 et 189 (sur *it-in*, cf. aussi p. 595), et Von Deines und Westendorf, *Wb. der mediz. Texte*, I, 110. Dans le Pap. Ed. Smith (XI, 15), *it-in* est aussi employé à propos du mouvement des vertèbres du cou; cf. Breasted, op. cit. I, 340.

³ Exx.: Naville, *Todtb.*, *Einleitung*, 51 = I, pl. clxxxiii; Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII, r^o 9, 6 (Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift [Hierat. Pap. in the British Museum]*, III, I, 70 et n. 2, et II, pl. 42); Chassinat, *Dendara*, III, 79, 7 (cf. aussi II, 12, 12-13, où un complément direct, *hpw* 'lois', est ajouté à *it-in*). Dans les précédents exemples, l'expression qualifie un homme vertueux ou un juge intègre (Thot, en tant que juge divin, ou le roi, assimilé à Thot), mais *šw m it-in* se dit aussi d'une crue du Nil qui ne se produit pas d'une façon irrégulière (cf. par ex. Chassinat, *Edfou*, II, 260, 11); d'un juge divin, on dit encore *bwt k:f it-in* 'l'inconstance (?) est l'abomination de son *ka*' (*LD*, Text, IV, 113). Dans des emplois différents, on trouve, dans des constructions où *it-in* a divers compléments introduits par la préposition *m*, la négation *n(n)* ou le verbe négatif *tm* à la place de *šw m*; cf. par ex. Amélineau, *Nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos, 1897-1898*, 161 et 292, et *Le tombeau d'Osiris*, 42; Berlin 6910 (*AeIB* II, 68); Glypt. Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 584 (*BAE* VI, 6; Koefoed-Petersen, *Catal. des statues et statuettes*, 38). A la Basse Époque, *it-in* — construit avec la préposition *m* et toujours nié (par le verbe négatif *imi* ou par *m* védatif) — se rencontre employé à propos de l'application des règlements d'un temple ou de l'utilisation des mesures par les prêtres; cf. De Morgan, *Catal. des Mon.* III, 19, n^o 541, et 245, n^o 878, et Chassinat, *Edfou*, III, 361, 2. On trouve aussi *m it-in* (avec *m* védatif) employé à propos de l'utilisation de la balance; cf. Lefebvre, *Petosiris*, Inscr. 32, b. Voir encore ci-dessous, p. 141, n. 3.

difficultés de vocabulaire, mais qui, cependant, établissent indubitablement une relation entre ces personnages et les portes — désignées par les termes *šb* ou *ʕ*, ce dernier signifiant proprement ‘vantail’ — qui se trouvaient dans les temples que mentionnent les inscriptions de leurs statues: Minmôsé demande à Onouris de pouvoir être durablement installé (*rwḏ*) à la ‘grande porte’ (*ʕ wr*) de son temple, qu’elle soit fermée ou ouverte devant le dieu (D 1-3), et Pyiay souhaite de demeurer sain et sauf (*wḏ*) aux portes (*šbʕw*) du temple d’Ourethékaou (H 2), et de rester au service de son maître, à ouvrir (?) les portes (*ʕwy*) pour lui (K 2).


La solution qui se présente d’emblée à l’esprit est qu’on a affaire à des textes biographiques, que Minmôsé et Pyiay étaient — de leur vivant — attachés en tant que gardiens de portes au service des temples mentionnés, et que c’est ce qu’ils expriment dans les inscriptions de leurs statues. Mais, outre que la phraséologie n’est pas dans le style habituel des autobiographies égyptiennes, différentes constatations viennent s’opposer à une telle interprétation et permettent d’en proposer une autre.

Le Minmôsé de la statue de Brighton est un personnage bien connu.¹ Il appartenait à la famille du célèbre Ounennéfer, le premier prophète d’Osiris à Abydos. On a retrouvé son tombeau, qui était situé dans la nécropole abydnienne,² et on connaît de lui plusieurs statues ainsi que divers autres objets: vases, chaouabtis, etc. Les titres qui lui sont attribués sur ces monuments montrent que Minmôsé était un personnage important: en plus des titres de ‘scribe royal’, ‘prêtre-lecteur en chef du Seigneur des Deux-Pays’, ‘chambellan de Chou et Tefnout’ et ‘premier prophète d’Onouris’ qu’il porte sur la statue de Brighton, et ailleurs également, il avait encore ceux de ‘noble héréditaire et prince’, ‘trésorier du roi de Basse Égypte’, ‘ami unique’, ‘prêtre *sem*’, ‘grand des voyants de Râ à This’, ‘majordome du domaine d’Onouris’, ‘chef des prophètes des dieux seigneurs du nome thinite’, et d’autres encore. Or, non seulement le titre de *iry-ʕ* ‘portier’ ne figure pas dans l’énumération des titres de Minmôsé, pourtant variés et nombreux, mais encore, étant donné leur nature, on ne peut vraiment pas s’attendre à le trouver parmi eux. En effet, si, à la Basse Époque, les ‘gardiens de portes’ des temples tenaient une certaine place dans la hiérarchie sacerdotale, à l’époque ramesside ils n’étaient encore, à de rares exceptions près,³ que de simples portiers chargés de s’occuper des portes des temples et de les garder. Et, puisque Minmôsé était déjà premier prophète d’Onouris, notamment, quand il a fait faire la statue conservée à Brighton, il n’est pas vraisemblable qu’il ait fait état d’une obscure charge de portier de temple, s’il l’avait jamais occupée lors d’un modeste début de carrière. Il faut donc chercher une autre explication à la mention de cette désignation de ‘gardien de porte’ sur sa statue, car elle ne semble pas pouvoir référer à un emploi que Minmôsé aurait réellement occupé pendant son existence terrestre.

¹ Cf. Petrie, *Abydos*, 1, 44, [b] 4; Legrain, *Rec. trav.* 31, 209-11; 32, 29-34 et 38-40; Kees, *ZÄS* 73, 89, et *Das Priestertum im ägypt. Staat*, 102-3, 148-9, 151-2, et *Nachträge*, 13 (S. 103); Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren u. Neuen Reichs*, 454-5; De Meulenaere, *Chron. d’Ég.* 41/82, 229-32.

² Cf. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* v, 74-5.

³ Un portier de temple (*iry-ʕ n hwt-ntr*), par exemple, est aussi second prophète et prêtre *wcb* (*Urk.* IV, 30), et quelques autres portiers (*iry-ʕ*) remplissent en même temps la charge de prêtre *wcb*; cf. Jelínková-Reymond, *Chron. d’Ég.* 28/55, 48-9.

Les objets portant le nom de Minmôsé qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous ne proviennent pas tous de son tombeau abydnien, ni même du site d'Abydos: une table d'offrande brisée¹ de ce personnage a été trouvée en 1891 à Mécheikh (Nag' el-Machâyikh), un village situé sur la rive orientale du Nil vis-à-vis de Girga, tout près, donc, du site de l'ancienne This, et c'est probablement aussi de Mécheikh que proviennent deux ou trois des statues de Minmôsé découvertes vers la même époque.² Mécheikh occupe l'emplacement d'une ville pharaonique appelée 'Behdet-Orientale' (*Bhdt-Ïbtt*),³ et, sous le village moderne, subsistent encore les ruines du temple ramesside de cette ville, un sanctuaire consacré à Onouris et à la déesse-lionne Méhyt, dans lequel Minmôsé exerçait son sacerdoce.⁴ C'est selon toute vraisemblance dans ce temple que se trouvaient les statues lui appartenant qui ont été trouvées sur le site — statues au nombre desquelles il faut très probablement compter celle de Brighton.⁵ Les statues de Minmôsé, dont deux sont du type 'sistrophe',⁶ étaient ainsi des 'statues de temple', et l'on sait que certaines statues de cette catégorie, perçues par les Égyptiens comme étant douées d'une personnalité propre, étaient censées jouer dans le temple le rôle d'un intermédiaire entre la divinité du lieu et les gens qui venaient présenter quelque requête à cette divinité.⁷ Pour bien marquer ce rôle, des inscriptions originales décrivaient explicitement le personnage représenté par la statue — ou, plus exactement, la statue même — comme étant un  *whmw*, un 'porte-parole', qui, étant à même d'intercéder auprès de la divinité, s'offrait de lui communiquer, moyennant naturellement quelque offrande de pain et de bière, les demandes qu'on viendrait à lui présenter.

On trouve ainsi, sur les statues en question, des affirmations telles que: *ink whmw n nbt pt* 'je suis le porte-parole de la Maîtresse du ciel', *ink whmw n hnwtf* 'je suis le porte-parole de ma Dame'.⁸ Notons en passant que, de même que Minmôsé n'était pas professionnellement un 'gardien de porte', aucun des personnages auxquels sont prêtées les paroles qui viennent d'être rapportées n'exerçait la profession de *whmw*: parmi eux il y a un marchand (*šwyty*); un chef des tisserands (*hry mrt*); un échanson (*wb*); royal, chef de département (*ꜥ n ꜥt*) du Seigneur des Deux-Pays et intendant (*mr pr*); un scribe des recrues (*nfrw*) du Seigneur des Deux-Pays; un autre scribe des recrues qui était en outre scribe royal; un premier conducteur de char (*ktn*) de Sa

¹ Caire, *CG* 23095 (Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, 81-2). Cf. Kees, *ZÄS* 73, 85, n. 7.

² Cf. Cooney, *Bull. Brooklyn Museum* 11/3, 16-17.




³ Cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 36*-37* (351A).

⁴ Cf. Sayce, *PSBA* 7, 172; Kees, *ZÄS* 73, 77.






⁵ Cf. Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 27, à pl. 78 (texte de Maspero): 'des fouilles, faites à Meshêikh, à partir de 1881, ont mis au jour, dans le village, un petit temple construit par Ramsès II, réparé par Mînephtah, et ont rendu beaucoup de statues et de stèles, dont quelques-unes appartiennent à d'autres princes de Thini [c'est-à-dire autres que le premier prophète d'Onouris Anhourmôsé dont Maspero a parlé précédemment].'

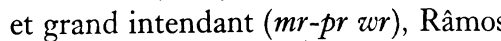
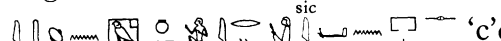
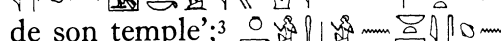
⁶ Brooklyn 16.206 (Cooney, *Bull. Brooklyn Museum* 11/3, 16-17 et fig. 3, p. 14) et Caire, *CG* 1203, de provenance 'inconnue' (Borchardt, *Statuen u. Statuetten*, IV, 103-5).

⁷ Cf. Helck, *Einfluß der Militärführer* (*Unt.* XIV), 12-13; Otto, *ZÄS* 78, 32-3 et *Orientalia* 17, 462; Hermann, *Altägypt. Liebesdichtung*, 49, n. 49 (de p. 48); Morenz, *Ägypt. Religion*, 108-9.

⁸ Exx.: statues Caire, JE 89783 (inédate); de  *whmw*, dans le commerce (inédate); Louvre E. 14241 (*Urk.* IV, 1856, 9, où il faut lire  au lieu de ); Caire, *CG* 627 (Borchardt, *Statuen u. Statuetten*, II, 174); Caire, *CG* 901 (*Urk.* IV, 1922, 9); Linköping 189 (voir ci-dessous, p. 144, n. 4), etc. Cf. aussi les deux statues d'Amenhotep fils de Hapou, Caire, JE 44861 (*Urk.* IV, 1833, 18) et JE 44862 (*Urk.* IV, 1835, 6).

Majesté, messenger (*wḫwty*) royal dans tous les pays étrangers et chef de la charrerie (*ḥry pḏt n ts-nt-ḥtr*); etc.¹

Mais la désignation de *wḫmw* 'porte-parole' n'est pas la seule que l'on trouve employée de la manière qui vient d'être définie. Dans les parties du temple auxquelles le peuple avait accès, dans l'avant-cour (*wḫs*) notamment, les statues de particuliers étaient nombreuses à solliciter des visiteurs une offrande, et il était bon pour chacune d'elles, afin de faire face à cette concurrence, de pouvoir présenter quelque avantage sur ses voisines. Un moyen de montrer qu'on était particulièrement bien placé pour avoir l'oreille de la divinité consistait à prétendre être un de ses serviteurs, ou même un de ses familiers. D'où l'emploi, à côté de *wḫmw* 'porte-parole', d'autres désignations telles que, d'une part,  *hm* ou  *bšk* 'serviteur', et, d'autre part,  *ihy* et  *is* (*iḥz*), deux termes par l'emploi desquels l'homme représenté par la statue s'assimilait à un personnage mythologique de l'entourage de la divinité. Ces quatre termes figurent le plus souvent, mais non pas exclusivement, dans des phrases du modèle de celles qu'on a déjà vues — par exemple: *ink hm n Ḥḥr* 'je suis le serviteur d'Hathor', *ink hm n nbt pt* 'je suis le serviteur de la Maîtresse du ciel', *ink bšk n Nb* () 'je suis le serviteur de la déesse Or', *ink pḥ is n Ḥḥr* 'je suis le "chouve" d'Hathor', etc.²

Or, parmi les termes ainsi employés pour appâter les visiteurs du temple afin d'obtenir d'eux des offrandes ou des prières, termes dont on faisait volontiers figurer deux ou trois simultanément dans les inscriptions d'une même statue, pour être plus sûr d'obtenir le résultat recherché, on trouve également — s'ajoutant à celles qui ont déjà été citées — la désignation même de *iry-c* 'gardien de porte' qu'on a rencontrée sur les statues de Minmôsé et de Pyiay. Ainsi, trois personnages dont l'un était le scribe des collectes (*šḥw*) Sedjemouaou, un autre (déjà cité précédemment), le premier conducteur de char de Sa Majesté, messenger royal dans tous les pays étrangers et chef de la charrerie, Anḥournakht, et le troisième, le scribe royal, directeur du Double Grenier et grand intendant (*mr-pr wr*), Râmosé, font dire respectivement à leur statue:  'c'est moi le "chouve" d'Hathor, c'est moi le portier de son temple';³  'c'est moi le (vrai) serviteur de la Maîtresse du ciel, le "chouve" du temple de Méhyt, le portier de son sanctuaire';⁴  'c'est moi le (vrai) serviteur de la Maîtresse du ciel, le portier de son temple'.⁵

¹ Voir les références dans la précédente note.


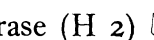
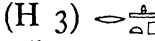



² Cf. par ex., pour *hm*: Caire, *CG* 930 (Borchardt, op. cit. III, 160); Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1935-1940), II, 58, n° 68; *ibid.* (1945-1947), 39 et fig. 26, n° 88 (*[in]k hm n Ḥḥr*); statue de Râmôsé, dans le commerce (cf. ci-dessous, n. 5); — pour *bšk*: Bruyère, op. cit. (1935-1940), II, 58, n° 68, et p. 59, n° 256; — pour *ihy*: Louvre E. 14241 (*Urk.* IV, 1856, 9); British Museum 1459 (Naville, *XIth Dyn. Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, III, pl. ix, *A.c.*); — pour *is*: Caire 1203 (Borchardt, op. cit. IV, 104); British Museum 41645 (*Hierogl. Texts*, v, pl. xl); Strasbourg 1587 (Spiegelberg, *Rec. trav.* 28, 176); Avignon Inv. 35 (cf. la note suivante). Pour les deux derniers termes, dont l'explication dépasserait les limites du présent article, je renvoie à mon étude en préparation sur les 'statues de chauves d'Hathor'.

³ Avignon Inv. 35, d'après l'original; copie très fautive chez Moret, *Rec. trav.* 35, 201.

⁴ Linköping 189, inédit; photographies de la statue dans *5000 år egypt. konst* (*Nationalmuseum Stockholm*), pl. [26], n° 98 (cf. p. 53 et 98), et Björkman, *Smithska samlingen av egypt. fornsaker i... Linköpings Stads Museum*, pl. xvii (cf. p. 129, n° 189).

⁵ Statue de Râmôsé, inédite, dans le commerce au Caire, en 1964 et antérieurement.

Il y a certes une différence, et qui n'est pas négligeable, entre les phrases qui viennent d'être citées et celles des statues de Minmôsé et de Pyiay: tandis que les premières sont adressées aux visiteurs du temple, les secondes, elles, sont adressées à la divinité; la signification des unes est 'je suis le portier de *son* temple', celles des autres, 'je suis le portier de *ton* temple'. Cependant, je crois qu'il ne peut faire de doute qu'on trouve dans ce rapprochement l'explication de l'emploi de la qualification de *iry-ꜥ* 'portier' dans les inscriptions des deux statues étudiées ici. Quand le premier des deux personnages, Minmôsé, dit qu'il était le portier de la grande porte du temple d'Onouris, cela ne signifie pas qu'il avait effectivement exercé cette profession de son vivant: c'est la statue à son image qu'il avait placée dans le temple nommé, pour y demeurer éternellement, qui était considérée comme tenant — et comme devant continuer de tenir après sa mort — ce rôle de portier du temple.

Pour ce qui est du second personnage, Pyiay fils de Paour, une telle analyse de la situation, qui en l'occurrence est plus complexe, peut paraître moins sûre. Ce Pyiay ne semble pas être connu ailleurs, et on peut hésiter à affirmer, sur la foi d'un seul document, qu'il n'avait pas été, de son vivant, un gardien de porte, d'autant plus que son titre,  *sdm-ꜥš*, 'écouteur d'appels', que l'on rend par 'serviteur', peut être, comme c'est parfois le cas ailleurs,¹ un titre fantaisiste ou de complaisance recouvrant une fonction réelle différente. Une autre particularité de la statue de Pyiay qui peut sembler, à première vue, devoir faire obstacle à l'interprétation proposée, est la présence, en complément de la phrase (H 2)  'accorde-moi de rester sain et sauf à ses portes', des mots (H 3)  qui ne peuvent signifier que 'jusqu'à ce que je repose dans (la nécropole de) Ānkhtaoui', c'est-à-dire 'jusqu'au jour de ma mort': on peut évidemment être tenté de voir dans ces mots la preuve que c'est durant sa vie sur terre que Pyiay affirmait avoir été un portier du temple. Enfin, il est pour le moins très probable que le 'maître',  *nb*, dont il est question dans l'inscription du pilier dorsal (K 2) — maître au service duquel Pyiay demande à la déesse Ourethékaou de lui accorder de rester — n'est pas un dieu, mais le maître humain dont Pyiay était le *sdm-ꜥš* 'serviteur' pendant son existence terrestre. Il serait en effet difficile d'admettre que, dans des inscriptions qui sont entièrement consacrées à la déesse Ourethékaou, comme l'est aussi la statue elle-même avec sa représentation du sistre 'hathorique', une autre divinité, en l'occurrence un dieu, soit mentionné, et d'une façon aussi peu explicite. En outre, quelle que soit la signification du verbe  (K 2), que j'ai rendu par 'ouvrir' dans le souci surtout d'éviter un blanc dans la traduction, ce verbe exprime forcément quelque action exercée sur les portes, et justement sur les portes du 'maître' en question, *nb* étant le seul mot auquel puisse référer le possessif dans  'ses portes'. On rejoint donc ce qui a été envisagé plus haut comme une simple possibilité, à savoir que Pyiay, même si son titre de *sdm-ꜥš* 'serviteur' ne l'indique pas, avait à s'occuper d'une façon ou d'une autre des portes de la demeure de son maître et qu'il était par conséquent, et ce *de son vivant*, en quelque sorte un 'portier', c'est-à-dire un *iry-ꜥ*.

¹ Cf. Černý, *Rev. Ég. Anc.* 2, 201-6.


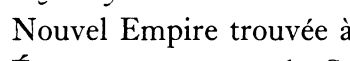
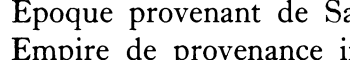
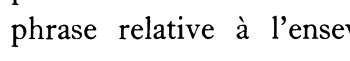
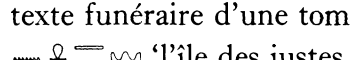
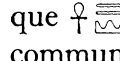
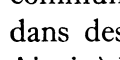

Ainsi, on ne peut éviter d'avoir à admettre que les inscriptions de la statue de Pyiay concernent, au moins pour une partie de ce qui y est exprimé, l'existence réelle, terrestre, de ce personnage.

Cette constatation ne doit pas, cependant, être regardée comme s'opposant absolument à l'interprétation envisagée ici pour la statue de Pyiay. Une telle statue pouvait facilement présenter dans ses inscriptions des éléments contradictoires: elle devait en effet être conçue, d'une part en vue de l'acceptation de son introduction dans le temple, d'autre part en vue d'un séjour permanent dans le temple. La phrase initiale (H 1-2) de la prière à Ourethékaou, *imi wi m pr(·t) m-hnw-f r nb*, dont la traduction littérale est 'place-moi dans ton temple, dans son intérieur, chaque jour', est un exemple de cette confusion de deux situations différentes successives: elle signifie, à notre sens, 'accepte ma statue dans ton temple..., et, une fois qu'elle sera dans ton temple, accepte qu'elle y demeure chaque jour (c'est-à-dire de jour en jour)'. D'autre part, la statue était faite essentiellement pour assurer, après sa mort, des offrandes funéraires au personnage qu'elle représentait, mais elle était placée dans le temple déjà de son vivant. D'où la possibilité que les inscriptions fassent à la fois allusion à la vie terrestre et à la vie *post mortem* du personnage qu'elles concernent, et ce d'une façon qui peut ne pas être en accord avec notre logique: les Égyptiens, on le sait, n'étaient nullement gênés d'avoir à accepter simultanément deux interprétations ou deux situations différentes. Il n'est donc pas anormal que nous nous trouvions devoir admettre qu'il y a dans les inscriptions de la statue de Pyiay un mélange d'allusions, d'une part à sa profession durant sa vie terrestre, et d'autre part au rôle de sa statue dans le temple après sa mort. Ce qui, en tout cas, est à mon avis certain, c'est que, si Pyiay a été, comme c'est très probable, un gardien de porte alors qu'il était en vie (et ce peut, certes, être ce qui l'a incité à se faire représenter sous forme d'une statue 'gardienne de porte'), il n'a pas été, de son vivant, donc réellement, un portier du temple de la déesse Ourethékaou. Comme c'est le cas pour Minmôsé, c'est à sa statue, et à elle seule, qu'il faut attribuer ce rôle.

Le temple dans lequel Pyiay avait placé sa statue (dont la provenance, je le rappelle, n'est pas connue) est très probablement un de ceux qui existaient à Memphis ou dans la région de Memphis. C'est en effet ce qu'on peut déduire de la mention, dans ses inscriptions (en H 3), du nom géographique $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ 'Ānkhtaoui', qui est employé pour désigner l'endroit — la nécropole — où il désirait reposer après sa mort. Les avis sont partagés sur ce qu'était précisément Ānkhtaoui: un autre nom de la ville de Memphis? un quartier de cette ville? un de ses faubourgs? un sanctuaire memphite particulier?¹ On a même supposé que cette désignation, si fréquemment associée au dieu Ptah de Memphis, dans son épithète *nb rnh-trwy* 'Seigneur de Ānkhtaoui', n'était peut-être pas, à l'origine, un nom géographique.² Quoi qu'il en soit, et nonobstant d'autres emplois, Ānkhtaoui est certainement un des noms qu'on donnait, au Nouvel

¹ Cf., entre autres, Bonnet, *Reallexikon ägypt. Religionsgeschichte*, 448[a]; BAR IV, 111, n. a; Caminos, *LEM*, 336; Christophe, *BIFAO* 48, 4; Erichsen und Schott, *Frag. memphit. Theologie*, 329 et 346; Hurry, *Imhotep*², 4; Kees, *Götterglaube*², 179 et 293; Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 188 et 214; Steindorff, *Egypt. Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, 62.

² Cf. Sandman Holmberg, *op. cit.* 215.

Empire et plus tard, à la nécropole de Memphis: d'une part ce terme se rencontre plusieurs fois employé — comme c'est le cas dans l'inscription de Pyiay — dans des phrases relatives à l'ensevelissement, emploi dans lequel il reçoit régulièrement le déterminatif  des 'régions désertiques', ce qui confirme la signification indiquée; d'autre part, les monuments dans les inscriptions desquels cette acception 'nécropole' se rencontre sont de provenance memphite ou, si leur provenance est inconnue, sont d'une façon ou d'une autre en relation avec le dieu Ptah et peuvent donc être supposés provenir également de Memphis. C'est ainsi qu'on trouve la formule *krst nfrt m rnh-twy* 'un bel ensevelissement dans (la nécropole de) Ānkhtaoui' sur une statue du Nouvel Empire trouvée à Mît-Rahîna ()¹ sur une statue de Basse Époque provenant de Saqqâra ()² et sur une statue du Nouvel Empire de provenance inconnue, mais qui représente un homme accroupi tenant devant lui une image du dieu Ptah, et dont la provenance memphite est encore indiquée par la mention de ce dieu dans la formule d'offrande (*htp-di-nswt*) dont dépend la phrase relative à l'ensevelissement ()³. D'autre part, dans un texte funéraire d'une tombe ramesside de Saqqâra, il est fait allusion à  'l'île des justes, la nécropole (*hrt*)⁴ de Ānkhtaoui'.⁵ Enfin, des graphies telles que  ou , avec le déterminatif  dont l'emploi indique que ce nom était communément senti comme celui d'une nécropole, ne sont pas rares, par exemple dans des épithètes divines, sur des monuments provenant de la région memphite.⁶ Ainsi, à la différence de ce qui s'est produit pour d'autres noms propres géographiques qui ont perdu leur attachement originaire à une localisation déterminée et sont devenus des termes généraux pour 'nécropole', Ānkhtaoui a continué à s'appliquer exclusivement à la nécropole de Memphis. On est donc en droit de regarder la présence de ce toponyme dans les inscriptions de la statue de Pyiay comme étant la preuve qu'elle provient de la région de Memphis et que, par conséquent, c'est dans un sanctuaire de cette ville ou de ses environs qu'elle avait été placée.⁷

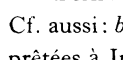
Il s'agissait, comme on peut le conclure, de la mention exclusive de cette déesse dans les inscriptions de la statue, d'un temple ou d'une chapelle d'Ourethékaou. Ce nom, en fait, n'est pas en général attaché à une divinité déterminée, c'est plutôt un surnom ou une épithète que portent différentes déesses.⁸ On le trouve attribué à Hathor, à Isis et aux déesses léontocéphales Sakhmet et Bastet, qui peuvent toutes être des

¹ Caire, *CG* 1174 (Borchardt, op. cit. iv, 90).

² Caire, *CG* 667 (ibid. III, 15).

³ Leyde D 31 (Leemans, *Monumens*, II, pl. v, n° 31; *Beschr.* v, 12, n° 27, fig. 72). Texte collationné sur un estampe obligamment communiqué par B. H. Stricker.

⁴ Cf. *Wb* III, 143, 18.

⁵ Berlin 12410 (*AeIB* II, 179). Cf. Erman, *ZÄS* 33, 22 et pl. ii, b, et Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, 197. — Cf. aussi: *brv dsr n*  *brv hsp dt-i im* 'le lieu sacré de Ānkhtaoui, le lieu où est caché mon corps', paroles prêtées à Imhotep et concernant sa sépulture qui était située près de Memphis; cf. Sethe, *Imhotep*, 7.

⁶ Cf. Petrie, *Memphis*, II, pl. xxiv (2 exemples); Caire, *CG* 606 (Borchardt, op. cit. II, 156) et *CG* 870 (ibid. III, 131); etc.

⁷ Le nom Pyiay se rencontre sur plusieurs monuments provenant de Memphis (cf. Berlin 7269 (*AeIB* II, 197), Florence Inv. 2584 (Bosticco, *Le stele egiz. del Nuovo Regno*, n° 28), etc.), mais dans aucun cas il ne peut s'agir du personnage de ce nom que représente la statue publiée ici.

⁸ Sur Ourethékaou cf. Bonnet, *Reallexikon ägypt. Religionsgeschichte*, 848.

déeses memphites.¹ Ainsi, dans des énumérations d'époque ramesside de divinités associées à Ptah, on trouve Isis qualifiée de 'Ourethékaou'.² Comme une divinité particulière, compagne du dieu Ptah, Ourethékaou se rencontre, par exemple, à l'époque de Ramsès II, sur une stèle du temple d'Abou-Simbel,³ et, formant une triade avec Ptah et Sakhmet, sur la stèle d'une statue stéléphore du vizir Paser, où la déesse Neit est également figurée.⁴ On ne peut donc pas dire qui était précisément la déesse appelée Ourethékaou sur la statue de Pyiay. La présence du sistre hathorique ornant le devant de cette statue n'indique pas nécessairement, en tout cas, qu'il s'agissait d'Hathor, car cet emblème pouvait être associé à n'importe laquelle des déesses qui ont été mentionnées.

Dans son *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, dans le chapitre qu'il a intitulé 'Men and the Gods', Černý a mis en relief (p. 74) le fait que, au Nouvel Empire, dans le sentiment populaire, différentes statues divines distinguées par des attributs, des costumes ou des épithètes différents, et par les diverses localités où elles se trouvaient, ont été peu à peu dissociées des dieux qu'elles représentaient pour devenir en elles-mêmes des objets de culte. Il en a été un peu de même des statues mentionnées dans le commentaire de cet article: elles étaient senties comme des entités indépendantes, en quelque sorte, de la personne qu'elles représentaient, auxquelles les fidèles — attirés surtout par les avantages que l'association de ces statues avec la divinité leur faisait espérer — présentaient des offrandes dans l'espoir d'obtenir par leur entremise la réalisation de quelque vœu. Si l'interprétation que j'en ai donnée est correcte, c'était aussi le cas pour les statues de Minmôsé et de Pyiay. Leur spécialisation dans le rôle de 'gardiens de portes' peut être due au fait qu'elles étaient effectivement placées 'à la porte'⁵ du temple dans lequel elles se trouvaient, mais il n'est pas même besoin d'avoir recours à cette explication, car l'avant-cour (*wbꜣ*) des temples, dans laquelle devaient être groupées la majorité des statues dont il a été question, était précisément un lieu où pouvaient se tenir les portiers.⁶ Enfin, si la pratique de placer de telles statues dans les temples peut être regardée comme une manifestation de la religion populaire, on a vu que des personnages importants, à en juger d'après leurs titres, n'avaient pas fait fi de ce moyen d'assurer leur subsistance après la mort: le cas de Minmôsé, premier prophète d'un grand dieu égyptien, en est un autre exemple.

Il faut espérer que d'autres statues présentant dans leurs inscriptions les mêmes caractères particuliers que celles de Minmôsé et de Pyiay — les seules du genre que je connaisse — existent dans des musées ou seront découvertes en Égypte, car, en dehors du fait qu'elles pourront aider à en préciser la nature, il s'agit certainement d'une catégorie de documents d'un indéniable intérêt.

¹ Cf. Lanzone, *Diz. di mitol.*, 172.

² Cf. Décret de Nauri, l. 3 (*JEA* 13, pl. xl); Caire, *CG* 606 (Borchardt, op. cit. II, 156).

³ Maspero, *Rapports relatifs à la consolidation des temples (Temples immergés de la Nubie)*, 157 et pl. clxiii.

⁴ Statue Louvre E. 25980, inédite (cf. Yoyotte, *Annuaire 1966-67 [École Pratique des Hautes Études, V^e Section]*, 87-8).

⁵ Cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, § 165, 1: *hr sbꜣ* 'at (or 'through?') the gate'.

⁶ Cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 90* (193); Jelínková-Reymond, *Chron. d'Ég.* 28/55, 49.

LE TESTAMENT D'IMENKHÂOU

Par AR. THEODORIDES

AU moment de rendre un très admiratif hommage au Professeur Jaroslav Černý, à son infinie compétence et à sa bienveillance si sereinement généreuse, il m'est particulièrement agréable d'évoquer le jour où je m'étais permis de lui faire remarquer que je ne comprenais pas comme lui la portée générale du Pap. Turin 2021, qu'il avait édité avec Peet,¹ et réétudié seul par la suite.² Il est allé d'emblée au devant de mon désir de reprendre l'analyse du document, en mettant à ma disposition son cahier de transcriptions ainsi que des photographies du papyrus, dont la deuxième page a pu être miraculeusement complétée, grâce surtout à un fragment qu'il avait lui-même découvert au Musée de Genève.³

J'ai pu depuis réexaminer à loisir le papyrus ainsi reconstitué au Musée de Turin,⁴ et je me propose d'essayer de définir ici la nature de l'acte conservé.

Il se confirme effectivement qu'on ne peut parler d'un contrat de mariage,⁵ puisque cet acte a été dressé après le second mariage du 'père divin' Imenkhâou (à la fin de la xx^e dynastie),⁶ au moment où les acquêts de communauté *ayant déjà été réalisés*, il a décidé d'en abandonner la totalité à sa femme (elle n'aurait eu normalement droit qu'au tiers desdits acquêts). Après lui en avoir laissé la jouissance,⁷ il lui en accorde le transfert par un acte régulier qui est dressé en présence des enfants du premier lit.

A ces derniers, Imenkhâou avait déjà remis les neuf esclaves qui avaient constitué son apport en communauté dans le premier et le second mariage, ainsi qu'une maison qui était un bien propre.

La formalité relative à l'acte est remplie devant le Conseil (*knbt*) de Médinet Habou, présidée pour lors par le Vizir, et Imenkhâou s'y exprime en ces termes :

... Aussi, me voici venu (*hr ptr tw-i i:k(wi)*) devant le Vizir |^{11,9} et [les] membres du Conseil (de Médinet Habou) ([*n*] *šrw n t: knbt*), en ce jour (*m p: hrw*), afin de faire connaître :

(a) la part de chacun de mes enfants (*r rdît rh wc nb dnît-f m hrw-i*);

(b) |^{11,10} cette disposition que je vais prendre (*p:y šhr nty iw-i ir(t):f*) en faveur (*n*) de la 'citadine' Anoksoundjem, cette femme (*t[š]y st-hmt*) qui est dans [m]a [maiso]n en ce |^{11,11} jour⁸ (*nty m p:[y-i pr] m p: hrw*), puisque Pharaon a dit (*hr dd Pr-c: V.S.F.*) QUE CHACUN FASSE CE QU'IL DÉSIRE DE SES BIENS (*imî iry s nb šbt-f m ht-f*).

¹ 'A Marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty', *JEA* 13 (1927), 30-8.

² 'La constitution d'un avoir conjugal en Égypte', *BIFAO* 37 (1937), 41-8.

³ Et cela après que G. Botti eut déjà trouvé quelques autres fragments au Musée de Turin; cf. J. Černý, *BIFAO* 37, 42; A. Massart, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 172.

⁴ J'en profite pour remercier encore vivement le Dr Silvio Curto de son obligeante amabilité.

⁵ Černý et Peet, *JEA* 13, 37; P. Collinet, 'La papyrologie et l'histoire du droit', *Münchener Beiträge*, 19 (1934), 197; W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, III (1963), 333.

⁶ Dans le premier quart du xi^e s. av. J.-C., cf. Černý et Peet, *JEA* 13, 31.

⁷ Voir la n. 2 de la p. suivante.

⁸ C'est-à-dire qui est actuellement mon épouse.

(1) Je lègue¹ (*tw-i dit*),^{11, 12} | en ce jour, à la 'citadine' Anoksoundedjem, la femme qui est (= qui vit) dans ma maison (*tj st-hmt nty m p: y-i pr*), tout ce que j'ai acquis en sa compagnie (*p[ɣ] i ry-i nb irm* ...), et qui consiste en | deux serviteurs hommes (*m p: b:k 2 h: wtyw*) et deux serviteurs femmes (*b:k(t) 2 hmw*), (soit) au total: quatre (serviteurs), avec leurs enfants (*dmd 4 hnc mšw-w*), ce qui (dans nos acquêts de communauté) représente (mes) deux tiers ajoutés à son tiers (*iw p: 2/3 hr p: y-št 1/3*);²

(2) et je | transmets (*mtw-i dit*) ces 9 serviteurs (*p: y 9 b:kw*) qui me sont revenus en tant que mes deux tiers³ d'avec la 'citadine' Tatcharaia (= ma première femme) (*t-hy r-i m p: y-i 2/3 irm...*), à mes | enfants (*n n: y-i hrdw*), ainsi que la maison de (mon) père de mère (*hnc p: pr it mwt*), (le tout) déjà en leur possession (*m-di-w m r: -c*).⁴

Ils n'[igno]rent⁵ rien de tout ce que j'ai acheté en compagnie de leur mère (= ma première femme) (*bn št [hr hm(t) (?)] p: in(i) nb irm t: y-w mwt*); | et je leur aurais transmis (*iw wn iw-i dit n-w*) quelque chose de ce que j'ai acheté avec la 'citadine' Anoksoundedjem (= ma seconde femme) (*m p: in-i irm* ...), mais Pharaon prescrit (littéralement: 'dit') (*hr Pr-c: V.S.F. dd*) de donner à chaque | femme⁶ son 'sefer' (*imi šfr n st nb(t) n-št*)...⁶

Pas plus qu'un contrat de mariage, on ne décèle dans le document la trame d'un 'procès fictif'⁷ (fictif en ce sens que le litige aurait été réglé à l'amiable). Il est patent

¹ Imenkhâou emploie invariablement *rdi* ('donner'), auquel verbe il importe de conférer les interprétations qui s'imposent d'après le contexte, et en fonction de l'idée que l'on se fait du document dans son ensemble. C'est pourquoi nous traduisons par 'je lègue', en II, 11, puisque, comme le disposant l'annonce (II, 10; cf. III, 9), il y 'prend une disposition' (*iri šhr*) en faveur de sa seconde femme, mais non en faveur de ses enfants; d'où: 'je transmets', en III, 1-2.

² Il faut savoir que le disposant a rappelé dans l'exposé narratif qui précède, qu'il a déjà remis (au passé) à sa femme, les acquêts en question (II, 4-5); ce qui ne l'empêche pas de dire qu'il va prendre une disposition (au futur) concernant ces biens, et dans sa déclaration (II, 11), qu'il les lui lègue (au présent)! On en déduit qu'il avait, *de facto*, cédé la jouissance de certains biens à sa femme, avant de lui transférer le *droit* sur ces mêmes biens: la translation définitive ne s'opérera qu'après sa mort, quand ses volontés seront exécutées. Cf. Ar. Theodorides, dans *RIDA* (= *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*), 11 (1964), 50-1, 69 n. 75; 12 (1965), 84 n. 24; 14 (1967), 122.

³ Il ne s'agit pas dans ce passage des acquêts de communauté, mais de l'apport en communauté proprement dit. L' 'avoir conjugal' (Černý, *BIFAO* 37, 45-6), à la constitution duquel l'époux participe pour les 2/3, et la femme pour un tiers, demeure indivis jusqu'à la dissolution du mariage. Imenkhâou a récupéré sa 'part' (formée de 9 esclaves) à la mort de sa première femme, et il semble bien s'en être servi pour former la seconde communauté.

⁴ *M r: -c* peut se traduire 'déjà' ou 'également'. Il est confirmé par III, 7 et III, 8, que les enfants sont *déjà* 'en possession' desdits esclaves ainsi que de la maison (un propre de leur père). Mais 'également' conviendrait aussi, parce que le père Imenkhâou tient à signaler que ce qu'il a fait pour sa seconde femme, il l'a 'également' fait pour ses enfants. A propos de *it-mwt*, 'père-mère', nous nous étions demandé antérieurement (*RIDA*, 11 (1964), 60), si ce n'était pas une expression désignant les 'parents'. Ce serait admissible dans un cas limite, où un enfant unique hériterait d'une maison, à raison d'un tiers, de la part de sa mère, et de deux tiers, de la part de son père. Il s'agirait évidemment d'un acquêt de communauté, ce qui n'est pas d'application ici: la maison est citée deux fois (III, 3 et III, 8), et chaque fois en dehors des mentions du 'tiers' ou des 'deux tiers'; elle forme donc bien un propre, hérité du père maternel.

⁵ Restitution de Černý et Peet, *JEA* 13, 34 n. 15. Il s'agit de la *totalité* des acquêts de la première communauté qui, sans autre formalité, en vertu de l'hérédité légale, reviendra aux enfants, puisque le père n'en dispose pas.

⁶ Tout à fait littéralement, en discours direct: 'donnez le *šfr* de chaque femme à elle'. On dégage du contexte, que lors d'un remariage demeuré sans enfants, les 2/3 des acquêts de la *seconde* communauté reviennent, en vertu de l'hérédité légale, aux enfants nés de la *première* union du père.

⁷ Cf. W. Wolf, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Aegypten* (1962), 497, avec renvoi à E. Seidl, *Einführung in die ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (2^e éd., 1951), 35, 56; et à P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (1961), 127, 132. 5, 138, 139.

que le père fait connaître une disposition qu'il prend, et qu'il n'a pas saisi la *knbt* d'une plainte, pas plus d'ailleurs que les enfants. Et de fait, le Vizir ne 'tranche' pas entre deux attitudes ou deux prétentions, en proclamant que l'un a raison et l'autre, tort. Au surplus, si c'était un 'procès', les enfants auraient inévitablement été les demandeurs, et le père, le défendeur; et il aurait parlé en dernier lieu,¹ ce qui n'est nullement le cas. Après sa déclaration, et à la requête du Vizir, les enfants interviennent sans que la parole soit encore donnée au père.

Faire de l'acte une donation est également inconcevable, parce qu'elle aurait été multilatérale, les donataires étant — avec des intérêts divergents — la seconde femme du disposant et les enfants issus du premier mariage.

On ne peut pas non plus parler d'une 'convention matrimoniale',² même si la bénéficiaire est présente, ainsi que les enfants qui seront déchus d'une partie de la succession. Est seule actée, en effet, la décision du père, qui, juridiquement, a été prise *sans* les enfants; leur intervention ne consiste qu'à donner une appréciation *post eventum*. L'aliénation faite au profit de l'épouse n'a pas été 'dûment acceptée par les héritiers',³ étant donné qu'ils ne font que reconnaître un fait ('notre père a raison: ces biens sont vraiment en notre possession'),⁴ et un droit ('ses biens lui appartiennent, qu'il les donne à qui il veut').⁵

On ne peut non plus prétendre, en fonction de la mention du 'sefer', dont le sens précis nous échappe toujours,⁶ que nous assisterions à l'exécution immanquable, forcée, d'une prescription légale, qui annihilerait l'initiative du disposant.

La proposition 'donnez à chaque femme son *šfr*' pourrait laisser entendre qu'il y avait une réserve de la femme sur les biens de la communauté, vu que dans notre document le mari satisfait au 'sefer' par la cession de sa part des acquêts.

Mais s'il y avait pour le mari une obligation légale de transférer à sa femme ces acquêts de communauté, les enfants ne pourraient pas dire, en parlant de la décision de leur père, que ses biens lui appartiennent et qu'il a le droit de les donner à *qui il veut*.⁷

De toute façon, si lesdits acquêts devaient devenir légalement, et en leur totalité, la propriété de l'épouse, le mari n'aurait pas dû dresser d'acte à cette fin, comme le présent papyrus nous atteste qu'il le fait en prenant soin de commencer par invoquer une loi

¹ Cf. A. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes, a Contribution to the Study of Egyptian Judicial Procedure* (1905), 23 ff.

² W. F. Edgerton, 'Demotica', *Münchener Beiträge*, 19 (1934), 293-5; San Nicolò, *Archiv f. Orientf.* 9 (1933-4), 68; Ch. Chehata, *RIDA* 13 (1966), 19-20. Il ne faudrait pas arguer du fait que Černý (*BIFAO* 37, 42) a traduit *šhr*, comme le font souvent les égyptologues, par 'arrangement', pour penser avoir affaire à une 'convention'; *šhr* signifie 'plan', 'mesure', 'décision', 'condition', 'état',...et de là aussi 'arrangement', mais avec le sens de mise en ordre, et non d' 'accord' dans son acception juridique. Le terme *šhr* n'est pas utilisé en égyptien à propos d'une donation, d'un contrat,...c'est à dire d'un acte *bilatéral*.

³ Chehata, op. cit., 20.

⁴ Pap. Turin 2021, III, 8.

⁵ Idem, III, 10-11.

⁶ On trouvera la bibliographie du sujet dans Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property*, 153. 8, et cf. 107. 6. Peet (*JEA* 13, 25 n. 18) avait rapproché *šfr* (écrit *šfyr*, dans le texte) d'un mot correspondant hébreu ayant le sens d' 'écrit'; Rabinowitz a renforcé cette dérivation à partir de l'hébreu et de l'araméen (*JNES* 17 (1958), 146 n. 15: 'document'); W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, III, 336. Mais en fait, l'hypothèse de la dérivation n'est pas convaincante, et même si elle l'était, elle nous servirait peu, parce qu'il faudrait encore élucider la nature du 'document'. Enfin, comme il sera remarqué plus loin, tous les maris, en Égypte, n'ont pas fait de 'document' en faveur de leurs femmes.

⁷ Voir la n. 5 ci-dessus.

d'ordre général ('que chacun fasse ce qu'il désire de ses biens');¹ de surcroît, il tient à justifier, comme il nous apparaît que c'était nécessaire pour tout acte de libéralité,² l'usage qu'il fait de cette loi en qualifiant la conduite de sa femme: 'elle a été bonne pour moi,...'³

Le 'sefer' est donc quelque chose à quoi la femme a théoriquement droit, mais pas automatiquement, puisqu'il appartient au mari de prendre une disposition à son sujet, et de la justifier.

Par l'effet de la dévolution légale du patrimoine, comme il ressort du document que nous analysons, les deux tiers des acquêts du mari ne seraient pas revenus à la seconde femme, mais aux enfants du premier lit;⁴ il en résulte que le 'sefer' ne se confond pas nécessairement avec la cession des acquêts; il eût pu se réaliser autrement, étant de toute façon laissé au jugement du mari, et en quelque mesure, peut-être aussi, des autorités.

Ainsi, le 'sefer' est bien un privilège féminin, mais dont la réalisation demeure soumise à la décision maritale; la prescription serait peut-être d'ordre social plus que juridique: on prévoit le 'sefer' pour la femme en général (*st*) et non spécialement pour l'épouse,⁵ et comme le mot *sfr* est déterminé par le signe de la plante,⁶ nous serions enclin à nous demander si la loi n'aurait pas contenu la recommandation de veiller à assurer la subsistance de la femme, quand il y avait lieu. Imenkhâou, en effet, ne l'a pas fait pour sa première épouse. Peut-être a-t-il été surpris par sa mort; mais justement, s'il y avait eu une obligation légale de toujours pourvoir au 'sefer' de la femme, les autorités lui auraient reproché d'y avoir failli! Il est évident d'autre part que dans le 'Testament de Naunakhte',⁷ le deuxième mari de cette dernière n'a pris aucune disposition de cette espèce; mais Naunakhte n'en avait pas besoin, puisque son premier mari l'avait faite sa légataire universelle.⁸

Il ne serait pas indiqué, par ailleurs, de se figurer par exemple le 'sefer' comme une rente alimentaire ou un douaire, puisque d'après la 'Stèle Juridique d'Amarah', une femme qui bénéficie des deux tiers des acquêts de son mari, peut en disposer comme d'une propriété pleine et entière.⁹

¹ Pap. Turin 2021, II, 11.

² Ar. Theodorides, *RIDA* 13 (1966), 64-6.

³ Pap. Turin 2021, II, 3; *RIDA* 12 (1965), 103-4.

⁴ Ce qui apparemment n'aurait pas été le cas si des enfants étaient issus du second mariage.

⁵ Anoksoundedjem est toujours désignée au moyen des termes *hmt*, 'épouse', ou *hbs(y)t*, '(seconde?) épouse' (cf. Theodorides, *Chron. d'Ég.* 41/82 (1966), 298, 2), ou au moyen d'expressions équivalentes: 'la femme qui est dans ma maison', 'la femme qui est (avec moi), devant le Vizir'. Au contraire, ici, à l'extrême fin de sa déclaration, comme s'il ne s'agissait que d'un élément subsidiaire, Imenkhâou fait donc allusion au *sfr*, qui semble être prévu pour toute 'femme' (*st nbt*), quelle qu'elle soit. ⁶ Černý, *BIFAO* 37, 46. ⁷ Id. *JEA* 31, 29 ff.

⁸ Cf. *RIDA* 12 (1965), 141-2; 13 (1966), 41-2 et n. 43; 48-50. Ce put être fait ainsi, parce qu'elle n'avait pas d'enfants de son premier mariage; les enfants étaient, sinon, héritiers *réservataires*, comme nous l'inférons du *Pap. des Adoptions*, 3-5: 'Nebnéfer, mon mari, ... s'est fait une fille (unique) de moi, en me léguant tout ce qui était sien, n'ayant pas de fils ou de fille en dehors de moi-même' (A. Gardiner, *JEA* 26 (1940), 23-4; Theodorides, *RIDA* 12 (1965), 81-2; 13 (1966), 49; 14 (1967), 142-3).

⁹ Quant à tous les acquêts (*ir šhprw nb(w)*) qu'a constitués pour moi (*i-ir n-i*) le Directeur du Grenier, Paser, qu'ils soient transmis à Irytekh (*di-t(w)s(n) n...*), | cette (mienne) fille (*try(i) šri(t)*), car c'est elle qui a agi (*mnt-s(i)-ir*) pour moi (= s'est occupée de moi), dans ma vieillesse (*ni irw(kwi)*); cf. H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 24 (1938), 154-6; pl. xi, 3; Theodorides, *RIDA* 11 (1964), 47-8, 51-2, 71-5, 77.

En conséquence de ces diverses considérations, comment conviendra-t-il de définir notre acte ?

Le père prend, lit-on dans le texte, en faveur de sa seconde femme une disposition qu' 'aucun fils ni aucune fille *ne contestera*'.¹ Cette indication est exactement parallèle à celle que nous rencontrons dans la première section du 'Papyrus des Adoptions'², où il ne peut faire de doute qu'il s'agisse d'une disposition à cause de mort :

(Quant à celui) de mes frères et sœurs³ (qui lui ferait) opposition, à *ma mort* (*m pꜣy·i mwt*) (*ou*) *ultérieurement* (*n (= m) dwꜣ r-š(i) dwꜣ*), en disant : 'Remettez-(moi) la part (qui me revient) de mon frère (*imi tw dñi n pꜣy·i šn*)',... (qu'on le déboute).⁴

Sans doute, dans le Pap. Turin 2021 n'est-ce pas aussi explicitement dit, mais plusieurs indices militent en faveur de la même interprétation. En voici les principaux.

Quelle que soit la signification de 'sefer', et le sens de la loi qui prescrit de donner le 'sefer' à toute femme, il va de soi qu'on ne l'impose pas à l'homme pour le temps de la vie conjugale; il aurait fallu, sinon, que le mari insérât dans le contrat de mariage une clause appelée à régir cette vie, ainsi que le statut des biens conjugaux. Il ressort, au contraire, de la façon dont il s'exprime, qu'il organise juridiquement ce 'sefer' pour un temps ultérieur, d'autant plus qu'il l'avait *de facto* déjà réalisé, dès l'instant où il avait abandonné à sa femme la jouissance de *tous* les acquêts.⁵

Il fait acter maintenant sa décision, afin d'empêcher qu'au moment où il ne sera plus là — pendant la vie il l'a fait spontanément sans que quiconque n'eût à soulever d'objection à cet égard — les enfants ne puissent 'contester' le bien-fondé, et par suite réclamer l'annulation', de la volonté paternelle. Car, à lire attentivement le texte, on remarque que c'est dans la 'contestation',⁶ et dans l'annulation⁷ que résident les seules possibilités d'intervention des enfants.

'Il est clair', a écrit de son côté M. Chehata,⁸ 'que l'acte tout entier est établi en vue de déterminer le sort des acquêts réalisés au cours des deux mariages successifs'; il est exact que le père dispose de sa part des acquêts qui sont tombés dans la seconde communauté, mais il faut relever qu'il *ne dispose pas* des acquêts réalisés pendant le premier mariage. Il expose simplement à ce propos que '(les enfants) n'[ignorent] rien de ce qui a été acheté en compagnie de leur mère', ce qui signifie qu'ils savent parfaitement à combien se montent ces acquêts, et qu'ils sont dès lors assurés *qu'il ne leur manquera rien* de ce côté. Mais puisque, donc, il ne dispose pas de ces acquêts, leur transfert (ses deux tiers dont il eût pu disposer et le tiers de sa première femme, dont il n'a que l'usufruit) s'opérera légalement *à sa mort*. On observera d'ailleurs que le père mentionne ces acquêts à part,⁹ et que le Vizir ne reprend pas cette mention.

¹ Pap. Turin 2021, III, 13-IV, 1.

² Ll. 6-7 (Gardiner, *JEA* 26 (1940), 24; Theodorides, *RIDA* 12 (1965), 83; Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, III, 331).

³ Dans ce cas, comme le ménage n'avait pas d'enfants, les biens du mari seraient passés de droit à ses collatéraux, 'ses frères et sœurs'; telle est du moins la formule, car il semble, qu'en fait, il n'eût qu'une sœur : 'Voyez, | c'est devant Houiry-mou, ma sœur, qu'en ce jour, j'ai légué (mes biens) à Nénufar, | ma femme (*i·ir·i šwq·(w) n N. tꜣy·i hmt*).'

⁴ L'apodose n'a pas été reproduite par le scribe; ce devait être une clause de style.

⁵ P. Turin 2021, II, 4-6.

⁶ Idem, III, 10; IV, 1.

⁷ Idem, III, 12.

⁹ P. Turin 2021, III, 3.

Le père ne dispose pas non plus des neuf esclaves qui représentent son apport en communauté. Mais pourquoi stipule-t-il ici qu'il les transmet à ses enfants,¹ alors que ces derniers les recueilleraient légalement? C'est qu'Imenkhâou leur en avait déjà cédé la 'possession'.² Et interrogés, cette fois, sur ce point précis par le Vizir, les enfants confirment que les esclaves en question sont réellement en leur 'possession'.³

On peut en inférer que cette possession sera protégée en attendant qu'elle devienne *propriété*, au moment où la décision paternelle aura été rendue exécutoire. C'est là une raison de plus pour admettre qu'on se trouve en présence de dispositions de dernière volonté, conclusion que renforce encore l'absence de serment: il est conforme à la logique institutionnelle que la procédure ne l'exige pas dans ce cas, en raison de la révocabilité du testament.⁴

Nous avons procédé par élimination en nous efforçant d'expliquer pourquoi les interprétations qui ont été proposées du Pap. Turin 2021 n'emportent pas la conviction, et nous avons tout naturellement été amenés à le comprendre comme un testament, dressé, cela s'entend, à la manière égyptienne;⁵ en scrutant avec rigueur les données du document, on parvient ainsi, peu à peu, à travers les traits spécifiques de sa confection en saisir la fonction.

Nous nous sommes rendu compte de ce que le 'sefer', quoique légalement prescrit, ne s'impose pas au disposant comme une contrainte incoercible. D'autre part, la femme du même disposant assiste bien à la rédaction de l'acte, sans jouer de rôle; et si les enfants sont invités par le Vizir à donner leur avis, celui-ci n'entrave pas la liberté du père, ni n'estompe le caractère unilatéral de cet acte: l' 'accord' des enfants vise la *légalité* du fait, et non le fait. En d'autres termes, ils n'expriment pas de consentement à la décision paternelle, mais un assentiment; c'est leur esprit qui acquiesce à cette décision en la jugeant conforme au droit; il n'y a pas d'engagement de leur part. La *knbt* n'a pas acté de 'convention'. Les enfants interviennent au deuxième temps, du côté de l'ordre et de la légalité, et non comme partenaires de leur père, et encore moins comme co-contractants.

Toutes les constatations concordent, en définitive, à nous faire prendre le Pap. Turin 2021 pour le procès-verbal — toujours incomplet⁶ — d'une procédure propre à acter et enregistrer des dispositions à valeur testamentaire. Imenkhâou transforme en droit de propriété, pour le temps où il ne sera plus, la possession de certains biens déterminés qu'il a déjà remis à sa seconde femme et aux enfants de son premier mariage; il transmet à ceux-ci l'universalité de sa succession, à l'exception d'un legs qu'il fait à son épouse, et qui porte sur sa part des biens acquis par lui 'en sa compagnie'.

¹ Idem, III, 2-3; v. p. 150, n. 4.

² Idem, III, 3; cf. III, 7.

³ Idem, III, 8.

⁴ Theodorides, *RIDA* 13 (1966), 69.

⁵ Le disposant fait une déclaration publique, notée par un scribe, devant le Conseil (que préside, ici, le Vizir), en présence de la légataire, sa seconde femme, et de ses héritiers naturels, ses enfants du premier lit; ceux-ci reconnaissent, à la demande du Président, qu'ils n'ont pas d'objection légale à formuler contre la disposition qu'a prise leur père. Cf. *RIDA* 11 (1964), 60-3; 12 (1965), 82, 11; 84, 23; 13 (1966), 68-9.

⁶ On ne possède que quelques bribes de la première page, sans savoir, d'ailleurs, s'il n'y en avait pas eu une autre avant elle. Le Pap. Turin 2021 nous livrerait la 'copie' du procès-verbal que le Vizir a prescrit au scribe-archiviste de déposer dans le Temple de Médinet Habou (Černý et Peet, *JEA* 13, 37-8).

ḲENḤIKHOPSHEF'S PROPHYLACTIC CHARM

By I. E. S. EDWARDS

THE damaged sheet of papyrus reproduced on Plate XXIV, which measures approximately 33 cm. × 19 cm., was given to the British Museum in 1950 by Mrs. Newberry, together with the entire library of her late husband, Professor P. E. Newberry.¹ Since reaching the Museum the numerous fragments of which it is composed have been reassembled and mounted between glass by Mr. S. Baker, Senior Conservation Officer in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities. It is inscribed on the two sides with texts of entirely different purport and of unequal length, the whole of the longer text with the exception of a few words, mostly at the beginning of each line, being preserved. Nothing is known with certainty about its provenance, but internal evidence suggests that it came from Deir el-Medîna.

It will be apparent at a glance that the shorter text consists of the opening lines of a letter. They are written on the side of the papyrus on which the fibres lie at right angles (i.e. vertical) to the lines of the text and thus conform with the normal arrangement of letters in Ramesside times, as Professor Černý, to whom this study is dedicated as much in personal affection and gratitude for very many years of his friendship as in admiration for his scholarship, was the first to demonstrate.² If the continuation of the letter were preserved on the other side of the papyrus (i.e. the verso) its text would no doubt be written upside down in relation to the recto, the top line of the verso being placed approximately behind the bottom line of the recto. Nothing, however, remains of such a continuation, unless it be some shadowy and illegible traces of incompletely erased signs at the foot of the present text and in the gaps between the lines, but, since the recto is also a palimpsest, it is impossible to be sure that these traces on the verso are not relics of a text or of texts which antedated the letter and occupied both faces of the papyrus. Instead of being a continuation of the letter the text on the verso is a magical spell, the nature of which will be discussed below.

Both the recto and the verso are clearly written by the same hand and at first sight it would be logical to suppose that the writer was the 'Royal Scribe and Fan-bearer on the King's Right Hand' whose name stood at the end of the first line of the recto but is now missing. Closer examination however reveals that the writing is beyond reasonable doubt that of the well-known scribe attached to the workmen of the royal necropolis, ḲenḤikhopshef, who is indeed named in l. 2 as the recipient of the letter³

¹ It now bears the number 10731; a second hieratic papyrus, a magical spell for banishing a fever, which formed part of the same gift, is numbered 10732. In accordance with Professor Newberry's wish, his books were offered to the Library of the British Museum to replace war losses, and those not needed by the Library were given to the Department of Egyptian Antiquities and the Library of Egyptology, Cambridge University. His scientific papers were transferred with the consent of Mrs. Newberry to the Griffith Institute, Oxford.

² *Late Ramesside Letters*, Introduction, D, xvii-xx.

³ The many other extant documents written by ḲenḤikhopshef are listed by Černý in Gardiner, *Hieratic*

and again in l. 4 of the text on the verso. Černý has shown that Khenkhepshef's earliest datable writings can be ascribed to year 42 (+x?) of Ramesses II, and he is known to have lived at least until the time of Sethos II.¹ He has also shown that Khenkhepshef was the son of Pnakhte and was the first husband of Naunakhte.² Our knowledge of Khenkhepshef's parentage is now completed by a statement on the verso of this papyrus that the name of his mother was Sentnufe, a detail which owes its inclusion to the regular custom in magical texts of naming the mother and not the father of the person for whom the text was written.

Although the name of the 'Royal Scribe and Fan-bearer on the King's Right Hand' is missing, there is little room for doubt that it was either Khay³ or Panehsy,⁴ the two viziers with whom Khenkhepshef is known to have corresponded. A copy of a letter to Khay is preserved on Cairo ostrakon 25832⁵ and one to Panehsy on the verso of the Chester Beatty Dream Book,⁶ both copies being written in Khenkhepshef's own hand. Whichever of these viziers wrote the original of the letter which Khenkhepshef copied on this papyrus, it must be assumed that, in addition to the titles preserved, his name was preceded at least by the title *ḥrty* and perhaps by *imy-r nīwt* also, so that the amount of text missing at the end of each line on the recto is likely to have been somewhat greater than the amount lost at the beginning of each line on the verso. Clearly therefore either the verso had a blank margin on the right-hand side or Khenkhepshef cut off the ends of the lines on the recto when he used the verso for writing the spell. Why Khenkhepshef did not erase the text on the recto is not very evident, but the reason may well have been simply that he intended the spell to remain permanently folded with the recto outermost, and since the visible portion was uninscribed he saw no necessity to make the erasure. Having first folded it tightly along its horizontal axis, he then bent the two ends together and bound them, probably with a thread of flax.⁷ The text of the spell is known from two hieratic ostraca,⁸ one in the Ashmolean Museum, which preserves a fuller version, and the other at one time in Leipzig, both dating from about the same time as the papyrus. While the existence of these approximately contemporaneous copies may be taken as an indication of its popularity at that period, the spell is certainly not a Ramesside composition but an older work

Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series (Chester Beatty Gift), I, 24, n. 3. Since he compiled the list Khenkhepshef's limestone headrest decorated with fabulous creatures has been bought by the Trustees of the Museum (see Glanville, *British Museum Quarterly*, 8 (1933-34), 105-7 and pl. xxxiii). It now bears the number 63783.

¹ Černý, loc. cit.; Gardiner, op. cit. 8.

² Černý, 'The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents', *JEA* 31 (1945), 44 and 47.

³ A. Weil, *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches*, 102; W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, 321-2.

⁴ Weil, op. cit. 104; Helck, op. cit. 325-6.

⁵ Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques* (C.G.C.), I, 101 and 120*; II, pl. 120.

⁶ Gardiner, op. cit. I, 24-6; II, pls. 11-12^a.

⁷ For other examples see F. Lexa, *La Magie dans l'Égypte antique*, pl. xlvi, figs. 81 and 82; fig. 81 only in Leemans, *Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas*, pl. clxix, 353a and 354a.

⁸ (a) Gardiner Ostrakon no. 300, hieroglyphic transcription in J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. xci, 1; (b) Leipzig Ostrakon no. 42, facsimile and hieroglyphic transcription in op. cit. pl. iii, 1. A photograph and brief description of (b) are given by E. Brunner-Traut in *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka) der Deutschen Museen und Sammlungen*, 57, no. 48, pl. xix. In subsequent references these ostraca are abbreviated to O.G. and O.L. respectively.

which had already suffered at the hands of copyists, probably long before the days of ḲenḲikhopshef and his fellow scribes. It is a prophylactic incantation directed against an obnoxious demon called *Sehaḳ* or *Sehaḳeḳ*, whose parents bear the outlandish, apparently foreign, names *Ndrḥsmm* and *Dwbšt*.¹ The magician, who utters the incantation, represents himself as a deity, not, however, as one of the well-known Egyptian gods but as a stranger named *Trws*,² who also seems to be of foreign origin. Directions on the manner in which the spell is to be used are appended to it,³ unfortunately in a rather cryptic passage in which some vital words are lost and the other versions offer no help in restoring them. It is clear, however, that it had to be recited four times over a stem of flax which was to be used as an arrow, the papyrus being folded and attached to an arrow. Since it would seem pointless to mention an arrow if it were not to be shot, it may be conjectured that the evil spirit was carried away with the arrow. If this explanation is correct it may account for the absence in the two ostraca of any reference to tying the spell to the arrow; a light piece of papyrus, tightly folded, could be carried by an arrow in flight but not a stone ostrakon.

It will be clear from what has already been said that, apart from having been written by the same scribe, the texts on the two sides of the papyrus have nothing in common. The order in which they will now be translated corresponds with their chronological sequence, but the fragmentary letter being no more than an excrescence it would be no less logical to begin with the spell, the real *raison d'être* both of this article and of the papyrus as it was finally employed.

Fragment of Letter

Ḳ The king's scribe,^a his beloved, fan-bearer on [the right] of the king Ḳ² says to the scribe ḲenḲikhopshef as follows: "This letter^b is brought to you^c [I have noted]^d Ḳ³ your having written saying 'cause to be done (?)^e and one will bring to us (?)'.".

Notes

a. Perhaps written Ḳ ḲḲ (cf. ḲenḲikhopshef's letter on the verso of *Pap. Chester Beatty* no. 3, l. 6, and again in the same title in Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh* II, no. 114, 2). Nevertheless there is enough space here for a fuller writing.

b. For a note on the expression *sš pn n dd* (lit. 'this writing of speaking') see Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 5 (Bologna 1094, 1, 4).

c. Either Ḳ has been accidentally omitted or the sign read as ḲḲ is actually a ligature comprising eḲ, of which the tick represents e, and ḲḲ has been omitted through confusion with the similarity in appearance of the ligature.

¹ The personification of an ailment and its representation as a demon are known from other magical texts, e.g. A. Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus* 1 343+1 345; 10 (ii) and (iii b). See also Gardiner, 'Magic (Egyptian)' in J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 8, 264, who remarks: 'The possessing spirit was particularly likely to be of foreign origin'.
² See n. y, p. 160 below.

³ In this respect, as in many other details, the spell resembles several other magical texts; cf. the incantations on the verso of the *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, and the rubrics to some chapters of the *Book of the Dead*.

d. Probably *sdm·i* stood at the end of the previous line. Cf. Černy, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 13, 5–6, and Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (translation), 32.





e. I am unable to explain the mutilated signs between *iry* and *mtwtw* (?).

Spell




† [Get] thee [back]^f *Seħaḳeḳ*,^g who came forth from heaven and earth, whose eyes are in his head^h and whose tongue is in his jaws. He feeds on excrements.ⁱ † His right arm^j is outstretched. His face discerns^k (?) the^l stars beholding them (?). He lives on dung,^m lord of what is hidden † [in] the southern [heaven].ⁿ He who is in the netherworld fears [him].^o *Nḏrḥsmm*^p is the name of thy mother, *Ḍwbšt*^q the name of † [thy father. If]^r thou comest^s <against>^t the scribe *Ḳenḥikhopshef*^u son of *Sentnufe*^v I shall come forth <to> (?) . . . thee^w (?), thy arms being far † [from] thee;^x [thou] shalt not fall upon me. I am *Trws*-behind-his-shrine.^y To be recited four times over a (stem of) flax (?),^z † the stalk (?)^{aa} of which is made into an arrow, tie [it]^{bb} to it. The^{cc} of the arrow shall be outwards.

Notes

f. O.L. *rt.* 1 reads *ind ḥr·k* ‘hail to thee’, which is possible here, but O.G. *rt.* 1 has *ḥr·k* ‘back!’ and seems preferable. For a similar use of *ḥr·k* cf. *Pap. Chester Beatty* no. VI, *vs.* 2, 3.

g. Not given in *Wb.* See E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder*, 57 (no. 48). Other writings are †□  (O.L. *rt.* 1), †□  (O.G. *rt.* 1), and †□  (OG. *rt.* 7). For the reduplication of the last radical see Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, § 274. In *Pap. Chester Beatty* v, *vs.* 6, 5, the noun  occurs meaning an affection of the forehead, the precise nature of which has not been identified (see Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Third Series, I, 51). This complaint is also mentioned in B.M. Pap. 10321, *vs.* 49 (see *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Fourth Series, I, 33, n. 28). *Seħaḳeḳ* may be a denominative with the causative prefix ‘s’; if so it would mean the demon who causes this affection. The same Chester Beatty Papyrus includes spells for exorcizing two other head-ailments.

h. *tbḥ* Gardiner, op. cit. I, 62 (*Pap. Chester Beatty* VII, *vs.* 1, 7), renders ‘forehead’. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 178–9 (note on *Pap. Anastasi* IV, *rt.* 10, 12) rightly points out that *Wb.* v, 261, is mistaken in asserting that *tbḥ* is always preceded by *ḥr*. Both the *Wb.* and Caminos, loc. cit., give the translation ‘head’.

i. O.L. *rt.* 2 agrees with the reading here. O.G. *rt.* 1–2, probably corruptly, has *t nty ḥry im·f*, whereas in l. 8 the reading is †  ‘thou feedest on the bread which is in thy lower part’, i.e. excrement, which may be the meaning intended in this passage. Nevertheless the expression , which is not quoted in the *Wb.*, may occur in the *Book of the Dead*, Ch. 169, 9, where it is contrasted with , the former with reference to Geb and the latter with reference to Rē̄c. Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (1898 ed.), 311, translates ‘terrestrial

..... [Hieroglyphic text on three lines]

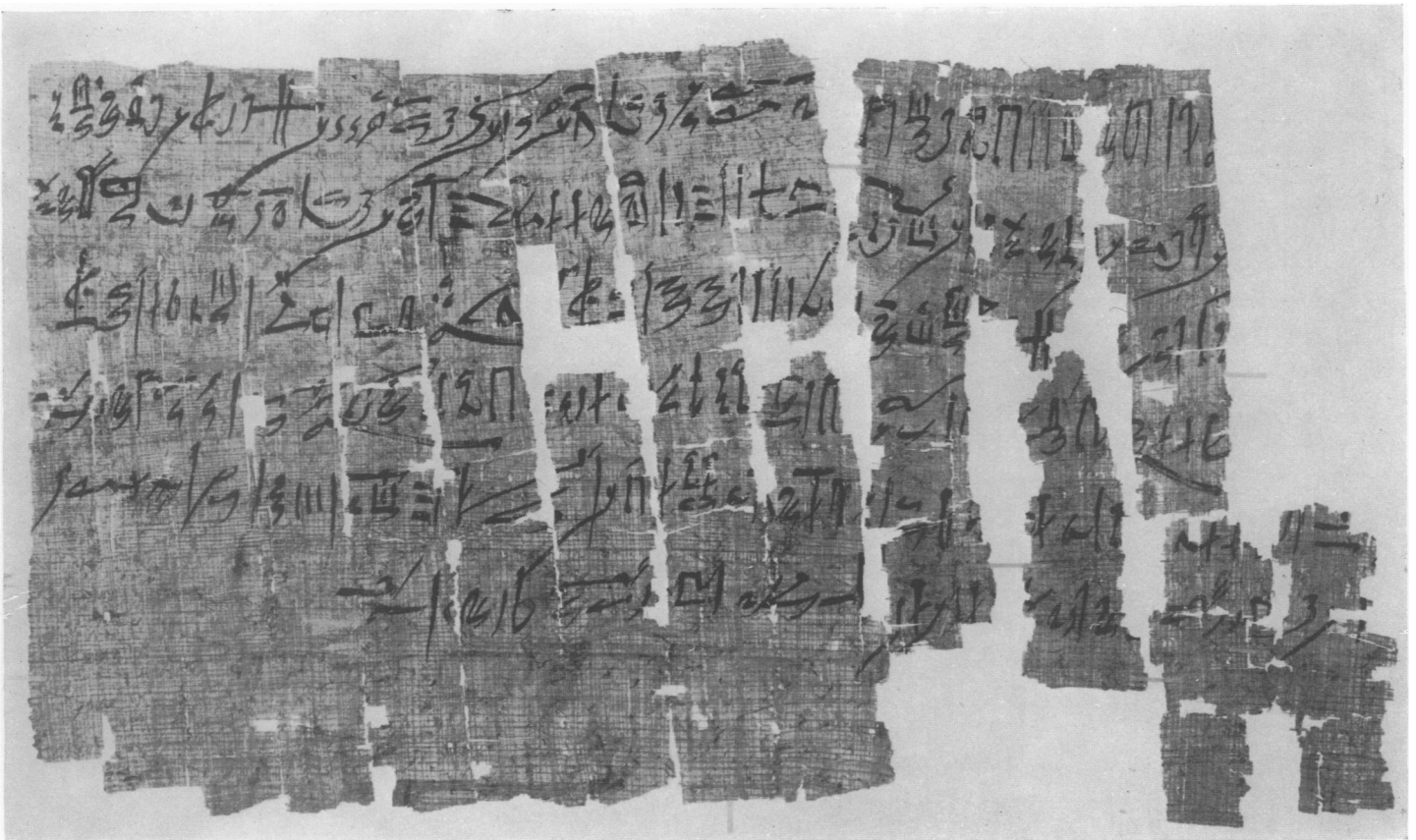
1. Recto

" [Hieroglyphic text on six lines]

2. Verso



1. Recto



2. Verso

In the light of this statement it is unlikely that the last element in the name has any connection with the Hebrew word תָּבִיחַ 'shame'.

r. Following O.G. *rt.* 9 supply *it·k ir* in the lacuna.

s. The ligature 𐀀 is very cursively written and the front foot of the sign Δ is partly covered by the sign 𐀁 which is written over it.

t. The scribe has omitted either *hr* (as in O.G. *rt.* 9) or *r*. For the preposition *r* used in a hostile sense after the verb *ii* 'come against' or 'come for' a person see Shorter, *JEA* 22 (1936), 166, n. 2, de Buck, *Griffith Studies*, 57-8, and Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Third Series, I, 4, n. 4 and 72, n. 1.

u. See n. 3, p. 155 above.

v. For another instance of the determinative 𐀂 with *sn(t)* see Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, VII, 4, 1. See p. 156 above.

w. Probably 𐀃 or 𐀄 has been omitted after *pr*. The first sign of the next word is damaged, but it seems to resemble 𐀅 . However, no suitable word with 𐀅 as the initial sign is quoted in the *Wb*. The other versions offer no help.

x. A similar expression occurs in O.G. *rt.* 2 and probably in O.L. *rt.* 8: $\text{𐀆} \text{𐀇} \text{𐀈} \text{𐀉}$. The sense requires that it should mean 'impotent', 'powerless'.

y. See p. 157 above. O.L. *vs.* 1 reads $\text{𐀊} \text{𐀋} \text{𐀌} \text{𐀍} \text{𐀎} \text{𐀏} \text{𐀐} \text{𐀑} \text{𐀒} \text{𐀓} \text{𐀔} \text{𐀕}$ which must be corrupt. A god's name is required after *ink* (cf. Pap. Chester Beatty VII, *rt.* 1, 4-2, 5, and VIII, *rt.* 7, 8) and doubtless the divine determinative is merely placed after *kri:f* because the name *Trws* and the epithet 'who-is-behind-his-shrine' were regarded as inseparable (cf. Ptaḥ-south-of-his-wall). *Trws*, otherwise unknown, seems to be a foreign god. It is probably no more than a coincidence that an obscure Hittite deity was named Tarawa or Daraw (see E. Laroche, *Les Noms des Hittites*, 291), a name which, if the case-ending *š* of the nominative were added, would be suggestive of *Trws*. B. J. Peterson, 'Zur Schreibung hethitischer Personennamen in Ägyptischen', in *Orientalia Suecana* 13 (1964), 3-8, cites several examples of the retention of the case-ending in Egyptian transcription, but it is invariably written with 𐀖 and not 𐀗 .

z. O.L. *vs.* 2 reads $\text{𐀘} \text{𐀙} \text{𐀚} \text{𐀛} \text{𐀜} \text{𐀝} \text{𐀞} \text{𐀟} \text{𐀠} \text{𐀡} \text{𐀢} \text{𐀣} \text{𐀤} \text{𐀥} \text{𐀦} \text{𐀧} \text{𐀨} \text{𐀩} \text{𐀪} \text{𐀫} \text{𐀬} \text{𐀭} \text{𐀮} \text{𐀯} \text{𐀰} \text{𐀱} \text{𐀲} \text{𐀳} \text{𐀴} \text{𐀵} \text{𐀶} \text{𐀷} \text{𐀸} \text{𐀹} \text{𐀺} \text{𐀻} \text{𐀼} \text{𐀽} \text{𐀾} \text{𐀿}$ *mhy n wd*, which is difficult to explain unless *wd* stands for *w(s)d* 'fresh, green', so that the expression would mean 'a fresh stem of flax'. The absence in this papyrus of the plural strokes usually found in the writing of *mhy* may be intended to stress that one stem only was meant.

aa. Probably only one sign is missing before the stroke determinative and the suffix must refer to *mhy*. O.L. *vs.* 2 reads $\text{𐀿} \text{𐁀} \text{𐁁} \text{𐁂} \text{𐁃} \text{𐁄} \text{𐁅} \text{𐁆} \text{𐁇} \text{𐁈} \text{𐁉} \text{𐁊} \text{𐁋} \text{𐁌} \text{𐁍} \text{𐁎} \text{𐁏} \text{𐁐} \text{𐁑} \text{𐁒} \text{𐁓} \text{𐁔} \text{𐁕} \text{𐁖} \text{𐁗} \text{𐁘} \text{𐁙} \text{𐁚} \text{𐁛} \text{𐁜} \text{𐁝} \text{𐁞} \text{𐁟} \text{𐁠} \text{𐁡} \text{𐁢} \text{𐁣} \text{𐁤} \text{𐁥} \text{𐁦} \text{𐁧} \text{𐁨} \text{𐁩} \text{𐁪} \text{𐁫} \text{𐁬} \text{𐁭} \text{𐁮} \text{𐁯} \text{𐁰} \text{𐁱} \text{𐁲} \text{𐁳} \text{𐁴} \text{𐁵} \text{𐁶} \text{𐁷} \text{𐁸} \text{𐁹} \text{𐁺} \text{𐁻} \text{𐁼} \text{𐁽} \text{𐁾} \text{𐁿}$ 'which is made into an arrow'.

bb. The pronoun *sw* or *st*, to be restored in the lacuna after *kys*, would refer to the papyrus (see p. 157 above). For the use of the preposition *m* after *kys* instead of *hr* or *r* see the *Book of the Dead*, xxxix, 8-9. It is used in a similar sense after the verb *ts* 'bind' in the Pap. Bremner-Rhind, 25, 13.

cc. A noun consisting of one sign, the subject of *iw*, is lost before the stroke determinative. The whole phrase is, however, difficult to understand because the general sense would seem to require a command to direct the arrow to the outside.

SECOND TENSES IN WENAMŪN

By CHARLES F. NIMS

ADVANCES in the understanding of syntactical forms frequently give new meanings in standard texts, but too often the translations of these texts lag behind new knowledge. In 1944 H. J. Polotsky published *Études de syntaxe copte*, in the second part of which he stated his conclusions that the Second Tenses in Coptic emphasized an adverbial adjunct. This could be an adverb, a prepositional phrase, or a circumstantial sentence. He pointed out that the Coptic Second Present derived from the Late Egyptian *i·ir·f sdm*,¹ and that this form was without time designation. To show the emphasis on the adverbial adjunct Polotsky used the 'Cleft Sentence', which he illustrated by numerous examples from English authors.²

In the report of Wenamūn there are twenty-six instances of the Second Present,³ yet in the two most recent translations of this account⁴ neither of the translators has given the emphasis which the text demands except where the adverbial adjunct is an interrogative adverbial phrase, which is put first in idiomatic English. It was in the first occurrence of these, 1, 35, a query by Wenamūn, that Černý made the brilliant restoration of the text which has been universally accepted, 'Where shall [I go]?'⁵ Three others, questions addressed to Wenamūn by Zakerba'al, are in 1, 56 (twice), 'Then *on whose behalf*⁶ would the god have been sought? And as for you, *on whose behalf* would you

¹ Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 302, accepted the Second Tenses, but nowhere is the emphasis on the adverbial adjunct shown in his translations. In the non-verbal sentence he quotes, § 303, from Ps. 10: 4, the meaning is not, 'sein Thron ist im Himmel', but (though it may not be good literary German), 'im Himmel ist sein Thron'. The emphasis on the adverbial adjunct here is clearly indicated in both the Hebrew and the Greek. Further, Till rejects the derivation of the auxiliary of the Second Present from *iry*, 'Man konnte also nicht sagen, "sein Thron tut im Himmel".' But with English, as with L.E. *iry*, 'do' used periphrastically has lost its original force. In an affirmative sentence it emphasizes the verb (and not the adverbial adjunct as in L.E.), 'God does exist', and is idiomatic in a question or in a negative statement, 'Does God exist?' and 'God does not exist.'

² *Études . . . copte*, 60-2. The catholicity of Polotsky's quotations is shown by the one from Agatha Christie, on p. 62 beginning, 'It was with Jimmy that he sallied forth' (*Murder is Easy* (London, 1939), 21).

³ The references to Wenamūn are given by page and line without further indication, with the consecutive numbering of the lines on p. 1, as suggested by Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, xi. His transcription in *ibid.* 61 ff., has been used. The transliteration of the text has been kept at the minimum, and for clarity the emphasized adverbial adjunct has been italicized. I have discussed many of the translations with my colleagues Professors George R. Hughes and Edward F. Wente.

It will be noted that in 2, 14, *i·ir tꜣ pt wn* has not been included as an example of the Second Tense. This is rather the use of *i·ir* before the noun subject in the 3. *Fut.* formation, as suggested by Hughes, otherwise attested in L.E. only after *nty*, see Gunn, *JEA* 41, 95, § xi n. 2, but common in demotic. Another form well attested in demotic but rare in L.E. is the use of *n* (for *m*) before the determined object of a verb in a durative tense, in 2, 19; see n. 6, p. 163 below.

⁴ John A. Wilson in Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 25 ff., Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 306 ff.

⁵ *JEA* 31, 34 n. u. It should be noted that in *Rec. Trav.* 18, 159 l. 6, there is a similar usage in a non-verbal sentence, *i·ir·n r tn*, 'Where shall we (go)?' ⁶ See Albright, in a review of *ANET* in *JAOs* 71, 260 f.

have been sought, either?’ and in 2, 3, ‘*On what mission do you come?*’ To this question Wenamūn answers, 2, 4, ‘It is *after timber for the great holy bark of Amūn* that I come.’

The report has four instances of the *i·sḏm·f* form of *iry* as the main verb, all from the mouth of Wenamūn. The last two are enlightening, as they are followed by the *i·ir·f sḏm* form. 2, 78–9 has, ‘I have heard as far as Thebes, where Amūn dwells, *i·ir·tw grg n dmi nb i·ir·tw mꜣꜥt n pꜣ tꜣ n Irš ist i·ir·tw ir grg rc nb di*, and that though *in every town* injustice is done, *in Alashia* justice is done. But *here* injustice is being done every day.’ Another instance is in 1, 43–4, ‘Aren’t you the one who *daily* took time to come to me, saying, “Get out of my harbour”?’¹ The fourth occurrence of this form will be given below. In the first quotation there is a distinction between the *i·sḏm·f* and the *i·ir·f sḏm* forms of the Second Tense, and the former seems to indicate customary action.²

There are two cases where the Second Present follows the negative *nn*. The first is in a sentence spoken by Wenamūn, 1, 44–5, ‘Isn’t it *to allow the ship that I have found to depart* that you say, “Stop the night”?’ The second is in a question put by Zakerba’al, 1, 55, ‘Wasn’t it *to have him murder you* that he entrusted you to that barbarian ship’s captain?’ In a statement by Zakerba’al, 2, 10–11, the *nn wn i·ir·f sḏm* form is the negative Second Present of the usual *wn iw·f (r) sḏm* form used as an apodosis after an unreal condition.³ The adverbial adjunct is the clause beginning *r ḏd*, and the sentence can be translated, ‘If the ruler of Egypt had been the lord of what is mine, and I his servant as well, *on saying*, “Do the commission of Amūn”, he would not need to send⁴ silver and gold.’

The Second Present follows the circumstantial *iw* in four instances. Two of these occur in a narrative passage, 1, 40–2, ‘*On that very night* when the possessed was in ecstasy, after I had found a ship headed for Egypt, and after I had loaded all my possessions into it—since it was *for the descent of darkness*⁵ that I was looking, that I might load the god so as not to allow another eye to see him—the harbour master came to me.’ Also in narrative is 1, 48–9, ‘I found him sitting in his upper room, having set his back to the window, while *behind his head* broke the waves of the great Syrian sea.’ These are the only instances where the Second Tense occurs in the narrative sections of Wenamūn. The final example of the circumstantial of the Second Tense is in 2, 1–2, this from the mouth of Zakerba’al, ‘Are there not⁶ another fifty ships there which are engaged in trade with Warkatara, it being *at his house* that they are moored?’

¹ In a similar sentence, 1, 37, the Second Present form is restored by Gardiner.

² Wenté has collected a score of examples of the *i·sḏm·f* form of *2-lit.* and *3ae inf.* verbs from L.E. which seem to be Second Present, most of which show customary action. In his *Late Ramesside Letters*, 38 and 40 n.u, he has translated Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 19, 7, *i·iw·y* as future, and has called my attention to a parallel translation in Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses* (Proc. Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 11, no. 5 [1965]), (8), n. 19, and has also pointed out that J. J. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship’s Logs*, 29 n. 4, translates the *i·sḏm·f* form as past. This could be interpreted as customary action.

³ See Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*, 235. At the time of writing Hintze had not yet had access to Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte*.

⁴ This translation of *i·ir·f di in·tw* was suggested by Gerald Kadish.

⁵ Wenté suggests that there is a prolepsis here, and compares Luke 19: 3, quoted in Till, op. cit., § 418, *naγ e-ꜣe*.

⁶ Accepting for this translation Gardiner’s belief, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 67a n. 1, x+22b, that *nn* is for *in*, the interrogative particle. My own view is that in all cases where *nn* precedes another negative there is a true double negative, but this is not the place to defend this position.

In 2, 6–8, in a speech of Zakerba'al, the adverbial adjunct consists of two circumstantial clauses, 'Indeed, it was *only after Pharaoh had sent six ships laden with the produce of Egypt, and after they were emptied into their warehouses*, that my family carried out this commission.' Wenamūn tells Zakerba'al in 2, 30, 'It was *instead of Life and Health* that they had these things brought to your fathers.' Speaking of earlier Egyptian envoys who had spent seventeen years in the Lebanon, Zakerba'al says, 2, 52, 'It was *at their jobs* that they died.' When the Tjekker were asked why they had come to Byblos, they replied, 'It is *in pursuit of the blasted ships which you are sending to Egypt with our enemies* that we come.'

In the twenty occurrences of the Second Present so far cited the emphatic position of the adverbial adjunct does not essentially change the meaning of the text, and this may seem to belie the statement at the beginning of this article, that new meanings may be forthcoming from such a study. But in the discourse of Zakerba'al, 2, 19–22, the change of emphasis considerably affects the sense of his words.

Before giving a translation, it is worth while to note the views of recent commentators on the usual rendering of this passage. Wilson noted, 'Zaker-Baal makes the remarkable statement that the god Amon founded (settled, first equipped) all lands, but Egypt first of all, and that skilled craftsmanship (technique) and learning (wisdom, education) had come to his land from Egypt.'¹ Albright wrote, 'The following sentences obviously state Zaker-Ba'al's calm assumption that Phoenicia had replaced Egypt as the focus of divine interest and object of Amūn's solicitude.'² Gardiner has said, 'Tjikbaar'al then admits that Amūn, having originated art and science in his own country, has since spread them into all other lands.'³

Here is the translation of the passage with the emphasis on the adverbial adjuncts, to which is added the beginning of Wenamūn's impassioned protest in 2, 22–5.

Look, it was (*only*) *after he had placed Seth beside him*⁴ that Amūn thundered⁵ in the sky. Now *all lands*⁶ it was that Amūn founded. It was *after Amūn at first founded the land of Egypt from which you came* that he founded them. Now it was *in order to reach the place where I am* that craftsmanship went out therefrom, and it was *in order to reach the place where I am* that learning went out therefrom. What are these foolish trips that they have had you make?

I said to him, a lie! It isn't a 'foolish trip' that I am on. There is no ship on the river which does not belong to Amūn. His is the sea and his is the Lebanon, of which you say, 'It is mine'. It is *for Amon-user-ḥat, the mistress of every ship*, that he⁷ cultivates the growing place.

Zakerba'al's claims were somewhat greater than have been envisaged previously. First, he claims that Amūn became complete only when he had joined to himself Seth,

¹ Op. cit. 27 n. 4.

² Op. cit. 261.

³ *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 310 n. 1.

⁴ Albright, op. cit. 261, has a different interpretation of *m rk f* which I am unable to accept.

⁵ For *hrw*, 'thunder', as a verb, see *Horus and Seth*, 16, 4.

⁶ Taking *n* for *m*, equalling the Coptic *n-*, used after the infinitive of a verb in a durative tense before a direct determined object; see Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 69a n. 2, 20a. Grammatically this is a prepositional phrase and so can be an adverbial adjunct.

⁷ Taking the antecedent of *f* as 'Amūn', as suggested to me by Wenthe, and not as 'the Lebanon'. In Contemporary English it is common to have an inanimate object the subject of a verb of action, but I doubt whether there was such a usage in ancient Egyptian. The simplex *i-ir-f* is another example of the Second Tense with customary meaning; see above.

i.e., the Phoenician storm god Ba'al. Furthermore, it was Amūn's very purpose in endowing Egypt with craftsmanship and learning that these might culminate in Byblos. Now that this divine purpose had been realized, it was foolish to expect him to pay obeisance to Egypt any longer. It was these audacious claims which brought the indignant denial from Wenamūn, and his expatiation on the supremacy of Amūn.

The examination of these occurrences of the Second Present in the account of Wenamūn has shown some new meanings in this story. It behoves all of us to re-examine constantly the original sources to see what changes in translation will emerge as the result of new light shed on the ancient language.

THE SMALLER DÂKHILA STELA

(Ashmolean Museum no. 1894. 107 b)

By JAC. J. JANSSEN

IN 1932 Professor Černý contributed to the *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* an article about the abnormal hieratic tablet in the Leiden Museum. In turn, therefore, I have thought it appropriate to offer him this study of a stela in Oxford, the writing of which belongs to some extent to the same class of hieratic—the more so since it was he who years ago drew my attention to the text.

The stela is in the Ashmolean Museum and has the number 1894. 107 b,¹ the b distinguishing it from the larger Dâkhla stela,² found together with it by Captain Lyons in the Oasis ed-Dâkhla near the village of Mût.³ The smaller one has previously been published by Spiegelberg,⁴ though without a translation, and both Möller⁵ and Sottas⁶ have transcribed and translated the blessing and curse formulae of ll. 10–15. It has frequently been referred to in various different connections, but, so far as I am aware, the only major publications are those mentioned above.

The stela is of sandstone and measures 81·5 cm. (max. height) by 39·5 cm. (max. width), with a varying thickness of from 9 to 12 cm., which is evidently original. Its state of preservation is generally good, save for the loss of a sizeable fragment at the upper left-hand edge (pl. XXV). There are still considerable remains of colour on the scene at the top: red on the flesh of both figures, on the god's solar disk, on one of the vessels and on the trussed ox (?), yellow on the god's garment, on the signs accompanying the scene, and on the *was*-sceptre to the right, and black on the hair of both figures. No trace of any colouring survives on the officiant's garment, but the pleats are faintly outlined in black and a black line indicates the fall of the left sleeve from the raised forearm.⁷

The text is incised in hieratic, as on so many stelae of the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties.⁸ I myself know of some twenty donation stelae of this kind, but whereas the hieratic is usually interspersed with hieroglyphic signs, the present text

¹ I am indebted to The Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum for permission to publish the stela here.

² First published by Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 21 (1899), 12 ff., and again by Gardiner, *JEA* 19 (1933), 19 ff.

³ Spiegelberg, *op. cit.* 12, and Winlock, *Ed Dâkhleh Oasis*, 40.

⁴ *Rec. Trav.* 25 (1903), 194 ff. (with photograph).


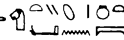
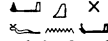
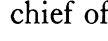
⁵ *Sitzb. der Kön. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, Jhrg. 1910, 944 ff.



⁶ *La Préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l'ancienne Égypte* (Paris, 1913), 150.

⁷ I owe these details to Dr. J. R. Harris, who has also helped me in other respects and corrected my English.

⁸ There are a few exceptions, e.g. the Ibtu stela of Year 38 of Shōshenq V (Yoyotte, *Mélanges Maspero*, 1, 4, pl. 1); a Gurob stela, possibly from the reign of Petubastis (Loat, *Gurob*, pl. 19) and a Cairo stela, no. $\frac{11}{0} \frac{21}{14}$ of Year 10 of Pefnefdibast (*Ann. Serv.* 21 (1921), 139). There are also some stelae—notably those published by Daressy—of which no photograph or description of the writing is given; the total may therefore be somewhat greater.

is purely hieratic, even to the inscriptions in the top register, which elsewhere are normally in hieroglyphs.

In this top register, on the left, is a representation of the falcon-headed god Sētekh¹ with a sun-disk on his head. In front of him are the words:  (*sic*)  —‘Utterance by Sētekh,² great of strength,³ the son of Nut’. That Sēth or Sētekh⁴ should here appear as the principal god is not surprising, since he was the lord of the Libyan Oases.⁵ Behind him there was originally another god or goddess, but this figure is now lost. In front of the god stand two vases, on one of which there are flowers, and also other offerings, including a trussed ox (?). On the right stands a man offering a bunch of flowers and a libation vessel, with on his head an upright feather.⁶ The feather was the badge of Libyan officers,⁷ and, in contrast to the custom of the chiefs of the Mashwash, it was always in the case of the Libu⁸ depicted vertically as here, and not horizontally. In front of and above the officiant there is written:  (*sic*) , ‘May he give might and victory to the great chief of the Shaïn Esdḥuti’.

The name of the tribe is somewhat difficult to read; it occurs again in line 3, there written as *š-m-in*, ‘Shamin’. The significance of the sign  is open to doubt. In syllabic orthography it is seldom used,⁹ and where it occurs it is usually followed by ,¹⁰ In the Ptolemaic period it stands for *in*,¹¹ and that may be also its value here. The name Sha(m)in seems not to occur elsewhere.¹² From the present stela it would appear that the tribe was settled in Dâkhla Oasis, though it may have been very small and never in touch with the Nile valley proper. We know that there were other tribes besides the famous Libu and Mashwash, for example the *Mchswn*, known from at least two documents.¹³

Translation


1. Made by ^a Harentbia^b, the son ^c of Pe ^d
2. Year 24, third month of the Inundation, day 10, of^e the Pharaoh^f Py,^g son of Isis, beloved [of Amūn] ^h

¹ For the falcon-headed Sētekh see Capart, *Chron. d’Eg.* 41 (1946), 30 and fig. 3 (a relief from Khârga), and now H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (diss. Groningen), Leiden, 1967 (quoted as te Velde), pl. 9. Cf. also Stadelmann, *Syrisch-paläst.* Gottheiten, 145.

² The same name and titles occur on the Ashmolean Museum stela no. 1894. 107 a (*JEA* 19 (1933), 124), where *swbt* is again written. ³ For the expression cf. te Velde, 38 and 132, n. 7.

⁴ For Sētekh as the Lower Egyptian pronunciation of Sēth cf. *JEA* 5 (1918), 44 and te Velde, 3.



⁵ te Velde, 115 f.



⁶ So too on the sign  in the inscription above the officiant; see below.

⁷ Cf. Hölscher, *Libyer und Aegypter*, 36 f.

⁸ Cf. Yoyotte, *Mél. Maspero*, I, 4, 138 f. and 145, and for a possible explanation of this difference, loc. cit., n. 7.

⁹ Neither Albright (*The Vocalisation of the Eg. Syllabic Orthography*) nor Helck (*Die Beziehungen Aegyptens zu Vorderasien*) treats it as a syllabic sign.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. *Wb* I, 97, 4 (*inmkt*); 98, 10 (*inv*); 98, 11 (*inv*); 98, 12 (*inrn*); 101, 12 (*inkfkft*). Exceptions are: *inkr* (Pap. Mayer, B, 11); *irks* (for *irgs*; O. Dem. 261, 3); *ivr* (for *inv*? cf. *Jaarb. E.O.L.* 19 (1965), 447). In all these instances the correct reading will be *il*. The writing  |  (Gardiner and Černý, *Hier. Ostr.* 62, 1, vs. 9) may simply be a mistake for *inv*.

¹¹ Cf. *Wb* I, 100, 6 ff.,  |  for *insi*, and Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 109.

¹² The somewhat oddly formed tribal name Shaytep in Pap. Harris I, 77, 3, may or may not represent a corrupt writing of the present name. ¹³ Cf. Yoyotte, *Mél. Maspero*, I, 4, 142, § 28; also *JEA* 53 (1967), 64.

which occurs once in a late inscription as a writing for Amūn in the name *Pꜣ-dī-Imn-nb-nṣ-wt-tꜣ-wi* (Turin Cat. 1573; cf. Lieblein, *Hierogl. Namenwörterbuch*, I, 411, no. 1281). The sign seems too clear to be a deformation of 𓂏 or 𓂐 , when one would in any case expect it to be followed by 𓂑 . The double 𓂒 is equally strange.

e. The date is normally followed by *hr hm n nswt-bit* X, but for the words which appear here cf. Berlin stela no. 7344 (Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 35 (1913), 44), in that case without the month or day, which follow the king's name and epithets further on.

f. *pr-ꜣ*: written in the usual hieratic way; cf., for example, Pap. Louvre E 3228 c, I, 1 and 9 (*Rev. d'Eg.* 6 (1951), pl. 4) and Pap. Vatican 10574, 1 and 9 (*PSBA* 32 (1910), pl. 1), and for its occurrence on a stela cf. one from the Nahman collection (*ZÄS* 56 (1920), pl. 5—misread by Spiegelberg). For other early instances of this use of 'Pharaoh' cf. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, 48, n. 17, and Berlin stela no. 7344 of year 28 of Shōshenq III (see above, note *e*).

g. For this Pharaoh see below. Parker (*ZÄS* 93 (1966), 113) transcribes the signs after 𓂓 in another way, but I doubt whether the long vertical line with its top bent to the right can be 𓂓 .

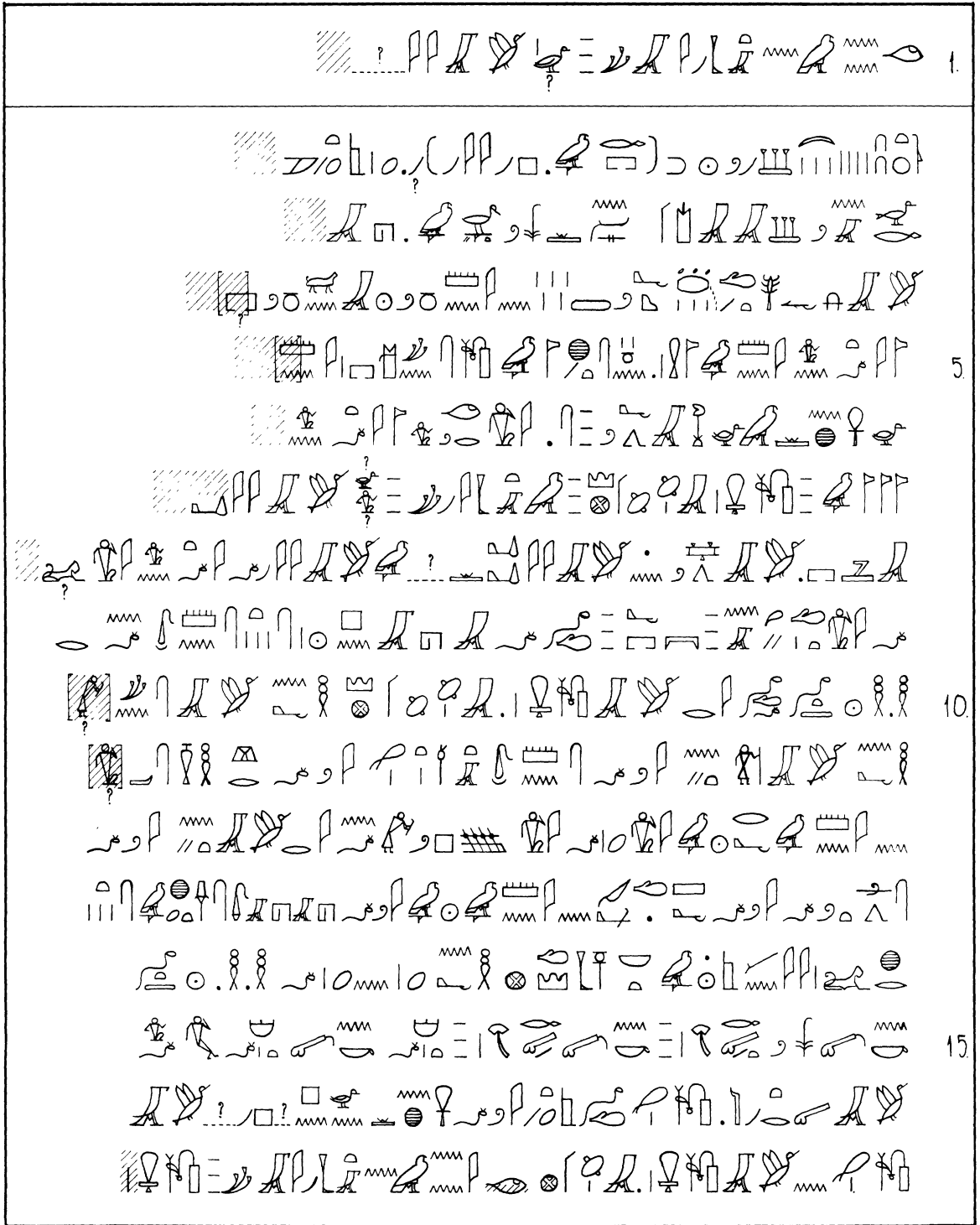
h. It seems useless to speculate as to the exact words lost here, apart from the very probable 'Amūn'. The Berlin stela no. 7344 (see note *e*), the text of which resembles the present one for the first part, has epithets of the king following 'Amūn'.

i. *wr ꜣ*: the usual title of a Libyan chief. For the reading of the tribe's name see above, and for instances of the use of *nṣ* before *Mšwš* cf. Yoyotte, *Mél. Maspero*, I, 4, 123.

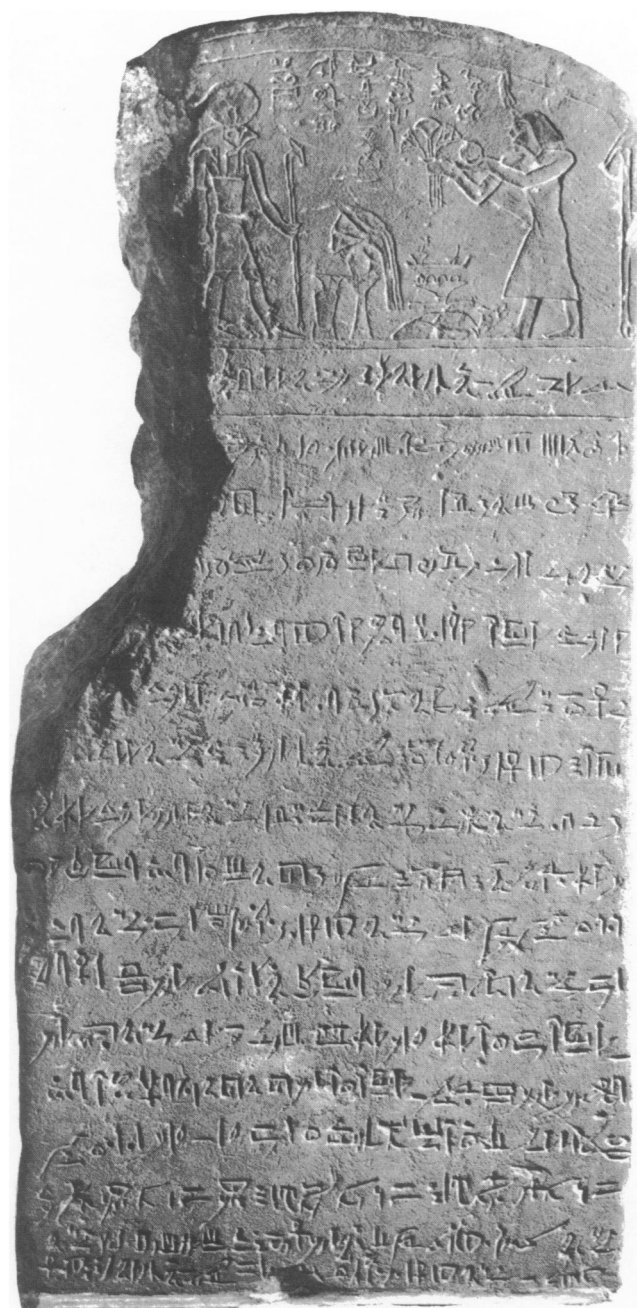
j. *hr*: clearly for *hrw [pn]* (cf. l. 9), the introductory words of the dedication formula (cf. e.g. Cairo stela no. 36159: *Ann. Serv.* 4 (1903), 183). The formula usually runs in the form *hrw pn n dīt šht*, cf. Florence stela no. 1806: Schiaparelli, *Cat. Gen. dei Musei di Antichità*, 517 and *Rec. Trav.* 15 (1893), 175; Cairo stela no. 45327: Iversen, *Two Inscr. Concerning Private Donations*, pl. 1; Cairo stela no. 31653: *Rec. Trav.* 18 (1896), 52 f.; stela from the Grant collection: *PSBA* 13 (1891), 36. Whether there was here a reference to a field, from the output of which the daily offerings were brought (cf. the beer offerings in Cairo stela no. 45779: *Ann. Serv.* 15 (1915), 144) remains uncertain.

k. For 𓂔 cf. Černý, *Griffith Studies*, 53, n. 32, and Malinine, *Kēmi*, 11 (1950), 18 ff. Both translate it as 'artabes' (cf. also Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques*, 9 f., n. 5). Černý showed that in the Leiden tablet it could be neither *ipt* nor *khar*, and suggested that it indicated the measure later called 'artabe', which was probably 'assigned in Egypt to an earlier native measure', the name of which remains unknown. It may be worth while to point out here an earlier mistake of mine. In the publication of Pap. Turin cat. no. 1907/8 (*JEA* 52 (1966), pl. XVI) there occur in rt. 1, 19 the words *ꜣkw* 𓂔 8, the sign 𓂔 being as noted (p. 84, n. g), 'of unusual shape'. I am now inclined to think that it is not 𓂔 at all, but the same sign as in the present stela; note that there too it is used with loaves. The reading remains unknown, and the translation 'artabes' is a conscious anachronism.

l. *n imnw*: possibly a corruption of the expression *m mnw* (with *n* for *m*), 'daily', with the word *imnyt*, 'everlasting offering'. For the writing $\text{𓂕} \text{𓂖} \text{𓂗}$ instead of the verb




THE SMALLER DĀKHLA STELA



(Photo. Ashmolean Museum)

THE SMALLER DĀKHLA STELA

(Ash. Mus. 1894. 107 b)

mn cf. Cairo stela no. 45779, 7 (see note *j*), where the words *m*  [sic] *nt hrw nb* also occur (ll. 3-4). This would contradict Parker's view (*ZĀS* 93 (1966), 112) that a name (*Imn-m-hnw*) was intended.


m. *m hnw* may mean either 'in' or 'in the *khenu*', a room or building inside a temple (cf. the title 'chantress of the *khenu* of Amūn'). Since the text is broken the choice remains open, as also that of the name of the god to whom the offering was dedicated. One would expect it to be Sētekh, since it is he who appears as the principal deity in the top register.

n. The person whose titles are enumerated—the son of 'Ankhḥor, whose name is lost—was the administrator of the donation.¹ He will have held offices in the local temples of Amūn (that of Sioḥ?) and Sētekh (that of Mūt el-Kharāb?).



o. *sš shn*: for the reading of the latter word cf. its early demotic writing (Erichsen, *Demot. Glossar*, 448, top, and *Auswahl frühdemot. Texte*, 107). A hieroglyphic writing occurs on a Gurob stela (Loat, *Gurob*, pl. 19, l. 3).

My translation of *sš shn*, which is usually rendered as 'scribe of leases', follows a remark of Seidl in his *Aeg. Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*, p. 19, where he points out that *shn*, later used for 'leases', was originally of wider application, viz. of 'einseitige rechtsverbindliche Erklärung'. It was possibly the name of the typical 'scribe-and-witness deed'.²

p. The name 'Ankhḥor was well known among the Libyans; cf. e.g. Yoyotte, *Mél. Maspero*, 1, 4, 144 f.

q. Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, 262, no. 15, reads *hꜣr-s-irw*, but *i-irw* seems to me to be the first word of the following subordinate clause.³ To take  as the name determinative would be contrary to the practice of this text, which does not use it elsewhere, the difficulty being that it cannot be the personal pronoun, which would be superfluous and inexplicable. The verb *i-irw*, the subject of which must be *it-nꜣr* etc., continues the sentence which begins with *hrw pn dit* (see note *j*).

As for the name, *hꜣr-s* may have been written for *hꜣr-szw*, which occurs not only as part of a name compounded with that of a god, but seems also to be found independently elsewhere (cf. Ranke, op. cit. 262, no. 14).

r. *sš htm* (also in ll. 10 and 17). Although the sign  is written much like , the reading is certain (cf. the larger Dākhla stela, l. 18; *JEA* 19, pl. 7). The *sš htm* is known from very few other examples, e.g. Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, pl. 13a, 18,⁴ and it remains uncertain whether *htm* here means 'seal' or 'contract'; nor is it clear whether the *sš htm* is to be identified with the *sš nꜣr htm* (cf. e.g. *Urk.* IV, 1165, 8; Cairo 42189: Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, II, 57, c, 4).

s. Cf. above, note *c*.

t. *grg* (<*n*?) *pꜣ bnrw*. The determinative of *grg* seems to indicate that the word 'settlement' is meant, which occurs in many place names, recalling the modern names of the

¹ Cf. Cairo stela no. 45779 (see note *l*), where the beer offering is placed *r ht* an official of the temple.

² For a quite different explanation cf. Gauthier, *Le Personnel du dieu Min*, 101, and the literature quoted there.

³ So also Parker, *ZĀS* 93 (1966), 112.

⁴ The Belegstellen to *Wb* III, 352, 15 mention also Florence stela no. 1556; see now Bosticco, *Museo arch. di Firenze, Le stele egiziane*, 1, pl. 31 and p. 35 f. The text is not altogether clear owing to some damage to the stela.

Oases, Waḥ el-Khârga, 'The Outer Oasis', and Waḥ ed-Dâkhla, 'The Inner Oasis'. Although these names are modern (for the ancient ones cf. Winlock, *Ed Dâkhleh Oasis*, 58, who differs from Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase*, 69 ff.), the notion of 'inner' and 'outer', i.e. more or less in the middle of the desert, may have existed locally in ancient times. The name 'settlement of the outside' might then indicate a village at the eastern end of the Oasis of ed-Dâkhla.

I cannot, however, understand what reason there could be for mentioning such a place here, since the offering is said to be made in a temple already mentioned in line 4. As an alternative I would suggest, with extreme caution, that *m grg pꜣ bnrw* was an expression for a particular kind of equipment for eternity, though unfortunately I can advance nothing in support of this interpretation.

u. For the very short word partly lost here—the space is small—I can offer no suggestion.

v. *i-drt*: cf. Malinine, *Choix de textes*, 122, n. 13.

w. *ḥry-w-c*. The expression is unknown to me, but may be a late variant of *ḥry-w-pr*, 'domestic servants'.

x. *nty iw·f smn*. The odd horizontal stroke in *nty* (see also l. 12) may be due to a confusion with the hieratic writing of $\overline{\text{sm}}$ (cf. Möller, *Hier. Paläogr.* III, no. 318). The construction *nty iw·f sdm* has always future meaning (cf. *JEA* 16 (1930), 224, n. 1, and 19 (1933), 27, n. 1).

The verb *smn* seldom occurs in this formula; I know it only from Cairo stela no. 85647, 3 (*Ann. Serv.* 43 (1943), pl. 2). More frequent are *smnh* (e.g. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, § 104; Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 46, l. 15 = *PSBA* 24 (1902), 320 ff.) or *dît mnmn* (e.g. the Tefnakhte stela, 6: Capart, *Recueil de monuments ég.* II, pl. 92).

y. Although in this case the writing proves that 'decree'¹ is meant, in most other donation stelae *wḏt* occurs with the determinative for stone (e.g. *Rec. Trav.* 25 (1903), 197; *Epigr. Wostoka*, 5 (1951), pl. opp. pp. 96–7, 6; *Ann. Serv.* 43 (1943), pl. 2, 5).² From the point of view of the meaning of the text it makes little difference.

z. For this expression cf. Bakir, *Ann. Serv.* 43 (1943), 81.

aa. For the construction cf. Černý, *Griffith Studies*, 53, n. 37 and for the meaning of *šsp* Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes*, 18 f. The same use of *šsp n·f* occurs in the Amenophis decree, l. 15 (*SPAW* 1910, pl. 6) and the Tefnakhte stela, 11 (see note *x*).

bb. *stꜣ* replaces the usual *th*, or more rarely *mnmn* (cf. Moscow stela no. 5647, 6: *Epigr. Wostoka*, 5 (1951); Tefnakhte stela 7–8). The *·f* is explained by Malinine (*Choix de textes*, 123, n. 16) as indicating the object of the donation, since it cannot refer to the feminine *wḏt*. Gardiner's translation of *stꜣ* as 'claim' (*JEA* 19 (1933), 25) seems to me unnecessary; for 'disregard' cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Osorkon*, 25, n. 5.

cc. *iw·f <n> šꜣd* etc. Exactly the same words occur in Cairo stela no. 45948, 4–5 (*Ann. Serv.* 17 (1917), 43) and in the dedication stela of Aspelta³ (*Urk.* III, 107, 2–3);

¹ Contrary to Möller, *SPAW* 1910, 944, and Sottas, *La Préservation*, 150.

² Probably also in Cairo stela no. 30972, 9 (formerly in the possession of Daninos Pasha). The facsimile by Müller, *Eg. Researches* 1, pl. 88, is not clear, but cf. Sottas, *op. cit.* 152.

³ For the position of Aspelta in the royal family of Napata cf. *JEA* 35 (1949), 149.

in Metrop. Mus. stela no. 55. 144. 6 (formerly Tigrane collection),¹ 5, the formula (partly destroyed) has *r* instead of *n*. In earlier texts the sword of the king is mentioned (e.g. Grant stela: *PSBA* 13 (1891), 36, and Cairo stela no. 85647, 1: *Ann. Serv.* 43 (1943), pl. 2); in later ones Bast replaces Amon-Rē^c (e.g. Musée Guimet stela of Year 1 of Necho II: Moret, *Cat. du Musée Guimet*, pl. 43). 'The blaze of Sakhmet' occurs elsewhere only in the Tefnakhte stela, 9. For other translations of *šrd*, cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Osorkon*, § 101 and Bakir, *Ann. Serv.* 43 (1943), 80.

dd. st for *sw*: cf. Möller, *SPAW* 1910, 944.

ee. hrwy for *hrw*: cf. Černý, *Griffith Studies*, 52, n. 24.

ff. Spiegelberg, followed by Sottas, accidentally omitted the words *s; n*. The sentence does not occur elsewhere in the donation texts; in its place there is usually something like 'his son shall not be on his place'.

gg. Obscene curses occur frequently in donation texts of this period. The oldest instance known to me is in the Adoption Papyrus, vs. 6 (*JEA* 26 (1940), pl. 7), where it has not yet the appearance of a stereotyped formula but of a genuine curse.² The earliest occurrence in a donation text seems to be in an unpublished stela of Year 5 of Shōshenq III (Or. Inst. Chicago stela no. 10511), the latest in the Tefnakhte stela in Athens. Sometimes the word *hmt* is replaced by *hbst*,³ for example in Strasbourg stela no. 1379 (*Rec. Trav.* 25 (1903), 197) and in a stela in Cairo (op. cit. 196).

For the role of the ass as a Sethian animal cf. te Velde, 56, and Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, s.v. 'Esel'.

hh. mtr-sš: cf. Malinine, *Choix de textes*, 41, n. 19.

ii. Except for the initial \square and another \square the name is illegible to me.

jj. $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$. I take this to be a shortened writing for *sš-(n)-šrwt*, owing to lack of space. So far as I am aware *sš* for 'scribe' is never written with any determinative on stelae of this period.

The text informs us that a certain official in the Oasis, called Ḥarentbia, donated in a temple (of Sētekh?) a daily offering of five loaves in favour of his father. Its maintenance was probably entrusted to a priest, the son of 'Ankhḥor. The third person of importance mentioned in the text is the chief of the Sha(m)in Esdḥuti, who is also represented in the top register as an offerant, a function usually reserved for the king. Yoyotte⁴ has noted that in the turbulent years at the end of and after the Twenty-second Dynasty such usurpation of this royal function by Libyan chiefs was not uncommon, even when a stela was still dated under the reigning Pharaoh.⁵ This is also the case here; Esdḥuti appears as the dedicator, but the text is dated under the Pharaoh Py.

In a recent article Parker refers to two other texts⁶ in which the same king is mentioned, and in an effort to identify him adduces five criteria, all of them pointing

¹ Of Year 6 of Shabaka; cf. Brugsch, *ZÄS* 34 (1896), 84, and *BMMA* 15 (Nov. 1956), 86.

² For even older phrases with the same meaning see Spiegelberg, *Hier. Ostr. and Papyri*, pl. 13, no. 115 (cf. *Rec. Trav.* 25 (1903), 198).

³ See Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property*, 10, n. 7, and James, *The Hekanakhte Papers*, 12.

⁴ *Mél. Maspero* 1, 4, 141 and 150 f.

⁵ Sometimes the cartouches remained empty.

⁶ *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 111 ff. These texts are two abnormal hieratic papyri, the Belzoni papyrus in Leiden and Pap. Vatican 10574.

to the years shortly before Shabaka. The first, namely the use of the epithet 'son of Isis, beloved of Amūn', relates to the present stela, while the others refer only to the papyri. It now seems possible to adduce further proof of Parker's hypothesis from the stela.

In his study of the decree of Amenophis son of Ḥapu, Möller¹ remarked that during the Twentieth and Twenty-first Dynasties he who would interfere with donations is threatened with the curse of the gods upon his earthly life, i.e. with hunger, thirst, and death, while between the Twenty-first and Twenty-sixth Dynasties blessings are added to the curses, the latter being sometimes of an obscene character. It is indeed possible to narrow the range of time during which obscene curses are used to the period between the reign of Shōshenq III and that of Tefnakhte.² Moreover, the formula *iw·f n šꜥd n Imn, iw·f n hh n Shmt* occurs only on stelae of the reigns of Pefnefdibast (Cairo stela no. 45948) and Aspelta (dedication stela), and in a slightly different form on one from the reign of Shabaka (Metr. Mus. stela no. 55. 144. 6).³ Both earlier and later donation stelae, so far as I know, use other formulae.

Parker in his article suggests that Py might be a hypocoristic version of the name Piꜥankhy, but concludes by saying that this is 'merely an attractive hypothesis', and that more evidence is required. In my opinion, the formulae noted above and the appearance of a Libyan chief as donor, while the stela itself is dated to a king, constitute such evidence. It would be difficult to date the stela to any other time than that between the late Twenty-second and the early Twenty-fifth Dynasties, and who then, other than Piꜥankhy, could be the Pharaoh Py who, within this period, reigned at least 24 years?⁴ The high date suggested to Spiegelberg the reign of either Shōshenq III or V, but this can scarcely be reconciled with the aforementioned facts.

Finally, one should take account of Leclant's suggestion,⁵ that the metathesis of the signs \square and φ , found frequently in the name of the Pharaoh Piꜥankhy, may indicate that the group $\varphi \square$ is to be read simply *p* or *pi*. If this were accepted, the writing $\square \varphi \varphi$ would then be a mere variant of $\square \varphi \varphi \varphi$, which would itself be read Py.

¹ *SPAW* 1910, 910; followed by Sottas, *La Préservation*, 120.

² Cf. above, note *gg*.

³ Cf. above, note *cc*.

⁴ It is of some significance that only years 21, 22 and 24 are known for king Py. For a Pharaoh who reigned over Egypt from his first year this would be rather strange, but for Piꜥankhy it is quite explicable. It seems impossible that Petubastis, whose twenty-third year is known, could have been called Py.

⁵ *OLZ* 61 (1966), 552, in a review of Hintze, *Die Inschriften von Musawwarat es Sufra*.

BY-PRODUCTS OF BIBLIOGRAPHY

By ROSALIND MOSS

DISCOVERY, disappearance, and rediscovery seem to have been the fate of many monuments recorded by the earlier Egyptologists, so to the task of the excavator in the sands of Egypt must be added that of the bibliographical sleuth, whose domain is the unpublished material in museum reserves and in the attics of private houses. Thus for instance did the Twelfth-dynasty stela of the master-sculptor Shen, bought by Lord Kinnaird in Rome in 1823 and sold at Sotheby's in 1935, remain lost to view until it was found in 1951 in the County Museum at Los Angeles, having come from the unpublished collection of W. R. Hearst (Faulkner in *JEA* 38 (1952), 3).

Two similar occurrences can now be recorded. During his sojourn at Thebes in the early nineteenth century Robert Hay examined what was known as the 'Lepsius mummy', made sketches of some of the scenes, and copied the names and titles of the owner and his parents. This so-called mummy was actually an elaborately decorated set of late coffins of a certain Pedeamūn (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) called Ipu (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏), who bore the title of chief of navigation of the bark of Amūn (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏), or alternatively sailor (𓂏𓂏𓂏) of the bark of Amūn, and whose parents were Thatiēnwenzu (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, variant 𓂏𓂏𓂏) and Tade-tanebt-hen (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏).¹

Some years later Sir Gardner Wilkinson noted the same names and titles on two coffins described as 'Mr Hopkinson's mummy brought by Mr. Burton', coffin No. 1, 'a cedar case which has nothing else on it', from which he copied two bands of horizontal inscriptions and one vertical text, whereas coffin No. 2 is the 'innermost case which is highly decorated according to Dr. Lepsius'.² Mr. Edward Hopkinson of Edgeworth Manor House, Gloucester, does not seem to have possessed other antiquities, and in December 1851 he presented his coffins to the Gloucester Literary and Scientific Society, from which they went to the City Museum officially opened in March 1860.

Meanwhile on September 16, 1851, an important social function had taken place at Edgeworth Manor House, fully reported in the Gloucester Journals of September 20 and October 25, when the mummy was formally unrolled by a local surgeon, Mr. H. W. Rumsay, in the presence of a number of residents in the immediate neighbourhood. After the removal of 280 yards of bandage the mummy was examined in great detail, but no papyri or amulets were found, and it was then replaced in the coffin. The inscription upon the third case was copied by Mr. John Jones, and tracings of some of the principal figures were taken by Mr. Niblett. 'There was an abundant supply of refreshments, and the fineness of the day and occasional lively airs played by

¹ Hay MSS. 29816, 158-62.² Wilkinson MSS. xxiii, 85.

the Cirencester band added to the gratification of the meeting'. Afterwards some of the party 'sat down to dinner at the Manor House, where the elegance of the entertainment was only equalled by the kind courtesy and hospitality of the worthy host'. At that time there were no less than four coffins, two of sycamore, the outermost measuring 8 × 3 ft, both elaborately decorated, a plain cedar coffin with a line of hieroglyphs running down the sides, and the innermost case of 'gummed linen' richly painted with funeral rites including a judgement-scene.

Two of these coffins were given to the Liverpool City Museum in 1953 (numbers 53. 72. 1, 2), an outer one of sycamore now on exhibition, and the innermost cartonnage-coffin, which has unfortunately lost its lid. The former (pl. XXVI, 1) has the unusual design of two hippocampi, which were noticed while it was still at Gloucester by that indefatigable Egyptologist Dr. Margaret Murray, who published one of them in Knobel, *Historical Studies*, II (1904), pl. xxi (top), pp. 39–40, the other being reproduced here (pl. XXVI, 2).

It would therefore seem that Hay's judgement-scene, and his pencil sketch of a bark containing Pedeamūn and his father, must have come from the missing lid or the other outer coffin, and Wilkinson's inscriptions from the cedar coffin (all of which are now lost), as the 'good name' Ipuwer (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛) which appears in their copies does not occur on the others. Hay does not mention the scenes in the interiors, which in the Liverpool outer coffin consist of an elaborate *djed*-pillar design with Heh holding up the sky and *ba*-birds on the bottom, and two rows of demons with knives on the sides converging on the figure of a bending Nut with two Goddesses of the Day and Night adoring, and it is possible that he only saw the outer lids, as the mummy was still in its nest of coffins. I am indebted to the Keeper of Archaeology in the Liverpool Museum, Miss Dorothy Slow, for kindly supplying information of their previous histories and various details, and to the Director for permission to publish these photographs.

The family of the owner Pedeamūn is known from other sources, as one of the coffins of his brother Neḥemsu-monthu (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛), a chief of navigation of the bark of Amūn in the third guild, is in the museum at Boulogne-sur-Mer, and the other is in the museum at Grenoble (No. 93), both having been brought back from Egypt by Denon in 1799.¹ So presumably the family tomb was discovered at Thebes before 1800.

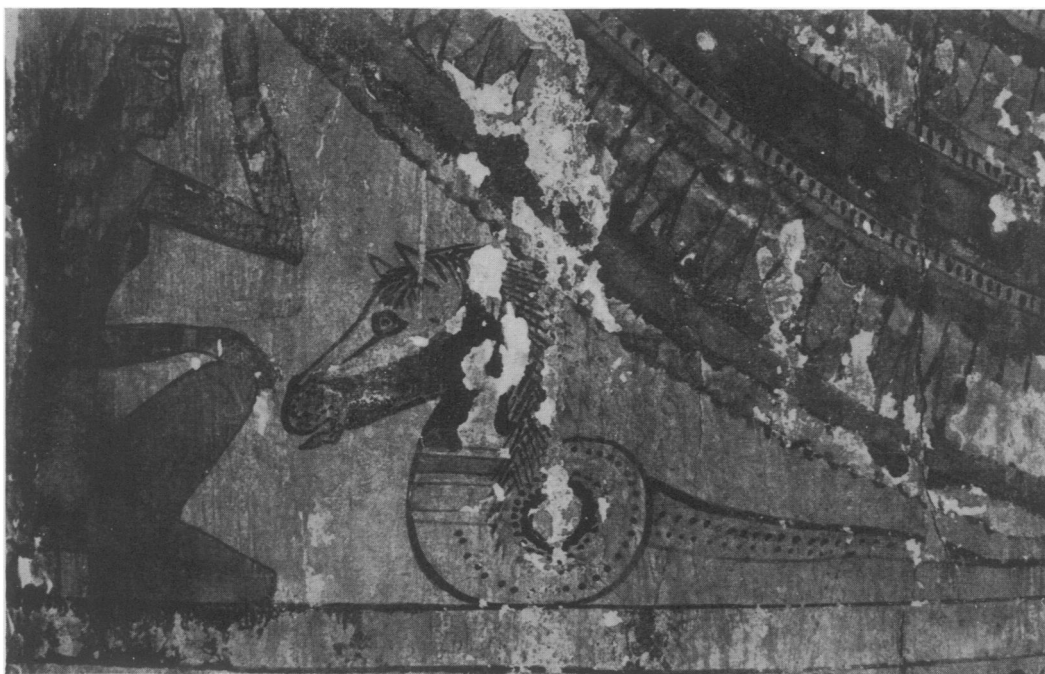
Our second example of rediscovery goes back even further. In the eighteenth century Egyptian antiquities must have been comparatively rare, but in 1719 Dom Bernard Montfaucon, a Benedictine monk at St Maur near Paris was sufficiently interested to make copies of three alabaster canopic-jars at that time in the possession of 'M. le Président Bon' and in the 'Cabinet de M. Vivant'. These jars were published in Montfaucon, *Supplément to L'Antiquité Expliquée et Représentée en Figures* (1724), pls. xlix and after 1, where they are described in the following manner (pp. 167–8).

Les Canopes se voient en grand nombre dans les cabinets. . . . Le premier que nous donnons, a un bon pied de Roi de haut, dans l'original. Il ne diffère de plusieurs déjà donnez que par des

¹ Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 1², 822, 826.



1. The Coffin

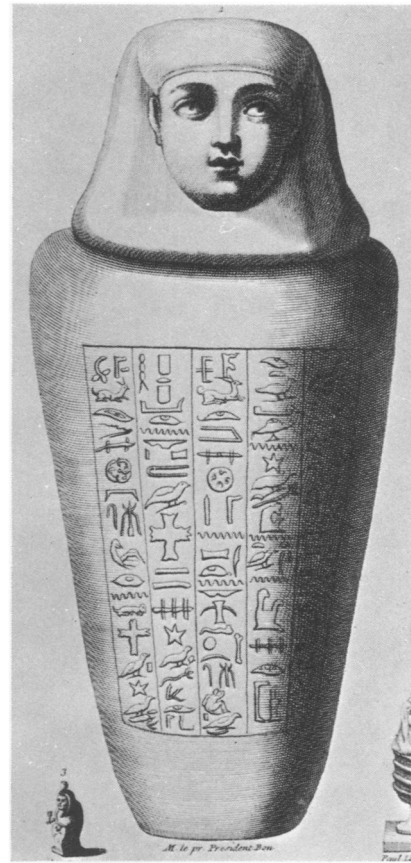


2. A Hippocampus

THE OUTER COFFIN OF PEDEAMŪN



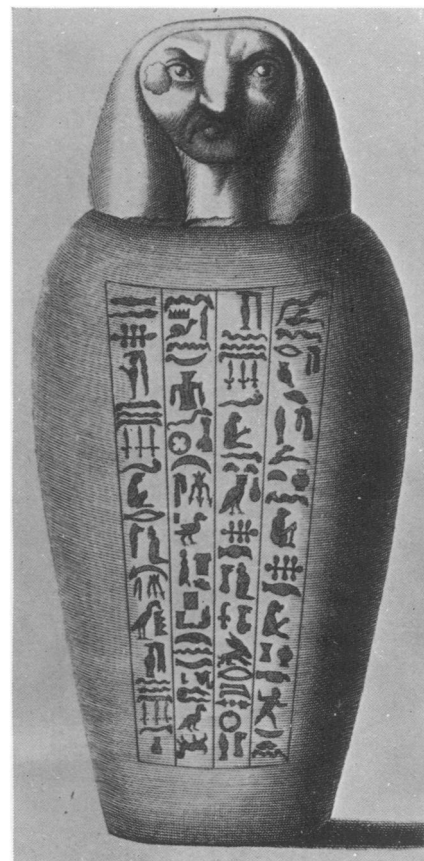
1. Duamutf



2. Montfaucon's drawing of 1




3. Qebhsennuf



4. Montfaucon's drawing of 3

Hieroglyphes, dont la plupart ne se voient pas dans les autres monumens Egyptiens. On y voit des chevreuils couchez, des croix, des étoiles bien formées, un homme assis, et d'autres caractères entremeslez avec ceux qu'on voit d'ordinaire dans les anciens monumens Egyptiens, ceux-ci sont l'œil humain, les oiseaux, le ziczac; celui-ci sy voit plusieurs fois. Il y a apparence que les Prêtres Egyptiens qui conservoient les vieux caractères, et qui en savoient, disoit-on, la signification, avoient la puissance d'en créer de nouveaux. Les deux Canopes suivans qui sont sur une pierre gravée de M. l'Abbé Fauvel font un regard: l'ornement de tête dans l'un et dans l'autre sont extraordinaires. Ces têtes sont posées sur des globes, ou sur des vases faits en globe, et ces globes sont marquez de lignes qu'on prendroit pour des figures mathématiques.

Nevertheless his copies are so good (pl. XXVII, 2, 4) that it was possible to decipher the names in the inscriptions as those of 'Aḥmosi, son of Pediptaḥ and Tentnefertem (=) , two of whose canopic jars (Imset, Qebḥsennuf) are in the Lady Lever Art Gallery at Port Sunlight, having been bought by Lord Leverhulme from the Hope Collection (Christie Sale Catalogue, July 23, 1917, no. 172, pl. iv, upper left and right). The inscriptions have been studied by Mr. Barry J. Kemp, and will be published in a forthcoming article.¹ The third jar (Duamutf) is in the Musée Calvet at Avignon (no. 115), and this with the falcon-headed jar at Port Sunlight are reproduced here, (the latter by kind permission of the Trustees), with Montfaucon's plates (pl. XXVII). Of the original owners the Président Bon has been identified as François Xavier Bon de Saint-Hilaire, who was born at Montpellier in 1678, died at Narbonne in 1761, and was Président de la Chambre des comptes de Montpellier. He seems to have been a naturalist of distinction specializing in spiders, his dissertation on this subject in 1710 having been translated into many languages including Chinese.

Meantime the fourth jar (Ḥapy) found its way to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (No. 79), where the text was copied by Seyffarth in 1828-9 (MSS. VI, 4321-3, in the Brooklyn Museum, New York), and is now in the Louvre (E. 13137). It is, however, smaller than the others, being only 23 cm in height, while the Avignon jar is 29 cm high without the lid, and the Port Sunlight ones nearly as large.

I hope that Professor Černý, who has always encouraged what he calls the Scotland Yard activities of bibliographical research, will be interested in this account of tracking down two more lost Egyptian antiquities.

¹ In *Orientalia* 37, fasc. 1, 1968.

A DEMOTIC PLEA TO THOTH IN THE LIBRARY OF G. MICHAELIDES

By GEORGE R. HUGHES

It is with great respect for the scholar and affection for the man that this study of a document from the collection of a mutual friend is offered as a birthday tribute to Jaroslav Černý, master transcriber and translator of many an Egyptian letter.

When in 1958 the writer published a demotic letter to Thoth,¹ no other appeals to Thoth in letter form or otherwise had been published. There were a few published petitions addressed to Imḥotep, Oserapis, and Anubis.² On that occasion I speculated upon the likelihood that these demotic letters or pleas to deities were descendants of the earlier letters to the dead. Subsequently that possibility has come to appear more likely still. Since 1958 Mr. Georges Michaelides in Cairo has shown me a number of demotic documents in his collection among which are eight appeals to Thoth. Strangely enough one of these, the earliest palaeographically, is on a complete earthenware jar or pot, and five are on linen, including the one published here, while only two are on papyrus and they are the latest, of the Ptolemaic period.

Now linen is neither the most common nor the easiest material on which to write; nor, for that matter, is the outside of a rather crude pottery jar. In the case of the letters to the dead on pottery bowls Gardiner and Sethe suggested the appropriateness of sending the message on a utensil containing a food offering.³ They made no suggestion concerning the Old Kingdom letter on linen, the oldest one known,⁴ except to say that it must have been deposited by a son, one of the inditers, in the tomb of his father.⁵

Texts on linen are not plentiful and are confined, to my knowledge, largely if not exclusively to burial notations and funerary texts. As was suggested in the case of the previously published appeal to Thoth,⁶ the Michaelides appeals to him (5 on linen and 2 on papyrus) probably all come from Hermopolis to judge from internal evidence in some of them, and were actually 'posted' in the vast subterranean galleries at Tûna el-Gebel which were filled with countless mummified and carefully wrapped ibises. Linen would be an appropriate writing material if the pleas were to be buried on or with one of the sacred birds.

¹ Pap. Or. Inst. 19422 in *JNES* 17 (1958), 1-21.

² *Ibid.* 3 f.

³ Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 10.

⁴ Of some 15 letters to the dead, published and unpublished at present, 7 are on bowls, 1 on a jar stand, 1 on linen, 2 on stelae, 1 on a limestone flake, and 3 on papyrus. For the latest publication of a letter to the dead as well as an excellent resumé and bibliography of the genre see Simpson, *JEA* 52 (1966), 39-52, especially p. 39 n. 2, to which add Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 1, pl. 80. This addition I owe to Professor Edward F. Wente.

⁵ *Letters to the Dead*, 3.

⁶ *JNES* 17 (1958), 4.

Furthermore, the one Michaelides plea to Thoth written on a jar was, I think, posted in or at the grave of a man, a woman, and another man, apparently the son of the first. A woman attendant of the ibises at an otherwise unknown locality greets the three persons initially by name 'before Thoth' without indicating anything more about them or their relationship to her or her plea. Then she launches into a complaint to Thoth about seizure of property by a man whom she names.

Like this plea, and like the majority of the demotic appeals to deities as well as the earlier letters to the dead, the complaint to Thoth in the Michaelides examples is about mistreatment of the plaintiff or misconduct by some other person here on earth.¹ The plea published here, however, is the only one known to me at present which seeks help against trouble not of someone's making here on earth.² It appears rather that the suppliant has been the victim in this life of bad luck, which he attributes unquestioningly to the workings of the Evil Genius or demon. He is now aged and not only fears further harm to his family and property while he lives, and perhaps after his death but fears harm from the demon to himself in the judgement after death. His plea is that Thoth, whose servant he is in some special sense,³ be merciful to him and propitiate for him other deities including his own Good Genius who may have reasons to be disaffected and inimical toward him in this world and the next. He goes so far in ll. 5-6 as to admit that there are gods to whom he may have given offence.

The plea is written on a piece of rather coarse-textured linen 31.3 cm long by 24 cm high (pl. XXVIII). The edges are slightly tattered, but apart from a rupture in the fabric just above the beginning of the text and a stained spot in the same area extending down 5 lines into the text, the linen and the writing are in very good condition. The break in the cloth was undoubtedly present when the text was written but the stain probably occurred after the writing although its effect on the ink has been slight.

The linen probably crept under the scribe's pen and was hard to write upon even if it were fastened on a board, but the ink did not run. One peculiarity of the writing is a tendency to slant to the left of vertical, probably owing to the difficulty of writing on linen rather than to, say, a left-handed scribe. It would seem that the linen was not folded, for it now lies flat without creases which would probably have left traces had they been present anciently. There is no writing at all on the verso.

Judged palaeographically the text was written most probably in the reign of Darius I, certainly not later, although possibly earlier, perhaps as early as the reign of Amasis.

¹ One Michaelides letter to Thoth, the longest and most detailed of all, on papyrus and of the Ptolemaic period, was written on behalf of a minor boy and girl complaining about their father's treatment of them after their mother's death and his remarriage. The only other one on papyrus in his collection, also Ptolemaic, is not a complaint but a request by a son that his father be spared death from an illness he has, in return for which the son will, among other things, pay a sum of money in monthly instalments for the burial of the Ibis. For a similar request, this time for the birth of a child, with a conditional vow to Amenophis son of Ḥapu, on a wooden tablet also belonging to Mr. Michaelides, see Malinine, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 14 (1962), 37-43, pl. 2. Professor G. Posener has pointed out to me one of the same genre in hieratic in Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 1, pl. 50, 2.

² In this respect it resembles Leyden Pap. 371 written by a widowed husband to and in accusation of his deceased wife for causing him unspecified troubles (*Letters to the Dead*, 8 f., pls. vii-viii).

³ See line 2 of the text, 'A servant who is' etc., and the note thereto.

I am grateful to Mr. Michaelides not only for showing me the demotic pleas to deities in his collection but for providing photographs of them and granting permission to publish them.

Transliteration

1. *ꜣyt i Dhwtꜣ ꜣꜣ nb Hmnw i nꜣ knb(wt) ꜣꜣy(w) i ntr nb nty dy shn-f n*
2. *Ns-nꜣ-knb(wt)-ꜣy(w) sꜣ Hr mwt-f Hp-i-ir-di-s n-drt n tꜣ wry(t) bꜣk iw-w ty-t-f*
3. *n kns ꜣꜣy-f hry ꜣꜣ nty nhꜣt-f nhꜣt(-y) n-drt-s ꜣꜣy-n nb ꜣꜣ tw-y ꜣꜣwy-t n ms*
4. *r nꜣ stbe(w) nty iw(-y) n-im-w ꜣꜣ nty iw-w hwy-t-f r ꜣꜣ smꜣꜣ ꜣꜣ sw nꜣ nty ꜣin-mwtꜣ*
5. *mtw-w htp n-f mtw-w in-t-f r-hnw htp n-y i nꜣ ntrw nty dy ir shry*
6. *n-y nꜣ ntrw r-ir(-y) n-w btwe ir shry n-y ty(-y) šp(š)y(t) my htp-w n-y*
7. *nhm-t(-y) r nꜣy-tn hcry(w) btwe nhꜣt(-y) n-drt n tꜣ wery(t)*
8. *nhm-t(-y) n-drt-s m-ir ti-t(-y) n tꜣ wery(t) ty-t(-y) n-k hc-k m-ir ti-t(-y) n-s*
9. *nhm-t(-y) n-drt-s n ty n ꜣꜣ hrw (r-)hry m-ir dit hn-s r rmt mtw(-y) m-ir dit hn-s [r]*
10. *nkt mtw(-y) m-ir dit ir ge ir-shy n-im(-y) n ꜣꜣy-k bnr-k (sic).*

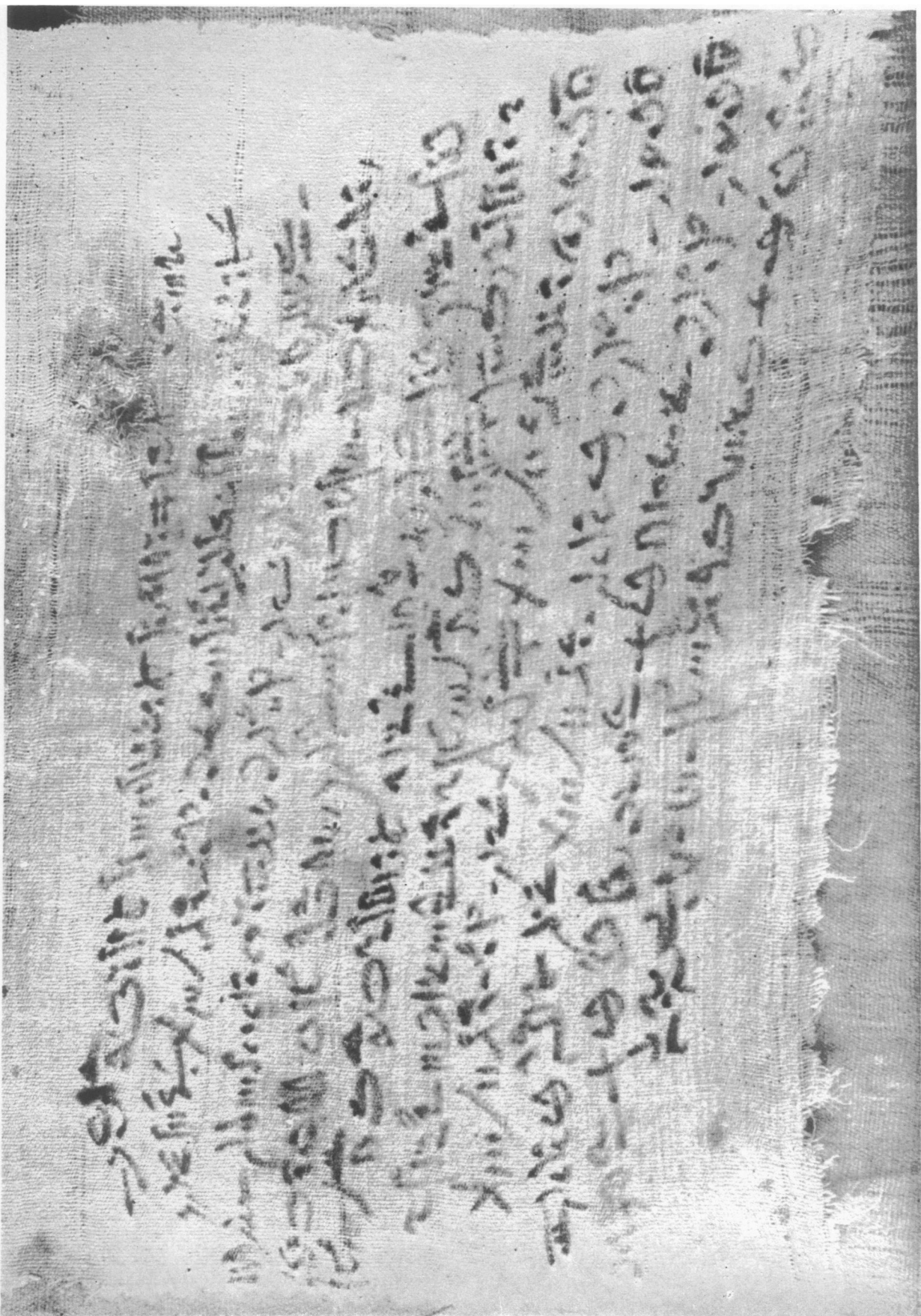
Translation

1. Calamity! O Thoth, Twice Great, Lord of Hermopolis! O Great Councils! O every god who is here! It has befallen
2. Esnekenbeo son of Hor, whose mother is Hapertais, from the hand of the Evil Genius. A servant who is mis-
3. treated, his master is the one who protects him. Protect me from it! Our great Lord, I am too old
4. for the troubles in which I am. He who is cast into the justification (?) at an old age (?), those who [are dead],
5. they shall be gracious to him and bring him in. Be gracious to me, O gods who are here; propitiate
6. for me the gods against whom I have committed wrongs and propitiate for me my Good Genius! Cause them to be gracious to me!
7. Save me from your destruction of wrongdoing! Protect me from the Evil Genius!
8. Save me from it! Do not give me to the Evil Genius! Take me for yourself; do not give me to it!
9. Save me from it from this day forward! Do not let it come near a person of mine! Do not let it come near
10. a possession of mine! Do not let another have power over me except you (Thoth)!

Notes

Line 1. *ꜣyt*, 'calamity, misfortune, wretchedness' (Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 13) is frequent in these pleas to deities, sometimes in parallelism with the nearly synonymous *hbr*, 'misery'. See also Glanville, *Instructions of Onchsheshonqy*, col. 4/19 and Pap. Cairo 50110/6-7. The word, while used exclamatorily, is the anticipated subject of the clause beginning *shn-f*, 'it has befallen'.

nꜣ knb(wt) ꜣꜣy(w), 'the Great Councils'. The plural is unexpected, but the article is the scribe's *nꜣ*, not *tꜣ*, and *ꜣꜣy(w)* is the plural form of the adjective. The scribe nowhere



A DEMOTIC PLEA TO THOTH

writes the tall plural stroke with nouns, see *nꜣ stbe(w)* in line 4 and *nꜣy-tn hrꜣy(w)* in line 7. Perhaps allusion is made to the ten councils (*dꜣdꜣt*) in the Eighteenth Chapter of the Book of the Dead before which Thoth is called upon to see to the justification of the deceased. *Dꜣdꜣt*, which sometimes interchanges with *knbt* in earlier Egyptian, is not found to my knowledge in demotic of any period.

shn-f n, 'it (the calamity) has befallen'. The *shn* appears certain despite the blotted *s* and the lack of a determinative (see Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 456). For the meaning of *shn n* a person see Spiegelberg, *Kanopus*, Glossar, no. 325 (A/4, B/16), and *shn r* a place, the examples cited in Spiegelberg, *Dem. Pap. Loeb*, 24, (13).

Line 2. *Ns-nꜣ-knb(wt)-ꜣꜣy(w)*, 'Esnekenbeo'. Although somewhat bleached the name of the suppliant is well enough preserved to assure the presence as an element in it of the bodies of deities invoked in line 1. See the note thereto.

tꜣ wꜣy(t), 'the Evil Genius'. The *wꜣy(t)* has often been discussed, most usefully in Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees in the Late New Kingdom*, I, xxii, Thompson, *JEA* 26 (1941), 77, and Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung*, 107. This demonic being which creates bad fortune for a person is the name given in the demotic horoscope, P. Berlin 8345, 2/1 and 4/15, to the sixth zodiacal 'house' which is called *κακή τύχη* in the Greek texts (see Thompson, *PSBA* 34 (1912), 227-33). It is opposed to the fifth house which is *špšy(t)* in demotic (P. Berlin 8345, 4/10) and *ἀγαθή τύχη* in Greek. So also the *špšy(t)* in line 6 of our text is the Good Genius by contrast. Note also P. Insinger 8/19: *i-ir špšyt wrꜣt hr pꜣ tꜣ hn nꜣ šhmwt*, 'It is in women that good fortune and bad fortune are upon earth.' On this aphorism see Volten, *Das demotische Weisheitsbuch*, 78 f. It would appear that in demotic when *wꜣyt* and *špšyt* are defined by the feminine article, a possessive adjective or *nb*, 'every', they signify 'the demon that brings about bad fortune' and 'the demon that brings about good fortune', but undefined the words mean 'bad fortune' and 'good fortune'.

bꜣk iw-w etc., 'a servant who is' etc. This gnomic statement of accepted principle makes the same assumption as does the letter to Thoth, P. Or. Inst. 19422/3 (*JNES* 17, 9 n. j), that the suppliant has no human master to protect him, only his divine master, Thoth. In that letter the suppliant actually worked for Thoth at an ibis farm, but in the plea here discussed the suppliant may have been a self-dedicated person who had turned over all his property to the god and had contracted to pay monthly dues in return for the god's protection from every malignant being and influence. The contracts of self-dedication actually begin, 'I am your servant'. See Thompson, *JEA* 26 (1941), 68-78.

Line 3. *tꜣw-y ꜣꜣwy-tꜣ n ms*, 'I am too old.' For this ending of the Qualitative 1st pers. sing. instead of the more usual *·k(wy)* to be found in *dꜣ(-y) ꜣꜣy·k(wy) n ms* in P. Rylands IX, 5/20, 10/13 and 17, see Erman, *Neuäg. Gram.*, § 330, Lexa, *Grammaire démotique*, 406, nos. 10 and 11, and Griffith, *Rylands*, III, 210, n. 9.

Line 4. *r nꜣ stbe(w)*, 'for the troubles'. For a considerable time the entire clause seemed to me to mean 'I have become old owing to the troubles', but that meaning for the preposition *r* in the context is indefensible. It is certainly the *r* of comparison, 'I am older than (too old for) the troubles'. Cf. the Contendings of Horus and Seth,

P. Chester Beatty I, 3/8: *tꜣy iꜣwt ꜣꜣti r-k*, 'this office is too big for you'. The alphabetic spelling of *stb* < *sdb* reflects the Late Egyptian spelling (*Wb.* iv, 381). All other demotic spellings known to me, even early ones, contain the group for *dbꜣ* (Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 476).

pꜣ smꜣꜣ ꜣꜣ sw, 'the justification (?) at an old age (?)'. *Smꜣꜣ* is written $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$. I know of no other writing with the feather except in the Berlin inscription of the Ethiopian Nastesen, line 13, where it is an infinitive apparently meaning 'to praise' (*Wb.* iv, 125, 18). Note the early demotic writing in Revillout and Eisenlohr, *Corpus Pap. Aeg.* I, pl. xvii, no 16/1, where it is a noun, 'greeting', and furnishes the pattern for later writings. The *ꜣ* is clear and after it the word ought to be $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ rather than an unparalleled writing of *Hmnw*, 'Hermopolis', as $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, especially in view of the normal writing $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ in line 1.



pꜣ smꜣꜣ can have one of the usual demotic meanings of $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, 'praise, prayer, blessing, greeting' (Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 430-1) only if it is a thoroughgoing euphemism, because in the idiom to 'cast, throw' a person into a place or situation the place or situation is always an undesirable one. Beginning with the basic meaning of *smꜣꜣ*, 'to cause to be right', perhaps as a shortening of *smꜣꜣ-hrw*, 'to justify, justification', the reference might be to the judgement of the dead before Osiris.

I cannot cite a parallel to *ꜣꜣ sw* meaning 'great of days, aged', although *ꜣ* referring to a person's age is attested (Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 54) as is *sw* referring to the days of a person's life. Cf. the song of the harper in the tomb of Neferhotep (Thebes No. 50), line 16, in Lichtheim, *JNES* 4 (1945), 165, pl. vii. Also Boh. $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ equals Sah. $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ in Isaiah 65: 20 (Crum, *Coptic Dict.* 367b).

nꜣ nty 'in-*mwt*', 'those who are dead'. The last word is a bit crowded and indistinct. The *mwt* seems clear, but there is a small mark at its upper right in a convenient place between it and *nty*. It is perhaps *in-mwt*, a qualitative form (?) on the analogy of *in-iw*, *in-nꜣ* etc. (Cf. Thompson, *JEA* 26 (1941), 76, Excursus B, 1; Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 153-4, note on II Khamuas 2/8; Parker, *JEA* 26 (1941), 90), or it may derive from *m mwt*, 'in death'.

Line 5. *mtw-w htp n-f mtw-w in-t-f r-hnw*, 'they shall be gracious to him and bring him in'. Both object and subject of these clauses have been put before them for emphasis. The independent, injunctive use ('shall, must, are to') of the conjunctive in demotic was long ago pointed out by Nims, *JEA* 24 (1938), 77 f. The situation alluded to is apparently that described in II Khamuas 2/4-14, the arrival of the deceased in Amenti and his judgement and reception by the gods and the dead who are there. Cf. II Khamuas 2/7, *iw-w in-t-f hn nꜣ ntrw*, 'they shall bring him in (among) the gods', and similarly in lines 8 and 12, 'they shall bring him in (among) the spirits'.

ir shry, 'propitiate'. Compare the frequent use of *shri* alone with the same meaning in Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, I, 125 (s.v. *shri-ib*). The verb is probably to be read *shri* throughout the decrees thus obviating the problem of the writing of the Old Perf. 3rd. fem. sing. (*shr-tw*) in Decree L 1, verso 50 (see *ibid.* 12 n. 36). Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 444 records no demotic example of the use of *ir* with *shry*, but compare the *ir . . . ir-shy* in line 10 of our text. The determinative 𓆎 instead of 𓆏 is also unusual.

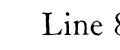





Line 6. *nꜣ ntrw r-ir(-y) n-w btwe*, 'the gods against whom I have committed wrongs'. The only difficulty is the extraordinary writing of the dative 3rd pl., apparently as  or . For the idiom see I Khamuas 6/15, *my ir-w n-y btw*, 'let wrong (violence) be done to me'.




tꜣy(-y) šp(š)y(t), 'my Good Genius'. As indicated above in the note on *tꜣ wry(t)* in line 2, the *špšyt* is the antithesis of the *wryt*, hence we can be sure that the scribe misspelled by omitting the second *š*. The suppliant claims a personal *špšyt* but the *wryt* is not 'his'. Precisely the same language is used in Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, I, 96; II, pl. xxxviii in Decree C 1/54-5: 'We shall keep him safe from every action of a demon (*wrt*) and from every interference of a demon (*wrt*). We shall propitiate his Noble Lady for him (*iw-n shr n-f tꜣy-f špst*).'

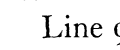


my htp-w n-y, 'cause them to be gracious to me', that is, both the gods against whom he may have sinned and his own *špšyt*. They all seem disaffected and in need of propitiation by his divine master, Thoth.

Line 7. *nꜣy-tn hrꜣy(w) btwe*, 'your destruction of wrongdoing'. One would expect *nꜣy-w*, 'their', but apparently Thoth and 'the gods who are here', who are asked to intercede with other gods, are included in the council of gods, the judges. *Hrꜣy* is probably the *hrꜣj*, 'Verderben', of Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 365, rather than the *hrꜣ*, 'Wut', on p. 351. Cf. Spiegelberg, *Kanopus, Glossar*, no. 269, especially the writing in Canopus B/15. In Canopus A/4 and B/15 the word is in the plural, as it is in our text, and it renders the Greek ἡ καταφθορά. *Btwe* is the old *btꜣ(w)* of *Wb.* I, 483, 'crime, wrong, sin', and not the feminine noun *btyt*, old *bwt* (*Wb.* I, 453), Coptic ⲃⲟⲧⲉ 'abomination, loathsome thing'. Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 126 confuses the two words.

tꜣ wery(t), 'the Evil Genius'. The scribe inserted two strokes (not *ꜣ*) here and in line 8 between the *wr* and complementary *r*, but not in line 2.

Line 8. *m-ir tꜣ-t(-y)*, , 'do not give me' (twice in this line). The infinitive is written  precisely as is the pronominal compound of the Present I at the end of line 3. This writing with the 1st pers. sing. suffix object approximates Sah. , Sub-Akh. . The indefinite pronominal compound of the Present I in P. Rylands IX, 13/15 is written the same way,  (Griffith, *Rylands*, III, 236, n. 8; Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gram.*, § 135 Anm. Cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gram.*, § 479). Note also the infinitive of *dꜣ* with 3rd fem. sing. suffix object written  in P. Rylands IX, 17/14.

n-s (at the end of the line), 'to it', that is, to the Evil Genius. The writing of the dative 3rd fem. sing. as  without additional  is extraordinary. An unlikely alternative is to read , 'to another', but the signs look like *n-s*, not *ky*, and the context favours 'to it'.

Line 9. *m-ir dꜣ hn-s r*, , 'do not let it come near' (twice in this line). This early writing of the goatskin in  (with added  in the second occurrence), so different from the usual form (Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 328 f.), illuminates the late demotic form of it in P. Insinger (Lexa, *Pap. Insinger*, II, Glossary, no. 144) and in Glanville, *Instructions of Onchsheshonqy*, col. 20/16. The Roman-period scribe's form of the sign misled Lexa into reading it as *b*.

rmt mtw(-y), 'a person of mine', that is, a member of the suppliant's family or one of his servants or dependants.

Line 10. *m-ir dit ir ge ir-shy n'im(-y) n pꝥy-k bnr*, *ⲁⲡⲣⲧⲣⲉⲥⲉⲣⲱⲩⲧⲓ ⲁⲉⲙⲟⲓ ⲁⲉⲡⲉⲛⲃⲟⲗ, 'do not let another have power over me except you'. The writing ⲁⲉⲙⲟⲓ for *ky*, 'another', is strange in early demotic but it represents Coptic ⲥⲉ, which is always the form used as a substantive (Crum, *Coptic Dict.* 90 b). The abusive determinative no doubt derives from *gr*, 'be silent'. For *ir . . . ir-shy* see the Rosetta Decree, lines 15 and 16 (Spiegelberg, *Kanopus, Glossar*, No. 323). The determinative of *shy* ought to be ⲥⲉ or ⲥ rather than ⲥⲉⲓ. *N pꝥy-k bnr-k* (sic): The phrase (Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gram.*, § 325 e) ought to have ended with the ⲥⲉⲓ, but there is added ⲥⲉⲓ which appears also in P. Rylands IX, 14/21 and Revillout and Eisenlohr, *Corpus Pap. Aeg.* 1, pl. xxii, no. 22/4, where *bnr-k* is required by the context (Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gram.*, § 323 b). That either *n pꝥy-k bnr* or *bnr-k* would have been acceptable in early demotic is shown by the variants in Griffith, *Rylands*, II, pl. 12.

LA FAMILLE DU ROI AMASIS

Par H. DE MEULENAERE

TOUTES les sources dont nous disposons pour reconstruire l'histoire des événements qui firent d'Amasis le successeur d'Apriès sur le trône d'Égypte s'accordent à présenter l'avant-dernier roi saïte comme un usurpateur.¹ En réalité, nous avons fort peu de renseignements au sujet des origines d'Amasis; selon Hérodote (II, 162, 172), il était de Siouph dans le nome saïte² et appartenait, malgré son extraction populaire, à l'entourage d'Apriès contre lequel il se révolta.

Le dossier de la famille d'Amasis, tel que les documents égyptiens permettaient de le reconstituer jusque récemment, a été analysé dans notre mémoire sur Hérodote et la 26^e dynastie saïte.³ Depuis la parution de cet ouvrage, un certain nombre de sources nouvelles sont venues s'ajouter à celles précédemment connues; nous croyons qu'il est opportun de les examiner ici afin de mieux définir les données historiques.

Il est regrettable qu'aucun document ne nous ait révélé jusqu'à présent le nom du père d'Amasis. En revanche, Daressy a signalé, il y a bien des années, une 'pierre carrée en granit noir' où apparaît le nom d'une dame Tacherenêse (*Tj-šrit-n-ist*) qu'il tenait pour la mère du roi.⁴ Malgré les doutes élevés à propos de ce rapprochement,⁵ son interprétation du texte demeure la seule valable. Le fragment provient, de toute évidence, du sarcophage de la mère royale et porte des bribes de formules funéraires qu'on rencontre par ailleurs sur ce type de monument.⁶

Bien qu'il semble avoir passé inaperçu, il existe un second document qui concerne la mère d'Amasis. C'est le fragment de statue British Museum 775, publié depuis longtemps⁷ mais attribué faussement à une fille de roi.⁸ L'inscription, pourtant nettement lisible (pl. XXIX, 1), indique que la propriétaire du monument était la 'mère du roi de Haute et de Basse Égypte (*cartouche martelé*), vivant éternellement,⁹

¹ Drioton et Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 4^e éd., 596-98, 619, 679.

² Sur l'équivalent hiéroglyphique de ce toponyme, voir Yoyotte, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 414-16. Une inscription grecque qui confirme le renseignement d'Hérodote figure sur un bas-relief d'Amasis, faisant partie de la Burrell Collection à Glasgow, cf. Brunner, *AfO* 18 (1958), 279-87; l'authenticité en est cependant douteuse, cf. *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*, xvii, 208, n° 792.

³ De Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, 86-8.

⁴ Daressy, *Rec. Trav.* 22 (1900), 142-3.

⁵ Cf. *Livre des Rois*, IV, 128, doc. LXXI.

⁶ Il suffit de comparer l'inscription identique du sarcophage de Henat, un contemporain du roi Amasis (Anthes, *ZÄS* 75 [1939], 21-31), actuellement à Londres, British Museum 86 (Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries [Sculpture]*, 230; Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, III, pl. xl, v); la partie de l'inscription dans laquelle Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, IV, 128 a reconnu le nom de la grand'mère d'Amasis n'est en réalité qu'un fragment de texte funéraire.

⁷ Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, pl. 40, D; nous devons à la complaisance des Trustees du British Museum ainsi qu'à MM. les conservateurs I. E. S. Edwards et T. G. H. James l'autorisation de republier ce précieux document.

⁸ *Livre des Rois*, IV, 130, doc. LXXV.

⁹ Malgré le martelage, les traces subsistantes permettent de rétablir sans hésitation le groupe *ꜣnh dt*.

Tacherenêse'. Si ce fragment a été généralement rapporté à une fille d'Amasis, c'est sans doute parce que son inscription n'a jamais été publiée de façon correcte. Le cartouche martelé ne saurait faire obstacle à l'identification que nous proposons. Il est vrai que, sous les rois saïtes, le nom de Néchao II a parfois été volontairement arasé¹; on ne peut cependant envisager cette hypothèse puisque le fils de Psammétique I était issu de la dame Mehitemouskhet.² Corroborant les données du sarcophage, le fragment du British Museum fournit la preuve décisive que Tacherenêse était la mère du roi Amasis, lui aussi victime d'une *damnatio memoriae* au temps de l'occupation perse.³

Durant son règne de quarante-cinq ans,⁴ Amasis eut plusieurs épouses. La seule dont Hérodote (II, 181) a conservé le souvenir, la Cyrénéenne Ladiké, n'apparaît pas dans les sources égyptiennes. En revanche, celles-ci nous livrent les noms de quelques autres femmes ainsi que des enfants issus de leur union avec le roi. Il y a d'abord la mère de Psammétique III, Tentkheta (*Tj-nt-htj*), citée, avec son fils, sur une stèle que Mariette a découverte au Sérapéum.⁵ Le Musée de l'Ermitage à Leningrad possède les sarcophages de l'épouse royale Nekht-bastet-erou (*Nht-bstt-r-w*) et de son fils, le général Amasis;⁶ selon le témoignage d'une stèle du Sérapéum, l'auguste dame, dont un chaouabti a été retrouvé à Giza,⁷ donna encore un autre fils à Amasis, nommé Pasenkhou.⁸ Tel est, à peu de chose près, le tableau de la famille d'Amasis, reconstitué par Gauthier dans son *Livre des Rois*.

Examinons maintenant les nouveaux documents à verser au dossier. Énumérant les mentions de la 'fille du roi', Tacherenêse, Gauthier réunit une série de références bibliographiques⁹ d'où il extrait quatre orthographes différentes du nom de celle-ci (doc. LXXV, B, *a, b, c, d*). On s'étonne qu'aucun de ces renvois ne permette de remonter à la source. Devant ce fait, il a fallu entreprendre quelques recherches pour arriver aux conclusions suivantes :

1. Les orthographes *a* et *c* sont empruntées à une série de trois vases canopes, conservés au Musée du Vatican; leur seule inscription consiste dans le nom et le titre de la propriétaire.¹⁰
2. L'orthographe *b* apparaît sur le fragment British Museum 775 qui a été mentionné ci-dessus.
3. L'orthographe *d* est fournie par l'empreinte de sceau British Museum 5584; elle est accompagnée du cartouche d'Amasis.¹¹

¹ *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960), 50-1; De Meulenaere, *Le Surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque*, 28.

² Idem, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 49.

³ Le martelage du nom d'Amasis a été relevé sur plusieurs monuments, principalement de Saïs. Aux exemples cités par De Meulenaere, *Le Surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque*, 20, il conviendrait d'ajouter *Livre des Rois*, IV, 118, doc. XXI (Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 23 [1923], 47-8) et 123, doc. XLIV, ainsi que les sphinx Rome, Musée du Capitole 8 (Bosticco, *Musei Capitolini: I monumenti egizi e egittizanti*, 15-17, pl. i et ii) et Alexandrie 11235 + 11290 (inédit; copié sur l'original); cette liste pourrait être complétée.

⁴ Parker, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 208-12.

⁵ Louvre SIM. 4034; ajouter aux références du *Livre des Rois*, IV, 129, Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques du Sérapéum*, 37-43.

⁶ *Livre des Rois*, IV, 129-30.

⁷ Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, VI, 3, 241 (copie à corriger d'après la pl. xcix, c).

⁸ *Livre des Rois*, IV, 129.

⁹ Ibid. 131.

¹⁰ Botti et Romanelli, *Le Sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, 53, pl. xlvii; cf. toutefois *Livre des Rois*, IV, 432.

¹¹ Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc.*, I, 292, n° 2791.

Si toutes ces mentions ont été rapportées à une fille d'Amasis, ce ne peut être qu'à cause du fragment de statue British Museum 775, faussement identifié jadis et représentant en réalité la mère du roi. Il convient de remarquer que les canopes du Vatican, tout en appartenant à une 'fille royale', ne mentionnent pas Amasis et que l'empreinte de sceau du British Museum, s'il est daté de ce règne, ne fait point état d'une 'fille royale'. Rien n'empêche donc de croire, *a priori*, que ce dernier document évoque le souvenir de la mère d'Amasis.

Il existe, cependant, une 'fille royale, Tacherenèse' que le *Livre des Rois* ne cite pas. On la connaît par quatre vases canopes, actuellement dispersés dans autant de collections: Leningrad, Musée de l'Ermitage 808 (Amset),¹ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Queen's College Loan 325 (Hapi),² Leyde AAL. 1a (Douamoutef),³ Leeuw St. Pierre (Belgique), Collection Hayez (Kebehsenouf).⁴ Tous ces documents communiquent également le nom de la mère de Tacherenèse, la dame Tadioussir (*Tj-di-wsir*).⁵

Nous voilà en présence de sept attestations différentes d'une princesse Tacherenèse, relevées sur des vases canopes. Il est exclu qu'elles désignent toutes la même personne. La formule qui apparaît sur la série complète des quatre vases est celle qui, d'une façon générale, orne les canopes de la 26^e dynastie. S'il est légitime de supposer que cette Tacherenèse a été la fille d'un souverain saïte, la dame des canopes du Vatican, en revanche, doit avoir vécu à une époque plus ancienne. Nous sommes tentés de suggérer la Troisième Période Intermédiaire, lorsqu'aucune règle déterminée ne semble avoir présidé à la décoration des vases funéraires.⁶ On peut même se demander si la dame en question n'était pas cette 'épouse et fille royale, Tacherenèse' que deux stèles, provenant d'Hérakléopolis Magna, situent chronologiquement à l'époque de Peftjaoudoubast, souverain de cette ville lors de la campagne de Piankhi.⁷

Que penser, enfin, de la princesse Tacherenèse, fille de Tadioussir? Faute de preuves concluantes, on ne peut que conjecturer le nom de son père. Un argument milite incontestablement en faveur d'Amasis: le fait que la princesse a reçu, à sa naissance, le même nom que la mère du roi. En effet, l'usage de donner à la fille le nom de sa grand'mère paternelle est amplement attesté dans l'Égypte tardive.⁸ Quant à la dame Tadioussir, nous l'identifierions volontiers à la reine *Tj-st* d'un scarabée du Musée de

¹ Golénischeff, *Ermitage Impérial: Inventaire de la collection égyptienne*, 117-18.

² Inédit; nous adressons nos plus vifs remerciements à M. P. R. S. Moorey, conservateur-adjoint de l'Ashmolean Museum, qui nous a procuré une photographie du document.

³ Van Wijngaarden, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling*, XIII, 8, pl. vii, n° 37; cf. Griffith, *JEA* 13 (1927), 274.

⁴ Inédit; nous sommes heureux d'exprimer notre reconnaissance à M. Hayez qui nous a permis de faire état de ce document.

⁵ Par la disposition du texte en colonnes, Ranke, *Personennamen*, II, 322-5 a été amené à lire ce nom, de façon incorrecte, *di-wsir*.

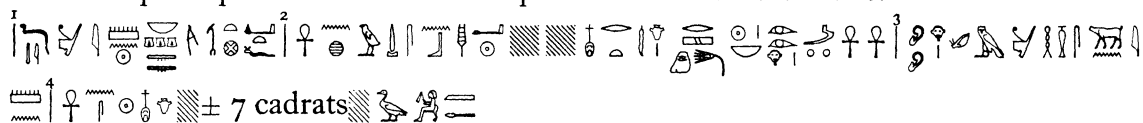
⁶ Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung*, 21.

⁷ Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 17 (1917), 43-5 (Caire JE 45948); *Ann. Serv.* 21 (1921), 138-9.

⁸ En voici quelques exemples: Nesmout, nom de la mère et de la fille de Djedkhonsouiofankh (Kees, *Priestertum*, 206, tableau généalogique); Diastnesouit, nom de la mère et de la fille de Petamon (Bruyère, *Ann. Serv.* 54 (1956/7), 17; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I², 649); Djedmoutiousankh, nom de la mère et de la fille de Petamonnebnesouttaoui (Parker, *A Saïte Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, 23); Rourou, nom de la mère et de la fille de Khaouesenmout (Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques*, 142); Takhenmet, nom de la mère et de la fille de Nesnoubhotep (Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling*, VII, pl. xiv, 11).

Turin que déjà Petrie, pour des raisons qui nous échappent, avait mis en rapport avec Amasis;¹ à l'appui de cette hypothèse, il suffit de rappeler que *T3-st* n'est autre que la forme hypocoristique du nom *T3-di-wsir*.²

Il reste à examiner un dernier document, qui a suscité certaines remarques ces dernières années:³ le bronze Chicago, Oriental Institute 10584, représentant Amon assis sur un trône (pl. XXIX, 2). La statuette, qui est inédite,⁴ porte, autour du socle, une inscription partiellement mutilée qui offre le contenu suivant:




¹ Paroles à dire par Amon-Rê, seigneur des trônes du Double Pays, qui aime Thèbes: qu'il donne ² vie, santé, force, une [longue] existence [et une belle vieillesse],⁵ de l'allégresse et de la joie chaque jour, de voir par les yeux ³ et d'entendre par les oreilles, pour la chanteuse de l'Intérieur d'Amon, ⁴ Ankhnesnefer[ib]rê, fille de..., j.v.

Un second texte, gravé sur la face supérieure du socle devant les pieds du dieu, n'a apparemment aucun rapport avec le premier (pl. XXIX, 3). On lit:



¹ Amon-Rê, seigneur des trônes du Double Pays, qui aime Thèbes. Protection du [premier] prophète d'Amon, Nitokris, ² fille du seigneur du Double Pays, Amasis-fils-de-Neith, vivant; sa mère, la divine adoratrice, Ankhnesneferibrê, vivante.

Si la 'chanteuse de l'Intérieur d'Amon', Ankhnesneferibrê, ne semble pas figurer dans d'autres sources,⁶ on ne peut pas en dire autant de cette Nitokris, qui était une fille du roi Amasis. Il existe notamment un sceau en argile, naguère publié par Newberry, qui porte l'inscription suivante: 'Le premier prophète d'Amon-Rê, roi des dieux, la fille royale, Nitokris.'⁷ Plutôt que de voir dans ce document une allusion à la célèbre Nitokris, fille de Psammétique I, qui n'est nulle part qualifiée du titre de 'premier prophète',⁸ nous préférons l'attribuer à la propriétaire du bronze de Chicago. Nul ne contestera que  est la meilleure restauration que l'on puisse imaginer pour combler la petite lacune qui sépare *hm ntr* et *Imn*.

¹ *Livre des Rois*, IV, 131; cf. Fabretti, Rossi et Lanzzone, *Regio Museo di Torino*, II, 186, n° 5806.

² Cf. De Meulenaere, *Chron. d'Ég.* 38 (1963), 213-16.

³ Yoyotte, dans *CRAIBL* 1961, p. 44; De Meulenaere, *Chron. d'Ég.* 41 (1966), 113; Id. *BiOr.* (à paraître).

⁴ Nous remercions bien vivement M. George R. Hughes, professeur à l'Oriental Institute, qui nous a autorisé à publier la statuette, ainsi que M. Edward F. Wente par l'intermédiaire duquel nous avons reçu les photographies de la pl. XXIX, 2, 3.

⁵ Pour la restitution *hr [k] iwt it] nfrt* que nous proposons, comparer les statuettes Caire 38428, 39284, 39301 (Daressy, *Statues de divinités* [CGC], 115-16, 322, 326).

⁶ Dans l'abondante documentation relative aux 'chanteuses de l'Intérieur d'Amon', le nom de cette Ankhnesneferibrê ne figure pas (communication de J. Yoyotte).

⁷ *Livre des Rois*, IV, 86.

⁸ Ignorant le bronze de Chicago, la plupart des auteurs ont rapporté le sceau, publié par Newberry, à la Divine Adoratrice Nitokris: Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 28; Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains*, 388; Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun*, 162.



1. Statue de Tacherenêse (B.M. 775).
Vue de dos



2. Statuette en bronze d'Amon-Rê
(Chicago, Or. Inst. 10584).
Courtesy, Oriental Institute, Univ. of Chicago



3. Statuette en bronze d'Amon-Rê (Chicago, Or. Inst. 10584).
Inscription du socle

Sur le plan historique, les précisions obtenues modifient quelque peu l'image qu'on s'était faite de la principauté amonienne de Thèbes sous la 26^e dynastie. Ankhnesneferibrê se parait du titre de 'premier prophète d'Amon' lorsqu'elle était l'héritière présomptive de Nitokris;¹ de même, une fille d'Amasis se trouvait à la tête du clergé, d'Amon en attendant de succéder à la Divine Adoratrice Ankhnesneferibrê. A l'instar de tous ses prédécesseurs, Amasis respecta les privilèges régaliens de la Divine Épouse; il se contenta de lui adjoindre, comme héritière, une de ses enfants. Celle-ci ne vit malheureusement pas la réalisation de son rêve puisque, pour autant que nous sachions, l'institution royale des Divines Adoratrices fut abolie par l'invasion perse à un moment où Ankhnesneferibrê exerçait toujours ses fonctions.²

Il est utile de réfléchir un instant à ces faits. Logiquement, nous devons supposer que, lorsqu'Ankhnesneferibrê a pris la succession de Nitokris en l'an 4 d'Apriès, sa charge de 'premier prophète' a été transmise à une autre princesse qui devint à son tour héritière présomptive. Était-ce une fille d'Apriès, évincée plus tard par Amasis au profit de sa propre enfant? Quoique nous ne puissions répondre à cette question, il y a là, presque certainement, une lacune à combler dans la lignée des 'filles adoptives' des Divines Épouses.

D'autre part, l'information acquise éclaire d'un jour nouveau l'histoire du pontificat d'Amon. Au commencement du règne de Psammétique I, la fonction de 'premier prophète' était aux mains d'un descendant de la dynastie éthiopienne, Horkheb.³ Nous ignorons le nom de son successeur. A quel moment la charge a-t-elle échappé au clergé masculin? Dès la première année de Psammétique II, nous voyons le poste occupé par la fille adoptive de la Divine Adoratrice et tout semble indiquer, maintenant, qu'il en est resté ainsi jusqu'à l'invasion perse. En plaçant sous la tutelle directe de la dynastie les deux fonctions les plus éminentes du clergé d'Amon, celles de Divine Épouse et de 'premier prophète', les Saïtes n'ont fait qu'imiter l'exemple éthiopien: s'approprier les biens et les richesses de l'état divin tout en réduisant la menace que pourrait constituer pour eux son désir d'autonomie politique.

¹ D'après la stèle de l'adoption et de l'intronisation d'Ankhnesneferibrê: Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, Textanhang, 4.

² Ankhnesneferibrê vivait encore sous Psammétique III, cf. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, 6, 14.

³ Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun*, 163-5.

UNE LIVRAISON D'OIES AU DOMAINE D'AMON (PAP. DÉM. STRASBOURG N° 2)

Par MICHEL MALININE

LE sujet du présent article m'est venu à l'esprit à la suite d'une étude récente que j'ai consacrée au Pap. Loeb n° 47.¹ C'est un contrat de société aux termes duquel un Gardien d'oies du Domaine d'Amon, à Gébélén, associe un de ses collègues à l'exploitation d'une troupe de dix oies en sa possession. L'analyse de ce très curieux document m'a permis d'établir que la société dont il s'agit dans ce contrat était fondée, non pas sur une propriété réelle, mais sur le simple droit de jouissance d'un bien appartenant à une tierce personne. Il ressort en effet clairement du texte dont j'ai donné une nouvelle traduction en comblant la plupart des lacunes laissées par son premier éditeur, que le Service de la Divine-Offrande d'Amon demeurait, non seulement le propriétaire, mais même le détenteur des oiseaux qui sont à l'origine de la société. On y lit notamment que les dix oies ont été, réparties, à la suite de l'accord conclu, en deux groupes de cinq têtes chacun et placées sous la responsabilité de deux autres Gardiens d'oies employés dans le même Domaine. Pour expliquer cet état particulier des faits, j'ai été amené à supposer l'existence d'un document préalable, que nous ne possédons pas, par lequel le Service de la Divine-Offrande d'Amon accordait à l'intéressé le seul usufruit du bien qu'il mettait à sa disposition. Or, il me paraît maintenant possible de reconnaître un acte juridique de cette nature: il s'agit du Pap. Strasbourg n° 2, établi en une occasion semblable et où il est effectivement question de répartir une troupe de vingt-et-une oies, entre trois Gardiens d'oies, travaillant vraisemblablement dans ce même Domaine d'Amon, à Gébélén. C'est ce document que je me propose d'examiner ici en détail. Ce choix me paraît d'autant plus indiqué que le Pap. Strasbourg n° 2, publié par Spiegelberg au début de ce siècle,² n'a pas encore fait l'objet d'une étude d'ensemble et n'est pratiquement connu, à l'heure actuelle, que par un très court résumé publié par Griffith.³

Le texte dont nous allons nous occuper ici appartient au type de documents désignés habituellement sous le nom de 'quittances' ou de 'reçus', conformément au sens général de leur formule initiale. On en possède maintenant, en dehors de notre papyrus, huit autres exemples se rapportant tous au paiement des différentes taxes perçues par les temples.⁴ Ils sont toujours rédigés suivant le même schéma dont les points

¹ A paraître dans *Festschrift Schott*.

² *Die dem. Pap. d. Strassb. Bibl.* (1903), 15-16 et pl. 1. Revillout en a fait une traduction, publiée d'abord dans la *Rev. Egyptol.* 12 (1907), 73, ensuite dans ses *Actes et Contrats* (1912), 370, n° 44. — L'origine probable de ce document, acheté à Louxor en 1899, est Gébélén (*Diospolis Parva*), puisque un des personnages qui y est nommé se retrouve également dans le Pap. Strasbourg n° 5 provenant certainement de cette localité.

³ *Ryl. Pap.* III, 24, n° 40.

⁴ E. Seidl, *Aegypt. Rechtsgesch. d. Säiten- und Perserzeit*, 58-9. Aux documents qui y sont cités, ajouter:

caractéristiques sont : *a* — attestation du paiement fait par X (titre et nom d'une ou de plusieurs personnes appartenant au petit personnel du Domaine);¹ *b* — indication de l'institution bénéficiaire (en l'occurrence, le Service de la Divine-Offrande d'Amon), suivie du titre et du nom d'une ou de plusieurs personnes encaissant le paiement (représentants laïques ou religieux du haut personnel du Domaine);² *c* — nature du paiement et son montant;³ *d* — accusé de réception du paiement par les personnages mentionnés dans *b*.

Deux particularités dans sa rédaction distinguent la 'quittance' conservée dans le Pap. Strasbourg n° 2 de tout l'ensemble de ces textes : 1° la nature du paiement *c* n'y est pas indiquée (on y trouve, en revanche, la mention du fret qui manque dans tous les autres textes). 2° les encaisseurs du paiement figurant dans *b*, appartiennent au même rang hiérarchique inférieur que le payeur mentionné dans *a*. Ces indications permettent de faire une constatation importante pour l'intelligence correcte de notre texte : le paiement en question ne concerne certainement pas l'acquittement de l'impôt.

Ce petit document administratif peut être résumé comme suit : un Gardien d'oies du Domaine d'Amon fait une livraison d'une troupe de vingt-et-une oies (une d'entre elles ? représentant le prix du transport), au Service de la Divine-Offrande d'Amon. Pour une raison qui n'est pas indiquée dans le texte, ces oiseaux sont remis entre les mains de trois autres Gardiens d'oies du même Domaine. Il paraît clair que, théoriquement, on ne peut envisager ici que deux explications, logiquement possibles, à cette opération. La première consisterait à reconnaître que les oiseaux livrés au Service de la Divine-Offrande sont, d'office, placés sous la surveillance des trois gardiens en fonction et, dans ce cas, il s'agirait d'un simple transfert des oiseaux d'une basse-cour à une autre basse-cour dépendant du même service. Cette interprétation doit être écartée, sans aucun doute, puisqu'elle n'est pas conforme au libellé même du texte (v. la note *g* du commentaire). L'alternative est d'admettre que les trois gardiens reçoivent les oiseaux à leur propre compte, vraisemblablement à titre de récompense pour le travail qu'ils ont fourni à leur employeur. Dans ce cas, la 'quittance', conservée dans le Pap. Strasbourg n° 2, aurait trait au mode de paiement en nature, adopté par l'administration du Domaine pour rémunérer son personnel.

Pap. Louvre E. 7841 : an 12 d'Amasis (inédit ; cf. *ibid.* 75, doc. 44) ; Pap. Louvre E. 7842 : an 31 d'Amasis (inédit ; cf. *ibid.* 76, doc. 57a) et Pap. Loeb n° 46 (fragm.) : an 35 de Darius I (publ. par Spiegelberg, *Die Dem. Pap. Loeb*, 78 et pl. 26). En dehors de cette série démotique, reste le Pap. Caire 30878 : an 23 prob. de Psammétique I, rédigé en hiéroglyphes anormal (publ. par Spiegelberg, *Die Dem. Pap. = Catal. général du Musée du Caire*, Text, 194 et pl. 67).

¹ 'Choachyte' (*wšh-mw*), dans les Pap. Louvre E. 7842, E. 7835, et E. 7838 ; deux 'pâtres' (*r:m*) et un 'Choachyte' (*wšh-mw*), dans Pap. Louvre E. 7834 ; 'Gardien d'oies' (*mmj :pd-w*), dans Pap. Strasbourg n° 5 (comme dans notre document).

² 'Les Scribes du Domaine d'Amon du District de Koptos' (*nš sh-w n pr-'Imn tš khj Kbtj*), dans les Pap. Louvre E. 7842, E. 7835, E. 7838, et E. 7834 ; 'Père-Divin' (*it-ntr*) N. à qui sont confiés toutes les 'places' de la Divine-Offrande d'Amon du District de Diospolis Parva', dans Pap. Strasbourg n° 5 (ce même titre figurait probablement, aussi, dans le Pap. Loeb n° 46).

³ 'son 1 + 1^o de (la récolte de ?) lin' (*p:j:f 1 1^o mh-w*), dans Pap. Louvre E. 7841 ; 'sa (même s'il y a plusieurs payeurs) taxe du Temple d'Amon (pour) le champ qu'il a labouré' (*p:j:f šmw (n) pr-'Imn pš šh r-sk:f*), dans les Pap. Louvre E. 7842, E. 7835, E. 7838, et E. 7834 ; 'sa taxe du surplus de champ' (*p:j:f šmw n hww n šh*), dans Pap. Strasbourg n° 5.

E. Seidl, dans sa monographie consacré au droit égyptien de l'époque saïto-perse, mentionne notre document à propos de l'institution de société.¹ En effet, la troupe d'oies, remise aux trois gardiens, reste indivise. Il y a donc là une société qui présente cette particularité qu'elle n'a pas été constituée à la suite d'un accord librement consenti par les intéressés, mais leur a été imposée, en quelque sorte, par le fonctionnement des services administratifs du Domaine: détail important puisqu'il démontre, de toute évidence, que dans l'opération rapportée dans notre document, le Service de la Divine-Offrande d'Amon demeure propriétaire légal des oiseaux.

Voici maintenant le texte:

Pap. Strasbourg n° 2

Transcription

1. *H-sp 2·t ibd I pr·t n Pr-ꜥ Psmṯk iw^a šp*
2. *m-d·t^b mnj-ꜥpd·w pr-Imn Pꜥ-dj-Imn-nsw-tꜥ·w sꜥ n Pꜥ-whr swt^c r*
3. *pꜥ ḥtp-ntr n Imn ꜥpd 2I . . .^d hmj^e ꜥpd I (r-)ḥ^f (n) pꜥ ḥtp-ntr*
4. *n Imn r-d·t^g mnj-ꜥpd·w pr-Imn s 3 Wsr-i(·ir-dj-)s sꜥ n*
5. *Pꜥ-dj-Imn Pꜥ-dj-Is-t sꜥ n Wꜥꜥ-Hr Pꜥ-dj-Šmꜥ-rs(?)^h sꜥ n*
6. *Dd-ḥr šp·n pꜥꜥ ꜥpd 2I ntj ḥrj ḥꜥtj·n*
7. *mtj·w n-im·w iw·w mḥ iwꜥtj sp*
8. *m-šḥ Ir·t-Hr-r-r·w sꜥ n Pꜥ-šrj-Iꜥḥ*
9. *m-šḥ Pꜥ-ꜥnh-m-dr-Imn sꜥ n Ir·t-Hr-r-r·w*
10. *Pꜥ-dj-Is-tⁱ sꜥ n Wꜥꜥ-ḥr*
11. *(m-)šḥ Pꜥ-dj-Imn sꜥ n Dd-ḥr*
12. *(m-)šḥ Pꜥ-whr sꜥ n Hr*

Traduction

1. An 2, mois de Tybi, du Roi Psammétique (III) Rentrée^a reçue
2. de la main^b du Gardien d'oies du Domaine d'Amon Pétémestow, fils de Pouhor, transmise^c à
3. la Divine-Offrande d'Amon — 21 oies dont(?)^d une oie (pour le) fret,^e (à la charge?) de^f la Divine-Offrande
4. d'Amon — entre les mains^g des Gardiens d'oies du Domaine d'Amon, 3 personnes: Ousertaïs, fils de
5. Pétéamen; Pétéèse, fils de Oudjahor; Pétéshmâ-res(?)^h, fils de
6. Djeho. Nous avons reçu ces 21 oies susmentionnées. Notre cœur
7. en est satisfait. Elles sont au complet, sans reliquat.
8. A écrit Jenharow, fils de Psénioch.
9. A écrit Pônkhemteamen, fils de Jenharow.
10. Pétéèse, fils de Oudjahor.ⁱ
11. A écrit Ptéamen, fils de Zého.
12. A écrit Pouhor, fils de Hor.

Commentaire

a-b. *iw šp m-d·t-* 'rentrée reçue de la main de', pour tout ce passage, v. ma note dans




¹ Op. cit., 59.

OLZ (1955), n° 11-12, 498-500. a. $\cdot\Delta$ *iw* (litt. 'venu, parvenu'), lecture imposée par la variante, en hiératique anormal, du Pap. Caire 30878, 1 (v. plus haut, p. 188 n. 4), pour laquelle la transcription isw 'paiement' ou sim., envisagée par Erichsen (*Auswahl frühdem. Texte*, fasc. 2, 43a et *Dem. Gloss.* 44) est exclue: $\cdot\Delta$ $\text{isw} \dots$ isw 'rentrée reçue de (X), pour (le compte? de Y)'. Sous une forme un peu différente, cette même formule est attestée dans trois autres documents en hiératique anormal: Pap. Louvre E. 3228 e, 5 (an 10 de Chabaka)-; $\text{isw} \dots$;

Pap. Turin 246, 15-16 (an 30 de Psammétique I) — $\text{isw} \dots$ (sim. Pap. Turin 247, 15-16) $\cdot\Delta$ isw 'venu de la main de (X), pour (le compte? de Y)' (cf. aussi Griffith, *Ryl. Pap.* III, 17, n° 6 et 18, n° 9). Dans les deux derniers exemples, est employée une tournure caractéristique des pièces de comptabilité du Nouvel Empire (cf. mon *Choix de textes*, 40 nn. 13-14). Cette formule *iw m-d-t-* réapparaît également en démotique, au début de l'Époque Ptolémaïque (v. mes *Taxes funéraires* dans *Mélanges Mariette*, 146 n. a). On notera enfin que le terme *iw* se rencontre quelquefois, côte à côte, avec le verbe *swzd* 'livrer, transporter' (pour ce mot, v. plus bas, n. c): *iw swzd n-*, litt. 'arrivé (et) livré à ', v. Gardiner, *RAD*, Doc. 37, 9. 15 et 40, 1c. — b. le verbe *šp* 'recevoir', employé avec la prép. comp. *m-d-t-* ne peut signifier que 'recevoir de la main de' (cf. Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 575b). La même tournure se rencontre aussi, dans

Pap. Louvre E. 784I, 1-2 (inédit; v. plus haut, p. 189 n. 3): $\text{isw} \dots$. Au contraire, dans les Pap. Strasbourg n° 5 et Pap. Caire 30878, 1 (passage reproduit plus haut), la prép. comp. *m-d-t-* manque et le nom du payeur qu'elle introduit est joint comme gén. direct — *iw šp N* 'rentrée reçue (litt. "(en) reception") de N.' Voir pour ces deux constructions, avec ou sans la prép. comp. *m-d(r)t* — , employées alternativement, dans le même contexte, Gardiner, *Wilbour Pap.* II, 70 n. 3. — Enfin une troisième variante de notre formule est attestée dans les quatre papyrus de Louvre, de l'époque d'Amasis, relatifs au paiement de la taxe sur la culture des terres (v. plus haut, p. 189 n. 3), par ex. E. 7835, 1 $\text{isw} r \text{šp} n$ -(dat.) (Erichsen transcrit ici *isw (n) šp*, v. op. cit.). Il est à noter que la traduction donnée par E. Seidl, op. cit. 28: 'Empfangsbestätigung für den X', ne tient compte que de cette seule variante. — Griffith a établi que la tournure *šp+n*-(dat.) est employée souvent avec un sens technique 'succéder à quelqu'un' (v. op. cit. 222 n. 2). Le sens littéral de cette expression est cependant 'prendre à quelqu'un', 'recevoir de quelqu'un', v. son emploi dans les contrats de prêt d'argent, de blé, etc., rédigés en hiératique anormal (cf. mon *Choix de textes*, 18 n. 5). Le signe *r* qu'on relève, dans cette variante, devant le verbe *šp*, est également attesté dans le Pap. Caire 30878, v. le passage reproduit plus haut (doit-on lire *r šp n-*, litt. 'à prendre à quelqu'un' ou *r šp n-* 'reçu de quelqu'un?').

c. *swt* 'livrer, transmettre'; le signe croisé, employé dans l'orthographe de ce mot, représente, sans aucun doute possible, le group swt , cf. la graphie du n. div. *Wzd-t*, dans Pap. Ryl. IX, 16, 20 (Griffith, op. cit. 434). Cette forme se simplifie, dès l'époque

perse, en  (v. Pap. Strasbourg n° 5), comme le prouvent, avec toute évidence, les variantes, offrant des formes intermédiaires, attestées dans les Pap. Louvre E. 7841, 2; E. 7842, 1; E. 7835, 2; E. 7834, 3 et E. 7838, 2: . Il est donc incorrect de transcrire cette dernière forme par , comme le fait Sethe, qui voit, à tort, dans *swt* une forme nisbée du verbe *sw* 'garder' (v. *Bürgschaftsurk.* 226).

d. On trouve à cet endroit un symbole servant à introduire la spécification d'une somme indiquée précédemment (v. maintenant Erichsen, *Dem. Gloss.* 85 s.v. *wpt*) et correspondant à notre 'i.e.' C'est certainement par erreur que Griffith l'interprète ici comme conj. 'et' ('twenty-one geese(?) and a goose-pen', v. op. cit. 24). Il doit être considéré comme certain qu'une 'oie', mentionnée après le mot qui suit ce symbole, fait partie des 'vingt-et-une oies' énoncées auparavant.

e. *hmj* '(prix du) transport, fret', lecture certaine. La graphie qui détermine ce mot représente vraisemblablement l'héroglyphe du bateau, comme le suggèrent quelques-unes des formes de ce signe réunies dans Möller, *Paleographie*, II, n° 374. Griffith a rendu ce mot 'goose-pen' (v. la note précédente), en le rattachant, sans doute, à l'ancien *hmw* (var. *hjm*, *hmj*) 'basses-cours' (*Wb.* II, 481); traduction qui ne convient pas au contexte.

f. *(r-?)h-(n-)*, litt. '(se rapportant?) au corps de', 'faisant partie de', d'où 'venant de' et, simplement, 'de', comme l'a correctement établi G. Hughes (*Saite Dem. Land Leases*, 43; cf. aussi mon *Choix de textes*, 130 n. 6). Le sens de tout ce passage ne m'est pas clair. S'agit-il ici du transfert des oiseaux d'un Service de la Divine-Offrande dans un autre? Ou bien, doit-on comprendre que le prix du transport est à la charge de l'expéditeur de la livraison?

g. *r-d-t-*, litt. 'à la main de', prép. comp. ayant un sens général 'à' (v. Lexa, *Gramm. dém.*, § 860). Il est donc impossible de comprendre ici que les oiseaux ont été placés 'sous la responsabilité de' ou sim. des trois gardiens d'oies. En égyptien, comme en démotique, on obtient cette nuance à l'aide de la prép. comp. *m-d-t-*, litt. 'dans la main de' (v. Gardiner, *Wilbour Pap.* II, 19 et 110-11). Un excellent exemple de cet emploi de *m-d-t-*, en démotique, est fourni par le Pap. Loeb n° 47, 3, dans le passage auquel il a été référé au début de cet article.

h. *Pj-dj-Šmr-rs(?)*, nom propre dont les deux derniers éléments sont écrits comme s'il s'agissait d'un nom div. *Šmr* (ou *Ššr?*), suivi d'une épithète rendue à l'aide du phonogramme *rs*, accompagné du déterminatif de l'œil — 'qui veille'? (v. la graphie du verbe *rs* 'veiller' et de ses dérivés, par ex. dans Griffith, op. cit., 367). Autres lectures possibles sont, pour la première de ces deux graphies — les signes *hn* ou *ts*, et pour la seconde — le signe de sceau.

i. Il s'agit très vraisemblablement du gardien d'oies mentionné à la ligne 5.

THE SALE OF THE HOUSE OF SENKHONSIS DAUGHTER OF PHIBIS

By A. F. SHORE

OF particular importance for the legal and social aspects of house ownership in ancient Egypt is the series of closely related demotic papyri, the earliest dating from the reign of Alexander the Great, concerned with property situated on the east bank of the Nile in a quarter of Thebes known as The-House-of-the-Cow. The correct location of the area and a reconstruction of the plan of the individual properties involved were first made by S. R. K. Glanville in the introduction to the catalogue of the papyri in the British Museum belonging to this series.¹ The district lay in the angle formed by the north side of the temenos wall (*sbt*) surrounding the great temple of Amūn at Karnak and the west side of the temenos wall of the temple of Monthu, the name deriving, no doubt, from some association with the mother of the Mnevis bull of Armant. Though the ruins of the town settlement are marked on early maps, there is now virtually nothing to be seen and it is doubtful whether excavation in the past would have laid bare the physical aspect of these much-divided, long-occupied houses in the way in which it has been possible at Deir el-Medīna.

In his discussion of the topography and history of the properties Glanville gave an improved translation of the two earliest documents of the archive, Pap. Strassburg 1 and Pap. Brussels 2.² Pap. Strassburg 1, dated Year 9, Thoth of Alexander the Great (November 324 B.C.), is a deed in cession form (*Abstandsschrift*) by which a carpenter of the House of Amūn, Djufachi son of Udjaiḥarmeten and Taesi, divided his property among his children. Pap. Brussels 2 is dated some twenty-three years later (Year 5 of Ptolemy Soter, 301 B.C.) and records, as Glanville rightly demonstrated,³ the sale of the north-eastern corner of Djufachi's property as partitioned in Pap. Strassburg 1. The Brussels papyrus, the history of which can be traced back to 1857 when it was in the collection of Alphonse Raifé,⁴ is fragmentary and incomplete. Since, however, it is in the form of the so-called witness type of document, in which the deed is copied out in full by the witnesses, it has been possible to reconstruct a continuous text with

¹ *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum* 1. *A Theban Archive of the Reign of Ptolemy I, Soter* (British Museum, 1939): the plan of the houses is revised by Glanville in *Essays and Studies presented to Stanley Arthur Cook* (Cambridge Oriental Series No. 2, 1948), 59-65. See also Mustafa El-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes* (Cairo, 1959), Part II, 49-54.

² *Catalogue . . . British Museum* 1, xxvii-xli; Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyrus der Straßburger Bibliothek* (Straßburg, 1902), 18-20, Tafel III; id. *Die demotischen Papyrus der Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire* (Brussels, 1909), 3-9, Tafeln 2-3.

³ *Op. cit.* xxxix-xl.

⁴ Capart in Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyrus der Musées Royaux*; Glanville, *op. cit.* xxvi, n. 1. For Raifé see W. R. Dawson, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 131.

certain important lacunae; the name and identity of the vendor, the nature of the sale, and certain details of the neighbouring properties are wanting.

Two pieces of papyrus (pl. XXXI), recently identified among unaccessioned fragments in the British Museum, supply some of the deficiencies.¹ The more complete is from a single sheet of papyrus and measures $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height (17 cm.) and $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. in width (16 cm.). It contains 18 short lines of demotic, on average about $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length (9.5 cm.), written across the vertical fibres, that is on the side of the sheet which normally constitutes the verso. The contents, as well as the manner and style of writing, show that this fragment must be an abstract or digest² originally forming the first sheet of the Brussels roll.

The second fragment, $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. high (17 cm.) by $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width (16.8 cm.), seems to be the beginning of the main text of the Brussels deed: at the right-hand edge are preserved some of the vertical fibres of the sheet of the abstract. The arrangement of the fragments on the plate represents approximately the original positions of the two in relation to one another, though exact placement is not possible from a consideration of the fibres. The recto contains the beginning of six lines, poorly preserved, which are continued, after a lacuna of perhaps some 9 in. (23 cm.), with the fragment numbered by Spiegelberg c¹. Below are the traces of the first three lines of the first witness copy (Spiegelberg's c²). On the verso are remains of the first two names of a witness list, which must originally have contained sixteen names (not illustrated here).

The text of the abstract or digest reads:

- x+1 . . . Hr-sj-Is-t³ s³ P₃-n₃ mw-t³ T₃-hb mh³k t³i di³k mtr
 x+2 h₃t³i n p₃ ht sw³n p₃ c³wy n sh³m-t T₃-šr-t-H³ns³w
 x+3 t₃ P₃-hb t₃y³i hm-t h³nc p₃y³i c³ p₃y³i šr n₃ hyn-w p₃y
 x+4 c³wy rn³f p₃y³f rsy p₃ c³wy Kl³d s₃ D³wf-c³hy h³nc
 x+5 T₃-mn⁵ t₃ P₃-n₃ p₃y³f m³hty n⁶ it-ntr P₃-iw-Hr s₃ P₃-di-Imn-
 x+6 ipy iw p₃ h³yr pr-c³ iwty³f⁷ h³nc p₃ c³wy n sh³m-t
 x+7 T₃-c³w t₃ wšh-mw p₃y³f is³bty p₃ c³wy P₃-di-Imn-nb-ns-t₃-wy s₃ P₃-hl-H³ns³w
 x+8 nty hr³hr iw n₃y³f dy c³hc p₃y³f imnty p₃ c³wy
 x+9 hm-šn⁸ [pr-Imn] P₃-di-H³ns³w s₃ D³wf-c³hy nty hr n₃y³f hrt³w
 x+10 tmt n₃ hyn-w p₃y c³wy tr³f di³i s n³k mtw³k
 x+11 p₃y³k c³wy nty kt h³bs p₃y mn mtw³i mt nb
 x+12 n p₃ t₃ i³ir³k rn³f bn iw rh³ rmt nb n p₃ t₃ ink mty

¹ Originally mounted on a thin cartridge paper. The fragments were successfully removed from this backing, and skilfully repaired and restored by Mr. S. Baker, Senior Conservation Officer in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities. ² See below p. 196.

³ Probably no more than two lines are missing; abstracts begin with the name and titles of the contracting parties, without dating formula; see page 196. Arsiesis is 'lector of the necropolis of Djeme'.

⁴ Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyrus der Musées Royaux* 8, n. 11; Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), 56, 10.

⁵ Written with the feminine definite article, not possessive (as in Spiegelberg's d³).

⁶ The words p₃ c³wy are omitted by the scribe. After writing the word m³hty he has dipped his brush in the ink and then proceeded to write apparently n, though elsewhere he has not written genitival n between p₃ c³wy and the name.

⁷ Sic: read iwty³w. The same error occurs in the main document.

⁸ Spiegelberg, op. cit. 8, n. 7 (c); Hughes and Nims, *AJS* 57 (1940), 246.

x+13 *ir syh n'imꜣf blꜣk tꜣy pꜣ hꜣw r hꜣry pꜣ nty iwꜣf iy rꜣrꜣk*
 x+14 *r-tbꜣꜣf mt nb n pꜣ tꜣ rnꜣi rn rmt nb n pꜣ tꜣ iwꜣi dit wyꜣf*
 x+15 *rꜣrꜣk mtwꜣi dit wcbꜣf nꜣk r hp nb sh nb knbꜣt nb mt nb n pꜣ tꜣ*
 x+16 *n sꜣw nb mtwꜣk [nꜣyꜣf] knbꜣt nꜣyꜣf knbꜣt¹ n ꜣwy nb*
 x+17 *nty iwꜣw] n'imꜣw sh nb [iꜣirꜣw rꜣrꜣf hnc sh] nb iꜣirꜣw nꜣi rꜣrꜣf [hnc sh] nb nty iwꜣi*
 x+18 *mꜣꜣꜣk] n'imꜣf rn(?) [shꜣmꜣt Tꜣ]-šꜣrꜣt-Hꜣnsꜣw tꜣ Pꜣ-hb*

Translation

x+1 . . . Arsiesis son of Panas, his mother being Tahibis: You have paid me, you have caused my heart to be satisfied
 x+2 with the purchase price of the house of the woman Senkhonsis,
 x+3 daughter of Phibis, my wife, together with my heir, my son. The boundaries of this
 x+4 house aforesaid: its south the house of Kolluthes son of Djufachi and
 x+5 Taminis, daughter of Panas: its north (the house) of the divine father Pinyris, son of Petemen-
 x+6 ophis, the road of the king between, and the house of the woman
 x+7 Taous the choachyte: its east the house of Petemesteus son of Pkhorkhonsis,
 x+8 which is in ruins, its walls still standing: its west the house
 x+9 of the carpenter of [the House of Amūn,] Petekhons son of Djufachi, which is in the possession of his children.
 x+10 Completion of the boundaries of this entire house. I have given it to you, it is yours,
 x+11 your house it is, built and roofed. I have no claim
 x+12 at all against you in respect of it. No man at all, myself included, shall be able
 x+13 to exercise authority over it except you from this day forward. The one who shall come against you
 x+14 in respect of it in any matter at all, in my name or in the name of any man at all, I will cause that he
 x+15 be far from you and I shall cause that it be cleared for you from every right, every writing, every claim, everything on earth,
 x+16 on every day. Yours are [its] documents its documents [*sic*] in every place
 x+17 in which they are. Every writing [which has been made concerning it and] every [writing] which has been made for me concerning it, [and] every [writing] to which
 x+18 I am entitled in the name [of the woman] Senkhonsis daughter of Phibis,


The fragment of the main text reads:

1. *hꜣꜣt-sp ꜣꜣt ibtꜣ-ꜣ hꜣt² n prꜣꜣ Pt[w]lmys dd wn-pr[. . . .*
2. *dꜣiꜣ [s] nꜣk r-bl rꜣ hꜣt n pꜣ hꜣꜣ[-syh]⁴ n shꜣmꜣt Tꜣ-šꜣrꜣt-Hꜣnsꜣw tꜣ Pꜣ-[hb*
3. *iw pꜣ hꜣy [prꜣꜣ] iwtyꜣf hnc pꜣ ꜣwy[. . . .*

¹ *Sic*. Read *wꜣyꜣf sh wꜣyꜣf knbꜣt*

² Paophi, 301 B.C. When a month is given without the day, it is probable that the first of the month is intended (6 December); see, however, the remarks of Glanville, *op. cit.* xxvii, n. 4, and Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava ix, 1961), 168, n. 2.

³ † εὐολ ε 'to sell for, as', Crum, *Coptic Dict.* 394b.

⁴  Erichsen, *op. cit.* 346, 1; 455, 2. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 54 (1918), 113; *id.* *Ägyptische Verpfändungsverträge mit Vermögensabtretungen* (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sitzungsberichte, 1923), 10–11. The first sign is certain; the word is here apparently determined (as in some copies of Pap. B.M. 10026) with the 'dying man' sign rather than the house sign. There is no room to restore also *ksꜣ* with which the word is frequently associated. On the latter see below p. 198, n. 4.

4. *iwyt mh̄ty Niw-t nty h̄[n¹*
5. *kn̄b·t nb mt nb n[. . . .*
6. *wpy[. . . .*

Translation

1. Year 5, Paophi, of King Ptolemy. Has said the pastophoros [. . . .
2. I have sold it to you for the obsequies of the woman Senkhonsis daughter of P[hibis
3. the road of the king between and the house [. . . .
4. northern district of Thebes in [. . . .
5. every claim everything [. . . .
6. judgement [. . . .

Of the witness copy below the main text, the second line begins with the word *tb̄* and the third with the feminine name Taous (*T̄j-cw*).

The practice of adding an abstract to demotic legal documents is not common. Four examples are to be found among the Theban archive of Soter's reign in the British Museum;² there is a fifth, Pap. Moscow 115. 116, dated Year 12 of Soter, the actual deeds of conveyance of property referred to in line 4, Pap. B.M. 10526.³ Like the Brussels fragments, Pap. Moscow 115. 116 is also a witness copy. 115 is the sale document; under the main text there are two copies of the entire legal entry in the individual hands of witnessing scribes and another four to the left. 116 is the cession document similarly drawn up with two witness copies under the main text and four more to the left. On the verso of both sale and cession appears an identical list of sixteen witnesses (including the names of the witnessing scribes). Attached to the right-hand side of 115, the sale document, is a narrow strip of papyrus, poorly preserved, which repeats in 21 narrow lines in the handwriting of the notary (Thotartais son of Thotmen) the exact text of the sale document, with the exception of the dating formula, the final clause, and the style and signature of the scribe. Unlike the other abstracts from Thebes, it has been written (to judge from its reproduction) on the recto, as is the case with the abstract of a long sale document from Deir el-Ballas.⁴ The magnificently preserved demotic roll in the Pushkin Museum provides the closest parallel for the physical appearance of the Brussels papyrus in its original state.⁵

¹ Hughes and Nims, *AJSL* 57 (1940), 249.

² Glanville, *op. cit.* xlvi; Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit* (Ägyptologische Forschungen, Heft 20, 1956), 29; id. *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte* (Ägyptologische Forschungen, Heft 22, 1962), 51, n. 4.

³ V. Struve, *The Significance of Certain Demotic Papyri of the State Museum of Fine Arts named after A. S. Pushkin for the History and Culture of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Reports of the Soviet Delegations at the X International Congress of Historical Science in Rome, Moscow 1955); id. *Three Demotic Papyri of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, in connection with documents of a Theban priestly family at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd centuries B.C.* (Papers Presented by the Soviet Delegation at the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists, Moscow 1954). In the earlier of these two papers the abstract is erroneously said to be attached to the cession document 116.

⁴ Pap. Boston MFA 38. 2063b: R. A. Parker, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 89-103, pls. xxi-xxiii.

⁵ In view of the amount of papyrus used in conveyance of property it is difficult to believe that papyrus itself was at all times difficult or expensive for the ordinary citizen to acquire. If it was expensive, then it cannot have been due to scarcity of the natural product or to difficulties of production, but (like tobacco today) to an artificial inflation of the price by government policy in the interests of revenue. Cf. the remarks of Miss van Regemorter in *Chron. d'Ég.* 35 (1960), 278-80.



FRAGMENTS OF PAPYRUS BRUSSELS 2

From the contents of the abstract we learn that the name of the god's father, owner of the house across the way on the north side, was Pinyris. Also on this side was the house of the female choachyte Taous,¹ a detail which has not been preserved in the fragments of the text at Brussels. The name of the owner of the house on the east side, hitherto missing, is given as Petemesteus son of Pkhorkhonsis. Twenty-three years earlier it had been owned by Petemesteus son of Arsiesis 'in the possession of his children'. This is the property, and not that on the north side, which is described as being 'in ruins but with its walls still standing', as it is in Pap. Strassburg 1, line 2.²

Unlike the other examples of abstracts from the archive, that of Pap. Brussels 2 is not identical with the main text of the deed. The descriptions of the neighbouring properties are abbreviated: the separate portion of a house occupied by dependant female relatives, described in the deed as *ry·t*, Coptic $\rho\iota$, is stated simply as *hnr* and the name of the woman. There is no exact description of the quarter in which the house stood. The clauses of the main deed immediately after the specification of the boundaries of the house—'I have received its purchase price, complete without any remainder'—is omitted.

Though the abstract does not preserve the name of the first party, the vendor of the property, it confirms, as Glanville surmised,³ that he was the husband of Senkhonsis, daughter of Phibis, owner of the house sold. The damaged fragment of the main text supplies the information that he was a pastophoros, presumably of Amūn.⁴

An Egyptian woman did not need a *κύριος* (*tsi*) or guardian in order to transact legal or business matters under demotic law nor in normal circumstances would the husband have a right to inherit his wife's property: on her death it would be apportioned among the children of the marriage and of any previous marriage or marriages. There is no assent clause to the sale by interested parties, though the husband includes with himself 'his son, his heir'.⁵ The circumstances in which the house of Senkhonsis was sold by her husband, are now explained by the clause which begins with line 2 of the main text. It is not included in the abstract and is not found in any of the surviving fragments of the witness copies, except for the isolated *hꜛ* of Spiegelberg's fragment g. The sale was effected in order that the husband might defray the cost of the interment of his wife.

The new fragment of the main text clarifies also one further problem presented by the Brussels fragments, the references to the *ksi* of Phibis and Stibon.⁶ It is now clear

¹ Doubtless Taous daughter of Petenephtes, given as the northern neighbour in Pap. B.M. 10525, 2-3. The neighbouring property on the north side of Djufachi's original estate seems to have comprised four houses: at the eastern end that of Pinyris (Glanville, original plan House D) and that of Taous (Glanville, original plan House C). Continuing to the west there are two other houses, that of Petemesteus son of Pkhorkhonsis (Glanville House C) and that of the woman Teteneptotes (Glanville House B).

² House E. Clearly at this time, and for at least the last twenty-three years, derelict property. It is not therefore surprising to find its owner occupying another property nearby (House C).

³ Op. cit. xli.

⁴ Hardly therefore Phibis, son of Yre and Esemheb (Pap. B.M. 10526, 10527), though traces of the mother's name in Spiegelberg's c³ would suit *heb*, since he is described as *gl-šr n pr-'Imn*.

⁵ The heir is not named. Possibly Senkhonsis died in child-birth.

⁶ See Glanville's perceptive remarks op. cit. xl, n. 1. It can now be established that Stibon was the wife of Phibis: Senkhonsis is the only child of the marriage mentioned in the papyrus.

that in addition to the burial expenses of his wife, the husband also undertook to pay from the proceeds of the sale certain outstanding obligations with respect to the burial of his father-in-law and mother-in-law. The beginning of the document proper may be restored: 'Thou hast paid me, thou hast satisfied my heart with the purchase money for the house of the woman Senkhonsis daughter of Phibis, my wife, together with my heir, my son. I have sold it to you for the burial of Senkhonsis daughter of Phibis, her mother being Stibon, and for the coffining of Phibis her father and for the coffining of Stibon his wife: the boundaries of this house aforesaid' etc.

In a society in which the ordinary citizen had little ready cash these expenses were likely to bear heavily upon the heirs and might require the sale or mortgage of family property. Clauses placing the responsibility for the funerary arrangements upon the heirs as a condition of the disposal of property are not uncommon in demotic papyri.¹ Well might a man petition the priests of Pathyris to undertake the burden in view of the deceased's benefactions.² In addition to the expenses of the mummification and accompanying ritual involving guilds of priests who might have a monopoly over defined areas,³ there were also the costs of placing the body in the coffin (*ksi*,⁴ as with the bodies of Phibis and Stibon) which would normally complete the ceremonies of mummification. Finally there were the expenses of placing the body in its last resting-place (*htp*), and certainly at some periods taxes.⁵ From Deir el-Medîna comes proof that two years after death a burial had not been completed.⁶

The two new fragments of Pap. Brussels 2 have now been given by the Trustees of the British Museum to the Musées Royaux to be reunited with the parent document. The comments upon their contents here will, I hope, be of interest to Professor Černý. No other scholar has laboured more to illuminate in detail, frequently in the pages of this *Journal*, the daily affairs of Egyptian citizens: their marriages, wills, quarrels, wages, costs of living and dying—in short whatever they wrote on papyrus and ostraca to regulate in a civilized way their dealings with their fellows. Demotic shares with Ramesside hieratic the same faculty of providing that insight into the problems of the ordinary citizen, common to all societies, without which the ancient historian is like Lear's Dong, without its luminous nose.

¹ For examples among Theban papyri of this period see Pap. Strassburg I, 4; Pap. Rylands XI, 7; Pap. Philadelphia 2, 6; Pap. B.M. 10026 (Glanville, *Essays . . . Cook*, 65); and Pap. Louvre 2439, 2429 *bis* and Pap. Marseille, cited by Reich, *Mizraim* 3 (1936), 11-12, and Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische Verpfändungsverträge . . .*, see p. 195, n. 4 above.

² Pap. Cairo 30960: See also the remarks of Wängstedt in *Orientalia Suecana* 5 (1956), 18-19.

³ Pap. B.M. 10561 (Shore and Smith, *Acta Orientalia* 25 (1960), 277 ff.); Pap. Leiden 374, I and II (Pestman, *OMROL* 44 (1963), 9 ff.). For Greek documents bearing on the same question see Pap. Rylands II, 65, Wilcken, *UPZ* II, 2, 200-13, and Edgar 'The Stolistae of the Labyrinth' in *Arch. f. Pap.* 13 (1937), 76-7. I owe the last reference to Mr. T. C. Skeat.

⁴ Coptic *κατσε*, Crum, *Coptic Dict.* 121a, which has the meaning 'preparation for burial, embalming, shroud'. The word in demotic texts relating to mummification refers to the placing of the corpse in the coffin, which normally concluded the period of mummification, I Khaemwese, 4, 24-5 'coffining on the seventieth day'. For further references see *Acta Orientalia* 25 (1960), 291, n. 28.

⁵ M. Malinine, 'Taxes funéraires égyptiennes à l'époque gréco-romaine' in *Mélanges Mariette* (Bibliothèque d'études, t. xxxii, Paris, 1961), 137-68.

⁶ *Acta Orientalia* 25 (1960), 277, n. 2.

AN ORACLE OF HERMES TRISMEGISTOS AT SAQQÂRA

By T. C. SKEAT *and* E. G. TURNER

THE two Greek ostraca here published were found during Professor W. B. Emery's excavations at North Saqqâra during the spring of 1966. Apart from their approximate date and, of course, their provenance, almost everything that can be said about these enigmatic texts must be tentative and provisional. We can only guess at the circumstances in which they were written, the orthography of the Greek is poor, the grammar and syntax chaotic. Nevertheless, the discovery is so unexpected and their character so remarkable that we have been encouraged by Professor Emery to publish them with as little delay as possible in the hope that others may be more successful in elucidating them, or that further discoveries at Saqqâra may place them in a new perspective. It is with special pleasure that we offer this paper in a volume honouring Professor Jaroslav Černý, whose distinguished contributions to the study of Egyptian religion, and particular interest in Egyptian oracles, allow us to think it may be an appropriate subject for his curiosity.

The ostraca were first studied in the winter of 1966 from photographs and hand-copies made by Mr. H. S. Smith. The originals were re-examined by E. G. Turner in the spring of 1967, and new photographs (pls. XXXII and XXXIII) were made. The actual writing of this paper has been so divided that Sections 1 and 2 are principally the work of E. G. Turner and Sections 3–7 of T. C. Skeat. But we have constantly interchanged ideas, and accept joint responsibility for the tentative conclusions here advanced.

1. Find-spot and date

The ostraca were found in a small building immediately to the west of a sloping dromos cut in the limestone. This dromos led down to an entrance (discovered during the season 1965–6) into the catacombs of ibis mummies.¹ The building opened out of the hall from which the dromos descended. It consisted of a cella and niche, which Mr. H. S. Smith describes as 'precisely appropriate to an oracular statue'. The fragments of the Greek ostraca were discovered in a group together with ostraca in demotic. Some of the latter can be identified with certainty as dream-oracle texts issuing from 'Thoth the thrice-great'.

The handwriting in both these Greek ostraca is the same throughout, and the recurrence of such spellings as *Ἀγυππίων*, *ταχίως* also suggests that a single scribe is at work. The hand (pls. XXXII, and XXXIII) is a fair-sized, regular, rounded cursive,

¹ This entrance is shown at the top right-hand corner of the plan published in *JEA* 52 (1966), 6; the discovery of the ostraca is described *ibid.* 3.

Lines 1–4. Four lines of demotic, apparently written with the same rush and in the same ink as the Greek text.

5].σπαστοφοροστησ
]στουενισιοσπολει
 ιερουτουσεβεννυτου

We owe the following account of the demotic text to Mr. H. S. Smith:

(*dd-w*)

1. (*te-w*) wy g(?) [*s* - - - - 'They uttered:
2. *p bk te-f sh* [- - - - the document. He caused . . . to write . . .
3. *nfr-s pe-k 's-shn* good it is, thy affair . . .
4. *n(?) nt sh n im-f h-f* those who wrote it. Its copy.'

Judged by the normal usage of *h-f* 'its copy', this should refer to the preceding demotic, not to the Greek below. There is no certain evidence that this demotic document has any connection with the Greek which follows. It may have already been on the sherd when the scribe of the Greek decided to use it. But in that case why did he not erase it, as he certainly did the demotic text on the exterior of the sherd? The fact that he did not do so suggests to me that the demotic here has some connection with the Greek: could it be part of the original (Egyptian) oracle?

Ostrakon G7–43. Put together from seven fragments.

Interior text (Text A). Plate XXXIII, 1.

ταρηθενταμοι
 υπομεγιστουκαι
 μεγιστουθεουμεγαλου
 ερμουχρησιμονειναιτωνπρα
 5 γματωνοπωσ(τραπησεται)των[α]
 γυπτων(ταχηωσ)τροπησεται[ι]
 ταχηωσκαι'ευ. . . [. . .]δε'ελθεινεωστησθη[βαιδοσ]
 τονβαβιλεα (vacat)

- 5, 6. The round brackets are in the original and denote deletions.
5. The *τ* of *τραπησεται* is on the top fragment.
6. *γυ* corrected from *γα*. *τροπησεται* is more likely than *τραπησεται*, despite *τραπησεται* in l. 5.
7. *ταχηωσ*. *α* corrected from *υ*. In the interlineation *ευθεωσ* was presumably intended, but it was certainly not written; the third letter appears to be *υ*, followed by *πα*].
8. *βαβιλεα* [*sic*], for *βασιλεα*.

G 7–43. Exterior text, Col. i (Text D). Put together from three fragments.

About 16 × 13.5 cm. Ink very faint. Not illustrated.

εστιτ[
 τωνπρ[. . . .]τωντα
 ρηθενταμουυπομεγει
 στουκαιμεγιστου
 5 μεγαλουερμου

1. *τ[αυτα τα περι* would be a suitable supplement of about the right length for the line.

2. The restoration *πρ[αγμα]των* would be suitable for the size of the lacuna.
 4. This line, as it now stands, is four letters shorter than ll. 2-3. *θεου* would just fill the vacant space at the end of the line, but if it ever stood here, all trace of it has now disappeared.

G 7-43. Exterior text, Col. ii (Text E). Put together from eight fragments.
 About 15 × 16.5 cm. Plate XXXIII, 2. The original right-hand edge of the ostrakon is lost at ll. 4-9.

βασιλειπτολεμαιωικαι
 βασιλειπτολεμαιωιτω
 αδελφωικαιβασιλειση
 κλεοπατραιτηιαδελφη[ι]
 5 χαιρεινωροσπαστοφοροσ[
 τησισιοστονενισιοσπολ[ει]
 ιερουτουσεβενντουβ[ου]
 λομενοσπεριτωνχηρησ[ιμων]
 τοισβασιλευσιαγαγγει'λ'αισπω[
 10 τωναγυπτίωντραπησε
 ταιταχηωσκαιευθεωσ
 δεελθεινσοιβασιλεα
 εωστησθηβαιδοσ

4. *τηι*. The ink has run, forming a large blot covering these letters.
 7. *σεβενντου*. Here again a large blot covers the letters *ενν*.
 9. *αγαγγελαι*. A large blot covers most of the word. *αναγγελαι* is a slightly preferable reading to *απαγγελαι*. The initial *α* may have been rewritten.
 At the end of the line the letters *πω* are secure, but the preceding letter, read as a doubtful *σ*, might also be read either as a badly formed *ο* (i.e. *οπω[σ]*), though if so it would be much larger than the normal *ο*, or as *ε* (though if so the top curve should reach higher).
 13. *θηβαιδοσ* corrected from *θηβασ*.

3. The texts and their relationships

In this section the texts are printed once again, in modern form, with division of words, accents, and breathings. Misspellings are tacitly corrected, lacunae are restored, and dots below letters are omitted.

In an attempt to find a meaningful relationship between the texts, we shall take as our starting-point what for convenience we designate Text A (G 7-43, interior text):

Text A

τὰ ρηθέντα μοι
 ὑπὸ μεγίστου καὶ
 μεγίστου θεοῦ μεγάλου
 Ἑρμοῦ χρήσιμον εἶναι τῶν πρα-
 5 γμάτων ὅπως [[τραπήσεται]] τῶν [Aι-]
 γυπτίων [[ταχέως]] τραπήσεται
 ταχέως καὶ ἔυθέως δέ' ἐλθεῖν ἕως τῆς Θηβαίδος
 τὸν βασιλέα.

As it stands, this text is merely a record of an oracle stated to have been delivered to the writer by Hermes Trismegistos. Nothing indicates for whose benefit it was delivered, or the identity of the writer. It is, furthermore, evidently a draft, as is shown by the transpositions and additions made in the wording. Since the effect of these alterations is reflected in all the other versions remaining to be described, it seems likely that Text A is the earliest (or at any rate the earliest surviving) stage in the development of the document.

The next stage, which we call Text B, incorporates the textual changes made in Text A and, in addition, inserts a significant new passage in the middle of the text:

Text B

τὰ ῥηθ[έντα μοι ὑπὸ]
 μεγίστ[ου καὶ μεγίσ-]
 του θεοῦ μ[εγάλου]
 Ἑρμοῦ περὶ χρ[ησίμων]
 5 τοῖς βασιλεῦσι [βουλόμε-]
 νος ἀπαγγεῖλαι [ὅπως]
 τῶν Αἰγυπτίων [τρα-]
 πήσεται ταχέως καὶ
 ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Θηβαῖδα
 10 τὸν βασιλέα εὐθέως.

Here we find for the first time mention of the persons for whom the oracle is intended —τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, the reigning sovereigns, whose identity is finally revealed in Text E below. The following word, βουλόμενος, poses a problem, since there is no subject with which it can agree. Presumably it is to be regarded as agreeing with the writer of the text understood, i.e. the μοι of l. 1, though if so it should be in the dative case. Who the writer in fact was we learn from the interior text of the self-same ostrakon, in a note which we call Text C:

Text C

[ῥΩρο]ς παστοφόρος τῆς
 [ῥΙσιο]ς τοῦ ἐν ῥΙσιος πόλει
 ἱεροῦ τοῦ Σεβεννύτου.

The reading of this text is quite certain, as it can be completely restored from Text E below.

The next stage of development is to be found in Ostrakon G 7-43, exterior text. This consists of two columns of writing, which we call Text D and Text E. Text D, the first column, is much effaced, especially the first line:

Text D

ἐστὶ τ[
 τῶν πρ[αγμά]των τὰ

ῥηθέντα μοι ὑπὸ μεγί-
 στου καὶ μεγίστου [θεοῦ]
 5 μεγάλου Ἑρμοῦ.

As pointed out above, it would be possible to restore the first line as something like ἐστὶ τ[αὐτα τὰ περὶ]. The objection to this is that it involves a change of phraseology which can be paralleled in neither the preceding nor the succeeding versions. If we compare the wording of Text A, εἶναι χρήσιμον τῶν πραγμάτων, we may perhaps conjecture that the first line of Text D read ἐστὶ χ[ρήσιμον] (or possibly τ[ὸ χρήσιμον]). In that case Text D would be little more than a re-arrangement of the first half of Text A. However this may be, Text D is unquestionably incomplete, breaking off before it reaches the actual words of the oracle.

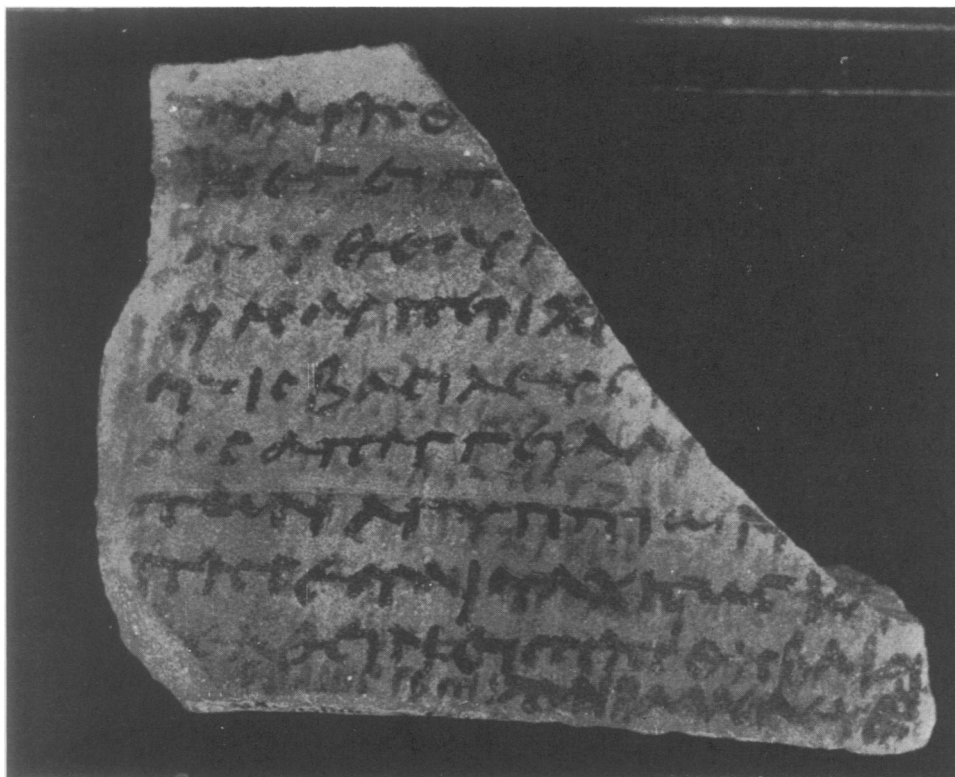
We now come to Text E, and this reveals a radical change of plan. The document is now recast in the form of a letter addressed by the priest Horus to the reigning sovereigns and Hermes Trismegistos disappears altogether from the scene:

Text E

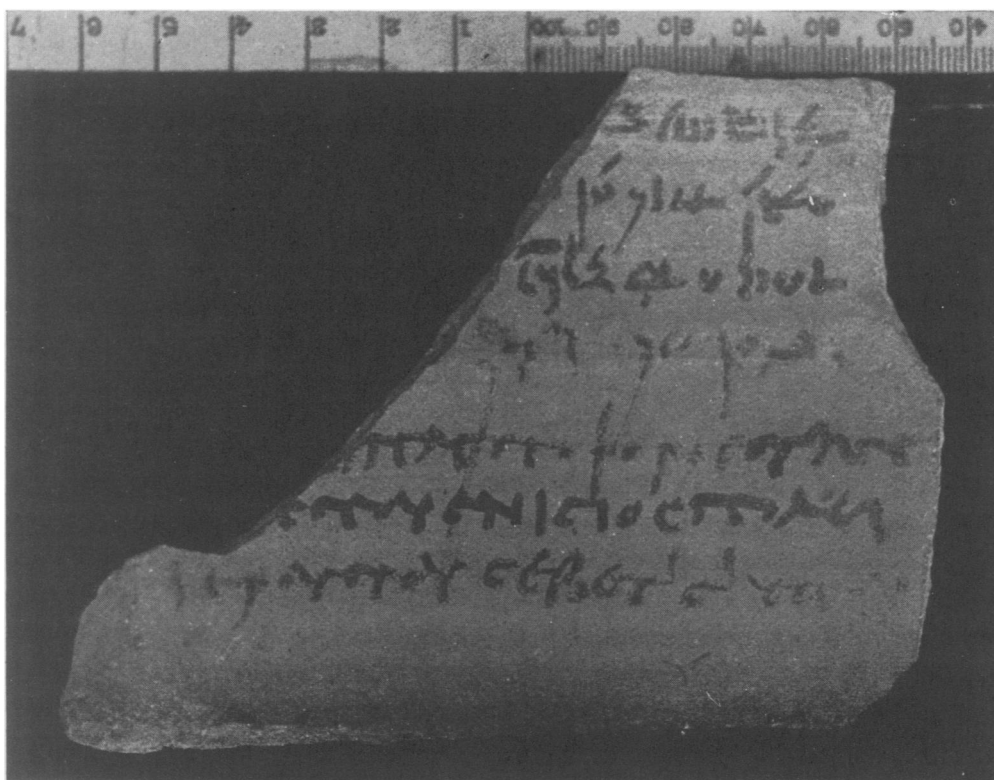
βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω καὶ
 βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω τῷ
 ἀδελφῷ καὶ βασιλίσση
 Κλεοπάτραι τῇ ἀδελφῇ[ι]
 5 χαίρειν ὦ Ὡρος παστοφόρος
 τῆς Ἰσίου τοῦ ἐν Ἰσίου πόλ[ει]
 ἱεροῦ τοῦ Σεβεννύτου β[ου-]
 λόμενος περὶ τινων χρησ[ίμων]
 τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ἀναγγεῖλαι ὅπω[ς]
 10 τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τραπήσε-
 ται ταχέως καὶ εὐθέως
 δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὸν βασιλέα
 ἕως τῆς Θηβαΐδος.

We cannot, of course, tell whether the writer was finally satisfied with Text E, or whether further drafts, now lost, followed. Certainly, if this is the final product, it falls far short of the minimum standards of Greek. The basic faults of grammar and syntax which characterize all the versions remain uncorrected, and the text still possesses no main verb. The incapacity of the writer is graphically illustrated by the fact that although he has recast the document and now addresses the sovereigns direct, the words τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, now otiose, remain embedded in the text (they could at least have been replaced by ὑμῖν). The elimination of Hermes Trismegistos is totally unexpected and inexplicable, as the only authority for the oracle now becomes Horus himself.

We are inclined to think that the appearance of Text D alongside Text E is no accident, but an indication that the writer wished to incorporate Text D in his final version, though he could not find a satisfactory method of achieving this. As already pointed out, Text D as it stands is incomplete, since it breaks off before the text of the oracle is reached, despite the fact that there is room on the ostrakon for another four or



1. Ostrakon G7-42. Exterior (Text B)



2. Ostrakon G7-42. Interior (Text C)



1. Ostrakon G7-43. Interior (Text A)



2. Ostrakon G7-43. Exterior, col. ii (Text E), Scale 5/6

AN ORACLE OF HERMES TRISMEGISTOS

five lines of writing. It was presumably at this point that the writer decided to recast the document completely, and Text E was the result.

4. The words introducing the Oracle

The text of the Oracle is introduced by a form of words of which three separate versions are found, viz.:

	<i>χρήσιμον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων</i>	(Text A)
<i>περὶ χρησίμων τοῖς βασιλεῦσι βουλόμενος ἀπαγγεῖλαι</i>		(Text B)
<i>βουλόμενος περὶ τινων χρησίμων τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ἀναγγεῖλαι</i>		(Text E)

The version in Text A appears to be an accusative and infinitive construction, perhaps regarded as governed by *τὰ ῥηθέντα* in the sense of *ἐρρέθη*. The following words, however, *τῶν πραγμάτων*, are singularly intractable, unless one accepts the drastic emendation considered below (p. 206). The version in Text B is syntactically correct, except that, as already mentioned, there is no subject of the sentence with which *βουλόμενος* can agree. This defect is remedied in Text E, where it clearly agrees with Horus, the writer of the document.

A further point arises over the word *χρήσιμον* *al.* *χρησίμων*. In both Text B and Text E it is followed by the words *τοῖς βασιλεῦσι*, and the question arises whether the dative case depends on *χρησίμων*, i.e. 'matters useful to the sovereigns', or on the following verb *ἀπαγγεῖλαι/ἀναγγεῖλαι*. In Text A, however, there is no possible doubt that *χρήσιμον* is used absolutely, without any dependent dative, and the balance of probability therefore favours the view that it is also used absolutely in Texts B and E.

The insistence on such a relatively colourless word as *χρησίμων*, 'useful', is in any case puzzling, and we have felt obliged to consider the possibility, at least, that *χρησίμων* may be a vocalized form of *χρησμῶν*, 'oracles'. That this suggestion is not so far-fetched as it might seem at first sight is shown by P. Paris 1, the astronomical papyrus from the Serapeum (see p. 208, below), where, in one instance, the scribe has apparently written *χρήσιμοι* instead of *χρησμοί*.

This suggestion, if accepted, would have the merit of providing some construction for *τῶν πραγμάτων* in Text A, which could then be translated 'prophecies of affairs of state'. In this connection we may notice that *τῶν πραγμάτων* disappears from the text just when the words *τοῖς βασιλεῦσι* are introduced. This is to be expected, since oracles intended for the sovereigns would naturally be concerned with affairs of state, and the words *τῶν πραγμάτων* then become unnecessary.

Finally, it may be asked why *χρήσιμον*, in the singular, appears in Text A, whereas *χρησίμων*, the plural, is found in Texts B and E. Here again the interpretation of *χρήσιμος* as *χρησμός* supplies a possible answer, since the oracle in fact consists of two separate prophetic statements, linked by *καί*, for which either the singular or the plural number would be equally appropriate.

5. The text of the Oracle

The text of the oracle is found, with little variation, in Texts A, B, and E. In the

last-named it appears as follows: ὅπως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τραπήσεται ταχέως καὶ εὐθέως δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἕως τῆς Θηβαΐδος.

As it stands, the oracle is so defective in syntax as to be virtually untranslatable. In the first statement the verb *τραπήσεται* has no subject, and there is no construction for the genitive *τῶν Αἰγυπτίων*. In the second statement there is nothing to govern what on the face of it appears to be an accusative and infinitive construction.

The genitive *τῶν Αἰγυπτίων* is exceptionally difficult, since the singular verb *τραπήσεται* would seem to preclude the possibility that the genitive is a mere mistake for the nominative. We have therefore considered the possibility that some noun, the subject of *τραπήσεται*, has dropped out before *τῶν Αἰγυπτίων*. If these *Αἰγύπτιοι* are Egyptian rebels (cf. p. 207, below), the missing word might be something signifying 'army' or 'force'; and we have envisaged the possibility that, for example, the difficult words *τῶν πραγμάτων* might be a corruption of *τὸ τάγμα τῶν*. This would certainly make excellent sense; but against the hypothesis are the facts that (a) the reading of the ostrakon is unquestionably *τῶν πραγμάτων*, (b) it occurs only in Text A and not, where it would be equally essential, in Texts B and E, and (c) despite the obvious errors of grammar and syntax, there is no evidence in the ostraca of actual textual corruption.

The possibility of textual corruption must in any case be viewed in relation to the circumstances in which the texts were produced. Corruption implies that at some stage a correct Greek original existed. This we doubt. The building in which the ostraca were found also contained a considerable number of dream-oracles, issuing from 'Thoth the thrice-great', written in demotic. Horus, the writer of the present texts, held a priestly office, had an Egyptian name, and for one of his drafts used an ostrakon already bearing demotic writing which may conceivably be connected with the Greek texts. The whole milieu in which these texts were produced was thus Egyptian; and these illiterate and incoherent sentences may well be the result of Horus's own attempt to reproduce, in the best Greek he could muster, a native original.

Less drastic remedies are required for the second half of the oracle. With a strong stop after *ταχέως*, the infinitive could be taken as imperatival; or else *δέ* could be emended to *δεῖ*, which would then govern the following accusative and infinitive. An experimental translation would then run: '[The army?] of the Egyptians will be routed and the king is to advance into (or, as far as) the Thebaid.'

6. The historical background

In Text E the document is addressed to 'King Ptolemy, King Ptolemy the Brother, and Queen Cleopatra the Sister', thus dating it securely to the joint reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor, Ptolemy VII, the later Euergetes II, and Cleopatra II, which lasted from 170 to 164 B.C. These limits can be narrowed somewhat, since the ostraca are clearly later than the summer of 168, when Antiochus withdrew from Egypt and the Sixth Syrian War came to an end. Within the period 168–164, therefore, we must seek for an occasion when a force of 'Egyptians' was to be routed, and 'the King' was expected to advance rapidly as far as the Thebaid.

Two fragments of Diodorus (xxxI, frs. 15a, 17c) record civil disturbances in Egypt at this period. The former describes the revolt of an Egyptian notable, Dionysius Petosarapis, who after failing in Alexandria to sow dissension between Philometor and his brother, retired to the suburb of Eleusis where he collected a force of 4,000 men. Defeated by the royal army, he fled 'to the Egyptians', which presumably means to the *χώρα*, where he organized further resistance. Here the extract ends, without recording the final outcome of the revolt. The second fragment opens with mention of 'another revolt' (*ἄλλη κίνησις*) in the Thebaid. There is no reference to Dionysius Petosarapis, and no indication that the two insurrections were in any way connected. In this case the outcome is described: the King, Ptolemy, easily overran the Thebaid with the exception of Panopolis, which the staunchest of the rebels fortified, and which the royal forces captured only after a formal siege. After punishing the rebels, the King returned to Alexandria.

Grenfell and Hunt, in publishing P. Teb. 5, the famous amnesty of 118 B.C., from one of the benefits of which the inhabitants of Panopolis were specifically excluded, argued (P. Teb. 5, 153 n.) that this second fragment of Diodorus had been wrongly attributed to the joint reign, and that it really referred to a much later revolt at Panopolis, nearer in time to the date of the amnesty. In support of this contention they urged that (a) it was very unlikely that implication in a revolt of c. 165 B.C. would be the grounds for discrimination against the Panopolites in 118 B.C., and (b) the reference to a single King Ptolemy in command of the royal forces excluded the joint reign.

Professor F. Uebel, in his article 'TAPAXH TΩN AITYPTIΩN' in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 17 (1962) 147-62, has passed in review the various native revolts of the first half of the second century B.C., in connection with a fragment in Jena. He has shown that the above-mentioned theory of Grenfell and Hunt, regarding the date of the Diodorus fragment, has subsequently lost favour and is now generally discredited. It is here that the present texts have something to contribute to historical knowledge, since they not only show Upper Egypt to have been in a state of revolt at some time during the joint reign, but confirm the testimony of Diodorus in a striking manner in that they mention only a single sovereign (*τὸν βασιλέα*) in connection with the recovery of the Thebaid.

7. Conclusion

A number of matters worthy of consideration have been omitted from this provisional publication, mainly because they can be more conveniently discussed when the demotic material is available. It may, however, be mentioned here that the present ostraca would appear to be the earliest instances in Greek of the title Hermes Trismegistos, in the peculiar form, carefully maintained in all three texts where it occurs (Texts A, B, and D), of two superlatives and a positive (*μεγίστου καὶ μεγίστου θεοῦ μεγάλου*). Hitherto, very little has been known of oracles at Saqqâra, and the whole question will now need to be investigated. Wilcken, indeed, in *UPZ* I, 31-4, has assembled the evidence available to him regarding oracles at the Serapeum and its neighbourhood, and

has discussed the methods in which oracles appear to have been delivered. But the only direct evidence of oracles emanating from Hermes has hitherto been P. Paris 1, the astronomical papyrus already mentioned (p. 205, above), wherein a later hand has inscribed in various places *Σαράπιος χρησμοί*, and in a single instance, the words *Ἑρμοῦ χρησμοί*.

Note on the designation of Hermes Trismegistos

Scholars have generally accepted that the earliest reference to the equation of Thoth with Hermes Trismegistos occurs in a Greek papyrus document of the end of the third century B.C. (P. München, edited by U. Wilcken in *Archiv* 1, 483, reprinted as *Chr.* no. 109). The document contains the royal titles in Greek of Ptolemy IV Philopator, and the mode of reference to Thoth = Hermes was reconstituted as follows: [καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπανορθώσας καὶ τ[οὺς νόμους τοὺς καταστα] | [θέντας?] ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ μ[εγίστου καὶ μεγίστου Ἑρμοῦ] | [. . .]ων (e.g. [βεβαι]ῶν). It will be noted that much of this title, and especially the third superlative *μεγίστου*, has been supplied by the editor. An example on stone of the Greek titulary of Ptolemy IV Philopator (H. Gauthier, H. Sottas, *Un décret trilingue en l'honneur de Ptolémée IV*, Cairo, 1925) refers to Thoth-Hermes as *twice* great (loc. cit. 72, ll. 3-4, ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ μεγί[στον Ἑρμοῦ]). Though this titulary also is reconstituted, the two superlatives (not three) are supported by the hieroglyphic version (loc. cit. 7, 'consolidant les lois comme Thot deux fois grand') and by the version in the Rosetta stone (O.G.I. 90, 19 Ἑρμῆς ὁ μέγας καὶ μέγας).

It seems, therefore, that the Saqqâra ostracon is at present the earliest reliable witness to the precise designation of Thoth = Hermes thrice great, in the form of two superlatives *μέγιστος* followed by the positive *μέγας*. None of the other examples cited in Preisigke's *Wörterbuch* III, § 20 is earlier than the third century after Christ.

A NOTE ON AMNESTY

By H. S. SMITH

IN Hellenic politics the device of amnesty was used at times of national peril or after civil strife to reconcile opposed factions in the state.¹ The Ptolemies in Egypt followed this practice. In 197 B.C., when Upper Egypt was in a state of secession under the self-styled native Pharaoh 'Ankhnachis and native revolts in the Delta had only recently been suppressed, the young Ptolemy V Epiphanes at the behest of his advisers celebrated the anniversary of his accession (*ἀνακλητήρια*) at Memphis on November 26 Julian (year 9, 17 Phaophi), a ceremony to which the priests of the temples of Egypt were summoned. Before they departed, they voted on March 27 Julian, 196 B.C. (year 9, 18 Mechir) to decree new divine honours upon Ptolemy in recognition of all the boons (*φιλόανθρωπα*) which he had vouchsafed his subjects. Of these there is a long list including the following:

those who were in prison and under accusation for a long time back he has freed of the charges against them

and he has ordained that those who should come back of the combatants, and of the rest who had been disaffected during the disturbances which had happened in Egypt, should on their return have their property restored to them.²

Evidently this amnesty together with the other boons had been promulgated at the anniversary celebrations by Ptolemy.³ In 163 B.C., after a period of internecine dynastic strife, a reconciliation was arranged under the auspices of Rome between Ptolemy VI Philometor, his sister Cleopatra II, and his brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. Philometor solemnized this reconciliation by proclaiming an amnesty by which all those implicated in errors or crimes up to August 17 Julian, 163 B.C. (Philometor, year 18, 19 Epiph) were to be released, as we know from a royal letter dated September 22 (year 18, 25 Mesore) to the *strategos* of Memphis Dionysios, asking him to see to its proper administration.⁴ The date of proclamation was presumably therefore 19 Epiph, four days after the return of Philometor from Rome.⁵ In 145–144 B.C. when

¹ E.g. before the battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.; at Megara (unsuccessfully) in 424 B.C.; on the restoration of the democracy at Samos in 411 B.C.; during the siege of Athens by Lysander in 404 B.C.; upon the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants from Athens in 401 B.C.; and after the battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C. Contemporary sources use the phrase *μη μνησικακεῖν*; the word *ἀμνηστία* is first used by Plutarch and Valerius Maximus, perhaps as a translation of Cicero's term *oblivio*.

² Rosetta Decree, Greek text, ll. 14 and 19–20.

³ For the examples of *philanthropa* and the relevant literature see M.-T. Lenger in *Studi in honore di Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz* (Naples, 1952), I, 483–99.

⁴ P. Paris 63, XIII (P. Louvre N. 2388 vs.); see U. Wilcken, *UPZ* I, no. 111, pp. 496–501. See also L. Koenen, 'Eine ptolemäische Königsurkunde (P. Kroll)' in *Klassischphilologische Studien*, Heft 19 (1957), 4 ff.

⁵ Aug. 13 (year 18, 15 Epiph); see Wilcken, loc. cit. 497. There is in this case no reason to believe that the amnesty was proclaimed on the anniversary of the accession, though it is not ruled out; Philometor acceded between May 20 and Oct. 6 Julian, 180 B.C. (T. C. Skeat, *The reigns of the Ptolemies* (Munich, 1954), 32–3).

Euergetes II had regained sole power after Philometor's death by murdering Philometor's heir, Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator, and marrying his widow Cleopatra II, he had recourse to amnesty to end faction.¹ It is either this amnesty or that of 163 B.C. that is referred to in a judicial report of the mid second century as 'a part of what has been beneficently granted (πε[φιλανθρωπημένων]) by the King and Queen'.² In 118 B.C. Euergetes II made a further, belated attempt to end the fratricidal quarrels of his reign by proclaiming an amnesty in the following terms:

King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra the Sister and Queen Cleopatra the Wife proclaim an amnesty to all their subjects for errors, crimes, accusations, condemnations, and charges of all kinds up to year 52, 9 Pharmouthi, except to persons guilty of wilful murder or sacrilege. And they have decreed that persons who have gone into hiding because they were guilty of theft or subject to other charges shall return to their homes and resume their former occupations, and their remaining property shall not be sold. . . .³

The decree continues with a long list of the boons (φιλόανθρωπα) done by Ptolemy to his people. A letter of Euergetes II preserved in an inscription in Cyprus shows that the amnesty also applied there.⁴ The terminal date of the amnesty, presumably that of its promulgation, April 28 Julian, will not fit an anniversary of the accession. This amnesty was evidently extended into year 53, as there are two references to it as valent in that year.⁵

In one important respect these Ptolemaic amnesties differ markedly from their Greek precursors. They were not single measures taken *ad hoc* in emergency. They were proclaimed among a long list of royal boons granted by Pharaoh to the people of Egypt at the beginnings of periods when a new reign or new dynastic arrangements held the promise of peaceful and beneficent rule succeeding internal strife. Sometimes at least these boons, whether including amnesty or not,⁶ were promulgated at the ἀνακλήτηρια, thus emphasizing the formal link between the King's tenure of the throne and his obligation to his people to reign beneficently and justly and to maintain peace. It is worth inquiring whether this distinctive feature of Ptolemaic amnesties owes anything to earlier custom in the Near East.⁷

The Hebrew custom of releasing slaves in the sabbatical fallow year, or in the year of jubilee,⁸ is essentially a release from a contractual obligation, namely body-service incurred mostly through debt, and is not a true parallel to amnesty for crimes against

¹ P. Tebt. 699; Mitford, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 13, 32-3; P. Tor. I, ix, 21 = Wilcken, *UPZ* II, 162; P. Paris 15, 58 = Wilcken, *UPZ* II, 161.

² P. Tebt. 739, 40-5; see Wilcken in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 11, 147.

³ P. Tebt. 5, 1 ff.; Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly, *Tebtunis Papyri*, I, 18-20, 31, 134. See E. R. Bevan, *History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 315 ff.

⁴ Rehm in *Philologos*, 97, 287; cf. *Aegyptus* 31, 149-50.

⁵ The Process of Hermias, P. Tor. I, vii, 13 ff., see Wilcken *UPZ* II, no. 162, p. 66; P. Tebt. 124, ii, 20-30, see Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly, *op. cit.* 510-14.

⁶ E.g. the Canopus Decree of Ptolemy Philopator.

⁷ Roman imperial custom under the Flavians and Antonines seems to owe something to Ptolemaic example, but this I am not competent to discuss. For Roman Egypt see H. I. Bell, 'Philanthropia in the Roman period', *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont: Collection Latomus* 2 (Brussels, 1949), 31-7.

⁸ Exod. 21: 2-6, 23: 10-11; Deut. 15: 1-6 and 12-18; Lev. 25: 8 ff. and 40 ff., 26: 34-5; Jer. 34: 14; Ezek. 46: 17; I Macc. 6: 49-53; Josephus, *Ant.* xiv, 16, 2.

the state.¹ The release of the Jewish King Jehoiachin from prison in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity in Babylon by the Babylonian King Amel-Marduk (Evil-Merodach)² is interesting for its date, the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of year 1, since this would immediately have preceded the New Year Feast at which the King 'took the hands of Bel' in token of his renewed kingship. But this act is the release of a single foreign captive, not a general release of native criminals and dissidents; it may have been a private act of favour or a move in a desperate game of power politics, since soon after the New Year Amel-Marduk was replaced by the son of a commoner, Nergal-šar-usur (Neriglissar). The 'release to the provinces' made by the Achaemenid Great King on the occasion of Esther's feast³ appears far more likely to refer to a remission of taxes than to a release of prisoners. A nearer parallel to the Ptolemaic instances is the release of Barabbas to the multitude by Pilate at the great annual feast of the Passover, for though this was the pardon of a single criminal, not a general amnesty, yet it is clear that it was a symbolic act in which Barabbas was representative of prisoners in general. But as this instance stands alone, and there is no mention of a customary release of a prisoner in the Old Testament regulations for the Passover, the practice is generally believed to have been introduced into Israel by the Roman procurators.

From Pharaonic Egypt, however, there is evidence. In the story which precedes the moral teaching of 'Onkhsheshonqy, the sage overhears details of a plot to murder Pharaoh, in which his host, the great physician Ḥarsiesi, and other notables are implicated. When the plot is discovered, 'Onkhsheshonqy is convicted for having failed to inform Pharaoh and is sentenced to imprisonment at Daphnae. The text continues:⁴

After this there occurred the accession-day (*hr-nsu*) of Pharaoh. Pharaoh released everyone who was in the prisons at Daphnae except 'Onkhsheshonqy son of Tainufi. His spirit sank on account of it.

To occupy his mind in these straits, 'Onkhsheshonqy decides to write a book of instructions for his son, and being provided with palette but no papyrus writes them on the sherds of his eating and drinking vessels.

Such stories were a common literary device in Egypt and Semitic lands to make more palatable compositions of a rhetorical, poetical, or didactic nature, and cannot be considered historical. But they were written for a cultured audience, who might credit miraculous behaviour on the part of gods or heroes, but would have ridiculed official behaviour which ran contrary to custom. As we accept the book of Esther as a source for court behaviour in Achaemenid Persia, and the story of 'Ahiqar for that of Assyria, so we should construe the evidence of this story to mean that release of prisoners was a Pharaonic custom at the time of its composition. The papyrus is dated to the first century B.C. or A.D. on palaeographical grounds, but Professor Glanville was undoubtedly right in assigning the composition of the story on grounds of style, content, and nomenclature to a date not later than the fourth century B.C.;⁵ a Twenty-sixth-

¹ It is to be compared rather with the *σεισάχθεια* of Solon of Athens, see Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 6, 1; Diodorus 1, 79; Plutarch, *Solon* 15.

² 2 Kgs. 25: 27-30; Jer. 52: 31-4.

³ Esther 2: 18.

⁴ S. R. K. Glanville, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, II, 1, pp. 12-13; text 4, 8-10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. xii-xiii.

Dynasty date is possible.¹ Two features of the incident related link it to Ptolemaic practice. One is that 'Onkhsheshonqy is excepted from the amnesty. In the amnesty of the fifty-second year of Euergetes II the crimes specifically excepted are wilful murder and sacrilege; 'Onkhsheshonqy could certainly have been considered guilty of the latter, and perhaps, as an accessory before the fact, of the former. The second is the occasion of the amnesty. Professor Černý has shown that *hr-nsw* is the regular Egyptian expression for the accession of Pharaoh or its anniversary,² and as no change of Pharaoh occurs at this point in the story the latter must be intended here.

An earlier reference to an amnesty occurs in a paean in honour of King Ḥikmaṛēc Ramesses IV (1166–1160 B.C.):³

A beautiful day (*hrw nfr*)! Heaven and earth rejoice, for Thou art the great lord of Egypt. Those who had fled have returned to their home-towns; those who were in hiding have come forth. The hungry are sated and rejoice, the thirsty are drunk. The naked are clothed in fine linen, the ragged wear fair garments. Those who were in bonds are free again; those who were in chains rejoice. The rebels in this land are become free men once more. High Niles are come forth from their caverns and make glad the heart of the people. The widows' houses stand open once more; they let the wanderers enter. . . .

In the last verse the cause of these happy events is given:

King Ḥikmaṛēc, the chosen of Amūn, wears again the white crown; the Son of Rēc Ramesses has taken over the office of his father. All nations say to him: 'Beautiful is Horus on the throne of Amūn, who brought him forth, the protector of princes, who takes every nation captive.'

Though the language of this text is poetical, the verse must have been composed for use on a particular occasion, and reflects a real situation; commentators on the text have rightly accepted the amnesty as historical. Comparison with the Ptolemaic texts quoted above shows that there is a close correspondence in the terms of the amnesty: (i) those in prison are freed; (ii) those who had fled or gone into hiding were free to return home, and (at least by implication) would have their property restored to them; (iii) those who were rebellious, that is, guilty or under suspicion of crimes against the state, were pardoned. These three points taken together seem to comprise the full scope of a general amnesty. A second important similarity with the Ptolemaic decrees is that here the features of the amnesty are retailed along with other benefits produced by Ramesses' rule. Admittedly, these are generalized and couched in traditional phraseology; but there may be a true parallel as is shown by the mention of high Niles, since one of the

¹ In the story it is stated that 'Onkhsheshonqy was imprisoned at Daphnae (*Nṣw-ḥm-p-nḥs*), and that he was supplied with a servant and with victuals from a royal palace, which must therefore almost certainly have also been at Daphnae. From a fragmentary demotic story (W. Erichsen, *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, 1955, 60, III, 2–3) we learn that the embalming-place of a Pharaoh named Psammetichus was supposed to be east of Daphnae. If this tradition is correct, the passage implies that there was a royal residence at Daphnae in the XXVIth Dynasty, for the embalming-place can hardly have been far from where the Pharaoh died. This suggests that the 'Onkhsheshonqy story refers, like several other demotic tales, to the circumstances of the XXVIth Dynasty, and may have been written at that time or little later. I also believe that the name 'Onkhsheshonqy, though it did survive into the Ptolemaic period, is far more likely to have been used in a composition of Saite or early Persian date.

² Černý, *ZÄS* 72, 114.

³ Maspero, *Rec. trav.* 2, 116; Spiegelberg, *OLZ* 30, 76; Černý, *ZÄS* 72, 109; de Buck, *Bib. Or.* 1, no. 5, 67.

φιλόανθρωπα recorded in the decree of Canopus is the rescue of the people from starvation in a year of low Nile.¹

The first editor of this text, Maspero, relying on the words 'King Hikmaṛēc . . . wears again the white crown, the Son of Rēc Ramesses has taken over the office of his father' not unnaturally interpreted it as an ode in honour of the King's accession. Under the text is the scribal docket: 'Written by the scribe Amennakhte of the (royal) tomb in year 4, Thoth, day 14.'² Since Professor Černý proved beyond reasonable doubt that Ramesses III died on Epiph 15 of his thirty-second year and that Ramesses IV acceded on the same day, it has been impossible to see the date of the scribal docket as that of an accession or its anniversary; much the most probable explanation is that it is simply the date on which the scribe copied the verses, as Černý suggested.³ But if so, this date has no bearing on the nature of the text, and Maspero's reasons for regarding it as an ode on the accession or its anniversary still seem valid.⁴ The proclamation of the amnesty on the anniversary of the accession in 197 B.C. is then linked firmly with Pharaonic practice both by the story of 'Onkhsheshonqy and the verses in praise of Ramesses IV. There is also a parallel in circumstance; for there can be no real doubt that Ramesses IV's amnesty was motivated by the desperate need to heal dynastic feuds and restore harmony after the trial, public condemnation, and execution of the Queen, Royal Prince, and notables accused of murdering Ramesses III in the famous 'harem conspiracy' proceedings, whatever the true history of those events may be.⁵

In Merneptah's hymn of victory on the 'Israel stela', the 'Lord of All' (*nb-r-dr*) says to the gods:

Give the scimitar to my son, the fair-minded, merciful and kindly Baenrēc Meriamūn, who cares for Memphis, who answers for Heliopolis, who has opened the towns which had been shut up. He has set free the many who were imprisoned in every district, he has given offerings to the temples, he has caused incense to be brought in before the god, he has caused the great to possess their property again, he has caused the poor to return to their cities.⁶

The combined acts of freeing prisoners, restoring property, and sanctioning the return of refugees mentioned here are reminiscent both of the Ramesses IV poem and of the Ptolemaic decrees. But consideration of the complete text of the stela makes it clear that these events were consequences of Merneptah's great victory over the Libyans, which would automatically have liberated besieged towns, freed the captives of the Libyans, and made possible the return of fugitives. This then cannot be reckoned a true case of amnesty; but it is nevertheless conceivable that the phraseology of this passage owes something to royal proclamations in which amnesty figured.

¹ Canopus, Greek text, 14-20.

² This date was interpreted by Maspero as that of Ramesses IV's accession to sole power after a co-regency, by Petrie (*History*, III, 167-8) as that of an anniversary of the accession, by Spiegelberg as that on which the return of the land to peace after disorders early in the reign was celebrated. ³ *ZÄS* 72, 109-15.

⁴ Note the introduction of the text by the phrase *hrw nfr*, which must refer specifically to some great public festival of rejoicing; it is the regular New-kingdom phrase for 'holiday'. That the accession and its anniversaries were regularly celebrated as public holidays is known from the diaries of the scribes of the necropolis workers (Černý, *ZÄS* 72, 112-14).

⁵ Literature quoted by Goedicke in *JEA* 49, 71-92; with his interpretations I can by no means agree.

⁶ Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 34, 5-6; text, ll. 15-17.

These cases make it clear that, however apocryphal Diodorus' account of the campaigns of 'Sesoosis' may be, he is recounting events in the following passage which fit well within traditional modes of Pharaonic behaviour:

He therefore showed kindnesses to everyone by all means at his disposal, winning some over by presents of money, others by gifts of land, and others by remission of penalties, and the entire people he attached to himself by his friendly intercourse and kindly ways; for he set free unharmed everyone who was held for some crime against the King and cancelled the obligation of those who were in prison for debt, there being a great multitude in the gaols.¹

The name 'Sesoosis' used by Diodorus is certainly a corruption of Sesostris; how far his semi-mythical figure is based on one of the historical Sesostris kings of the Twelfth Dynasty has been much argued. But the recall by Sesostris I (1971–1928 B.C.) of the exile Sinuhe, who had fled from the Egyptian court after the murder of Ammenemes I, as related in the famous story,² suggests that the conceptual basis for amnesty already existed in the Twelfth Dynasty; for individual pardons and general amnesties may have the same object if not the same scope. Indeed, since in Egyptian practice the political device of amnesty appears to fit specifically into the context of the king's obligation to the people to maintain the unity and prosperity of the Two Lands, undertaken at his accession to the Throne of Horus and renewed at intervals, it is conceivable that the ideal of beneficent rule informing amnesty, and perhaps even the rudiments of the practice itself, extend back much nearer to the foundation of the unified monarchy in Egypt.³ For this there is no direct evidence; but Professor Černý and fellow Egyptologists will be able to judge how well the practice fits the formal religious role of Pharaoh and what we know of Egyptian accession, coronation, and *hb-sd* rituals. At least the evidence suggests that Greek statecraft was in this instance fused by the Ptolemies with traditional Pharaonic custom.⁴ To Professor Černý, who has devoted his life to revealing the lives of the Egyptian people and the social and religious institutions by which they lived, I offer this further example of how those institutions influenced later practice.

¹ Diodorus I, 54, C. H. Oldfather's translation. Later, in an aetiological story to explain the existence of the Egyptian Babylon, Diodorus attributes to 'Sesoosis' the granting of an amnesty to Babylonian captives who had revolted against him (I, 56). This fits the pattern of Pharaonic amnesties much less well, as the essential point about these seems to be that they were boons done by Pharaoh to the people of Egypt, not to foreign captives.

² Sinuhe B165–200.

³ Anniversaries of the accession are recorded in the annals of the Thinite Kings, the earliest instance being in the reign of the Horus *Dr* (large Cairo fragment, obverse, register 2, year $x+6$). They occurred biennially with fair regularity from the time of the Horus *Mr-p-b* (large Cairo fragment, obverse, register 3, years 1, 3, 5, 7, 9) or possibly even earlier (Palermo fragment, obverse, register 2, years $x+12$, $x+14$).

⁴ A view earlier advocated with regard to the *philanthropa* by W. Schubart in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 12, 1–26; by A. J. Festugière in *Revue des Études grecques*, 53, 237–41; and by Cl. Préaux in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 19, 281–90; H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege in Altertum* (Utrecht, 1939), 391–400, emphasized Egyptian influence still more strongly. Contrast E. R. Goodenough in *Yale Classical Studies*, 1, 55–102. For reasons of space I have generally restricted references to primary sources: I acknowledge here my debt to the work of many scholars not quoted.

DIODORUS' ACCOUNT OF THE EGYPTIAN CANON

By ERIK IVERSEN

IN the entire Egyptological and art-historical literature dealing with the relations between Egyptian and Greek art, few passages have given rise to more discussions and comments than Diodorus' short remark on the sculptural canon of the Egyptians.

A brief account of a statue of the Pythian Apollo commissioned by the people of Samos from two sculptors, Telecles and Theodorus, who decided to execute it in accordance with the method of working generally followed by Egyptian artists, provided Diodorus with the opportunity to include a small digression on the Egyptian system of proportions in terms which have generally been considered vague and obscure. In Oldfather's authoritative edition and translation the passage runs:¹

παρ' ἐκείνους γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὄρασιν φαντασίας τὴν συμμετρίαν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων κρίνεσθαι, καθάπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τοὺς λίθους κατακλίνωσι καὶ μερίσαντες κατεργάσωνται, τὸ τηνικαῦτα τὸ ἀνάλογον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνεσθαι· τοῦ γὰρ παντὸς σώματος τὴν κατασκευὴν εἰς ἓν καὶ εἴκοσι μέρη καὶ προσέτι τέταρτον διαιρουμένους τὴν ὅλην ἀποδιδόναι συμμετρίαν τοῦ ζώου. διόπερ ὅταν περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους οἱ τεχνῖται πρὸς ἀλλήλους σύνθωνται, χωρισθέντες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων σύμφωνα κατασκευάζουσι τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἔργων οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ὥστε ἔκπληξιν παρέχειν τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς πραγματείας αὐτῶν.

For with them (i.e. the Egyptians) the symmetrical proportions of the statues are not fixed in accordance with the appearance they present to the artist's eye, as is done by the Greeks, but as soon as they lay out the stones and, after apportioning them, are ready to work on them, at that stage they take the proportions, from the smallest parts to the largest; for, dividing the structure of the entire body into twenty-one parts and one-fourth in addition, they separate and proceed to turn out the various sizes assigned to them, in such a way that they correspond, and they do it so accurately that the peculiarity of their system excites amazement.

It is typical of the general lack of attention paid by classical scholars to the results of Egyptological studies that Oldfather's sole comment on the passage is that no explanation of the twenty-one and one-fourth parts has been found in any modern author,² in spite of the fact that Lepsius in 1884 had already demonstrated the obvious connection between the twenty-one parts of Diodorus and the twenty-one squares into which the grids of the Late-Egyptian canon divide the human body from the sole of the feet to the canonical measuring-line passing through the root of the nose and the outer corner of the eye.³

¹ Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Oldfather, (Loeb, 1933), I, 98, 5-10.

² *Op. cit.* 338, n. 1.

³ R. Lepsius, *Die Längenmasse der Alten* (Berlin, 1884), 103.

The expression 'one-fourth in addition' he was unable to explain, but he pointed out that it certainly referred to the distance from the canonical measuring line to the crown of the head, which was separated from the canonical division of the rest of the body in order to avoid the difficulties which would otherwise arise from the varying dimensions of the different head-dresses, wigs, and crowns.

In the subsequent literature on the subject no author has been able to improve essentially upon Lepsius' interpretation; and since the unfortunate one-fourth has remained a stumbling block for the understanding of the text, it has by most scholars been dismissed as an error or a misunderstanding.¹ In the following we shall try to show not only that, properly understood and translated, Diodorus' statement is perfectly correct as it stands, but also that it contributes essentially to the understanding of the canonical problem.

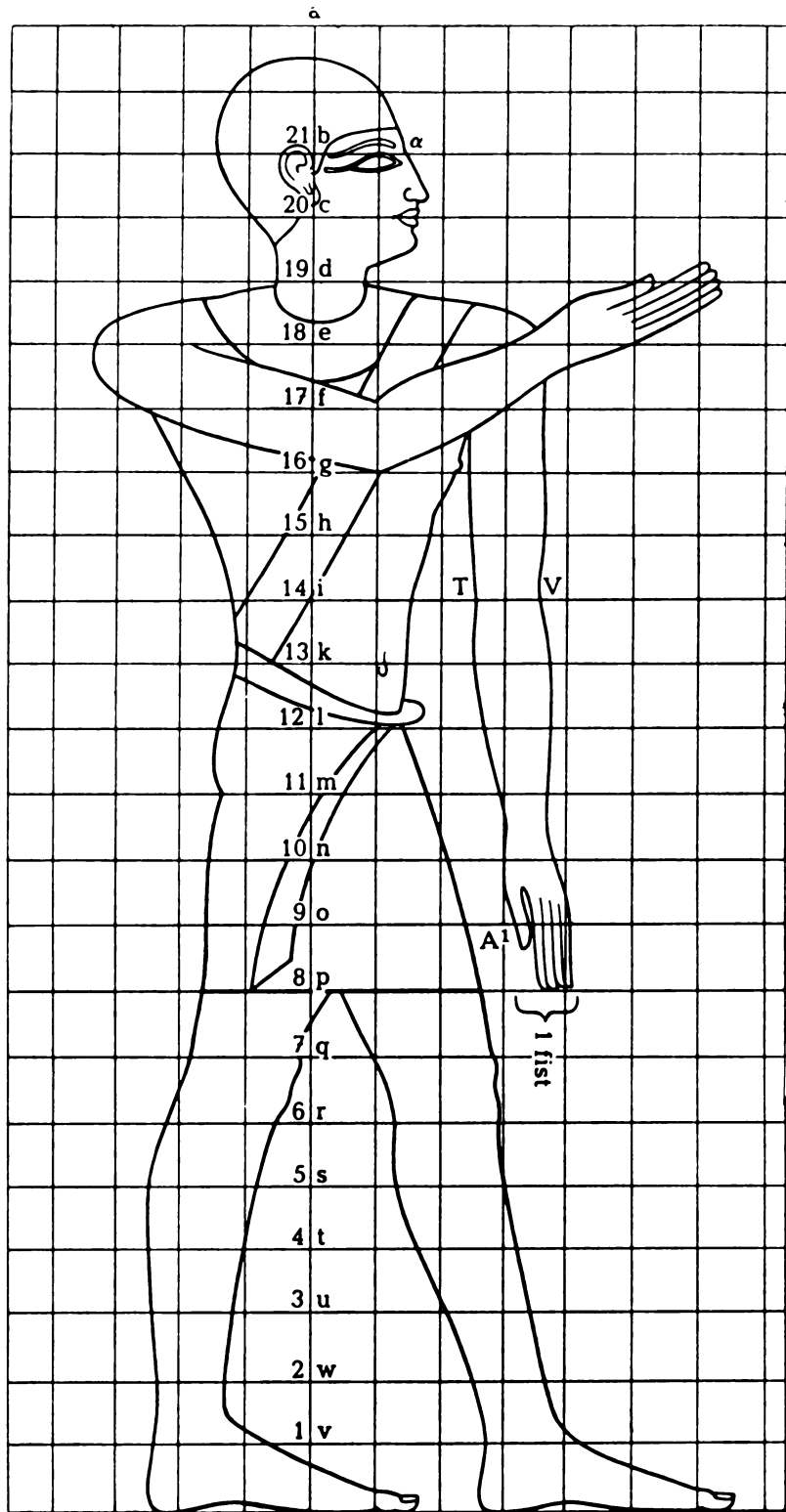
Before turning to the philological and canonical problems involved, attention must be drawn to one small point which is of basic importance for the understanding of Diodorus' account. We have already seen that the reason for the division of the body into two separate parts, the twenty-one squares dividing the body from feet to eye-line, and the supra-canonical distance from the eye to the crown of the head, was that the latter was a variable quantity changing with the various forms of head-dress. It is clear, therefore, that Diodorus' statement about the additional one-fourth cannot be taken as a general rule, but must necessarily refer to one particular type of representation, obviously that copied by the two artists; and having made this point clear we shall briefly consider some semasiological peculiarities of the word *τέταρτος* itself. That its basic meaning is one-fourth in the simple numerical sense of the word is beyond discussion, but a perusal of any major Greek dictionary will show that the word in special contexts had more closely defined and more specific meanings.²

In numismatic contexts it was used to signify the monetary unit of 'one quarter', that is one-fourth of one of the standard units of the monetary system. In metrological texts it was used as a measure of weight generally equivalent to one-quarter of the unit corresponding to the pound, and as a measure of capacity it was generally used as a quarter of the bushel or the gallon. As a measure of length we should therefore expect it to be used exactly as 'a quarter' in English with the meaning of one-fourth of the yard or the cubit; but owing to the ambiguity of the term, which frequently makes it difficult to decide when it should be translated numerically as 'one-fourth' or metrologically as 'a quarter', *τέταρτος* does not seem to be registered in the dictionaries as a specific measure of length. We shall see, however, that its very employment by Diodorus is a clear demonstration of the metrological significance of the word.

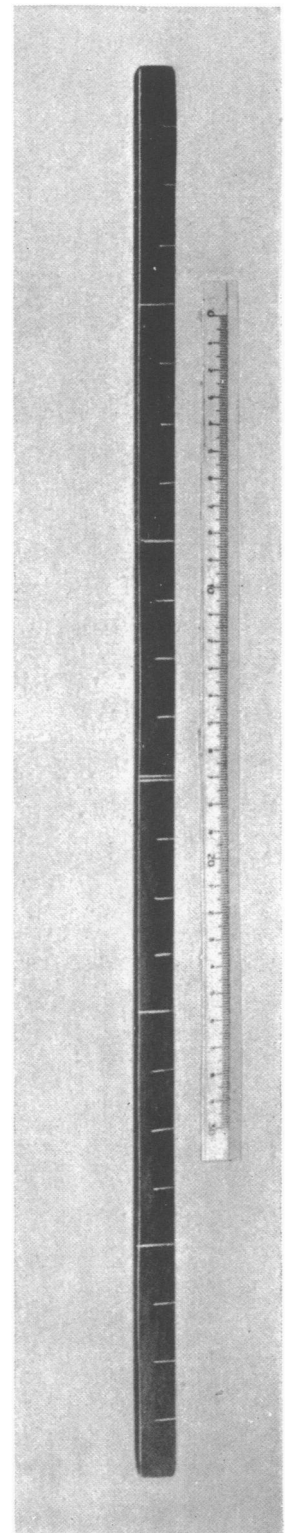
All commentators have agreed that when literally translated as 'one-fourth in addition' the phrase *προσέτι τέταρτον* is meaningless precisely because we are not told

¹ From an art-historical and canonical view-point the most fruitful contributions are Anthes' important paper 'Werkverfahren aegyptischer Bildhauer' in *MDAIK* 10 (1941), part 2, and Panofsky's 'The History of the Theory of Human Proportions as a Reflection of the History of Styles', in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York, 1955), p. 69 f.

² *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (Paris, 1831-65), VII, 2057; Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), 1779, s.v.



1. A canonical drawing (from Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VIII, III, 282)



2. A cubit-rod (Turin no. 6349)
(after *La Rivista R.I.V.* (Turin)
of May 11, 1961, p. 28)

from which unit this mysterious one-fourth is derived. If, however, we choose the second possibility, and in accordance with the metrological significance of the word translate it 'a quarter' the problem disappears completely and the passage becomes clear and unambiguous. We are quite simply told that in their canonical representations of the human body the Egyptians divided it into twenty-one parts, that is the twenty-one squares from the feet to the hairline, and then added on top of that (*πρόσσει*) the metrological unit of a quarter (*τέταρτος*) representing the supra-canonical distance from the eye to the crown of the head.

The entire statement is admirably illustrated by plate XXXIV, 1, a drawing preserved in its original grid, where the basic distance from the base to the eye (at 21b) is divided into 21 squares, and the supra-canonical distance from 21b to the crown of the head—representing the quarter of Diodorus—is $1\frac{1}{2}$ squares, but in order to make clear what induced Diodorus to identify this part with the quarter a few remarks on canon and metrology are indispensable. The constructional basis of the late canon was the so-called royal cubit which originally represented seven palms of the small cubit. As already pointed out by Lepsius this original division was at an uncertain date changed, and by analogy with the small cubit, the royal cubit was henceforward divided into six greater palms each representing $1\frac{1}{6}$ original handbreadths. That Lepsius's explanation of the metrological reform was correct is proved by the irrefutable evidence of actual cubit rods of which plate XXXIV, 2 shows a specimen from the museum at Turin.¹ It measures 520.936 mm in length, and must consequently represent a royal cubit; it will be seen to be divided into six parts, each representing one great handbreadth, which are in turn subdivided into four great fingers or digits.

In accordance with the general rules governing the relations between the canon and metrology, the anatomical identification of the great cubit should be the forearm from the elbow to the tip of the medius; this is confirmed by pl. XXXIV, 1 where this part (from TV to the line through 8p) is correctly divided into six parts by the grid. On the same figure the supra-canonical part of the head from the line at 21b to the crown of the head is divided into $1\frac{1}{2}$ squares. Since $1\frac{1}{2}$ is one-fourth of the six parts into which the forearm is divided, the supra-canonical part of the head is consequently one-fourth of the cubital arm-length, and represents therefore the metrological unit of one quarter, that is, one-fourth of the cubit.

Diodorus' statement is therefore absolutely correct, and should be interpreted in the following way: In their sculptural canon the Egyptians divided the structure of the entire body into twenty-one parts, adding on top of this division the metrological unit of one-quarter, that is one-fourth of the royal cubit, which was the basic constructional unit in the system of proportions of the Late Period.

This interpretation does not merely vindicate the reliability of Diodorus' account, but it also provides the important information that in the late canon the modulus of one square was certainly the great handbreadth of the royal cubit. It does not, however, solve the complicated problem of the nature of the late canon, many details of which

¹ No. 6349 in the *Catalogo del Museo di Torino*.

remain obscure, but it does show that my own very tentative proposal to correct the one-fourth of Diodorus into one-third was erroneous.¹ This proposal was based on an imperfect understanding of the nature of the royal cubit. On the other hand, it will be seen that the new interpretation strongly confirms the theory of the direct connection between canon and metrology, and it supports the basic definition of the canon as a system of proportions representing a standardization of the natural proportions of the human body, based on the anthropometric units of the established measure of length.

¹ *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art* (London, 1955), 50.

THE LABYRINTH ENIGMA: ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUGGESTIONS

By KAZIMIERZ MICHAŁOWSKI

My friendship of several decades with Jaroslav Černý was born in Egypt in the excavation areas of Deir el-Medîna and Edfu. He kept faith with philology, and I with archaeology. That is why, by virtue of a long-standing practice in excavation work, I take the liberty of dedicating to him the present archaeological suggestions.

Directly south of the pyramid of Ammenemes III at Hawâra are the scanty remains of what was allegedly one of the most splendid buildings of Ancient Egypt, arousing greater admiration in Greek travellers than the pyramids, i.e. the Labyrinth.¹ It seems that it was not a phonetic association with an Egyptian designation, but the complicated chamber arrangement by itself which suggested to Herodotus the name he gave this edifice, by association with the mythical Greek Labyrinth.

In present times only wide areas covered with broken limestone, fragments of limestone, and granite columns have remained; for beginning from the late Roman period this building became a huge quarry, supplying first of all raw material for lime-kilns subsequently discovered during modern excavations. The complex of the Labyrinth, which presumably extended as far as the canal mouth, was the subject of excavations undertaken by Petrie who, employing preserved fragments of columns and the few stone blocks, but above all on the basis of the descriptions given by Herodotus (II, 148) and Strabo (xvii, i, 37), reconstituted a part of the plan of this edifice. It is supposed to have included a great number of chambers, shrines, open courtyards, porticos and peristyles. Herodotus indicates that they numbered 1,500 subterranean chambers and 1,500 chambers above ground. They were grouped by threes or sixes, and every group had a courtyard surrounded on four sides by a portico. The entire complex of buildings was surrounded by an enclosure and ambulatory supported by columns. According to Strabo the chambers were covered by monolithic stone slabs, which also aroused the admiration of visitors. No materials, other than stone, were used for the building. According to Strabo every nome had a separate courtyard with chambers. Thus it would seem that it was an administrative and religious centre, in a word that this edifice was a sort of monument, a symbol of the geography of Egypt, erected by the rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty at the entrance to the Faiyûm oasis which they transformed into the main granary of the entire state.

What was this building essentially? The majority of investigators are inclined to

¹ Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*; id. *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*; id. *et al.*, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*.

consider it to have been the mortuary temple of Ammenemes III. Its dimensions (305 m. × 244 m.), embrace an area in which all the great temples of Karnak and Luxor could be accommodated; the extremely complicated system of chambers is, however, strikingly different from the systems found in the mortuary temples of earlier and later Egyptian rulers; the layout of these temples was designed to fulfil the requirements of the dead Pharaoh's cult. As a matter of fact Petrie found on the site of the Labyrinth fragments of statues of Sobk, H̄athor, the king, and two naoses; in 1895 a fine statue of Ammenemes III, now in the Cairo Museum, was found by chance in the vicinity. This statue is a real masterpiece of the Faiyûm School of sculpture, the distinctive characteristic of which was a far-reaching idealization of the kings' features.

Of late, some scholars¹ have tended to consider the Labyrinth a royal palace, a governmental centre for issuing orders, in the period of Ammenemes III. This point of view also is subject to serious doubt. The royal palaces were built as constructions of mud bricks, in which stone played only a subordinate role, except in the case of palace buildings adjoining a temple, where official etiquette required the ruler to show himself at the so-called 'window of appearance', from which he distributed to his subjects distinctions (necklaces etc.) for their merits; good examples are the palace of Ramesses III at Medînet H̄abu, and that of Sethos I at Abydos. They are, however, buildings made on an incomparably smaller scale than the Labyrinth, and created for specific *ad hoc* purposes. Should one believe Herodotus' words, the whole system of subterranean chambers, which allegedly lay beneath the ground-floor structure of the Labyrinth, seems incomprehensible in a palace.

If, therefore, one doubts the identification of the Labyrinth with the mortuary temple of Ammenemes III on the one hand and with his palace on the other hand, an explanation may emerge in which the two views can be reconciled; namely to accept this edifice as a palace at the temple, an association often found in Egypt. Thus, one part of the Labyrinth would be a mortuary temple and the other a palace. Apart from the fact that we have no archaeological evidence to support this suggestion, such a compromise solution will not stand up to criticism, if we take into account the very size of the edifice compared with other archaeological complexes of this category which have survived until our times.

Thus the possibility remains of interpreting this building as a monumental administrative centre, a complex of offices erected by Ammenemes III, the construction of which was, perhaps, begun by his predecessors, who had established their Residence and centre of administration in the Faiyûm, the economic base of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty. Is it possible that the royal residence called Itj-towy, of whose existence we know from texts, existed at that place? A fragment of an inscription carrying this name was also found at Hawâra; the position of Itj-towy, however, has so far not been identified.² A consideration of the political situation in the Middle Kingdom makes it reasonable to assume, on the one hand, that a centre of this sort

¹ E.g. Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte* (4th ed.), 254, and Daumas, *La Civilisation de l'Égypte pharaonique*, 82.

² Cf. W. K. Simpson, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 53 ff.

was established at a place situated almost at the border between Upper and Lower Egypt, a short distance from Memphis, the old capital; and on the other hand that, in view of the dissident tradition of the Heracleopolitan Dynasty, which no doubt still subsisted, such a centre would be designed to consolidate, in a monumental form, the unity of the State, the unity of all nomes subordinated to one ruler, forming one political organism firmly knitted together.

In fact, everything said so far accords with what we know of the history of those times, in respect of the aims of the internal policy of the Middle Kingdom; but there is no archaeological evidence to support the argument, and it is such evidence alone which could supply the final solution.

However, the purpose of the edifice called the Labyrinth is not the only problem connected with it which remains hypothetical. It is also difficult to imagine that a building erected during the Twelfth Dynasty could have survived to Strabo's times in an undamaged condition without receiving maintenance work of the kind effected by the Pharaohs on so large a scale on old buildings. We have, however, no detailed data on this subject.

There remains another possibility of attempting to solve the riddle of the Labyrinth. From the description by Herodotus who, apart from Strabo, is our main source concerning the exterior of the Labyrinth, it emerges that it was built by the Egyptian dynasts immediately after the driving out of the Ethiopian kings. That could therefore have been only under the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. In fact Herodotus' description of the accession to power of Psammetichus is in principle accepted by modern historians of Ancient Egypt.¹ It is remarkable that Egypt's economic condition in that period closely resembled that under the kings of the Middle Kingdom and, although the policy of the Saïte kings towards the Egyptian nobles took forms different from that of their Middle-Kingdom predecessors, it achieved the same aim, namely a new distribution of wealth in the feudal class. It is enough to mention here the income tax introduced by Amasis. It is, however, conceivable that such a monumental edifice as the Labyrinth, which must have entailed very high expense, could have been built in the Saïte Period. As we know, despite all internal and external troubles, at that time Egypt experienced economic prosperity. Herodotus (II, 175-80) wrote that under the reign of Amasis Egypt was very rich, and he enumerated the great number of buildings and monuments erected in that country by the king. Nobody else but Amasis substantially subsidized the reconstruction of Apollo's temple in Delphi.

The Saïte rulers were constrained to conduct an exceedingly elastic policy towards Upper Egypt. Even before the reign of Psammetichus I the problem arose of curbing the authority of Mentuemhat, the governor of Thebes, whose bias in favour of the preceding Ethiopian dynasty was beyond any doubt. We know that his most devoted dignitaries, holding the title *iry-prt hsty-c* used by the former nomarchs of the fortress south of Memphis, kept watch over the king's interests in the whole of Upper Egypt. One of them, Samtowe-tefnakhte, held the titles 'General of Heracleopolis' and 'Chief

¹ E.g. Drioton and Vandier, *op. cit.*, 575 ff.

of Boats'. At that time the princes at Heracleopolis had a privileged position, conceded to them by Psammetichus I.¹

Thus, the geographical position of Hawâra would, in principle, correspond to the location of such a centre of power at that time. The hypothesis could then be formulated that the Saïte kings who had to solve problems of state policy similar to those with which their predecessors of the Middle Kingdom were confronted, judged it to be proper, for both symbolical and practical reasons, to erect a monumental complex of buildings which on the one hand would be the symbol of the unity of the state, and on the other hand would exist for carrying out practical functions in the field of state administration just at the site where such a centre of power had existed in the time of the Middle Kingdom.

Such a presentation of the problem would explain many facts difficult to understand. The building of an architectural complex, admired by Herodotus and Strabo as a labyrinth, near the pyramid and mortuary temple of Ammenemes III, would explain why the building had such a size, the like of which was found nowhere else in Egypt; and in this edifice we would expect to see the mortuary temple of one ruler only! Moreover, it is hard to believe that so colossal an edifice could have lasted from the time of the Middle Kingdom until our era untouched, without any maintenance work. And, finally, we deem it now difficult to accept unreservedly the fact that nothing has remained of so huge a building apart from a field of rubble composed mostly of fragments of limestone and granite and the remains of some foundations. We have been accustomed to such a scene of ruins only in the case of the mighty temples of the Saïte Period, erected in such great numbers in the Delta. The white limestone of these temples was used in vast amounts in the late Roman and in the Christian Periods for burning lime, evidence for which is provided by the numerous lime-kilns found in the vicinity of nearly all limestone buildings, Hawâra not excepted.

Therefore, in order finally to solve the problem of the Labyrinth, which according to Montet² has yet to be discovered, and the remains of which may still be hidden in kôms scattered along the Faiyûm corridor, additional methodical excavations, based on all known archaeological and historical data, should be carried out in the Hawâra area.

¹ Cf. Kees, *Nachrichten . . . zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1935, pp. 98-9, 101; Griffith, *Cat. of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, III (Manchester, 1909), 72-7.

² *Dict. géogr.* II, 210-11.

IL LIBRO DEL RESPIRARE E UN SUO NUOVO
ESEMPLARE NEL PAPIRO DEMOTICO N. 766
DEL MUSEO EGIZIO DI TORINO

Di GIUSEPPE BOTTI

IL *Libro del respirare* è senza dubbio l'esponente più importante della letteratura funeraria, fiorita particolarmente a Tebe, fra il primo e secondo secolo dopo Cristo, o, secondo il Möller ('Eine neue demotische Erzählung', in *Amtl. Berichte aus den Königl. Kunstsammlungen* 39 (1918), 182) al principio del primo secolo av. Cr. Sonvi infatti in esso variamente associati fra loro, senza però ripetersi con un ordine prestabilito, elementi staccati dai *Testi delle Piramidi*, del *Libro dei morti*, con frasi e concetti che si incontrano già sulla stele e sarcofagi del Medio e Nuovo Regno, una specie di ripetizione quindi del *Libro dei morti* dell'epoca classica, dal quale sono poi derivati con diversi titoli, altri testi religiosi funerari, quasi per dare — e sembra una predilezione dell'epoca in cui furono scritti — sapore di novità a concetti antichi.

Basterà citare come esempio, il Papiro ieratico di Vienna n. 29, comprendente il *Libro per trascorrere l'eternità*, edito dal von Bergmann, nei *Sitzungsberichte Wien. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse* 1877, 369-412, corrispondente al testo geroglifico della stele del Vaticano n. 126, tradotta dal Wreszinski (cf. *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 111 sgg., tav. V, e successivamente da Botti-Romanelli, in *Le sculture del Museo egizio Vaticano*, 79-83, tav. LXI), e il Papiro ieratico del Museo di Parma n. 107, che porta il titolo *Il Libro per entrare nel mondo sotterraneo e per arrivare nella sala della Verità*, edito dal Botti, in *I cimeli egizi del Museo di antichità di Parma*, 56-9, tavv. XIII-XIV.

Nel testo ieratico, il *Libro del respirare* fu conosciuto per la prima volta dalla pubblicazione del Denon, *Voyage en Égypte*, tav. 136, riprodotto da Francesco Fontani nell'opera *Viaggio nel Basso e Alto Egitto*, illustrato dietro le tracce e disegni del Denon, (Firenze, 1808) tavv. 134-5, al quale poi si sono riferiti Domenico Valeriani e Gerolamo Segato nell'opera loro analoga *Atlante monumentale del Basso e dell'Alto Egitto*, II (Firenze, 1837), tav. 59 D.

Ebbe la sua prima edizione da parte del Brugsch, che lo ricavò da un manoscritto del Museo di Berlino, tradotto in latino, col titolo *Shai-en-sinsin, sive Metempsychosis veterum Aegyptiorum* etc. (Berlino, 1851), con l'aggiunta in fine di un facsimile, in scrittura molto corsiva, del testo del Denon. Nella sua integrità fu poi trascritto e analizzato dal de Horrak, *Le Livre des respirations d'après les manuscrits du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1877), con la riproduzione sulle tavole dei Papiri n. 3284 e 3291, il primo dei quali interamente studiato, e con l'aggiunta in basso delle varianti dei Papiri 3166, 3126, 3158, 3181 dello stesso Museo, pure elencati, insieme con gli altri

contenenti il medesimo testo dal Deveria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens etc.* (Paris, 1881), 130-7, n. IV, 1-11. Da tutti questi testi sono sostanzialmente derivati anche i due Papiri Rhind (cf. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg*, testo e atlante, Leipzig, 1913), dei quali, quello in demotico, per il *Libro del respirare*, è un documento ben rappresentativo.

Riconosciuto il testo nella sua compiutezza, come suddiviso in Libro primo e secondo, ebbe per il Libro primo le seguenti edizioni: Pellegrini, 'Il Libro primo della respirazione' (Papiro Firenze n. 3665) nei *Rendiconti Acc. Naz. dei Lincei, classe scienze mor.-stor.-filol.*, Serie V, 13 (1904, 87-104; per il Libro secondo: Pierret, con l'edizione del Papiro del Louvre 3148, in *Ét. Ég.* 1, 47; Chassinat, 'Le Livre second des respirations' nella *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1895; Pellegrini, 'Il Libro (secondo) della respirazione (Papiro Firenze n. 3662)' in *Bessarione* 1904, fasc. 75-7, 310-21; 49-57; 147-58.

Per l'affinità di contenuto con questo secondo *Libro del respirare* si possono aggiungere anche gli altri, impropriamente denominati *Le Livre égyptien que mon nom fleurisse*, pubblicati dal Lieblein (Leipzig, 1895).

Un'edizione del testo *The Book of Breathings* fu pure data dal Budge, in *appendice* al *The Book of the Dead* (London, 1898), Translation, pp. CXCv-CCII, facsimile, tav. XVII, Text, 508-17.

Per il ricorso del testo in demotico (papiri, sarcofagi, etichette di mummie) si confronti Spiegelberg, *Eigennamen*, 12-13. Si deve ora aggiungere anche l'ostraco n. 672 della collezione di Uppsala, pubblicato dal Wängstedt in *Orientalia Suecana* 6 (1957), 9-13. Per il suo contenuto, tale *Libro del respirare* è inoltre molto vicino agli altri testi del *Libro dei morti*, scritti pure in demotico, più conosciuti, e precisamente: il *Totenbuch der Pariser Nationalbibliothek*, edito dal Lexa (Leipzig, 1910); il *Papiro di Berlino* n. 8351, tavv. 83-6 della pubblicazione ufficiale; i Papiri editi dallo Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyrus der Strassburger Bibliothek*, tav. XI; dal Revillout, *Corpus papyrorum*, I, 28, 29; dal Brugsch, *Grammaire démotique*, tav. X sgg; nonché il Papiro n. 3452 del Louvre, edito dal Legrain, contenente *Le Livre des transformations* (Paris, 1890), il cui argomento è uguale a quello del Papiro ieratico n. 3162 del Museo di Berlino, pubblicato dal Kamenetzki, in *OLZ* 17 (1914), coll. 97-102, 145-54.

L'esemplare nuovo che la squisita cortesia del prof. S. Curto, Soprintendente del Museo egizio di Torino, mi consente di pubblicare, è stato da me rinvenuto, dimenticato in fondo a un cassetto del pancone-armadio della papiroteca, ancora in rotolino, simile a un piccolo sigaro toscano, quando, nel luglio 1948, per benevola concessione dell'amico prof. E. Scamuzzi, allora Soprintendente del Museo, potei sistemare tutto il prezioso materiale demotico (papiri, ostraca, oggetti vari) esistente in Torino. Non appena sviluppato dalla ben nota e riconosciuta perizia della signorina Erminia Caudana, il rotolino risultò subito un ottimo acquisto per il Museo, contenendo esso il *Libro del respirare*, del quale il Museo torinese non possedeva alcun esemplare. E poiché anche ora, pur a distanza di tanti anni dalla scoperta, rimane un *unicum* del genere, mi torna sommamente gradito presentarne la pubblicazione, in omaggio al doveroso tributo di riconoscenza, stima ed affetto, reso al carissimo amico prof.

J. Černý: non solo per ricordargli il Museo di Torino, a Lui ben noto e caro, dove, in anni ormai lontani, lavorammo con entusiasmo molto spesso insieme; ma anche per testimoniargli, ancora una volta, in forma tangibile, i sensi della mia più viva e sincera gratitudine per quanto ho ricevuto da Lui nella mia formazione scientifica.

Il Papiro — Descrizione

(Cf. tav. XXXV, recto A, ll. 1-30; B, ll. 1-6; verso, ll. 1-2)

Alto m. 0,309, largo m. 0,225, nel suo insieme può considerarsi discretamente conservato, poiché le lacerazioni e mancanze che presenta riguardano solo l'inizio delle prime otto linee della prima pagina del testo, le linee 22-25 poco dopo il loro inizio, e diverse altre perdite non troppo rilevanti nelle linee 15-18. Le rotture che si riscontrano sotto il testo recto B non lo danneggiano in alcun modo. Il colore è nocciola, la fibra consistente, la scrittura minuta di un inchiostro nero intenso, omogeneo, ma non troppo accurata; la distanza fra linea e linea quasi costantemente di mezzo centimetro. Si compone di recto e verso. Il recto è occupato da due pagine di testo; quella a destra A, in colonna verticale con 30 linee; quella a sinistra B, in linee orizzontali solo di sei. Il verso presenta solo due linee, l'una distanziata dall'altra: quella a destra, recante il titolo del Libro; quella a sinistra, ma incompleta, comprendente il nome dello scriba. Entrambe si trovano in direzione orizzontale al lato sinistro del resto di tutta la pagina antistante, interamente bianca.

Il Papiro è dedicato alla memoria di Paternuthis, menzionato con il nome della madre Senchonsis (recto A, ll. 20, 29-30), ma senza alcun titolo. Le linee del recto A (1-12) contengono una preghiera, in suo favore, senza che sia espressamente indicata, a Osiris, ricordato con i suoi titoli per i luoghi di culto più conosciuti in Egitto, di altri minori della zona menfita, donde il papiro proviene, e di altri ancora, in cui il Dio era venerato nel mondo sotterraneo. Nella preghiera (ll. 13-15), il dio è associato anche a Ptah-Sokaris. Successivamente alla preghiera, si accenna in forma molto concisa, a una cerimonia di purificazione da compiersi con la testa rasa per Anubis (ll. 16-18), per gli dei e i corpi dei morti della Terra dell'Occidente (l. 19), per il defunto (l. 20), il suo Ka (l. 21), conclusa con l'invocazione (ll. 24-30 — le precedenti linee 21-23 sono lacunose), rivolta a Anubis, Hathor, agli Eletti divinizzati insieme con gli Dei, di concedere al cadavere del defunto di ringiovanire.

Nella pagina seconda del recto B (ll. 1-6) è contenuto il vero e proprio *Libro del respirare*, con le consuete formule augurali relative alla seconda vita del defunto nel mondo dell'al di là, quale compimento della preghiera rivolta ad Osiris, Ptah-Sokaris, e dei riti compiuti, indicati nella pagina A. Riguardo alla provenienza del Papiro, per la più volte riferita menzione del dio Rē^c (nessun accenno ad Amone anche nei nomi propri), l'associazione di Osiris con Ptah-Sokaris (ll. 13-15), la menzione delle caverne, situate nella zona di Memphis, oltre che per la forma della scrittura, assai diversa da quella più chiara e marcata dei testi tebanici si deve ritenere sicura dall'ambito menfita.

Quanto alla datazione, per il suo particolare contenuto, uguale a testi congeneri ben datati, la figliazione del defunto col nome della madre, la mancanza del suo titolo

religioso di 'osiris', ci si riporta ad epoca assai tarda, a quella romana, del primo secolo e forse anche secondo dopo Cristo.

Trascrizione, pagina prima recto A (cf. tav. XXXV, 1)

1. [tj(=j)]^a rn^b n Wsir hntē Imnte ntr ɔ nb Tt^c
2. [tj(=j)] rn n Wsir ntr ɔ nb 'Ibt hntē T3-tsr^d
3. [tj(=j)] rn n Wsir ntr ɔ nb Wp-hwn^e hntē Ssnw^f
4. [tj(=j)] rn n Wsir ntr ɔ Nn3wlf^g m Tt
5. [tj(=j)] rn n Wsir ntr ɔ m 'Iwnw
6. tj(=j) rn n Wsir-Skr hntē Pr-sdr^h
7. tj(=j) rn n Wsir-Spⁱ bjn m 'Iwnw
8. tj(=j) rn n Wsir ɔ n Dm^{cj} hntē 3mm^k
9. tj(=j) rn n Wsir hntē Imnte ntr ɔ nb Sjwt^l
10. tj(=j) rn n Wsir nb Kzwsb^m
11. tj(=j) rn n Wsir nb Hntē Tt-pr-Rc^m
12. tj(=j) rn n Wsir nb Wn-rc^m
13. tj(=j) rn n Pth-Skr-Wsirⁿ n s·t Imnte
14. tj(=j) rn n Pth-Skr-Wsirⁿ n Pr-sw^m
15. [tj(=j)] rn n Pth-Skr-Wsirⁿ m-b3h h·t n Rc
16. [mhl]^o n Inp ɔ n H[...]^p
17. mh[l]^q n Inp [imj-]^rwjt hntē Ssnw^f
18. mhl [n] Inp hn[te] T3-tsr^d
19. mhl n n3 ntr·w hnc ht·w^s ip m Imnte
20. mhl n Pa-Rmwte^t ms n T3-šr·t-(n)-Hns^w
21. mhl n K3 (m) p·t iw h·t=f m Imnte
22. mhl [.]^{tt} 3mh-rs^v
23. n3 ntr·w 3mh-dw3·t
24. 3mh i Inp i
25. H·t-Hr [.] nt swg
26. i hn[te]·w i wj·w^w n m3c·t i
27. m-b3h nkt·w P3-rc^x i n3 ntr·w^y nt htp hnc
28. n3 ntr·w it·w-ntr mj tj=tn
29. rpj m h·t Pa-Rmwte
30. ms (n) T3-šr·t-(n)-Hns^w

Traduzione, pagina prima recto A

1. [Rivolgo (io)] preghiera a Osiris, il primo dell'Occidente, dio grande, signore di Busiris.
2. [Rivolgo (io)] preghiera a Osiris, dio grande, signore di Abydos, il primo della Necropoli.
3. [Rivolgo (io)] preghiera a Osiris, dio grande, signore del Wep-hun, il primo in Sesennu (Hermopolis).
4. [Rivolgo (io)] preghiera a Osiris di Nenaulef, in Busiris.
5. [Rivolgo (io)] preghiera a Osiris, dio grande, in Heliopolis.
6. Rivolgo (io) preghiera a Osiris-Sokaris, il primo in Perseder.

7. Rivolgo (io) preghiera a Osiris-Sepa, la Fenice, in Heliopolis.
8. Rivolgo (io) preghiera a Osiris, grande in Djeme, il primo in Amem.
9. Rivolgo (io) preghiera a Osiris, il primo dell'Occidente, dio grande, signore di Siut.
10. Rivolgo (io) preghiera a Osiris, signore di Kusba.
11. Rivolgo (io) preghiera a Osiris, signore Di Tatperrē.
12. Rivolgo (io) preghiera a Osiris, signore di Wenrē.
13. Rivolgo (io) preghiera a Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris nella sede dell'Occidente.
14. Rivolgo (io) preghiera a Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris in Persu.
15. [Rivolgo (io)] preghiera a Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris davanti al tempio di Rē.
16. [Testa rasa] per Anubis, grande in Ch[...].
17. Testa [rasa] per Anubis, [che è] nell'imbalsamazione, il primo di Sesennu (Hermopolis).
18. Testa rasa per Anubis, il primo della Necropoli.
19. Testa rasa per gli Dei, insieme con i corpi enumerati nell'Occidente.
20. Testa rasa per Patermuthis, partorito da Senchonsis.
21. Testa rasa per il (suo) Ka nel cielo, essendo giunto il corpo suo nell'Occidente.
22. Testa rasa caverna del sud.
23. Gli Dei caverna della Dat.
24. Caverna o Anubis, o
25. Hat[-hor,], che è stolto.
26. O (voi) che siete i primi, o (voi) grandi nella Verità, (o voi)
27. davanti alla potenza di Phrē, o Dei che riposaste insieme
28. con gli Dei padri divini, concedete voi
29. di ringiovanire al corpo di Patermuthis,
30. partorito da Senchonsis.

Trascrizione, pagina seconda recto B (cf. tav. XXXV, 1)

1. *mte=f swr wnm irm n3 ij·wz 3kr·w hr t3 htp·taa c3·t t3 n km3·ib^{bb} mte=f šc·ij^{cc} irm*
2. *n3 nt m3c·t m wc (n) P3·rc nt m-s3 šbc n špe n h3wj mte t3 ntr (n) Pj^{dd} tj r·r=f mw n p3 hrw n ij r t3 inj·t^{ee}*
3. *mte=f šp t3 iw·t hn p3 wtn n hh^{ff} n p3 hrw n tj jr r Dm^c mte=w tj n=f rt·wj·te=f*
4. *hn Imnte hr ššc·ij hn t3 wsh·t m3c·tj·w mte=w ššc=f n dr·te Dhwtj^{gg} hr*
5. *n3 mnh·w r·ir=f hrp3 t3 mte=w tj r·r=f tj·t^{hh} ph nh·te m-b3h p3 nb ntr·w mte=f ir šrⁱⁱ n p3 m3c*
6. *nt šcšc*

Traduzione, pagina seconda recto B

1. E possa egli bere, mangiare, insieme con gli spiriti luminosi, perfetti, sulla tavola grande di offerte, quella del Creatore del cuore. Ed egli possa camminare insieme con
2. coloro che sono nella Verità, come uno di Phrē, che è al seguito della ricompensa del dono del Venerando. E la dea di Buto dia a lui l'acqua per il giorno dell'andare sopra la pietra.
3. Ed egli prenda (assuma) il compito (suo) dentro la barca dell'infinito, nel giorno di attraversare il fiume verso Djeme. E siano dati a lui i piedi suoi
4. nell'Occidente, per arrivare nella sala dei Giustificati (o della Doppia Verità), e lo si lodi per mezzo della parola di Thoth, per
5. le opere buone (i benefici) che egli fece sulla terra; e sia concesso a lui di poter raggiungere la salvezza davanti al signore degli Dei, e possa egli diventare figlio del luogo (della sede)
6. che è di lode.

Trascrizione e traduzione del verso (cf. Tav. XXXV, 2)

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Tj šr·t n snsn^{jj}</i> | 1. Il Libro del respirare |
| 2. <i>m-tj^{kk} šh Pj-hj-n-tj·wj^{ll}</i> | 2. da parte dello scriba Pachientau |

Note

a. Questa integrazione sino alla linea 5, come per la linea 15 è sicura, perché confermata dall'inizio integro del testo delle linee 6-14.

b. Non deve qui essere considerato sino alla linea 15, come sostantivo, bensì quale verbo, con il significato di pregare, rivolgere preghiera a, preceduto dal causativo *tj*, e col soggetto sottinteso (=j). Cf. in proposito Griffith, *Rylands*, III, 322, con il rinvio al parallelo di *hs* e *dwr* in Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, tav. XIII F, ultima linea orizzontale; Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 243.

c. Tale nome è trascritto Tat nella bilingue di Leida VII, 2 e, XVIII, 7; Tatāt invece nella bilingue di Londra VII, 8.

d. Designazione generica della Necropoli (cf. *Wb.* v, 228, *tj-dsr*) della quale con Osiris, erano 'signori' Anubis, qui menzionato alla linea 18, e il Wepwawet.

e. A causa del determinativo, non sembra doversi qui trattare di una località, bensì di un appellativo dato a Osiris, forse corrispondente a 'colui che dischiude la giovinezza', e in relazione col testo 'signore del dischiudere (aprire) la giovinezza'.

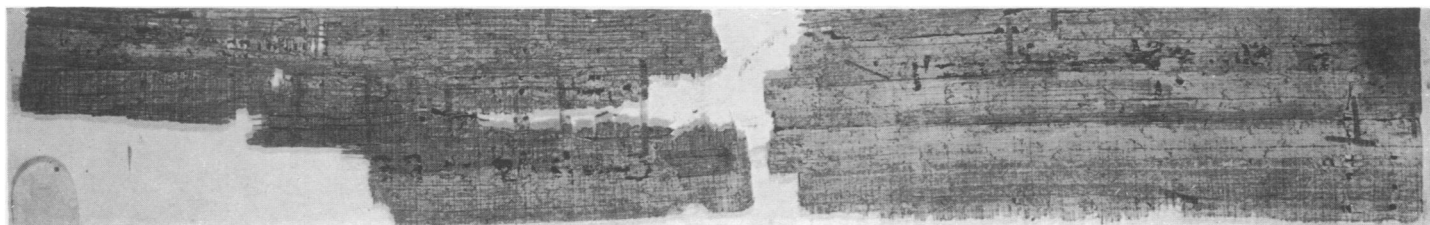
f. La grafia del nome obbliga la lettura in tal modo, perché in luogo della grafia di epoca-tardiva $\parallel \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \circ$ e varianti, che doveva essere considerata per la lettura uguale a *Hmnw* (cf. Brugsch, *ZÄS* 12, 140 e; *Reise nach der Grossen Oase*, 34 sgg.; Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, IV, 176), il primo *s* è dato con $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ togliendo in tal modo la possibilità di uguaglianza di lettura con *Hmnw*, in cui i due $\parallel \parallel$ potevano essere semplici esponenti grafici a indicare i due quattro $\equiv \circ \equiv$ componenti il nome della città dell'Ogdoade, corrispondente a Hermopolis, la ben conosciuta località del Medio Egitto. Ma non a tale località deve riferirsi la menzione del Papiro, bensì, provenendo esso, dalla zona menfita deve richiamarsi all'altra Hermopolis del Basso Egitto, situata nella regione compresa fra Memphis e Heliopolis, e più precisamente a Letopolis, capitale del 2° nomo del Basso Egitto (cf. Gauthier, op. cit. v, 62), località alla quale già si era riferito il Daressy in *BIFAO* 12, 25-26 a proposito della sua menzione nel *Libro dei morti*, cap. 125. Già Strabone, conosceva tre Hermopolis nel Delta (XVII, 19 cf. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, I, 138).

g. Località, denominata in demotico anche Nenrudef (cf. Budge, *Book of the Dead*, III, 155, 171), presso Heracleopolis Magna, ben conosciuta per un sepolcro che ivi esisteva di Osiris (cf. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 346-7). Per la lettura e varietà del suo nome nonché per il suo significato, cf. pure Gauthier, op. cit. III, 66-67. Nel *Wb.* I, 11 e II, 196, il suo nome è dato *n jr·f*.

h. Per tale località, probabilmente sita nella stessa zona menfita, in cui, nel culto, Osiris è associato con Sokaris, denominata dal riposo del dio, si confronti uguaglianza di espressione nel Papiro di Berlino 8351, 3, 10, *pj jr·wj n sdr·t Wsir*, la casa del riposo di Osiris (Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 481).



1. Recto



2. Verso

i. Nome di una particolare divinità funeraria (*Todtenbuch*, 17, 33; 75, 80; per le località del suo culto, cf. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géogr.*, 1325) qui associata con Osiris, come nella stele del Cairo 31122, 1. 2, e denominato quindi la Fenice in Heliopolis.

j. Tale denominazione si riferisce al complesso della zona di tutti i monumenti all'ovest di Tebe, Medînet Habu in prima linea (cf. Winlock and Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, 1 (New York, 1926), 4; Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (*Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1929, n. 108), 53-4).

Il complesso monumentale di tale zona era denominato dai Greci τὰ Μεμνόνεια o τὰ Μεμνόνα (cf. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géogr.* VI, 65-66).

k. Località situata nella zona menfitica, oppure anche sacra ad Osiris, nel mondo sotterraneo.

l. La capitale del XIII nomo dell'Alto Egitto (cf. Gauthier, op. cit. v, 3-4; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 74*, 75*).

m. Tale località, per quanto mi consti non altrimenti conosciuta, deve considerarsi molto probabilmente, come già Perseder, alla linea 11, situata nella zona menfitica, oppure sacra ad Osiris, nel mondo sotterraneo.

n. Questa associazione di Osiris a formare la triade menfitica è altro sicuro elemento per la precisazione della provenienza del Papiro.

o. Per il confronto del testo integro delle linee seguenti 17-22, l'integrazione è sicura.

p. Qui invece le tracce rimaste non consentono integrazione.

q. Tale indicazione assai concisa (ll. 16-22) vuol evidentemente significare una cerimonia di purificazione da compiersi dai sacerdoti, secondo le prescrizioni rituali nelle onoranze rese ai defunti. Quanto alla voce *mhl* (più in uso *mhl*, *ⲙⲉⲣⲏⲗ*), cf. Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 171; Crum, *Coptic Dict.* 211 b; Spiegelberg, *Kopt. Handwörterbuch*, 70.

r. Lo spazio vuoto si presta a completare il titolo rituale di Anubis.

s. Cioè i corpi dei defunti già residenti nell'Occidente.

t. Non mi consta di aver incontrato tale nome in testi demotici. Ben conosciuto invece è in geroglifico (cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 109, n. 17, e in greco Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, col. 286).

u. Per la filiazione indicata solo col nome della madre, che bene caratterizza per il suo ritorno all'antico, anche l'età del papiro, cf. Lieblein, op. cit. passim, e Deveria, op. cit. 130-64.

v. Cf. per la ubicazione di tale località, Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géogr.* 37, e in genere per la voce *smh* (ibid. 36-37), riferentesi a località tutte situate nella zona di Memphis, la provenienza del papiro. Cf. pure Gauthier, op. cit. I, 77.

w. In luogo di *rw-w* (cf. Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 98).

x. Cioè gli eletti, accolti nella barca del Sole, durante il suo viaggio.

y. Ossia i defunti divinizzati insieme con gli Dei veri e propri, menzionati nella linea seguente.

z. In luogo di *ihj-w*, cf. Erichsen, op. cit. 18 e 42.

aa. La tavola rituale davanti a Osiris (cf. *Pap. Rhind*, Glossar n. 285, e per il testo, Spiegelberg, *Eigennamen*, 10, 3), non la tavola abituale con sopra i doni per i defunti.

bb. Appellativo di Osiris.

cc. Verbo composto in scrittura inetimologica per *šm-ij*. Cf. Lexa, *Grammaire démotique*, 807, n. 1, e Index, 1118-19.

dd. La protettrice della città di Pj, cioè Buto, la dea settentrionale del Delta.

ee. Questa cerimonia indicata nel *Todtenbuch* del Naville 172, 41-42, è pure ricordata sulla stele di Firenze, n. 2567 (cf. Bosticco, *Stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno*, n. 32, 38-39, in cui è detto del defunto: 'Tu lavi i tuoi piedi in una conca di argento sopra un basamento di turchese'. Si noti *inj-t* al femminile.

ff. Più usata l'espressione *hh rnp-t*=milioni di anni.

gg. Il *Libro del respirare*, come è riferito nel Papiro demotico di Pamonthes (Lexa, op. cit. I, 8, 1; I, 9; II, 8, 1), fu appunto composto dal dio Thoth per la protezione dei defunti.

hh. Per tale costruzione dell'infinito *tj-t* con la forma *stm-f* del verbo *ph* in luogo del causativo classico, cf. Lexa, *Grammaire démotique*, §§ 402-3; Index, 1142 e 1444.

ii. Si noti la singolare grafia.

jj. Si confronti la ripetuta indicazione di tale titolo del Libro presso Lexa, op. cit. 384, n. 4; 434, n. 1; 490, n. 2; 720, n. 7.

kk. Per tale espressione, cf. Spiegelberg, *Dem. Grammatik*, § 375.

ll. Sembrami che i singoli caratteri, anche se alquanto distanziati fra loro, possano dare tale trascrizione.

Aggiunta

E sembrami che al carissimo Amico, fra i motivi di sincera gioia procuratigli in questo suo anno giubilare, possa anche aggiungersi quello di sapere finalmente iniziata la tanto desiderata pubblicazione ufficiale del catalogo del Museo di Torino (cf. Botti, *L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh*, serie prima, Monumenti e Testi, I, testo (VIII-278); tavole (I-L). Firenze, 1967), per la continuazione del quale pure a Lui é già stato riservato un assai numeroso e quanto mai importante materiale di studio.

TWO DEMOTIC HOROSCOPES





















By O. NEUGEBAUER AND RICHARD A. PARKER

ONLY a relatively small number of demotic horoscopes is known, and it is therefore not surprising that each new one presents us with terminological difficulties besides new insights. The date for which a horoscope was cast may, of course, by some years, or even decades, precede the date when it was computed and written down. In this sense all dates mentioned in the following can only be taken as upper limits. Of the two new horoscopes published here the first one, cast for May 4, 38 B.C., is now the earliest demotic horoscope.¹ It was identified by Professor Černý in Oxford and kindly put at our disposal for publication. It is a pleasure for us to have that publication appear in the present volume.

A group of demotic horoscopes is dated to the years A.D. 13, 17, 18, and 35.² Then follows the second new horoscope, cast for February 27, A.D. 57. It was found in the collection of the Berlin Museum by Dr. Sten V. Wängstedt, who also generously turned it over to us for publication. The latest horoscopes from Egypt are found on the coffin lid of Heter³ (cast for A.D. 93, written A.D. 125) and in the 'zodiac tomb' of Athribis, cast for A.D. 141 and 148 respectively.⁴

We are grateful to the authorities of the Ashmolean and Berlin Museums for permission to publish the two ostraca.

O. Ashmolean (pl. XXXVI, 2)

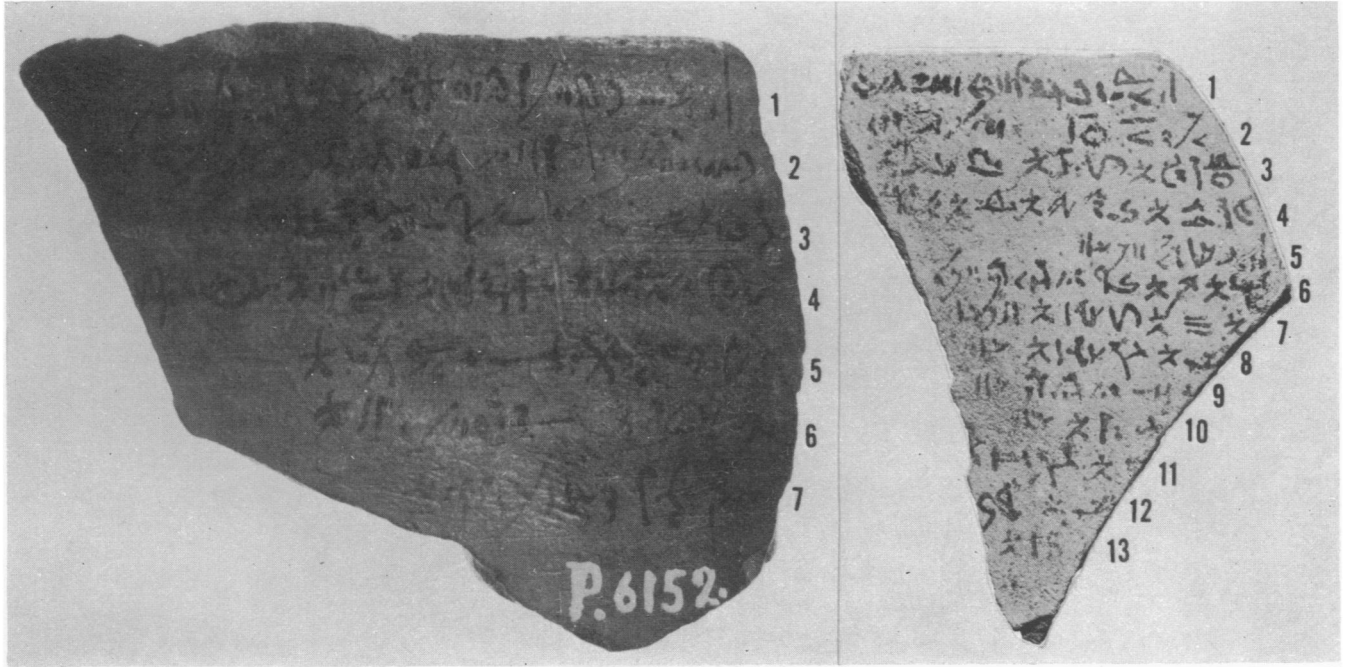
1. *hst-sp*  *n t; Pr-ct IIII prt*
2. *sw 22*  *slns*
3.   *4*   ***
4.   *20½* . . . ***  *6*  *W*
5. *hst-sp I4 I* (*\$mw*) *sw 4 iw.f* . . .
6.  ***  *25 try.f dnit hc.f iw.f mwt*
7. [. . .] ***  *4*  *iw.f wsh*
8. [. . .]  *19*  *...*
9. [. . . .] *** *7 try.f dnit hc.f* . . .
10. [.] *10*  *...*
11. [.] *** *19*  *...*
12. [.]  ***  *W*

¹ The earliest Greek horoscope from Egypt (BGU 957) was cast for August 14, 10 B.C., cf. Neugebauer and van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, 16, and *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, 108 (1964), 66, for the chronological distribution in general.

² Cf. Neugebauer, *JAOs* 63 (1943), 120.

³ Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, 115.

⁴ The dates given in Petrie's publication, A.D. 52 and 59, are wrong as we shall show in detail in the third volume of our *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*.



1. O. Berlin P. 6152

2. O. Ashmolean

TWO DEMOTIC HOROSCOPES

13. [.] ☉ | ★

1. Year . . . of the Queen (Cleopatra VII), IIII *pri*,
2. day 22, day of the moon (σελήνης).
3. Sun: Taurus 4; Jupiter in ([*m*]-*hnr*) Cancer.
4. Moon: Capricorn 20½; . . . : Libra 6, midheaven:
5. Year 14, I <*šmw*>, day 4, it being
6. Midheaven: Sagittarius 25. His own lot, he being dead.
7. [Saturn]: Aquarius 4. A centre, 'added'.
8. [The ascendant]: Pisces 19. A centre
9. [Mars: Taurus] 7. His own lot
10. [Venus: Aries] 10. Jupiter
11. [The descendant: Virgo] 19
12. [.] Pisces, Scorpio.
13. [.] A centre.

Notes

The writing throughout is a mixture of demotic and hieratic.

L. 1. We have no idea how to interpret the word after *hst-sp*. The reading can be *šsp*, 'receive', or possibly *wdi*, 'place, throw, etc', but if there is some historical allusion here it escapes us.—For the identification of the Queen see the commentary.

L. 2. It is possible to take *nt* as the element added to certain days of the lunar month (*Wb*. II, 118), specifically the sixth and the fifteenth days. Another possibility is to take it as *nt(y)* and the stroke over ☉ as *ꞏ* (for *m*) and translate, 'which is a day of the moon'. In any event it is clear that we are concerned with a lunar date.

L. 3. For the reading of ☊ as Jupiter see Neugebauer, *JAOs* 63 (1943), Pl. 4.—Cancer is written with the demotic *hpr* for the beetle, itself a substitute for the crab, see Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, pl. 2.—The scribe omitted the numeral at the end of the line.

L. 4. *Hr* for Capricorn is a shortened form of *p; hr-ꞏh*.—We have no idea how to read the sign for whatever is located in Libra 6; see the commentary.—☊ *twꞏ*, 'to lift high', for 'midheaven, upper culmination', is proved by the rising and setting signs; see the commentary; for the reading *twꞏ* see Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 16 (1916), 4.

L. 5. In this line the scribe, apparently as an afterthought, gives the date in the civil calendar, adding the year. He omits the season but *šmw* is certain because of the equation between lunar and civil calendar dates; see the commentary.—The traces of 4 are sufficient to establish the reading.—We are very uncertain as to what follows *iwf*. Ll. 5–10 all have comments, mostly in demotic, attached to the usual horoscopic entries and in some instances we cannot offer a translation, either because the writing is too damaged or because the context is insufficient to afford any pattern. It appears to us that the same group that follows *iwf* here also appears at the end of ll. 8, 9, and 10, but we cannot read it.

L. 6. The scribe repeated *twꞏ*, 'midheaven' because he inserted the date in l. 5.

L. 7. For the restoration in the translation see the commentary. Presumably the name of Saturn was written in hieratic but we are doubtful as to how it should be restored.—The comment must refer to midheaven in l. 6 and have been placed here for lack of room. There are four centres, the rising and setting points and upper and lower culmination. *'Ib* for 'centre' is not attested elsewhere in horoscopes but is a common derivation from 'heart'.—The sign after *iwf* can hardly be anything other than *wꞏh*, but the meaning is unclear. Can it merely indicate that the comment was added later, as another afterthought?

Ll. 8-11. For the restorations in the translation see the commentary.—For the final unread groups see the note to l. 5.—In l. 11 there are unreadable traces at the end; in consequence it is uncertain whether \equiv is to be taken as *pt* or *hry*. The descendant is also a centre and, though *ib* is not present, the comment may have some reference to that.

L. 12. We have no idea what may be lost before Pisces.

L. 13. The fourth centre is lower culmination or lower midheaven and that may be what was mentioned here as being in Gemini but the presence of Pisces and Scorpio in the preceding line suggests that some other thought may have been offered.

Commentary

To work out the date of the horoscope we have the information that it belongs to the fourteenth year of a queen and in that year IIII *prt* 22 (lunar) was the same day as I $\langle \text{šmw} \rangle$ 4 (civil). This means that the first day of the lunar month fell on IIII *prt* 13 (civil). Reference to the 25-year lunar cycle (Parker, *Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, 25) reveals that a lunar month began on this day in the nineteenth year of the cycle. Since the cycle was in use throughout the Ptolemaic period and since we know that the first year of the cycle fell in -6, -31, -56, etc. we have only to check whether the nineteenth year of any cycle coincided with the fourteenth year of any queen. There is only one fit; the fourteenth year of Cleopatra VII is -38/-37, the nineteenth year of the cycle beginning -56. I $\langle \text{šmw} \rangle$ 4 gives the day as May 3/4 and the year as -37.

Independent of the dating of the horoscope one can check the plausible hypothesis that two diametrically opposite points, \times 19 (l. 8) and $[\text{m}]$ 19 (l. 11), represent rising and setting sign respectively which then suggests \dagger 25 (l. 6) as culminating sign. Using the 'Handy Tables' of Ptolemy and Theon one finds that at Alexandria \dagger 20 culminates when \times 14 rises. Since these two positions differ by exactly the same arc (84°) as the positions given in the text there can be little doubt that our interpretation is correct. The difference of 5° in the given positions as compared with our computation is not surprising. We have operated with tables based on exact relations of spherical trigonometry, and it cannot be assumed that astrologers two centuries before Ptolemy operated in the same way. It is much more likely that they operated with methods known to us, for example, from Hypsikles¹ for the determination of the rising times in Alexandria although we do not know the corresponding approximations for right ascensions. Hence we cannot determine accurately the error.²

Our text gives as solar longitude 8 9, i.e. a point 26° past lower culmination (II 25). Hence the time must be about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours after midnight.

We now make use of the date in question, -37, May 3/4. Since the moment falls after midnight we use -37, May 4, about 1.30 a.m. for the computation of the lunar position. Thus one finds³ about z $23\frac{1}{2}$ as compared with z $20\frac{1}{2}$ given by the text (l. 4). The solar longitude was about 8 $9\frac{1}{4}$ against 8 4 in the text (l. 3). These positions

¹ De Falco, Krause and Neugebauer, *Hypsikles. Die Aufgangszeiten der Gestirne*. Abh. d. Ak. d. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Nr. 62 (Göttingen, 1966).

² Because \times 19 rising would require \dagger 23; 10 as culminating, one may expect an error of about $\pm 1\frac{1}{2}^\circ$.

³ Using P. V. Neugebauer, *Tafeln zur astronomischen Chronologie*, II (Berlin, 1914).

⁴ Solar and planetary positions are taken from Bryant Tuckerman, *Planetary, Lunar, and Solar Positions 601 B.C. to A.D. 1*. Mem. Am. Phil. Soc., vol. 56 (Philadelphia, 1962).

fully confirm the date of our text and also show that longitudes were reckoned from a point near γ 5.

For the remaining planets one finds:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{h} \approx 29\frac{1}{2} & \text{♀ } \gamma \ 8\frac{1}{2} \\ \text{24} \approx 20 & \text{♃ } \delta \ 27 \\ \text{♁ } \delta \ 8 & \end{array}$$

In the text we have only one position preserved, ≈ 4 . If this could be corrected as a scribal error for 24 that would be what one would expect for Saturn. For Jupiter we have the correct sign \approx (l. 3) but no number. The 7 and 10 preserved in l. 9 and l. 10 could then only be considered for Mars and Venus respectively, though one would rather expect to find about [δ] 3 and [γ] 4.

A complete mystery is the significance of ≈ 6 in l. 4 since none of the planets (nor the lunar node) is near that region.

The rest of the text is evidently astrological in character but we are not able to relate it to known doctrines since we cannot read it in its entirety and we do not understand its application.

O. Berlin P. 6152 (pl. XXXVI, 1)

1. <i>hst-sp 3 n Nerwns Glwds</i>	Year 3 of Nero Claudius
2. <i>Gesrs III prt ybd 'i:w'</i>	Caesar, III <i>prt</i> , 'old' month,
3. <i>nty ir sw 23 r sw 24 p: t:vy 5 n grh</i>	which makes day 23 to day 24, (hour) 5 of night.
4. <i>P:-rc Hr-tš P:-ntr-dw:vy Sbk n n: tbtw</i>	Sun, Mars, Venus, Mercury in Pisces.
5. <i>'Irh Hr-p:-k: n p: k:</i>	Moon, Saturn in Taurus.
6. <i>Hr-p:-št n: htrw</i>	Jupiter (in) Gemini.
7. <i>p: rc-hc t: dlt</i>	The ascendant: Scorpio.

Notes

L. 2. The end of the line is a problem. There are no demotic parallels. Greek horoscopes customarily use $\kappa\alpha\tau'$ ἀρχαίους when dating by the old Egyptian calendar. Since that is the calendar used in this horoscope (see below) we have taken the sign after *ybd*, which is fairly certain, as a poor rendering of 𐎃 and so for *i:w* but it could well be something quite different which has eluded us.

Commentary

The given date, Nero 3, III *prt*, fifth hour of the night of the 23rd to the 24th (Phamenoth 23) corresponds to February 27, A.D. 57, about 11 p.m., using the Egyptian calendar. The fact that not only the planetary positions but also the longitude of the moon agree with this date excludes definitely the, in itself implausible, hypothesis that Phamenoth 23 should be interpreted as an Alexandrian date, i.e. as March 19. The difference of twenty days not only brings the moon far away from its proper place but also moves Mercury and Mars into the next sign.

TWO DEMOTIC HOROSCOPES

235

For February 27, A.D. 57, we find:

Text	Computed ¹
☉	⋈ 8
♂	⋈ 19
♀	⋈ 30
♃	⋈ 15
♄	♃ 12
♅	♃ 2
♁	♁ 20
H	11 p.m.

¹ Rounded to the nearest degree from Bryant Tuckerman, *Planetary, Lunar, and Solar Positions A.D. 2 to A.D. 1649*. Mem. Am. Phil. Soc., vol. 59 (Philadelphia, 1964).

ON THE ORIGIN OF 𐩱𐩢𐩨

By H. W. FAIRMAN

It is appropriate that in this volume of studies in honour of Professor Černý my contribution should have been inspired by a query submitted to me by Černý himself. Some little time ago he inquired whether I knew of any Ptolemaic word that might be the origin of 𐩱𐩢𐩨𐩠𐩠, 𐩱𐩢𐩨𐩠𐩠, 𐩱𐩢𐩨𐩠𐩠, ^{SA2}𐩱𐩢𐩨𐩠𐩠 ‘palm, hollow (of the hand)’,¹ and asked if there were any evidence of the existence of a word **hnt* or **hmt*. I do not know of a word **hmt* ‘hand’ and the purpose of this note is to consider the second possibility, *hnt*.

At the outset the change from *n* to 𐩠𐩠 need cause no difficulty; the phenomenon is well known and the evidence presented by Sethe² and Vergote.³ It is important, however, to note that the change does not merely occur before 𐩠 and 𐩠𐩠 but is well attested when *n* is in association with *h*: e.g. 𐩱𐩢𐩨𐩠𐩠, ^B𐩱𐩢𐩨𐩠𐩠 *hꜣnw* (*hnw*) ‘wave’; 𐩱𐩢𐩨𐩠 *hnt* ‘pelican’; 𐩱𐩢𐩨𐩠 *hnwt* ‘cup’.⁴ The same phenomenon is to be observed in Greek ψχεντ for *pꜣ-shmti* ‘the Double Crown’ and in the use of 𐩱 and 𐩱 in writings of *hmk* ‘donate’, ‘donation’⁵ and of 𐩱 for *hm-kꜣ*, e.g. 𐩱𐩢𐩨,⁶ 𐩱 𐩢𐩨⁷ and 𐩱 𐩢𐩨.⁸

That there may have been a word *hnt* ‘hand’ may be suspected from the fact that 𐩠, 𐩠 are used with the value *hm* in writings of *hnt* ‘pool, lake’ and *ꜣ-hnt* ‘Lahun’.⁹ Some Ptolemaic examples are 𐩠𐩢𐩨,¹⁰ 𐩠,¹¹ 𐩠𐩢𐩨,¹² 𐩠𐩢𐩨,¹³ 𐩠.¹⁴ It might be argued that in none of these examples is 𐩠 itself ever used, but in the Naucratis Stela (line 9) the town name 𐩠𐩢, as far as one can judge from the photo,¹⁵ appears to have the full hand 𐩠 with an egg 𐩠 resting on it.

In the Papyrus Bremner–Rhind occur the words 𐩠𐩢𐩨𐩠𐩠𐩠𐩠𐩠𐩠 ‘the egg has come into existence in the lake’.¹⁶ Although these words obviously refer to the myth of the primeval egg,¹⁷ Faulkner has rightly made a comparison with 𐩠 *hnt*.¹⁸ The value *hnt* can hardly have been derived from the egg and one is forced to conclude that it is inherent in the hand. Nevertheless, although I believe there must have been a word *hnt* ‘hand, palm’, hitherto no such word has been quoted and it remains to be seen if such a word can be traced.

¹ Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 676a.² Sethe, *Verbum*, I, §§ 220, 227.³ Vergote, *Phonétique historique de l'Égyptien*, 102.⁴ But 𐩱𐩢𐩨𐩠 > *hnw* ‘pot’.⁵ Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 111–113.⁶ *E.* VII, 166, 6. In this paper the following abbreviations are used: *E* = Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*; *CD* = Chassinat and Daumas, *Le temple de Dendara*; *Mam. Dend.* = Daumas, *Les Mammisis de Dendara*.⁷ *E.* IV, 83, 9.⁸ *E.* II, 52, 9; the double determinative is due to the fact that Horus and Ḥathor are referred to.⁹ *JEA* 29, 37–46. See also Yoyotte in *MDIK* 16, 423–30.¹⁰ *E.* IV, 123, 1.¹¹ *E.* VI, 200, 7.¹² *E.* VI, 200, 4.¹³ *E.* VI, 116, 1.¹⁴ *E.* VI, 118, 1.¹⁵ Maspero, *Musée égyptien*, I, pl. 45.¹⁶ P. Bremner–Rhind, 19, 16 (*Bibl. Aegypt.* III, 38, 3). I am much indebted to Mr. K. A. Kitchen for this reference.¹⁷ Sauneron in *Sources Orientales* I, *La naissance du monde*, 36–7, 59–62.¹⁸ *JEA* 23, 15.

Some years ago I published a brief note on a Ptolemaic word usually spelled 𓆎,¹ and declared that 'there can be no doubt that the reading is *ššpw*'. The reason for this confident assertion was the variant 𓆎,² cf. 𓆎.³ Hardly was the ink dry when I realized that the claim was far too categorical, in spite of the variants, and that other possibilities had to be considered. Almost immediately Sauneron in studying a passage which I had also quoted (CD, III, 54, 4) declared himself in favour of reading *hnw*, which he translated 'lacs littoraux, bassins cotiers' and noted that in a text at Esna 𓆎 had the value *h*.⁴

In spite of the apparent uniformity of the spellings of the majority of the examples I have recorded, it may be suspected that these writings conceal more than one word or meaning. The available material may be analysed thus:

A. 𓆎, 𓆎 (E. I, 491, 2), 𓆎 'hand-breadth'.⁵

1. 'I give thee the inundation youthful at its season 𓆎 it floods for thee, measured hand-breadth by hand-breadth'.⁶

2. 𓆎 'who brings the inundation measured by hand-breadth'.⁷

B. In the phrase 𓆎.

3. 'Ye are the gods, lords of this land, 𓆎 who divide the Nile by hand-breadths(?)',⁸ so translated by Blackman and myself.⁹ Though the translation 'hand-breadths' is possible, I now doubt this since 'hand-breadths' appears to be unsuitable in the next two examples: I suspect that all these examples have the meaning to be suggested for the examples listed below under C, D, and E.

4. 'Sokar-Osiris, great god residing in Behdet 𓆎, who brings the inundation in flood through the 𓆎 and passes through them by night'.¹⁰

5. 𓆎 'who brings the inundation through the 𓆎'.¹¹

C. The most frequent occurrence of the word is in the cliché:

6. 𓆎.¹² This is a relatively frequent epithet of Ḥathor or Isis but is once applied to the sacred snake 𓆎,¹³ who also occurs in E. II, 259, 16 (quoted B. 5 above) where possibly the ancient sculptor may have omitted 𓆎 at the end. This phrase is above all characteristic of the temple of Dendera.

¹ *Orientalia* 30, 227.

² E. VII, 69, 15.

³ *Mam. Dend.* 39, 14.

⁴ Sauneron. 'Une page de géographie physique: le cycle agricole égyptien' in *BIFAO* 60, 11-17, especially pp. 16-17.

⁵ See Drioton in *BIE* 34, 306.

⁶ E. II, 256, 10 = XII, pl. 412; slightly corrupt parallel in De Wit, *Le Temple d'Opet*, 68. See also Kuentz, *La Porte d'Evergète*, pl. 38 = *Urk.* VIII, 97, 18; E. I, 491, 2.

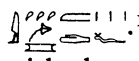


⁷ E. II, 259, 14 = XII, pl. 413. Parallel, Junker, *Philae*, I, 69, 13 with strange spelling 𓆎. Corrupt example (𓆎) E. VIII, 51, 1. ⁸ E. IV, 309, 13, ⁹ *JEA* 29, 23 (8). ¹⁰ E. IV, 272, 2-3.

¹¹ E. II, 259, 16 = XII, pl. 413.

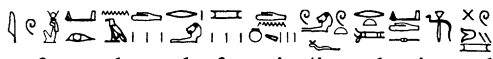

¹² CD II, 121, 9. Other exx. CD II, 74, 16; 135, 12-13; 145, 6; 210, 5; 214, 5; III, 72, 5; 110, 15; IV, 231, 4; 235, 10; *Mam. Dend.* 122, 10; 251, 10-11 (𓆎); Junker, *Philae*, I, 70, 2. Varr. 𓆎 E. VII, 69, 15; 𓆎 *Mam. Dend.* 39, 14.

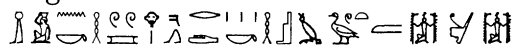

¹³ Junker, *Philae*, I, 70, 1-2.


D. At Dendera there also occurs the variant:

7. .¹ It is abundantly clear that  is here merely employed as a variant of  with the meaning 'bring'.

E. Finally, at Dendera in a hymn to Hathor that has been studied by Sauneron² we find:

8.  'Thou causest the  of the mouths of the Nile to form dams before it (i.e. the inundation, *hꜣpi*) in order to prevent the sea from receiving it.'³

In none of the examples I have collected are there clear indications of the reading. That we should read *drt* in any or all of our examples seems improbable. The word appears to be feminine and this may tell against *šsp*. The aberrant writings I would be inclined to explain as being misguided attempts of the scribe to read a word whose true meaning he misunderstood. It should be noted that throughout there is a minor element of alliteration if we were to read *hnt* and that this would be particularly marked in B. 4—*hꜣy Hꜣpi m hꜣwt* where any other reading would break the alliteration. The alliteration is even more strongly marked in:  *inf n-k Hꜣw hr hꜣwi r hꜣwt-k htm-ti m hꜣ n hꜣw*.⁴ It seems essential that in a passage such as this  should be a word beginning with *h*, and I therefore agree with Sauneron that here we have the element *hn*, and would transliterate *hnt*, *hꜣwt*.

As regards the meaning, I have little doubt that in the examples A. 1, A. 2 we have a noun *hnt* 'hand-breadth'. In E. 8, however, it is quite certain that  cannot mean 'hand-breadths', and the regular use of the suffix renders 'hand-breadths' extremely unlikely in C and D; and in B. 4 'hand-breadths' is also clearly impossible. What then is the meaning? Sauneron's '(coastal) lakes' does not suit all our examples. It is here, I think, that Coptic may help us. In Coptic we have a verb ϩωⲏ 'go around (in shallows)' and the expression ⲉⲉⲗ ⲏϩωⲏ 'shallows'.⁵ I would suggest that the *hꜣwt* are the 'shallows', the narrow channels or rivulets, often literally reduced to hand-breadths, to which the bed of the Nile is so often reduced in high summer immediately before the inundation. This rendering would suit all our examples B. 4–E. 8 and possibly B. 3 also.

The available material is such that final proof is perhaps impossible. Nevertheless, the evidence strongly suggests that in Egyptian there was a word *hnt* 'hand-breadth' which survives in Coptic ϩⲏⲱⲉⲉ 'palm', and a derivative *hnt*, *hꜣwt* 'shallows, channel, rivulet'.

¹ CD II, 46, 8–9. Other exx. CD II, 53, 11; IV, 230, 13; 250, 5; 257, 13, 14.

² BIFAO 60, 11–17.

³ CD III, 54, 4. Cf. *Orientalia* 30, 227.

⁴ E. I, 322, 4–5 (collated by Labib Habachi).

⁵ Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 688b.

DUE LETTERE COPTE DA ANTINOE

Di SERGIO DONADONI

I *kimān* di Antinoe sono stati in altri tempi generosi di una bella serie di papiri greci bizantini, che costituiscono un gruppo coerente e importante al Museo del Cairo nel cui catalogo furono pubblicati dal Maspero (*Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, Cat. gén. Le Caire, I, 1911; II, 1913; III, 1916). Altri papiri (oltre Teocrito!) furono trovati dagli inglesi in una breve campagna nel 1914, e sono anch'essi pubblicati in due volumi della Egypt Exploration Society a cura di Roberts e di Barns e Zilliacus (*The Antinoopolis Papyri* I, London, 1950; II, 1960). Gli Italiani hanno anch'essi (e a lungo, ormai) scavato nella città e negli immediati sobborghi. Un gruppo di papiri greci è stato pubblicato nei *P.S.I.*; ma c'è anche una serie di papiri copti, che testimoniano la vita più reale e modesta degli abitanti, fuori dalle lustre del centro amministrativo e dei suoi documenti di grecità ufficiale.

Mi è già avvenuto a più riprese di pubblicare alcuni di questi testi (*Arch. Or.* 20 (1952), 400 sqq.; *Riv. St. Or.* 29 (1954), 183 sqq.; *Acta Or.* 25 (1961), 197 sqq.; *Syntelesia V. Arangio Ruiz* (Napoli, 1964), 286 sqq.). Ed è nelle intenzioni dell'Istituto 'G. Vitelli' di Firenze — che gli scavi ad Antinoe ha condotto e conduce — di riunire in un volume tutti questi documenti, interi e (più spesso) frammentarii. Ma posso intanto, con il cordiale consenso dell'Istituto, offrire a uno studioso che della vita del popolo egiziano più umile si è sempre occupato e che per gli studi di copto ha manifestato un prezioso interesse, una coppia di modesti documenti epistolari che si aggiungono agli altri testi provenienti dalla città di Adriano.

Si tratta di due papiri che provengono dagli scavi del 1937, e perciò dagli scarichi a Nord della città, su una necropoli già cristiana. La data del materiale di riporto è stata fissata, sulla base della paleografia dei papiri greci provenienti di là, al VI-VII secolo; e sembra che possa andare bene anche per questi altri due nuovi testi. I quali oltre che la provenienza e la data hanno in comune solo l'essere epistole: ma non altro — e son dunque forse in modo un po' arbitrario pubblicati qui insieme.

Lettera A

È una sottile striscia di papiro, di cm. 12,5 di alto e cm. 5 di largo, rotta in basso in modo tale che il testo è incompleto. L'inchiostro, nero ma di ineguale intensità, traccia lettere piuttosto grosse e angolose, ma non inesperte. Il testo è scritto sul *verso*, mentre il *recto* è bianco. Punti in alto in parte sostituiscono il tratto sulle consonanti, in parte indicano divisioni grammaticali delle parole. A r. 6 un punto di interpunzione a mezza linea.

Ⲣⲧⲓⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲣⲟⲩ
Ⲭⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲛ

ϣαίχι πτιπ
 τανι τι πειτρι
 5 ενσι ενραδτηκ
 ηνεωχ · αγω
 ηπερτιλοισε κας
 ετθε καισον οη
 αγω ενογωϣ ογ
 10 κογι ϣε ηνογρε
 ηπϣη ηςναγ η
 μαρε τηαας πογ
 ηνε πεοι εςοιτ
 ε θε κογςκεγ [] . .
 - - - - -

r. 3 — *πιττάκιον* è trattato come un femminile: così ad es. in *Cat. Copt. Man. Br. Mus.* nr. 440.

r. 4 — *τι* è imperativo.

τριενσι è il termesse, la moneta che vale un terzo di solido e che in Occidente è adoperata come base della monetazione barbarica.

r. 5 — *ενραδτηκ*: un Presente II per rendere una frase relativa benchè l'antecedente sia qui definito.

r. 6 — leggi *ηνεωχ*.

r. 8 — leggi *κεσον*, rafforzato come spesso *παλι* con *οη*.

r. 13 — lo ε finale di *ηνε* assimila probabilmente la preposizione e prima di *ποι*.

r. 14 — *θε* vale probabilmente per *ηθε*, ma la frase è incerta per la lacuna.

Chiedo della tua buona (*καλως*) salute. Se riceverai questo biglietto (*πιττάκιον*), da' il termesse (*τριμήσιον*) che è presso di te a Enoch. E non dargli un'altra volta di nuovo pretesto. E noi vogliamo un po' di legno di sicomoro della misura di due cubiti. Ne facciamo un secchio per la barca, che è andato a male, come uno strumento (*σκεύος*) . . [.

Il *πιττάκιον* contiene una comunicazione epistolare molto corrente, senza nome nè di mittente nè di destinatario. È una richiesta di restituzione (?) di danaro, e alcune semplici commissioni.

Più complesso è il secondo papiro.

Lettera B

È un foglietto di papiro piuttosto chiaro, di forma quasi quadrata (alto cm. 11,5, largo cm. 10), con un solo piccolo strappo che ha distrutto l'angolo in alto a destra. È coperto da una scrittura agile e minuta, ma senza legature, che lascia poco margine ai lati. L'inchiostro è nero ed il testo è tracciato sul *verso*, mentre il *recto* è bianco.

Anche questa comunicazione epistolare manca di tutti gli elementi dell'indirizzo: è un biglietto senza nessun carattere ufficiale.

ϑ
 1 ϣηκ
 κσοογη ογααν γε πκαρος ρο . [. . .

αγω νεβαρος ρῖνος πε αγω μαρε
 λααγ βονθαι επρωμε ει εντει πεφνι
 5 λοιπον αρι ππετναουγ τποου πετρι
 ενσιν παι εποου επι ττερχρια ἡμοϋ
 αγω πρωμε πτενρε μαϋ απσα
 ἡχι ψαχε εροϋ ετβεχε ϋσοογν επαι
 καιον εϋριχω τεϋψνχη αγω τποογν
 10 εμοκ ραπαροϋ χε ηχι ψαχε ερον αν
 ραλααγ ερωβ εϋο ηπος παραπαι αγω
 ενε κενος ερωβ παι πενταϋπωρ
 ψαροι οϋακαιον αι πε τααρερατ
 ηεεακ ψαππωϋτ εβολ επασνοϋ
 15 λοιπον τποογϋ παι επεστ εποοϋ επει
 τεχρια τε φρηνη πακ φ

- r. 1 — *σὺν θεῷ*: per la formula cfr. J. O'Callaghan, *Cartas cristianas griegas del siglo V* (Barcelona, 1963), 64.
- r. 2 — si può integrare alla fine, prendendo ad esempio lo ραϋε τωηε di Crum, *Copt. Ostr.*, Nr. Ad. 63, con ροϋ[ε τωη.
- r. 5 — ππετν. leggi αππετν.
- r. 8 — χι ψαχε in Crum, *Copt. Dict.*, 614 a vale *πειθεσθαι*.
- r. 8/9 — Anche qui, come alla r. 5 del papiro precedente, un tempo secondo con valore di frase relativa dopo un antecedente determinato.
- r. 10 — εμοκ leggi εεμοκ.
- r. 11 — ερωβ equivale a πρωβ secondo un uso frequente nei papiri di Antinoe di sostituzione di ε a π (cfr. il già cit. *Syntelesia Arangio Ruiz*, 286).
- r. 13 — lo αι deve essere corretto ο in una aplografia per παι (ma resta la difficoltà della posizione del πε) o più semplicemente in αν.
- r. 14 — anche qui επασνοϋ equivale e ἡπασνοϋ.

Con Dio. Tu sai da solo che la circostanza (*καιρός*) [difficile è sorta] e che le gravezze (*βάρος*) sono grandi. E potrà forse qualcuno aiutare (*βοηθεῖν*) il prossimo (lett. l'uomo) se non (*εἰ μήτι*) la sua casata? Del resto (*λοιπόν*) fa quel che è bene, mandami il termesse (*τερμήσιον*) oggi, poichè (*ἐπεὶ*) ne ho bisogno (*χρεῖα*). E un uomo come te, rendilo degno di accettare una richiesta (lett. un discorso), poichè conosce il giusto (*δίκαιον*) che è a pro' della sua anima (*ψυχή*). E io conosco te da prima, (e so) che non accetti una richiesta per nessuna cosa che sia più grande di questa. E c'è forse un'altra più grande di questa cosa che è capitata a me? Non (?) è giusto (*δίκαιον*) che io debba restare su con te fino allo spargimento del mio sangue.

Del resto (*λοιπόν*), mandamelo giù oggi, perchè (*ἐπεὶ*) a n'è necessità (*χρεῖα*). La pace (*εἰρήνη*) sia a te!

Anche qui il punto di partenza è la richiesta di restituzione di danaro; ma il testo è qui abbastanza complesso per il desiderio del mittente di muovere gli affetti del destinatario. Risultato di queste ambizioni retoriche sono alcune difficoltà sintattiche: la frase interrogativa con l'ottativo alle rr. 3/4 e l'impiego ἀπὸ κοινοῦ del τποογν alla r. 9, che regge insieme un complemento oggetto e una frase dipendente.

Alla r. 13, dove abbiamo corretto lo αι in αν, la frase sembra significare che lo

scrivente si troverà in cattive condizioni se il destinatario non gli restituirà il danaro avuto — e dice che 'non è giusto' che debba spingere oltre certi limiti la sua comprensione. È un ingenuo pezzo di retorica popolarasca, così come ingenui sono lo stile e la lingua.

Che poi un tanto di incomprensibile resti al fondo di queste situazioni, è nell'ordine stesso delle cose quando si affrontano testi epistolari antichi, e tanto più in casi corsivi e privati come questi nostri.

THE 'WEAK' PLURAL ARTICLE IN BOHAIRIC

By H. J. POLOTSKY

BOHAIRIC possesses two sets of definite articles, traditionally distinguished as 'strong' and 'weak' respectively (Stern, § 226; Mallon, § 41):

	m. sg.	f. sg.	pl.
'strong'	π-	†-	π-
'weak'	π- (ϕ-)	τ- (ϑ-)	ππ-

The 'weak' plural article differs from the two singular ones in two respects: (1) instead of the expected *π- its form is ππ-, coinciding with the pronominal 'our'; and (2) its use is more restricted: it is used only with a noun followed by a genitive (mostly, but not invariably, with π-); outside the genitive construction the contrast which exists in the singular between πρωεπ 'the (individual) man' and φρωεπ 'man (generically)' is neutralized in the plural, where only πρωεπ is possible (Stern, § 227; Mallon, § 44). One of the things which the beginner in Bohairic, especially if he has studied Sahidic before, is taught to remember most carefully is that Bohairic has no plural article π-.

Yet one case of π- is, at least implicitly, acknowledged to exist.

I. πΕΑΤ ΑΠΡΑΓΙ

In the expression πΕΑΤ ΑΠΡΑΓΙ 'the ends of the earth' the πΕΑΤ had long been thought, in accordance with the rule, to be radical.¹ The variant πΕΑΤ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΗΤΕ ΠΡΑΓΙ led Wiesmann, *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 146-7 to conclude that 'das artikellose πΕΑΤ', rendering the Greek τὰ πέρατα was treated syntactically as definite, and that it must be 'ein nach Art der Eigennamen in sich determinierter Begriff'. A few years later he published a second note, *ZÄS* 56 (1920), 99, in which he communicated Sethe's observation that a much more natural explanation would be to take the initial π- of πΕΑΤ as the plural article. About the same time the same idea occurred to Spiegelberg, *Koptische Etymologien*, 49. If earlier scholars must have been prevented from arriving at this obvious conclusion by their belief in the non-existence of an article π-, Spiegelberg, Sethe, and Wiesmann must have momentarily forgotten this belief; otherwise they would doubtless have added a word of explanation. Be that as it may, the new analysis was proved to be correct by the Fayyumic form with the m. singular article, πΑΕΤ 'the farther shore (τὸ πέραν)', which had been available since 1910 [Matt. 14: (22), 34, ed. J. David], but was brought to general attention only in 1923 by Dévaud, *Le Muséon* 36, 97, under no. 92. The whole evidence is gathered in Crum's *Dict.* 61a.

Nevertheless, the Bohairic plural article π- is still denied a place in grammars and

¹ Peyron, *Lex.* 126a listed it under the misleading form 'πΕΑΤ Μ. ρΑΠ'.

dictionaries. It is listed neither by Spiegelberg, *Handwb.* 72 nor by Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 115, although (ⲛ)ⲉⲁⲧ appears at its proper place on p. 29 and p. 41 respectively. Crum, 258*b* is not quite clear: under ⲛⲉⲛ he says, 'mostly before gen: ⲛⲉⲛⲩⲛⲣⲓ ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲉⲓ'; 'ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲉⲓ', not corrected on p. xx*a*, must in any case be an error for ⲛⲛⲣⲱⲉⲓ; in the Psalter, where the phrase 'the children of men' occurs twenty-five times, the construction actually employed is invariably ⲛⲩⲩⲛⲣⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲣⲱⲉⲓ (while 'the Son of Man' is, in the NT, just as invariably ⲛⲩⲩⲛⲣⲓ ⲉⲩⲫⲣⲱⲉⲓ, thus also Ps. 79: 16, 18, 143: 3).

Since the plural article ⲛ- undoubtedly exists with one noun, it would seem rather unlikely that it should not occur elsewhere. In fact, two at least can be added, and it is a curious circumstance that they have to be retrieved from a list of rejected readings, viz., Lagarde's *Der Pentateuch koptisch*, pp. x f.¹

II. ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲭ ⲛ-

At Gen. 50: 23 (p. 124, 27)² Lagarde prints ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲭ ⲛⲓⲱⲥⲛⲫ 'Joseph's thighs' against L's ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲭ. The latter is, however, supported both by Vat. copto 1 (Brooke's V) and by Bibl. Nat. copte 1 (Brooke's A), 'the oldest and best representatives of their respective groups' (L belongs, according to Brooke, to the group headed by A). The very subtle syntax of the two sets of definite articles and of the two genitive particles ⲛ- and ⲛⲧⲉ is still rather obscure. Two things can, however, be asserted: (1) after the 'strong' article ⲛⲓ- one expects normally the genitive particle ⲛⲧⲉ; and (2) for parts of the body the prevalent construction is the 'weak' article followed by the genitive particle ⲛ-: ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲭ ⲛⲓⲱⲥⲛⲫ agrees with ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲭ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲉ Gen. 24: 9, ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲭ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲱⲃ Gen. 32: 25.

III. ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲟⲓ ⲛ-

At Gen. 26: 25 (p. 58, 17) Lagarde prints ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲟⲓ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲁⲛ 'Isaak's servants' against L's ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲟⲓ, which is again supported both by V and by A; Lagarde's conjecture, with its genitive particle ⲛ-, is grammatically objectionable. The phrase 'N's servants (ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲉⲥ), or children (ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲓⲁ)' occurs in six more places in Genesis. In two of them V has the same construction:

Gen. 26: 18 ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲉ; AL(=Lagarde) have ⲛⲁⲗⲱⲟⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲉ, which is grammatically unobjectionable.

Gen. 50: 23 ⲉⲛⲁⲗⲱⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲫⲣⲉⲉ. Lagarde (p. 124, 25) prints ⲉⲛⲁⲗⲱⲟⲓ against L's obviously corrupt ⲉⲛⲁⲗⲱⲟⲓ; A has this same corrupt reading with the first ⲁ corrected to 1: this correction (=Lagarde's conjecture) disagrees, however, with the genitive particle ⲛ-; the true reading is that of V (also Wilkins, London, 1781).

At Gen. 21: 25 all manuscripts have ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲗⲱⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲉⲉⲉⲗⲉⲭ with the normal form of the 'weak' article and the appropriate genitive particle ⲛ-.

¹ This list, drawn up 'mit dem gefühle des äussersten widerwillens', gives the 'Abweichungen' of Lagarde's text from Tattam's MS, now Brit. Mus. Or. 422 (Crum's *Cat.* no. 712), A. E. Brooke's L, *JTS* 3 (1902), 258-78.

² Lagarde's list refers to page and line of his edition, not to chapter and verse.

At Gen. 26: 19 and 50: 7 all manuscripts have $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\sigma\gamma\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon$ N with the 'strong' article and the appropriate genitive particle $\eta\tau\epsilon$. Cf. $\pi\alpha\lambda\omega\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ Gen. 24: 52 by the side of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\gamma$ $\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ Gen. 24: 59.

The three words with which the 'weak' article π - has so far been found to occur have one feature in common: they all begin with an unstressed vowel (i. e. vocalized zero consonant), with which the article forms one syllable, as shown by the constant absence of a point over the vowel: $\pi\epsilon$ -, $\pi\alpha$ - (contrast $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\sigma\chi$ Gen. 24: 9, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\sigma\chi$ Gen. 30: 3, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\sigma\gamma\iota$, $\pi\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\sigma\gamma\iota$). It is the same principle which underlies the Sahidic spellings $\pi\epsilon\sigma\omega\gamma$, $\pi\epsilon\varrho\omega\gamma$, $\pi\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma$, $\pi\alpha\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$, $\pi\alpha\alpha\eta$ ('wasps', Deut. 7: 20, Budge and Bodmer xviii), etc., without superlinear stroke over π -; cf. *OLZ* (1964), 253 n. 1 (in the unpublished papyrus mentioned *ibid.* 252 the syllabic point is placed after the vowel: $\pi\epsilon\cdot\varrho\omega\cdot\sigma\gamma'$, $\pi\epsilon\cdot\rho\omega\cdot\sigma\gamma'$).