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
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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

DURING the summer of 1969, for reasons of security, the Egyptian Government restricted the movements of foreigners in Egypt. The Society's concessions at Qasr Ibrîm and Buto were thus affected; but happily Saqqâra fell within a permitted zone. Of the results of their latest season Professor Emery and Mr. H. S. Smith write:

The Society resumed excavation at North Saqqâra on November 22, 1969 and worked until the end of March, 1970. At first our work concentrated on the areas in front of and behind the great tomb 3518, dated to Zoser, whose west burial-shaft penetrated the Baboon Galleries. Last season we discovered anatomical donaria of Ptolemaic date by the entrance to this tomb's chapel. We hoped to find similar deposits or other remains of the Late Period, but we were disappointed. The whole area outside the tomb was devoted to medium Old Kingdom mastabas. The shaft of 3518 on clearance was found to penetrate the end of the upper Baboon Gallery. Quantities of broken stone vessels of fine quality were found at the bottom of the shaft, but no evidence of ownership.

We next turned to the lower levels of Sector 3 and in clearing to ground in the west half of the enclosure uncovered rough stone huts, not earlier than the Thirtieth Dynasty, undoubtedly used by the workers engaged on cutting the galleries. In this area we found four caches of bronzes, three proportioned limestone plaques probably used in the decoration of the walls of Nectanebo's temple. Among the huts was a shrine-like structure, outside which we found four inscribed Carian stelae.

Meanwhile from the lower Baboon Gallery entry by two breakthroughs was made into a new complex consisting of a main axial gallery with long lateral galleries on both sides completely filled with sealed jars like those found in the Ibis Galleries. Here, however, they contained mummies of falcons, many beautifully wrapped. Inscriptions showed that this was the burial place of falcons sacred to Horus 'avenger of his father' (Harendotes). Its entrance lay in the south-east of the main temple complex, and what may be the sanctuary of the god stood above. We do not yet know if the Falcon and Ibis Galleries merge, but it is notable that demotic graffiti in the new complex contain more dedications to Thoth than to Horus. The only stela found here bears a vignette showing the ibis and falcon facing each other over an offering-table, while the dedication is to Imhotep the Great, son of Ptah. This stela, dated to 89 B.C., provides the first certain written indication from the site that Imhotep's cult was associated with those of the ibises and falcons.

In a chamber near the entrance of the Falcon Galleries, the discovery of a fine Canopic jar with falcon lid provided us with a puzzle. Its text, of standard form, identifies it with Hapy, the son of Horus who protects intestines, and contains a dedication for the deceased King Psammetichus I. Inside is a resinous mass possibly concealing mummified falcons; it may be that the jar was so used because of the falcon lid, though Hapy usually has a baboon head. If the use is original the Falcon Galleries must have been in existence in the late seventh to early sixth century B.C., thus being the earliest at North Saqqâra, an unacceptable conclusion on other grounds. More exciting, however, was the discovery of small caches of bronzes among the falcon pots. Then in gallery 16 came a larger deposit comprising most interesting ritual implements: incense braziers, altars, censers, libation jars and other vessels, incense tongs, razors, a fine *hwp*-sceptre, and miniature vases and offering tables. Several bore dedications to Thoth the great god, Osiris the Ibis, and Horus the Falcon. The

group evidently represented ritual furniture used in the shrines of these deities, and may be dated from similar examples in Ptolemaic temple reliefs to the last centuries B.C.

Investigation of the rock face north of the Baboon Galleries began at the north-east of the temple enclosure, and on February 9 we found a shaft, probably of an Old Kingdom tomb, which led into a large chamber with high rounded roof opening into a gallery running east into the rock 3·5 m. wide by 2·5 m. high. Other vaulted chambers opened off the gallery, and in these we could see fragments of great granite sarcophagi and bones of bovids; on the gallery wall five demotic stelae and several demotic graffiti provided clear evidence that we were in the burial catacomb of the Isis cows, mothers of the Apis bulls. This complex, named for brevity the 'Iseum', corresponds closely in many respects to the Serapeum of the Apis bulls. We soon found an entrance in the rock face just wide enough to admit the largest sarcophagus. It lay behind an unfinished limestone gateway found in 1966-7 at the back of the northern courtyard of the temple enclosure. The limestone blocks with demotic texts mentioning Isis mother of Apis found in that courtyard clearly came from the blockings of the finer cow vaults.

We have so far been able to clear four of the first six vaults; beyond, an impressive roof fall blocks easy progress. However, our surveyor, Mr. Kenneth Fraser, has explored enough to establish that the complex runs 40 m. into the hillside, and contained originally nineteen vaults. Unfortunately the 'Iseum' was very completely ravaged by Christians, and the four cleared vaults yielded only the emplacements for sarcophagi, fragments of granite and wooden coffins, bones, and scraps of gilded wood. But most important, we have so far recovered 68 stelae, whole or fragmentary, from the debris. With graffiti, stelae *in situ*, and inscribed stones from vault blockings, they make 98 dedicatory inscriptions. The texts, mostly in demotic, correspond to those of the Serapeum private stelae; most bear the date of the cow burial, and often a statement of the work done by the dedicators. Details include the opening of the 'Resting-places of Isis, mother of the Apis' (the ancient name of the 'Iseum'), the excavation and building of the vault, the dragging of the sarcophagus, and the burial and associated ceremonies. Some longer stelae include blessings on any man who shall read them; often simply Osiris-Apis and Isis, mother of Apis will bless, but sometimes other deities are invoked including Thoth the twice great, Harendotes, Imhotep the Great, son of Ptah, Anubis, Osiris-Onnofris, and perhaps the ram of Mendes, most of whom seem now to have had cults at North Saqqâra. The cow is most regularly referred to as Isis, but sometimes as Taese, 'She who belongs to Isis'.

Dates ranging from 393 B.C. to 41 B.C. have been found, most belonging to the early part of that range. Nineteen burials in 350 years corresponds roughly with the 41 burials in 650 years in the Saïte-Ptolemaic part of the Serapeum. The earliest burials were in Year 1 of Psammuthis and in the reign of Achoris. Of the last burials one is recorded in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, and one in Year 11 of Cleopatra 'when the Queen was in the land of Khor'; this last can only be Cleopatra VII when she met Antony in Cilicia after Actium (41 B.C.). It is difficult to assign stelae to niches in the gallery, and to determine to which adjoining burial a stela may refer. Of the burials so far accessible, no. 1 was probably of 355 B.C.; no. 2 almost certainly of the reign of Alexander I or Alexander IV, more probably the former; no. 3, a large and splendid burial, very likely of 294 B.C.; for nos. 4 and 5 there is no satisfactory evidence; no. 6 is dated to Year 18 of a Pharaoh who on palaeographical grounds should be one of the Nectanebos. Thus invaluable inscriptional evidence has already been recovered, and much more may be expected. It is also possible that the remaining burials themselves will be better preserved.

The Society has more reason than usual to thank H.E. Dr. Gamal Mukhtar, the Secretary of State responsible for the Antiquities Service, his Department and Mr. El-Khouli for their helpful co-operation; in face of exceptional difficulties they enabled work to proceed normally. A division

was granted at the end of the season by the U.A.R. Government and nineteen cases of antiquities are being shipped to London, in due course to be divided between institutions supporting the Society's field work.

A fuller report on this work will appear in Vol. 57 of this *Journal*. Next season Professor Emery will be celebrating at Saqqâra his first winter of 'retirement'. This summer he vacates his chair at University College London after occupying it for nineteen years. At University College he is to be succeeded by Mr. H. S. Smith who for many years has been closely associated with Professor Emery. To both in their very different futures we wish all good fortune.

Dr. G. T. Martin of Christ's College, Cambridge, spent some months last winter in Cairo working on objects from the Royal Tomb at El-'Amarna. Of this work he writes:

The Royal Tomb, situated in a small wâdi branching off the Wâdi Abu Haşâh el-Bahri behind El-'Amarna, rediscovered by villagers at an uncertain date in 1881-2, was 'officially' examined by the Antiquities administration under Barsanti in December 1891. A number of objects were at that time taken back to the Cairo Museum. Later a summary and incomplete record was made of the scenes and inscriptions in the tomb and published in Bouriant, Legrain and Jéquier, *Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Atonou*. J. D. S. Pendlebury completely cleared the tomb for the Society in 1931-2, and found many fragmentary objects in the debris and in the dumps outside. In 1934-5 photographs and tracings of the surviving scenes and texts were made by H. W. Fairman, R. S. Lavers, and S. R. Sherman. The proceeds of an illicit dig in the Royal Wâdi in the summer of 1934 were confiscated by Moharram Kamal, and sent to the Cairo Museum.

The writer has now finished the preliminary work for a complete publication of the 'Amarna Royal Tomb. Between December 16, 1969 and March 15, 1970, a record was made of the objects from the tomb in Cairo. 743 fragments of sarcophagi were located, numbered and copied.¹ The royal names on the fragments are those of Amenophis III, Tiye, Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Meketaten,² and, rather surprisingly, Ankheseipaten. A further season, at the tomb itself, should be sufficient for a complete epigraphic study. Progress has also been made in recording objects from the Royal Tomb found mainly between 1881 and 1891, now in national museums and private collections.

The work will be published in the Society's series *Archaeological Survey of Egypt*. The writer wishes here to record his sincere gratitude for financial support, received or promised, from the Trustees of Sir Alan Gardiner's Settlement for Egyptological Purposes, the Master and Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Mr. George L. Brown. Nothing would have been achieved in Cairo without the close co-operation of the Antiquities Service and the staff of the Cairo Museum; and it is a pleasure to mention here the help and encouragement received from H.E. Dr. Gamal Mukhtar, Dr. Gamal Mehrez, and the keepers of the Egyptian Museum, Dr. Henry Riad, Mr. Gamal Salem, and especially Dr. Abd el-Qader Selim.

British Egyptology has suffered a sad loss by the death of R. T. Rundle Clark in January, 1970. He was an exceptionally enthusiastic student of Egyptian religious texts and an indefatigable teacher. As Deputy Director of Birmingham University's Extramural Department he ran immensely successful evening classes in hieroglyphics, stimulating a great deal of interest. We have also to record the deaths of Dr. Victor Girgis in July, 1969, and Professor Siegfried Morenz in January, 1970. All who worked

¹ Including the fragment mentioned by Bouriant, *op. cit.* 15, frequently cited as evidence for a coregency between Amenophis III and Akhenaten.

² Cf. Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.* 31 (1931), 102, n. 2; Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*, 88.

in the Cairo Museum after the war will retain fond memories of Dr. Girgis. He was for only a short time Chief Keeper of the Egyptian Museum, but his tenure of office will be remembered by many for its sympathetic attention to the needs of scholars. Of Professor Morenz Dr. J. Gwyn Griffiths writes:

In the death of Professor Siegfried Morenz of Leipzig, at the age of 55, a serious loss has been inflicted on Egyptology, and particularly on the study of Egyptian religion. A trained theologian as well as a master of Egyptian and Coptic, Morenz brought to all his work a richly perceptive approach, and his book on Egyptian religion, as well as his numerous articles and special studies, are always illuminating even if occasional interpretations may seem too eagerly pressed, as in his study of the idea of transcendence in Egypt. His most recently published book was concerned with 'Europe's encounter with Egypt'; it is an admirably comprehensive and stimulating account both of the legacy of Egypt and of the history of Egyptology. Morenz will be missed by a host of friends, for as a person he was most attractive and sympathetic.

June, 1969 saw the founding of the Finnish Egyptological Society (Suomen egyptologinen seura) under the chairmanship of Dr. Rostislav Holthoer, Lecturer in Egyptology in the University of Helsinki. The new society has aims similar to those of our own Society, and it intends to publish annually *Acta Aegyptologica Fennica*. We send our very best wishes to our Finnish colleagues and hope that their Society will grow and flourish in the years to come.

The present editor of this *Journal* surrenders his instruments of office this summer to a new editor, Dr. John Gwyn Griffiths. Manuscripts in future should be sent to him at the Department of Classics, University College, Swansea. Dr. Griffiths is an active scholar in both the Classical and Egyptological fields, and the wide scope of his learning is admirably displayed in his newly published *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (University of Wales Press, 1970). This volume contains a new edition of this important Greek text, a translation and a commentary. Under Dr. Griffiths's editorship the prospects of the *Journal* will indeed be bright. The retiring editor thanks the many contributors who have helped to make his term of office so painless.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT NORTH SAQQÂRA, 1968-9

By W. B. EMERY

ON November 23, 1968 the Society's excavations at North Saqqâra were reopened on the site of the small temple of Nectanebo II which was discovered last year in Sector 3. The staff of our expedition consisted of Mr. G. T. Martin, Mr. Ali El-Khouli, Mr. Kenneth Frazer, Dr. D. Dixon, Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Smith, Mr. J. Baines, Mr. J. Ray, my wife and myself. Once again, through the generosity of the Trustees of the British Museum, Mr. Stanley Baker was able to join us for a limited period to clean some of the more important finds and to instruct one of our Qufti technicians in the work of preservation and restoration.

Our first task was the removal of the Christian settlement which covered the whole area of Sector 3 above the deliberately destroyed Pharaonic monuments. The settlement, obviously monastic in character, had a wide central road running from north to south which divided the area into two parts (pl. II). On the west side of this thoroughfare were the remains of small houses of a purely domestic character, built of brick and partly reused stone. Some of the houses contained ovens, small brick benches (*mastabas*), and rough stone flooring, but in contrast to the structures on the east side of the road, the general character of this part of the settlement was of obvious poverty, probably housing the servants and lower orders of the community. On the opposite side of the road immediately below the escarpment was the remains of the church and other buildings with rooms of considerable size, some of them clearly administrative in purpose. In many cases the foundations of these structures were made up of reused Pharaonic stonework which had also been used as flooring. The walls of brick were faced with gypsum plaster, painted white and red, and in general were well built and planned. Parts of the earlier Pharaonic brickwork had been incorporated in the later structures and some of the small rooms of the Nectanebo chapel had been left intact with only minor alterations. However, this feature existed to only a limited extent, and it was obvious that a wholesale campaign of obliteration had been carried out by the Christian usurpers.

In the north-east corner of the enclosure the Christians built and tunnelled in the filling against the north and east walls, and built a vaulted brick passage leading to a large room with barrel-vaulted roofing. Although it was found completely empty, and its character therefore uncertain, its concealed position suggested that it may have been the burial place of a person of importance, perhaps the founder of the community.

By December 1 the whole of the upper level of Sector 3 with the exception of a small area in the south-east corner had been completely cleared and most of the structural

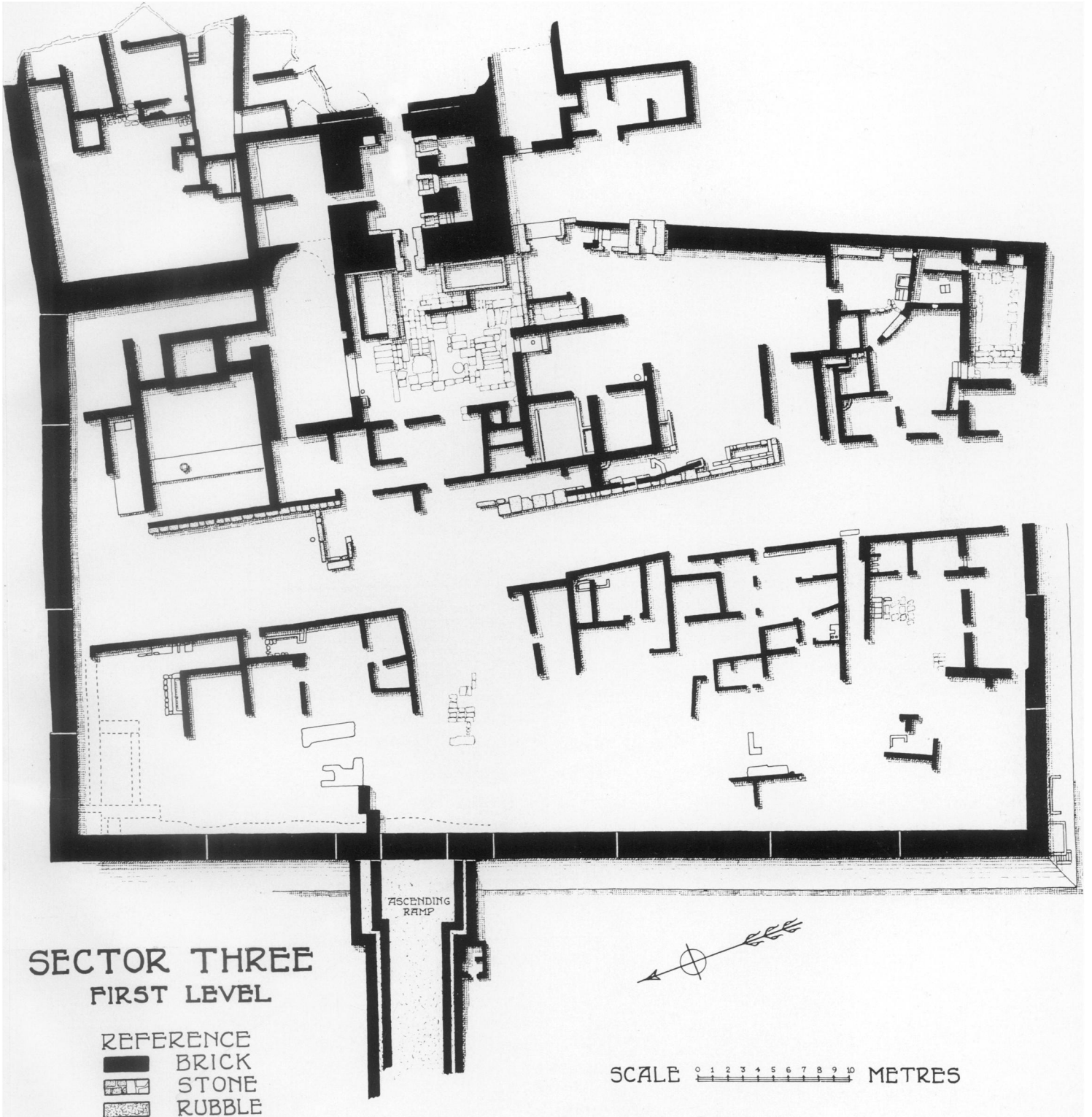
remains contemporary with Nectanebo II revealed (pl. III). Apart from the main chapel, three other shrines were found, one on the north side (D) and two (B and C) on the south, all of which were built in front of the escarpment. Although they were reduced almost to foundation level, sufficient remained to show that a uniform pattern of design was followed: a ramp-stairway leading to an open court in front of a small sanctuary.

In the course of the clearance of the chapels more caches of votive objects were found, the most notable of which was in a pit below the stone paving of Shrine D. When first opened the pit was found to contain a large number of bronze statuettes arranged in an orderly manner (pl. IV). Below them were three wooden shrines and a wooden statue of Osiris embellished with coloured glass inlay and standing on a limestone base. More bronze statuettes were found packed in the wooden shrines, some of them wrapped in linen (pl. V) which accounts for their extraordinary state of preservation, many of them being in mint condition (pls. VI-IX). Apart from those of bronze, statuettes of deities in wood and stone were also recovered from the shrines.

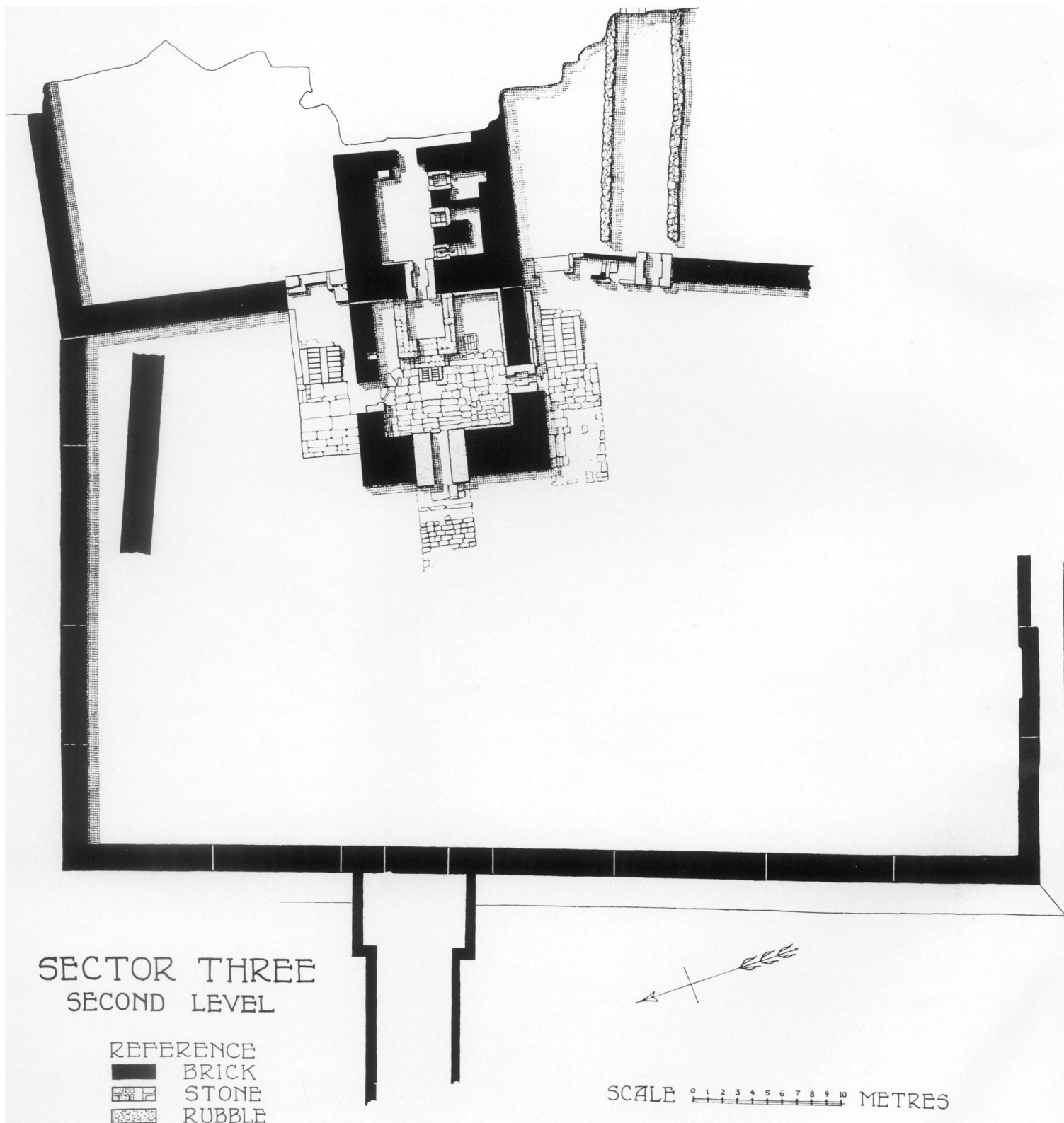
An analysis of the deities found in this deposit is as follows:

Osiris	19	Hathor	2
Sakhmet	2	Onuris	1
Isis	26	Khnum	1
Harpocrates	32	Mut	1
Ptah	4	Min	2
Anubis	2	Apis	4
Thoth	1	Imhotep	1
Horus	3	Winged Bes	1

After the removal of the contents of the pit its walls were dismantled, and its stone lining was found to consist of ten funerary stelae: five with hieroglyphic texts, four with Carian texts and one blank. The finest of the Carian stelae depicts the standing figures of a man and a woman facing each other both dressed in Carian costume (pl. X, 1). Carian inscriptions are incised in vertical lines down the sides while above the figures is a winged disc. The other three Carian stelae show three registers beneath a winged disc. The two upper registers depict Egyptian-style mortuary scenes, while the lowest shows a scene in Carian style of the deceased lying on a bier attended by his wife and female mourners (pl. X, 2). Between the registers are one or more Carian texts in horizontal lines. The other five stelae are typical of the round-topped funerary variety. Other deposits of votive objects, such as bronze, wood, and stone statuettes were found over the whole area of Sector 3 but in every case they gave the appearance of hurried and rather haphazard burial; moreover, many of the objects in these caches showed signs of breakage and decay before they were concealed. But the objects in the deposit in Shrine D were in perfect condition and were carefully arranged before the pit in which they were placed was sealed. In date they can hardly be earlier than the Thirtieth Dynasty, and, as the stelae were reused in building the retaining walls of the pit, they must be earlier than the fourth century A.D. and were perhaps removed from a Carian burial ground in an adjacent area when Nectanebo built his small temple. Later discoveries of Carian material tend to support this theory (see below).



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Another unusual deposit, also found in the vicinity of Shrine D, consisted of a variety of bronze vessels, a bronze standard-pedestal and bronze mirror with a wooden handle; a group which might be the purification equipment of a priest.

As we stated in our last report, we had every reason to hope for the discovery of the mausoleum of Isis, Mother of Apis, and with this end in view clearance of rock-fall and debris between the back of the shrines and the escarpment was undertaken by the main body of our workers. Excavation behind Shrine C revealed two rough-stone retaining walls which led directly to the rock-face of the escarpment (pl. XI, 1). The corridor between them was filled with a hard deposit, mostly consisting of chippings, which was obviously artificial. Some days were taken in working our way down the corridor and on December 7 the top of the rock-face was reached revealing the cavetto cornice of a stone-built doorway, which had originally been sealed with well-cut blocks of stone, the lower courses of which were intact (pl. XI, 2). Plunderers, presumably the later Christian settlers, had effected two entrances, one behind the cavetto cornice and the other just below the architrave of the doorway. Through these entrances preliminary exploration was possible, revealing a series of galleries lined with niches in which had been buried hundreds of the cynocephalous baboons which, with the ibis, were sacred to Thoth and Imḥotep (pls. XII and XIII). These galleries were filled with debris, and dangerous in parts, so that it was some time before systematic exploration could be undertaken, and progress was slow as our work-party advanced, followed by masons and builders strengthening the walls and roofs of the galleries with stone and timber. Like the ibis catacombs, the galleries had been cut in a soft stratum of rock, but unlike them they had been lined with fine limestone masonry which for the most part was found in perfect condition. Only in limited areas had the walls collapsed with the resulting danger of roof collapse.

With a common vestibule entrance the galleries are on two levels connected by a stairway (pl. XII, 1 and 2). The workmanship of the lower gallery is superior to the one above it, although to judge from the general design it would appear that it is a later addition; but until further research is undertaken we cannot be certain on this point. In the floor in the south-east corner of the vestibule a shaft descends to another underground complex containing more wall-niches for baboon burials, two of which were found intact, these being the only undisturbed burials in the whole mausoleum (pl. XIII, 3). The method of interment is of considerable interest and, as far as I am aware, unique. The animal was mummified and wrapped in linen in the usual manner. It was then placed upright in a wooden chest which was then filled, in some cases with gypsum plaster and in others with cement. The chests with their solidified contents were placed in the niches which were sealed with a stone blocking on which a demotic inscription was written in ink. Mr. H. S. Smith reports that these texts give the date of the burial of the baboon and a short prayer for its eternal welfare. In some instances details are added of where the animal was brought from and when it was installed in the temple of Ptah; its name is also generally given.

This section of the galleries appears to be part of a Third-dynasty burial chamber, for a ravaged stone sarcophagus of that period was found in it. However, the shaft

from ground surface above has not been located, and other side galleries leading from its centre remain blocked and dangerous.

The most remarkable find in the vestibule was a three-quarter size limestone statue of Isis nursing the infant Horus (pl. XIV, 1). Although the face is badly battered and the disc and horns missing, this figure is in many ways unique. The Greek influence is obvious; the posture of the goddess is unusually lifelike. Instead of exhibiting the conventional figure seated on a throne, Isis is depicted in the natural pose of a nursing mother in a squatting position. At the bottom of the stairway leading to the lower gallery we found two life-size limestone statues of the sacred baboon (pl. XIV, 2 and 3).

As the debris was being cleared from both the upper and lower galleries many objects were recovered amidst the remains of baboon mummies, the broken fragments of their burial chests and the smashed blocks of the cement which had encased them. But the most important finds were recovered from gallery C. Here numerous limestone false-door stelae inscribed with brief Carian texts were found lying in the debris (pl. XV). As one was discovered in the main upper gallery, reused in the masonry, we may conclude that these Carian monuments were not in their original positions, but had been brought as convenient building material from an adjacent burial ground, like those found supporting the walls of the pit in the floor of shrine D. However, we must note that among the numerous graffiti on the walls of the galleries is one in Carian, which suggests the galleries were in existence at the time when the stelae were in use. Two of the small stelae exhibit Egyptian as well as Carian texts, but it is as yet uncertain whether they are bilingual (pl. XV, 5).

On the graffiti on the walls of the galleries, Mr. H. S. Smith reports:

There are approximately a hundred graffiti in hieroglyphic and demotic, and one solitary example in Carian. Some of the demotic ones are mason's marks and directions, but the vast majority are the inscriptions of visitors, mainly in the form 'the worthy servant of Osiris the Ape, X son of Y, his mother being Z'; often these include several members of a single family, as with the Serapeum stelae. Not all the visitors use the same description; some describe themselves as worthy servants or souls of Osiris-Apis or occasionally of Thoth. In general the incised graffiti are later than the ink ones, and the hieroglyphic ones late in the sequence, which perhaps lasts from the fourth century B.C. into the Roman period; unfortunately, though several are dated to a regnal year, in no instance is the king's name given. At one point, two adjoining blocks are built into the masonry, one upside down, bearing a most bizarre Greek inscription.

In addition to stelae, tables of offering and other objects, an unusual class of objects was recovered from the debris of the upper gallery. These were plaster casts of various parts of the human anatomy such as complete human heads, the upper halves of human faces (pl. XVI, 1), hair, torsos, legs, hands, and feet and other unidentifiable pieces. Some were broken but others were complete in themselves. At first we considered them to be sculptors' trial pieces of some sort for many appeared to have been cast from statuary; but this identification was obviously unsatisfactory. If they are compared with similar objects of terracotta from the temple of Aesculapius in Rome, now in the Wellcome Museum (pl. XVI, 2) there can, in my opinion, be little doubt that they are medical votive offerings left by sick pilgrims either as tokens of gratitude for healing



1. Stone covering of cache in Shrine D



2. Bronze statuettes and wooden figure of Osiris as found



3. Wooden figure of Osiris after the removal of other objects



4. Bronze statuettes and one of the wooden shrines as found

PLATE V



1



2



3



4



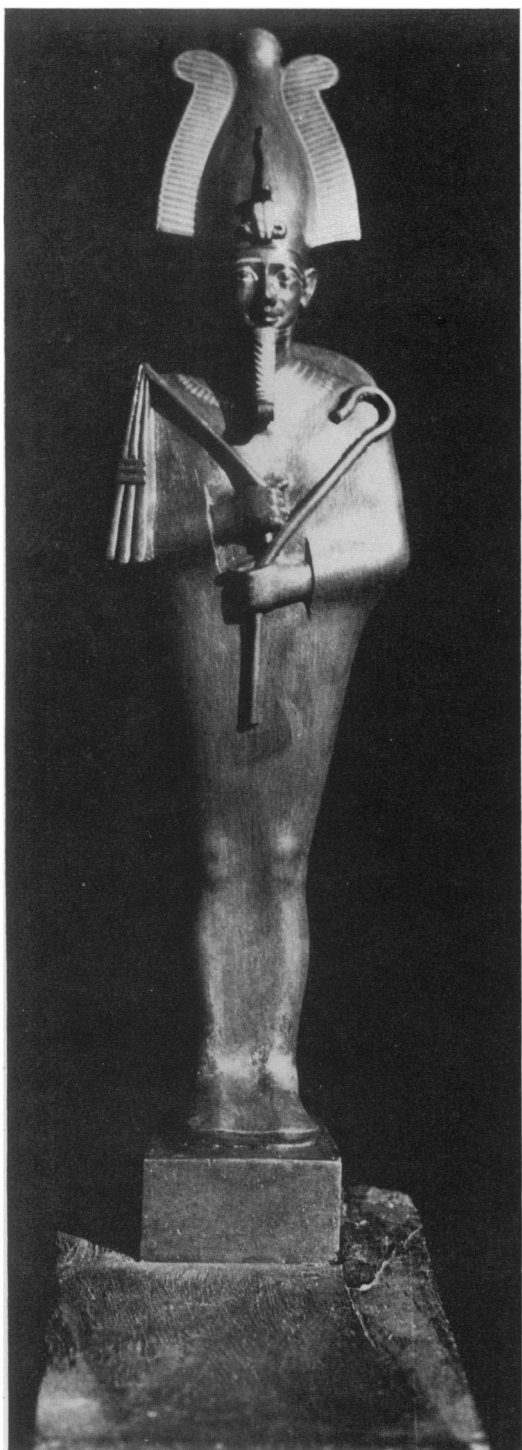
5



6

Bronze statuettes wrapped in linen

NORTH SAQQÂRA 1968-9

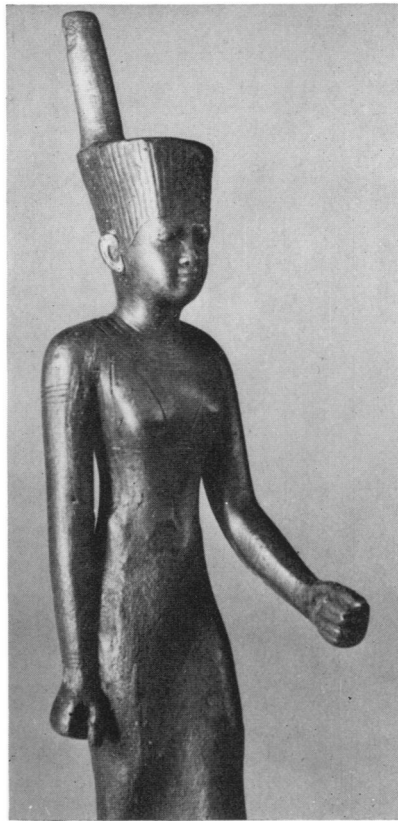
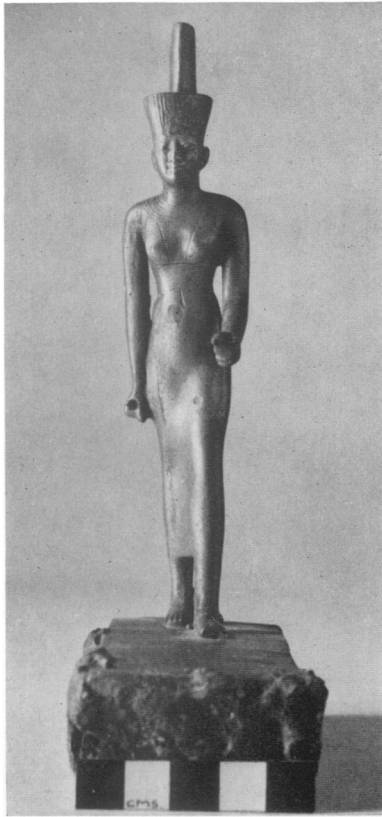


1. Bronze statuette of Osiris with gold inlay;
27 cm. high

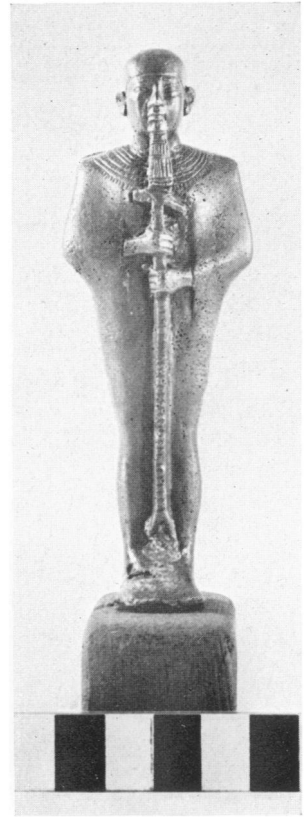


2. Bronze statuette of Isis and Horus overlaid with gold foil;
22.1 cm. high

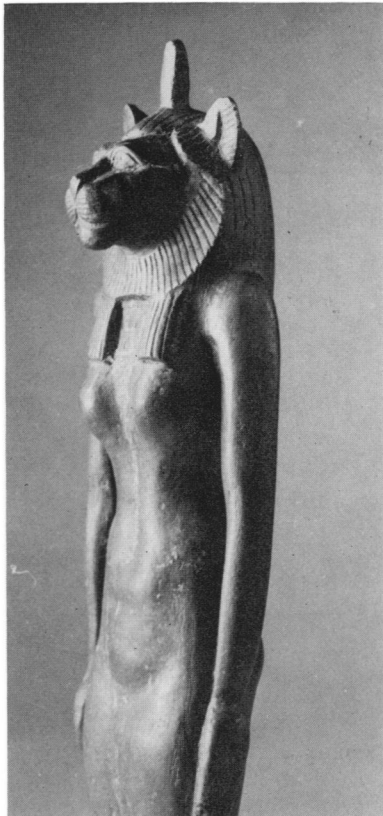
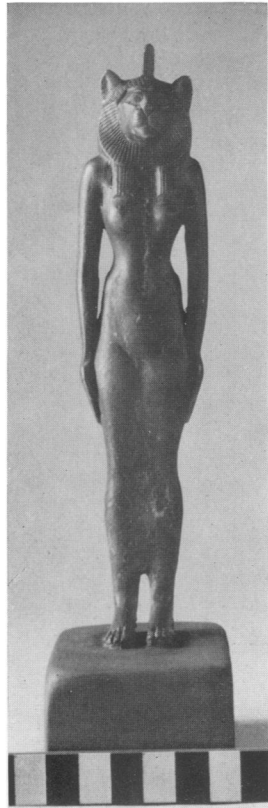
NORTH SAQQÂRA 1968-9



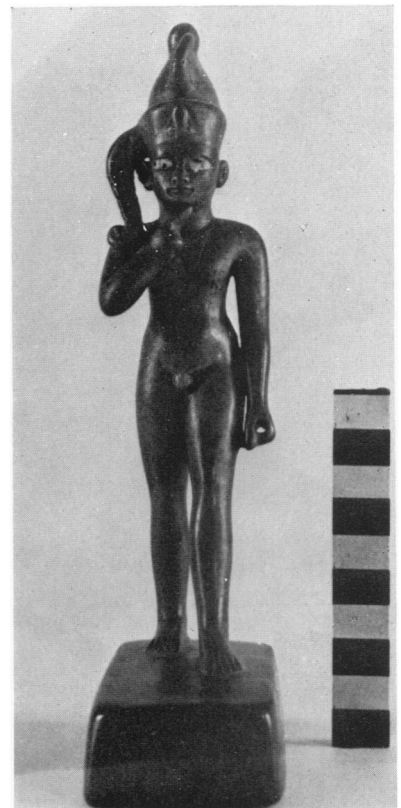
1 and 2. Neith



3. Ptah



4 and 5. Sakhmet



6. Harpocrates

Bronze statuettes of deities
NORTH SAQQÂRA 1968-9



1. Imhotep



2. Onuris



3. Ptah



4. Harpocrates



5. Horus



6. A composite god

Bronze statuettes of deities
NORTH SAQQÂRA 1968-9



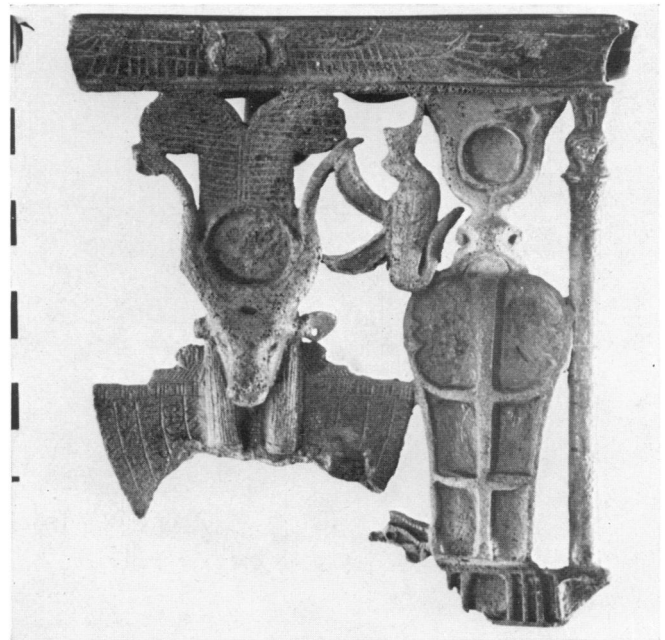
1. Isis mother of Apis
(the bronze was fitted anciently into an alien base)



2. Isis and Horus



3. Apis

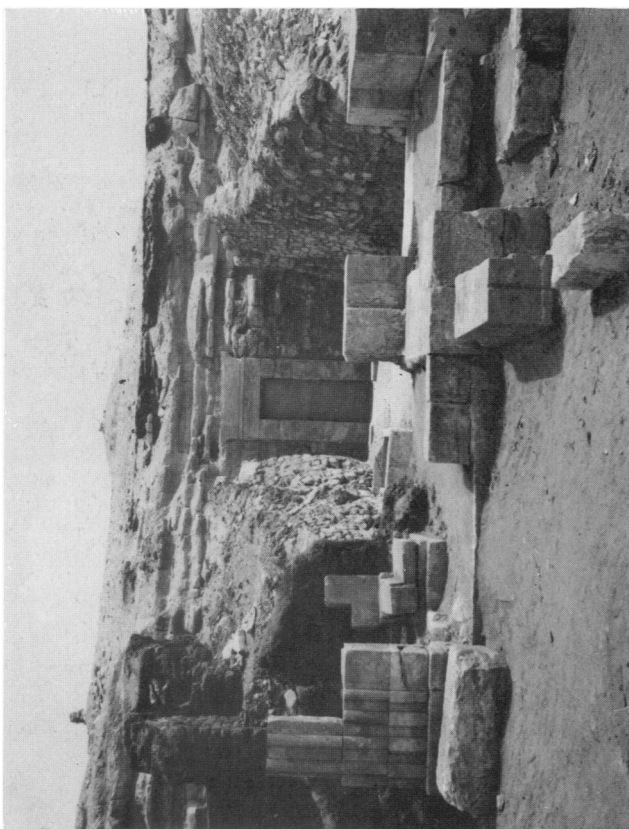


4. Pectoral with Apis aegis and uraeus

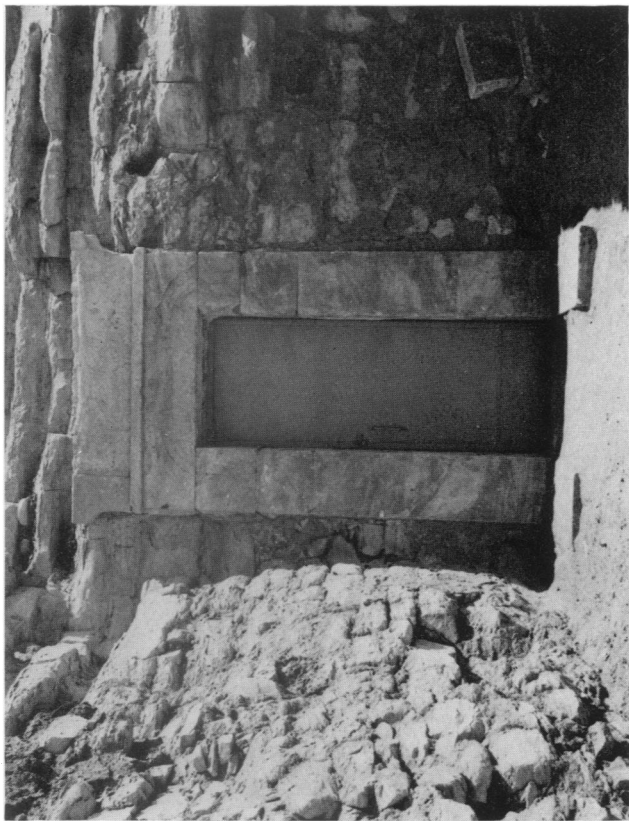


1 and 2. Carian stelae

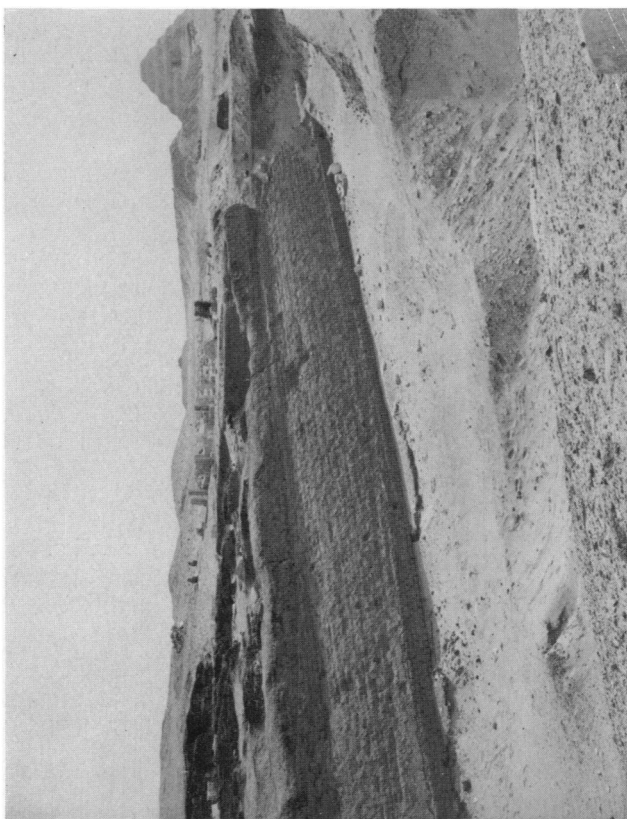
NORTH SAQQÂRA 1968-9



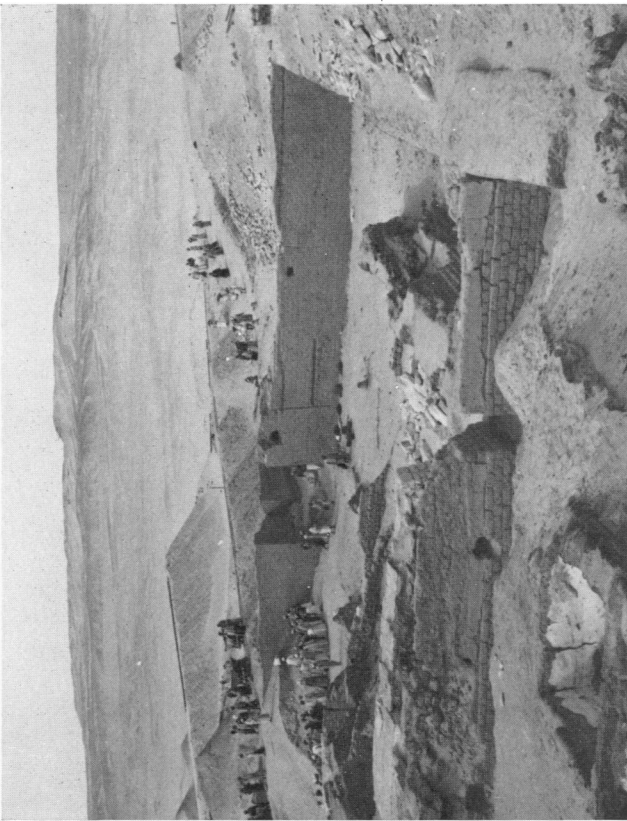
3. Exterior of south-west corner of Sector 3



2. Entrance to the baboon mausoleum



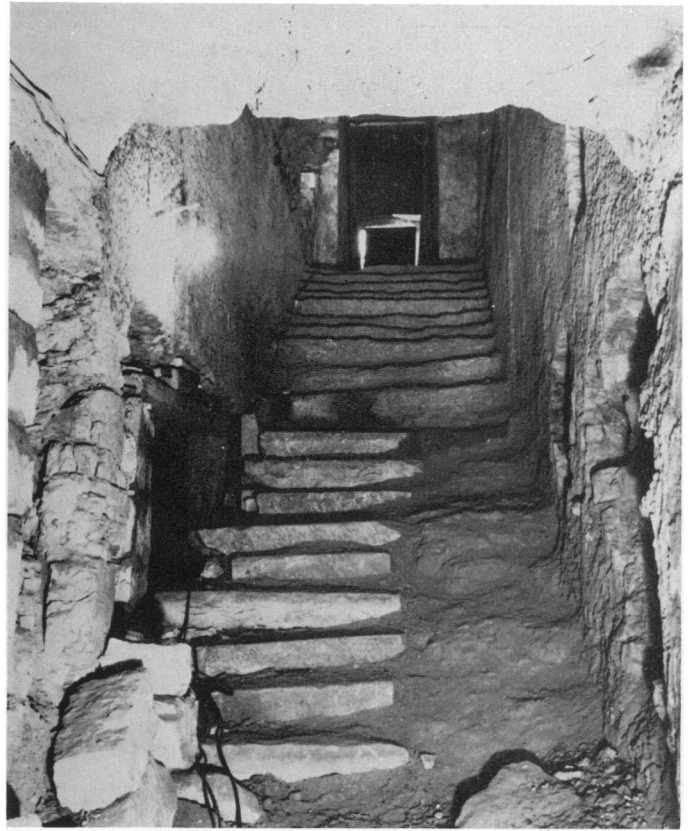
1. Shrine C. Corridor to the entrance of the baboon mausoleum



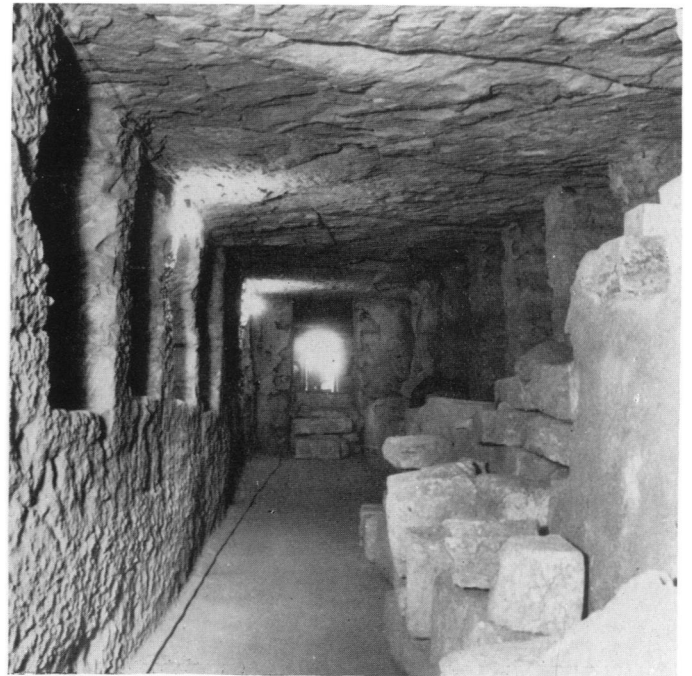
4. Gateway and lowest level of Sector 3



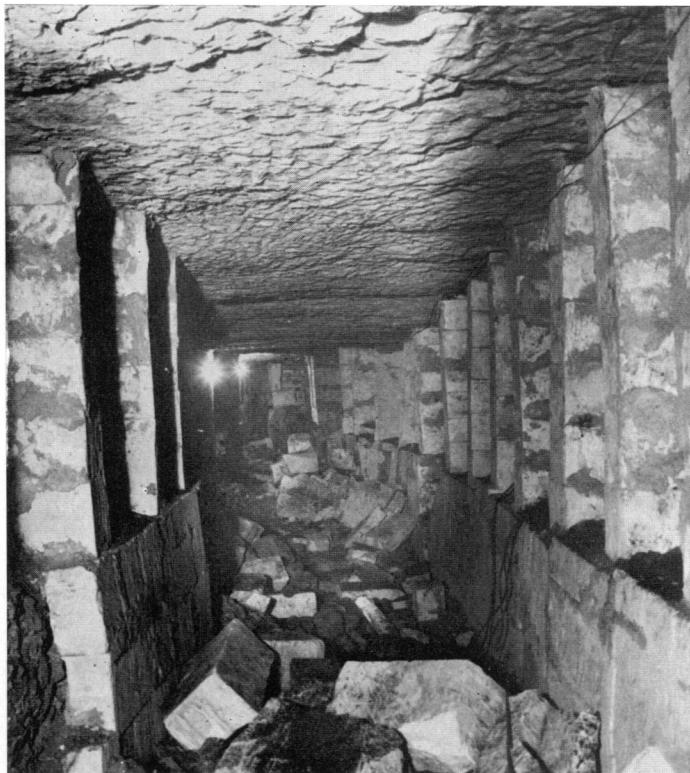
1. Stairway connecting the upper and lower galleries, from above



2. The same from below



3 and 4. The upper gallery



1 and 2. Built walls of the lower gallery



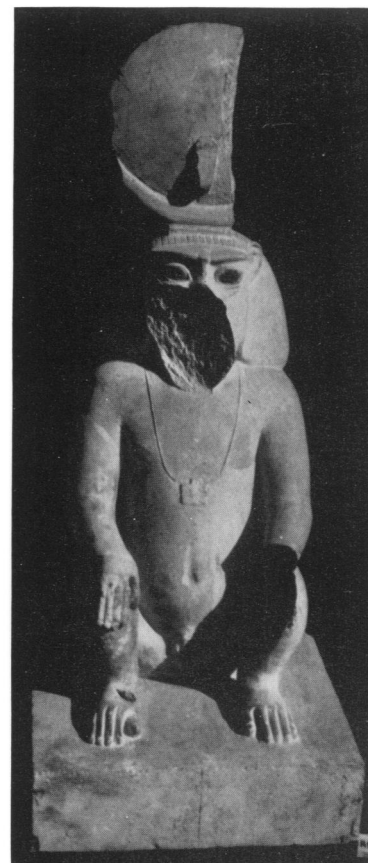
3. Intact baboon burial



4. Break-through to the ibis galleries



1. Limestone statue of Isis and Horus



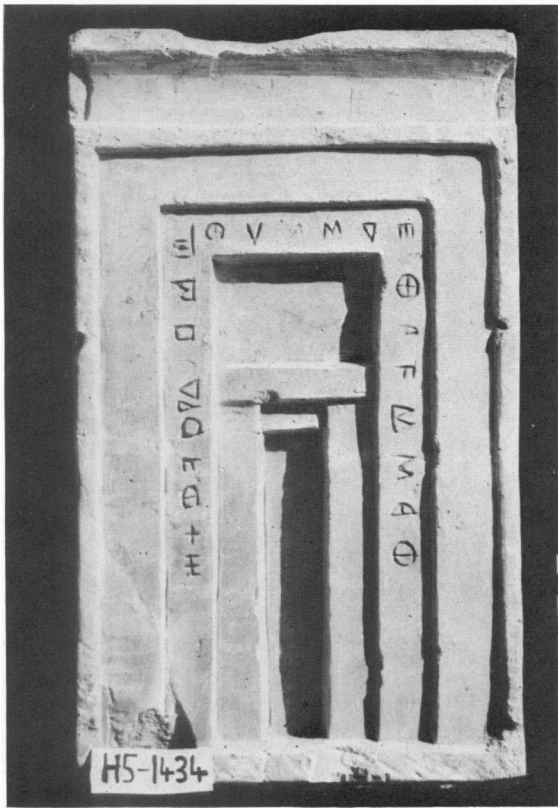
2 and 3. Limestone statues of the sacred baboon



4. Limestone Apis stela



4. Limestone sphinx



1



2



3

4



5

Stelae with Carian texts; no. 5 also bears Egyptian texts



1. Anatomical *donaria* from Tomb 3518



2. Anatomical *donaria* from Rome in the Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine

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1. Jar-sealing of Netjerkhet (Zoser)



2. Corridor chapel of Tomb 3518, from the north



3. North-west corner and entrance to Tomb 3518

or to induce the gods to grant cures. Further support for this identification was forthcoming later during this season's excavation (see below).

By the end of January the baboon galleries were completely cleared and two features

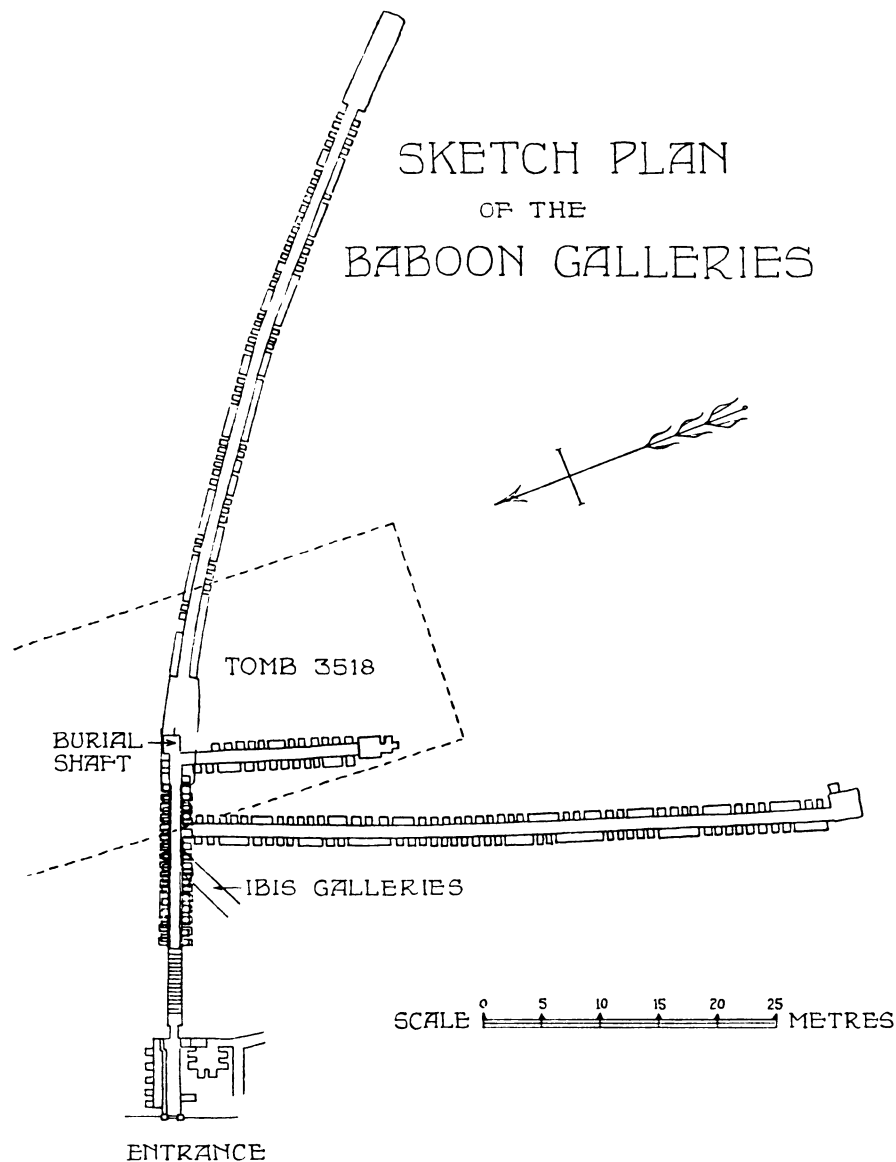


FIG. 1.

of considerable interest were revealed. In the lower gallery, just beyond the stairway, breaks in the walls of two widely separated burial niches gave access to a series of catacombs filled to the roof with layer on layer of ibis mummies in their pottery containers (pl. XIII, 4). Only a preliminary exploration was possible and we were unable to penetrate very far, but this was sufficient to show that the baboon and ibis mausoleums were connected. Some idea of the vast ramifications of these subterranean catacombs can be gained from the knowledge that a distance of nearly 200 m. separates

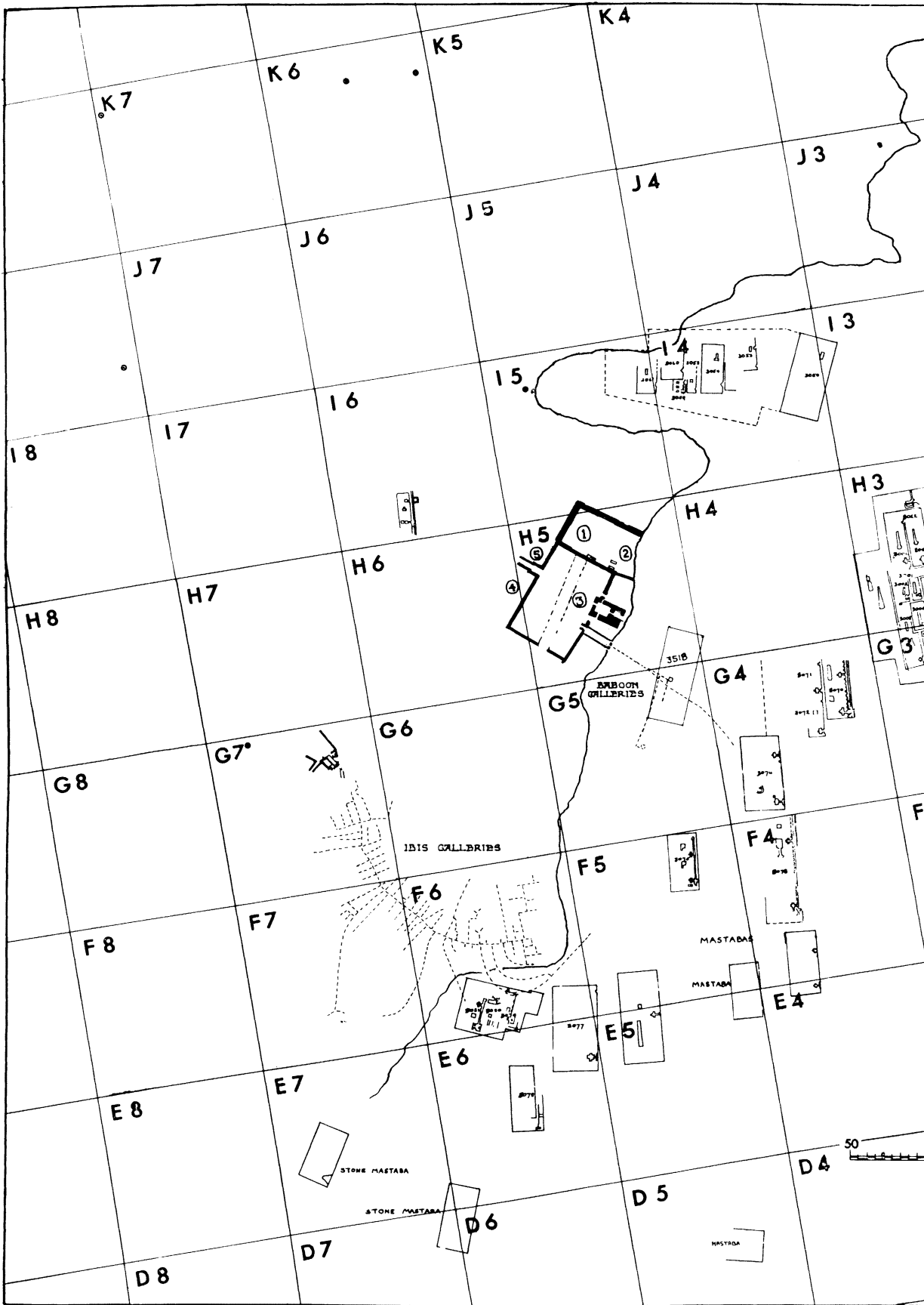
the entrances so far discovered (pl. XVIII). This new section of the ibis galleries must await investigation at a later date, for it presents considerable difficulties, principally connected with the disposal of thousands of ibis mummies without the removal of which penetration will be impossible.

The main upper baboon gallery leads directly in a westerly direction towards the tomb of Kha-bau-Sokar (No. 3073) and is thus situated below the principal area of the mastabas of the Third-dynasty nobility which are built on the top of the escarpment (pl. XVIII). We found that this gallery, at a distance of 32 m., broke into a Third-dynasty burial shaft which could not be explored because of its very dangerous condition. There were indications of the existence of burial chambers leading from the shaft, but these were full of debris which could not be removed because of the overhang of the shaft filling which appeared to be original. Any attempt to dislodge this filling might well have been fatal; until elaborate shoring was completed, any further exploration was impossible. As equipment for such work was not available, we turned our attention to the top of the escarpment with a view to finding the mouth of the shaft. By February 5 large-scale excavation revealed the top of the shaft which belonged to a large twin mastaba of the Third Dynasty. This tomb is of most unusual design and with its brick superstructure measuring 52 × 19 m. it is one of the largest in the archaic necropolis (pls. XIX, XX). As we stated above, work on its south burial shaft, which connects it directly with the upper gallery of the baboon mausoleum, had to be suspended for technical reasons; but the mouth of the shaft was cleared sufficiently to reveal that its rubble filling was original, and not a gradual deposit accumulated after the shaft had been emptied by robbers. The north shaft and burial chamber, not connected with the galleries below it, had been plundered but considerable quantities of broken stone vessels of fine quality were recovered from them. These await examination when the excavations are resumed next season. Deposits of Third-dynasty pottery, some undisturbed were found in the magazines built within the superstructure. In a magazine behind the south chapel we discovered the most valuable object for dating the tomb, a clay jar-sealing bearing the *serekh* of Netjerkhet (Zoser) (pl. XVII, 1).

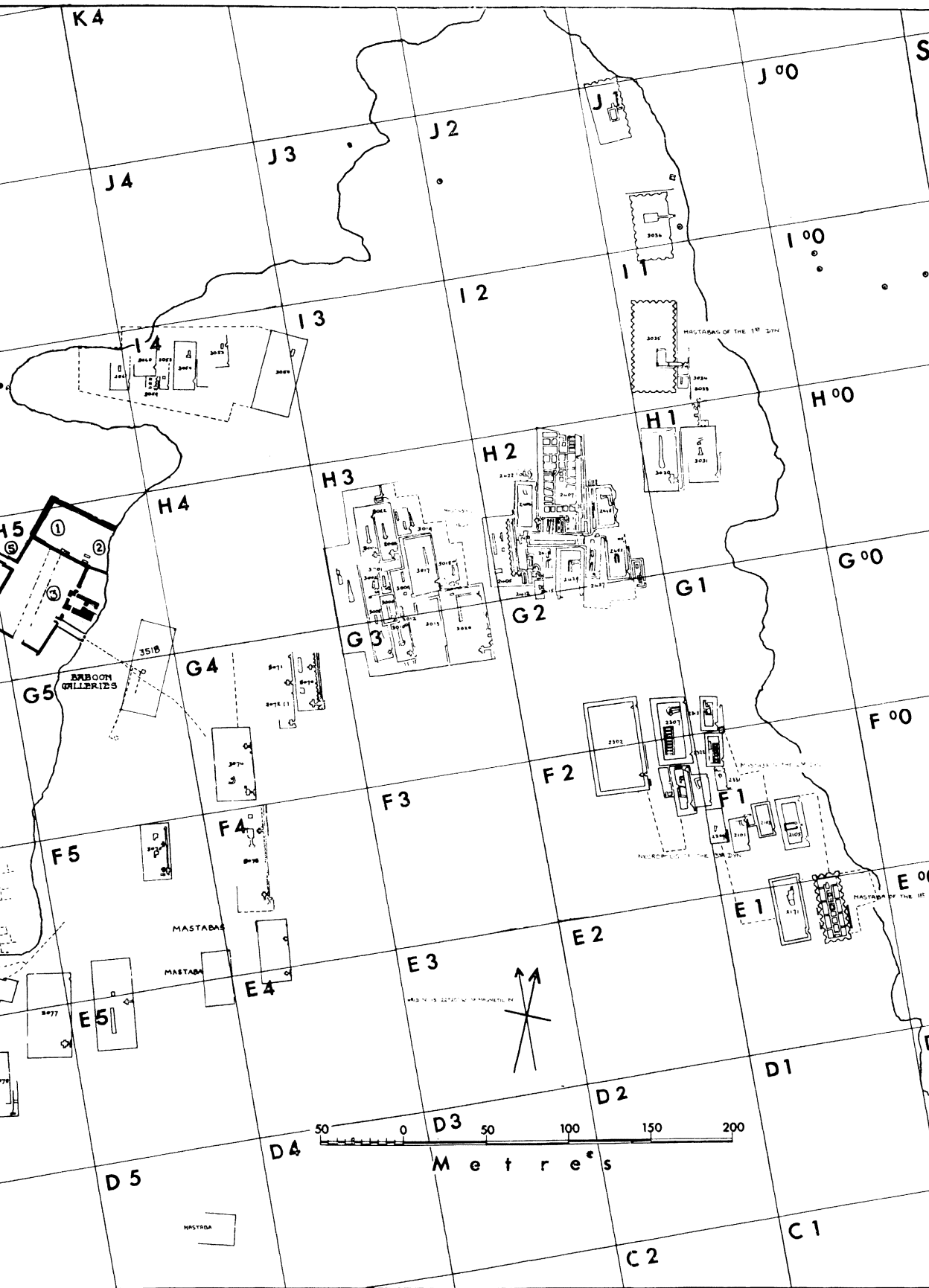
A fact perhaps of some significance is that, unlike the tomb of Ḥesyt-Rē and other great burials of the Third Dynasty, this tomb, now numbered 3518, has exactly the same orientation as the pyramid of Zoser.

Clearing the area in front of the main entrance to the superstructure which leads into the corridor chapel, we discovered a cache of plaster objects of the same type as those found in the baboon galleries. These lay in clean sand at a depth of about 1.0 m. In addition to four large redware storage jars and a fragment of a Ptolemaic amulet, they comprise:

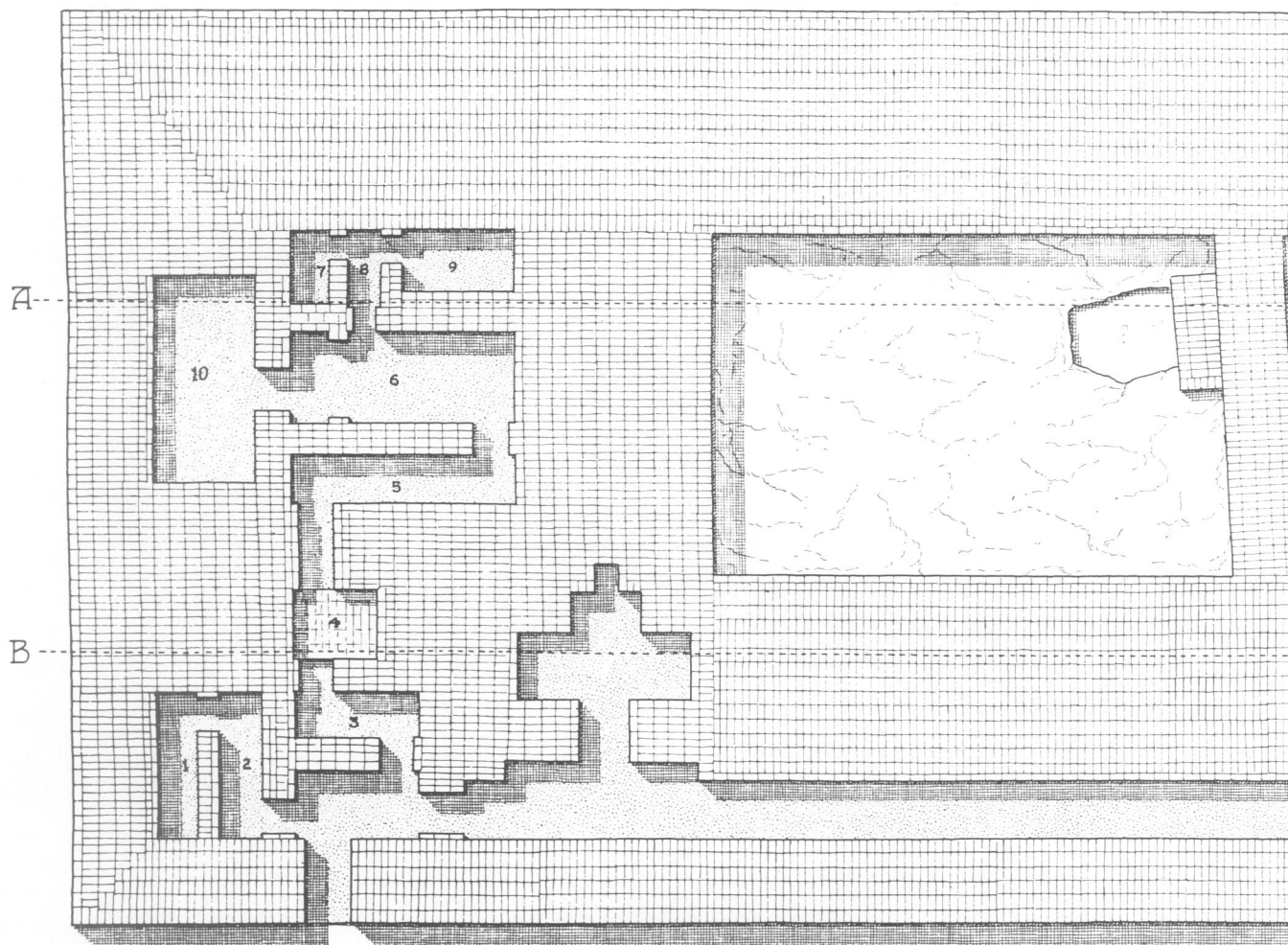
- Male torsos including the thighs.
- Human calves including the feet.
- Female torso and legs in a kneeling position.
- Bust of a beardless king wearing the double crown.
- Figure of a hawk.
- Front of a male head wearing a wig and collar.



NORT



NORTH SAQQÂRA 1968-9



TOMB N^o 3518

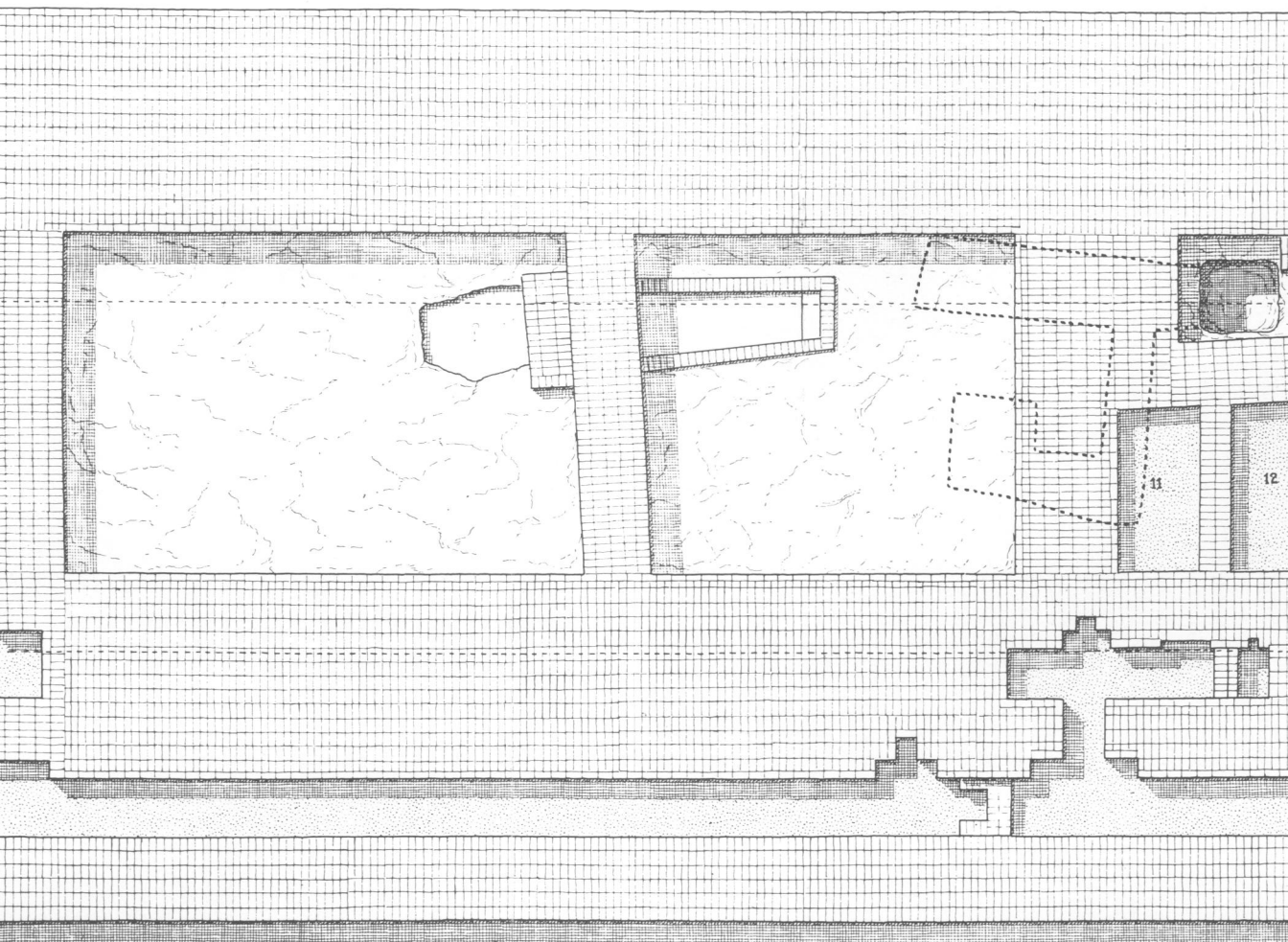
PLAN

SCALE


REFERENCE:  BRICK

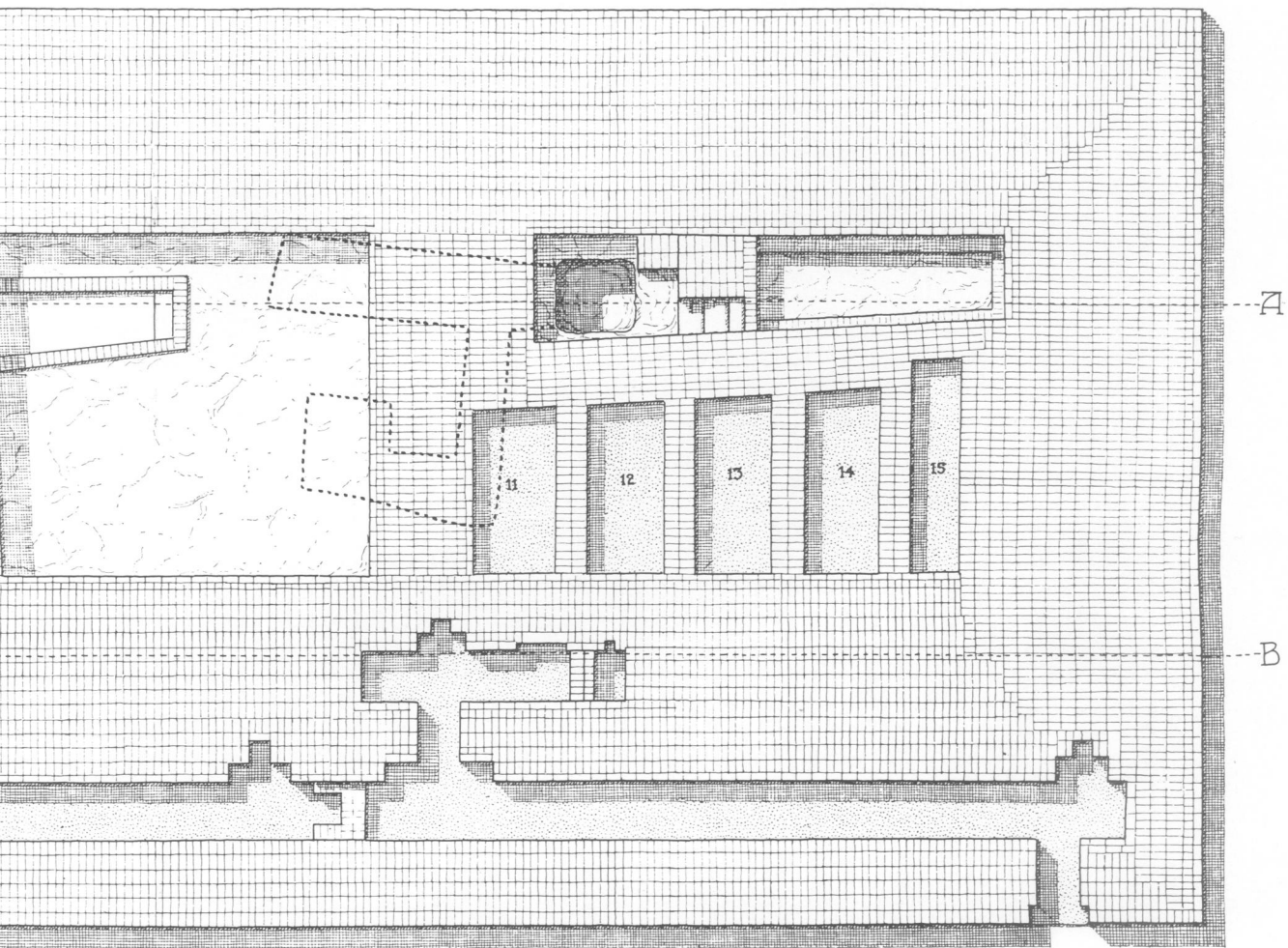


NORTH SAQ



REFERENCE:  BRICK.  ROCK.  MUD PAVEMENT

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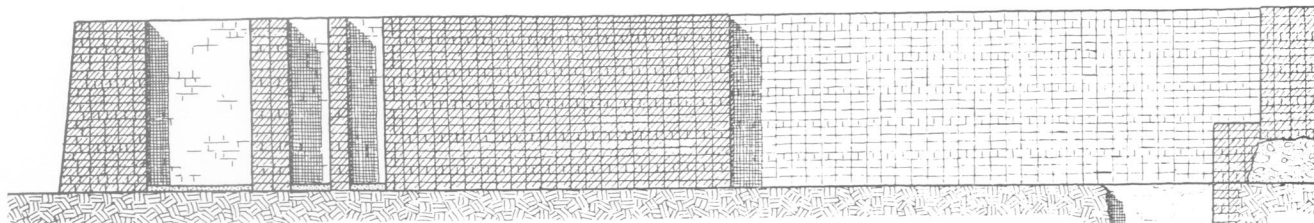
CK.  ROCK.  MUD PAVEMENT



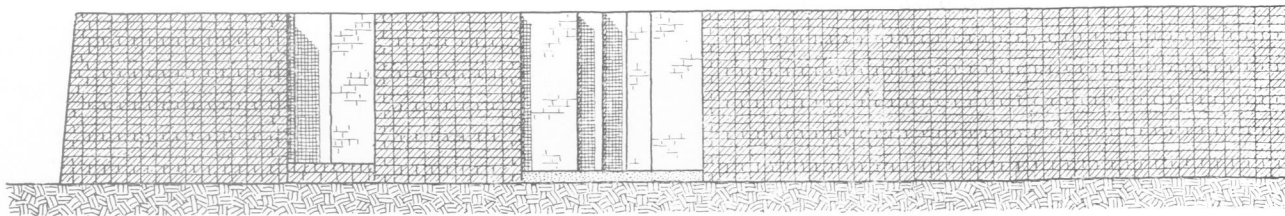
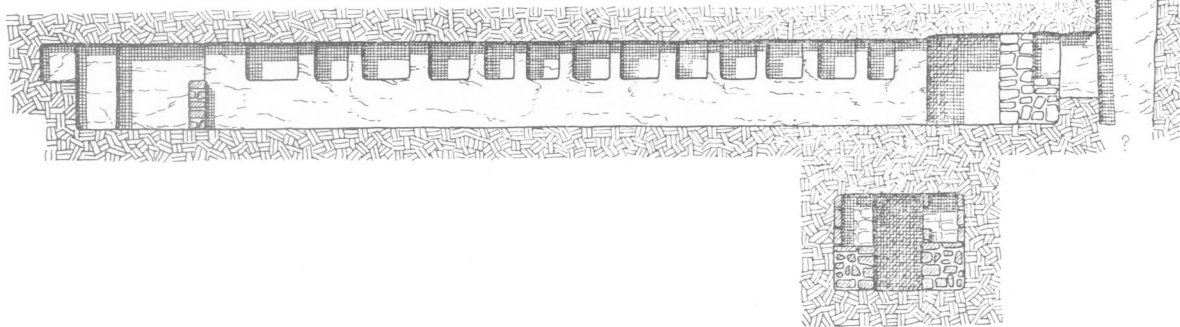
0 15 20 25

METRES

WALTER B. EMERY
1969



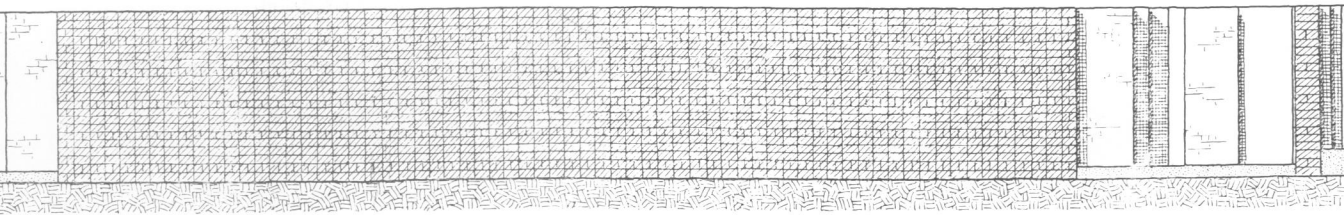
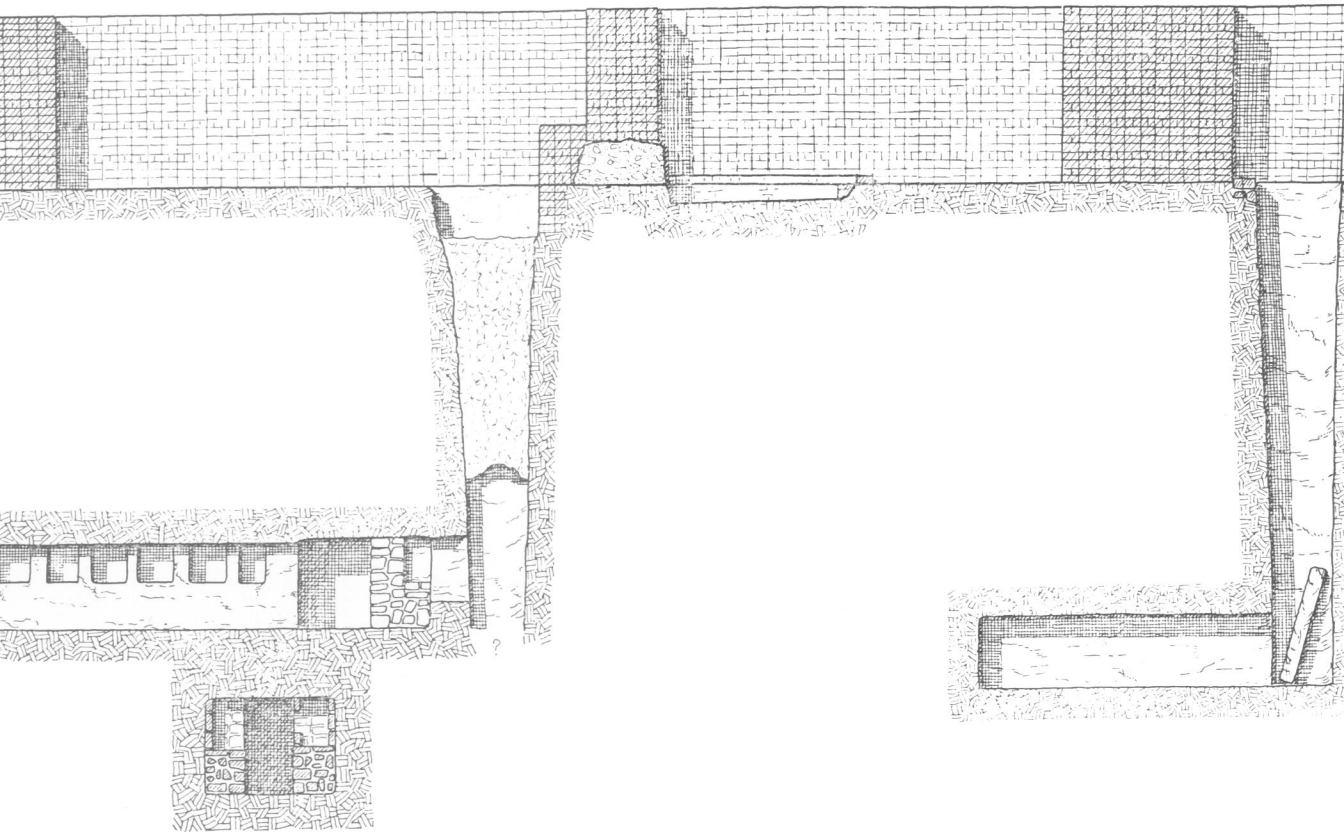
SECTION A-A



SECTION B-B

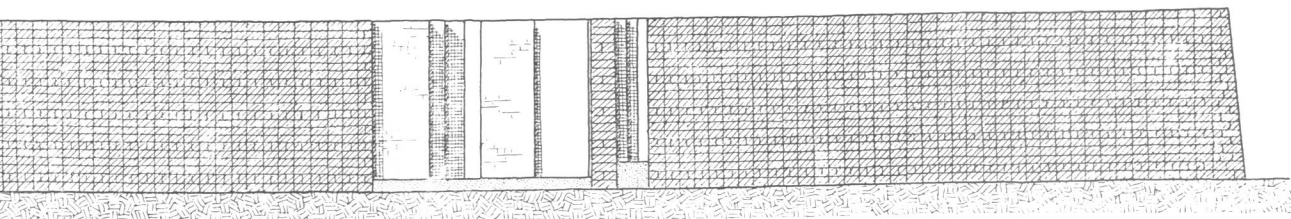
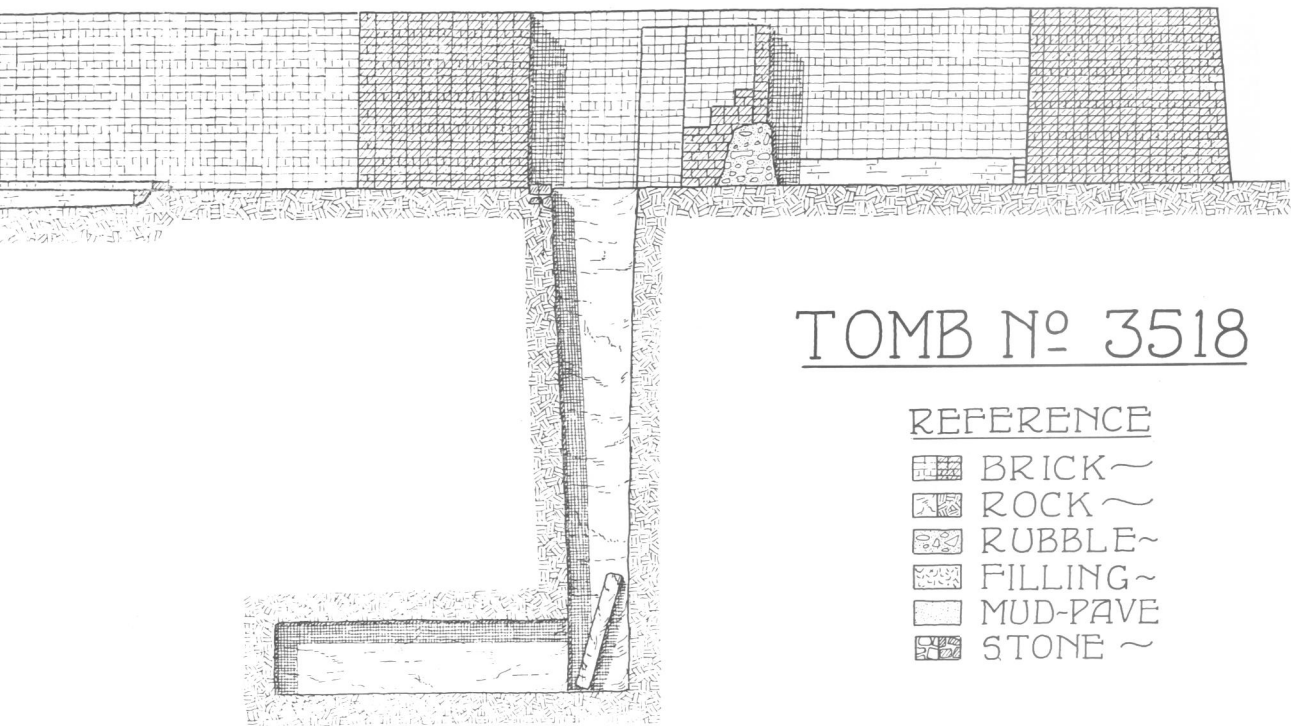
SCALE 0 5

NORTH S.



SCALE 0 5 10 15 20 MET

NORTH SAQQĀRA 1968-9



10 15 20 METRES

WALTER B EMERY
1969

Two male faces. The eyes of one have been covered by a lump of plaster (pl. XVI, 1).

Left side of a child's head with the features obscure and the ear in high relief.

Calf and shin of a human leg.

Human foot.

Human hand.

Human arms bent at the elbow.

Right side of a wig. This cast has been taken from a late Eighteenth-dynasty statue which was already well weathered when the copy was made.

Part of an elaborately curled wig.

Six sections of an unidentified object which may be part of a large *Djed*-pillar.

There can be little doubt that most of these objects are anatomical *donaria*, contemporary with those found in the baboon galleries and their position outside the entrance to this large Third-dynasty mastaba is, to say the least, significant (pl. XVI).

Throughout the whole of the season a large body of workers was engaged in the clearance of the rubble filling of the platform enclosed by the great brick enclosure of Sector 3. The north half of this area has now been excavated down to ground level revealing still older structures of, as yet, uncertain date. This work has confirmed that the ramp ascending from the courtyard of Sector 4 to the platforms of Sector 3 was originally a gate leading into a brick walled enclosure with a common floor level (pl. XI, 4). The character of these earlier buildings, embedded in the filling, which are probably contemporary with the enclosure walls, must remain unknown until further excavation is carried out.

The clearance of Sector 3 yielded a variety of inscribed material on which Mr. H. S. Smith reports:

Reused on the temple site were discovered a number of hieroglyphic inscriptions. A few were large architectural elements from Old Kingdom mastabas, but the majority were fragments of funerary stelae dating from the Ramesside Period to Roman times. Most important for the interpretation of the site are the ostraca, 30 in number, two being in Greek, one in Coptic and the remainder in demotic. Most of these are ephemeral jottings, but a contract of Year 9 of Darius I, apparently of self-dedication, a complaint to Isis, and a dream text are of real value. Papyri discovered this season have been few. They include, however, a magnificent demotic marriage document, almost complete, of Year 11 of Darius, most probably Darius I. Other interesting demotic fragments include seven fragments of narrative texts, in all except one case reports or complaints rather than literary matters. Two short fragments inscribed in Greek were also found, and one in Aramaic.



A BRONZE OSIRIS WITH GOLD INLAY FROM SAQQÂRA

QAŞR İBRÎM 1969

By J. MARTIN PLUMLEY

THE sixth season of the Society's work at Qaşr İbrîm began on January 23 and terminated on March 9, 1969. The staff, under the direction of Professor J. Martin Plumley of the University of Cambridge, included Mrs. G. A. Plumley, Dr. Elizabeth Phipps, and Messrs. Kenneth Frazer and Colin Walters. Mr. Osiris Ghabriel represented the Antiquities Service. Dr. Rowland Ellis and Mr. Ahmed El Bushra visited the site as guests of the Expedition and rendered valuable assistance during their stay. Twenty workmen from Quft were under the command of Reis Bashir Mahmoud. The staff was accommodated on the houseboat *Beit El-Wali*, and the tugs *Daboud* and *Abu Aouda* were in attendance during the season's work. The Society wishes to record its thanks to Dr. Gamal Mukhtar and the officials of the Antiquities Service for their help and assistance in many ways, not least for the arrangements made by them for the use of the houseboat and its transport to and from Qaşr İbrîm. The continued rise of the waters of Lake Nasser has resulted in increasing difficulties in navigation, in the maintenance of communications, and in the provision of essential supplies. It is not surprising that these difficulties together with the unusual extremes of climatic conditions experienced during the season weighed heavily, but not adversely, upon the members of the Expedition. They would wish to express their appreciation of the unfailing assistance of Mr. Osiris Ghabriel during the whole period of what must be reckoned a most strenuous, albeit most successful season.

Two main areas were selected for excavation, the first to the south of the Small Church discovered in 1966, and the second at the junction of the south and west fortifications, where the existence of a large gateway had been confirmed in December 1966. The first area (approx. 35 m. by 12 m.) which is approached from the west by the east stairway, partially excavated in 1966, was covered with the remains of four roughly built Bosnian houses. The dismantling and removal of these structures yielded a number of carved blocks of stone from earlier periods, including portions of hieroglyphic inscriptions, part of a Meroitic funeral stela, and fragments of ornamental stonework of the Christian Period. The considerable underlying strata associated with the Bosnian occupation did not differ from those excavated in earlier seasons. Pottery was crude in the extreme, coarse, badly fired fabrics being common features of its manufacture. Such pieces of finer pottery which were found were clearly importations from Egypt or elsewhere, for two fragments of Chinese porcelain were found. The pieces of cloth, fragments of leather, and bits of metal mixed in with vegetable matter and animal droppings suggested a picture of an occupation not far removed from barbarism. Notwithstanding this appearance of squalor, some of the Bosnian inhabitants of İbrîm were at least literate, for many fragments of Arabic manuscripts were found, the majority

being pieces of letters. One section of this area yielded a number of complete pieces in addition to the fragments. These are very similar to the manuscripts which formed the greater part of the unique and highly important archive concealed in a large sealed pot which was found in 1966.

Below the Bosnian levels lay the remains of a number of occupations, each marked by distinctive features of building construction. The last major occupation before the advent of the Bosnians was clearly distinguished from the remains of the earlier periods by the fact that the structures associated with it were built entirely of sun-dried mud-brick. The 1966 Expedition uncovered all but the northern end of a massive mud-brick complex. The latest Expedition completed the excavation of this structure and investigated the remains of an adjoining mud-brick building which would appear to have been a house. Apart from a few potsherds and an occasional scrap of Arabic manuscript very little was found in this level. Associated with the upper layers of this level were the burials of two monkeys, one having been buried in a cooking pot, the other wrapped in a piece of linen.

Below the level containing the mud-brick constructions was a succession of stone-built walls. It is probable that some of the latest of these, when uncovered, were not far short of their original height, the upper section of the walls having been completed in mud-brick. It was noted that as the levels descended, the earlier stone walls were more massive and better constructed. It would seem that as the power and wealth of the Christian Nubian kingdoms waned, especially after the twelfth century, the building construction likewise deteriorated, stonework increasingly giving way to mud-brick, until the latter materials became the universal medium for building in Nubia.

The upper levels containing these walls have been assigned to the Late Christian Period, and tentatively divided into two main sub-periods, though, in fact, each sub-period can be further subdivided. During the period covered by these levels destruction occurred more than once, for signs of large-scale burning were frequent. The capture of Ibrîm in A.D. 1173 by Shams ed-Daulah, the brother of Saladin, may be said to mark the end of the Classic Christian Period in Nubia and the beginning of the Late Christian Period. This latter was a long period of gradual decline, which at Ibrîm ended in the late fifteenth century; it may even have continued into the sixteenth century. The division between these two major periods is distinguishable at Ibrîm by well-marked changes in pottery styles and also by the nature of the written material found. In the first half of the Classic Christian Period, Greek, Coptic, and Old Nubian are represented. Towards the end of the period Arabic begins to appear. During the Late Christian Period both Greek and Coptic disappear. Old Nubian is attested until the middle of the fifteenth century. Thereafter only Arabic, and possibly Turkish after the Bosnian occupation, are found.

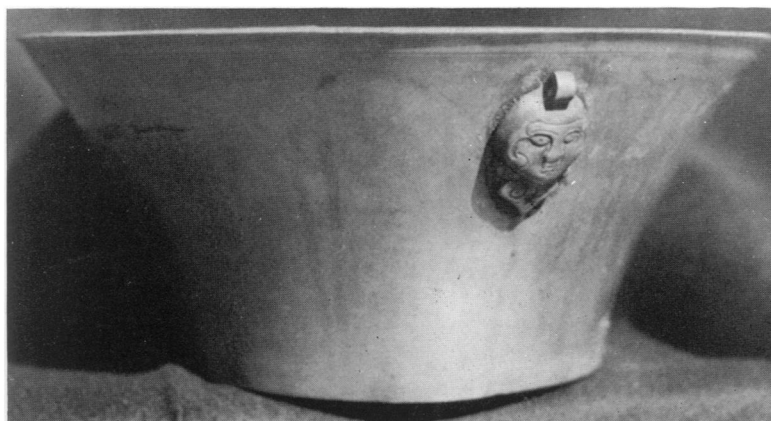
An interesting find dating from the earlier part of the Late Christian Period were two fine brass basins in an excellent state of preservation. These had been concealed, upside down, one within the other, under the hard mud floor of a small room built against the outer wall of an earlier structure (pl. XXI, 1, 2). The circumstance of their concealment is unknown, but possibly they were hidden as valued possessions at a

time when the fortress was under attack. Both basins are 95 cm. in circumference at the rim and 14 cm. in height. On each the only original ornament is a continuous band of engraving along the flat surface of the rim, showing Cufic inscriptions and running animals (pl. XXI, 4, 5). One of the basins had later been adorned with three brass medallions placed at equal intervals on the outside. Two of these were still in place, but only the solder marks indicated the former existence of the third. Solder marks on the bottom of this basin proved that at some time there were three ornamental feet. As yet these basins which were retained in Cairo, have not been dated, but they are similar to many basins of the Mameluke Period, and are possibly thirteenth century in date.

One of the medallions is of particular interest in that it may support a revised reading of the Arabic title of the ruler of Ibrîm. The medallion depicts a human head, almost medieval European in style, which was originally surmounted by another figure. Enough remains of this upper figure to be certain that it was either a horse or a mounted horseman (pl. XXI, 3). Examination of those Arabic letters written to the ruler of Ibrîm, who was the Eparch or Deputy of the High King of Nubia, reveals that the Arabic equivalent of his title is to be read as the 'Lord of the Horses (or ? Horsemen)', and not as has been accepted since the time of Quatremère, the 'Lord of the Mountain'. As will appear, the location of these basins, and the possibility that their concealment indicated that they were prized possessions, might suggest that they were once in the service of the ruler of Ibrîm.

The massive stone wall, against which the small room containing the brass basins had been built, proved to be part of a large structure to which the east Stairway gave access (pl. XXII, 1). It was not possible in the time available and with the labour force at the Expedition's disposal to excavate the whole of this building, but enough of it was freed to show that it had been a structure of considerable importance. The finding here of letters in Old Nubian and Arabic, addressed to the ruler of Ibrîm lends some weight to the possibility that this was the Palace or Residence of that official. What remains of the building, standing to a height of 2 m., clearly formed the cellars or storerooms. One of these rooms is puzzling, for although it contains a small window, there is no other visible means of access. One is forced to conclude that entrance to this room was by way of an opening in the floor above. That there was a room above is clearly shown by the signs of seepage on the walls. The face of the interior walls containing the window is worn smooth and is greasy with lamp-black. One possible use of the room was the confinement of prisoners. Reference to the existence of a prison on Ibrîm in the twelfth century is to be found in Abû Saliḥ's account of the capture of Ibrîm by Shams ed-Daulah. According to Abû Saliḥ a bishop was found in the town of Ibrîm, and, being unable to pay a ransom, he was tortured and thrown into a prison in the fortress.

The foundations of the so-called Residence of the ruler of Ibrîm rested directly upon the walls of an earlier structure, and, so far as the outer walls are concerned, followed them exactly. These walls are even more massive in construction, and rise to a height of 1.65 m. In one important respect these earlier walls differ from those built above; their outer facing had been carefully dressed to present an appearance of well-tooled squared blocks (pl. XXII, 2), though the interior and concealed faces of each block remained



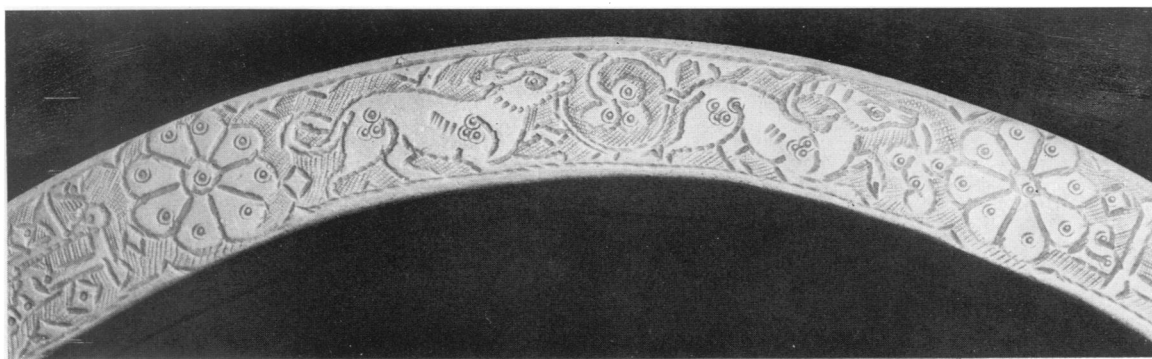
1. One of the two brass basins showing an ornamental medallion



2. Brass basin *in situ* covering another basin below



3. Medallion on brass basin



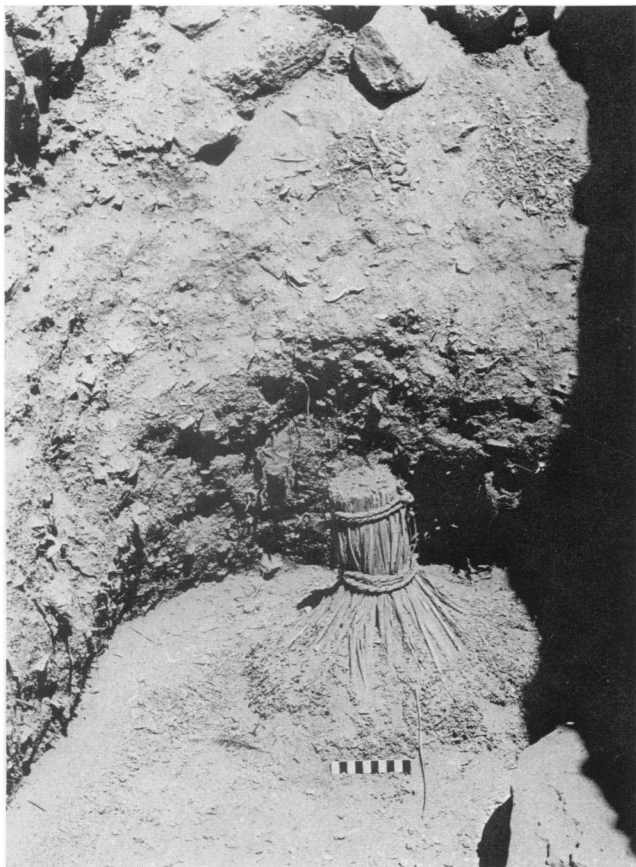
4 and 5. Details of engraving on the rim of one of the brass basins



1. East stairway and approach to the Meroitic building



2. North-west corner of the Meroitic building



1. Bouquet of durra *in situ*



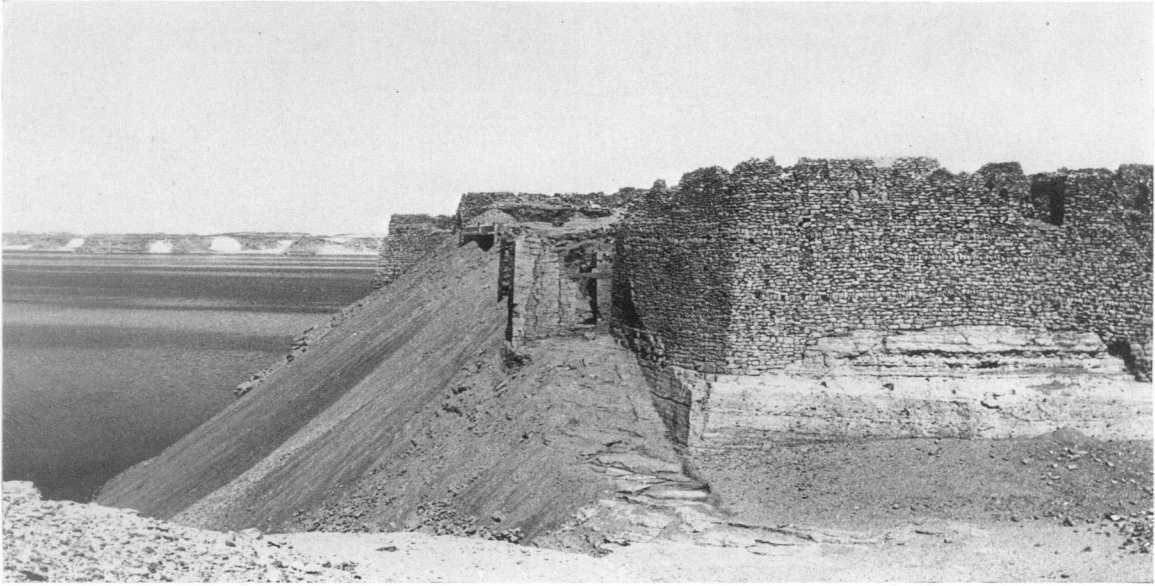
2. Bouquet of durra



4. Meroitic window showing a naked man bearing a small elephant on his shoulders



3. Fragment of painted terracotta, possibly part of a votive figurine of Isis



1. The flanking walls of the south-west gate



2. Approach to the south-west gate



3. Exterior of the south-west gate



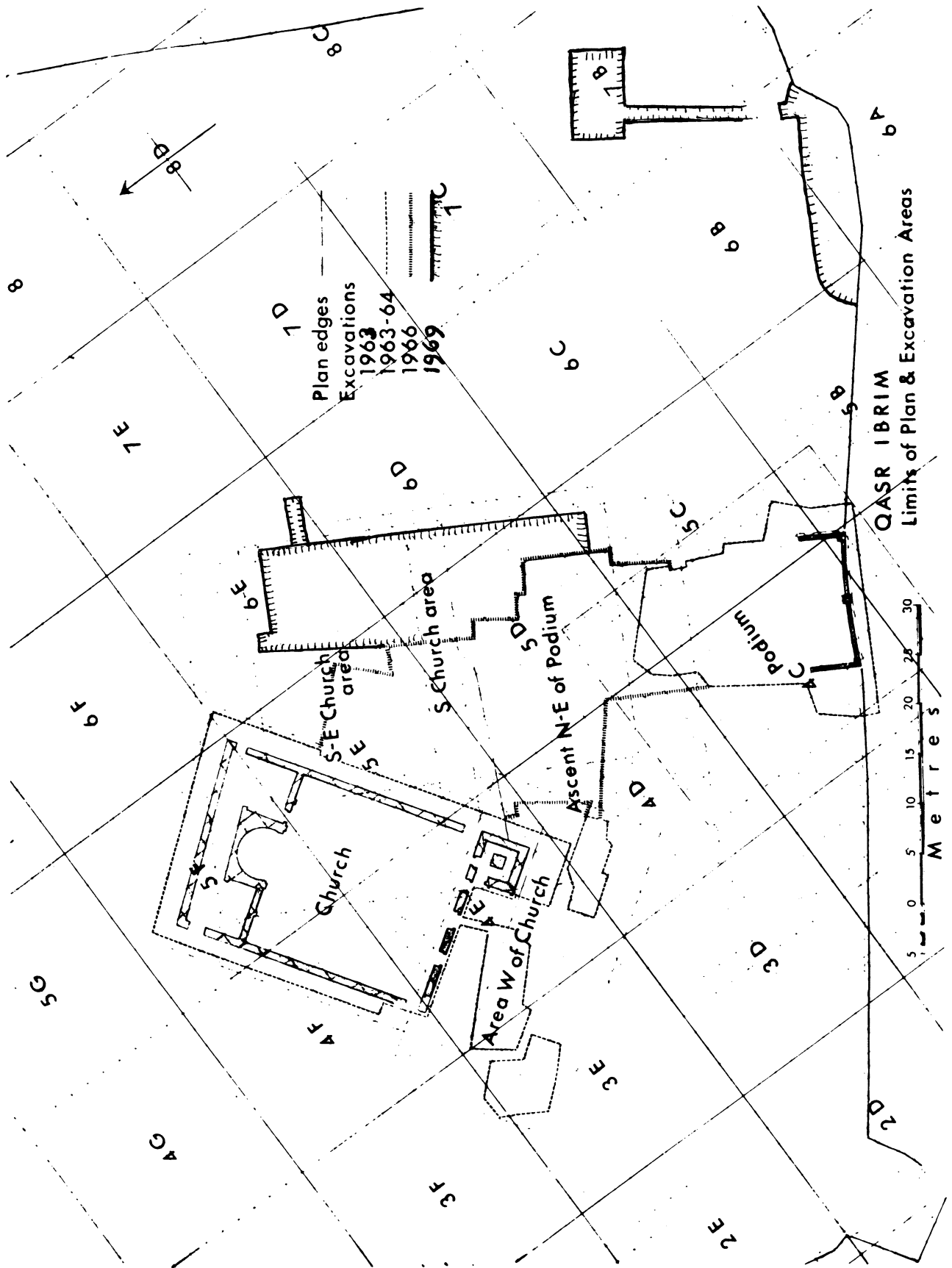
1. Interior of the south-west gate



2. Foundation blocks of the temple gateway



3. Block bearing the names of Taharqa



QASR IBRIM
Limits of Plan & Excavation Areas

QASR IBRIM 1969

rough and irregular. The walls were freed of debris, both within and without, to a distance of 15 m. along the north side and 20 m. along the west side. The remains of a doorway were found in the west wall. If this doorway is central and the building is roughly square in shape, then a structure covering about 400 sq. m. once stood here. Only further excavation can determine exactly the size and shape of this building, and possibly throw more light on the purpose of its construction.

The excavations have so far provided a number of clues. In the first place it can be observed that the exterior walls bear a number of devices in raised relief. The first is unmistakably an amphora in its stand. The others are not so obvious. A single device on the corner of the north wall may be a very conventionalized representation of a bull's head. The device on the lowest course of the west wall is even more problematical. While it may be a representation of two bunches of grapes on a divided stem, looked at from one angle the right-hand device seems to bear some resemblance to a human head. Whatever may be the true explanation of these devices, from other evidence found nearby it is almost certain that they had some religious significance.

The building was originally surrounded by a pavement of sandstone blocks laid at the level of the Podium or open courtyard on the western ramparts of the fortress. The great east stairway which leads up from the Podium is consequently a later structure (pl. XXII, 1). Only a small section of the pavement now remains *in situ* alongside the north wall of the building. At the most northerly limit of the excavation, where the pavement had been robbed, a pit was discovered dug down into the *gebel* and below the level of the pavement. In this pit a large ornamental bunch or bouquet of durra or millet had been deposited (pl. XXIII, 1, 2). The many stalks of durra had been carefully tied together with cords of palm fibre to form a circular fan-shaped bouquet some 45 cm. in diameter. When found, the bouquet was seen to be lying in an inverted position, the grains of durra resting directly on the ground, and the tightly bound stalks pointing upwards. No doubt it was this position which had helped to preserve the bouquet so well, for hardly a grain of the durra had parted from its parent stalk. This bouquet would seem to be the only example of a ceremonial offering of durra yet found intact. It is possible that it is the kind of object which Apedemek, the lion-god of Meroitic times, is shown on a number of reliefs holding in his hands.¹

Near the building and probably associated with it were the remains of a number of female figurines. One, in particular, is of some significance. This is the upper part of a headless clothed torso made of terracotta and painted (pl. XXIII, 3). It is scarcely a doll, but more likely part of a votive figure of a goddess; the tentative suggestion is made here that it is part of a figure of Isis. The goddess Isis was one of the most important deities worshipped by the Meroïtes and their successors the Nobatae and the Blemmyes. In Meroitic times it appears that Isis was associated with Apedemek, and perhaps the finding in 1966 of the couchant lion bearing the name of Amani-Yeshbêhe, one of the last of the rulers of Meroë, not far from the building may indicate that the worship of this deity was practiced at Ibrîm, together with the worship of his consort Isis. Up to the year A.D. 535, when the Byzantine general Narses put a stop to the practice, the

¹ See, for example, Hintze, *Civilizations of the Old Sudan*, pl. 118.

Nobatae and the Blemmyes had made annual pilgrimages to Philae to fetch away the sacred statue of Isis. The purpose of the carrying of the statue into Nubia was to ensure the goddess's blessing on the crops. Without doubt there were certain long-agreed stations at which the progress of the deity was halted. It would seem natural that Ibrîm should have been one of these stations, and perhaps the chief station. Certainly there is plenty of evidence that Ibrîm was, in pre-Christian times, a place of special sanctity to which pilgrims came, leaving proof of their visits in the many footprints cut in the paving stones of the fortress and on the rocks which lie outside its walls. Perhaps it was because of its ancient religious importance that, after the conversion of Nubia to Christianity, Ibrîm became the seat of a bishopric and the site of the finest cathedral of its kind in this part of the Nile Valley. The taking over of important pagan sites and their conversion into Christian centres were common features of the policy of the early Church in facilitating her missionary endeavours.

The mode of construction of the walls of this building points to the Meroïtes as their builders. Any hesitation in ascribing the work to them would be difficult to maintain in the light of the discovery of the remains of windows belonging to the building. One window is nearly complete, though in pieces, another is over half complete, and there are pieces of an undetermined number of other windows. All are ornamental lattice-type windows, each carved originally from a single block of sandstone 80 cm. by 55 cm. in size and with a thickness of 7 cm. The most complete window displays a naked man carrying an elephant on his shoulders (pl. XXIII, 4). Another, less complete, shows a similar figure bearing an antelope or gazelle. The Meroïtic workmanship of these windows is hardly open to question.

All the windows were found at approximately the same level. They lay face downwards in the debris about 20 cm. below the topmost course of the Meroïtic building. The reason for the straight top course of stonework upon which the later builders erected their rougher stone walls is now clear. This top course had once formed the level upon which the bottom edges of the windows had rested. It would seem that before the erection of the new building the older structure, if in a ruinous condition, still rose to a height of at least 2.50 m., with a number of the original windows and their separating walls in position. It seems that when the work of adapting the older building began, the outside debris had silted up to within 20 cm. of the window ledges. The new builders, who were almost certainly Christian, threw down the surviving windows and pulled away the intervening walls. During the course of the construction of the new building, chance falls of debris covered some of the pieces of the fallen windows, and so preserved them. It is clear that the new builders had no intention of digging down to free the outer walls from the debris which had accumulated around them, but were content to put their new building at a higher level. It is possible that their action was deliberate in order to bring the structure up to a level comparable with that of the Great Church a few metres to the north. But because this new building stood at a higher level it was also necessary to construct the great east stairway which led up from the level of the Podium, then presumably an open courtyard (pl. XXII, 1).

The second area chosen for excavation lay at the south-west corner of the western

fortifications. Here, in an angle at the sharp turn of the walls northwards, stood a large semicircular bastion of rough stonework. The character of the construction and the presence of a number of ornamental blocks similar to those in the Great Church indicated that the bastion was a late structure and its builders the Bosnians. The reason for its construction is not hard to see. At the time of the Bosnian occupation the use of gunpowder and firearms had been established in siege warfare. Here the fortress was specially vulnerable to guns mounted by an enemy on the adjacent hills. A gate at this point, even though long blocked, needed the extra strength of a thick bastion. While the bastion was being removed from outside the gate, excavation work was begun from within the flanking walls (pl. XXIV, 1). The dismantling of the bastion revealed that an original larger gate had been reduced in size at a later date, and that a massive wooden lintel had been inserted when this change was made (pl. XXIV, 2, 3). The nature of the blocking of the gate by means of large mason-squared blocks of sandstone indicated that the sealing of the gate was intended to be permanent. In addition the rock-cut stairway which led up to the gate had been systematically hacked away. The excavation within the gateway showed that a wide passageway, which led up from the gate towards the interior of the fortress, had been filled in to a depth of 5 m. or more (pl. XXV, 1). This filling was obviously deliberate; only two main levels were distinguishable. The upper level, barely a metre in depth, was mainly Christian; the lower, of a uniform character, unmistakably Meroïtic. Embedded in this lower level was pottery of that period and, a large number of papyrus fragments written in cursive Meroïtic. Several ostraca bearing the same script were also found. Among the papyrus fragments were a number written in Greek. One largish piece has been tentatively dated to the latter part of the first century A.D. Near the bottom of this level was found a coin bearing the head of the Emperor Domitian, who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 81. Present indications are that the blocking of the gate could have occurred at the turn of the first century A.D. Only one inscription was found in the vicinity of the gate. This was a Meroïtic inscription in cursive characters, cut on the north jamb of the gate. The mode of construction of the gate and its flanking walls is Meroïtic. Possibly it antedates the Roman occupation of Ibrîm in 23–21 B.C. It is also possible that the original larger gate was destroyed by the Romans, and that the smaller gate is their work. According to Strabo a programme of refortification was carried out by Petronius during his brief tenure of the fortress.

Among the blocks which had been used to seal the gate were two (77 cm. by 47·5 cm. and 66 cm. by 46·5 cm.) bearing identical titularies of the Pharaoh Taharqa (pl. XXV, 3). Since the hieroglyphs of the titularies on the two blocks face in opposite directions it would seem that, together with a central block containing a sun-disc, they formed the lintel of a gateway to a small temple or shrine. Enough examples of this Pharaoh's names and titles have now been found on Ibrîm to encourage the belief that at some time a building bearing his name stood on the fortress site. At the time of the discovery of the blocks it was argued that because of their size and weight and consequent difficulty of transport, the position of the building from which they originally came might not be too distant from the gateway in which they had been reused. During the last three days on the site it was decided that a search should be made for this building, and

accordingly a trench was opened up about 15 m. to the north-east of the gateway, in an area of the site which projected directly eastwards. Good fortune attended this investigation from the start, for less than a metre below the surface the foundations of a large gateway were uncovered. These foundations rested upon a bed of carefully laid sand (pl. XXV, 2). In the immediate vicinity lay a mass of builder's foundation chippings and a number of large blocks. It was not possible in the time available to trace the building to which the gate originally belonged. However, the evidence so far gathered points to a systematic demolition of whatever structure once stood there. The purpose of the demolition was almost certainly to provide material for a new building; it is not impossible that much of the larger stonework of the Great Church came from here. It is perhaps not without some significance that two blocks containing parts of Taharqa's names and titles were built into the fabric of the Great Church, one in the most westerly of the piers of the south arcading, and the other in the floor of the staircase in the tower. During the excavation of the area around the foundations of the gate two further blocks containing parts of Taharqa's names and titles were found. Lack of time prevented further work on this area, but enough evidence had been found to support the probability that it was at this point that Taharqa's temple or shrine stood in former times.

When that building was finally destroyed is an open question. Some light may be thrown on the problem by the discovery of a small cache of coins hidden beside the foundation stones of the gateway. These coins bear the heads of Constantius II (A.D. 337-61) and Valentinian I (A.D. 364-75). Not far from this cache another coin, bearing the head of Theodosius I (A.D. 378-95), was found. If these coins can be associated with the period of the final demolition of the Taharqa building, and if the stonework from the building was intended for the Great Church, the possibility of an earlier date for the introduction of Christianity in Nubia arises—perhaps the fifth century rather than the sixth century. This question is but one of several which excavations on Ibrîm have posed; only further work may help to provide the answers. It now seems certain that Ibrîm will not be completely submerged under the waters of Lake Nasser. Promising areas for excavation will remain. In terms of physical discomfort future work on Ibrîm will become increasingly difficult. The greatest bar to further work is the lack of money, for the original grants for work in Nubia are now exhausted. If money for future excavations can be found, the probability remains that the work will continue to be rewarded with important discoveries. Of all the historical sites in Egyptian Nubia, Ibrîm has proved to be the richest in archaeological and textual material.

THE TELL EL-FARÂ'ÎN EXCAVATION, 1969

By DOROTHY CHARLESWORTH

THE season was a short one (April 26–May 24), and work was concentrated on what is now seen to be a public bath-house of three main periods, constructed entirely of baked brick, ranging from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. The earliest structures on the site must be among the earliest baked-brick buildings in Egypt,¹ possibly even to be dated to the last years of the third century in one case. Some of its features were recorded in 1967, and part of the later periods was examined and planned in 1968.² The bath-house is extensive and complicated. Excavation is not yet complete, but at the north end of the site water level was reached in that part of the excavation where the first bath-house was examined, and an area wide enough to obtain the limits of the later buildings on all but the south was cleared (fig. 1).

This year the members of the expedition were Messrs. P. G. French, B. J. Kemp, J. Scudder, and J. H. Thompson. All shared in the supervision of the digging. Mr. Kemp kindly made advance arrangements for the season in Cairo,³ and on the site was responsible for the planning and some illustrating. After he left Mr. Thompson took over this work. Mr. French was responsible for the work on the wall-plaster and all the recording and drawing of the pottery. I am very grateful to the Department of Antiquities for the expeditious renewal of the permit. Our inspector, Abdullah Said Mahmud was of the greatest help and took a keen interest in the work, in particular helping with the painted plaster. Hajj Ismayil Ibrahim Fayid was again our *reis*.

The season was financed by funds donated specifically for Tell el-Farâ'în by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and from general excavation contributions provided by the University of Aberdeen, the City of Birmingham Museum, the Bolton Museum, the University of Cambridge, the University of Durham, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, the University of London, the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, and the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.

1. The Ptolemaic bath-house (fig. 2)

This is the first building above water-level, but its north wall, still standing to a height of over 2 m., continues below the water and is earlier than this bath-house. Deposits accumulated against its outer face included amphora stamps, the earliest being dated by Miss Grace⁴ *c.* 180 B.C., but it is not known how far above the base of the wall this lay. The layer of clean earth, was dug into until it became too wet, about 0.50 m. below the mortar floor of the ambulatory (pl. XXVII, 1). No material was found here to indicate the approximate date of the insertion of the Ptolemaic baths.

¹ Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*⁴ 50.

² *JEA* 55, 26 f., fig. 2.

³ We are very grateful to Professor Plumley for helping in the preliminary stages in Cairo.

⁴ Miss Virginia Grace kindly identified the stamps from drawings.

TELL EL-FARAIN
PUBLIC BATHS
(1969)

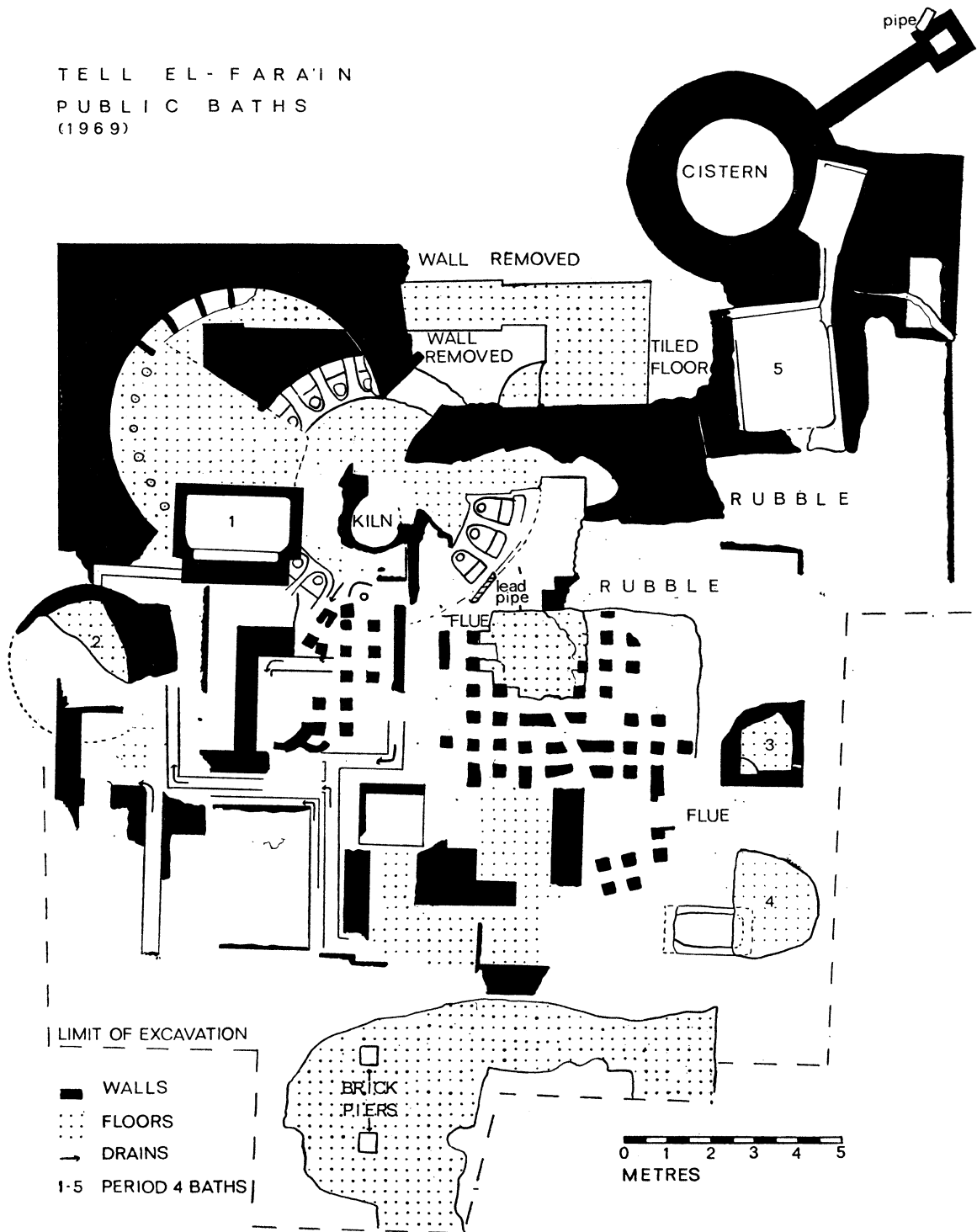


FIG. 1

The bath itself is a circular room within a square outer wall with two slightly buttressed corners, to take the thrust of the dome. This would have been built of brick, probably with a central opening. The entrance is on the east side, not central. The floor,

PTOLEMAIC BATH

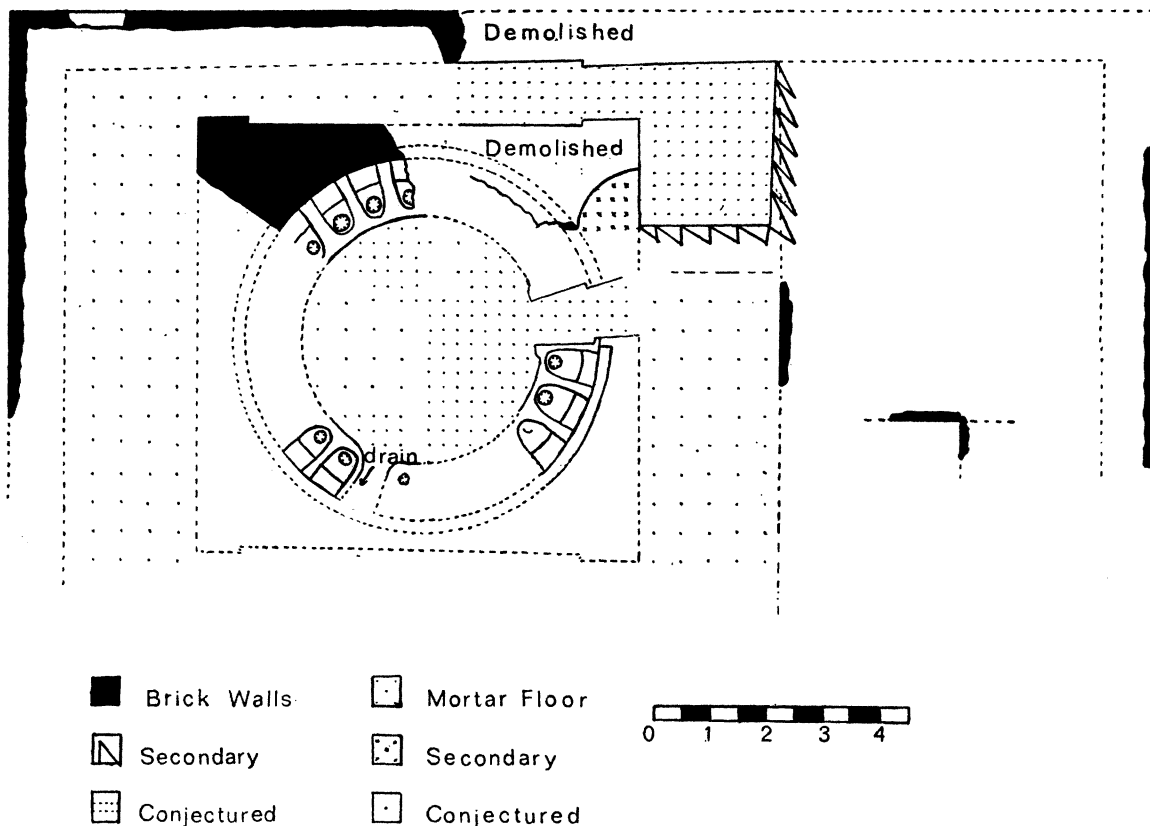


FIG. 2

both in the circular room and in the ambulatory which surrounds it is a pebbly mortar, and where it was cut through in the ambulatory, it was seen to be founded on a bed of limestone chips, which must suggest some link with the destruction of the temple,¹ as that is the obvious source of limestone. Round the room are the remains of a series of cubicles (pl. XXVII, 2), wedge-shaped and plaster coated. Each has a circular sump in the front part. The fittings of the back are entirely removed. A low curb runs round the front of the cubicles with a break at the south end which is clearly the drain. This is a form of foot-bath, familiar in Egypt and known in other parts of the Hellenistic world (see below, p. 27). Its interpretation is made clear from well-preserved examples at Cyrene² and Gortys in Arcadia.³ The back part of each cubicle will have taken the form of an armchair-shaped seat. The total disappearance of these backs suggests that they may have been made of limestone, but they could equally well have been plastered brick. An attendant will have poured water from a jar over the feet of the bather and collected the water from the sump. The diameter of the room is 6.3 m. and each cubicle

¹ *JEA* 55, 7.² *JHS* 77 (1957), 306 f.³ *CRAIBL* 1952, 56-63.

0.55 m. internally. If the drain and the door were the only breaks in the circle, it could have seated twenty-two persons. The water must have been brought in by jar. There was no trace of any conduit and the short length of lead pipe which shows on pl. XXVII, 2 is at a higher level, separated from this circular room by a layer of rubble.

The corridor or ambulatory, which ran round at least three sides of the room, was lit by a window near the west end of the north wall. Its walls were plastered with a plain white plaster. On the outer face of the north wall broad bands of plaster also remain. Some alteration was made to the north-east part of the ambulatory. The quarter circle of mortar floor is clearly an addition and has fallen away from the main floor. A wall seems to have been inserted and a doorway made through it. It is not known whether any further rooms lay to the south of this bath and there is only an indication of walls possibly of this period further east.

This building was deliberately dismantled when the second bath-house was built. There is no building rubble in the intervening level within the second bath-house. This level is formed of clean earth brought by the builders, but containing some pottery. Much of the material is of the second century B.C.; but it has a considerable range of date, and the deposit, and consequently the date for the new bath building, cannot be earlier than about the beginning of the Christian era. The deposit over the north-east corner of the ambulatory, which included a small amount of brick rubble, contained an identifiable amphora stamp, dated *c.* 180–146 B.C.

2. The second bath-house (fig. 3)

This bath-house is Ptolemaic in style but early Roman in date. Rather more of its plan has been uncovered than of that of its predecessor. Again its main feature is a domed room with foot-baths *en couronne*, but in such a poor state of preservation that without the evidence of the earlier bath the significance of the regularly spaced sump-holes would have been missed. On this floor the sumps are surprisingly heavily worn and many repaired with pieces of limestone. Very little remains of the cubicles, only some low brick walling on the north-west side. A large number of illegible coins¹ were found in some of the sumps, as though the attendants had lost their tips through holes in their pockets. The mortar floor was very rough and had probably been the base for a floor of limestone flags, which had been removed for use in a later building.

This circular bath was built into the north-west corner of the existing building, over the reduced walls of its predecessor. The window in the north wall was blocked and the east part of that wall demolished. A blocking wall was built over what had been the corridor (pl. XXVII, 1). The circular bath now projected north of the main building. Further east the remains of this period have not been fully examined, but a small ovoid plunge-bath, plaster lined, later filled with brick (pl. XXVIII, 1) seems to belong to them. This is an area of almost solid brick and consolidated rubble, presumably of the later Roman period and obscuring all earlier phases. Later alterations have also removed most of the east and south walls and the whole of the south-east corner of the circular

¹ See Clayton's comments in *JEA* 55, 12 on the condition of coins from this site.

building and this destruction, together with the later building of two plunge-baths, has obscured the connections between the foot-bath and the rest of the bath-house.

SECOND BATH-HOUSE

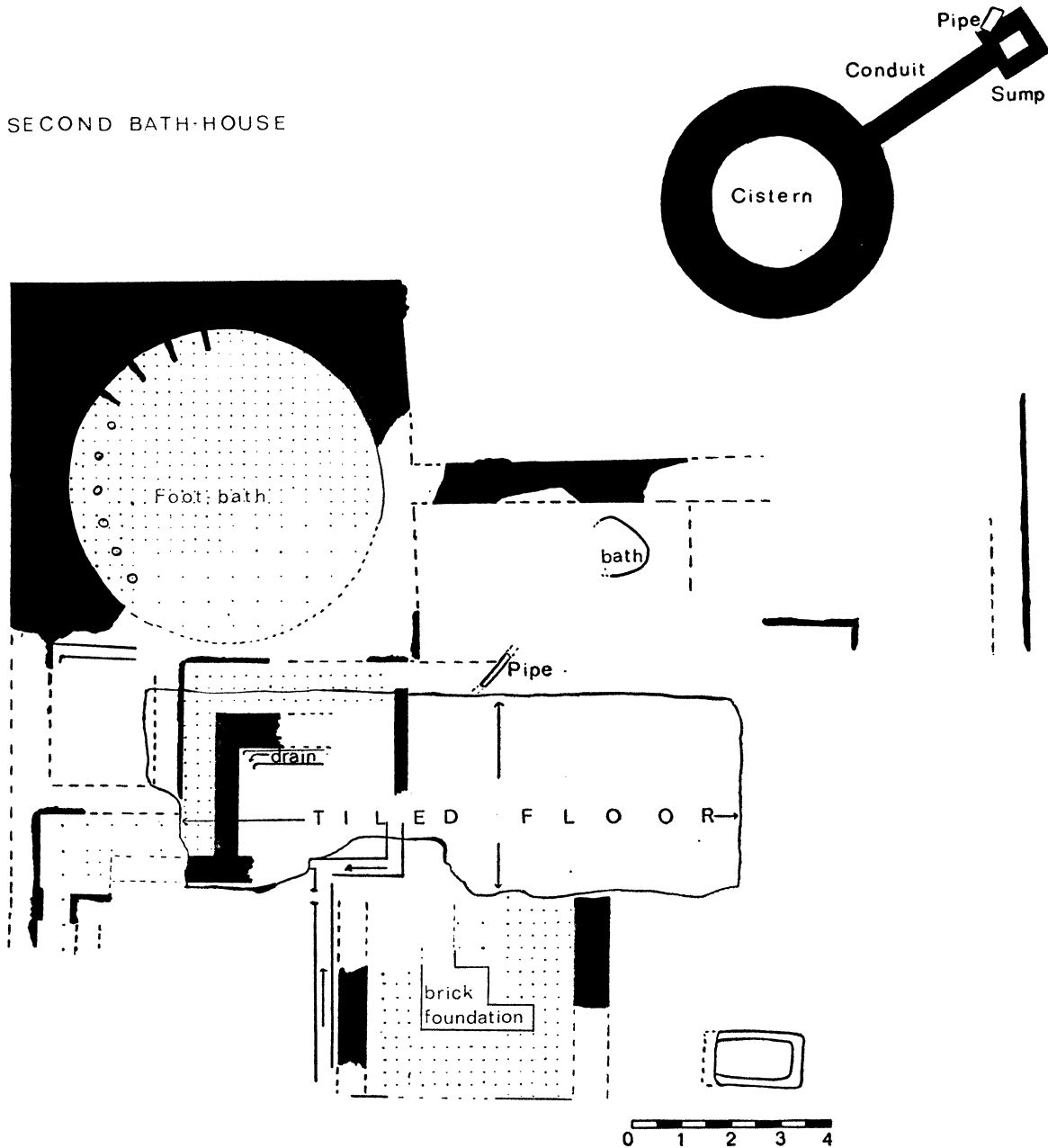


FIG. 3

To the south of the foot-bath there are two different arrangements, both of which seem to be contemporary with the foot-bath. The earlier, with mortar floors and well-built drains, is at a slightly lower level than the foot-bath floor, the second, with tiled floors is slightly higher, but in both cases one or two steps only would have been required. Neither floor shows the hard wear of the foot-bath, but the tiled floor is

one lot of tiles lying immediately on top of the other, either for strength or repair. Both the mortar and the tiled floors are manifestly later than the first circular bath. Both overrun its south end.

The circular cistern (pl. XXVIII, 2) and some of the attendant tanks can also be assigned to this period. The floor of the ambulatory had sunk towards its ragged north end when the north wall was demolished and the pottery which lay in the deposit over it, a uniform fill which covered the side of the cistern almost to its top, was all of second- to first-century B.C. date. A few pieces of later Roman pottery were found in only the very top of this level. Much of the pottery is of types made in the adjacent kilns,¹ and included one waster. The typically black Ptolemaic wares predominate, but the deposit includes red wares, which seem to date from the later Ptolemaic and early Roman period. The cistern was clearly built before any ash was dumped to the east of it, and this ash must derive from the Roman bath, Period 3.

To this second period also belongs the painted wall plaster, found dumped outside the east wall of the building. This deposit is immediately under thick layers of ash. Such material as has been dug out from under it is largely Roman in date. It may be assumed that the plaster was ripped out at the time of the re-modelling of the interior in the second century A.D. Not all the plaster has yet been recovered and time did not permit a full study of what there is; but it has been sorted and stored for further work. However, the preliminary examination has shown that some plaster is from the walls and some from the ceiling. The backing of the wall plaster contains fragments of brick and scars showing that it has been pulled off a brick wall. A few pieces have indications of cornice or dado mouldings on the back. The ceiling indicates very clearly that the building had a flat roof made of logs, intertwined with reeds or straw on which the plaster was keyed. The impress is very clear on many fragments. The nature of the roof is a further reason for assigning the plaster to this period rather than to Period 3, when the heating of the rooms would make a timber roof unsuitable. It is evident that the baths were well maintained. The plaster had been renewed at least once, with a different scheme of decoration.

The date of Period 2 is reasonably clear and would be very precise if the coins were legible. As well as the coins in the foot-baths others were found scattered about, and a corroded mass of more than 17 was found with a bone die in the same drain as the pottery group (pl. XXIX, 1). The pottery sealed under the floor of the foot-bath was Ptolemaic black ware. The pottery between the mortar and the tiled floors was not exclusively Ptolemaic, but included some pieces of early Roman and fragments of two imported Eastern Sigillata B dishes. For the end of the period the group of pottery wedged together in the drain is most significant. The ribbed ware is typical of the Roman period, first-second century A.D. No ware of this type was made in the adjacent kilns. The flagon is white ware, the three similar jars coarse brown, probably local and the remainder red. A mid-second century A.D. date is suggested for the group.

As this building was constructed about the beginning of the first century A.D. and continued in use until the middle of the second century, it might be expected that it

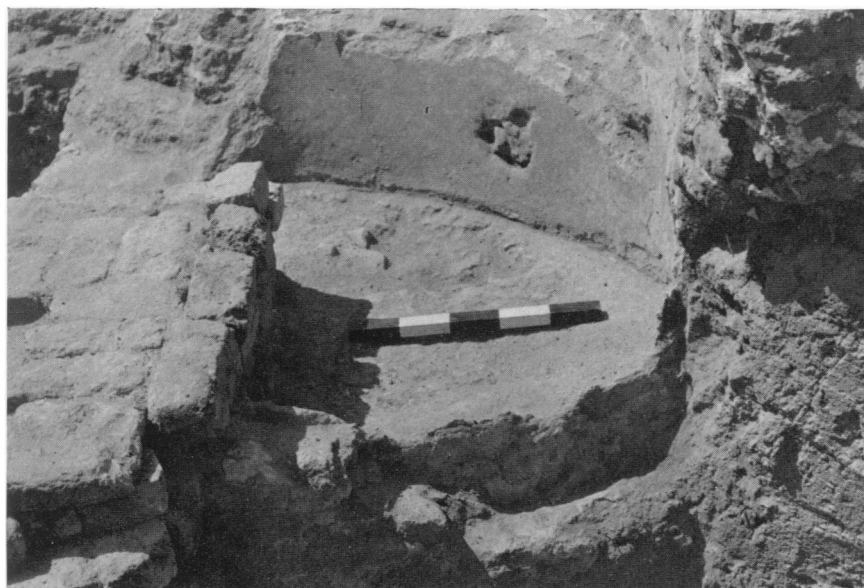
¹ See *JEA* 55, 28, fig. 3, 1-14.



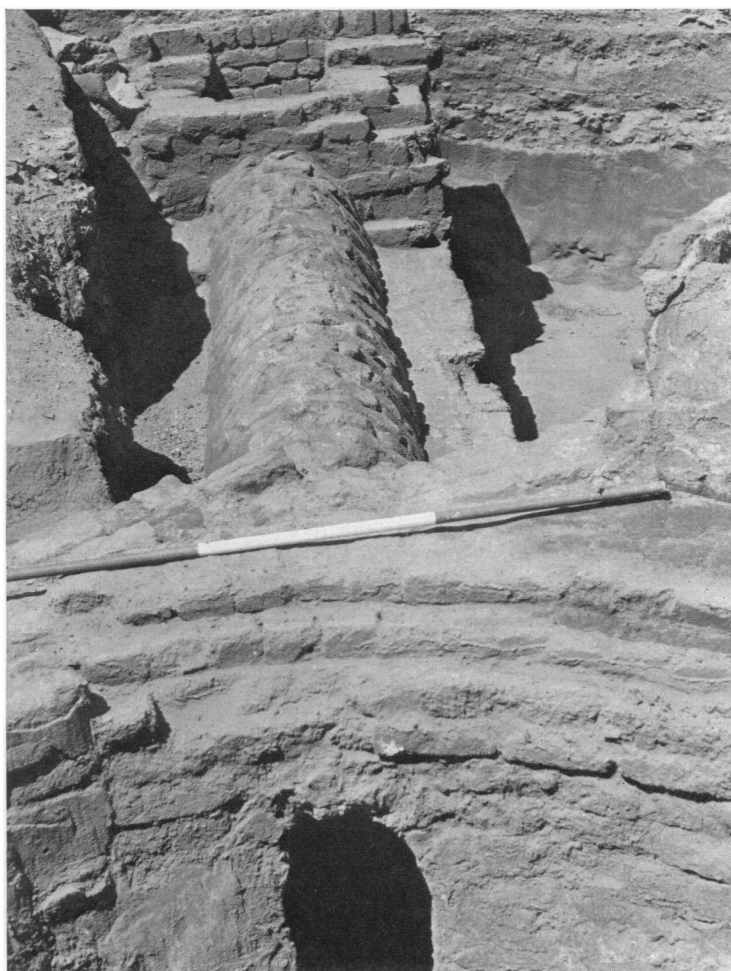
1. Ambulatory floor removed to show earlier deposit. Period 2 blocking wall in position



2. First foot-baths; door in the foreground



1. Ovoid plunge-bath



2. Cistern and covered conduit

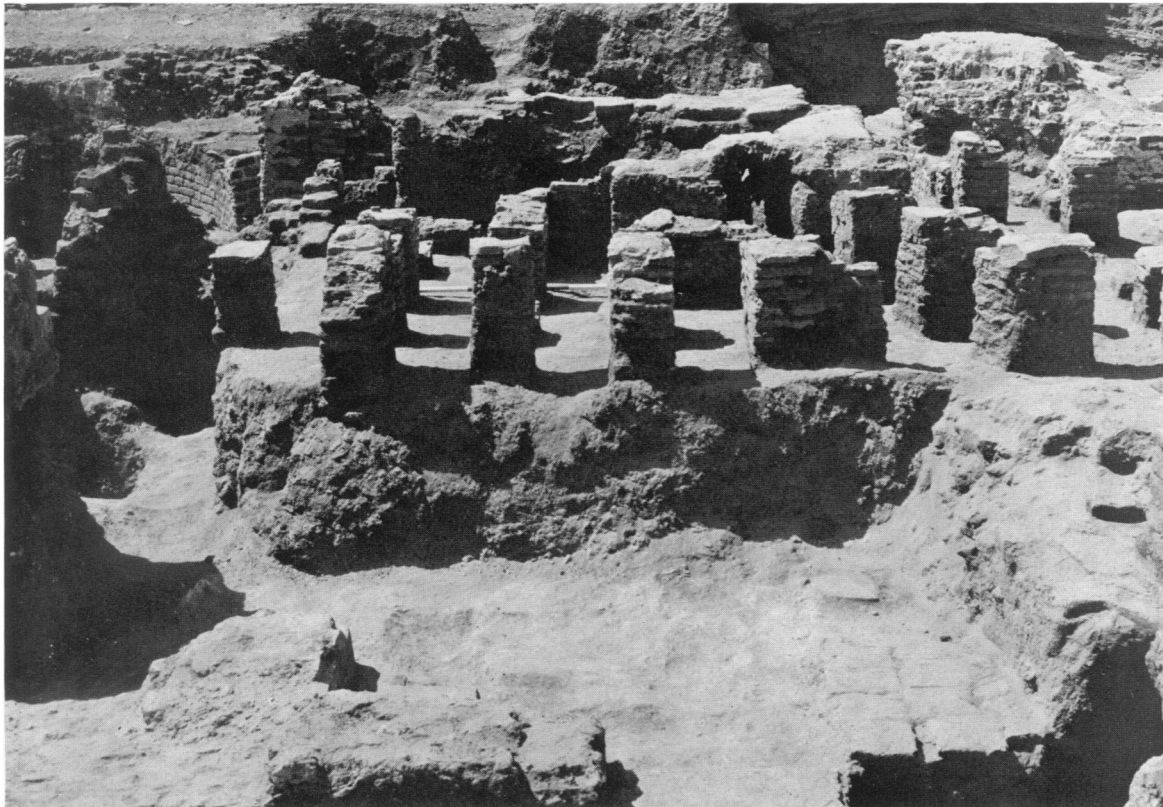


1. Group of pottery from Period 2 drain



2. West end of tiled floor under hypocaust. Roman cold rooms to the South (left)

TELL EL-FARÂ'IN 1969



1. Hypocaust seen from the South. Period 3



2. Bath built over the south end of the circular room. Period 4

would include rooms with underfloor heating, the hypocaust having been invented by the Romans in the first century B.C.¹ There is no evidence of any heating system at this period, but this does not rule out the possibility of charcoal braziers in some rooms. The Greeks certainly heated some of their baths.² It is thought that the excavation has reached the limits of this bath-house, although not all its rooms have been cleared. There is no indication of rooms further south, under the Period 3 cold room.

3. The Roman bath-house (fig. 4)

The main modification in Period 3 was the insertion of the hypocaust over the tiled floors of the Period 2 rooms (pls. XXIX, 2; XXX, 1). At the same time the floor of the circular building was raised and tiled. The outer walls of Period 2 still stood unaltered. Some inner walls may have been pulled down and not merely stripped of their plaster; but the three heated rooms are coextensive with the earlier cold rooms. The roof, except probably the dome on the circular building, was almost certainly altered, the timber roof stripped, and a brick, vaulted, roof built.

The pillars of the first hypocaust ran diagonally over the tiled floors and some were left standing when the whole series was renewed on a new alignment, at right-angles to the walls. Some pillars, all tile-built, stood to their full height of 0.60 m., and at the north end of room 2 a small piece of the floor, with a later floor on it, was intact. The hypocaust was no longer functioning when the final floor was built. A layer of rubble filled it. This building was heavily robbed from the south and none of its walls still stood when it was excavated.

Room I was probably the *tepidarium*. There were no signs of a flue leading directly into it. A concentration of burning indicates a flue in the angle of the north wall and the outer wall of the circular building. This would heat the north end of room 2; there was a second flue on its east side which would increase its heat and also partly serve room 3. The cold rooms were to the south of these. One had a floor of marble chips, set in mortar, its edges broken away where it overlapped the walls of the Period 2 room below it. To the east of it was part of a solid mortar floor and the remains of some plain plaster on one of its walls. South of these was a large area of rough mortar, originally covered with limestone flags, of which only one remained. It is probable that some of the flags were originally used in the circular foot-bath of the second period. The floor also showed traces of seating for brick columns. The full extent of this large room has not yet been uncovered. It could be the *apodyterium*, but it seems large for that when the size of the other rooms is seen, or the exercise hall, the *palaestra*. This is outside the earlier bath-house and it could be as the result of this extension that the earlier south wall was removed.

The circular room continued in use, but not as a foot-bath. The level of its floor was raised, and there was no trace of any fittings on what was left of its tiled floor. Probably it now became the *sudatorium* or *laconicum*, a room of intense dry heat usually found in a Roman bath-house.

¹ The Stabian baths at Pompeii c. 120 B.C. are thought to be the earliest baths heated by a hypocaust.

² These were steam baths, heated by braziers.

Some structures seem to have been built on the north side of the hypocaust, and a late door-sill indicates a new minor entrance. Access was needed here to the stoke-hole.

ROMAN BATH-HOUSE

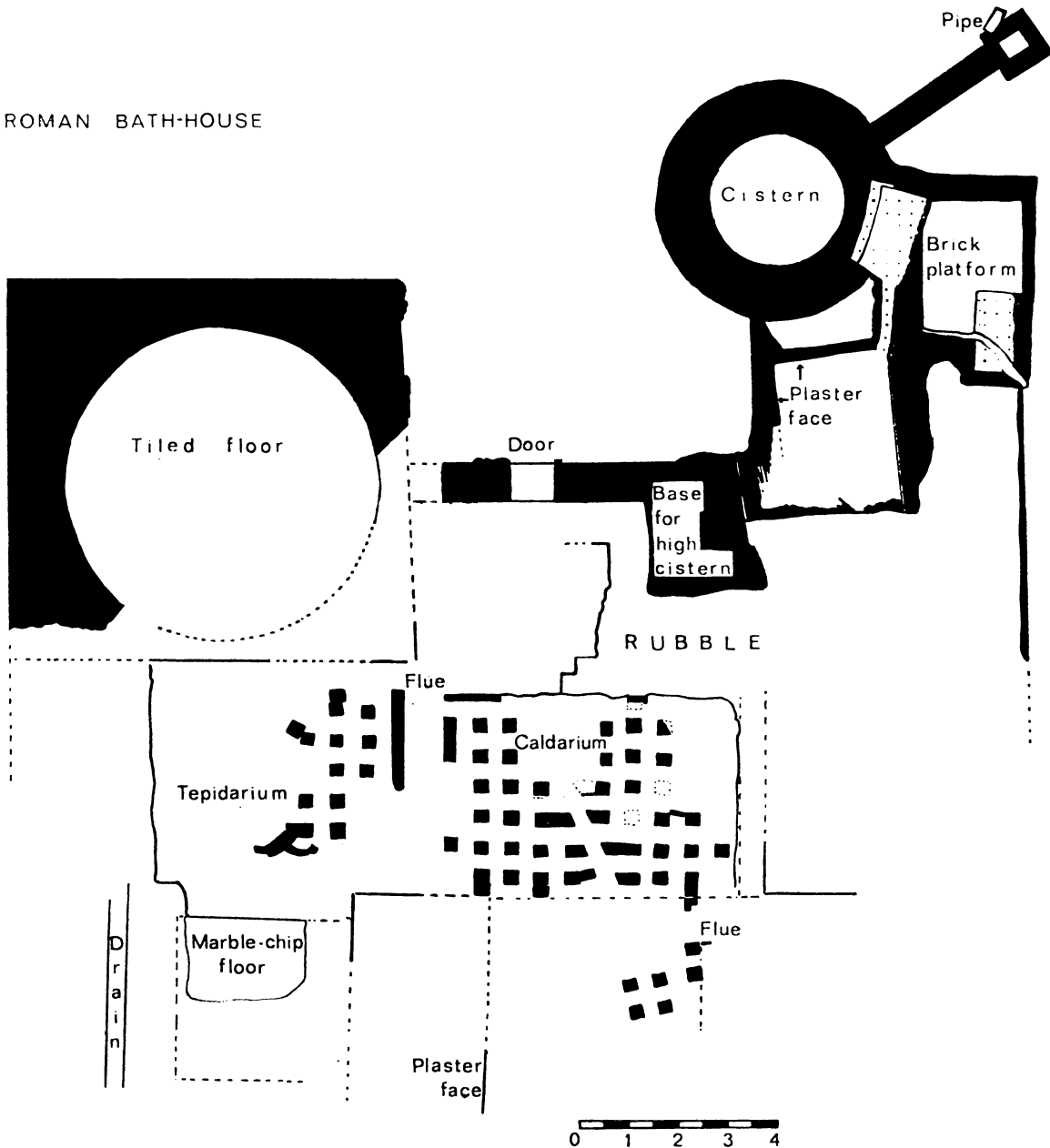


FIG. 4

Both hot and cold plunge baths should be found in this bath-house. The obvious ones, however, do not fit into its plan. The damaged *opus signinum* floor on the east of the site was still in use.

It is not clear how long this bath-house remained in use. Most of the pottery found

in the ash tip is of second-century date. The finds include imported lamps datable to that century.¹

4. The final phase

The last period is represented by a scatter of massive bricks and mortar baths (pl. XXX, 2) with the connecting links so broken that they all give the impression of having been in the open air. This is, however, unlikely in an area where the winters are cold and wet. The existing bath-house must have been largely demolished. One deep bath, entered from the south, overlies the south end of the circular room, and another, to the south-west of it, projects beyond the earlier west wall. A corridor cuts through the east wall of the circular room and a kiln or oven was built into its former south-east corner. This is a small kiln, perhaps taking advantage of a flue still in this area. Two amphora tops were found on its floor, but they had been thrown in after it went out of use. The east wall of the bath-house was also overlaid by a brick platform, which extends from the cistern. The area between the tanks round the cistern and the rest of the baths is filled with a confusion of remains of walling, brick rubble and mortar, accumulated debris which it has proved impossible to disentangle. No coherent plan can be produced for this period.

Foot-baths *en couronne*

The two successive circular rooms with foot-baths round the walls are a distinctive architectural feature of the bath-house, which may be compared with other Hellenistic examples.

The best preserved, but not dated by the excavators, is at Cyrene,² cut into the rock, near the sanctuary of Apollo. It is part of a complex of so-called ritual baths. The circular domed room has a series of baths resembling high-backed armchairs with a basin, in which is a small circular sump, in front of each. Over each chair is a niche. The walls were plastered. At Gortys in Arcadia³ a similar building, semi-underground, was found 5 m. from the temple of Aesculapius. This was dated by the excavators to the second half of the third century B.C., rather earlier than the first foot-bath at Tell el-Farā'în (Buto). At Gela in Sicily⁴ a small bath-house, including a circular room with foot-baths *en couronne*, was dated *c.* 310–282 B.C. An example at Oeniadae,⁵ reduced to floor level but with its regular series of sump-holes, as in the second circular room at Buto, can be dated approximately by the five coins found in it to 230–168 B.C., more or less contemporary with the first foot-baths at Buto. At Eretria⁶ there is another, but undated, example.

Some of the examples listed as parallels to the bath at Gortys⁷ are plain circular rooms with no signs that they have ever had any internal fittings. There is no reason to assume that these contained foot-baths *en couronne*. A circular, domed room is a common feature of both Hellenistic and Roman bath-houses, used as a *sudatorium*.

¹ Mr. Peter Clayton kindly helped with the dating of the lamps.

³ *CRAIBL* 1952, 56 f.

⁶ *Ibid.* 5 (1901), 96.

⁴ *Notizie degli Scavi* 13 (1959), 182 f.

² *JHS* 77, 306.

⁵ *AYA* (1909), 216.

⁷ See p. 21, n. 3 above.

More important in considering the origin of the foot-baths is the discovery at Olympia¹ of two successive public baths, each with a rectangular room, the earlier with eleven, and the later with twenty, foot-baths. The first is dated to the fifth century B.C., and must be one of the earliest public bath-houses. The second is of the second half of the fourth century B.C.

Public baths are a normal feature of Ptolemaic as well as of Roman towns in Egypt. Those which have foot-baths *en couronne* as an element of the building have been listed by Schwartz and Wild in their study of the baths at Qasr-Qârûn (Dionysias)² where the circular room, diameter 3·70 m., had ten foot-baths in a circle broken only by the entrance. The other examples are at Kôm en-Negîla (near Alexandria), Abû Şîr (Taposiris Magna), Kôm el-Wasat (near Damanhûr), Tell Atrîb (Athribis), Kôm Demes, Mersa Matrûh, and Shisht el-An'âm. There are also examples of foot-baths in private baths. The bath at Dionysias was thought to date from the beginning of the third century A.D., which seems very late for a demonstrably Hellenistic type. Such evidence of date for this type of bath as there is at present supports the dating suggested by the study of the material found in the two at Buto; even there the second bath is later than might be expected.

¹ *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, 4 (1934), 32 f.

² J. Schwartz and H. Wild, *Qasr-Qârûn Dionysias*, 1948, 54 f.

EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ: A PRELIMINARY REPORT. I

By GEORGE T. SCANLON

DURING a six weeks' campaign (October 15–December 1, 1965), under a concession granted to the Nubian Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago by the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, the Coptic monastery of Kasr el-Wizz ('Palace of the Flying Goose') was excavated, planned, and photographed. The author of this Report, as Research Fellow of the Institute, directed the work assisted by Mr. Voyciech Kolataj, Assistant Director and Architect; Mr. Neil MacKenzie, Field Supervisor; Dr. Marek Marciniak, Field Supervisor and Epigrapher; Mr. John Semple, Ceramics Supervisor; Mrs. Elinore Pawula, Artist; and Mr. Gordon Holler, Photographer. Mr. Fahmy Abd al-Alim was our Inspector and *reis* Hamid Mahmud Ibrahim directed the work-force. The Gebel Adda Expedition of the American Research Center in Egypt very generously donated its houseboat and pertinent bibliographical materials.¹

Mileham noted Wizz and, by an erroneous association with the monastery of Abû-Jeras cited by Abû Salih, imagined its true utility.² One of his photographs (his pl. 3, c) supports the planned distance of more than 150 m. from the river's edge around 1910. By mid-October 1965 the promontory was but 20 m. above the edge of the Nile and Faras was entirely inundated (see pls. XXXI, XXXII, 1).

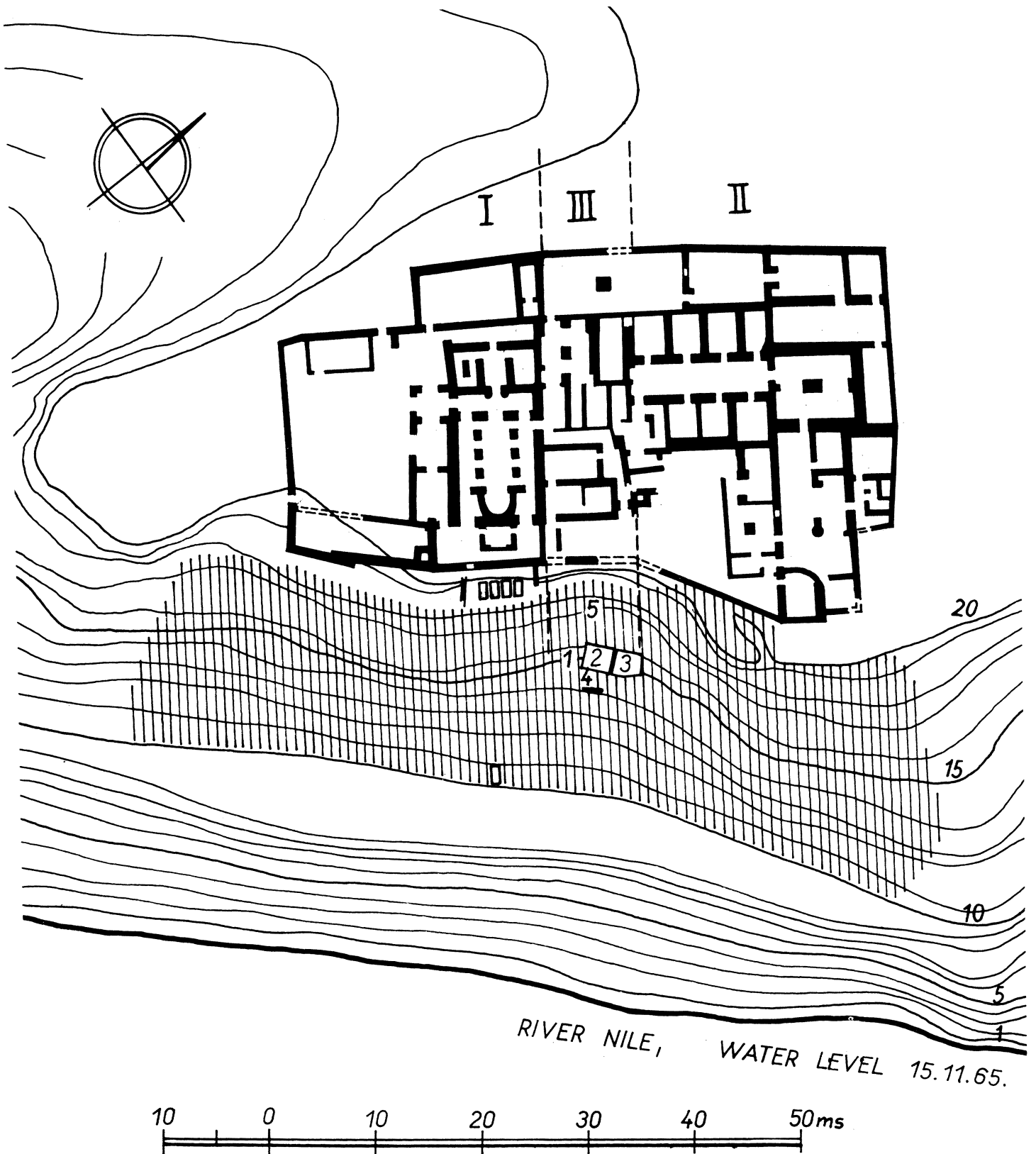
Somers Clarke had visited the site on January 20, 1899 and reported:

Wizz is the Arabic for geese, but what the geese had to do with this place is not manifest. . . . A somewhat pointed hill, rising considerably above the Nile, bears the Castle of the Geese on its summit. There is a considerable area covered with brick buildings, the vaults of some being still in fair condition. I could not find the remains of a church, and was not able to carry out any excavations, but the character of the brickwork and general appearance of the place lead one to think that it must have been occupied by the Christian community. . . .³

¹ Support for the research and composition of this Report was provided by the Oriental Institute and from a subsidiary grant by the Griffith Institute of Oxford University. Neither institution is responsible for the opinions herein stated. Present plans call for a monograph on the epigraphical materials and the prayer-book or breviary discovered in the monastery proper; and on the pottery and glass. Hence these materials will be cited only in such a manner as to lend credence to the proposed dating.

² G. S. Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia* 6. The excavations of Michałowski proved the presence within Faras of two monasteries and an episcopal residence in addition to the various churches planned first by Griffith and then by the Polish Expedition. Though no doubt associated with the bishopric of Faras, Wizz was a monastery only in its second period and there was no evidence to suggest 'the residence of a bishop'. If Mileham's suggestion that Dairā was near Abû Simbel and that 'Bausaka' is Faras, then the 'Mountain of Zidan' on which the monastery of 'Abu Jaras' rested must be south of Faras, whereas Wizz lies to the north. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 10 for the geographical orientation of Wizz *vis-à-vis* Faras and Adindan.

³ Somers Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, 73. He cites Mileham's photographs (*op. cit.*, pl. III) which show vaults and domical structuring in what we now know to be the monastery, and would seem to



General plan. The shaded part indicates the cleared area of the escarpment

EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ

While excavating the Rivergate Church at Faras, Griffith visited Wizz and added a rough plan of the complex to the reports of Mileham and Somers Clarke. Apparently he excavated enough to achieve some over-all dimensions for the complex, but not enough to discover its true purpose:

About two kilometers north from Faras on the top of the cliff . . . is a collection of ruined buildings known as Wizz. They are mainly of dry walling with occasional upper stories and vaultings of crude brick. A comparatively large chamber at the north end with dome . . . shows some well built arches of burnt brick. The buildings are crowded together in a dry stone enclosure with traces of brick above. . . . It is more or less rectangular, the west side being about 50 meters long, the south and north sides respectively about 30 and 35 meters; the east wall follows the cliff contour. There is a domed building in the centre besides the one already mentioned at the northeast corner, perhaps for the entrance. On the south side is annexed a court, apparently without buildings, measuring about 24 × 26 meters. There was probably an entrance at the middle of the south end of this and corresponding entrance from it into the main enclosure.¹

Monneret de Villard during his survey in 1934 accepted Griffith's rough plan, even the 66 m. length for the western side (from our pl. XXXI an over-all western dimension can be seen to be closer to 57 m.). He was intrigued by the spacious vaulting of the northern domed structure and was inclined to think of the complex as a 'palazzo', serving perhaps as a refuge for the ruler of Faras:

La planimetria generale del complesso di costruzioni è assai irregolare: io la credo un palazzo d'estate post in alt, in luogo esposto ai venti rinfrescanti, dove si rifugiava il sovrano residente a Faras, posta sulla pianura infocata.²

Early in 1961 H. S. Smith surveyed the site under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society. He confirmed that it was Christian by the numbers of sherds of the Christian Period strewn within his soundings. He excavated seven graves in the cemetery west of the site, all of adult males, which confirmed his surmise of the monastic purpose of the buildings. He thought the site worthy of excavation.³

correspond to our II-M (originally domed; see remains of springing in pl. XXXII, 2) and II-MM (vaulted with the highest masonry standing (in 1910) being the corridor III-F. As can be seen from our pl. XXXII, 3, all that remains is the vaulting of II-MM. (All these denominations can be construed from our large plan I.)

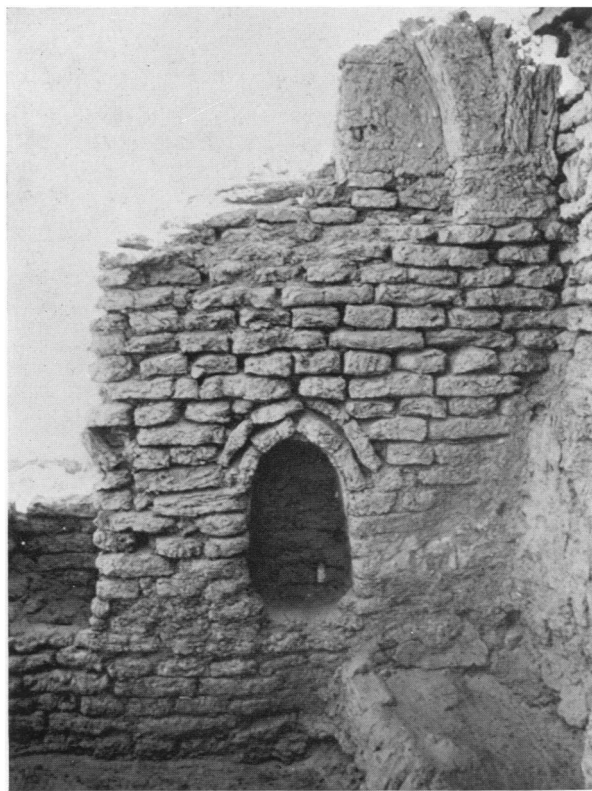
¹ Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', *LAAA* 14 (1927), 94, and pl. LXXIV, 1 for his rough plan (which on the whole is quite accurate) and pl. LXXXV, 1 for the remains of the domed structure to the north. The central domed structure is the one noted in Mileham's photographs and discussed in the note above. Hereinafter this report is referred to as Griffith, *LAAA*.

² Ugo Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medioevale* 1, 183-5; II, pls. lxxvi (which shows the domed structure of Mileham's photographs already in process of destruction, though he does not indicate from which angle it is being viewed), and lxxvii (the domical structure of Griffith's photograph; both should be compared with our pl. XXXIII, 1, which shows that all remained of the 'northern' domical structure—really the refectory—in late 1956). Monneret did collect some sherds on the site and those he published (op. cit. IV, pl. cxvii, nos. 102-7) point to occupancy during the Christian Period, no. 106 being by Adam's latest typology (p. 35, n. 2 below) clearly of the first phase of the Classic Christian Period. Hereinafter Monneret's work is referred to as *LNM*.

³ Harry S. Smith, *Preliminary Reports of the Egypt Exploration Society's Nubian Survey*, 21-5, and pls. ii, 2 and iii, 1 (where the arch is that of the refectory, II-A in our large plan I). We excavated thirteen graves, and since all were disturbed and not far from the house excavated by Smith, some might have been those worked by him. Again all were of adult males, and neither pottery vessels nor lamps were found to permit any dating. Their position *vis-à-vis* the house and the monastery can be seen in Scanlon, 'Slip-Painted Pottery



1. Kasr el-Wizz looking west, showing the cleared area of the escarpment



2. Remains of springing of central dome of monastery



3. Courtyard of the monastery looking south



2. House in the cemetery area west of the monastery complex. Remains of external staircase in foreground; oven-kiln in background



3. Tombs hewn in the escarpment in Area I



1. Refectory of the monastery as cleared in 1965

Finally in 1964 Professor Keith Seele visited the site and made sufficient excavations to prove the presence of the church (see pl. XXXV, 1) and the general outlines of the monastery. Griffith's plan was confirmed in its general outlines (see pl. XXXIV), except that once again the over-all length was misread, simply because the southern extremity of the court (I-Z in our large plan I) was surmised rather than confirmed.¹

Thus in the course of a half-century Kasr el-Wizz had been noted, photographed, termed at once a Christian community and a palace, defined as a monastery with an attendant cemetery, and proved to contain a church with graves hewn into its escarpment on the axis of the church. It remained simply for us to clear the ground of sand-fill and fallen masonry, achieve an architectural analysis of the remnants, and propose, if possible, a viable dating sequence. To accomplish these tasks we used Seele's plan (see pl. XXXIV), dividing it into three areas.² With most of the *bema* revealed, it seemed wisest to commence our investigations with the church.

Part I. The church complex³

A. The early church

Pl. XXXVI, 2 exhibits how Seele's cleaned area in the *bema* had undergone further deterioration in the intervening eighteen months. Upon excavation, however, his context held good (see pl. XXXVII, 1 and plan I): there was a four-stepped tribune with a raised, somewhat trapezoidal, 'bishop's seat' taking up the entire apse (F); a

from Wizz', *African Arts/Arts d'Afrique*, II, no. 1 (Autumn/Automne 1968), fig. 2 (hereinafter referred to as Scanlon, *Pottery*).

Since we lacked Smith's working plans, we excavated the house, confirming the presence of the brick and pottery oven, and the remains of an external staircase. Cf. Smith's pl. iii, 2 with our pl. XXXIII, 2, showing remains of the staircase in the foreground and the oven in the background. The house may have guarded the cemetery and was at least contemporary with the last phases of monastic occupation of Wizz. The lack of child and female burials militates against the presence of a village in the near vicinity.

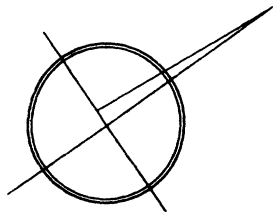
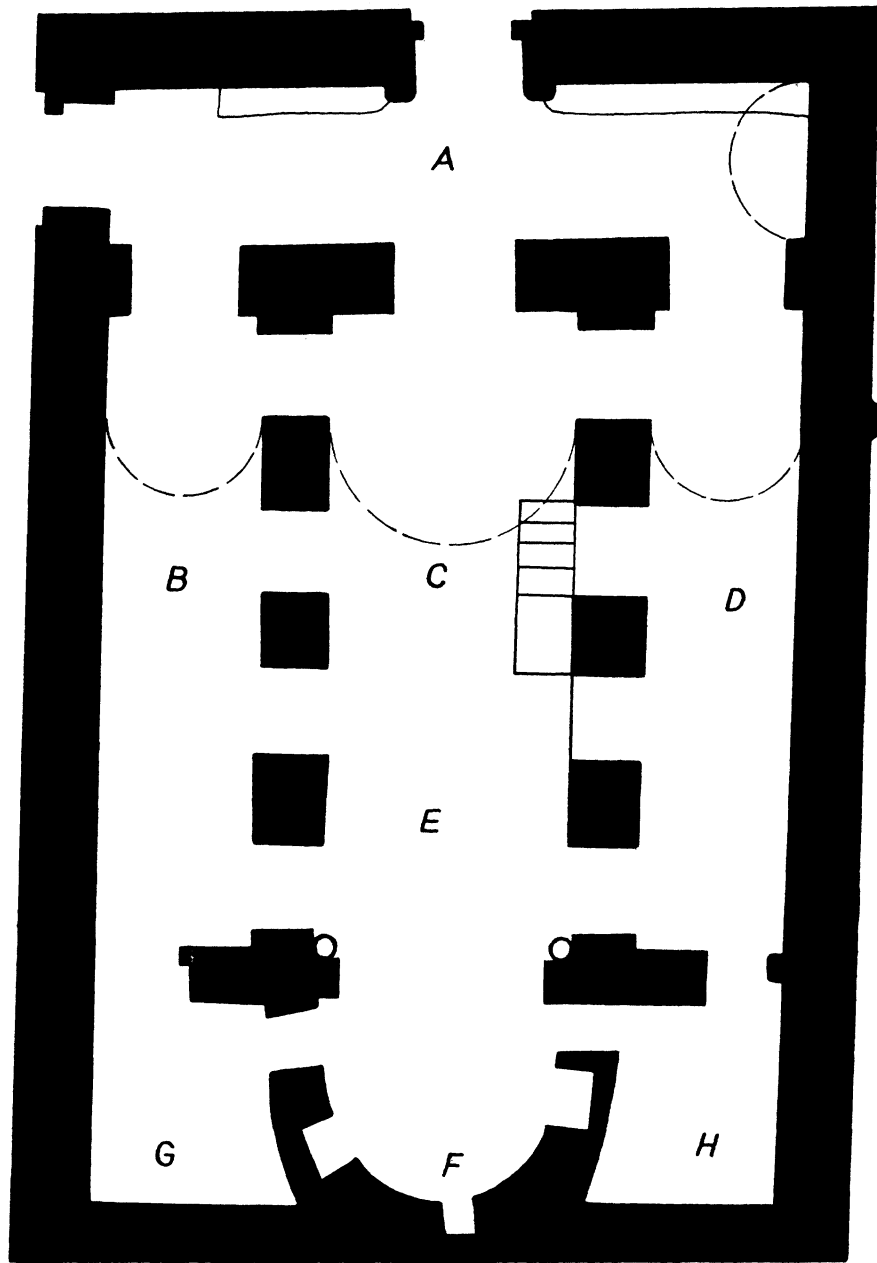
¹ In addition to confirming the general plan, Seele's group excavated the escarpment below the church. On the N-S axis they uncovered four rockhewn graves, which apparently contained nothing by which any dating could be presumed, though the superstructure of one (pl. XXXV, 2), a cenotaph of rough-cut stones and mud with the outer surfaces plastered, probably was in the form of a cross not unlike those in Faras (Griffith *LAAA*, pl. lv) and Tamit (*LNM* III, fig. 60).

The presence of these tombs demonstrated the need to uncover as much of the escarpment as possible. In the course of the season, on a 77 m. front, we cleaned down some 20 m. on the hypotenusal front of the escarpment (see the shaded area below the complex in pl. XXXI). One more tomb was found below Seele's four and almost axially aligned; beside it was the outline of another hewn in the rock (pls. XXXIII, 3 and XXXI).

No other tombs were found, but it was clear from the 'jaggedness' of the escarpment that it was hewn by the community to provide the decorative necessities of the church. Once cleaned and analysed, the escarpment face was used for tipping.

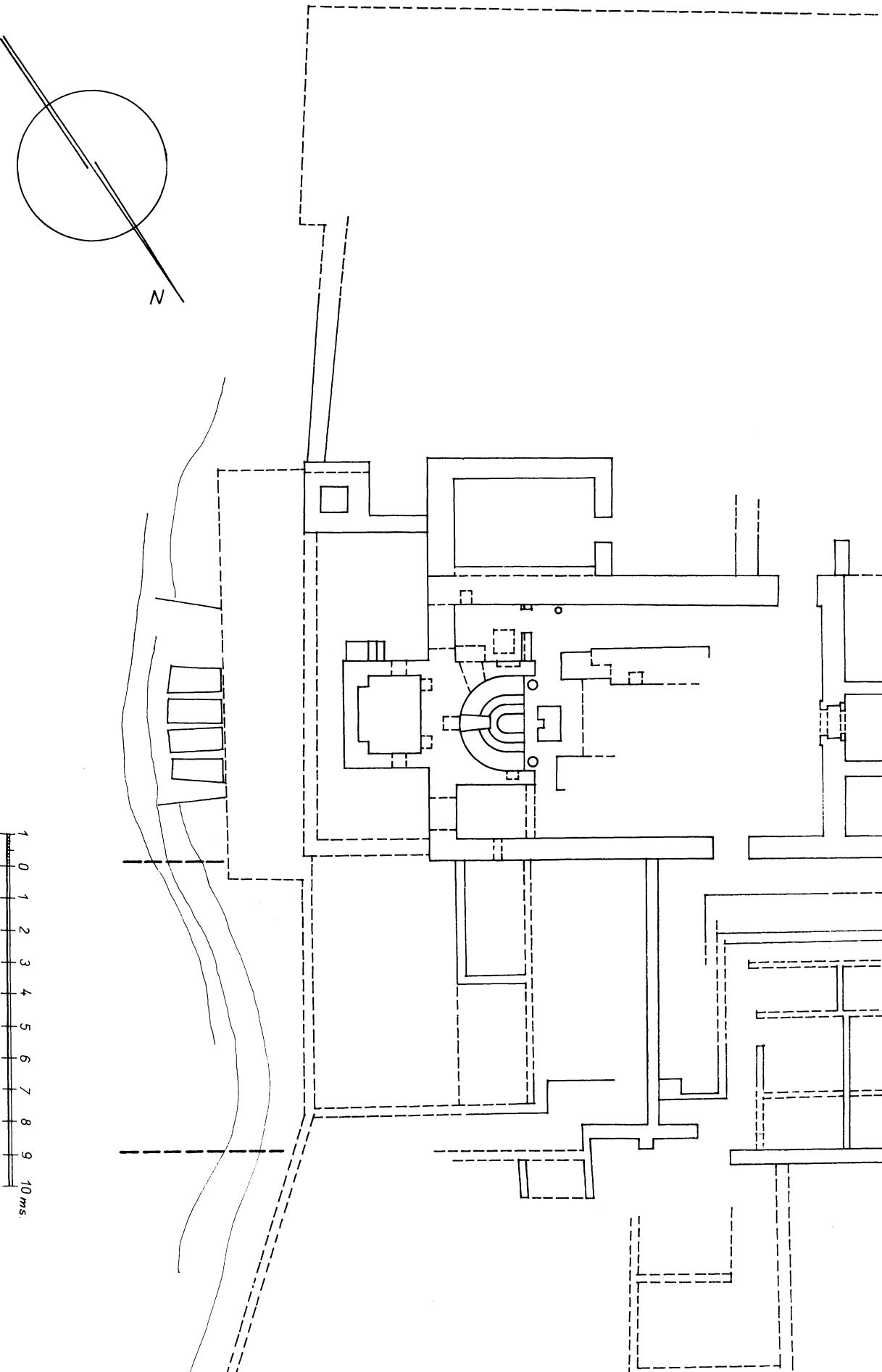
² From the plan on pl. XXXIV and from the view looking east at the rear of the complex (see pl. XXXVI, 1), it seemed that there was a dividing space between the church (I) and the monastery (II), a space we denominated III. In the course of the excavation there proved to be nothing between church and monastery, so section III became just a denominative convenience, there being no structural distinction between II and III.

³ Unless otherwise noted, all architectural references are to area I on plan I, i.e. the general context of the church as distinct from the monastery (areas II and III). Adams's nomenclature of typology of Nubian Christian churches ('Architectural Evolution of the Nubian Church, 500-1400 A.D.', *JARCE* 4 (1965), 87-139) will obtain throughout this Report (hereinafter referred to as Adams, *Ch.*).



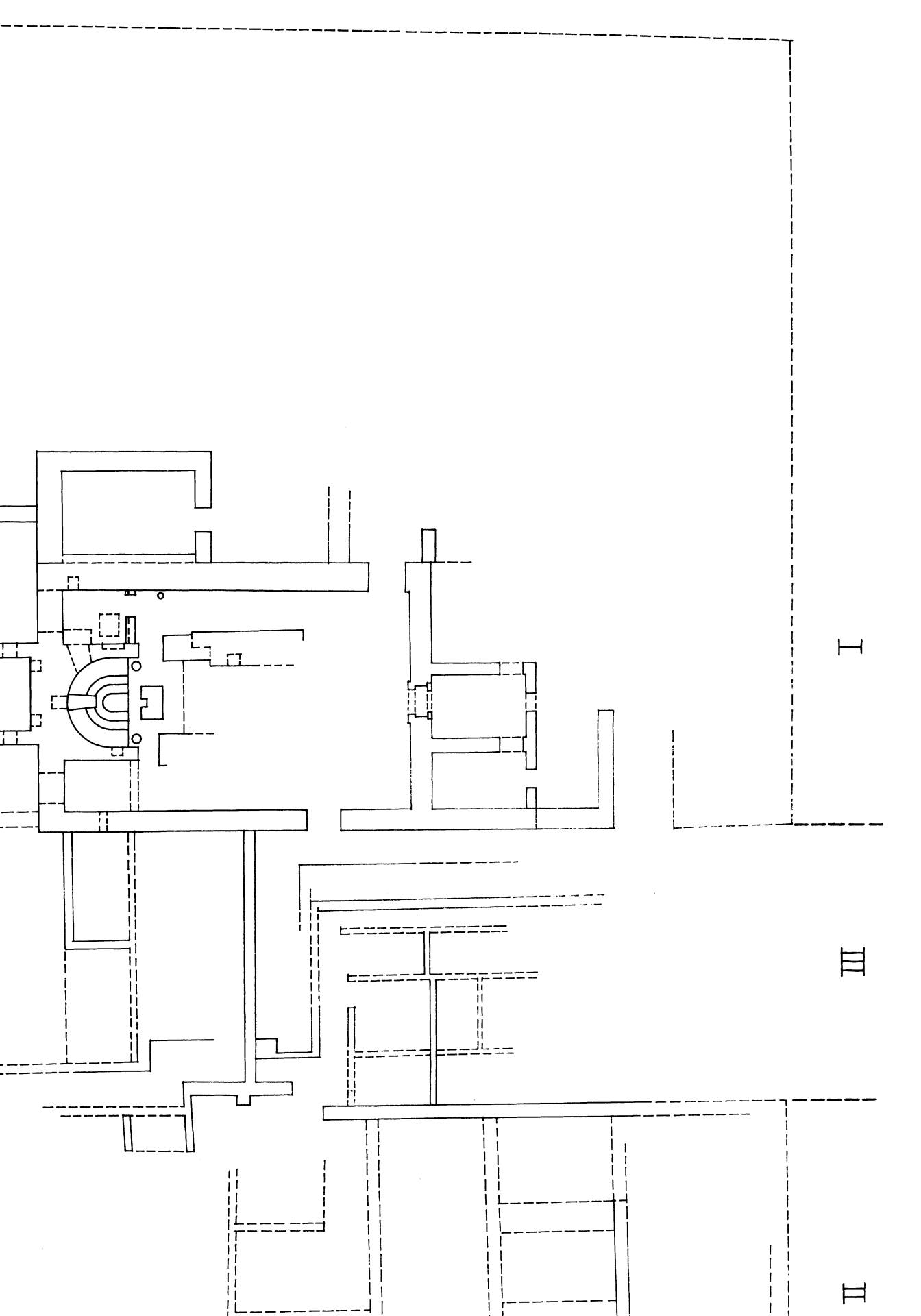
0 1 2 3 4 5m.

FIG. 1. Plan of early church. c. A.D. 550-750



Plan of the ensemble revealed by partial excavation carried out by Seele in 1964

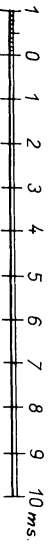
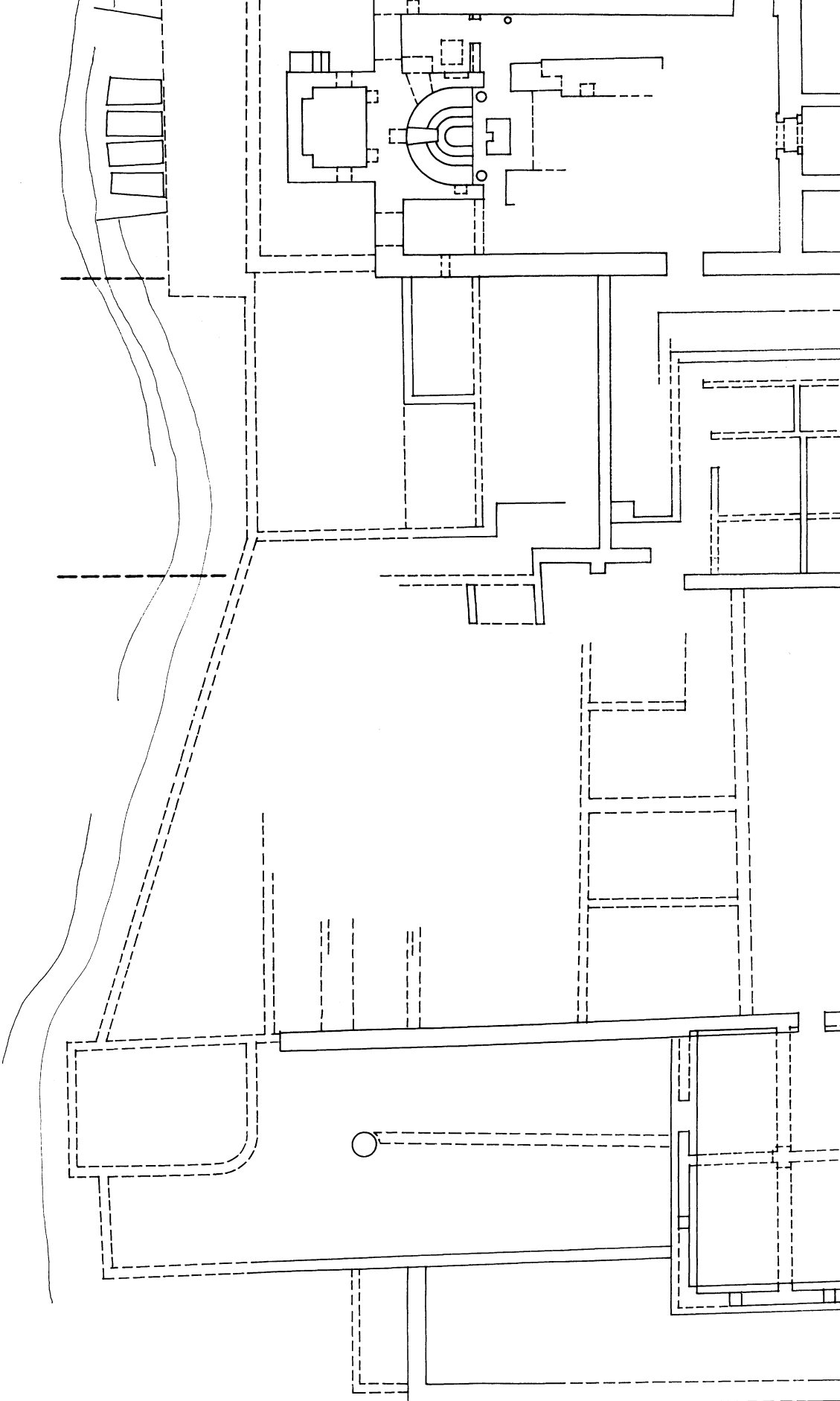
EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ



I

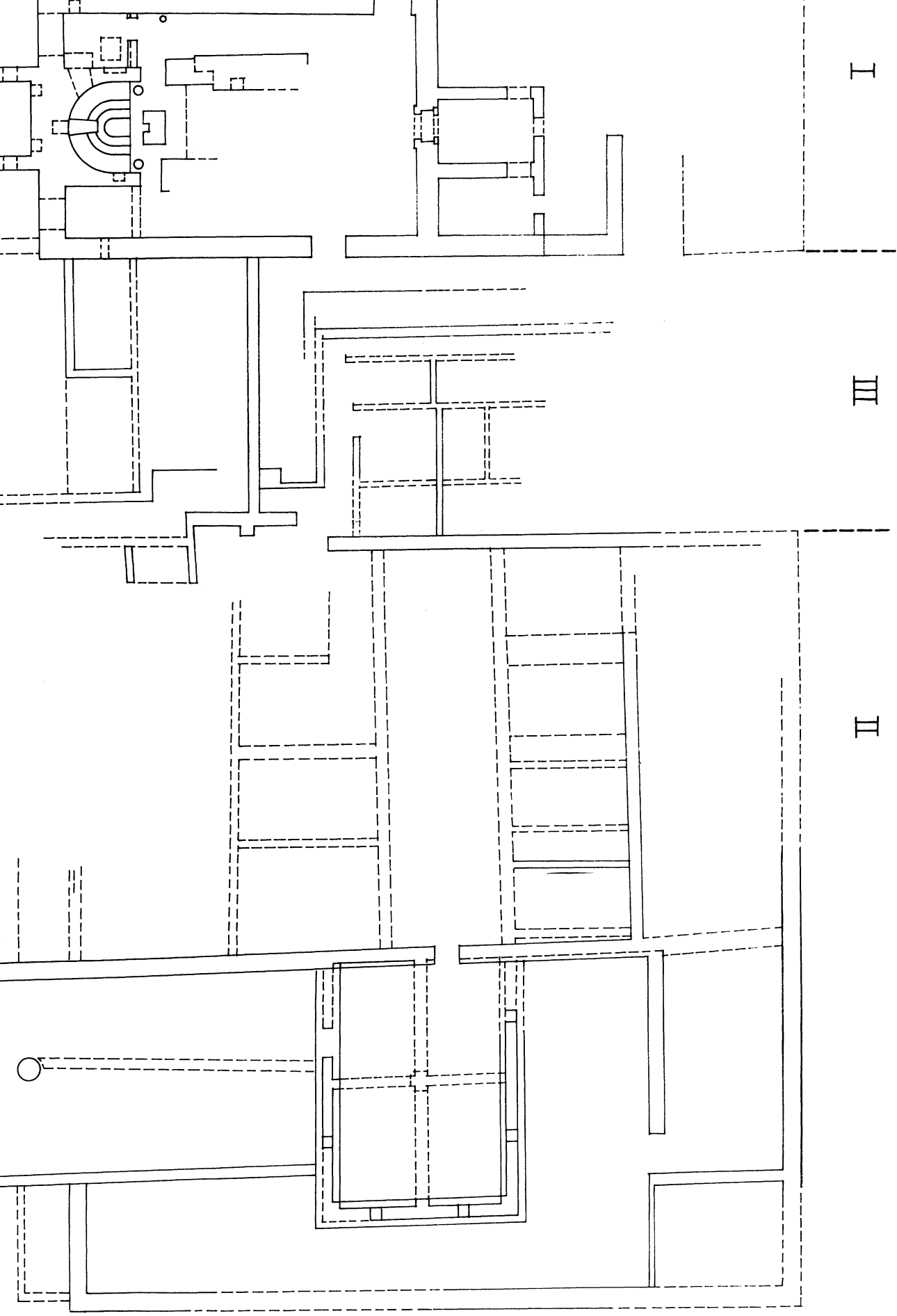
III

II



Plan of the ensemble revealed by partial excavation carried out by Seele in 1964

EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ



I

III

II

haikal-presbyterium (E) with a three-sided altar 'slotted' on its eastern side¹ and a divided/dividing *higab* to the west; the bases of the two pink granite columns for the triumphal arch (one of which can be seen *in situ* in pl. XXXV, 1 and leaning out in pl. XXXVI, 2 where its capital (fig. 6 a) can be seen propping it in the fill;² the shaft of the other column was never found); and two of the usual three niches around the tribune *in situ*, the central one asymmetrically aligned axially (see fig. 1 and pl. XXXVI, 3). The material here and throughout the church was of mud-brick and all the standing elements were very thinly plastered;³ the floor was very irregularly paved with sandstone slabs topped by a relatively hard sandstone-and-mud plaster.

The baptistry (G: 'southern sacristy'-*diakonikon*) was partially cleared by Seele, but as is obvious from plan I, and pl. XXXVII, 2, the tank is more erratically sunk and there is a niche in the flooring at its north-west corner with the base of the amphora containing the baptismal liquid still *in situ*. The tank measured 69 × 58 × 75 cm. and had two late inscriptions in Nubian on its west and south walls (see pl. XXXVIII, 2). In the fill towards the bottom of the tank there was an object of carved mauve sandstone (fig. 2), which was undoubtedly the asperger.

Originally the entrance into G from side aisle B was posted and carried a lintel of some sort, which must, however, have been tympanum-shaped if it corresponded to the door *in situ* leading into L (see pl. XXXVII, 3). The fragments of such a tympanum were found scattered amid the surface debris of B, L, P, and O (portions unexcavated by Seele) which when joined gave the partial shape to be seen in fig. 3. No doubt the original design was symmetrical and another fish would have been carved to face the one we see in the drawing. As such it is almost an exact duplicate (the only difference being that ours has a carved inner tympanum below the facing fish) of the one which Michałowski associates with the reconstituted Cathedral (Paulos-Basilika) of Faras, which dates from the year 707 A.D.⁴ Ours has a radius of 78 cm.

Room H ('northern sacristy'-*prothesis*) completes the *bema*, and is structurally complementary to G. Before excavation (pl. XXXVIII, 3), its vaulting was quite clear, though quite weakened. On the surface we found a mauve sandstone architrave-lintel with a forward sloping cornice, whitewashed and with three Maltese crosses carved somewhat erratically in high relief on discs (fig. 4). It measures 106.5 × 47.5 × 11.5 cm. Its width is too great to fit across the opening between H and D and too short to bridge that between H and M, both of which would seem to demand a tympanum lintel. It must have been removed to its present position by one of the earlier investigators. In

¹ Adams, *Ch. (passim)* does not discuss the shape of the altar, and all examples are drawn solid. Another example of our type of altar, though slenderer on all three sides, may be seen in Trigger, *The Late Nubian Settlement at Arminna West* (fig. 4 and pl. iv a).

² A stylistic congener comes from the early Cathedral at Faras; cf. Michałowski, *Faras* (Zurich and Cologne, 1967), 59, upper figure; hereinafter referred to as *Faras* (Zurich). See also *LNM*, II, pl. lxxxv.

³ A key to the possible placement of the wall-paintings is provided by the colour of the plaster: if it was a brownish mauve, it was clearly made from the ground-down mauve sandstone of the escarpment and therefore would 'absorb' the designs with no colour advantage; the chalk-lime base plaster, on the contrary, gave a smooth 'drying' surface on which the designs glowed.

⁴ *Faras* (Zurich), 65 ff. and drawing on 67, where the motif below the facing fish is a simple eight-petalled rosette.

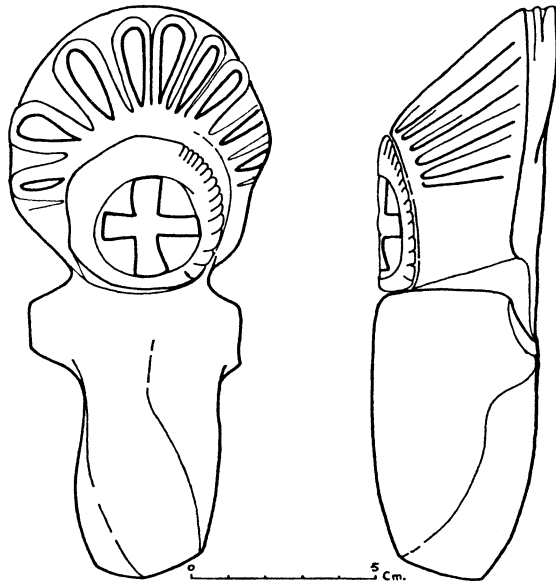


FIG. 2. Mauve sandstone asperger

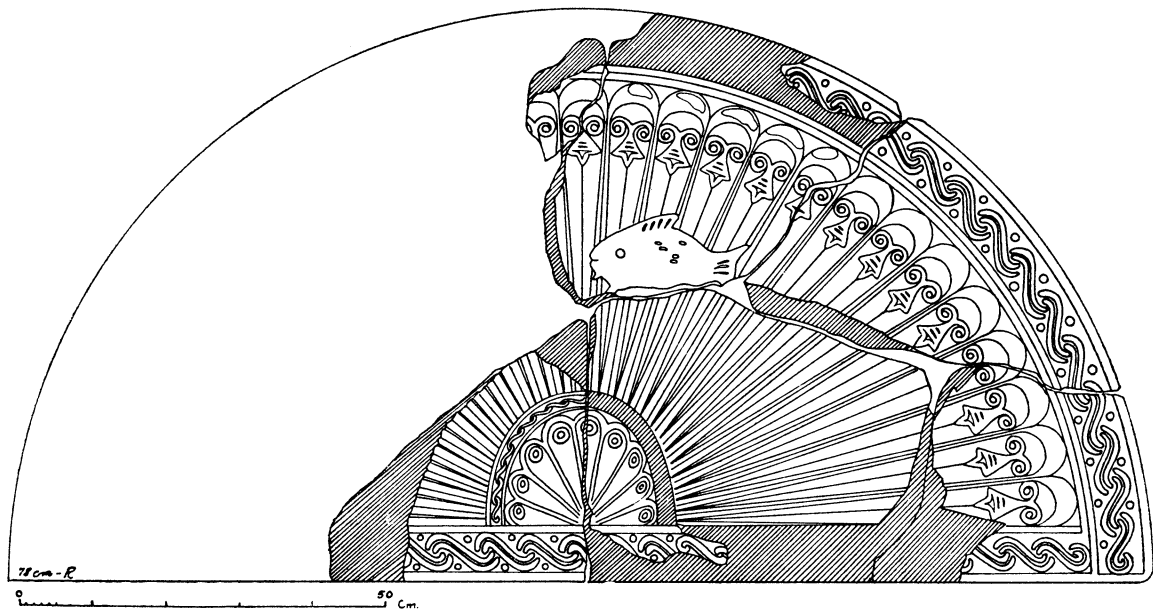


FIG. 3. Fragments of mauve sandstone lintel-tympanum, whitewashed

terms of architrave design and execution our lintel can be compared with that in the vestibule-entranceway of the third of the three contiguous churches at Tamit.¹

The fill of H contained matching fragments of a pink-brown ware bowl, additional parts of which were found in the upper fill of K, behind the apse (fig. 5 a). It was straight-sided, with no turn-over or 'bulge' at the rim, and its original rim diameter was 18 cm. On a cream slip was painted a design whose separate elements point to Adams's Post-Classic Christian dating, viz. the loops between triple bars (his motif 14 (under N V) in his fig. 3A),² vertical triple barring within a frieze pattern (his motif 2) and the design between triple barrings (his motif 29 in his fig. 3B). However, the ascertainable shape would place it squarely in the Late Christian Period.³

All other sherds in H pointed to Adams's Classic Christian Periods (both variants of motif no. 17 in parts I and II of this epoch 850-1100 A.D.).⁴ However, at floor level the rear of the apsidal wall revealed the constructions to be noted in pl. XXXVIII, 4: a filling-in of what was once an entrance to the sanctuary and a troughlike extension which might have been the northern wall of the original sanctuary. The filling-in of the entrance from the baptistry (G) can be seen in pl. XXXVII, 2 to the north of the amphora base. Thus, by analysis of the extant masonry and flooring in G and H, it became perfectly clear that two periods at least were involved in the church structure. When the southern half of the tribune was dismantled to check on this result, both the original entrance to the baptistry and the base of the original southern niche became evident (see pl. XXXIX, 1). That the tribune itself was a jerry-built structure against the original apsidal inner wall can be gleaned from pl. XXXIX, 2.

The remainder of the church, once cleared of fill and fallen masonry, showed a repetition of the structural history of the *bema*. Originally the nave (C) (see pl. XXXIX, 3) was bordered on each side by three piers and lacked the *higab* in position. The *ambo* (see pl. XXXIX, 4) was on the north side between the central and western pier. Eventually the three piers were conjoined and strengthened⁵ to take the weight of the

¹ LNM 1, 145-8 and fig. 137. It is interesting to note that Adams discusses the Basilica (his number 46) and the Middle (his number 47) of the three churches, but omits the one carrying our type of lintel. The Middle Church he puts into Type 3c, with an uncertain dating of 11-13th centuries, based on the pottery. However, since I believe all the carved stone decoration at Wizz is of the Early Christian Period, by analogy one should perhaps give a comparable dating for the church at Tamit carrying a similar lintel which in Monneret's day was yet *in situ* (Adams, *Ch.*, p. 128 and 136). For an updated chronology of these three churches see *Tamit* (1964) (Mission Archeologica in Egitto dell' Università di Roma. Rome, 1967), 28-30.

² William Y. Adams, 'Progress Report on Nubian Pottery: I. The Native Wares' to appear in *Kush*, 15; hereinafter referred to as Adams, *NP I*. This and Part II on the Imported Wares (to appear in *Kush*, 16; and hereinafter referred to as Adams, *NP II*) have been sent in mimeographed form to all those who had used and commented upon and contributed information to his unpublished 'Typology of Nubian Christian Wares' which is now superseded. It in turn superseded his 'Classification of Christian Nubian Pottery', *Kush*, 10 (1962), 245-88 (hereinafter referred to as Adams, *Kush*, 10) which, nevertheless, still contains some important material, and presents some stylistic problems which have yet to be satisfactorily resolved in the final (?) typology.

³ Adams, *NP I*, fig. 18, ware no. 32. However, it must be noticed in the upper band of loops in our fig. 5 a that every other ellipse is divided by a line, conforming to the Late Christian variant of Adams's motif 14.

⁴ Adams, *NP I*, fig. 3A.

⁵ This was clear from the contents of the fallen piers within C and E, for a carved sandstone door-jamb had been divided and each half inserted as an impost block in a pier. As reconstructed the door-jamb appears in

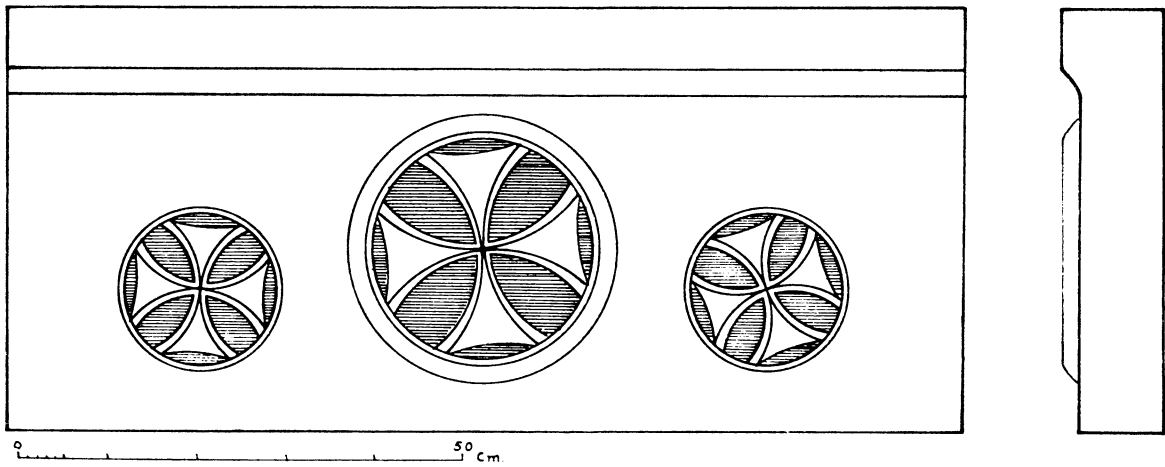


FIG. 4. Mauve sandstone architrave-lintel with Maltese crosses

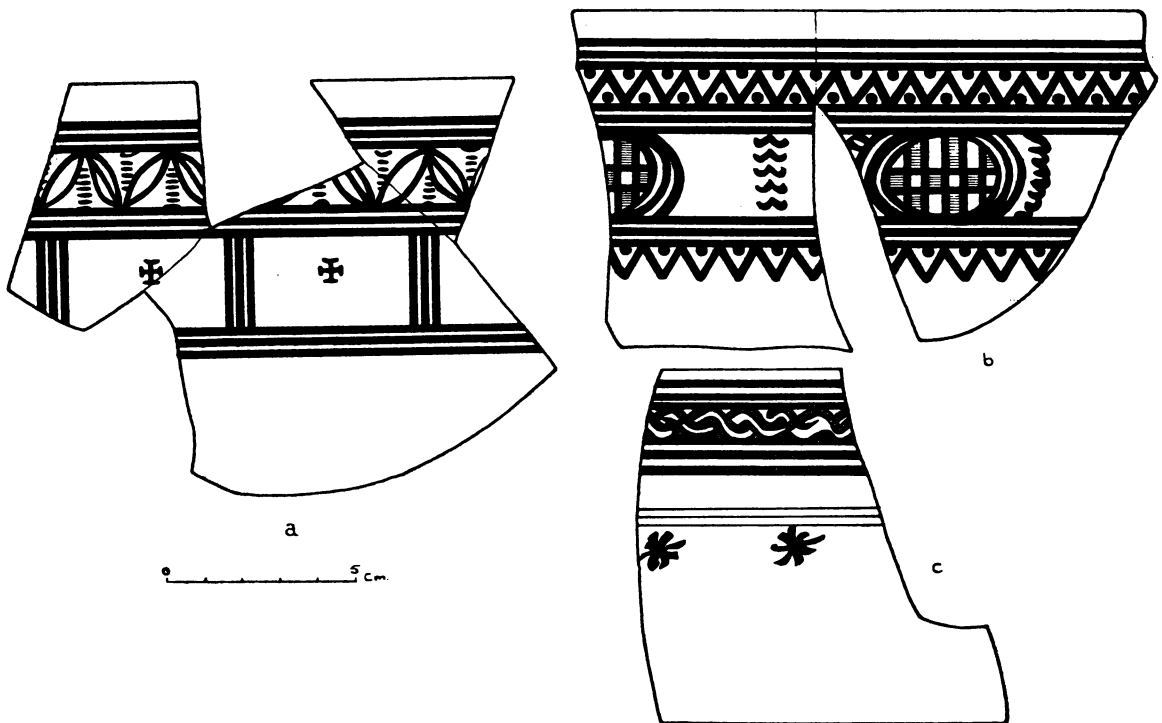


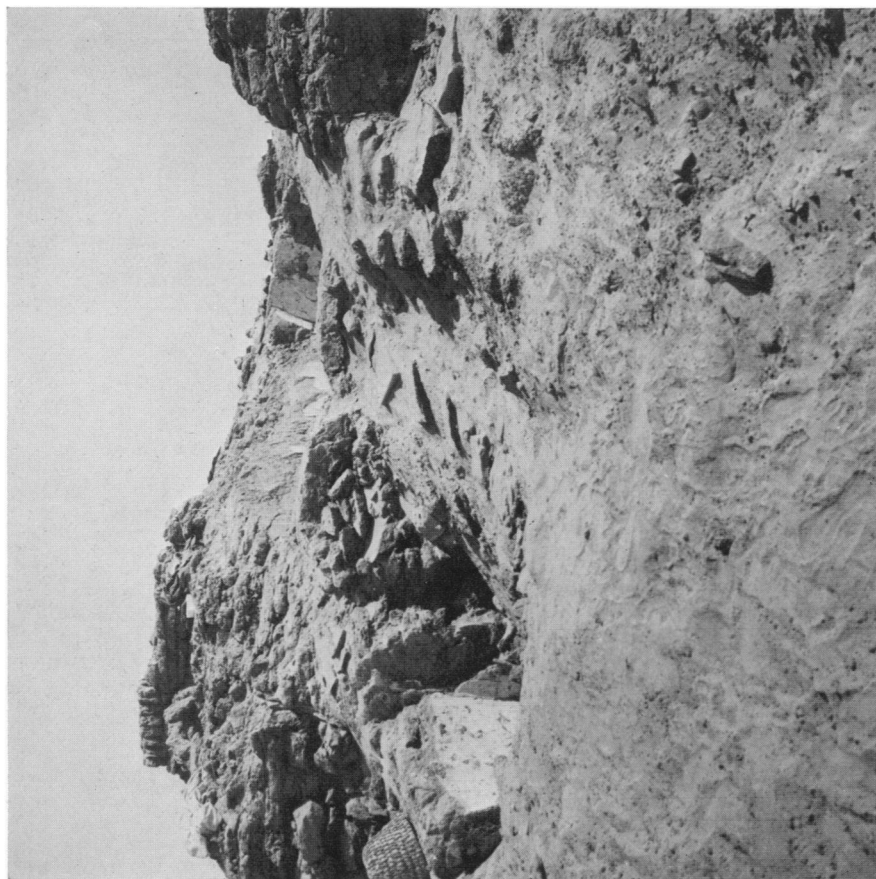
FIG. 5. Fragments of Post Christian-Late Christian slip-painted pottery



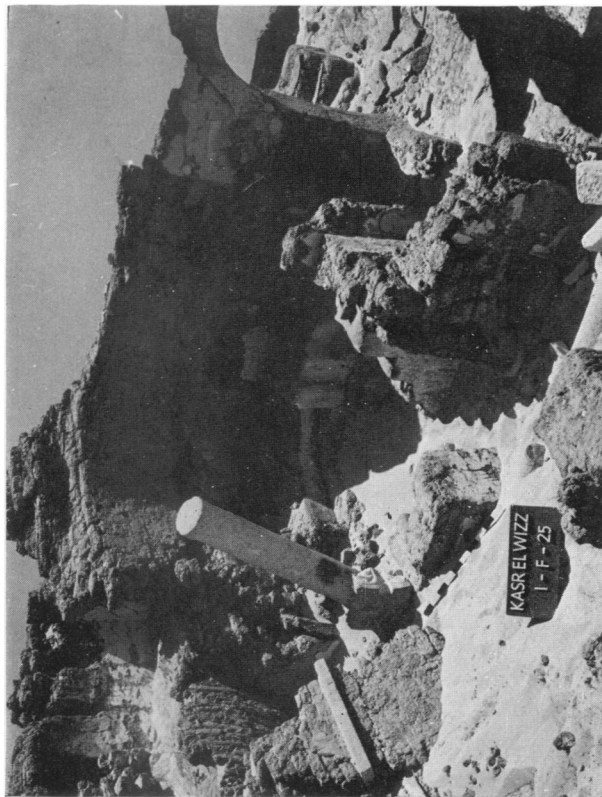
1. Apse and portion of the baptistery in 1964



2. Cenotaph of tomb on axis of church; the tomb is hewn into the escarpment in Area I (1964)



1. Area III from the west before excavations in 1965



2. Apse and *haikal* before excavation in 1965

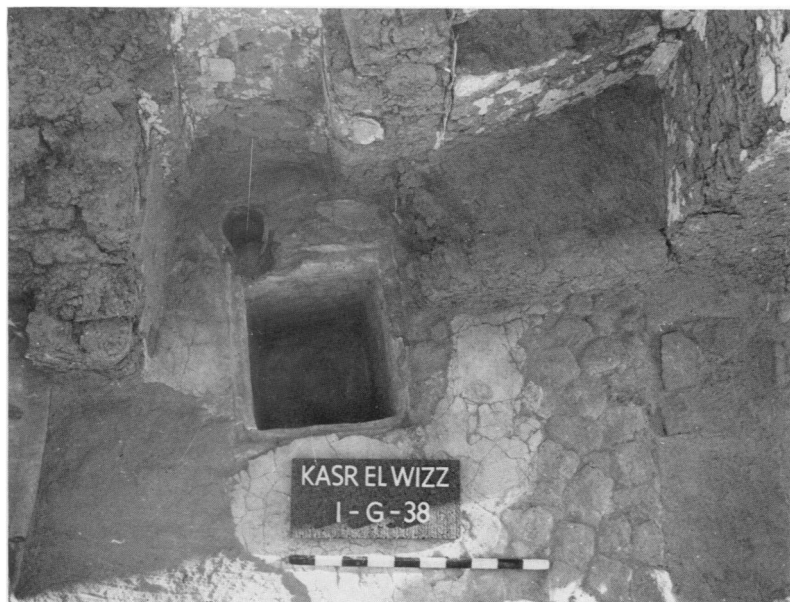


3. Tribune (F) and altar (in E) after cleaning

EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ



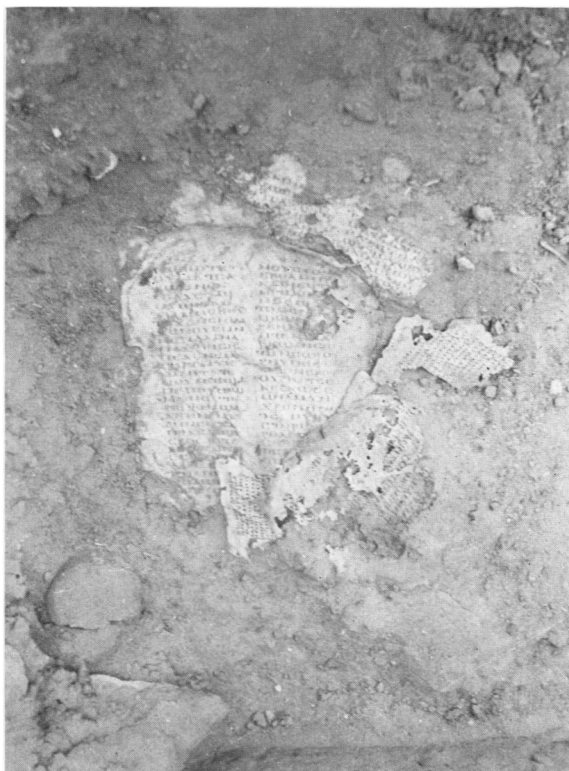
1. *Haikal* and tribune (E and F) with remains of *higab*



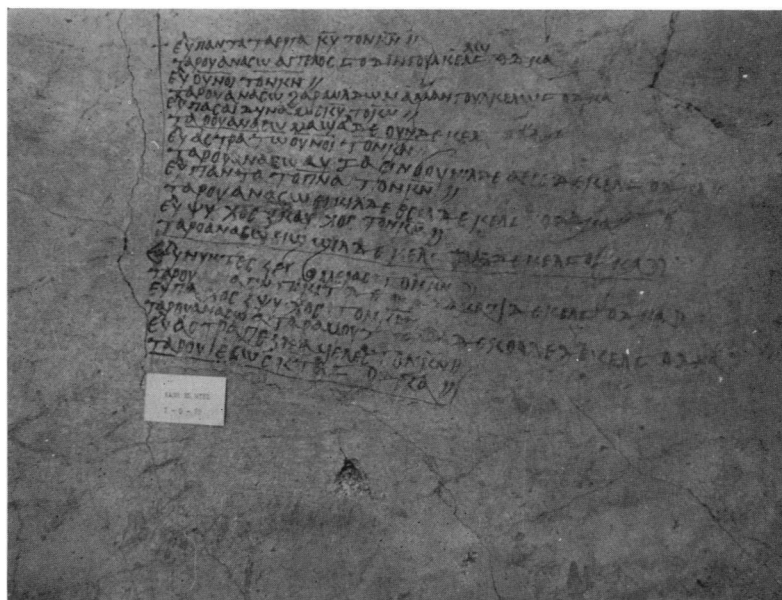
2. Baptistry (G) from above with tank and amphora base



3. Entrance to baptistry from south aisle (B).
Room L to rear, looking east



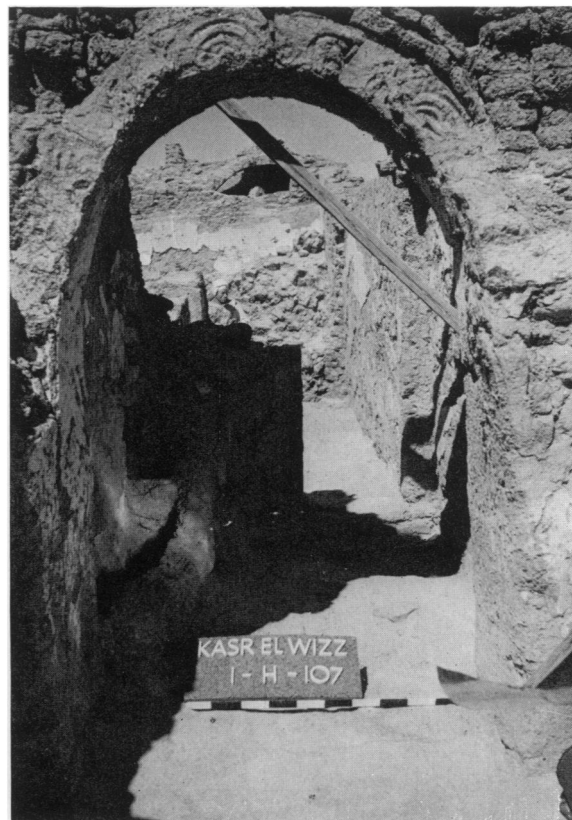
1. Parchment fragment *in situ* beneath flooring of L



2. Inscription in Nubian in baptistry tank



3. Prothesis (H) before excavation, looking east. Traces of vaulting can be seen



4. Prothesis after cleaning, looking west, into north aisle (D)

new vaulting, the *higab* added at the same height as the *ambo* (approx. 1 m.) and unevenly divided for entrance to the *haikal*, and, perhaps as an innovation, wooden columns were added on the nave side of the *higab*.¹ No doubt it was in this last period, when the apse was sealed from baptistry and *prothesis*, that the tribune and the altar were added.

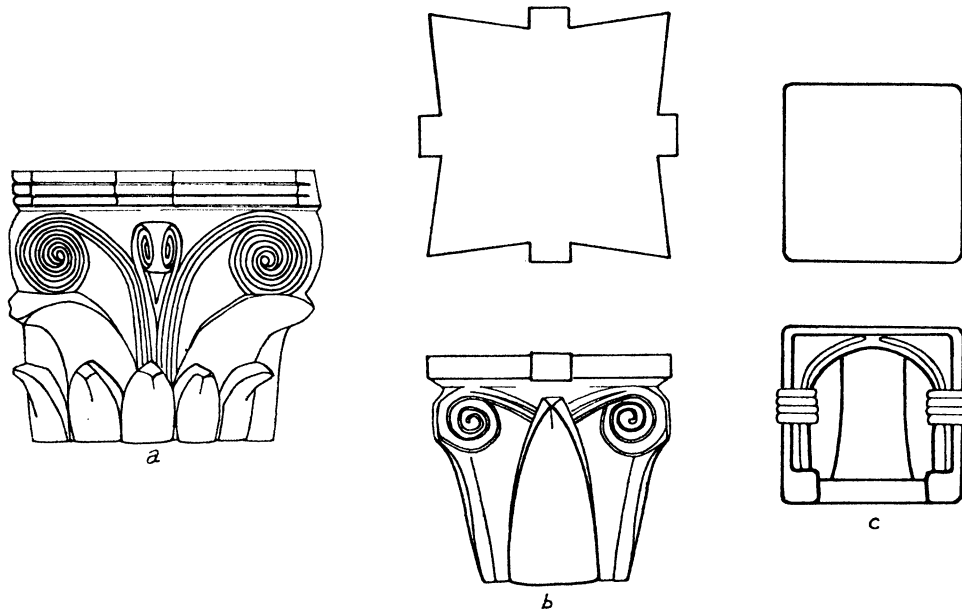


FIG. 6. *a*. Mauve sandstone capital associated with triumphal arch of early church. *b*. Mauve sandstone capital found in north aisle. *c*. Mauve sandstone base found in site in narthex of Early Church

The side aisles (B and D) were quite regular though they lost some of their width in the rebuilding, and no doubt both were vaulted. In the fill of the latter were the carved sandstone colonnette with volute abacus (see fig. 8 *a*; found in two matching pieces with an overall height of 108.5 cm.) and the capital (fig. 6 *b*) which possibly topped it.² Again as with the lintel in fig. 4, it is impossible to place them in context in aisle D; like the lintel, they may have come from elsewhere in the church. The few sherds in the nave and aisles all point to both phases of Adams's Classic Christian era.³

Plate XL, 2 shows the condition of the early narthex (A) before it was cleaned. A superbly carved and whitewashed architrave-lintel with projecting cornice (fig. 9) lay

fig. 7; it measures 115 × 8 × 47.5 cm. (The reuse of portion of a similar jamb can be seen in the Rivergate Church at Faras: *LNM*, II, pl. lxxxviii upper right.) The larger portion can be seen *in situ* in the fallen pier to the left of the leaning column in our pl. XXXVI, 2.

¹ Remains of both were *in situ*: that next to the *ambo* can be seen in pl. XXXIX, 3; the fragments of that on the other side in pl. XL, 1. These wooden fragments were eroded and weather-worn; one cannot adduce from them whether they served a second triumphal arch. If they did the second arch represents something of an anomaly in the architecture of the Classic Christian Period, to which we must assign the rebuilding phase of our church. Cf. Adams, *Ch.*, 99.

² A capital with similar scroll volutes was photographed by Mileham at Adindan (*op. cit.*, pl. 26 *a*).

³ Adams, *NP* I, fig. 3A, simple variants of motif no. 17 under N-IV-A.

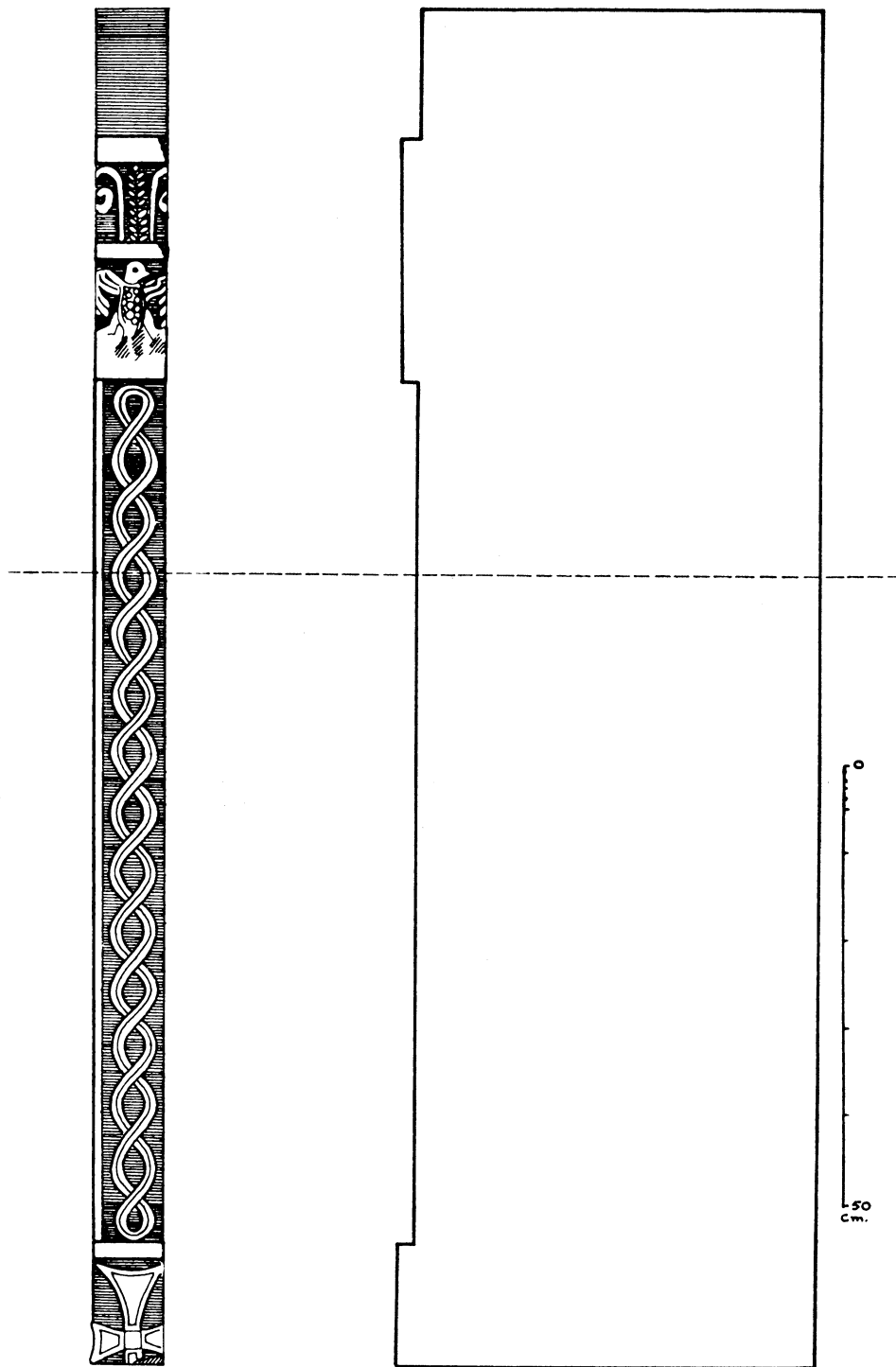


FIG. 7. Two matching fragments of carved mauve sandstone door-jamb, reused as impost blocks

before the western entrance. It measured $135 \times 40 \times 20$ cm. at the thickest point. Though separate motifs within can be duplicated elsewhere in Nubia,¹ the combination herein incorporated seems unique. The tympanum of the extreme motifs merely reproduces the designs of various tomb stelae (ours has a simple Maltese cross where the inscription would normally be incised on a stela); however, the capitals of the columns seem an etiolated 'echo' of a late Meroitic lotus-motif.²

The fragments around this lintel were composed to form more than half of a tympanum-lintel (fig. 10), which is irregularly carved in that it has a base of 142.5 cm. against a height of 11.5 cm. It no doubt topped the engaged mud brick pillars at the egress from A into S (see pl. XL, 3). But where did the superb lintel of fig. 9 come from? It might have spanned the ingress from A into C, but it would have had to be fitted into a transverse vaulting. It seems more than probable that it, too, was moved from its original place of fall. The necessary clue was discovered in the surface fill of S.

Plate XLI, 1 shows the situation at the eastern end of S at the commencement of excavation. Two engaged carved sandstone door-jambs with cut discs carrying lightly incised Maltese crosses were topped with two carved sandstone impost-capstones (fig. 8*b*), whose external faces had respectively a rosette in a roundel with proto-trefoils at the corners and a Maltese cross in a roundel. Their widths (35 and 39 cm.) could have taken the maximum thickness of the lintel (20 cm.) with the latter set back somewhat for artistic effect and more equably dividing the weight going into the jambs. The width across the capstoned doorway (including their N-S widths when in place) was approximately 140 cm., sufficient to carry the 135 cm. width of the lintel. The complete form of this carved doorway would be analogous to that of Tamit,³ but with a far more imposing lintel.

The fallen members of the narthex contained fragments of fresco on very thin white gypsum plaster, which was too thin to preserve individual compositions or to attempt any preservation. The fragment in pl. XLI, 2 is as representative as any and relates stylistically to the Cathedral frescoes in Faras.⁴ Here and in all other fragments the colour range was invariable: yellow, mauve (Michałowski's 'violet'?), and red on white. The same range held for the bits which were *in situ* (see pls. XL, 3 and XLI, 3), though these had lost most of their colour definition due to exposure. The only fact which can be established is that at some period the church at Wizz had painted decoration on some

¹ Again the nearest examples are at Faras: cf. *LNM*, 1, fig. 189 and Griffith, *LAAA*, vol. 13 (1926), pl. li where one lintel may be seen *in situ*. Both of these are from the Rivergate Church. Michałowski discovered a lintel in the first Cathedral which duplicates our central motif of a Maltese cross with pellets at the interstices: cf. *Faras* (Zurich), 60 upper figure.

² Cf. *Faras* (Zurich), fig. on p. 49 and pl. 14 for a columnar motif with something of the same 'echo' but now in full Christian use.

³ *LNM*, 1, fig. 137. Also see p. 35, n. 1, above.

⁴ The treatment of the eyes, the double line for the nose, the enlarged ear, and the monochromatic margined halo allow for comparison with the following portraits from Faras (*Faras* (Zurich), *passim*) with Michałowski's dating:

- a. Pl. 29 of St. Ignatius of Antioch: last half of eighth century.
- b. Pl. 39 of St. John Chrysostom: 867-902 A.D.
- c. Pl. 47 of the Archangel Michael: early tenth century.
- d. Pl. 81 of Bishop Marianos of Pachoras (Faras): c. 1005 A.D.

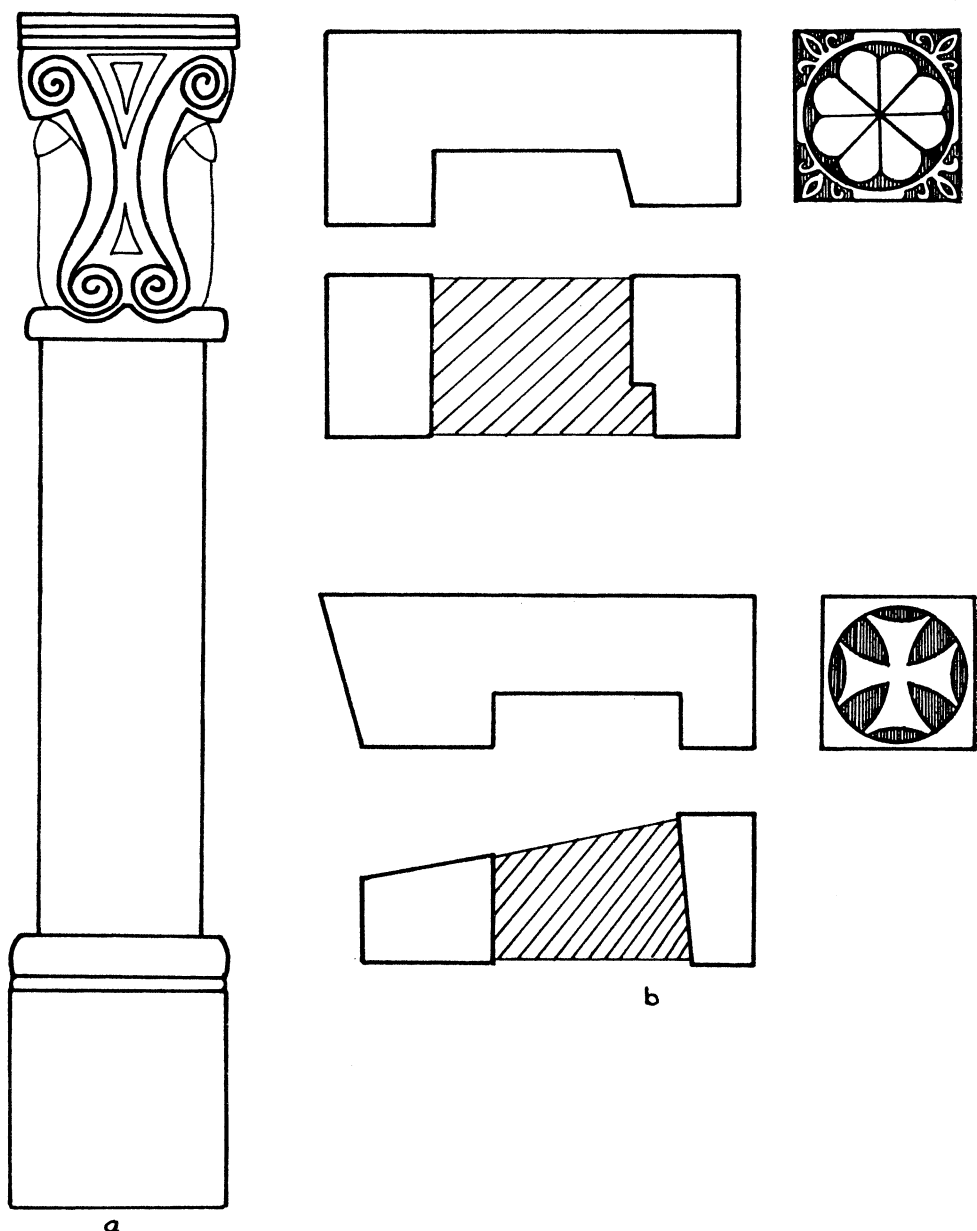


FIG. 8. *a.* Mauve sandstone colonnette, whitewashed. *b.* Two carved sandstone capstones

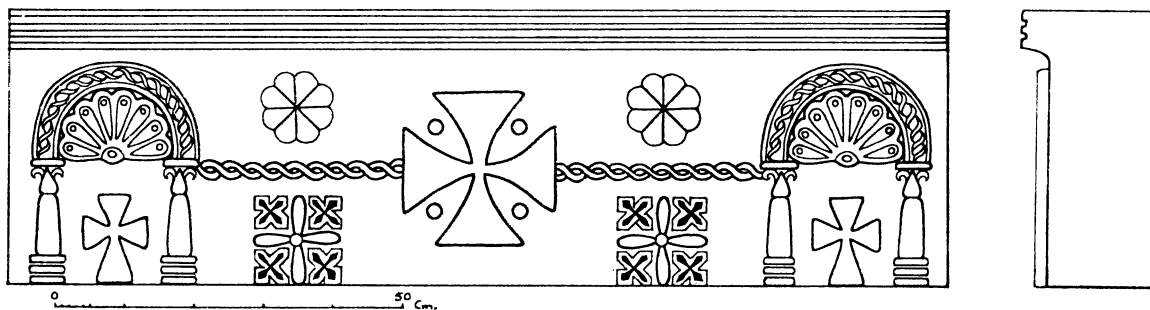


FIG. 9. Carved mauve sandstone architrave-lintel, whitewashed

of its interior surfaces. (Fragments of fresco adhering to fallen masonry were found in I-A, B, D, E, and J, and in II-D, G, and I.)

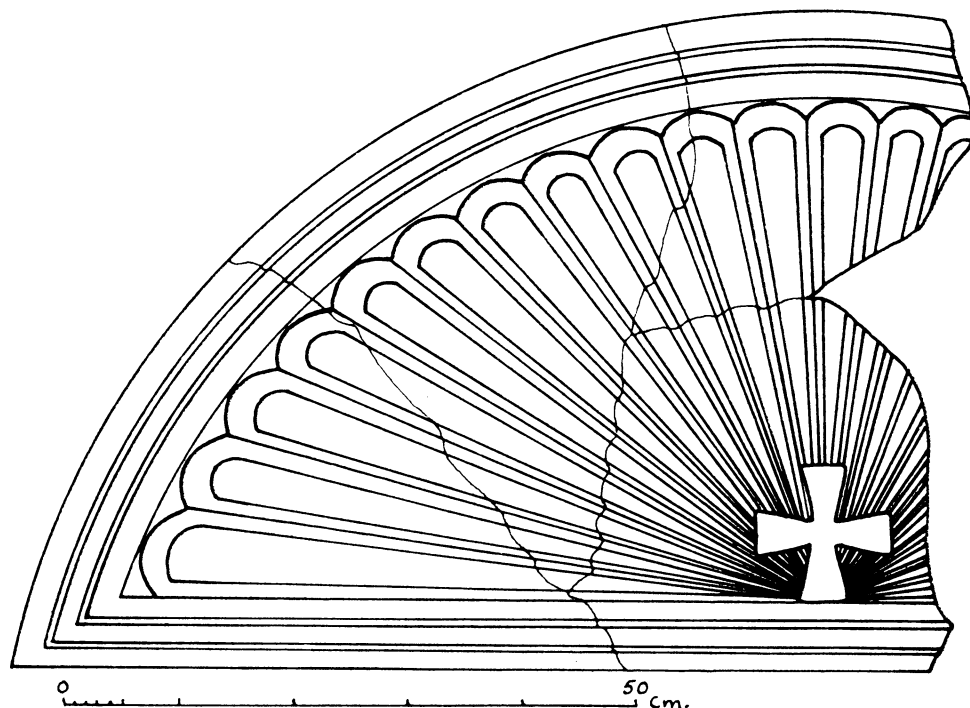


FIG. 10. Matching fragments of a carved mauve sandstone tympanum-lintel, whitewashed

A rather interesting and quite puzzling object was found *in situ* when the floor of the narthex was cleaned. It was a carved sandstone 'base' inserted in the projecting portion of the western wall (see pl. XL, 3 and fig. 6 c). It measures $21.5 \times 22 \times 22$ cm., and represents an inner column with arches engaged at corner pillars. There was no complementary 'base' in the projection to the north of the door into S.

On architectural evidence this seemed the extent of the earliest church at Wizz. Its characteristics can be summarized as follows (see fig. 1, Plan and Sections AA and BB on plans I and II):

- (i) Made of mud-brick throughout, generally laid in a mud-mortar.
- (ii) Built-up floor of packed earth, topped by smoothed sandstone plaques of irregular shape, possibly plastered.
- (iii) Nave and two aisles divided by sets of three pillars between enlarged pillars dividing *naos* (B, C, D and E) from narthex (A) and extended *higab*-like pillars dividing *naos* from *bema* (G, F and H).
- (iv) All elements vaulted; semi-dome at apse (F) proceeding from triumphal arch whose shafts were of pink Aswân granite with capitals of carved mauve sandstone, whitewashed.
- (v) Entrance from apse to north and south sacristies; no tribune.
- (vi) Three niches in apse; possibly no altar, at least no trace within apsidal area.
- (vii) No western rooms; no eastern passage.
- (viii) Carved stone decoration, particularly at doorways.
- (ix) Carved stone *ambo* on north side of nave.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| (x) Over-all dimensions: | Length app. | 12.5 m. |
| | Width „ | 8.75 m. |
| | Proportion | 1:1.43 |
| | Width of nave app. | 2.6 m. |
| | Width of aisle app. | 1.5 and 1.6 m. |
| | Proportion | 1.67:1 |
- (xi) One entrance in West wall with external decoration; one entrance in north end of south wall with external decoration.¹

The present entrance in the north wall lacks entirely the finish of the other two doors and seems to have been thrust through at the time of the building of the monastery. Hence it is our belief that the northern wall was as solid at this point as was the southern wall. Originally there was no entrance on the north side to complement that on the south.

Upon appeal to Adams's typology of Nubian churches it becomes evident how difficult it is for our church in its first period to satisfy his classifications. In size it is barely within his dimensions for Type 1b;² and though it has a narthex and a western entrance, it is far too small to be covered by Type 1a.³ The niching in the apse and the entrance to the sacristies might place it within category 2a, but it lacks the western rooms, the entrance in the north wall, the triumphal arch is differently placed, and, most tellingly, it is too small. However, the balance of its characteristics would seem to place it well within Type 1b with the following pronounced differences:

- (a) An entrance from the west and not from the north;
- (b) Communication between the north aisle and the *pro-thesis*, important enough to carry a lintel (?); and
- (c) A definite narthex.⁴

Thus on architectural grounds we may assign the earlier Wizz church a date of c. 550–750 A.D.

B. The enlarged church

The three western rooms (R, S, and T; see pl. XLI, 3) could not by any anterior exemplar in Lower Nubia be part of the early church. The southern wall of R is built out at a bias from the southern wall of this church; while the north wall of T is much thinner than that of the north wall of the church (see plan I). Finally, this latter wall is integral with the west wall of the new narthex (X) (see pl. XLII, 1), which in turn has the effect of 'cutting off' the entrance from the west and allowing a second entrance from the south.⁵

¹ In pl. XLI, 4, one can see part of the door-post *in situ*; another fragment existed in the west jamb.

² Adams, *Ch.*, 105–6 and 134.

³ *Ibid.* 103–5 and 134.

⁴ 'In general their [Type 1b] characteristics parallel those of Type 1a, although on a smaller scale. The disappearance of the *narthex* seems to foreshadow the development of the later Nubian church form, with three western rooms. However, there is nothing definite to suggest that the churches of Type 1b are later in date than those of Type 1a; probably from the beginning the *narthex* was a feature confined to the larger churches' (*ibid.* 106). We now see that this is not quite the case; the narthex does carry over from the larger Qaṣr Ibrīm basilica-type church.

⁵ '... however, narthex in some churches of Type 1a converted to 3 symmetrical rooms' (*ibid.* 112). This does not cover the conversion of our church which is *modified* Type 1b, i.e. with a narthex.



1. Apsidal area with tribune cleared away, showing ingress into baptistery and base of south niching



2. Composition of tribune



3. View into nave (C) from external side of original west entrance. Composition of flooring of narthex (A) can be seen in foreground



4. *Ambo*. Stump of wooden pillar of triumphal(?) arch in right foreground



1. South side of *higab*. Fragments of second wooden pillar of triumphal(?) arch within on surface of sand fill at corner



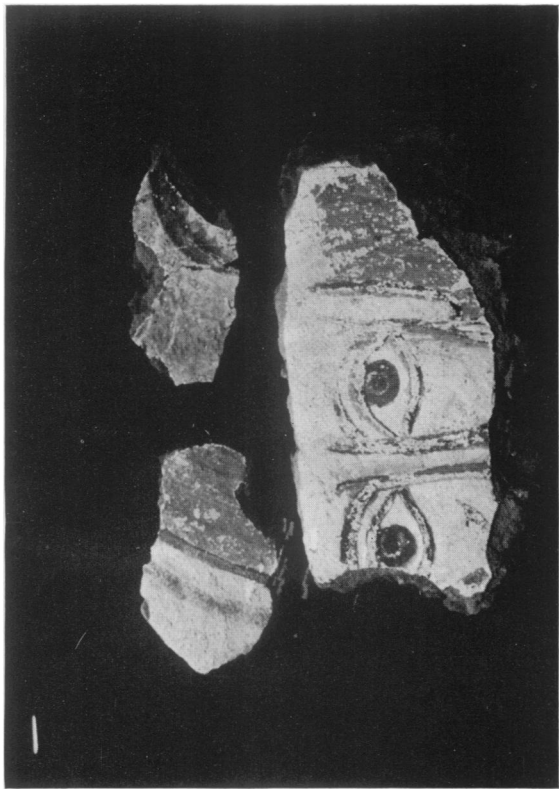
2. Narthex (A) before excavation. Doorway, the original west entrance, led later into vestibule (S)



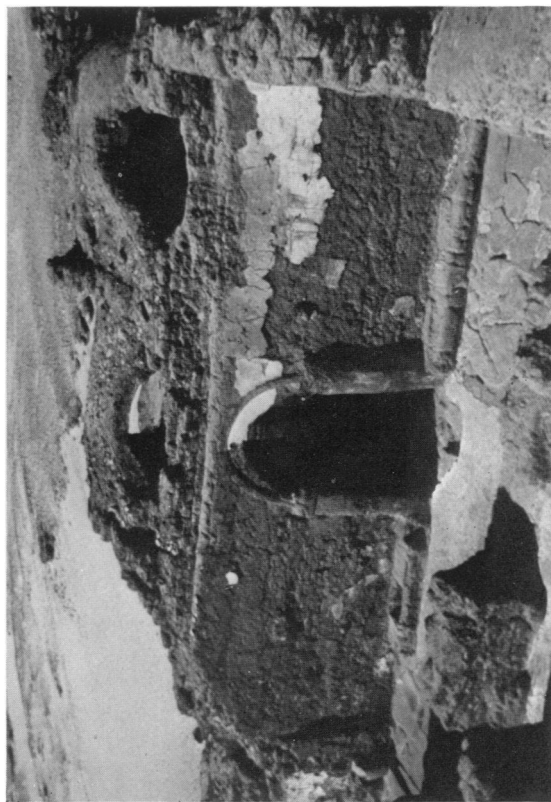
3. Narthex after cleaning, looking north. Platform (fig. 6, c) *in situ*. Traces of fresco on west wall



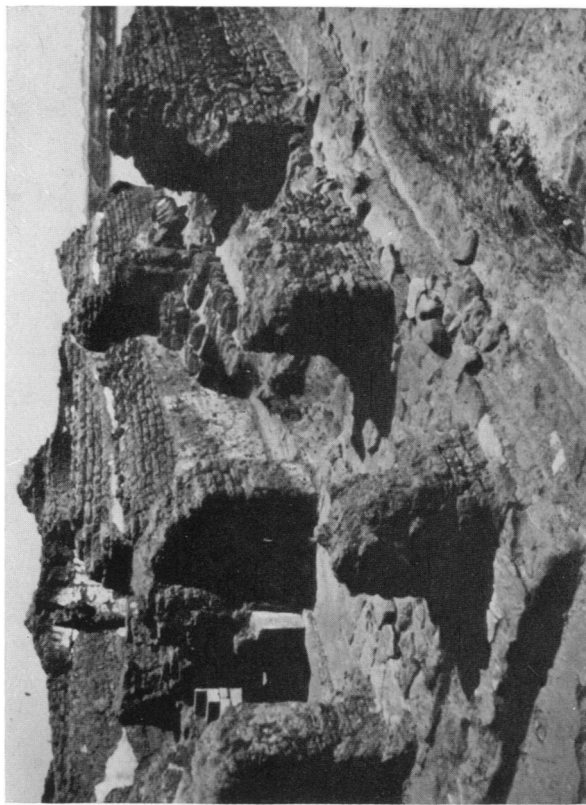
1. Original west entrance to church looking east, before clearing (cf. pl. XL, 2)



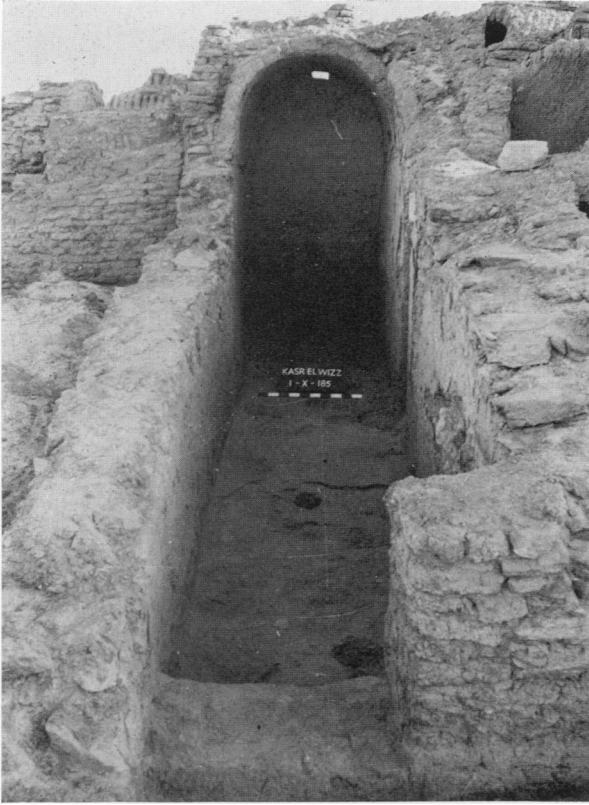
2. Fragments of fresco from fill of narthex (A)



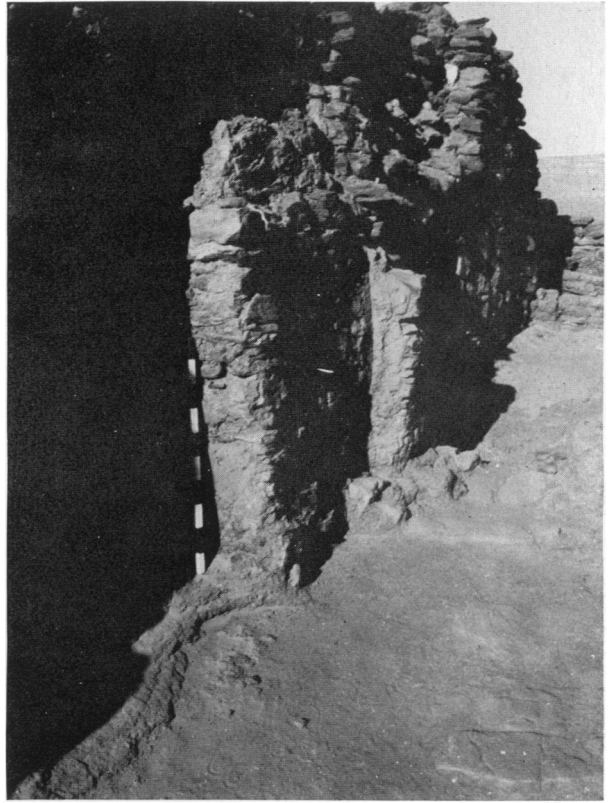
3. Early narthex (A) and three western rooms (R, S, T)



4. New south entrance (Q) and 'satellite chapels' (O, P). There are stacked mud bricks against north walls of both the latter



1. New narthex (X), looking north



2. Estopped entrance between III-H and room T of enlarged church



3. Glazed cup found in S, an Egyptian import



4. Glazed cup found at Fustât (1965)

Room S thus became a vestibule between narthex A and narthex X, with egress into stairwell area R and into T which afforded symmetry to the new addition.¹ Like the last it was vaulted. Part of a wall stands above and between them to permit one to surmise a first storey (see pl. XLI, 3) which may have served the galleries above the church. Its fill was not wholly undisturbed, but the few sherds within pointed to Adams's Classic Christian Period. There was also a small alkaline-glazed cup (splashes of turquoise on white, see pl. XLII, 3), clearly an import from Egypt where exact duplicates have been found in Fustât (see pl. XLII, 4 for an example with green glaze) in contexts which are clearly tenth–eleventh century. In shape and glossy effect they are an attempt to imitate early Chinese celadons and porcelain wine-cups, a type of imitation which began in the tenth century.²

There was nothing of interest in the fill of T except for two sherds of the Classic Christian Period. In R the first flight of stairs and the first turning had fallen, and the second landing was no longer *in situ*. The third landing and fourth flight were intact, but again the fourth landing was partially destroyed. However, when entering R from S one noticed that the opening beneath this fourth flight was sealed with rubble, including part of a carved door-post with a Maltese cross (pl. XLIII, 1). When the upper part of this sealing was removed (down to the slab immediately below the portion of stone door-post with the Maltese cross), an improvised burial chamber with the body still enshrouded was revealed (see pl. XLIII, 2 where the ascent of the fourth flight of steps can be noted). There was a little fill above the body, but it did not reach up to the top of the stair-niche; thus one was led to believe that this was a hasty burial, perhaps by itinerants, who used the rubble around the site to seal the tomb, whose position within the church plan precludes its being of either of the periods of the church itself.³

¹ Room T also afforded another entrance from the monastery: III–H into I–T to complement (?) that from III–G into I–D (see plan I). However, at some date posterior to the erection of the western rooms this second entrance was bricked in (see pl. XLII, 2), as was the doorway between S and the narthex X; but why or when it is impossible to tell with the evidence at hand.

² Cf. Scanlon, 'Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report 1965. Part II', *JARCE* 6 (1967), 82–5 (our example was found in pit 'O' (XVI–10), therein discussed): and id., 'Egypt and China: Trade and Imitation' in *Islam and the Trade of Asia*, ed. Donald Richards (Oxford, 1969), in the press.

Hence I would dispute Adams's contention that Egyptian glazed wares do not appear in Nubia until after 1050 A.D., with bulk importation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By 1100 this type of cup would have either (a) had a lightly incised design, or (b) been glazed on the *entire* external surface. Hence I believe this particular cup to be manufactured in Egypt, probably at Fustât, early in the eleventh century. (Adams, *NP* II, Group G–II, *passim*.)

³ In the loose fill above the second and fourth flight of stairs came a *qadus* of coarse redware, intact, with a button base whose shape puts it clearly in the Late Christian Period (1200–c. 1350 A.D.); cf. Adams, *Kush* 10, 262, fig. 9; also the major portion of a coarse white-grey ware water bottle with its filter *in situ*. This was definitely an import from Egypt, and the filter design connects it stylistically with those assigned to the Mamluk period: cf. Pierre Olmer, *Les Filtres de Gargoulettes* (Cairo, 1932), pls. xxxviii–xlii, and Scanlon, 'Preliminary Report: Excavations at Fustat, 1964', *JARCE* 4 (1965), fig. 2d. Three other Egyptian water-bottles with similar filters were found at Faras: cf. Michalowski, *Faras: Fouilles Polonaises 1961* (Warsaw, 1962), figs. 115–16; hereinafter referred to as *Faras* (Warsaw '61).

Thus, confined to the situation in R, the problem is simply whether the body was buried in the late Christian Period of the *qadus* and Egyptian water-bottle, or at some date posterior to this. The jerry-built seal would point to the latter as would the shallow filling above and around the body (quite obviously it was pushed in on top of earlier fill), but the proof is by no means conclusive. Upon instructions the body had to be buried before it could be studied.

From the level of the body to the base of the niche there was some 40 cm. of fill. In the immediate surrounding area and just beneath the surface at this level were the major portions of a ring-footed bowl with a straight shoulder and plain rim and with two Coptic incised inscriptions;¹ the base of a flat-bottomed bowl with a painted

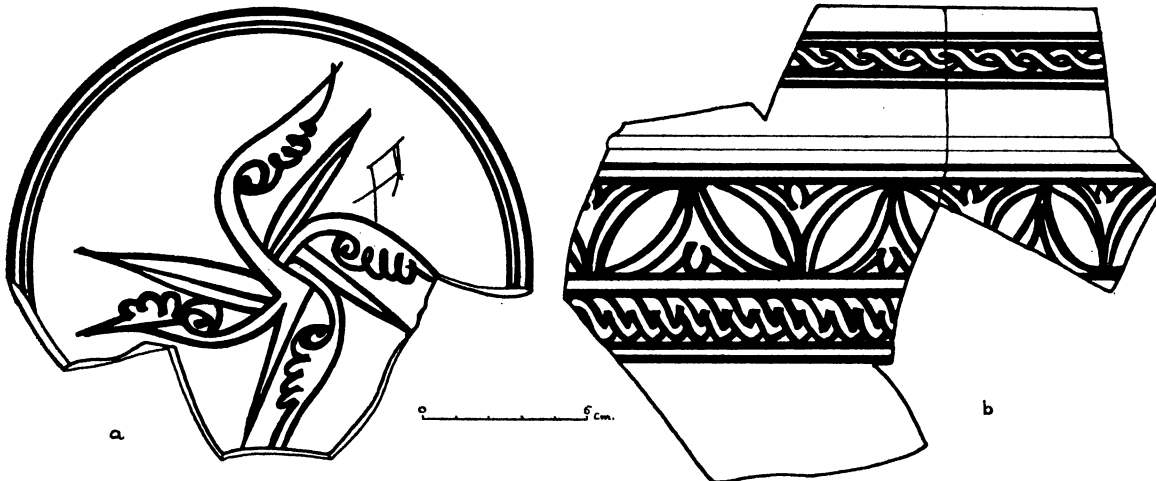


FIG. 11. *a.* Major portion of slip painted saucer; design internal. *b.* Matching fragments of slip painted collared vase; design external

radial pattern, typically Classic Christian and possibly from the Faras kilns;² and about three quarters of a shallow bowl with an internal central painted design of half-palmettes and fronds (fig. 11 *a*) which would seem also to be Classic Christian and probably made at Faras.³ It is well to remember that Adams believes that these Faras kilns ceased operation around 950 A.D.

Beneath the body and towards the bottom of the improvised tomb came evidence of an earlier day. A small pink-grey ware food-bowl, slightly ribbed in the turning, round-bottomed but straight-shouldered and rather thick walled⁴ pointed to a pre-Classic Christian occupancy. This was confirmed by the presence of two one-handed lamps: one with an over-all shape similar to fig. 16 *g* (except that it has a single 'rib' rim and its handle lacks any ribbing), the other similar to fig. 16 *d* (except that it has a handle—which the original of fig. 16 *d* probably had also—and lacks body 'ribbing').

¹ Very much like the example of ware no. 23 in the footed-bowl category in Adams, *NP I*, fig. 1B, a shape which spans from Early Christian to Classic Christian. See also Adams, *Kush 10*, fig. 2, example no. 1. of footed bowls. Ours has a slightly smaller rim diameter, but is otherwise exactly the same as Adams's model.

² Cf. Adams, *Kush 10*, fig. 29, radial pattern no. 4; and Adams, *NP I*, fig. 3B, motif no. 24 under Classic Christian I. For the Faras kiln connection, cf. Griffith, *LAAA 13* (1926), pl. lxxv, nos. 11, 12, and 22.

³ The remarkable aspect here is the use of the half-palmette as the motif of a central radial pattern, quite bold and effective; generally it was used within wall friezes, and as such pointed to a Classic Christian provenance. Cf. Adams, *Kush 10*, figs. 15 and 16 *passim*, and Adams, *NP I*, fig. 3B, motif no. 30 under Classic Christian I. For the association with the Faras potteries, see *ibid.*, 'Group N IV', *passim*, wherein Adams refers to shallow plain bowls of our type as 'saucers', a classification which loses the categorized distinction it had in Adams, *Kush 10*, fig. 1. Our bowl has the shape of A-2 (within his fig. 1), the height of A-3, 4, and 5, but with a greater rim diameter (17 cm.) than any of his examples.

⁴ This is very much like Griffith's 'flower-pot shape'; cf. Griffith, *LAAA 14* (1927), 110, and pl. lix, 19.

They are of types which span easily from Early Christian to Classic Christian,¹ and, though strictly outside the confines of the early church, lend support to a 'presence' at Wizz in conformance with the architectural data adduced above.

The new 'narthex' X (see pl. XLII, 1) yielded nothing of consequence. Its sherds were almost all of Classic Christian and Post Classic Christian dating, and included one sherd of Fustât-Fatimid Sgraffito, an Egyptian import of the eleventh century.²

At the east end of the original church the contingencies arise: the areas K, L, and M are architectural additions and there is a definite break between them and the portions of the apse and sacristies against which they abut; further, there is a distinct difference in the thickness of the walls (see plan and section BB on plans I, II). Thus like the western rooms, K-L-M represent an enlarging of the original church. To what purpose? First, to effect what Adams terms the 'Eastern Passage', which became necessary when the earlier passages between apse and sanctuaries were sealed and the tribune added. The last walls of G and H were cut through to allow egress into L and M from thence into the vaulted cross-room K (see pls. XXXVII, 3; XXXVIII, 4; XLIII, 3 and 4). Rooms L and M were connected by yet another 'Eastern Passage' running between the east wall of K and the east wall of the entire ensemble (see pl. XLIII, 3). Quite possibly the side-rooms and this second passage were open; there was no trace of vaulting in the debris, as we found it, nor any evidence of springing on any of the walls *in situ*. Even within Adams's charitable typology, these features *within* a church seem truly innovative.³

The secondary purpose became clear when K was cleaned. The stone-flagged flooring had been broken into and haphazardly covered with a stone slab. When this was removed a shaft hewn into the rock-base was revealed (see pl. XLIV, 1). The shaft measured 65 × 75 cm., and at a depth of approximately 1.5 m. it gave on to two hewn crypts, the larger of which measured 2.75 × 1 × 0.9 m., the other 2.25 × 0.75 × 0.9 m. Both were hewn westwards; the shaft and the crypts being slightly south of the true axis of the church (see plan and Section BB on plans I, II). Hence, though of a different design and placement, this tomb chamber is structurally comparable with those of the bishop in Faras.⁴

¹ It is somewhat difficult to handle Adams's lamp classification without more precise drawings, but it would seem that the types under discussion, and those seen in fig. 16, *d-g* would fall within the period 650-1000 A.D. A somewhat closer dating might be accomplished by relation to the early types found in the hold on the escarpment (see below). The relation of the latter to, and predominance in, an undisturbed situation leads us to assign the first of our two to the earlier rather than the later dating range; while the second might be put in the later period since it duplicates the shape and dimensions (though ours has a handle) of the one found in the crypt of Bishop Joannes at Faras: cf. Michalowski, *Faras: Fouilles Polonaises 1961-2* (Warsaw, 1965), pl. xvii-4; hereinafter referred to as *Faras* (Warsaw '61-2).

A comparable range of lamps may be seen on Presedo Velo, *La Fortaleza Nubia de Cheikh-Daud. Tumas (Egipto)* (Madrid, 1964), 69 and figs. 26-7.

² The Nubian Christian motifs can be gleaned from Adams, *NP I*, fig. 3A: no. 6 (N V), 17 (N IV A and N IV B) and 20 (N V). For the glazed piece, cf. Scanlon, 'Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report 1965. Part II', *JARCE* 6 (1967), 75-6. Chronologically the sherd connects with the glazed cup found in S (see pl. XLII, 3).

³ Adams, *Ch.*, 94 and fig. 3. The example of the subapsidal burial in the North Church at Faras should be noted cf. *LNM*, 1, figs. 178-9.

⁴ Michalowski, 'Polish Excavations at Faras, 1961', *Kush* 10 (1962), section C *passim*, and fig. 4; id., 'Polish

Neither body was *in situ*, though the remains of the wooden frame of an *angarib* bier were strewn about each crypt. The contents of the larger crypt included a large sherd of a footed redware bowl with stamped decoration in the centre and parallel chisel markings on cavetto and rim, clearly of an Early Christian date¹ (see fig. 12 *a*).

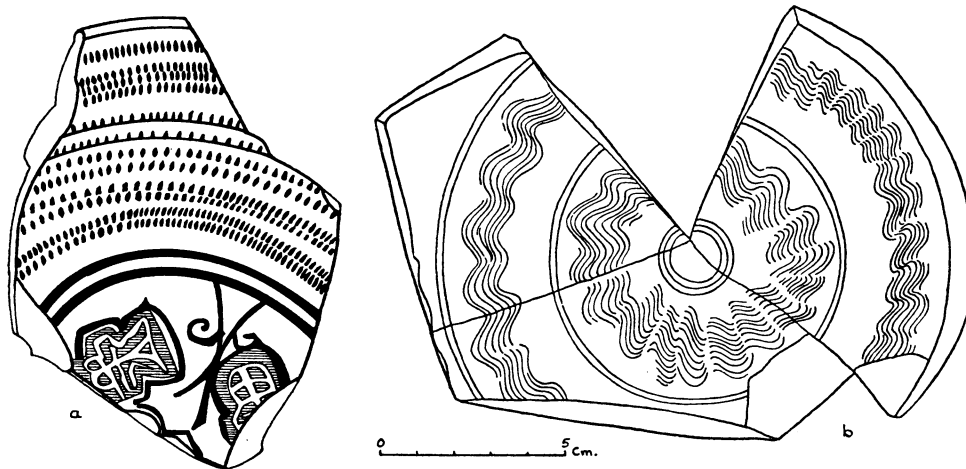


FIG. 12. *a*. Fragment of polished red-ware bowl with decoration of chisel marks and stamped designs outlined in black slip. *b*. Matching fragments of polished red-ware bowl with design of symmetrical body groovings

The other sherds were a mixture of Classic, Post-Classic, and Late Christian painted wares,² plus ninth–tenth-century (polychrome) and tenth–eleventh-century (monochrome) imported Egyptian glazed wares. The sherds in the smaller crypt were undecorated except for one bearing a Classic Christian motif.

In the fill of the shaft, which was hastily filled after the tomb robbery, many small fragments of parchment inscribed in Coptic on both sides were found in conjunction with two small undecorated bowls of a type generally associated with priestly burials; also an undistinguished and undatable terracotta pottery stamp incised with a very rough Maltese cross, and the neck and filter of a water-bottle with external decoration which in sum points to a Post-cum-Late dating (fig. 13).³ Though hardly conclusive,

Excavations at Faras—Second Season 1961–2', *Kush*, 11 (1963), 238–42, figs. 1–4 and pl. lvii *a*; id., 'Polish Excavations at Faras, 1962–3', *Kush*, 12 (1964), fig. 1 for the placement of the 'tomb chambers'.

The tomb of Joannes is particularly apposite since it was placed against the east wall of the church under the Faras citadel and is dated to 1006 (*Kush*, 11, 236).

¹ Adams, *NP* I, Group N III, *passim*. Our piece is a definite variant in that the stamped areas are outlined in black slip as are the margin of the centre and the area between the sunken motifs. Such painting on what is, after all, late terra sigillata may mark the move from Early into Classic Christian decoration. For interesting comparative pieces see Winlock and Crum, *The Monastery at Epiphanius at Thebes*, 1, pl. xxxii.

² Adams, *NP* I, fig. 3A–B; motif 9 (N III), motif 17 (N IV A), motif 21 (N VI).

³ The small dishes are exactly comparable with those found in the tomb of bishop Joannes at Faras, which is datable to 1006: cf. *Kush* 11, pl. lvi. In the same tomb were three water-bottles with decorated necks (*ibid.*, for close-ups cf. *Faras* (Warsaw '61–2) (1965), pls. xvi–4 and 5 and xvii–1) and two undecorated ones (*ibid.*, pl. xvii–2 and 3). Unfortunately Michałowski does not provide any drawings of the filters themselves, so one is unable to compare this aspect with ours. The filter illustrated by Shinnie (P. L. Shinnie, *Excavations at Soba* (Kartoum, 1955), 46, figs. 21 and 22) is of the same diameter as ours, but the design is more elaborate

these artifacts from the crypts and shaft give evidence of an occupation and use posterior to the period of the Early Church.

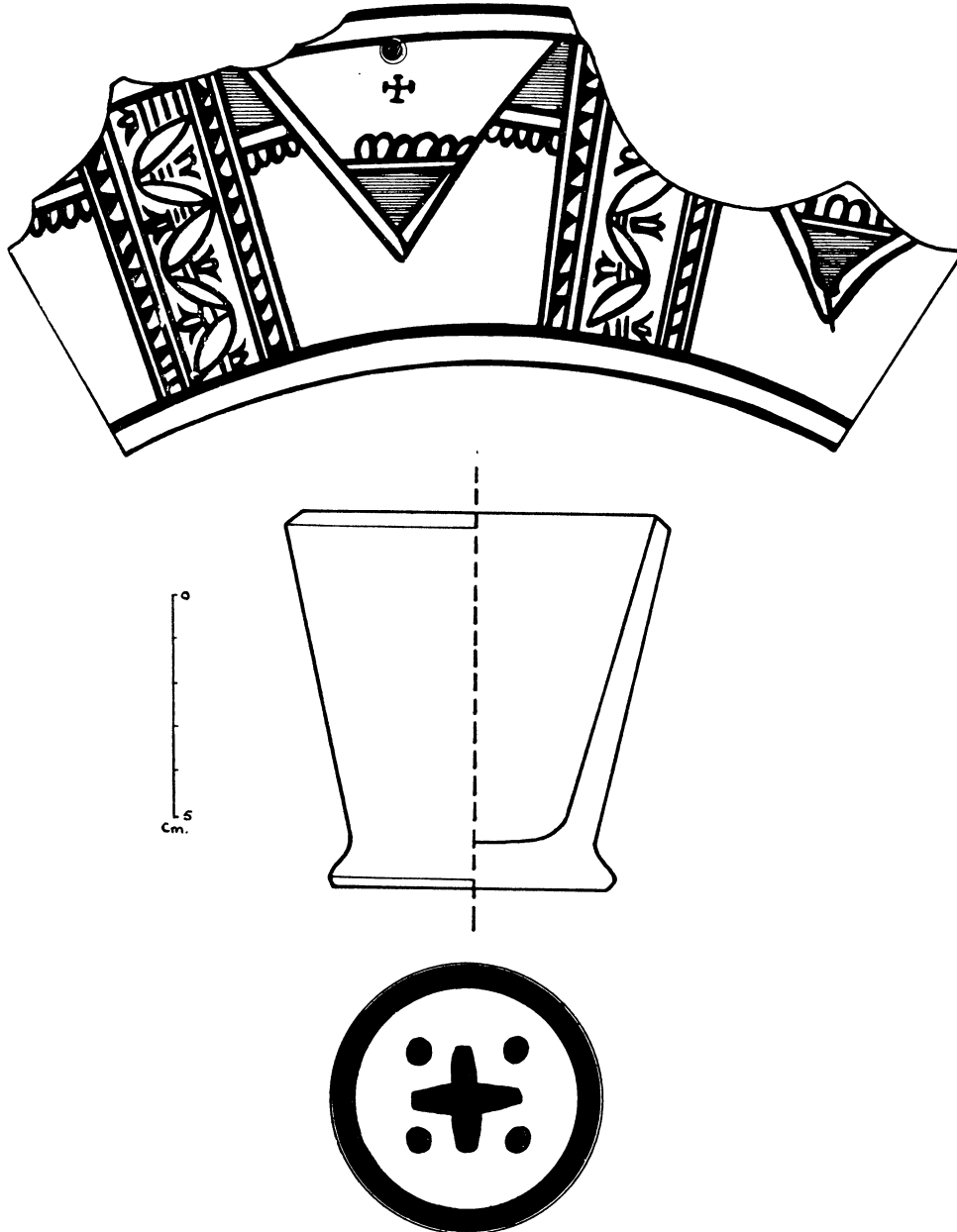


FIG. 13. Neck and filter of slip-painted water-bottle; design external (small hole above cross)

When cleaned room M exhibited similar signs of disturbance. The surface of the pavement attendant to the east wall had been broken and the slabs replaced in a helter-skelter manner. Also, in the central portion of the room, one slab had been (four pellet-holes instead of one in each of the interstices and surround of holes), and the fabric is coarse red-ware whereas ours is of pink-brown ware. For the external decoration cf. Adams, *NP I*, fig. 3A-B: motif no. 5 (N VI), motif no. 14 (N V) and motif no. 29 (N V).

removed and been replaced by a smaller one placed at a level lower than that of the flooring as a whole (see pl. XLIII, 4). Upon removal, the latter proved to seal an improvised shaft into a tomb. When the other disturbed slabs were removed, a divided shaft was revealed (see plan I and pl. XLIV, 2) which in turn led to two tombs hewn in the *gebel*, the longer one measuring approximately $3 \times 0.75 \times 1$ m. while the smaller had a roughly hemispherical plan with a base of 1.5 m. and a radius of 1 m. and an average height of 1 m. Nothing was left in either crypt except the scattered remains of the wooden *angarib* biers, nor was there anything in the shafts except some fragments of hide sandals. In the fill of the room itself was an undecorated dish similar to the two found in the shaft in K and in the tomb of Joannes at Faras, plus some miscellaneous sherds whose designs pointed to the Classical and Post-Classical Christian eras.

On the analogy of rooms K and M it seemed probable that room L would also contain tombs, though the flooring was entirely undisturbed (see pl. XLIII, 3). This was removed and, though there proved to be neither shaft nor crypts, the fill within yielded most interesting materials useful for dating. Many fragments, including full pages, of parchment of Coptic texts, inscribed in black ink on both sides, all somewhat faded and eroded, emerged throughout the fill, which was itself an admixture of mud brick-bats and pressed earth (see pl. XXXVIII, 1 for the appearance of some of the fragments at the time of excavation). Associated with the fragments were two lamps (fig. 16 *d* and *f*);¹ the centrepiece of a ring-footed terra-sigillata-type bowl (fig. 12 *b*), very clearly Early Christian in fabric, polish, and wavy groove decoration;² and five sherds with Early Christian slipped and incised decoration.³

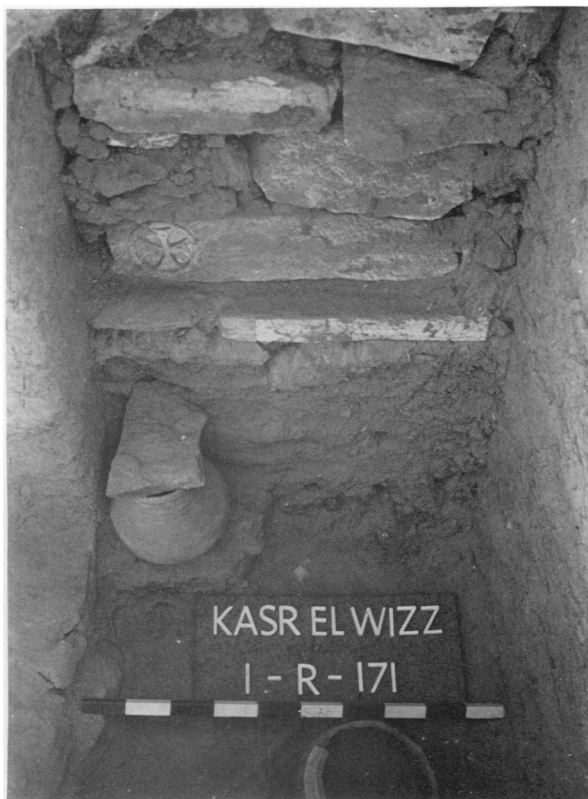
These objects go far towards proving the pre-Classic Christian occupancy of the church, and would seem to be chronologically related to the period posited for the Early Church. Further, since they were included beneath the flooring of one of the units of the 'Eastern Passage' which was structurally linked with the other two rooms and the second 'Eastern Passage', it would seem that K, L, and M represent an enlargement of the Early Church and are architecturally consonant with the western rooms and second narthex (R, S, T, and X). With these eastern and western additions the church should have achieved its quasi-Classical Christian enlargement. However, room L had an opening to the west into a room (O) with whose masonry part of its own was conjoint (see plan I and pl. XLV, 1).

Further clearing revealed a series of additions to the south (see pl. XLI, 4). There were three connected rooms (O, P, and Q) and a truncated courtyard (Z with attendant areas V, W, and J). The former group included a new southern vestibule-entrance (Q)

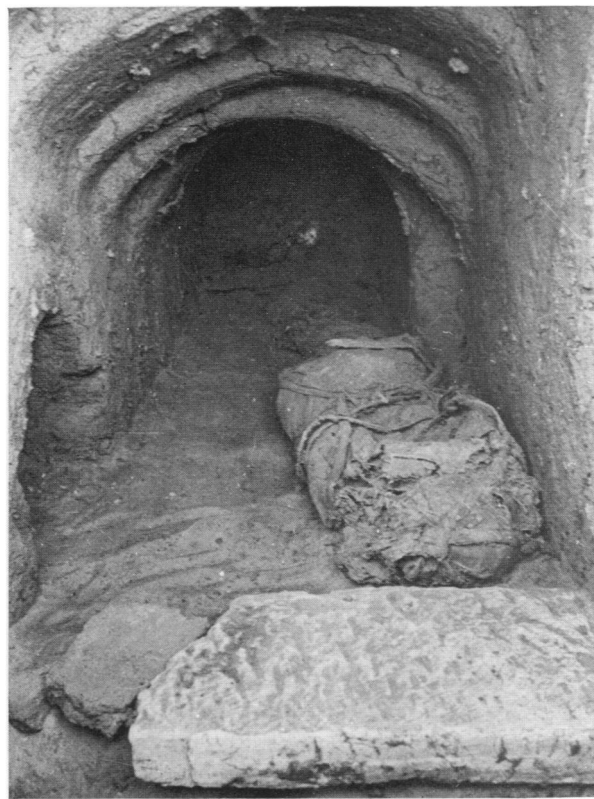
¹ Adams, *NP* I, fig. 1B, Form P (N III) and p. 45, n. 1 above; also the discussion of the lamps from the escarpment (below). Our examples lack handles (the truer prototype being fig. 16 *e*); but the important characteristic for the early period, viz., the body rim being higher than the bowl rim, is satisfied in both instances. In the lamp from the tomb of Bishop Joannes in Faras the reverse is true, which might be a clue to the reality of the dating supposed by Adams for the evolution of this open-type lamp.

² Adams, *NP* I, Group N II C and N III, *passim*; Adams, *NP* II, Group A I and A II, *passim*, for relation to the Aswân wares.

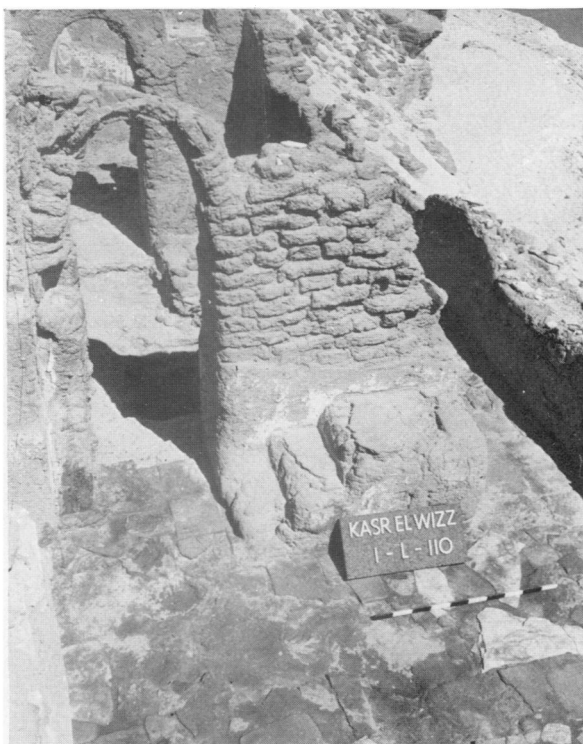
³ Adams, *Kush* 10, fig. 14: Rim Band 1 and Ledge Band 4 with variants. Another unmatching sherd of the polished red-ware with wavy grooves on the body was associated with these. Not one sherd of a demonstrable Classic Christian model was found beneath the flooring of L.



1. Tomb blocking beneath stairway in R



2. Enshrouded body in loose fill after removal of part of the blocking



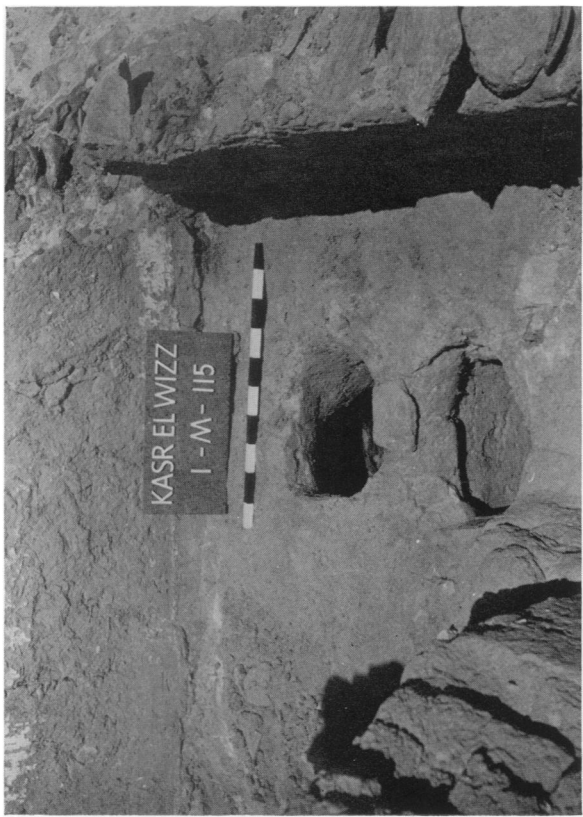
3. Two 'Eastern Passages'. Room 4 in foreground with crude *ambo* built against wall of tomb-chapel K



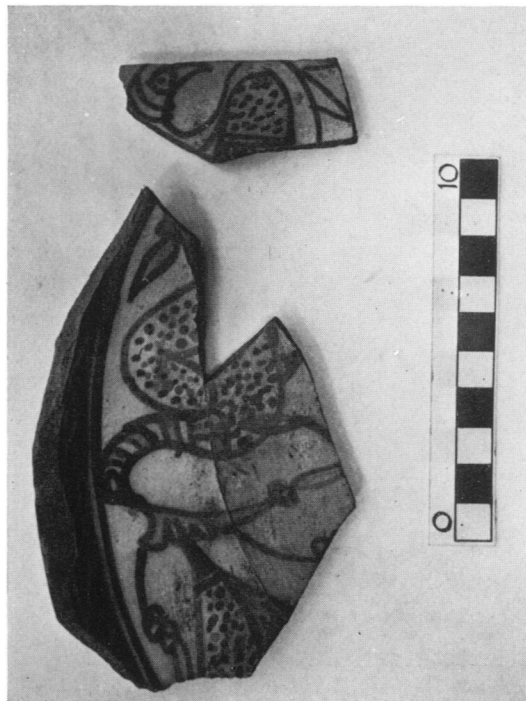
4. Room M looking east. Traces of *ambo*(?) to right; covering of tomb-shaft to left; in centre, stone covers improvised shaft



1. Top of tomb-shaft in K



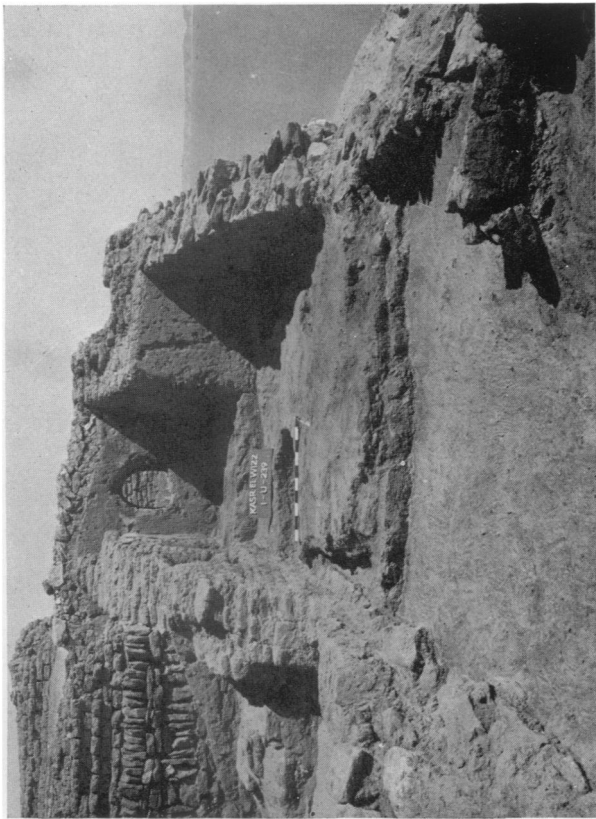
2. Double tomb-shaft in M



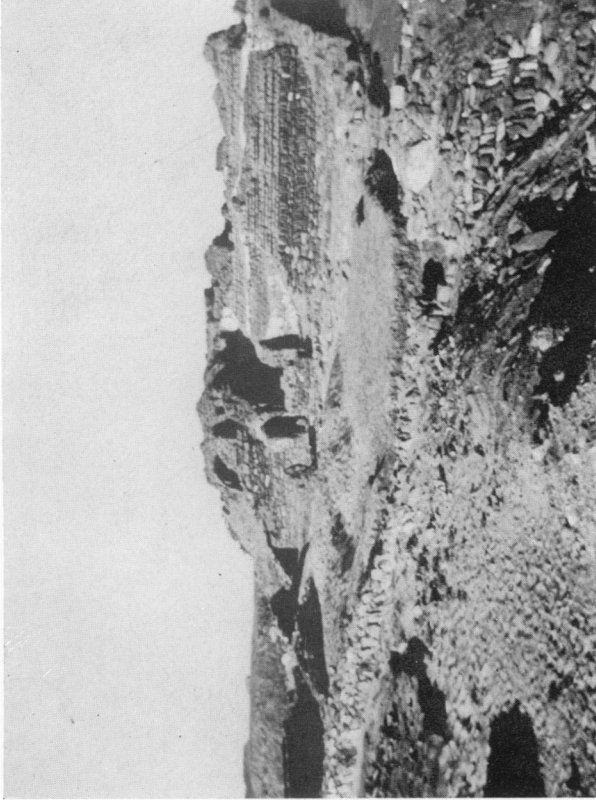
3. Fragments of slip-painted bowl, design internal. Classic Christian, from Faras kilns



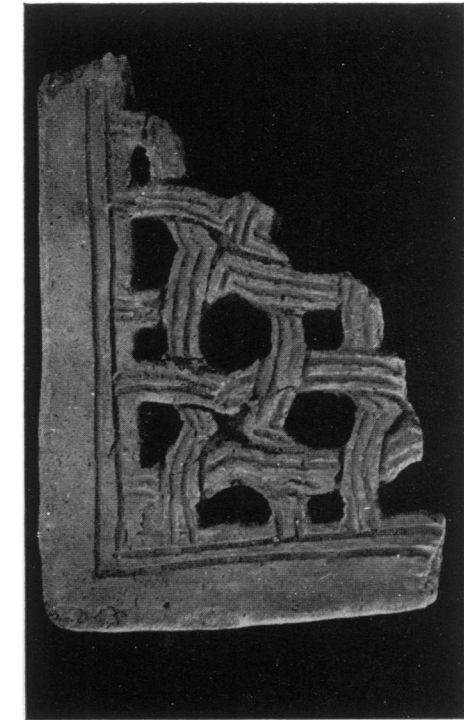
4. Fragments of slip-painted bowl; design external, entreloc pattern inside ring-base. Classic Christian, from Faras kilns



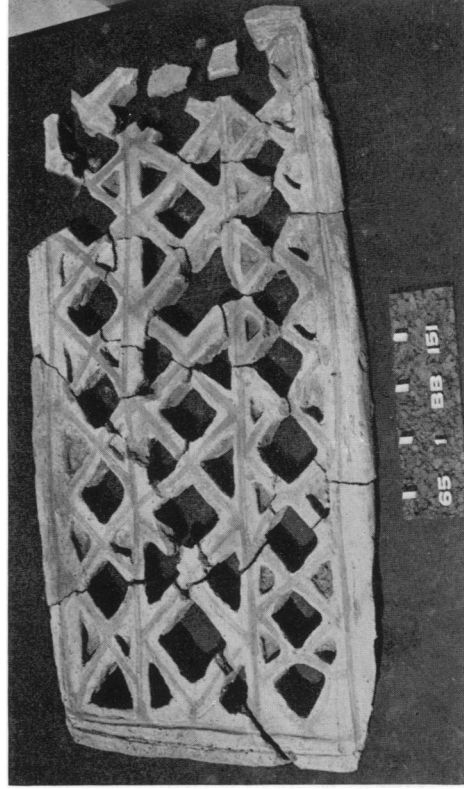
1. Rooms Y and U, looking north



2. Church courtyard (Z), looking north



3. Fragment of rough terracotta window grille



4. Attempted reconstruction of rough terracotta window grille

EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ

which by its shape may have been domed, the single unengaged pier at the SW corner leading one to such an hypothesis. This would allow for three arched entrances: into J, P, and Z. P and O were vaulted, with a passageway between. Quite obviously they represent what Adams terms 'satellite chapels', though no altar was found within.¹

The difficulty with the 'chapel' theory for O and P is the presence in both of stacked quantities of mud-bricks (see section AA on plan II, and pl. XLI, 4), which would seem to make them magazines of some sort. When area U (see pl. XLV, 1) to the east was cleared it proved to be filled with a great deal of fine grey dust (quite distinct from the usual sand filling found throughout Wizz) and chopped straw. Hence at some date the bricks were made in the U and Y area and stored in P and O through the distinct—late—break in the southern wall of P. When did this happen? On architectural grounds it would seem that U and Y were constructed after the (initial?) enlargement of the church. The remains of a rough-built stone structure jutting from the west wall of U–Y is proof of occupation after the site was abandoned (see plan I; other examples are I–BB, II–Z, and X and in the area of the courtyard II–V), and accounts for the highly disturbed nature of the fill throughout the rooms under discussion. The objects and the sherds run roughly from Early Christian (a lamp comparable to fig. 16 *e*, but with the handle missing), through Classic Christian (fig. 11 *b*)² and into the Late Christian (fig. 5 *c*) Period. Thus it is very difficult to date the fragments of a terracotta window grille found in the fill above the wall dividing U from V (see pl. XLV, 3), though by an analogy with the Faras fragments they would seem to be Classic Christian.³

The stone flagged 'platform' on which the enlarged church was built (see pl. XLI, 4) continued around Q, turning westward to effect a step-up from the courtyard adjunct I(J) into the new narthex X, allowing further proof that X was integral with the enlarged church and structurally connected (by means of the 'platform', which is of the same height and composition along its entire southern boundary) with O–P–Q and by structural deduction with K–L–M. The fill above the platform and within the courtyard annexe revealed the same chronology as that in the U–V–W–Y area, i.e. Early Christian (e.g. sherds with the wavy body grooving seen in fig. 12 *b* and Samian-type

¹ Part of the answer might lie in L where there is very clearly an *ambo* built to the east of the entrance into K; see pl. XLIII, 3; whether the structure against the complementary wall in M represents the remains of another *ambo* (see pl. XLIII, 4) could not be ascertained because of its ruinous state, but its dimensions equal the *ambo* in L. There was also in K the remains of a small, rudimentary 'altar' above the stone flooring. It, too, was in a quite ruinous condition. However, if it was an altar, the 'chapel' use of K gains significance and might be considered comparable with the tomb-chapel of Bishop Joannes at Faras. For the use of the satellite chapel, cf. Adams, *Ch.*, 94–5.

² Adams, *NP* I, fig. 1B: Form F (N IV A), and fig. 3A: motif no. 14 and 17 (N IV A). Another sherd had the typical radial motif (*ibid.*, fig. 3B, no. 24) of Classic Christian I.

³ Fragments of another window-grille (see pl. XLV, 4) were found partly in I–BB and strewn throughout the church and monastery. The reconstruction is approximate, but by no means definite. The material is highly friable, quite crumbly, and seldom stands up to shipment. Portions of two grilles from Faras *in situ* have been published, but neither is of such poor quality as our fragments, and neither I believe, was considered of such importance as to be preserved. No glass was between the interstices of the design. Cf. Griffith, *LAAA* 13 (1926), pl. li; *Kush* 10, pl. lxxix; Shinnie and Chittick, *Ghazali—A Monastery in the Northern Sudan* (Khartoum: 1961), pl. xiv; and Henri de Contenson, *Aksha. I: La Basilique Chrétienne* (Paris, 1966), 107, fig. 217. The last two publications will hereinafter be referred to as *Ghazali* and *Aksha*.

wares with stamped decoration), through Classic Christian (by far the largest majority) to Post-Classic Christian (see fig. 5 *c*).¹ Further proof of the early occupation was the presence of a lamp fulfilling Adams's characteristics for the period (fig. 16 *e*); and of the later period from the presence of tenth–eleventh-century lead-glazed fragments from Egypt.

The same chronological disposition held true for the courtyard of the Enlarged Church (Z) (see pl. XLV, 2), where the finds included a comparatively rare (for Wizz) sherd of Aswân Byzantine ware.² Originally the courtyard measured *c.* 11 × 16 m., and had two entrances: one from the south (see pl. XLV, 2), the other from the west giving access to the annexe J. With entrances into the enlarged church from Z into Q, and from J into X, the church complex is now complete and the characteristics of the enlarged building may be summarized as follows (see plan I):

- (i) Made of mud-brick throughout with insertion of field-stones in some walls possibly to carry wider vaulting (see pl. XLV, 2). This is a defining architectural feature of the monastery (see Part II of this Report), and chronologically relates the enlarging of the church to the building of the monastery (II and III in pls. XXXI, XXXIV, and on plan I).
- (ii) Built-up floor of packed earth with sandstone slabs built out in the form of a 'platform' to west (R–S–T–X), east (K–L–M), and south (O–P–Q) to accommodate architectural additions.
- (iii) Three central pillars on either side of nave conjoined as a continuous pillar, to take the added weight of an upper storey above the side aisles. Pillars between narthex A and nave strengthened and given rectangular section probably for some reason.
- (iv) Vaulting maintained within older walls and in most of the new rooms (S–T–X–P–Q–K); possibly a domed entrance at Q; L and M and their connection behind K possibly unroofed.
- (v) Tribune with raised 'Bishop's seat' added in apse, closing off access from apse to sacristies. Tops of niches left *in situ* in apsidal wall.
- (vi) Altar added in enlarged *haikal* created by adding *higab* at approximate western limit of early middle pillar. Possibly a second triumphal arch added on wooden piers on nave-side of *higab*.
- (vii) Western rooms including stairway (R) and second narthex (X) added, which shuts off ingress from west, Remains of rooms above S and T and stairway point to upper galleries as part of enlargement.
- (viii) Burial chapel K added to the east with arched entrance to north and south, achieving an 'Eastern Passage' between sacristies G and H. K is vaulted and has two hewn crypts reached through a shaft beneath the flooring.
- (ix) L and M added to the east on either side of K with a second 'Eastern Passage' connecting them. M also had two crypts for burial entered by a divided shaft beneath the flooring. L was not utilized for burial. Walls at G and H broken through to effect entrance to L and M and ultimately into K.
- (x) Two entrances from monastery: III–G into side aisle D and III–H into western room T, which gave on to vestibule S which in turn gave on to both the old (A) and the new (X) narthex.

¹ Adams, *NP* I, fig. 3A: motifs no. 3, a variant of 6, 9, and 17—all under N V.

² Adams, *NP* II, fig. 1, development of the 'vine wreath' under Byzantine A II (500–750 A.D.).

- (xi) Two vaulted 'satellite chapels (O and P) added on the south with a new vestibule (Q) integral with them.
- (xii) Two new entrances from the south: Z into Q into A; and J into X into S (no doubt for those using the upper galleries). Since Q was possibly domed and arched we have a late, ancillary entrance from the west: J into Q into A.
- (xiii) A large church courtyard with entrances on the south and west.
- (xiv) Over-all dimensions:
- | | | |
|---------|---|------------------|
| Length: | X to back wall connecting L-M | 22.5 m. |
| | Western rooms (R-S-T) to apse and sanctuaries (G-F-H) | 16.6 m. |
| | Western rooms to east wall of chapel K | 19.25 m. |
| Width: | Max. at R-S-T-X | 9.5 m. |
| | East wall at L-K-M | 10.75 m. |
| | Across satellite chapel | 12.5 m. |
| | Width of nave: | 2.35 m. |
| | Width of aisle (approx.): | 1.35 and 1.25 m. |
- (xv) Carved stone decoration left *in situ*; frescoes added.

As our Early Church differed significantly from Adams's model, so does the Enlarged Church. The main features of the Classic Christian Nubian church (Adams's Type 3) are satisfied here at Wizz: there is a passage behind the sanctuary, the *haikal* has been enlarged to include a tribune, and is segregated by a brick *higab*. The western rooms, a consistent feature of all three sub-varieties of Type 3, have been added. Our variant dimensions are perfectly satisfied within Adams's limits for Type 3a, which is our prototype except that we have not one but two 'Eastern Passages', though both are quite innovative; our *higab* is closer to the *ambo*; we retain our original triumphal arch; and we lack 'vestibuling' in both of our side aisles. Finally, our 'satellite chapels' are *oddly* integral with both our eastern and western additions.

Nevertheless we seem to be Type 1 converted to Type 3 (or more truly modified 1b into 3a), converted upon the building of the monastery in which such an amount of Faras pottery was present that we can date the enlargement of the church to *c.* 750-950 A.D. On the basis of other artifacts, some found in disturbed, others in undisturbed contexts, one sees the enlarged church and monastery utilized until the verge of Late Christian times, i.e. at least until *c.* 1200 A.D.¹

C. Associative evidence for the dating of the church

The use of stone in association with mud-brick most clearly relates the enlarging of the church to the erection of the monastery. What was once a small Early Christian Nubian church (see fig. 1), one serving a town-site (whose presence has not been

¹ Adams, *Ch.*, 110-14. For the Faras pottery see Scanlon, *Pottery, passim*, and Adams, *NP I*, Group N IV A, *passim*. It also seems clear that the intimate relationship between Wizz and Faras would make the latter the dominant influence in the enlarging of the church, indeed of the construction of the monastery as a whole. Hence, for whatever importance one wishes to place upon the disparities, Wizz is *seminally* closer to Adams's 3a (Faras) than to either 3b (Abu Sir) or 3c (Tamit). As will be seen from the pottery the cut-off date for Type 3a (*c.* 1100) is closer to reality than that of 3c (*c.* 1250).

established archaeologically) within the bishopric of Pachoras (Faras), was transformed into a rather imposing monastic edifice, which had to serve both the civil and monastic communities. It testified to the growing administrative, economic, and demographic importance of Faras, whose own monasteries could no longer meet the demands put upon the bishopric.¹ Thus to the original church at Wizz were added the 'satellite' chapels and upper galleries and new narthex to accommodate the non-religious community, leaving the modified *bema* and *naos* for the monks. From the analysis given above, this enlargement seems integral and certain on architectural grounds, with less certainty being provided by the artifacts found within the enlarged church itself.

However, by appeal to objects found in undisturbed portions of the monastery (see Part II of the Report), this enlargement can be verified as happening during the Classic Christian Period, indeed during the first portion of that era. As can be seen from the plan I, the monastery itself was enlarged during its period of occupancy, and part of this rebuilding took place in the church area. We have discussed U and Y whose yields were inconclusive, but whose architecture clearly post-dated the enlargement of the church.

More to the point was room I, to the west of the new narthex. When it was cleaned it proved the richest source (along with cell II-E and the north latrine II-UU) of objects at Wizz. From the vast number of sherds within its fill, it could be deduced that it was no doubt a storage room or 'trash' room of some sort. On the other hand, these disposable fragments may have been the filling of the floor of the room, which was later disturbed (perhaps at the time of the burial of the corpse within the stairway at R). The overwhelming majority of these sherds were of the Classic Christian Period, with an 'underlay' of sherds from the Early Christian Period along with a lamp (see fig. 16 *d*) which helps to place in sequence these disparate fragments.² But far more interesting is the fact that the majority of these Classic Christian artifacts are of the first phase (Adams's N IV I: 850-950 A.D.). The greater proportion of these sherds originated in the Faras kilns whose terminus has been put at 950 A.D.

The most distinctive decorative device in this period (and definitely from these kilns) was the stamped centre-piece which was then overpainted in red-slip. Eight of these were found in I: three of the distinctive Maltese cross with four pellets at the interstices,³ one of a more conventional cross (fig. 14 *c*), one of a 'horned' quadruped,⁴

¹ The most convincing statement of this development will be found in Adams, 'Post-Pharaonic Nubia in the Light of Archaeology. II', *JEA* 51 (1965), 169-78. For a discussion of the Faras monasteries: cf. *Faras* (Warsaw '61) and *Faras* (Warsaw '61-2), *passim*.

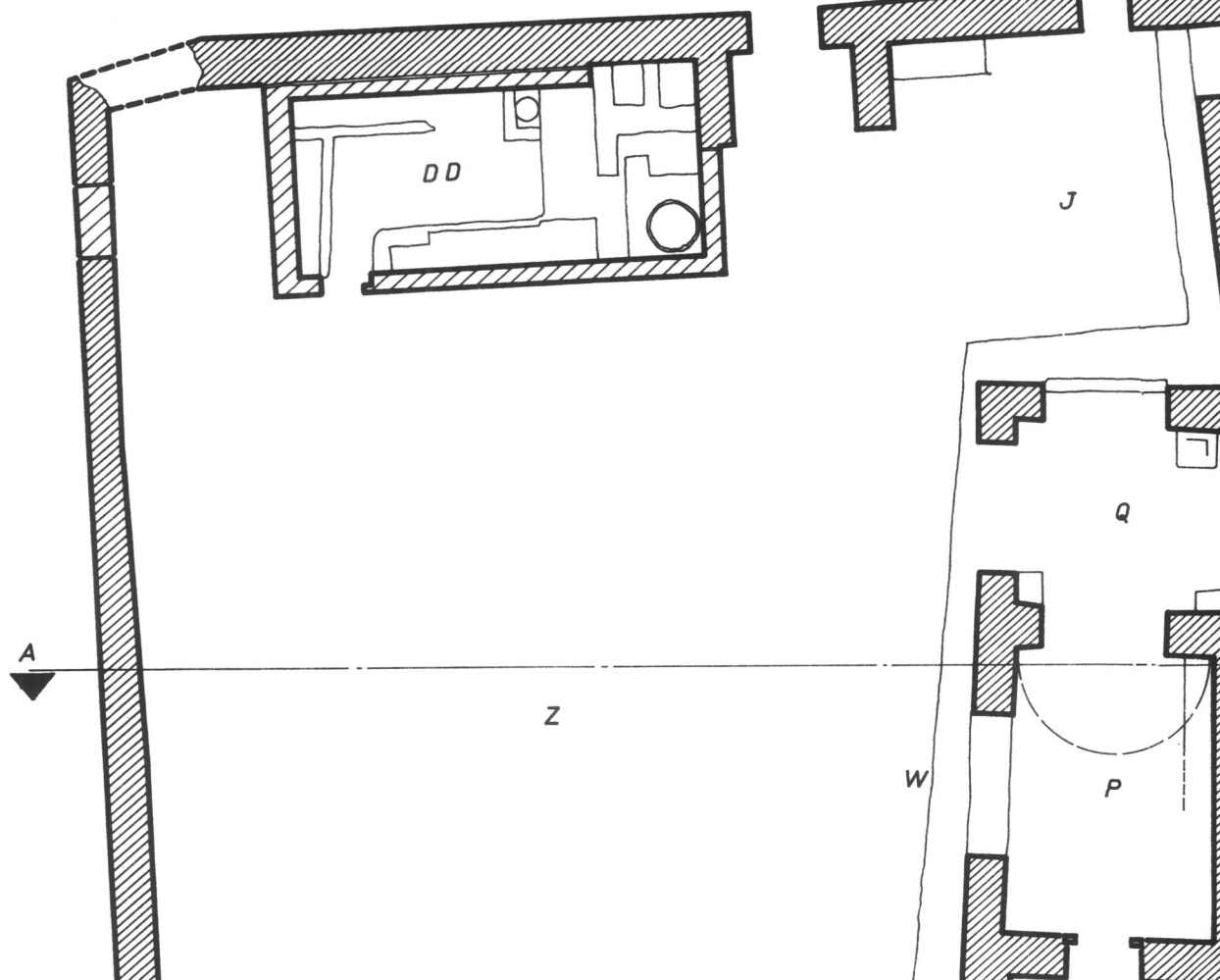
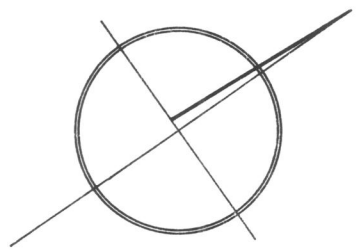
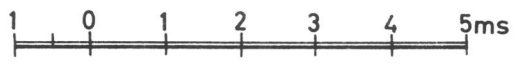
² It must be made clear that there was no stratigraphic study possible in room I for the *gebel* base was most uneven, and the outline of the room *in situ* was unclear at the commencement of the excavation which followed that of the church. (It is in the area of the foreground in pl. XXXVI, 1.) When revealed, a great deal of the fill containing the majority of objects, herein described, was concentrated in the area of the north wall, leaving one with the conclusion that latter-day squatters had simply *cleared* the central and southern portions for their own use. But within the northern portion, these early sherds came *generally*, and in greater numbers, from beneath the plethora of Classic Christian materials. However, one is left with the lamentably inadequate conclusion that it is their *presence* rather than their position which gives credence to habitation before 850 A.D.

³ Exact duplicates were found at Arminna West: cf. Kent R. Weeks, *The Classic Christian Townsite at*

[footnotes 3 and 4 continued on next page]

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KASR AL WIZZ



I

III

B

B-B

C-C

A-A

I

M

X

J

H

O

R

S

T

Q

A

G

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F

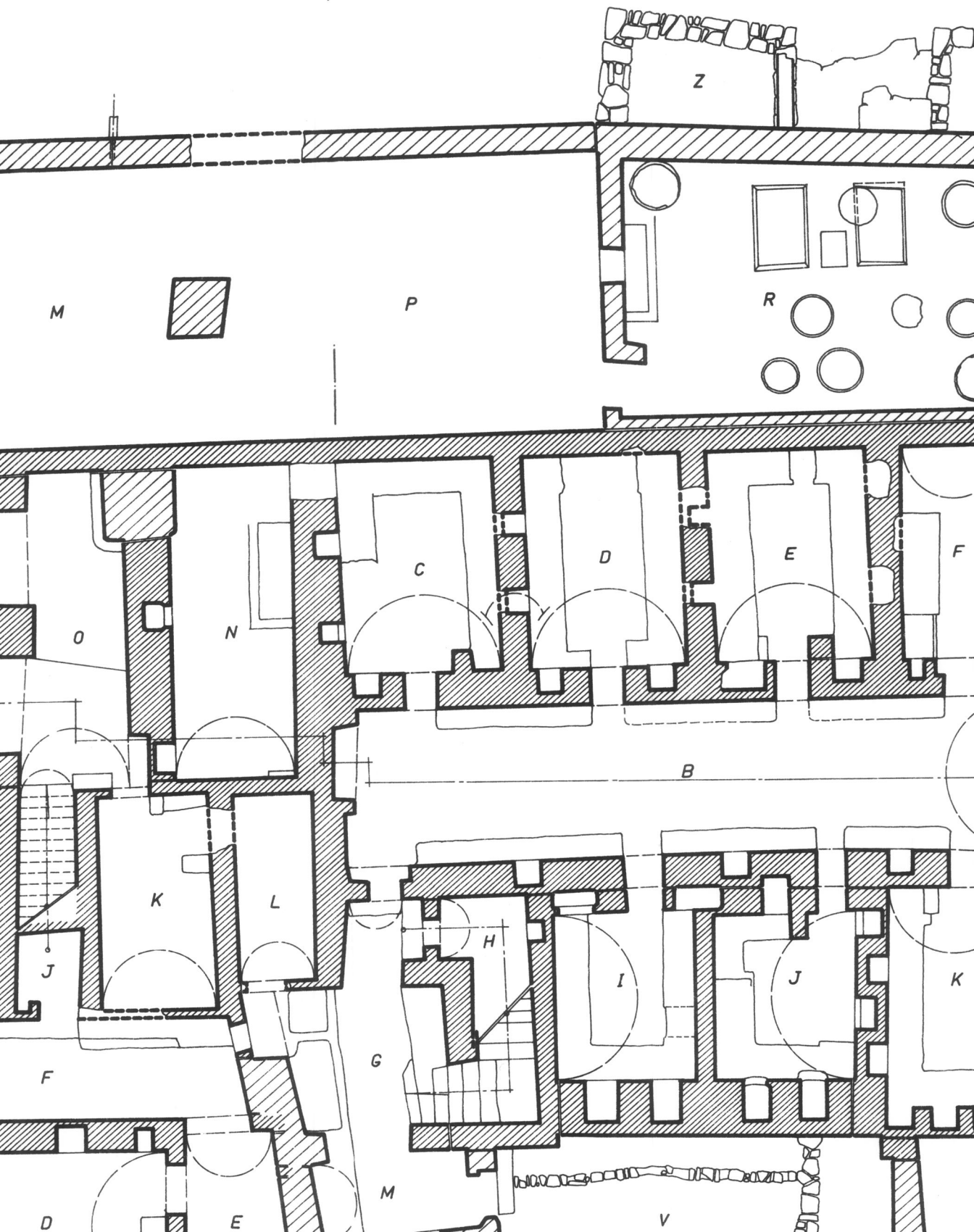
B

C

D

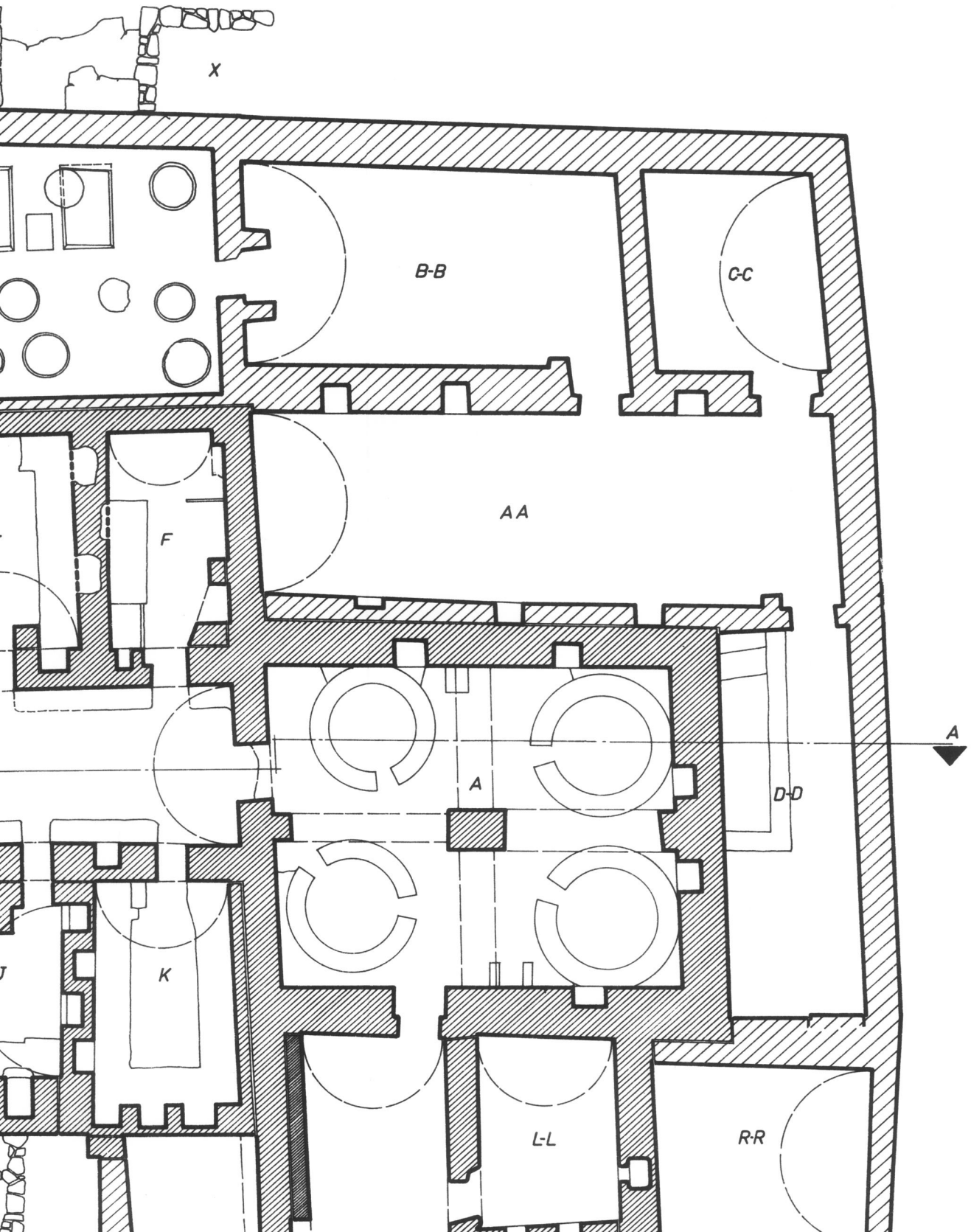
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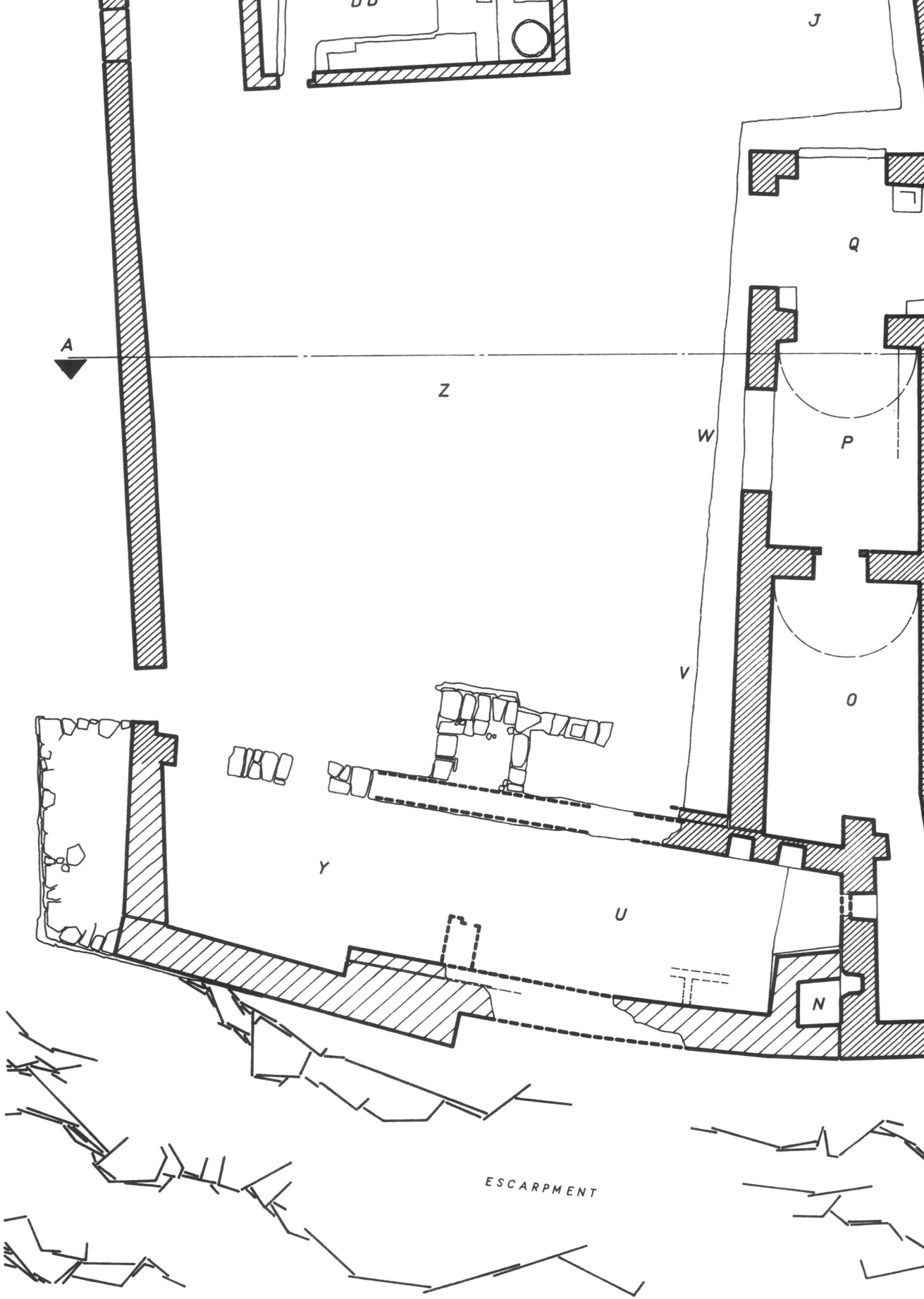


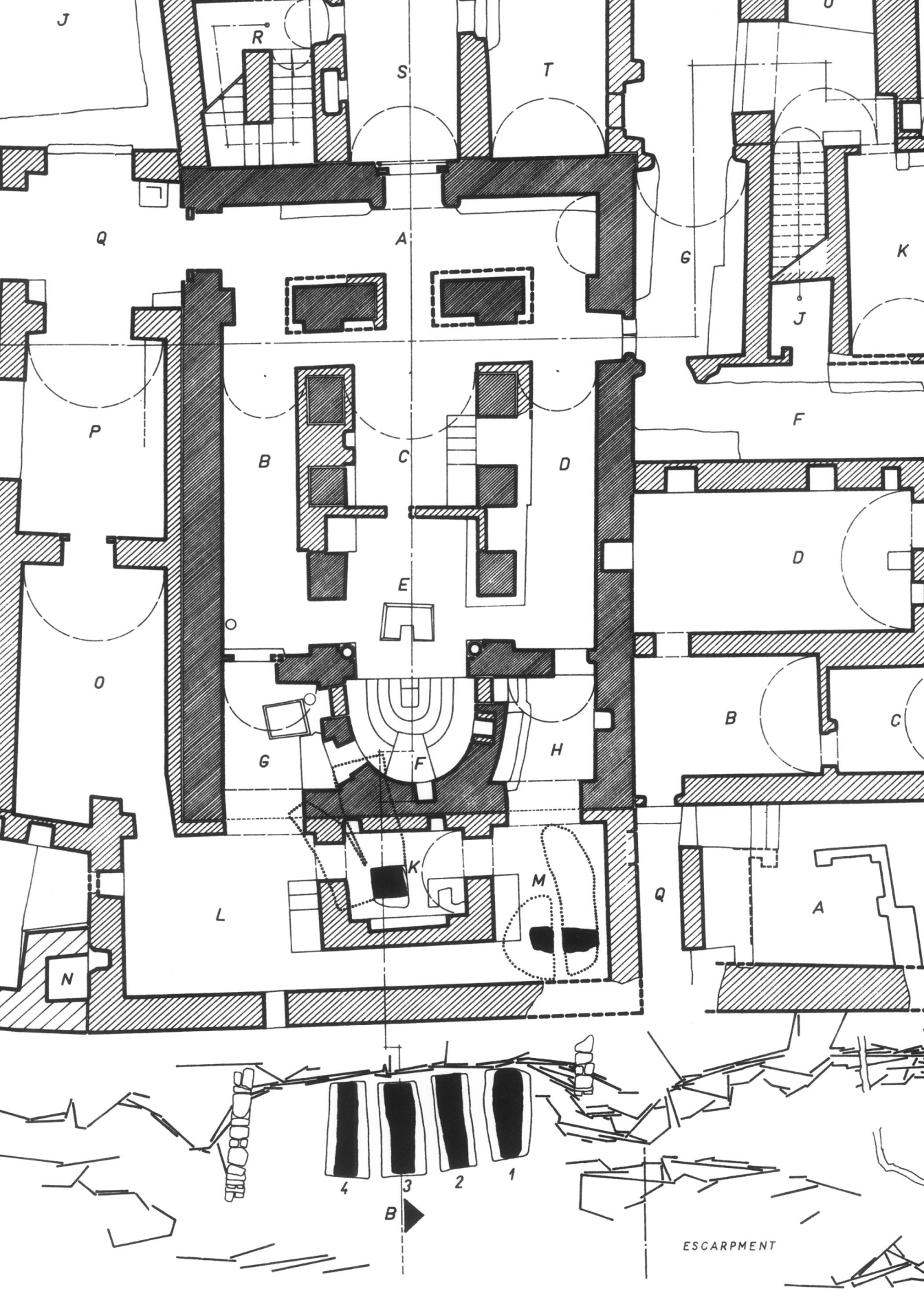


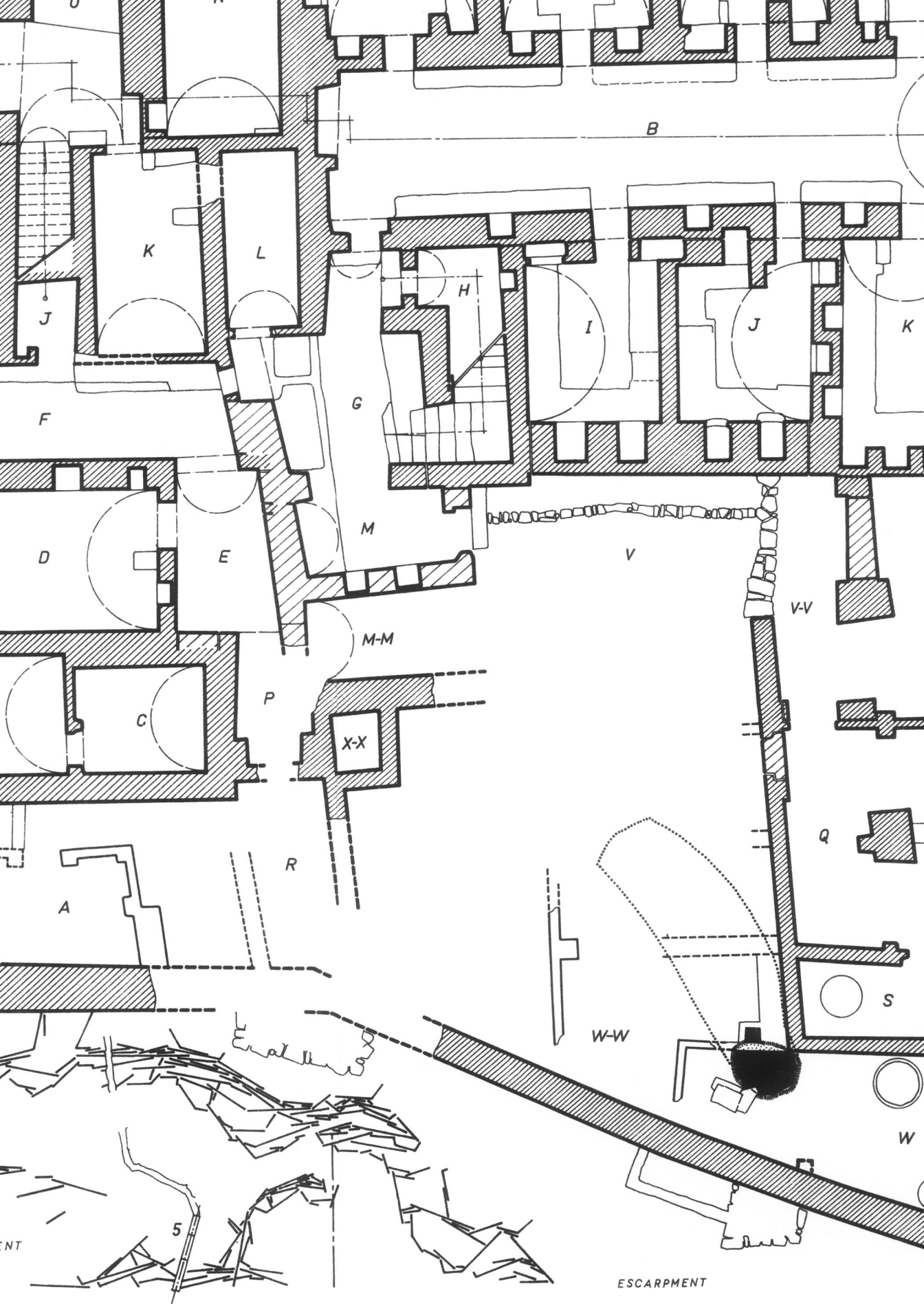
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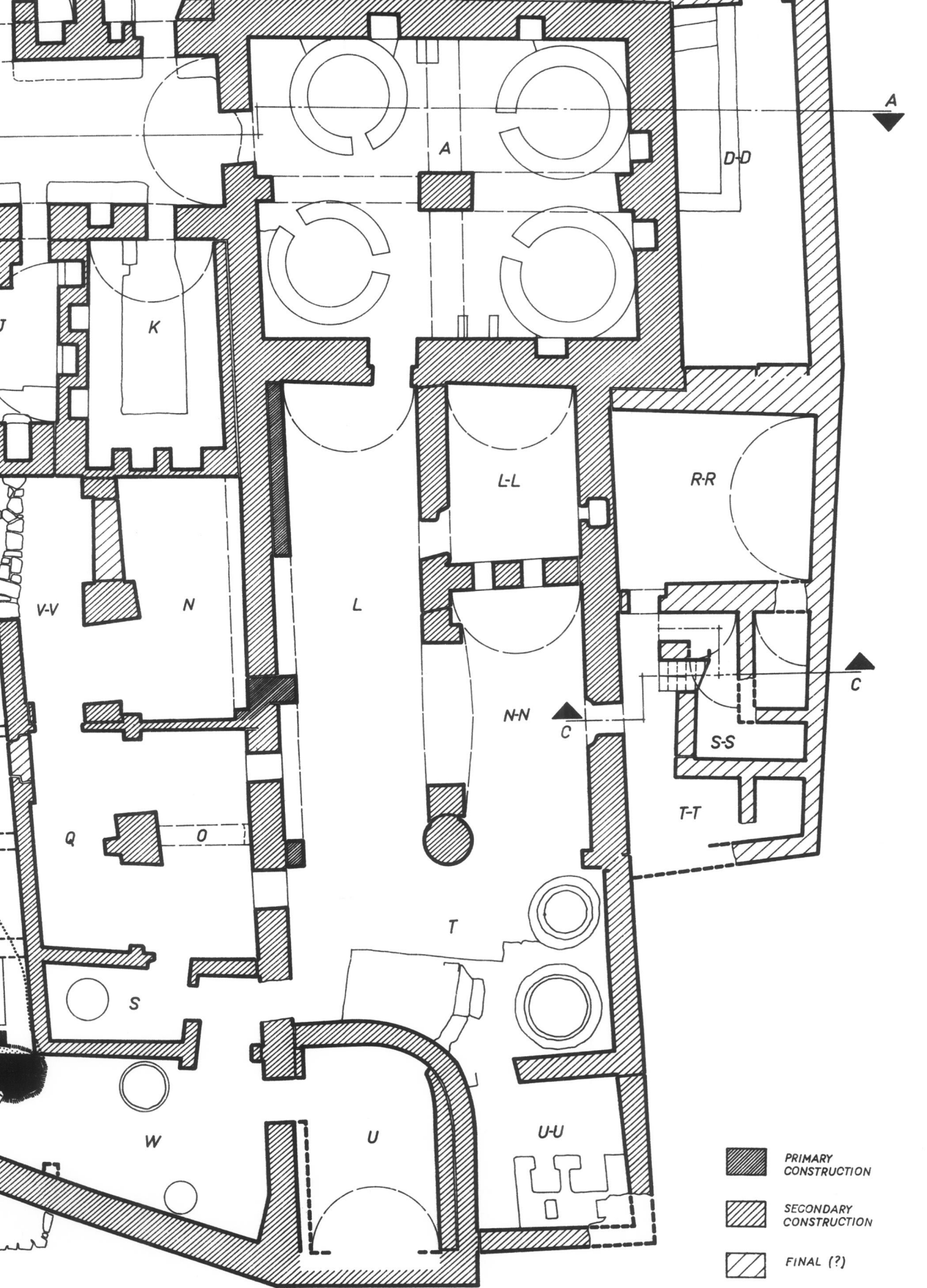
PLAN I



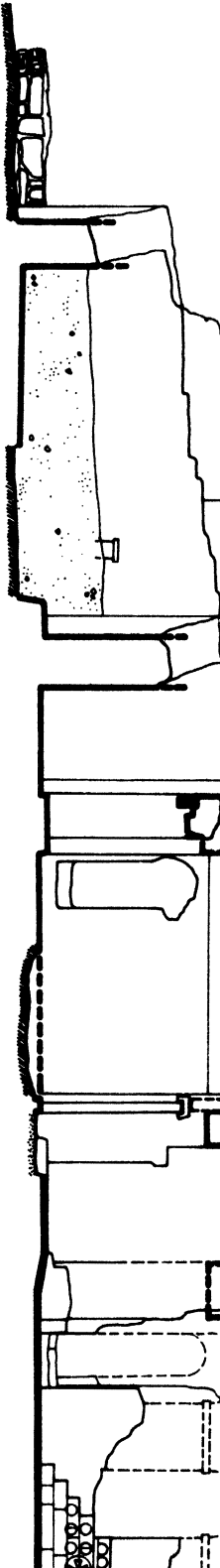


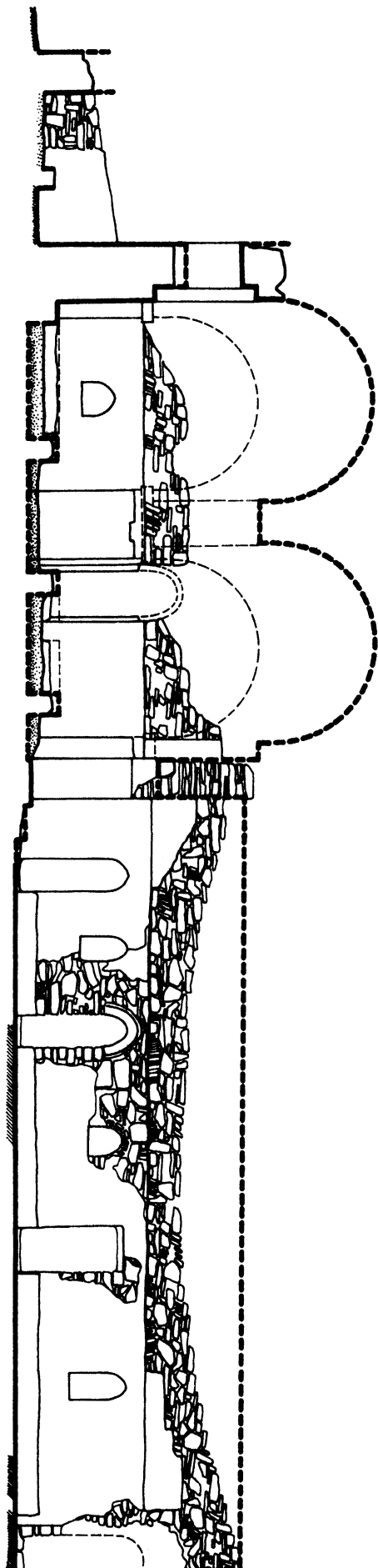
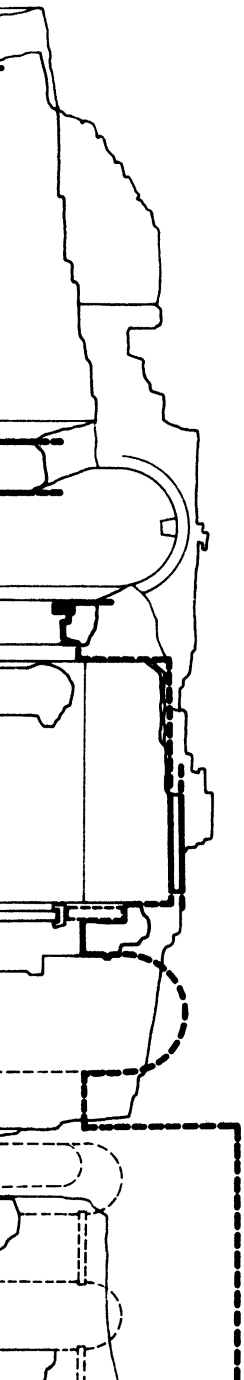


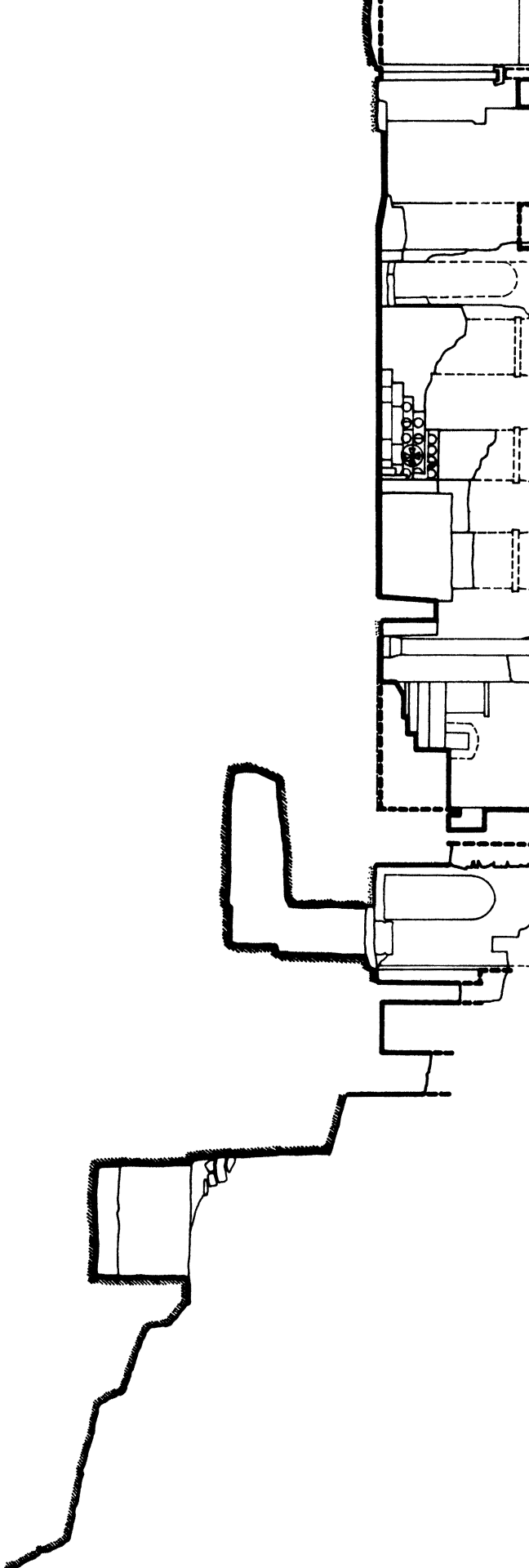


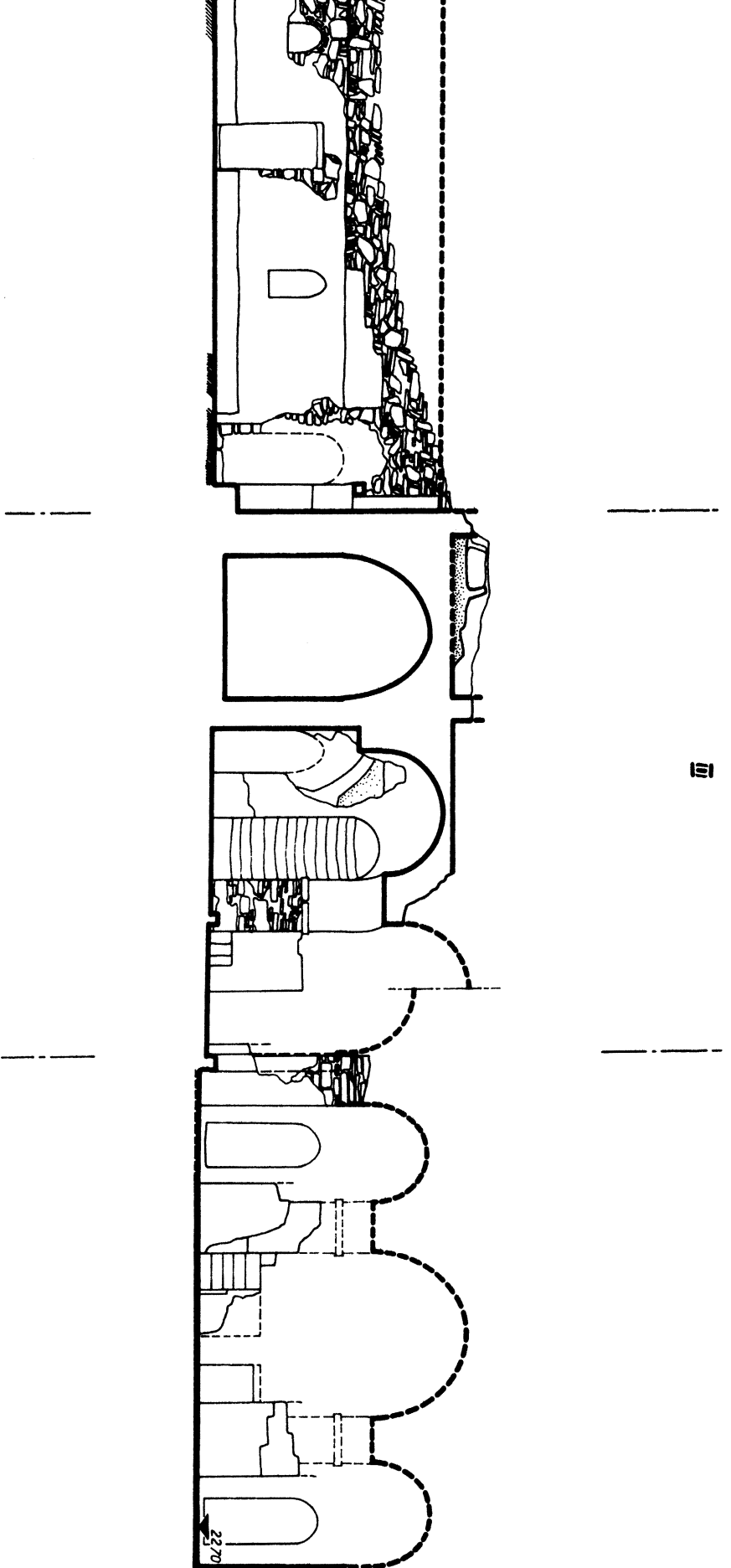
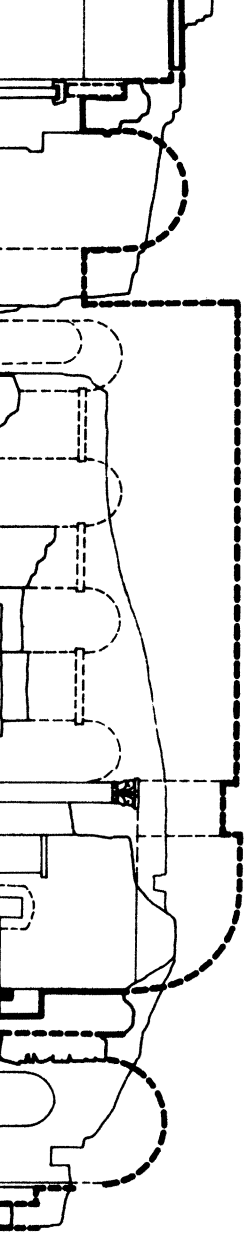


- PRIMARY CONSTRUCTION
- SECONDARY CONSTRUCTION
- FINAL (?)



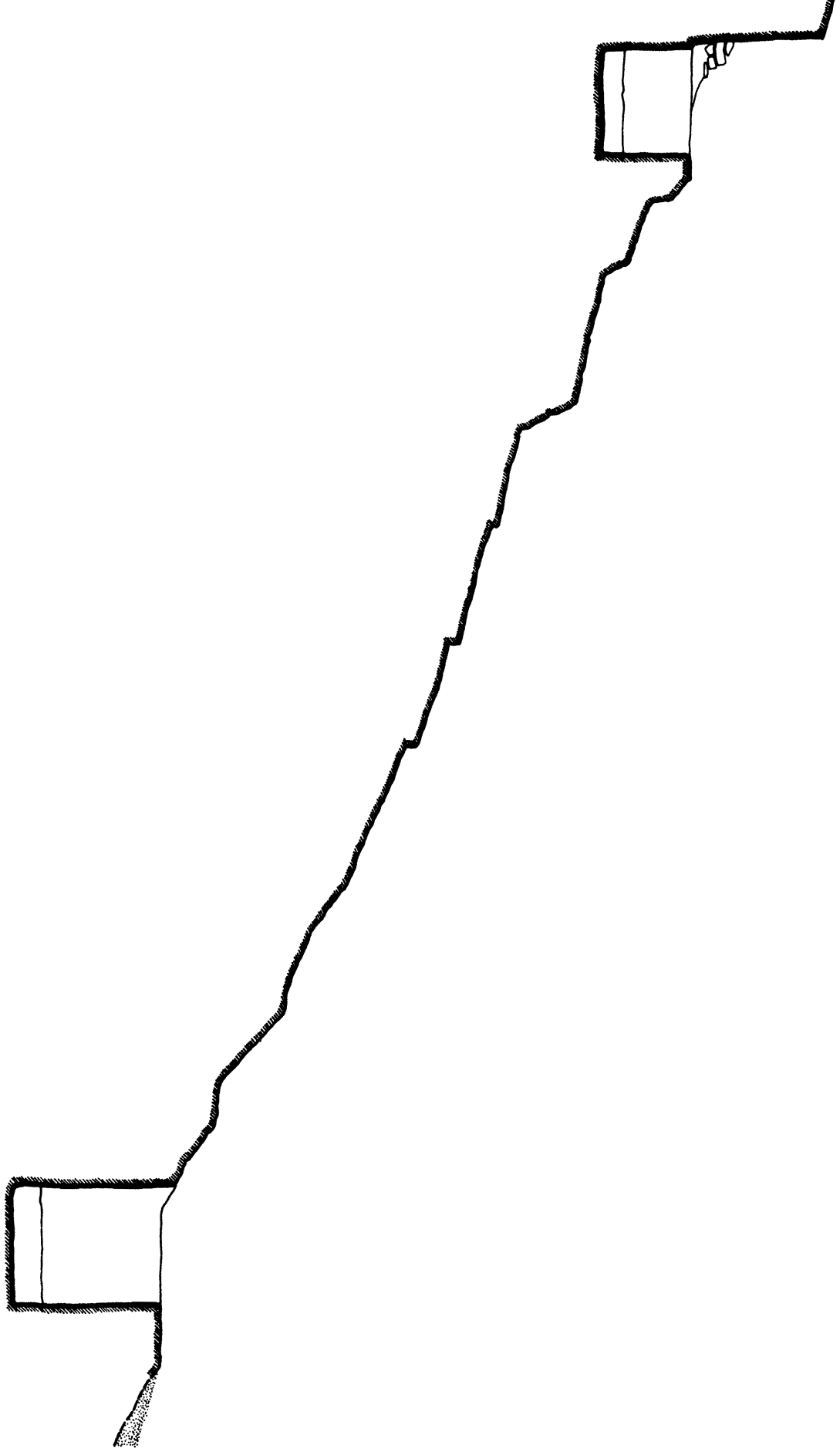






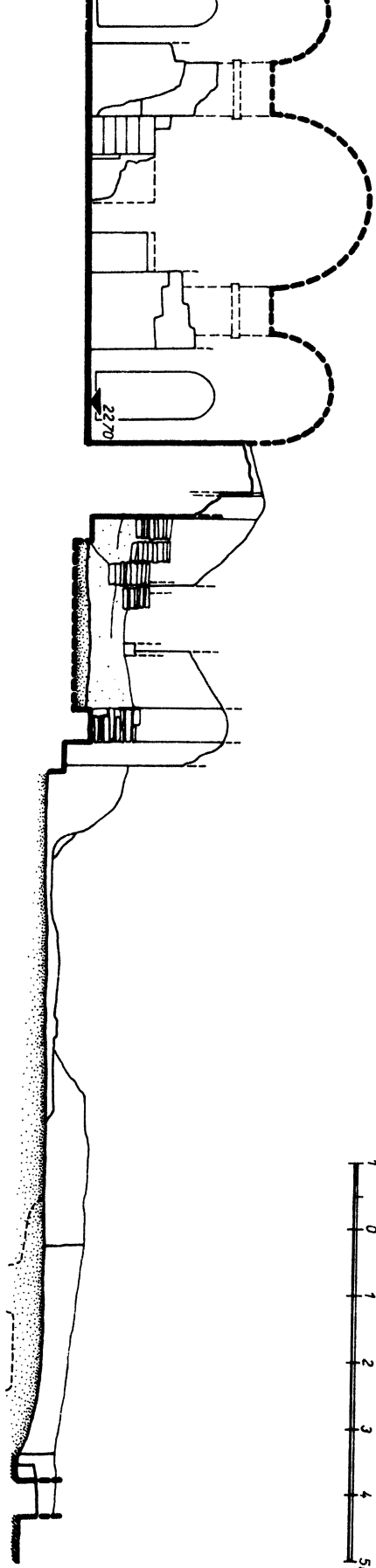
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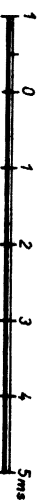
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KASR AL WIZZ SECTION A-A



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KASR AL WIZZ SECTION B-B



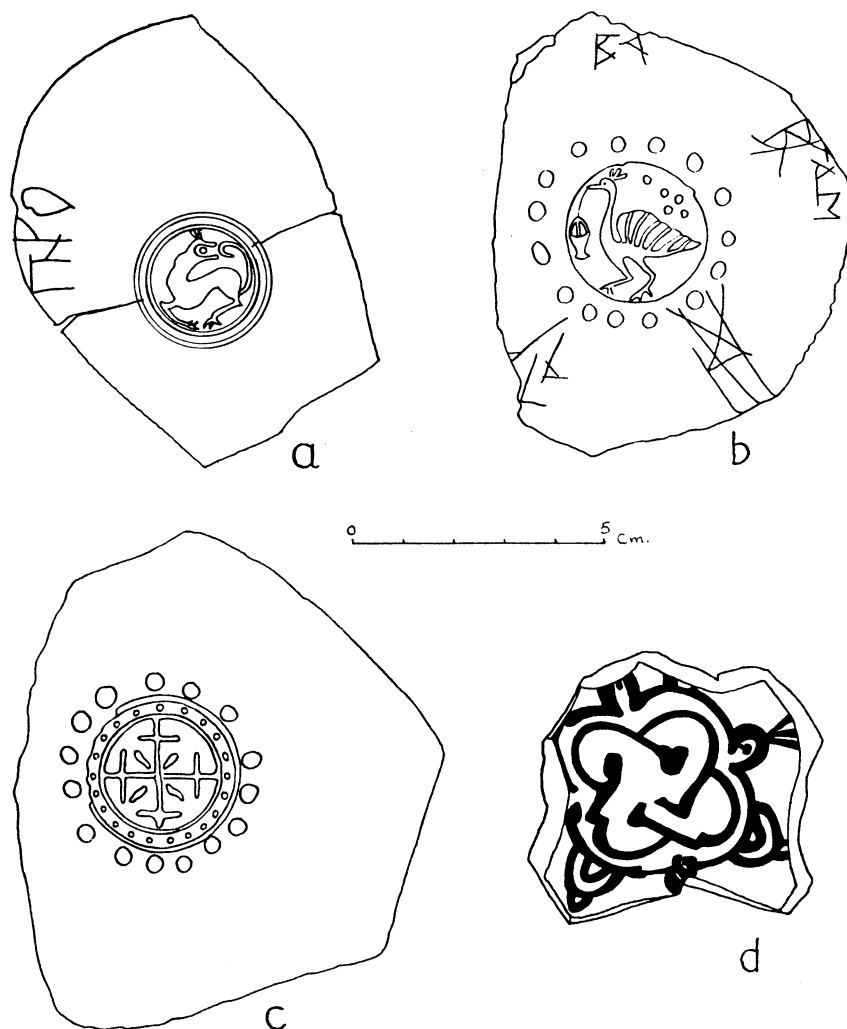


FIG. 14. *a-c*. Stamped centre pieces. Classic Christian Faras kilns. *d*. Slip painted entreloc design; interior of bowl fragment. Classic Christian possibly Faras kilns

two of gryphon-like beasts passant to the left with heads thrown back to the right (fig. 14 *a* and Scanlon, *Pottery*, fig. 7),¹ and a peacock-like bird with a brazier-type vase in its beak, a partial duplicate of which was found at Aksha.²

Another distinctive sign of the Faras decorator was the splendid painting of animals, *Arminna West* (New Haven and Philadelphia: 1967), fig. 44b. Another example of his 'helmeted man' centre-piece was found in the monastery and can now be added to Weeks's list of examples (*ibid.*, frontispiece, p. 61 and pl. xi *f-g*); ours has the very sure dating 850-950 A.D. Indeed, a great number of Weeks's pottery shapes and slip-decoration for the Classic Christian Period at Arminna can be duplicated at Wizz, with more than a fair proportion of examples coming from this specific room I.

¹ For another example (from Aksha): cf. *Aksha*, fig. 185 and pl. vi-12; also *Ghazali*, 63 and pl. xix.

² The exact same motif but with an animal passant right with head thrown back to the left was found outside I when cleaning the outer face of its west wall; cf. *Ghazali*, 63 and pl. xxi-b.

³ Cf. *Aksha*, fig. 184. It may be that the seal found by Griffith in the Faras pottery and now in the Ashmolean Museum was used for our centrepiece: cf. Griffith, *LAAA* (1926), pl. xlv-5. For the same motif slip-painted on a pilgrim-flask from Faras, cf. *Faras* (Zurich), fig. on p. 68.

birds, and plant-forms between borders of guilloche and/or palmettes. These were executed on the outside of collared vases, and many examples of the genre were found in room I, especially one with the purely linear frieze (Scanlon, *Pottery*, fig. 10 and

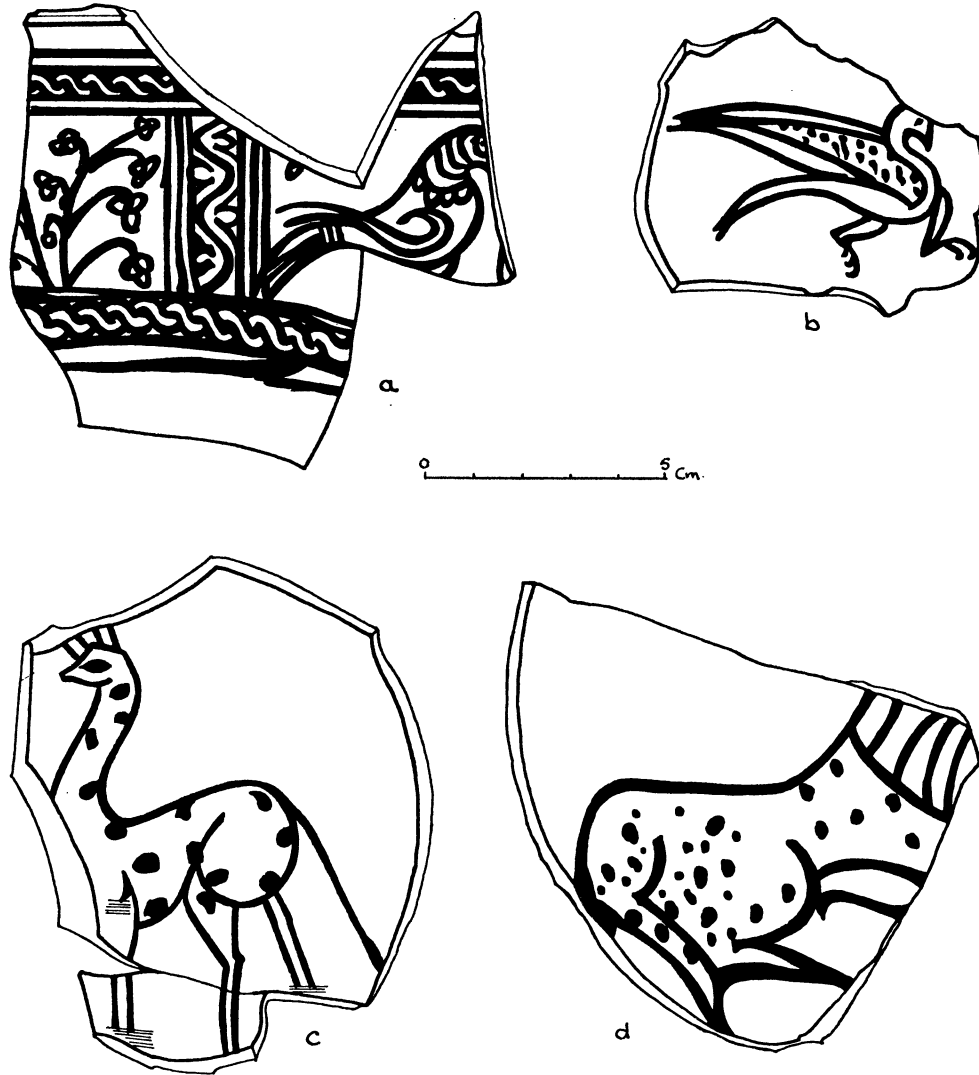


FIG. 15. *a-c*. Slip painted animal designs. Classic Christian; Faras kilns. *d*. Slip painted fragments found at Fustât (1965) Classic Christian possibly from Faras kilns

cover photograph) which seems a practice run for the great Wizz Vase, possibly the finest piece of painted pottery to come out of Christian Nubia (Scanlon, *Pottery*, figs. 6, 8, and 9; this piece was found in II-UU). Another example from room I can be seen in fig. 15 *a*, and parts of two other similarly painted collared vases were found with it. Or the zoomorphic element became the painted centre-piece (figs. 15 *b* and *c*,¹

¹ An identical fragment with a spotted animal in the centre was found at Fustât in 1966 (see fig. 15 *d*) in an early tenth-century context. The relevance of Fustât is further attested by the fact that in room I the only glazed fragments were of the familiar lead-glazed (usually in green and yellow) flat-bottomed bowls found

Scanlon *Pottery*, figs. 5 and 11), or used as a shoulder band internally (see pl. XLIV, 3): eight examples of such treatment were unearthed in room I.

Hundreds of sherds demonstrated the infinite variations to be rung on the typical radial pattern of Adams's first phase of the Classical Christian Period;¹ or of the

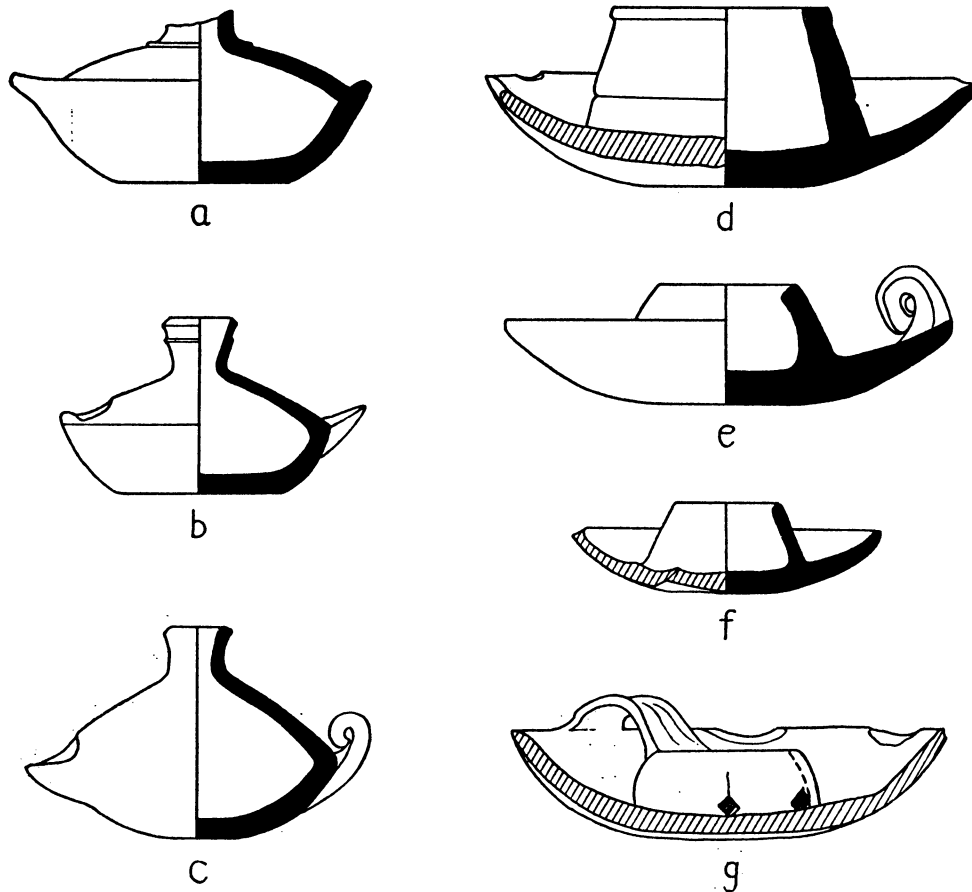


FIG. 16

palmette motif between guilloche bands.² Other interesting variants are of the centre entrelac design (fig. 14 *d*), which even appears on the underside of a vessel within the ring-base (see pl. XLIV, 4).

In sum, the accumulation of this evidence from room I, when added to that of the monastery itself (see Part II of this report and Scanlon, *Pottery*, *passim*), relates the building of the latter, and hence of the Enlarged Church, to the life-span and stylistic characteristics of the Faras potteries, i.e. before 950 A.D.

Likewise an appeal to an area outside the church proper can help us to establish on throughout Fustât in eighth–ninth-century contexts. The absence of alkaline glazed fragments or of Egyptian sgraffito wares in room I lends support to giving the monastery and the Enlarged Church an 850–950 date, a fact amply supported by the Faras slip-wares under discussion; cf. Scanlon, 'Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report 1965. Part I', *JARCE* 5 (1965), pl. xxxv-20; *Soba*, pl. xix; *Cheikh-Daud*, 76–82.

¹ Adams, *NP* I, fig. 3B, motif no. 24 (N IV A), and our fig. 11 *a*.

² Adams, *NP* I, figs. 3A and B: motif nos. 5, 9, 14, 17 and 29 (all under N IV A), and our fig. 11 *b*.

other than architectural grounds the dating for the Early Church. In the course of the cleaning of the escarpment in search of any rock-hewn graves (see pls. XXXI; XXXII, 1; XXXIII, 3; XXXV, 2), a number of hewings into the tapering rock surface were

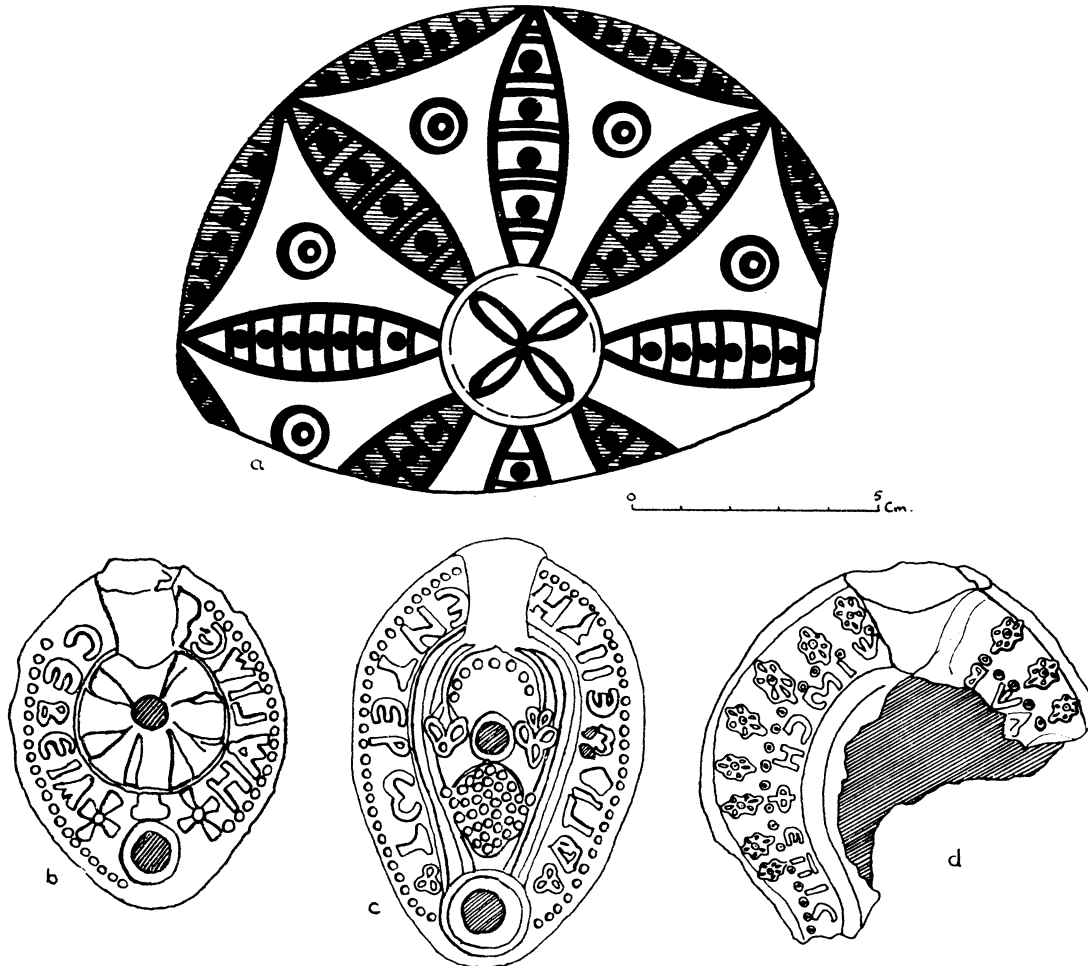


FIG. 17. *a.* Slip-painted lid; Aswân ware of the Byzantine period (500-750 A.D.). *b-d.* Mould-made lamps with Greek inscriptions

uncovered and studied in area III (see pl. XXXI: the areas under discussion are marked 1 to 5). A cache of lamps in what seemed clearly an undisturbed situation gives a firm clue as to the earliest habitation of the site.

Twelve lamps of pink-grey ware covered with a polished red-brown slip were of the distinctive 'Aladdin' form, which Adams believes forms the bridge between X-group (his N II A) and the Early Christian types we have dealt with so far (see fig. 16 *d-g*). Two were round-based (fig. 16 *a*), seven were high-necked and stub-handled (fig. 16 *b*), and two were high-necked and curved handled (fig. 16 *c*; another of this type was found in the fill of area II of the escarpment). Although one might like to put them before 500 A.D., basing one's surmise on Adams's typological dating, the presence of three mould-made red-ware lamps with Greek inscriptions (see fig. 17 *b-d*) forces one

to associate these earlier types with the advent of Christianity and to achieve from our *total* lamp sequence at Wizz an early dating *c.* 600–*c.* 800.¹

It is most interesting to note that whereas the overwhelming majority of the pottery sherds in room I were of the Classic Christian Period, *c.* 850–950 A.D.; the overwhelming majority of those found throughout the escarpment (most particularly in the area of III under discussion) were of the Early Christian Period with a high percentage of Aswân imports, some types of which terminate at 750 A.D. The *doka* found associated with the lamps (Scanlon, *Pottery*, fig. 1) seems to derive from X-group patterns, particularly around the ledge and flange-handles; whereas the lid illustrated in fig. 17 *a* is a very fine example of Aswân potters' use of 'dots' within a well-drawn schema. This range of material confirms our assigning the 'Aladdin' lamps to a Christian date, and the combination of the two gives reason to our dating of the Early Church to *c.* 550–750 A.D.

(*To be continued*)

¹ The best comparable material comes from Faras: cf. Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, pl. 20, with examples from the 'southern church', which Adams allows a sixth–seventh-century dating (Adams, *Ch.*, no. 63); and Griffith, *LAAA* (1927), pls. lviii and lix, with examples of Christian burials in the Western Cemetery. Also *LNM*, III, four pages of 'Lucerne' in the Appendix; Pellicer and Llongeuras, *Las Necropolis Meroiticas del Grupo 'X' y Cristianas de Nag-el-Arab (Argin, Sudan)* (Madrid, 1965), figs. 29–31 and pl. xvi; and Presedo Velo, *La Fortaleza Nubia de Cheikh-Daud: Tumas (Egipto)* (Madrid, 1964), figs. 11, 12, 26, and 27.

A LATE OLD KINGDOM LETTER TO THE DEAD FROM NAG' ED-DEIR N 3500

By WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON

THE Letter to the Dead, published here for the first time, derives from the necropolis of Tjeni known as Nag' ed-Deir, a site from which have come a series of account papyri and another letter to the dead recently edited by the writer.¹ The letter measures 25.5 cm. high by 15.5 cm. wide. The papyrus is inscribed on the recto only, the side with the horizontal fibres uppermost, and is of a light colour, somewhat coarse, and written with a worn rush pen in an ungainly hand. This contrasts with the fine and almost elegant script of the other letter. Unlike the first letter from the site, it has not been possible to reconstruct its archaeological context. The letter bears the designation 'N 3500, Mizlif's tomb', indicating its provenance as Nag' ed-Deir Tomb N 3500, excavated by the foreman Mizlif. The tomb and its contents cannot be otherwise identified or located on the maps of the site. Possibly the papyrus was a surface find from cemetery N 3500, although the excavators' practice was not to designate surface finds thus. From the tears and the missing pieces the papyrus seems to have been folded once vertically and then a second time horizontally to form a small packet. This is generally similar to the method of folding of the letter from Nag' ed-Deir N 3737.² Presumably the packet so formed was deposited in the tomb of the addressees. There is no indication of the sender.

Although extremely brief, it is not without its difficulties, some of which are as yet unsolved by the writer. The translation and commentary are provisional, tentative in many respects, and subject to improvement and revision. I wish to thank the late Dr. William Stevenson Smith for permission to study and publish the document, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and Dr. Caroline Nestman Peck for ceding her prior authorization of publication. The original negative is numbered Eg 9764, and the negative from which the accompanying print was made is numbered C 25974.

¹ *Papyrus Reisner I: The Records of a Building Project in the Reign of Sesostri I, Transcription and Commentary; Papyrus Reisner II: Accounts of the Dockyard Workshop at This in the Reign of Sesostri I, Transcription and Commentary; Papyrus Reisner III: The Records of a Building Project in the Early Twelfth Dynasty, Transcription and Commentary.* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1963, 1965, 1969. 'The Letter to the Dead from the Tomb of Meru (N 3737) at Nag' ed-Deir', *JEA* 52 (1966), 39-52. A fairly extensive bibliography on the letters to the dead was provided in the last-named article, to which the reader is referred. Since then should be noted A. Roccati, 'Due lettere ai morti', *Rivista degli studi orientali* 42 (1967), 323-8, with a freer translation of considerable merit of the Meru letter and a useful correction to Rt. 4, and a new translation and interpretation of the H_u bowl letter. A general discussion and review of the letters has also been provided by M. Guilmet, 'Les lettres aux mort dans l'Égypte ancienne', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 170 (1966), 1-27. For an additional New Kingdom letter to the dead, see Gardiner and Černý, *Hier. Ostr.* 1, pl. 80.

² *JEA* 52 (1966), 40-1, fig. 1. For a letter folded (not rolled) as a packet, see Hayes, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 89-90, pl. xiii (2).

Translation

(1) A writing^a for Hēteḫep-neb(i) and (?) Teti-sonbe.^b (2) Have you^c really seen this remonstrance^d now that the two of you are there?^e You have been diligent, and it belongs (3) to you there.^f Favour (?) your children.^g May you then take hold (4) of this dead man and/or this dead woman.^h May not the two of them (?) observe one fault of his,ⁱ for there does not exist one who is (5) vociferous against the two of you here.^j

Commentary

a. The letter is designated merely as *sš*, 'a writing', determined by the book roll. Evidently the term has the sense of letter or communication here. Compare the passage in the Saqqâra letter: 'there has been brought to this servant the writing (*sš*) of N'.¹

b. It is not inconceivable that we should read the line as, 'Hēteḫep-nebi writes to Teti-sonbe', but I consider the internal evidence (see below) to favour the reading of the names as the joint addressees. On Hēteḫep-nebi see Ranke, *Pers.* I, 258, 16, with an Old Kingdom example and a Middle Kingdom example, and Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, nos. 2, 3, (36). Teti-sonbe is represented in Ranke, *Pers.* I, 385, 10, in the Middle and New Kingdoms. Neither name is attested in the stelae from the site edited by Dunham.² The designation for the content of the letter is *iw̄w[t]*, 'complaint, cry, remonstrance', of col. 2. The determinatives of the names indicate that the persons are dead; see Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters*, 3 (§ 1), Gunn, *JEA* 16 (1930), 150, and Piankoff and Clère, *JEA* 20 (1934), 164, n. 1. The letter is thus addressed, as I understand it, to two deceased relatives, presumably by one or more of their children. Of the two names the first is attested in Ranke's examples as masculine and the second as masculine with a single feminine occurrence in the New Kingdom. If the determinatives were better preserved the head-dresses might have shown if one name was masculine and the other feminine. It seems possible that the addressees were the father and mother of the sender.

c. *in rr(i) iw̄ m̄·n·k nn n iw̄w[t] iw̄·tn̄ ʕ̄*. For *in rri* introducing a rhetorical question equivalent to an affirmation, see Baer on P. Bulak 8, 13, in *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 8, with references cited in Edel, *Altäg. Gram.* § 838, and also Goedicke in *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 4.

d. For the hitherto unattested substantive *iw̄w[t]*, compare *iw̄w*, 'cry of woe', of *Wb.* I, 48, 20, and *iw̄*, 'to complain', of *Wb.* I, 48, 17–19. A substantive from the latter, restored as *iw̄wt*, seems likely here. A major and puzzling situation obtains in the use in our text of a seemingly indiscriminate alternation of singular and dual second person. The suffix *·k* is used in col. 2 in *m̄·n·k* and *ik̄r·k*, and in col. 3 in *n·k ʕ̄*, *hr̄dw·k*, and *nd̄r·k*. The dual is used in col. 5 in *r·tn̄y* and col. 2 in *iw̄·tn̄(y) ʕ̄*, unless the latter is the alternative form of the second person feminine singular. Since the letter is possibly addressed to the sender's father and mother, it is altogether possible that the pronouns reflect specific direction of speech to each independently and as a pair. This suggestion is mitigated, however, through the occurrence of a clear case of the dual imperative in col. 3 with the object *hr̄dw·k* construed with the second person masculine

¹ Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* 25 (1925), 247.

² Dows Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1937.

singular. In *nn n iw̄w[t]* the final *t* seems indicated by the spacing of the second *w* and the feminine suffix in the following phrase: *sk ikr·k, i(w)·s n·k*, assuming that *iw̄wt* is the antecedent of *s*. For *nn n*+singular substantive with the sense, 'this—', see Edel, *Altäg. Gram.* § 199. I take *iw̄·tn(y) ʕ* as circumstantial, 'now that you (two) are there', a usage not well attested in the Old Kingdom and hence suspect (Edel, *Altäg. Gram.* § 919 c).

e. The term *ʕ*, 'here (where I am)—there (where you are)', has been discussed most recently in some detail by James, *Heḳanakhte Papers*, 109–10, and Baer, *JAOs* 83 (1963), 3, n. 10. In the three cases in our text I would tend to take it as 'there (where you are)' in the first two and 'here (where I am)' in the last.

f. *sk ikr·k i(w)·s n·k*, 'you have been diligent, and it belongs to you there'. The sense seems extremely weak and the translation consequently suspect. Why should this seemingly undue stress be placed on the ownership of the complaint? Perhaps the sense is, 'it is your concern or responsibility'; since you were diligent (about these matters when alive), it is your responsibility (now that you are dead and in a position to help me). For *ikr* as a quality possessed during life and perhaps contrasted with a quality possessed in death, see *ntk ikr tp tʕ, ntk mnḥ m hryt-ntr* in the Louvre letter to the dead in *JEA* 20 (1934), 158. I have rejected *ikr·k(wi)* in our text as a possibility. For the frequent writing of *iw̄* before suffixes as *i*, see Edel, *Altäg. Gram.* § 16, 881.

g. The group read with considerable hesitation as *ʕby* is clearly a verb in the dual imperative with the dual ending *y* following the determinative. Some such sense as 'consider favourably' may be involved. Compare *ʕb*, 'wohlgefällig sein', of *Wb.* 1, 167, 7. The second person singular suffix with the object of a verb in the dual imperative seems unusual: *ʕby hr̄dw·k*. The transcription of the verb as *ʕby* is uncertain, as indicated in the plate.

h. *nḏr·k ḥm mwt pn mwtt tn*, 'may you then seize this dead man or this dead woman'. The purpose of the letter is evidently a request to the dead parents to alleviate the grievance of the children by intervening in a hostile fashion with the presumed deceased instigators of the trouble. Compare *ir·k ḏr ḥft(y)/ḥftyt ḏwt ḳd r pr·tn*, 'may you make obstacle (?) to the enemies, male and female, of evil intent against your house', of the Louvre Letter in *JEA* 20 (1934), 159. Note also in the quotation the shift from second person singular to dual, as commented upon in *JEA* 20 (1934), 161. In the Ḥu bowl letter there is the phrase, *ḏr ntt mʕ hr̄w(i) r mwt/mwtt nb*, 'because I shall be vindicated against any male or female dead person'.¹ In our text the male determinative is differentiated by a tick indicating the person as hostile.² The obverse of the situation is illustrated in the phrase, *ir n·k ḥsw n mwt/mwtt·i*, 'be in your own interest the most favourable one from among my dead, male and female'.³

i. *im(?) mʕʕ[snʕ]y sp·f wʕ*, 'may not the two . . . (or they two) see one fault of his'. The lacuna following *mʕʕ* ends in *-y*, either a dual substantive or else the dual third

¹ Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 20–1.

² *JEA* 20 (1934), 158, n. k[7]; Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* 25 (1925), 248; Fischer, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 136–7; Simpson, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 307–8, 307, n. 5; Baer, *ZAS* 93 (1966), 1, n. 2.

³ *JEA* 20 (1934), 162, n. t[16].

person plural suffix, which fits the traces reasonably well. It is conceivable that *im* is the adverb, 'there', and belongs to the preceding phrase: *mwt pn/mwtt tn im*; but it seems unusual to have *im* follow upon a substantive construed already with the demonstrative *pn/tn*. If *im* does belong to the preceding phrase, then the new phrase begins with a standard *n sdm:f* form; this might be the safest way to understand it (see below). It is not unlikely, however, that the form is the negative adverb/verb *im sdm:f* of Edel, *Altäg. Gram.* § 1104 bb, or *im sdm S* of § 1106 bb, depending on whether our context has the dual suffix or a substantive as subject; see H. Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen . . .*, §§ 81–9. There is the further question as to whether this is the adverbial *im* plus *sdm:f*, or the verbal *im* plus the negational complement with the following substantive. The form *m33* is the expected form for the negational complement (Edel, § 742; Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³ § 341; Satzinger, op. cit., § 90; and an example of *m33* in Simpson, *JEA* 52 (1966), 47). Yet one may wonder if the geminating *sdm:f* after negative *n* or *im* might already have an emphasizing effect or circumstantializing role here, as suggested by my student, Miss Virginia Davis: 'because there does not exist one who is vociferous against the two of you here, the two . . . will not see (discover?) a single fault on his part.' That is, in the absence of an outcry or public condemnation no wrongdoing will be brought to light. In Old Egyptian the negative *im* is frequent in Pyramid Text material. In Middle Egyptian its function is hortative or optative: *im m33 rmt*, 'let not men see' (*Eg. Gr.*³ §§ 342–3). In connection with *m33*, note the observation by Piankoff and Clère, 'It is well known that the Egyptians believed the dead could come back to earth and see and hear what happened there.'¹ The identity of the dual subject is problematic. They may be the malevolent spirits specifically designated as *mwt pn/mwtt tn*, or else the subject may be a dual word for the deceased parents or relatives. The identity of the person in *sp:f w*, 'one fault of his', is similarly ambiguous. Is it a living malefactor or presumed malefactor, the innocent writer of the letter or his ally, or is it one of the deceased hostile persons who has reason to believe that he has unjustly been found at fault and is consequently antagonistic? It is curious that the writer does not seem to refer to himself, either in the first person or as *b3k im*; the only indication is perhaps *hrdw-k*, 'your children'.

j. dr ntt n wnt wn k3 hrw r tny 3, 'for there is not one high of voice against you two here'. On *3*, see above. For *k3 hrw*, see *Wb.* v, 2, 12, and Janssen, *Trad. Egypt. Autobiografie*, pl. 34 Az, 3–5, with numerous references. The terms *33 hrw*² and *k3 hrw* are of interest in that they reflect the Egyptian expressions for degree of sound in frequency or intensity, 'loud' being rendered as 'high of voice'. Although the latter can be a good quality, 'high of voice in proclaiming the name of the king',³ the nuance here is a negative one best exemplified in Sinai 90, 22, in *nn k3t hrw r b3kt-i*, rendered by Černý as, 'I accomplished my mission with great success without a voice being raised against my work, which I have done excellently.'⁴ The passage is discussed further by Goedicke in *MDAIK* 18 (1962), 25 ad. A familiar example is the admonition of Thotnakhte to the peasant in *Peasant B* 26, *m k3 hrw-k shty*, 'may not your voice be

¹ *JEA* 20 (1934), 164, n. 2.

² Edel, *Altäg Gram.* § 1106.

³ *Hammâmât*, 114, 3.

⁴ *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, part II, 98.

high, peasant'.¹ I have rejected the possibility that *tny* ⲉ is a proper name, although a lacuna follows which conceivably could have a determinative.

The language and palaeography point to a date in the late Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period, and Dyns. VII/VIII or IX/X may be the period involved. The use of a cartouche in the first element of the name Teti-sonbe, while not a dating factor in itself, can be regarded as reflecting a Memphite association in keeping with the political situation following the close of the Sixth Dynasty. In any case, the letter provides a useful addition to the corpus of this genre.

Addendum on the Letter to Meru (N 3737)

In a recent study cited in the first note to this article, A. Roccati has contributed a new examination of the H̄u letter and the letter to Meru, the latter first published by the present writer in *JEA* 52 (1966), 39–52. In *Ro.* 4 Roccati has quite plausibly restored *n hpr n is nn hpr r:f* where I read, with hesitation, *n hpr nis hpr r:f*. I prefer his reading to mine. In *Ro.* 3 I still tend to prefer, albeit with reservations, *m niwt wct(?) [hnr]·k*, where Roccati reads an *n* after *niwt* and leaves the rest unrestored until *sk*. The sign read by him as *n* has a short dot, clearly visible on the original, above it. Roccati's translation, here rendered in English, although free and less literal, may be profitably quoted.



A servant speaks to his master. *Hni* says: Help! a million times! The help which is asked of you is necessary for that which your funerary servant *Sni* may accomplish, so as to cause the writer to see him in a dream in a city. . . . Now, his own fault (guilt) does him wrong (goes against him). Now, that which happens against him does not derive certainly from the hand of the writer. I certainly have not committed the crime. Others committed it before the one who writes. Now, try to guard him carefully; don't neglect to guard him, in order that he may never visit the writer again.

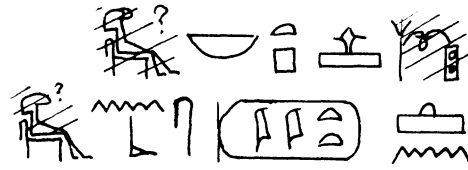
The negative constructions in the Meru letter, along with other grammatical points, have also been studied in an excellent communication by M. Gilula in *JEA* 55 (1969). Mr. T. G. H. James thoughtfully sent me the communication in proof. Gilula translates the latter portion of the letter thus (omitting his notes):

Look, it is (was) his own character which punishes(?) him. Look, it was not through my agency (or: action) that what happened to him has happened, and it is not the end (limit) or all that is going to (or: may) happen. Look, not mine is the infliction of (his) wound. Others acted in my presence.

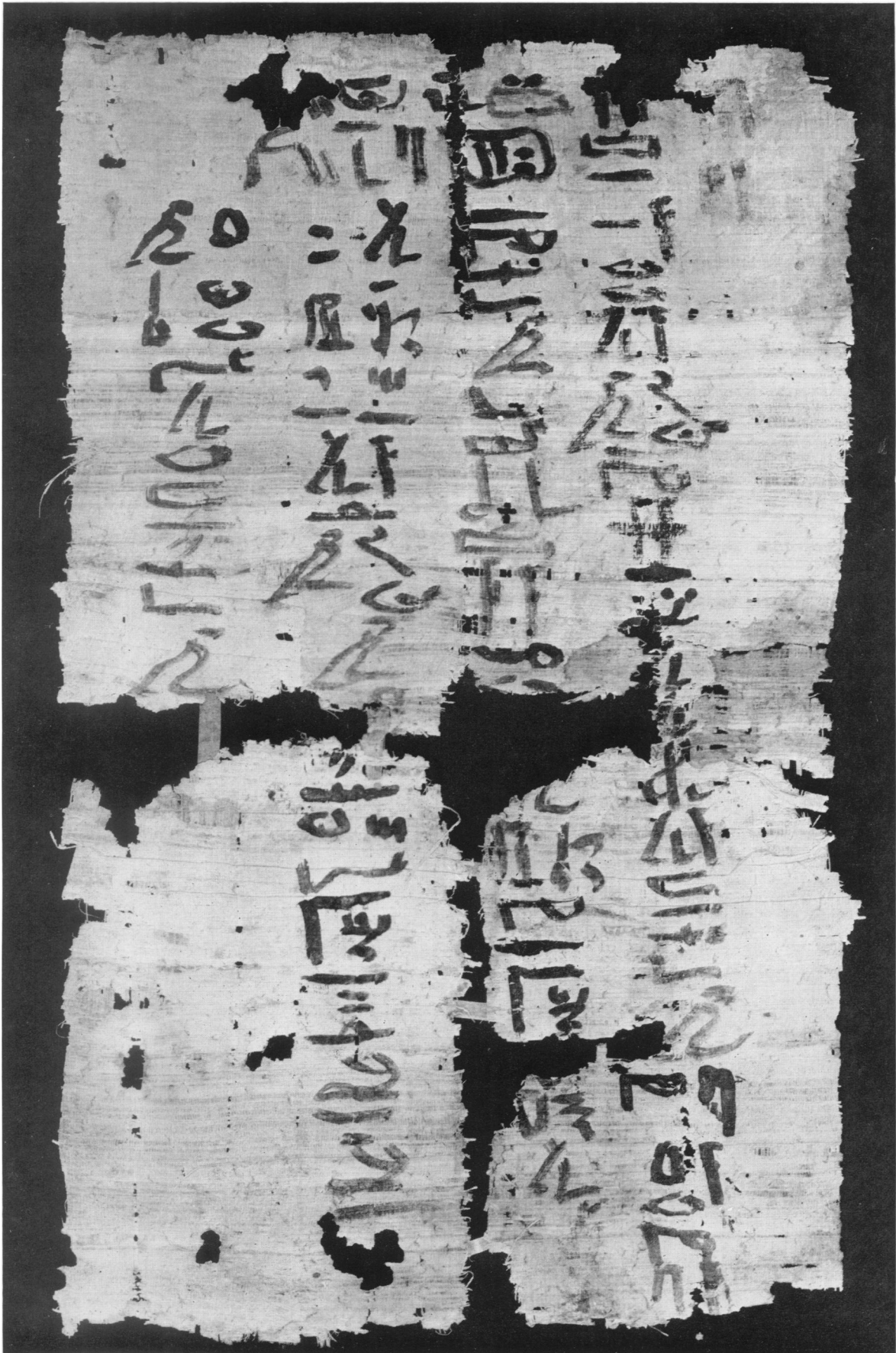
¹ For a reinterpretation of the grammatical construction, see Edcl, *Altäg. Gram.* § 1106.

Postscript

Another possible reading of part of col. 3 has occurred to me: for  read . The passage (cols. 2–3) would then be *sk ikr·k is n·k, cby hrđw·k*, 'Now if you would indeed be diligent on your (own) behalf, favour (?) your children'. On the whole I prefer this new version.



5	4	3	2



A LETTER TO THE DEAD FROM NAG' ED-DEIR





























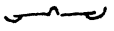




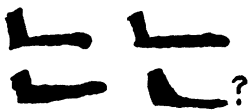










 A 1 33		 E 23 125	
 A 1'		 E 34 132	
 A 2 35		 F 16 157	
 A 50 26		 F 32 169	
 B 1 61		 G 1 192	
 D 4 82		 G 17 196	
 D 21 91		 G 43 200	
 D 35 111		 I 9 263	
 D 36 99		 M 17 282	
 D 58 124		 M 22 287	
 E 9 143		 M 36 294	

FIG. 1. Table of hieratic signs




























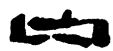









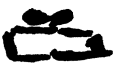






 N 29 319		 U 1 469	
 N 35 331		 V 13 528	
 N 41 446		 V 28 525	
 O 29 363		 V 30 510	
?  O 30 ?		 V 31 511 B	
 O 34 366		 X 1 575	
 O 50 403		 Y 2 538	
 P 381		 Y 4 537	
 Q 3 338		 Z 1 558	
 R 4 552			
 S 29 432		 Aa 1 574	

FIG. 2. Table of hieratic signs

THE ORIGIN OF EGYPTIAN DESIGN-AMULETS (‘BUTTON SEALS’)*

By WILLIAM A. WARD

AROUND the turn of the century a class of objects variously described as ‘button-seals’, ‘button-badges’, ‘seal-amulets’ or ‘*Knopfsiegel*’ began turning up in excavations of late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period cemeteries. These terms, however, are inaccurate since the ‘button’ shape is only one of many, and it is doubtful that these objects were used as seals. A more accurate description would be ‘design-amulet’, which emphasizes the amuletic character of these objects and dispenses with the suggestive word ‘seal’.

The use of design-amulets throughout Egypt is well-attested in the excavations. In Upper Egypt, isolated examples were found at Dendera, Abydos, and Kafr ‘Ammâr (near Tarkhân),¹ and small groups come from El-Maḥâsna, Hû, Abydos, and Zaraby (near Asyût).² Brunton’s excavations in Middle Egypt yielded the largest groups ever found, at Qâw el-Kebîr, Matmar and Mostagedda;³ these sites established the overall chronological sequence in design and back-form. In Lower Egypt, design-amulets are far less common. One was discovered at Gîza,⁴ a few at Saqqâra and El-Ḥaraga,⁵ and at Kom el-Ḥisn⁶ and Abû Ghaleb⁷ in the western Delta. Throughout the period when

* Note the following abbreviations for frequently quoted standard works: *BDS* = F. Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs* (London, 1925); *Chronologies* = R. Ehrich (ed.), *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago, 1965); *Harageh* = R. Engelbach, *Harageh* (London, 1923); *Mahasna* = J. Garstang, *Mahasna and Bêt Khallaf* (London, 1903); *Matmar* = G. Brunton, *Matmar* (London, 1948); *Mostagedda* = G. Brunton, *Mostagedda* (London, 1938); *PSC* = F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* (London, 1917); *QB* = G. Brunton, *Qau and Badari*. 3 vols. (London, 1927).

¹ F. Petrie, *Denderah* (London, 1900), 10; F. Petrie and E. Mackay, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa* (London, 1912), 14; E. Naville and T. E. Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos I* (London, 1914), 18; F. Petrie, *Abydos I* (London, 1902), pl. 51, bottom.

² *Mahasna*, pl. xxxix; F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva* (London, 1901), pls. xxv, xli; H. Frankfort, *JEA* 16 (1930), 218; F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907), 10; rarely also in Nubia, for example, T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Kush* 10 (1962), 89, pl. xxiii.

³ *QB* 1, 55 ff.; *Mostagedda*, 107 ff.; *Matmar*, 49 ff.

⁴ G. Reisner, *Mycerinus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 235–6; found in the debris of the Second Temple, probably built toward the end of the Sixth Dynasty. The back is a human head, a type known from the First Intermediate Period; *QB* 1, pl. xxxiii, no. 125; *Mostagedda*, pl. lx, no. 34.

⁵ C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Cairo, 1926), 39, fig. 45; G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* (Cairo, 1929), figs. 65, 79, 91, 123; id. *La Pyramide d’Oudjebten* (Cairo, 1928), 19, fig. 23; *Harageh*, 9.

⁶ The four preliminary reports on excavations at Kom el-Ḥisn are quite vague and some unfortunate errors in dating have been made. During the first season three scarabs were found and dated, along with the rest of this season’s finds, to the Second Intermediate Period, see A. Hamada and M. el-Amir, *Ann. Serv.* 46 (1947), 109. G. Brunton immediately showed (ibid. 143–5) that all this material was instead of the First Intermediate Period. During the fourth season, several design-amulets which must be of First Intermediate

[footnotes 6 and 7 continued on next page]

these cemeteries were being excavated, the illegal trade in antiquities from these very sites was flourishing and illicit digging had already been carried out before the excavations.¹ A large number of design-amulets of this period have thus found their way into museums and private collections.²

The amuletic character of these objects is easily proved by their archaeological context. Overwhelmingly associated with female and child burials, they are usually found at the neck of the body, either alone or at the centre of a bead necklace. A number were found clasped in the hand or on a string around one finger, a few others among toilet articles usually in a small toilet box. It has been suggested that some of these objects may have been used as military identification—hence the term ‘button badges’—though the archaeological evidence flatly contradicts this suggestion.³ That they were amulets most commonly included in female jewellery is beyond question.



FIG. 1. Seal-impressions from Abûsir (a) and the Ḥeḡanakhte Papyri (b)

More problematic is the possibility that design-amulets may have been used as seals. There is not a shred of evidence from any excavation to support such an assumption, though a seal-impression on a piece of clay in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (fig. 1 a) has been quoted as possible proof.⁴ This impression, however, has no recorded archaeological context; it was discovered in 1905 by the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft expedition to the temple of Neferirkarē^c at Abûsir.⁵ The impression is oval, suggesting a scarab or ovoid back, and the design does have certain vague parallels in the excavated material.⁶ But without the precise archaeological context, it would be unwise to assume that design-amulets were used as seals on the basis of this single example. On the other hand, we now know that such objects were used to seal papyrus documents in the late Eleventh Dynasty (fig. 1 b),⁷ so the possibility must remain open that they were so used earlier.

From the time the first design-amulets began appearing in the excavations, it was assumed that they were not entirely Egyptian. They did not seem to fit into the established pattern of Egyptian culture, hence the trend has been to seek some foreign

Period date were again wrongly attributed to the Second Intermediate Period, see A. Hamada and Sh. Farid, *Ann. Serv.* 50 (1950), 370-1, pl. vii, nos. 3, 8, 11-12.

¹ H. Larsen, *MDAIK* 5 (1934), 41 ff. A few of the scarab-back design-amulets in this group are pre-Twelfth Dynasty in date.

² Many of the design-amulets in the collection of Mr. Fuad Matouk of Beirut, for example, originally part of the Blanchard collection in Cairo, are marked as to their place of origin. Several are labelled ‘Arment’, a site from which no excavated examples are known.

³ So in *BDS* 1, repeated in *QB* 1, 79-80.
⁴ Berlin 20378; cf. H. Frankfort, *JEA* 12 (1926), 91, n. 2, and F. Matz, *Die frühkretischen Siegel* (Berlin, 1928), 36, fig. 3. Frankfort also refers to an unpublished sealing in University College which is certainly of Middle Kingdom date and not, as he says, First Intermediate Period.

⁵ Information kindly supplied by Dr. Wolfgang Müller, Direktor, Ägyptische Abteilung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

⁶ *QB* 1, pl. xxxiv, no. 228; *Mostagedda*, pl. lx, no. 52.

⁷ Two impressions have been published by T. G. H. James, *The Ḥeḡanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York, 1962), 45, and *JEA* 54 (1968), 51. For a third impression of approximately the same date, see H. E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, fig. 69c. Note also the impression shown in H. Herzer, *Ägyptische Stempelsiegel* (Munich, 1960), pl. i, no. 31, which may or may not be Egyptian.

origin. Garstang, discussing the group he found at El-Mahâsna, suggested a Cretan connection though he admitted that the similarities were of a general nature, and a detailed comparison was unconvincing.¹ Within a few years both Newberry and Hall supported an Aegean origin.²

By 1925 enough material was known from excavations to allow Petrie's analysis of the design-amulets in University College, a study which included the then newly acquired series from Qâw el-Kebîr.³ Petrie emphatically supported the notion that these objects are essentially foreign even though they sometimes show Egyptian subjects in their designs. He proposed several origins for various designs in the series—Syria, Mesopotamia, central Asia, and Anatolia. Petrie's ideas, like those of other scholars, were given added support by the theory of 'Syrian' dynasties ruling Egypt after the collapse of the Old Kingdom which was accepted at the time. Two years later, the important material from Qâw el-Kebîr was published in full by Brunton. In this and his later publications Brunton does not seem to have committed himself to Petrie's position which the latter forcibly reiterated in an essay incorporated into the Qâw publication.⁴

Frankfort had by this time produced his own study on foreign influence in Egypt during the First Intermediate Period. He proposed a Syro-Cappadocian origin for design-amulets, the designs of which he felt were typical of this area.⁵ Schäfer, who also emphasized the designs, felt that the spirit of composition is foreign even though the designs themselves may be Egyptian.⁶ Scharff consistently maintained that a foreign style had been imposed on Egyptian designs.⁷ The arguments of these scholars will be discussed in detail below.

It is apparent that the idea of foreign origins for the Egyptian design-amulet tradition of the First Intermediate Period has become firmly fixed and, for all practical

¹ *Mahasna*, 33-4. He notes in particular a four-sided amulet (ibid. pl. xxxix, no. 319), a form he suggests is more at home in the Aegean than in Egypt. A. Evans, *Scripta Minoa* I (Oxford, 1909), 129, says that this same object is Egyptian and implies that it is the prototype for Cretan bead seals.

Evans repeatedly stated in many works that early Cretan glyptic was influenced by Egyptian design-amulets, a position defended by Aegean specialists to this day; cf. J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete* (London, 1939), 72, 89; V. E. G. Kenna, *Cretan Seals* (Oxford, 1960), 34; F. H. Stubbings, *CAH*², vol. I, chap. vi (1964), 73; P. Demargne, *Aegean Art* (London, 1964), 67, 447; etc. The opposite viewpoint is expressed by D. Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur* (Leipzig, 1921), 154 ff.; F. Matz, *Die frühkretischen Siegel*, 30 ff.; H. Biesantz, *Kretisch-mykenische Siegelbilder* (Marburg, 1954), 35 ff.; H. Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Bloomington, 1947), 17 f.; etc. Since a Cretan origin for Egyptian design-amulets has long since been given up, I have ignored Minoan glyptic in the following discussion. In general, the same objections to influence from western Asia on Egyptian design-amulets can be made with reference to Egyptian influence on Cretan glyptic art.

² P. E. Newberry, *Scarabs* (London, 1906), 59-60; H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs . . . in the British Museum*, vol. I (London, 1913), xii. Accepted also in A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Aegypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (Tübingen, 1923), 618, n. 6. ³ *BDS*. ⁴ *QB* I, 79.

⁵ H. Frankfort, *JEA* 12 (1926), 88 ff. He enlarged on this opinion in *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), 295 ff.

⁶ Quoted by A. Scharff, *ZÄS* 67 (1931), 96.

⁷ A. Scharff, ibid. 96 ff., where he hesitatingly suggests comparison with Cretan and Hittite seals; id., *Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikare* (Munich, 1936), 39, n. 2, where he proposes the Mediterranean area; A. Scharff and A. Moortgat, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum* (Munich, 1950), 84, where he says the foreign influence cannot be defined with certainty, but offers Syria, Anatolia, and Crete as possibilities.

purposes, is now universally accepted.¹ I have seen only one statement to the contrary, a short defence of a native Egyptian origin by Herzer,² who feels that in motive, composition, material, and manufacture, design-amulets are Egyptian and that nothing about them can be ascribed to foreign influence. Beyond the mere statement of his conclusions, however, Herzer offers no evidence to substantiate his position.

The present study is a defence of the minority view expressed by Herzer, for it is my own belief that not a single argument put forward in defence of a foreign origin or influence on design-amulets can stand up under close scrutiny.³ Furthermore, a case can be presented in support of an indigenous development.

A significant factor which casts the first doubt on any theory of foreign origins or influence was first raised by Garstang, even though he himself proposed Cretan connections. Describing the archaeological context of the El-Maḥâsna group, he noted that the design-amulets found there were 'in a cemetery which, but for these objects alone, might have been said by analogy to be thoroughly representative of a certain period in Egypt's history'.⁴ More recently, Miss H. Kantor has stated that 'no unmistakably foreign type of objects are known from the graves of the First Intermediate Period, although stamp seals appear for which parallels outside Egypt have been sought'.⁵ Brunton himself emphasized that no foreign pottery was found in the deposits of this period at Qâw.⁶ Indeed, from the considerable bulk of material now known from the First Intermediate Period, the design-amulets stand alone in their supposed foreign connections.⁷

This factor poses an interesting problem. If the design-amulets which form such an impressive element in the First Intermediate Period archaeological assemblage are really of foreign origin, or at least show foreign influence, one would expect to find other traces of this influence in the material culture of the period. But supporting evidence from within the archaeological material of the age is not forthcoming. The design-amulets, if they really had foreign connections, would intrude on an otherwise homogeneous culture. This immediately suggests that these objects belong to the native culture and are not intruders at all.

The most serious attempt to marshal proof of the foreign origin of design-amulets was made by Frankfort in his study of 'Syrian' influence in Egypt during the First

¹ Cf. the recent statements of W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 1 (New York, 1953), 142, and G. Posener, *CAH*², vol. 1, chap. xxi (1964), 2.

² H. Herzer, *Ägyptische Stempelsiegel*, 2. This publication is an auction catalogue for which Herzer wrote a short introduction.

³ The only motives which may be possible exceptions to this rule are the spirals and concentric circles which appear on design-amulets of the later First Intermediate Period. While these may be of Aegean, probably Cycladic, inspiration, a strong argument for a native origin can also be presented. The question is a very complicated one which cannot be examined in the present article; for an outline of the problems involved, see H. J. Kantor, *op. cit.* 21 ff., and F. Schachermeyr, *Ägäis und Orient* (Vienna, 1967), 40 ff. At any rate, to accept an Aegean origin for these designs does not affect the conclusions reached here which concern the genesis of the design-amulet tradition in Egypt. The adoption of spirals and concentric circles comes long after design-amulets were introduced and, for the present, may be considered foreign motives incorporated into a native tradition.

⁴ *Mahasna*, 34.

⁵ H. Kantor, *Chronologies*, 19.

⁶ *QB* II, 4.

⁷ Note, however, a single lapis-lazuli bead from Kôm el-Ḥisn which has west Asiatic parallels; O. Tufnell and W. A. Ward, *Syria* 43 (1966), 204, fig. 6, no. 117.

Intermediate Period. Beside the design-amulets themselves, Frankfort proposed as evidence of such influence an asiatic cylinder seal with a cartouche supposedly to be read *Hrndy*¹ and a round 'seal' with the name *Trr*.² He compared both names to those of kings of the early First Intermediate Period, noting that *Trr* 'sounds semitic'. But recent studies have shown that neither of these objects has any bearing on foreign relations of the First Intermediate Period. The cylinder seal is rather of the Second

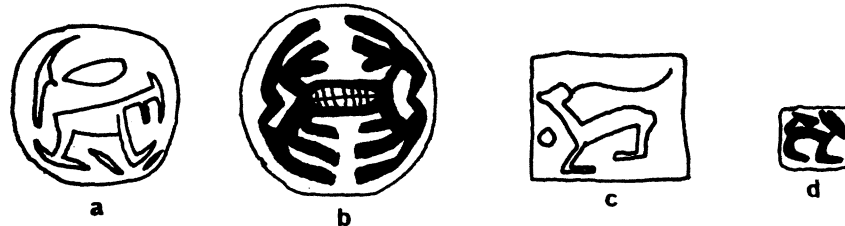


FIG. 2. Supposed comparisons between stamp-seals from Tell Brak (a, c) and Egyptian design-amulets (b, d)

Intermediate Period and the reading *Hrndy*, now accepted wherever this object is mentioned, is incorrect.³ Furthermore, it is now known that the name *Trr* is Egyptian, as are all royal names of the early First Intermediate Period.⁴ Frankfort's whole argument is thus greatly weakened since it was based on the assumption that these two objects proved a 'Syrian' dynasty in the early First Intermediate Period. Frankfort also discussed the cylinder of an official of Pepi I on which 'curious and entirely un-Egyptian designs' were added.⁵ Since this added design is in the tradition of the design-amulets, it was assumed that this cylinder helps prove a foreign element moving into Egypt after the Sixth Dynasty. But this object can just as well be placed within the development of an indigenous tradition as suggested below.

We are left, then, without any supporting evidence for the foreign affiliation of design-amulets and must fall back on the supposed similarities between them and the stamp- and cylinder-seal traditions of western Asia with which they have so often been compared. Typical of such comparisons are Mallowan's suggested connections with two stamp-seals from Tell Brak. One is a round marble stamp decorated with a standing quadruped and indeterminate marks in the field (fig. 2 a).⁶ He compares this with an Egyptian monogram (fig. 2 b) consisting of four sets of gazelle (?) fore-quarters

¹ H. Frankfort, *JEA* 12 (1926), 92; see also *PSC*, pl. xix, bottom.

² H. Frankfort, loc. cit.; discussed also by R. Weill, *XII^e dynastie, royauté de Haute-Égypte et domination Hyksos dans le nord* (Cairo, 1953), 188. This object is a shank-back 'button' popular in the late Old Kingdom and early First Intermediate Period (see table, p. 80).

³ On the date, see W. F. Albright, *JPOS* 15 (1935), 217, n. 73. The actual reading of the cartouche is *k-n-d-y* which I first pointed out in *Syria* 42 (1965), 41, n. 4, and have since verified by an examination of the original in University College. This cylinder cannot, therefore, be connected with King *Hmwdy* of the Second Intermediate Period as is now usually done; cf. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962), 105, n. 6.

⁴ G. Posener, *CAH*², vol. 1, chap. xxi (1964), 4, n. 7; H. Goedicke, *ZDMG* 112 (1962), 249.

⁵ Illustrated and discussed by H. Frankfort, *JEA* 12 (1926), 88, fig. 1, and *Cylinder Seals*, 296 f., fig. 99. Illustrated but without discussion of the 'foreign' motive in H. Goedicke, *MDAIK* 17 (1961), 86.

⁶ M. Mallowan, *Iraq* 9 (1947), 127, pl. 19, no. 7.

springing from a single body.¹ Not only are these designs completely dissimilar, but there is a substantial chronological gap of several centuries; the Brak stamp is of the early Jemdet Nasr Period, the Egyptian monogram does not appear until the late Old Kingdom. The other object is an oblong marble stamp carved with a long-horned kneeling quadruped (fig. 2 c) which is compared with an Egyptian design-amulet (fig. 2 d) showing a kneeling or couchant quadruped reminiscent of the Seth-animal or the jackal of Anubis.² Again, the designs are totally different and the chronological gap is even greater.

We are in a far better position today than earlier writers on the subject, for much material of the third millennium from western Asia has been discovered in recent years. Sites such as Hama and those in the Amouq Valley have given at least an outline of the earlier development of seals in the area from which any foreign influence should have come.³ Several major works of synthesis have appeared, in particular the studies of Amiet, Miss E. Porada, and Buchanan, who have given detailed analyses of the stamp-seal traditions of western Asia.⁴

In general terms, stamp-seals were used in western Asia until the invention of the cylinder-seal. Both types existed together for a period after which the cylinder became standard and the stamp was discarded. This period of mixed usage comes at about the same time throughout western Asia—the Jemdet Nasr and late Gawra periods in Mesopotamia and the corresponding levels in Syria. The latter is represented by, for example, Amouq Phase G, Hama Level K, and the ‘first urban installation’ at Byblos. Chronologically, this period of changeover from stamps to cylinders is the end of the fourth millennium and the beginning of the third, contemporary with the Gerzean (Naqada II) age and First Dynasty in Egypt. Of particular interest are four imported cylinder-seals of Jemdet Nasr style found in Gerzean contexts which begin the Egyptian glyptic tradition.⁵ Egypt adopted the cylinder shape but immediately discarded foreign designs in favour of Egyptian designs and inscriptions.⁶ Thus, the introduction of the cylinder-seal in Egypt—the first type of seal known to have been used there—corresponds in time with the spread of the cylinder-seal from its original homeland in southern Mesopotamia.

¹ Examples quoted by Mallowan are *BDS*, pl. iii, nos. 146–7. Excavated examples are likewise known: *QB I*, pls. xxxii–xxxiii, nos. 34, 115; *Matmar*, pl. xxxiii, no. 24; *Mahasna*, pl. xxxix, no. 82. The type begins in the late Old Kingdom.

² M. Mallowan, *Iraq 9* (1947), pl. 20, no. 25. Mallowan quotes *BDS*, pl. v, no. 295, where the date is wrongly given as ‘fifth dynasty’. This object is shown in *QB I*, pl. xxxii, no. 18, where the date is early First Intermediate Period.

³ E. Fugmann, *L'Architecture des périodes pré-hellénistiques (Hama. Fouilles et recherches 1931–1938)*, II, 1; Copenhagen, 1958), *passim*; R. J. and L. S. Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, I (Chicago, 1960), *passim*.

⁴ P. Amiet, *La Glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque* (Paris, 1961); E. Porada, *Chronologies*; B. Buchanan, *JAOs* 87 (1967), 265 ff., 525 ff.

⁵ H. Kantor, *JNES* 11 (1952), 247 ff. On a possible earlier date for these cylinders, see B. Buchanan, *op. cit.*, 535.

⁶ For discussions of these early cylinders, cf. F. W. von Bissing, *Der Tote vor dem Opfertisch* (Munich, 1952); R. Weill, *Recherches sur la I^{ère} dynastie et les temps prépharaoniques*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1961), 305 ff.; P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*. 3 vols. and Suppl. (Wiesbaden, 1963–4), *passim*.

An analogous borrowing has been proposed for the Egyptian design-amulet tradition, supposedly brought into Egypt from western Asia and then Egyptianized by the use of native designs on an originally foreign object, the stamp-seal. But there are major difficulties which stand against such an analogy. In the first place, there is a difference in usage and purpose. There is only slight and questionable evidence that Egyptian design-amulets were used as seals¹ while this usage is widely attested throughout western Asia; impressions from Arpachiyah, Tepe Gawra, Nineveh, and Byblos, to name only a few sites, leave no doubt as to the actual purpose of these objects.² There thus seems to be a clear distinction in usage which suggests that Egyptian design-amulets have little in common with the stamp-seals of western Asia.

Secondly, there is an important chronological situation. The stamp-seal tradition in western Asia was dying out when the Egyptian design-amulet tradition was still in its infancy. There is some overlap, of course, so that the last stamp-seals of western Asia were still in use when the first design-amulets appeared in Egypt. The final stages of the stamp-seal tradition are seen in Amouq Phase H and Hama Level K which belong to the Syrian Early Bronze III age, approximately contemporary with the Egyptian Old Kingdom.³ Tepe Gawra Level VII, the latest context for stamp-seals in Mesopotamia, falls in the same general period.⁴

If it is assumed that a dying tradition *could* have been brought to Egypt where it then flourished in a different form⁵—an assumption which, on the face of it, seems unlikely—it is logical to search the period where the two traditions overlap to discover proof of some connection between them. Frankfort has summarized the proof which should exist; his arguments are as follows.⁶ Egyptian design-amulets 'can in no way be derived from anything known in Egypt in earlier times'; the earlier design-amulets are 'entirely un-Egyptian', while the later ones are 'certainly of Egyptian manufacture'; they are 'typical of the Syro-Cappadocian glyptic', showing 'the same characteristic motives, the same predilection for tête-bêche arrangement, and for either purely linear designs, or diagonal hatching to substantialize the body'. Now this is an impressive statement which has never been seriously challenged. An appeal to the evidence, however, is disappointing.⁷

¹ See above, p. 66. One of the basic arguments in favour of foreign influence is that the objects themselves were imported or copied from western Asia and then used in Egypt as stamp-seals.

² M. Mallowan, *Iraq* 2 (1933), 98 f.; E. A. Speiser, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra* 1 (Philadelphia, 1935), pls. lvi ff.; J. C. Thompson and M. Mallowan, *LAAA* 20 (1933), 135 ff., pl. lxiv; M. Dunand, *Byblia Grammata* (Beirut, 1945), chap. ii.

³ H. Kantor, *Chronologies*, 17–18; J. B. Hennessy, *The Foreign Relations of Palestine During the Early Bronze Age* (London, 1967), chap. v.

⁴ E. Porada, *Chronologies*, 148, suggests that the few examples found in Level VII are survivals from Level VIII; note also B. Buchanan, *JAOs* 87 (1967), 270.

⁵ This is precisely the situation that would have had to exist, for the argument is that the shape of the design-amulets, in particular the 'button' form, is one of the major indications of foreign influence.

⁶ H. Frankfort, *JEA* 12 (1926), 88–91; *Cylinder Seals*, 296–7.

⁷ I am not being unduly critical toward Frankfort in emphasizing his arguments here, but his are the most lucid, are representative of all others, and are still quoted today. It must be remembered that when he attacked the problem of design-amulets Egyptologists were strongly defending the idea of an invasion of Egypt at the close of the Sixth Dynasty and the subsequent appearance of 'Syrian' dynasties—the Seventh and Eighth—at Memphis. With such specialists as Petrie and Brunton upholding this theory, and all Egyptologists accepting a foreign origin for the design-amulets, Frankfort could hardly have come to any other conclusions.

In comparing the later stages of the stamp-seal tradition of western Asia with Egyptian design-amulets, it is immediately evident that not a single convincing analogy can be produced. There are certain *apparent* relationships but none which

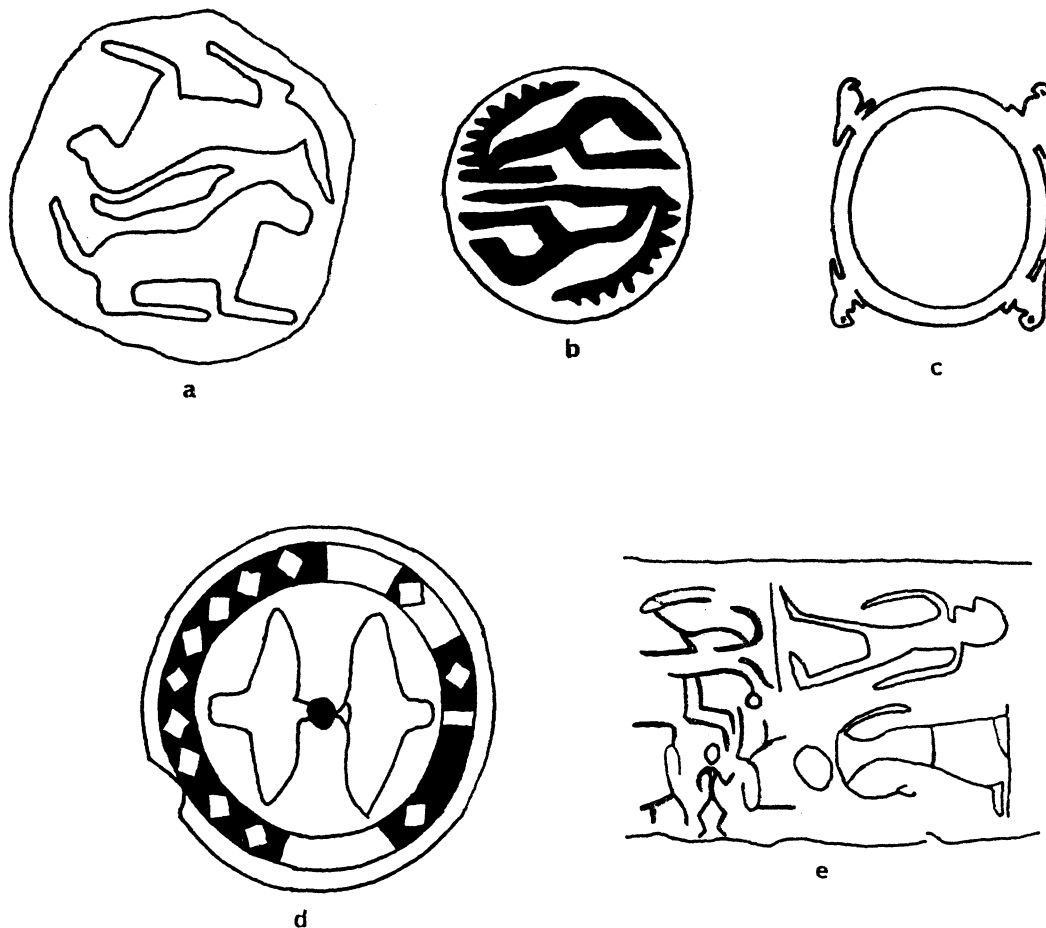


FIG. 3. Examples of the tête-bêche arrangement from Tepe Gawra (a) and Egypt (b-e)

offer any proof of the theory. The 'same characteristic motives', for example, are nothing more than simple geometric patterns like cross-and-chevron designs. Examples are known from Amouq Level G,¹ and the design is common in Egypt during the late Old Kingdom.² But this same design was universally used in every stamp-seal tradition of the ancient world and in all periods.³ Its very universality cautions us against its

¹ R. L. and L. S. Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, 1, fig. 253, nos. 4-6.

² *Matmar*, pl. xxxiii, no. 20; *QB* 1, pl. xxxii, nos. 94-6; *Harageh*, pl. ix, grave 183.

³ This and other simple geometric designs occur on a group of late third millennium 'trinket moulds' discussed by Mrs. J. V. Canby, *Iraq* 27 (1965), 42 ff. She suggests that such moulds were used by itinerant smiths travelling between Mesopotamia and the Troad. This is an interesting theory and deserves consideration for it helps explain the widespread use of stamp-seals with identical or very similar geometric designs across the northern Near East and Anatolia. It is only a partial explanation, however, and certainly does not account for the universal use of the cross-and-chevron motive which is found from Neolithic to Late Bronze times from the Aegean to the Persian Gulf and in most contiguous areas. It would be quite impossible to develop a monocentric hypothesis which would explain this. Independent artistic creation along the lines suggested in the present study seems by far the better answer.

use to prove foreign connections. Any artist who wished to decorate a small round or oval surface with a geometric design would find this a most natural way to do so. The surface is simply divided into quarters by a cross, the resulting segments filled in with chevrons. Such elementary logic in decorative art need not be borrowed.¹

The tête-bêche arrangement, as Frankfort notes, is found in both western Asia and Egypt during the period under consideration. An impression from Tepe Gawra Level VIII, for example, shows two couchant lions arranged in this manner (fig. 3 a),² a motive which is quite common on Egyptian design-amulets (fig. 3 b).³ However, one can see the antecedents for the tête-bêche arrangement very early in Egypt itself. An ivory ring of late predynastic times (fig. 3 c) has four falcons arranged in such a manner that opposite pairs are tête-bêche.⁴ A decorated disc from the First Dynasty tomb of Hemaka (fig. 3 d) has a pair of pigeons with outstretched wings, so arranged that they fill equal parts of the design area, their beaks meeting at the centre.⁵ Finally, a Fifth Dynasty cylinder-seal of Egyptian origin and design (fig. 3 e) shows a pair of human figures and a pair of Seth-animals, both pairs arranged tête-bêche.⁶ There is thus no *a priori* reason why the tête-bêche arrangement should not be as indigenous to Egypt as to anywhere else; it is a very natural way of filling small round or square surfaces. We are hampered, of course, by the lack of appropriate material. Before the appearance of design-amulets, objects of a size, shape, and use requiring the decoration of limited round or square surfaces are quite rare. It is not possible to say with certainty how Egyptian artists would have treated such surfaces; the few hints we have show that tête-bêche arrangement was probably inherent in their artistic nature.⁷

Thus the 'characteristic motives' and the tête-bêche arrangement were not particularly foreign to Egypt and cannot be called upon to prove that design-amulets are 'un-Egyptian'. The same is true of linear design which, it is true, is found both on objects from western Asia and on the design-amulets. But the actual designs have nothing in common other than that in both traditions figures are cut in outline. This again is a technique found everywhere and is very unsure ground on which to base theories of foreign influences. Finally, the use of diagonal hatching in order to 'substantialize the body' is not a good basis for comparison since all of Frankfort's evidence

¹ It is of interest that the round *nîw-t* hieroglyph (⊗) is sometimes drawn with its quarter-segments filled in with chevrons, resulting in precisely the design of the design-amulets.

² E. A. Speiser, *Tepe Gawra*, I, pl. lvii, no. 26.

³ *BDS*, pl. ii, no. 113; *Mahasna*, pl. xxxix, no. 43; H. Frankfort, *JEA* 16 (1930), pl. xxxv, grave 850.

⁴ F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, 22, pl. ix, no. 23.

⁵ W. B. Emery and Z. Saad, *The Tomb of Hemaka* (Cairo, 1938), pl. 12, no. 309. Other genuine tête-bêche arrangements are found on archaic cylinders, cf. Kaplony, *op. cit.* III, pl. 114, nos. 634-5.

⁶ G. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 234, pl. 64j. While the context cannot be exactly determined, Reisner dates this object to the First Temple built by Shepseskaf of the late Fourth Dynasty. The dating is difficult since the object came from one of the houses built in the court of the temple. These houses formed the 'pyramid village' that grew up in and around the temple while it was still in use. The room in which the cylinder was found belongs to one of the houses built on the floor of the court, hence to the earlier group of houses. With an allowance for some leeway, it cannot be far wrong to date the cylinder no later than the early Fifth Dynasty.

⁷ It is possible to see this also on the painted pottery of Amratian (Naqada I) times where animals are arranged in such a way that opposite pairs would be tête-bêche were the design lying flat instead of being on the sloping sides of bowls; cf. F. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt* (London, 1920), pl. xviii, nos. 70-2.

from western Asia comes from cylinder-seals dating later than the Egyptian First Intermediate Period.

He anticipated such criticism by rightly assuming that the then known evidence for Syro-Cappadocian glyptic presupposed as yet undiscovered earlier phases.¹ As with stamp-seals, the earlier phases of cylinder-seal production are much better known today, primarily due to the studies of Amiet on Syrian glyptic of the third millennium B.C.² Again, a comparison with Egyptian design-amulets yields no convincing con-



FIG. 4. Supposed comparison between seated figures on Egyptian design-amulets (a-b) and the Syrian drinking-scene (c)

nections. One of Frankfort's major proofs of Syrian influence should be noted at this point. He relates the design of a seated figure holding a lotus-blossom found frequently on the design-amulets (fig. 4 a-b) to the 'drinking-scene' on cylinder-seals from western Asia (fig. 4 c).³ Since this scene appears on Syrian cylinders of the third millennium⁴ there is no chronological problem, but I find it difficult to accept the thematic relationship with the Egyptian design proposed by Frankfort. The Egyptian motive, he said, has been altered since this style of drinking—through long tubes—was unknown in Egypt at the time; the Asiatic 'drinking-scene' was thus changed into a man holding a lotus. A significant detail, he felt, is that both the Egyptian and Syrian figures have a 'pig-tail' pointing again to Asiatic influence. But it is just as plausible that the Egyptian artist has here reproduced a scene found everywhere in Egypt—the ordinary funerary scene of a man holding a lotus—and quite at home there from very early times. The 'pig-tail' of the Egyptian examples in no way resembles the supposed Asiatic counterpart and is more probably the outline of a wig or simply a decorative line added to balance the lotus-stem opposite.⁵

Another major argument given by Frankfort and others has to do with the appearance in Egypt of a group of locally made cylinders cut with decorative designs obviously related to those of the design-amulets. It has been correctly pointed out that several of the 'protodynastic' cylinders are really of the First Intermediate Period.⁶ Frankfort

¹ H. Frankfort, *JEA* 12 (1926), 89, n. 6, and 94, n. 8.

² P. Amiet, *Syria* 40 (1963), 57 ff.; 41 (1964), 189 ff.

³ H. Frankfort, *JEA* 12 (1926), 90, with n. 5 and fig. 4. Other examples of this motive are in *Mostagedda*, pl. lx, no. 31, and H. Herzer, *Ägyptische Stempelsiegel*, nos. 29, 36-7, 80.

⁴ P. Amiet, *Syria* 40 (1963), fig. 20.

⁵ The 'pig-tail' does not actually spring from the head in four of the seven examples quoted in n. 3 above, though this may be due to wear or to the artist's carelessness. The supposed Egyptian 'pig-tail' is quite long, reaching below the chair on which the figure sits; the Syrian one is very short.

⁶ H. Frankfort, *JEA* 12 (1926), 89, n. 5; F. Matz, *Die frühkretischen Siegel*, 31. Parallels between this class of

strongly emphasized that while the cylinder-seal was used in Egypt throughout the early dynasties, the Egyptians used inscriptions rather than decorative design, which was normal in western Asia. Decorated cylinders, he said, were made in Egypt only under the impetus of Syrian influence in the First Intermediate Period.¹ This was added proof that the design-amulets came from outside. Such a position can no longer be maintained since excavations have yielded locally made cylinders with decorative designs which date long before the First Intermediate Period.²

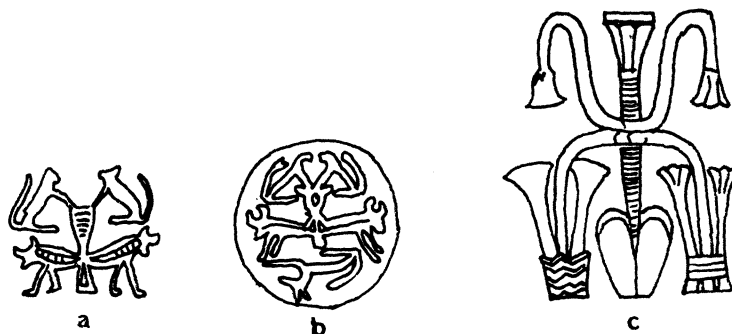


FIG. 5. The Ḥathor-monogram (a-b) and *sm*-symbol (c)

While Frankfort concentrated on artistic motives and the like, the arguments of other scholars centre on details of style and composition which do not seem to be Egyptian. Scharff offered a specific case in point,³ a monogram composed of a Ḥathor-head surmounted by two lions and with the forequarters of a bull emerging from either side of the neck (fig. 5 a-b). The elements in this design are all Egyptian but their particular mode of composition—the fusing of individual signs together so that the lines of one sign form part of another sign—betrays foreign influence.⁴

This is a very subjective argument for it assumes that the Egyptian habit was to draw complete signs, even when they may collectively make up a single symbol, but when these same signs are joined in such a way that they have lines in common the result is an un-Egyptian style. In the Ḥathor-monogram, for example, the lines indicating the horns of Ḥathor at the same time indicate the forelegs of the two lions. It is this dual role of individual lines that is considered foreign to Egypt. This rather subtle distinction can be explained by reference to a study by Schäfer who helped formulate the idea.

Schäfer devoted an article to the *sm*-symbol (fig. 5 c) which pictorially renders the

cylinders and the design-amulets are quite clear and there is no doubt that they are contemporary. However, some of the 'Egyptian' cylinders in this group are imports from a much later age. Note in particular the example shown in *PSC*, pl. vi, no. 145, which is really a Cypriote cylinder of the late second millennium; L. Delaporte, *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des cylindres*, vol. II (Paris, 1923), pl. 105, no. 29; G. Contenau, *La Glyptique syro-hittite* (Paris, 1922), no. 219; L. Delaporte, *Annales du Musée Guimet* xxxii, *Cylindres orientaux* (Paris, 1909), no. 135.

¹ H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 296 ff.

² Already in the First Dynasty: F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II (London, 1901), pl. xiv, nos. 101-4; from the earlier Old Kingdom: *Mostagedda*, pl. ix, nos. 1-2; G. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 64 j (see above, p. 73, n. 6). Two of slightly later date were found at Saqqâra: G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers*, 51-2, fig. 56, and *La Pyramide d'Aba* (Cairo, 1935), 3, fig. 2.

³ A. Scharff, *ZÄS* 67 (1931), 95 ff.

⁴ H. Schäfer in *ibid.* 96: 'Unägyptisch ist aber entschieden der Geist der Zusammenfügung der Bilder. Wohl stellt auch der Ägypter ohne fremden Einfluß Zeichen zu Gruppen zusammen . . . aber daraus wird dann doch etwas ganz anderes als die Linienzusammenziehung und -verschmelzung zu einem "Monogramm".'

idea 'The Union of the Two Lands'.¹ This consists of the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt tied to the hieroglyph meaning 'to unite', the three signs forming a composite symbol denoting the concept of Egyptian unity. Rather than use the terms *Emblem* or *Symbol*, which he felt did not adequately express the intent of this combination of signs, Schäfer preferred the term *Sinnbild* which he elsewhere defines as a representation of an idea whose full meaning cannot be expressed in words.² In comparing the *Sinnbild* for 'The Union of the Two Lands' with the Ḥathor-*Monogramm*, it is obvious that the only real difference is in a single detail of technique. The *sm*-symbol incorporates several signs but all elements of each sign remain separate from all elements of the other signs. In the Ḥathor-monogram, two signs are fused in such a way that they have lines in common, simultaneously representing parts of both. There is no difference in the intent of these two symbols since both represent abstract native ideas, and both consist of groups of Egyptian signs. The difference is solely an artistic one and it is this difference which Schäfer and Scharff insist shows foreign influence. This fusion of lines, by the way, is rather a common feature of the design-amulets.³

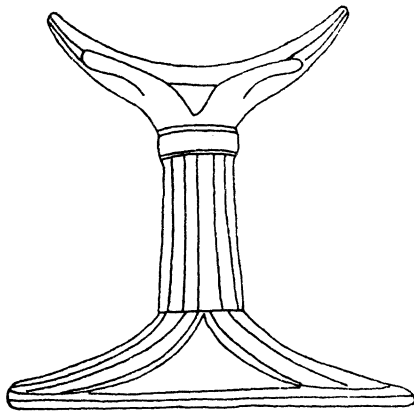


FIG. 6. Egyptian head-rest illustrating the principle of linear fusion.

It is questionable whether this detail of technique is really as significant as it is said to be. But if it is granted that this type of linear fusion is significant, it can be argued that the principle is found in native Egyptian art. It is quite true that Egyptian art has an overwhelming tendency to portray figures, objects or signs entire, even though as in the *sm*-symbol they may form a composite figure. On the other hand, the same kind of linear fusion as that seen in the Ḥathor-monogram can be found elsewhere. It is seen, for example, on head-rests and there is hardly anything more typically Egyptian than this class of object. Head-rests of the Old Kingdom frequently show a pair of hands on the underside of the curved head-piece, the idea being that the hands are supporting the head. These hands are shown as if they spring from the centre post of the head-rest, the post itself forming a common arm for both (fig. 6).⁴ I fail to see any distinction in artistic spirit between these head-rests and, say, the bulls emerging from either side of the Ḥathor-monogram. Since Scharff's whole case—supported by Schäfer and Frankfort—rests on this one technical detail of the linear fusion of two signs, and since plausible parallels can be found in native Egyptian art, his case for foreign influence on design-amulets remains unproved.

¹ H. Schäfer, *MDAIK* 12 (1943), 73 ff.

² H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*. 4th ed., revised by E. Brunner-Traut (Wiesbaden, 1963), 163-4.

³ Among many examples, note a pair of hornets with their legs formed by the same lines (*Mostagedda*, pl. lx, no. 9) and the lizard and two monkeys with the arms and legs of all three figures fused into single lines (*BDS*, pl. ii, nos. 103-6).

⁴ Excellent examples are shown in F. Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment I* (London, 1924), pl. xi, no. 1; C. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 14, lower right; *Harageh*, pl. ix, no. 8; *Mostagedda* pl. lxii, no. 14.

The studies of Petrie, Frankfort, and Scharff are the basis upon which all other scholars have concluded that Egyptian design-amulets are somehow foreign. If my arguments to the contrary have any validity, the idea must be discarded. The alternative—that these objects are indigenous to Egypt—has much to commend it. I have already pointed out that design-amulets are the only class of object which violate the otherwise homogeneous local culture in which they are found. Therefore, Frankfort was in a sense correct when he insisted that design-amulets 'can in no way be derived from anything known in Egypt in earlier times'. It now remains to determine if acceptable reasons can be given for this apparent lack of conformity.

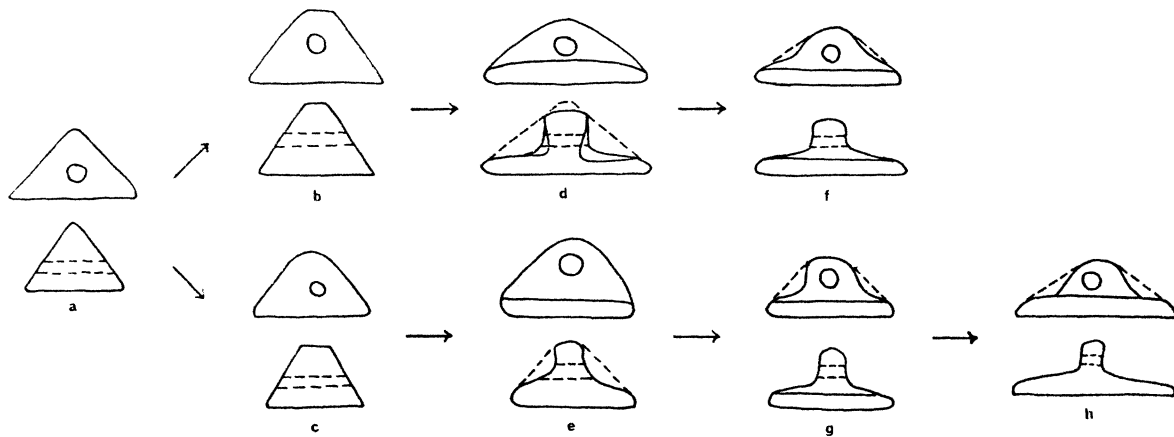


FIG. 7. Suggested development of design-amulet backs: pyramid (a-c), ridge (d-e), shank (f-h). All examples drawn from originals in the Matouk Collection, Beirût

Brunton's classification of design-amulets, to which have been added the chronological range and number of examples, is shown here in the table on p. 80.¹ The figures represent the combined collections from Qâw, Matmar, and Mostagedda. The table is self-explanatory. Pyramid-backs begin the series and probably die out in vi, the one later example being a survival. Rectangular and circular 'buttons' appear most commonly in vi and viii, dying out in ix, undoubtedly due to new types which appear already in viii. Animal-backs follow the pattern of the 'buttons', of which category they form a part. Scarab-backs begin in viii and continue on with increasing frequency. The oval plaques and scarabs form the background for the Middle Kingdom scarab repertoire.

In my opinion the back-forms show a logical stylistic development as illustrated in fig. 7. It is worth paying special attention to this for any defence of foreign origins of design-amulets lays stress on the introduction in vi of the true 'button' shape—the shank-back of Brunton's classification—which is generally felt to be an important proof of outside influence. I suggest that the shank-back form can be easily derived from the pyramid-back which precedes it. The true pyramid-back has variants where the tip is flattened or rounded off at various heights. The step from the pyramid-back to the ridge-back is taken by filing down two sides of the pyramid, leaving a ridge

¹ *Matmar*, 49. I have followed Brunton's 'dates', though it must be emphasized that the use of dynastic numbering was never meant to be anything more than a convenience, giving only a general chronological sequence and not implying any strict relationship to actual dynasties.

which extends from one edge of the base to the other. The next step involves cutting slightly into the sloping edges of the ridge which leads directly to some shank-back forms. From here the true 'button' is reached by reducing the angle of the ridge at each end, so it fuses into the base at some distance inside the edge. The 'button' or shank-back is thus only a variety of the ridge-back, itself derived from the pyramid. While there is no proof that this process actually took place, it is a very logical development and the overall chronological sequence—pyramid, ridge, shank—supports it. A minor point which tends to verify this development is the shape of the base. Pyramids occur only on square (or rectangular) bases, early ridges on square bases, later ridges and shanks on both square and circular bases. I conclude that by the simple process of technical alteration, the 'foreign' shank-back is not foreign at all but is a native form ultimately derived from the pyramid-back, a form which is quite at home in the Nile Valley. On the criterion of form, then, design-amulets can be native to Egypt.

Several other considerations support this conclusion. First of all, the period during which design-amulets emerge as popular objects—the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period—was a time when Egyptian art in general was breaking away from the traditional canons. The art of this period was 'a distinctive new style'¹ presenting 'freakish innovations' and 'eccentricities'.² For example, one need only examine the tall thin figures on stelae of the period to realize the radical departure from the previous rigid adherence to the formal canons of proportional representation. Such a break with the past was encouraged by the political disturbances of the day and the concurrent lack of central authority. Egyptian society itself was undergoing extensive, if temporary, alterations.³ In this atmosphere of change and experiment we find a credible background for the popularity of a new kind of artistic expression which would find acceptance in this unconventional age. The appearance of design-amulets is usually explained as the intrusion of influence from western Asia which was then gradually Egyptianized and adapted to the native culture. But it can also be explained as one more aspect of a period which allowed more freedom in art, more individualism in society, more consciousness of the individual even in religion, the stronghold of Egyptian conservatism. The design-amulets may well have been one of the 'eccentricities' of the age which gained a certain popularity and, while not entirely abandoned, were eventually made to conform to the more traditional Egyptian culture that re-emerged with the Heracleopolitan dynasties. It is noteworthy that at this later time, when Egyptian society was settling back to normal, the design-amulets themselves take on a more traditional appearance characterized by scarab-shaped backs.⁴

Secondly, it should be kept in mind that design-amulets represent an essentially new kind of object. Uninscribed amulets were used from the earliest times but, apart

¹ W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1947), 218.

² H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Art and Movement* (Chicago, 1951), 57, 59.

³ For a general discussion, see J. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt* (Chicago, 1951), chap. v.

⁴ Though the scarab-shaped amulet was not new at this time. Examples appear already in the Old Kingdom but these are never inscribed with designs; *QB II*, pl. xcvi, no. 40; *Mahasna*, pl. xxxix, grave M386; G. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 235.

from isolated examples,¹ amulets inscribed with designs were a new feature in the later Old Kingdom. It is perhaps easier to ascribe them to some vague foreign origin since they cannot be immediately placed in the framework of Egyptian art, but this so-called 'un-Egyptian' character can just as easily be explained otherwise. Any new art form appearing in an age when invention and experimentation are possible is bound to differ from the classical tradition that precedes it. Yet design-amulets are not really as different as we are led to believe. The 'un-Egyptian' character of the earlier designs, a basic argument in all theories on foreign origins, simply cannot be upheld. These earlier designs consist of rabbits, monkeys and apes, crocodiles,² bees, Thoeris, the Hathor-emblem, the Seth-animal, red crown, and scorpion. Such motives can hardly be termed 'un-Egyptian'.

Thirdly, the design-amulet tradition seems to have belonged primarily to the lower classes; only isolated examples have been found in what may be called upper-class contexts, certainly none in aristocratic burials.³ In Egypt the popular art of the masses was more readily susceptible to change and could deviate more easily from a classical norm than the more formal art of the conservative upper classes. We must reserve this observation for the excavated examples since innumerable design-amulets have appeared on the antiquities market over the past several decades, the provenances of which are unknown. While some of these may have come from tombs of the aristocracy, their overall character is so similar to that of the excavated material, that such an origin does not seem likely. Therefore, it may well be that design-amulets as a class fall into the category of 'folk art', owing their inspiration to the preference of the common people, not to the canons of the formal tradition.⁴

Finally, design-amulets seem to represent a provincial art style popular in localities not immediately related to the political, hence the artistic, capitals of Egypt. Even when the classical Egyptian art style was in full sway, the art of the provinces remained somewhat different from that of the capital. Since the bulk of the excavated material comes from Upper and Middle Egypt, and a relatively small amount from Lower Egypt, it can be suggested that design-amulets were most popular among the lower classes in the south, far from the artistic centres of the day. But this may be misleading since most of the lower-class cemeteries so far excavated are situated in this region.

In summary, the thesis of this paper has been a negative one: there is no valid reason to maintain the generally accepted notion that Egyptian design-amulets are foreign. No theory yet proposed has offered any tangible proof of foreign origins or influence and, indeed, some of the evidence presented has been misconstrued from the outset.

¹ For example, a gold amulet in the shape of a beetle from a protodynastic burial at Nag' ed-Deir, inscribed with the symbol of Neith on the base; W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1958), 27, pl. 11 B.

² A great many of the so-called 'lizards' are really crocodiles as is shown by the position of the legs and the shape of the head.

³ Two apparently upper-middle-class burials containing design-amulets were found at Saqqâra; G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers*, fig. 91, and C. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 48, pl. 36.

⁴ This implies that design-amulets represent a heretofore untapped source of information on popular religious beliefs. Many of the 'men' in these designs, for example, may rather be children, and the objects so decorated may therefore be birth-amulets for fertility which were later retained as protection for the child.

The balance of this evidence consists solely of common geometric patterns used universally in antiquity and similarities resulting from fundamental principles of design which occur naturally to any artist. The so-called 'un-Egyptian' character of design-amulets has been highly overrated and emphasized to such a degree that a native origin has hardly been considered.

There are, however, valid reasons for supposing that the design-amulet tradition was a local one. These objects are not really as incompatible with Egyptian material culture as we have been led to believe. Such inconsistencies as do exist can be explained by the historical and social context in which they appear. In my opinion, then, design-amulets are basically a native Egyptian class of object. It must be admitted that the case supporting this conclusion is not a perfect one, but it does give a reasonable alternative to one for which no real proof exists at all.

Types of design-amulet backs

Back type	Date:	iv	v	vi	viii	ix	ix-xi
Pyramids		2	12	10	1		
Buttons:	ridge-back		2	19	8	3	
	shank-back			34	48	3	
	animal			10	21	10	
Plaques:	rectangular				17	11	1
	oval and circular				6	20	7
Scarabs:	like amulets				6	2	
	flat				24	8	
	high				8	62	10
	normal					3	9

THE EGYPTIAN LABYRINTH

By ALAN B. LLOYD

I shall speak at some length of Egypt because beyond all lands it possesses many wonders and marvels which pass all power to describe.

(Herodotus, *Histories*, II, 35)

To Herodotus, as to many Greeks, Egypt was a land which never ceased to astonish and inspire admiration. It was a land of strange customs, strange plants and animals as well as eccentric geography but, above all perhaps, it was a land of prodigious architectural achievements.

One of the buildings which excited the greatest enthusiasm, rivalling even the Pyramids, was the Labyrinth. Unfortunately, since this monument no longer survives, we owe it entirely to classical sources and archaeological excavation that we have any knowledge of the building at all. Nevertheless, on the basis of this material several determined attempts¹ have already been made to build up an over-all picture and it may well be questioned whether yet another study of the subject is likely to be of much value. There are, however, a number of very good reasons for a re-examination of the data. In the first case, although various aspects of the subject have been discussed by different scholars, there is no comprehensive treatment in any language. Secondly, the standard reconstruction of the building, that of Petrie, needs correction in several important respects, partly because of his inadequate knowledge of classical languages and partly because he fails in some matters to give proper consideration to the facts of Egyptian architectural practice.

The third reason for reopening the question is the fact that the Labyrinth still causes considerable difficulty to some scholars. It has, indeed, been possible, within the last few years, for one scholar to make the quite untenable suggestion that the Labyrinth was a Pyramid City, thereby flying full in the face of established facts (see below p. 93, n. 5).

In such circumstances the subject clearly needs an airing and we can, therefore, turn with complete justification to a detailed discussion of this vexed but fascinating Egyptological problem.

There are three categories of evidence available to us in dealing with the various problems arising in connection with the Labyrinth:

¹ Letronne, *Oeuvres Choisies*, I (Paris, 1881), 294 ff.; Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch* (Leipzig, 1890), 524 ff.; Myers, *LAAA* 3 (1910), 134 ff.; Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* (London, 1889), 4 ff.; id., *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazguneh* (London, 1912), 28 ff.; Kees, *RE* 12, 323 ff.; De Meulenaere in *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie* (Louvain, 1951), 11 prematurely despairs.

This study has benefited much from discussions with Mr. W. G. G. Forrest of Wadham College, Oxford, and my colleague Dr. J. Gwyn Griffiths, University College, Swansea.

- a. Literary sources.
- b. Archaeological excavation.
- c. Our extensive knowledge of Egyptian architectural practice.

It is necessary to deal with the data derived from the first two categories in detail; for in the case of the literary sources we are sometimes faced with difficult problems of lexicography and interpretation, while the archaeological data were published in excavation reports which are not easily accessible to everyone. As for the third category of evidence, clearly a detailed exposition is out of the question. All one can do is deal with the relevant aspects of Egyptian architectural practice whenever it is possible to use such data.

(a) Literary sources

There are six classical writers who deal with the Labyrinth. We give literal translations of the relevant texts in chronological order.

1. Moreover, they decided to leave to posterity a common memorial and caused to be built a Labyrinth for their greater glory, a little above Lake Moeris more or less in the vicinity of the city called the City of Crocodiles; this Labyrinth I actually saw, a work greater than all power to describe. For if anyone were to add together¹ the buildings constructed by Greeks and their architectural achievements, they would appear inferior in labour and expense to this Labyrinth. Yet both the temple at Ephesus and that at Samos are by no means negligible. Indeed, the Pyramids also surpassed all power to describe and each one of them was comparable to many great works of the Greeks, but the Labyrinth—it surpasses even the Pyramids. For it consists of twelve roofed courts² which have their gates opposite one another,³ six facing northwards and six facing south. The courts are also contiguous, and are confined by the same wall on the outside. Inside are two groups of chambers, one group underground, the other group above on top of them, 3,000 in number, 1,500 of each type. The chambers above ground I myself saw as I passed through them and I speak of them on the basis of my own observation, but the subterranean group I heard of only by oral report. For the Egyptians in charge refused flatly to show them, saying that there lay the tombs not only of the kings who had caused the Labyrinth to be built in the beginning but also those of the sacred crocodiles. So my statements on the lower chambers are based on hearsay, though I speak of the upper chambers from my own observation.

¹ *συλλογίσαιτο*: Two meanings have been assigned to this verb:

(i) 'Reckon up', *LSJ* 1673, a; Legrand, *Hérodote*, II (Paris, 1948), 70.

(ii) 'Put together in one'; Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, II, 226.

Godley, *Herodotus* (Loeb), I, 455 and Powell, *Lexicon to Herodotus*, 341, both translate 'add together'. This is not absolutely clear but almost certainly approximates to (i).

All the examples of *συλλογίζομαι* quoted in *LSJ* appear to refer to *mental* rather than *physical* gathering and consequently serve to support the first translation. Nevertheless, the root may bear the second meaning, which certainly gives a better sense in this context.

² *αὐλαὶ κατάστεγοι*: *αὐλή* in Homeric Greek denotes an open court or courtyard before a house, later an open court around which a house was built; cf. Herodotus, III, 77. Herodotus' description of them as 'roofed over' (*κατάστεγοι*) is certainly odd, since a roofed *αὐλή* would seem to be a contradiction in terms. We ought, however, probably to assume that *κατάστεγος* is being used rather loosely and simply reflects the presence round the courts of a colonnade or cloister which left the central part of the court completely open. This interpretation of the description becomes all the more probable when one observes that it is the general practice for *αὐλαί* in Egyptian temples to be surrounded by porticoes in this way.

³ This is the only possible meaning of *ἀντίπυλοι ἀλλήλησι*.

These upper chambers are quite beyond human capacity to build; for both the exits through the vestibules¹ and the extremely twisting and winding course² which one must take through the courts inspired wonder as one passed from court into chambers and from chambers into columned porches,³ then into further vestibules from the columned porches and into yet other courts from the chambers. All these structures have a roof made of stone—exactly like the walls, and the walls are covered with reliefs, and each court has a colonnade around it made of exactly fitting limestone⁴ blocks. Adjacent to the corner at the end of the Labyrinth stands a pyramid 40 *orguiaie* high on which mighty figures are carved; and a subterranean passage runs into it.

Herodotus, *Histories*, II, 148

¹ *στέγη* is a little difficult. Of the attested meanings (cf. *LSJ* 1636, a) the following seem applicable:

- (i) 'Roofed place, room.'
- (ii) 'Covered vestibule.'

The position of the *στέγαι* in the Labyrinth seems to suggest that they are near the gates. Further, if (i) were correct, *στέγη* would be identical in meaning with *οἶκημα*. We are, therefore, probably justified in assuming that (ii) is the sense here. Indeed, *IG* 2², 1046, 12–13 contains the expression *τὴν ὀπίσω τοῦ προπύλου στέγην* which gives exactly the meaning required.

² *εἰλιγμοί* denote 'windings, convolutions'. Since the word is applied to the journey *through the courts*, it seems unlikely that it means 'a winding passage way'. It might imply two things:

- (i) The visitors were led on a tortuous route around the halls.
- (ii) It was impossible to pass directly from one end to the other because of the disposition of altars, statues, etc., the number of which is known from Pliny and the excavations to have been considerable (see below).

³ *παστάς* is a difficult word. It occurs only once elsewhere in H. (II, 169, 5). Both passages use the word in the description of temples. Therefore, if we can establish the significance of the word in one case, it is probable that the meaning will be applicable to the other. Since II, 169, 5 contains the fullest information we must start from there.

In this passage we have the following data:

- (i) The *παστάς* is a *σῆμα*, i.e. the visible part of a tomb.
- (ii) It stands *ἐν τῇ ἀλλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*.
- (iii) It is large.
- (iv) It is made of stone.
- (v) It is adorned with palm-tree columns as well as other expensive items.
- (vi) Inside are two doors giving access to the sepulchre (*θήκη*) of Amasis.

These points can only fit one thing—a mortuary temple designed to serve the cult of the dead king. However, H. calls the whole *σῆμα* a *παστάς*. Since there is no known case in Greek where the *παστάς* is a whole building, H. must be using the word here by a *σκήμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος*.

Now, the word, when applied to a Greek temple, refers to a colonnade (cf. *LSJ* 1346, b, *παστάς*, 2) such as ran round a temple. There are two Egyptian counterparts to this:

- (i) Very rarely one finds an Egyptian temple surrounded by an ambulatory which is supported by columns. This tends to become commoner in the Late Period.
- (ii) The normal counterpart is a columned porch.

Ch. 148 suggests that H. was led through a large number of *παστάδες*. It is unlikely that he would be put to the unnecessary trouble of being led through the ambulatories of many little temples. Therefore, the second alternative must be correct. H. might easily speak of the mortuary temple (*σῆμα*) as a *παστάς* if, as is the case with the little temple of Medinet Habu (Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II (Chicago, 1939), 5 ff.; Vandier, *Manuel*, II (Paris, 1955), 747 ff.), much of the temple consisted of a hypostyle porch.

One may, therefore, conclude that *παστάς*, in both cases where H. used the word of Egyptian temples, refers to a hypostyle porch and we propose to translate 'columned porch'.

One might suggest, in passing, that the mortuary installations mentioned in Herodotus, II, 169, 5 might well be analogous to the little mortuary temples of the High Priestesses of Medinet Ḥabu, see Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu*, v (Chicago, 1954), 16 ff.

* H.'s *λίθος λευκός* is almost certainly a dragoman's literal translation of the Egyptian $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ *inr hd*, 'limestone' (*Wb.* I, 97).

2. Fourth King.¹ Lamares,² eight years. He built the Labyrinth in the Arsinoite Nome as a tomb for himself.

Manetho (Jacoby, *FgrH* 3 (C), 609, p. 30, 23–5)

3. When this king died the government was recovered by Egyptians and they appointed a native king Mendes, whom some call Marrus. Though he was responsible for no military achievements whatsoever, he did build himself what is called the Labyrinth as a tomb, an edifice which is wonderful not so much for its size as for the inimitable skill with which it was built; for, once in, it is impossible to find one's way out again without difficulty, unless one lights upon a guide who is perfectly acquainted with it. It is even said by some that Daedalus crossed over to Egypt and, in wonder at the skill shown in the building, built for Minos, King of Crete, a labyrinth like that in Egypt, in which, so the tale goes, the creature called the Minotaur was kept. Be that as it may, the Cretan Labyrinth has completely disappeared, either through the destruction wrought by some ruler or through the ravages of time; but the Egyptian Labyrinth remains absolutely perfect in its entire construction down to my own time.

Diodorus Siculus, 1, 61

The Dodecarchs resolve to make a common tomb as in Herodotus:

And seized with enthusiasm for this enterprise they strove eagerly to surpass all their predecessors in the size of their building. For they chose a site beside the channel leading into Lake Moeris in Libya and there constructed their tomb of the finest stone, laying down an oblong as the shape and a stade as the size of each side, while in respect of carving and other works of craftsmanship they left no room for their successors to surpass them. For, when one had entered the sacred enclosure,³ one found a temple⁴ surrounded by columns, 40 to each side, and this building had a roof made of a single stone, carved with panels⁵ and richly adorned with excellent paintings. It contained memorials of the homeland of each of the Kings as well as of the temples and sacrifices carried out in it, all skilfully worked in paintings of the greatest beauty. Generally it is said that the kings conceived their tomb on such an expensive and prodigious scale that if they had not been deposed before its completion, they would not have left their successors any opportunity to surpass them in architectural feats.⁶

Id. 1, 66 3–6

4. . . . the total number of nomes was equal to the number of the courts in the Labyrinth; these are fewer than 30.⁷

Strabo, 17, 1, 3 (C787)

¹ Lamares stands in Manetho in the position of Sesostris III. For an explanation of the confusion see Hall, *JHS* 25 (1905), 327, 330.

² *Λαχάρης* in all manuscripts of Syncellus; *Lampares* in the Armenian version of Eusebius; Eusebius (Sync.) *λάμαρις* B, *Λάβαρις* G, *Λαμάρης* Gu.

³ *περίβολος*: 'Sacred enclosure' *LSJ* 1370, a, *περίβολος*, 2. This translation is preferable to Oldfather's 'enclosure wall' (Diodorus Siculus (Loeb), 1, 229) for two reasons:

(i) There are many Late Greek examples of the word in such contexts.

(ii) *εἰσελθόντι* 'having gone into' fits an enclosure better than a wall. Had *περίβολος* meant 'wall' D. S. would have used *διελθόντι* δέ as in 1, 47, 2.

⁴ *οἶκος*: 'temple'. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, 797, a, *οἶκος* 1. Oldfather (op. cit.) translates 'court'. This translation it is difficult to accept since neither Sophocles nor *LSJ* (1204 b–1205 a) quotes any example of *οἶκος* in this sense. Indeed, semantically one would not expect the word to develop such a meaning anyway.

⁵ *φάτναι*: 'panels, coffers'; *LSJ* 1919 b, *φάτνη* II; cf. Sophocles, op. cit. 1136, b.

⁶ It is important to note that in this passage Diodorus does not call the building 'the Labyrinth'. There is, therefore, no *internal* contradiction in his tradition on the subject. To him the tomb built by Mendes and the monument of the Dodecarchs are two different things. ⁷ Meineke, following Groskurd, emends to 36.

In addition to these things there is the edifice of the Labyrinth which is a building quite equal to the Pyramids and nearby the tomb of the king who built the Labyrinth. There is at the point where one first enters the channel, about 30 or 40 stades along the way, a flat trapezium-shaped site which contains both a village and a great palace made up of many palaces equal in number to that of the nomes in former times; for such is the number of peristyle courts which lie contiguous with one another, all in one row and backing on one wall, as though one had a long wall with the courts lying before it, and the passages into the courts lie opposite the wall. Before the entrances there lie what might be called hidden chambers¹ which are long and many in number and have paths running through one another which twist and turn, so that no one can enter or leave any court without a guide. And the wonder of it is that the roofs of each of the chambers are made of single stones and the width of the hidden chambers is spanned in the same way by monolithic beams of outstanding size; for nowhere is wood or any other material included. And if one mounts onto the roof, at no great height because the building has only one storey, it is possible to get a view of a plain of masonry made of such stones, and, if one drops back down from there into the courts, it is possible to see them lying there in a row each supported by 27 monolithic pillars; the walls too are made up of stones of no less a size.

At the end of this building, which occupies an area of more than a stade, stands the tomb, a pyramid on an oblong base, each side about 4 *plethra* in length and the height about the same; the name of the man buried there was Imandes. The reason for making the courts so many is said to be the fact that it was customary for all the nomes to gather there according to rank with their own priests and priestesses, for the purpose of sacrifice, divine-offering, and judgement on the most important matters.² And each of the nomes was lodged in the court appointed to it.

Id. 17, 1, 37 (C811)

And above this city stands Abydos, in which there is the Memnonium, a palace wonderfully constructed of massive stonework in the same way as we have said the Labyrinth was built,³ though the Memnonium differs in being simple in structure.

Id. 17, 1, 42 (C813)

5. Let us speak also of labyrinths, quite the most extraordinary works on which men have spent their money, but not, as may be thought, figments of the imagination. There still exists even now in Egypt in the Heracleopolite Nome the one which was built first, according to tradition 3,600 years ago by King Petesuchis or Tithois, though Herodotus ascribes the whole work to the Twelve Kings and Psammetichus, the latest of them. Various reasons are given for building it. Demoteles claims that it was the palace of Moteris, Lyceas the tomb of Moeris, but the majority of writers take the view that it was built as a temple to the Sun, and this is generally accepted. At any rate, that Daedalus used this as the model for the Labyrinth which he built in Crete is beyond doubt, but it is equally clear that he imitated only the 100th part of it which contains twisting paths and passages which advance and retreat—all impossible to negotiate. The reason for this is not that within a small compass it involves one in mile upon mile of walking, as we see in tessellated floors⁴ or the

¹ Cf. Sophocles, *op. cit.* 693, a, *κρυπτός*, 2(a).

² Discussion of the text Aly, *Strabonis Geographica* (Bonn, 1957), 4, pp. 82 ff.

³ Strabo means nothing more than that both the Memnonium and the Labyrinth were built of massive stonework, but the following expression is significant (see below).

⁴ Not clear, but it is worth bearing in mind that examples are known of mosaic floors covered with Labyrinth patterns; cf. the House of the Labyrinth, Pompeii, Marion E. Blake, *MAAR* 8 (1930), 82 ff. with pl. 19; Pernice, *Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken (Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji)*, 6, Berlin, 1938), 37, 76, 81, 141 with pls. 9, 3; 19, 3. This suggestion I owe to my colleague Mr. R. J. Ling.

displays given by boys on the Campus,¹ but that frequently doors are buried in it to beguile the visitor into going forward and then force him to return into the same winding paths. This was the second to be built after the Egyptian Labyrinth, the third being in Lemnos and the fourth in Italy, all roofed with vaults of polished stone, though the Egyptian specimen, to my considerable astonishment, has its entrance and columns made of Parian marble,² while the rest is of Aswân granite,³ such masses being put together as time itself cannot dissolve even with the help of the Heracleopolitans; for they have regarded the building with extraordinary hatred.⁴

It would be impossible to describe in detail the layout of that building and its individual parts, since it is divided into regions and administrative districts which are called nomes, each of the 21⁵ nomes giving its name to one of the houses. A further reason is the fact that it also contains temples of all the gods of Egypt while, in addition, Nemesis placed in the building's 40 chapels many pyramids of 40 ells each covering an area of 6 arourae with their base. Men are already weary with travelling when they reach that bewildering maze of paths; indeed, there are also lofty upper rooms reached by ramps and porticoes from which one descends on stairways which have 90 steps each; inside are columns of imperial porphyry,⁶ images of the gods, statues of kings and representations of monsters. Certain of the halls are arranged in such a way that as one throws open the door there arises within a fearful noise of thunder; moreover one passes through most of them in darkness. There are again other massive buildings outside the wall of the Labyrinth; they call them 'the Wing'. Then there are other subterranean chambers made by excavating galleries in the soil. One person only has done any repairs there—and they were few in number. He was Chaeremon, the eunuch of king Necthebis, 500 years before Alexander the Great. A tradition is also current that he supported the roofs with beams of acacia wood boiled in oil, until squared stones could be raised up into the vaults.

Pliny, *NH* 36, 13 (19)

6. The building of Psammetichus, the Labyrinth, includes within the circuit of one unbroken wall 1,000 houses and 12 palaces, and is built of marble as well as being roofed with the same material.

¹ The *Ludus Troiae*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* v, 546–603; Schneider, *RE* 13, 2059 ff.; Norden, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern* (1939), 188 ff.

² Limestone in fact; cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, II (1904), 14; Hall, *op. cit.* 331.

³ For *Syenites* cf. Lucas and Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials* (4th ed., London, 1962), 58.

⁴ Reading 'quod opus invisum mire spectavere'. Eichholz in Pliny, *Natural History* (Loeb), x, 68, reads 'quod opus invisum mire respectavere' and translates 'Their preservation has been aided by the people of Heracleopolis who have shown remarkable respect for an achievement which they detest'. This is certainly wrong:

(i) Classical traditions of the hatred borne by Egyptians to their ancient monuments are the result of the native habit of quarrying them for stone. The fact that such a tradition was current about the Labyrinth ('opus invisum') suggests that the Egyptians had been doing just that, and makes 'respectavere' an unlikely emendation.

(ii) In Strabo's time the building had clearly suffered a great deal (see below). It is not at all unlikely that Pliny should have been aware of this fact.

We conclude that 'spectavere' is the correct reading.

⁵ None of the manuscripts of Pliny preserves this reading. It is Janus's plausible emendation of XXL, the reading of B.

⁶ Lucas and Harris, *op. cit.* 417. This stone is very rare in Egyptian contexts, and it is quite out of the question that it was used in the Labyrinth. It does, however, occur in several parts of Egypt and was imported into Italy by the Romans who used it extensively as an ornamental building stone. Pliny, or his source, has simply thought in Roman terms. He knew the Labyrinth was a large and splendid building. Architects in Italy often employed imperial porphyry for such buildings. Therefore, he imagined the same to be true of Egypt. Such thinking may well account for a number of elements in classical accounts of the Labyrinth which strike one as being a little eccentric.

It has one descending way into it, and contains within almost innumerable paths, which have many convolutions twisting hither and thither. These paths, however, cause great perplexity both because of their continual winding and because of their porticoes which often reverse their direction, continually running through one circle after another and continually turning and retracing their steps as far as they have gone forwards with the result that the Labyrinth is fraught with confusion by reason of its perpetual meandering, though it is possible to extricate oneself.

Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, 1, 9, 56

Before we can employ these texts correctly it is necessary for us to establish the nature of the source material which lay at the disposal of the authors. Obviously, classical statements about the builder and purpose of the Labyrinth must be based on tradition, whether Greek, Egyptian, or an amalgam of both. A detailed discussion of these particular issues would be superfluous for the purposes of this inquiry, and we shall postpone the treatment of such aspects as require investigation until the relevant subsections of this article. The major problem which we must attempt to solve at this point is the question of the source material which was used for the various descriptions of the building—in particular what was based on autopsy and what was based on tradition. We must further try to determine, when tradition is in question, whether that, in turn, drew upon reliable material or not.

In the case of Herodotus there is no doubt that the description was based on autopsy since he states quite clearly that he had seen the Labyrinth himself. Diodorus, however, is a rather more complicated matter, since, without his knowledge, Book I of his *Bibliothēke Historikē* contains two accounts of the Labyrinth. That the first of these does not result from autopsy is so obvious that formal demonstration is unnecessary. But what of the second? We can be confident that this too is not based on a personal visit, despite the fact that Diodorus had himself visited Egypt.¹ For if Diodorus had visited the Faiyûm—an area teeming with Greeks in his time²—and if he had seen the huge temple to the south of Ammenemes' Pyramid, is it conceivable that he could have gone away ignorant of the fact that what he had seen was the world famous Egyptian Labyrinth? An even more crucial argument is the fact that Diodorus actually mentions architectural features which are virtually impossible in an Egyptian temple. Where, then, did the information come from?

To answer this question one may consider the curious point that the features concerned, i.e. the peristyle³ and the coffered ceiling,⁴ are typical of Greek temples. This

¹ D.S. 1, 46, 7; 1, 83, 8–9; 17, 52, 6. The complete lack of any trace of autopsy outside Alexandria justifies us in suspecting that the Ptolemaic capital was the limit of Diodorus' exploration of Egypt; cf. *RE* 5, 663.

² Schubart, *Ägypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Mohammed* (Berlin, 1922), 187 ff.; id., *Die Griechen in Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1927), 12; Viereck, *Philadelphia* (Leipzig, 1928), *passim*; Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* (Madison, 1922), *passim*; Préaux, *Les Grecs en Égypte d'après les archives de Zénon* (Brussels, 1947), *passim*.

³ There are a number of reasons for doubting Diodorus' peristyle:

(i) D. states that the building had 40 columns per side. Since the building was complete in his time (ἀκέραιον τὴν ὅλην κατασκευὴν τετήρηκε μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου) and since we know that it was oblong (see below p. 90), we are faced with the curious anomaly of 40 columns occupying 1,000 ft. on the long side and 800 ft. on the short! Furthermore, if the 40 columns ran a distance of 1,000 ft., the architraves

[footnotes 3 and 4 continued on next page]

creates a very strong presumption that the person responsible for the account had simply assumed, probably quite unconsciously, that the Labyrinth, which he knew to be a temple, had the features of Greek temple architecture (cf. a similar error in Pliny, p. 86, n. 6 above). Who actually made the mistake, we cannot say for certain. Hecataeus of Abdera, one of Diodorus' major sources¹ in Book I and a man who had a basically sound knowledge of Egypt,² was almost certainly not the culprit. For he knew, from personal experience, what Egyptian temples were like,³ and, therefore, would not have had the attitudes or ignorance necessary to make this mistake. Lyceas also, being a Naucraticite,⁴ can be dismissed for the same reason. Such a mistake would, in fact, require someone with an extremely limited experience of native Egyptian culture, and at the same time some reason to assume that Greek and Egyptian temples were architecturally similar, two conditions which Diodorus himself fulfils admirably. For if, as seems likely, he confined his activities in Egypt to Alexandria; if we bear in mind that here he would have encountered splendid Greek temples replete with coffer work and peristyles, *and* in an Egyptian context; if we further remember that by the time he came to Egypt in the period 60–56 B.C. a certain amount of cultural syncretism had taken place at Alexandria, it is obvious that conditions were perfect for so careless a writer as Diodorus to make a mistake of this order. All he would require is the vague

must have been over 25½ ft. long. This is impossible; for the Labyrinth was built largely of limestone (for architraves of that stone actually discovered on the site see Lepsius, *op. cit.* Text, II, 15), and both Tura and Ma'sara limestone will only span about 9 ft. at the most, though even this is too wide for safety when roofing slabs are to be laid upon the architraves, see Engelbach and Clark, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* (Oxford, 1930), 12. Therefore, since inter-columniations during the Middle Kingdom were approximately twice the diameter of the column (Jéquier, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, (Paris, 1924), 175), the total length of a limestone architrave could, at the very most, only be 13½ ft. to 14 ft., considerably less than Diodorus' account would compel us to accept.

- (ii) If Herodotus had seen such a prodigious peristyle temple is it conceivable that he would have failed to mention the fact?
- (iii) Peristyle temples are known in Egypt (Borchardt, *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, Heft 2, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang* (Cairo, 1938), *passim*; Vandier, *op. cit.* II, 813 ff.), but they are unusual, provincial, and generally rather small. The mortuary temple of Nebhepetrē^c at Deir el-Bahri might suggest itself as a parallel but it is not really comparable. It was a natural development of the *Saff*-Tomb concept of the Eleventh Dynasty which is intimately bound up with the practice of cliff-burial. When the Twelfth Dynasty moved north it resumed the customs of the Old Kingdom. No king, as far as we know, built anything like the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahri. It is unlikely that Ammenemes III did.

⁴ Coffered-work is a standard feature of Greek temples, and is found in other contexts; cf. Dinsmoor, revised Anderson and Spiers, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (3rd edition, London, 1950), Index s.v. *coffer*; Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1957), fig. 93 and Berve and Gruben, *Greek Temples, Theatres and Shrines* (trans. Waterhouse, London, 1963), pl. 97; figs. 53; 142; Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture* (Cambridge, 1936), 111. The present writer has failed to find any Pharaonic examples of this phenomenon and since this type of embellishment is, in any case, foreign to the spirit of Egyptian architecture we can be sure that it was not found in the Labyrinth.

¹ The views of Schwartz on this question (*RE* 5, 1, 670 ff.), must be modified in the light of the researches of Spoerri, *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter* (Basle, 1959), but the importance of Hecataeus is beyond doubt even if not as all-pervading as Schwartz thought.

² Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 2 (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1931), 42 ff. The note of caution sounded by Jacoby (*FgrH* 3(a), *Kommentar*, 36) is salutary, but does not alter the obvious fact that Hecataeus had access to sound information, irrespective of the 'Tendenz' with which he expounded his material.

³ D.S. 1, 46 ff.

⁴ Jacoby, *FgrH* 3 (c), p. 120.

tradition of a large and splendid temple built by the Dodecarchs in the Faiyûm area, together with a few items like the number of columns per court, for his imagination to generate this description quite spontaneously on the basis of his acquaintance with 'Egyptian' (i.e. Alexandrian) architecture. There is, therefore, an *a priori* case in favour of Diodorus' having made this rather curious mistake; however that may be, one thing is transparently clear. The description of the Labyrinth in Diodorus Siculus was largely based not on autopsy but on the false assumption that the Labyrinth conformed to the architectural practice of Greek temple builders. Since, however, Diodorus' account is demonstrably not based purely on this source, it is possible that some elements are sound.

Strabo does not actually tell us that his account is based on autopsy, but two factors, when used together, allow us to assume that such was the case. First of all, not only do we know that Strabo actually visited Egypt in the company of the Prefect A. Gallus,¹ but we have his express statement that this visit included a trip to the shrine of the sacred crocodile at Arsinoe, in the immediate vicinity of the Labyrinth.² In the second case, the passage beginning *ἀναβάντα τε ἐπὶ τὸ στέγος . . .* is so vivid that one gets an impression that it must reflect Strabo's own exploration of the building. These two facts together leave no doubt that Strabo is describing what he has actually seen himself.

As for Pliny, autopsy is out of the question for a number of reasons. First, he mentions several literary sources for the Labyrinth. Secondly, his account is very muddled. Thirdly, in at least one case a mistake has been made (see above, p. 86, n. 6) which indicates that the writer was unacquainted with the building. Fourthly, our knowledge of Pliny does not suggest that he ever visited Egypt. In fact, the insertion of such curious statements as 'superque Nemesis XL aediculis incluserit pyramides complures quadragenarum ulnarum senas radice *ἀρούρας* optinentes' and 'quin et cenacula clivis excelsa', suggests a desperate attempt to reconcile several accounts of the building. Since it is impossible for us to evaluate these sources the most we can say is that it is conceivable that some material based on reliable sources has been included, and we must, therefore, adopt the attitude that, *by itself*, a statement of Pliny on the Labyrinth is of little value, but that it is legitimate to use his account as *corroborative* evidence.

Pomponius' account is based on hearsay. His information on the site and builder is based on Herodotus whereas nearly all of the description is simply a rhetorical exercise based on nothing but the implications of the word 'Labyrinthus'. However, the mention of a 'descensus' shows that one of his sources had access to good information, though the use of this word to describe the causeway is not apt and suggests that the tradition had become garbled in transmission through one or several of the intermediaries.

We conclude that autopsy is only demonstrable in the case of Herodotus and Strabo. Diodorus' description is virtually useless while the accounts of Pliny and

¹ Strabo 2, 5, 11 (C117); 2, 5, 12 (C118); 17, 1, 29 (C806); 17, 1, 46 (C816). The question of autopsy in Strabo as well as the general nature of his sources is discussed by Aly, *op. cit.* 69 ff.

² *Id.* 17, 1, 38 (C812).

Pomponius are eclectic and based on hearsay. They may contain information which is of value but, in general, they must be treated with extreme caution.

(b) Archeological excavations

The site of the Labyrinth was identified by Lepsius,¹ and confirmed by Petrie in 1888, immediately south of the pyramid of Ammenemes III at Hawâra. This stands in the southern part of the Faiyûm not far from the Baḥr Yûsuf, an off-shoot of the Nile feeding the Birket Qârûn which forms the remnant of the classical Lake Moeris. The results and conclusions of Petrie's excavation were published in two volumes, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* (1887-8) and *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazguneh* (1912),² the relevant details of which may be summarized as follows.

The Labyrinth was built on open desert ground with the result that not even the lines of a sand substratum were available to help in the reconstruction of the ground plan, as would have been the case had it stood on the silt deposits of the Nile. Furthermore, the site had been exhaustively quarried for stone and the last traces of superstructure apparently removed in the nineteenth century, to build a railway. The entire superficies of the building was covered by masses of limestone chips as well as larger fragments of sandstone and limestone which lay in turn upon a sand or beton bed of such proportions that it must have served as the base of a truly vast building. The study of the levels, however, did yield some important results; for it became clear that the main structure had been rectangular in shape and had measured about 1,000 by 800 ft. with additions to the north-east. This rectangle was divided approximately across the middle by a wall running its whole width, while there was also a great frontal wall of stone at the south end, the foundations of which were unearthed. The level of the beton bed along its northern edge was such as to suggest a much lower level of pavement. To the south-east of the pyramid itself evidence was found of a late brick wall, and indeed Lepsius discovered Roman brick remains on the site, which he mistook for the ancient Labyrinth. Along the western boundary of the ruins traces came to light of two stone walls separated by a space, the inner one of which rested on a wide foundation bed. In the southern area a great door jamb of quartzite sandstone was found close to the axis of the pyramid in such a position as to suggest that it was part of the great entrance gate of the building. Further south there stood a massive brick temenos wall. It was clear from the examination of column-fragments that some of the rooms were barrel-vaulted, and it also emerged that red granite monolithic columns were employed, but probably only in the section north of the central dividing wall; to the south built-up pillars were used. To the south of the pyramid two shrines of red granite were discovered whose weight was estimated to be in the region of eight to thirteen tons; the remains of another shrine was found further to the west. Each of these shrines contained two sculptured figures of the king. Many fragments of other statues were also discovered, pieces coming to light to the east and south-east of the shrines as far as the east line of the pyramid; for the most part they were composed of a

¹ *Denkmäler*, Text, II, 10 ff.

² Hereafter cited as *HBA* and *LGM*.

hard marbly limestone. Hathor and Sobk, a palm-branch goddess, fish-bearing goddesses of Lake Moeris, the local god Roheshotep and many of the local deities appearing in the Great Faiyûm Papyrus¹ were represented. Indeed, near the south-east corner of the pyramid fragments of a red granite colossus² came to light, as well as fragments of other royal statues³ and pieces of inscription bearing the title of Horus of Shedet.

To the south-east of the pyramid Petrie found a mass of yellow marl over material of Ptolemaic or Roman date which, he suggested, came from the excavation of sepulchres for the sacred crocodiles, though obviously the context would demand that these particular tombs should have been dug at a comparatively late period. To the east of the Labyrinth there emerged two brick walls filled with chippings which appeared to be part of a causeway leading to the front of the building. This must have been of Twelfth Dynasty date; for not only was a chamber of that date found against it, but also a thick bed of broken pottery which was datable to the same period.

Such is the evidence at our disposal. Clearly, the major problem which it poses is the structure of the building itself, but there are a number of other questions that need to be answered before we can proceed to deal with that.

The Builder

There is some divergence of opinion amongst the classical writers on the question of the builder of the Labyrinth. The construction of the monument is ascribed to the following:

(i) The Dodecarchy, including Psammetichus (Herodotus, Pliny, Pomponius Mela).⁴ Pliny quotes Herodotus. Pomponius obviously got his information from the same source.⁵

(ii) Mendes whom some call Marrus (D.S.).

Moteris (Demoteles ap. Plin.). That he was the builder is implied, though not stated by Pliny.

Moeris (Lyceas ap. Plin.). That he was the builder is implied, though not stated by Pliny.

Nemesis did some building in the Labyrinth according to Pliny.

Imandes (Strabo).

Lamares (Manetho).

These names all refer to one and the same person—Ammenemes III.⁶

The source will, therefore, be ultimately native Egyptian tradition.

(iii) King Petesuchis or Tithois (Pliny).

¹ Pleyte, *Over drie Handschriften op Papyrus bekend onder de titels van Papyrus du Lac Moeris du Fayoum et du Labyrinthe* (Amsterdam, 1884), 29 ff. ² *LGM* pl. xxvii. ³ *Ibid.*, pl. xxv.

⁴ Diodorus (I, 66, 3-6) preserves this tradition also without actually realizing it. Here, too, Herodotus was the ultimate source; for Pliny, who had access to more accounts than we do, associated this opinion exclusively with him.

⁵ For the question of the indebtedness of Pomponius Mela to Herodotus, see Gisinger, *RE* 21, 2, 2404.

⁶ For a discussion of the philological questions involved in the different Greek names for Ammenemes III cf. Hall, *op. cit.* 328 ff.; Kees, *RE* 12, 324; Vergote, *ZAS* 87 (1962), 66 ff.

That the second of these views is the correct one is demonstrated by two facts:

1. Excavation on the site brought to light the cartouches of Ammenemes III¹ as well as those of his daughter Sobeknofrurē,² sometimes alone, sometimes in conjunction with those of her father. There was no proof of further royal interest until the Ptolemaic Period.
2. The adjacent pyramid was built by Ammenemes III, and, according to Strabo, the tomb and the Labyrinth were built by one and the same person.

It is not difficult to find plausible explanations for the other ideas. Herodotus' ascription of the monument to the Dodecarchy arises probably from the fact that there were twelve courts, though Griffith suggested³ that he may have had in mind the number 12 of the Twelfth Dynasty. The same scholar also points out⁴ that in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty Heracleopolis was a city of the greatest importance, and finds it quite natural that the Labyrinth should be regarded as the common tomb of the Dodecarchy which immediately preceded the rise of that family to hegemony over the whole of Egypt.

The mention of a king Petesuchis as the builder is, of course, nonsense since the name is of a type not found until the Late Period.⁵ It may, however, be a variant of the Dodecarch theory; for the name might easily have been borne by a petty kinglet in the early seventh century B.C., the period to which the Dodecarchs so obviously belong.

The Name

The question of why the Labyrinth was so called has caused a great deal of discussion. Basically there are two explanations:

1. The great complexity of the Egyptian building suggested to classical observers the analogy of the famous Cretan Labyrinth.⁶
2. The Greek word *Λαβύρινθος* was suggested by some Egyptian expression. Brugsch⁷ and Lanzone⁸ championed an Egyptian prototype:


r-pr r hnt

for which a pronunciation *Ra-pe-ro-hunt* or *Laperohunt* was proposed. This idea, however, suffers from the serious objection that the phrase in question does not occur in Egyptian texts, but, in any case, the pronunciation of this hypothetical form would have been something like **Elpi-la-hene* which is not particularly reminiscent of *Λαβύρινθος*.⁹ Maspero,¹⁰ Spiegelberg,¹¹ and Evans,¹² on the other hand, suggested a connection with the Greek *Λαμαρής* (see above p. 91) which,

¹ *LGM* pl. xxviii.

² Lepsius, *op. cit.* II, 140 a-i, Text II, 15, 19-20.

³ *ZÄS* 47 (1910), 162.

⁴ *Cat. Pap. Rylands* (Manchester, 1909), III, 71. Hall makes a similar observation, *CAH* III, (Cambridge, 1925), 291.

⁵ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 121, 17-126, 15. *Περσσουχος* quoted p. 126, 8 as very common in the Greek Period; *ibid.* II, 243.

⁶ How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford, 1912), I, 240; Waddell, *Herodotus II* (London, 1939), 243.

⁷ *DG*, 501.

⁸ *Les Papyrus du Lac Moeris* (Turin, 1896), 7.

⁹ Hall, *op. cit.* 327.

¹⁰ *Rec. trav.* 28 (1906), 13.

¹¹ *OLZ* 3 (1900), 447 ff.

¹² *JHS* 21 (1901), 109, n. 6.

they believed, would have had a pronunciation something like *Λαβαρής*. This, in turn, they supposed, might well have reminded travellers of the name *Λαβύρινθος*.

In the opinion of the present writer the second explanation is unnecessary. It is quite clear from the accounts which we have that the Egyptian Labyrinth was an extremely intricate structure and this seems a perfectly adequate reason for the word *Λαβύρινθος* to be applied to it. Complex buildings in other parts of the world acquired this name quite naturally for the same reason and no-one has ever sought in their case to find a philological justification for it.¹ These cases, in fact, establish the probability of the first hypothesis. Nevertheless, the possibility that the second may have played some role cannot be positively excluded. In fact, both Hall² and Gardiner³ felt obliged to claim that both factors were jointly responsible; Hall clearly considered the structural analogy much the more important consideration, while Gardiner, as one might expect, emphasized the philological point.

Purpose

The sources are equally divided on the question of the purpose of the Labyrinth. They offer the following suggestions:

1. Memorial (Herodotus, though see below).
2. Tomb (Diodorus Siculus; Lyceas ap. Plin.; Manetho).
3. Temple (Strabo; Pliny).
4. Administrative centre (Strabo).
5. Palace (Demoteles ap. Plin.).

Fortunately, the sources offer a vital clue to the solution of this problem; for though they are at variance on practically everything else, there is one thing about which they are emphatically unanimous—that the Labyrinth was made of stone. Now it is a commonplace of Egyptian archaeology that only two types of building were made entirely of stone in Pharaonic times:

1. Mortuary installations.
2. Temples.

Other buildings, where the accent was less on permanence, were constructed of wood and mud-brick, stone being employed only for such things as pillar bases, lintels, etc.⁴ This means that the Labyrinth *cannot* have been a palace,⁵ and *ipso facto* is unlikely to

¹ The Italian Labyrinth (Pliny, *NH* 36, 91–3), the Tomb of Porsenna supposed to lie under the city of Clusium; the Lemnian Labyrinth (Pliny, *op. cit.*, 86, 90); Labyrinths near Nauplia (Strabo, 8, 6, 2 (C369)).

² *Op. cit.* 327; cf. the more emphatic statement, p. 331.

³ *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 2; id. *JEA* 47 (1961), 96.

⁴ Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1958), 2; Lucas and Harris, *op. cit.* 50.

⁵ Even ceremonial palaces like that immediately adjacent to the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses II (the Ramesseum) and that of Ramesses III at Medinet Ḥabu were constructed largely of mud-brick (Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, 111 (Chicago, 1941), 37 ff.). The Ramesseum is published in Hölscher, *op. cit.* 71 ff.

By the same token the recent suggestion of Hayes, *CAH*² 1, xx, fasc. 6, 50 ff., that the Labyrinth was a

have been employed for legal administration.¹ As for Herodotus' statement that it was a 'memorial', *μνημόσυνα* is a vague term and his subsequent statement that the Labyrinth was used as a tomb suggests that the word was meant to cover that function. We are thus left with a choice between two alternatives. The Labyrinth was either a tomb or a temple.

Whatever the purposes to which it was applied in later times, the Labyrinth was certainly not intended by its builder as a tomb; for the monarchs of the Twelfth Dynasty as well as some of the rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty built pyramid tombs.² Ammenemes III was no exception, as Strabo knew full well. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that Herodotus was told, during his visit, that the Dodecarchs were interred in the subterranean chambers of the monument, and this suggests that tombs may well have been excavated in the building centuries after its construction—in particular the tombs of some of the kinglets who held sway in Middle Egypt before the rise of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. This becomes all the more likely when one remembers that from the Late New Kingdom it was quite common for royal tombs to be built within the precinct of major shrines.³ Furthermore, the burial of the sacred crocodiles in the Labyrinth is equally likely, though again only in the Late Period, especially when we bear in mind the popularity of the cult of Sobk in the Faiyûm area, a popularity strikingly reflected in the large number of stone sculptures of the animal which came to light in Petrie's excavations. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized yet again, the Labyrinth was not intended by Ammenemes III as a tomb and this means that we are left with only one other possibility: the Labyrinth was a temple.

Pyramid City like Kahun must be wrong. Certain items in a Pyramid City, e.g. doorways, sills, etc., might be built of stone but the vast majority of the buildings would be constructed of mud-brick. One may further object that the position of the Labyrinth makes it unlikely that it was a Pyramid Town. Kahun lay beside the Valley Temple of Sesostri II and could easily be supplied by convenient waterways, whereas a settlement the size of the Labyrinth at such a distance from canals would have been difficult to provision. For bibliography of Kahun, cf. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, iv, 108 ff. One may also wonder whether the secular nature of a settlement such as a Pyramid City could have been lost on classical observers.

¹ In any case, the whole section of Strabo mentioning legal functions in connection with the Labyrinth is highly suspect. The writer first tells us that there was an exact correspondence between the number of *ἀδλαί* and the number of nomes and further adds that they were fewer than 30 in number before proceeding to enumerate the uses to which they were put by the nomes. However, in no period of Egyptian History, as far as the present writer can discover, was the number of nomes as low as this; cf. Kees, *RE* 17, 1, 833 ff. Is it not possible that some Greek, vaguely acquainted with the existence of 22 nomes in Upper Egypt or 20 in Lower Egypt, was responsible for the correlation? Is it not further possible that, once such a correlation had been made, the mistake would be compounded, unconsciously perhaps, by the inference that the nomes had come there in earlier days for religious and administrative purposes?

A further objection to the idea that Ammenemes III built the courts to accommodate the nomes is the fact that, since the reign of his father Sesostri III, the importance of the nomes, for political reasons, had been minimized in favour of a new administrative unit called the *w'rt*. Is it likely that Ammenemes would go to such trouble to gratify a political entity which his father had done his best to destroy?

A final objection which might be made is that the evidence of the remains of statues (see above) suggests that the cults carried on in the Labyrinth were those of the Faiyûm area. This does not support the idea that *all* the cults of *all* the nomes of Egypt were carried out there as the statement of Strabo would imply.

² Vandier, *op. cit.* II, 167 ff.

³ The kings of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties were buried in the precinct of the Great Temple at Tanis; Montet, *La Nécropole Royale de Tanis*, 1–111 (Paris, 1947–60). The kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty were interred in sepulchres built in the court of the great temple of Neit at Sais (H. II, 169, 3–5).

Egyptian temples can be divided into two classes according to the purpose for which they were intended:

1. Mortuary temples which are designed as a context within which the funerary cult may be carried out.
2. Divine temples built in honour of the gods to serve as their mansions, and within which their servant, the king, may attend to their needs.

This being the case, we are now faced with the problem of deciding whether the Labyrinth was designed to serve one or both of these functions.

The short answer to this question is, simply, that the Labyrinth was designed to serve both. The evidence that it embodied a mortuary shrine is as follows:

- (i) Mortuary temples at this period are always built adjacent to the tomb which they are intended to serve. The only unusual feature is that the building lies to the south of the Pyramid, whereas mortuary temples normally lie to the east facing in the direction of the valley. Circumstances, however, give rise to exceptions, e.g. the funerary temple of Userkaf,¹ and in the case of the Labyrinth Ammenemes' architects probably considered the area to the south of the Pyramid more suitable for such a large building than the ground immediately to the east.
- (ii) Petrie found clear evidence of a causeway running from the south face of the Labyrinth to the east in the direction of the valley. The main elements in a Pyramid complex, running from west to east, are normally Pyramid+Mortuary Temple+Causeway+Valley-Temple, the Causeway joining the Mortuary Temple at one end to the Valley Temple at the other.² Therefore, the presence of such a causeway in the position where Petrie found it must mean that the Labyrinth was at least in part a Mortuary Temple.³

While, however, it seems beyond dispute that the Labyrinth served this function, it is equally clear that it had other duties to perform. It is in fact certain that it also embodied several divine temples. The evidence is as follows:

- (i) The layout of the building (see below) and, in particular, the reconstruction of its southern part, which is based on a quite unambiguous statement of Herodotus, makes it necessary to postulate six parallel temples. Egyptian temples, of all kinds, are normally constructed linearly along a single axis according to a simple basic scheme which includes the following elements: court+vestibule+shrine. These elements may be multiplied considerably but the basic scheme remains

¹ Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs*, 11, 68 (in Ricke and Schott, *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, Heft 5, Cairo, 1950), who suggests that Userkaf altered the orientation in order to build an altar to the sun in the court of the Mortuary Temple. By placing the Temple to the south it would always enjoy the rays of the sun. Vandier, on the other hand (*Manuel*, 11, 96), points out that 'des replis rocheux' which lay to the east of the Pyramid made the ground unsuitable for building a temple there.

² For the structure of Pyramid complexes cf. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt* (2nd ed., Harmondsworth, 1961), 93 ff.; Lauer, *Le problème des pyramides d'Égypte* (Paris, 1948), 93. Ricke, op. cit., *passim*, discusses the functions of the various parts in great detail.

³ Unfortunately, no trace of the Valley Temple has ever been found.

the same. Therefore, two courts running in a north–south axis must imply one temple running along that axis, and since in the Labyrinth this situation repeats itself six times, we must have to deal with six temples. Six temples need not, however, mean six shrines. Each of the six temples might possess several shrines dedicated to different gods in much the same way as in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos. If, in fact, we accept this interpretation of the Labyrinth as comprising several temples enclosed by one wall, each containing several shrines, Strabo’s statement ‘. . . τὸ Μεμνόνιον βασιλείον θαυμαστῶς κατεσκευασμένον δόλιθον τῇ αὐτῇ κατασκευῇ ἥπερ τὸν λαβύρινθον ἔφαμεν οὐ πολλαπλοῦν δέ’ becomes immediately intelligible.

- (ii) Not only is there a tradition in Pliny that there were many different statues of divinities in the Labyrinth but the excavations themselves brought to light a considerable body of fragments. Taken in conjunction with (i), this becomes highly significant.
- (iii) The tradition of the Ancients that worship of the gods was carried out in the building also points in the same direction.

From this discussion it emerges that the Labyrinth was a composite structure designed to serve the cults of the gods as well as that of the dead king. The divine cults in question—almost certainly those of Faiyûm deities—will not, however, have been practised independently, but carried on in association with the cult of the dead king after the fashion of the New Kingdom.¹ The Labyrinth was, of course, considerably larger than any of these New Kingdom temples, but if we assume that the installations for the divine cult were structurally more like independent temples than was the case in the New Kingdom, i.e. if we assume that, whereas the New Kingdom mortuary temples consisted of one temple containing several shrines, the Labyrinth consisted of several temples closely integrated to form one coherent complex, then the great size of the building becomes immediately intelligible.

Exterior structure

It is impossible to say much about the exterior of the Labyrinth but some details are clear. In the first case, we can be confident that the complex stood inside a clearly demarcated sacred enclosure. There is, in fact, archaeological evidence to prove the point since Petrie discovered the remains of a massive brick temenos wall to the south of the building itself. In addition to this evidence we also find a *περίβολος* (sacred enclosure) mentioned in Diodorus Siculus. It is normal practice for the area immediately adjacent to a pyramid to be enclosed by a brick wall, sometimes two.

The excavations of Petrie demonstrated that the Labyrinth itself covered a vast area measuring 1,000 ft. × 800 ft., with an extension to the north-east, corresponding to Pliny’s ‘pteron’. The southern façade assumed massive proportions and its south-eastern half was crossed by a causeway running up from the Valley, a causeway also

¹ Cf. the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, the mortuary temple of Sethos I at Qurna, the mortuary temple of Mineptah, the Cenotaph of Sethos I at Abydos, the Memnonium, *et al.*

mentioned by Pomponius Mela. Petrie's excavations brought to light a large door-jamb in the axis of the building which was undoubtedly the main entrance to which the causeway itself led.

In outward appearance the building was probably quite plain apart from such standard features as the torus roll and cavetto cornice. Petrie's belief that the building was surrounded by a colonnade is based on a statement of Diodorus Siculus which we have shown to be highly suspect.

Interior structure

The reconstruction of the interior presents grave difficulties not only because the excavations did not provide much material for the purpose but also because the statements of the classical writers are apparently contradictory. Nevertheless, some information can be extracted from these sources. Let us begin with the literary descriptions.

Since in only two accounts of the Labyrinth can we be confident that autopsy forms the basis of the description—those of Herodotus and Strabo—it is the information provided by these writers which we must use as the basis of our argument. Unfortunately, these two accounts appear to contradict each other flatly. Since, then, there is no possible way of making the two descriptions agree, Petrie assumed¹ that Herodotus and Strabo must have seen and described different things, part of the building having disappeared by Strabo's time to give way to a village whose ruins survived into Lepsius's time. This still seems the only plausible explanation.

Let us deal first with Herodotus. It is clear that the part of the building which he saw was the southern part; for it is beyond doubt that he found the temple still in use² and, therefore, could not have been admitted to the most sacred quarter nearest the Pyramid—indeed he was himself conscious of being debarred from some parts of the building. This state of affairs compels us to place Herodotus' twelve³ colonnaded courts in the southern part of the site near the entrance. Such courts are a commonplace of Egyptian temple architecture and in the case of mortuary temples contain altars as well as royal statues. The extent of this section of the building is probably indicated by the evidence discovered by Petrie of a great wall running across the centre, parallel to the façade and dividing the Labyrinth into two halves which correspond to the standard dichotomy of Egyptian temples, both mortuary and divine—a dichotomy which

¹ *HBA*, p. 7.

² We cannot be absolutely certain that *οἱ ἐπιστεῶτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων* were priests. It is in fact probable that they were doorkeepers (*hryw sbht* or *iryw ḥ*). A *hry sbht* occurs as a member of the *knbt* of the temple in the Siût inscriptions of Hapydjefa (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig, 1924), 93, ll. 17 ff.), and *iryw ḥ* as part of the permanent establishment of the Temple of Anubis at Kahun (Borchardt, *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 94; cf. further Gardiner, *Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), I, 90*). At all events, the Greek expression has an official ring to it which suggests very strongly that the temple was functioning properly in H.'s time. This inference becomes a certainty when we recall that at least one Ptolemaic king was responsible for some building at the site and also that priestly officials were attached to the temple in Hellenistic times (Kees, *RE* 12, 325; Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, v, 12), facts which prove that the building was employed for religious purposes at least as late as Ptolemaic times, *over 100 years after Herodotus' visit*.

³ For possible religious implications of the number 12, cf. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlwörter* (Straßburg, 1916), 27.

arises from the distinction between the public part of the temple and the sacred area which only select persons such as the priests might tread. Indeed, a division of some sort is implicit in several statements of Pliny.¹

As far as the arrangement of the courts is concerned Herodotus leaves no room for doubt. They were disposed in two rows of six which faced in a north-south direction and were surrounded by colonnades made of built-up columns. Their gateways lay opposite one another and the gateways themselves had columned façades. Behind these, in turn, there stood a vestibule (*στέγη*) through which one eventually gained access to another columned porch. Herodotus also mentions that a large number of chambers (*οικήματα*) gave onto the courts. These will probably have served as store chambers some of which at least may have been barrel-vaulted.²

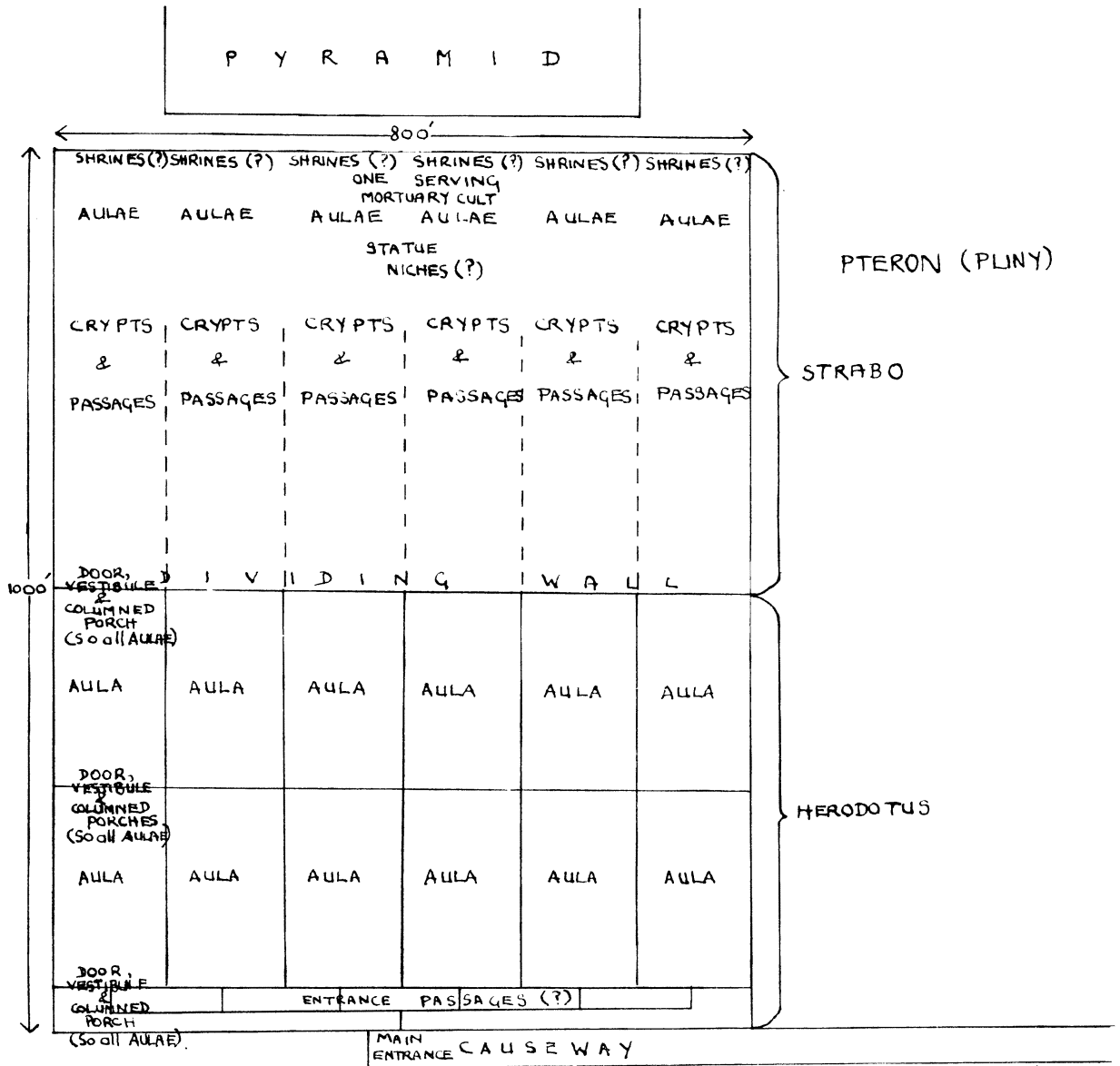
We are now faced with the problem of deciding how one passed from the great gate in the centre of the southern façade into the courts mentioned by Herodotus. If we make the reasonable assumption that the Egyptian architects followed their usual tendency towards symmetry this central gate could not have given immediate access to any of the courts. In all probability it simply admitted visitors to a long lateral passage which itself gave access to the six southern-most courts.

One further question arises in connection with Herodotus' description: his statement *οικήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλά, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια, τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι*. It is difficult to accept this as it stands. For if one remembers that the excavations of Petrie brought to light a bed of chips which reached, in parts, to a depth of six feet, and if one further bears in mind that much of this material must be the result of surface destruction on the site, it becomes difficult to imagine how there could be room to accommodate 'subterranean' chambers. In fact, had 1,500 such chambers ever existed one would have thought that some at least would have survived under the gradual accumulation of débris resulting from the ravages due to the locals' desire for stone. Perhaps the explanation is that Herodotus was told of certain sepulchral vaults which had been excavated in the temple and, with his characteristic tendency to over-schematization, he had assumed that these chambers formed a series of subterranean *οικήματα* analogous to those which he saw above ground as he explored the monument. At any rate it can hardly be coincidence that Pliny speaks of 'subterraneae domus' *outside* but immediately adjacent to the building, in what he calls the *pteron*.³

Let us now turn to Strabo. His account of the Labyrinth obviously applies to the northern part of the building, since, after the description of what he saw, we are informed that the structure was adjacent to the Pyramid itself. There he found a row of courts numbering less than 30. Pliny's mention of 'domus' which probably numbered

¹ 'sed *centensimam tantum portionem* eius imitatum, *quae* itinerum ambages occursusque ac recursus inexplicabiles continet', and again '*fessi iam eundo* perveniunt ad viarum *illum* inexplicabilem errorem'. These passages must surely be related to Strabo's *πρόκεινται δὲ τῶν εἰσόδων κρυπταὶ τινες μακραὶ καὶ πολλαί, δι' ἀλλήλων ἔχουσαι σκολιὰς τὰς ὁδοὺς*, etc., and clearly indicate that there was a lot of Labyrinth to traverse before one reached the tricky bit. ² *LGM*, p. 33.

³ In the mortuary temple of Sahurê (Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Šahu-re*, I (Leipzig, 1910), 23, fig. 17) one finds chambers at two levels, one series at ground level and another above; but such a scheme hardly suits the statement of Herodotus.



S K E T C H P L A N

A plan designed simply to assist the reader. No attempt has been made to create a specious impression of certainty

THE LABYRINTH

21¹ may be related. Each of these courts was surrounded by a colonnade of 27 pillars,² some of which were monolithic and made of granite. Strabo further tells us that it was possible to ascend on to the roof from ground level and if this statement is brought into relation both with Pliny's expression 'cenacula *clivis* excelsa' and the fact that some mortuary temples have ramps running from ground level to the roof,³ we may assume that he did so by means of a ramp.

Against Strabo, Petrie argued that not more than twelve courts of any size could be placed along any single wall in the Labyrinth. The great size of the courts is nevertheless only mentioned by Pliny, and both Roman accounts show a tendency to rhetoric. Indeed, the position of the granite shrines which Petrie unearthed in the northern part of the complex led him to estimate their number at nine. Here he makes three assumptions:

- (i) That they each belonged to the courts.
- (ii) That they had not been moved.
- (iii) That there was none in between those he discovered.

None of these assumptions is certainly true. If, on the other hand, we suppose that there were, say, in the region of twenty courts along the north wall—which would suit our sources quite well—we should have a series of courts about 35 to 40 ft. broad. This solution is by no means impossible and is in agreement with the statements of an author who in such matters is generally reliable. There is no reason why their length should not have been rather greater.

In the northern part of the building, adjacent to or near the northern wall, one would expect to find the shrines (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏)⁴ where the cult images of the various gods worshipped in the Labyrinth were kept. Since Strabo's courts lay in the back part of the temple, these shrines must have lain either immediately behind the courts or immediately in front. Now it is difficult to imagine the function of the courts if the shrines lay to the south in front of them. Furthermore, the mortuary cult in honour of the dead king was carried out in one of these shrines and this, with its false door and offering table, would logically be placed against the back wall of the temple as near as possible to the tomb. We may, therefore, assume with some degree of probability that this shrine stood in such a position and it is, furthermore, *ipso facto* likely that the other shrines stood in the same position. It is possible that the οἴκοι mentioned by Strabo were in fact these very shrines but unfortunately he does not make it clear where exactly they stood.

To the south of the courts Strabo saw an intricate network of passages as well as structures which he had some difficulty in describing (*κρυπταί τινες*). Passages joining various parts of the building were obviously required. As for the 'crypts', their nature

¹ Cf. p. 86, n. 5 above.

² Petrie misinterprets this statement (*HBA* 7). He claims, in fact, that Strabo saw a hall supported by 27 pillars. Either his translation or his Greek were at fault since the passage clearly means that each of the ἀλλὰί was supported by 27 pillars, not that there was one single ἀλλή running the entire width of the building.

³ Cf. the mortuary temple of Sahurē, Borchardt, *op. cit.* 25.

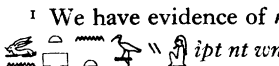
⁴ *Wb* IV, 7, 8–12.

is largely a matter of conjecture.¹ However, chambers embedded in masonry are a common feature of mortuary temples where they clearly served as store chambers for ritual equipment. In addition the mortuary cult would have required five statue niches which were standard features of mortuary temples at this time and took the form of hidden chambers, each containing a statue of the dead king and serving some unknown ritual function.² It is possible that the granite *naoi* containing statues of the king which were discovered by Petrie in this area once stood in the statue niches, though other functions are not excluded; but they could not have served as cult statues placed in the Holy of Holies for ritual purposes, since such 'Kultbilder' would have to be easy to move if the rites were to be performed.³ Consequently they provide no evidence for the position of the various shrines whose existence we have postulated.

Such then, is the sum of what we know or can reasonably deduce concerning the form of the Labyrinth from the material remains and literary tradition at our disposal, and it must be admitted that it is woefully inadequate for the reconstruction of this great monument. Nevertheless, if we bear in mind the general practice of Egyptian architects in the construction of their temples (for the Labyrinth undoubtedly was a temple building), and then endeavour to fit our evidence into such a framework, some results can be attained and perhaps a picture of the building derived which may not be altogether at variance with the truth.

Postscript

When this study had already been completed, there came to my notice a recent article on the same subject by K. Michałowski (*JEA* 54 (1968), 219 ff). On some points we are in agreement and my reasons for disagreement on others will be quite clear from the text.

¹ We have evidence of *κρυπται* or 'hidden chambers' as early as the Middle Kingdom, e.g. the  *ipt nt wnt nt Dhwty*, 'the secret chamber of the Temple of Thoth', *Westcar*, 7, 5; 7, 7; 9, 2; cf. *JEA* 11 (1925), 2 ff.; 16 (1930), 33; and actual examples survive from the Tuthmosid Period onwards. They were hidden away in walls or below the floor and accessible only to those who had knowledge of the secret entrances; cf. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 401; Jéquier, op. cit. 137 ff. Strabo does not appear to be describing this type of thing because he says there were lots of them and, above all, that they were easily accessible.

² Edwards, op. cit. 149.

³ Bonnet, op. cit. 410 ff.

THE MAIN HYPOSTYLE HALL OF THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT AT DEIR EL-BAHRI

By LESZEK DĄBROWSKI

IN the autumn of 1961 the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, in co-operation with the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of Warsaw University, started investigation and reconstruction work on the temple of Queen Hatshepsut. A series of protective operations was then carried out, together with a complete reconstruction of the Ptolemaic Portico. Work was also started on the reconstruction of the front façade and of the walls of the so-called Third Terrace Court.¹

Among the various tasks which were then undertaken the most important was that of establishing with certainty the plan of the main hypostyle hall of the temple situated on the Third Terrace (pl. XLVIII). Naville, who uncovered the temple at the end of the nineteenth century, supposed it to be a court surrounded on all sides by two rows of columns.² Later investigations did not supply adequate information. It was only in the course of our work that, during the removal of the stone flooring of the court, the first traces of the colonnade of the hall were discovered.

As I have already reported elsewhere,³ the flooring was made up of blocks covered with relief, as well as parts of columns, capitals, bases, and even architraves and cornices. After the flooring had been removed completely, the hitherto invisible disposition of the column bases came to light. Now it could be seen clearly that the hall was flanked on three sides by at least four rows of columns. Only on the south-eastern side, where the entrance was, had there been apparently only two rows.

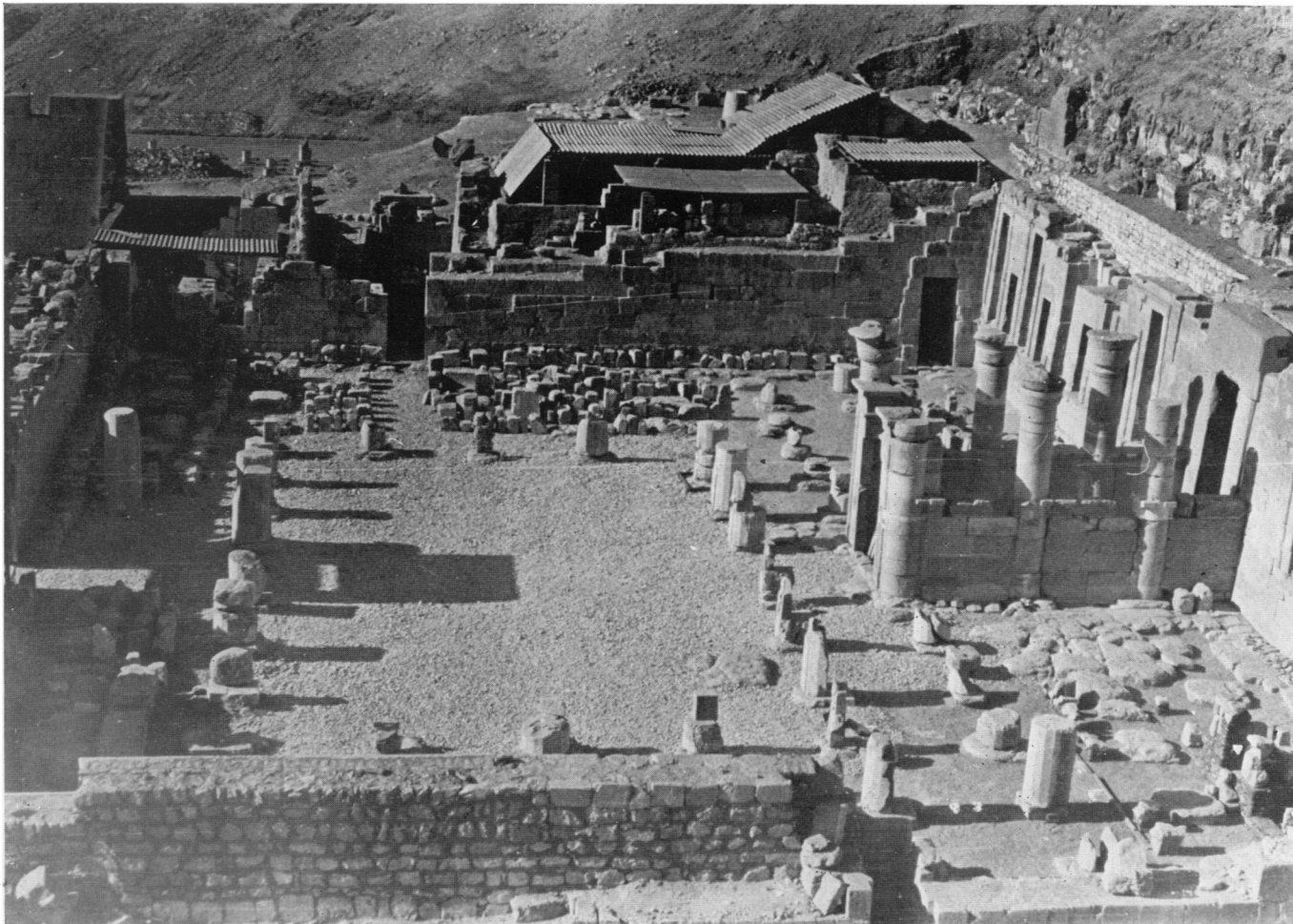
At the time when the work was being started, there lay on the court of the Third Terrace many fragments of columns which supposedly had come from the former hypostyle hall. Probably they had been brought over with some purpose. The columns were distinguished by an unusual form, hitherto unknown. They were sixteen-sided, protodoric, but with a broad band of relief on one side through almost the whole length. The band was topped by a representation of the Horus-falcon (fig. 1). Similar columns have as yet not been found elsewhere in Egypt; they were markedly different from all the others.

According to the information supplied by our predecessors who had carried out

¹ The work was carried out by me during six seasons, between the years 1961-7, on behalf of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities; for preliminary reports, see *Ann. Serv.* 58 (1964), 37 ff.; 60 (1968), 131 ff.

² E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, vi (London, 1908), pl. clxxii.

³ L. Dąbrowski, 'Preliminary report on the reconstruction works of the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el Bahari during the 1961-2 Season', *Ann. Serv.* (58, 37 ff.), id. 'A famous temple re-examined: Queen Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el Bahari', *Illustrated London News*, Archaeological Section No. 2199, September 19, 1964; id. 'Rekonstrukcja świątyni Hatszepsut w Deir el Bahari', *Ochrona Zabytków*, Warszawa, xvii/1964, No. 2.



View of the Court of the Third Terrace of the Temple of Ḥatshepsut. State as in March 1967

THE MAIN HYPOSTYLE HALL AT DEIR EL-BAḤRI

investigations on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a number of these columns were excavated near by, in the place where the temple of Tuthmosis III was recently discovered during our work, i.e. on the southern side of the Third Terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut.¹

Our investigation has yielded a few fragments of similar columns in the flooring of the court. It has also been ascertained that the Ptolemaic Portico within the court was erected with blocks coming from identical columns. A large fragment of mortar, which accidentally fell from between two blocks of the Portico, brought to light the clearly visible outlines of such a column. Even the coloured relief on the column was preserved. Thus all the evidence suggested that the columns had come from the hypostyle hall which no longer exists.

What was more interesting was that some of these blocks belonged to small and some to large columns. Thus it emerged that the hall consisted of two orders of different dimensions. From the fragments preserved it can be presumed that the composition of the relief on both these kinds of columns was the same, but differed in size (pl. XLIX).

Since only three small fragments of the small columns have been found we do not know much about these columns themselves. It has remained a mystery why so few have been preserved. Were they taken away from the temple and used as building material elsewhere? Their height, without the base but with the capital, could be established only by the difference in the levels of the original base G/1 and the architrave bed which was preserved in the western wall of the court.

That height was 4.94 m. The upper diameter, established on the evidence of the available architraves, ranged from 63 cm. to 67.5 cm. (fig. 1, 2).

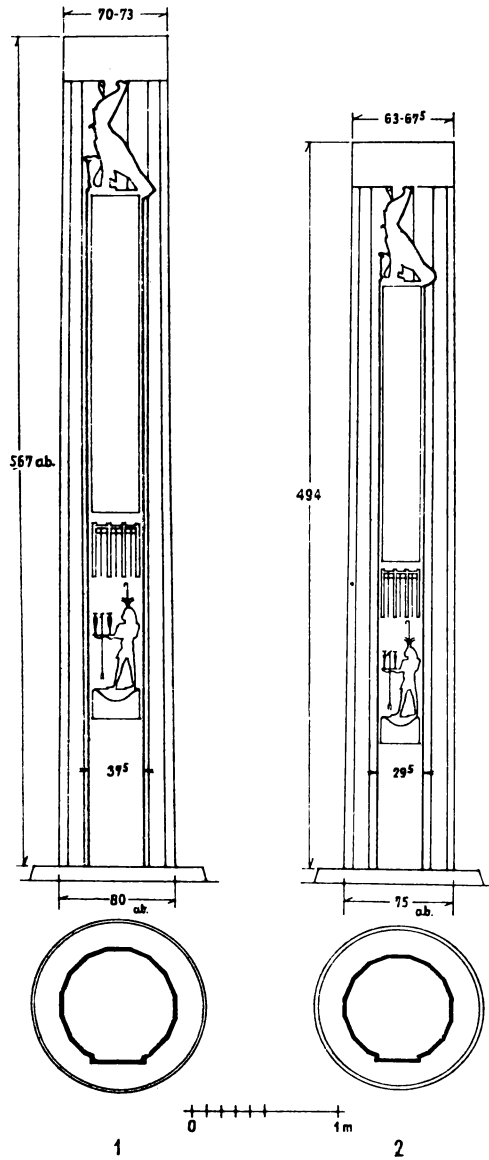


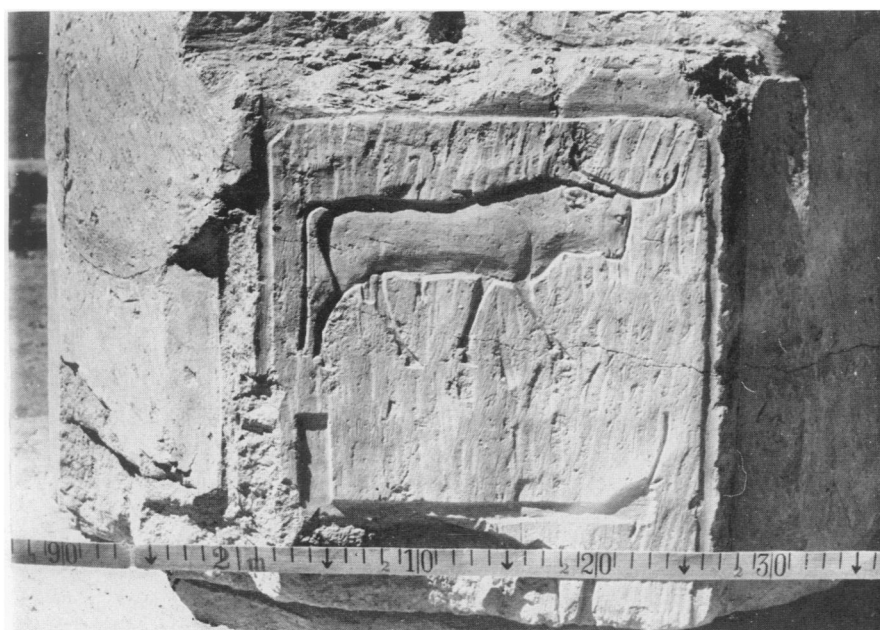
FIG. 1. Reconstruction of the larger and smaller columns

The remaining blocks belonged to the large columns: their upper diameter was 70-3 cm. and the height without base but with the capital was, according to my estimation, about 5.67 m. (fig. 1, 1). The best preserved pieces came from the lower

¹ I obtained this information in January 1962 from the late Dr. W. C. Hayes, through the kindness of Miss Virginia Burton.

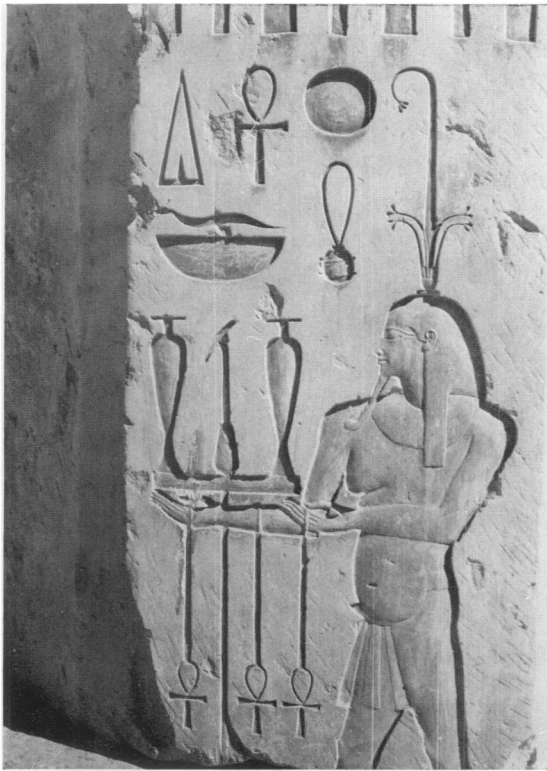


1. Fragment of the upper part of one of the large columns



2. Fragment of the upper part of one of the small columns

THE MAIN HYPOSTYLE HALL AT DEIR EL-BAHRI



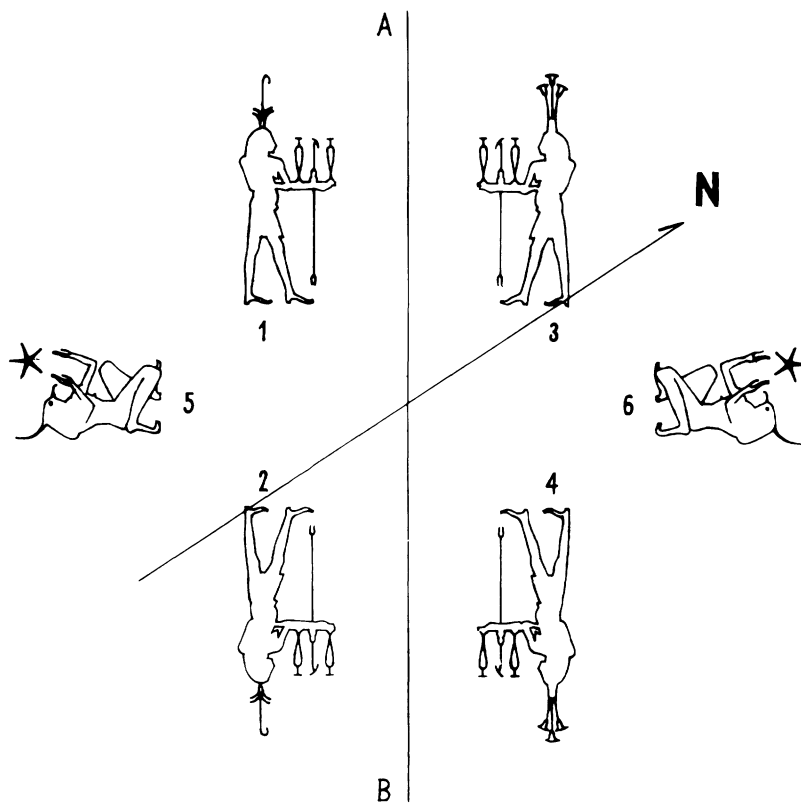
1. The Nile deity with the plant of Upper Egypt



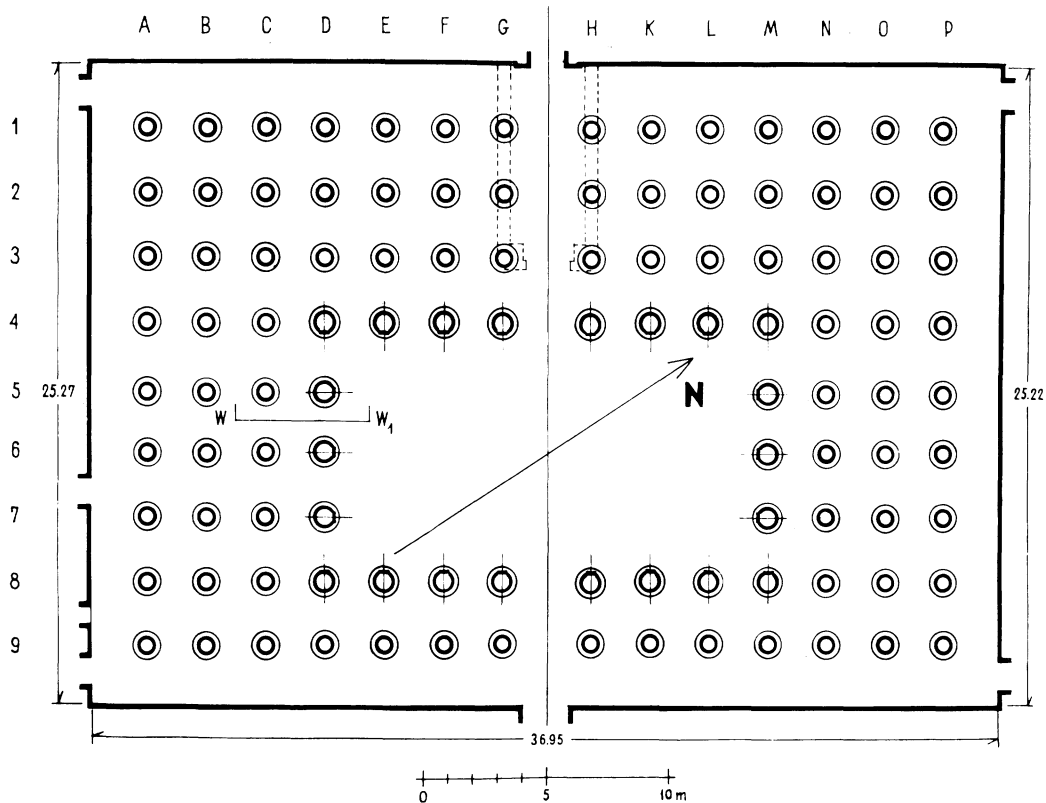
2. The Nile deity with the plant of Lower Egypt



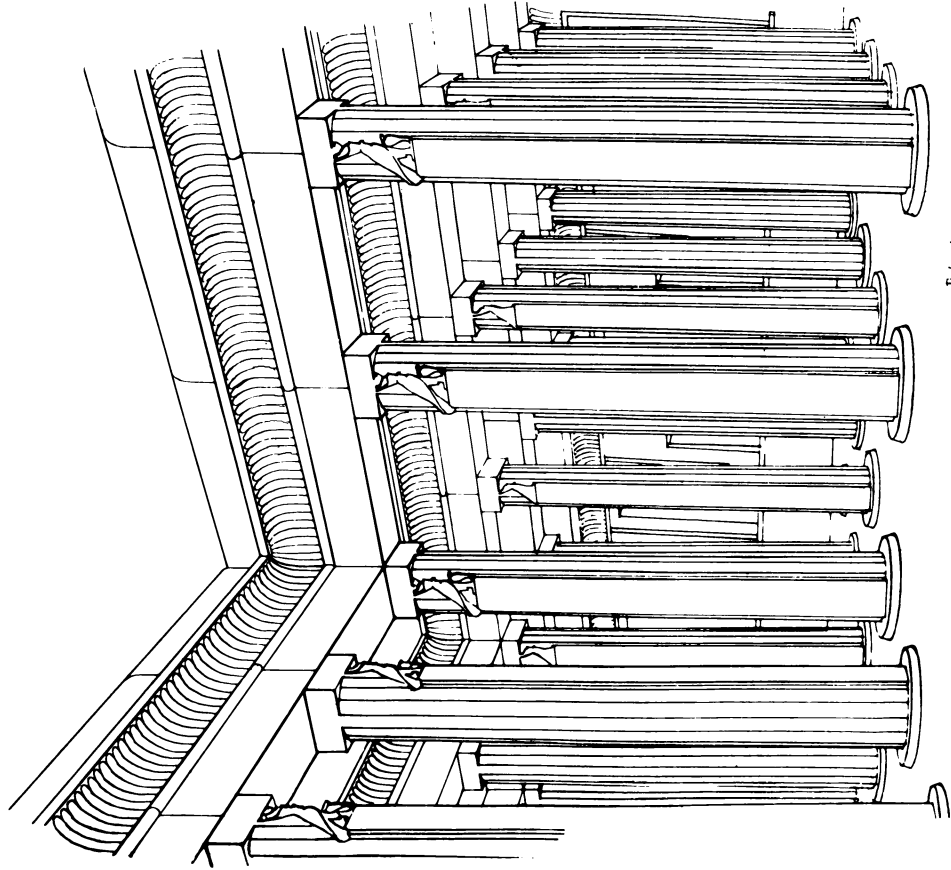
3. The half-kneeling figure, *rhyt*, symbolizing the people
Fragments of relief from the lower parts of the large columns



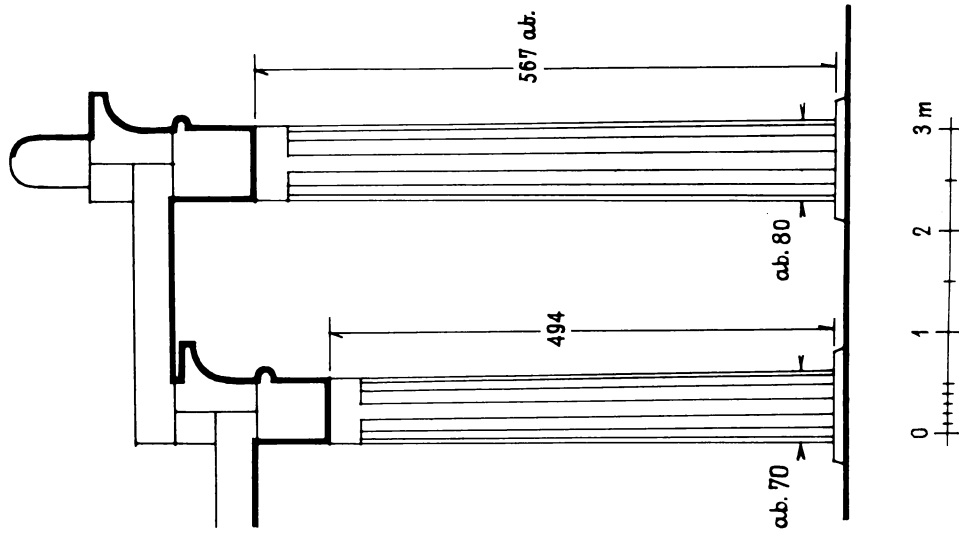
1. The proposed arrangement of the figures on the large columns.
Projection on a plane. A-B, the main axis of the temple



2. Reconstructed plan of the hall



2. Reconstruction of the perspective view of the southern corner



1. Cross-section W-W1 (see pl. LI, 2)

THE MAIN HYPOSTYLE HALL AT DEIR EL-BAHRI

MAIN HYPOSTYLE HALL OF THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT 103

parts of the columns which were covered with interesting relief. On some of the columns were representations of the deity of the Nile (*Hrpy*) in the form of a man carrying a tray with offerings, whose head was crowned with the plant of Upper Egypt (*Šmꜣw*) (pl. L, 1). On other columns the same deity was crowned with papyrus (*mḥw*) symbolizing Lower Egypt (pl. L, 2). Others were decorated with a half-kneeling human figure with a bird's head, symbol of the people (*rhyt*) (pl. L, 3). On some columns these figures faced right, on others they faced left.

The representations of the figures on the large columns served as clues to the establishing of the original plan of the hypostyle hall. They made possible the classification of the columns into six kinds. The table below gives both the number of each kind of column ascertained from the surviving pieces, and the probable number of the columns originally set up in the hall.

Theme of relief on lower part of large columns	Number of columns	
	ascertained	hypothetical
1. Deity of the Nile facing right, with the plant of Upper Egypt	3	4
2. Deity of the Nile facing left with the plant of Upper Egypt	2	4
3. Deity of the Nile facing left with the plant of Lower Egypt	4	4
4. Deity of the Nile facing right, with the plant of Lower Egypt	..	4
5. Half-kneeling figure symbolizing the people, facing right	3	3
6. The same figure facing left	3	3

In order to establish the original positions of the columns the following basic rules were observed. These rules were then applied in regard to the arrangement of the relief:

1. The figure which is worshipping or making offerings, if it is placed at right angles to the main axis, must be oriented towards the interior of the temple.
2. The same figure, if it is placed in parallelism with the main axis, should be oriented towards the sanctuary.
3. The columns with the symbol of Lower Egypt should be on the northern side of the temple.
4. The columns with the emblems of Upper Egypt should be on the southern side of the temple.

With the help of these rules it proved possible to reconstruct the position of the figures in relation to the main axis of the temple. The deities of the Nile with the *Šmꜣw*-plant were originally placed on the southern side, at right angles to the main axis. The sides of the relief faced one another so that the figures were oriented towards the interior of the temple (pl. LI, 1, figs. 1, 2). Thus shown, they came with gifts from the direction of the land which they represented, i.e. Upper Egypt.

By the same principle, the deities of the Nile with the *mḥw*-plant were placed similarly, only on the northern side. Thus shown they came from Lower Egypt (pl. LI 1, figs. 3, 4).

The half-kneeling figure (*rḥyt*), being of lesser importance thematically, occupied the columns on the sides. These figures were placed on both sides, in parallelism with the main axis, and were directed towards the sanctuary (pl. LI, 1, figs. 5, 6). By this arrangement of the figures, the general picture of an open space (court) in the centre surrounded by a row of bigger columns was achieved.

Further, it was established that the deity of the Nile which faced left and was topped with the *mḥw*-plant was repeated on the preserved fragments as often as four times. It may therefore be presumed with considerable confidence, that each of the four kinds of representation of that deity was also repeated four times. On the other hand, the half-kneeling figure (*rḥyt*) was repeated only three times in each of the two directions.

When the results of the investigations of the columns were compared with the arrangement of the bases found preserved *in situ*, a reconstruction of the plan of the whole hypostyle hall could be attempted. It emerged as follows: in the centre was a small court surrounded by a row of large columns. Beyond this row stood rows of smaller columns—three rows on three sides and only one row on the south-eastern side. The whole hall possessing 108 columns thus constituted a central element placed at right angles to the main axis of the temple (pls. LI, 2; LII, 1, 2).

The hall was built together with the rest of the temple during the reign of Queen Ḥatshepsut, a fact attested by the numerous traces of her name chiselled in stone and later replaced by the name of Tuthmosis II. It cannot, however, be excluded that the final arrangement of the columns was achieved at a later date. At first the court may have been surrounded by the small columns only, and later, but still in the reign of the queen, the large columns on the inner sides of the court may have been added, thus giving the hall a more monumental appearance and extending it to cover a considerably larger space.

This interesting solution would apparently represent the first attempt in Egypt to introduce an arrangement consisting of two orders which differed in scale. This practice is known to have become general in the later period of development of the interior of the Egyptian temple.

The suggested plan of the main hypostyle hall of Ḥatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Baḥri, presented here, does not necessarily represent a final solution of the problem. It is hoped, however, that it may serve as a starting point for further discussion.¹

¹ I am indebted to Dr. H. Ricke for his valuable remarks and suggestions concerning my work.

THE FOREIGN GIFTS OFFERED TO PHARAOH

By CYRIL ALDRED

IN several of the private tombs of the New Kingdom in ancient Egypt there appears a scene on the rear wall of the first transverse hall and in such a position that the principal figure receives most of the light entering from the tomb entrance.¹ This figure represents almost invariably the Pharaoh shown seated on a throne under an elaborate baldachin and presiding at a state function in which the deceased claimed to have played a cardinal role. The majority of these representations show a parade of tribute offered by foreign emissaries who abase themselves as they are ushered into the royal presence by the deceased. The more elaborate examples appear in duplicate on opposite sides of a doorway leading into the inner part of the tomb-chapel, and it is probable that originally this equipose was the desideratum which every tomb-owner attempted to obtain; but it was not always secured, either because the tombs were unfinished, or because their architectural vagaries made such a balance impossible to achieve, or because the resources of the owner were not equal to his ambitions. Today, of course, the frequent destruction of the complementary scene has resulted in the survival of only one such painting on the back wall.

These scenes, which first make their appearance in the joint reign of Hatshepsut-Tuthmosis III,² are popular throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty, though towards the end of the period they seem to lose their appeal as a subject for tomb decoration; they virtually vanish from the repertoire in Ramesside times.³ The vast majority of such representations are found in the tombs at Thebes, but examples from El-'Amarna,⁴ Deir Rîfa,⁵ and Saqqâra⁶ show that the theme was not confined to the artists who decorated the tomb-chapels of the Southern Residence.

Over ten years ago the writer advanced the suggestion that the scenes of the presentation of tribute, so far from conforming to the generally accepted view that they illustrate the aftermath of a successful campaign with a parade of the spoils of war, in fact represent a public ceremony following on the accession of the Pharaoh, in which the widespread sovereignty of the new ruler was recognized by his acceptance of gifts and homage from foreign delegates as well as from representatives of his own peoples.⁷ Recently D. B. Redford has subjected this thesis to a fairly close study, as a result of which he has concluded that the present writer is mistaken in his interpretation of this genre of scene, and that the procession of tribute-bearers led by the tomb-owner may well represent the plunder from a foreign campaign: on the other hand, it may equally

¹ Wegner, *MDAIK* 4, 53, 55 ff.; Davies, *T. of Ken-Amun*, 17.

² Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 571-4.

⁴ Davies, *Rock Tombs*, II, pl. xxxvii; III, pls. xiii, xiv.

⁶ Hari, *Horemheb*, fig. 36.

³ *Ibid.* 535-6.

⁵ Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pls. xxix-xxx.

⁷ Aldred, *JEA* 43, 114-17.

well depict the arrival of the yearly tribute imposed by the Egyptians on the provinces of their empire.¹ As anyone will be aware who reads my original article without *parti pris*, the last word has hardly been said on this subject, and I welcome the opportunity of dealing at greater length with an idea that I was able to sketch only hurriedly in the form of a brief communication.

As far as the published material is concerned, such scenes showing the tribute of Africa and Asia being offered to the king occur in fourteen of the Theban tombs.² In six of them only the Northern tribute is shown. In the case of Tombs nos. 42, 85, and 239, this is probably because the owners had had predominant interests in Asia as soldiers or officials during their lifetimes. The remaining three tombs (nos. 86, 90, 256) are either damaged or unfinished. The Asian tribute can be identified only generally in five tombs, but in others it is specifically stated to come from Upper and Lower Retenu (nos. 40, 85), Naharin (nos. 84, 90, 91), the Hittite lands (nos. 86, 91), Tunip and Qadesh (no. 86), and Western Asia (no. 100). Included among the Northern tribute-bearers are the Minoan Keftiu (nos. 85, 86), delegates from the Islands in the Mediterranean (no. 100), and the Cilician Menenus (no. 85).³ The Southern tribute is represented in only six tombs. In one (no. 40) it is said to come from Wawat and Kush; in another (no. 84) from Itjer and Miw; in a third (no. 100) from Khenthernefer and Inty-Setyu. In the remainder (nos. 78, 89, 91) no precise locality is mentioned but the offering-bearers and their products are typically African. Included in the Southern tribute are commodities from Punt represented in four tombs (nos. 86, 89, 100, 143).

The first conclusion that emerges from a study of these scenes is that the offerings cannot be plunder from the battlefield. The Egyptians, according to all the evidence, led no military expeditions to Punt, to the Islands in the Mediterranean, or to the Hittite lands; yet the tribute from these areas, and its bearers, are intimately associated with those from regions such as Nubia and Kush which were well within the Egyptian imperial grasp. Moreover, the bearers are described as 'chiefs', and no proof has come to light that the rulers of the Keftiu, Hittites, Mitannians, and Puntites were ever taken captive by the Pharaoh. It is true that on occasion the Egyptians did represent the booty gleaned from the field of victory; and the most notable example that springs to mind is the representation in the First Court of the Great Temple at Medînet Habu, where Ramesses III at a Window of Appearances, the Ramesside equivalent of the gilded kiosk of most Eighteenth Dynasty reviews, presides at the triumphal parade after the defeat of the Libyan invaders.⁴ The main features of the spoil are the severed phalli of the Libyan slain and the hands of their slaughtered allies, which are poured in heaps before the king. Samples of the booty comprise captives, horses and chariots, and the long swords of the vanquished.⁵ Tuthmosis III presided at a similar display of spoils after the battle of Megiddo when the hands of the slain were the chief means of estimating the victory.⁶

¹ Redford, *Studies in Chronology*, 120-8.

² A convenient index to such scenes may be found in Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 1², pt. i, 463, 1(b).

³ Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 37.

⁴ E.g. *Medînet Habu*, I, pls. 22, 23, 42; II, pl. 75.

⁵ Nelson, *Or. Inst. Comm.* 10, 21-5.

⁶ *Urk.* IV, 659, 15; 663, 7.

Such scenes of carnage and plunder were appropriate for the decoration of the outer walls of a temple where they had their part to play in the exaltation of the conquering Pharaoh as the son of the omnipotent god, and in driving away from the holy precincts any hostile manifestations. But they had little relevance to the decoration of a private tomb-chapel in which the owner was concerned as much with leaving some memorial of his own finest hours on earth as with commemorating the feats of his lord, even though the moment of glory might have been when he took the stage before the Pharaoh on an occasion of great splendour.

The trophies depicted in the presentation scenes in these private tomb-chapels show that the parade is no Roman triumph. The hands of the slain are not exhibited, nor are the suits of inlaid armour which were stripped off the defeated foe in this Homeric age of the chariot-fighter. Tuthmosis III makes a point of describing in his Annals the inlaid bronze armour belonging to the chiefs of Kadesh and Megiddo which was captured in the battles of Year 23, and distinguishes it from other suits belonging to their *maryannu*.¹ A similar distinction is made in the case of the victories at Araina during Year 35 and Tunip in Year 42. Not one single instance has survived of such a notable prize being exhibited among the 'plunder' paraded before the king in these tomb representations.² In some tombs, such as nos. 42, 86, and elsewhere, plumed casques are offered by Syrian bearers,³ but these are clearly presentation-pieces and not the spoils of the battlefield.

In the procession of Northerners represented in Tomb no. 86 the chiefs of the Kheta, Tunip, and Kadesh are explicitly named. The Annals at Karnak state that tribute from the Kheta was received in Years 33 and 41,⁴ and spoils (𐎓𐎁) from the capture of Tunip and Kadesh in Year 42.⁵ This scene, therefore, if it has any basis in historical reality, can hardly refer to the campaigns of Year 33, as Redford supposes on the strength of the accompanying inscriptions, which vaguely boast of the harrowing of Mitanni.⁶ The best that can be said is that the tribute of Year 41 and the plunder of Year 42 have been shown presented at the same time, even though the trophies do not include the hands of the slain, or the reaped grain, or the other spoils exacted from a defeated Tunip and Kadesh in Year 42. Redford claims that such tribute cannot have been offered on the occasion of a coronation because there is a complete lack of reference to that event in word or artistic motive,⁷ a criticism which we shall examine in due course. But it is also the case that there is no indication that the 'plunder' is received as a result of victory in the field, as we have already argued in the case of the tribute presented by the Hittites, Minoans, and Puntites. Redford, however, quotes texts from tombs which he thinks demonstrate that victorious campaigns preceded the show of tribute.

The first example is from Tomb no. 86 where Tuthmosis III is hailed in such terms as 'fear of thee is in all lands. Thou hast destroyed the lands of Mitanni. Thou hast laid waste their towns. Their chiefs are (hiding) in holes.'⁸ There is nothing

¹ Ibid. 664, 3-5.

² The corselets shown in the tomb of Kenamun are 'New Year's' gifts, not booty; Davies, *T. of Ken-Amun*, pls. xvi, xxiv.

³ Id., *T. of Menkheperasonb*, 8, No. 63.

⁴ *Urk.* IV, 701, 11-14; 727, 12-13.

⁵ *Urk.* IV, 729, 15-18; 730, 8-12.

⁶ Redford, *op. cit.* 126.

⁷ Ibid. 123.

⁸ Davies, *T. of Menkheperasonb*, pl. vii.

explicit in this, which merely repeats the boast of Tuthmosis III that he laid waste Naharin in Year 33 and again in Year 35, a claim that is regarded with some scepticism by many modern scholars.¹ Davies in his publication of the scene attempts to draw a distinction between tribute freely offered by the Minoan contingent, and that exacted from the 'subdued enemies' in the lower registers; but he admits the weakness of his case in as much as delegates from the Oases are included in the latter group.² It may be as well to mention here an even more striking anomaly in the damaged tribute scenes from Tomb no. 78 where the first register consists of Egyptians bringing horses; the second, of native Egyptians including the king's stewards carrying gifts; and the remaining two registers, of Syrians, Nubians, and Kushites with their tribute.³

Another of Redford's examples comes from the tomb of Rekhmirē (no. 100) where the vizier speaks of 'receiving all the tribute of all lands brought to Tuthmosis III because of his might'.⁴ This phrase is repeated in each register, referring to contributions from Punt, the Keftiu lands, and the Islands in the Mediterranean, as well as from Nubia, Retenu, and Western Asia. The lowest register in this scene, while related by position to the main composition, is somewhat different since it refers not to 'tribute' offered to the king, but to that portion of the 'booty' captured by him and allocated to the offices of the temple of Amūn over which Rekhmirē presided. This plunder differs markedly from the tribute in consisting not of precious objects, but solely of slaves and captives from Africa as well as Asia. Here a clear distinction has been made between tribute (𓆎𓅓) and spoils (𓆎𓅓𓅓) falling to the temple of Amūn.⁵ We shall have more to say about this particular scene later.

A third example of what Redford regards as a presentation to the king of similar plunder occurs on the Zizinia fragment alleged to come from Ḥoremḥeb's destroyed tomb at Saqqāra. Redford thinks this provides proof that what the Pharaoh was receiving, as he and his queen stood at their Window of Appearances, was booty from a successful campaign which Ḥoremḥeb as heir-apparent had just waged in the South.⁶ Robert Hari, however, in his careful study of this re-discovered fragment, has given good grounds for believing that it does not come from the tomb but belongs to Ḥoremḥeb's earliest years in office.⁷ Furthermore, Hari casts grave doubts upon whether the mission from which Ḥoremḥeb had returned was a campaign at all, and inclines to the view that it was a diplomatic errand. The present writer suggests that it is most likely to have been an expedition of a similar sort to that made by another king's messenger (*wꜣwty nsw*), Neferḥer, in Year 1 of Siptah when he secured the loyalty of the local governors of Nubia for another boy-king who had just ascended the throne.⁸

¹ E.g. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 230.

² Davies, *op. cit.* 4.

³ Bouriant, *Mem. Miss.* v, 2, pl. iv; *Urk.* iv, 1592.

⁴ Davies, *T. of Rekh-mi-rē*, figs. 1, 2.

⁵ It should be noted that though the African slaves are lumped with the Asiatics in this scene, they cannot have been captured by large-scale campaigns similar to those waged in Asia.

⁶ Redford, *op. cit.* 126.

⁷ Hari, *op. cit.* 64 ff. The pose of Ḥoremḥeb, leaning upon a cane, surely indicates that he cannot be in the royal presence. Moreover, it is highly improbable that victory over a foreign foe would have been credited to a private person in any official utterance at this time.

⁸ Maspero in Davis, *T. of Siptah*, p. xxi.

The last example occurs in Tomb no. 42 where Redford interprets a damaged painting on the *end wall* of the transverse chamber as depicting 'the capture of a Syrian town by Egyptian troops', who 'lead off captives, among whom is a "chief of Lebanon"'.¹ Those who expect from this description to see a spirited scene showing the storming of a fortress must prepare themselves for a shock. The 'town' sits peacefully among a grove of unfelled trees, its ramparts unmanned and with not a scaling-ladder or foeman in sight. It is identified by Davies as the fortified residence of a chief.² So far from being a scene of warfare and conquest it surely shows the reception of the *hry pdt* Amenmose by the local chief of Negau who comes from his palace to welcome the Egyptian contingent with characteristic Oriental courtesy, bringing a gift of wine, a tray of bread, two bulls, a large decorated vessel (of water?), and a towel. We have here a scene of the billeting of an Egyptian task-force on the local inhabitants such as is referred to in the 'Amarna Letters,³ and the import of which has been missed by both Davies and Redford. It concerns the exploits of Amenmose in the life he lived on earth as a soldier and administrator, and has no relevance either in subject-matter or position to the adjacent scene on the back wall where Tuthmosis III or Amenophis II receives tribute from the Northern peoples.⁴

If such scenes show no signs of being a parade of the spoils of war, we have still to consider whether they might not be the presentation of annual tribute 'imposed by the Egyptians on the provinces of their empire', which is Redford's alternative suggestion. For this, the evidence at a first glance might seem to be conclusive. The Annals of Tuthmosis III speak of receiving the products ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$) of Nubia, or Kush, or of both, in Years 31, 33, 34, 35, 38, 40, 41, and 42. From this record, bearing in mind its incomplete state, it looks as though the tribute from Nubia and Kush was an annual event, particularly as it speaks of receiving their harvest-taxes ($\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$). It certainly cannot be plunder taken as a result of field warfare, since both Nubia and Kush were relatively peaceful in the reign of Tuthmosis III, and, apart from his hunting expedition in Year 50,⁵ there is no record of any campaign that he fought in the region. The usual grandiloquent boast on the Sixth Pylon at Karnak that he had overthrown the Nubians, making a great slaughter among them, and removing captives to Thebes,⁶ need not refer to anything more than police action on the unsettled desert frontiers.

The products received from these African dependencies do not vary from year to year and consist of slaves, cattle, gold, and ships laden with the raw produce of the area, including ivory, ebony, and pelts. A yearly interval for these dues is explicitly referred to in a model letter in Papyrus Koller III, appositely quoted by Gardiner,⁷ which details the kind of tribute that a garrison commander was expected to collect in Nubia during Ramesside times, and exhorts him with the injunction, 'increase thy contributions every year'.

Tuthmosis III, also, in an inscription in Room XIII of his Festival Hall at Karnak,⁸

¹ Redford, *op. cit.* 125.

³ Mercer, *Tablets*, no. 222a.

⁵ Arkell, *Hist. Sudan*, 88-9.

Davies and Gardiner, *T. of Huy*, 28; Caminos, *L. Eg. Misc.* 437-9.

² Davies, *T. of Menkheperasonb*, 30, pl. xxxvi.

⁴ Davies, *op. cit.*, pls. xxxiii-xxxv.

⁶ *Urk.* IV, 795, 7-12.

⁸ *Urk.* IV, 871.

dedicates to Amon-Rē certain treasure which comes to him from the Southern countries 'as their yearly dues'. In the New Kingdom the Egyptians governed Nubia and Kush through an administration modelled on that of Egypt proper, and it is clear that taxes were exacted from the various districts in the same way as they were levied upon the towns and regions of Egypt herself.¹ It should be noted, however, that in the tomb-pictures of the Southern tribute, while natural products are usually shown, including such exotic animals as cheetahs, giraffes, apes, and ostriches, as well as the staple ebony, ivory, and gold, the grain harvest is never represented though it was collected annually.² In one scene in Tomb no. 40, which is unique in its elaboration and detail, industrial products of Nubia and Kush are displayed in addition to raw materials. The significance of this will be examined later.

The produce of Punt, which is included in the tribute from the Southern dependencies, at least cannot have been acquired by annual taxation, but must have been obtained by barter, as is evident from the pictures of the trade-goods offered by the Egyptians to the rulers of Punt in the reign of Hatshepsut.³ It is doubtful whether a trading mission was dispatched to Punt every year or even every reign.

The tribute shown in the hands of Asiatics is also unlikely to have been an annual levy. In the first place, the Egyptians had no means of taxing the Hittites, Minoans, Mitannians, and other remote and independent nations of the Near East. Secondly, the tribute shown is not in the form of raw materials, such as the Nubians and Kushites supplied, but in finished work of great elegance and opulence. It is possible that the Egyptians were able to impose taxes upon some of the vassal states of Palestine and Syria that were well within their power; and certain towns which appear to have been dedicated to Egyptian gods or members of the Royal House may have paid an annual levy. It also seems to have been the case, particularly during the reign of Tuthmosis III, when extensive field operations were mounted against Asiatic forces, and towns in Syria and Palestine were sacked, that such raw materials as timber and grain were seized and distributed among the Egyptian temples, especially those of Amūn. But the general impression left by the tomb-scenes of Asian tribute is that these are not displays of the annual exactions.

If they are, then there is an Asian commodity which is conspicuously absent. The only thing notably lacking in the Egyptian economy was good constructional timber which could be supplied only from Asian sources, and which had been in constant demand from earliest times. Baulks of ebony are always shown among the raw materials presented by Nubia and Kush; but apart from a scene in Tomb no. 100,⁴ which has some claim to be considered exceptional (see below), no timber in log or plank form is represented among the tribute of Asia. In the time of Wenamūn, supplies of wood could be procured from the Lebanon only by paying for them with gold and silver; and the Prince of Byblos produced records to show that such payment had been made by Egyptian kings during past transactions.⁵ Even in the halcyon days of Tuthmosis III,

¹ Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten u. Nubien*, 186 ff.

² Ibid. 225-6.

³ Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, III, pl. lxix.

⁴ Davies, *T. of Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. xxi.

⁵ Gardiner, *L.-Eg. Stories*, 68, 1-6.

the Chancellor Sennufri, who went to the Lebanon to obtain timber for his king, paid for it with generous offerings to Ḥathor of Byblos.¹

Two decades ago, Gardiner pointed out that the word 'tribute' would be better rendered by 'gifts';² but as far as the Asiatics were concerned, they were gifts that had to be paid for by presents of equivalent worth. The 'Amarna Letters reveal that every dispatch from the royal correspondents was accompanied by a gift, except in one certain case concerning the King of Babylon.³ The value of such gifts is precisely stated, probably because the donors expected a return of equal value. Burnaburiash, for instance, is quite explicit that since Pharaoh has not sent him anything valuable by the hand of his envoy, he in turn has nothing precious to send Pharaoh.⁴ The few drafts of dispatches from Amenophis III and Akhenaten reveal that they too sent rich gifts to their brother monarchs, gifts that hostile propaganda could well have represented as 'tribute' paid by the subservient Egyptians.⁵

It was not only the rulers of the great powers who engaged in such traffic; the vassal prince Milkilu of Gezer received presents from Amenophis III.⁶ The vassals could also apparently withhold their 'tribute'. Rib-Adda, so far from sending grain, asked Pharaoh for it.⁷ When Sum-Adda received the request to furnish grain, he refused it on the score that it was spoiled, and protested that such demands had not been made for years.⁸ Rib-Adda also excused himself from supplying boxwood with the complaint that Aziru commanded the trade routes;⁹ and Pharaoh had to make application to Aziru instead.¹⁰ Rib-Adda further complained that while other princes had been sent supplies by Pharaoh, he had not been so favoured, though his father in his time had been given silver.¹¹ The withholding of such a valuable gift diminished his standing in the eyes of other princes, and he renewed his appeal for it.¹² In exchange for a quantity of precious stone, Abi-milki of Tyre asked Pharaoh for the town of Uzu.¹³ Milkilu requested Pharaoh to send him myrrh for medicine.¹⁴ If it be argued that the 'Amarna Letters reflect a situation in which Egyptian power in Asia was on the wane, and the Pharaoh could no longer make extortionate demands upon his vassals, it can be pointed out that the casual gifts of lapis lazuli sent by Burnaburiash to Akhenaten do not compare unfavourably with the 'tribute' sent from Ashur which Tuthmosis III was so concerned to mention in his Annals of Year 23.¹⁵

From this testimony it should be evident that Asian tribute is no more than disguised state-trading, represented by the Pharaohs as a one-sided commerce. Modern scholars show signs of discarding the idea that the Egyptians exercised a sort of Roman imperium in Asia. It is doubtful whether even the bellicose Tuthmosis III had to engage in any large-scale actions after his victory over the Asiatic confederation at Megiddo in his regnal year 23; and it would rather appear that his subsequent campaigns were little more than interventions in the local politics of Syria and

¹ *Urk.* IV, 531-6; Wilson in *ANET*, 243.

² Gardiner, *Onom.* I, 177*.

³ Knudtzon, *Tafeln*, No. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 10, ll. 12-17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 5, 14, 31.

⁶ Dossin, *Rev. d'Assyr.* 31, 125-36.

⁷ Knudtzon *op. cit.*, nos. 79, 85, 131.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 224.

⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 126, ll. 4-13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 160, ll. 14-19.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, no. 126, ll. 15-21.

¹² *Ibid.*, no. 137, ll. 12-14.

¹³ *Ibid.*, no. 148, ll. 6-13.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 269.

¹⁵ *Urk.* IV, 668, 5-15; Knudtzon, *op. cit.*, no. 10, ll. 40-3.

Palestine on behalf of loyal vassals, tasks that in the 'Amarna Age, and probably in the two preceding reigns, had been largely undertaken by Egyptian commissioners with the aid of garrison troops reinforced with local levies.

While such tribute was more in the nature of gifts, as its quality and character suggest, often accompanying diplomatic missions that sometimes took a considerable time to reach Egypt, its infrequent appearance might perhaps make it an annual event. But it is clear that all such random tribute could hardly have arrived at the same moment from Africa as well as Asia. If it shows no signs of being either plunder from a foreign campaign, or the yearly tribute imposed by the Egyptians on the provinces of their 'empire', as Redford avers, what then is it? Are we to interpret the scenes in which Pharaoh presides at a show of presents from various nations as representing an ideal occasion, symbolizing his claims to rule over all that the sun encircled, and to receive from its grateful inhabitants their tribute loyally offered every year? Or do they in fact commemorate a historical event? In order to answer these questions we shall first have to consider the presentation of tribute in relation to the scene which often forms its pendant.

Such scenes of royal ceremony, depicted on either side of the doorway that pierces the rear wall of the transverse hall, are related to each other by position, and in certain examples they can be shown to refer to events that are closely connected by time. Thus the present writer has already argued that an equipoise of such scenes in Tombs nos. 48 and 57 refers to occasions in the First Jubilee of Amenophis III, when the tomb-owners came before their king in audience.¹ A similar balance is seen in the tomb of *Ḳenamūn* where a parade of 'New Year's' gifts is shown in one scene as a pendant to the appointment of *Ḳenamūn* to office by Amenophis II in the other. The latter event must have followed very soon after the accession of the Pharaoh since *Ḳenamūn* is already in office at the presentation of the 'New Year's' gifts, which the writer has sought to show was actually the display of the 'trousseau' of the young king supplied for his coronation.²

A common pendent scene is the presentation of a bouquet to the king seated upon his throne within the kiosk (e.g. in Tombs nos. 72, 74, 75, 78, 85, 86, 90, 91, 110). Such homage, accompanied by formal wishes for the health and prosperity of the Pharaoh, is unlikely to have been paid daily, and the scene must commemorate a special occasion of great significance. This appears in fact to have been the first state appearance of the new king, or his reappearance after the jubilee rites. Thus *Rekhmirē* travelling from Thebes to be officially received for the first time by Amenophis II at *Ḥū*, did so in order to present a bouquet (of *Amūn*) to him.³ The First Prophet *Rē* offers a bouquet of *Amūn* to the same king, whose youth is emphasized by the presence of his mother Queen *Merytrē* in the kiosk with him.⁴ The Second Prophet of *Amūn*, *Amenḥotpe-sise*, presented a bouquet of *Amūn* to *Tuthmosis IV* on the occasion of marshalling before him the 'trousseau' for his coronation.⁵ *Surero* proffers bouquets to Amenophis III, seated in state and wearing his chequered cloak, on the

¹ Aldred, *JEA* 55, 76.

² *Ibid.* 79.

³ Davies, *op. cit.* 63-4.

⁴ Lepsius, *Denk.* III, 62b.

Davies, *T. of Two Officials*, pls. xi, xii; Aldred, *op. cit.* 80.

occasion of one of his jubilees.¹ The scene in Tomb no. 55 where the vizier Ramose offers a bouquet of Rē-Ḥerakhty to Amenophis IV also, most probably, refers to the first state appearance of the young king since his figure is carved in the orthodox style of his father's reign and he is enthroned in the kiosk with Maet rather than with his queen who, however, accompanies him in the pendent scene.²

The offering of bouquets occasionally alternates with the presentation of standards as in Tombs nos. 48, 55, and 188.³ Such standards are usually of the gods, chiefly Amūn, though Mut, Khons, and Rē-Ḥerakhty also appear. An example where a military standard is presented occurs in the tomb of the *hry pdt* Nebamūn (no. 90).⁴ This suggests that all such religious emblems and repositories of numinous power had to be consecrated by the monarch at his accession, since specimens bearing the new name of the king, or his image, were prepared as part of the royal 'trousseau', like the royal statues destined for installation in every appropriate shrine.⁵

The evidence seems to the present writer voluminous enough to suggest that the idea which these pictures intended to convey was the functioning of the tomb-owner in his official capacity before the king 'who had made him' at the moment of that monarch's first ceremonial appearance when he received the homage of all his subjects. The fact that such scenes are not dated⁶ is paradoxically in favour of this interpretation, just as the so-called 'Marriage' Scarab of Amenophis III, which is presumably the official rescript of the king's accession,⁷ is the only one in the series not to bear a date.

It is true that Redford claims to have found one such scene in the tomb of Nebamūn (no. 90) dated to Year 6 of Tuthmosis IV,⁸ but this is a misunderstanding based upon his disregard of Egyptian principles of picture-making. In the reliefs and paintings in the Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, each wall is almost invariably⁹ considered as an independent hoarding for the display of icons which often have no connection with their neighbours apart from proximity. The scenes are separated from each other by horizontal lines but vertical divisions are usually lacking, except when they take the form of such devices as columns of inscriptions. Nevertheless, the different subjects are carefully segregated by the organization of the picture-space so that they can be isolated by drawing rectangular frames around them in much the same manner as they were originally laid out by the draughtsman. Such separate elements in the wall-decoration follow well-known principles of Egyptian composition, the chief feature of which is that the space is so managed that the focal point is directed to the centre of the scene. The principal figures confront one another; and where two

¹ Säve-Söderbergh, *Private Tombs at Thebes*, I, pl. xl; Aldred, *op. cit.* 76.

² Davies, *T. of Ramose*, pls. xxix, xxx, xxxiii.

³ Davies, *ibid.*, pl. xxxi; *JEA* 9, 136; Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, pl. xl.

⁴ Davies, *T. of Two Officials*, pl. xxvi.

⁵ Aldred, *op. cit.* 80; Nelson, *Or. Inst. Comm.* 18, 48-51.

⁶ The exception to this, the dated scenes in the 'Amarna versions, is dealt with below.

⁷ Maspero in Davis, *T. of Queen Tiye*, p. xviii.

⁸ Redford, *op. cit.* 127.

⁹ The only exception known to me occurs in Tomb no. 56, where the king's retinue are crammed awkwardly into the margin of the west wall of the hall because there was not room for them in the adjacent scene on the south wall.

main figures are placed back to back an invisible vertical division must be assumed between them forming the boundary of two different scenes.

Thus in the case of the painting which appears on the south side of the west wall of Nebamūn's tomb-chapel,¹ Redford has telescoped into one event two entirely unrelated scenes, the first referring to the consecration of the standard of the royal bark at the advent of Tuthmosis IV; and the other, the appointment of Nebamūn to a new post, that of Chief of Police on the west of Thebes in Year 6 of the same king. For the latter ceremony Nebamūn appears with a different standard and in a more informal costume before the king's scribe Yuny who deputizes for the king at this function. The fact that Yuny's back is turned to the Pharaoh only emphasizes that a different scene is in question here, a distinction which is evident even in the appearance of the accompanying texts. A similar dichotomy is seen in the paintings on the north side of the same wall where the main scene, in which Nebamūn in gala dress and holding his boat-standard and bouquet as he presents the tribute of Syria to the king, is immediately followed by a completely different scene of vintners and butchers who turn their backs upon the king and tribute-bearers. The precise dating of the appointment of Nebamūn as Chief of Police only emphasizes the fact that the consecration of the standard and the presentation of the northern tribute to the king are not dated because the Egyptian assumed that the spectator would clearly understand when such notable events had occurred.

The scenes in the tomb of Rekhmirē (no. 100) have to be interpreted according to the same ideas of picture-making. Only one representation of the king within his kiosk appears in the transverse hall and that is on the south side of the rear wall. This scene shows Tuthmosis III appointing Rekhmirē to office probably on the occasion of his Second Jubilee.² The vizier appears before the king who addresses to him the traditional homily on his duties inscribed in twenty-one columns of text which separate the investiture from the adjacent scene of the reception of tribute. This latter event is shown taking place before the vizier, not the king, in conformity with the practice in the earlier part of the dynasty when a disinclination to portray the Pharaoh in private tombs is evident.² The text declares that the tribute is being received by Rekhmirē, and the design emphasizes the fact, with the vizier standing in advance of the other high officials. What is evidently represented here are those gifts offered to the king, apparently at his Second Jubilee, and that part of the human plunder from the king's wars which were both destined for the temple of Amūn at Karnak, and which Rekhmirē receives in his capacity as Steward of Amūn, as well as Mayor of Thebes.

It is the tomb of Huy (no. 40), however, which has provided the classic example of the equipoise of foreign tribute.³ The envoys and their gifts are introduced to Tutankhamūn by Huy as Viceroy of Kush, in respect of the African delegates, and as King's Envoy to Every Land, in so far as the Asian representatives are concerned. The African gifts are shown in exceptional detail probably because Huy was more intimately concerned with marshalling them for the grand ceremony of presentation. In addition to

¹ Davies, *op. cit.*, pl. xxvi.

² Davies, *T. of Rekh-mi-rē*, 15.

³ Davies and Gardiner, *T. of Huy*, pls. xix-xxx.

the usual raw materials, finished goods of great elegance appear, including ebony furniture and parade-shields very similar in design to actual specimens found in the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn.¹ The presence of a pair of thrones, one with lion-head bosses,² indicates that this array of treasure is part of the 'trousseau' of the newly risen king, and not the annual impost.³ Among the chiefs of Wawat in native dress shown making their obeisance before the enthroned king is the Governor of Mi'am, Ḥeḫnūfer, whose tomb at Toshka reveals him to have been 'a child of the royal nursery' and a loyal and educated state official, not a rebellious savage.⁴ It is quite clear from this painting that if the African tribute is not a parade of the annual taxes exacted from the region, neither is it loot from the field of battle, despite the presence of manacled slaves at the tail-end of the procession, who are doubtless offered as part of the native produce.

The Asiatic tribute which Huy also claims to have presented to his king is described as from 'all the chiefs of foreign lands who are in embassy with Pharaoh',⁵ and unless it is maintained that Tut'ankhamūn was able to exert a control abroad which even Tuthmosis III had not been able to exercise, these gifts cannot be either taxes or plunder. If some of the delegates grovel in the presence of the king, their obeisance has as much significance as the prostration of Ḥeḫnūfer in the companion scene.

The presence of Ḥeḫnūfer and the Nubian princess with her separate retinue⁶ in this procession shows that Huy is representing no ideal parade of tribute but a historical event, since it is exceedingly improbable that such important native functionaries would have appeared every year with the annual impost. Similarly in Tomb no. 86, the arbitrary nature of the selection suggests that the chiefs of the Keftiu, Kheta, Tunip, and Ḳadesh represent an actual delegation. Surely the purpose for which such embassies were sent from the contiguous nations of Egypt can only have been to attend notable occasions in the lives of the Pharaohs, such as their accessions or jubilees, when vows of loyalty or friendship accompanying rich gifts would have been made? It is clear that such envoys were dispatched on the death of a king,⁷ and it requires no leap to conclusions to affirm that similar delegations, if not the same embassies, would be sent to attend the installation of his successor.

That this is the case is suggested by a text in Tomb no. 84 accompanying the Nubian contingent who are described as 'entering in before thy Majesty (Tuthmosis III) bearing their gifts of the beginning of the year' (ḳꜣ{ḳ}).⁸ *Tpy rnpt* in this context presumably has the basic meaning that Parker assigns to it, and refers to the first day of the original lunar year.⁹ This was doubtless a moment of critical importance in the life of the Pharaoh and referred, if not to the day of his accession in the Eighteenth Dynasty, then to his coronation following the rising of Sothis.¹⁰

The same phrase is used in respect of the Northern tribute in Tomb no. 86 where the owner offers a bouquet of Amūn to Tuthmosis III at the Festival of Djoserakhet

¹ Ibid. pl. xxv; Carter, *T. of Tut-ankh-amen* III, 142.

² The two specimens shown in Lepsius, *Denk.* III, 117, are doubtless the result of incorrect restoration.

³ Aldred, *op. cit.* 80.

⁴ Simpson, *Expedition* 4, no. 2, 29-36.

⁵ Davies and Gardiner, *op. cit.* 30.

⁶ Ibid., pl. xxviii.

⁷ Knudtzon, *op. cit.*, no. 27, ll. 100-1; no. 29, ll. 91; no. 30.

⁸ *Urk.* IV, 950, 10.

⁹ Parker, *Calendars*, § 306.

¹⁰ Ibid. §§ 315, 302-3; *id. Rev. d'Ég.* 11, 92-3.

'on his journeyings of the beginning of the year' (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛).¹ Despite its place of celebration, the festival in question can hardly have been the Feast of the Valley which was held in the second month of *Shōmu*;² and it is most likely to have been another name for the Feast of *Nhb-kꜣw* held on the first day of *Prōyet*, considered as a New Year's festival and 'a coronation feast . . . at which Horus assumes the rule in the place of his dead father. For this reason, this day too can be considered as a royal feast for the living Horus.'³ It was celebrated by the bringing of bouquets, among other rites.

The phrase *tpy rnpt* in both these texts is doubtless qualitative rather than strictly temporal in meaning. It is exceedingly improbable that such lavish gifts were bestowed upon the king every year from foreign delegates as we have already argued. Comparable ceremonies concerned with the appointment of his officials or the consecration of his 'trousseau' must have followed soon after the formal coronation of the Pharaoh;⁴ but the presentation of gifts by foreign envoys must have been made only when the Pharaoh had been recognized as the new ruler of Egypt by those nations who were in diplomatic correspondence with him. The two events could occasionally have been synchronous, as almost certainly was the case when, for example, Amenophis III, Tutankhamūn, and Ay ascended the throne; and as also must have occurred when the king repeated the various ceremonies of installation at his jubilee. But during the Eighteenth Dynasty it is also probable that in some instances where co-regents were appointed, the foreign tribute was not received until the king had acceded to sole rule. In several cases this may have been some years after his coronation, though those scholars who maintain that all co-regencies during the Eighteenth Dynasty were of short duration are likely to take the view that only a few months of preparation could have separated the two events.

The magnates who had the tribute scenes depicted in their tombs did not date them since they were concerned only with showing their kings in all their eternal and divine glory rather than as actors in a changing historical scene. Nevertheless at El-'Amarna the two versions of the tribute-scene differ from all their congeners elsewhere in bearing a precise date. This is probably because the event is represented as an incident in the life of the king, not of the tomb-owner, in conformity with that arrogation by the Royal Family at El-'Amarna of all the subjects that earlier had been reserved to the deceased.⁵

¹ Davies, *T. of Menkheperasonb*, pl. iii.

² Schott, *Or. Inst. Comm.* 18, 73.

³ Ibid. 79. It should be noted, however, that Parker (op. cit. §§ 331-5) regards the equation of *tpy rnpt* with the day of the celebration of *nhb-kꜣw* as not proved.

⁴ Aldred, op. cit. 81.

⁵ Davies, *Rock Tombs* 1, 19. It may also be that the event is dated at El-'Amarna because it was held on a day different from that on which the function was traditionally celebrated.

FRAGMENTS OF THE *BOOK OF THE DEAD* ON LINEN AND PAPYRUS

By RICARDO A. CAMINOS

THE thirteen linen and papyrus fragments herein published for the first time contain portions of the following chapters of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*: 1, 17, 72, 85, 86, 93, 108, 109, 124, and 136A. For practical reasons the numerical sequence of the chapters has been disregarded in the layout of the plates which illustrate this article. In the letterpress the various fragments are dealt with in the order in which they appear on the plates. It is hoped that the following conspectus will expedite search and atone for the unsystematic arrangement of our materials.

Chapter	1: vignette only, linen frag. 1, p. 119; pl. LIII, 1-2
„	„: vig. and text, linen frag. 2, p. 123; pl. LIV, 1-2
„	17: pap. frags. 8-13, p. 130; pls. LIX-LIXA
„	„: vig. and text, linen frag. 3, p. 125; pl. LV, 1-2
„	72: pap. frag. 7, p. 130; pl. LVIII, 3-4
„	85: linen frag. 4, p. 125; pl. LVI, 1-2
„	86: vig. only, linen frag. 4, p. 126; pl. LVI, 1-2
„	93: vig. only, linen frag. 6, p. 128; pl. LVIII, 1-2
„	108: linen frag. 5, p. 126; pl. LVII, 1-2
„	109: ditto
„	124: linen frag. 1, p. 120; pl. LIII, 1-2
„	136A: linen frag. 6, p. 128; pl. LVIII, 1-2

Fragment 1 belongs to the Dartmouth College Museum at Hanover, New Hampshire, and is published here by courtesy of the museum authorities. I wish to thank very particularly Mr. Alfred F. Whiting, curator of Anthropology at Dartmouth, for his good offices, and also my colleague Professor Richard A. Parker for bringing the fragment to my attention.

Fragments 2-13 are preserved in the John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, and for placing them at my disposal for study and publication I am much obliged to Mrs. Christine D. Hathaway and Professor Stuart C. Sherman.

Fragment 1 (pl. LIII, 1-2)

Dartmouth College Museum no. 39-64-6623. A piece of inscribed linen cloth presented by Miss E. M. Sutton of Oxford to the Museum and Art Gallery of the County Borough of Reading, Berkshire, in 1931.¹ It remained in England until 1938, when it was purchased by the Dartmouth College Museum and brought to the United

¹ The Reading Museum no. 436.31/1.1 is written in ink at the top right corner of the cloth.

States. Nothing is known about its provenance, or how it came to be in Miss Sutton's possession.¹

The fragment, which is a corner piece torn from the upper end of a mummy shroud, has stretched unevenly and is somewhat crumpled up, otherwise it would be almost perfectly rectangular in shape, approximately 48 cm. wide and 20 cm. high. The fabric is of fine, light texture, with 33 warp threads and 23 weft threads to the centimetre. Two edges, top and left, of the original sheet are still partly preserved, and both have a selvage. The colour is light brown, and quite uniform, except for a semicircular area at the bottom and towards the left, where a stain, made by some oily or resinous matter, has darkened the cloth. The state of preservation is on the whole very good, though there are a few sharply defined gaps caused by the corrosive action of ink or colour too thickly laid on.²

The cloth is almost completely covered with writing and pictures. Virtually all the writing is in archaistic hieratic characters or cursive hieroglyphs,³ arranged in columns and entirely executed in black ink. Also in black ink are the frame-lines and dividing lines between the columns. The pictures are polychrome.

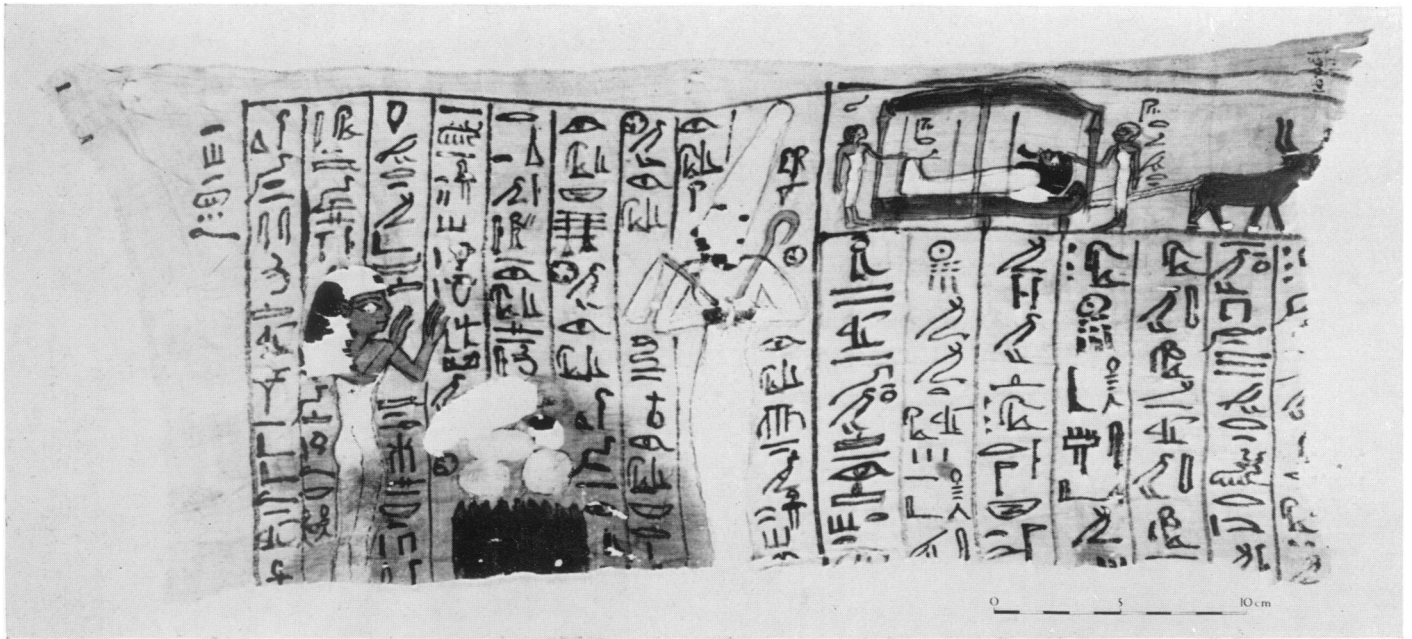
A compartment on the left half of the fragment contains a scene showing Osiris receiving the prayer of a woman, who is in all probability the person for whom the winding-sheet was made. It will be recalled that the adoration of Osiris, or of Rē, on the part of the deceased is the theme of a vignette found, frontispiece-like, at the beginning of many a papyrus copy of the *Book of the Dead*. Here the god is shown, standing and facing left in his customary close-fitting shroud, holding the flail and the shepherd's crook in his hands, which are clenched over his chest; on his head is the tall crown of Upper Egypt. The god and his insignia are skilfully outlined with a bold, free-flowing single line,⁴ originally red and now of a rusty hue. The crown, shroud, and thongs of the flail are painted white; the crook-sceptre and the handle of the flail appear to have been yellow ochre in antiquity, but time has changed them to fawn-colour or light yellowish brown. The face, beard, and hands were solid blue-black and are now largely destroyed, for acids in the paint have eaten away most of the surface upon which it was applied, producing the big holes that can be discerned in the photograph on pl. LIII. On the left a woman is shown standing and facing the god, and lifting up both arms in a reverential gesture. The woman's eye and her heavy wig, which reached down just below her shoulders, were outlined and painted black; here again most of the cloth ground has been corroded right through by the paint, while

¹ For information regarding the recent history of this record I am deeply indebted to Miss Jillian A. Thomas and Mr. R. A. Rutland of the Reading Museum and Art Gallery, Mr. W. A. Smallcombe of Reading, and Mr. Alfred F. Whiting of Dartmouth College.

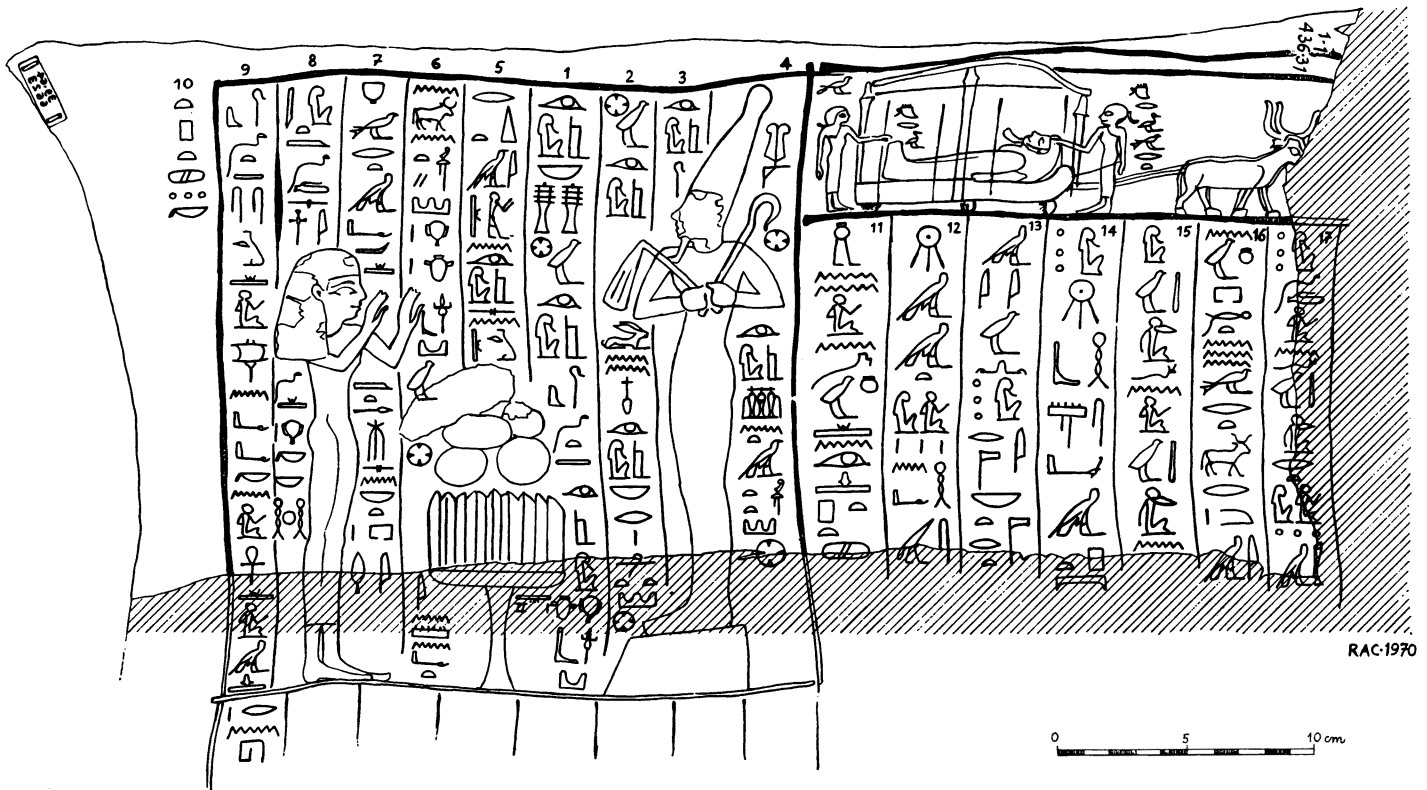
² Cf. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*⁴, 356 with nn. 2 and 3.

³ This style of writing is characteristic of early copies on papyrus of the *Book of the Dead*; cf. Grapow, *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1915, 376. Only the docket in the upper-left vignette are not in this style but in ordinary hieratic; see below, p. 120.

⁴ The vehicle with which the pigments were mixed has run a little and formed along the contour of the figure a sort of halo; on the photograph this looks as though the outline had been done with a faltering, unsteady hand and had to be gone over and touched up. This misleading effect is on the photograph only, not in the original.



1. Frag. 1. Dartmouth College Museum 39-64-6623. Mummy shroud








2. Frag. 1. Dartmouth College Museum 39-64-6623. Mummy shroud with restorations

the large black pupil, which was set on a dash of white, has peeled off almost completely, leaving the fabric intact. Originally yellow ochre, her face and arms are now fawn-coloured. Face, limbs, and body were deftly outlined in red, now turned rusty. The sheath-dress is white. Between the two figures is a heap of food offerings but no trace of the table upon which it undoubtedly rested. Proceeding upwards from the ripped edge one sees a row of tall slices of bread outlined in black and painted the same rusty red, then three loaves outlined in red and painted white, and on top two large holes (surely the result of the corrosive action of the paint), the shape of which suggests a large gourd or a bundle of leeks on the left and a bunch of grapes on the right.

As regards the text, cols. 1-4 read retrograde and identify the god as *Osiris lord of Djedu, Osiris ruler of eternity, Osiris [in the midst of Abydos (?)], Osiris Onnophris, Osiris lord of the necropolis, Osiris ruler of the Thinite nome, Osiris foremost of the westerners.*

Columns 5-10 read in the normal direction, from right to left: *Giving praise to Osiris and kissing [the ground] before the bull of the west, (the god) in the midst of Abydos, [by] the chief nurse Maḥu, true of voice, born to the lady of the house Iam[. . .?], true of voice. She says: 'Hail to you, O lord of everlastingness and ruler of eternity! Let me breathe the breath which you give me, let [me] live [on] your victual offerings.'*

I have found no trace of Maḥu in other records; the adjunct *wrt* in her title  suggests that she might have been nurse to the royal family. Her mother's name is unfortunately mutilated: . The two initial signs, though damaged, are quite certain, but the gap between them and the determinative, which was probably 1 or 1½ sq. large, cannot be bridged with any degree of confidence. The name might have been *Ṭmyt*, or else *Ṭm* plus another component such as *-hṭp* or the like.¹ The epithet  at the top of col. 8 is a slip of the brush for . Note that the prayer overran the space available for writing within the vignette, and its closing words, , had to be placed outside (col. 10).

The restorations suggested for the lower ends of cols. 5, 6, and 9 are based on context and space available; see the conjectural reconstruction on pl. LIII, 2, where the position of the line marking the bottom of the scene is necessarily only approximate. It might have been slightly higher or slightly lower than it appears on the drawing; but in any case there is little doubt that neither the scene nor its legends reached the lower edge of the cloth: they must have occupied only the upper left corner of the sheet, forming an inset or vignette² beneath which ran seven or eight short columns of writing, now wholly lost, with the beginning of Chapter 124.



On the right half of the fragment, at the top, is an oblong, incomplete compartment, 6 cm. high and about 20 cm. wide, with a picture in it: it shows a mummy being conveyed in a canopied bier drawn by a team of cows with two mourners in attendance. It is obvious that the shroud bore here the vignette of Chapter 1 of the *Book of the Dead*. Known from scores of copies, the vignette depicts, with varying degrees of elaboration

¹ See, for instance, Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 6 (22-3), 25 (8), and remark on p. 414, n. 1.

² Exactly like the scene of adoration to Osiris at the upper left corner of the linen shroud of Amenemḥab in the Louvre; cf. Devéria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens*, 59 f.

and detail, the funeral procession, whereof the essential, ever-present element is, naturally, the mummy on the bier. From what remains here it is likely that Maḥu's shroud carried only an abridged version of the traditional vignette.

All the figures are outlined in red, except the cow in the foreground, which is outlined in black. The cows are painted solid red; only horns and hoofs were black, but the colour is much faded and tarnished, while the hoofs have for the most part been eaten away by the paint and are now reduced to holes. The wooden parts of the canopy, namely the roof and supporting poles, were originally a yellow ochre colour now turned fawn. The raised curtain under the curved roof-beam is a rusty red; this is also the colour of the heavy sledge, which appears to be placed on rollers, or on wheels, or, doubtfully, on blocks of some kind—a most unusual arrangement in any case.¹ The mummy's beard, wig and eye were black or blue-black; here again the colour has faded, and the back of the wig is lost in a gap made by corrosive agents in the paint. The two mourners' tight-fitting clothes are white. Their flesh is fawn-coloured, originally yellow ochre, like the canopy.

The mourners are identified by short docketts or label-texts. The one standing by the head of the mummy is , 'the Great Kite'; her companion is , 'the Little Kite'. They impersonate Isis and Nephthys, the two divine sisters also known as the Two Kites, the mourners *par excellence*, who according to tradition had together bewailed their dead brother Osiris.²

The mourners' docketts are inscribed in hieratic pure and simple, in black ink. Also in black ink but written in cursive hieroglyphs or archaistic hieratic characters are the seven incomplete columns of text under the vignette which are numbered 11 to 17 in the drawing on pl. LIII. The mutilated text reads retrograde and is from Chapter 124, a well-attested spell designed to assist the dead in going into the presence of the assessors of Osiris.³ For the purpose of comparison reference will be made here to Chapter 124 in the Eighteenth-Dynasty papyrus of Mesemnūte, quoted from the facsimile published by Naville, *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch*, 1, pl. 132.


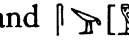
Frag. 1	Mesemnūte
col. 11	col. 6 (last sign) and col. 7
„ 12	„ 8
„ 13	„ 9

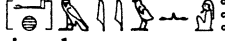
¹ Three rollers or six wheels—the number makes wheels rather improbable. To my knowledge the only instance found hitherto of a sledge or sledge-shaped frame on wheels occurs on the wall of a tomb of the Second Intermediate Period at El-Kâb; see Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* v, 185 (5–6), where the contraption, which is also used for the conveyance of a mummy to its burial place, is described as a 'wheeled trolley'. Note Davies, *JEA* 12, 111 f., reproducing Tylor's old drawing of the El-Kâb vehicle with comments on its wheels; its unusual character is confirmed by Settgast, *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 26. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 1 (Birch ed.), 237, fig. 69, reproduces a wheeled bier depicted on a piece of mummy cloth; it is a different type of vehicle, however, with no resemblance to a sledge; the same holds true of some wheeled vehicles for mummified Apis bulls, see M. el Amir, *JEA* 34, 52 with pl. 17, 4.

² Cf. Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, 49 with n. 2, 55; Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 120 f.; Lüddeckens, *MDAIK* 11, 184 ff.; Keimer, *Remarques sur le tatouage dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 52 with nn. 1 and 2; Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris*, 2, 15, 28 f.; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 250; and the Settgast reference given in the preceding footnote.


³ For a recent translation cf. Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, 156 f.

col. 14	col. 11
„ 15	„ 12
„ 16	„ 13 (end) and col. 14
„ 17	„ 15

The present version is very unusual in that in col. 12 the name of the deceased is omitted between  and .¹ The 1st pers. sing. suffix is to be understood after the preposition, namely *hm(i)*: ‘. . . the sun-folk speak with (me). O leader of the hearts of the gods, etc.’

Read  at the beginning of col. 13. The name of these heavenly beings² is spelt in the same unusual fashion on a linen shroud of the Seventeenth Dynasty (same context).³

Column 15 agrees exactly with the text on col. 4 of the linen shroud just mentioned.

We cannot date the cloth with any degree of accuracy. The writing is very similar to that found on the remnant of a linen shroud belonging to Princess ‘Aḥmosi, daughter of Seqenenrē-Taʿa, the last but one king of the Seventeenth Dynasty.⁴ Yet the resemblance, though close, is not conclusive chronologically. Points of resemblance may also be found in the more carefully written texts that cover Tuthmosis III’s winding-sheet,⁵ not to mention a few *Book-of-the-Dead* papyri which also date without a doubt from the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁶ Good parallels may likewise be found even in manuscripts of the early Nineteenth Dynasty;⁷ but thereafter the palaeographical differences increasingly outweigh the similarities, and it is no use to search further. As for the plain, straightforward hieratic in the mourners’ docket, the \mathfrak{N} -sign done with three vertical little squiggles brings the writing well into the Nineteenth Dynasty, while the generic determinative for birds  pushes it back into the Eighteenth Dynasty and even earlier. We must then content ourselves with a very rough and tentative dating: the shroud might have been produced some time between the late Seventeenth Dynasty and the middle of the Nineteenth, say between 1600 and 1250 B.C.

The Dartmouth fragment might turn out to be an *antika* of a very rare kind, for it would appear that it was but seldom that mummy shrouds were inscribed with spells of the *Book of the Dead*. Shrouds so inscribed, or fragments thereof, which have been

¹ The same omission in Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Plates, pl. 109, col. 4 from right.

² Perhaps images or incarnations of zoomorphic gods, cf. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altäg. Pyramidentexten*, II, 165; Sélim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire*, 23 ff., with further references.

³ Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto*, I, pl. 6, col. 3 from right.

⁴ An admirable photograph is given by Schiaparelli, loc. cit. The three shroud fragments which he reproduces on pls. 7–8 are also from Princess ‘Aḥmosi’s mummy, but the writing they bear is more carefully done, more formal, less cursive than that shown on pl. 6, and is, no doubt, the handiwork of a different scribe. He discusses these remains on pp. 14 and 19–21 of his book. For additional inscribed shroud fragments of the Seventeenth Dynasty wherewith the Dartmouth cloth may be compared palaeographically see below, p. 122, n. 1, additions (2) and (3).

⁵ Full references in Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I (2nd ed.), part 2, 660 (16).

⁶ See, for instance, Naville, *Funeral Papyrus of Iouiya*, pls. 2–34; and the more cursively written papyrus of Kenna, for which see facsimile in Leemans, *Papyrus égyptien funéraire hiéroglyphique (T. 2) du Musée d’Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, pls. 5–27.

⁷ Shorter, *Catalogue of Egyptian Religious Papyri in the British Museum. Copies of the Book Pr(t)-m-hrw*, I, 12 (no. 10471) with pl. 7; Budge, *Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kērāsher, and Netchemet*, Pap. of Hunefer, pls. 1–11.

ness of these texts, so essential for one's welfare in the after-life, was increased by placing them in the most intimate contact possible with the body of the person they were meant to help and sustain.¹ The next five fragments to be passed in review are in fact relics of such late bandages inscribed with *Book-of-the-Dead* spells.²

Fragment 2 (pl. LIV, 1-2)

John Hay Library no. A 18901 [1] 1. Fragment of inscribed mummy bandage. It was received by the library in 1903 from the estate of the Revd. Lysander Dickerman, D.D.,³ together with the linen frags. 3-6, which are dealt with below. There is no record of how, where, and when Dr. Dickerman acquired them.

The fragment is about 29 cm. in length and almost exactly 10 cm. in width. This is also the original width of the bandage, which was made, like most Egyptian bandages, by ripping an old sheet into strips.⁴ The right and left ends have been trimmed in modern times. It is made from flax, and the texture is not particularly fine, with 28 warp threads and 15 weft threads to the centimetre. The colour is brown, medium light, with only faintly darkened areas. The designs and writing that cover the cloth were made with a split-reed pen, not a brush, all in black ink, and they have faded very considerably.

All along the top stretches, like a frieze, a scene 3.3 cm. high which is readily identified as belonging to the vignette of Chapter 1 of the *Book of the Dead*, a vignette already referred to on pp. 119 f. above. The protagonist in the funeral procession, namely the deceased on a bier *en route* to his last resting-place, was just beyond the right-hand edge of the cloth and is now wholly lost. What remains is the head of the procession, in which the following participants may be seen from left to right. First a cow meant to be slaughtered for the funeral repast; there is no trace of the calf that usually appears facing it: it might have been shown prancing, as often, with the fore-legs well off the ground, just above the slanting edge of the missing corner.⁵ Then two attendants, one carrying what we know from less sketchy representations to be a coffer with long legs,⁶

¹ We do not really know what idea lay behind this practice. For some remarks on the subject see C. R. Williams, *Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects*, 160; Reich, *JEA* 17, 87 n. 3; Nagel, *Ann. Serv.* 49, 329.

² Bandages so inscribed are found already towards the end of the Twentieth Dynasty; cf. Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 3, 153 (1°), 155 f. (temp. Ramesses XI). It may be noted that research on this type of material is handicapped at every turn by inadequate publication. What, for instance, is the 'large bande avec texte enroulée autour des jambes' of an early Twenty-first Dynasty mummy reported on by Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 8, 22 (11)?

³ Lysander Dickerman (1825-1902) was, with William N. Groff, Charles E. Moldenke, and Frederick C. H. Wendel, among the first Americans who went to Europe to study Egyptology. He had visited Egypt in 1869 and matriculated as a student of Egyptology at the University of Berlin the following year.

⁴ For a description of how mummy bandages were made and wrapped round the body see Winlock, *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn at Thebes*, 48 ff.; also Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des neuen Reiches*, 1, 104 f.; Smith and Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies*, 141 ff. On the general question of mummy cloth cf. Budge, *The Mummy*², 215 ff., with interesting references to the early literature; add to his references Pettigrew, *History of the Egyptian Mummies*, 89 ff. (particularly pp. 94 f. on inscribed bandages), and Macalister, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 23, 101 ff. See further the technical paper by Fox and Myers quoted below, p. 126, n. 2.


⁵ See, for instance, Leemans, *Papyrus égyptien funéraire hiératique (T. 16) du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, pl. 3.

⁶ Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, pl. 54.

and the other, two trays suspended from the end of a yoke. The trays appear to be empty; elsewhere round bags are seen on them,¹ or else the trays are replaced by light pieces of furniture.² Next comes a woman mourner beating her chest in token of grief, followed by a priest who walks backwards with upraised arms, thus paying reverence to four sacred emblems which are borne on standards by acolytes. The first emblem combines two ostrich feathers with the sun-disc; the next is a falcon, then follows an ibis, and the fourth emblem, almost entirely lost in a gap, is Ⲙ, the ambiguous animal of Wepwawet. Behind them a cow, adorned with sun-disc and plumes set between its horns, is urged forward by an attendant with a flail. Lastly, there is a priest who turns round to sprinkle and/or fumigate the now lost mummy on the sledge; the priest's arms, which were outstretched behind him, are gone with the rest of the cloth.

The text under the vignette consists of three columns of writing of which the last (left-most) is incomplete. Each column has seven lines. It is a version of Chapter 1, a chapter which explicitly marks the beginning of the spells 'for going forth by day', and which consists of prayers to be said on the day of burial.³ The text on the cloth represents *grosso modo* half of that chapter. To facilitate study the lines of the present version, which are numbered consecutively 1 to 21 in the transcription on pl. LIV, are here equated with the columns of the Nineteenth-dynasty manuscript published by Budge, *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum*², pls. 5 and 6.

Frag. 2	Ani	Frag. 2	Ani	Frag. 2	Ani
l. 1	col. 12-13	l. 8	col. 19-20	l. 15	col. 28
„ 2	„ 13-14	„ 9	„ 20-2	„ 16	„ 30
„ 3	„ 14-15	„ 10	„ 22-3	„ 17	„ 31-2
„ 4	„ 16	„ 11	„ 23-4	„ 18	„ 32-3
„ 5	„ 16-17	„ 12	„ 25-6	„ 19	„ 34-5
„ 6	„ 17-18	„ 13	„ 26	„ 20	„ 36
„ 7	„ 18-19	„ 14	„ 26-8	„ 21	„ 38

The name of the deceased occurs in l. 17: , 'Shamekhy'. I can quote no other instance of this name. On palaeographical grounds the bandage may be assigned to a period stretching roughly from 100 B.C. to A.D. 200 (Ptolemaic-Roman times).

Fragments 3, 4, and 5 (pls. LV, 1-2; LVI, 1-2; LVII, 1-2)

Three segments of inscribed mummy bandage of unknown provenance. Same recent history as frag. 2; see above, p. 123.

It is well to gather these three pieces under one heading because they come from the same mummy and might even have been torn from the same sheet; for the cloth of the three fragments is very much alike: a strong, rather coarse fabric made from flax, with 32 warp threads and 12 weft threads to the centimetre. Also the colour of the three is the same light brown, though frag. 3 is a shade lighter than the others. The writing on the three pieces is almost certainly the handiwork of one and the same scribe. Black ink was used throughout. The fragments differ, however, in size and contents.

¹ Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, pl. 54.

² Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum*, pl. 2.

³ For a recent translation see Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, 38 ff.

Fragment 3 (pl. LV, 1-2). John Hay Library no. A 18901 [2] 1. About 9 cm. in width; this is also the original width of the bandage. The length is approximately 18 cm. Right and left ends are badly torn and show evidence of modern trimming. All along the upper edge, between two parallel lines about 3 cm. apart, runs a scene which is part of the vignette of Chapter 17 in the so-called Saite Recension of the *Book of the Dead*. Although the drawing is rather crude and some parts of it are now extremely faint, with the help of parallels it may be described thus, from right to left. Directly on the torn right-hand edge are mere vestiges of a man originally shown standing and facing to the observer's right, supporting a box on his shoulder.¹ Next comes Anubis, shown standing and facing right, with a man's body and the head of a jackal or a dog. Then Osiris, enthroned and facing right, wearing the Upper Egyptian crown and holding flail and shepherd's crook in his hands. A group follows, the meaning of which is uncertain: the sky-goddess Nūt leans over and reaches down as if to touch a recumbent lion that faces her; under her arched body is an enormous beetle.² The woman squatting at the left end, behind the lion, is the goddess Isis, with the hieroglyph for her name, the seat 𓄿, badly drawn, on her head.

The remains of two columns of text are to be found beneath the vignette. Each column consisted, and still consists, of 5 lines, and these are numbered 1 to 10 in the transcription on pl. LV, 2. The text is Chapter 17, one of the most important and frequently copied spells of the *Book of the Dead*.³ The present version will now be correlated with Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden*, 72-84 (abbr. *Urk.* v).

Frag. 3	<i>Urk.</i> v	Frag. 3	<i>Urk.</i> v
l. 1	p. 72, 15-16 and p. 74, 3-4	l. 6	p. 83, 8-9
„ 2	„ 75, 12-13	„ 7	„ 83, 11-12
„ 3	„ 75, 14-16	„ 8	„ 83, 15-16
„ 4	„ 75, 17	„ 9	„ 84, 2-3
„ 5	„ 77, 12	„ 10	„ 84, 3-5

Fragment 4 (pl. LVI, 1-2). John Hay Library no. A 18901 [2] 2. Length 30 cm. Width 6.5 cm.; this is also the original width of the bandage. The right and left ends have been trimmed in modern times. The state of preservation is good, despite a few holes.⁴ The dark patches near the left end are stains probably made by some of the fluids used by the embalmers and much less conspicuous on the original than they appear on the photograph. Most of the cloth is taken up by a single, virtually

¹ The cloth has preserved a trace of the uplifted arm and the outline of the man's seat and thigh only; the rest of the figure is lost. See, for example, Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hierogl. Papyrus in Turin*, pl. 10 (top left); Allen, op. cit., pl. 15 (col. iv).

² For some comments on this group cf. Bosticco, *Aegyptus* 37, 72 with fig. 2 on unnumbered plate. That the goddess is Nūt is particularly clear in the Florence fragment published by Bosticco; iconographically her identity is less evident in other occurrences of the same vignette, e.g. Pap. Leyden T.16, pl. 9, xi (top), referred to above, p. 123, n. 5. The vignette on our mummy bandage shows no trace of the — or — which sometimes accompanies the beetle; see, for instance, Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, 57 (from Pap. Louvre I 3081); Lepsius, *Denk.* III, 260, b.

³ Paul Barguet's excellent translation may be consulted (quoted in the preceding footnote).

⁴ The gap at the beginning of l. 1 is a tiny vertical slit now widened to a round hole by the overstretched cloth. Of the word 𓄿 𓄿 𓄿 𓄿, the first three signs are complete and there are traces of the others.

complete column of writing. The column is 20·5 cm. wide and has six lines. The text is the beginning of Chapter 85, a spell designed to allow the deceased to transform himself into a soul (*bꜣ*) of bird-like appearance and elude the execution-chamber in the other world.¹ Our text follows fairly closely the version in Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hierogl. Papyrus in Turin*, pl. 32, Kap. 85. The correlation is as follows:

Frag. 4	Turin	
l.	1	heading and col. 1 (top)
„	2	col. 1 and 2 (top)
„	3	„ 2
„	4	„ 2 (end) and 3
„	5	„ 3 (lower) and 4 (upper)
„	6	„ 4 (middle)

On the left side of the fragment a swallow is shown perched on a mound or roundish object: it is the vignette of Chapter 86, which was a spell that enabled the deceased to assume the form of that bird.

Fragment 5 (pl. LVII, 1–2). John Hay Library no. A 18901 [2] 3. Length 27 cm. Width 5·8 cm., which is also the original width of the bandage. The right and left ends have been trimmed by a modern hand. It is in poor condition, with holes and tears, some of which must have been in the used sheet from which the bandage was made. There is no sign of darning, however. The dark patches seen on the photograph towards the right are ancient stains. The arrangement of the writing may best be followed in the transcription on pl. LVII, 2, where the lines are numbered. Ll. 1–3 stretch across the whole length of the cloth, but after writing them the scribe, to avoid the vertical tear the inner end of which now cuts through Ⓛ^{e} in the middle of l. 3, split the wide column by writing ll. 4–5 to the right and ll. 6–7 to the left of the tear.²

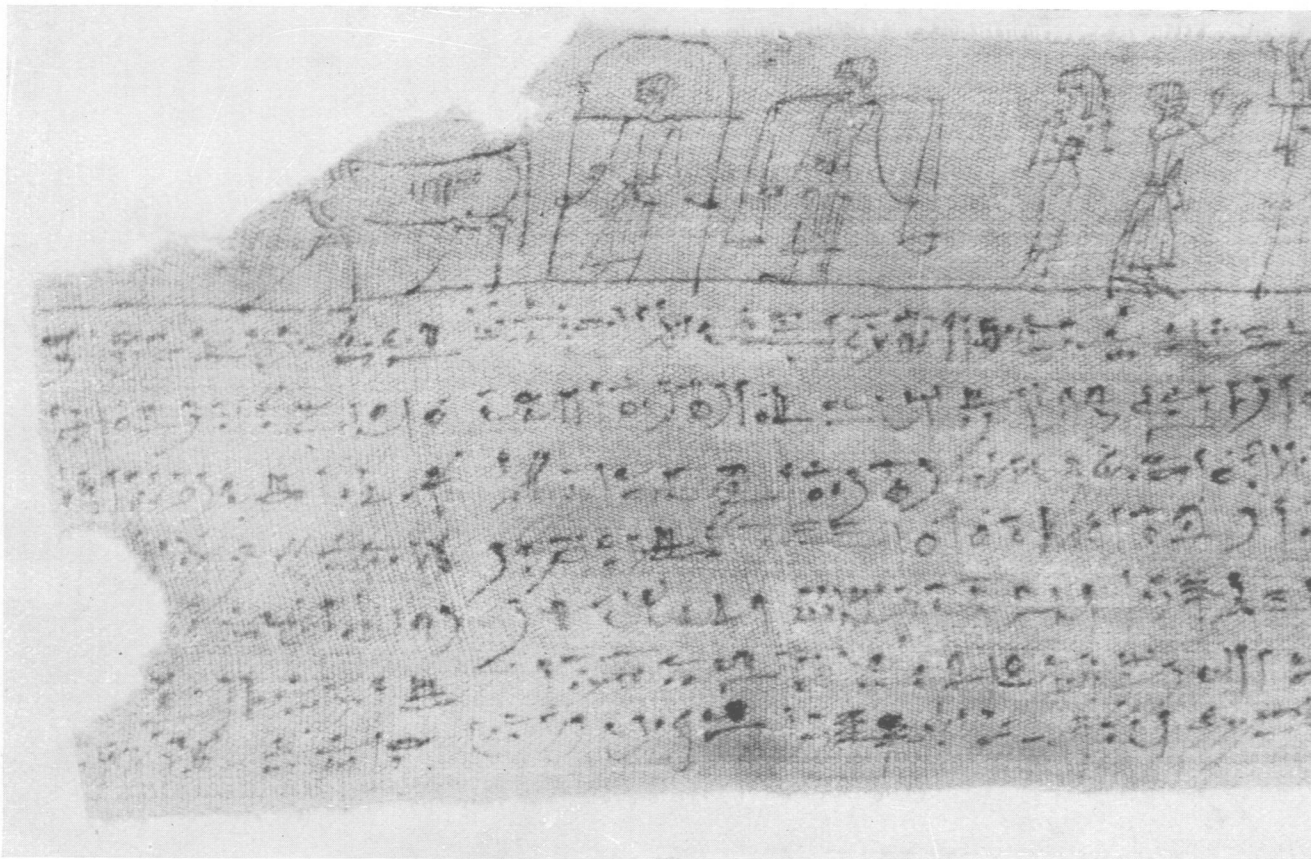
Preserved on this fragment are the closing words of Chapter 108 and the beginning of Chapter 109. These important spells made one acquainted with the names of three souls or supernatural beings of the west and three of the east respectively, and with other circumstances pertaining to those two regions of the world.³ Our version corresponds to the parallel texts edited by Sethe, *ZÄS* 59, 32*–34*, and 51*–52*, in the following manner:

Frag. 5	ZÄS 59	
l.	1	p. 51*, viii 45–46 and p. 52*, viii 47
„	2	„ 52*, viii 47 and p. 32*, vii 2
„	3	„ 32*, vii 2 (N.N.), vii 3 and p. 33*, vii 4
„	4	„ 33*, vii 4–6

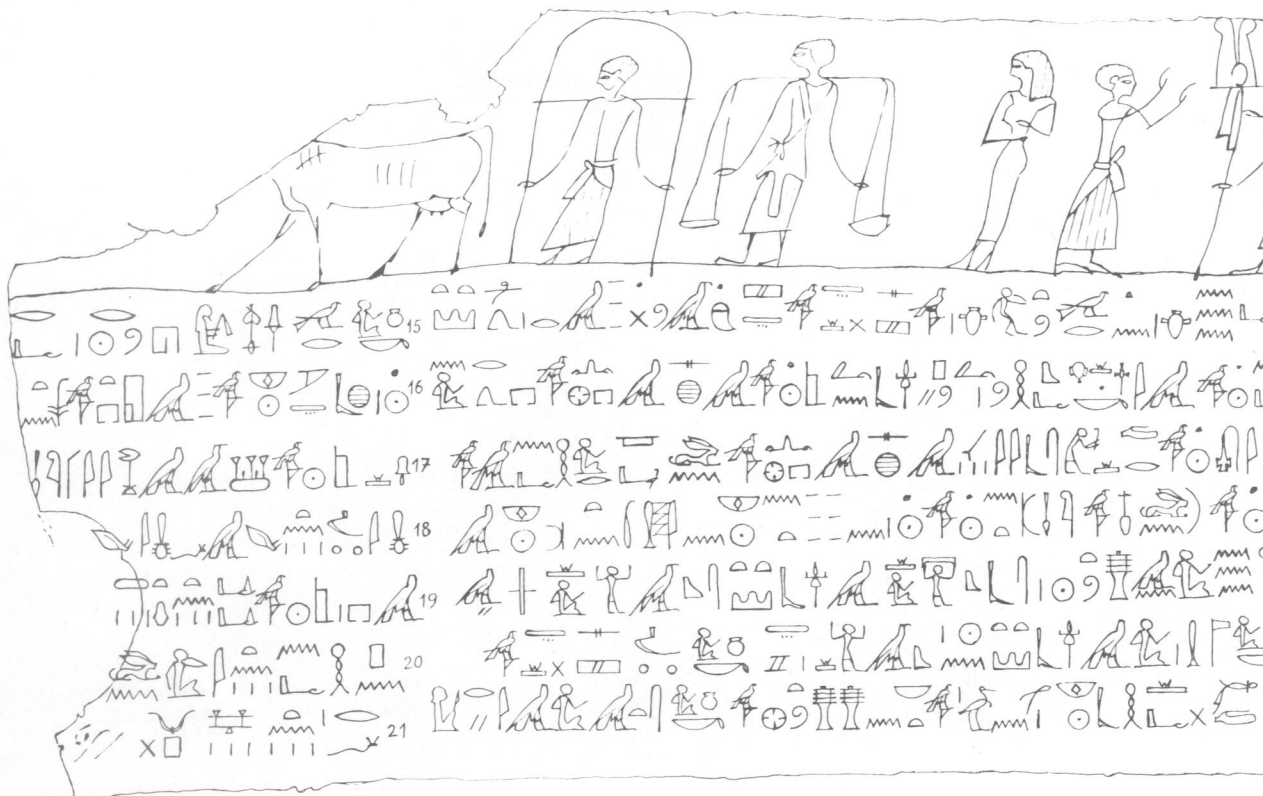
¹ Translation in Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, 122 f.

² It is well attested that the Egyptians used old linen for mummy bandages more often than not; cf. Fox and Myers, *Journal of the Municipal School of Technology, Manchester* 3, 369; C. R. Williams, *Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects*, 160 f.; note also below, p. 128 with n. 2.

³ Translation in Barguet, op. cit. 142 f.

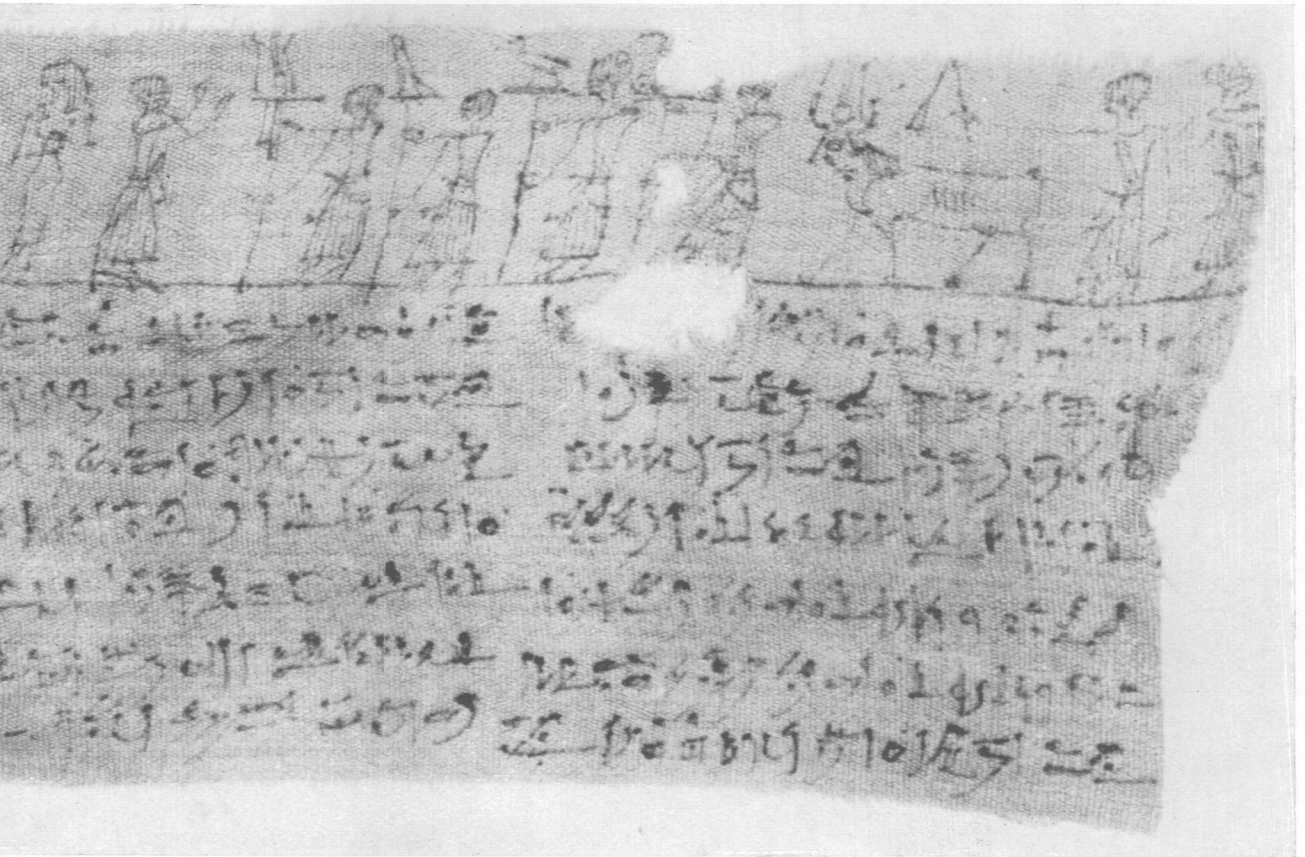


1. Frag. 2. John Hay Library A 18901 [1] 1. Mumm

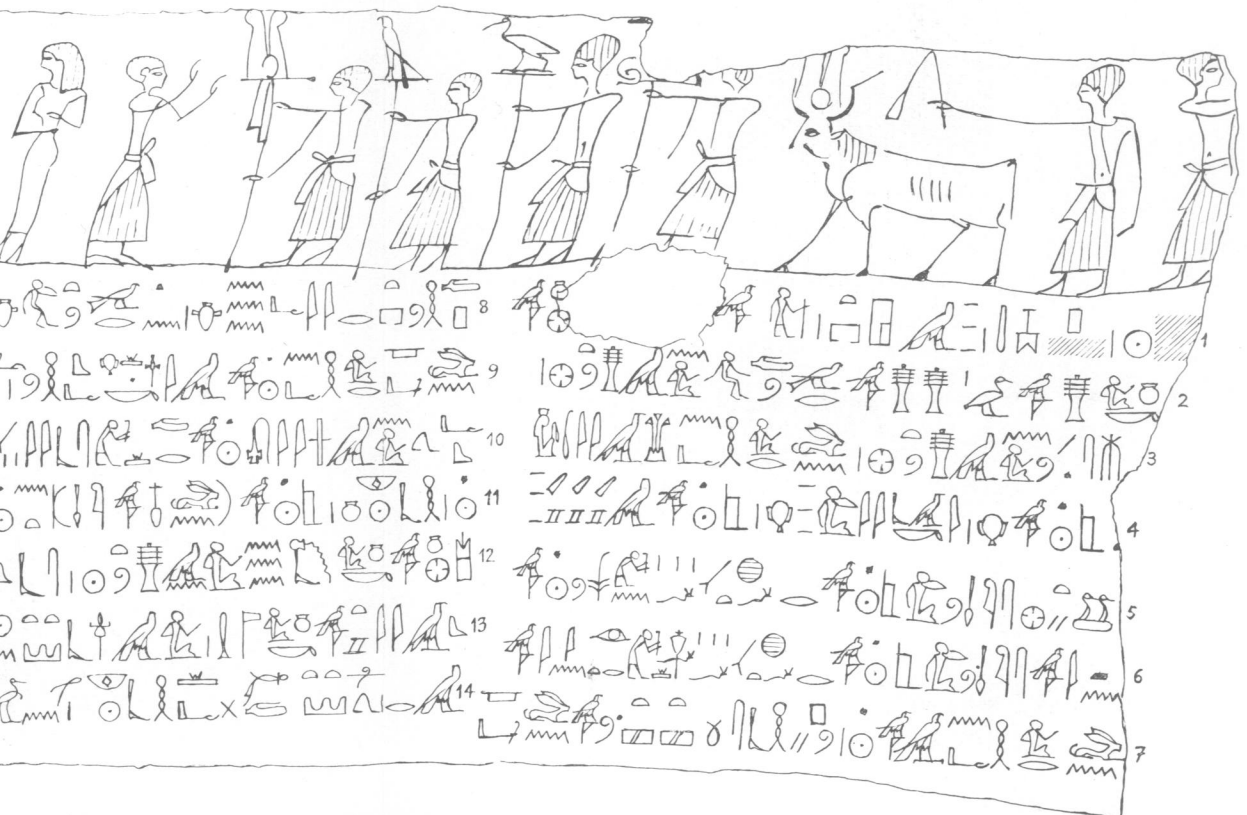


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2. Frag. 2. John Hay Library A 18901 [1] 1. Mumm



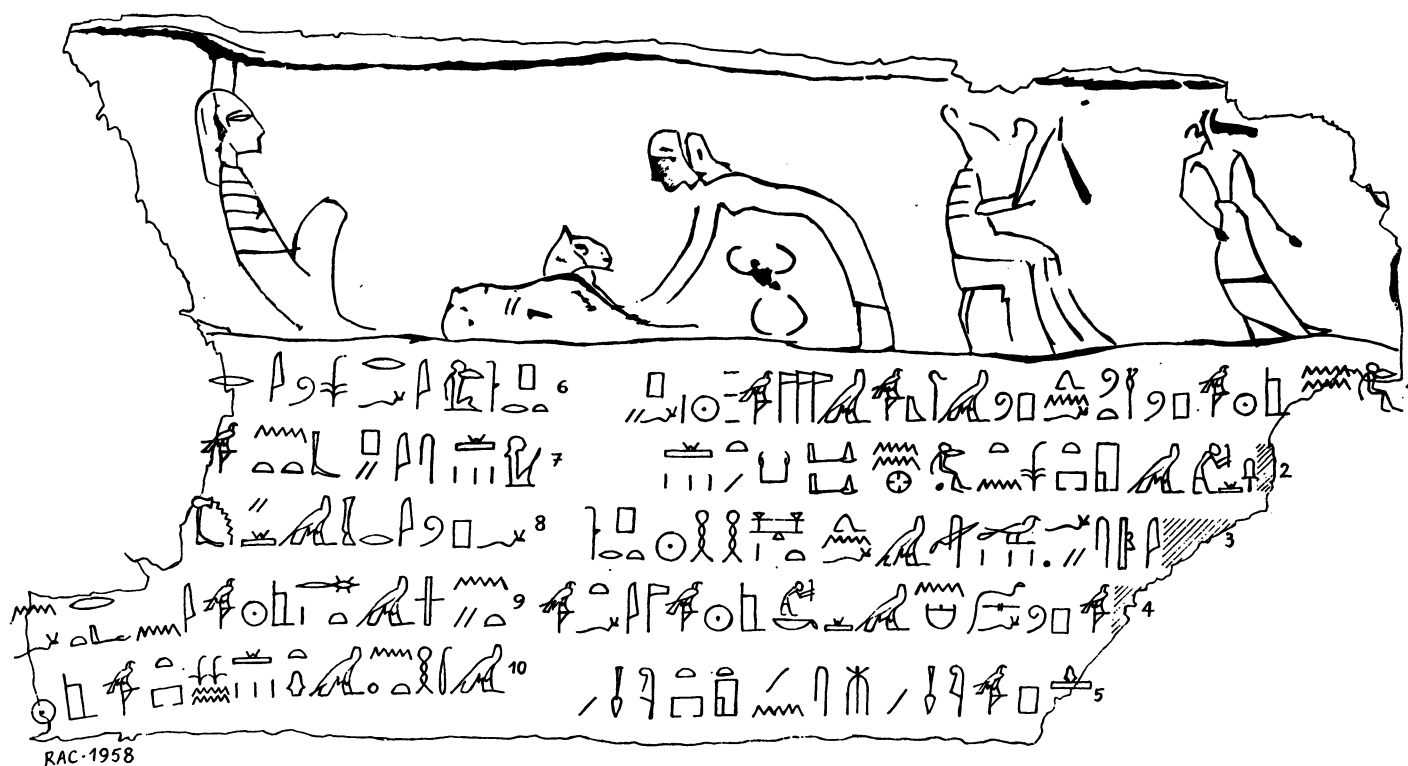
Library A 18901 [1] i. Mummy bandage (natural size)



Library A 18901 [1] i. Mummy bandage



1. Frag. 3. John Hay Library A 18901 [2] 1. Mummy bandage (*natural size*)

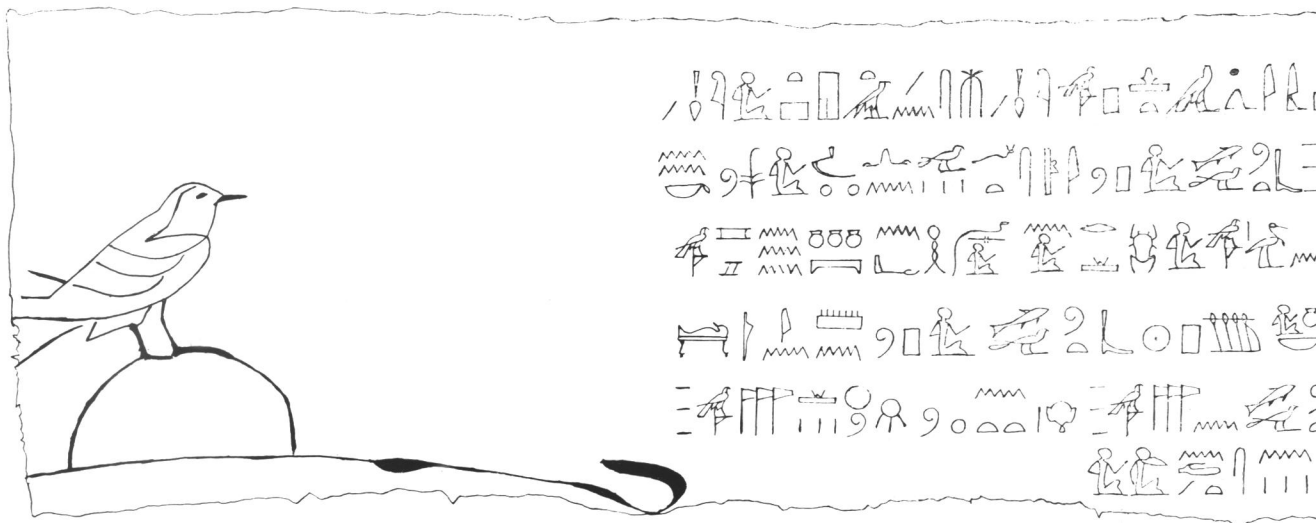


2. Frag. 3. John Hay Library A 18901 [2] 1. Mummy bandage

FRAGMENTS OF THE *BOOK OF THE DEAD*

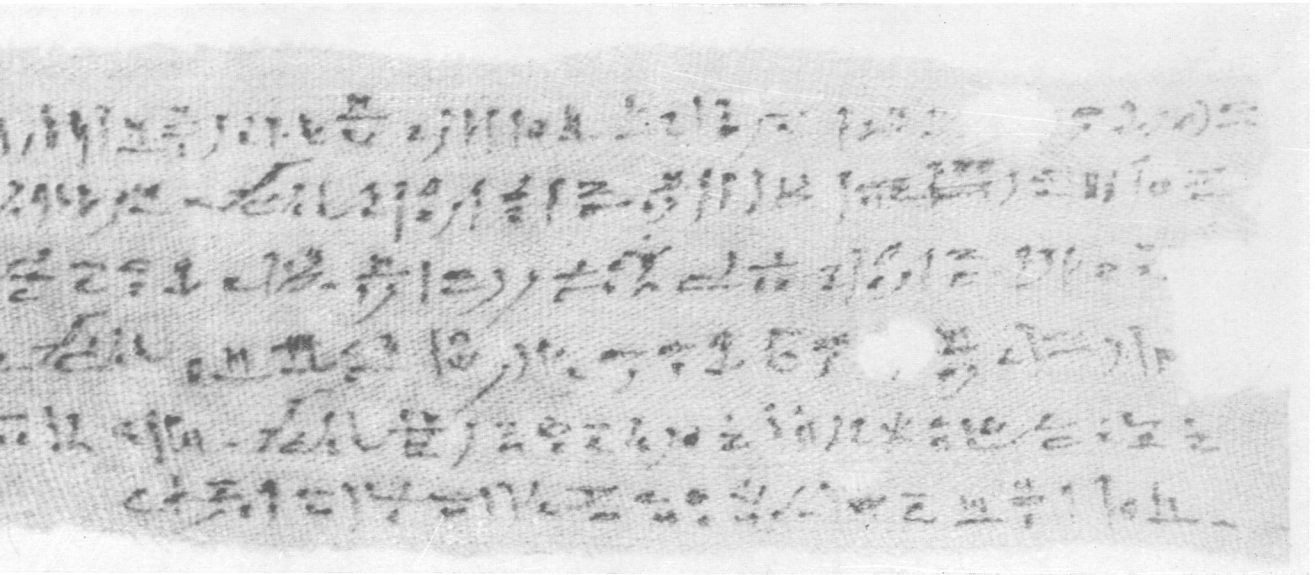


1. Frag. 4. John Hay Library A 18901 [2] 2. Mummy b

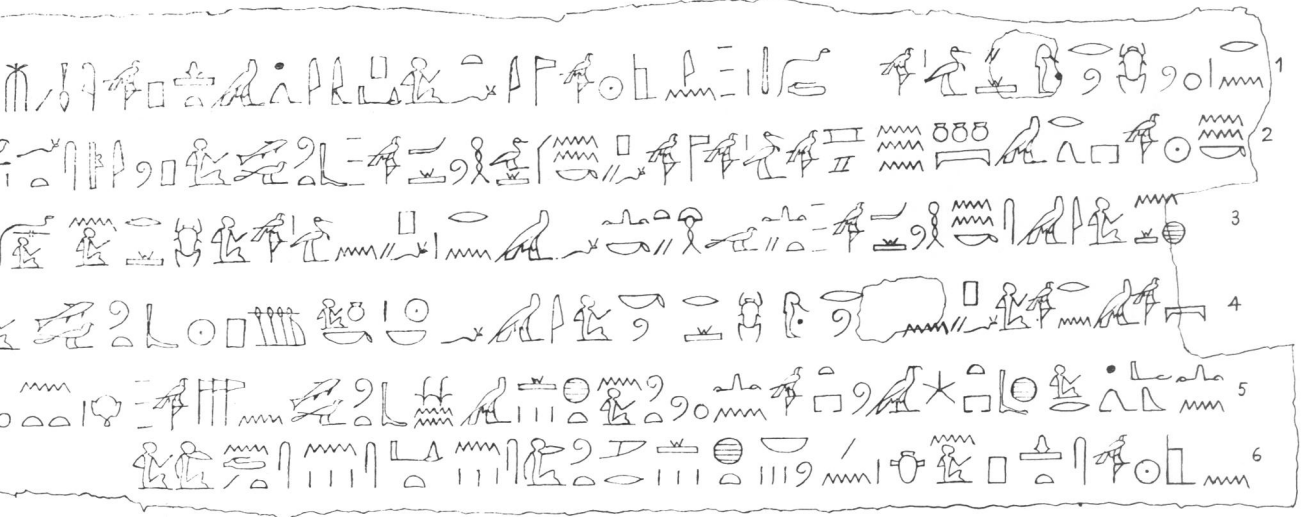


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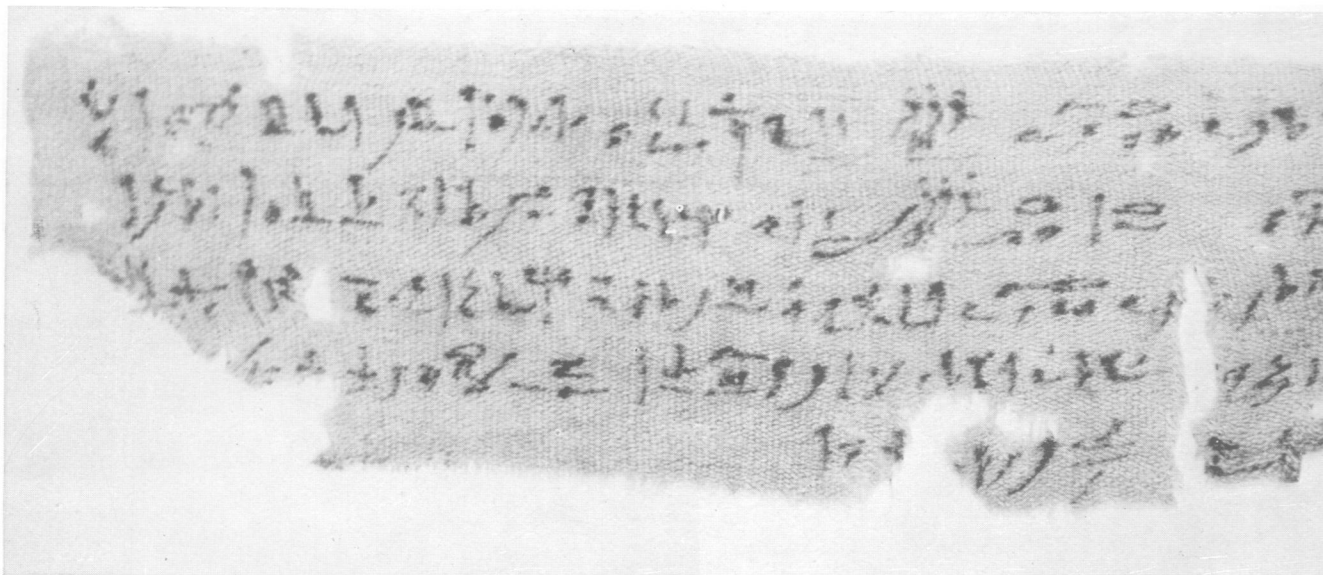
2. Frag. 4. John Hay Library A 18901 [2] 2. Mu



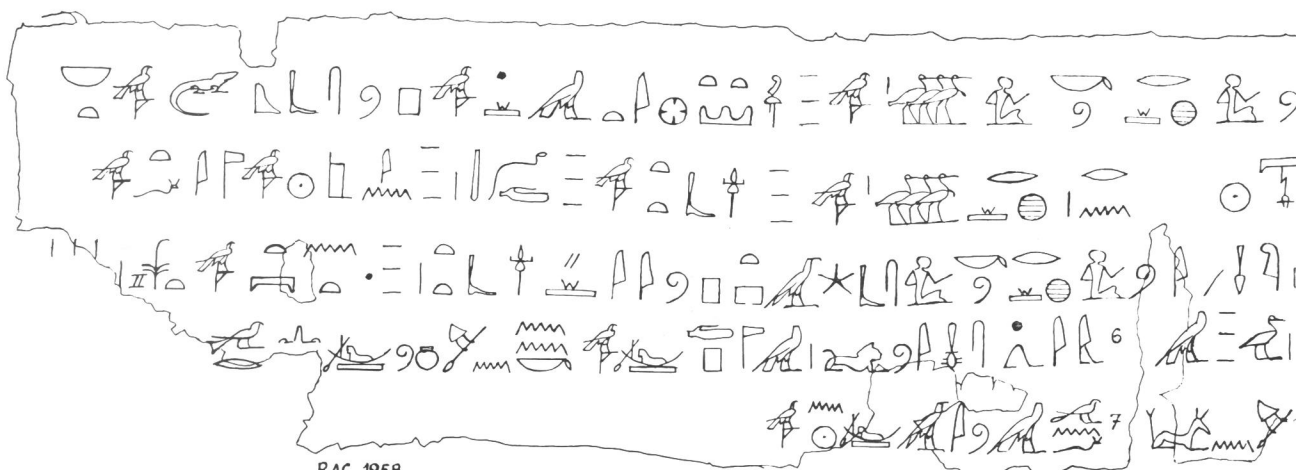
Library A 18901 [2] 2. Mummy bandage (natural size)



in Hay Library A 18901 [2] 2. Mummy bandage

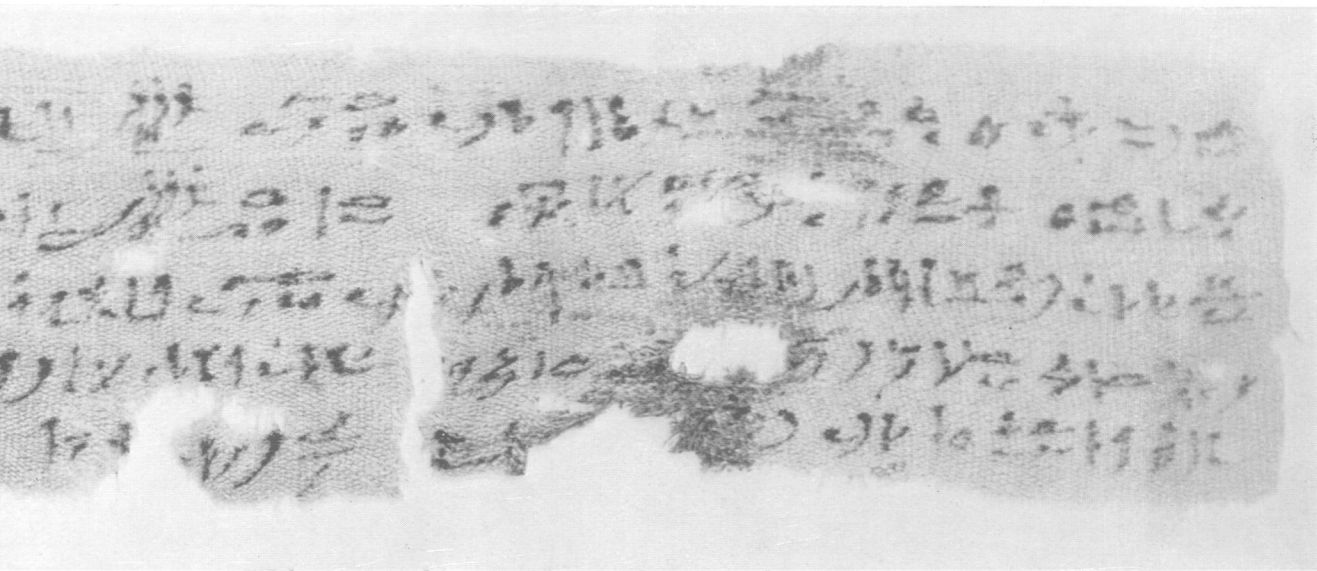


1. Frag. 5. John Hay Library A 18901 [2] 3. Mummy bandage



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2. Frag. 5. John Hay Library A 18901 [2] 3. Mummy bandage



John Hay Library A 18901 [2] 3. Mummy bandage (*natural size*)

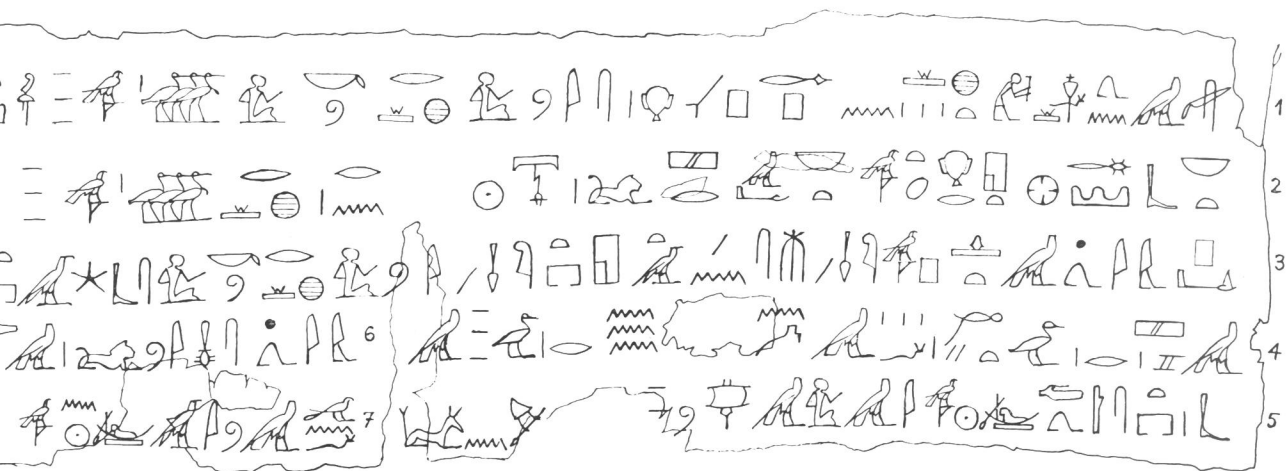



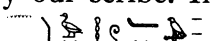

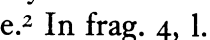
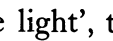
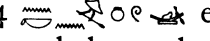
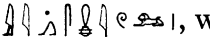
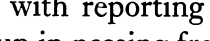
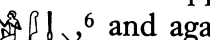



Fig. 5. John Hay Library A 18901 [2] 3. Mummy bandage

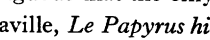
1. 5 p. 33*, vii 6
 ,, 6 ,, 34*, vii 7-8
 ,, 7 ,, 34*, vii 8

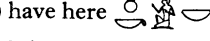
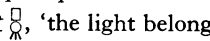
For reasons of space textual variants and points of grammar cannot be discussed here, and I must limit myself to call attention to the way in which  and , which have been the subject of some controversy,¹ are used by our scribe. In frag. 4, l. 2  means 'I am Rēc' (not 'Rēc belongs to me'), and  stands for 'it was I who created authority' (not 'to me belongs the creator of authority'), while  at the end of l. 2, occurring as it does in broken context, may be called in question and had better be left out of account or relegated to a footnote.² In frag. 4, l. 3  means 'I am Hū (authoritative utterance)', rather than 'to me belongs Hū'. Further on in l. 4  is perhaps best translated 'I am the light', though 'the light belongs to me' is a defensible alternative.³ In frag. 5, l. 4  etc.⁴ means 'I am the rower, indefatigable, in the bark of Rēc' (not 'to me belongs the indefatigable rower', etc.). It may be added that in frag. 5, l. 6 we find , where versions of the Late Period give , 'I am concerned with reporting (in the god's bark)'; clearly the scribe skipped the independent pronoun in passing from one line to the other, and, moreover, wrote *ii* in error for *iry*.⁵

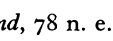

Frag. 3, 4, and 5 come from the mummy of a man who in life belonged to that special class of priests called 'god's fathers'. His name was *Pede-imḥotep*, and he was the son of a woman called *Tahūt*. His title, name, and maternal filiation appear in full in l. 1 of frag. 4: ,⁶ and again in frag. 5, ll. 2-3, where the mother's name has no determinative. Frag. 3 yields the title in full in l. 4, but the man's name is mostly lost in the gap at the beginning of l. 5, and the mother's name is spelt .

A late date, perhaps Persian-Ptolemaic, may be tentatively suggested on the strength of the handwriting.

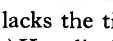

¹ Sethe, *ZÄS* 54, 40 ff.; 58, 53; Naville, *BIFAO* 16, 229 ff.; Till, *ZÄS* 59, 157; Gardiner, *JEA* 20, 15 ff.; Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, § 368 and p. lxxviii (§ 368); *Wb.* II, 197, 7; Gilula, *Rev. d'Ég.* 20, 55 ff.

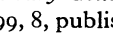
² The beginning of l. 3 is lost in a gap, but the available space is so exiguous that the only possible restoration would appear to be , as in, for example, Naville, *Le Papyrus hiérog. de Kamara*, pl. 5, col. 12 from right; this could only mean 'truth belongs to me, I live on it'. Some versions read *ink nb mwt*, 'I am lord (possessor?) of truth'.

³ Note that most early texts (including De Buck, *Coffin Texts*, IV, 62, o) have here , *ink nb sšp*, lit. 'I am lord of light', which is tantamount to 'I am a possessor of light', i.e. 'light belongs to me' (a well-established idiomatic use of *nb*, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³, § 115A), and it is quite possible that it was construed in this last sense by the Egyptians and accordingly shortened to , 'the light belongs to me'. Zandee, *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 2 (no. 8), 580, 583 with n. 27, renders *ink nb sšp*, 'I am the lord of light', quoting *Book of the Dead*, Ch. 21, 2.

⁴ For the  preceding , cf. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 78 n. e.

⁵ Cf. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, 34 (M 18).

⁶ The determinative of the mother's name is clearly , not , for it lacks the tick which characterizes the latter; cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, 5 no. 61B, note 2. *T:(-nt-)Hwt*, lit. 'she belongs to the temple', appears to be an uncommon name; cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 361, 22 and 430, 26 (his second reference is now published, Davies and Macadam, *Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, I, no. 220).


⁷ For the grouping  see, for example, Pap. British Museum 10299, 8, published by Caminos, *MDAIK* 16, 21 with pl. 4.

Fragment 6 (pl. LVIII, 1-2)

John Hay Library no. A 18901 [1] 2. Fragment of inscribed mummy bandage of unknown provenance. Same recent history as frag. 2; see above, p. 123. A rectangular piece 26.5 cm. long and about 8.3 cm. in width, which is also the original width of the bandage. The left edge is the original end of the cloth strip and shows a selvage. The right end has been trimmed in modern times. The flaxen fabric is light, with 32 warp threads and 15 weft threads to the centimetre. The colour is a medium light brown. The cloth has a few extremely threadbare spots, but no real holes¹—it is clear that the bandage was made from a linen sheet which had seen a good deal of service.²

In addition to a vignette drawn with a split-reed pen, there is on frag. 6 a hieratic text written with a reed brush and arranged in two columns of unequal width. At the top of the right-hand column, covering a strip about 15.5 by 2.7 cm., is the vignette of Chapter 93 in the Saite Recension. The deceased kneels at the right end, facing left, with both arms raised in adoration. In front of him is an offering table with what might be a vessel or a loaf under a flower bouquet. Beyond the table, to the left, is a papyrus boat on a sheet of water. Squatting in the middle of the boat is a god who holds a lotus flower and turns back his head, looking away from the man who worships him, to check on the steering-oar and make sure that it is set for the right course. He is the ferryman, the god Ḥrafḥaf or Maḥaf, already mentioned in the Pyramid Texts.³

The column of writing under the vignette consists of five lines 15 cm. long each. The column on the left is much narrower (6 cm.) but is made up of nine lines. Both form a continuous text which gives the beginning of Chapter 136A, a spell meant to be recited on the feast of the sixth day of the month to enable the deceased to sail in the bark of Rē.⁴ Here is a correlation between our text and Papyrus Ryerson, which we quote from the photograph in Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, pl. 38, col. cvi/136.

Frag. 6	Ryerson	Frag. 6	Ryerson
l. 1	l. 1-4	l. 8	l. 18-19
„ 2	„ 4-6	„ 9	„ 19-20
„ 3	„ 6-11	„ 10	„ 20
„ 4	„ 11-13	„ 11	„ 21
„ 5	„ 13, 14 (only ) , 16	„ 12	„ 22
„ 6	„ 17	„ 13	„ 22-3
„ 7	„ 17-18	„ 14	„ 25

The manuscripts of Chapter 136A which have come down to us are remarkable by the number and disparity of their variants; the present copy, too, has a fair share of novel readings. Only a few salient points may be noted here.

¹ The photograph on pl. LVIII, 1 is misleading in that a few extremely threadbare patches in the cloth look, on the photograph, very much like holes. Two of these worn patches affect the text (l. 4) and have been indicated by hatching on pl. LVIII, 2.

² Bandages were often made from old sheets; cf. above, p. 126 with n. 2.

³ Ḥrf-ḥf, lit. 'his face is behind him', or Mḥ-ḥf, lit. 'he who looks behind him'; cf. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altäg. Pyramidentexten*, II, 115 f. with references; also Faulkner, *Ancient Eg. Pyramid Texts*, 321 and 323 s.v.

⁴ Translation in Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, 177 ff.

In l. 2 $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}^{\text{sic}}$, 'to finish off', sometimes 'to kill',¹ for $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}$, 'to tie on'. $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, 'together with his Ennead', is an unparalleled interpolation.

I venture to suggest that $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ in l. 3 refers to the prominent position attained by the deceased in the bark of Rēc, where 'he is with² the god, his utterances being like (the utterances of) all his (Rēc's) favoured ones'.³ In so far as I can determine these words occur in the present copy only; instead of them all other manuscripts have a short sentence which has always been a stumbling-block to translators.⁴

In l. 4 $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, *ih*ty, 'throat', replaces $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}$, *ib*, 'heart', which is found in other manuscripts.⁵ Confusion with $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, *h(z)*ty, 'heart',⁶ must have been at work.

L. 7: $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, 'you', with $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ for $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$; so too in the same word and passage in Pap. Turin 1791.⁷

On the left margin, between the selvage and the end of l. 9, is a brief note, $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, lit. 'filling or completing 8', which I propose to understand '8 all finished or done in full'.⁸ Having reached either a convenient stopping point or the end of his task, the scribe reckoned the work accomplished and marked the cloth with a little docket by way of saying, 'Up to here 8 all finished or fully done'. He was counting in units which being a matter of common knowledge to people in his line of business, it was needless to specify. He might have been reckoning in terms of columns of writing, or perhaps 'spells', or certain lengths of written cloth—we can only guess and shall probably never know. In any case, we are dealing here not with a chance jotting but with a trade or professional practice, for two mummy bandages inscribed with spells of the *Book of the Dead* now at Uppsala bear the dockets $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ and $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}$.⁹

Students using the photograph and drawing on pl. LVIII may want to know that on two threadbare patches in l. 4 are traces of ink which I cannot resolve, therefore I give them in facsimile in the transcription. I am also baffled by the tiny traces at the

¹ *Wb.* iv. 48, 10–15; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 214.

² $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}$, 'together with', a meaning pointed out by Grébaut, *Rec. trav.* 1, 83 n. 6; see also Smither, *JEA* 25, 166 ff. Note particularly Smither's exx. (3), (6), and (7), which show *hnt* and *m* used for 'together with' side by side in the same text. It seems less satisfactory, yet still possible, to take *m* in the sense mentioned in Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³, § 162, 6: the dead man is in the solar bark as a god, 'en qualité de dieu'.

³ Cf. Budge, *The Book of the Dead. The Chapters of Coming forth by Day*, Text (1898 ed.), 41, 3–4: $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, 'like (the bodies of) all your favoured ones'; suffix *·k* refers to Rēc. For $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}$ in our frag. 6, l. 3 cf. Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*², § 642.

⁴ The meaning is obscure to me. See, however, Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, 178 with n. 3; Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, 220 (BD 136), 221 n. f.



⁵ Also De Buck, *Coffin Texts*, vii, 260, c.




⁶ For this spelling cf. Piankoff, *Le Cœur dans les textes égyptiens*, 8; Lefebvre, *Tableau des parties du corps humain*, 31 n. 5; Goyon, *Papyrus du Louvre N. 3279*, 32 (xi–xii); id., *BIFAO* 65, pl. 18, l. 20.

⁷ Lepsius, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hierogl. Papyrus in Turin*, pl. 56 (136, 5), confirmed by the photograph in De Rachewiltz, *Il Libro dei Morti degli antichi egiziani*, 68 (136, 5).

⁸ I take *mḥ* to be used here in the sense of the German *vollzählig machen*, cf. *Wb.* II, 117, 18. I think it is safe to rule out the possibility of an ordinal number, 'the eighth'; Gunn, *JEA* 3, 285, aptly points out that the ordinals in *mḥ* 'never stand alone in an independent form until their original meaning is lost, in the Coptic period'.

⁹ Cf. Akmar, *Les Bandelettes de momie du Musée Victoria à Upsala*, 1, 69, frag. 6; III, 65, frag. 7, left. A similar kind of notation is possibly $\overline{\text{𓄏}}\text{𓄏}$, found as a docket, or part thereof, on the verso of Pap. Louvre 3239; see remarks by Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern*, 114 n. 2.






very end of l. 5. Above the *n* of , also in l. 5, is an accidental ink blot. The dark spot in l. 13 is not accidental: the scribe tried to write  over a worn-out patch and the result was a blur of ink.

The name of the deceased is not preserved. He is referred to as   , 'this Osiris', in ll. 1, 3, and 13, where other manuscripts mention the deceased by name. Presumably the cloth was written not to order but for an undertaker's stock-in-trade: a low-grade bandage ready for immediate use on any mummy, for 'this Osiris' was a sort of N.N. or *nescio nomen*, applicable to any dead, male or female.

Date: probably Ptolemaic.





Fragment 7 (pl. LVIII, 3-4)

John Hay Library no. A 18077. Papyrus fragment given to the library together with frags. 8-13 by an anonymous donor at an unrecorded date, possibly at the turn of the century. There is no indication of provenance.

The fragment has a maximum height of 6.3 cm. and a maximum width of 4.1 cm.; the colour is light brown. It is divided into two registers by the remnant of a horizontal border or frame consisting of two lines traced in black ink. The blank upper register is either the top margin of the original papyrus-roll or, less likely, an empty space in a vignette. Below the frame are two incomplete hieratic lines in black and red ink with the beginning of Chapter 72.¹ The few characters that have survived are strongly suggestive of writing of the Libyan period.² Partly preserved in l. 1 is a name which may be restored without a doubt as     , 'Khamḥor'.³ This is probably the name of the original owner of the papyrus, though it cannot be discounted that it is only his father's name, for the deceased might possibly have been referred to as 'the Osiris X, true of voice, son of Khamḥor, true of voice'.⁴





Fragments 8-13 (pls. LIX and LIXA)

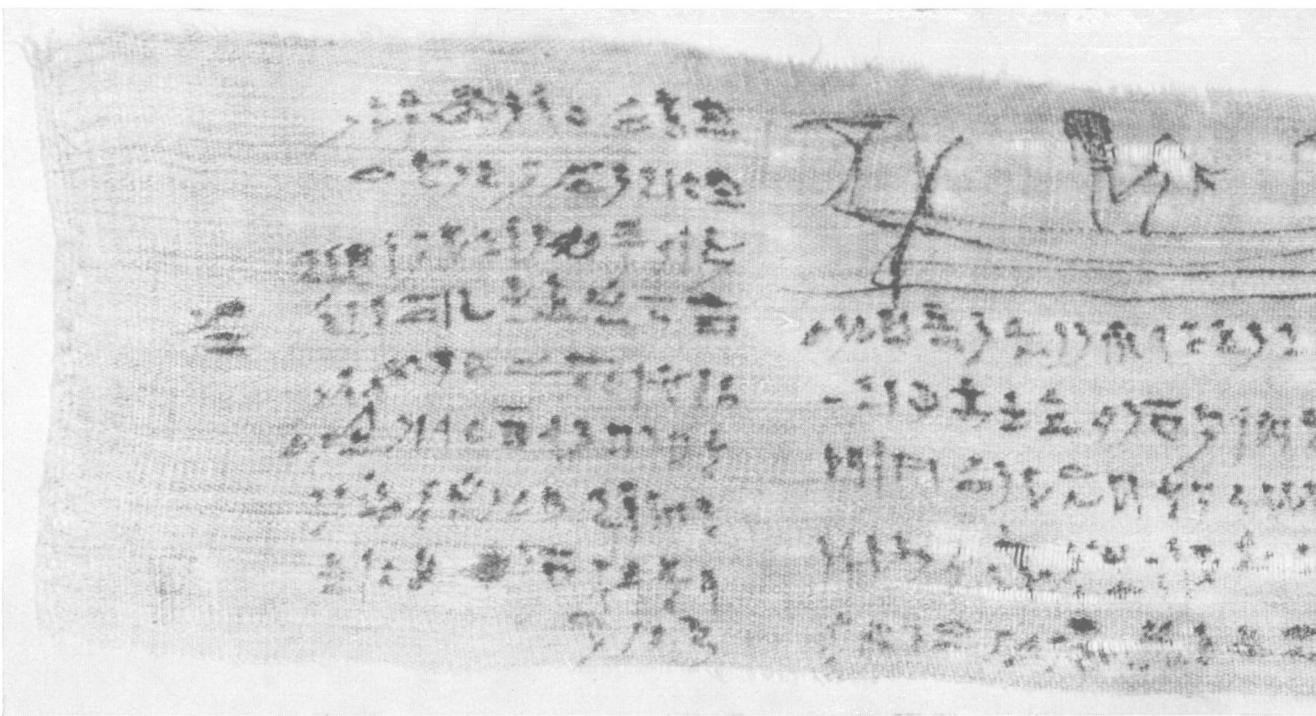
John Hay Library no. A 18076, 1-6. Six papyrus fragments of unknown provenance, anonymously presented to the library together with frag. 7. Frags. 8-13 belong to one and the same manuscript. Concerning their shape and size the reader had better be left to form his own estimate from the life-size photographs on pl. LIX. The colour is medium brown. The left-hand margin of frags. 9 and 13 has been affected by damp or water. They are all inscribed in large archaistic hieratic characters or cursive hieroglyphs arranged in vertical columns separated by lines. The writing is

¹ Cf. Lepsius, *op. cit.*, pl. 27 (72, 1-2). Translation, Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, 110 f. In our fragment     is in red ink.

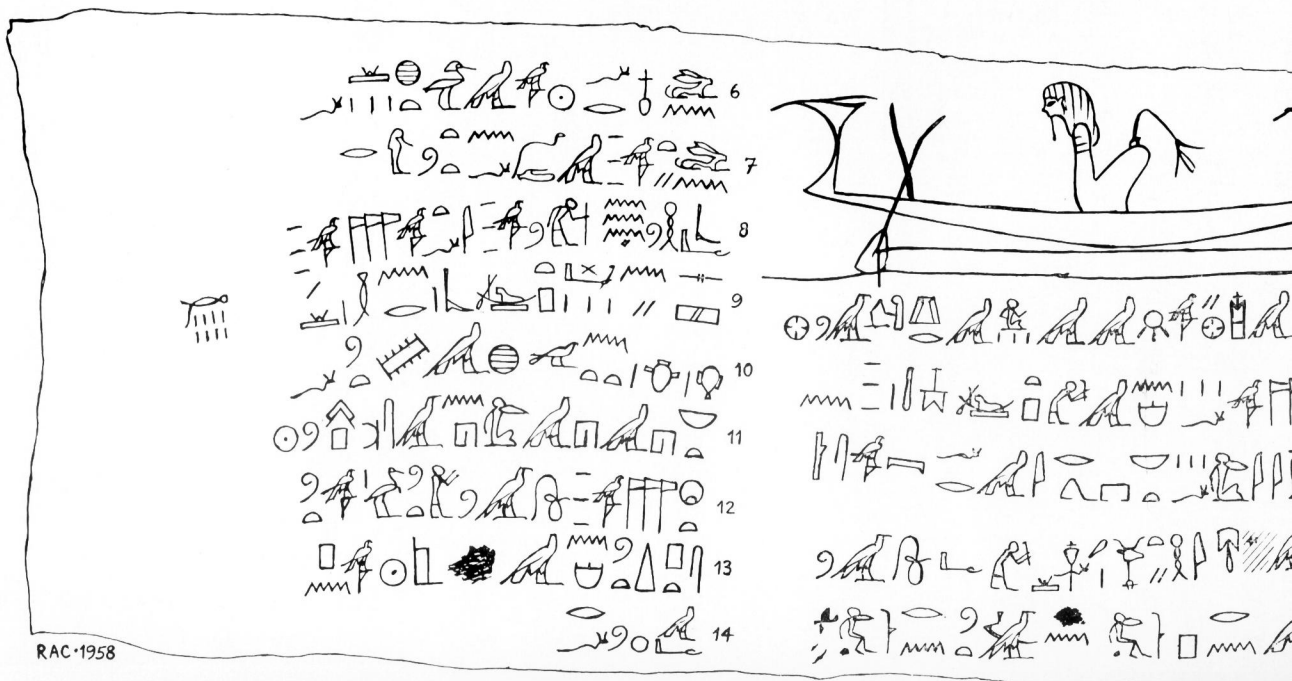
² Also of the Libyan period is, in my opinion, the writing on Pap. Oriental Institute 17243, *pace* Allen, *op. cit.*, 13 with pl. 51, B, who assigns it to Persian-Ptolemaic times.

³ Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, 262, 29.

⁴ Exactly the same doubt subsists with regard to a Khamḥor mentioned on a scrap of papyrus in the Egyptian Museum of Florence (inv. no. 11912, a), which is a fragment of a copy of the *Book of the Dead* regarded by Professor Bosticco, quite rightly to my mind, as a 'tipico esemplare di ieratico funerario della XXII din'. The writing of the Florence records looks very much like the writing on the John Hay fragment, yet close scrutiny of a few signs such as , , , and , shows that two different scribes have been at work. Cf. Bosticco, *Aegyptus* 37, 73, 76 with figs. 1-2 on unnumbered plate.



1. Frag. 6. John Hay Library A 18901 [1] 2. Mummy bandage (1)

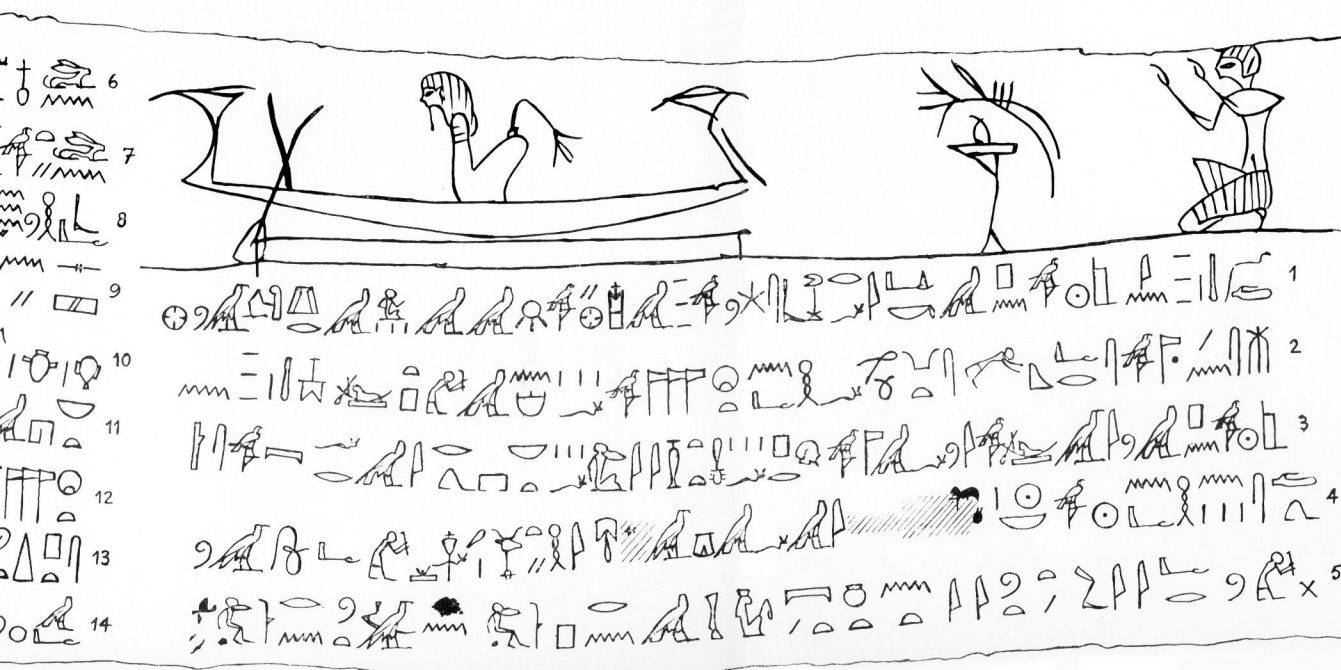


RAC-1958

2. Frag. 6. John Hay Library A 18901 [1] 2. Mummy bandage (2)



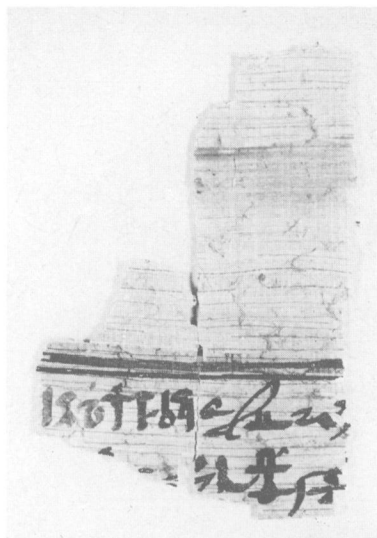
Frag. 6. John Hay Library A 18901 [1] 2. Mummy bandage (*natural size*)



2. Frag. 6. John Hay Library A 18901 [1] 2. Mummy bandage



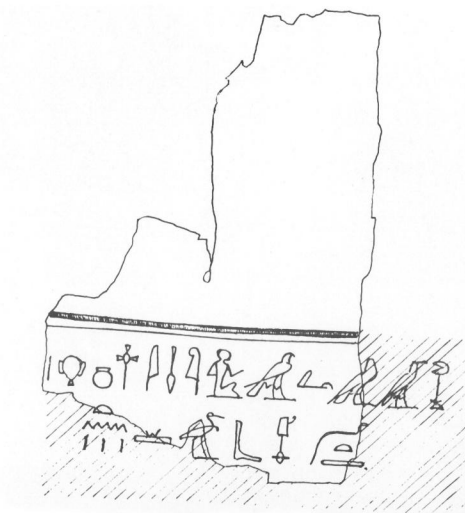
(natural size)



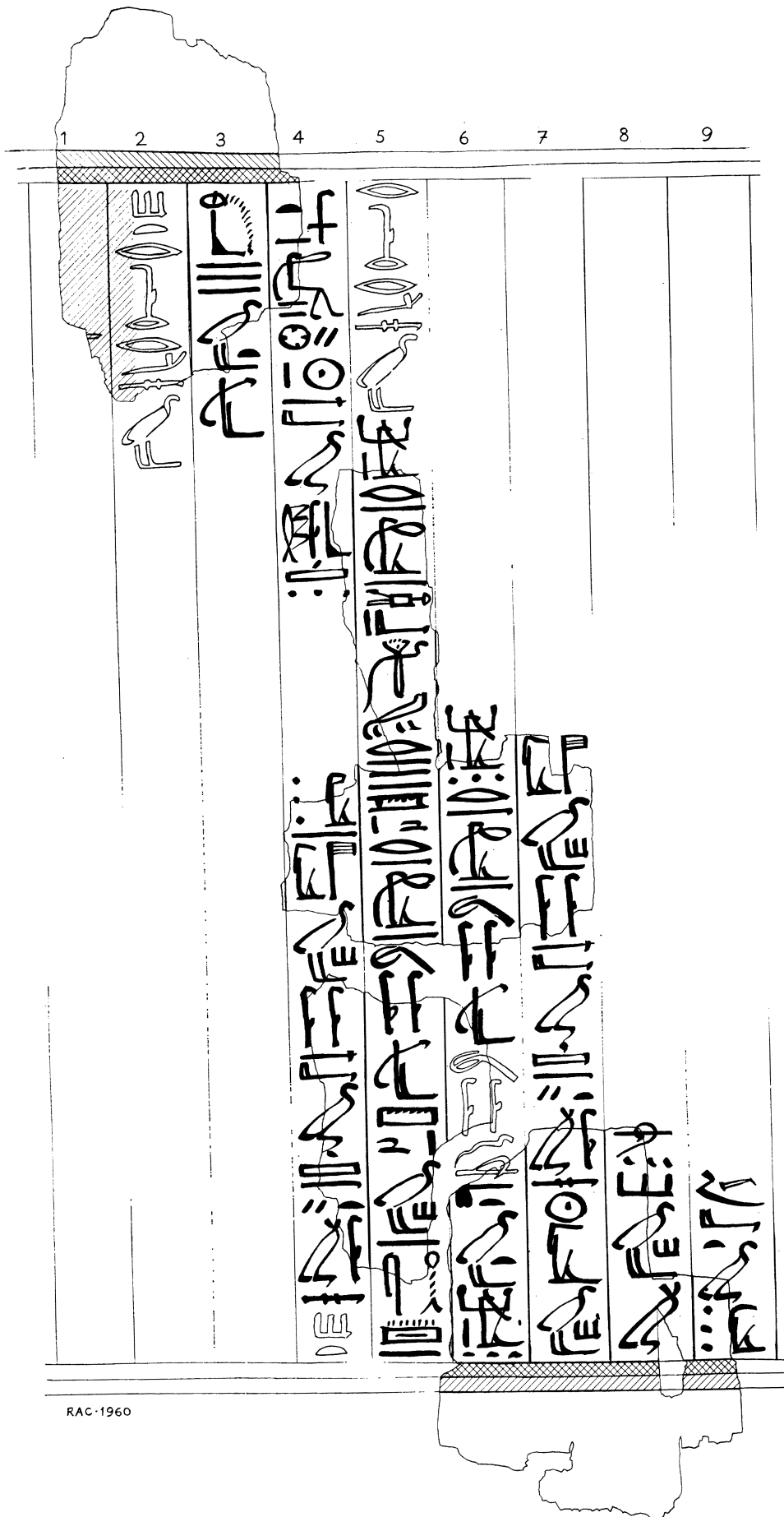
3. Frag. 7. Pap. J. H. Lib. A 18077 (natural size)



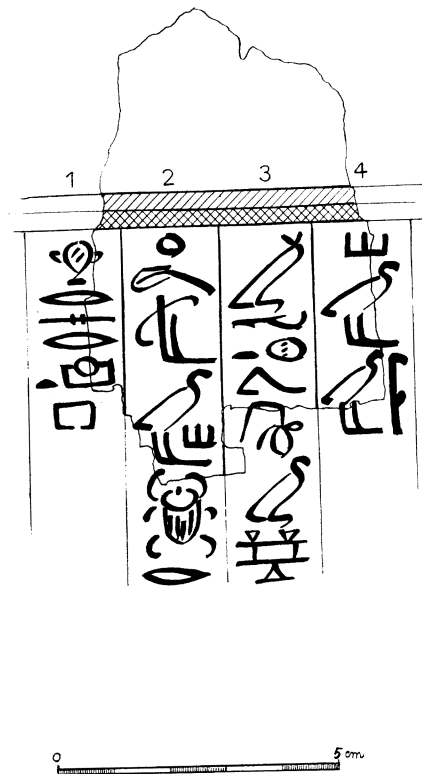
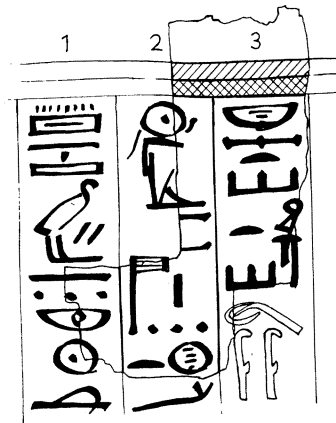
ndage



4. Frag. 7. Pap. J. H. Lib. A 18077

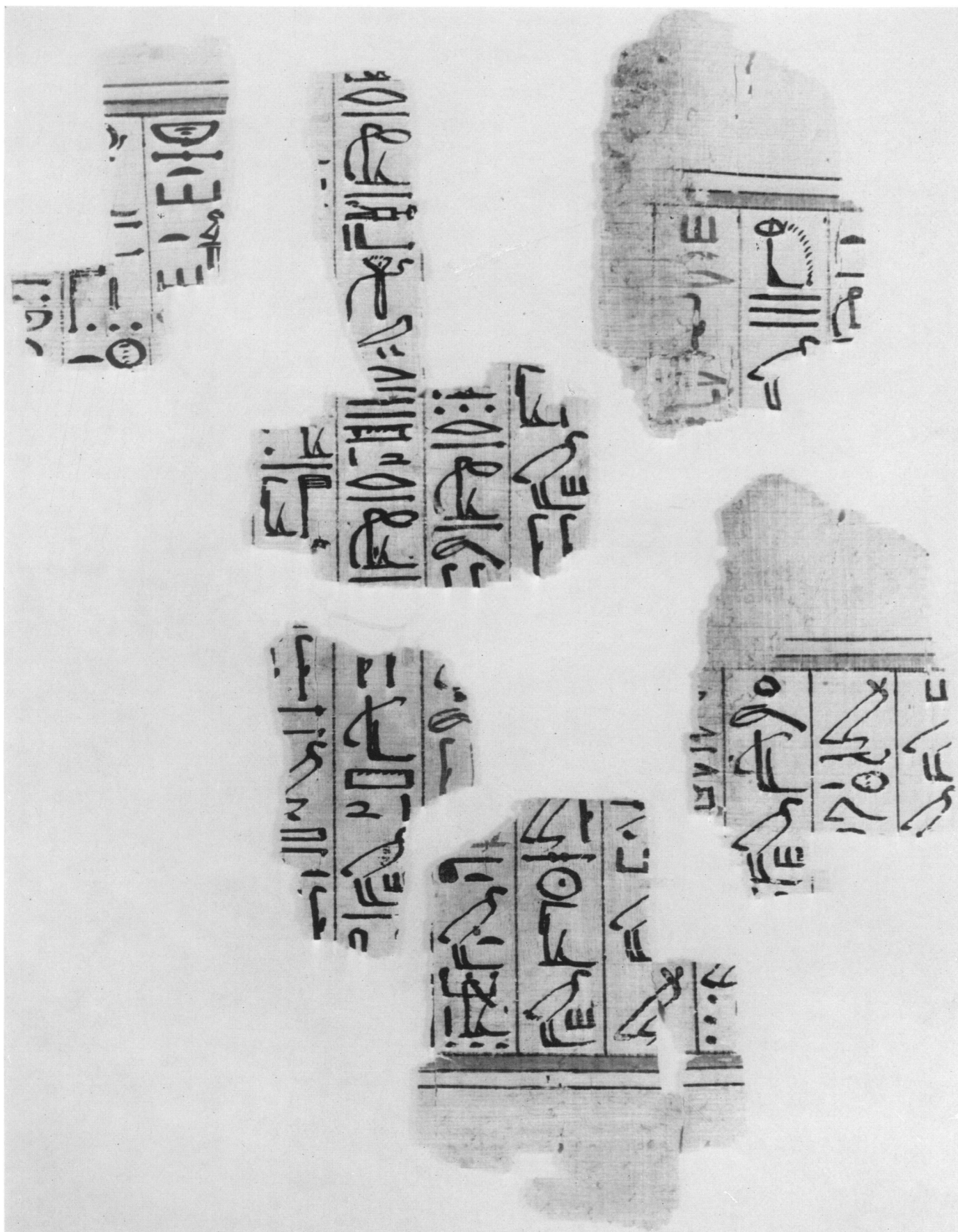


RAC-1960



Frgs. 8-13. Pap. John Hay Library A 18076, 1-6 with restorations

FRAGMENTS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD



Frag. 8-13. Pap. John Hay Library A 18076, 1-6 (natural size)

FRAGMENTS OF THE *BOOK OF THE DEAD*

retrograde and done in black ink with rubrics here and there; on pl. LIXA the rubrics are shown in outline. It is clear from frags. 8, 9, 12, and 13 that the whole text was framed by a border consisting of two bands outlined in black and painted in two colours: yellow ochre, the outer band, and red, the inner band; this style of frame is characteristic of good *Book-of-the-Dead* manuscripts of the early New Kingdom. On pl. LIXA frags. 9-12 are linked together by a few restorations which, we trust, cannot be wide of the mark; they give an idea of the height of the original papyrus roll. The inscribed field must have been about 26·3 cm. high including the colour borders, and if one makes allowance for the upper and lower margins the result is a sheet some 34-5 cm. high, and that was the height of the roll. The writing is splendid, the work of a master of the craft who flourished perhaps in the Nineteenth Dynasty rather than in the Eighteenth.¹

The text on all the six pieces is from Chapter 17.² Here again we shall correlate our version, such as it may be, with Grapow's critical edition in *Urk.* v, already quoted on p. 125 above.


Frag. 8	<i>Urk.</i> v	Frag. 9-12	<i>Urk.</i> v	Frag. 13	<i>Urk.</i> v
col. 1	p. 12, 8	col. 1 ³	—	col. 1 ⁴	p. 28, 2-3
„ 2	„ 12, 10 and 13, 16	„ 2	p. 22, 9	„ 2	„ 30, 13
„ 3	„ 14, 3-4	„ 3	„ 23, 15	„ 3	„ 30, 16
		„ 4	„ 23, 16-17 and 24, 1-2	„ 4	„ 31, 1 (?) and 32, 11 (?)
		„ 5	„ 24, 2-4		
		„ 6	„ 24, 5-7		
		„ 7	„ 24, 9		
		„ 8	„ 26, 10		
		„ 9	„ 26, 12		

The name of the deceased is not preserved.

¹ The writing seems closer to the British Museum papyrus of Ani, now generally admitted to be Nineteenth Dynasty, than to that of Yuia in Cairo and that of Kha^c in Turin, both Eighteenth Dynasty without a doubt. It must be admitted, however, that the writing preserved on our fragments is too scanty for a thorough palaeographical study. The papyri of Ani and Yuia have been published by Budge and Naville respectively (refs. above, p. 124 and p. 121, n. 6). The papyrus of Kha^c is reproduced photographically in Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori*, II, 33-63.

² See above p. 125 with n. 3.

³ A rubric almost entirely obliterated by damp or water; only a minute red trace remains near the bottom end.

⁴ For  — cf. Grapow, *Urk.* v, 26, 13.

AN ACCOUNT OF A MUMMY IN THE COUNTY MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY, TRURO

By P. H. K. GRAY

A MUMMY in two fine coffins (pl. LX, 1, 2), sent from Thebes by Peter Lee,¹ British Consul in Alexandria, was examined on August 2, 1828, at Trematon Castle, Cornwall, by Sir Stephen Love Hammick,² then Surgeon to the Royal Naval Hospital at Plymouth. A second-hand report of the examination was subsequently published by J. N. Gannal,³ to whom it had been notified by Dr. Julia Fontenella, the author of *Recherches médico-légales sur l'incertitude de signes de la mort* (Paris, 1834).

Gannal's account is short and not very informative, and an exhaustive search for any possible notes left by Hammick has proved fruitless. It seems that the early investigators were so impressed with the appearance of the coffins that 'l'on put se convaincre que la momie était celle de l'un des Pharaons'. The description of the mummy after the removal of vast quantities of bandages is as follows:

Il était parfaitement conservé; les sourcils existaient encore. Le front était recouvert d'une pâte composée d'aromates, ou l'on trouva des grains d'orge encore entiers et quelques insectes du genre *escarbot*, dans un bel état de conservation.

Cette momie était remarquable par sa beauté et la perfection du travail.

The mummy, crudely and scantily rewrapped (pl. LX, 3), together with its coffins, was presented in 1837/8 to the Royal Institution of Cornwall by Jedediah Stephens Tucker⁴ of Trematon Castle, and all the items are now in the County Museum and Art Gallery, Truro.

On January 6, 1969 the mummy, that of a male adult with a head to heel measurement of 152.5 cm., was taken to the Royal Cornwall Hospital, Treliske, for a further investigation.⁵

General appearance

The body is covered with a thin layer of a red glossy material, presumably the 'pâte composée d'aromates'. This layer flakes readily, is odourless and shows no bandage marks.

¹ Dawson, *Who Was Who*, 89.

² *D.N.B.* and Plarr's *Lives of the Fellows, Royal College of Surgeons of England*.

³ *Histoire des embaumements*, ed. 2 (Paris, 1841), 121 f.; see also Dawson, *op. cit.* 61.

⁴ It seems that J. S. Tucker (1800-60) was an author, and interested in nautical matters; see G. C. Boase, *Collectanea Cornubiensia* (Truro, 1890). Parts of the coffins were published by Schmidt, *Sarcophager*, 185, 188, figs. 1024-7, where they are incorrectly described as coming from the bequest of Ingeborg, Lady Molesworth St. Aubyn. Schmidt dates the coffins to the period Twenty-second to Twenty-fourth Dynasties.

⁵ I wish to thank the following: Mr. H. L. Douch and his Staff of the County Museum and Art Gallery, Truro, for their fine co-operation and help, Dr. T. A. B. Mason and his Staff, the Royal Cornwall Hospital, Treliske, for producing the radiographs, and Mr. John Kernick for the photographs.

There is no evidence of body- or scalp-hair (pl. LXI, 1). The lobes of the ears do not appear to have been pierced. All finger and toe nails remain, but there are no thread marks about the digits.¹ The genitalia are pressed against the perinaeum, and it is not possible to state whether circumcision has been performed.

The head can be detached at the lower cervical level, and the body separated at the lumbar 4–lumbar 5 disc space. Both arms can be removed from the shoulder joints, and the left foot from the ankle joint. Much of the anterior abdominal wall is missing, exposing a mixture of solidified mud and sawdust within the abdomen. The embalming wound cannot be identified, but there is evidence of a recent transverse abdominal incision (pl. LXI, 2). This, together with the removal of a semicircular portion of the occipital bone (pl. LXII, 3), is a legacy of the Trematon investigation.

The bandages about the lower left leg are modern; the remainder are original. One fragment bears a text in hieratic, the signs of which, unfortunately, are illegible for the most part, due to the corrosive effect of the ink on the linen.

The wooden coffins have the following measurements:

	Height	Maximum circumference	Thickness
Outer coffin	212.5 cm.	237 cm.	8.75 cm.
Inner coffin	182.5 cm.	157.5 cm.	3.75 cm.

The inscriptions state that the deceased was a 'craftsman of the House of Amūn, *3st-t:f-nht* (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕)', son of a '*wrb* of Amūn and craftsman of the House of Amūn, *Hr* (𓆎)', and the 'lady of the house, *Tj-šš* (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕)'.²

Radiological investigation

The general appearance of the bones suggests that the mummy is that of an elderly male.

The teeth show evidence of attrition, and many are missing from the upper and lower jaws.

There is extensive calcification of the costal cartilages. Apart from some evidence of a lumbar 5–sacral 1 disc lesion, the vertebral column appears within normal limits (post-mortem trauma discounted). The pelvic cavity appears empty. Both femoral heads have been forced through the acetabula cavities. This damage most likely occurred during the embalming process. Osteo-arthritic changes are present in both knees, and faint lines of arrested growth can be seen in the distal ends of both tibiae.³

There is packing material (mud and sawdust) within the abdominal cavity, but the pelvic and thoracic cavities appear empty (pls. LXI, 3; LXII, 1).

Probes inserted into both nostrils failed to penetrate the base of the skull, which,

¹ For a possible explanation of thread marks see: Dawson, 'Making a Mummy', *JEA* 13 (1927), 43.

² I wish to thank Mr. T. G. H. James, of the British Museum, for reading the titles and the names from Mr. John Kernick's photographs. Mr. James adds: 'The texts are standard invocations and prayers for posthumous benefits, typical of late coffins.'

³ For explanations of these lines, see H. A. Harris, *Bone growth in Health and Disease* (London, 1933); S. M. Garn *et al.*, 'Lines and Bands of increased Density. Their Implication to Growth and Development', *Med. Radiogr. Photogr.* 44, no. 3 (1968) (an Eastman Kodak publication).

apart from the modern defect in the occipital bone, is intact (pl. LXII, 2, 3). Consequently, the material seen lying posteriorly probably represents brain remnants, cerebral extraction not having been performed.¹

Comments

Gannal states that the mummy when unwrapped was remarkable for its beauty and preparation. Allowing for some exaggeration, the present state of the specimen confirms the deleterious effects of unwrapping. In this instance, the deterioration has proved to be even more regrettable in view of the comparative lack of recorded data from the early investigation. There can be very little doubt that, apart from the damage to the hips,² the soft tissues and skeleton were intact before the earlier examination. Furthermore, the recent abdominal incision indicates that the skin was in a pliable state in 1828.³

The absence of subcutaneous plumping of the limbs, but the presence of packing material within the abdominal cavity suggests that embalmment occurred some time between the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty and the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

¹ For a similar state of the skull, see Gray, 'Two Mummies in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle', *JEA* 53 (1967), 76.

² A recent radiographic survey of many mummies has shown that the embalmers sometimes deliberately mutilated the lower extremities. For a good example, see Dawson and Gray, *Cat. of Eg. Antiquities in the B.M.*, 1. *Mummies and Human Remains*, pl. xxvi b (B.M. 25258); also Gray, *Egyptian Mummies in the City of Liverpool Museums*, 49, pl. 72 (Liverpool 13. 12. 1905, 34).

³ For similar 'surgery' on mummies, see Gray, *JEA* 53, 76.



1. Outer Coffin



2. Inner Coffin

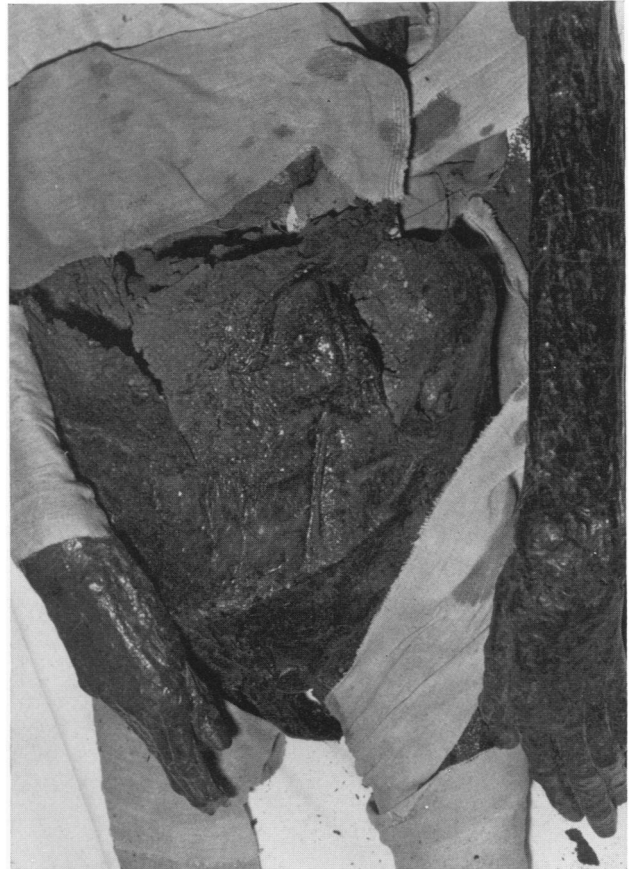


3. The mummy before radiography, as rewrapped after the examination in 1828 at Trematon Castle

PLATE LXI



1. The apparent hair on the scalp is not visible to the naked eye. Note the shiny reddish resin on face and left arm

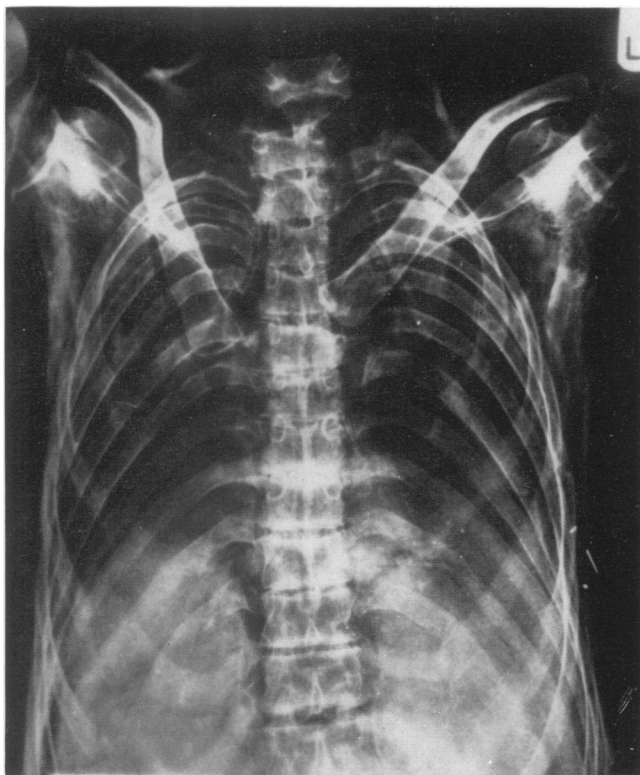


2. Note the exposed packing material in body cavity, and transverse abdominal incision made in 1828. A few modern sutures remain in wound

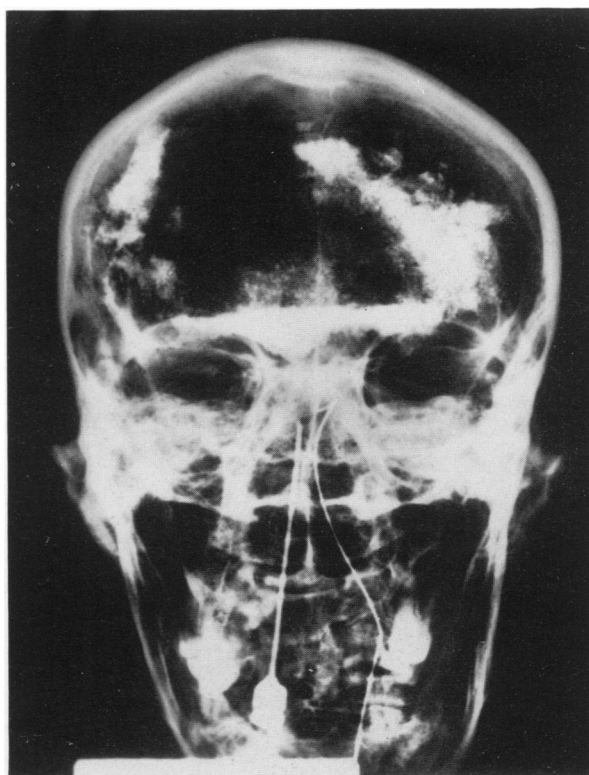


3. Radiograph of pelvis showing damage to hip joints

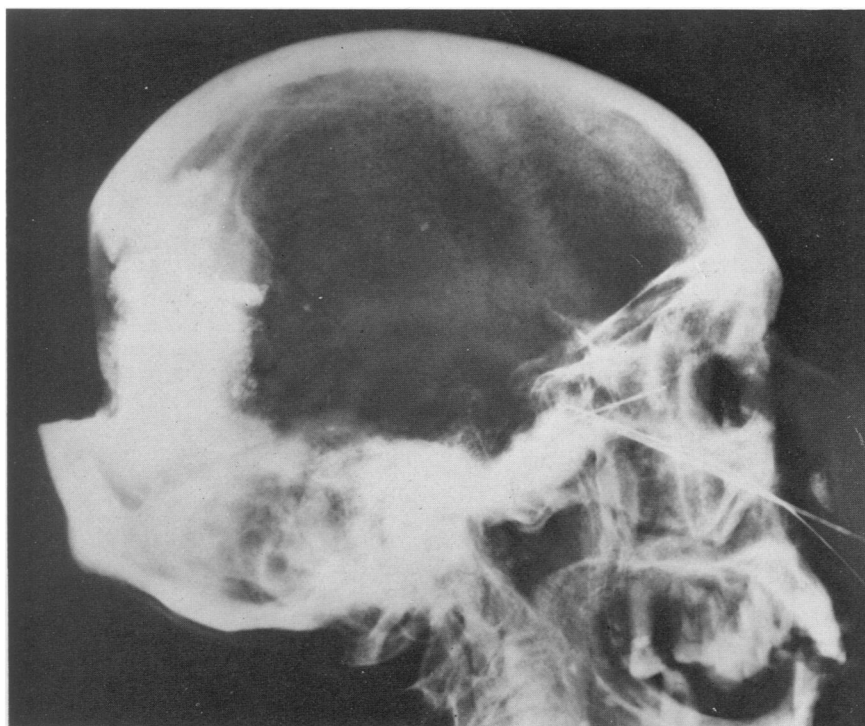
A MUMMY IN THE TRURO MUSEUM



1. Radiograph of thorax showing calcification of costal cartilages



2. Radiograph of skull showing probes inserted in nostrils. They failed to penetrate the base of the skull



3. Lateral radiograph of skull showing probes in nostrils. The opaque material at the back of skull probably represents brain remnants. Defect in occipital area was made in 1828

A BRONZE STATUETTE OF ATUM

By JOHN BAINES

IN June 1969 the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, bought a bronze statuette of Atum (no. 1969. 490),¹ which appears to be unique among anthropomorphic bronzes of this god in being named on the base, although others have been published as Atum or ascribed to him (there are two inscribed figures in other materials, referred to below). The piece is said to come from an 'old private collection in Cairo', and has evidently been out of the ground a long time, as the metal is 'dead'. It has at some time been cleaned by crude mechanical means, another indication pointing in the same direction. The figure is hollow cast and the condition of the metal is good. The only major fault is a disease patch which has caused a hole in the right elbow (this does not penetrate the full depth of the bronze, and may ultimately be due to a casting fault), and also affected the profile of the *nhꜥhꜥ*-flail, whose corner has been rounded with plaster in modern times (details are visible on the photographs of front and back, pl. LXIII, 1, 2). The height of the statuette, from the foot of the base to the top of the dorsal pillar, is 23.5 cm.; as can be seen in pl. LXIII, 3 the r of the double crown is a few millimetres higher. The base is 0.8 cm. high and 5 cm. wide at the front (narrower at the back). The width at the widest point of the figure, the elbows, is approximately 7.75 cm. The workmanship is good, but for a bronze of its size and probable date (see below) not of the highest class. A slight tentativeness in the treatment of the upper part may be the result of an unfamiliar subject: the surface here is not very smooth; with lips standing out further than is natural, it only looks successful from the front.² Also, straight and symmetrical lines in the details are not very accurate, and the insignia are not well rounded; in addition, the *hkꜥ* appears bent because of its disposition over the body. The surface condition will of course be partly the result of cleaning and preservation, though this is not true of flaws like the inconsistent clearing of the triangles formed by insignia, arms, and garments. The only further treatment the object has had in Oxford is a cleaning of the base to allow a better reading of the inscription.

The statuette has a slightly non-'standard' iconography for Atum, which is, however, normal for the two essential elements, the double crown and the wig. Apart from cases where the iconography is governed by the context, and is frequently uniform for a whole group of figures, the only variant in the iconography of Atum is found in a group of bronzes showing him as an eel.³ The large majority of cases show him

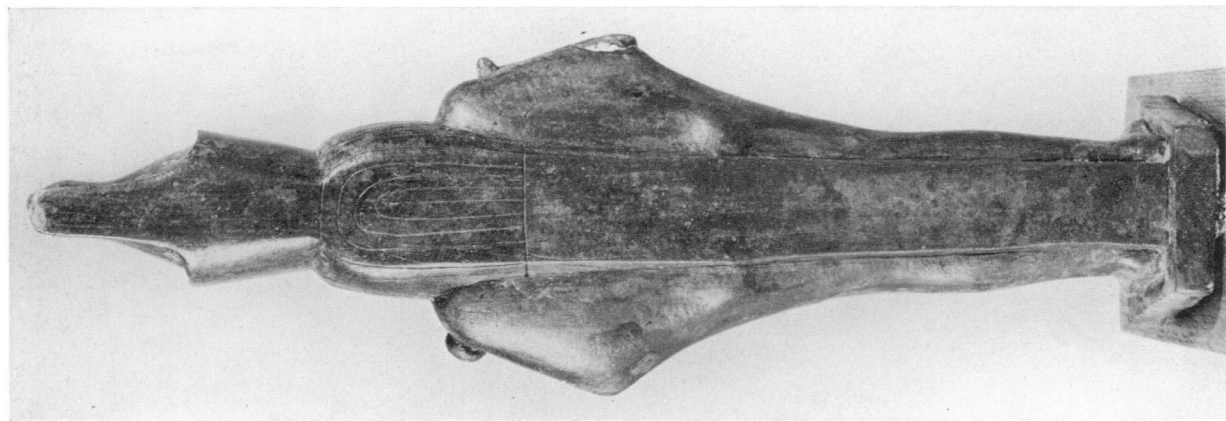
¹ I am grateful to the authorities of the Ashmolean Museum for permission to publish this piece, and for assistance, and also to Dr. J. R. Harris for much advice.

² This phenomenon occurs on good-quality statues from other periods, e.g. B. V. Bothmer, 'Private sculpture of Dynasty XVIII in Brooklyn', *The Brooklyn Museum Annual* 8 (1968), 58, fig. 2: it is probably connected with the intended viewing direction of the figure.

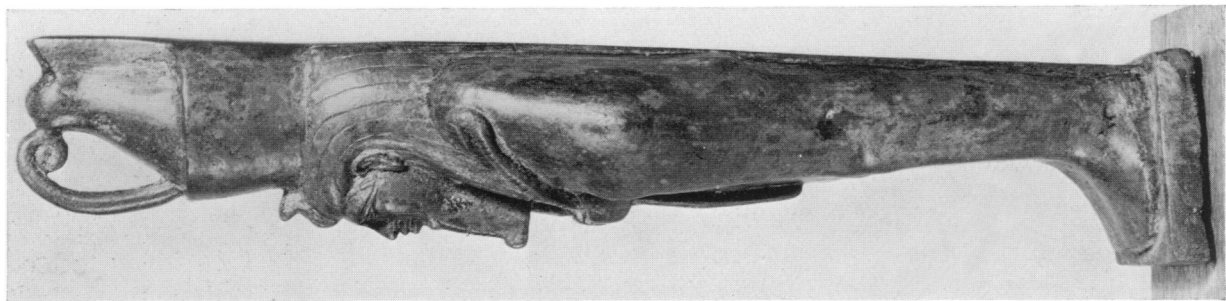
³ H. W. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunstwerke, Kleinfunde und Glas in der Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern*, 107, no. A 153, with references. The Saft el-Hinna representation of Atum as an ichneumon, and the



I



2



3



4

A BRONZE STATUETTE OF ATUM (Ash. no. 1969.490)

completely anthropomorphic, not mummiform, and wearing the double crown or a large divine wig or crown and wig together. He does not always have a divine beard. The fact that he is not normally mummiform is relevant, as he is shown making use of his arms.¹ These remarks refer to two-dimensional representations; they need further definition; statues have not been considered, as more attribution is necessary.²

The form of this statuette is basically a combination of the attributes of Osiris and of Atum, the iconography below shoulder-level being that of Osiris. The figure is mummiform and has a covering garment which is only broken by the vertical slits through which the hands holding the insignia protrude. The feet are not characterized at all, as is normal with Osiris, while the legs are only slightly marked, and are rather unnaturally far apart—perhaps to give the figure a better side profile. The outward bulge of the calves is clearly visible from both sides. The knees are modelled at the front, and hinted at by a slight thinning at the back; the side outline, after narrowing a little at knee-level at the front, widens in a concave curve from this point to the elbows. Modelling of the knees tends to be characteristic of better-quality or larger-size bronzes of Osiris, and it will be clear from the description that the lower part of the figure is made with considerable competence. The right hand holds the *nhꜥhꜥ*, the left the *hkꜥ*; the bottom of the *hkꜥ* hangs down to just above the level of the knees. The arms are horizontal from the elbows (the right perhaps slightly raised), and the upper arm, forming the side outline of the whole, slopes at about 70° up to the rounded shoulders. The back of the figure is dominated by a broadening dorsal pillar, running for its whole length, which leans backwards at a very slight angle; it is 1.75 cm. wide at the bottom end, and 2.25 cm. wide at the join with the wig, and stands away very little from the body (average 2.5 mm.). The buttocks are rather unnaturally placed to either side of the pillar, and from them upwards the modelling of the back is dictated by that of the front and has no physical or iconographic detail. At 1.85 cm. below the line of the shoulders there is a horizontal line on the dorsal pillar; above this widely spaced incised lines in an inverted U-pattern at the back indicate the divine wig. The wig is curved over, and well separated from, the forehead; from there it goes in a sickle-shaped line round the back of the ears down to the lappets. In front of the ears it is marked on the side of the face and comes down to the level of the middle of the ear, approximately that of the cheekbone, if it were visible: in other words, it has more or less the appearance of normal modern sideburns. The ears appear forced forward by the wig and protrude almost at right angles to the cheeks. Coming down to the lower edge of the wig in the middle of the forehead is a uraeus. The head of the uraeus curves forward at the same level as the base of the double crown.

stone statuette, Vienna 1062, should also be mentioned here; cf. Sethe, 'Atum als Ichneumon', *ZÄS* 63 (1928), 50–3; Brunner-Traut, 'Spitzmaus und Ichneumon als Tiere des Sonnengottes', *Nachr. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1965, 157–60. A further dedication to Atum is found on the base of a bronze, Cairo 30837, which was probably intended as a reliquary, and has figures of two lizards and a snake (Masson and Yoyotte, *Objets pharaoniques à inscription carienne*, 53, pls. 6–7; a varying translation of the dedication formula is also given here). The Carian inscription will date the piece to the Saite–Persian period.

¹ E.g. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 131.

² A complementary article on aspects of the iconography of Atum is in preparation.

The beard has the normal outward-curving end, and is decorated with alternating diagonal incised lines: the end section has two vertical lines. It is not detached from the neck and body, and it sticks out in profile beyond the level of the face. At the juncture of the beard with the face the chin is cleft with a rather crude vertical stroke that also distorts the top of the beard: the impress of the tool is still present on the surface, which is not smoothed, and the cleft has not been worked into a realistic, i.e. smaller, shape. The lips, apart from protruding unnaturally, are flat and not shaped into a normal mouth profile. On both sides of the mouth pairs of lines curve up from slightly below and outside it in a convex line to the middle of the cheeks, a little above the level of the nostrils (pl. LXIII, 4). These lines indicate in an extremely stylized way the vertical age-lines produced in the face by smiling. The marking of this feature is common enough in Late-period portrait sculpture, but in stone it has the purpose of giving a sagging and careworn appearance to the face, which is not exactly comparable to the effect produced here; it is more 'abstract', as if the feature were allusive or iconographic rather than self-explanatory.¹ The lower part of the face shows no attaching strings for the beard; these, if they existed, would outline the jaw (no jaw-line can in fact be seen). The nose is straight and rather wide at the bottom; at the top, furrow lines on either side of it go up to the forehead. There is a slight, perhaps unintentional, suggestion of age-lines on the forehead, another characteristic of late portraits. The right eye is placed normally just next to the nose, while the left is, relatively, some distance over to the left. This is part of a general distortion of the upper part of the statuette which means that the vertical line of the face is out of true, running a little from left to right, and that the left side of the face is further forward than the right; also, the uraeus and C of the double crown are placed to the right of the centre of the face. The treatment of the eyelids imitates inlay work, which is not true of the eyebrows. All these elements are continued, as is normal, some distance beyond the natural end of the sockets towards the ears. In front the eyebrow line makes a sharp angle which gives an impression of 'chiselled features'. In all, several features in the face show that it is, somewhat unusually for a divine figure, meant to portray (in a conventionalized way) someone old. The double crown is placed vertically on the head, with the line of its base horizontal. It is sited centrally on the wig rather than on the head. Its back line continues the line of the dorsal pillar, and therefore runs more or less vertically. Thus the crown differs from normal two-dimensional depictions of crowns in not sloping backwards and also in not being shaped at the bottom to fit the head: this last characteristic is due to the presence of the wig, and is normal for crowns on wigs. The combination of crown and wig is unwieldy, and would quite possibly be unwearable. So it is likely that when it is specific to the figure shown, as here and with the goddess Mut, and not used indiscriminately, as, for example, frequently in Ptolemaic temple reliefs, it represents a fusion of two iconographic elements, both of which have meaning. This can be shown to be the case, as with the Herculaneum statue²

¹ The form these lines take may be partly conditioned by the material.

² Botti, 'Statuetta del dio Atum da Ercolano', *Bollettino d'arte* 48 (Rome, 1963), 1-4. Botti calls this figure a statuette, but it is 90 cm. high and seated, and so in conventional terms a statue.

which has the wig only; the double crown is common by itself. It is not, however, clear why it should be thought necessary to have wig *and* crown.

So the iconography of our statuette is different from that of Osiris on the following points: (1) Bronzes of Osiris do not have a dorsal pillar: where these exist, e.g. in stone, they are often in more elaborate forms like obelisk or *dd*-pillar. (2) The figure is not wearing any neck decoration: this might in any case not be visible beneath the wig. (3) The shoulders at the back are not modelled with a high ridge, as is normal for mummiform Osiris or Ptaḥ: I take this feature, when it is present, to represent some sort of stiffener to keep the body in shape.¹ (4) The face is that of an old man. (5) The headdress and wig are not those of Osiris.

The iconography of this statuette is in all important respects the same as that of an uninscribed bronze in the Cairo Museum, no. 38421, published as Osiris.² Unfortunately the back of the figure is not illustrated in the publication, so it is not possible to say if it has a dorsal pillar or not. The fact that there are two figures allows one to say that they form a type, obviously modified from the form of Osiris, but still a more or less integral conception, since the presence of the dorsal pillar distinguishes the whole and not just the top from Osiris; the lack of stiffener shows that the body is not a slavish imitation either.³ It is quite possible that further bronzes of this type exist in collections, categorized as Osiris. Roeder's standard work on bronzes⁴ says that the Cairo figure 'muss einen anderen Sinn haben', i.e. not be Atum, and this would tend to make collections ignore the distinction. Also, figures of Osiris-Moon (*Wsir-ich*) have the same iconographic possibilities apart from the crown; consequently damaged or incomplete figures could belong to either class.

No further anthropomorphic metal statuette inscribed as Atum has been published, and I can only find three more which might be attributed on iconographic grounds. The first is mentioned by Roeder⁵ and needs no further comment here. The second is Cairo 38105,⁶ a lead statuette of a standing anthropomorphic figure wearing a double crown, without a wig, holding no insignia, and wearing a normal loincloth. Botti⁷ refers to this figure as a bronze and states that there are some such (*qualche*); but the

¹ Confusions do occur over these points. Perhaps the engraver of the pyramidion Durham 1985 (De Meulenaere, 'Pyramidions d'Abydos', *JÉOL* 20 (1967-8), pl. 7) was misled into calling Osiris what should be an Atum by the presence of a necklace and *mnit*-counterpoise.

² G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, 113, pl. 23. The face of this statuette shows no signs of age: in general it is not so carefully worked. The remaining inscribed figure of Atum, Tutankhamūn Carter 290a (H. Murray and M. Nuttal, *A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tutankhamūn's Tomb*, 12) is also mummiform, but this feature is consistent throughout a series of statuettes with different names. They have no distinctive insignia. ³ The stiffener should strictly belong only to *dead* bodies, and so not to Atum.

⁴ *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, 29 § 47.

⁵ Loc. cit., see also *ibid.* 31 § 51a. The figure Roeder mentions as being possibly in the Louvre is shown in P. Richer, *Nouvelle anatomie artistique du corps humain*. IV, *Cours supérieur (suite), Le nu dans l'art: Les arts de l'Orient classique, Égypte—Chaldée—Assyrie* (Paris: Plon, 1925), 205, fig. 243. As far as can be seen from the photograph it is an Osiris *Nfr-htp*, and so can be excluded from this list. For parallels cf., for example, Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, pl. 83, nos. 527-8. Roeder's suggestion (loc. cit.) that Gulbenkian 21 may contain a figure of Atum is contradicted in *Egyptian sculpture from the Gulbenkian collection* (National Gallery of Art: Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. 1949), 32.

⁶ Daressy, *op. cit.* 35 pl. 8.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 1 with n. 2.

Two further points are worth making about the text. The filiation is given in the form son–father only (bronze inscriptions vary considerably in the amount of filiation they give). This may be a dating criterion. No dating conclusions can be drawn from the names themselves, though a superficial search revealed no father–son pair with these two names. The orthography of 𓆎 (wrongly written 𓆏) for 𓆑 is worth noting; at least one other *Hrw-wdꜥw* written thus is known¹ from the Saite-Persian period, and the writing is an archaizing one typical of the time, which takes up one common in the Old Kingdom. This detail speaks quite strongly for a Saite dating of the piece. The orthography of e for w in initial position is unusual, but unrevealing.

The style of the piece might make it possible to place it within narrower limits, but unfortunately there exists no classification of bronzes in this direction, and comparisons with stone material are difficult because of the different aims and standards in the two media, and the difference in the media themselves. The most individual aspect of the figure is the face with its cleft chin, marks of age, and the detail of the wig forming a sideburn without any band at the front. This last feature may be rare with divine wigs, but I cannot trace it for lack of published photographs. The cleft chin is very rare, while the agedness of the face could be said to be characteristic of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty or later from comparison with stone sculpture, but not given any closer date. In any case it probably has iconographic as well as stylistic significance, referring to Atum as the old man of the setting sun.² As I have suggested above, this may influence the form of the markings. The age-lines near the mouth are in fact contrary in shape to what is found in stone sculpture, and are not realistic. Bothmer³ states that furrows between nose and eyebrows are ‘familiar enough in Late portraiture’, but his catalogue itself shows rather few cases of them. I know of no other god who is shown as old. I am unable to say anything about the implications for dating of the treatment of details of the body. So it seems that the names and orthography, which both point to the Twenty sixth-Dynasty as the most probable date, with a possibility of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty, are the best indications we have.

The existence of small statuettes of Atum raises problems concerning their purpose and use, as also is the case with other bronzes. However, no headway could be made with the scattered and partly unprovenanced material mentioned above, and a discussion of these questions does not belong here.

¹ Ranke, *PN*, I, 251. 25, II, 378.

² Bonnet, *Realexikon*, 731b.

³ *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 164.

HECATAEUS OF ABDERA AND PHARAONIC KINGSHIP

By OSWYN MURRAY

Flattery is the prolific parent of falsehood, and falsehood, I will now add, is not incompatible with the sacerdotal Character. (Edward Gibbon, *Memoirs*, p. 56, ed. G. A. Bonnard).

AMONG the most interesting questions concerned with the origins of the Ptolemaic state is that of the attitude of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, to the native population of Egypt and its culture. E. Kornemann postulated two periods within his reign: in the first he consciously followed the policy of assimilation and political and cultural fusion between Greek, Macedonian, and native inaugurated by Alexander; but from about 312 B.C. onwards he was concerned to construct a Graeco-Macedonian state apparatus for the exploitation of a subject population.¹ Though most of Kornemann's arguments are dubious (he laid especial emphasis on the fusion characteristic of the cult of Sarapis, whose main codification at least appears to be late in the reign; and religion was always a special case in Egypt), his general point has seemed sufficiently probable *a priori* for much attention to have been given to finding evidence which could relate to it.

At the least it seems that there was a period when Ptolemy followed a deliberately conciliatory line towards the Egyptians. When he first arrived his most pressing need was to build up a solid basis of support in Egypt which could be used against the other satraps and regents. It had been intended that he would share control of the country with Cleomenes, who had been there since 332/1 B.C.; Cleomenes' exactions had made him extremely unpopular with the Egyptians, and Ptolemy must have made use of this unpopularity in the essential task of removing him as soon as possible. At the start, until enough Macedonians and Greeks could be attracted, Egyptian troops were necessary, and were used, for instance, at the battle of Gaza (312 B.C.). Moreover, Egypt in the fifth and fourth centuries had undergone a number of national risings against Persian rule, which had ceased only in 343/2 B.C. with Ochus' reconquest of the country; at the least the avoidance of any open clash with national sentiment must have been an important factor in Ptolemy's approach, before he was sufficiently well established to be able to ignore native opinion. An essential part of his policy will have been to win over the priestly class by safeguarding their privileges, and so to use their influence with the rest of the population: this was always one of the fundamental lines of Ptolemaic policy in the *chora*. The priesthood at this time saw the conquest of Alexander the Great as the liberation of Egypt, and there can be no doubt that this was an attitude

¹ *Raccolta Lumbroso* (1925), 235 ff.; *Mitt. Schles. Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* 27 (1926), 1 ff.; other literature on this question in H. Volkmann, *RE* xxiii. 2 (1959), 1630 ff.

promoted by the government; the satrap Ptolemy was described as restoring to the temples property and sacred books taken by the Persians, and as favouring the priests.¹ The fact that this evidence comes from official and priestly sources does not invalidate it, for it is precisely the official attitudes which mattered. It was Memphis which was first chosen as capital of Egypt: the origins of the Sarapis cult are at Memphis, and Alexander's body was buried there in 321 B.C.; but Alexandria had become the capital by 312 B.C., for it is mentioned as capital before the description of the second Syrian campaign of 312 B.C. on the Satrap stela.² Nectanebos, descendant of the last national king of Egypt, was appointed *strategos* and *nomarchos* in the Delta; and the Egyptian nomenclature of Ptolemy was carefully formulated to relate him to the previous dynasty. It has even been suggested that he married a princess of the Egyptian royal house.³ Thus an initially conciliatory attitude to the Egyptians seems certain, as also that this policy was gradually given up in favour of one which laid more emphasis on the Greek culture of his kingdom. The steps in this progression are obscure, but they should be related to Ptolemy's increasing security, his developing reliance on Greek soldiers and administrators, and his various interventions in Greek affairs. Especially significant were perhaps the removal from Memphis to Alexandria, and the arrival of Demetrius of Phaleron in 297 B.C.

The Greek culture which began to be created in Alexandria by Demetrius and Ptolemy during the 290s came to dominate the Hellenistic world, and its origins and development have often been discussed. But the period before this is also interesting for the light it can throw on problems of fusion and cultural exchange in the early Hellenistic world. One writer in particular is of central importance for the understanding of all aspects of this earlier period, a writer who cannot be brought into relation with Demetrius or the Museum at Alexandria—Hecataeus of Abdera.⁴

Hecataeus of Abdera

Hecataeus was a pupil of the Sceptic Pyrrho, and lived under the Diadochi. No full list of his works survives, but they included books *On the Poetry of Homer and Hesiod*, *On the Hyperboreans*, and on Egypt;⁵ there were probably also other philosophical works. He is described in various ways, as a philosopher, sophist, historian, or critical

¹ See the Satrap stela (Eng. trans. E. R. Bevan, *History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927), 28 ff.); and the attitude expressed on the tomb of Petosiris (literature, *RE* xxiii, 1632 f.).

² The date of this stela is controversial. I accept the argument of C. Bradford Welles (*Hist.* 11 (1962), 274 n. 8) that it is 311 B.C., not 317/16 B.C.; I also accept his argument that the Syrian campaign mentioned is that of 312 B.C., not 319/18 B.C. (contra P. M. Fraser, *Opuscula Atheniensi* 3 (1960), 2 n. 1). On the other hand, I believe Fraser is right in asserting that the historical events are in chronological order. This produces a date for the removal to Alexandria between 321 B.C. and 312 B.C.; Hecataeus' use of sources from Memphis and his apparent failure to mention Alexandria (note esp. Diod. i, 31, 2; 50, 6–7, appears to show modernization by Diodorus—the original perhaps mentioned Memphis as capital) might be a slight indication that the move was after the publication of his work.

³ W. W. Tarn, *CQ* 23 (1929), 138 ff.

⁴ The following basic discussions are referred to by author's name, or name and short title: E. Schwartz, 'Hekataeos von Teos', *Rh. Mus.* 40 (1885), 223–62; F. Jacoby, 'Hekataios 4', *RE* vii (1912), 2750–69 (= *Griechische Historiker* (1956), 227–37); Jacoby, *FGH* iiiia (1943), 29–87; Commentary on Hecataeus *FGH* 264. References to the fragments are to *FGH*, except in the case of Diodorus i (= F25).

⁵ The exact title is unknown, probably *περὶ Αἰγυπτίων*.

grammarian. He came to Egypt, for his work on Egypt was written there under Ptolemy; on the evidence of this book he does indeed seem to have been the first of the men of learning whom Ptolemy protected. For it has recently been shown that Theophrastus' work *On Stones* was written almost certainly in the archon year 315/14 B.C. (it gives a date with reference to the archon of that year), or at least within ten years of that date.¹ In that work Theophrastus referred twice to information 'from the records concerning the Egyptian kings'. It is unlikely that Theophrastus or one of his pupils consulted these records themselves; the references probably come from a literary work which used them. That work would be Hecataeus' book on Egypt, which claimed to be based on Egyptian records, used the same name for them as Theophrastus, and contained just the sort of information which appears in him.² The last event which Hecataeus is known to have recorded is the death of the Apis bull 'just after Ptolemy had taken over Egypt'.³ The precise date of this event is not known, but again it must be early in the period of Ptolemy's government. The last fixed point in the chronology of the Apis bulls is the murder of the bull by the Persian king Ochus on his reconquest of Egypt in 343/2 B.C.;⁴ the next is the beginning of a new Apis era in 300 B.C. Between 343 B.C. and 300 B.C. there will probably have been two Apis bulls; this would fit well with the fact that one died shortly after Ptolemy came to Egypt, sometime around 320 B.C.⁵ Far more important, the passage in Diodorus about the death of the bull ought to suggest that no later Apis bull had yet died when Hecataeus made these statements—that is, that the bull which died just before 300 B.C. was still alive. The next bull survived into the reign of Philadelphus. Unfortunately the argument is not conclusive, for it cannot be shown that the original wording of Hecataeus *excluded* the possibility of two Apis bulls having died since Ptolemy arrived, although the passage clearly refers to the first such occurrence. Nevertheless, independent Egyptian evidence confirms the inference from Theophrastus, by pointing strongly to a date before 300 B.C. for the latest historical event mentioned. It is worth noting also that Ptolemy is not yet described as a king in the work as we have it, but merely as 'Ptolemy son of Lagus', although he behaves like a king, and is described as governing a kingdom.⁶

¹ D. E. Eichholz, *Theophrastus De Lapidibus* (1965), 8–12: an author does not say 'about *ninety* years before the archonship of Praxibulus', unless he cannot say 'about a *hundred* years before the archonship of Euxenippus', because that event is still in the future.

² *De Lapidibus*, 24, ἀναγραφαὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων; cf. 55. For ἀναγραφαὶ in Hecataeus, see Diod. i, 31, 7; 43, 6; 44, 4; 46, 7–8; 63, 1; 69, 7; 81, 4; 96, 2; cf. 73, 4. For information similar to Theophrastus in Hecataeus, cf., for example, 46–7 (monoliths); 55, 10 (tribute); 13, 3; 14; 15, 4; 43, 6 (names of kings as inventors). The connection between Theophrastus and Hecataeus was noticed by W. Jaeger, *Diokles von Karystos* (1938), 123 ff.; but he wrongly thought it implied a late date for Theophrastus, rather than an early one for Hecataeus: cf. Jacoby, Commentary, p. 32 f. On other traces of a knowledge of Hecataeus, see below pp. 167 f.

³ Diod. i, 84, 8.

⁴ Deinon, *FGH* 690 F21 (Plut., *Mor.* 363c); *Mor.* 355c; Aelian *de Nat. Anim.* x, 28; *Var. Hist.* iv, 8.

⁵ H. Brugsch, *ZÄS* 24 (1886), 39 f. The evidence, which is almost complete for the Ptolemaic period, comes from the excavations of the Apis-cemetery; the bulls, with monotonous regularity, achieved a life-span of between 20 and 23 years: cf. M. L. Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (1897), 154 ff.

⁶ Diod. i, 31, 7; 46, 7–8; kingdom, 30, 1; he took the title of king in 305 B.C. Other arguments for an early date have some force: the Jewish Aristaeus considers Hecataeus to be earlier than Demetrius of Phaleron (F 23; Jacoby, Commentary, p. 65); Theophrastus probably used Hecataeus on Jewish and Egyptian religion in his *περὶ εὐσεβείας* (Jaeger, op. cit. 134–53; *Journal of Religions* 18 (1938), 127 ff.; A. D. Nock, *HTR* 37

The evidence suggests, therefore, that Hecataeus' work on Egypt was written between about 320 B.C. and 315 B.C., or before 305 B.C. at the latest.

A work on Egypt composed under Ptolemy, and within the first crucial ten years about which so little is known, would clearly shed a great deal of light on contemporary attitudes to the country; it is fortunate that, for two somewhat different reasons, a certain amount can be discovered about the author and his book. In the course of it, Hecataeus had mentioned the Jews—the first Greek historian to do so; though his description was not entirely favourable,¹ it was sufficiently so to provoke a later Jewish writer to father a whole book *On the Jews* on him.² Fragments of this forgery are preserved in Josephus' *Contra Apionem*, together with Josephus' characterization of the author. From these it emerges that this pseudo-Hecataeus mentioned the battle of Gaza and Ptolemy's Syrian expedition of 312 B.C.: he perhaps portrayed himself as taking part in it; he claimed also to have visited the Red Sea on official business, and is described by Josephus in general terms as 'a philosopher experienced in practical affairs'. This picture seems to be based on facts known about the genuine Hecataeus, and it can be accepted in outline, even if the actual details of pseudo-Hecataeus' travels were invented to suit the needs of a book on the Jews;³ for it is supported by a Greek anecdote showing Hecataeus at the court of Archidamus IV of Sparta;⁴ like other philosophers he may well have been employed on an embassy, and Archidamus is known to have fought against Ptolemy's enemy Demetrius Poliorcetes in 294 B.C. Hecataeus' work on Egypt can therefore claim especial authority as the opinions of a man who was prominent at court on the problems facing Ptolemy in his early days. One further fact can be inferred from the Jewish interest in Hecataeus: he must have died under Ptolemy I, or he would otherwise have found himself, as allegedly an expert on Jewish law and a friend of the Jews, playing a part in the legend of the translation of the Pentateuch under Ptolemy II.⁵

Diodorus and Hecataeus

So much for the author; his work is not entirely lost. Apart from the fragments, most (perhaps all) of Hecataeus' book survives in epitome; for Diodorus, with his usual preference for philosophical historiography, took Hecataeus as the basis for the first book of his *Historical Library*, on Egypt.⁶ It is true that Diodorus mentions

(1944), 174; T. Cole, *Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology* (1967), 160 n. 35. ? dated 319–314 B.C.: W. Pötscher, *Theophrastos περί εὐσεβείας* (1964), 122–5; cf. F 13 and O. Regenbogen, *RE Suppl.* vii (1940), 1515 f.). Note too the absence of Alexandria in Diod. i, 31, 1; above p. 142, n. 2.

¹ F 6; on his attitude to the Jews, cf. below p. 158.

² F 21–3. Later a second pseudo-Hecataeus produced a much inferior work, *On Abraham and the Egyptians*: F 24. On these forgeries see in general *JTS* 18 (1967), 342 f.

³ T 7a; F 21; cf. Jacoby, *Commentary*, pp. 62 f. But the venue of F 21, 189 is Egypt, not Judaea (Jacoby, *Commentary*, p. 63; see his text and apparatus). The forgery perhaps was presented as a correction of the genuine Hecataeus' earlier account, as a result of information allegedly obtained from the Syrian expedition of 312 B.C.: just as, presumably, the information of the genuine Hecataeus concerning Judaism is to be connected with the Syrian campaign of c. 320–318 B.C.

⁴ T 5.

⁵ Cf. Jacoby, *Commentary*, p. 32. On Aristeas' knowledge of pseudo-Hecataeus, see *JTS* 18 (1967), 342 f.

⁶ The implications of this fact, established by Schwartz, are worked out in detail in Jacoby's commentary to F 25, and applied in the bracketing in his text of the fragment. My own views in this section were first

Hecataeus by name only once, and then in such a way as to suggest that he was a subsidiary source;¹ but various considerations make it certain that he was in fact the basis of Diodorus' account. Thus all the known fragments from Hecataeus' book can be fitted easily into Diodorus' narrative;² that narrative was originally dated to the age of Ptolemy I, and has been modernized only very superficially;³ the structure of the whole account and its general nature show a clear pattern appropriate to that genre of ethnography which Hecataeus is known to have practised—they can be compared with his treatment of the Hyperboreans and the Jews.⁴ Finally, the unity of Diodorus' basic account is shown by its internal consistency in chronology, tone, and a large number of small details which recur or find echoes in different places.⁵

Diodorus was, however, concerned to create a finished literary product, and he was not therefore a completely mechanical excerptor. In this section he was particularly proud of having been to Egypt himself, and not averse from giving the impression that the whole was the result of his own researches: hence insertions showing himself as an eyewitness,⁶ and some curious attempts to bring the information up to date without actually having to find out any new facts.⁷ There is also the problem of abbreviation, which may have been heavier in some places than in others,⁸ and may even on occasion have caused omission on a scale such as to obscure the structure of the original. For instance, the section on the spread of culture from Egypt to the rest of the world by means of colonization has suffered severely; it must once have been a major part of the work, describing in detail how every other civilization was derivative on Egypt, an effective claim for the attention of the civilized world on behalf of the nascent Ptolemaic state, and one which provoked answers from other Hellenistic historians under different patronage.⁹ Something of its original scale is shown by Hecataeus'

discussed in a class on Diodorus given by Professor A. Andrewes in summer 1966; with a few minor exceptions (below p. 149, n. 5) I find myself in agreement with Jacoby's conclusions: the results are laid out in the table below. On the problem of where Diodorus' use of Hecataeus begins, see Appendix 1.

¹ i, 46, 8 where he becomes only one of a whole class of Greeks writing Egyptian histories under Ptolemy I! (cf. Jacoby, Commentary, p. 76 on the form of citation). Note, however, that Diodorus gives himself away: the description of the tomb of Osymandias is specially attributed to Hecataeus at the start (*φησίν*, 47, 1,) but by the end to those Egyptians (*φασίν*, 49, 6) to whom the whole of the Theologoumena and History is attributed. Thus Hecataeus is clearly identical with the alleged authors of the *oratio obliqua* throughout. Similarly at 43, 1, *φασίν* refers back over the whole Agatharchides insertion (32–41), to the subject of 10–29, Egyptian priests.

² For the position of F 1–6 and 19 in Diodorus, see Jacoby, Commentary, and Table I.

³ 31, 6–8; 46, 7; 84, 8; note Diodorus' half-hearted modernizations, actually involving a failure to change the original chronology at 44, 1: in fact the 'little less than 5,000 years' there is related to the 4,700+ years of native rule and 195 years of Persian rule (= 4,945+ years) of 69, 6. The terminus must therefore have been the same in both passages, Alexander's crossing—not, as in 44, 1, Diodorus' own visit in the 18th Olympiad: here Diodorus has included the Ptolemaic period, without bothering to adjust the figures.

⁴ In structure, not Tendenz: in the latter there are differences. I agree with Jacoby, Commentary, pp. 48 f., against Jaeger, that the Jews are not portrayed as wholly ideal (cf. below p. 158), and Hyperborean society is largely imaginary.

⁵ See the marginal annotations provided to the texts of F 1–15, 19, 25 by Jacoby: he notes only the more striking parallels.

⁶ 61, 4; 83, 8–9; cf. 10, 6–7.

⁷ See the passages cited above, notes 3 and 6; also 52, 3; 63, 5; 50, 6–7 (a reference forward to Diod. xvii, 52) and Jacoby, Commentary, p. 78.

⁸ See Jacoby on F 1, 4. Notices of abbreviation are common: 29, 6; 42, 2; 44, 5; 58, 5; 69, 2; 72, 6; 85, 5; 89, 4; 90, 4; 98, 10; cf. 37, 1.

⁹ Diod. i, 28–9; for replies, see below p. 166.

Diodorus and Hecataeus of Abdera

Hecataeus		Insertions of Diodorus
10-29	'PREHISTORY' or 'THEOLOGOUMENA'	
10 (and 7-8?)	<i>Origins of Life</i> : primacy of Egypt, Flood.	10. 6-7
11	<i>Religion</i> : Osiris and Isis (F 1, 3)	11. 3-4?
12	Five elements and five gods	
13	Heroes and divine kings (F 4)	13. 4
14-25	Rule of Osiris, Isis, Horus	15. 2, 6-8; 17. 1-20. 6; 21.4; 22. 1-6; 23. 1-
26	Chronology	25. 2; 26. 6-27. 6;
28-9	Age of Colonization (F 6)	29. 5, 6
30-41	GEOGRAPHY? Egypt (F 19) [Nile: course, wild life, cause of rising]	31. 6, 7, 8, 9 32-41 (Agatharchides)
43-68	HISTORY	42
43	Primitive Life (cf. 8)	
44	Chronology of kings	44. 1, 2-4, 5
45-68	Kings from Menas to Amasis (F 2)	46.7; 50. 6-7; 52. 3; 56. 5-6 (Ctesias); 58. 5; 61. 4; 63. 5; 68. 6
69-98	CUSTOMS	
69	Their excellence; sources	69. 1, 2
70-2	Life of kings (F 5)	
73-4	Administration and social organization	
75-6	Justice	
77-80, 2	Laws	77. 1
80. 3-6	Marriage	
81	Education	
82	Health	
83-5	Animal worship: practices	83. 8-9; 84. 8; 85. 5
86-90	causes	89. 4; 89. 5-90. 2
91-3	Burial practices	
		94-5: Lawgivers
96-8	Greek tourists	98. 10

description of the Jews, which Diodorus omitted at this point, to insert an abbreviation of it forty books later as a digression in the narrative of Pompey's Jewish War.¹ If other civilizations were given as much more space than the Jews as their comparative importance in Hecataeus' eyes would seem to require, it is not surprising that Diodorus, in despair, virtually limited himself to recording the most interesting case, the colonization of Athens from Egypt, and that even he (usually so credulous) ended by protesting:

¹ F 6; Jacoby, Commentary, pp. 46 ff.

In general the Egyptians say that their ancestors sent out numerous colonies to many parts of the inhabited world, by reason of the eminence of their kings and their great population; but since they offer no precise proof whatsoever of these statements, and since no historian worthy of trust supports them, I have not thought their accounts worth recording.¹

A further problem concerns the section on the geography of Egypt.² In Diodorus, this begins with a description of the natural barriers which defend and isolate the country, a description which owes as much to symmetry and logical coherence as to geographical fact; there follows mention of its great population both earlier and under Ptolemy. All this is clearly from Hecataeus. Then there is a sentence which suggests transition to the *history* of the country: 'it is for this reason, they say, that the ancient kings built great and marvellous works with the aid of so many hands, and left them as immortal memorials to their glory'.³ But Diodorus immediately postpones the history to insert a long digression on the Nile, its animal life and the causes of its risings, a digression which can be shown to come from the second-century author, Agatharchides of Cnidos.⁴ Diodorus was right in thinking Agatharchides' description superior to anything Hecataeus could have offered; but the problem arises, did Hecataeus in fact offer anything similar?

An account of the geography of Egypt which omitted the Nile would have been curious, especially when written by an author who plagiarized Herodotus as extensively as Hecataeus did; moreover, the founder of the Abderite school of philosophy, to which Hecataeus belonged, Democritus, had also speculated on the rising of the Nile. Perhaps Diodorus has abbreviated so heavily that only the beginning and the end of the section on geography survive. On the other hand, it can be argued that the alleged priestly sources of the work and the purpose behind Hecataeus' geographical section left little place for a description of the Nile—that it was precisely because Hecataeus had not given one that Diodorus felt impelled to turn elsewhere. Hecataeus is insistent that his information, in contrast to that of earlier historians, comes from the sacred archives or the priests: that is true even of the section on Egyptian customs.⁵ A geographical description of the country does not really fit this pattern, for here autopsy is clearly preferable to priestly sources—except of course for population figures, which Hecataeus duly produces.⁶ Again, the progression suggested by chapters 30–1 is coherent in itself, without introducing the Nile: from the natural defences of Egypt on west, south, east, and north to the density of its population and its prosperity, which explain the great monuments of the kings of Egypt; this last topic both leads into the historical section and refers back to the mention of colonization through overpopulation in chapter 29, suggesting that any geographical section may not have been long.⁷ Certainly both in this work and in that on the Hyperboreans Hecataeus shows interest in the relation between land and people, and certainly every historical ethnography should contain a geographical section; but Hecataeus, it is clear, rearranged the

¹ Diod. i, 29, 5–6.

² 30–1.

³ 31, 9, looking forward and back: below n. 7.

⁴ *FGH* 86 F 19.

⁵ Cf. esp. 69, 7. Jacoby, *Commentary*, p. 86 rightly notes the contrast with Herodotus' attitude to autopsy.

⁶ 31, 7.

⁷ 31, 9 connects closely with 29, 5, and with 45 ff.

ethnographic form to suit his own needs,¹ and may have given little space to geography; his data in fact merely emphasize the strength of Egypt's defences, its isolation and suitability as a philosophically ideal state, lacking contact with the corruption of its neighbours and wholly self-sufficient—the ethical *autarkeia* of the Abderite school reinforced the importance laid on political *autarkeia* in fourth-century political philosophy. Moreover, at the time Hecataeus wrote, Egypt was in theory part of a larger empire; this emphasis on the defences of the country and its geographical autonomy reflects the viewpoint of Ptolemy: the dismemberment of Alexander's empire is referred to in the statement that Egypt 'seems to excel by a long way in natural strength and fertility *the other regions separated off into kingdoms*'.² The short description in Diodorus may then be less the remains of a full-scale section on geography than a geographical introduction to the history of Pharaonic Egypt, which adduced briefly certain relevant facts. It would not be surprising if the author of a sober guide to the fairyland of the Hyperboreans lacked any interest in real geography.³

Diodorus' techniques of compilation disturb the structure of the work in another way. Having chosen to use a certain author because that author's particular interests coincide with his own, he has a tendency to interpolate variant accounts of those aspects which again particularly interest him. Thus the original author is expanded precisely at those points on which he gave most information, and correspondingly perhaps abbreviated most heavily where he was originally weakest; the faults and virtues of the original are intensified. The spirit of the interpolation is often close enough to the spirit of the original to make identification difficult; it is after all the same man with the same interests selecting, abbreviating, and combining in each case. Thus Diodorus was, like Hecataeus, interested in Egyptian animal worship, and added alternative explanations to the reasons which Hecataeus gave for this practice, which are sufficiently like Hecataeus' reasons that they can be detected as an insertion only because they appear in the wrong place and interrupt the main account.⁴ Again Heca-

¹ Jacoby, Commentary, pp. 80 ff.

² 30, 1.

³ Hecataeus certainly described the route to the Hyperboreans, asserted that they still existed, and was free with geographical information (cf. esp. F 8, 10–14); Jacoby assumes that the book was organized as a fictitious travel story. While there is no direct evidence for this in the fragments, it might explain why the witness of Hecataeus was accepted later; and Euhemerus, who certainly had read the book on Egypt (below p. 151, n. 4), may have taken the form of this work on Panchaea from this book (cf. Jacoby, Commentary, pp. 54 ff.). Yet it is possible that Hecataeus derived his authority, not from the claim of autopsy, but from his systematic exposition of earlier traditions, the completeness and philosophical organization of his description, and his apparently factual approach. It would be disturbing to find Ptolemy unable or unwilling to expose a man who laid much emphasis on his pseudo-travels.

The problem of whether there was a geographical section to Hecataeus' book on Egypt is not, I think, solved by R. Merkelbach's attempt to identify a papyrus fragment of the section (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 16 (1958), 112 ff.). The geographical fragment he discusses certainly shows the influence of Hecataeus' general conceptions of Egypt, but I doubt whether it can be by Hecataeus. The practice of theomorphizing elements ('Demeter' for 'earth', 'Poseidon' for 'sea') in this fragment displays a rhetorical preciousness of style unlikely in Hecataeus, whose similar identifications occur embedded in a theological context: for him, they are part of a system of explanation, not a stylistic trick. The description of the origins of human food (ll. 22 ff.), though comparable to Diod. i, 10, 1, seems in detail difficult to reconcile with it; moreover, Hecataeus would surely not have said *δοκεῖ δὲ μοι*—he would have appealed to the authority of the Egyptian priests.

⁴ Thus 89, 5–90, 2, being various general reasons for animal worship would be in place at 86, but is shown to be an addition by its coming after the detailed causes of 87–9, 3: these should originally have concluded with

taeus gave a list of Greeks who visited Egypt, and underlined their debt to Egyptian learning; but, though the list of Egyptian lawgivers which precedes it would have fitted very well this emphasis of Hecataeus, its historical statements conflict with what Hecataeus says in his historical section; and its praise of Darius and hostility towards the Ptolemies show that it reflects a later native nationalism.¹

The most extensive interpolations are, however, in the early section on the gods of Egypt. Here Hecataeus gave a rationalizing account of the gods on two levels, as personifications of the elements of matter, and as early kings of Egypt deified for their wisdom and benefactions to mankind; the events under the latter were sufficiently historical in his eyes for him to be able to produce a chronology of the period.² Diodorus, interested both in chronology and in Egyptian religion, added to Hecataeus long passages from a different account, which equated Osiris with Dionysus, combated various Greek legends of Dionysus, portrayed Osiris as the great conqueror, and offered a different, shorter chronology.³ Many tendencies in these two narratives are similar, as for instance their belief that Greek religion was derived from Egyptian; the non-Hecataean account indeed seems to have based its description of the conquests of Osiris–Dionysus on a later passage in Hecataeus, his version of the conquests of Sesosis.⁴ Hence there may be places where the original authorship is uncertain, and where Diodorus himself intervened in an effort to reconcile the two chronologies, or bridge a gap between the two narratives.⁵ Again confusion is caused because it is the

mention of the special addiction of Egyptians to gratitude at 90, 2–3. For Hecataeus' interest in animal worship, cf. 83–9; 21, 6, 9–11; for Diodorus himself, 83, 8–9; 84, 8; 90, 4.

Cole (*Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology*, 184 f.) has argued that ch. 90 produces doctrines sufficiently similar to ch. 8, 1 for it to be attributed to Hecataeus. But its curious position, interrupting the argument, tells against this; moreover, ch. 90 is in fact a variant of Hecataeus' second general explanation, which has already appeared at the proper point in the discussion (86, 4–5). Ch. 90 is probably, therefore, an insertion, showing once again the overwhelming influence of Hecataeus and his types of explanation on all later writing on Egypt (cf. below pp. 167 ff.).

¹ 94–5; on this point Jacoby originally had doubts (*RE* 2760), but was rightly more confident in Commentary, p. 78. Of the lawgivers mentioned, Mneves is presumably an alternative to Hecataeus' Menas (45, 1), who is characterized very differently; Sasychis does not appear in Hecataeus; there is no sign of Amasis' lawgiving activities in ch. 68. The section is favourable to Darius, whereas Hecataeus seems not to have included an account of the Persian period. Only Sesosis and Bocchoris show some correspondence. Moses is spelt differently in 94, 2 and F6. But the anti-Macedonian attitude in 95, 6 is also present in F 6, 8b: in both cases the sentiment attributing decline specifically to Macedonian rule is, I would suggest, an addition of Diodorus himself, to explain why the ideal state has disappeared, on the lines of Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* and *Constitution of Sparta* (cf. A. Momigliano, *Terzo contributo* (1966), 341 ff.). On Diodorus' moralizing additions to his sources, cf. R. Drews *AJP* 83 (1962), 383 ff.

² Hecataeus' chronology: 26, 1: 23,000 years, divided into 18,000 for gods and heroes, starting from Helios, and just under 5,000 until the crossing of Alexander (44, 1; cf. 69, 6; above p. 145, n. 3).

³ The shorter chronology has a different starting-point and a vaguer finishing-point, from Osiris to the reign of Alexander, 10,000 years: 23, 1; 24, 2. Starting from the basic insertion, 17–20, 6, the following are clearly part of the same account: 11, 3; 15, 6–8; 23, 1–24, end; perhaps also 22, 1–6; 26, 6–27, 2. Diodorus' declared interest in chronology (i, 3, 8) is evident in the prevalence of interpolations in the chronological sections of Book i: thus it is difficult to see to whom the 'three seasons' explanation in 26, 1–5 should be attributed (in favour of Hecataeus, cf. 11, 5; 12, 8; 16, 1).

⁴ Compare 17–20, 6 with 53–8; and see p. 162, n. 1.

⁵ Thus I would disagree with Jacoby in that I would attribute 25, 2–6 to Hecataeus. Diodorus' own interventions: 10, 6–7; 15, 2; 21, 4; 23, 1; 25, 1–2 (?); 27, 6; 29, 5, 6. There is at least one other source, apart from Ctesias and Agatharchides: the Nysa story (27, 3–end; 13, 4), including the famous Praises of Isis; cf.

very similarity between the two accounts, the fact that one is partly derived from the other, which tempted Diodorus to combine them.

Hecataeus, *On the Egyptians*

Despite these minor difficulties, it remains true that it is possible to discover more about Hecataeus' work on Egypt than about most other lost works by Greek historians. In its form it is perhaps the best example of a complete ethnographic and historical description of a particular people, and served as a model for many later writers.

It began at the beginning, perhaps with a cosmogony, certainly with a demonstration that the origins of animal life are to be found in Egypt's fertile mud. The first men looked up to heaven, and worshipped the sun and moon, Osiris and Isis, together with the five elements. These are the gods in heaven who have existed from eternity. Then there are the earthly gods, some of them with the same names as the heavenly, who were once mortal kings, but have been deified for their benefactions; about these Hecataeus can write a quasi-historical account, based on genuine Egyptian myths; he can also offer a chronology—eighteen millennia of divine rule. This was the Egyptian age of colonization, and Hecataeus' account of the spread of Egyptian civilization throughout the world (much abbreviated in Diodorus) appears as a sort of appendix to this first section, which is described in general as *περὶ τῶν θεολογουμένων παρ' Αἰγυπτίους*, on the theology of Egypt.¹

The section on the land of Egypt has already been discussed. It leads into a full-scale history of the country, covering the five millennia of mortal rule. The most interesting section is the next, on the customs of Egypt, which were eagerly admired by such Greeks as Orpheus, Homer, Pythagoras, and Solon, and whose excellence is shown by the political stability and prosperity of the country for more than 4,700 years. Hecataeus discards the sensationalism of Herodotus and other Greek writers: 'after careful investigation, we shall set out only what is written in the records of the priests of Egypt'.² These records appear to have included everything necessary for the construction of an ideal state which, if a little exotic, would have satisfied most Greek political philosophers. The daily life and duties of the kings are described, the financial organization of Egypt and its class structure, the administration of justice and various particularly striking laws. Then marriage customs (designed to ensure a large population), the education of the priestly class and the non-education of others, and the practice of medicine in Egypt. There follows a section which perhaps appears more prominent than it originally was, because Diodorus has abbreviated it only slightly, that on animal worship—first the practices involved, then possible reasons for this curious custom in general and for particular animals. Finally, Egyptian burial practices. The work seems then to have concluded with a description of the debt of Greece to Egypt in historical times—the various poets, philosophers, politicians, astrologers, and sculptors who visited Egypt, and owed their ideas to what they saw there.

A. D. Nock, *Gnomon* 21 (1949), 221 ff.; D. Müller, *Ägypten u. die Griechischen Isis-Aretalogien*, *Abh. Sächs. Ak. Wiss. Leipzig*, 53, 1 (1961). Most illuminating for Diodorus' scissors-and-paste method are the passages discussed in Appendix 1.

¹ 29, 6.

² 69, 7.

Virtually the entire work, it appears, claimed to be based on Egyptian priestly sources—even in Diodorus it often remains in indirect speech, as what the priests say;¹ Hecataeus was trying to emphasize his independence from earlier Greek sources both here and in his occasional discussion of variant Greek accounts.² The truth is not so simple, or so creditable.

In general it is clear that Hecataeus did use previous Greek accounts, and did not often distinguish explicitly their information from that of the priests. But though he could not read the Egyptian records for himself, he certainly did consult the priests—indeed he probably sought out and recorded different priestly traditions. Jacoby has pointed out that at least three sources seem to be involved, the priests of Heliopolis, Memphis, and (especially) Thebes.³ But what is new in Hecataeus is not only some of his information; it is also its systematic co-ordination, and the resulting fusion of Greek and Egyptian elements into a unified picture. Each section of the narrative, however, presents such different problems that the question of its sources would have to be treated separately; similarly, the conclusions which could be drawn from such an investigation would be relevant to different problems in each case. Before considering one particular area, I shall note briefly the importance of other aspects.

The theological section combines Ionian physical speculation and religious rationalism with less critical Greek attitudes to Egyptian religion, and genuine Egyptian myths. It offers important help in understanding the attitudes behind various early Hellenistic phenomena. Thus it was Hecataeus, not Euhemerus (whose debt to Hecataeus in this and other particulars is clear),⁴ who first systematically worked out the theory that the gods are divinized kings, and so, by bringing together heaven and earth, facilitated that most characteristic feature of Hellenistic kingship—the development of the founder cult into a systematic worship of kings. Again the establishment of the official Graeco-Egyptian cult of Sarapis presents problems of chronology and motive;⁵

¹ The major sections not in indirect speech are the 'Geography', the 'History' from 50, 2 (but the whole is alleged to come from priestly records (44, 4), and there is constant reference to Egyptian sources), and the 'Customs' (which are also said to come from the sacred records, as is even the list of Greek tourists—cf. below p. 152, n. 1). See in general Jacoby, Commentary, pp. 82 ff. For the various modes of reference to his sources: 'sacred records', see p. 143, n. 2; 'the Egyptians', c. 10–29, 43 ff. (?); 52, 6; 62, 1; 86, 2; 'the priests', 21, 1; 26, 1; 43, 6; 86, 2; and the references below n. 3.

² Greek writers, 15, 2; 46, 8; 53, 1 (cf. 9, and 63, 5: *γεγράφασι* as opposed to *λέγουσιν*); 64, 13 and such passages as 61, 1. Note especially the attacks on Herodotus, explicit (69, 7) and implied (59, 2—Herod. ii, 111; 62, 2—Herod. ii, 112; 66, 10—Herod. ii, 151); cf. Jacoby, Commentary, p. 77.

³ Signs of variant priestly stories, 13, 3; 15, 2; 44, 1; 53, 1, 9; 64, 6, 13; 85, 4–5; and many variant stories in the section on animal worship; cf. also 48, 1; 51, 3; 61, 3; 64, 1. Theban sources, 10, 2; 15, 1 ff.; 45, 4 ff.; 50, 1–2; 87, 8; cf. 46, 8 and in general Jacoby, Commentary, pp. 84 f.

⁴ This is not disputed even by Tarn, who dates Euhemerus' book earlier than most, shortly after 303 B.C.: *PBA* 19 (1933), 163 ff. (his argument that Euhemerus met Demetrius of Phaleron in Alexandria in 303 B.C. (p. 165) is clearly wrong); cf. Jacoby, *RE* vi (1909), 953, 957 f., 968 ff.; and the very clear argument of Cole op. cit. 153 ff. (though some of his items in col. B are from the secondary source, not Hecataeus); also the introduction to G. Vallauri's new edition of the fragments of Euhemerus, *Euemero di Messene*, Pubbl. Fac. Lett. e Fil. Univ. Torino 8. 3 (1956), 4 f. On the derivativeness of Leon of Pella from Hecataeus, see Cole, op. cit. 157 ff.; F. Pfister, *Mullus, Festschrift T. Klauser* (1964), 291 ff.

⁵ Cf. esp. P. M. Fraser, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 3 (1960), 2 ff.; 7 (1967), 23 ff.

the attitude of Hecataeus in this section is the best evidence for the religious background to the cult at its inception.¹

The section on colonization is clearly to a very large extent Hecataeus' own, and is especially interesting in showing the contemporary awareness of the role of colonization in spreading civilization, at a time when, as a result of Alexander's conquests, the Greek world was in its own second age of colonization: to see the foundation of colonies in terms of the deliberate spreading of Greek culture is not an anachronistic attitude, but a response valid for the early Hellenistic world.

The historical section is of less general importance, for it is clear that Hecataeus was not particularly interested in history. Here his relationship with Herodotus, and possibly with other lost historians on Egypt, is very close; which may perhaps make it easier to see how much really comes from his own consultation of the priests, and how much is mere wilful variation of Herodotus.

Most problematical is the section on Egyptian customs. Earlier Greek descriptions, priestly information, and his own rationalization are interwoven; the way that Diodorus varies the tense from present to past suggests that the description was seen partly as that of a past Utopia, and partly as that of a present reality—or rather perhaps of a possible future reality, if Ptolemy could be persuaded to respect native Egyptian traditions. This idealization in both past and future seems partly due to Hecataeus' priestly informants and partly to his own leanings towards the construction of a perfect state. Thus, for instance, the position of skilled craftsmen, hereditarily tied to their particular craft, is justified on the Platonic grounds that the habit of meddling in two or three trades and in politics is a weakness which has ruined democracies.² The phenomenon may be partly Egyptian; the reason for it is that of a Greek philosopher. To evaluate these strands systematically would require a detailed commentary by someone expert in late Pharaonic and early Ptolemaic social history, and also in Greek political thought. The problems can, however, be posed by considering one particular topic within the section of Egyptian customs, those chapters 'concerning the ancient kings'.

Hecataeus and Agatharchides of Cnidos

Diodorus has reproduced only the most important of the customs concerning the ancient kings, but the main lines of Hecataeus' description seem clear.³ It began with a general account of the nature of Egyptian kingship: unlike that of other kings, who ruled without check (*ἀνυπευθύνως*), the conduct of the kings of Egypt was governed by written regulations both in daily life and in public affairs. Even their servants had to be

¹ It should be taken together with Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, which relies heavily on Hecataeus and on Manetho, who was, with Timotheus the Eumolpid, allegedly the author of the theology of the Sarapis cult: their activity is later than Hecataeus. On the importance of the Greek tourist section for the new Hellenistic attitude to the relation between Greek and oriental wisdom, see esp. T. Hopfner, 'Orient u. griechische Philosophie', *Der Alte Orient*, Beiheft 4 (1925), esp. 10 ff., 48 ff.: Hopfner attributes the information even in this section to genuine priests.

² 74, 7; cf. Dicaearchus F 57a Wehrli, below p. 168, n. 8. On the 'Customs' in general and their interweaving of genuine Egyptian practices with Platonic institutions, see esp. C. Bradford Welles, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 3 (1949), 40 ff.

³ Chs. 70–2; see the statement of abbreviation at the end of ch. 72.

drawn from the sons of the priesthood. Hecataeus described their daily life in detail: public business at dawn, then a religious ceremony which included a formal panegyric by a priest on the king's virtues, and absolution for his transgressions. After sacrifice the priest read from the sacred books to provide the king with models for his conduct. Every detail of the king's diet and private life was prescribed by the sacred books.¹

Similarly the king had no freedom in legal or other public business, but could act only in accordance with established precedent. The result of this system was the goodwill of the ruled, bringing political stability and prosperity. Hecataeus took a similar attitude in describing the funeral ceremonies for the king, which were designed to give expression to the goodwill of his subjects. There is communal mourning for seventy-two days; then a tribunal is set up to judge the king's deeds during his lifetime: decision is by popular acclamation, and the ultimate sanction is that the king should be deprived of the customary public burial.

The general theme of the section is the subordination of the Egyptian kings to the laws and customs of their office, and the function of the priests in ensuring this: 'For in general the priests are the first to deliberate on the most important matters, and are always at the king's side, sometimes as his helpers, sometimes as proposers of measures and teachers; and they also forecast future events by astrology and divination, and make known to him those acts recorded in the sacred books which can be of assistance.'² Compared with the reality of Pharaonic kingship, this seems a rather curious characterization. Moreover, it is clear that such an interpretation was not suggested to Hecataeus by official Ptolemaic court opinion: not even the most ardent advocate of Egyptianization would have wanted to see Ptolemy so completely in the hands of the priests; nor will Hecataeus have intended his description to be directly applicable to Ptolemy. This can be seen from the way Diodorus describes it as *περὶ τοὺς ἀρχαίους βασιλεῖς*,³ and (in contrast to much of the rest of his abbreviation) uses the past tense; indeed the whole account is presented as paradoxical.⁴ There is in fact considerable reason to believe that both general approach and many of the facts, if they did not come actually from the 'sacred archives' Hecataeus alleged, at least came from the priests who will have been the mediators between Hecataeus and the archives.

A similar subordination of king to law and the priests recurs in Diodorus in book III, in his description of Ethiopian kingship, drawn directly or indirectly from Agatharchides of Cnidos.⁵ Here we are told that the king is chosen by the god from among a pre-selected group of priests; his daily life and all his actions are regulated by laws or ancestral customs, and his favours and punishments are ruled by precedent. The priests are even able to send a message to the king, saying that it is the god's order that he should die. Formerly the kings used to obey the priests, but Ergamenes (Arqamani, c. 250–15 B.C.),⁶ 'who had had a Greek education and had studied philosophy' was the

¹ Not explicitly in Diodorus, but in F 5.

² 73, 4.

³ 72, 6. The problem of this characterization is recognized by Schwartz (below, p. 166, n. 3) and Bradford Welles (op. cit. 44).

⁴ Esp. 71, 1.

⁵ Diod. iii, 5–7 = Strabo xvii, 822–3; Herodotus already knows of the political power of the Ethiopian oracle of Zeus at Meroë: ii, 29, 7.

⁶ B. G. Haycock, *Kush* 13 (1965), 264 ff.

first to disobey them: having executed the priests, he proceeded to rule in accordance with his own will.

Agatharchides was a curious and not wholly reliable author, well able to pick up, embellish, and even perhaps invent picturesque customs; he had read Hecataeus, and it might perhaps be claimed that his account was to some extent modelled on that of Hecataeus. But there are no verbal similarities between the two descriptions,¹ and many of the details in each account are very different. Certainly there was a tradition, going back to Herodotus, which tended to locate curious customs concerning kingship among the Ethiopians² (a tradition which is still alive among anthropologists today: the tribes of the Sudan play an important part in theories of 'Divine Kingship' in Africa).³ Nevertheless Agatharchides' information concerning the Meroitic kingdom of Kush seems to be good, based probably (as he claimed) on travellers' information and the Ptolemaic archives in Alexandria.⁴ The circumstantial description of how Ergamenes freed himself from priestly control sounds plausible: a sixth-century decree of the Ethiopian king Aspelta records a similar quarrel between king and priests.⁵ Agatharchides' description of the succession procedure contrasts favourably with that in other writers; for he is the only ancient authority to distinguish between the practices of the Meroitic kingdom, and the customs of those beyond Meroë: the various Greek stories of how the 'Ethiopians' chose their kings for their size⁶ or their beauty⁷ are placed by him further south⁸—that is, beyond the region of his exact knowledge. Moreover, there are a number of descriptions of the succession procedure in the hieroglyphic inscriptions from the kingdom of Kush, both in the Annals of different kings,⁹ and in a detailed account of the election of King Aspelta;¹⁰ the evidence ranges from the seventh to the third century B.C. The constant elements in these inscriptions seem to be precisely the selection by the God of the king from among a

¹ Contrast the wording of iii, 5, 2 with i, 70, 11; 71, 1 on the same subject.

² On the tendency of ancient writers to organize and localize similar ethnographic phenomena into distinctive culture patterns, see the fundamental study of S. Pembroke, *JWCI* 30 (1967), 1 ff.; he mentions Ethiopian kingship in passing (22 f.), but fails to realize that it is an excellent example of the phenomenon he is discussing. Whether Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGH* 90 F 103 m, is therefore really evidence for a matrilineal royal succession is very doubtful: it may merely be a reflection of the Meroitic freedom of choice within a limited group. Nicolaus goes on to say that, if no sister's son is available, they choose the most handsome and most warlike: here he is clearly combining elements from the theme of curious customs concerning Ethiopian kingship: cf. below nn. 6–8.

³ Notably the Dinka and the Shilluk (on which E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan* (1948) is suitably sceptical). Compare the works of Eva L. R. Meyerowitz who sees here a link between ancient Egypt and modern Ghana: esp. *The Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt* (1960).

⁴ Diod. iii, 38, 1; cf. the useful information in the somewhat laboured article of W. Peremans, *Hist.* 16 (1967), 432 ff.

⁵ E. A. W. Budge, *Annals of Nubian Kings* (1912), 113 ff.

⁶ Herod. iii, 20; Arist. *Pol.* iv, 1290b 5; Scylax, *Periplus*, 112.

⁷ Bion, *FGH* 668 F2; cf. Arist. *Pol.* loc. cit.; Nic. Dam. *FGH* 90 F 103m; Pomponius Mela iii, 86; and for India Onesicritus, *FGH* 134 F 21.

⁸ Diod. iii, 9, 4 = Strabo xvii, 822.

⁹ Note esp. Budge, op. cit. 117 ff. (accession of Harsiotef, 404 B.C.; all dates approximate, and after Arkell); 140 ff. (election of Nastasen, 336 B.C.); M. F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, 1 (1949), Inscr. IV, cols. 7 ff., pp. 15 f.; V, cols. 13 ff., p. 28 (accession of Taharqa, 688 B.C.); IX, cols. 3 ff., pp. 51 f.; cols. 35 ff., pp. 56 f. (accession of Aman-nete-yerike, 431 B.C.); XIII, cols. 1 ff., p. 75 (accession of Aman . . . sabrak, ?third century).

¹⁰ Budge, op. cit. 89 ff.; cf. J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*² (1955), 447 f. (593 B.C.).

group of 'Royal Brethren',¹ often with a ceremony at Thebes or Napata; occasionally the army is mentioned as involved, but in a passive role. In this particular at least Agatharchides' account is vindicated, though it is obvious that his information is more oriented towards the priesthood than the statements in the royal inscriptions. The fact that Agatharchides' account comes ultimately from priestly sources in Ethiopia sheds much light on the similar account in Hecataeus.

From the end of the Twentieth Dynasty the power of the High Priest of Amūn at Thebes had considerably increased.² In fact he was often an independent ruler in control of Upper Egypt, and in theory even occasionally took the titles of the king; but for the most part he seems to have sheltered behind Amon-Rē̄r himself, whose rule was exercised by means of oracles; the government was thus a direct form of theocracy. During the Twenty-second to Twenty-fourth Dynasties various means were employed to bring Thebes under the firmer control of the kings, such as the appointment of a son as High Priest, or a daughter as wife of the God; but the result was merely to bring Amon-Rē̄r and the king into closer connection than they had been before, and to increase the influence of Thebes and its priests. It has been suggested that this tendency was accentuated when the Ethiopian rulers of Kush conquered Egypt in the second half of the eighth century; for these kings seem to have been under the control of the priests of Amūn at Napata, and to have conceived themselves as having a religious duty to restore what they believed to be the ancient customs and beliefs to a degenerate Egypt. The earlier relationship between Napata and Thebes is obscure: it has been suggested that the kingdom of Kush was Egyptianized by priests fleeing from Thebes in the tenth century, when the Libyan dynasty succeeded in reuniting Egypt; certainly it must be about that time that Napata began to develop independently of Thebes. Thus the Theban priestly theocracy reached its full culmination in Kush, and was from there introduced briefly into Egypt with the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Then, in the seventh century, the Ethiopians were expelled by the Assyrians; in 591 B.C. the troops of Psammetichus II sacked Napata, and the kingdom of Kush moved its centre to Meroë, though Napata remained of religious importance.³

Hecataeus cannot of course have possessed detailed information about the Meroitic kingdom: the Greeks did not penetrate that far until the reign of Ptolemy II.⁴ But in Egypt itself the native Saïte rule, the disturbed days under the Persian Empire and the national struggle of the fourth century will have produced no idyllic picture of a perfect kingship: indeed the only traditions of such a phenomenon which could have

¹ Cf. Laming Macadam, *op. cit.* 17 nn.; he confirms this from the complexities of the actual relationships in the succession (124 f.), but does not consider the evidence of Agatharchides or Nicolaus.

² The fundamental study of this period, and of the relation between Hecataeus, Agatharchides, and reality, is E. Meyer, *SB Preuss. Ak. Wiss. Berlin* 28 (1928), 495 ff.; cf. also *Geschichte*, ii, 2³ 6 ff.; H. Kees has modified the picture somewhat in *Der Götterglaube im alten Aegypten* (1941), 396 ff.; *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (1953), chs. 6-8; *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopenzeit* (1964); general surveys, A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), 302 ff.; É. Drioton, J. Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴ (1962), ch. 12, with additional bibliography, 668 ff.; J. Černý, *CAH*², ii, ch. 35.

³ Cf. the general accounts of Kush in A. J. Arkell, *A History of the Sudan*² (1961), chs. 5-7; P. L. Shinnie, *Meroe* (1967).

⁴ Diod, i, 37, 5 (Agatharchides): *contra*, Kees, *Götterglaube*, 399.

survived these troubles would be priestly ones. Thus the ideal picture of the ἀρχαῖοι βασιλεῖς in Hecataeus, if it were in reality derived from Egyptian sources, should have come, as he says it did come, from Egyptian priests, and would surely refer to that period when the priests had most power over the kings. It could only be they who were interested in distorting the character of Egyptian kingship and society in a way so favourable to the interests of themselves and their temples.

The preoccupation of Hecataeus and Agatharchides with the relations between king, the laws, and the priesthood is also present in contemporary Egyptian sources. In the biographical inscriptions of priests from the late Pharaonic period, there appears, in the characterization of the king, beside the older picture of an ideal monarch, merciful, just and powerful, a new tendency to emphasize the position and influence of the priest himself, as adviser and mediator between god and king.¹ Similarly, Egyptian national attitudes to kingship in the period of the Persian Empire and the early Ptolemies are evident in a demotic commentary on an oracle, written in priestly circles in the third century—the so-called *Demotic Chronicle*.² The commentary is concerned with the kings of the Twenty-eighth to the Thirtieth Dynasties, that is, the national kings of the fourth century B.C. The success or failure of each king is explained entirely by whether or not he ‘deserted the law’,³ and there is a strong emphasis on benefactions, especially to temples.⁴ So too the Pharaoh of the Petubastis legend is a lover of peace, whose actions are governed by the oracle of Amūn. And the legend of the last national king of Egypt, Nectanebos, attributed his downfall to an inadvertent failure to complete the temple of Onuris at Sebennytus.⁵ The priesthood which could elevate εὐεργεσία and conformity to the law to principles of historical explanation, and transform an Assyrian puppet dynast into the loyal servant of Amon-Rē is the priesthood from which derives Hecataeus’ account of the ancient kings of Egypt.⁶ The Saïte Dynasty arose in a national reaction against Assyrian and Ethiopian domination, however much it may have relied militarily on Greek hoplite mercenaries; the period of Saïte and Persian rule was, it seems, a time of conscious archaism in art, architecture and law: older forms, going back sometimes nearly two millennia, were revived and consolidated.⁷ Much of the tendency in this and other sections of Hecataeus

¹ E. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (1954), 115 ff.

² W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik* (Demotische Studien vii) (1914); cf. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, II (1924), 69 ff.; F. K. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (1953), 136 ff.

³ Esp. col. iii, 16–21; iv, 1–12.

⁴ Col. v, 22; vi, 3.

⁵ Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis* (Demotische Studien iii) (1910). The Dream of Nectanebos, preserved in a Greek papyrus of the first half of the second century B.C., clearly goes back to an Egyptian original and connects with other mentions of Nectanebos in the *Demotic Chronicle* and the Alexander legend: cf. B. E. Perry, *TAPA* 97 (1966), 327 ff.; on the general piety of Nectanebos cf. also P. Oxy. 1381, col. I, and on the benefits of piety col. XI. The topic could be pursued into the Graeco-Egyptian popular and apocalyptic literature of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, in demotic and Greek: cf. C. C. McCown, *HTR* 18 (1925), 387 ff.; the Oracle of the Potter: L. Koenen, *Zeitschr. f. Pap. u. Epigr.* 2 (1968), 178 ff.; A. von Gall, *Βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ* (1926), 65 ff. Particularly interesting is the way such productions, with their strong Egyptian and often nationalistic attitudes, could be translated into Greek and accepted by Greeks as apocalyptic religious literature.

⁶ As A. D. Nock remarked, *Gnomon* 21 (1949), 226.

⁷ See the general characterization in J. Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne*, III (1963), 209 ff.

should be seen against the background of priestly archaizing in culture and their role as guardians of the national tradition. Hecataeus does indeed offer valuable evidence for this aspect of Egyptian nationalism.

In particular Theban sources can be detected elsewhere in Hecataeus' account of Egypt, and Hecataeus is explicitly said by Diodorus to have visited Thebes;¹ there can be little doubt that this section was inspired by Theban priests, and represents a highly idealized version of a past whose closest approach to reality lay in the rule of the High Priest over Upper Egypt from the Twenty-first Dynasty, and the practices introduced from Ethiopia by the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The first sign of this tradition is perhaps already in Plato, who says: 'In Egypt no king can rule without the priestly art, and if he happens to have forced his way to power from some other class, he must of necessity be enrolled in the priestly class later.'²

The similarities and differences between Agatharchides and Hecataeus are significant and understandable. Agatharchides' account was doubtless garbled; and the later Meroitic kingship was only distantly and in part connected with Thebes—by the third century B.C., the Egyptian tradition in Ethiopia had degenerated so far that the hieroglyphic inscriptions are barely intelligible.³ Similarly the version of Hecataeus has undergone systematization and idealization both within the priestly tradition and by himself.⁴

Hecataeus and Pharaonic kingship

The evidence for the institutions of late Pharaonic kingship does not allow a detailed comparison of Hecataeus' views with historical reality; and in any case, given the nature of the tradition, such an attempt would not offer much profit. It is more important to note those elements in his picture which probably derive from the priestly tradition. Apart from the general attitude towards king and law, there are the statements which find parallels in Agatharchides, on the regulation of the royal diet,⁵ and on the limitations of the king's function as judge;⁶ a common institution may lie behind the description of the priestly and aristocratic servants of Hecataeus, and the group of king's friends and priests in Agatharchides.⁷ The description of the daily religious service which the king must attend is probably from the same source;⁸ in the daily services of Egyptian temples the priest was merely a substitute for the king. The closest parallel to Hecataeus' account seems to be the order of ceremony practised in the temple of Horus at Edfu under Ptolemy VI Philometor, where the king (that is, the priest) protested his justice and piety in a series of negative statements, before making offering to the god:

¹ 46, 8; above p. 151, n. 3.

² *Statesman*, 290d–e; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 354b (FGH 665 F 93); J. Gwyn Griffiths, *CR* 79 (1965), 156 f. Compare the remarks of E. Otto on the relation between the king and his priestly duties and titles as depicted in Ptolemaic hieroglyphic records, *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, *Abh. Heidelberger Ak. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1964, 1, 73 ff.

³ Laming Macadam, *Temples of Kawa*, 1, 78 ff.

⁴ Cf. Meyer, *SB Berlin*, 529 ff.; id. *Geschichte*, II², 42 ff.; Kienitz, *op. cit.* 49 ff.: *contra* Jacoby, *Commentary*, pp. 36 f.

⁵ 70. 1. 11–12; F 5: cf. iii, 5, 2, 5.

⁶ 71, 1: cf. iii, 5, 2.

⁷ 70, 2; cf. iii, 7; 5, 1.

⁸ 70, 4–10.

I have not been partial in judgement: I have not entered into alliance with the strongest, and I have not detracted from the right of the weakest: I have not brought the offering into the temple with dishonesty, and I have not taken away any part of the sacrifice.¹

Similarly a priestly tendency is apparent in the description of the funeral ceremonies of the king, which are very similar to those described for ordinary people.² Thus both general tendency and almost every individual item bear the mark of Hecataeus' priestly informants; it is worth remembering that Hecataeus' information on Judaism is similarly derived from the Jewish priesthood, and is remarkable for its general accuracy.³

The description of Judaea brings out another important element in Hecataeus' account of Egyptian kingship. Though his information about the Jews is genuine, in selection and emphasis it is permeated with Hecataeus' own idealizing tendencies. The framework is that of a Greek ethnographer. Moses founds his city, and *then* gives it laws, in the Greek fashion: Judaea is almost (but not quite) the ideal city-state of a Greek philosophical speculator—not quite, because it is derivative from the more perfect culture of Egypt. Moses, excelling in wisdom and courage (3) appointed religious observances of the utmost purity, and a priesthood of the highest accomplishments (4), to guard the laws and customs; he took especial care for military affairs, saw to it that the youth was trained in all sorts of hardship (6), and tried to ensure a large population by making the allotments of land inalienable. The description is that of an Egyptian Sparta. The one thing wrong in this state is a natural consequence of the expulsion from Egypt, which caused Moses to introduce a way of life to a certain extent unsocial and hostile to strangers, deliberately distorted in relation to other nations (4, 8a); without this variation on the Spartan *ξενηλασία*, perhaps Hecataeus would have found it difficult to fuse the genuinely Jewish elements with the Spartan model he has constructed.⁴ Hecataeus cannot refrain from philosophical idealization, whether he is describing the curious customs of the Jews, or romancing in the Northern Ocean; not all the colour in his account of Egyptian kingship has come direct from the Theban priesthood.

The position and structure of the section belong to Hecataeus. It comes, as it should in a Greek account, at the beginning of his detailed description of the ideal state, which extends through administration, social organization, justice, marriage, education, health, religious customs, and burial practices. Within itself, it is articulated in a similarly logical way: the character of Egyptian kingship, the daily life of the king, his administration of justice, the royal funeral. This systematic organization of his material

¹ M. Alliot, *Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, i (1949), 142 f.; though this is part of the solemn, not the daily ritual. Cf. the comments of Otto, *op. cit.* 67 ff., on the ritual, which is closely related to the declarations of innocence in the *Book of the Dead* (C. Maystre, *Les Déclarations d'innocence* (1937)).

² 72; cf. 92. The prominence of this section on royal burial may of course be related to discussions arising from the recent arrival of Alexander's body.

³ F 6, with Jacoby's Commentary, and esp. Jaeger, *Journal of Religions* 18 (1938), 131 ff.; Nock, *HTR* 37 (1944), 174.

⁴ On the idealizing tendency, see Jaeger, *op. cit.* 135 ff., esp. 140 ff.; id. *Diokles von Karystos* (1938), 151 ff.; I have taken note of the objections of Jacoby, Commentary, 48 f., which do not invalidate Jaeger's general picture.

seems characteristic of Hecataeus' approach in general. More interesting are the reasons given for the various customs—though the customs may be derived from the priests, their explanation seems almost always Greek. Thus the king is surrounded by high-born sons of priests to serve him, 'for no ruler advances far along the road of evil unless he has those about him who will minister to his passions'.¹ Again the High Priest offers a daily panegyric of the king's virtues before the king, but mentions his vices only in general terms, and blames them on others, 'to accustom him to live in a proper manner, not by sharp rebukes, but by praises which were agreeable and most conducive to virtue'.² The notion that the function of panegyric is to advise and set an example for the person praised to follow, is an early idea in Greek rhetorical theory.³ The view that reading about suitable historical models has an effect on practical administration is perhaps from the same source.⁴ Again the reason why the kings follow the law in giving judgement is the danger, well recognized in Greek political thought, that a judge not bound by the law may give way to his passions.⁵ And the effect of good rule is prosperity, the goodwill of subjects to master, and an exceptional stability of constitution and laws—all of them well known to Greek philosophy as natural results of a good constitution.⁶ Some of these explanatory relationships are of course common to Greek and Egyptian thought; but it is noticeable in Hecataeus' account that, whereas the customs in themselves might appear peculiar or paradoxical to a Greek, the reasons for them are always immediately acceptable in Greek terms—no explanation ends in a specifically Egyptian mode of thought. It is this phenomenon, more than any other, which has misled commentators into thinking that the whole account of Hecataeus is merely a Greek philosophical Utopia.

The same tendency is there even in the description of the relationship between king and law, which has been seen to be in part of Egyptian origin. For Plato, the Egyptian priest-king approaches the true philosopher-king;⁷ Hecataeus does not idealize his monarch in that direction, towards the enlightened despot. Nor is his king ruled directly by the priesthood, as, for instance, Agatharchides describes the situation. Rather his relation is primarily to laws, only secondarily to those who interpret them and see that they are obeyed, the priests. What Hecataeus describes is not fundamentally a priestly theocracy but a constitutional monarchy;⁸ though he may be deriving his information from the priesthood, his thought is also concerned with a fundamentally Greek problem—the relationship of king to law. The paradoxical fact that Egyptian kingship does not conform to the usual Greek definition of βασιλεία as ἀνυπεύθυνος ἀρχή,⁹ is made to produce an example for the Greek debate, whether the king is or should be above or below the laws. Here is one point where Hecataeus may have intended his description to be directly relevant to contemporary Ptolemaic Egypt.

The virtues of the king show an interesting tendency to make Egyptian and Greek ideas converge.¹⁰ His chief virtue is one common to Egyptian and Greek thought, εὐεργεσία, which is indeed elevated until it becomes the ultimate justification of

¹ 70, 2.² 70, 8.³ E.g. Arist. *Rhet.* i, 9, 1367b 37 ff.⁴ 70, 9.⁵ 71, 3.⁶ 71, 4-5.⁷ p. 164 below.⁸ Jacoby, *RE* 2763.⁹ 70, 1; cf. 71, 1.¹⁰ Cf. esp. 70, 6.

monarchy itself, and a final explanation of the peculiarities of Egyptian kingship.¹ Thus in Hecataeus the notion of the βασιλεὺς ἐνεργέτης usurps the position often given in other Greek writers to the ἄριστος ἀνὴρ, the rule of the best man, or to the φιλανθρωπία of the ruler.²

According to the priests, it was the kings³ who discovered the necessities of life: 'and this was why the kingship was bestowed in early times, not on the sons of former rulers, but on those who had conferred the greatest and most numerous benefits on the people; whether it is that men sought thus to incite their kings to the common service of all, or that they have in reality received this account in the sacred records'.⁴ This doctrine that it is ἐνεργεσία which bestows the right to kingship is reflected in other passages: some of the priests said that Hephaestus, not Helius, became the first king, because of the usefulness of his discovery of fire;⁵ again it was in gratitude for a benefit, a gift of corn, that the Athenians made the Egyptian Erechtheus king of Athens.⁶ Thus what may originally have been an idea of non-hereditary kingship similar to that described by Agatharchides, has received an explanation and an emphasis which combines Greek and Egyptian attitudes.

So too the deification of kings and other strange animals. Animal worship is explained as gratitude for various benefactions; and gratitude is said to be a marked characteristic of the Egyptians.⁷ 'This is why the Egyptians practise *proskynesis* before their kings, and honour them as being in truth gods, believing that they have not attained supreme power without the help of some divine providence, and also that such as have the will and ability to confer the greatest benefits share in the divine nature.'⁸ The same theory lies behind the 'Euhemerism' of Hecataeus—his description of a stage intermediate between the gods as physical properties, and men as kings, when Egypt was ruled by 'divine kings': 'Beside these there are other earthly beings, who were once mortal, but because of their wisdom and common benefaction of mankind achieved immortality, some of whom were also kings in Egypt.'⁹ Agatharchides, in turn, has copied Hecataeus in his description of those Ethiopians who divide their gods into these two types, the second of which, though sharing in mortal nature, has come to receive immortal honours because of 'virtue and common benefactions towards mankind'.¹⁰ The idea of the βασιλεὺς ἐνεργέτης on a theoretical level explains non-hereditary kingship and the deification of kings; it also connects a number of

¹ For Egyptian emphasis on benefactions, cf. above p. 156; H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum* (1939), 391 ff. Schwartz, 254 ff. and Jacoby *RE* 2761 emphasize the Greek aspects (on which see E. Skard, *Zwei religiös-politische Begriffe, Euergetes-Concordia, Avh. Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo Hist.-fil. Kl.* 1931. 2 (1932). ch. 1; on Hecataeus, 39 ff.); but it is precisely because the βασιλεὺς ἐνεργέτης is acceptable in both traditions that Hecataeus here emphasizes it so strongly: cf. C. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides* (1939), 559.

² I have noted φιλάνθρωπος only of Aegyptus at 51, 4.

³ I.e. the 'divine kings'.

⁴ 43, 6.

⁵ 13, 3; Manetho gives the order Hephaestus, Helius: F 3a p. 12. Cf. 13, 4: the *arete* of Zeus and Hera gave them world rule.

⁶ 29, 1.

⁷ Even the kings were expected to show the virtue: 70, 6.

⁸ 90, 2-3.

⁹ 13, 1.

¹⁰ iii, 9, 1-2. According to Diodorus, this is the theology of those above Meroë, but it is so close to Hecataeus that one may suspect that Agatharchides was really describing the Meroitic kingdom (for which Diodorus gives no theology), and copying Hecataeus, whether there was any justification in the facts as related by the priests of Amūn, or not.

more practical topics. According to Hecataeus, the kings were generous in sharing their riches;¹ the miserly king who does not spend on offerings to the gods and benefactions is merely a good steward, not a good king.² The king's building activities are considered from the point of view of their contributions to the welfare of the subject.³ The result of his beneficent attentions is the goodwill and loyalty of his subjects;⁴ contrarily a bad king must expect disloyalty and dishonour after his death.⁵

Hecataeus on Osiris and Sesosis

From consideration of the *βασιλεὺς ἐνεργέτης*, it is already clear that the description of the ancient kings of Egypt does not stand on its own; it is closely related to the historical section of the work. Indeed the ethical models of virtue and vice provided by the successive biographies in that section might have come straight out of the sacred writings which (according to Hecataeus) the priests used daily to read for the encouragement of virtue in their kings.⁶ Yet it is clear that the information in the historical section did *not* come primarily from the priests, but from earlier Greek writers on Egypt, notably Herodotus. The ethical tendencies common both to these biographies, and to the description of Egyptian kingship, must therefore be to a considerable extent Hecataeus' own contribution, added by him to his different Greek and Egyptian sources.⁷

The influence of various theoretical attitudes to kingship on the historical section can be seen most clearly in two of the biographies, those of Osiris and Sesosis. Osiris when he succeeded to the kingship did much to benefit the social life of man (*πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν τοῦ κοινου βίου*, 13, 5).⁸ He was the first to introduce the cultivation of crops, and so cause men to give up cannibalism; his wife, Isis, discovered wheat and barley, and established laws. The building activities of Osiris are shown in the foundation of Thebes, his *εὐσέβεια* in the temples built for the gods.⁹ At the court of Osiris and Isis especial esteem was given to inventors of the arts and those who practised useful activities, in particular to Hermes who invented language, writing, religion, astronomy, music, wrestling, dancing, the lyre, rhetoric, and the cultivation of the olive.¹⁰ 'In short the court of Osiris, having this man as priestly scribe, communicated with him on every matter and used his advice especially' (16, 2). Here the discoveries of Hermes are more appropriate to Greek than to Egyptian cultural life; but the portrait belongs in part to the priestly tradition, which, according to Hecataeus, strictly divided the credit for the various discoveries between kings (the necessities of life), and Hermes (the arts).¹¹ Hermes is of course the first High Priest; the whole

¹ 70, 6; cf. 54, 2; 64, 9; 73, 6.

² 62, 5-6.

³ 51, 5-7; 55, 12-57.

⁴ *εὐνοια*, 71, 4; 72, 1; 54, 1-2, 51, 4; 64, 9.

⁵ 72, 6; cf. 45, 2; 60, 3; 64, 4 ff.

⁶ 70, 9.

⁷ For the exemplification of theoretical virtues in the historical section, see above nn. 1-5; also *εὐσέβεια* 70, 6: 49, 3; 65, 2, 4; justice 70, 5-6; 71, 4: 49, 3 (contrast 60, 1); *ἐπιείκεια, ἡμερότης* 70, 6: 54, 2; 55, 10; 64, 9; 60, 3; 65, 3 (though the last two might reflect genuine Ethiopian customs: cf. iii, 5, 2) (contrast 60, 1; 64, 5).

⁸ Hecataeus' story of Osiris is heavily interpolated by Diodorus; it runs probably thus: 14, 1-15, 5; 15, 9-16, 2; 20, 6-21, 11.

⁹ 15.

¹⁰ A clear instance of interpolation: 15, 9-16, 2 continues 15, 4-5.

¹¹ 43, 6.

picture is that of a primeval division of functions between the priest (or in Greek terms the philosophical adviser) and the βασιλεύς—in the last resort between Hecataeus himself and Ptolemy. The fusion of Greek and Egyptian attitudes is almost complete.

The strands are more easily disentangled in Hecataeus' biography of Sesosis, the great conquering king whom Herodotus and Manetho called Sesostris.¹ All the basic facts in Hecataeus come from Herodotus: thus Sesosis conquers Ethiopia, Asia as far as India and Scythia, Europe to Thrace, and sails a fleet on the Red Sea. The anecdotal material is also from Herodotus: Hecataeus has the Egyptian origin of the Colchians (proved by the practice of circumcision), the sexual stelae and statues set up by Sesosis, the building activity with captives on his return, and the plot of Sesosis' brother, even the account of how Darius was rebuked for comparing himself with Sesosis. In all these stories the variations are so slight as to make it clear, on the one hand that they are not inserted by Diodorus directly from Herodotus, on the other that Hecataeus had Herodotus in front of him when he composed his account.

At the start Hecataeus alleges his method: 'since with regard to this king, not only are the Greek writers at variance with each other, but among the Egyptians the priests and the poets who sing his praises give conflicting stories, we shall try to give the most probable account, and that which most nearly agrees with the monuments still standing in the land' (53, 1). In fact the additions of Hecataeus to the basic narrative of Herodotus fall into three groups. Firstly addition of details, such as an explanation of why Sesosis stopped in Thrace, the number of ships he took on the Red Sea, the fact that the campaign lasted nine years. These are all clearly the rationalizations and corroborative detail of a Hellenistic writer, used to historical accounts which left no question unanswered; they come from Hecataeus himself, or conceivably in part from earlier fourth-century writers, not from the Egyptian priests. Secondly modernizations: just as the Herodotean account of Sesostris presupposes the Persian conquests, in that Sesostris is portrayed as a greater warrior than Cyrus and Darius, so Sesosis is a figure from contemporary history, explicitly conceived as a greater one than Alexander: 'not only did he visit the territory that was afterwards won by Alexander of Macedon, but also certain nations into whose land Alexander did not penetrate'—that is, India as far as Ocean, and Scythia to the Tanais (55, 3). To complete the parallelism, according to Diodorus Sesosis committed suicide *after a reign of thirty-three years*, a figure

¹ Herod. ii, 102–10; Manetho, *FGH* 609 F 2–3a p. 30. The relation of Manetho to Herodotus and Hecataeus is obscure: the extant passage adds to Herodotus information on the king's size, the length of his reign and of his expedition, to Hecataeus only information on the king's size. He seems to accept Hecataeus' length of 9 years for the campaign of Sesosis, but contradicts him on the king's name and the length of his reign. The variant Sesonchosis seems to belong to the novelistic tradition: esp. *P. Oxy.* xv. no. 1826 (cf. F. Zimmermann, *Rhein. Mus.* 85 (1936), 165 ff., for very hypothetical supplements and interpretation). On the Sesostris legend see esp. H. Kees, *RE* II, ii, 2 (1923), 1861 ff. (esp. 1865 ff., an excellent commentary on Diodorus–Hecataeus); K. Lange, *Sesostris: ein ägyptischer König in Mythos, Geschichte und Kunst* (1954), 22 ff. The useful survey of ancient and modern literature by M. Malaise, *Chr. d'Égypte* 41 (1966), 244 ff., adds little; he does not unfortunately recognize the true position of Diodorus' narrative in the tradition; nor does he investigate the wider background to this and other legends of the 'Drang nach Osten'. I hope to return to this interrelationship of the legends of Cyrus, Dionysus, Osiris, Sesostris, and Alexander later: on the relation between the legends of Alexander and Sesostris cf. F. Pfister, 'Studien zum Alexanderroman', *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 1 (1946), 56 ff.

plainly chosen to recall the death of Alexander in his thirty-third year.¹ Indeed it may be asked, does the modernization stop here? Does the king who begins by safeguarding his rear, earning the goodwill of his subjects in Egypt and bringing peace and prosperity to the country, and then goes on to conquer the world, not find a model nearer home? There are signs that this may have been the real policy of Ptolemy in his early years: the man who stole Alexander's body, and wrote a history of Alexander's conquests, was not unaware of the heritage of Alexander. Thus the tendency to model Sesosis on Alexander might be thought to be Ptolemaic, entirely due to Hecataeus; and yet it was genuine Egyptian priests who told Herodotus a similarly modernized story, of a Sesostris modelled on (and contrasted with) Cyrus and Darius.² It is also clear that the legend of Sesostris was particularly alive in Egypt in the fourth century B.C.: Nectanebes, the first king of the Thirtieth Dynasty, took as his prenomen Kheper-ka-Rē, which was the prenomen of Senwosret I, the historical original of Sesostris.³ Moreover, later Egyptian sources connected Sesostris specifically with Alexander: in the Alexander Romance he is welcomed as a 'new Sesonchosis'.⁴ Hecataeus' modernization of Sesosis in the light of Alexander's career was then the work of men (historian or priests) desiring to please a king well aware of his own position as heir to the traditions of both Alexander and Sesostris.⁵ Perhaps it is significant that, among the conquests of Sesosis specifically mentioned in Hecataeus, but not in Herodotus, are the Cyclades (55, 6).⁶ Similarly the earlier description of Egyptian colonization constitutes in some sense a justification of Ptolemaic expansion in such areas as Judaea.

The third type of addition certainly belongs to Hecataeus himself—the idealizations. Sesosis is of course the perfect king according to the canons laid down in the section on kingship, and the emphasis of the Herodotean account has been changed to conform with this. But Hecataeus has gone further. For the biography of Sesosis begins with a section on the education of the ideal prince—an Egyptian *Education of Cyrus*. Inspired perhaps by a dream, the father of Sesosis collected together children born on the same day and constituted a band of companions who were trained throughout youth in the proper physical pursuits. This training ended with a hunting expedition into Arabia, a sort of practice conquest of Arabia and Libya. The band of comrades was a useful nucleus of commanders for the later campaigns. This ideal education

¹ Has Diodorus here misunderstood his source? Did Hecataeus make Sesosis die in the thirty-third year of his life, not after a reign of thirty-three years? Manetho gives Sesostris forty-eight years; and K. Sethe, *Sesostris, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens*, II, 1 (1902), 23, attempts to justify 'Diodorus' figure in relation to that of Manetho by supposing it to be the length of his sole reign'. That is unnecessary; in general Sethe tries to relate too much of the legend to history instead of to its proper literary tradition.

² Esp. Herod. ii, 110, rationalized in Hecataeus (Diod. i, 58, 4): Herodotus' priests had mentioned Scythia in the original story, a clear anachronism since Darius' Scythian expedition had not yet taken place: M. Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (1938), 15.

³ Cf. in general for the Egyptian attitude to Sesostris, Kees, op. cit. 1865.

⁴ Ps.-Call. *Hist. Alex. Magni* i, 34, 2; cf. 33, 6; ii, 17, 17; 24, 2; [34, 4]; cf. in general Pfister, loc. cit.

⁵ On the relation between priestly and Greek modernization, cf. Kees, op. cit. 1869 f.

⁶ Nor does Herodotus mention Hecataeus' Libyan expedition (53, 6), perhaps a reworking of the Cyrene expedition of Ophellas and Ptolemy during 322–320 B.C. But it may have a genuine foundation: cf. Kees, op. cit. 1866 f.

is again Greek, not Egyptian. Though the band of companions might owe something to the idea of a group of men surrounding the king, which appears in different forms in Hecataeus and Agatharchides, it finds a stronger echo in the Macedonian institution of the King's Pages, and in the common education which Xenophon alleges is the custom in Persia, and which existed in reality at Sparta. Other elements recall Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*—the emphasis on abstinence in food, on hunting and the progression from hunting expeditions to war.¹ But Hecataeus' debt to Xenophon is more in atmosphere than detail. Indeed it could be that he owes something to one of the lost works similar in scope to Xenophon's, to Antisthenes' *Cyrus*, or Onesicritus or Marsyas of Pella on the education of Alexander.² At the least these examples made it evident that any real Egyptian hero must also be provided with a proper *Education*.

Hecataeus and his Greek predecessors

More generally, it is difficult to determine how much Hecataeus owed to his Greek predecessors other than Herodotus, because of the lack of evidence. He certainly often quoted 'other writers', and contrasted them with the priestly tradition;³ but there is nothing in the extant fragments of Hecataeus of Miletus, Hellanicus or Aristagoras (the known writers on Egypt) which can be brought into close relationship with Hecataeus.⁴

Certainly his philosophizing and systematization is merely a more extensive application of tendencies already apparent in fourth-century descriptions of Egypt, at least in non-historical writers. Thus Plato in the *Statesman* and the *Timaeus* is prepared to consider ancient Egypt as a possible ideal model, though in the *Laws* he seems to recognize its present degeneration.⁵ Aristotle compares the Egyptian caste system of Sesostrius with that of contemporary 'political philosophers', referring probably to the *Timaeus* passage;⁶ and the Egyptians were often asserted to be the inventors of arts or sciences.⁷ The most systematic expression of this philosophical tendency before Hecataeus is Isocrates' *Busiris*, which gives a panegyric description of Egypt, and, like Hecataeus, talked of its prosperity, defences (13 ff.), class system (15 ff.), animal worship (26), and other customs. Isocrates also says that philosophers (probably Plato again) prefer the Egyptian form of government above all others, and that the Spartans have taken some of their institutions from Egypt (17 f.).

Hecataeus' ideas on kingship differ only in their emphasis from those of other writers. The idea of the king as benefactor, the relationship of kingship to law, the virtues of the king, show little conceptual originality when compared with the views of earlier writers; and such originality as there is, appears to be largely a result of his reliance on Egyptian material. In writing on kingship Hecataeus could have drawn on the tradition

¹ *Cyrop.* i, 2, 5 ff.; 2, 10 f. On Greek and Egyptian elements in the education cf. Malaise, op. cit. 257 ff.

² Antisthenes F 19–21 Caizzi; Onesicritus and Marsyas of Pella, *FGH* 134–5.

³ Cf. p. 151, n. 2.

⁴ A good general survey, T. S. Brown, *Hist.* 11 (1962), 257 ff.

⁵ *Statesman*, 290d–e; *Timaeus*, 24a ff.; *Laws*, v, 747a; cf. above p. 157, n. 2.

⁶ *Pol.* vii, 1329c 40 ff.; for Dicaearchus on the caste system cf. below p. 168, n. 8.

⁷ Writing, etc. Plato, *Phaedrus* 274c ff.; philosophy, etc. Isocr. *Busiris*, 21–3; mathematics Arist. *Met.* A, 1, 981b 23; cf. Herod. ii, 109.

of the Abderite school of philosophy. There is no direct evidence for Democritus having dealt with kingship; but the Epicurean picture of early society suggests that such discussions might have arisen in relation to the early history of man. Epicurus seems to have seen kingship as the earliest form of political organization, and to have attributed its appearance to the beneficial activities of the more intelligent on behalf of their fellow men. Admittedly the evidence is slight; but if it is accepted there is an obvious parallel between such a view and Hecataeus' account of the origin of kingship in *ἐνεργεσία*: both might owe something to Abderite discussions.

Hecataeus was a pupil of Pyrrho, who had studied under Anaxarchus and accompanied him on Alexander's expedition.¹ But it was an ambiguous heritage: Anaxarchus, the philosopher closest to Alexander, who had written a work *On Kingship* for him and been rebuked by an Indian sage for being a court philosopher, nevertheless ended his life as the supreme embodiment of philosophical *ἀταραξία* in the face of a tyrant, pounded to death by pestle and mortar to his own chant of 'pound Anaxarchus' bag, Anaxarchus you do not pound'—then, when his tongue was ordered to be cut out, biting it off and spitting it in the face of his tormentor. That at least was the legend of the most famous philosophical death after that of Socrates. At all events a man closely involved in court life and politics; for he was killed by Nicocreon, a dynast in Cyprus, not without cause—he had recommended Nicocreon's own execution to Alexander.² Then Pyrrho, whose experiences on Alexander's expedition had caused him to fore-swear the illusions of this world, and who was never again found in connection with politics, or kings.³

Anaxarchus' book was at least in part polemical and political; if its doctrine was in any way unorthodox, it was probably in the direction of an emphasis on the absolute power and autonomy of the king: Anaxarchus is alleged to have comforted Alexander on the death of Clitus with the doctrine that whatever the king does is just.⁴ This attitude is specifically rejected by Hecataeus—for him the king is below the law.

From Pyrrho, Hecataeus perhaps inherited a respect for foreign political philosophy, Hyperborean, Indian, Jewish, or Egyptian. Scepticism in politics, when not coupled with total abstention, might lead to a relativism which saw that no one ideal state was inferior to another. Hence, though reality was not over-important, the search for a political ideal could take account of local traditions. But this is pure speculation; a certain distaste for luxury (*τρουφή*) in kings, and an emphasis on ethical and political self-sufficiency (*αὐτάρκεια*) and on the moderation of desires, are the closest links between Hecataeus and his philosophical teachers.⁵ Hecataeus' final position is indeed as much the result of general tendencies of the age as of specific philosophical arguments.

¹ On Pyrrho and Hecataeus cf. Jacoby, *RE* 2758, Commentary, p. 33. The 'Democritean' view of kingship which Cole tries to reconstruct (*Democritus*, 120 ff.) lacks any evidence; but he may be right in seeing a connection between Epicurus and Hecataeus.

² Cf. H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, II (1926), 33 ff.

³ For Pyrrho in general K. von Fritz, *RE* xxiv, 1 (1963), 89 ff. The story that he was honoured by Athens for the murder of Cotys is chronologically impossible, and a confusion with another Pyrrho (*ibid.* 92).

⁴ See n. 2 above.

⁵ Remarkd by Jacoby, *RE* 2754; cf. esp. ch. 45; Schwartz, 244 ff.; R. von Pöhlmann, *Geschichte der sozialen Frage und des Sozialismus in der Antiken Welt*, II³ (1925), 291 ff.

In the early Hellenistic period, the Greek mind, though dominated by its own ordered vision of the world, was still open to the impact of the immense intellectual vistas created by Alexander's conquests; indeed perhaps this tension between the real barbarian world and its Greek stereotype is never absent from the best Hellenistic prose writers.

The influence of Hecataeus

Hecataeus' relationship with his royal master must have been close; the research that went into his work on Egypt, both in previous literature and in conversations with the Egyptian priests, is more than the desultory inquiry of a dilettante traveller; and the systematic tendency of the book suggests royal patronage. In general Ptolemy obtained what he wanted, a work of propaganda portraying Egypt in a light which would appeal to Greek, and perhaps Egyptian, educated opinion; it began a war of books between the Hellenistic monarchies, which earned various learned men royal subvention: Berossus and Megasthenes replied for Babylonia and India, for the Seleucids were just as alive to the political importance of encouraging Greek veneration of older cultures.¹ The significance of these works for the new kingdoms should not be underestimated; the popularity of Hecataeus among intellectuals was great, and it is probable that such books circulated in the early Hellenistic period among a far wider group than normally; for many potential mercenaries, officials, and traders will have wished to discover more about their future prospects, and many settlers will have been interested in the antiquities of their new world. Despite the learned nature of Hecataeus' book and its lack of popular appeal, it may still have helped in the essential task of creating a favourable impression of Egypt, as did, for instance, Theocritus' more blatant appeals to material rewards in the *Idylls*.² Again in the world of royal competition, there is a necessary element of self-deception; each of the Hellenistic kings wished to be persuaded of the cultural superiority and great antiquity of his own kingdom, and so of the especial importance of himself and his task.

Yet one aspect of Hecataeus' work cannot have been wholly acceptable to Ptolemy—the emphasis implicit in his views of kingship. He was not of course writing in opposition to Ptolemy;³ but no more was he bound to an official Ptolemaic view of kingship. There is little doubt that Hecataeus' own views coincided with those of the priests, to the extent that the king should be subordinate to law if not to religion; and the strong nationalism of his informants is not toned down by Hecataeus. If there is a certain tension here between Hecataeus as a court writer and the actual tenor of his work, it is lessened by the date of composition. He wrote in the very early years of Ptolemy's rule, before he was even a king, when the forms of government were not yet established, and when Ptolemy's own chief concern, like that of Sesoosis, was in conciliating the natives, whether before further conquests or to strengthen his own position against

¹ Jacoby, Commentary, p. 37; we now see how early this rivalry began—before the actual foundation of the Successor kingdoms.

² Esp. xiv, 57 ff.; xvii *passim*; also Callimachus' Hymns to Zeus and Delos.

³ As Schwartz, 260 ff. thought.

others; it was possible then to describe things in a way which might not have been so acceptable once the fundamentally Greek lines of Ptolemaic rule were well established, and the native population was firmly in its place.

If Ptolemy obtained what he wanted, Hecataeus himself perhaps failed; the deeper fusion of Greece and Egypt which his work seems to envisage did not take place: 'the Greek remained Greek even in the land of the Pharaohs, for all the priests and their hieroglyphs'.¹ The Ionian viewpoint of Hecataeus gave way to that of Demetrius of Phaleron, Attic, Hellenocentric, despising the native barbarian as Aristotle had done, imprisoned in the political framework of the city-state. It may be too adventurous to see Hecataeus and Demetrius as the protagonists at court of two explicit and opposed political doctrines, yet they certainly represent two incompatible attitudes. With the arrival of Demetrius, Greek and Egyptian culture fell apart; and a whole intellectual approach was forgotten, submerged in the excitement of the establishment of Alexandria—an attempt to turn all Egypt into the territory of one city-state.

But in another sense Hecataeus was only too successful, in bringing Greek order and unity into the world of native cultures. His book, so complete and so well documented, immediately became and remained the standard work on Egypt, and a model for the new Hellenistic historiography of native cultures; its fusion of the traditions of philosophy and historical ethnography with local tradition was more complete than that in any previous work, and set a standard for the next two centuries. The extent of Hecataeus' influence has not yet been fully realized; he is, I believe, the bridge between Ionian and Hellenistic historiography. But these are questions of emphasis, attitude, and approach to history, which can only be dealt with in the context of Hellenistic historiography as a whole.² The details here offered are no more than the external and certain signs of his popularity.

Among historians, Berossus and Megasthenes opposed Hecataeus on political grounds;³ Euhemerus borrowed his theological apparatus;⁴ Agatharchides certainly knew him.⁵ The popularity of his name among Jews is not only due to the accident that he was the first to mention them; it also attests his general literary importance.⁶ Apart from the forgeries attached to his name, Artapanus used Hecataeus in his portrayal of Moses, reversing the picture of Hecataeus, and claiming that, so far from the Jews having taken their institutions from Egypt, it was Moses who created Egyptian civilization: he was indeed identical with the Hermes portrayed by Hecataeus, even to being given the same name by the Egyptians.⁷ Even the Egyptian priest Manetho, who of all

¹ Schwartz, 237.

² Cf. my review of H. Strasburger, *Die Wesensbestimmung der Geschichte durch die antike Geschichtsschreibung* in *CR* 18 (1968), 218 ff.

³ On traces of the use of Hecataeus in general, cf. Jacoby, *Commentary*, pp. 37 f.; for Megasthenes, *FGH* 715 F 13 seems a denial of Hecataeus on Sesosis: cf. Jacoby, *Commentary*, p. 34; Jaeger, *Diokles von Karystos*, 140 ff.

⁴ Above p. 151, n. 4.

⁵ Above p. 160, n. 10; there are other signs: cf. p. 154. On the disputed question of Hippys of Rhegion and Hecataeus, cf. *FGH* 554 F 6–7 and commentary.

⁶ Above p. 144; Jacoby, *RE* 2765 f.

⁷ Artapanus, *FGH* 726 F 3, 1–12; note esp. the claims that Moses invented many skills useful to mankind (4: cf. esp. Diod. i, 13, 3 *εὐχρηστία*), was responsible for the nome division (cf. 54, 3), and for assigning a god to each district (cf. 15, 3 f.; 16, 1; 45, 1), was called Hermes by the Egyptians because of *έρμηνεία*—his

writers should have been able to free himself from Hecataeus' influence, was unable or unwilling to do so. Manetho's polemic against Herodotus was explicit and continuous;¹ this very attitude rules out similar attacks on Hecataeus, for it puts him alongside Hecataeus.² Indeed Manetho accepted a framework for his own chronology, a division between gods, *νέκτες* or *ἡμίθεοι*, and men,³ reminiscent of Hecataeus' threefold division; his list of gods who ruled was nearly the same as Hecataeus' list of 'earthly gods'.⁴ He may even have accepted Hecataeus' explanation of the gods as physical entities in its entirety.⁵ The list could doubtless be enlarged; Diodorus was the least of those historians who fell under Hecataeus' spell.

Among philosophers the work was an immediate success, both as a source-book and as a basis for discussion of the Egyptian ideal state: traces of it appear in Theophrastus *On Stones* and *On Piety*,⁶ Alexinus *On Self-Sufficiency*,⁷ Crantor *On Plato's Timaeus*.⁸ For the Greeks in Egypt it was the standard work. It can be detected in Apollonius' *Argonautica*;⁹ when Theocritus in his encomium of Philadelphus wished to praise the land of Egypt for its populousness, he took from Hecataeus the number of villages in Ptolemy's census and versified the figure: 'three hundreds of cities are built therein, and three thousand and thrice ten thousand as well, and twice three and three times nine besides; and of all Lord Ptolemy is king'.¹⁰ There may be other echoes in the poem. With characteristic playfulness, Callimachus praises the speed and efficiency of Philadelphus' administration; his wealth gives him power, power to give wealth to a poet: 'by evening he achieves whatever he thinks of in the morning, by evening the greatest things, but the lesser as soon as he thinks of them'.¹¹ A glancing allusion perhaps to Hecataeus' picture of the early morning administration of the Pharaoh. Certain of the attributes which the Jewish author Aristeeas considered desirable in a Ptolemaic

discovery of writing (6: cf. the same etymology 16, 2), and finally invented animal worship (12), for the same reasons as alleged in Hecataeus. Cf. in general Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature*, 29 f.

¹ F 13; also F 1, F 2 pp. 22 f.; F 3 pp. 16 f.; F 23b; cf. F 2 p. 42.

² For Hecataeus' attitude to Herodotus cf. p. 151, n. 2. Plut. *Mor.* 354 c-d does not suggest that Manetho contradicted Hecataeus by name, for Plutarch used Hecataeus directly in the *de Iside et Osiride*.

³ Manetho T 8; F 2-3 p. 11-16.

⁴ F 3a p. 12; cf. p. 56.

⁵ That depends on how much of Manetho F 18 (from Eusebius) really belongs to Manetho rather than Diodorus: see Jacoby, *Apparatus ad loc.*

⁶ On the importance of Hecataeus for philosophical attitudes to Egypt, cf. the remarks of H. E. Stier, *Bericht über den VI Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie 1939 (1940)*, 286 ff. For Theophrastus, see above p. 143, nn. 2 and 6.

⁷ Athenaeus, x, 418e; Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 354a.

⁸ Jaeger, *Diokles von Karystos*, 132 f. Whether Dicaearchus' *Bíos 'Ελλάδος* (F57-8 Wehrli) should be added is not clear. He probably still followed Aristotle (compare the content of F57a with *Pol.* viii, 1329b), and used the name 'Sesostris' (see Appendix 2); the *Bíos 'Ελλάδος* may well be earlier than Hecataeus: there is no sign of Theophrastus' influence in it (cf. Wehrli, *Commentary*, p. 56). On the other hand, the reason given for the caste system in F 57a is similar to Diod. i, 74, 6 f; (but this is a commonplace since Plato's Republic); possibly also Hecataean is the appearance of Sesostris as a *πρώτος εὐερέτης*.

⁹ It must surely be the inspiration for the Egyptian digression in Argos' geographical discourse, *Argonautica* iv, 259-81; the king there alluded to but not named is therefore Sesoosis for Apollonius, not the Sesostris or Sesonchosis of the scholia (whose sources include Herodotus, but not Hecataeus): cf. Appendix 2.

¹⁰ Theocritus xvii, 82 = Diod. i, 31, 7; Hecataeus F 19; cf. Jacoby, *Commentary ad loc.* How much of the rest of the poem is inspired by Hecataeus can only be guessed, but compare ll. 95-101 with Hecataeus' emphasis in the geographical section on the defensibility of Egypt.

¹¹ Callimachus, *Hymn* i, 87 f.; cf. perhaps Diod. i, 70, 4.

king may reflect a reading of Hecataeus: many of the parallels are commonplace, but Aristetas does for instance emphasize punishing offenders less harshly than they deserve, and paying workmen for their building labours; and the administrative correspondence read to the Pharaohs in Hecataeus has become the administrative reports prepared for the Ptolemaic king.¹

Here lies the ultimate irony: later writers, when they wished to portray the Ptolemies as something more than mere kings, as kings of *Egypt*, went for their information to Hecataeus, and no further. As a standard work, the effect that he produced was not what he intended. A. D. Nock pointed to the parallel between Hecataeus and Polybius: 'In a very different style Egypt produced on Hecataeus an effect remotely comparable with that of Republican Rome on Polybius.'² The point is valid, not only for the relation of writer to his subject, but also for that of the later reader to the finished work. Both writers had deep insight into the greatness and idiosyncrasy of the peoples they portrayed; both tried to interpret their political systems in terms that Greeks would accept, and succeeded so well that they prevented later generations from progressing beyond their analysis to a deeper understanding.³ In the end Hecataeus' work served only to strengthen the prejudices of the Greeks in Egypt. Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* shows how little influence genuinely oriental ideas of kingship had on Greek political theory, and how such traditions could only be assimilated when they were so transformed into Greek modes as to be almost unrecognizable; the achievement of Hecataeus is far greater than that of Xenophon, but it points the same moral: the Greek could not understand oriental kingship, unless it was portrayed in Greek terms.⁴

Appendix 1 : Diodorus i, 7-8

There has been some dispute as to where Diodorus' use of Hecataeus begins. K. Reinhardt, *Hermes* 47 (1912), 492 ff., saw the similarities between the prehistory of chs. 7-8 and the Egyptian prehistory of ch. 10 as suggesting that Diodorus had taken certain ideas out of Hecataeus to use them in his introduction: the contents of the original had run 7, 8, 10-29. Jacoby, however, rejected this idea (Commentary, p. 39), and saw Diodorus' use of Hecataeus as beginning with the first mention of Egyptian priests in ch. 10. I cannot accept the still more radical view of W. Spoerri, *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter* (1959), 164-211 that not even chs. 11-13 are from Hecataeus, nor his scepticism as to the rest of book i (see the remarks of O. Gigon, *Gnomon* 33 (1961), 776). G. Pfligersdorffer, *Studien zu Poseidonios*, SB Oest. Ak. Wiss. Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl.

¹ On the relation of Aristetas to Hecataeus cf. Schwartz, 258 ff.; M. Hadas, *Aristetas to Philocrates* (1951), 43 ff. Apart from general influences, the closest parallels are 70, 6: 188; 64, 4-5, cf. 56, 2: 258; 70, 4 (cf. 9): 283. Cf. also 70, 6: 206 (truthfulness), 226 (μεταδοτικός); 71, 4; 73, 7: 273. For traces of influence in other authors, compare the other works used by Diodorus in book i, above p. 148 nn. 3 and 4; p. 149.

² *Gnomon* 21 (1949), 226 n. 4.

³ I refer of course primarily to Polybius' characterization of the Roman state in terms of the theory of the mixed constitution.

⁴ A shorter version of this study was read to a seminar held by Professor Arnaldo Momigliano at the Warburg Institute in 1968; I benefited much from the discussion. I should also like to thank my colleague Stephanie West for help on a number of points.

232, 5 (1959), 100–46, suggests Poseidonius as the source of chs. 7–8: *contra*, Spoerri, *Mus. Helv.* 18 (1961), 63 ff.

Recently, however, T. Cole, *Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology* (1967), 174 ff., has cogently restated Reinhardt's case; while not convinced by all the details of his complicated account of the genesis of chs. 7–8 from Hecataeus, I consider he has demonstrated the similarities between 7–8 and the Hecataean parts of Diodorus, both in the cosmogony and in the description of man's early life, to be so striking that they can only be explained by supposing 7–8 to be derived from Hecataeus.

I add two confirmatory points. The use of a main source in a subsidiary role at later and earlier points in the narrative is a common feature of Diodorus' method (cf. Ctesias, i, 56, 5; Hecataeus himself, xl, 3). And secondly Cole notes (pp. 182 f.) that at the start of ch. 8 one group of manuscripts (DBA + the contaminated EB) contains an extra passage, which reproduces in different words the argument of ch. 10, 2–3, an Egyptian example of spontaneous generation from mud.¹ On the assumption that the additional passage goes back to a variant draft by Diodorus himself, the appearance of this Egyptian element in the disputed passage might be due to Diodorus' hesitation as to whether to use an example from Hecataeus to illustrate a passage drawn from another author or in its original context; but it seems more likely, given the similarities in the whole account of the genesis of life in chs. 7 and 10, that it is a sign that Diodorus made two different *précis* of Hecataeus on different occasions and for different purposes (ch. 4, 6 shows that the preface, as far as ch. 5 at least, was compiled after the work was finished). The deletion of the passage in ch. 8 might then be due to Diodorus having noticed that the Egyptian example had already been used in ch. 10.

The notion that one particular group of manuscripts contains traces of author's earlier variants would seem far-fetched, if it were not supported by the only two other passages in book i where there is substantial divergence in the manuscripts. Together with the concluding words of the book (98, 10), which refer back to the preface (9, 5 f.), DBA contain *also* a very similar alternative concluding sentence, which does not refer to the preface, and which was presumably the original conclusion altered when the preface was added: here they clearly contain both the earlier and the later draft. Further, after ch. 27, 2, where Diodorus is changing from one secondary source to another inserted into Hecataeus and may well have become confused, DB add a long passage which is again a different *précis* of the information already given in ch. 22, 2–6: Diodorus presumably, in revising his work, noticed the inadvertent doublet and deleted it; but again one of the original copyists seems to have ignored the deletions. It is interesting that AEN repeat only two sentences of the passage, before breaking off with a note that this has already been said before—presumably the remark of an observant scribe late in the tradition.

I therefore accept that Hecataeus' narrative originally contained a cosmogony of an Abderite nature, though not necessarily wholly Democritean; whether it stood at the beginning of the work (i.e. ch. 10), or at the beginning of the History (ch. 43), or was divided between the two, is obscure: perhaps ch. 7 appeared in Hecataeus in relation to ch. 10, and ch. 8 in relation to ch. 43. There is the additional problem that, though in composing his preface Diodorus used earlier works as in the rest of his history, his method here seems to have been less mechanical—as A. D. Nock put it (*JRS* 49 (1959), 4 f.): 'the proem style of a small man with pretensions'.

Appendix 2: Dicaearchus F 57–8 Wehrli

The passages from the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius iv, 272–4 (cf. also 276, 277–8) printed as F 57–8 in Wehrli's edition of the fragments of Dicaearchus, call the great Egyptian conqueror

¹ The first and last sentences of the additional passage are confused and probably corrupt. As Cole suggests the quotation from Euripides in i, 7, 7 may well be an addition of Diodorus to replace the deleted passage, for it appears to conflict with τῶν ἄλλων ἀλόγων in that passage.

alluded to by Apollonius by the name 'Sesonchosis'. They refer to three authorities, Dicaearchus, Herodotus, and Theopompus. Theopompus is specifically said to have called the king 'Sesostris'; it is implied that Herodotus called him 'Sesonchosis', and the evidence for Dicaearchus is contradictory: most of the scholia citing Dicaearchus use the name 'Sesonchosis', but one (the Parisinus) uses 'Sesostris'. Wehrli (Commentary, p. 59) rejected the evidence of the Parisinus, and read the text of F 57a in such a way as to insert a clear statement that Dicaearchus had called the king 'Sesonchosis': Δικαίαρχος δὲ ἐν α' Ἑλλάδος βίου Σεσόγγωσιν (sc. αὐτὸν καλεῖ), καὶ νόμους αὐτὸν θεῖναι λέγει, . . .

The arguments against this view are strong:

1. The name 'Sesonchosis' is otherwise first attested in Manetho (*FGH* 609 F 2-3, pp. 44 f.), who in any case used it of a different king. Apart from these scholia it is found as a name of the conqueror only in the novelistic tradition—the Alexander Romance and the Sesonchosis Romance (refs. in M. Malaise, *Chr. d'Égypte* 41 (1966), 246 f.).

2. The reference in Dicaearchus F 57a to the king's lawmaking activity seems to be connected with Aristotle, *Pol.* vii, 1329b, where the king is called 'Sesostris'. If the source of Dicaearchus' information is the Lyceum, it seems unlikely that he would have rejected the name used by Aristotle, and apparently by all Greek writers before Hecataeus of Abdera.

3. The scholia are in any event muddled about the nomenclature, for it was not only Theopompus who called the king 'Sesostris': so too did Herodotus.

4. Wehrli's reading of the text is awkward. This is not perhaps a serious objection, since the scholia are garbled and abbreviated. But the text offered by C. Wendel seems much more coherent, and requires only the deletion of the redundant [αὐτὸν].

5. On Wehrli's view it is difficult to explain why the Parisinus (which probably goes back to a different archetype: C. Wendel, *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera* (1935), p. xv) should have the variant 'Sesostris'.

In view of these difficulties, I would accept Wendel's text, and believe the Parisinus to be right in portraying Dicaearchus as using the usual 'Sesostris'. The muddle could have arisen because the original of the scholia identified Apollonius' unnamed king with 'Sesonchosis', under the influence of the novelistic tradition. The information derived from Herodotus and Dicaearchus was attributed to this king; and at some stage it was noted that Theopompus had called him 'Sesostris'. But it was not noted (except implicitly by the Parisinus scholia) that the same was also true of Herodotus, and (I believe) Dicaearchus. At least the scholia are so clearly composed of different layers of annotation that we can only be certain that they themselves identified the king as 'Sesonchosis', not that any of the authorities cited or Apollonius himself did.

UNEDITED MERTON PAPYRI. I

By J. DAVID THOMAS

THREE volumes have already been published of papyri in the collection of the late Mr. Wilfred Merton.¹ Only eight documents remain unpublished, of which three are edited below; the remainder will appear in a further article. Their publication here is by kind permission of Dr. R. J. Hayes, Hon. Librarian of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, to which the papyri now belong.

129. PTOLEMAIC FRAGMENTS

Oxyrhynchus?

First century B.C.

Inv. no. 103

a 2.8 × 2 cm. *b* 6 × 11 cm.

Both these fragments have margins at the left and *b* has a blank space of 1.5 cm. at the foot. It is not certain that all the parts of *b* are correctly joined: (1) the section containing the right-hand half of l. 12—*νε.ρ . . .*, together with the tails of letters from a preceding line, and (2) the right-hand halves of ll. 16 and 17—*επιτου* and *.ιουσιτο* respectively—are detachable and should perhaps be placed elsewhere; furthermore the *upsilon* at the end of l. 16 has its last stroke prolonged as though filling up the line, and there is a space after the *omicron* at the end of l. 17; so perhaps this fragment formed the bottom right-hand corner of the original document. A pencilled note on the back of the paper on which the papyrus is mounted reads 'Document from Oxyrhynchus 1st century B.C. should be 8 × 5½'. I do not know on what grounds these statements are based or to what the measurements (in inches or centimetres?) refer.

The writing, in a very black ink, is a semi-cursive with much use of link strokes. It belongs to the later part of the Ptolemaic period, probably to the first century B.C.

The information contained in the fragmentary remains has not enabled me to establish the nature of the document. *προσευχ[* in l. 8 and a possible allusion in l. 16 to Sarapis (but cf. the note) suggest that it may have been concerned with religious matters.

a

.

 ἐὰν ο. . . [
 χρημα[

¹ *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, F.S.A.*, I (1–50), ed. H. I. Bell and C. H. Roberts, London, 1948; II (51–100), ed. B. R. Rees, H. I. Bell, and J. W. B. Barns, Dublin, 1959; III (101–28), ed. J. D. Thomas, 1967 (*University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement* No. 18). The numbering of the unedited documents follows on from these.

b

τὸν προσ[
 διοικητ
 5 πλουνητ[
 ἐν τῷ .[
 μηνὶ Φ[
 ἑαυτὸν ὁ προσευχ[
 μενος περὶ τοῦ [
 10 πιττα[κ]ε[
 ἐν τῷ ε.[.][
 χων π.νε.ρ. .[
 θυριοστε. λειτησ[
 μηδειωι ἐὰν δ.[
 15 ἐν τῷ θω.υ.[.] .[
 Σαραπι. ἐπὶ τοῦ
 ποιειω. . ιουσιτο

Notes

3. τὸν προσ[: cf. l. 8.
4. διοικητ[: seemingly a reference to the *dioecetes*, although the reading is not certain.
5. πλουνητ: δι]πλοῦν or similar?
6. ἐν τῷ: these words recur in the same position in ll. 11 and 15; is this purely accidental?
- 8-9. ὁ προσευχ[ὸ]μενος is an obvious restoration, but can hardly be right.
10. πιττα[κ]ε[: πιττάκιον must be meant, but it is too vague a word to be of much help in determining the nature of the document. On the meaning of πιττάκιον see BGU IV, 1167, 4n and P. Col. v, 144 ff. Although its use does not become common in the papyri before the sixth century A.D., there are other examples of it in the late Ptolemaic period, e.g. P. Tebt. I, 112, 120, and 209.
11. ἐν τῷ ε.[.] . . : ἐν τῷ Ἐπ[ε]ίφ is just possible.
13. I cannot suggest any intelligible way of reading this line. πολέτης cannot be read, I think. It is possible that no letter stood between the first *epsilon* and the *lambda*.
14. μηδειωι: for μὴ ἰδίωι? Another possible reading is μηδερωι. At the end δέ is possible.
15. It is almost certainly impossible to read ἐν τῷ Θώθ.
16. The two fragments forming this line can be joined in such a way that nothing is missing between *σαραπι* and *επιτου* (but see the introduction). This should give us either a vocative of Σάραπισ, which would be very hard to construe, or an unusual form of the dative (paralleled, for example, by P. Bon. I, 44, παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπι). If the joining of the left and right sections is wrong, there are several possibilities, e.g. Σαραπίων, Σαραπιεῖον. Cf. also the names Πετοσαρᾶπισ, Φιλοσαρᾶπισ.

130. RENUNCIATION OF CLAIMS IN RESPECT OF DOWRY (pl. LXIV)

Arsinoite nome

A.D. 119-38

Inv. no. 118 recto

9.5 × 18.5 cm.

Severe fraying has caused a slight loss at the top of the papyrus, but apart from this and a few holes elsewhere it is complete. The writing is in three different hands, all of

them very cursive and troublesome to read. The first, clearly the work of a professional scribe, is made especially difficult by the resemblance to one another of many of the letters and by the variety of forms used; the tiny second hand is much cruder, with gross distortions of the letters; the third is an ugly black scrawl which I have been unable to decipher. The bottom 4 cm. are blank except for two ink scribbles on the left-hand side, the second of which appears to read *απολα.ω*.

The text is a contract in which Ptolema renounces all claims against Pasipsemis in respect of her dowry, which had been given to him by her father Isidorus. There are thus obvious affinities with divorce contracts, on which see Préaux, *Chr. d'Ég.* 37 (1962), 327–8; to the list given there add P. Herm. Rees 29 (= *SB* VI, 9278) and *SB* VIII, 9740. Acknowledgement of repayment of the dowry always appears prominently in documents of this kind (e.g. P. Oxy. II, 266 = *M. Chr.*, 292), and is the only point mentioned in P. Lond. II, 178 (p. 207), cf. P. Freib. III, 29 a, P. Giss., 30; similarly the divorce contract P. Oxy. VI, 906 is described as an *ἀποχή* (l. 10), as is P. Mich. II, 121 recto, II, iv (see 121 verso, II, 8); cf. Lesquier, *Rev. Phil.* 32 (1906), 5–30, esp. 24 ff. The present papyrus, however, is not exactly parallel to any of these. It is not a receipt, but an agreement by Ptolema that she will make no claim in respect of her dowry, apparently for the reasons given in ll. 20–3: (a) because it had been repaid to her father when he was still alive (if the reading is correct), and (b) because the marriage had not taken place (*μηδέπω ἀλλήλοις συνεληλυθέναι πρὸς γάμον*). If this interpretation is correct, it implies that the payment of Ptolema's dowry by her father Isidorus to her future husband had taken place some time before the date of the proposed marriage; this had later fallen through and the dowry had been repaid by Pasipsemis to Isidorus. Isidorus had then died, apparently without giving Pasipsemis a receipt for the repayment, hence the need for the present renunciation of claim by Ptolema. This would seem to support the view taken by Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages in Hellenistic and Post Classical Roman Law*, 18 ff. (based on P. Tebt. III, 815, fr. 4 recto, I, 1–11; cf. P. Mert. III, 105, 10–16), that the payment of the dowry could be an act preliminary to the marriage itself, which would only take place when a *συγγραφή συνοικεσίου* had been drawn up. We may also compare the wording of BGU IV, 1050 (= *M. Chr.* 286) and parallel documents, all of which, however, are from Alexandria, where the two parties *συγχωροῦσιν . . . συνεληλυθέναι ἀλλήλοις πρὸς γάμον*, to which the husband adds his acknowledgement that he has received the dowry (*εἰληφέναι φερνήν*, etc.); see Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, 42 f. and 46 ff.; Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*², 112 ff.

As Hadrian is still called *ὁ κύριος* the contract was drawn up during his reign, but later than May 22, A.D. 119 (ll. 17–18).

On the verso is 131. The line written along the left-hand margin there (. . . [. . .] . . . οφης ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου Ἀράβων; see the introduction to 131) may relate to the present document.

*E[τους	± 28]
. . . [± 25]
ἐν Τεβ[τὴ]γε[ι] τῆ[ς] Πολέμωνος μερίδος]		

5 τοῦ Ἀρσι[ν]οίτου νομοῦ. [‘Ὁμολογεῖ]
 Πτολεμᾶ Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Φανίου ὡς ἐτῶν
 εἴκοσι δύο οὐλή χειρὶ ἀρισ[τε]ρᾷ [μετὰ]
 κυρίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς Ἀρπ[.]υτου
 Χαιρήμωνος ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα
 οὐλή γονα[σ]τι δεξιῶ vacat Πασιψήμι
 10 Ἀσηπιω.ος τοῦ Παν. . . ὡς ἐτῶν
 τεσσεράκοντα οὐλή τραχήλ[ω ἐ]χ δεξιῶ(ν)
 μὴ ἐγκαλεῖν μηδ’ ἐγκαλέ[σει]ν τὴν
 Πτολεμᾶν τῶι Πασιψήμι περὶ ἧς
 ὤφειλεν ὁ Πασιψήμις τῶ τῆς Πτολεμᾶς
 15 πατρὶ Ἰσιδώρω Φανίου κατὰ διεγβολὴν
 τῆς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τραπέζης
 Ταμείων τῶ τρίτῳ ἔτι Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου Παχῶν κζ εἰς φερνῆς
 λόγον ἐπὶ τῇ Πτολεμᾷ ἀργυρίου δρα-
 20 χμῶν ὄγ[δ]σηκοντα διὰ τὸ τὸν πατέρα
 περιόντα [ἀπ]εσχηκέναι διὰ χειρὸς καὶ
 μηδέπω ἀλλήλοισ συνεληλυθέναι
 προ[σ]γάμον. ὑπογρ(αφή). (2nd hand) Πτολεμᾷ Ἰσιδώρου
 [μετὰ κ]υρί[ο]υ Ἀρ. . υτου Χαιρήμονος ὁμολογῶ
 25 μὴ ἐ[ν]καλῆν μηδ’ ἐγκαλέσιν τῶ Πασιψήμι{ν}
 περὶ ἧς ὤφειλεν τῶ πατρί μου Ἰσιδώρω κατὰ
 διεκβ[ο]λὴν φερνῆς δραχμᾶς ὀγδοήκοντα
 διὰ τὸ τ[ὸ]ν πατέρα μου ἐσχηκ. . . με καὶ μηδέ-
 30 πω ἀλλή(λ)οις συνεληλυθέναι πρὸς γάμον καθὼς πρό(κειται).
 ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Τύραννος Ἡρωδίωνος μὴ εἰδέναι
 γράμματ[α]. (3rd hand) ἐντ. . . . α. . . .

11. δεξιῶ pap. 17. 1. ἔτει 25. 1. ἐγκαλεῖν, ἐγκαλέσειν 26. 1. ὤφειλεν 27.
 φ of φερνῆς and δ of δραχμᾶς corrected 28. 1. πατέρα 30. 1. αὐτῆς; before μὴ insert διὰ
 τό or correct εἰδέναι to εἰδυίας

Translation

[Date] in Tebtunis in the division of Polemon of the Arsinoite nome. Ptolema, daughter of Isidorus the son of Phantias, about twenty-two years old, with a scar on her left hand, with her relative Arp[.]tes son of Chaeremon, about thirty years old, with a scar on his right knee, acting as her guardian, acknowledges to Pasipsemis, son of Asepio. the son of Pan . . ., about forty years old, with a scar on the right side of his neck, that she Ptolema makes and will make no claim against Pasipsemis concerning what Pasipsemis owed to Ptolema's father Isidorus son of Phantias in accordance with a draft on the bank of Ptolemaeus son of Ptolemaeus in the Treasuries quarter in the third year of Hadrian Caesar the Lord, Pachon 27th, on account of dowry upon Ptolema, eighty silver drachmas, because her father while alive received it back in cash and they have not yet come together with one another in marriage. Signature. I, Ptolema daughter of Isidorus, with Ar . . . utes

son of Chaeremon acting as my guardian, acknowledge that I make and shall make no claim against Pasipsemis in respect of the dowry of eighty drachmas which he owed my father Isidorus in accordance with a bank draft, since my father received it (?) and we have not yet come together with one another in marriage as aforesaid. Tyrannus son of Herodion has written on her behalf as she is illiterate. (Registration mark.)

Notes

3. ἐν Τεβ[τύ]γε[ι]: very doubtful; cf. l. 31 n. The original payment was made on a bank at Arsinoe (l. 16).

7. Αρπ[.]υτου: I have not been able to reconcile the reading with that in l. 24. Here the third letter appears to be clearly a *pi*, whereas in l. 24 it seems to be an *iota*. If *pi* is correct the name could be Αρπ[ε]ύτου (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, recognizes Αρφεύτης); if *iota*, perhaps Αριουτου (a form of Αρεώτου?).

12. μὴ ἐγκαλεῖν κ.τ.λ.: it is unusual for a contract to begin with this phrase (but cf. P. Tebt. II, 398), which normally appears after the acknowledgement that the money has been repaid; the order here is quite logical, however, as Ptolema has not in fact been repaid anything herself.

13 ff. περὶ τῆς is followed by εἰς φερνῆς λόγον in ll. 18–19 and by ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν in ll. 19–20. φερνή is clearly the subject of thought throughout and this construction is readily intelligible. Cf. ll. 26–7.

15. κατὰ διεγβολήν: διεκβολή is the name given to a banking operation or the corresponding document. A full discussion and list of relevant papyri is given by Bingen, *Chr. d'Ég.* 24 (1949), 311 (cf. also VBP, IV, 79, 1, with Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste*, IV). It has not previously appeared in connection with payment of a dowry.

16. One of the payments in P. Hamb. I, 33 (late 2nd cent. A.D.) is made at Arsinoe διὰ τῆς Πτολεμαίου τραπεζῆς (col. iii 21). Several banks are known from the Treasuries quarter, see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, Absch. 8, s.v. τράπεζα.

17. Ἀδριαγοῦ: not certain, but Ἀντωνίνου is impossible.

18. Παχῶν κζ: the numeral is very doubtful.

20–1. διὰ τὸ τὸν πατέρα περιόντα [ἀπ]εσχηκέναι: this is not certain; both πατέρα and περιόντα are difficult readings, we miss the expression of an object for ἀπεσχηκέναι, and the phrase cannot be made to correspond exactly with what is said in l. 28. A corresponding clause in CPR, 23 = M. *Chr.* 294, 12 has διὰ τὸ πάντα αὐτὴν ἀπεσχηκέναι, but πάντα or similar cannot have stood here. For τὸν πατέρα περιόντα cf. e.g. P. Oxy. xvi, 1886, where Anastasius περιῶν ὑπεδέξατο. . . . χρυσίον (l. 3), but ἄφνω τέλει τοῦ β[ι]ου ἐχρήσατο (l. 11) before repayment.

21. διὰ χειρός: contrast the original payment of the dowry, which was made through a bank.

23. ὑπογρ(αφή): cf. P. Mich. v, 340, 111 and 119, where ὑπογρ(αφή) occurs at the end of an agreement before the signature. Similarly in P. Merton III, 110, 24 the abbreviation should be expanded ὑπογρ(αφή) and not ὑπογρ(αφεύς).

24. Αρ. .υτου: see the note to l. 7.

28. διὰ τὸ τ[ὸ]ν πατέρα μου ἐσχηκ. . . με: the whole of this phrase is very doubtfully read and unsatisfactory; cf. ll. 20–1 n.

31. The third hand must have added the registration mark and the first word is no doubt an abbreviated form of ἐντέτακται. After it one expects διὰ τοῦ ἐν Τεβτύνει γραφείου, or a variation on this, but I have not succeeded in reading it.

131. DONATIO MORTIS CAUSA

Arsinoite nome

Second century A.D. (after A.D. 119)

Inv. no. 118 verso

9.5 cm. × 18.5 cm.

The document is written across the fibres on the back of 130 in a large, rather untidy script which is badly rubbed and for the most part barely decipherable. The papyrus is complete except at the top, where comparison with the recto shows that not more than two lines are lost.

As far as l. 16 the papyrus contains a *donatio mortis causa* made by a certain Heracleos; for this type of document see the introduction to P. Mert. III, 105. A feature of note here is that Eutythis is described as the *κληρονόμος*, but a substantial legacy is also left to Heracleos' brother; among the parallels for this are P. Oxy. I, 105 and P. Tebt. II, 381. This latter document and SB VI, 9377 are very close in format to the present *donatio*.

As it was written on the back of another contract and makes frequent use of abbreviations, it was no doubt only a draft. This accords with the way the rest of the papyrus has been used for further jottings, which seem to have no connection with one another. After l. 16 there is a line drawn across the papyrus, then four lines in a new hand which are so badly rubbed I have been unable to get any connected sense out of them. There follows one faintly written line in a quite different hand, then two more lines in which *περί τοῦ* . [| τοῦ αὐτοῦ can be made out, then three large crosses before, right at the foot, in another different hand, we read *καὶ Χαιρήμων τοῦ α | μ . .* Finally, at right angles to the rest of the writing and along the left margin, a hand which is again quite different has written . . [. .] . . *οφης ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου Ἀράβων*. This may perhaps relate to the text on the recto. An *amphodon* of this name is known to have existed at Arsinoe, see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, Absch. 22.

[. ±17] λω [. .]
 [.] . ρ . [. συγκε]χωρηκένας
 [τὸ] γ Ἡράκλ[η]ον μετὰ τῆ] γ ἑαυτοῦ τελευ-
 5 τῆν εἶναι αὐτοῦ [κ] λ [η] ρον(όμον) Εὐτυχίδα
 Ἡρωνος ἧς καὶ εἶναι τὸ ὑπάρχ(ον) αὐτῷ ἐν
 κώμη Τεπτύγει μέρος ὅσον ἐὰν ἦ οἰ-
 κίας καὶ αὐλῆς, τῷ δὲ ὀμοπ(ατρίω) καὶ ὀμομητ(ρίω)
 ἀδελ(φῷ) Ἡρωνι συγκεχω(ρηκένας) τὴν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ
 καταλειφθησο(μένην) ἐνδομενείαν πᾶσαν
 10 καὶ ἐνοφιλό(μένα) αὐτῷ καθ' ὄ(ν)δηποτ(οῦν) τρόπο(ν),
 [τῆς δὲ κηδείας κ .] πρὸς τὴν κληρον(όμον)
 οὔσης τῆς τοῦ Ἡρακ(λήου) κηδείας καὶ περιστολ(ῆς)
 καὶ ἀποδ(όσεως) ὧν ἐὰν φανῆ ὀφείλ(ων) καθ' ὄν-
 15 δηποτ(οῦν) τρόπον, ἐφ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον περι-
 εστιν ὁ Ἡράκ(ληος) [ἐ] χίη τὴν ἐξουσίαν οἰκο-
 νο(μεῖν) ὡς ἐὰν αἴρη[τ]αι.

9. l. ἐνδομενίαν

10. l. ἐνοφιλόμενα

15. l. ἔχειν

Translation

. . . that Heracleos has granted that after his death his heir is to be Eutyichis, daughter of Heron, to whom is also to belong the part belonging to him in the village of Tebtunis, of whatever size it may be, of a house and courtyard, and that he has granted to his brother Heron, son of the same father and mother, all the household goods which he shall leave and what is owed to him in any way whatsoever, the funeral and laying out of Heracleos being the responsibility of the heir, and the repaying of whatsoever he shall be proved to owe in any way whatsoever, and so long as Heracleos survives he is to have power to administer (his property) however he chooses.

Notes

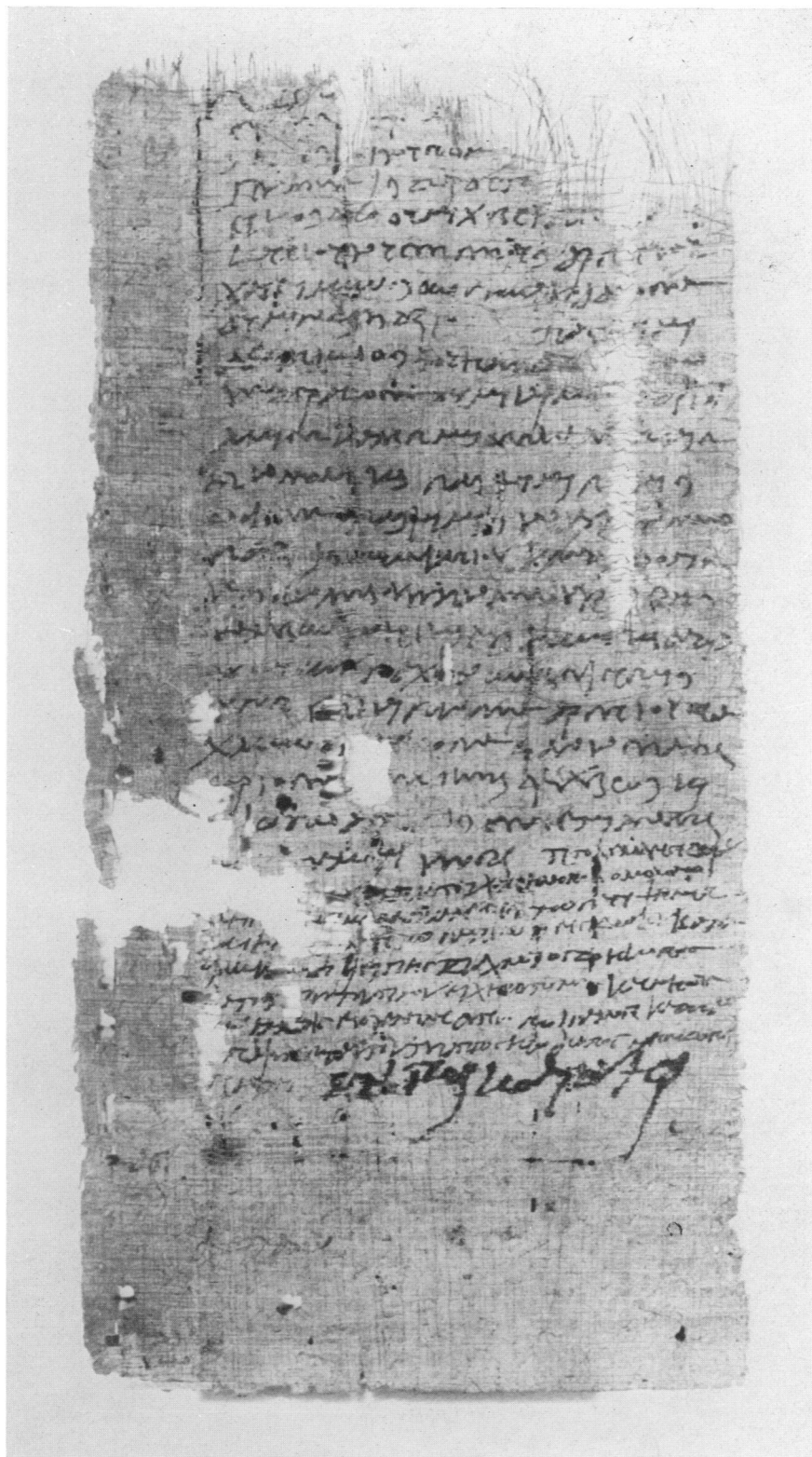
2. συγκε]χωρηκέμαι: the reading of the last three letters is extremely precarious.

2 ff. The construction would normally be συγκεχωρηκέμαι followed either by the dative (as in l. 8) or by εἶναι and the genitive; for the heir's name in the accusative cf. P. Mert. III, 105, 7 n.

4-5. Εὐτυχιῶδα Ἡρωνος: presumably the wife or daughter of Heracleos, unless Heron here is identical with the Heron in l. 8, in which case Eutyichis is his niece.

8 ff. There would seem to be a distinction between the movables, which go to the brother, and immovable property, which falls to the heir.

14 ff. On this clause of revocability see Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*², 204-6. One of the normal places for it is at the end of the contract, immediately before the names of the witnesses and the signatures (e.g. *SB* v, 7559), so that this may be what the next four lines (see the introduction) contain.



MERTON PAPYRUS No. 130

A *PROSTAGMA* OF PTOLEMY AULETES FROM LAKE EDKU

By P. M. FRASER

THE inscription which I publish here (pl. LXV, squeeze), with the permission of Dr. Henri Riad, Chief Keeper of the Cairo Museum, formerly Conservateur of the Musée gréco-romain of Alexandria, was bought by the latter Museum in 1938. Its provenance is given in the museum inventory as 'El Kanais', a village—one of several of that name—which lies on the south edge of Lake Edku north-east of Kafr el-Dawar, roughly 30 km. east of Alexandria.

Inv. no. 25450 (Dossier arabe, no. 67-13-1); seen by me, March 1966.

Description: plaque of limestone complete on all sides: Ht. 0.16 m.; W. 0.23 m.; Th. 0.010 m. Ht. of letters 0.010/0.015 m.

*βασιλέως προστάξαντος·
 τὰς ἱερὰς χρηματο-
 θήκας ᾧ μὴ πρᾶγμα·
 Λιθ, χοιὰχ ε.*

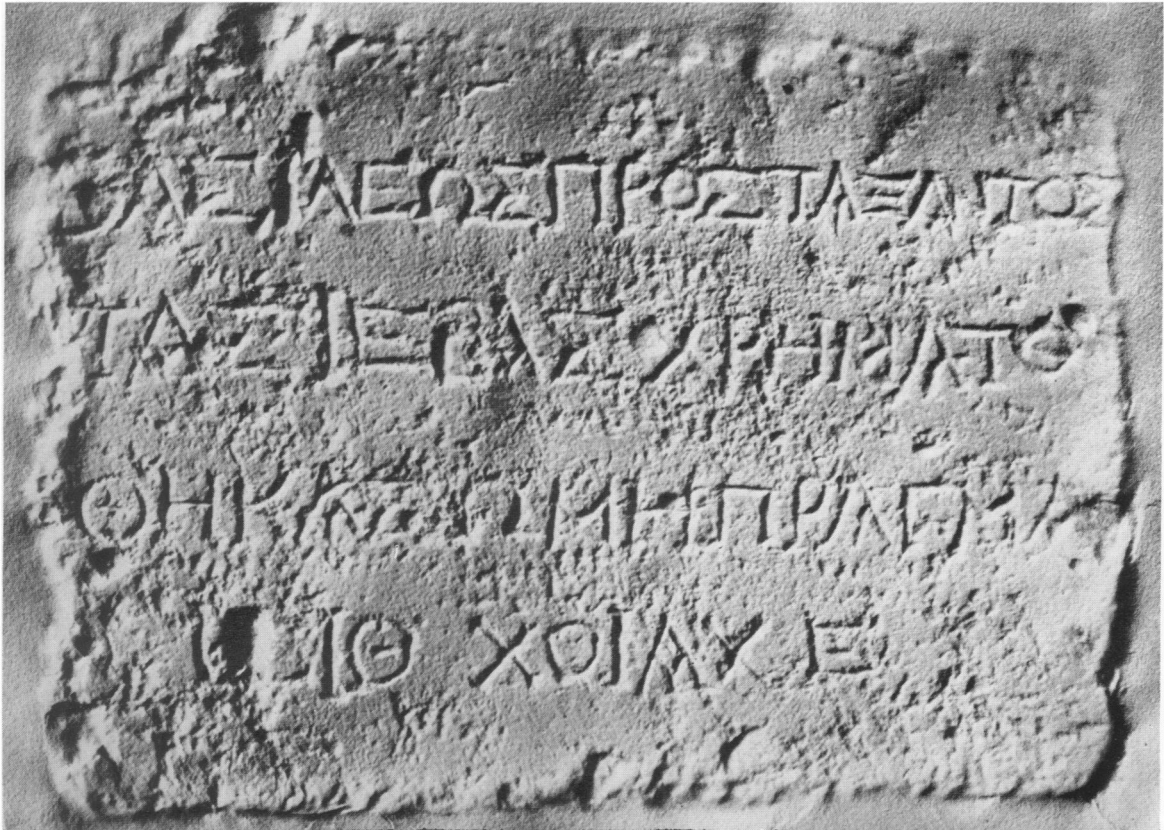
'On the order of the King: the sacred treasures (are not to be entered) by unauthorized persons. Year 19. Choiakh 5.'

The letter-forms indicate that the inscription belongs to the later Ptolemaic period, from about the middle of the second century onwards. Consequently, since there are no single regnal years (i.e. of the king alone, without a consort in the form of a wife or sister) of a 'Year 19' between the reign of Philometor, which is manifestly too early for the lettering, and that of Auletes, and since the reign of Cleopatra VII is excluded by the use of *βασιλέως*, it is to the reign of Auletes that we must assign this document, i.e. December 11, 63 B.C. This date agrees with the evidence of the letter-forms: the mu, in which the two inner strokes branch off from the vertical strokes some way down, and not at the top; the epsilon with projecting vertical stroke (rare at all times in Egypt); the alpha with deeply broken cross-stroke; the theta with central stroke; and the pi with equal vertical strokes, are all natural at this period.

The inscription, though little more than a notice, is formally a *prostagma*, and as such it must be briefly considered.

First, the fact of publication itself calls for notice. In Ptolemaic Egypt *prostigmata* of general application do not seem for the most part to have been exhibited publicly in the nomes and administrative centres of the *chora*; embodied in communications addressed to the official(s) whose duty it was to see that the appropriate action was taken, the copies of the documents were stored in the local archives.¹ Publication in

¹ See F. Freih. von Schwind, *Zur Frage der Publikation im römischen Recht* (Münch. Beitr. 131, 1940), 198 ff.



A *PROSTAGMA* OF PTOLEMY AULETES

inscribed form occurred only when express provision was made for it, as, for example, in the edict of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy Caesarion guaranteeing certain fiscal immunities to the Alexandrian settlers in two nomes of the Delta;¹ both it and the covering letter addressed to the strategos are to be exhibited 'in the nomes concerned'.² Instructions and letters containing grants of such privileges to temples as the bestowal of the right of asylum and so on, were, as might be expected, publicly exhibited by the interested party with the approval of the Crown, as a means of establishing the privilege. Examples of this procedure are the letters of Euergetes II and his two wives concerning some privileges granted to a gymnasium at Omboi;³ those of the same rulers to the priests of Isis and the royal cult at Philae, granting exemption from certain dues;⁴ the similar letters of Cleopatra III and Soter II to the priests of Khnum at Elephantine,⁵ and the grants of asylum to various temples of Isis and other deities at Theadelphia, and of the Crocodile Gods and Amūn at Euhemeria, mostly of the reign of Auletes.⁶ In some of these documents the sovereign(s) state 'We grant you the right to exhibit publicly the stele containing the text as you request.'⁷ It does not seem likely that the present brief notice resulted from such an exchange of correspondence; not only is the subject—the limitation of access to the treasuries of a temple—rather trivial to form the subject of a plea to the sovereign, but if such correspondence had passed it would surely have been recorded, as in the examples noted above. It is natural to suppose that the order was published as the result of an administrative decision on the part of the Crown, and it is not possible to tell how the issue arose.

Second, the form of the notice. Laconism has been carried to the point of obscurity by a violent ellipse. The full instruction may be expanded to read *τὰς ἱεράς χρηματοθήκας ᾧ μὴ πρᾶγμα (μὴ εἰσιέναι)*. This ellipse is paralleled by the headings of the Theadelphia asylum-prostagma, *ἄσυλον κατὰ πρόσταγμα, ᾧ μὴ πρᾶγμα*.⁸ The same documents show how such notices were erected at conspicuous points in the area concerned: the priests of Isis Sachypsis request the King for permission to erect stelai conferring the grant of asylum, to prevent sacrilegious trespass by unauthorized persons: *διὸ δεόμεθά σου τοῦ νικηφόρου θεοῦ, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐπιχωρησαί ἄσυλον ὑπάρχειν τὸ διασαφούμενον ἱερόν, καὶ προσθεῖναι στήλας λιθίνας ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, κυκλόθεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ πήχεσιν πεντήκοντα, ἐχούσας ἐπιγραφὰς ἐνδόξως [i.e. conspicuously]. ᾧ μὴ πρᾶγμα, μὴ εἰσιέναι*.⁹

¹ Lenger, *Corpus des Ordonnances (Mem. Acad. roy. Belge, 57, 1, 1964)*, nos. 75–6, with full bibliography (SB 7337).

² 75 ll. 4 ff.: *τὸ ὑποκείμενον πρόγραμμα σὺν τῶν χρηματισμῶν μεταγραφῆται τοῖς τε Ἑλληνικοῖς | καὶ ἐγχαρῖοις γράμμασι, καὶ ἐκτιθῆτω ἐν τε τῇ μητροπόλει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπισημοτάτοις τοῦ νομοῦ | τόποις, καὶ πᾶλλα γινέσθω τοῖς προστεταγμένοις | ἀκολουθῶς. ἔρρωσο. ἔτους ἐνδεκάτου, | Δαισίου ἰγ, Φαρμουθὶ ἰγ; 76, ll. 34–5: *γενέσθω | οὖν ἀκολουθῶς καὶ προσεκτεθῆται κατὰ νομόν* (cf. von Schwind, *op. cit.* 102). Cf. also UPZ 110, ll. 65–6: *ᾧπῶς (sic) τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τε ταῖς μητροπόλεσιν ἐκ[τ]εθῆναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς (ἐπιφανεστάτοις, add. sup. lin.) τόποις, κ.τ.λ.* For the localities where documents were exposed see also von Schwind, *op. cit.* 101–2.*

³ Lenger, *op. cit.*, nos. 48–9 (*Archiv*, 5, 410–16).

⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 51–2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 57–60.

⁶ SB 6152–3 (Isis Sachypsis, Theadelphia, 93 B.C.); 6236 (Isis Eseremphis and Heracles, Theadelphia, 70 B.C.); 6154 (Crocodile Gods, Euhemeria, 69 B.C.); 61–55 (Amūn, Euhemeria, 69/8 B.C.).

⁷ E.g. Lenger, 51 (*OGIS* 137/8), ll. 8–10: *ἐπιχωροῦμεν δ' ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ἧς ἀξιοῦτε στήλης | [π]ο- [τήσ]ασθα[ι]*; cf. 59 (*OGIS* 168), ll. 8–9: *ἐπιχωροῦμε[ν], κ.τ.λ.*, restored as previous item].

⁸ SB 6152–3, 6156, *ad. init.*; 6154–5 have the variant *ἄσυλον κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα*, without *ᾧ μὴ πρᾶγμα*.

⁹ 6152, ll. 17–22 (cf. 6153, 19 ff.).

The present text may well be one of several erected at the corners of an entrance to a series of treasury-chambers, marking the limits of public access. It thus in this context resembles the sacral prohibitions set up in Greek shrines, such as ἀμύητον μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν.¹ The closest parallel in Ptolemaic Egypt is to be found in a notice conferring the right of asylum on a synagogue, which reads simply ‘King Ptolemy Euergetes (declares) this synagogue inviolate’: Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Εὐεργέτης τὴν προσευχὴν ἄσυλον.²

The word *χρηματοθήκη* is unexpectedly rare, the present instance being to the best of my knowledge its only appearance in pre-Byzantine Greek,³ but its meaning is evident: the sacred treasuries, or treasure-rooms, which contained the revenues of the temple from all sources—including both income in cash (as the word primarily indicates) and votive-offerings such as those of which we possess fragmentary inventories on papyrus from the Roman period.⁴ These funds and objects appear to have been stored in separate buildings, rooms or cellars, outside the walls of the actual temple, and not within the temple as they were in Greece.⁵ It is probably correct to assume that our notice refers only to the treasuries of a single temple, though it may derive its authority from a general *prostagma* covering all sacred treasuries. A *prostagma* of an earlier generation, 140/39 B.C., protecting the various revenues of a temple of the royal cult, which refers also to earlier legislation on a kindred theme, shows how necessary such legislation was;⁶ numerous other *prostigmata* reveal the care exercised by the Crown in preserving the rights of temples throughout the country.⁷ It is worthy of note that our *prostagma* was issued against a background of civil disturbances between the inhabitants of Alexandria and the unpopular Auletes.⁸

¹ *Inscr. Samothrace*, 62, cf. 63 (Sokolowski, *Lois sacr. des cités gr.* (1962), nos. 75, 75a).

² *Corp. Inscr. Iud.* ii, 1449 (OGIS 129; *W. Chr.* 54, etc.); βασιλίσσης καὶ βασιλέως προσταξάντων | ἀντὶ τῆς προανακειμένης περὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τῆς προσευχῆς πλακὸς ἢ ὑπογεγραμμένη | ἐπιγραφίτῳ vac. | Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Εὐεργέτης τὴν προσευχὴν | ἄσυλον.

³ See Manasses, *Compend. Chron.* i. 6414: ὡς ὑπανοίξαντα πολλὰς αὐτῶι χρηματοθήκας. The use of the word *χρηματοθήκη* may have been more frequent in Egypt in the sense indicated, for the customary term, *θησαυρός*, quite apart from its technical meaning of a granary, was particularly used of an ‘offertory-box’ in the cult of the ‘Egyptian Gods’: see e.g. *IG* xii, 3, 443 (Thera), Διοκλῆς καὶ οἱ βασιλισταὶ τὸν / θησαυρὸν Σάραπι Ἰσι Ἄνουβι; *IG*. xi. 4. 1247, cf. Roussel, *Cultes ég. Délos*, 87–8. It is in this sense that *θησαυρός* is evidently used in P. Teb. 6 (cf. below, n. 6) l. 27: . . . καὶ τῶν λογευομένων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι | καὶ ἐπὶ χώραι εἰς θησαυροὺς καὶ φιάλας καὶ ποτήρια ὑπὸ | τῶν ἀνδρ[ῶ]ν καὶ γυναικῶν, κ.τ.λ.

⁴ See Otto, *Priester u. Tempel*, I, 325 ff. For fragments of such inventories see Wessely, *Karanis u. Soknopaiu Nesos* (*Wien. Denkschr.* 47 (4), 1902), 59–60, and also the detailed analysis by T. Grassi, *Le Liste Templari nell’Egitto greco-romano* (*Stud. sc. pap.* 4, (5), 1926). P. Grenf. I, 14 (descr. P. Lond. III, p. xix), of year 32 of Philometor or Euergetes II, contains what seems to be the only Ptolemaic inventory (cf. Grassi, p. 2). In spite of the study of Grassi there is need of a detailed comparative archaeological study of these lists.

⁵ See Otto, loc. cit.

⁶ P. Teb. 6 (*W. Chr.* 1332=Lenger, op. cit. 47), after listing the various infringements of the rights and revenues of the temple, goes on, ll. 40 ff.; καθάπερ οὖν καὶ | πρ[ό]τερο[ν] προστετάχαμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηκόντων τοῖς | ἱερο[ῖς] κομ[ί]ζεσθαι, ἕως αἰ σημαινόμεναι τῆς θεᾶς πρόσσοδοι | μένωσι. . . ἰο. . . [ἀ]κίνητοι καὶ μηθενὶ ἐπιτρέπ[ε]τ[ε] καθ’ ὄντιν οὖν | τρόπον πρ[ά]σσειν | τι τῶν προδεδηλωμένων, κ.τ.λ.

⁷ Cf. P. Teb. 5 (*W. Chr.* 65; Lenger, 53, of 118 B.C.), ll. 83–4; πρ[ο]στέταχ(α)σ(ι)ν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀσύλων τόπων μ[η]θῆνα [ἐκσπᾶν] | μήτε ἀποβιάζεσθαι παρευρεῖσι μηδεμᾶ, and the inscriptions quoted above, p. 180.

⁸ App. *Mithr.* 114: ἐς δὲ Αἴγυπτον αὐτὴν οὐ παρήλθε (sc. ὁ Πτομπίος), καίτοι στασιάζουσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ πέμφαντος αὐτῶι δῶρα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐσθήτας ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα, κ.τ.λ.; cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1971), p. 128 with n. 269.

Unfortunately we cannot tell from what temple the notice came. There is no evident reason to doubt its immediate provenance as stated by the dealer from whom it was bought, though the site itself, in the immediate neighbourhood of lake Edku, the lineaments of which have changed greatly since antiquity as a result of drainage and reclamation-work, seems to have vanished.¹ The supposition that the stone was transported at some time from Kafr el-Dawar, the ancient Schedia, the important garrison and communications centre in the late Ptolemaic Period, some 10 km. away to the south-west, at the junction of the main Alexandrian canal with the Canopic branch of the Nile,² is unnecessary.

¹ The site is marked as a kôm on modern maps (Tel el Kenisa, Murray's *Handbook*¹¹; el Konayes, *Baedeker*⁸), but neither guide has anything to say of it, and I have no recollection of hearing of other objects from there.

² For Schedia see Kees, *RE*, s.v. Schedia (1), cols. 401-3.

FURTHER PAPYRI FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By REVEL A. COLES

THE two papyri following are the last to be published from a group of eleven texts entrusted to me in 1961 by the Trustees of the British Museum for the purposes of my doctoral thesis. These two were not in fact included therein; the nine that were have since appeared in this *Journal* (52 (1966), 129 ff., and 53 (1967), 121 ff.). Provisional transcripts had been made by Bell of some of the texts in the group, but not of these last two. Both originate from the Faiyûm. The versos of both texts, which have been mounted in such a way that I have not been able to examine them, may be presumed to be blank.

I. RECEIPT FOR CORN-TRANSPORT FEES

P. Lond. Inv. 2420

10 × 21.5 cm.

A.D. 135

A receipt addressed to the *sitologi* from a private donkey-driver for payment of transportation fees in kind; see the discussion of Westermann and Keyes, *Tax-Lists and Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia*, 98–114, esp. 105–7 on the question of payment of the fees in kind or in money; Börner, *Staatl. Korntransport*, 14–16. Further references are given by Youtie, *TAPA* 81 (1950), 101.

The main body of the text is written in a very cursive hand; I am grateful to Dr. John Rea for a number of readings. The date (ll. 17–18) is written even more cursorily but is not necessarily in a different hand. I am also grateful to Mr. P. J. Parsons for a discussion on interpretation.

Cειτολόγοις κώμης Φιλαδελφείας.
 Ἄρπαλος Ἄρπάλου ιδιωτικὸς
 κτηνοτρόφος κώμης Φιλαδελφείας
 ἀπέχω παρ' ὑμῶν τὰς ἐπισταλεί-
 5 κας μοι ὑπὸ Ἀρχίου στρ(ατηγοῦ) καὶ Ἑρμείν' ο'(ν)
 βα(ιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως) Ἑρακλείδου ὑπὲρ φολέτρ' ω'(ν)
 οὗ κατῆξα ἀπὸ θη[σαυ]ρῶν εἰς ὄρμ' ο'(ν) Ἐκερκῆς
 δημοσίου πυροῦ καὶ ἐνεβαλόμην
 α. . . ρ. . . . εἰς πλοῖα μεγάλου
 10 ποταμοῦ τὰς συναγο(μένας) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
 (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ἰγγιβ μετὰ τὸ ὑπολογηθ(έν)
 ὑπὲρ διαφόρου φολ(έτρου) (ἀρτάβης) ἰβ' τὰς λοι(πὰς) ἀπὸ
 γενή(ματος) ιε (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 ἐπὶ θησαυροῦ τῆς κώμης ἐπακ[ο]λ(ουθούντων)
 15 τῶν ἐγμετρητῶν ἀρτάβ(ας) δεκα-

τρεις τρίτον, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ιγγ'.
 (ἔτους) κ Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ
 Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Φαῶφι ζ'.
 (2nd hand) Ἄρπαλος Ἄρπάλου ἀπέχω
 20 καθὼς πρόκειται.

3. κ of κώμης corr.

10. τ of τὰς apparently corr. from δ.

Translation

To the sitologi of the village of Philadelphia.

I, Harpalus son of Harpalus, private donkey-driver, from the village of Philadelphia, have received from you at the village granary with the concurrence of the officials supervising the measurement the thirteen and one-third artabas, from the produce of the 15th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord, remaining after the deduction on account of transportation costs of one-twelfth of an artaba from the sum total of thirteen and five-twelfths artabas of wheat authorized to me by Archias, strategus, and Hermeinus, basilicogrammateus, of the division of Heracleides, on account of transportation of state wheat which I brought down from the granaries to the harbour of Kerke and embarked . . . into the boats of the Great River; total art. 13 $\frac{1}{3}$. The 20th year of the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Phaophi 7.

(2nd hand) I, Harpalus son of Harpalus, have received as aforesaid.

Notes

4 ff. For the series τὰς ἐπισταλείας-τὰς συναγομένας-τὰς λοιπὰς cf. P. Col. 1, recto 4, col. 10 (see note below on l. 12).

5. Ἑρμείων: the identification of the basilicogrammateis at this time is a tangled question. The only unrestored evidence for Hermaeus at all, however, is in P. Cornell 16, 19, A.D. 133 (see ll. 37-8). Requiring the same standards for Hermeinus produces an official so named in 129 (P. Philad. 6) and in 137 (P. Grenf. 11 45a). A fresh examination of the Cornell papyrus may well show that in fact Hermeinus was continuously in office from 129 to 138 (P. Lond. 208 a): for the length of tenure cf., for example, that of Serenus ὁ καὶ Sarapion in Oxyrhynchus, in office probably from 148 until 154 on the evidence of a series of documents from Oxyrhynchus which I have been preparing for publication.

7. For the harbour of Kerke, often mentioned in connection with Philadelphia (ll. 1, 3), see Wikén, *Corolla Arch.* (= *Skrifter Sven. Inst. Rom.* 11 (1932)), 270-6; and e.g. O. Mich. 1081, and Youtie, *TAPA* 81 (1950), 100. That Kerke is the name in the papyrus, although likely, is not quite certain; a longer, abbreviated, name is possible. But if the identification is correct, then the μέγας ποταμός of ll. 9-10 must in this instance at any rate be the Nile. [Perhaps cf. the Coptic εἶερο, although its use in Ezekiel 29. 3 may be against a restricted application.]

9. The reading at the beginning of the line escapes me. ἀπεργακίας occurs frequently in transportation documents but would be out of place here.

11. μετὰ τὸ ὑπολογηθέν: cf. Frisk, *Bankakten*, 1, col. 29, l. 11.

12. For διάφορον φορέτρου see e.g. P. Col. 1, verso 4, l. 32 note (= Day and Keyes, *Tax Documents from Theadelphia*, 182); Kalén, *P. Berl. Leihg.*, 45-53; Börner, *Staatl. Korntransport*, 11 ff. Here however it must have a somewhat different significance, since it is exacted not from the taxpayers but from the transporter himself, and I take it to be a fee levied for the transportation of the transportation-fee grain itself. This seems a likely enough situation, since the transporters, if paid in kind, were paid at the central granary (in the present text cf. l. 14) and the extra grain levied at the

threshing-floors from the cultivators ὑπὲρ φορέτρον had to be transported to the central granary as well as the revenue grain itself. I have not found a precise parallel for διάφορον φορέτρον in this sense, but P. Col. 1, recto 4, col. 10, l. 17 (= Westermann and Keyes, *Tax Lists and Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia*, 122) attests a deduction from a payment made in money to a κυβερνήτης, ὑπὲρ ναύλου of acanthus-wood:¹ this situation may seem more complex but is still rational. Cf. also Frisk, *Bankakten*, no. 1, col. 29 l. 11.²

14-15. ἐπακολουθούντων τῶν ἐγμετρητῶν: cf. P. Würzb. 10, 6.

17. (ἔτους) κ: contrast ιε (ἔτους) in l. 13. The delay is slightly surprising. The readings are not in doubt; in any case the known dates for Archias as strategus act as a control. Presumably then the transportation concerned had been of grain from the harvest of A.D. 131, and payment would have been made out of grain from the same harvest. However, rather than that payment for the transportation had been delayed, it is more likely that the grain concerned had been a long time in storage.³ Cf. Westermann and Keyes, *Tax Lists and Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia*, 112-13; Frisk, *Bankakten*, 19; Börner, *Staatl. Korntransport*, 15. The suggestion by Westermann and Keyes of a connection with the Nile floods is worth examining for the present context: there is some evidence that a series of rich harvests was followed by a lean period which may have led to the clearance of old surplus. Both 134 and 135 seem to have brought poor floods (see Coles, *Proc. XII Congress of Papyrology* (Michigan, 1968)); while Hadrian's edict (P. Oslo 78. 6, restored from the Cairo fragments) indicates there had been excellent floods in τοῖς προτέροις ἔτεσι ἐξῆς. See Day and Keyes, *Tax Documents from Theadelphia*, 313. [The flood of 131, however, should perhaps be regarded as excessive rather than excellent, while Mme. Danielle Bonneau in correspondence tells me that the floods of both 129 and 130 were poor; the evidence is analysed in her forthcoming book on the subject. It is the 130 flood which would have affected the harvest of 131 from which came the grain referred to in the present text.]

2. EPIKRISIS

P. Lond. Inv. 2415

21 × 23.5 cm.

A.D. 156

An application addressed to two ἐπικριταί from a man and his wife requesting that their son, who had reached the age of fourteen (?), should be put on the list of those privileged to pay poll-tax at a reduced rate, and listing their credentials. The document follows the usual lines, cf., for example, P. Teb. 320; for a short discussion see Wallace, *Taxation*, 109-12; also Bingen, *Chron. d'Ég.* 31 (1956), 109-17, with *P. Wisc.* p. 68.

The papyrus is somewhat tattered at the top, and the left edge is missing; otherwise it is more or less intact. The text is written along the fibres in a fluent and graceful cursive hand.

[] καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τ[.]ω καὶ Ἰουλίῳ γεγυ(μνασιαρχηκόσι)
 [] . . . δι' Αἰγίου ἐπιτρόπ(ου)
 [παρὰ Ἡ]ρακλείδου Χαιρήμον[ος] τοῦ Χαιρήμονος μη(τρὸς) Καμβοῦτος
 [καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς] Διοσκοροῦτος οὔσης δὲ τῆς καὶ ὀμοπατρίου καὶ ὀμομητρίου
 5 [μου ἀδελφῆς μετ]ὰ κυρίου ἐμοῦ Ἡρακλείδου, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλ(εως)

¹ The editors' reading is revised by Youtie, *TAPA* 87 (1956), 75, but the sense remains the same. Cf. Youtie's revision there of P. Ryl. 660 (p. 73 ff.); note also pp. 69-73. The 6½ per cent rate of deduction from these money payments is notably higher than the assessment in kind in the present text.

² ρ (δραχμῶν) in l. 12, repeated in *SB* 7515, is surely to be read as (ἐκατοστῶν).

³ The payment in P. Würzb. 10 for the transportation in 14 Hadrian of corn from the harvest of 12 Hadrian (if the reading in l. 13 is right) with corn from the harvest of 10 Hadrian must have some other explanation.

- [ἀναγρ(αφομένων) ἐπ' ἀμ]φόδου Κυριακῆς. τοῦ ἐξ ἀλλήλων υἱοῦ Χαιρήμονος προσ-
β(αίνοντος)
[εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς) τῷ ἐν]εστ(ῶτι) ιθ (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
καὶ ὀφείλοντος
[ἐπικριθῆναι ὑ]πετάξαμεν τὰ δίκαια. ἀμφότεροι μὲν οὖν ἀπεγρ(αψάμεθα) ταῖς κατὰ
καιρὸν
[ἀπογρ(αφαῖς) καὶ τ]ῆ τοῦ θ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνο[υ] Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ἀπογρ(αφῆ)
ἐπὶ Κυριακ(ῆς)
10 [ἀμφόδου, συναπογ]ρ(αψάμενοι) τῆ τοῦ θ (ἔτους) ἀπογρ(αφῆ) καὶ τὸν ἐπικρινό(μενον)
υἱὸν Χαιρήμονα· διὸ ἐπιδ(ίδομεν).
(2nd hand) [±5]εμος γεγυ(μνασιαρχηκῶς) διὰ Τούρβωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος
γραμματέως σεσημείωμ(αι)
[Χαιρή]μονα Ἡ[ρα]κλείδου τοῦ Χαιρήμονος μητρὸς Διοσκοροῦτος. ἔτους ιθ Ἀντω-
νείνου
[Καίσαρο]ς τοῦ κυρίου, Μεσορῆ γ⁻.
6. υἱὸν pap. 10. τῆ: ταις pap.? υἱὸν pap.

Translation

To . . . and Ptolemaeus also called Julius, ex-gymnasiarchs, . . . acting through his guardian Aeneas, from Heracleides son of Chaeremon son of Chaeremon, my mother being Sambous, and my wife Dioscorous, who is also my sister on both father's and mother's side, with myself Heracleides as her guardian, both of the metropolitane class and registered in the Syrian quarter. Since our joint son Chaeremon is approaching the age of fourteen in the present 19th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord and ought to be selected, we have appended our claims. We were both returned in the periodic censuses and in the census of the 9th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord in the Syrian quarter, returning along with ourselves in the census of the 9th year our son Chaeremon also, who is now a candidate for selection; wherefore we present this application.

(2nd hand) I, [. . .]emus, ex-gymnasiarch, through Turbon also called Agathodaemon, scribe, have signed in respect of Chaeremon son of Heracleides son of Chaeremon, his mother being Dioscorous. The 19th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mesore 3.

Notes

1-2. The papyrus at the top is badly damaged and the reading of these first two lines is very uncertain. The personal names are little more than guesses. In l. 1 τ[.]ω is especially puzzling: τ and ω seem satisfactory, and τῷ is expected at this point. Did the writer leave a gap? For l. 2 cf. P. Ryl. 103, 2. ἐπιτρόπ(ου) could be read as ἐπικρ(ιταῖς).

3. The supplement at the beginning of this line is all that is required, but is much shorter than its neighbours. No obvious addition suggests itself to me.

4. The first καὶ is written in a superbly flamboyant style.

5. μητροπόλεως: i.e. Arsinoe.

6-7. προσβ(εβηκότος) or προσβ(άντος), (τρικαίδεκαετείς) are possible alternatives.

9. The first visible trace is indeterminate. For the restoration ταῖς κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπογραφαῖς cf. P. Gen. 18, 13. Perhaps thereafter μέχρι τῆς . . . ἀπογρ(αφῆς) (cf. P. Ryl. 104, 10) which may fit the lacuna better.

11 ff. For the docket cf., for example, P. Ryl. 103, 22-3.

DER SOGENANNTTE OMPHALOS VON NAPATA

(BOSTON M.F.A. 21.3234)¹

Von INGE HOFMANN

Im Jahre 1915 fand G. A. Reisner bei seinen Ausgrabungen des Amuntempels (B 500) am Jebel Barkal bei Napata² in der Halle (B 503)³ ein bienenkorbartiges Gebilde aus Sandstein (Tafel LXVI, 1). Es steht auf einer leicht vorspringenden Basis, ist 0,61 m hoch und hat einen Durchmesser von 0,58 m an der Basis, 0,52 m oberhalb von ihr.⁴ Die erste Publikation erfolgte durch Griffith;⁵ die Abbildung in seinem Artikel zeigte den Stein jedoch nur von einer Seite und zwar so, daß die Kartuschen in die Mitte gerückt wurden (Tafel LXVI, 1c). Rechts von den Kartuschen steht eine löwenköpfige Göttin, die mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln den vor ihr hergehenden König schützt. Vor dem König steht eine Göttin mit Menschenkopf, wieder mit den Flügeln eine Königsgestalt schützend. Links neben den Kartuschen kommt zuerst die menschenköpfige Göttin, dann der König, darauf die Göttin mit dem Löwenhaupt und zuletzt wieder der König. Die Göttinnen haben eine Sonnenscheibe auf dem Kopf, die Könige sind mit anbetend erhobenen Händen dargestellt.⁶ Die Kuppel ist mit geometrischen Ornamenten verziert, vielleicht Nachbildungen von Halsketten.⁷ Der untere Bildstreifen trägt einen Fries von geöffneten Lotoskelchen, deren Außenblätter sich beinahe berühren. Dazwischen stehen geschlossene Lotosblüten. Der Sockel ist unverziert.

Griffith hielt den Fund für eine meroitische Imitation des griechischen Omphalos von Delphi und stellte eine Verbindung zu dem angeblichen Bildnis des Ammon aus der Oase Siwa her.⁸ Dieser Gedanke wurde auch von Steindorff aufgegriffen,⁹ und schien durch die Berichte antiker Schriftsteller gestützt zu werden. Herodot (II, 42) glaubte, die Ammonsoase sei gleichermaßen von Ägyptern und Äthiopen besiedelt. Das Bild des Orakelgottes Ammon, zu dem sich Alexander der Große begab, wird von Diodor (XVII, 50) als 'mit Smaragden und anderen Steinen eingefast' beschrieben, ohne daß er eine nähere Auskunft über das Aussehen des Bildes gibt. Curtius Rufus

¹ Im *Répertoire d'épigraphie méroïtique (REM)* erhielt er die Nummer *REM* 1004 (Leclant und Heyler, 'Préliminaires à un répertoire d'épigraphie méroïtique (*REM*)', *Meroitic Newsletter (Bulletin d'informations méroïtiques)*, no. 1, Oct. 1968, 15).

² Da der Ort Napata bisher nicht gefunden wurde, ist seine Lokalisierung zweifelhaft. Shinnie, *Meroe—a Civilization of the Sudan* (London, 1967), 71, Fig. 16, verlegt ihn auf das westliche Nilufer, nördlich vom heutigen Dorf Merowe. Hintze, *Alte Kulturen im Sudan* (München, 1967), 26, setzt Napata auf dem Ostufer zu Füßen des Jebel Barkal an. Diese Lokalisierung ist die übliche, zumal auch die großen Tempel dort liegen.

³ Plan des Tempels bei Reisner, G. A. und Reisner, M. B. 'Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal II', *ZÄS* 69 (1933), gegenüber S. 76.

⁴ Steindorff, 'The So-called Omphalos of Napata', *JEA* 24 (1938), 147.

⁵ Griffith, 'An Omphalos from Napata', *JEA* 3 (1916), 255.

⁶ Zeichnung bei Steindorff, op. cit. 148, Fig. 2B.

⁷ Ibid. 147.

⁸ Griffith, op. cit. 255.

⁹ Steindorff, Ricke und Aubin, 'Der Orakeltempel in der Ammonsoase', *ZÄS* 69 (1933), 23 f.

berichtet ein Jahrhundert später (Diodor lebte in der Mitte des 1. vorchristlichen, Curtius Rufus in der Mitte des 1. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts): 'Id, quod pro deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet, quam vulgo diis artifices accommodaverunt: umbilico maxime similis est habitus, smaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus' (IV, 25). Woher nun Curtius Rufus Kenntnis von dem omphalosartigen Aussehen des Ammonbildes hatte, läßt sich nicht ausmachen. Diodor stützte sich in seinem Bericht über den Alexanderzug auf Kleitarchos von Alexandria, der den Omphalos dann wohl nicht erwähnt; Curtius Rufus schöpfte eindeutig aus Diodor oder aber aus Kleitarchos, der uns jedoch nur in Diodor erhalten ist. Es ist nun nicht ausgeschlossen, daß der Zusatz von Curtius Rufus selbst stammt und daß er möglicherweise die anikonische Nabelgestalt irgendeines Gottes auf Ammon übertrug. Omphaloi als Kultsymbole waren im Mittelmeerraum ja nicht ungewöhnlich.¹

Wainwright² verband den sogenannten Omphalos von Napata und den Bericht des Curtius Rufus mit der anikonischen 'Darstellung des Amun von Theben (Tafel LXVI, 3).³ Doch mutet dieses sackartige Gebilde eher wie eine roh geformte sitzende Gestalt an und hat nach dem Aussehen gar nichts mit dem sudanischen Fund zu tun. Die Identifizierung aller drei angeblichen Amundarstellungen mit Meteoriten wird von Bonnet angezweifelt.⁴

In seinem Artikel aus dem Jahre 1933 nahm Steindorff an,⁵ 'daß der in Napata in Omphalosgestalt verehrte und als Orakelgott gefeierte Amun über Ägypten oder auf anderem Wege zur Äthiopenzeit in die Ammonsoase gekommen . . .' sei. Als er jedoch einige Jahre später im Museum zu Boston den sogenannten Omphalos zu Gesicht bekam, stellte er fest, daß man wohl einem Irrtum erlegen war.⁶ Es handelte sich gar nicht um eine Götterdarstellung, wie man nach den bisherigen Abbildungen annehmen mußte, sondern offensichtlich um einen Behälter. An der Vorderseite befindet sich nämlich eine Öffnung von 0,24 m mal 0,20 m (Tafel LXVI, 1a); im Innern ist eine unregelmäßig rechteckige Aushöhlung, in deren Boden eine unregelmäßige Vertiefung von ungefähr 0,085 m mal 0,13 m eingelassen ist.⁷ Offensichtlich stand darin die Statuette eines Gottes, etwa eine der kleinen Bronzeplastiken, die bei der Ausgrabung von Kawa so zahlreich zum Vorschein kamen.⁸ Die neuen Fotografien zeigten außerdem deutlich, daß auch noch etwas auf der Kuppel gestanden haben muß; die Bruchstelle ist klar erkennbar.

Steindorff hält das Sandsteingebilde für den Schrein eines Gottes, einen Naos.⁹ Er nimmt an, daß solche Schreine auch in Ägypten den Wohnhäusern oder Tempeln nachgebildet seien und verweist auf die Darstellungen bei Schäfer¹⁰ (Tafel LXVI, 2).

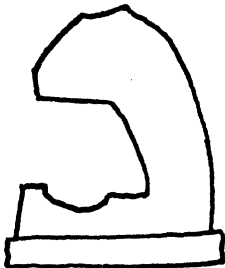


FIG. 1

¹ Wainwright, 'The Aniconic Form of Amon in the New Kingdom', *Ann. Serv.* 28 (1928), 184 ff.; *RE* XVIII, 1, 385.

² Wainwright, op. cit. 184 ff.; id. 'Some Aspects of Amun', *JEA* 20 (1934), 147.

³ Daressy, 'Une nouvelle forme d'Amon', *Ann. Serv.* 9 (1908), 64 ff. und Taf. I und II.

⁴ Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 32.

⁵ Steindorff, Ricke und Aubin, op. cit. 24.

⁶ Steindorff, *JEA* 24 (1938), 147 ff.

⁸ Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, II (Oxford, 1955), Taf. LXXV ff.

¹⁰ Schäfer und Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients* (Berlin, 1925), 405.

⁷ Ibid. 147, Fig. 1B.

⁹ Steindorff, op. cit. 150.

Analog dazu sucht er den Vorwurf zu dem sogenannten Omphalos unter den Häusern der meroitischen Epoche und glaubt, ihn in der Darstellung auf einer Schüssel aus Karanog¹ zu finden:



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

Dazu sind nun einige Bemerkungen zu machen (s. Fig. 2). Wie aus der Abbildung bei Schäfer hervorgeht, sind die ägyptischen Schreine rechteckig mit einem leicht gewölbten Dach, das auf das sogenannte oberägyptische Reichsheiligtum zurückgeht.² In der Spätzeit können die Naoi auch ein pyramidenförmiges Dach haben,³ doch scheinen Rundformen für Götterschreine bisher nicht gefunden worden zu sein. Auf den Reliefs erscheinen die Heiligtümer einiger Götter zwar als Rundhütten, wie z. B. die der Neith, der Krokodile im Delta oder des Min, aber es werden eben keine Naoi nach ihnen gebildet. Es mag nun eingewendet werden, daß die Meroiten, obwohl sie sonst in solchen Äußerlichkeiten stark von Ägypten her beeinflußt waren, ihre Götter in eine ihnen näherliegende Wohnkultur stellten. Alle bisher gefunden Tempel und alle Häuser im meroitischen Reich sind aber rechteckig angelegt.⁴ Die Schüssel von Karanog zeigt eine ländliche Szene, in der Rinder herangetrieben, Kühe gemolken und Milch abgeliefert wird. Es erscheint mir nun nicht wahrscheinlich, daß man einen Gott, möglicherweise sogar Amun, da der Omphalos aus seinem Tempel stammt, in die Nachbildung einer Schilfhütte der Hirten setzt.



Bevor nun die Frage nach der Bedeutung des sogenannten Omphalos weiter verfolgt wird, soll versucht werden, ihn zu datieren. Auf den oben erwähnten Kartuschen

¹ Woolley und Randall-MacIver, *Karanog, the Romano-Nubian Cemetery* (Philadelphia, 1910), Taf. xxvii; Reinach, 'La civilisation méroïtique', *L'Anthropologie* 24 (1913), 249; Shinnie, op. cit. 18, 19; ägyptische Darstellungen nubischer Rundhütten aus dem Neuen Reich finden sich in den Tempeln von Beit el-Wali (Roeder, *Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali* (Kairo, 1938), Taf. 29) und Derr (Blackman, *The Temple of Derr* (Kairo, 1913), Taf. xvi, xviii).

² Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1961), 180, Fig. 102.

³ Bonnet, op. cit. 504.

⁴ Shinnie, op. cit. 62 ff.; Hofmann, *Die Kulturen des Niltals von Aswân bis Sennar vom Mesolithikum bis zum Ende der christlichen Epoche (Monographien zur Völkerkunde, Bd. IV, Hamburg, 1967), 415 ff.*

steht in einem Ring gut lesbar der Name *Nb-mꜣt-Rꜣ*, der als Vorname bei den meroitischen Königen Amanitenmēmidē (begraben in Beg. N. 17)¹ und Amanikhata-shan (begraben in Beg. N. 18)² nachgewiesen ist. In dem anderen Ring steht nach Dunham³ was *Mnhnqermē* gelesen werden muß (s. Fig. 3). Da das Zeichen  möglicherweise \bar{c} sein könnte, hieße der König somit auch *Mnhqtqermē*. Dieser König ist bisher aber nirgends sonst belegt.⁴ Sieht man sich nun aber die Umzeichnung des Bildstreifens bei Steindorff⁵ an, dann sehen die Reste der fraglichen Zeichen folgendermaßen aus (s. Fig. 4): Der Name könnte vielleicht auch *Mnh[blē]* gelesen werden, wie es Leclant und Heyler⁶ tun. Nach der Umzeichnung sind folgende Zeichen zu identifizieren *m-n-h-?-ē-e-r-m-ē*, wobei das vierte Zeichen möglicherweise ein Widder (*b*) sein könnte. Das fünfte Zeichen sieht nach der Umzeichnung (auf dem Foto ist es gar nicht zu erkennen) ganz wie \bar{e} aus und ist schwerlich als *l* () sicher aber nicht als *q* (Δ) zu identifizieren. Die letzten Zeichen werden wohl nicht mehr zum eigentlichen Namen gehören, sondern wie auf dem Konus von Kawa⁷ ein Zusatz sein.

Der Königsname *Mnhble*, in der Literatur meist Amanikhabale genannt, ist bisher von vier meroitischen Stätten bekannt. Er findet sich auf einem kleinen Sandsteinlöwen aus Basa,⁸ auf dem Bruchstück einer Opferschale (?), die aus dem Amuntempel in Naqa stammen soll,⁹ auf dem oben erwähnten Bronzekonus aus Kawa¹⁰ und auf dem Bruchstück einer Opfertafel von Meroe.¹¹ Sie wurde auf der Treppe der Pyramide Beg. N. 3 gefunden, gehört aber wohl zu Beg. N. 2, der Pyramide, die mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit dem König Amanikhabale zuzuschreiben ist. Er regierte nach Hintze von 65–41 v. Chr., nach Dunham von 43–26 v. Chr.¹² Wenn die fragliche Kartusche auf dem Omphalos tatsächlich *Mnhble* gelesen werden kann, dann würde das Sandsteingebilde demnach in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts angefertigt oder wenigstens mit den Reliefs und den Kartuschen verziert worden sein.

Da der Götterschrein aus Napata weder auf einheimische noch auf ägyptische Vorbilder zurückgeht, soll versucht werden herauszufinden, von welcher Kultur, mit

¹ Steindorff, op. cit. 149; Hintze, *Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie und zu den Opfertafeln aus den Pyramiden von Meroe* (1959), 33. Er regierte nach Hintze zwischen 45 und 62 n. Chr., nach Dunham von 78–93 n. Chr.

² Steindorff, loc. cit.; Hintze, loc. cit. Er regierte nach Hintze von 62–85 n. Chr., nach Dunham von 93–115 n. Chr.

³ Zt. bei Steindorff, op. cit. 150, fig. 3.

⁴ Vgl. die Chronologie der meroitischen Herrscher bei Shinnie, op. cit. 58 ff.

⁵ Steindorff, op. cit. 148, Fig. 2B.

⁶ Leclant und Heyler, 'Préliminaires à un répertoire d'épigraphie méroïtique (REM)', *Meroitic Newsletter (Bulletin d'informations méroïtiques)*, no. 1, Oct. 1968, 15; sie geben jedoch keine Begründung ihrer Schreibweise an.

⁷ Monneret de Villard, 'Iscrizione meroitica di Kawa', *Aegyptus* 17 (1937), 101 ff.

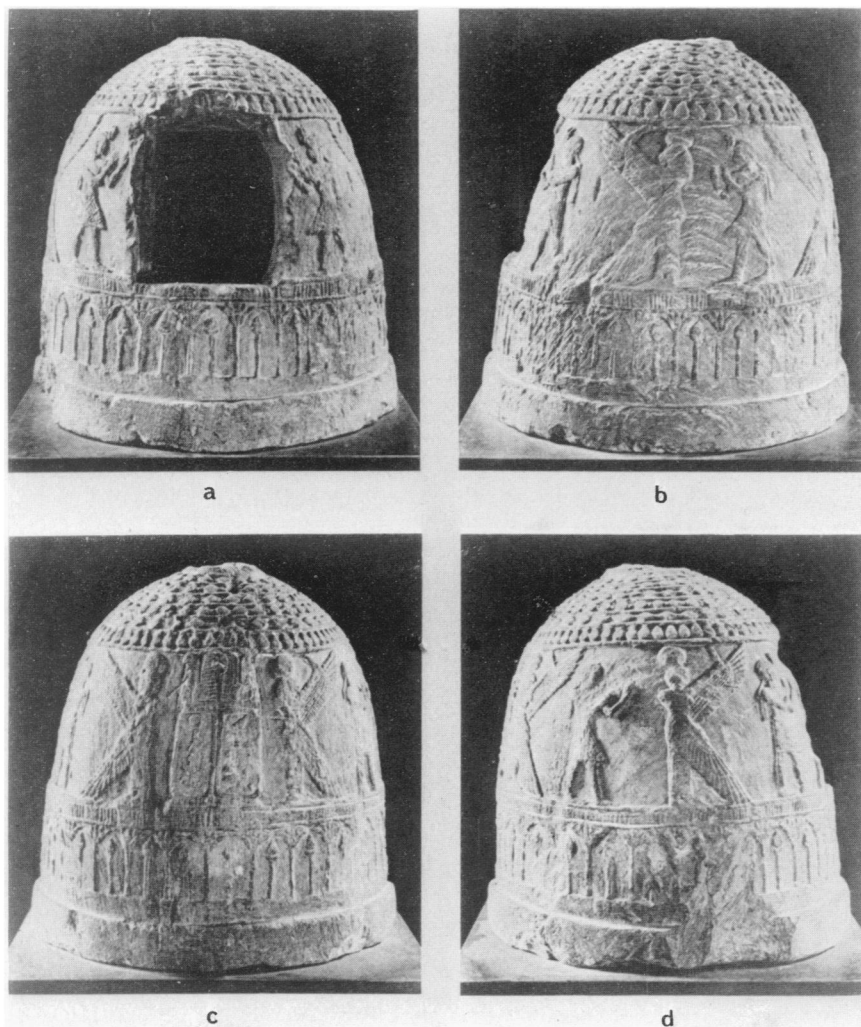
⁸ Griffith, *Meroitic Inscriptions*, Part I, *Sôba to Dangêl* (London, 1911), 70, Inscr. 46; Hintze, op. cit. 19, Abb. 4; id., 'Preliminary Report of the Butana Expedition, 1958', *Kush* 7 (1959), 178.

⁹ Hintze, *Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie*, 45.

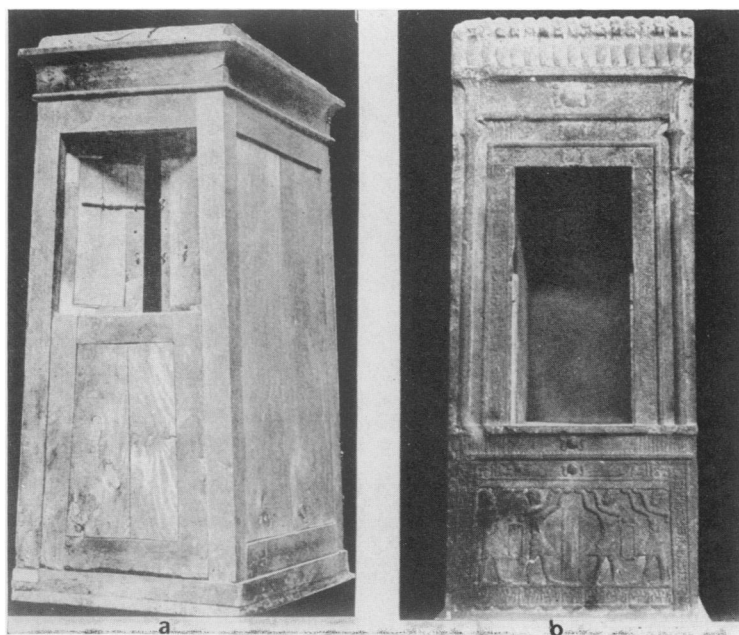
¹⁰ Kirwan, 'Preliminary Report of the Oxford University Excavations at Kawa, 1935–6', *JEA* 22 (1936), 208, Taf. xxiii; Macadam, op. cit., Taf. cvi, *a* und *d*; Hintze, op. cit. 19, Abb. 3; Shinnie, op. cit. 49, Fig. 6.

¹¹ Hintze, op. cit. 44, Abb. 13 und Taf. IX, Abb. 49.

¹² Hintze, op. cit. 33; Shinnie, op. cit. 60 f.; nach Hintze ist er der 42., nach Dunham der 45. meroitische Herrscher.



1. Der 'Omphalos'. Boston Museum of Fine Arts. (Steindorff, *JEA* 24, Taf. vii)



2. Kapellen für Götterbilder: a. Paris, Louvre, b. Kairo Museum (Schäfer, *Kunst des Alt. Or.* 405)



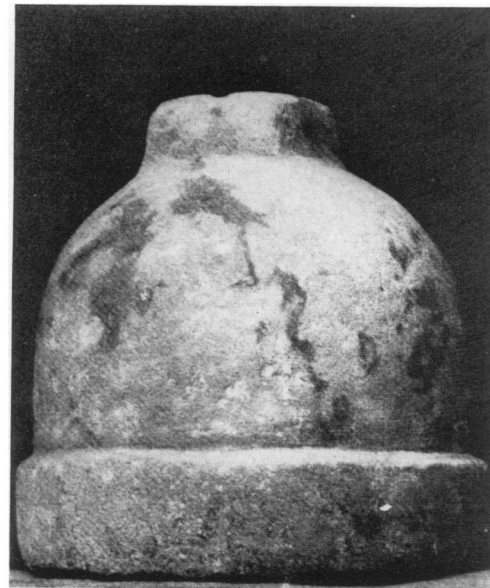
3. Amun-Darstellung aus Karnak. Kairo Museum (Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 9, Taf. 1)



2. Verehrung eines Stūpa. Bharhut. Prasnjit-Pfeiler, seitlicher Ansicht, oberstes Relief. Calcutta, Indian Museum. (Franz, *Buddhistische Kunst Indiens*, Abb. 20)



1. Relief mit Darstellung eines Stūpa aus Amarāvati. Madras Museum (Franz, *Buddhistische Kunst Indiens*, Abb. 231)



3. Stūpa-Reliquiar aus Stein. Taxila Museum. (Franz, *Buddhistische Kunst Indiens*, Abb. 132)

der das meroitische Reich um die Zeitenwende in Verbindung stand, die Rundform beeinflußt worden sein mag. Hier bietet sich die indische Kultur mit ihren Stūpas an. 'Stūpa' bedeutet ursprünglich 'Haarknoten' und wandelt sich über 'Scheitel' und 'Gipfel' zu 'Hügel'. Es wurde damit das in prähistorische Zeiten zurückgehende, halbkugelige Tumulusgrab eines Fürsten bezeichnet.¹ Der aus Steinen massiv errichtete Rundbau enthielt eine Grabkammer für die Asche oder die Gebeine. Wahrscheinlich wurde ein Stūpa auch über den sterblichen Resten des historischen Buddha errichtet. Der Stūpa war jedoch nicht allein Grabmal, sondern galt auch schon früh als Gedenkmonument; beide Formen wurden vom Buddhismus übernommen und in den Mittelpunkt seiner Sakralkunst gestellt. Doch erst unter dem Maurya-Herrscher Aśoka (274/3–236 v. Chr.) wurden Grab- und Reliquienmal ins Monumentale gesteigert.

Die älteste Form des Stūpa ist eine halbkugelige Steinkuppel, die direkt auf dem Boden aufliegt; später, aber noch in vorchristlicher Zeit, wird sie auf einen niedrigen, vorspringenden zylindrischen Sockel gesetzt.² Der Sockelring dient als Prozessionspfad. Eine weitere Stufe von dem in sich ruhenden Grabbau fort zu einem Richtungsbau ist die Streckung der Halbkugel durch einen Zylinder als Unterbau.³ Besonders deutlich zeigt sich diese neue Form der zylindrisch gestreckten Bauten in den Miniaturstūpas. Bei den Zwergstūpas sind zwei Typen zu unterscheiden: die Reliquiarstūpas und die Votivstūpas. In vielen Stūpas wurden an verschiedenen Stellen des massiven Bauwerks, meist, aber durchaus nicht immer, in der Mittelachse, Reliquienbehälter gefunden. Die Reliquien, die 'Samen' im 'Schoß' des Stūpa, wurden meist in winzigen Behälter aus kostbarem Material aufbewahrt; diese wiederum wurden von mehreren anderen, nach außen immer weniger kostbaren, Behältern umschlossen.⁴ Die Behälter haben oft selber die Form eines Stūpa.⁵ Franz weist darauf hin, daß die Reliquienbehälter, aus Stein oder Metall gearbeitet, 20–40 cm. hoch und meist innen hohl waren.⁶ Wie bei den großen Stūpas, so gab es auch bei ihren kleinen Nachbildungen keinerlei Zugang zu der innen befindlichen Reliquie. Reliquiarstūpas wurden auch in Kapellen und Klöstern aufgestellt. Der Votivstūpa ist monolithisch und etwas größer als der Reliquienbehälter.⁷

Die Kuppel jedes Stūpa wurde gekrönt von einem umzäunten Quadrat (Harmikā), über dem sich ein Schirm (Chatra) als Würdezeichen erhob. Die Harmikā wurde im Laufe der Zeit künstvoller ausgeschmückt und die Anzahl der Schirme vermehrt.⁸

¹ Seckel, D., *Kunst des Buddhismus (Kunst der Welt)* (Baden-Baden, 1962), 99; Franz, H. G., *Buddhistische Kunst Indiens. Der indische Kunstkreis in Gesamtschau und Einzeldarstellungen* (Leipzig, 1965), 17 und Taf. 1 mit einem Grab aus Brahamagiri.

² Vgl. einen Stūpa aus Sanchi bei Combaz, G., 'L'évolution du stūpa en Asie', *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 2 (1932/3), 210, Fig. 20, und Franz, op. cit., Taf. 39.

³ Franz, 'Ein unbekannter Stūpa der Sammlung Gai und die Entwicklung des Stūpa im Gebiet des alten Gandhāra', *ZDMG* 109 (NF 34) (1959), 133.

⁴ Seckel, op. cit. 101 f.

⁵ Ibid. 102; Franz, *ZDMG* 109 (NF 34) (1959), 131, 135, 144.

⁶ Franz, op. cit. 131, 135.

⁷ Franz, op. cit. 131; die Höhe des Votivstūpa aus der Sammlung Gai beträgt 52 cm.

⁸ Seckel, op. cit. 101.

Die gestreckten zylindrischen Stūpas sind frühestens im 1. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert nachzuweisen;¹ im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. entstanden unter iranisch-westasiatischen Einflüssen quadratische Sockel und Reliefschmuck im nordwestlichen Indien, während Südindien den runden Sockel beibehielt.²

Vergleicht man den sogenannten Omphalos von Napata mit einem Votivstūpa (Tafel LXVII, 3) oder mit dem Relief eines Stūpa (Tafel LXVII, 1, 2), so erkennt man die große Ähnlichkeit, die zwischen dem sudanischen Fund und einem indischen Miniaturstūpa besteht. Die Bruchstelle auf der Kuppel des 'Omphalos' weist auf weggebrochene Harmikā und Schirme hin. Auch die friesartige Flächengliederung beider Exemplare (besonders Tafel LXVII, 1) unterstreicht die Ähnlichkeit.

Es erhebt sich nun die Frage, wie die Idee einer Stūpanachbildung in das meroitische Reich gelangte. Die zeitliche Einordnung erscheint nicht so schwierig: der sogenannte Omphalos von Napata ist, wie oben dargelegt, wahrscheinlich in die Mitte oder 2. Hälfte des 1. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts zu datieren. Das stimmt zeitlich mit dem Aufkommen gestreckter zylindrischer Stūpas in Indien im 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. überein. Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen dem meroitischen Reich über Abessinien und Südarabien nach Indien waren wohl noch intensiver, als man bisher angenommen hat.³ Ob nun ein meroitischer Künstler in Indien Stūpas gesehen hat und den Gedanken eines Reliquienbehälters in einen Götterschrein umwandelte oder ob ein Inder im meroitischen Reich ein ihm vertrautes Kultobjekt in ein neues religiöses Gewand kleidete, ist nicht zu entscheiden; beide Möglichkeiten scheinen mir aber nicht recht wahrscheinlich. Im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. brachten chinesische Pilgermönche Modelle berühmter indischer Stūpas von Indien mit nach China, um sie dort nachzubauen.⁴ Es ist nun möglich, daß analog zu dem chinesischen Beispiel ein Miniaturstūpa, etwa in der Art der unverzierten Votivgabe aus dem Museum in Taxila (Tafel LXVII, 3), in den Sudan gelangte, nur hier wohl auf dem Handelsweg. In den monolithischen Votivstūpa wurde zur Aufnahme einer Götterstatuette eine Aushöhlung geschlagen. Tafel LXVI, 1a zeigt deutlich, daß dabei nicht allzu sorgsam zu Werke gegangen wurde. Anschließend wurde der 'Omphalos' mit Reliefs der meroitischen religiösen Vorstellungen verziert, und zwar so, daß zu beiden Seiten des Einganges der König mit erhobenen Armen die Götterstatuette in ihrem Behälter verehrte. Ein Stūpa eignet sich insofern gut zu einem Götterschrein, als er ja auch ein Reliquienbehälter sein konnte, beide also Kultobjekte waren.

Doch kann erst eine geologische Untersuchung klären, ob es sich bei dem Material des sogenannten Omphalos aus Napata um nubischen oder ausländischen Sandstein handelt. Ebensogut kann ja der Fund vom Jebel Barkal einem echten indischen Stūpa nachgebildet worden sein.

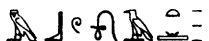
¹ Franz, op. cit. 138.


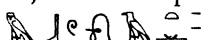
² Franz, op. cit. 136, 146.

³ Hofmann, 'Die historische Bedeutung der Niltalkulturen zwischen Aswān und Sennar', *Saeculum* 19 Heft 2-3 (1968), 128, Abb. 24, 27.

⁴ Franz, 'Pagode, Stupa, Turmtempel' in *Kunst des Ostens*, Bd. 3 (1959), 15.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The meaning of the phrase  in Papyrus Abbott 6, 8


PEET, *Great Tomb Robberies*, I, 44, note on 6, 8 translates  'your deeds are in disagreement with your words' taking *m bwst* as 'a prepositional phrase joining and in some way contrasting *nṣ ỉry-k* and *nṣ ḏd-k*', but he can find no support for such a meaning of *m bwst*. Gardiner, *ZAS* 41 (1904), 131-2, translates the sentence 'it is of the great things that thou hast done, that thou speakest', lit. 'that which thou doest of big things is that which thou sayest', taking  to be *m* of predication, the noun *bw* 'place' or abstract 'thing' and the adjective *ṣ* 'great'. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 376 suggests that it means 'in a covert manner' because of the word *bwst* (*Wb.* I, 454, 17) which Blackman, *JEA* 16 (1930), 70 translates as 'covert', and 'that the passage reads "what you ought to say is what you have done concealedly", literally "the (things) which you have done in a covert manner are the (things) which you ought to say"'. Gardiner, *Onom.* II, 218*, attributes the meaning 'hillock' to *bwst*, but this meaning is deduced entirely from its etymological connection with *bwṣ* 'to become high', cf. *Wb.* I, 454, 10.




It is here suggested that *bwst* in Papyrus Abbott 6, 8 should not be taken as one word but as two *bw wṣ(t)* and the sentence translated, 'your deeds are a far thing from your words'. The two words could easily have been written as one by the scribe, who may have had the word *bwst* 'hill' or 'covert' (*Wb.* I, 454, 17) in his mind at the time of writing. The disadvantage of this interpretation is that the phrase *bw wṣ* means 'a far place' in the concrete; but on the analogy of *bw nfr* 'good' (Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*,³ 564) an abstract meaning is suggested here. The preposition *r* would normally be expected after *wṣ* but in Late Egyptian it is not uncommon for prepositions, especially *r*, to be omitted. Alternatively *m bw wṣ* could be a prepositional phrase not needing a separate preposition.

A. ALCOCK and S. M. PETTY

An observation on the hieroglyph  *mr*

IN his rather uneven work *Ancient History of Western Asia, India, and Crete*, the late B. Hrozný discusses early linguistic connections in the Near East-Mediterranean region; here we merely comment on one of his examples, Sumerian *mar* = 'hoe, spade'. This word was early borrowed into Akkadian as *marru*, and subsequently found its way into Greek and the Romance languages.

It is an elementary fact in the study of Egyptian writing that , representing a hoe, is attested with the value *mr* during the first two dynasties (e.g. the funerary stela of Queen Mernēit, mid-First Dynasty). Hrozný contends that the Egyptian word for 'hoe' is also *m(a)r*, but an examination of the data reveals that we are not dealing with a simple loan-word.

How have Egyptologists explained the reading of ? In the third edition of his *Egyptian Grammar*, Gardiner writes (p. 516): ' hoe: Det. cultivate, hack up. . . . For unknown reason, phon. *mr* . . .' He adds the note: '*Wb* ii, 98, 11 quotes as gloss in the *Sign Pap.* Pl. 4 the otherwise unknown word *mrw* "hoe", but only a very uncertain trace of  is there.' In short, the only known Egyptian word for 'hoe' which approximates to *mr* is a dubious instance in a document of Roman date, which certainly is more easily explainable in terms of a much later borrowing.¹

¹ On the Roman date of the Sign Papyrus and related documents, see Iversen, *Fragments of a Hieroglyphic Dictionary* (Copenhagen, 1958), 4-6.

'bind together'. Even if the meaning 'shine' is present in 1048*b*, this is rather different from the 'lightning-flash' adduced by Dr. Faulkner. I find it more satisfactory to accept the reading of the majority of the texts, and to find in the crocodile determinative an allusion to a particular star or constellation.

As for the verb *ki*, since it occurs only here, there is not much room for reasoned manoeuvre. It must be agreed that the determinative favours a meaning like 'strike', suggested by Dr. Faulkner. How could such a meaning apply to 'the crocodile star'? It could 'strike' by becoming a falling star, and hence be a source of fear even to the gods.

Dr. Faulkner's claim that 'the passage 210*a* indicates that the striking of the flash was nothing less than the impregnation of Isis by the dead Osiris' leads to the attractive comparison with passages in classical authors which tell of the conception of the Apis by a light or fire from heaven (in Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 43 by a creative light from the moon, but there is no reference to 'humid light'). Although the deity in these passages is consistently Apis and not Isis, it would have been pleasant to find an ancient Egyptian instance of impregnation in some such manner. I fear that the instance is by no means established. Even if Dr. Faulkner's translation is right, his exegesis is a manifest case of *post hoc propter hoc*. While the fear of the gods is clearly the result of the previous statement, the pregnancy of Isis has probably no connection with what precedes, since the opening of the spell merely provides a grandiose prelude. The *Pyramid Texts* contain several instances of spells beginning in this way with the suggestion that cosmic disturbances precede an important event. Thus the 'Cannibal Hymn' begins, 'The heavens pour water, the stars are darkened' (393*a*); Spell 477, which portrays a trial scene in Heliopolis, begins, 'The heaven is agitated, the earth trembles' (956*a*); Spell 503, a solar composition, starts with 'The door of heaven is opened, the door of earth is opened' (1078*a*); and Spell 504, which describes the King's ascent to heavenly regions, begins magnificently by saying that 'the heaven was pregnant with wine when Nut created her daughter Dewat' (1082*a-b*). For the stylistic features of some of these openings see Firchow, *Grundzüge der Stilistik in den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, 38. The classical tradition that the Apis was conceived through the flash of a light from heaven may be explained in another way: it looks like an aetiological comment on the sun-disc which is regularly depicted between the Apis-bull's horns, a comment furthered by the Greek tradition of the impregnation of Semele by Zeus' lightning-flash, with the resulting birth of Dionysus, who is sometimes given a bull-form. A final point is that Isis is said in 210*a* to be 'pregnant with the seed of her brother Osiris'; this suggests a natural process. Certainly it would be hard to assign to Osiris the role of producer of lightning-flashes or thunderbolts, and it is much later that he develops connections with sun and moon.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Queen Mutnodjme—a correction

ON a second hurried visit to Dendera in the Spring of 1969, the writer found that the statue-fragment referred to in his article in a recent issue of the *Journal*¹ had been moved to a more accessible position and cleaned, presumably by the French expedition working there. The 'flail' on the back of the vulture is now readily visible in the left-hand cartouche and makes Weigall's reading of 'Mut' as the first element in the name virtually certain. The writer found to his chagrin, however, that his recollection had played him false, and that the garment of the queen is not pleated. His remarks on the representation of folds in women's garments are therefore irrelevant in the case of this statue, though he does not wish to retract any of the observations he made upon the introduction of this feature into ancient Egyptian iconography. The long ribbed girdle is, however, clearly

¹ *JEA* 54, 103-6.

represented in high relief on this statue and remains the critical factor in providing a starting-point for dating it on stylistic grounds alone.

Such girdles, worn with the long robe, are commonly depicted on the figures of the queens at El-ʿAmarna and are popular from that time onwards. The earliest appearance of such a fashion known to the writer is in the damaged painting of Queen Tiye in Tomb No. 120 at Thebes,¹ where the somewhat timid representation suggests its novelty. The girdle is shown in relief on a figure of the same queen at Şûlb² dated to the time of the First Jubilee of Amenophis III. It is probable that both these representations would antedate slightly the carving of a ribbed girdle in high relief on the body of a statue. The girdle is absent from the painting of the king's concubines in Theban tomb No. 69³ dating from earlier in the same reign, though the depiction here of the royal favourites in all their elaborate finery would have given the artist an excellent chance of adding such details as the girdle, had it then been the fashion. On the whole it would appear that this stylistic feature was an innovation of the later reign of Amenophis III and having once entered the repertoire, it persisted throughout Ramesside times.

Its appearance on the statue-fragment at Dendera makes it almost certain that the queen in question is Mutnodjme rather than Mutemwiya.

CYRIL ALDRED

The so-called Temple of Apis/Ḥapi at Meroë

IN their treatment of Meroë, Porter, Moss, and Burney, *Top. Bibl.* VII, 239, mention a Temple of Apis on the site. Quite recently Vercoutter affirmed (*Kush* 8 (1960), 76 n. 80) that the temple was dedicated not to Apis but to Ḥapi. Both statements derive from the excavation-report on the temple contained in the Fifth Interim Report of the work of the University of Liverpool at Meroë (*LAAA* 7 (1914-16), 14), where we read that Sayce was the person on whose authority the ascription was made, though unfortunately, as Shinnie ruefully points out (*Meroë* (London, 1967), 84), he gave no reasons for this opinion. If, however, one looks closely at the report, the evidence which he used will become quite clear.

In the first place, the evidence was obviously not archaeological; for, in the description of the excavations, no physical objects are mentioned which could be used as a means of identifying the divine owner of the temple as Apis/Ḥapi. Indeed, had there been any, the excavator would not have had to rely on Sayce's authority. If, then, the evidence was not archaeological it must, in the nature of things, have been linguistic. Now during the excavations two stelae written in Meroïtic were discovered at the entrance of the temple in question, and the largest of these, the now famous Great Inscription of Akinidad, was published by Sayce in the same number of *LAAA*. If we look at p. 75, n. 18 of his commentary all becomes clear. Here Sayce tells us that the stela contains references to dedications to Ḥapi 'to whom (along with Osiris) the shrine in which the Stelae were found was dedicated'; in the absence of archaeological evidence this statement becomes charged with significance. It can, surely, be no mere coincidence that he regarded the temple as being dedicated to the very two gods whose names he finds in the inscription. Evidently Sayce has assumed that the dedications mentioned in his rendering of the Stela of Akinidad were made to the gods outside whose temple it was erected.

Unfortunately the matter cannot rest there. It is quite clear that Sayce's translation was faulty in many respects, as the subsequent rendering of Griffith (*JEA* 4 (1917), 159 ff.) showed; it was in no small way a product of his very fertile imagination. First of all, the group *âpetebes* (l. 10), which Sayce translated 'Hapi of Bigga', Griffith interpreted as a form of the word *âpête* 'envoy'

¹ Smith, *Art . . . Anc. Eg.* pl. 107B; cf. also the figure of Queen Nefertari/Tiye in Tomb No. 181 see Davies, *Two Sculptors*, pl. x.

² Lepsius, *Denk.* III, 84.

³ Davies (Nina), *Anc. Eg. Paintings*, pl. liii.

(op. cit. 168). Furthermore, although Sayce was able to discover the name of this god elsewhere in the text, Griffith nowhere appears to find any such references. As for Osiris, the group $\omega\beta\zeta\alpha$ *asr* which Sayce translated 'Osiris', was understood quite differently by Griffith (op. cit. 171).

When faced with such a difference of opinion, will anyone seriously doubt that Griffith's authority on the subject bears considerably greater weight than that of Sayce? Indeed, Griffith's judgement on the second point at least is vindicated beyond all gainsaying in that we now know that the Meroitic name of Osiris is $4-//\zeta\omega\beta$ *šéreyi* (Hintze, *Studien zur Meroitischen Chronologie* (Berlin, 1959), 12); it is in fact quite different from Sayce's *asr*.

Our conclusion on the matter is, therefore, that Sayce's ascription of the temple in question to Apis/Hapi and Osiris is based on a translation of the Stela of Akinidad which is certainly wrong, and that there is, consequently, no evidence that it belonged to the gods in question. As for the deity who was really worshipped there, I can regrettably offer no sure identification. The lion statuettes found during the excavations point vaguely in the direction of the lion-god Apedemek; but I should not wish to substitute one red herring for another.

ALAN B. LLOYD

(198)

REVIEWS

The Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals. Eds. P. J. UCKO and G. W. DIMBLEBY. Proceedings of a meeting of the Research Seminar in Archaeology and Related Subjects held at the Institute of Archaeology, London University. Duckworth, London, 1969. Pp. xxvi+581; pls. 8. Price £7. 7s.

This formidable inter-disciplinary symposium expounds and discusses the problems, conceptual and methodological, of the study of the great adaptive shifts in food production that were seminal in the growth of civilizations. Its scope is very wide. In Part I the environmental background and patterns of exploitation are considered. Part II considers methods of investigation of the domestication of plants and animals from a diversity of genetical, palynological, phylogenetic, archaeological, physical anthropological, ethnographical, and historical standpoints. Part III comprises studies of regional and local evidence for domestication, while Part IV deals with the history of the domestication of particular groups of animals. Part V contains general studies of human nutrition, and the book ends with reflections on the significance of domestication by Professor Piggott.

While these papers range over four continents and fifteen millennia and more, the work's central concern is with the origins of agriculture and animal domestication in the Near East. They illustrate how great has been the access of knowledge on these subjects during the past twenty years; but more, they show how vital is the contribution of natural scientific disciplines to their interpretation, and how important are the contributions that the archaeologist and historian can make in the provision of evidence of value to scientists. Certain remarkable contributions, in particular those of Harris, Hawkes, Zohary, Darlington, and Flannery, show vividly the need for most of us to revise our assumptions and conceptions of what the 'neolithic revolution' comprised. Indeed, the work presents a special challenge for Egyptologists; for it shows clearly how far studies of early agriculture, domestication of animals, irrigation, and the origins of communal and urban life in Egypt lag behind those in the rest of the Near East. No doubt the physical character of the Nile valley, where basin irrigation has been practised on an annual silt deposit for millennia, poses special practical and methodological problems. But the importance of surveying for and discovering sites, and above all of providing properly stratified and statistically adequate bone, seed, pollen, and dung samples stands out—more especially as the effect on such material remains of the new irrigation regime introduced by the Sudd el-'Ali is uncertain.

This, then, is a remarkable work, to which justice cannot be done in a brief notice. There are at least a dozen papers which are directly relevant to ancient Egypt and its Near Eastern neighbours, many of which contain new or uncollected material, and for these alone the book should stand on all Egyptological shelves; but it is best read as a whole, for only thus does one attain a full understanding of this many-sided evolutionary and social topic. The editors deserve the greatest credit for the very large administrative effort that the organization of this seminar must have involved, and for their modest, scrupulous, and accurate editing; but even greater thanks for conceiving the idea of this fruitful meeting. The publishers have produced the book most handsomely, and in remarkably quick time, since the seminar was only held in May 1968.

H. S. SMITH

Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with Comparative Material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mainland Greece. By PETER J. UCKO. Andrew Szmidla, London. Pp. xvi+530; 195 figs., 77 pls. Price £6. 6s.

The author has long been concerned with predynastic or prehistoric figurines and, in this book, offers the results of his studies. Predynastic figurines from Egypt, some excavated and some bought (those which the

author takes to be authentic), neolithic figurines from Crete, as many as the author could trace, and, a rather arbitrary selection of neolithic figurines from other Near Eastern regions and from Greece, have been brought together in a catalogue in which each figurine is described, and most also illustrated in line-drawings and in photographic plates. It is difficult to give in a line-drawing a satisfactory picture of a statuette in the round. The drawings in Ucko's book certainly have not succeeded. Even if one knows the figurines fairly well, it is often difficult to make out what is represented in a particular line-drawing. For those less well acquainted with the originals, many of the drawings must be completely useless. Unfortunately, the plates are not of much help either. The original photographs are cut out from their background and put on a uniform white one. The cutting out destroys the contours of the figurines, the white background makes some of them look like inkspots, especially where the photographs had not enough contrast in the first place. This is particularly regrettable for the illustrations of the Cretan figurines, as most of them are published here for the first time. It also makes it impossible to form an impression of the bought figurines which the author includes as authentic; one can only say with the author 'c.s.', which is his abbreviation for 'cannot say'. It can be questioned whether bought figurines should have been included at all, as opinions about them differ.

The catalogue begins with the Egyptian figurines, the first ones being those from Badâri. (The name of the excavator who worked there with Brunton is Caton-Thompson, and not Thompson, as the author calls her throughout.) These are followed by those of Naqâda I and II. The descriptions of the figurines, which include provenances and present locations, where known, are arranged under eight headings: material used for manufacture; arm position and technique for showing arms; position of head; description of breasts or penis; posture, position of legs; description of buttock-protrusion; detail and techniques of ornamentation; anatomical details and techniques for showing them.

It is difficult to set up tables such as are used in this catalogue without making some mistakes, but on pp. 84 and 86 things have got rather out of hand; nos. 29, 30, 31 are all said to have been found in Naqâda, tomb 1895. This is not a tomb number, but the first part of the Ashmolean Museum number which indicates the year in which the museum acquired the object. No. 31 also has the wrong museum number; it should read 1895 not 1985. Both nos. 30 and 31 have the remark attached: 'For dating see figure No. 20.' This last was found in the village rubbish at Mostagedda and was dated both by Brunton and Ucko as Badarian. Ucko cannot possibly mean that figurines 29 and 30 are Badarian. Nothing belonging to the Badarian period was found in either Naqâda or Ballâs, as the author himself says. The reference must be wrong. On pp. 86 f. the peg figurines from Naqâda, tomb 271 are catalogued under nos. 32-7. Nos. 32-6 are said to have come from Naqâda, tomb T271. This is wrong; they were not found in the T cemetery which does not have 271 tombs, but in the main cemetery. Only no. 37 has the correct number. No. 47 is a female figurine found in Ballâs, tomb 394. Here is to be found a curious misreading of the text of the original publication in *Naqada and Ballas*. First, the text is attributed to Petrie, while it is by Quibell who excavated at Ballâs. Then Ucko says that the excavator was in doubt about the sex of the figurine, though it has well-formed breasts. Two figurines were found in Ballâs, tomb 394. Of them Quibell says (*Naqada and Ballas*, p. 13): 'In one tomb of the regular type two female figures of clay were found.' Later on in the description of the paint on the figurines Quibell mentions (p. 14) the four black stripes down the side of the face of one of them and says that *if* the figurine represented a man one would take them as a beard. As Naqâda and Ballâs were the first predynastic cemeteries excavated in Egypt, Quibell did not know that the Predynastic Egyptians used green, black, and red paint as cosmetics. The figurine from tomb 394 shows us how the black paint was applied. The question of what Ucko calls a bearded lady or a hermaphrodite does not arise. The Brooklyn figurines nos. 56-73 from Ma'ameria graves 186 and 2, are catalogued as Amratian (Naqâda I), sometimes with a ?, and sometimes without. The only pot known from grave 2 is a fine A-Group vessel which dates the grave right at the end of Naqâda II (Gerzean), or at the beginning of the Dynastic period. The only other piece known to have been in grave 2 is a fishtail with projections for the haft. This is a rare form which probably is also rather late. While the two figurines from grave 2 are well preserved those in grave 186 were mostly fragments. Not only did they not have raised arms in all cases as the author points out, but one of them had no breasts; yet they are certainly all representations of women.

The entry for figurine 74, head and torso of a woman from cemetery U at Abydos, says that the pottery which was associated with it included 'white lined ware and is therefore clearly dated to the Amratian period'.

In 1928 Brunton already knew that Petrie's date for this type of pottery (S.D. 31-4) was mistaken (*Badarian Civilisation*). It still existed at the beginning of Naqâda II.

The catalogue is followed by a chapter 'Discussion of points arising from the catalogue', which begins with a useful publication record of individual figures. After this comes a section on 'Published analyses' and a section on 'Dating of bought figurines' which shows how wildly differing are the dates which scholars ascribe to the same figurine. That is why I think bought figurines would have been better left out of the catalogue. A lengthy section is concerned with the question of 'steatopygia', the existence of which the author rightly denies for Egypt. Only then does Ucko proceed to his own analyses. He explains that as many features as can possibly be detected in the figurines should be grouped together, so that some generalizations can be arrived at from the sparse material. His first feature is sex. This is not always easy to determine, for sometimes no definite male or female traits are shown. The Egyptians knew who was represented by the figurines, and sometimes did not find it necessary to represent the sexual organs. As we are ignorant of the meaning of the figurines, their sex sometimes represents a problem. Ucko is certainly right in maintaining that the predynastic Egyptians did not intend to represent any figurines as sexless. Nevertheless he classifies some as sexless as in a category different from c.s. ('cannot say') in table 3, 1 (p. 175). Table 3, 2 (p. 176) deals with sex and period, and 3, 3 (p. 177) with the number of figurines found in one tomb and their periods. The material on which these two tables are based is far too small to allow reliable conclusions. The wrong dates assigned to Ma'ameria graves 2 and 186, which between them account for 18 figurines, throws table 3, 2 completely out. The tables that follow also have to be treated with reserve. The text repeats what has been set out in the tables, and comes to the conclusion that the Egyptians could model statuettes in whatever position they wished, a conclusion which few people who know the material would have doubted.

The next part of the book deals with figurines from neolithic Crete, most of them from the recent excavations of Professor J. D. Evans. It is a great pity that these important figurines, which were only summarily published by Evans, are shown in the same kind of miserable line-drawings and equally miserable plates as were the Egyptian figurines. The catalogue that follows is drawn up under the same headings as those used for the Egyptian figurines, and it is accompanied by similar tables. The main difference between the Egyptian and the Cretan figurines is their provenance, the Egyptian having been found nearly exclusively in tombs while those from Crete come from village sites. Here again the author specifies some figurines as 'none sex' as distinct from 'c.s.'; here the same objections apply as in the case of the Egyptian figurines.

Then comes a section dealing with figures found at Hacilar, Jarmo, Hassuna, the Northern and Southern Obaid cultures, the Northern Gawra and Ninevite cultures, and the Southern Gawra and Jemdet Nasr cultures. Here one reads with some amazement that in Southern Mesopotamia figurines are virtually absent, and that the only examples known are from Ur. The author does not know the figurines from Uruk, including the interesting little fragment of a woman giving birth to a child which the excavators classify as pre-Obaid.

After a description of some statuettes from the Greek mainland, Ucko goes on to discuss inter-cultural relations. These are again summarized in tables which give 'the direction of influence, the number of features, and the number of typical features'. It is not specified which these are, but reference is made to the preceding chapters. As the tables of the preceding chapters are not reliable, this reference is of little use. It is also not clear which features are used for parallels, and it seems doubtful even to the author whether a mechanical collection of features, like the positions of the arms, sex, head with or without features, can be used to establish cultural relations. Ucko, therefore, does not come to any results, other than the cultural relationship between Egypt and Nubia; and for this result complicated tabulations are hardly needed, for it has never been doubted.

The last chapters of Ucko's book are concerned with the interpretation of the anthropomorphic figurines. He thinks mistakenly that female figurines—and especially those from Egypt—are generally explained as representing the mother goddess. For Egypt he then denies that there was a cult of the fertility goddess at all in predynastic times. He overlooks her representations with hands underneath her breasts in high relief on black-top vases of Naqâda I, and her ensign of the raised arms and horns which is the most frequent of the standards on the boats on the decorated pottery of Naqâda II. This ensign also appears on slate palettes and as an amulet. The nine points which Ucko adduces to prove that female figurines found in Egyptian tombs are not the mother goddess have, therefore, very little bearing, as no serious scholar has taken them for her.

On the basis of usages found in modern ethnographical material, Ucko suggests that the figurines were either dolls or substitute wives. He then states that he has gained the impression from the positions of the figurines in the graves that the majority were of no special importance in the tombs, and that the sex of figurine and that of the skeleton found with it were not significant. A better knowledge of the material might have led him to a different conclusion. He also denies that they might have been votive, because many more female than male figurines were found in the graves, which, he says, would imply 'that girls were much more frequently desired than boys' (p. 431). One can hardly expect a connection between the sex of the skeleton and that of the figurines, for the corpse can not have been asking for a child. The petitioner was the woman who put a likeness of herself in the tomb to show to the goddess who it was who prayed for a child; the dead was supposed to act as messenger. That this idea existed in Egypt we know from the letters to the dead; they were put in any available grave and the dead were supposed to deliver them.

Why the author states (p. 427) that what he calls 'pin figures' were always made of some durable material is difficult to understand. It is refuted by his illustrations on pp. 26 and 28 which show one pin figure made of ivory, the other of Nile mud, confronting each other. Pin figures form the first of the categories into which he divides his material. Another is labelled 'initiation figures'. It is not known whether initiation rites were performed in Egypt, though the circumcision of boys may have been one. What female figurines in graves could have to do with initiation rites remains obscure. However, Ucko himself is not convinced that such rites provide the correct interpretation of the figurines for, as he puts it, the majority of them were made of cheap materials and 'there must surely have been some rich parents' (p. 450). The category named 'Twin Figure', in which the figurine might represent a twin of the deceased, has no bearing for Egypt.

The possibility that the figures might be servants is equally rejected; so too their interpretation as mourning figures. Ucko's assertion (p. 418) that there is a 'historically attested arm position for mourning with hands on the breasts' is a mistake based on a misreading of a note by Leclant. Leclant quotes a remark by Breasted that the holding of breasts may be an attitude of mourning only to point out that this is an error. It is just as wrong to say that the god Min, whom Ucko mentions on the same page, does not appear before the Pyramid Texts. His symbol is frequent on the decorated pottery of Naqâda II. Lastly (on the same page), it is absurd to say that the logical consequence of the assumption of a mother goddess in Egypt has not been recognized, namely the existence of a large pantheon and of a father god or male element in some guise. I do not see that this follows; moreover, it is not true for Egypt, where the ensigns on the boats of the decorated pottery have always been taken for symbols of different gods; while the existence of a male god at least since Naqâda I is common knowledge. There is no 'great father god' in Egypt, because its earliest civilization seems to have been matriarchal, and the son and lover is of minor importance, as can be seen on the decorated vase in the Metropolitan Museum, which carries a representation of the sacred marriage.

It is unfortunate that a book which brings together much material from different civilizations, and which is so elaborately produced, should be so unsatisfactorily illustrated. The mistakes and misunderstandings in the text (not all of which could be pointed out here) make it unsafe in the hands of all who have no first-hand knowledge of the material.

ELISE J. BAUMGARTEL

Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Fifth Series. The Abu Sir Papyri. Edited by PAULE POSENER-KRIÉGER and JEAN LOUIS DE CENIVAL. Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1968. Pp. xx+52; 104 photographic and 104 line plates, 17 plates of palaeography. Price £12.

As one would expect, papyri dated to the Old Kingdom are not common, so that it is a matter for congratulation that the joint editors of the above-named work have given us an admirable edition of the oldest hieratic manuscripts known to be extant; documents, moreover, which will shed much light on a matter of which we know but little, namely the administration of an Old Kingdom royal funerary temple, that of Neferrakarē-Kakai. The most important group of fragments is preserved in the British Museum, but the Petrie Collection at University College London, the Louvre, and the museums of Cairo and East and West Berlin all have portions of this archive in their possession. The recording and publication of fragments of documents scattered through so many museums, and the ready response of the various museum administrations to the requests of the editors, give an outstanding example of international co-operation in the interests

of learning, while we owe a debt of gratitude to the Trustees of the British Museum for an admirable publication of the fragments of papyrus thus assembled.

The plan of the book is to show a full-size photograph of a given fragment or group of fragments on the right-hand plates, facing a hieroglyphic transcription on the left, the latter being printed in black and red in accordance with the colours of the writing in the papyrus and on the same scale, thus rendering the comparison of the copy with the original as easy as possible. After an Introduction giving a general account of the archive, in which it is shown that the documents it contains cover a period of more than half a century extending over the reigns of Kings Isesi and Teti, there are descriptions of each individual fragment. From these descriptions it emerges that the original archive consisted of duty-tables for the temple staff; daily and monthly accounts of income, the receipts consisting of livestock, foodstuffs, textiles, and building materials; monthly records of the distribution of food and accounts of other expenditure; checks on the temple and its furniture and ritual utensils; accounts relating to the private funerary cults connected with the royal funerary temple; and files of correspondence, from which last there have survived portions of two letters, one of which was concerned with a legal matter.

Following on the pages of descriptive matter there are seventeen plates of palaeography, the signs being grouped according to Gardiner's sign-list, with cross references to the numbering in Möller's *Hieratische Paläographie*, sections at the end being devoted to the writing of numerals and ligatures. These plates form an important contribution to our knowledge of Old Kingdom hieratic and are a valuable supplement to Möller's works. This is, in fact, a publication which it is hard to fault, and we hope that the volume of translations and commentary which the editors envisage will appear without too great a lapse of time.

R. O. FAULKNER

The Pyramid of Unas. By ALEXANDRE PIANKOFF. Bollingen Series XL: 5; *Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations*. Pp. xiv + 118; pls. vii + 70, 2 plans in line. Princeton, 1968. Price 95s.

One of the major inconveniences to which the student of the Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts is subjected is the absence of any publication of the inscriptions as originally recorded in their actual arrangement in vertical lines. To the translator, Sethe's mode of publication by setting out the various texts in parallel in numbered sections is indispensable, but if he had adopted the method employed by de Buck in his edition of the Coffin Texts, instead of transposing his material into horizontal lines, critical examination of the texts, especially as regards gauging the length of lacunae, would have been much easier. The next best thing is to set out the inscriptions pyramid by pyramid as they stand on the wall, as was done by Jéquier for the additional texts discovered by him at Saqqâra. This, in effect, is what Dr. Piankoff has done in the work now under review, except that instead of line-drawings he has used fairly large-scale photographs with marginal indications of Sethe's section-numbers, and the new edition should be valuable for purposes of textual criticism. Reproductions of hieroglyphic texts by photography are not always satisfactory, but the excellence of the photographs, coupled with the comparative infrequency of lacunae, favours the use of this method of recording; only on plates 56 and 69 has discoloration of the walls and a rather smaller scale of reproduction rendered reading of the signs rather trying to the eyes.

The printed text of this volume falls into two parts; 13 pages of Introduction and 102 pages of translations of the texts, these two parts being separated by plates i-vii, giving general views of the pyramid of Unas; the translations are followed by plates 1-70 containing the textual photographs. This method of numbering two sets of plates independently in a single volume is unusual and not to be recommended, as in citations in footnotes and the like some confusion could arise. On pp. 113-16 is a concordance of Sethe's numbering of Utterances and sections with the text and plates of the present work, though the author misleadingly describes Sethe's sections as 'Spells', which they certainly are not; if this rather question-begging term must be used, it is applicable only to Sethe's 'Sprüche', not to his subdivisions thereof. At the end of the book are two drawings of plans and sections lettered A and B respectively. The thirteen pages of Introduction deal with the religious significance of the pyramid in general, a discussion into which we cannot enter here, and with the grouping of the various types of Utterances within the pyramid of Unas. As regards the translations

on pp. 17 ff., the present reviewer does not always find himself in accord with the renderings, but any comment on these matters is hardly in place in the present review.

R. O. FAULKNER

Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich. By HANS GOEDICKE. *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*, Band 14. Wiesbaden, O. Harrassowitz. 1967. Pp. vii+256; 31 figs. Price DM. 70.

In this book we have a very welcome collection of all known copies or parts of copies of the royal decrees of the Old Kingdom, with translations and full commentaries. The book begins with an introduction which gives an account of the decrees in general, their history and their purpose. From the list given on pp. 5-6 it appears that thirty-one of these documents are known, and that they emanate from three regions only, Abydos, Koptos, and the neighbourhood of Memphis. They extend in date from Shepseskaf of the Fourth Dynasty to Demdjibowē, whom the author is inclined, on the basis of the compounding of his name with the element *-trwy*, to date to the beginning of the Ninth Dynasty. He notes that the form in which these documents have come down to us, namely in hieroglyphic texts carved on stelae, is not that in which they were originally issued from the royal chancery. The fact that they are described as 'sealed in the presence of the king himself' shows this plainly enough, for Egyptian officials did not seal stelae of stone. As Goedicke points out, the decrees as issued were written on papyrus, and they were copied on stone and set up in public so that all who could read should be aware of the king's commands.

As regards the inscriptions themselves, Goedicke shows that they appear to have been exact copies of the originals in form as well as in content. The usual form is that the Horus-name of the king in question is written on a large scale in the right-hand column, sometimes with a record of the sealing and the date beneath it; a horizontal line across the top of the stela gives the words 'The king commands' followed by the titles and names of the persons addressed, while the main text lies below in lines sometimes all vertical and sometimes a mixture of vertical and horizontal, reading from right to left; however, on one fragment the direction is from left to right, probably, as Goedicke suggests, because it once stood to the right of a doorway. He concludes, with some probability, that *wđ* in *wđ nswt* at the top of the stelae should be interpreted verbally rather than nominally: 'the king commands' rather than 'command of the king'. There is a minor slip on p. 11, l. 27; for *Urk.* 1, 203, 1 read 204, 2.

Following the introduction, we come to the account of the decrees themselves. They are taken in chronological order, each document being shown in a hand-copy of the text in the precise arrangement of the original, with references to previous publications, a translation, a full commentary, and a summing up. On p. ix there is a concordance with the copies published by Sethe in *Urk.* 1; in addition, this book includes some fragmentary decrees not published by Sethe. In a few cases Goedicke's collations have improved on Sethe's readings of damaged signs. The translations are excellent, though some uncertainties remain as to the exact meaning of some of the terms employed. Below are a few points which call for comment:

p. 55, I. Date of the Dahshur Decree. There has been a slip here; after the year-date, Goedicke has '3 Monat der *pṛt*-Jahreszeit', whereas the copies of the inscription here and in *Urk.* 1 both read *tpy pṛt*, '1st month of *pṛt*'.


p. 55, II. In the title *shđ cw*, Goedicke has emended *shđ* into *smr*, see his note *JEA* 46, 61 n.4. I see no reason for this emendation; the reading of the original is unequivocally *shđ*, and on Goedicke's own showing (loc. cit.) the title *shđ cw* does occur elsewhere.

p. 56, VI-VII. I am not altogether in agreement with the translation here. Where *cw* occurs in the same context as *sk* 'cultivate', 'plough', the translation 'reap' (*Wb.* 1, 171, 18 ff.) seems more appropriate than 'requisition'; my own version would run: 'There shall not be permitted the cultivation of any lands of these two pyramid-establishments by ploughing or reaping by the serfs of any queen', etc.

p. 56, XII. *R irt cw*: 'Um requirierungen . . . zu machen'. In this case *cw* may well have its basic meaning of 'take away', hence 'requisition', for here there is no mention of ploughing; in any case, in my view, the question of reaping has already been dealt with.

p. 56, XVII. *'bt*, tentatively rendered 'Priesterschaft' by Goedicke, may perhaps be the same word as *'bt* 'attachment', 'connection', cf. 'Good is perished, *nn 'bt:f* there is no attachment to it', *Peas.* B1. 197;

'*bt-i rmtt* 'my human connections', *CT* II, 164*c-d*. Thus the meaning here may be that the persons concerned are not to be forcibly detached from their service to the pyramid, and I would tentatively translate: 'My Majesty commands that you shall not give away the connection of any of the *hntyw-s* of these two pyramid-establishments at the word of anyone.'

p. 79 (1). The word *hrt* which puzzles Goedicke looks from the partly preserved  which precedes as if we may have here a collective *whrt* 'wharf-men', cf. Sethe, *Urk.* I, 274-5.

p. 87, I. There is a discrepancy in the date of this decree; the translation has 'day 28', as also *Urk.* I, 280, 14, but Goedicke's copy of the text reads '26'.


p. 87, IV+note 16. For Goedicke's *pr-sz*, on grounds of the context perhaps the reading *pr-mnyw* 'House of Herdsmen' is to be preferred.

Pp. 129, l. 4; 169 (13). Goedicke translates *mnywt* (det. 𓆎) as 'Zimbeln', quoting Montet, *Kémi*, 2 (1928), 13 ff., but the determinative does not really suit this rendering; it seems more likely that this is a word for a cloth or garment, since the word *snd* for 'garment' or 'material' with determinative 𓆎 which follows *mnywt* in *Urk.* I, 296, 9 is determined with 𓆎 in *CT* I, 109*a*.

p. 139, XIV. The translation of the 'Zusatz' to Koptos D seems to me to be highly speculative.

p. 196. Fig 23, noted as 'Teil eines Edikts von Neferkahor (Koptus P)', is misplaced and misnamed; the inscription in fact is Koptos H, pp. 163-4. The text of Koptos P is absent.

p. 215, V. *Hsf ht n* I think means not precisely 'das Eigentum konfiszieren wegen' but more generally 'take action against', cf. *Urk.* I, 101, 9; according to § IV the penalties to be enforced are binding and fettering.

It should be noted also that where a restoration seems certain, it is not always indicated in the translations by the customary square brackets; see, for example, p. 138, VI (Koptos D), where of the seven titles at the bottom of Fragment A, nos. 4 and 6 show only *imy-r*, while of the seventh only part of  remains; so also p. 178, II (Koptos O), where 'Tag 20' is not preserved on the original. The correctness of the restorations is not questioned, but it is confusing to the reader when they are not marked as such.

Following on the copies and translations of the individual texts there is a summary of their form and content. Goedicke divides them into three main groups: appointments to office, redressing of complaints, and exemptions from compulsory exactions. Within these groups he discusses the formulae used and the general significance of the group, pointing out that the majority of these documents fall into the 'exemption' class. He also discusses briefly the historical and administrative aspects of these decrees, though he points out that the latter aspect would be best dealt with in a work of wider scope on the administration of the Old Kingdom in general. Finally, we are provided with four indexes; general, personal names, words discussed in the text, albeit without their German equivalents, and titles.

To sum up, this is a work which supplies a serious need; it will be most useful to have all the inscriptions of this class collected together with translations and commentaries. Even if a few points have been raised where one may hold a different view from that of the author, there is no doubt that this was a task well worth undertaking, and we are grateful to Dr. Goedicke for having brought it to a successful conclusion.

R. O. FAULKNER

Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne. Tome V. Bas-reliefs et peintures. Scènes de la vie quotidienne. Part ii. By J. VANDIER. Paris, 1969. Pp. vii+1,037, figs. 385, pls. 48 in separate album. Price NF. 140.

In this substantial new part of his monumental work on Egyptian archaeology, Vandier resumes the theme begun in Tome IV, the scenes of daily life preserved in the private tombs. He has, however, been obliged to modify the plan sketched out in Tome IV. Originally he had intended to complete the study of these scenes in Tome V, but the wealth of available material has necessitated a redistribution of the treatment over two volumes. The new volume contains the scenes connected with work in the marshes in all its aspects, and with navigation. The subsequent volume will deal with scenes of agriculture and of trades and crafts.

Work in the marshes is here interpreted to include certain activities which might more properly have been included in agriculture, in particular the rearing and treatment of cattle and of birds. But the chapters on these activities in fact fit very well into the scheme of this volume, because it is clear that in antiquity the large-

scale rearing of cattle and of domesticated birds was principally carried out in the wide and marshy lands of the Delta.

The first chapter deals with animals during the Old Kingdom. The scope of Vandier's treatment is comprehensive, and his organization of what amounts to a complete survey of all available scenes is masterly. He discusses the various animals reared domestically by the Egyptians, describes the parades of the herds, the scenes in which various aspects of the life of the animals are shown (mating, birth, rearing, feeding), the herding of the animals in the marshes and the conducting of the herds through water; finally he treats the many scenes of butchery, that aspect of the whole activity of animal-raising which was most important in the funerary cult. The detailed discussions which occupy most of this chapter are relieved from time to time by descriptions of whole scenes or series of scenes in specific tombs which serve, as it were, as summaries or general illustrations of complete topics.

Chapter II is devoted to animal husbandry in the Middle and New Kingdoms, and Chapter III to the hunting and rearing of birds. In this latter chapter the catching of birds is first dealt with: the various traps and nets are described in detail, and the ways in which they were employed at different periods are explained. Much space is allotted to the use of the hexagonal net, the most common trapping device employed from the Old to the New Kingdom. The care and herding of domesticated birds follow. In the description of the scenes which represent these activities Vandier, as always, devotes equal attention to describing the people involved in the work as he does to explaining the significance of all the details of the operations performed.

Work and life in marshy lands form the subject-matter of Chapters IV and V: the collecting of papyrus plants, their fabrication into ropes and nets; the construction of papyrus boats and the jousting that takes place from them; fishing by line and net, and the treatment and preparation of fish after they have been caught.

Scenes dealing with boats of wood are analysed in Chapter VI, the last and longest (350 pages) in this volume; it is divided into three principal sections, one for each of the main periods. Again, all aspects of the subject are carefully considered, the various types of boats described, their navigational features explained, their crews examined, and the duties of the individual members determined. Here Vandier departs from his general practice in introducing scenes from royal monuments, such as Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri.

Nowhere have Egyptian nautical and navigational matters been so closely studied as they are in this chapter. The same can be said of the other themes treated in this volume. The descriptions are lucid, the analyses admirable, the accuracy exemplary.

We must wait for the next volume for an index to the scenes of daily life described in Vols. IV-VI, but Vandier has done much to enable the present volume to be easily consulted in the meanwhile. The Table of Contents is immensely detailed, while in the text he has included sections of documentation before each new subject to help the reader find what he seeks. The figures in the text are rather on the small side, but they are intended for reference only; all are line-drawings; photographic figures are contained in the album, and they are numbered within the series of the text figures. The photographic reproductions are not universally good, and again, being on a small scale, are not very useful even for simple reference.

This work will not, however, be consulted for its illustrations, except incidentally. It has never been Vandier's intention that the illustrations in his *Manuel* should do more than act as references and reminders of the objects or scenes shown. The serious student, wishing to use this great work, will be constantly forced to consult the numerous primary publications which have provided the material for this synthesis. And this surely is what Vandier would want. His *Manuel* is not only a consummate summary of Egyptian archaeology, but a constant stimulus to further research.

T. G. H. JAMES

Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen. By H. SATZINGER. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, 12. Berlin, 1968. Pp. xiii+77. Price DM. 24.

A book of this kind has long been wanting. In the forty-five years that have elapsed since the publication of Gunn's epoch-making *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (1924),¹ additional knowledge has been gained concerning

¹ The following abbreviations are used in this review:

Anthes, *Hatnub*: R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub* (1928).

Edel: E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*.

[footnote continued overleaf]

some very important aspects of Egyptian syntax, and it is to the credit of Satzinger's book that it takes into consideration the very latest developments in Egyptian grammar and contains many shrewd observations for the thorough reader. Although many problems dealt with in this book are to be found in the current grammars, in particular Edel's *Altägyptische Grammatik*, and, in some cases, Satzinger is too dependent on Gunn's observations and conclusions, it is a great advantage that almost all the negative constructions in Old and Middle Egyptian are grouped together and properly discussed, thus enabling the student to get a better view and understanding.

The book is divided into five main sections: A. Die Negationspartikel *n* (§§ 1–49); B. Die predicative Negation *nn* (§§ 50–61); C. Die Negationsverben *tm* und *im* (§§ 62–92); D. *iwtj* und *iwt* (§§ 93–103); E. Andere Negationsweisen (§§ 104–9), i.e. I. Die Negation *w*; II. Die *nfr*-Konstruktionen.

A I. The main constructions in which the negative *n* appears are: *n sdm:f* and *n sdm:n:f*. Satzinger recognizes a number of uses of *n sdm:f* (all of which, in fact, had already been listed by Gunn): 1. the negation of the past (§ 24, § 8) in independent sentences whose affirmative correlative is *sdm:n:f*, Old Perfective and certain cases of *sdm:f*.¹ 2. In circumstantial sentences (§ 24, § 9) the affirmative correlative construction is *sdm:f* and *sdm:n:f*. Satzinger also differentiates between the various forms of *sdm:f* after the negative word in accordance with the different uses (§ 25),² and the situation appears chaotic to him (§ 26). Among these uses, that of *n sdm:f* for the negation of the past in main sentences appears to be the primary use, whereas the other uses should be re-examined, because they may be exceptions. Thus, for example, the negative *n sdm:f* as a negative correlative of Old Perfective is confined primarily to the verb *rh* 'to know'—which is the only transitive verb whose translation in the Stative (Old Perfective) is active—and to its partner *hm* 'not to know'.³ The negative *n sdm:f* in circumstantial and optative sentences (if they are really to be thus understood) may be a shortened form of *nn sdm:f*—as in the case of the example from Hatnub, see Anthes, *Hatnub*, 11, n. 2.

Satzinger also mentions cases of *n sdm:f* in which the verb form is geminated (§ 20) and believes that they are an extension of the 'perfektische' *sdm:f*⁴ in optative use. This phenomenon is not yet sufficiently clear, but in any case it is certainly not the negation of the 'Emphatic sentences',⁵ which will be discussed later in this review. At least the sentences of the pattern *n wnn:f* appear to be a type of existential negation parallel to *nn wn*, and may be complementary, since *nn wn* almost always appears with a substantive⁶ whereas *n wnn:f* almost always appears with suffixes.⁷

A II. With regard to *n sdm:n:f* Satzinger reaches the correct conclusion that this construction serves primarily to express inability (§ 30). This negative corresponds to the Late Egyptian *bw irr:f sdm* and to the

Gardiner: A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*.

Gunn (or Gunn, *Studies*): B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (1924).

Med. Texts: H. Grapow, *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autografiert* (Berlin, 1958).

Mo'alla: J. Vandier, *Mo'alla*, (Le Caire, 1950).

Polotsky, *Études*: H. J. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte* (Le Caire, 1944).

Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*: H. J. Polotsky, 'Egyptian Tenses' in Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, *Proceedings*, 2, No. 5 (1965).

Sethe, *Verbum*: K. Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum im Altägyptischen, Neuägyptischen und Koptischen* (Leipzig, 1913).

Thacker, *Relationship*: T. W. Thacker, *Relationship of the Semitic and Egyptian Verbal Systems* (Oxford, 1954).

¹ Reference to § 6.

² The verb *mj* 'to see' can hardly be considered representative of the various forms of *sdm:f*, because the writing of this verb is inconsistent.

³ Cf. Gunn, 98 and also *Pyr.* 1434a and *CT* VI, 152h–i; VI, 176g; VII, 111g.

⁴ Satzinger rightly terms the *sdm:f* in the negative *n sdm:f* as a 'perfect', apparently following Sethe, *Verbum*, rather than as a 'perfective' *sdm:f* like Gardiner, who emphasized the aspect of completed action.

⁵ As Edel (§ 496) thought.

⁶ The only exception with a suffix, to my knowledge, is *Ramesseum Pap.*, pl. i. 10.

⁷ For exceptions see Gunn, 104.

Coptic ⲁⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ,¹ and does not refer to time. The negative *n sdm·n·f* is the negation of custom, habit, and ability, which are expressions of the present and therefore may be regarded as the negation of the present tense. In this respect it is the negation of *iw sdm·f* and *iw·f sdm·f* which, according to Polotsky (in private conversation), is the true expression of the present tense in Middle Egyptian.

Gunn² established a rule which is more or less accepted to this day that the *n sdm·f* is the negation of *sdm·n·f*, while *n sdm·n·f* is the negation of the *sdm·f*. This rule is no longer valid,³ because today we know of at least three different kinds of affirmative *sdm·f* and two kinds of affirmative *sdm·n·f*:

<i>sdm·f</i>	<i>sdm·n·f</i>
1. Circumstantial ⁴	1. Circumstantial ⁴
2. Emphatic ⁵	2. Emphatic ⁶
3. Prospective ⁷	

Moreover, as a result of Polotsky's 'Egyptian Tenses', one must differentiate between verbal constructions introduced by *iw* and those not introduced by *iw* (i.e. those cited above), in which the function of *iw* is to enable the circumstantial verb-forms to serve as indicative-predicative forms (at least at the beginning of direct speech). Therefore one must differentiate between the above-mentioned forms without *iw*, and *iw sdm·f* and *iw sdm·n·f*. In theory there is nothing to prevent one negative construction from serving as the negation of several affirmative constructions, but *a priori* we expect a different negation for each of the *sdm·f* and *sdm·n·f* forms, and the facts bear this out. Gunn's rule may be applied at most to *iw sdm·f* and *iw sdm·n·f*, but is not applicable to the other forms. This fact is not clearly expressed in Satzinger's book, although he is aware of all these forms and the function of *iw*.

The negative *ⲙ sdm·f* is the negation of the past, and in this respect may be considered as the negation of *iw sdm·n·f*. This is the only negative in Old and Middle Egyptian which refers to time, because *n sdm·n·f* is not a temporal negative. The nuances of tense are expressed with the aid of the verbs *sp* 'to happen' and *p·f* 'to happen in the past', which can be joined only to the pure temporal negative, which is free of modal nuances, and therefore they are found only with the negative *n sdm·f*. If *n sdm·f* is the negation of the past, then *n sp sdm·f*⁸ is the negation of the present perfect,⁹ and *n p·f sdm* is the negation of the past perfect.¹⁰ In Old Egyptian the construction *n sp p·f sdm* (Edel, § 903) expresses the same tense, although it is possible that *n p·f sdm* is the negation of the past perfect from the point of view of the past (*perfectum in praeterito*), and *n sp p·f sdm* is the negation of the past perfect from the point of view of the present (*praesens in praeterito*).

The negation of the future will be effected by *nm iw·f r sdm*.¹¹ The negation of the verbal sentences without *iw* will be discussed below.

A III. Satzinger correctly sees in the form *sdmt·f* an indicative as well as a subjunctive form.¹² In my opinion, the form which is found in the construction *n sdmt·f* is a regular verbal form, and only in the construction *r sdmt·f* is it the nominal form of the verb. See below.

A IV. This chapter, in which Satzinger discusses the combinations of the negative word *n* with the particle *is*, could have been one of the important contributions of the book to the understanding of Egyptian syntax. Satzinger, following Gunn, observed that the particle *is* is in this case 'ein notwendiges Element' (p. 30, n. 92). It appears, however, that because of a lack of examples Satzinger is too dependent on Gunn's conclusions

¹ Polotsky, *Rev. d'Égypt.* 11, (1957), 116.

² *Studies*, Chs. 11, 12, and particularly p. 198.

³ Sethe in his *Kommentar zu dem Altäg. Pyramidentexten*, I, 2 (*Pyr.* 134a) already noted this.

⁴ Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*.

⁵ Polotsky, *Études*, latest discussions in *Egyptian Tenses* and *Orientalia* 33 (1964), 275-84; 38 (1969), 465 ff.

⁶ Polotsky, *Rev. d'Égypt.* 11 (1957), 109-17.

⁷ Gunn, *Studies*, 65 n. 1; and chap. XIII. Thacker, *Relationship*, 213-16; 221-3. Polotsky, *Orientalia* 33, 269-72.

⁸ For this construction cf. Satzinger, §§ 22-3.

⁹ And in this respect it may be the negation of *iw sdm·f*. Edel, § 1081, § 537 thinks that *n sp sdm·f* is the negation of *iw sdm·n·f*.

¹⁰ The negation of *iw p·f sdm*.

¹¹ For *nm sw r sdm* cf. *Mo'alla*, 11a, 2.

¹² §§ 39-41. This term is taken from Sethe, *Verbum*, and it refers to a nominal form of the verb.

and therefore misses the point, thinking, like Gunn, that in certain cases *is* could be replaced by other particles like *tr*, or *grt*.¹

The negative $\neg \dots \text{||}$, in which the particle is a morpheme and an integral part of the construction, is a different negative from the negative \neg without the particle.² As *is* is a morpheme, there is no possibility of eliminating it, and other particles cannot be substituted for it.³

A sentence is considered negative when its predicative nexus is a negative one.⁴ But when the negation is not the negation of the nexus, but the negation of a word (or the negative word is in itself one of the parts of the sentence),⁵ the sentence is an affirmative one.⁶ Gunn was the first to differentiate between a 'negatived' sentence and a 'negative' sentence in Egyptian,⁷ and according to him (p. 140) the 'negative' sentence is a sentence in which the negative word is a part of the sentence and 'cannot be removed from the sentence to which it belongs . . . without the latter ceasing to be sentence', whereas the 'negatived' sentence is according to him (p. 169) a sentence 'in which the negative word is a mere particle, not affecting the general structure of the sentence by its addition or deduction'. In fact, the 'negative' sentence is a sentence with an affirmative predicative nexus in which each of its parts, or even all of them, can be negatived, or in which any part is in itself a negative word; whereas a 'negatived' sentence is the actual negative sentence. The great difference between the negative *n . . . is* and the negative *n* is that *n* negates the word to which it is adjacent whereas *n . . . is* does not. *n . . . is* is the negation of the predicative nexus of the following patterns:

a. *The Nominal Sentence*. It is possible to add many examples to the ones given by Satzinger (I know of 38 examples), but in this review the following cases are of special interest:

(i) *CT VII, 237g: n it hnc-k is pw r st-k*, 'It is not a coming (a returning) with you to your place'. Here is a prepositional adjunct and even so we find *is*. The sentence is particularly interesting because its predicate is a nominal form of the verb (infinitive); if the negation were not the negation of the nexus but the negation of the predicate as a word, then *tm* (which is the negation of the infinitive) would have been used.

(ii) *Ibid. 237j*, and especially *n iw-s hnc-f is pw m iw nsisi m hrw-f n iwt*, 'And it is not that she will come with him from the island of fire on his day of returning'. Here also there is a prepositional adjunct. This sentence is of the pattern *sdm-f pw*, in which the *sdm-f* is a nominal form of the verb ('that'—form) which is negated by *tm* when the predicate is negated as a word and not as a part of a sentence. For this, see Satzinger, § 68. For additional examples of *sdm-f pw* which is negated by *n . . . is* see also *Med. Texts. 274* (with *sdm-tw-f*), and also *Urk. I, 61, 3, n wnn dd ht is pw m snm ib n 'Izzi*, in which *wnn dd ht* is a *sdm-f (dd ht*, 'a saying of a thing' is the actor), and *n wnn* is not the existential negation: 'Not that there is a saying of a thing to delight Isesi.'

(iii) The nominal sentence in which the predicate is a relative form, e.g. *Mo'alla, II 82* (inscr. 5), *n gmt-i ir is pw (l)n kywy hryw-tp wn(w) m spst tn*, 'This is not what I found done by other *hryw-tp* which were in this nome'. See also *ibid. IV. 20* and *IV. 25*. For the relative form *sdm-tw-f*, see *Urk. I, 254. 10* and *Cairo 20512, 1*. It is possible to compare these sentences with regular verbal sentences negatived by *n* like *Hatnub, 8, 4, n gm-i try in kli mitw-i*, 'I didn't find (it) done by another like me'; and see also Griffith, *Siut*, pl. 16, Rifeh tomb I, ll. 16, 16-17.

¹ In my Ph.D. thesis, 'Enclitic Particles in Middle Egyptian', I have dealt extensively with all the cases of the negative *n* and the particle *is*. I hope it will be published in the near future; in the meantime I shall confine myself to some notes and examples.

² The particle *is* appears only with the negative *n* and once or twice with the negative *w* but not with the negative *nn*. In the places where || is found with \neg the negative *nn* is not the predicative existential negation but rather a writing of the negative particle *n*.

³ Gunn's rule, with which Satzinger agrees, that the particle *is* does not appear in a sentence with *pw* which is followed by a prepositional adjunct is incorrect, as Edel has already pointed out (§ 824); see also *CT VI, 338l* in which there is no prepositional adjunct and nevertheless *is* is missing. On this point, see below.

⁴ Polotsky, *Études*, § 33; Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar*, Ch. 24, p. 329.

⁵ A negative word as a predicate is *nn*. The negative verb *tm* can be a subject of the sentence and in certain cases its predicate.

⁶ The distinction must be made between the negation of the nexus (the negation of the predication), which is the negation of the predicate as a part of the sentence, and between the negation of the predicate as a word.

⁷ *Studies*, 140; 169.

b. *The Participial Statement*—which Satzinger included in his discussion of the nominal sentence, but is actually a cleft sentence. I know of twelve instances of negative Participial Statement in addition to the examples of the nominal sentence. A negative Participial Statement with a nominal predicate appears not only in the *Pyramid Texts*, as Satzinger notes, but also in *CT VII*, 241 k.¹

c. *The Adjectival Sentence*—in this case the adjectival sentence should be classified as a nominal sentence, because the third-person pronominal subject is always *pw*, see Gunn, *Studies*, chap. 27.

d. *The Possessive Sentence*—which is an adjectival sentence—in which the possessor is the predicate (of the pattern *ny wi R̄c*, ‘I belong to R̄c’) cf. *CT III*, 390e, *n ny wi is sp̄t*, ‘I am not of the district’. The possessive sentence of the pattern *mnk tm* is probably negated by *n . . . is* as well, cf. my article in *Rev. d'Égypt.* 20, and my short note in *JEA* 55, 216.

The particle *is* is an integral part of the construction in the negation² of these sentences and it cannot be replaced by any other particle. For an example of *is* with *grt* cf. James, *Heḳanakhḳe*, pl. 6 and also *Urk.* 1, 264, 13. The sentence *Sin. B*, 114, *n inḳ tr sm̄:f*, which Satzinger cites, is not a negative sentence but rather an affirmative interrogative sentence, since *tr* is the Egyptian ‘question mark’, and it is very possible that the writing $\overline{\text{—}}$ represents the interrogative word *in*. In the Ashmolean ostrakon of Sinuhe *in iw* appears in this sentence (recto 40),³ but the writing $\overline{\text{—}}$ in place of *in* appears in other places as well,⁴ among them *Sinuhe*, cf. Gunn, 89–90. This sentence may be compared with *CT III*, 395d, *inḳ tr rḥty iw̄t:k ri*, ‘Am I the “pair” that you should come against me (attack me)?’

The particle *is* is only missing from the negation of bi-pronominal sentences: *Sin. B* 267–8, *n ntf pw m m̄st*, and *CT VI*, 338 l, *n inḳ pw*, in which there is no prepositional adjunct. The reason for this is apparently that the negation is the negation of the pronoun as a word.⁵ This is probably because it is difficult to negate the identity of a person to himself and therefore identity is established between a person and another entity.

The predicative negative $\overline{\text{—}}$ does not replace the negative particle $\overline{\text{—}}$ in the negation of nominal sentences from the New Kingdom, as Gunn and Satzinger believe. All the cases in which *nm . . . is* is found are merely cases of *nm* written instead of *n*. This is not the predicative existential negation, which by its nature is incompatible with *is*. On the other hand, the predicative existential negation *nm* can be joined to a nominal sentence and will negate the existence of the idea expressed by it. It is not the negation of the predicative nexus, and the sentence is an affirmative sentence with a negative predicate *nm*.

All the above-mentioned structures which are negated by *n . . . is* are non-verbal sentences without *iw*.

The negative *n . . . is* also appears with verbal sentences *n sdm̄:f is* and *n sdm̄:n̄:f is*. Satzinger (§ 45) believes, apparently under the influence of Gunn (chap. 23), that ‘Dies scheint vor allem dann der Fall zu sein, wenn der Sinn der Satzes in Gegensatz steht zu dem vorausgehenden Gedanken’, and is mistaken in considering these sentences as negative existential sentences. In § 46 he states, ‘Den Konstruktion mit dem zuvor beschriebenen *n . . . j̄s* ist eigentümlich, daß oft ein auf *j̄s* folgender Satzteil stark hervorgehoben wird’. Sethe in his commentary on the *Pyramid Texts* (I, 2) has already observed that the negative verbal sentences with *is* do not follow Gunn’s rule. Since the negative *n . . . is* is the negation of non-verbal sentences, we may assume that the verbal sentences negated by $\overline{\text{—}}$. . . $\overline{\text{—}}$ are not regular verbal sentences. Close examination reveals that these are the Emphatic Sentences discovered by Polotsky in which the adverbial adjunct is the stressed logical predicate, and the verb form—which is a nominal form of the verb—serves as its subject. These are also non-verbal sentences without *iw*, and the negative *n . . . is* is the negation of their predicative nexus, while the negative verb *tm* serves as the negation of the verb form (‘that’-form). The

¹ Schenkel’s attempt to reconstruct the negation of the participial statement (*ZÄS* 88, 128) fails because he does not realize the importance of the particle *is*.

² In affirmative sentences *is* serves as a morpheme of subordination when there is no other grammatical means of subordination. I hope to expand on this point in future writings. It appears to me that Satzinger is aware of this; cf. p. 30, n. 32.

³ In this ostrakon *in iw* is always written instead of $\overline{\text{—}}$, even when it is incorrect.

⁴ Primarily $\overline{\text{—}}$ $\overline{\text{—}}$, cf. Satzinger, § 49. It appears to me that in a number of cases this combination serves as a negation and not as a question.

⁵ The negative word $\overline{\text{—}}$ also negates pronouns and nouns in Egyptian.

adverbial adjunct following *is* is always stressed in verbal sentences negated by *n . . . is*. I have collected 21 examples of *n sdm:nf is* and 15 examples of *n sdm:f is*, as well as 7 passive examples. I should like to cite here, in particular, the interesting examples in which the so called 'Complementary Infinitive' is found:

Pyr 350a-b, n mwt:n is T mwt, 'Not in dying did T die'. All the examples of a negative sentence with a complementary infinitive which I know of (except *Pyr. 485a*) are negated by *n . . . is*. This proves that this 'infinitive' is actually an adverb and not a noun used as an object.¹ For this construction see also: *Pyr 1385b; 810a; CT I, 286j*.

The existence of the negative *n . . . is* as a specific negation of non-verbal sentences without *iw*, and the negation of Emphatic Sentences by it, prove conclusively (contrary to Gardiner's theory) the validity of Polotsky's theory on the Second Tenses, their function (as subject to a stressed adverbial predicate), and their nature (abstract relative forms). The negative *n . . . is* is the ancestor of the late Egyptian *bn . . . iwnt* and the Coptic negative $\bar{n} . . . \alpha\pi$.

The negative $\bar{n} \bar{q} \bar{q}$ which is noted by Satzinger in § 46 was discussed extensively by Gunn, chap. 23, and Satzinger points out (§ 1) that it is the negation of expressions which do not form a complete sentence (elliptical constructions). $\bar{n} \bar{q} \bar{q}$ is the negation of the adverb in its broadest sense, and it negates adverbial phrases which constitute a part of a sentence, or form an independent sentence,² but not the negation of an adverbial sentence as Gardiner assumes in *Eg. Gr.*, § 120. In total I know of twenty-eight decisive examples. Of particular interest are the following:

A. With *sdm:f* and *sdm:nf*. These examples are limited in number, but they are of great importance. Polotsky (*Egyptian Tenses*) established that there exist in Egyptian a special category of circumstantial verb forms. The negative $\bar{n} \bar{q} \bar{q}$ is the negation of these forms—which are adverbial phrases—but only when the 'actor' is different from the 'actor' of the main sentence.³ $\bar{n} \bar{q} \bar{q} sdm:f$ is the negation of the circumstantial *sdm:f*, and $\bar{n} \bar{q} \bar{q} sdm:nf$ is the negation of the circumstantial *sdm:nf*. When the 'actor' of the circumstantial phrase is the same as that of the main sentence then the circumstantial phrase (*sdm:f* and *sdm:nf*) will be negated by *nm*+infinitive.⁴

B. I noted earlier the instances in which the negative *n . . . is* negates the predicative nexus of an Emphatic Sentence. In these cases the negation is, in essence, the negation of the adverbial predicate. Another way to negate the adverbial predicate of an Emphatic Sentence would be to use an affirmative Emphatic Sentence in which the adverbial adjunct would be negated by $\bar{n} \bar{q} \bar{q}$. This will occur generally when the emphatic verb form has two stressed adverbial adjuncts, one affirmative and the other negative; the use of *n . . . is* would negate both of them:

¹ Cf. Sethe, *Verbum*, § 720. In fact, the accusative is an adverbial case.

² In addition to *Hatnub*, 49, 8 see *Westcar*, 8, 16. These are sentences in which only the predicate is written, and they are instances of 'virtual' emphatic sentences. In Coptic $\alpha\pi$ has the same function.

³ Cf. Gunn, *Studies*, 187, exx. 5-7. The translations offered by Gunn for *n-is* as 'but not' or 'except' are acceptable in context; but they do not reflect the construction which is invariably *n-is*+adverb.

⁴ Satzinger noted this in § 61, and Polotsky also mentioned it in his lectures. In Old Egyptian the circumstantial *sdm:f* and the circumstantial *sdm:nf* are negated by $\bar{n} \bar{q} \bar{q}$, as indicated by Gunn in *JEA* 34, 27 ff. (cf. Edel's opposing view, §§ 1074, 1092 ff.). This negation is used either when the actor of the circumstantial phrases is identical to the actor of the main sentence or when he is not identical. This fact supports Gunn's assumption that the negative $\bar{n} \bar{q} \bar{q}$ is circumstantial—i.e. the circumstantial quality is inherent in it (to all appearances the negative $\bar{n} \bar{q} \bar{q}$ is not a writing of the negative \bar{n} —Satzinger, § 3 and references therein— but is different from it). On the other hand, the negative *n-is* is not adverbial but the adverbial quality is contained in the word or the phrase negated by it. Beginning with Late Egyptian the negation of the circumstantial phrase is carried out by addition of the circumstantial converter *iw* (in Coptic $\epsilon-$, $\epsilon\pi\epsilon-$) to the negative phrase. This phenomenon already exists in the Eighteenth Dynasty; cf. *Urk.* IV, 751, 9. It is possible, perhaps, to observe the following development in the negation of the circumstantial phrase: 1. a circumstantial negative + a finite verb (I shall not discuss here the nature of this verb form); 2. voiding the circumstantial negative and substituting: (a) the specific negative of adverbial phrases $\bar{n} \bar{q} \bar{q}$ + circumstantial verb form; (b) *nm*+infinitive—which is not to be found in Old Egyptian; (c) circumstantial converter + 'negated' main sentence.

- (i) Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. x, *ir·n·i nn ḏrw m wn-mꜛ n-is m nw ḏd m iwꜛt ḥrt-nꜛr*, 'In truth—and not as what is said by duty in the Necropolis—I did it all'; i.e. 'I actually did it and I am not just saying that I did it'.
- (ii) *Mo'alla* vyz (inscr. 13), *ḏd·n·i r-dr m wn-mꜛ n-is (m) iwꜛt nt ḥrt-nꜛr*, 'In truth—and not as a duty of the Necropolis—I did it'.
- (iii) *Urk I*, 147, 2–3, *rdi·n·i swt ḥrs·tw·i m iz wꜛ ḥnc ḏrw pn n mrꜛwt wnn·i ḥnc·f m st wꜛty n-is n tm·i wnn ḥr* (or: *n tm wnn ḥr* ·i) *n irt izꜛwy snw*, 'I caused myself to be buried in one tomb together with this *ḏrw* for the sake of being with him in one place and not through the non-existence of the wherewithal to make two tombs' (Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, § 40). This sentence is of special interest because it contains a 'that'-form dependent on the preposition *n* and negated by *tm* (*n tm·i wnn ḥr* ·i) and this adverbial phrase as a whole is negated by *n-is*. The finest example of this phenomenon is probably:
- (iv) Pap. Carlsberg vi, 4. 4,¹ *mk sp ḥzi ḥpr m ḥwꜛi . . . ḥpr·n n-is² m irt·n·i rḥ·n·i st r-s³ ir·tw*, 'An unfortunate incident happened in my time. And it was not by what I had done that it happened, only afterwards that I knew of it';³ cf. also *Letters to the Dead*, III. 5.

Satzinger, § 49 correctly observed that *n* is the negative counterpart of *iw*. *n . . . is* is the negative counterpart of non-appearance of *iw*. The negative *n* negates verbal sentences with *iw*, while *n . . . is* negates non-verbal sentences without *iw*. The non-verbal sentences with *iw* (adverbial sentences, including those termed by Gardiner 'the pseudo-verbal construction'), and the 'verbal' sentences without *iw*, are negated by other means, see below.

In his discussion of the negative word *n* Satzinger mentions the negative *n wnt*, which, in his opinion (§ 47) only appears in 'beigeordneten Sätzen'. It appears to me that he is mistaken; cf. Gunn, *Studies*, chap. 19. *n wnt* is one of the forms of existential negation besides *nn*, *nn wn*, and *n wnn*. The difference between them is not entirely clear to me, although it seems that it is possible to distinguish special uses for each of them. *n wnt* with a pronominal actor is to be found in *CT VII*, 293c: *n wnt·f⁴ iwꜛty wnt·f* is found in *CT V*, 36a and *CT II*, 54d in addition to *CT II*, 125 f. which is mentioned by Satzinger; for *n wnt sꜛm·n·f*, see *CT VI*, 267s, 268m; and for *ist n wnt* + passive *sꜛm·w·f*, see *CT VI*, 238o.⁵

B I. Ch. B discusses the combinations with *nn*. *nn* is a predicative negative—it is always the predicate in the sentence in which it appears—and it is adjectival in character (§ 50). *nn* serves as an existential negation, and as such it negates the adverbial sentences (§ 53) which are non-verbal sentences with *iw*.

The negative *nn wn* also serves as an existential negation (§§ 55–6), and no difference has been noted between it and the negative *nn*. The only example known to me of *nn wn* with a pronoun is Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, pl. i, l. 10, *nn wn·i*. Satzinger quotes (§ 56) a letter from Fecht in which he suggests that we regard *wn* as a participle and subject of *nn*, and not as *sꜛm·f*. It appears to me that the Ramesseum instance indicates that *nn wn* is a *nn sꜛm·f*; see also the position of the particle in *Admon.* 3, 2, *nn ms wn rmt₁ m st nb*, 'why, there are no men anywhere!' (Gunn).

B II. The negative *nn* also appears with verbal forms and primarily with *sꜛm·f* (§§ 57–9). The *sꜛm·f* in the construction *nn sꜛm·f* is a 'prospective' *sꜛm·f* which is a nominal form of the verb ('that'-form)⁶ serving as subject of *nn* (§ 57). It is the negation of the independent prospective *sꜛm·f*,⁷ which at least in the third person has an optative meaning, which is retained also in the negative *nn sꜛm·f*; *nn sꜛm·f* is not the simple future tense. The simple future tense without modal nuances is expressed by *iw·f r sꜛm*, and its negation is *nn iw·f r sꜛm*.

¹ A. Volten, *Zwei altaegyptische politische Schriften* (1945), pl. 3a.

² Pap. Pet. 1116A, rt. 120, has *ḥpr·n is*.

³ This sentence is a characteristic example of the emphatic *sꜛm·n·f* with the meaning 'und zwar', cf. Polotsky, *Rev. d'Égypt.* 11, 110, n. 1.

⁴ As the negation of *iw·f wn*. A parallel version is *n ntꜛf wn*, which is, in my opinion, the negation of the 'pseudo-verbal construction' with a *pronominal predicate*; cf. *CT VII*, 501b–c, *n wnn·f* and also *CT IV*, 18e–f. This is to be differentiated from the negation of the 'pseudo-verbal construction' with adverbial predicate, *nn sw wn–Lebensmüde*, 157.

⁵ This indicates that the active *sꜛm·n·f*-form in this construction is the circumstantial one, but it is not essentially circumstantial in its use and meaning.

⁶ Polotsky, *Orientalia* 33 (1964), 271.

⁷ *Ibid.* The dependent prospective *sꜛm·f* is negated by *tm*.

In § 60 Satzinger discusses the construction *nn sdm:n:f* whose meaning is unclear, and here also he correctly indicates that the *sdm:n:f* form is the nominal form of the verb ('eine subjunktivische Form') serving as subject of the predicate *nn*.

nn+infinitive is discussed in § 61, and Satzinger observes that the meaning of this expression is circumstantial. See above p. 210, n. 4.

nn is a 'negative' predicate. From a grammatical point of view the nexus between it and its subject—of any kind—is always affirmative. Therefore all sentences with *nn* are grammatically affirmative sentences in which the predicate *nn* serves as the existential negation of the subject or of the idea expressed by it when the subject is a complete sentence. The negative *nn* can be joined to nominal sentences,¹ and is not a later substitute for the negation of the predicative nexus of such sentences, which is *n . . . is*. The negative *nn* can be joined to *sdm:k:f*, *sdm:hr:f*, and *sdm:in:f*, whose verb form is negated by *tm* (see below). It can negate the existence of the idea expressed by an affirmative Emphatic Sentence, cf., for example, *Sin. B 75* (Satzinger, § 79 and § 67, 2), *nn tm:f ir bw nfr n hyst wnn:ty:sy hr mw:f*, 'It cannot be that he will not act favourably to the country that will be loyal to him'.

C. The negative verbs *tm* and *im*. In this chapter (§ 62 ff.) Satzinger surveys extensively the negative verbs *tm* and *im*. *tm* is the negation of the nominal forms of the verb (Sethe, *Verbum*, II, 994): infinitive, participle, relative forms, *sdm:ty:fy* and the 'that'—forms.² It should be noted that in all these cases *tm* is always the negation of a word and never the negation of a sentence (negation of the nexus), which will be affected by *n . . . is* in case of *sdm:f:pw*, and of an Emphatic Sentence with a stressed adverbial adjunct.

In § 64 Satzinger quotes Edel's opinion (§ 1125) that in Old Egyptian the passive participle is negated by an active construction of *tm*, and Satzinger points out that in Middle Egyptian the passive form of *tm* exists. I believe that the best illustration for this could have been the comparison of the sentence mentioned by Edel—*Letters to the Dead*, II, inside l. 6, *sk ir:n:f tmt iry* (Old Egyptian) in which *tmt* is a perfective active participle, with *CT VI*, 371f, *ir:n:k tmmt irw*, in which *tmmt* is a perfective passive participle, 'You did what should not have been done'.³ *tm* also negates the verb in the constructions *sdm:hr:f* and *sdm:k:f* (§ 78).⁴ For *tm:in:f sdm(?)* see *CT VII*, 97l.

The form *sdmt:f* in the construction *r sdmt:f* is also negated by *tm* (§ 77); cf. also *JEA* 52 (1966), pl. ix, l. 6.

The construction *tm:f r sdm* as complimentary to the verb *iri* 'to do', is probably found in *CT VII*, 464d, *iw ir:n:i tm ibw:sn r smht imnt*, 'I made their hearts not to forget the West'.

The negative *imy* is correctly noted by Satzinger as the negation of the jussive (a prospective *sdm:f*, § 86). It is one of the negations of the prospective *sdm:f* in its independent use.⁵ The negative *im* in the first person singular is found in *CT V*, 50 c-d⁶ and *BD* 67 (Budge, p. 149, ult.—Polotsky).

The multiplicity of negative words in Egyptian is not chaotic since the various negative words have specific meanings and uses:

1. *—* is the negation of a word: nouns, pronouns, and verbs. *n* always negates the word to which it is adjacent, and I believe that all the constructions negated by *n* (including verbal sentences) are grammatically affirmative sentences (although the meaning is negative), in which the negation is that of a word and not that of the nexus.⁷

¹ Cf. Gunn's examples in *Studies*, 170.

² The dependent prospective *sdm:f* after *ih* and *k:* and in final sentences, as well as the Emphatic *sdm:f* as a subject to stress adverbial predicates, after prepositions, as complement of certain verbs and as a part of a nominal sentence (*sdm:f pw*).

³ Cf. also *Rev. d'Égypt.* 19 (1967), pl. 9, l. 18 and its notation.

⁴ According to Thacker, *Relationship*, 244, the verb form of these constructions is a 'second infinitive'. In any case this is a nominal form of the verb and it can be assumed that it is an abstract relative. Polotsky has mentioned in his lectures that *sdm:hr:f*, *sdm:k:f* and *sdm:in:f* have no corresponding relative forms, as all other verbal constructions have, and it is possible that the reason for this is that they are themselves relative forms (abstract relatives).

⁵ The negations are *nn*, *im*, and *w*. See further below.

⁶ In *CT VII*, 470e, *im:i* is apparently a corruption of *iw:i*.

⁷ This is not as fantastic as it appears. The Late Egyptian pattern *iw:f hr tm sdm* is to be analysed similarly.

2. *tm* is the negation of a word when that word is a nominal form of the verb.
3. *n-ís* is the negation of an adverb or adverbial phrase.
4. *imy* is a negative word with modal nuances (jussive).
5. *m* (the imperative of *imy*) is the negation of the imperative. The imperative quality is inherent in *m* and not in the following verb.
6. *nn* is a negative predicate and is the existential negation.
7. *n ís* is the negation of the predicative nexus. Only non-verbal sentences without *iw* are negated in Middle Egyptian by the nexal negation.

D. In this chapter Satzinger deals with *iwty* and *iw*. *iwty* is a relative adjective and as such it can function as a substantive and an attribute. *iw*, according to Satzinger, is a 'konjunktion für den Nomensatz'. It appears to me that we should not differentiate between these two words as they seem to be the same word, *iwty*, which is the nominalization (the subordinated, substantivized form) of the negative word *n* and possibly also *nn*. *iwty* enables the negative construction to function as a substantive or an attribute. This construction was later substituted by the subordinating particle *ntt* preceding a negative sentence: *ntt* ; *ntt* , and in a case of an attribute *nty(ntt)*+negative word. *iwty* appears when the negative sentence serves as a substantive, an attribute, or a complement of certain verbs and prepositions. In my opinion Satzinger is mistaken in assuming that *iwty* preceding a verbal sentence serves exclusively as an attributive adjective and not as a substantive. In the example which he quotes (§ 97), *iwty* changes the negative verbal sentence to a substantive as he himself states in § 100. See, for instance, *CT* VI, 318j-k, *dd m n h3b iw iwty gm:k N pn iwtt gmt:k N pn*, 'Tell the one who sends you (or: sent you) that you have not found (or: you will not find) this N. . . .'¹

Nearly all of the patterns which are found with *n* are also found with its nominalized form *iwty*. In addition to the examples quoted by Satzinger see, for *iwty sdm:n-f* (§ 96), *CT* I, 385b; 404 b-c (*iwty sdm:n-f* referring to the past, parallel to *sdm:ty:fy* referring to the future); for *iwty p:f sdm*, cf. *CT* I, 84c. Instances of *iwty sp sdm:f* are relatively frequent (§ 100). For *iwty wnt:f*, cf. Satzinger §§ 48, 100, and *CT* II, 54d; v, 36e. A nominalization of the negative word in a 'negated' nominal sentence is found in *Urk.* I, 162. 6 (Satzinger, § 103).

E I. The generally accepted meaning of the negative 𓂏 is prohibition. The majority of the examples are in the second person and Satzinger quotes Edel, § 740, for an example of the first person. For an example of the third person (a noun), cf. *Mo'alla*, III, 6-7. Edel, §§ 820, 1101, mentions a negative 𓂏 (*í*) which is also mentioned by Satzinger. It appears to me that there is indeed a negative *í* which is a writing of the negative *w*. Only thus can we understand *Peas.* B2 125 (which is a case of the first person sing.): 'Then the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, caused two apparitors to go and bring him back. And this peasant was afraid, thinking that it was being done in order to punish him for this speech which he had spoken. . . . But the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, said: "Fear not, peasant. Behold thou shalt arrange to live with me",² *rđi in shty pn cnh hr wnm:i ; m t:k swi:i ; m hnkt:k r nhh*. Gardiner attempted to correct the text observing that: 'the next remark of Rensi (*s: grt í*, B2, 127) appears to imply either a refusal or else a very qualified acceptance of the high steward's first proposal'. If it is possible to understand *í* as a negative word (with the first person sing. prospective *sdm:f*) then there is no need to amend the text: 'I do not intend to eat your bread and to drink your beer forever.' The negative *w* (sometimes written *í*) is always, in my opinion, the negation of the prospective *sdm:f* in its independent use.³ A good example is found in *CT* VI, It is an affirmative construction in which *tm* negates the infinitive in the combination *hr sdm*, and not the nexus. The negative conjunctive is also grammatically an affirmative construction (*mtwf tm sdm*) as is the Clause Conjugation in Coptic (cf. Polotsky, *Orientalia*, 29, 404). In the construction *n sdm:t:f*, *n* negates the *sdm:t:f*-form as a word. The *sdm:t:f*-form must be a verbal form since it is negated by *tm* when it follows a preposition (*r tnt:f sdm*).

¹ The form *iwtt gmt:k* is strange and the question is whether we do not find here the nominalization of *n sdm:f*. For *iwtt* cf. also *CT* II, 54 i-j.

² *irr:k* is an emphatic *sdm:f* serving as subject to the adverbial predicate *r irt hnr:i*. The translation quoted is Gardiner's translation in *JEA* 9 (1923), 21.

³ Satzinger correctly states that *sdm:k w* is synonymous with *imy:k sdmw*.

23j-m with its parallel versions 34i-o and 37l, n: (CT VI, 23 j-m) *ḥm:tn w N pn m iḏwt:tn. šht:tn w N pn m šnw:tn. ḥm:tn w N pn m iḏt:tn tw ḥmt:tn nww im's*, 'Please don't catch (lit. fish) this N in your nets. Please don't snare this N in your nets. Please don't catch this N in that net of yours with which you capture the dead'. In CT VI, 34i-o m (the negation of the imperative) appears instead of *w*, and in CT VI, 37l-n *imy:k* appears. In CT VI, 29l the negative *ꜥ* is found, and it is certainly a writing of the existential negation *ꜥꜥ*.

E II. In § 107-9 Satzinger mentions constructions containing the negative word *nfr*: *nfr pw* . . . (§ 108) and *nfr:n* (§ 109). He analyses *nfr pw* . . . as a nominal sentence with *nfr* as predicate and *pw* as subject, the negative part of the sentence being in apposition to *pw*. *nfr:n* is analysed as *nfr*+Präposition *n*+Nomen-(satz). A *sdm:f* will always be a 'that'-form when it appears with *nfr:n*;¹ but, it is impossible to determine whether the emphatic verb-forms necessitate the use of *nfr:n*, or whether the use of *nfr:n* necessitates the use of the emphatic verb-forms.² In Old Egyptian, for example, there may have been a differentiation between the uses of *nfr:n* and *tm*; but in Middle Egyptian *tm* assumed almost all the uses of *nfr:n*—the latter is to be found only in rare instances. In Old Egyptian, for example, *nfr:n* negates the 'that'-form after prepositions and as a complement of certain verbs (subordinate sentences),³ whereas *tm* negates the 'that'-form which serves as subject to an adverbial predicate—Emphatic *sdm:f*—and in the construction *sdm:f pw* (main sentences).

This work by Satzinger is a notable contribution to Egyptology. I do not exaggerate when I say that this book should be studied and not merely read by every Egyptologist. MORDECHAI GILULA

Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom. By EDWARD L. B. TERRACE. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1968. 12×12 in. Pp. 172, pls. 51 (coloured), figs. 13, map, plans. Price £10. 10s. (SBN 04 709007 3).

Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom: reading this title one naturally expects to pick up a book ranging over the whole extent of Middle Kingdom painting. Upon opening it, however, one finds instead that it is devoted almost exclusively to one set of paintings, or rather one painted object: the outer coffin of a certain Djehuty-nakht, a nomarch of the Hare Nome in Upper Egypt probably in the time of Sesostris III. The title may indeed be misleading but the book is nevertheless magnificent. There are many examples of Middle Kingdom coffins in the museums of the world, but probably not one more worthy of individual publication. The execution of the drawing and painting has a delicacy of line and colouring that is exceptional, as is also the standard of the colour printing of the plates depicting it. The artist or any lover of beautiful things will find this book a most desirable possession, but its usefulness does not stop here, for unlike the ordinary run of such art publications which only offer snippets, often hackneyed, this book offers to the archaeologist a single object, the coverage of the decorated parts of which is to all intents and purposes complete.

Djehuty-nakht's outer coffin was found in his tomb at El-Bersha by Reisner in 1915. Because of the First World War it could not be sent to America until 1920. On the way it was involved in a fire at sea but fortunately escaped serious damage, and eventually arrived safely at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, where it has been on exhibition ever since. The exterior of this coffin is plain apart from the common eye and band of formulae in large hieroglyphs. It is the subject of black-and-white photographs only. The coloured plates are reserved for the highly decorated parts of the sides and head of the interior and for the two strips of funerary formulae on the underside of the lid which are written in ornamental hieroglyphs. The undecorated parts of the interior, comprising somewhat more than half of the whole, are covered with vertical lines of closely written *Coffin Texts* incised in the wood and filled in black. These texts, being outside the scope of this book are not included, but are to be found in de Buck's edition of the *Coffin Texts*.

¹ The emphatic *sdm:f*. Contrary to his practice throughout the book, Satzinger here terms this *sdm:f*, "imperfektisches *sdm-f*" nach der Präposition'.

² A similar problem exists with regard to the *nm sdm:f* in which the *sdm:f* is the prospective 'that'-form.

³ Edel's example (§ 1123) for *tm* after a preposition (*Urk.* I, 174, 3) is from the late Sixth Dynasty, and it is actually Middle Egyptian and not Old Egyptian.

The plates do, however, here and there inevitably include parts of them, so that it is possible to compare their appearance in the original with the inevitably conventionalized transcriptions of the printed edition. The paintings, which are shown on forty-four coloured plates to a sufficiently large scale to enable every detail to be seen, include an elaborate false-door; a scene in which offerings are being made to Djehuty-nakhht amongst which are finely drawn and painted representations of birds, animals, meat, vegetables, fruit, flowers, stone and pottery vessels, etc.; a fine example of the so-called *frise des objets*; offering lists; and lines of inscriptions in decorative hieroglyphs. Each of these plates is accompanied by a brief commentary calling attention to the artistic qualities and noting special points.

This book is throughout written from the point of view of the artist, of course a fully legitimate approach. The archaeological and philological aspects are only lightly touched upon. Yet such is the completeness with which the decorated portions of this coffin are published that those who are concerned with such aspects can easily find for themselves all the information they may need. The introductory matter to the plates deals briefly with the history of El-Bersha and with the circumstances of the find, after which it goes on to give, for the assistance of artist and general readers, an account of the religious ideas and art conceptions involved. It concludes with a description of the construction and painting of Djehuty-nakht's coffin in detail, and with a general survey of Egyptian painting in the Middle Kingdom. Apart from half-a-dozen coloured plates of very limited scope at the end of this book this survey is without illustration. A fair Egyptological library would be needed to follow all the descriptions given, although it must be confessed that even with such a library usually only black-and-white or mere outline illustrations would be available.

Additional apparatus for the assistance of the reader is provided in the shape of a map of Egypt, an outline of Egyptian chronology up to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, a plan and section of Djehuty-nakht's tomb, bibliography, index, and notes. The notes give adequate references, but they are numbered by chapters and all placed at the end of the book, which makes them irritatingly difficult to follow. The ample margins provided could easily have accommodated the notes on the pages concerned without either spoiling the appearance or unduly intruding on the lay reader.

A set of technical appendices gives the dimensions and museum numbers of Djehuty-nakht's outer and inner coffins and, more important still, the results of a scientific examination of the techniques of painting used, and of the chemical analyses of the pigments employed. A most valuable addition is thus made to the information provided in Lucas's *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, although the only thing actually new is the demonstration that atacamite was mixed with Egyptian Blue to make green, atacamite never having been detected before.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Second Cataract Forts. II. Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa. By DOWS DUNHAM. Boston, 1967. Pp. xviii + 195, pls. 98, maps 18. Price \$40.

With this volume Dows Dunham completes the publication of one part of the Nubian legacy of Reisner—the investigation of fortresses in the area between the Second and Third Cataracts. Although the work in the field was generally supervised by Reisner, it was in fact carried out by Noel F. Wheeler, to whose skill and knowledge just tribute is here paid. Wheeler prepared reports of the excavations, and these reports have formed the basis of Dunham's publication. To them have been added complete catalogues of finds, drawings of many of the objects including seal and stamp impressions, fragments of papyrus inscribed in hieratic of the Middle Kingdom, and a series of plates which illustrate all the important finds and much of the simple archaeological material.

Of the three forts examined here, Uronarti represented the largest undertaking, and work there extended (apart from early soundings in 1924) from late 1928 until the spring of 1930. In addition to the fort itself, there was a small palace on the island, possibly used by the Viceroy of Kush in the Eighteenth Dynasty or even by a king in the Middle Kingdom (perhaps Sesostris III). At Shalfak one month's season in 1931 was sufficient to clear the remnants of the fort, which yielded very little in the way of objects. Two months' work at Mirgissa from late 1931 to early 1932 represented only the beginning of a vast task which had unfortunately to be suspended. It was left for the French to resume the work during the recent Nubian campaign, when spectacular and remarkable results were achieved by Professor Vercoutter.

The appearance of the two volumes devoted to Reisner's excavation of the Second Cataract Forts is particularly timely in that it coincides with the preparation of many reports dealing with excavations in the same area. Once again it is proper to express the thanks of all students interested in Nubian archaeology to Dunham who has selflessly devoted so much time to this task. He has organized the surviving records, examined all the accessible material, and written reports which make available as much as can be expected of the results achieved in work carried out nearly forty years ago. As a record of excavations, the present volume has many shortcomings, but it would not be right to dwell on these in view of the difficulties under which it has been produced.

T. G. H. JAMES

A History of Egyptian Architecture. The First Intermediate Period, the Middle Kingdom, and the Second Intermediate Period. By ALEXANDER BADAWY. Pp. xxvii+272, with col. frontis. and 4 col. plates. Illus. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966. Price \$10.00.

This is the second volume of Dr. Badawy's general survey of Egyptian architecture. A third, covering the New Kingdom, has also recently appeared. The present volume deals mainly with a period which was in many ways the high-point of Egyptian culture: the tragedy is that so few architectural remains of the Twelfth Dynasty survive. Our information on certain aspects of the architecture of the First Intermediate Period and the Twelfth Dynasty—notably the rock tombs of the provincial nobility of Middle Egypt—is unusually full, owing mainly to the work of the Society's *Archaeological Survey of Egypt*. Very little, on the other hand, survives to permit a detailed study of the religious architecture of the period.

After a brief historical introduction the author classifies his material into Domestic, Religious, Funerary, and Military Architecture, followed by a brief section on Architectural Statuary and Garden Architecture. Within each category the surviving architectural remains are systematically discussed, and the evidence from the texts alluded to. For example, in the section on Private Tombs (pp. 122 ff.) the various kinds of rock tombs are classified by type, and then, working on a topographical plan, the author discusses the rock-tombs at Beni Hasan, Meir, El-Bersha, Asyût, Rîfa, Qâw, Thebes, El-Kâb, and Aswân, in most cases prefixing his account with a description of a typical tomb in each place. This is followed by a discussion, on similar lines, of the much less well-known brick mastaba-fields of the Middle Kingdom. Numerous sketch-plans, reconstructions, and photographs are provided. A useful feature (pp. 257–60) is the selection of hieroglyphs denoting architectural terms, derived from Middle Kingdom sources.

In the nature of things much of the material brought together by the author is derivative, and specialists will find parts of it a trifle uncritical. But Dr. Badawy is an Egyptian scholar who knows his ancient sites, and he has packed an extraordinary amount of valuable information within the covers of a book which is not unduly long. The volume is clearly printed and sturdily bound. The student will find it a handy compendium, and the scholar a most useful work of reference.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles. By HENRY G. FISCHER. Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers, No. 13. New York, 1968. Pp. 34, col. frontispiece, 20 pls.+text figures. Price \$6.00.

Dr. Fischer here discusses representations in Egypt of the three-clawed water-turtle (*Trionyx triunguis*). There is evidence of its use as food from the Predynastic Period until the Old Kingdom. Despite magico-religious prohibitions, dating at least from the end of the Old Kingdom, its shell and internal organs were used medicinally during the Middle Kingdom, though significantly the cures were not to be taken internally. There is abundant evidence from the New Kingdom of the manner in which the turtle was then regarded: coffins and inscriptions frequently bear the declaration: 'May Rê live and may the turtle die!', recalling the dangers which the sun-god might encounter in his nocturnal journey from this and other denizens of the Nile.

Trionyx is depicted in tomb and temple reliefs from the Old Kingdom, but most of the surviving representations are in the form of small objects, both magical and utilitarian, dating from the Predynastic Period to the Middle Kingdom. Dr. Fischer suggests that with regard to most of these objects the turtle was

'enlisted as an ally against the dangers that his species evoked', and this is certain in the case of the well-known magical wands or knives of the Middle Kingdom. He makes the interesting suggestion that the Protodynastic palettes and ivories in the form of, or bearing representations of, harmful creatures may have had a similar apotropaic function. This is almost certainly so in respect of the figurines of hippopotami of the Pre- and Protodynastic Periods and the Middle Kingdom.

Dr. Fischer devotes a chapter to a detailed discussion of a Protodynastic stone turtle in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 61. 33), describes other comparable material, and includes a most interesting examination of the deliberate mutilation of objects in Ancient Egypt.

The second part of the book (pp. 21-35) is a catalogue of objects in the form of, and of objects bearing representations of, Trionyx. The former class comprises stone vessels, stone palettes (a selection only of this large group is included), figurines, amulets (all the Metropolitan Museum specimens are here published, but otherwise the selection is 'mainly limited to amulets that are of particular interest because of their provenance, date or form'), a wooden gaming-board (?), and ivory inlays. The second category includes Naqâda I pottery vessels, button seals, ivory magical wands, a segment of a steatite magical rod, a faience cup, a terracotta bowl, and a bracelet. All of these objects are described in detail, and a full bibliography is given where appropriate. The majority are illustrated by photographs or by line-drawings, most of the latter being by the author's own hand.

The book is instructive from several points of view: archaeological, iconographic, and religious, and is characterized by the accuracy and meticulous attention to detail which is the hall-mark of all the published work of Dr. Fischer.

It is now some years since a monograph on Ancient Egypt has appeared in the excellent series of *Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers*. Dr. Fischer's work will, it is to be hoped, initiate a fruitful new era in the distinguished publishing history of the Department of Egyptian Art.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

Ancient Egyptian Glass and Glazes in the Brooklyn Museum. By ELIZABETH RIEFSTAHL. (Wilbour Monographs, 1). Brooklyn, 1968. Pp. xv+118. Col. frontispiece, 13 col. plates, 100 half-tone illustrations. Price \$9.00.

In 1964 the Governing Committee of the Brooklyn Museum established a Fellowship Programme in memory of Charles Edwin Wilbour, with the object of encouraging scholars from all parts of the world to study and eventually to publish selected groups of objects in the Department of Ancient Art. Mrs. Riefstahl inaugurates the series of publications in this far-sighted programme with her *Ancient Egyptian Glass and Glazes*.

An introduction of seven pages deals succinctly with the history of glass-making, and with the technical details of its manufacture. Glass was probably invented accidentally, in connection with the smelting of copper ore. The author rightly laments the confusing and inaccurate terminology used of glass products in archaeological publications, including the word 'faience', a term retained, *faute de mieux*, in the present Catalogue. The introductory part of the book is a corrected and expanded version of the pamphlet *Glass and Glazes from Ancient Egypt*, published by the Brooklyn Museum in 1948. That valuable booklet is by no means superseded entirely by the present Catalogue, since of the thirty-four illustrations in the pamphlet only nineteen appear in the new book, including one (no. 88 in the Catalogue) taken from a different angle. The two vessels in the centre of the group published in the pamphlet, no. 1, are not reproduced in the present Catalogue. According to the Introduction the best items in the collection only are published, 'pieces chosen for their beauty or for their significance in the development of a technique'. In view of this, it would have been a distinct advantage if a list of the Museum's holdings of ancient glass, if only in a highly abbreviated form, could have been included. Space for photographs of some of the more interesting of those objects could have been found in the blank areas surrounding many of the illustrations in the book without destroying the over-all aesthetic effect.

The objects are arranged in chronological order, and range in date from the Archaic Period to the era of Roman rule. Of the ninety-three items described and discussed by Mrs. Riefstahl in exemplary fashion we shall single out only the shrine elements (nos. 69-71) of Nectanebo II, formerly in the Abbott Collection and said to come from a tomb at Abûsîr (which of the several villages of that name is not stated, but Mr. B. V.

Bothmer informs me that all the Abbott antiquities from that site are from Abûsîr near Saqqâra). That these fragments are from a tomb may be doubted, since a naos is more likely to have formed part of the furniture of a chapel or temple. A piece comparable in style and date has been discovered recently (*JEA* 53, pl. xxv, no. 3) by the Egypt Exploration Society's expedition to Saqqâra, in a temple built or refurbished by Nectanebo II (now Cairo Museum JdE 91103). The temple is in an area of the Archaic Necropolis close to the former Lake of Abûsîr and near the modern village of that name. There is evidence that underground galleries connected with the temple complex have been entered, even within living memory, and one wonders if the Brooklyn fragments could have come from that site. No tombs of the Thirtieth Dynasty are known in the desert behind Abûsîr.

Mr. Bothmer has drawn the reviewer's attention to other inlaid shrine fragments in the British Museum. One of them, 11¼ inches in height (no. 37496) bears the cartouche of Darius,¹ and therefore antedates the Brooklyn pieces, being the earliest certainly dated mosaic glass. The object in Bologna, mentioned as the earliest dated example by Mrs. Riefstahl (p. 109), bears the cartouche of a King Seh[er]jibrêç, probably a local dynast, whose position in the Late Period is not certain. Yoyotte (mentioned by Habachi, *ZAS* 93, 74) favours a date in the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty. The British Museum fragment was presented in 1891 by Captain Rainier. According to a note on the back he obtained it from Lord Prudhoe.

The book is beautifully printed and bound. The illustrations are of high quality throughout, as one might expect of the Brooklyn Museum, and include some excellent colour examples which, however, often duplicate black-and-white photographs in the same Catalogue. Each piece is annotated, and comparative material is cited where appropriate. Full bibliographical references for each object are given, and a select bibliography of works dealing with glass, excluding technical works and items in languages other than English, is also included. The book ends with concordances of Catalogue and Brooklyn Museum numbers, and of objects in other museums mentioned in the Catalogue.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle. By J. ZANDEE. Mededelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux', xv, Leiden, 1966. Pp. 79. Price 20 guilders.

The Egyptians seem to have enjoyed making puzzles out of their hieroglyphic script. The so-called 'cryptic writing' appears already in the early Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Ḥasan, and later they devised a less frustrating but equally ingenious type of inscription in the form of the crossword. It is a specimen of this latter type which Professor Zandee discusses in the present book, namely a stela from the tomb of Nebwenenef, appointed high priest of the Theban Amûn in the first year of the reign of Ramesses II. In this example, a comparatively simple one, the horizontal lines of the main inscription are crossed in the middle by a vertical column, the signs in which can be read either as part of the horizontal text or as forming an independent vertical column, an effect which must have called for much care on the part of the designer in spacing the signs. The author gives us both a photograph of the stela as a frontispiece and a very necessary hand-copy of the main text; the latter also can not have been easy to draft. Other examples of these crosswords are known, of which the one described in this book is the oldest, and Zandee gives on p. 6 of his book a copy of part of B.M. stela 194,² in which the inscription consists entirely of small squares, each line of which can be read either vertically or horizontally—surely the last word in ingenuity.

The author gives us a brief general description of Nebwenenef's stela, followed by an excellent hand-copy of the text, a translation into English, with references to an article by Clère on similar texts and with a translation of that part of B.M. 194 which he illustrates. He also provides an almost too elaborate Commentary on the text of Nebwenenef, in which he discusses each individual phrase with great detail, with a multitude of references. Some points in the translation of Nebwenenef's inscription might be noted:

1. 1, *pr m ht*. This phrase is almost certainly participial, 'who came forth from the womb'; Zandee's 'when he was born' would require either *prf* or more probably *iwf pr(w)* (old perfective).

1. 4, *m hwt b; b; cnh nb cnpt*. Zandee has overlooked that there is a second reference to the ram; read 'in the House of the Ram, the living ram lord of Mendes'.

1. 6, *h; m st; pt*; 'high on the supports of the sky' rather than just 'high in heaven'.

¹ Dr. I. E. S. Edwards kindly supplied the details.

² To be published in *JEA* 57 (Ed.).

l. 7, 'his enemies have been submitted to him on his behalf' is a somewhat unusual translation of *rdyww n:f hftyw:f hr:f*; here the literal rendering 'his enemies have been put beneath him for his benefit' is to be preferred, since, as Zandee himself points out on p. 44, the Egyptians envisaged the foes of god or king as being literally trodden under foot.

l. 10, *hry nst*; this means 'who is on the throne', i.e. its present occupant; 'heir' would require *iwew*.

l. 11, 'Anubis is with him, *ewy:f hr kst hr smnh h'w* his hands being at work ennobling [his] body' seems a closer approximation to the sense than '(putting) his hands on the work (of mummification), attending his body'; the meaning 'attend' is not recorded for *smnh*, and the whole phrase *hr smnh h'w* (rather than . . . *ewt*) seems to be a definition of *kst* rather than a separate epithet of Anubis.

Following on the Commentary, which occupies 54 pages out of a total of 79, we have a short section entitled 'Conclusions', which deals mainly with the aspects of Osiris displayed by the text of the stela under discussion, and a general index, one of Egyptian words, and a third of references, important matters which do not always receive the attention which is their due. In sum, this book is a useful study of an interesting inscription, of which the main criticism is that the Commentary is rather overweighted with discussions of familiar matters.

R. O. FAULKNER

Les Dieux de l'Égypte. By FRANÇOIS DAUMAS. *Que sais-je?* No. 1194. Pp. 126; 33 figs. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1965. Price 6s.

This little handbook of Egyptian religion belongs to a series which is a French counterpart of the pocket Pelican series published in this country, and will serve well as an introduction to a vast subject. Chapters I and II deal briefly with the sources of our knowledge of Egyptian religion and with the way in which the Egyptians thought of their gods. Chapters III and IV deal with the separate cult-centres in turn, going from south to north, with numbered line-drawings of the more important deities and of certain cult-objects. These drawings, however, are set out in modern alphabetic order in groups of nine, and are often some way removed from the accounts of the deities they represent; this is a handicap to the reader, who has to hark back or forward for a picture of any particular god. Chapter V discusses the lesser deities who had no official cults, but whose worship was widespread among the people, such as Thoueris, Meskhenet, and Bes; the deified human beings; and Mā'et, goddess of truth and justice. Finally, the author turns to the question of monotheism in Egypt, and he follows Drioton in supposing the existence of a tolerant monotheism among some of the more highly educated Egyptians from at least the early Middle Kingdom onward, and the present reviewer accepts this view. The wider spread of this idea may well have been brought to a halt by the revulsion against the exclusive monotheism of Akhenaten, which was imposed on the nation from above.

In general, this book fulfils its purpose well, and the author seems to have a more sympathetic outlook on Egyptian religion than some earlier writers on this topic. It is, however, a pity that he refers to the periods of Egyptian history without any indication of date, which does not help the uninitiated reader. There is a brief bibliography, but no index.

R. O. FAULKNER

Der verzierte Löffel, seine Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Alten Ägypten. By INGRID WALLERT. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Bd. 16. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1967. 12 × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. vii + 151, pls. 39, figs. 4. Price DM 56.

Frl. Wallert is to be congratulated on the industry with which she has gathered together into a comprehensive monograph the 381 decorated spoons from ancient Egypt which exist in the public and private collections of Africa, America, and Europe. Her book falls into four sections: a classification and historical account which follows such spoons from their first appearance in Badarian times through the high point of the late Eighteenth Dynasty to their disappearance in the days of Alexander the Great, an investigation into their purpose and use, a detailed catalogue, and a set of monochrome plates which illustrate more than a quarter of all the known specimens.

The classification distinguishes three basic types. These are a bowl grasped by a hand, an *ṛnh*-type and a type modelled on the hand mirror. The first of these goes back to the primitive mussel shell held in the hand which develops into such elaborations as the swimming girl who, acting as the handle, pushes the spoon-bowl before her. The second type has the loop of the *ṛnh* as its bowl whilst the lower part forms the handle which takes on such shapes as the god Bes, a desert animal, a girl musician, a girl with a lotus-flower, or even of a bouquet. The third type has the mirror as its bowl, the handle having such shapes as a Ḥathor-head or papyrus flowers.

In ancient Egypt the spoon did not serve the multifarious purposes that it does in our own days. FrI. Wallert demonstrates that, far from being a cosmetic article as is generally thought, it was a cult implement used for ladling or, since many specimens have lids to the bowls, containing small quantities of such substances as myrrh or wine when making offerings to the gods. This use is indicated by texts and scenes and by the occurrence of spoons in the tombs of men and children and not especially women.

The catalogue is particularly valuable. It is arranged collection by collection and gives for each decorated spoon a description, the material of which it is made, its size, origin, and the references to it which are to be found in Egyptological literature.

FrI. Wallert has produced a sound and thoroughly useful piece of work. We must all be grateful to her for providing us with so excellent an archaeological tool.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Rameside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical. Vol. II, fasc. 1; and vol. IV, fasc. 1. By K. A. KITCHEN. B. H. Blackwell Ltd., Oxford, 1969 and 1968. 11 × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 64 and 32. Price 30s. and 15s.

I have long been of the opinion that all ancient Egyptian texts should eventually be made available in a corpus in the format of the *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*. Consequently I am very happy indeed to be able to welcome the appearance of two fascicules of a publication on similar lines intended to cover in six volumes the 'principal hieroglyphic texts of the 19th. and 20th. Dynasties'. To these a seventh volume is to be added which will contain addenda and indexes.

The fascicule from volume two has three items from the time of Ramesses II. The first two items only occupy one page, the remaining 63 pages contain the first 201 paragraphs of the Battle of Kadesh with all the existing versions presented in parallel. This means that we have the exciting prospect of having, as soon as the succeeding fascicule appears, a complete edition of this important text for home use which will be reasonable both in size and in price.

The fascicule from volume four contains fourteen items from the time of Merenptah, the most important of which are the 'Amada Stela, the Libyan War Inscription from Karnak, the Israel Stela in both the Cairo and the Karnak versions, the Athribis Stela, and finally a dedicatory stela from Hermopolis with a Festival Song of Thoth.

It is to be hoped that further fascicules of this promising publication will appear with all speed.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Late Rameside Letters. By EDWARD F. WENTE. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation, No. 33. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1967. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. xii + 85. Price 45s.

The fifty or so letters dating from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, which were published in hieroglyphic transcription by Černý as long ago as 1939 have remained a closed book to all but those who are familiar with Late Egyptian. Even for these the absence of a translation and a critical study has militated against the full utilization of the material provided, since the letters present many problems both of language and content. Wente has now come along and given to us a pioneer translation, complete and most painstaking. To his translation of each letter he has added a set of notes, often extensive, in which he discusses the meanings of individual words, numerous points of grammar and syntax, as well as giving his reasons in cases of difficulty for the rendering upon which he decides. These notes are quite invaluable and greatly add to the debt of gratitude under which he has placed us by producing this book.

The author confesses that his main interest in undertaking this task was philological. This unfortunately shows through in what I may perhaps call an 'Egyptianizing' tendency in the English. To quote an example or so:

'for it is from that which is scattered about in the fields that you shall have (grain) brought in, whereas that which is in the magazines is left to remain in its place.' (p. 27, 11th line from bottom),

'and may your brethren . . . see you having returned, alive, etc.' (p. 33, 3rd line from bottom of first paragraph),

'Now as for your having said the matter of the letters of yours about which you said . . .' (p. 37, 8th line from bottom).

For these I would suggest the alternatives:

'for you shall have that which is scattered in the fields brought in, while that which is in the store-houses can remain where it is.',

'and may your brethren . . . see you returning alive etc.',

'Now as for the statement which you made (about) the matter of these letters of yours, of which you said—'.

Normally this would be a small matter, but here we have a set of very human letters from over three thousand years ago which cannot fail to be of interest to students and even general readers beyond the narrow confines of Egyptology. In such a case this method of translation reduces clarity, and may well give rise to difficulties or even misconceptions.

In addition to his translations Wenté has written an initial chapter entitled 'Chronology of the Letters', to which he has appended a 'Tabular Summary of Chronology' in which he lists the letters in the order in which he suggests they may have been sent. Incidentally there is a misprint in this summary in that letter no. 17 was written by Pentahures, not Paiankh. This is a chapter of some daring and considerable success in which an analysis is made of the contents of the letters with a view not only of arranging them in order but also of elucidating the nature and extent of their interrelationship.

It is quite clear that this correspondence, widely scattered though it now is, once belonged to a single file or files stored in one place, probably Dêr el-Medîna, where it must have been found. Indeed I am reminded of a passage in Letter no. 9 which says, with regard to some documents that had suffered damage, 'We deposited (them) in the tomb of Amennakht, my (great-grand) father'. However, no records exist, for not one of these letters was found in scientific excavation. The actual dating cannot be fixed exactly since only ten dates appear in the whole series of these letters, and of these only two are year-dates; Year 2 and Year 10, no king being named. This Year 10 Wenté suggests belongs to the *whm-mswt* era, saying, 'it would be equivalent to a Year 28 of Ramesses XI—though I have been unable to prove to my own satisfaction that a Year 10 of the Tanite ruler Smendes is entirely out of the question'. The writers of the letters are the scribes of the Theban Necropolis, Dhutmose and his son Butehamun, the general Paiankh (who is known to be the son of the high-priest Hrihor), and a few other connected persons. Their affairs make most interesting reading, greatly helped by Wenté's analysis.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Egypt from the death of Ramesses III to the end of the Twenty-First Dynasty. Vol. II, ch. xxxv of the revised *Cambridge Ancient History*. By J. ČERNÝ. Pp. 60. Cambridge University Press, 1965. Price 6s.

This is an outstanding chapter. Professor Černý has spent most of his scholastic life in the study of the difficult Egyptian documents of the late New Kingdom, his intimate knowledge of which enables him to give a vivid picture of the whole fabric of political and social life in Egypt in those times.

He has arranged his material under six heads: I. The last Ramessides; II. Incursions of the Libyans and their settlement in Egypt; III. Workmen of the King's tomb; IV. High priests of Amun and Viceroy of Nubia; V. Hrihor and Ramesses XI; VI. The Twenty-First Dynasty. This division enables Professor Černý to give compact treatment to various aspects of political, official, religious, social, and workaday life, while maintaining chronological progression in his story. The student will especially welcome his summary

of the daily life of the gangs of workmen of the village of Deir el-Medina who excavated the royal tombs, with its many fascinating details, for it provides a foretaste of his long-projected book on the subject. Even more valuable to the historian are the large number of unpublished sources referred to in the notes, many of which help to clear up unsolved problems of historical and chronological detail. Because of the paucity of the evidence, the account of the Twenty-First Dynasty is less wide-ranging, but the careful disentanglement of the dynastic history and chronology of this period will be a boon to all.

Indeed, the only possible regret is that the limitations of space inevitable in a contributory work like the Cambridge Ancient History have not allowed Professor Černý to discuss more fully certain basic issues that affect the interpretation of Egyptian cultural history, to which the documents of this period offer some clues. I allude to such matters as the system of land tenure, the organization of taxation and corvée and conscription, the structure of the administration, the interplay between military and civil office, the relationship of temple and state, the interaction of state decrees and case law founded on earlier decisions, and the sources of political power, especially during the later Ramesside Period when the titular rulers were evidently no longer in full control. His views on the way in which the religious ethos and practice of the day affected public and private life in the state would also have been of great interest. The strict division of topics between contributors has meant, too, that Egyptian activity in Palestine in the Twenty-First Dynasty is considered almost exclusively from the evidence of Egyptian written sources, although as usual Černý succeeds in extracting new information from these. But such regrets are vain and out of place; gratitude for the excellent and enlightening chapter which Professor Černý has given us must inspire the hope that he will be able later to discuss this fascinating period in the full light of the mass of detailed information, much of it unpublished, which he alone controls.

H. S. SMITH

History and Settlement in Lower Nubia By B. G. TRIGGER. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 69, New Haven, 1965. Pp. viii+224. Price not given.

Even before the recent archaeological campaign sponsored by UNESCO, Egyptian Nubia was perhaps the most intensively surveyed and excavated area of its size in the world. This work is a highly laudable attempt to utilize the knowledge so acquired to study culture patterns and demography throughout the history of Lower Nubia. It has been one of the stranger features of the historiography of the Nile Valley that, despite this wealth of available evidence, although many individual studies of aspects of Lower Nubian history, geography, and culture have been published, this is the first integrated attempt to interpret the economic, social, and political history of the native Nubian cultures from the introduction of a food-producing economy down to the Muslim conquest. Dr. Trigger is to be congratulated on his enterprise and its results.

As he is primarily a cultural anthropologist, he studies the Lower Nubian cultures mainly in terms of their environmental, ecological, technological, demographic, economic, and religious background. This is an approach not utilized on Nubian material until the recent work of Dr. W. Y. Adams for the Sudan Antiquities Service under the UNESCO campaign. The particular 'concept' used by Trigger for this study is that of the 'settlement pattern', as developed in America by Willey, Sears, White, Meggers, Chang, and others. Indeed, it is evident that one of the author's main motives in writing the book was to show the value of this 'concept' in eliciting new cultural information concerning a region with a long history documented by ancient written sources.

This approach tends to be suspect among historians, owing to the methods of some of its practitioners. Dr. Trigger has, however, a respect for the value of documentary sources, and though he does not attempt to control them at first hand, in general he accurately presents their evidence as far as it affects his theme, and judiciously balances rival interpretations of them. His bibliography is satisfactory, and it is a chief merit of his work that he brings together and re-interprets a coherent body of information not assembled elsewhere. For this reason the work will be of great service, especially to students and to those engaged on the publication of sites investigated during the recent UNESCO campaign.

It is because of the general use that will undoubtedly be made of this book that I offer here one methodological criticism. Trigger has not radically re-examined Reisner's original grouping of the Lower Nubian archaeological material, nor the bases for the assignment of material to Reisner's groups by later excavators.

In general he accepts excavators' datings and identifications of their material, modifying them only where there have been published rebuttals, as in the case of the 'Egyptian cemetery' at Kerma. The Lower Nubian material has been published mainly in summary catalogue form and is very incompletely illustrated; Reisner's basic terminology has been differently interpreted and differently used by different writers, and never reviewed. Re-appraisal of the evidence is thus a requisite preliminary to the type of work Trigger has undertaken. Indeed, what is needed in Nubian archaeology (and even more imperatively in Egyptian archaeology) is the re-examination and review of the original archaeological material collected over the past eighty years in the light of more recent knowledge and techniques of observation and analysis, and its reassessment, from chronological, technological, and other aspects. Then and only then shall we be able safely to integrate new work with old, and enjoy the full harvest of information. Men of the stature of Petrie, Reisner, Brunton, and Junker never intended that their typologies, classifications, and archaeological groupings should be accepted as having permanent validity; they worked in the confidence that these tools would be constantly revised, re-analysed and tested in the field. Through a variety of factors, this has hardly been done; and while new judiciously planned field-work carried out with more advanced techniques is essential, the review of old material is equally important to provide the background against which the new should be judged. Dr. Trigger cannot be blamed for not having found the time for the immense task of re-examining the original material discovered in the successive Nubian archaeological campaigns, as access is in some cases very difficult. Nor would it be fair to expect that he should have re-analysed in the necessary detail over such a wide field the information (often defective) available in publications. The fact remains that such re-examination, when undertaken, shows that there are errors and deficiencies, as is very natural, in the excavators' original classification of the material. Dr. Bietak's recently published study of the 'C-group' makes it clear that much greater precision in dating is possible; that some of the material described as 'C-group' is in fact identical with that of the 'pan-grave' cemeteries in Egypt, identified by him with those of Meḡay. Studies to be published by Dr. O'Connor make it clear that the entities referred to by various scholars as 'Late C-group' are in fact disparate, and suggest important changes in the chronology of the Nubian groups during the Second Intermediate Period. In a recently published paper¹ I have re-analysed the conglomerate of material ascribed to Reisner's 'B-group', and endeavoured to show that there is no sound basis for dating any of this cemetery material to the period between the end of the First and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, and that it is doubtful whether there was any *settled* population in the Lower Nubian valley during this time. The 'Predynastic' and 'A-group' phases in Lower Nubia can certainly be more precisely articulated than Dr. Trigger's division into Early Nubian Ia, Ib, and II allows, and re-analysis would alter his attribution of cemeteries to these phases considerably. I also doubt whether some of his distinctions between 'Nubian' and 'Egyptian' cemeteries of the early New Kingdom Period—admittedly a delicate distinction—would stand close scrutiny.

The importance of these reservations is that they closely affect the most original section of the book, which contains a brave attempt to assess the population of Lower Nubia throughout the various phases of the country's history. Dr. Trigger is very properly cautious in stressing the uncertainties in the bases of his estimates, and does not claim more for his figures than that they show the trends in population. Nevertheless, I think that the factors mentioned above have caused important distortions in his figures; in particular, the decline in settled population in the Old and New Kingdoms was in my view much sharper than his figures suggest, and I am very doubtful whether the Middle Kingdom saw the steady increase in native population his figures indicate. These changes, if eventually accepted, would somewhat affect Dr. Trigger's final conclusions about the factors, ecological, technological, economic, and political, that may have affected Nubian settlement; my own view is that deliberate Egyptian policy during their periods of occupation had a much more drastic effect than he infers. I think it is also important that it should be realized that the new terminology proposed by Trigger for the Nubian archaeological groups down to the New Kingdom does not in fact represent a revised structure based on reconsideration of all the available evidence, but largely a renaming of entities as defined in the old literature. While a new terminology for the earlier periods of Nubian history will doubtless be eventually desirable, I think it will be better to await the results of the re-analyses at present being undertaken and the publication of the results of the recent archaeological campaign. The adoption of Dr. Trigger's Early and Middle Nubian phases now, neat as they look, appears

¹ In *Kush*, 14, 69 ff.

to me unlikely to improve understanding and to be a possible cause of confusion later in a field already sufficiently confused.

Dr. Trigger's work is an able, stimulating, and original study that has many new and interesting suggestions to offer concerning the cultures of Nubia, which deserve the discussion they cannot be accorded here, and it will long remain an essential reference work. It is because of its merits, not its defects, that the above criticism has been made. Its application of new ideas and methods to cultural material from the Nile Valley can only be welcomed; I hope that Dr. Trigger and his colleagues will go on to apply them to material from Egypt.

H. S. SMITH

Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum. I. Mummies and Human Remains. By WARREN R. DAWSON and P. H. K. GRAY. London. The Trustees of the British Museum, 1968. Frontis., pp. xiii + 44, pls. 37. Price £6.

This is the first in a series of volumes which, in the words of the Preface, 'will be devoted to objects which either are uninscribed or, if inscribed, would not be classified primarily as written documents'. The title is a concise description of the contents and for details of the decoration, religious scenes, and texts which occur on the coffins and cartonnage cases here illustrated we must await a separate volume in the series. The British Museum was founded in 1753, when Sir Hans Sloane offered his collection to the nation for £20,000, thus forming the nucleus of the Museum. Within two years the first donation of a mummy (no. 6696; 36 in the present catalogue) was recorded from Colonel William Lethieullier. This mummy, even at that date, had been in the country thirty-three years and therefore has personal claims to antiquity in the history of British Egyptology. Tradition would place another mummy (no. 6957; 54 present catalogue) even earlier as the property of Nell Gwyn; but it was not presented to the Museum until c. 1837.

The purpose of the present catalogue is to publish for the first time the radiographic examinations of the mummies and other human remains in the Department carried out by Dr. Gray. It is curious to reflect that Petrie made use of radiographs as early as 1898,¹ within three years of Röntgen's discovery of X-rays.² Even more curious is the fact that Petrie omitted to make any mention of the X-ray plates he illustrated in his text, and never, apparently, pursued further the possibilities opened to him by X-rays. Other pioneers utilized X-rays in examining Egyptian mummies, e.g. R. L. Moodie in 1931,³ but such examinations were only of the occasional specimens, never of a complete collection. It has been left to Peter Gray to begin the detailed examination of individual collections and this catalogue is the first to appear between hard covers.⁴

Radiography adds a wealth of information to the study of mummies and embalming techniques. It can correct many errors of attribution, not only of period but also estimations of age at death when outward appearances are often deceptive, and even sex. Medical evidence obtained by radiography sheds fresh light on the physiology and health of the ancient Egyptians. In the present catalogue of 78 mummies and other human remains the evidence is that the majority died before reaching the age of forty; generally the adults were of slight build and short in stature and lines of arrested growth (Harris's lines) on the leg bones point to frequent illness in the formative years. One point of perpetual interest with regard to mummies and which can rarely be answered, even by radiography, is 'how did he or she die?' Unless the deceased met their end in exceptional circumstances, e.g. the King Seqenenrē of the Seventeenth Dynasty,⁵ it is hard to state categorically the cause of death. Mummy 21810 (66 in the present catalogue, and possibly the best-known

¹ W. M. F. Petrie, *Deshasheh* (London, 1898), pl. xxxvii.

² W. C. Röntgen, 'Ueber eine neue Art von Strahlen', *SB phys.—med. Ges. Würzburg*, 1895, 132–41.

³ R. L. Moodie, *Roentgenologic Studies of Egyptian and Peruvian Mummies* (Chicago, 1931).

⁴ Other collections that Gray has published are Leiden: 'Radiological Aspects of the Mummies of Ancient Egyptians in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden', *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden* 47 (Leiden, 1966), 1–30, with 31 plates; Liverpool (in collaboration with Dorothy Slow): 'Egyptian Mummies in the City of Liverpool Museums', *Liverpool Bulletin, Museums Number*, 15 (Liverpool, 1968), 1–76, with 101 photographs.

⁵ G. E. Smith, *The Royal Mummies* (Cairo, 1912), 1–6, pl. ii, iii; 'It is clear that Saqnounri [Seqenenrē] met his death in an attack by at least two and probably more persons armed with at least two (probably three or more) implements, one of which was probably an axe and another a spear.'

example in the collection), the Greek youth Artemidorus, is the only one amongst those examined whose cause of death may possibly be indicated. It is feasible that the severe stellate fracture of the vault of the skull seen on plate xxxvi(a) was suffered *ante mortem*. This is the type of wound that one might expect as the result of a heavy blow with a weighted weapon, a heavy stick or the like. The painted cartonnage (almost a 'technicolour sepulchre') also hides a jumble of bones, all the ribs being dislocated and the spinal column in disorder.

It is not only medical evidence that good X-rays can produce. The technique obviously allows for the detailed examination and location of any extraneous items within the wrappings, on the body surface, or within the body cavity (although in the last instance certain packing materials, such as sand, are radio opaque). No museum, however, is prepared to destroy a well-wrapped mummy or a beautifully painted cartonnage in the hope of finding amulets and similar items of interest. Some very pleasant surprises have come to light in several of the British Museum specimens which would otherwise have remained unsuspected and unknown. The priestess Tjntmutengebtiu (22939; 15 present catalogue) of the Twenty-first Dynasty provides such an example. Her cartonnage (plate v(a)) is very fine indeed, but her X-rays (plates xxiv (a-c)) show, albeit a little indistinctly as printed, that she had a series of amulets and pectorals laid either directly on the body or on the innermost wrappings. They include a human-headed bird at her throat, a falcon with outstretched wings (probably of metal) over her breast-bone, an oval plate probably engraved with a *bnw*-bird, a small heart-scarab, a flank-incision plate, etc. Over the feet is a pectoral with a winged scarabaeus propelling a sun disc before it and a smaller disc between its hind legs. This is but one example from the collection where the use of radiographs has shown the location of amulets and pectorals. A mummiform object apparent on the radiographic plate taken of the legs of no. 6659 (38 present catalogue) was removed and found to be a pottery shawabti-figure eight inches long. Such 'surgery' can at times be carried out without inflicting too much damage to the specimen, but in many instances, such as no. 22939, it would not be feasible to remove objects without causing severe damage to the mummy's wrappings; the radiographic record must stand alone as witness of what lies below the wrappings.

The information which this catalogue contains, and there is a wealth of it, is presented in strict catalogue style—the catalogue part cannot be recommended for general reading, a purpose for which it was not intended. Each entry follows a set pattern, giving the basic information required: number, name and titles (where known), date, provenance, length, and date of acquisition, as well as references to the plates. The medical details then follow. Numerous notes add valuable references and comments. These latter, other than the medical remarks, are the work of the late Warren Dawson. He has contributed a thirteen-page Introduction on embalming and mummies, with especial reference to those specimens in the British Museum collection. Dawson was the doyen of studies in mummification, a link with the early days of the study through his friendship and collaboration with Sir Grafton Elliot Smith.¹ It is pleasant to be able to record that he saw an advance copy of this, his last work, just before his death from a stroke in his eightieth year. The variety of types in the British Museum collection was such that he was able to find examples of mummies of most periods to act as references in his résumé of the history of embalming in Egypt. In broad categories the numbers of the examples represented are: Predynastic and Archaic Periods, 9; Middle Kingdom, 4; Late Period, 25; Ptolemaic, 16; and Roman, 24. It is rather unfortunate that there is a long gap with no examples to represent the New Kingdom, which is, of course, strongly represented in Cairo by the bodies from the two great royal caches of 1881 and 1898.² It was their examination, without the use of X-rays (except in the instance of Tuthmosis IV), that added so much to our knowledge of the craft of mummification at its height, as applied to the highest in the land.

The catalogue has a large page size, 35.5 × 28 cm., which contains more information than one might initially think from the low number of pages shown in the bibliographical details above. Similarly, the frontispiece and thirty-seven plates do in fact illustrate 145 photographs. The photographs of the actual specimens are very well produced but, unfortunately, a number of the X-ray plates leave much to be desired in the manner in which they have been reproduced. A probable unfamiliarity with the manufacture of good-quality blocks from X-ray plate originals has led the block-makers to lose much of the fine detail apparent on the original plates. The result is over-exposure in the reproductions and an unhappy, white-cotton-wool

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

² G. E. Smith, *The Royal Mummies* (Cairo, 1912).

effect in many instances in the printed illustrations. The volume is large to handle, in view of its slimness, and one can only presume that it has been produced to this size and format to achieve a uniform page-size with subsequent volumes, where large reproduction areas may be required. In the present catalogue exterior views of the mummies are found lined up four abreast on the page, horizontally as the page is opened. A smaller page format could have easily been achieved, and thereby easier handling, without any of the illustrations having to be reproduced any smaller than their present size.

This forerunner of what is obviously going to be a major series, indispensable in every Egyptologist's library of reference works, is indeed welcome. One immediately asks, 'How long will it be before we can expect the companion volume on the coffins and cartonnages, and the subsequent volumes?' Not long we hope, although it is clear that the rate of production depends on the availability of good scholars to write the individual volumes. Further volumes expected in the relatively near future will be on the model ships and boats and glass. Now that the first volume is with us we can only say to the Trustees that the Egyptological world awaits its fellows.

PETER A. CLAYTON

Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau, Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus ptolemäischer Zeit. By KARL-THEODOR ZAUSICH. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto, Band 19. Wiesbaden, 1968. Two volumes. Band I; Text, pp. 1-241; II, Anmerkungen, Indices, Tabellen der Anlage, pp. 245-337. Price DM 50.

Dr. Zausich has used the corpus of Ptolemaic demotic sale and cession documents in an attempt to show that the documents from any given site have sufficient similarities to indicate a scribal tradition. The material available comes from three geographical areas: Memphis and the Faiyûm (Philadelphia and Tebtunis), the Theban area (including Gebelein and Armant), and Edfu. Unfortunately, the difficulties inherent in any comparison of documents from different sites are considerable owing to the scarcity of texts from some sites and the widely separated dates of some archives.

The material consists of 159 texts, of which 122 come from the Theban area, 26 from Edfu and only 11 from the combined cities of Memphis, Philadelphia, and Tebtunis. The sliding scale of dates is also a problem, for while there is no material from Philadelphia later than 213 B.C. and none from Edfu later than 211 B.C., the Gebelein texts do not begin until 163 B.C. and the two texts from Tebtunis date from 100 B.C. and 97 B.C.

In spite of this diversity, however, Dr. Zausich has produced a valuable reference work. Particularly welcome are his up-to-date translations and transliterations of many of the Louvre papyri for which Revilout did the pioneer work. In almost all cases he has been able to work from photographs instead of the hand copies which accompany the original publications. In addition, he has published two new Theban documents, P. Mainz δ and ϵ , though without full annotations. There is a wealth of information and further references contained in the notes in the second volume which is concluded by an exemplary series of indices.

As the title indicates, the investigation is three-sided. The first section deals with the construction of the texts, the order in which the legal clauses are written and which clauses are used in different places. There follows a study of the precise wording of these clauses in which there are many variations from place to place. This information is also tabulated in the two enormous tables in the second volume, and it is possible to see that in various places there might be a fixed form of words which could last for several generations. Edfu, for instance, has a strong and distinct tradition. On the other hand, although the texts from the Theban area show a different tradition from those of the other two areas, it is difficult to separate the traditions of Thebes, Gebelein, and Armant. This is hardly unexpected in view of their proximity. In fact the only surprising conclusion in this study is the similarity of certain aspects of phraseology in the archives from Philadelphia and Edfu. All but the most general conclusions are bedevilled by the realization that so often, even after the most detailed analysis, one cannot state for certain that a point of difference has juristic significance rather than being a scribal error.

The third section concerns the script, and incorporates graphological techniques used for Roman and German characters. The discussion of palaeography and the plates and examples are, paradoxically, both welcome and disappointing. Welcome because Dr. Zausich has included samples of the hands of

ninety-eight notaries and has approached these in a scientific manner; but disappointing because time and space have so circumscribed his selection of words as to make their comparison of slight significance.

It is obvious to all demotists that an orthographic palaeography of demotic is a pressing need. However, the photographs in many text publications are not of a sufficiently high quality to work on palaeographically. An accurate and lasting palaeography will only be the result of the study of separate full-size photographs and the collation of these with the papyri. Unless these requirements are met, any work done will be a mere compromise and of temporary value. It is to be hoped that future editors of texts can be encouraged to pay increasing attention to the palaeography of their texts.

However, Dr. Zauzich must be congratulated for this most useful addition to the *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*.
G. R. BIGGS

A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts. By LOUIS V. ŽABKAR. (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, No. 34.) Chicago, 1968. Pp. xiv + 163, 6 pls. No price stated.

Professor Žabkar has published articles on various themes relating to ancient Egyptian religion, including studies of the 'Amarna theology and of the Egyptian idea of immortality as described by Herodotus. Here he addresses himself at some length to a basic problem and comprehensively includes the evidence of all periods. His chapter-headings are 'The Ba and the Gods', 'The King and the Ba', 'The Ba in the Coffin Texts', 'The Ba in Didactic Literature', and 'The Ba in the New Kingdom and Later Periods'. Conclusions are then summarized. The earliest basic meaning is found to be 'the manifestation of the power of a deceased king or god' or, alternatively, 'the king or god himself in a state in which his power is manifest'. Whereas the *ba* is found to apply primarily, in non-mortuary texts of the Middle and New Kingdoms, to the living king and the gods, the mortuary texts of the same eras are said to reveal the predominant meaning of 'the alter ego of the deceased'. When the term is applied to ancient cities, the reference is found to be to the divinized dead kings of these cities. Here the word is found in the plural, as one might expect; but the plural is also often used with reference to one king, and this usage is seen as an 'intensification' of the singular meaning. The translation 'soul' is firmly rejected, since the *ba* which emerges at death is represented as corporeal in nature. Even in Ptolemaic and Roman times a saying like 'May his Ba live before Osiris' is not strictly comparable, it is urged, with the Christian formula 'Sweet soul, may you live in God'.

In many ways this investigation is a model of its kind. The evidence is patiently sifted and linguistic difficulties, when they arise, are carefully discussed. Žabkar is convincing in most of his conclusions, and his incidental illuminations are welcome too. He well shows, for instance, how the *Coffin Texts*, unlike the *Book of the Dead*, represent an elaboration of ideas on this theme. On pp. 81 ff. there is an instructive rebuttal of the expression 'resurrection of the soul' as applied to Egyptian ideas; we are properly told that 'the Ba never died, and without death there can be no resurrection'. What is surprising, after this, is that Žabkar goes on to speak of 'the bodily resurrection of the dead king'. He has just reminded us that 'the Pyramid Texts state emphatically that the king never died: "(Unas) did not die, he departed alive"' (*Pyr.* 134*a*). To be exact, then, the Egyptians believed that the king's life went on without interruption, and Žabkar correctly refers in his next paragraph to 'a continuation of life as a physical corporeality'.

A few interpretations may be questioned. On p. 106, *Coffin Texts* I, 362*c* is translated 'For the sake of my corpse, my Ba shall not burn'; *hr hst i*, which follows the rest of the sentence, probably is simply 'on my corpse'; the translation 'for the sake of' is defended, but several examples of *hr hst* are cited on p. 133 with the sense of the *ba* alighting or resting 'on the corpse', a notion exemplified too in representations, as Žabkar shows on p. 146; cf. also *bs hr hst*, the name of the Bukhis bull, on which see Fairman, *JEA* 17 (1931), 228. On p. 111, n. 134 we are told that 'As Sethe (*Komm.* I, 393) pointed out, the Pyramid Texts do not mention heaven as the destination of the king . . .'; an unwary reader might take this as a general statement, although Sethe (and Žabkar) is discussing only Spell 260; even in this spell, as Sethe noted, there is a mention of Nut in 316*a*; further, in 317*a* the king's litigation seems to be compared with that of Shu, son of the solar Atum. The expressions 'living *ba*' and 'dead *ba*' are hard to explain, especially the latter, and the suggestions made on pp. 142 f. are well worth pondering. One wonders whether the second phrase may apply sometimes to the *ba* of a dead person as opposed to a living one. Žabkar would firmly disagree, since

he denies that a living person was thought to have a *ba* (with the exception of the special usage applied to the king) and resolutely tries to explain even the *Lebensmüde* without resort to such an assumption. He argues that the term 'dead *ba*' contradicts the very concept of the *ba* and goes on to suggest that in the early instances 'living and dead *ba*' is a term involving universalism, 'consisting of two antonyms and thereby including everyone or everything'.

The importance of this study is its contribution to our understanding of the Egyptian concept of man. The ancient texts speak not only of a *ba*, but also of the *ka*, *akh*, shadow, body, and heart (nor is the list complete), so that many have been tempted to regard the concept as basically pluralistic, implying that man's personality, particularly after death, consisted of various components divisively interpreted. Žabkar effectively demolishes the dualistic explanation which contrasted *ba* and body as spirit and flesh in the Platonic manner. He rightly stresses in this connection that the *ba* was believed to perform physical functions. His own emphasis is on monism. He maintains (p. 113) that 'though the ancient Egyptian was thought to live after death in a multiplicity of forms, each of these forms was the full man himself'. While this view has much to commend it, certain difficulties arise. One is relevant to the general idea. A monistic cohesion can be posited in another way by assuming that the components form an essential whole, as in the ancient Hebrew concept. Again, can we be sure that a multiplicity of being does not enter sometimes into the Egyptian idea? Thus if the *ba* is essentially the man himself, it is none the less true that the man and his *ba* are sometimes differentiated, in both texts and representations, as entities involved in separate actions. On p. 101 it is shown that the *ba* is regarded in the *Coffin Texts* as the agent of sexual activity after death, and an instructive passage is quoted where the deceased says that 'when my *ba* has sexual union with the human beings who dwell on the Island of Flame, I myself unite sexually with the goddesses'. The contrast implied by 'myself', which occurs in most of the texts, is revealing. Here the actions are similar but separate, and the man himself enjoys a more favoured status than his *ba*. It seems, therefore, that a kind of pluralism is present after all. It is fair to add that Žabkar sees here another instance of universalism which, 'by including divine and human beings, stresses the fullness of the sexual life of the individual and his Ba'.
J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit. By ERICH WINTER. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, 98. Band. Vienna, 1968. Pp. 102+16 pl.+6 text figs. Price ÖS. 160.

This study is a by-product of Dr. Winter's important researches in the temple of Isis in Philae, but it involves data also from all the other temples of the Graeco-Roman era. The reviewer was privileged to hear the author presenting some remarks on this theme in the Colloquium arranged at Strasbourg by Prof. Derchain in 1967, the *acta* of which have been published under the title *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (Paris, 1969). Dr. Winter's contribution appears there in a shortened form, and it relates only to a part of the present detailed study.

That an ordered consistency of location and purpose characterizes the temple-reliefs of an earlier period, especially those in the inner rooms, was shown by Dieter Arnold in his *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, a study which wisely enough confined itself to the New Kingdom. Approaching the immense and sometimes well-preserved material of the temples of the Graeco-Roman era, Winter understandably eschews a room-by-room analysis. Instead he picks out two fairly restricted but recurring features and examines all the relevant evidence in relation to these, looking out, on the one hand, for variations and elaborations and, on the other, for any pointers to a stereotyped rigidity. He gives prominence to the inscriptions in his study and vindicates their importance against the view of Rochemonteix, who saw the representations as the main thing and the texts as an often banal accessory; Winter believes that it is the texts that record the spiritual essence of the ritual transactions, the representations being the counterpart of illustrative vignettes. Was there a conscious shaping in the form and content of these inscriptions or did they merely reproduce thoughtlessly from a store of traditional formulae? Winter recalls Sethe's scornful opinion of the late versions of the *Legend of the Sun's Eye*: to him they betrayed simply the absence of thought; yet Junker was able to show that these versions often betray conscious adaptations to suit the requirements of local traditions. Certainly the researches of Blackman, Fairman, Alliot, Dumas, Derchain, Sauneron, De Wit, and now of

Winter himself compel one to view with greater respect the element of deliberate design in these temple scenes and inscriptions.

Winter's first analysis is concerned with the literary form of vertical inscriptions which constitute the lateral end-lines of scenes. These vertical inscriptions have the function of separating scenes from one another, and one of the lines is usually behind a figure of the king, the other behind a figure of a deity; the content naturally involves the king on the one hand and a deity on the other (there may be a group of divine figures, and the reference may vary somewhat). Beginning with Ptolemy II, Winter traces the evolution of the material chronologically and shows how the 'royal' end-line at first describes (in the third person) the coming of the king and the ritual act which he undertakes, whereas the 'divine' line also names the king, but consists of an address to him by the god, who ends by designating the king as one beloved by him. A more intimate treatment of the ritual allusion is discernible afterwards, for the king now speaks in the first person; similarly, in the 'divine' line, a dialogue is developed between the king and the deity; the latter, for instance, may express joy at receiving the king's offering. Clearly the examination of all occurrences, with their varied pattern in different registers, has been no light task; under Ptolemy III, for example, the 'Euergetes-Gate' in Karnak contains 48 scenes and 96 end-lines and the whole scheme reveals a unified and symmetrical plan. Winter prudently presents his results in illustrative samples and diagrams. He shows that under Ptolemy VIII an accepted norm was established for the various registers which prevailed for close on three hundred years, but that considerable variety of expression flourished within its general rules. An instructive incidental point which emerges from the discussion of 'divine' end-lines is that boons vouchsafed by a god to a king may include sovereignty on earth, affection among men, and a guarantee of protection against enemies, but never life after death, since allusion to human death, according to Winter, was totally banned in the Egyptian temple as it was in the sanctuaries of the Greeks. I assume that Winter excludes funerary temples from this generalization and I am a little uneasy about its validity even otherwise. One recalls, for instance, the striking representation of posthumous judgement in the Ptolemaic temple of Ḥathor and Ma'at in Deir el-Medina. The most remarkable feature of the evolution of expressions here studied is the initial period of flexibility before a canon was imposed; nor did the establishment of a canon imply complete rigidity of form. There are naturally some imponderables in the explanation of irregularities. In one case (p. 31) Somtus is mentioned in a 'divine' end-line after Ptaḥ and Ḥathor-Isis, but he does not appear in the relevant representation. Winter suggests that Somtus was included in the original sketch-plan and then omitted because of lack of space. One must agree that this is more likely than the assumption that Somtus was erroneously named in the source which provided the inscriptions. In papyri a lack of liaison between scribe and artist is sometimes indicated; such a division of labour may have affected epigraphy also.

A second inquiry is concerned with content rather than form and relates to scenes in which the king presents a deity with the symbols ḥnḥ, ḏd, and wꜣs. A total of 51 instances is studied, 70 per cent of which involve presentations to Osiris. In pre-Ptolemaic times there are no representations of these symbols being thus offered, so that here one can study a development which was wholly encompassed by the late priesthood. A remarkable feature of this development is the occurrence of a 'new' mythology which conceives of the Osirian *djed*-pillar as standing between Shu and Tefnut, who are identified with ḥnḥ and wꜣs and as such are entrusted with the guarding of the body of Osiris; these deities are also addressed as the father and mother of Osiris. The recognition of this concept in the context of the presentation scenes enables a number of similar allusions in other texts, hitherto found obscure, to be explained, and since references occur in the texts of all the great temples, it is rightly argued that there must have been close and vital connections between the most important theological centres. Turning to individual points, Winter shows that the basic meaning of wꜣs, which has in the past impelled a wide variety of translations, is probably 'power' or 'might'; Gardiner is recognized as having approached this idea, although an interesting footnote suggests that he referred misleadingly to the Biblical term 'dominion' in the A.V. (Gardiner's agnosticism did not, perhaps, hinder his fondness for the Bible's diction in the A.V., for he sometimes chose to write his translations in Biblical style, even that of the racy *Contendings of Horus and Seth*.) That a completely new mythology was evolved by the Ptolemaic priests would be contrary to any reasonable expectation; Winter examines previous allusions to the protective roles of Shu and Tefnut and to their association with life and power respectively, and his conclusion is that the tradition is ancient, but that it received a new elaboration in the late texts. In a particularly illuminating section he shows how the two deities were associated from the earliest

times also with the water of purification and endowed it with a protective character; a subsequent section demonstrates how the presentation of *ḥnḫ ḏd wꜣs* has affinities, as a ritual scene, with the themes of presenting the *ḥh*-symbol to a deity and of endowing the king with countless jubilees. On p. 82 a text is quoted in which the king is addressed as 'the one whom Shu spat out, the Ruler, the one whom Tefnut spewed out'. Here the divinity of the Pharaoh is said to be implied in that his mode of origin resembles that of Shu and Tefnut. One must agree; but in the context of the Shu-Tefnut-Osiris relationship there is perhaps an equation with Osiris specifically.

Of these two studies the second is the more impressive and also the more readily appreciated. The difference may arise from the inherent nature of the themes: a purely formal evolution is more intractable in itself, and theorizing about it can lead to equivocation. Thus when the same or similar formulae appear, one can admire the consistency; when variety appears, one can praise the freedom from rigid rules. I hasten to add that Winter's attitude is not one of insistent eulogy, for he is quick to point to a lack of harmony or precision when he notes such defects. The two studies add up to a strikingly original contribution and they show an enviable mastery of a big range of material.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Ich bin Isis: Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretologien. By JAN BERGMAN. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum, 3.) Uppsala, 1968. Pp. 349. Price, Swedish crowns 60.

The portrait of Isis in the Greek Aretalogies of the goddess manifestly has a number of features which can be derived from the ancient Egyptian tradition, and in 1961 Dieter Müller sought to identify these in his *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien* (cf. my review in *JEA* 49, 196 f.). In doing so he was concerned especially with Harder's idea that an Egyptian original lay behind the basic Memphite form of the Aretalogies, and his treatment was therefore linguistic up to a point. At the same time, however, he was discussing in a running commentary all the religious ideas involved, and it is clear that one of Jan Bergman's incentives in writing the present work was a measure of disagreement with Müller's conclusions, though he tells us on p. 18 that he had done some work in this field before Müller's book appeared. He feels that several of the statements regarded by Müller as distinctively Greek are not really so; and he thinks that Müller tends to overstress the differences between the Greek and Egyptian traditions as well as to under-rate several good Egyptian parallels. Bergman's own treatment has a wider scope. Convinced as he is that the background of the Aretalogies is thoroughly Egyptian, he discusses the ideology of the source, as he views it, in a general way, so that what results is not a line-by-line commentary but a discussion of the following topics: the Aretalogical tradition in Diodorus Siculus; the Memphite milieu; Isis and the ideology of kingship; the Isis-Aretalogy as an expression of the Egyptian ideology of kingship; Isis and Ptaḥ. The Aretalogy from Cyeme is printed in an appendix, and so is a short hieroglyphic text from Esna. The book ends with a bibliography and indices.

In general this is a work of distinct promise and the author's insights into several individual matters are welcome. It was doubtless a sound instinct that led him, in view of the probable Memphite origin of the basic Aretalogy, to explore the religious traditions of Memphis, even if the introductory section here seems unduly expansive. There are good points in the discussion of the Osiris-inscription in Diodorus Siculus. The explanation of the reference to Cronus as *ὁ νεώτατος θεός* is convincing, the suggestion being that the description fits Cronus or Geb as the latest of the divinized kings before Osiris. Bergman rightly recognizes, in the same inscription, a reference to the Orphic egg and he accepts its Egyptian origin in the sense urged by Morenz. In a discussion of the sources of the account of Egypt in Diodorus Siculus, Bergman is content, in the main, to make obeisance to Schwartz and Jacoby; it is a pity that he has not used Walter Spoerri's important book *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter* (Basle, 1959). He clearly perceives that what Diodorus is presenting, as far as Osiris is concerned, is a conflation with the Dionysiac tradition; indeed, he refers constantly here to 'Osiris-Dionysus'. It is therefore puzzling to find him, at the same time, seeking an Egyptian explanation for the idea that the kingdom of Osiris extends to the ends of the earth. Surely it is Dionysus that is involved in the conquest of India and the Danube; cf. my remarks in *Man*, 1948, 97 ('Diodorus Siculus and the Myth of Osiris').

Bergman's discussion of the connection between Ma'at and Isis is on the whole an admirable one. Dieter Müller had duly recognized the importance of this, but an elaboration of the theme is welcome. Another leading motif in Bergman's thesis is the role of Isis in the ideology of kingship, and it is here that he fails to convince. Further, his enthusiasm for the idea tends to make him accept almost anything as grist to the mill. Thus in a discussion (p. 96, n. 3) of a piece in Nigidius Figulus where coronation and an Apis ritual are described, with an allusion to the priest of a deity, the manuscript readings *eisideis*, *isidis*, and *ysidis* are considered and a very firm decision follows in favour of *isidis*. Since Apis is the only deity mentioned in this piece it is clear that Buecheler's emendation *eius dei*, scil. *Apidis* is highly probable. It suits Bergman to find Isis in a coronation context, but he is honest enough to admit that he cannot discover any instance of her assuming such a role in Egyptian temple-scenes. Towards the beginning of the Aretalogy Isis calls herself ἡ τύραννος πάσης χώρας and Bergman (pp. 149 ff.) thinks that an allusion to the sovereignty of Egypt is possibly included, in the sense of the 'Two Lands'. It is much more likely that the Greek means 'ruler of every land' with reference to the whole world; cf. Apuleius, *Metam.* 11.7 *orbisque totius dominam*. Bergman seems ready to admit this wider meaning, but argues that the more restricted allusion to rule over Egypt has been subsumed. Müller's exegesis here, as often, remains unobjectionable. What needs to be emphasized is that Isis, like Osiris, was a funerary deity in the Egyptian tradition. In the Ptolemaic era their functions were extended somewhat to include the world of the living, and there are earlier suggestions of the change. Some Ptolemaic queens called themselves Isis, but it is misleading, before this, to assume a prominent Isiac element in the theology of the living Pharaoh and his queen.

The possibility that Isis Pelagia had some Egyptian antecedents is suggested, even if very briefly, in a valuable discussion on p. 202. I understand that Dr. L. Castiglione, of Budapest, is about to publish a fuller treatment of this particular theme.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae. (Vol. XXVIII in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*). Collected by LADISLAUS VIDMAN. Pp. xvii + 373. Berlin. Walter de Gruyter and Co. 1969. No price given.

The publication of this much-needed and long-awaited collection of Greek and Roman epigraphical sources for Isis and Sarapis and their temple associates will be warmly welcomed by all Egyptologists, especially by those who search for the legacy of Egypt in the field of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman religion. Vidman, a pupil of Salač, is already known as the author of a modest monograph on the topic, for which he now provides not far short of a thousand inscriptions. For those whose researches deal with the place of the Alexandrian (and Memphite) cult in Hellenistic and Imperial times Vidman's book promises to be as indispensable as Hopfner's *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae* still is, though now half a century old.

In his preface Vidman explains his exclusion of the relevant texts extant in Egypt itself. He offers a few from other provinces of Roman Africa (770–809) but avoids anything where some other mystery cult is mentioned, e.g. that of Demeter (see note on p. 325). It is somewhat regrettable that the scope of his work should be restricted in these two respects. Understandably he avoids overlapping with Roussel when he reaches Delos, where he is content to summarize, adding however his own useful index of names (pp. 80–7). For every area he supplies up-to-date bibliographical references (he knows the recent work, *The Oriental cults in Roman Britain*,¹ but does not mention Baege or even Demitsas for Macedonia). Some of his material is now published for the first time. On the whole his editing is judicious² and his commentary illuminating (e.g. on p. 254 he gives his reasons for separately naming Ostia and Portus Ostiae). His literary references are apposite (e.g. his note on *auxilia* at 591).

From the *Sylloge* the extent (and perhaps not quite so clearly the depth) of the devotion shown in Africa, Asia, and Europe to Isis and Sarapis can be easily grasped. The reformed Egyptian faith swept over the Graeco-Roman world at the very time when another claimant to ecumenical authority was seeking to oust it along with all other competitors.³ Study of Vidman's topographical details discloses that nearly fifty

¹ By E. and J. R. Harris, Leiden, 1965.

² Is not *Isidi* preferable to '*Iovi*?' in 673?

³ An aspect to be dealt with in my book *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*, to be published shortly by Thames & Hudson.

Christian churches were built at or near the sites of Egyptian temples in various countries.¹ This was not accidental. The Church was determined to smash the power of Isis, Sarapis, and their Egyptian cronies.

Although the material assembled by Vidman is nearly all well known, the fact that it is all now available in one place gives good ground for hope that the relative neglect (especially in England) of what Lafaye dubbed 'the cult of the Alexandrian divinities'² will be rectified. Vidman is not disposed to think theophoric names of Egyptian provenance important unless they are early in the history of the cult (IV and III^a). This point is arguable. The present reviewer finds the appearance of the name *Eisias* at the Lavra Monastery on Athos certainly interesting!³

As to the order of precedence in listing the gods exported from Egypt, the inscriptions confirm the view that Isis never took a strictly subordinate place. The title of Vidman's book is just as proper as that of Plutarch's Essay on Isis and Osiris. (Cf. for Isis before Sarapis 5, 87, and 105 for the pre-Christian Era; and in the Imperial Age 257, 273, 290, 295, 302, 531, 540, 595, 697, 785, and 803). As Roussel remarked a long time ago, Anubis is generally more important in the hierarchy than Horus/Harpocrates.

The indices have been carefully prepared. The *acclamations* (6 d) can be read with particular profit. One correction is called for. Vidman lists under *hapax legomena* the *ἐπτάστολος* of 254. He will find the same word in Hopfner, *Fontes* 435, 14 (and index, p. 856, col. i).

R. E. WITT.

Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler. By KLAUS PARLASCA. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut: Franz Steiner, 1966. Pp. 294 with 9 colour plates, 2 maps, 10 text figures, and 209 illustrations on 62 plates. Price DM 88.

Neglect and negligence permeate the history of the excavation of Roman Egyptian sites. Comprehensive though the studies are of the political, social, and economic history of this unique province from the rich documentary sources of papyri and ostraca, nevertheless the archaeological material provides valuable evidence for what was going on in the villages of Egypt, particularly regarding the religious beliefs of the ordinary person, at the time of the diffusion of Christianity. For the first four centuries of the Christian era mummification continued as a form of burial for the peoples of Egypt, whatever their ethnic origins. The decoration of tombs and coffins and, in particular, of the mummies—painted portrait panels, plaster and cartonnage masks, outer linen shrouds—are evidence of a continuing belief in the efficacy of the spells which accompanied the dehydration, bandaging, and decoration of the corpse. With some justification Augustine of Hippo, writing at a time when the custom had at last fallen into disuse, deduced from its practice that the Egyptians alone of ancient peoples believed in the resurrection of the dead and to this end treated their dead by drying up the bodies and rendering them *quasi aenea* (*Sermones*, 120, 12).

Of the material from the Roman period, the painted portraits have always attracted interest and it is rare to find a work on the history of art or the daily life of the period which has not used examples as illustrations. Since the assemblage of a gallery of portraits by Theodor Graf, widely exhibited in Europe and America, and their discovery in number by Petrie at Hawara in 1887 and 1911, proposals have been made for a corpus of all known examples of the genre (over 700 in number). This worthwhile project will be realized by Dr. Parlasca, in co-operation with Professor Adriani, in the projected Series B of the *Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*, sponsored by the Fondazione 'Ignazio Mormino' which will be devoted to paintings.⁴ In the present well-illustrated volume Dr. Parlasca considers the portraits as a whole, not those from one area or collection alone, and not in isolation, but as they should be, together with other mummy decoration of the period from a historical rather than artistic viewpoint, against the background of the art of the Dynastic period and his knowledge of Hellenistic and Roman archaeology. One chapter is devoted to linen shrouds, including painted cloths of the Dynastic and Ptolemaic Periods. (A detailed study of the various types of masks is in hand by Parlasca's student, Dr. Grimm.)

¹ A complete list is given in my forthcoming book, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*, chap. 20.

² Cf. Bergman's recent book *Ich bin Isis* [reviewed above] for the Memphite connection.

³ Given in Demitsas.

⁴ Three volumes are planned, each containing about 650 objects illustrated on 160 plates; they will include an exhaustive catalogue of all known portraits.

No one who is familiar with the extent of the material, published and unpublished, excavated and purchased, and with the inadequacy of the reports of their discovery, will fail to recognize the magnitude of the task which the author set himself. Over forty pages of concordances and extensive bibliography, the fruits of more than eight years of research, are proof of the thoroughness with which the widely dispersed material has been tracked down. In the task the author has been helped by permission to use photographic material collected by Drerup, now in the keeping of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Bonn, including photographs of portraits sold by the heirs of Graf which do not appear, or are not identifiable, in the published catalogues of the Graf Collection.

Equally impressive is the thoroughness with which Dr. Parlasca has assembled the evidence for the finds, applying his critical and analytical faculties to the statements, often obscure or conflicting, which have been made concerning the circumstances of the recovery of the material. Particularly valuable are the pages devoted to finds made at Abûsîr el-Malaq, and outside El-Faiyûm at Antinoopolis and Thebes, as well as the full discussion of the history and provenance of the Graf Collection. It is unlikely that any significant archaeological facts will emerge concerning the existing material. For all questions of the number and kind of portraits, their chronology and provenance, it will be unwise not to consult these comprehensive studies to see whether statements and opinions based thereon are not, in the body of the text or in the detailed notes, uncompromisingly and rightly now nailed down as wrong. The dispersal of the material and the difficulties of evaluating the circumstances of individual finds has encouraged acceptance of statements based on too narrow a selection of the available material and favoured interpretation on subjective artistic grounds with too little regard to the archaeological context.

The various threads of Dr. Parlasca's arguments in the detailed discussions of individual problems are brought together in the final chapter. The emphasis of his work is upon the continuing indigenous traditions for which these works were adapted. It serves as a salutary and timely corrective to theories which would stress the Roman influence in the portraits (seductive, since no portrait panel can be dated earlier than the reign of Tiberius) or would perceive in them Judaeo-Christian concepts of immortality. A. F. SHORE

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