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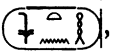
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL FOREWORD	I
PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT NORTH SAQQÂRA, 1969-70	W. B. Emery 3
COFFIN SPELL 148	Mordechai Gilula 14
EINE HIERATISCHE STELE DES MITTLEREN REICHS	Ursula Kaplony-Heckel 20
THE EXCAVATION OF SAWÂMA IN 1914 BY G. A. WAIN- WRIGHT AND T. WHITTEMORE	Janine Bourriau and Anne Millard 28
<i>SDMT-F</i> 'SCHLISSLICH HÖRTE ER'	Helmut Satzinger 58
A UNIQUE OFFERING LIST OF AMENOPHIS IV RECENTLY FOUND AT KARNAK	Ramadan Saad and Lise Manniche 70
A SEATED STATUE OF AMÛN	William H. Peck 73
SOME REMARKS ON THE STRUCTURE OF EGYPTIAN DIVINE TRIADS	H. te Velde 80
A CROSSWORD HYMN TO MUT	H. M. Stewart 87
A TECHNIQUE FOR THE ORAL EXAMINATION OF A MUMMY THE EARLIEST YEARS OF RAMESSES II, AND THE BUILDING OF THE RAMESSIDE COURT	F. Filce Leek 105
BILL OF SALE FOR A SET OF USHABTIS	D. B. Redford 110
ARTIFICIAL EYES IN MUMMIES	I. E. S. Edwards 120
AN ABNORMAL HIERATIC TABLET	P. H. K. Gray 125
SOME GEM-AMULETS DEPICTING HARPOCRATES SEATED ON A LOTUS FLOWER	Jaroslav Černý and Richard A. Parker 127
EINE NEUE DEUTUNG DER ZEREMONIE DES 'IN'IT RD	A. M. El-Khachab 132
UN PARALLÈLE TARDIF D'UNE FORMULE DES INSCRIPTIONS DE LA STATUE PROPHYLACTIQUE DE RAMSÈS III AU MUSÉE DU CAIRE	Hartwig Altenmüller 146
THE SUPPOSED EXPEDITION OF PTOLEMY II TO PERSIA	Jean-Claude Goyon 154
THE WELLS OF HIBIS	David Lorton 160
THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF STEPHEN RANULPH KINGDON GLANVILLE	Peter J. Parsons 165
JAROSLAV ČERNÝ	E. P. Uphill 181
WALTER BRYAN EMERY	T. G. H. James 185
	H. S. Smith 190
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS: <i>Hy (m) nwh</i> 'make a rope fast', by R. O. Faulkner, p. 202; A re- consideration of  , by Edmund S. Meltzer, p. 202; Das sog. Mundöffnungsgerät 'psš- <i>kf</i> ', by Erhart Graefe, p. 203; Westminster College Papyri: A further note, by D. J. Crawford and P. E. Easterling, p. 204.	
REVIEWS	
J. GWYN GRIFFITHS, <i>The Origins of Osiris</i>	Reviewed by R. O. Faulkner 207
H. G. FISCHER, <i>Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.</i>	R. O. Faulkner 209

	PAGE
R. O. FAULKNER, <i>The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts</i>	J. Gwyn Griffiths 210
R. GRIESHAMMER, <i>Das jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten</i>	J. Gwyn Griffiths 211
ORIC BATES, <i>The Eastern Libyans</i>	C. H. S. Spaul 212
W. K. SIMPSON, <i>The Records of a Building Project in the Early Twelfth Dynasty. Papyrus Reisner III.</i>	C. H. S. Spaul 212
O. NEUGEBAUER AND RICHARD A. PARKER, <i>Egyptian Astronomical Texts, III. Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs.</i>	C. H. S. Spaul 215
G. ENGLUND, <i>Introduction à l'égyptien pharaonique</i>	Robert Anderson 217
CYRIL ALDRED, <i>Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt—a new study</i>	K. A. Kitchen 217
F. J. GILES, <i>Ikhnaton, Legend and History</i>	E. P. Uphill 219
	Comments by Julia Samson 222
J. B. PRITCHARD, <i>The Ancient Near East in Pictures relating to the Old Testament.</i>	E. P. Uphill 222
M. BIETAK, <i>Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe</i>	E. P. Uphill 224
A. M. BAKIR, <i>Egyptian Epistolography</i>	J. Gwyn Griffiths 228
C. DE WIT, <i>Les Inscriptions du temple d'Opet, à Karnak, III.</i>	J. Gwyn Griffiths 228
SERGE SAUNERON, <i>Le Temple d'Esna. Esna III.</i>	J. Gwyn Griffiths 229
E. A. E. REYMOND, <i>The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple</i>	J. Gwyn Griffiths 230
JACK LINDSAY, <i>The Origins of Alchemy in Graeco-Roman Egypt</i>	Kate Bosse-Griffiths 231
<i>Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia</i>	P. J. Parsons 231
H. BRAUNERT, ed. <i>Studien zur Papyrologie und Antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte</i>	P. J. Parsons 232
T. REEKMANS, <i>La Sitométrie dans les Archives de Zénon;</i> R. A. COLES, <i>Reports of Proceedings in Papyri;</i> P. VIDAL-NAQUET, <i>Le Bordereau d'ensemencement dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque;</i> J. SCHWARTZ, <i>Papyri Variæ Alexandrinae et Gissenses;</i> G. POETHKE, <i>Epimerismos</i>	P. J. Parsons 233
W. E. BLAKE, <i>Menander's Dyscolus</i>	P. G. McC. Brown 234
L. DI GREGORIO, <i>Le scene d'annuncio nella tragedia greca</i>	Oliver Taplin 235
D. G. WEINGÄRTNER, <i>Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus</i>	J. David Thomas 236
H. MAEHLER, <i>Urkunden Römischer Zeit. Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen Berlin: Griechische Urkunden, XI. Bd.</i>	J. David Thomas 237
G. CAVALLO, <i>Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica</i>	N. G. WILSON 238
A. HEINRICH, ed. et alii, <i>Didymos der Blinde: Kommentare</i>	S. P. Brock 240
A. GEISSEN, <i>Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel Kap. 5-12 usw.;</i> W. HAMM, <i>Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel Kap. 1-2, nach dem kölner Teil des Papyrus 967</i>	S. P. Brock 242
Other books received 242

LIST OF PLATES

		PAGE
PLATE I	North Saqqâra 1969-70	<i>facing p.</i> 4
PLATE II	North Saqqâra 1969-70	<i>facing p.</i> 4
PLATE III	North Saqqâra 1969-70	<i>facing p.</i> 6
PLATES IV-XII	North Saqqâra 1969-70	<i>between pp.</i> 8 and 9
PLATE XIII	North Saqqâra 1969-70	<i>facing p.</i> 10
PLATE XIV	North Saqqâra 1969-70	<i>facing p.</i> 12
PLATES XV, XVA	Eine hieratische Stele des Mittleren Reichs	<i>between pp.</i> 24 and 25
PLATES XVI-XX	Sawâma 1914	<i>between pp.</i> 32 and 33
PLATES XXI, XXI A	An Offering List of Amenophis IV at Karnak	<i>between pp.</i> 70 and 71
PLATE XXII	A Seated Statue of Amûn	<i>between pp.</i> 74 and 75
PLATE XXIII	Statues of Amûn	<i>between pp.</i> 74 and 75
PLATES XXIV-XXVII	Crossword Stela	<i>between pp.</i> 88 and 89
PLATE XXVIII	Examples of Radiography	<i>facing p.</i> 106
PLATE XXIX	The Mummified Head of Tutankhamûn	<i>between pp.</i> 108 and 109
PLATE XXX	Examples of Radiography	<i>between pp.</i> 108 and 109
PLATES XXXI, XXXI A	Building Inscription of Ramesses II at Luxor	<i>between pp.</i> 114 and 115
PLATE XXXII	Bill of Sale for a Set of Ushabtis	<i>facing p.</i> 122
PLATES XXXIII-XXXIV	Artificial Eyes	<i>between pp.</i> 126 and 127
PLATES XXXV, XXXVA	Abnormal Hieratic Tablet	<i>between pp.</i> 128 and 129
PLATES XXXVI-XXXIX	Harpocrates on the Lotus	<i>between pp.</i> 136 and 137
PLATE XL	Harpocrates on the Lotus	<i>facing p.</i> 140
PLATE XLI	Bodl. Gr. Inscr. 3018 tablet 3b	<i>facing p.</i> 172
PLATE XLII	Jaroslav Černý	<i>facing p.</i> 185
PLATE XLIII	Walter Bryan Emery	<i>facing p.</i> 190

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

TOWARDS the close of another successful season at Saqqâra the Society suffered a grievous blow in the passing of the Director, Professor W. B. Emery. Over a long period he was Britain's foremost excavator in Egypt and Nubia and his death will be widely mourned. At the end of the present volume Professor H. S. Smith contributes an obituary article.

Of the season's work at Saqqâra Dr. G. T. Martin writes as follows:

Professor Emery reopened the work on November 28, 1970, the staff of the expedition being Mr. K. J. Frazer (Field Assistant), Mr. Ali El-Khouli, Mr. A. J. Spencer (Liverpool University), and Mr. A. Alcock (Oxford University). Mrs. Emery as usual managed the domestic side. Professor J. W. B. Barns, Mr. J. D. Ray, and the writer joined the expedition in January.

There were three main projects this season: (1) excavation of the innermost part of the Iseum; (2) further clearance of the hawk galleries; (3) sinking of a test-pit beneath the small temple of Nectanebo II to investigate the possibility of the presence of an earlier shrine and galleries.

Of the inscribed material found in the Iseum this season Mr. Ray reports as follows: 'Three complete stelae were discovered, together with sizeable fragments of sixteen others. Three of these fragments were found to join stelae from the 1969-70 season, and two more of these are now substantially complete. Fifteen small pieces also came to light, but it proved impossible to assign these with certainty to any text. Four of the new stelae are precisely dated: two complete stelae were written in the second year of Pharaoh Hakoris (XXIXth Dynasty) and are therefore textually and palaeographically of great interest. One stela is dated to the ninth year of one of the Nectanebos, probably the Second, and another bears the date "Year 5 of Pharaoh Alexander" (the Great). Others may be ascribed on less precise grounds to the Ptolemaic period.

'These texts closely resemble the stelae from the Serapeum: they were erected by the workmen who cut the vaults where the cows were laid to rest, installed the sarcophagi, and attended at the funerals. Short prayers to Isis, Mother of the Apis, and curses against desecrators of the stelae, normally complete the inscription.' Further work in the Iseum was abandoned because of the danger of a major collapse of the roof.

Sondages in the valley (Sector 8) north of the Iseum revealed the presence of tombs of the Archaic period and early Old Kingdom. A shaft on the south face of the bluff on the north side of the valley was cleared to a depth of almost 10 m., when it broke into a vast and complicated series of ibis galleries, greatly plundered, which have been provisionally identified with those described by the traveller Paul Lucas. The true entrance to the new galleries was located on the other (north) flank of the bluff, above the road leading from Abusîr to the Serapeum. From the entrance, the dromos of which was covered with the remains of a mud-brick vault, a processional way leads north, ending in a small rectangular garden, in each of the corners of which a shallow pit was found, containing tree roots. Associated with these were curious pottery runnels used in irrigating the trees.

Work in the hawk galleries was disappointing this season in so far as no discoveries comparable in importance with those of last year were made. The objects found include two fine bronze figures of hawks and a stone naos with crude painted decoration. The galleries also yielded several pots inscribed with the name of a dedicator, a priest named Imhotep, and an offering-table bearing the name of a priest of Isis, Mother of the Apis, and of Bastet.

The removal of the flooring blocks of the Coptic period overlying the Nectanebo shrine revealed,

at a depth of some 30 cm., a complete Greek papyrus letter of some interest, of late Imperial date, concerning the assignment of duties to a soldier. The hope that the sondage would reveal a shrine or galleries of earlier date was frustrated when an Old Kingdom tomb shaft was encountered at the lowest level.

Other work this season included the investigation of an area immediately east of Tomb 3518 (Sector 6, Square G4). Evidence was found, in the form of deposits of bronze votive figures and bird burials in limestone coffins, which supports the view that the whole terrain in this part of North Saqqâra was sanctified for the worship of sacred birds and animals.

Before work closed down on March 9 the excavation of a large tomb (no. 3050, Squares 13-14) on the escarpment south-east of the new ibis-gallery entrance was begun. Partly cleared by C. M. Firth in 1932, the superstructure was found to be denuded almost to ground level, though it measured at least 60 × 25 m., with casing walls 4.50 m. wide, making it one of the largest mastabas in North Saqqâra.

The sudden death of Professor J. Černý on May 19, 1970, was another very sad loss inflicted recently on the Society and on Egyptology in general. Mr. T. G. H. James contributes an obituary article.

It is good to know that work on the *Topographical Bibliography* is proceeding vigorously. Dr. Rosalind Moss and Mrs. Ethel W. Burney retired from the editorship at the end of 1970. They have been succeeded by Dr. Jaromír Málek of Prague, who has already participated in the project at Oxford for some three years. He is preparing the new edition of Volume III, and work will continue as before with a view to new editions. Dr. Málek invites offprints, information, and queries, and they should be addressed to him at the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

In the passing of Mr. George Tait the Society has lost a fervent propagandist on behalf of Ancient Egypt, as Mr. T. G. H. James shows in the following tribute:

It is impossible to estimate fully the value of George Tait's influence on many generations of budding archaeologists. For forty years as an assistant master at Eton he brought to his work an enthusiasm for ancient things which fired his pupils with enduring interests. As the organizer of the Myers Bequest to Eton he enlisted the aid of leading specialists in the arranging and cataloguing of a collection which soon became the most important in a school in this country. As a student of this same collection he made himself a specialist in ancient ceramics, in particular of Egyptian faience. His paper 'the Egyptian Relief Chalice' in Volume 49 of this *Journal* was the outcome of many years of careful study; a model of exposition, it was truly seminal in its conclusions. After his retirement from Eton in 1962 he continued to guide the young in their archaeological first attempts. As adviser for the Wainwright Essay Prize he gave unstinted help to prospective candidates, suggesting topics, directing reading, and generally offering the kind of encouragement needed by beginners. To the end he retained a youthful zest for life which enabled him, in spite of increasing physical disabilities, to enter whole-heartedly into the enthusiasms of others, and to infect others with his own enthusiasms.

Although the present number of the *Journal* carries the name of a new editor, it owes much to his predecessor, Mr. T. G. H. James. From him were inherited many of the contributions and from him too came a welcome fund of advice and help. Moreover, this is but a fraction of the debt owed to Mr. James. He has edited the *Journal* for a period of ten years, combining the highest standards with a calm and unruffled courtesy. If every editorship involves perforce a measure of autocracy, in his case it was undoubtedly a benign and enlightened autocracy which produced impressive results. Happily Mr. James will continue to act as the Society's General Editor of Publications.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT NORTH SAQQÂRA, 1969-70

By W. B. EMERY

THE Society resumed the excavations at North Saqqâra on November 22, 1969, and continued the work without interruption until the end of March 1970. The staff of the expedition consisted of Mr. K. J. Frazer, Professor and Mrs. H. S. Smith, Mr. Ali El-Khouli, Dr. D. M. Dixon, Miss J. Townend, Dr. J. D. Ray, Mr. J. R. Baines, Mr. G. R. Biggs, my wife, and myself.

As explained in my last preliminary report¹ our investigation of Tomb 3518 was not completed, and therefore for the first three weeks our attention was devoted entirely to a further examination of this great Third-Dynasty structure and the area surrounding it. Situated on the top of the escarpment behind the temple of Nectanebo II, the tomb is dated to Djoser and it presents several features of interest, which may be listed as follows:

1. In its exterior design the superstructure covering an over-all area of 1060 metres, is similar to other tombs of the period, but unlike them it is not a solid mass of brickwork and rubble, but contains a series of communicating rooms and magazines.
2. Unlike other tombs of the period its orientation is identical with that of the Step Pyramid.
3. The presence of a large deposit of anatomical *donaria* of Ptolemaic date directly in front of the entrance to the corridor chapel of the tomb.

Our work of the 1968-9 season had shown that the south burial shaft of the tomb connected with the end of the Upper Baboon gallery, but its complete clearance could not be undertaken at that time because of the dangerous condition of the rock in the area where it joined the underground gallery. After our masons had strengthened the walls of the shaft, it was, with some difficulty, excavated and was found to continue down to the burial chamber which had been cut through by the Lower Baboon Gallery. A considerable quantity of broken stone vessels of fine quality were recovered from the bottom of the shaft but no evidence of ownership was found.

Clearing the surface in front and behind the superstructure we had hoped to find further deposits of anatomical *donaria* or other remains of the Late Period. But in this we were disappointed, and beyond this strange cache at the entrance of the tomb no other remains of late date were found, not even pottery fragments connecting Tomb

¹ 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqâra, 1968-9' in *JEA* 56 (1970), 5 ff.

3518 with anything later than the Third Dynasty. The whole area outside the tomb was devoted to streets of smaller mastabas of the Archaic Period.

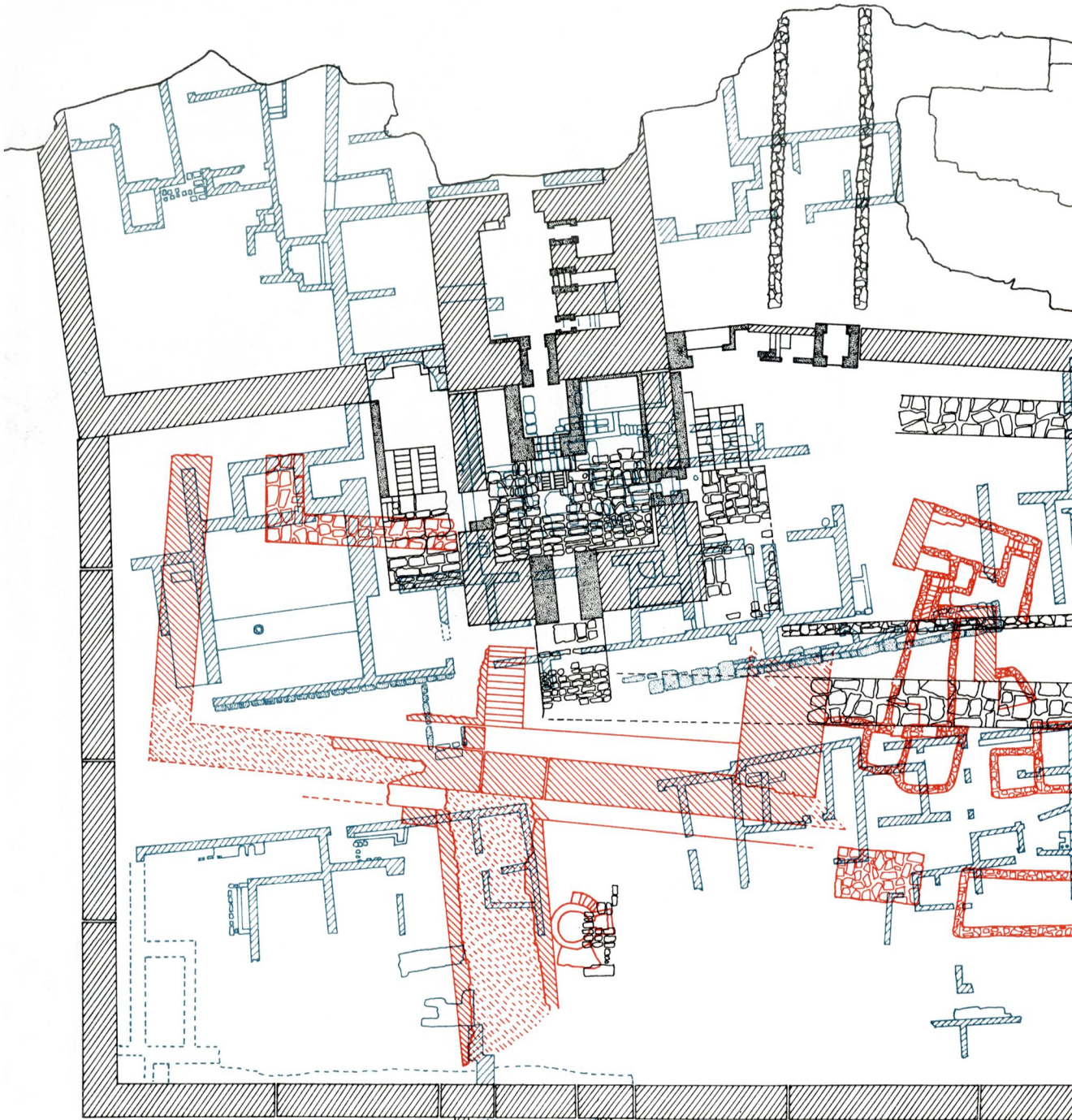
The question of the connection of this big tomb with the later installations adjacent to it is still an open one at this stage of our investigations. But on balance it would appear fortuitous, and can only be considered as one more example of the chance penetration of late galleries into the substructures of the Third-Dynasty tombs. This is a common feature of the site, but it remains a mystery why the builders of the Late Period should select an area which they knew was riddled with the burial shafts of the Archaic Period when fallow sites were available in the vicinity.

Furthermore the presence of the cache of Ptolemaic anatomical *donaria* in front of the entrance of the corridor chapel of Tomb 3518 in common with a similar deposit in the Upper Baboon Galleries, is difficult to explain, for there is sound evidence that the burial shaft of this great structure had its original filling and that there was no communication through it from the gallery to the ground surface on the top of the escarpment in Ptolemaic times.

On the completion of our research on the top of the escarpment we increased the number of our workers to 250 and turned our attention to the excavation of the lower levels of the south-east part of the enclosure of Sector 3 (pl. I). The clearance down to ground level of this area revealed a series of rough-stone huts, which from the evidence of pottery cannot be earlier than the Thirtieth Dynasty. These structures give every indication of being workers' dwellings and were probably the living accommodation of the men engaged in the cutting of the galleries. In a room of one of these houses we discovered a most curious structure, the character of which is still uncertain but which appears to be some form of primitive shrine. It has two entrances opposite each other, one blocked with stone, and both embellished with crude cavetto cornices in mud plaster. The small open entrance on the west side was surrounded by a low rough-stone enclosure and near this we recovered four Carian stelae of the same type as those recovered from the Baboon Galleries during the previous season. With them was a table of offerings inscribed with barbaric hieroglyphs.

During the course of the clearance of this area, four caches of numerous bronze figurines and situlae were discovered, all from a level higher than the stone huts. It was also here that we found three limestone plaques marked with proportion grids, probably used by the workers in the decoration of the walls of Nectanebo's temple. One of the plaques is blank, but the other two have the artists' original designs in black ink. On one is the standing figure, of either a queen or goddess wearing the vulture head-dress and holding a lotus staff, and on the other a standing bull or cow with a seated baboon.

While the main body of our workers were engaged in this surface excavation, a select group investigated the break-throughs in the south wall of the Lower Baboon Gallery discovered during the previous season (pl. II). After arduous underground work we found our way into what proved to be a side gallery leading into a new complex consisting of a main axial passage from which branched a vast maze of complicated lateral galleries opening off it on either side (pl. III). These side galleries, on average 3 metres high by 2.5 metres wide, were completely filled with thousands of sealed



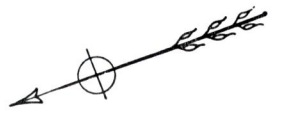
SECTOR THREE

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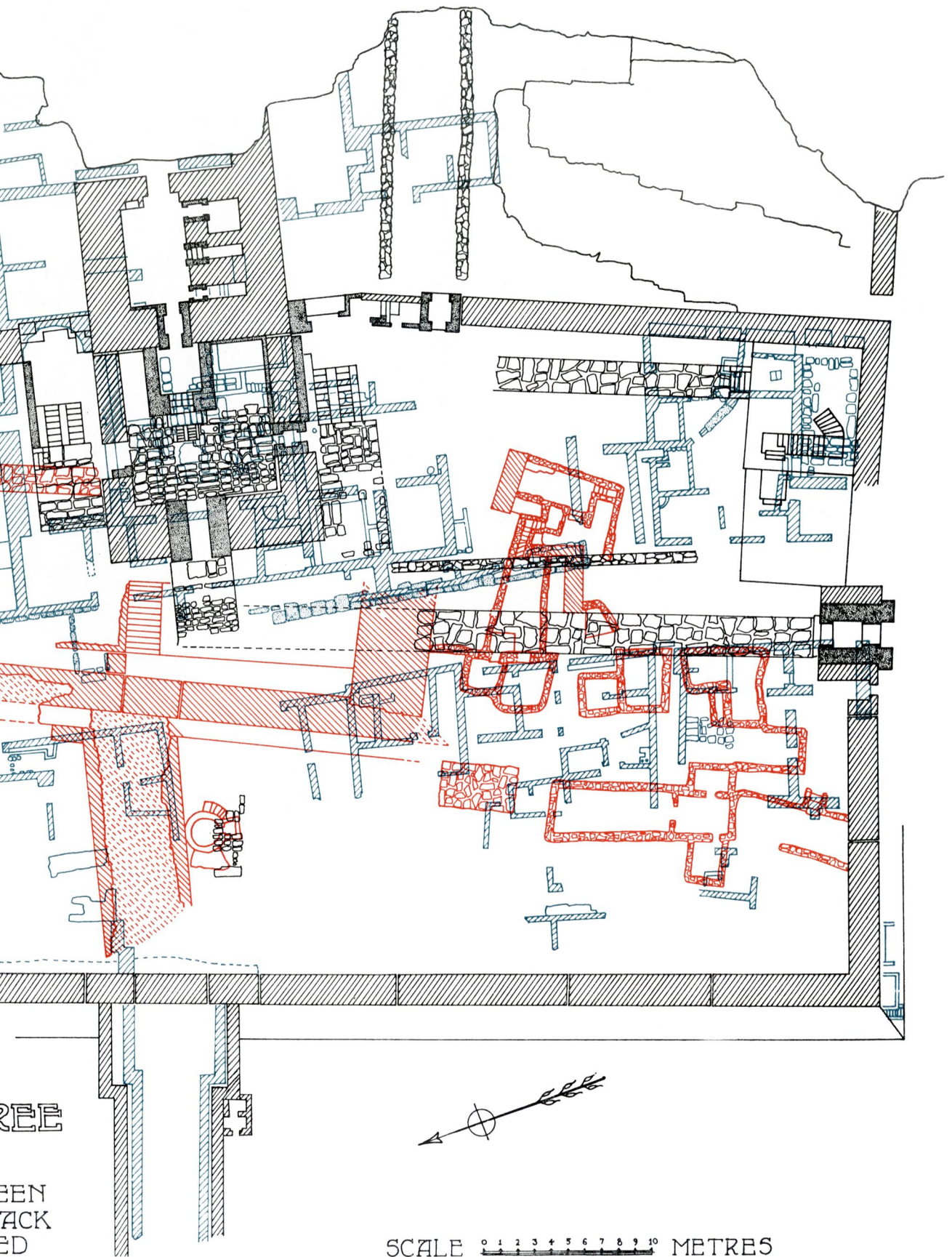
FIRST LEVEL ~ GREEN

SECOND LEVEL ~ BLACK

THIRD LEVEL ~ RED



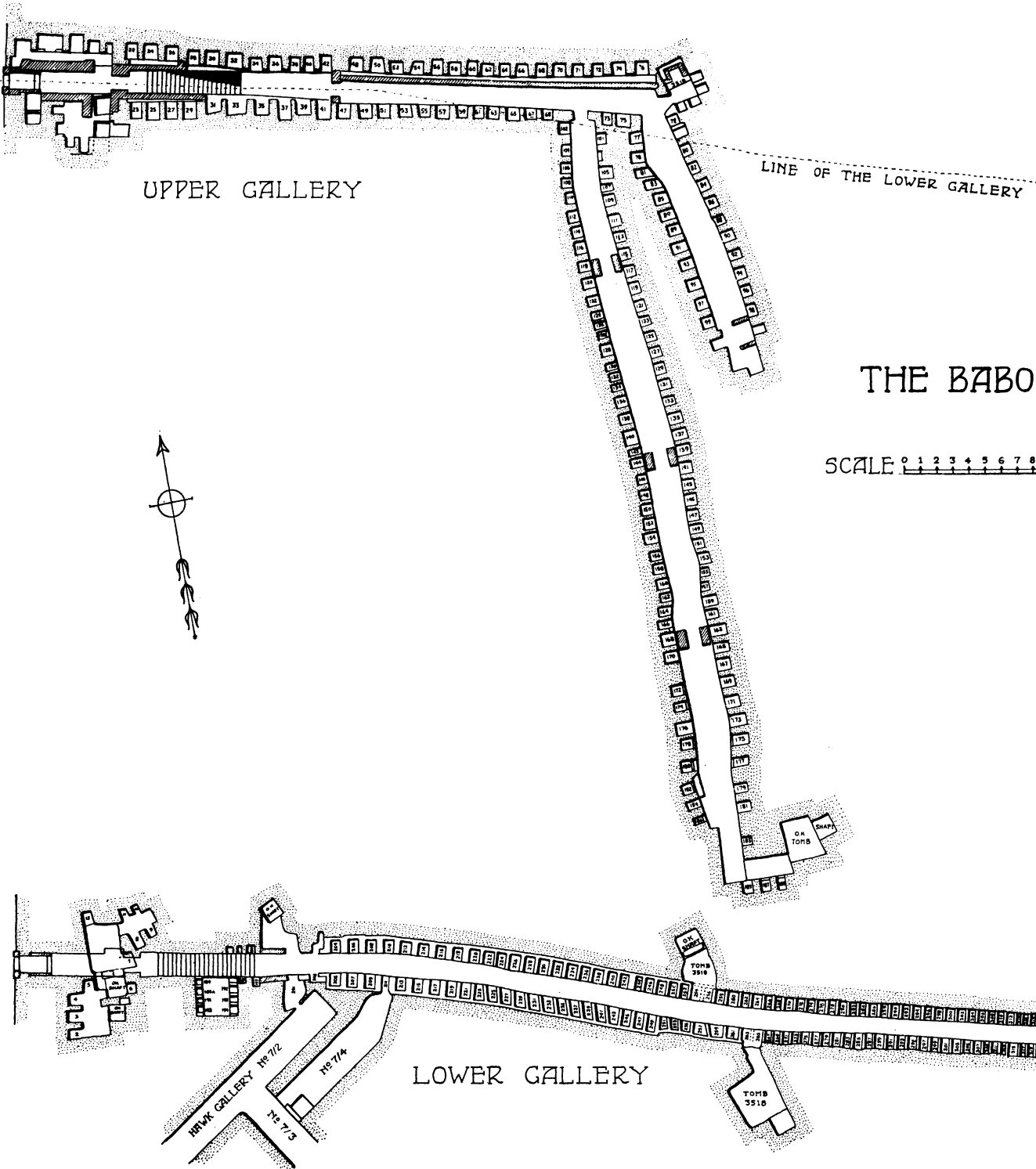
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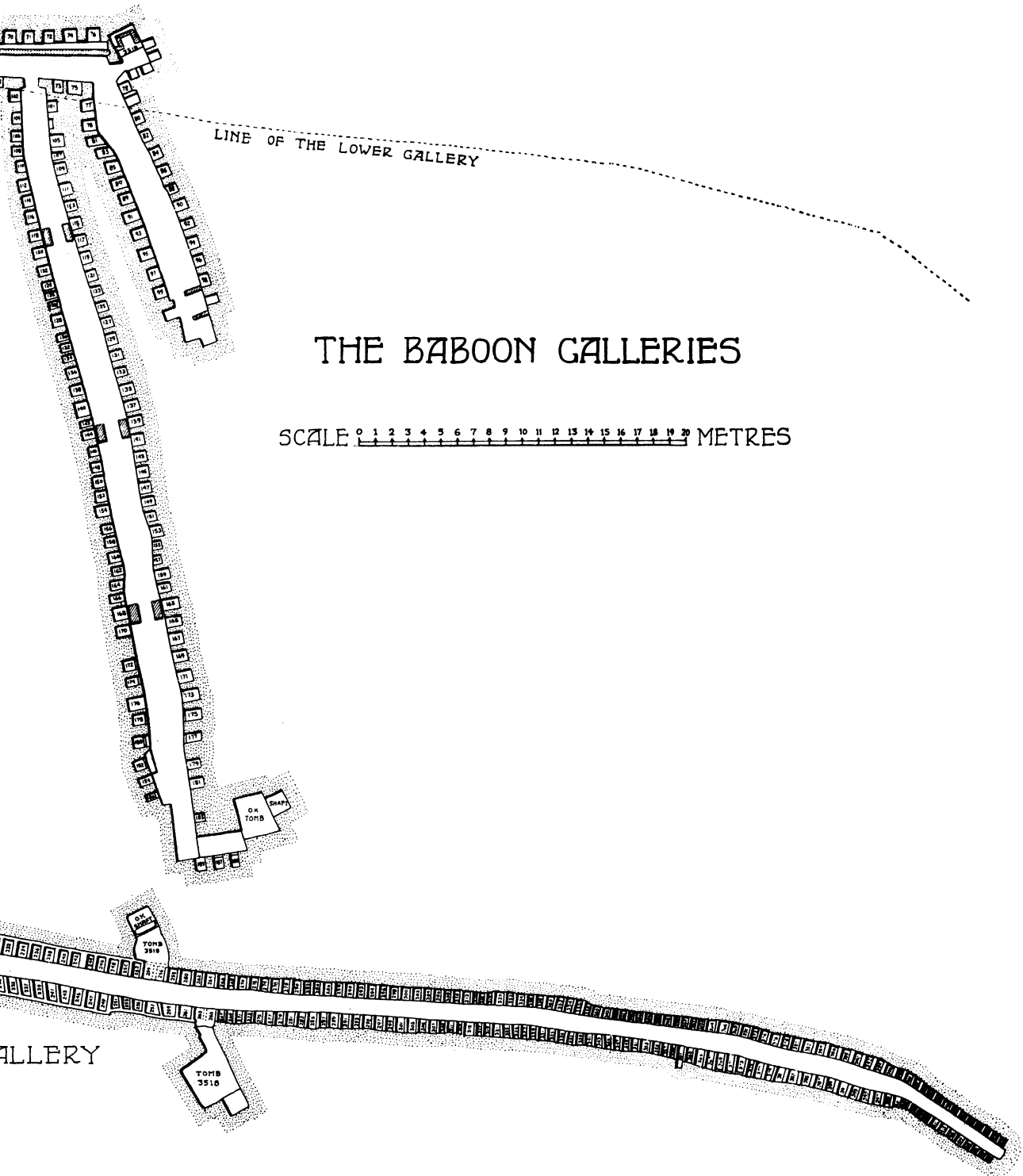


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NORTH SAQQÂRA 1969-70





THE BABOON GALLERIES

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pottery jars similar to those which we had found containing wrapped mummified ibises in the galleries some distance to the south, which we discovered in 1964. The jars however proved to contain the mummies of falcons, many of them most beautifully wrapped (pl. VI, 1).

Although this great complex had been ravaged by plunderers, many of the side galleries were intact, with doors blocked by brickwork or stone. The confusion in the axial passage was such that it was impossible to make any clearance until we had discovered the real entrance to the labyrinth. A preliminary survey indicated its general position, and it was finally located beneath a stone-paved floor of one of the Christian houses in the south-east corner of the enclosure of Sector 3 (pl. IV, 1). The removal of the Christian paving revealed a steep and serpentine stairway of stone and the brick foundations of what may prove to be the sanctuary of Ḥarendotes, which had a stone-paved causeway leading to it from the temple of Nectanebo II (pl. I).

The entrance stairway led down to a vestibule with a stone-built gateway and side rooms much disturbed by plunderers but still containing many objects of interest. With small stone coffins containing mummified falcons were hundreds of statuettes of faience, bronze, limestone, steatite, and wood, many broken and blackened by fire, but all of fine quality (pls. V ff.). But the most important find in a room in this area was a handsome bulbous limestone Canopic jar with a falcon-headed lid (pl. VI, 2). The jar bore a hieroglyphic inscription on the front. This inscription, of standard form, identifies it with Ḥapy, the son of Horus, who regularly guards the intestines, and was dedicated for the deceased King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wahibrē (Psammetichus I). On being opened the jar revealed a resinous substance inside, presumably enclosing mummified remains not yet examined; should these prove to be of a falcon, it must be presumed that the Canopic jar was deliberately used, or re-used, for this purpose because of its falcon head. (It is notable that the Canopic jar representing Ḥapy usually has an ape's head.) If the use is indeed original, it would indicate that the falcon galleries were already in existence in the late seventh-early sixth century B.C. and were the earliest so far found on the site, a conclusion not easily acceptable on other grounds.

Beyond the entrance gateway, the confusion of broken pottery and scattered mummies made it impossible to examine any of the side passages until a complete clearance of the axial gallery had been made. Progress was fairly rapid and 10 days after the discovery we had cleared down to floor level as far as side gallery No. 16 (pl. IV, 2). At the foot of the east wall of the axial passage was a small cavity cut in the rock, in which was a wooden box containing a mummified falcon, and in front of it was a small oval-topped limestone stela (pl. V, 4). This stela inscribed in black ink has on the top the figures of an ibis and a falcon facing each other across an offering table. The text below has seven lines of demotic and the following is the translation:

May Imḥotep the great, son of Ptah, the great god, and the gods who rest here give life to Petenefertem, son of Djeho, together with Paptah, son of Djeho, whom Tamneve bore. May their house and their children be established for ever. The blessing of the gods who rest here be upon him who reads this himself. Do let there be visited upon them he who is

evil together with him who is good. Written in the Year 26, which makes Hathor Year 29 of Pharaoh, by the servant Nekhtymneve.

This stela, securely datable to 89 B.C., is the first certain written indication obtained from the site that the necropolis cult of Imhotep was associated with that of the ibises and falcons.

Opposite this votive niche is a stone-built gate leading to side gallery No. 14; on its south is a small ink drawing of the ibis and baboon forms of Thoth and Imhotep.¹

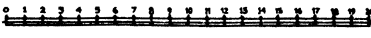
At a point 72 metres from the entrance the axial passage is blocked by a fine stone gate with a cavetto cornice (pl. IV, 3-4), which originally had a lockable door, for the pivot holes and lock socket were still preserved. Beyond this gate the passage continues for another 33 metres, when it ends with a break-through into a Third Dynasty burial-chamber containing a large empty limestone sarcophagus. The break-through had originally been blocked with brickwork. This burial installation and shaft still awaits investigation (pl. V, 2).

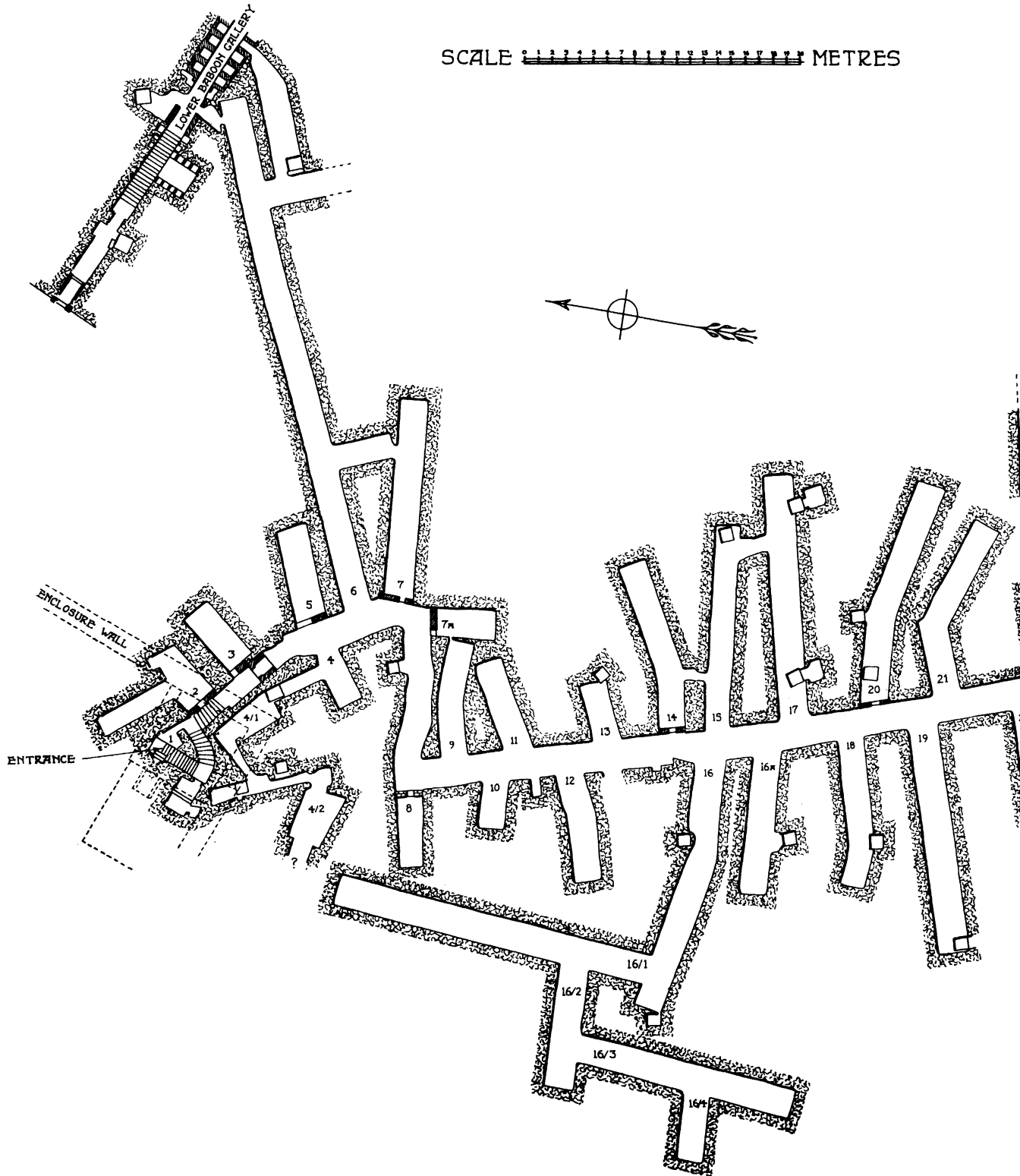
Many of the side galleries were completely blocked by the mummy pots which were stacked in orderly rows up to the ceiling, and it was obvious that anything approaching an accurate survey was impossible unless part at least of their contents were removed. This was achieved and most of the side galleries were measured with a minimum of disturbance of the stacked mummy pots. From our previous experience in the exploration of the Ibis Galleries in 1964 we believed that they contained no objects other than the stacked mummy pots and in consequence we intended to leave the contents undisturbed. However, we decided to clear completely at least one gallery and chose at random No. 16. Our clearance had not proceeded far when we were rewarded with the discovery of a large deposit comprising copper and bronze temple furniture of the most interesting character (pls. V, 3, and VII, 1). There were sixteen tall incense braziers on stands (Types 1, 2, and 3); two standard altars with high curving corners (Types 4 and 5); four hand censers with falcon-headed handles, kneeling figures of a king before cartouche-shaped pellet-boxes, and braziers held in terminal hands (Type 18); two skillets (Types 23 and 24); two libation (*hs*) jars (Type 13); two incense tongs (Types 19 and 20); seven pans (Type 17); one fine ritual *hrp*-sceptre (Type 21); one large ewer (Type 12); one cartouche-shaped casket (Type 11); five groups of miniature offering vases (Types 14, 15, and 16); eleven razors, seven vases and basins (Types 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10), and two model offering tables (figs. 1 and 2). Several of the objects had been inscribed by their donors; the dedications were to Thoth, the great god, Osiris the Ibis, and Horus the Falcon. It is evident that they belonged to ritual furniture once used in the shrines of these deities or perhaps at ceremonies which took place before the individual side gallery was closed. Similar ritual objects are shown in Ptolemaic temple reliefs, and though the date of the group requires study, it may belong to the last centuries B.C.

Further on in the gallery was a cache of bronze statuettes, which included the fine kneeling figure of a king wearing the White crown (pl. VII, 4). Also the clearance of

¹ Hurry, *Imhotep*, 58.

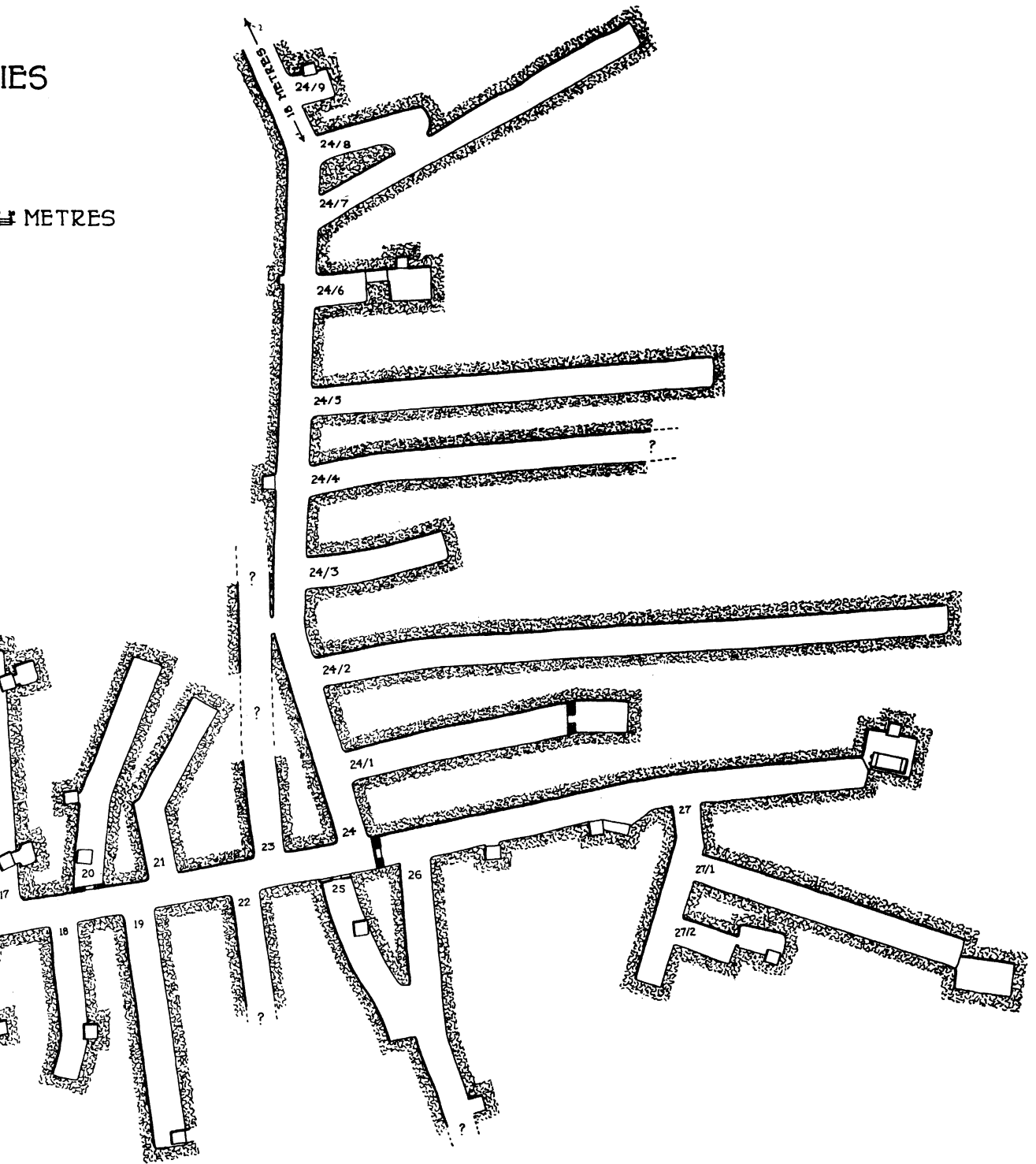
THE HAWK GALLERIES

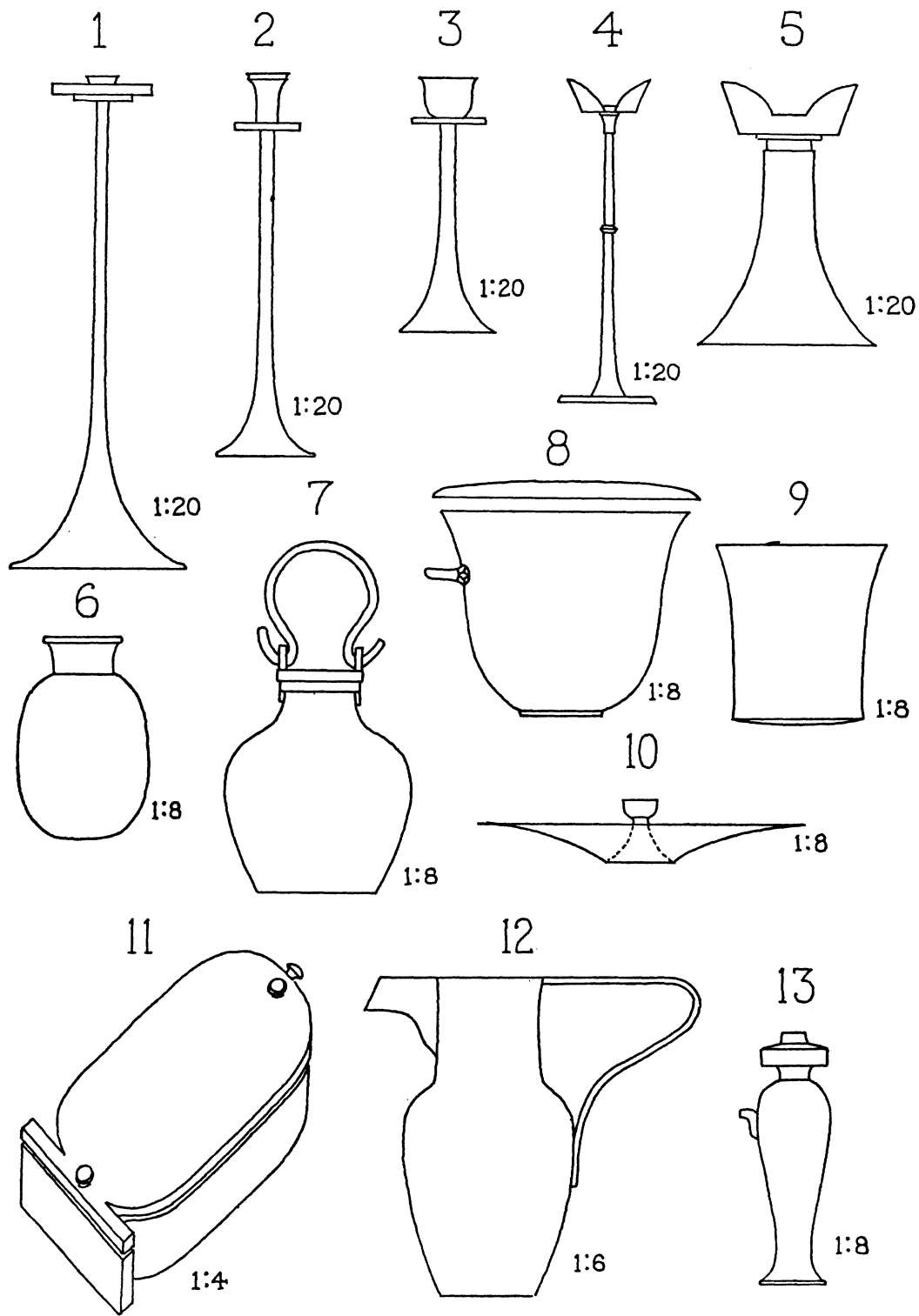
SCALE  METRES



IES

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BRONZE TEMPLE FURNITURE

FIG. 1.

this complex revealed the presence of falcon mummies in wooden boxes instead of the usual pottery jars.

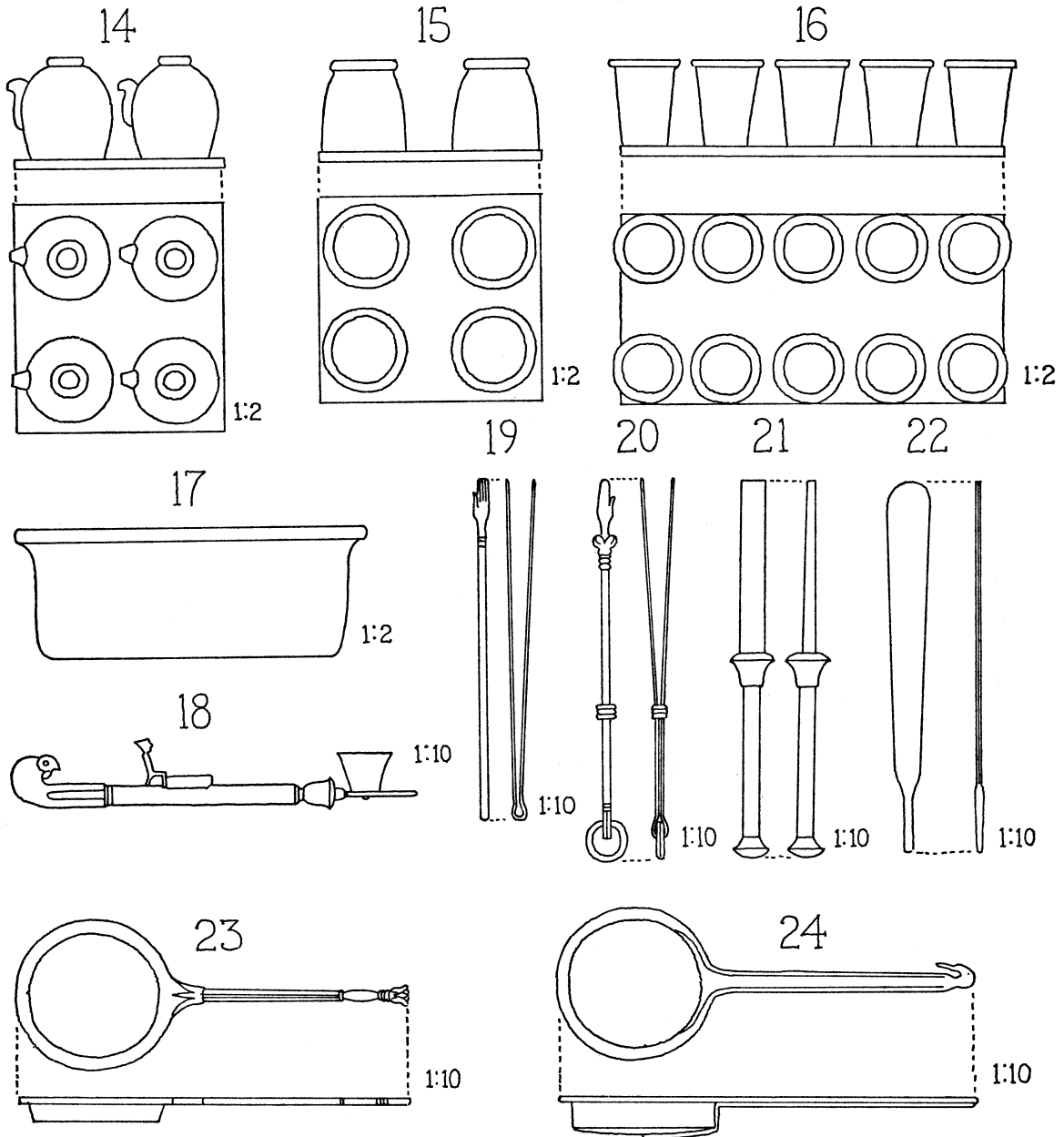
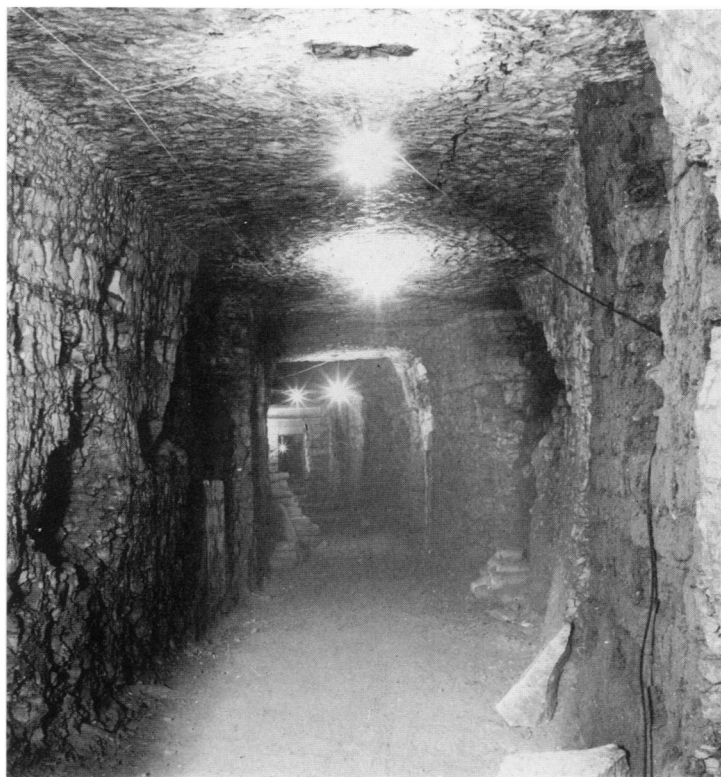


FIG. 2.

These discoveries have drastically altered our future programme with regard to the Falcon Galleries, and it now is obvious that every part of the labyrinth must be examined in detail. This will entail the removal of thousands of mummy pots, a gigantic task which we have postponed until our next season.



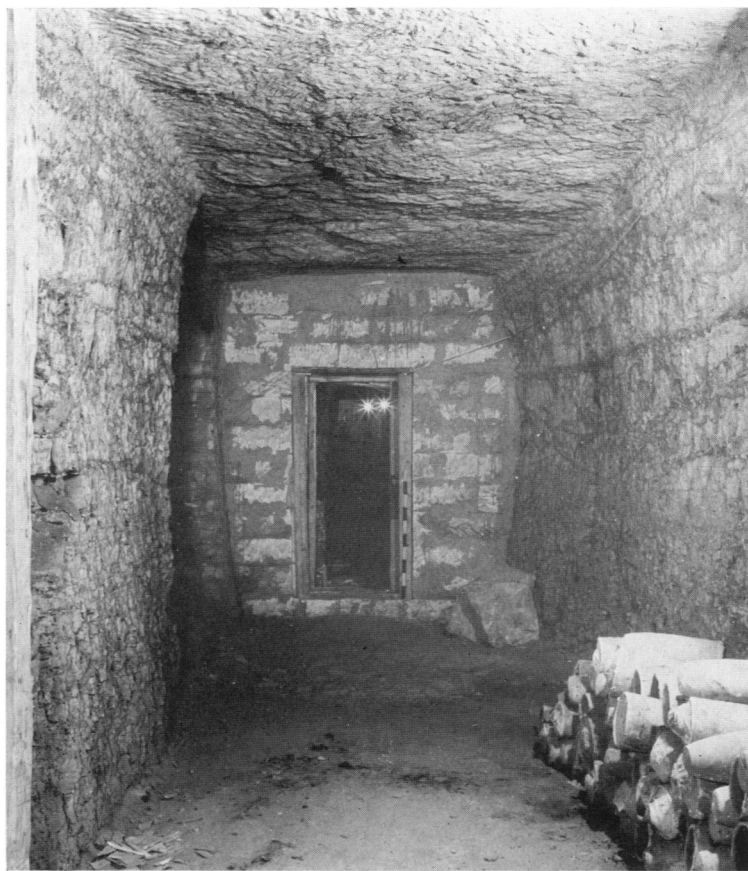
1. Stairway entrance to the Hawk Galleries



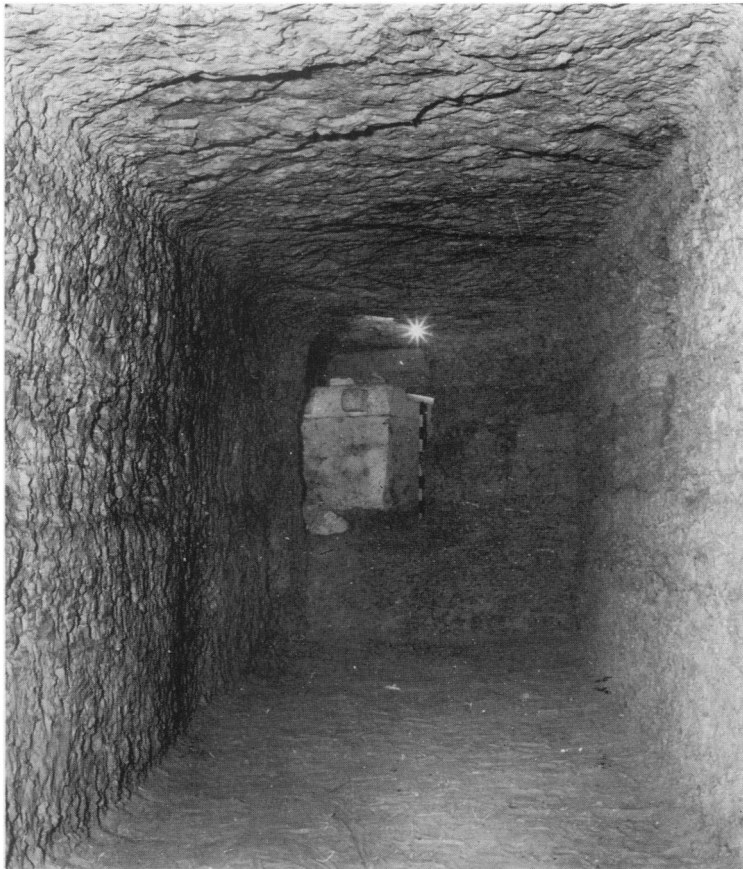
2. The axial gallery after clearance



3. The cavetto gate: exterior



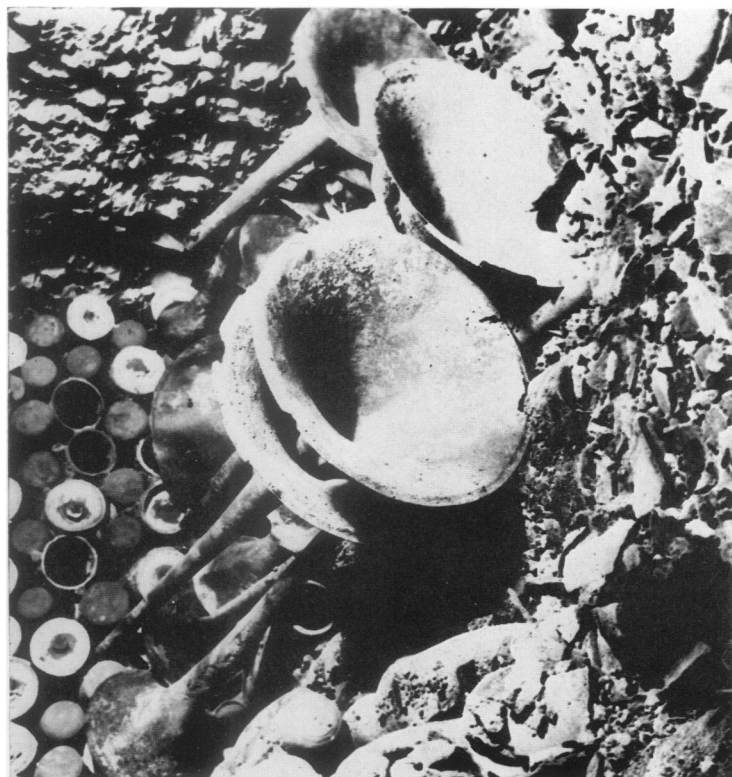
4. The cavetto gate: interior



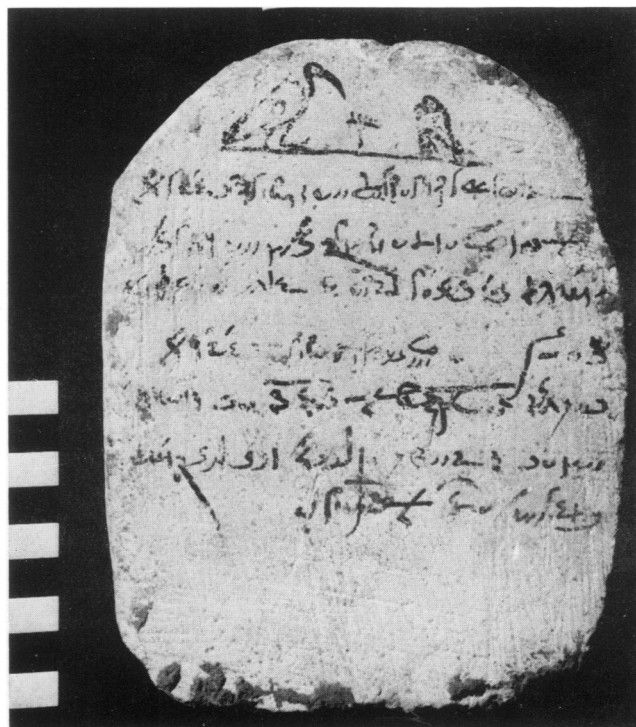
1. End of the axial gallery



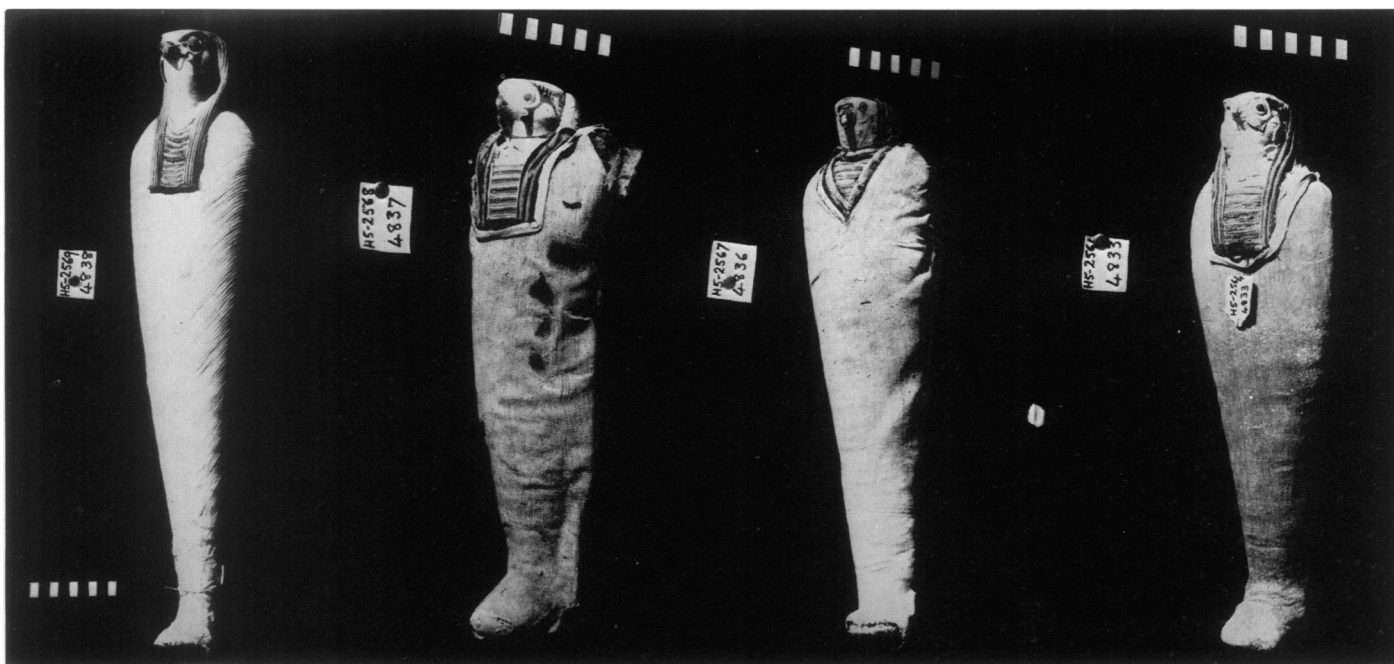
2. Third-Dynasty burial at the end of the axial gallery



3. Temple-equipment burial with falcon mummies



4. Imhotep stela



1. Examples of falcon mummies



2. Canopic jar dedicated for Psammetichus I

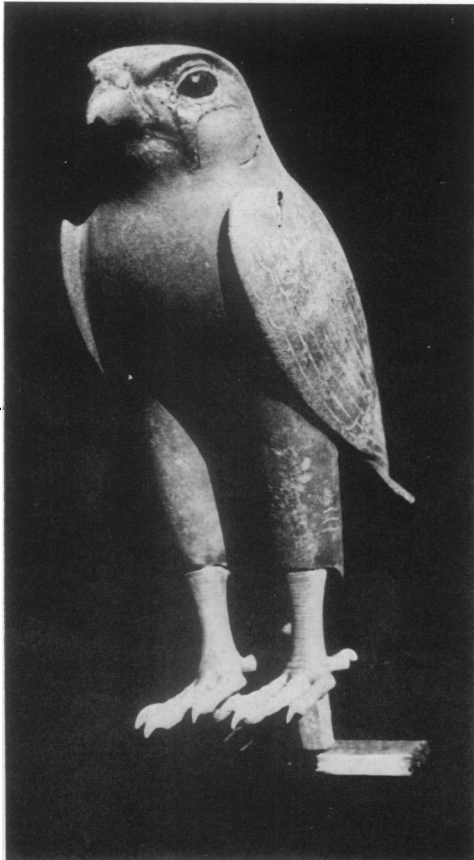
NORTH SAQQÂRA 1969-70



1. Group of temple equipment from the Hawk Gallery



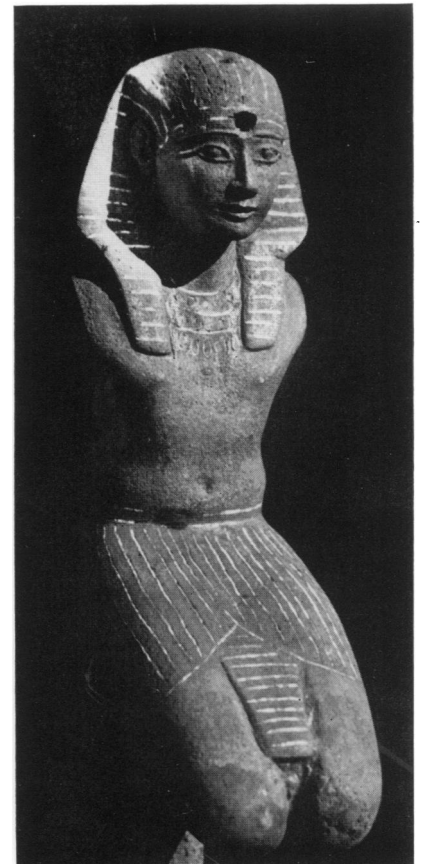
2. Bronze situla



3. Bronze falcon with eyes of obsidian inset in lapis-lazuli



4. Bronze figure of a king



5. Bronze figure of a king



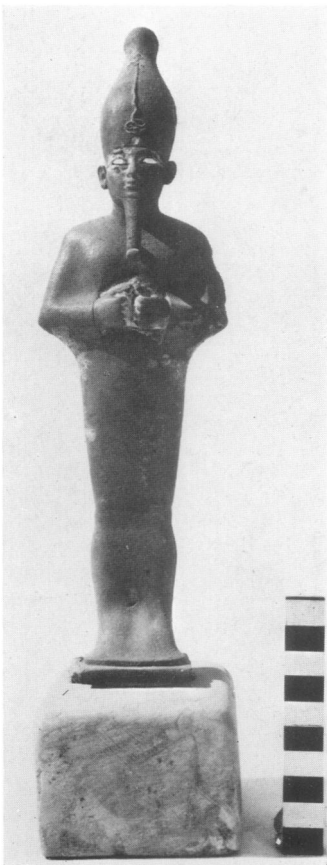
1. Schist mummiform figure of Osiris of obvious foreign workmanship



2. The same



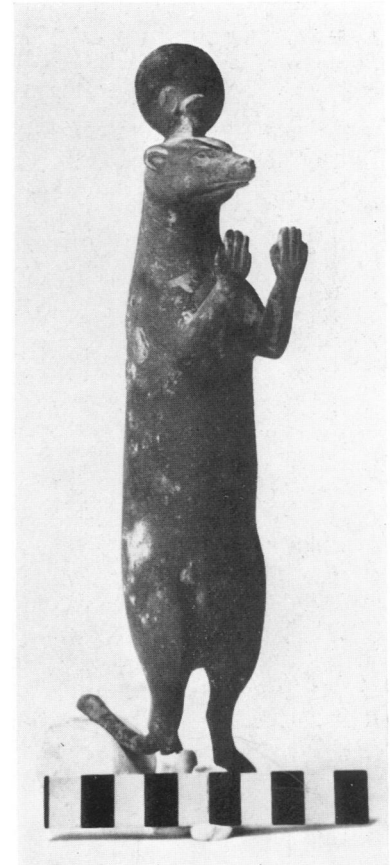
3. Bronze figure of Osiris



4. Bronze figure of Osiris with inlaid eyes



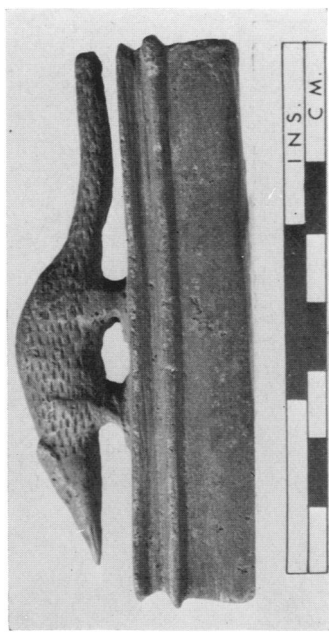
5. Bronze figure of a kneeling servant



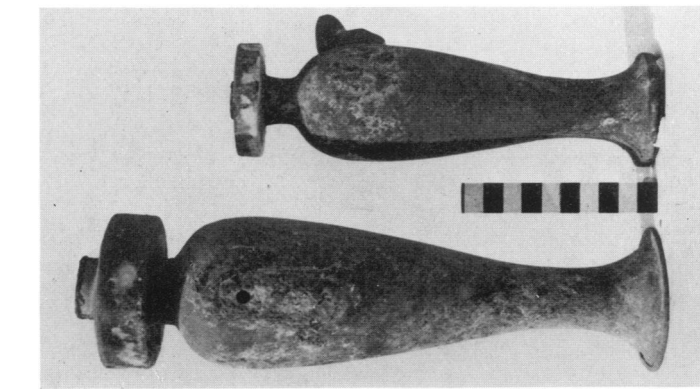
6. Bronze figure of a standing ichneumon



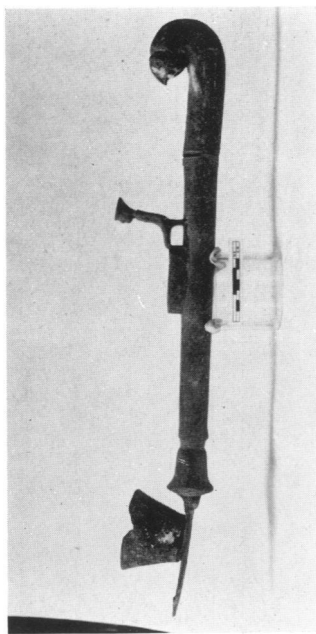
1. Bronze stairway pedestal for a statue of Ptah. *Serekh* of Djoser



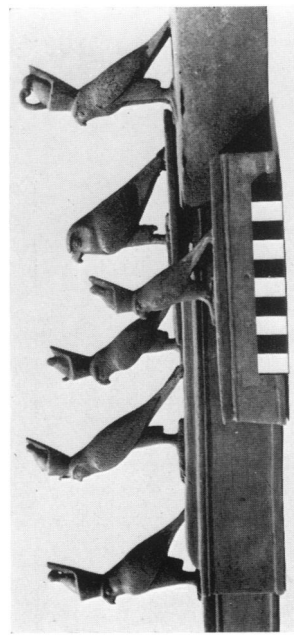
2. Bronze figure of an ichneumon on a box base



4. Examples of bronze *hs*-jars



5. Bronze hand-censer

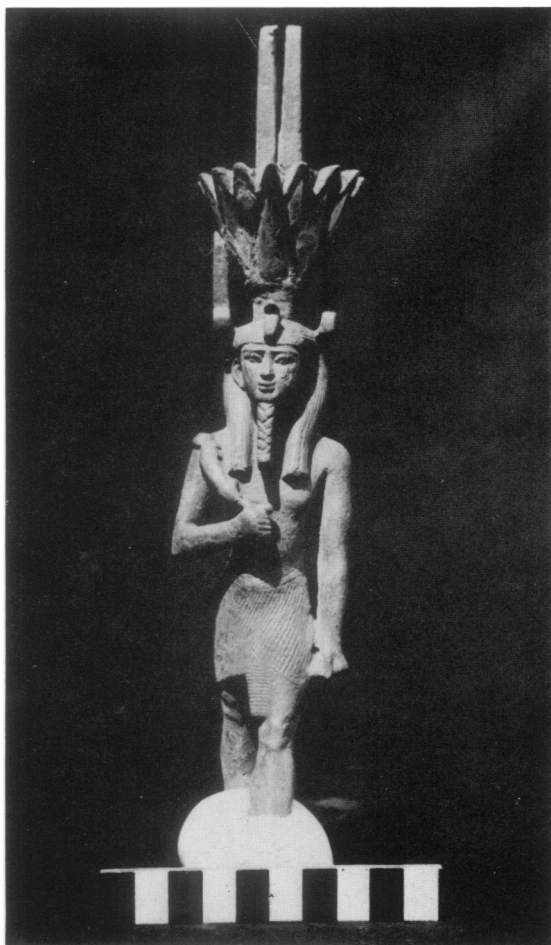


3. Examples of bronze falcons on box bases

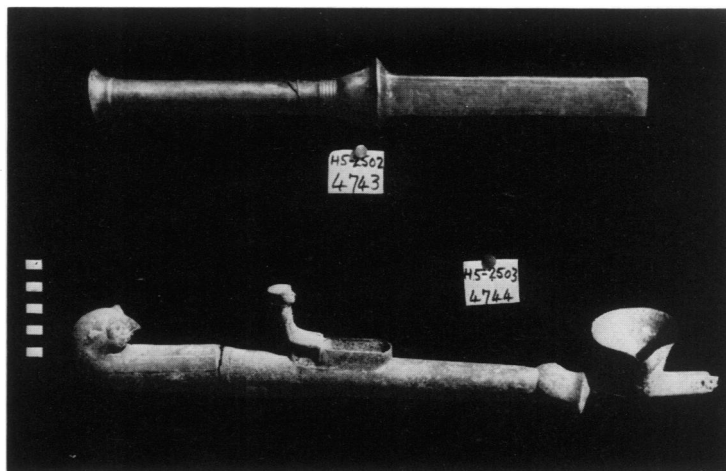


6. Cartouche-shaped box of bronze

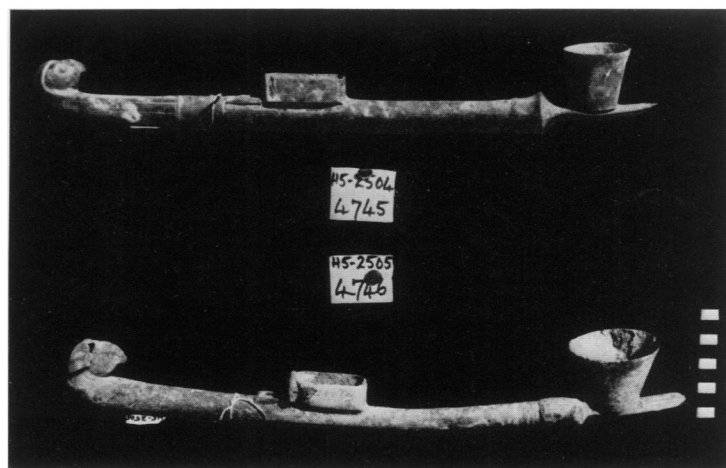
NORTH SAQQARA 1969-70



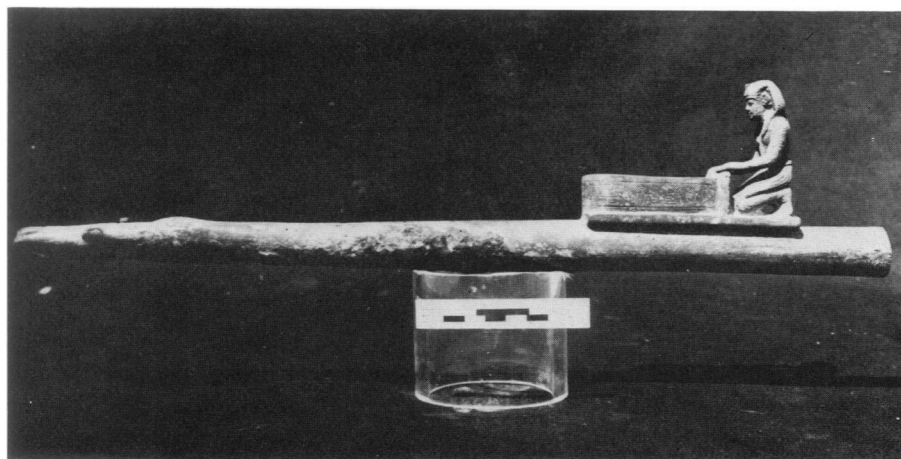
1. Bronze figure of Nefertem. The lotus crest is inlaid with faience and glass



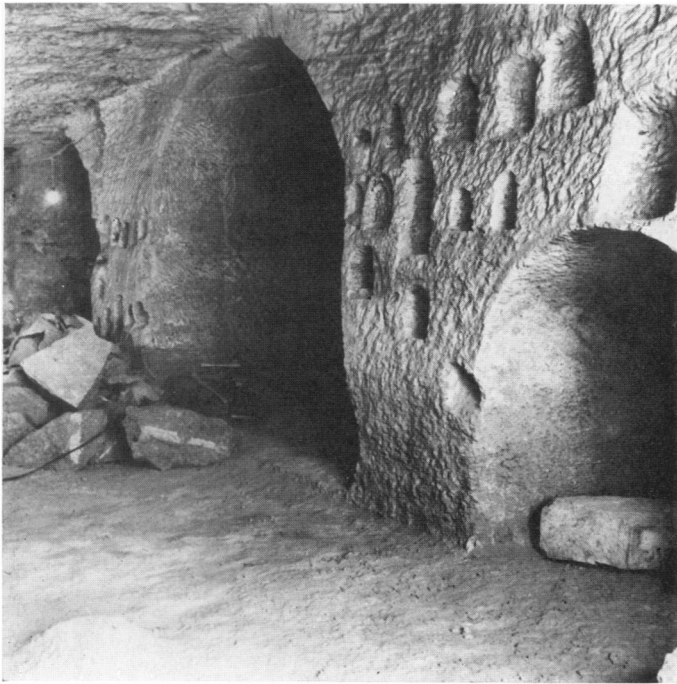
2. A bronze *hrp*-sceptre and bronze hand-censer



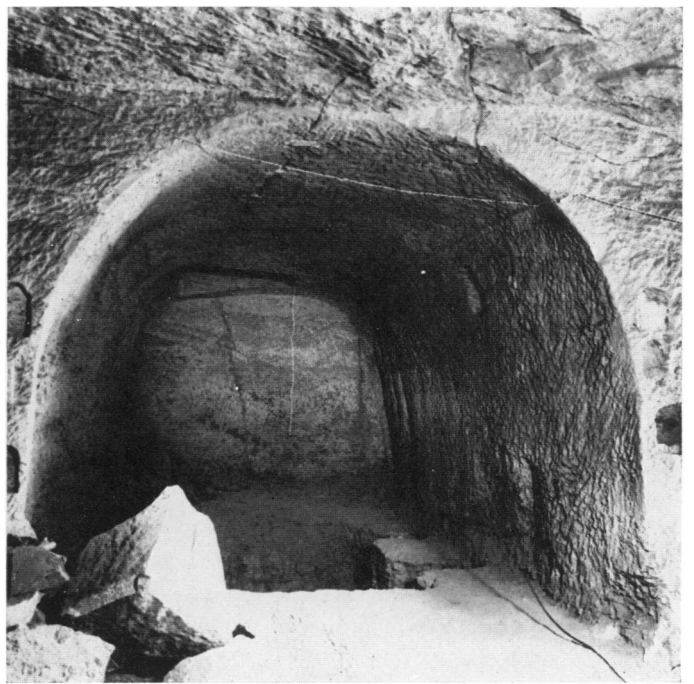
3. Two bronze hand-censers



4. A bronze hand-censer with the kneeling figure of a king holding the incense pellet-box



1. Stelae niches in the Iseum



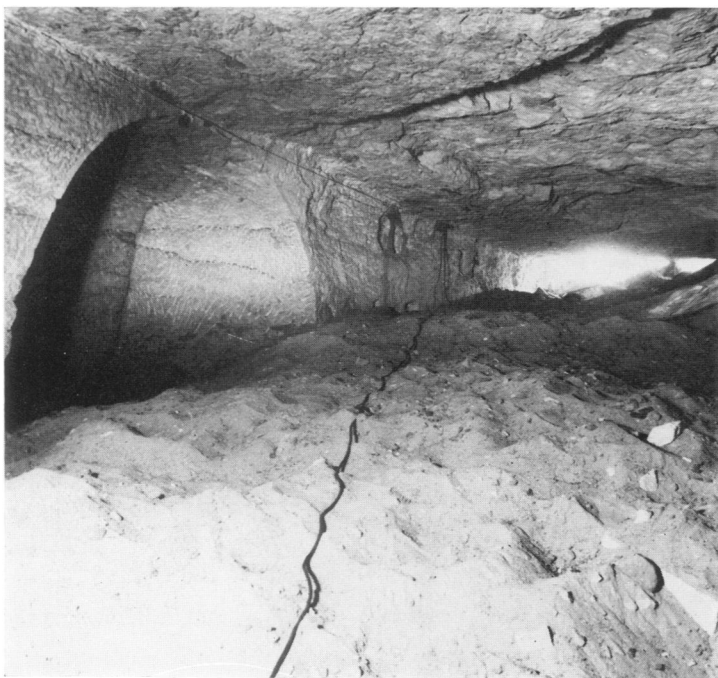
2. Vault 1 of the Iseum



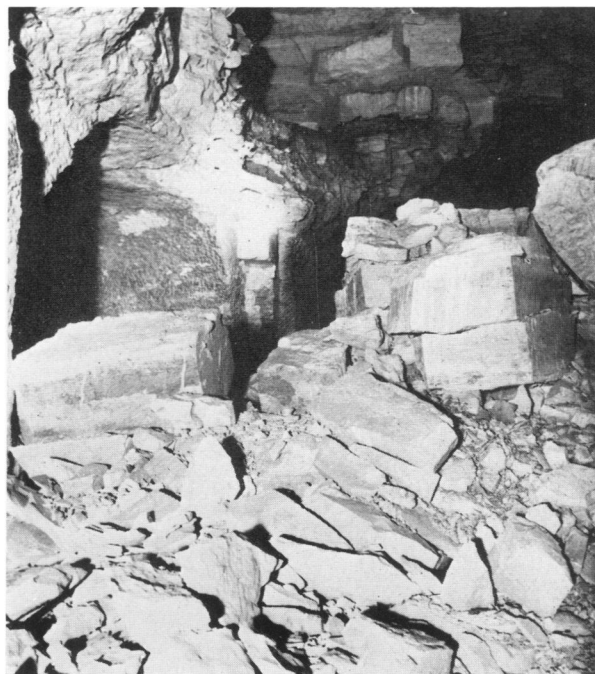
3. Vault 3 of the Iseum



4. Interior of vault 3



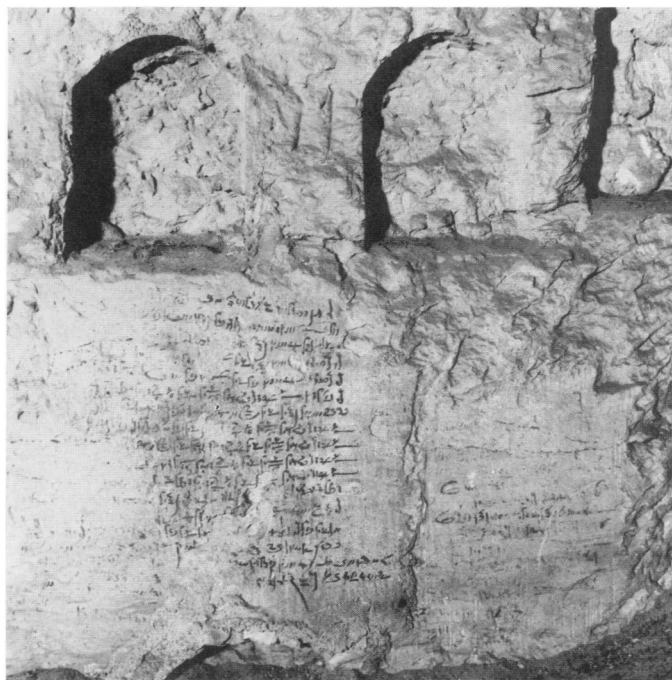
1. Entrance to the Iseum



2. Main gallery of the Iseum blocked by fallen rock



3. Another view of 2



4. Stelae niches and graffiti

Burials of falcons and ibises have been found associated at several different sites, notably at Kôm Ombo, Abydos, and Thebes. Though there is as yet no evidence that the Falcon and Ibis Galleries merge at Saqqâra, and though a considerable distance separates them, it must be pointed out that many galleries in both installations have not yet been fully explored. Moreover, it is notable that some of the communication passages of the Ibis mausoleum go in the direction of the Falcon Galleries, and that demotic graffiti on the masonry blockings and gates blocking some of the side galleries of the falcon installation bear dedications to Thoth the Ibis more frequently than they do to Horus the Falcon.

Concurrently with the work in the Falcon Galleries, excavation by a main body of workers was conducted in the areas both north and south of the south wall of the enclosure of Sector 3. On the surface, a large area of mud-brick buildings was investigated to the south-west of the main temple enclosure (Sector 3). These buildings were cut down to foundation level, and their purpose cannot as yet be ascertained. One solid square brick foundation packed with rubble may have provided the podium to a small peripteral temple or the like, and other buildings were clearly too large to be purely domestic. This emphasizes that the whole escarpment below the temple site down to the valley bottom must once have been a large temple town, and is an integral part of the site requiring excavation. It is from this area that the most important and interesting demotic ostraca were recovered and it was here that we uncovered a stone causeway leading up from the valley which may well have been the main route of access to the site.

But the principal target of our research this season was that which had for so long eluded us; the burial place of Isis, Mother of Apis. Numerous fragments of limestone bearing demotic ink inscriptions referring to Isis, Mother of Apis, which were found in Sector 1 in 1966, indicated the existence of a second Serapeum in the vicinity. This was largely confirmed by the discovery in 1968 of a limestone block bearing a relief of Nectanebo II worshipping the Apis and a cow-headed goddess.¹

To complete our season's excavation the main body of our workers were moved to clear the area north of the temple between the face of the escarpment and the west wall of the enclosure (Sector 3). We received some encouragement in the discovery of some cattle bones showing traces of mummification and fragments of a wooden sledge similar to those found in the Bucheum at Armant. Further encouragement for the clearance in this area was obtained with the discovery in the sand fill behind Shrine D of a cache of bronze objects. The group, certainly temple equipment, consisted of a number of beaten bronze vessels, two situlae, and hand censers of the finest workmanship. It will be recalled that a similar deposit was discovered in this area during a preliminary clearance of this area last season.²

With these discoveries we had every reason to suppose that at last we were on the right track, and so we commenced the clearance of the face of the escarpment which up to that time had remained untouched except at its higher levels. On February 9, in the extreme north-east corner of Sector 3, close to the dividing wall between it and

¹ *JEA* 55 (1969), pl. ix.

² *JEA* 56 (1970), 7.

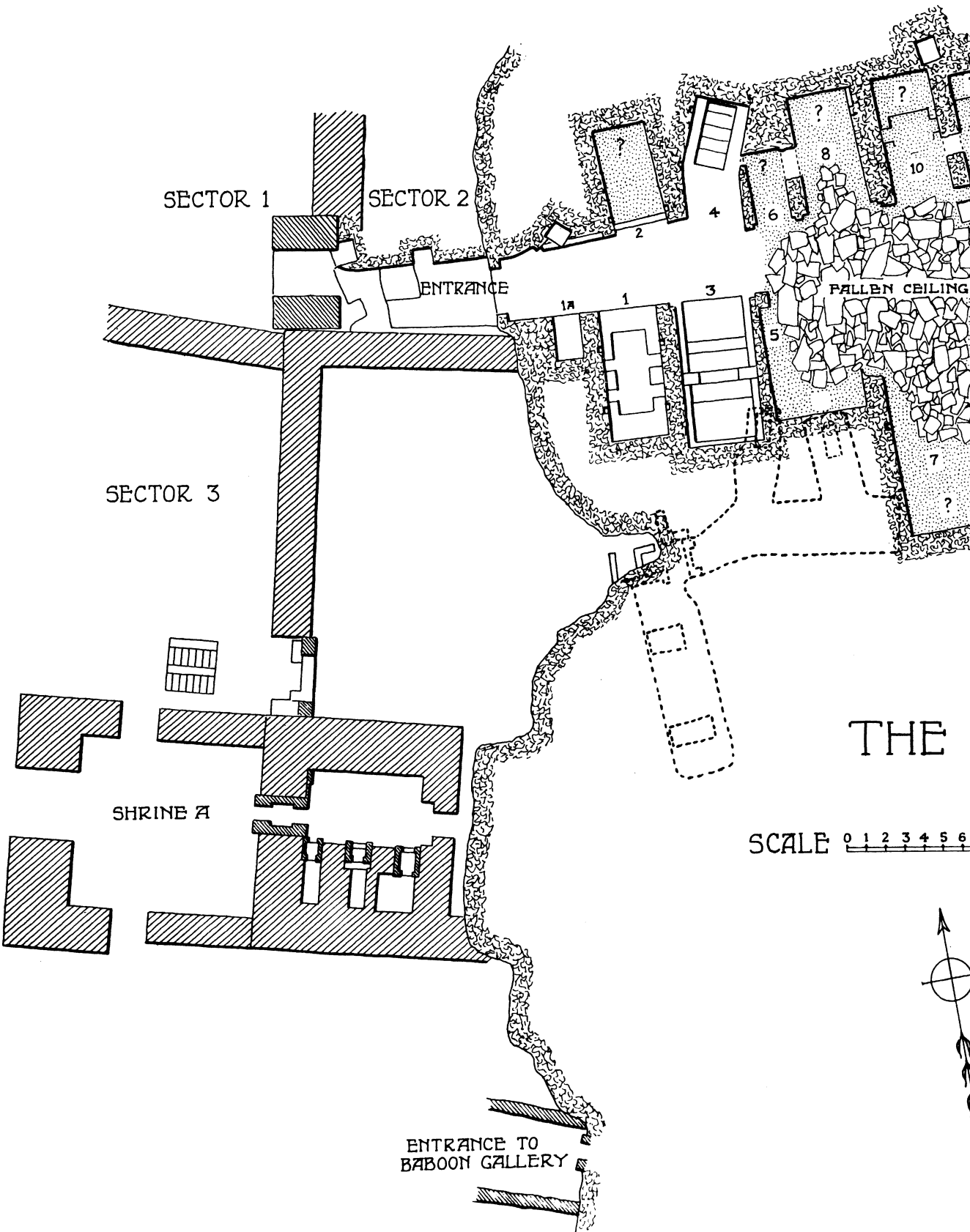
Sector 2, we found a small rock-cut room and in it the mouth of a pit which when cleared revealed an opening in its west wall, obviously the work of plunderers. Entering we found ourselves in a large rectangular rock-cut chamber with vaulted roof. This in turn led into a flat-roofed main gallery running east into the rock face, 3.5 metres wide and 2.5 metres high, from which vaulted side chambers led off on either side, some small, others of massive dimensions (pl. XII). Filled as it was with sand and fallen rock, and obviously ransacked by ancient plunderers, it was impossible at this stage to do more than a preliminary exploration of it, but it was obvious at a first glance that we had, at long last, discovered the burial place of the Isis cows and a counterpart of the Serapeum (pl. XIII).

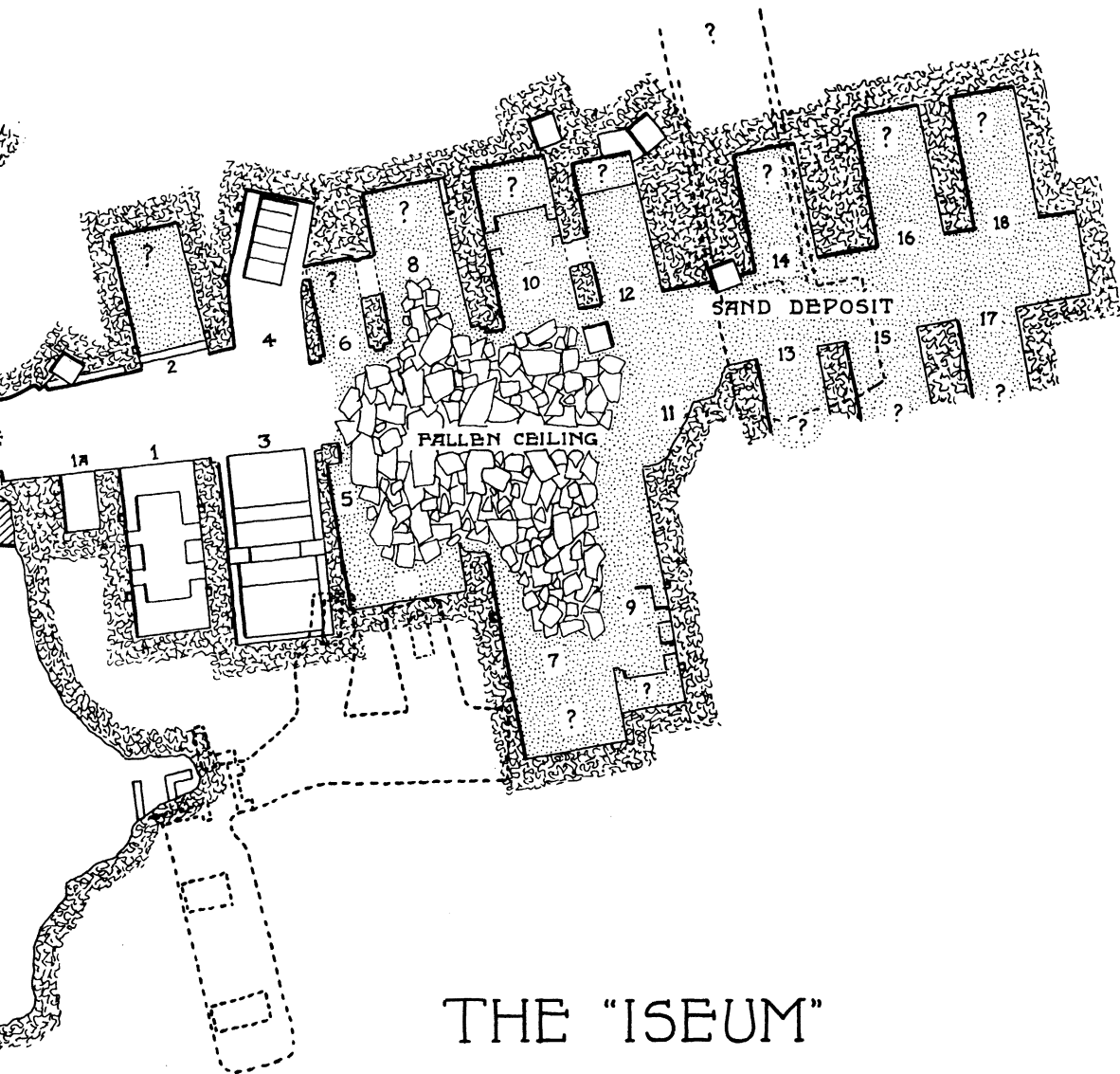
In the vaulted side chambers were visible smashed fragments of great granite sarcophagi and the scattered bones of bovines, while on the rock walls of the main gallery there were visible demotic stelae intact or partially intact in their niches, and several demotic graffiti on the walls (pl. XIII). The construction, dimensions, and multitude of niches for private stelae correspond exactly with those of the Serapeum of the Apis bulls, discovered over a century ago by Mariette. Like the burial installations in the Serapeum, the rock-cut vaults were originally lined with small limestone blocks perfectly set. Similar material was used to block the side chambers after the funeral ceremonies had been completed and it is now evident that the fragments of masonry bearing ink inscriptions referring to Isis, Mother of Apis, which we found in the courtyard of Sector 1 in 1966, came from this stonework.

A rapid survey soon revealed the general direction of the proper entrance and this was eventually uncovered immediately behind an unfinished limestone gateway, the purpose of which had puzzled us in 1966.¹ Only just wide enough to admit a sixty-ton sarcophagus (pl. XII, 1), the opening of the entrance greatly facilitated the progress of our work, so that before the end of the season we were able to clear four of the first side burial vaults. Beyond this the main gallery is blocked by a great fall of rock from the roof and further progress was impossible, because any attempt at clearance might cause a further collapse. Considerable work of an engineering and mining character lies ahead of us before a further advance into the interior is possible, and this will be a major task for us next season (pl. XII, 2-3).

Meanwhile, with considerable difficulty, Mr. Frazer was able to make a preliminary survey of what lay beyond the fallen rock and also to discover the existence of a large transverse passage above it, as yet too dangerous to explore. In the four burials examined, numerous objects were found, blue faience amulets and cylinder beads from the netting which covered the mummies of the cows. Also scraps of gilded wood, probably from the magnificent canopies which we know originally covered the sarcophagi. However, the most interesting and puzzling object recovered from Vault I was a plaque of gessoed and painted wood (fig. 3). Unfortunately in poor condition, the painted design on one side was sufficiently clear to show the figures of a bull and a cow being led in procession by two male and three female human figures depicted in a style, dress, and gestures totally un-Egyptian and similar in many respects to the line work on some

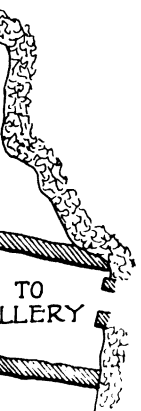
¹ *JEA* 53 (1967), 143.





THE "ISEUM"

SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 METRES



of the Carian funerary stelae discovered during the excavations last season.¹ The plaque, which can hardly be later than the fourth century B.C., shows no sign of having been part of a box or other form of furniture.

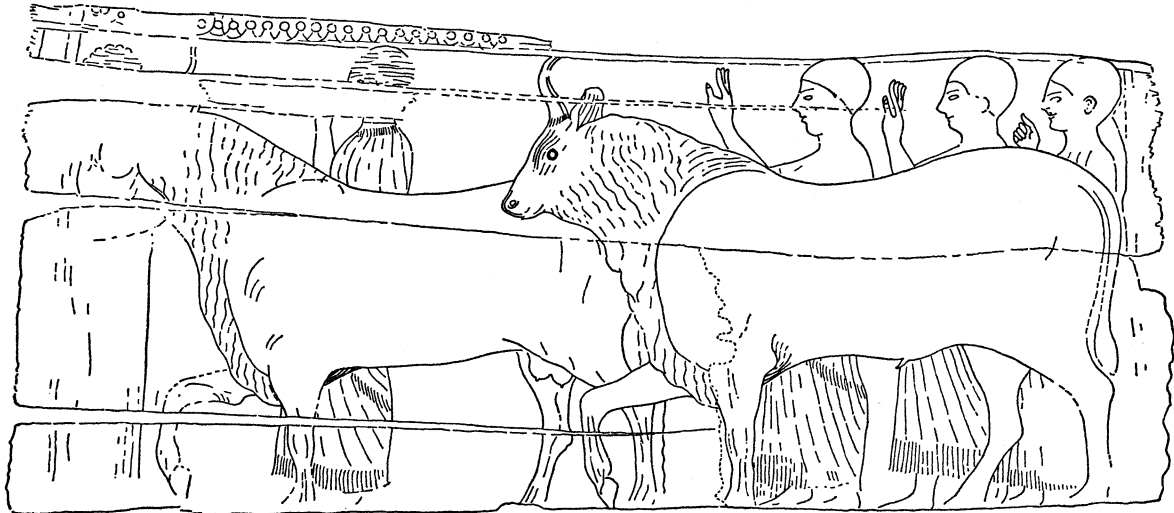


FIG. 3.

From the limited area of the gallery so far investigated a considerable quantity of inscribed material has been recovered and, following a preliminary study, Professor Smith reports as follows:

The most important finds are 68 stelae, whole or fragmentary, recovered from the debris of the main gallery and the vaults, having fallen or been wrenched from their niches in the walls (pl. XII, 4). Together with the graffiti, stelae *in situ*, and the inscribed stones from the fine limestone blockings of certain of the vaults, there are in all now 98 dedicatory inscriptions of the persons who took part in the excavation of vaults and the burial ceremonies of the Mothers of the Apis. Two of these inscriptions are in hieroglyphic, two in late hieratic, one in Greek, and the remainder in demotic. In type the texts correspond to those of the private stelae from the Serapeum. The simplest type lists the 'souls of Osiris Apis and (of Isis, Mother of Apis, and) the servants of the living Apis' who assisted at the burial of a sacred cow; or were members of the family, live or dead, of the dedicator. Most of the stelae, however, bear at the beginning the date of the burial of the cow, and often a more or less elaborate statement of the work done by the dedicators of the stelae, who occasionally bear the title 'necropolis workman'. The details include the opening of the 'Resting-places of Isis, mother of the Apis', the ancient name for the whole site; the excavation and building (i.e. masonry?) of the burial vault; the dragging of the sarcophagus; and the burial and its associated ceremonies. In rare instances the number of men involved is given, with the number of days' rations issued to them for each activity, and the quantities of oil and clothing given them. In a specific instance, two stelae record that the 'salvation'—i.e. death—of the Mother of Apis occurred at 'Beryton-of-Pharaoh(?) in the land on the north of the suburbs of Saïs' in 'month 3 of summer of Year 31 of Ptolemy son of Ptolemy, the god who averts evil' (i.e. Ptolemy II Philadelphus); the 'Resting-place of Isis was opened on the second day of the second month of Inundation', that is two to three months later; the work of excavating the vault (*knhy*) of the Cow is dated 'ninth day of the second month of

¹ *JEA* 56 (1970), 6.

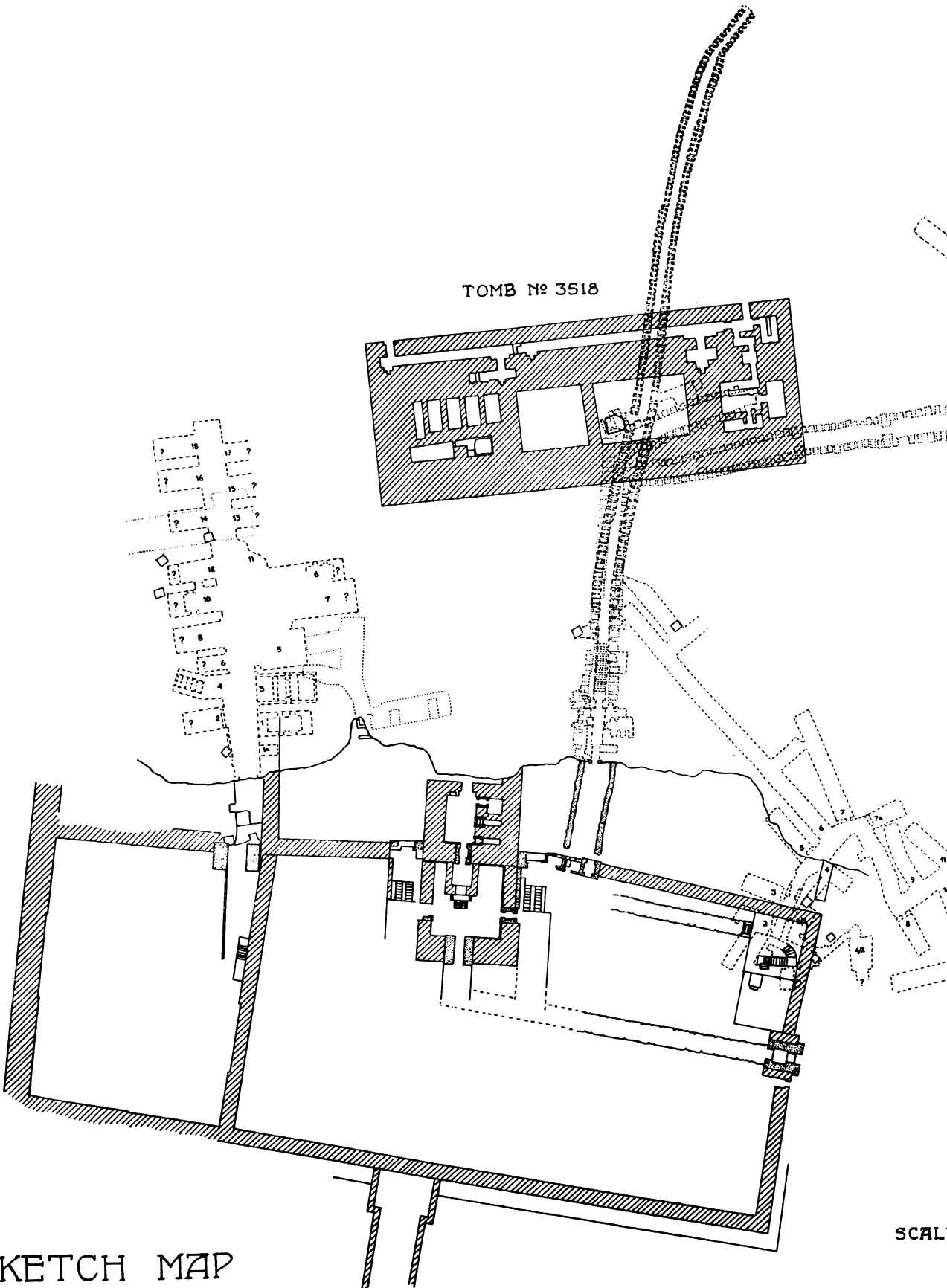
Inundation', seven days later, while the actual burial, if given by the date at the top of one of the stelae, took place on 'the ninth day of the fourth month of Inundation', sixty days after the beginning(?) of the work on the burial vault. Several of the longer stelae include a blessing on any man who shall read the stela and bless the names of those who appear upon it, and a few a corresponding curse: 'He who shall break it, his name shall be cut out of all the temples of Egypt.' Often it is simply Osiris-Apis and Isis, Mother of Apis, who will bless the reader of the stela, but sometimes a longer list of deities is invoked, including Thoth the twice great, Harendotes, Imhotep the great son of Ptah, Anubis, Osiris-Onnophris, and perhaps the ram of Mendes. In one case these deities are said rather to 'bless (*sm*) the work'. It is notable that most of the deities named now appear to have cults on our site. On the stelae found so far the cow is not represented, but in two instances the Apis bull is shown. The cow herself is most regularly referred to as Isis, but sometimes as Taese, 'She who belongs to Isis'.

The inscriptions so far recovered give dates ranging from 393 B.C. to 41 B.C., though most belong to the early part of that range, as is natural, since they come from near the entrance to the gallery, where one would expect the earlier burials to have been made. 19 burials in 350 years roughly corresponds to the 41 burials made in 650 years in the Saïte-Ptolemaic portion of the Serapeum. The earliest burials were in year 1 of Psammuthis and in the reign of Hakor. There was a flurry of activity in years 6-8 of Nakhtnebef (374-372), including at least two burials. There were then burials in years 5 and 9 of Nakhtarehbe (355, 351 B.C.) and one in years 3-5 of Alexander (329-327 B.C.). The next certain burial is in year 9 of Alexander IV (308 B.C., while the young king's death was still officially concealed), followed by another in the 17th year of a Pharaoh Ptolemy, who may be Ptolemy I Soter (294 B.C.). The burial of the cow who died in Saïs took place in years 31-32 of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (253 B.C.). Burials recorded in years 2 and 8 may belong to Ptolemy IV Philadelphus (219, 213 B.C.). Of later burials at present there is record only of one in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, and of one in year 11 of Queen Cleopatra, 'when the Queen was in the land of Khor'; this can only well refer to Cleopatra VII when she met Anthony in Cilicia after Philippi (41 B.C.). This series gives a reasonable pattern of intervals of from 10 to 20 years during the fourth and early third centuries B.C. At present the evidence is clearly very incomplete, and speculation on what happened to a Mother of Apis if she outlived her divine son, and the many associated problems, would be premature. The association of the stelae with the niches in the gallery is a matter of difficulty, since the niches are rough-hewn and the plaster embedding the stela has generally fallen away; even if placed with confidence, it may remain uncertain to which of the adjoining burials the stela refers; and it is always possible that later stelae have been inserted out of true position for space reasons. Of the burials in the chambers so far accessible, No. 1 was possibly that of 372 B.C.; No. 2 must almost certainly have belonged to the reign of Alexander or Alexander IV, more probably the former; No. 3, a large and splendid burial, may very possibly be that of 355 B.C., while for Nos. 4 and 5 there is no satisfactory evidence. No. 6 certainly dated to year 18 of a Pharaoh whom palaeography would suggest to be one of the Nectanebos. A fairly satisfactory progression from the entrance inwards is thus obtained, but no satisfactory location emerges for the burials in years 6-8 of Nakhtnebef, quite apart from those of the XXIXth Dynasty, the evidence for which comes from blocks found in 1966-7.

As the ancient title 'Resting-places of Isis, Mother of the Apis' was considered rather too cumbersome, we have for brevity's sake provisionally named the site the 'Iseum'.

Before closing down the season's work we sank a test pit in the paved floor of the inner chamber of Shrine A, where signs of subsidence suggested the existence of a substructure. From this we recovered a few scattered cow bones and the revelation of a

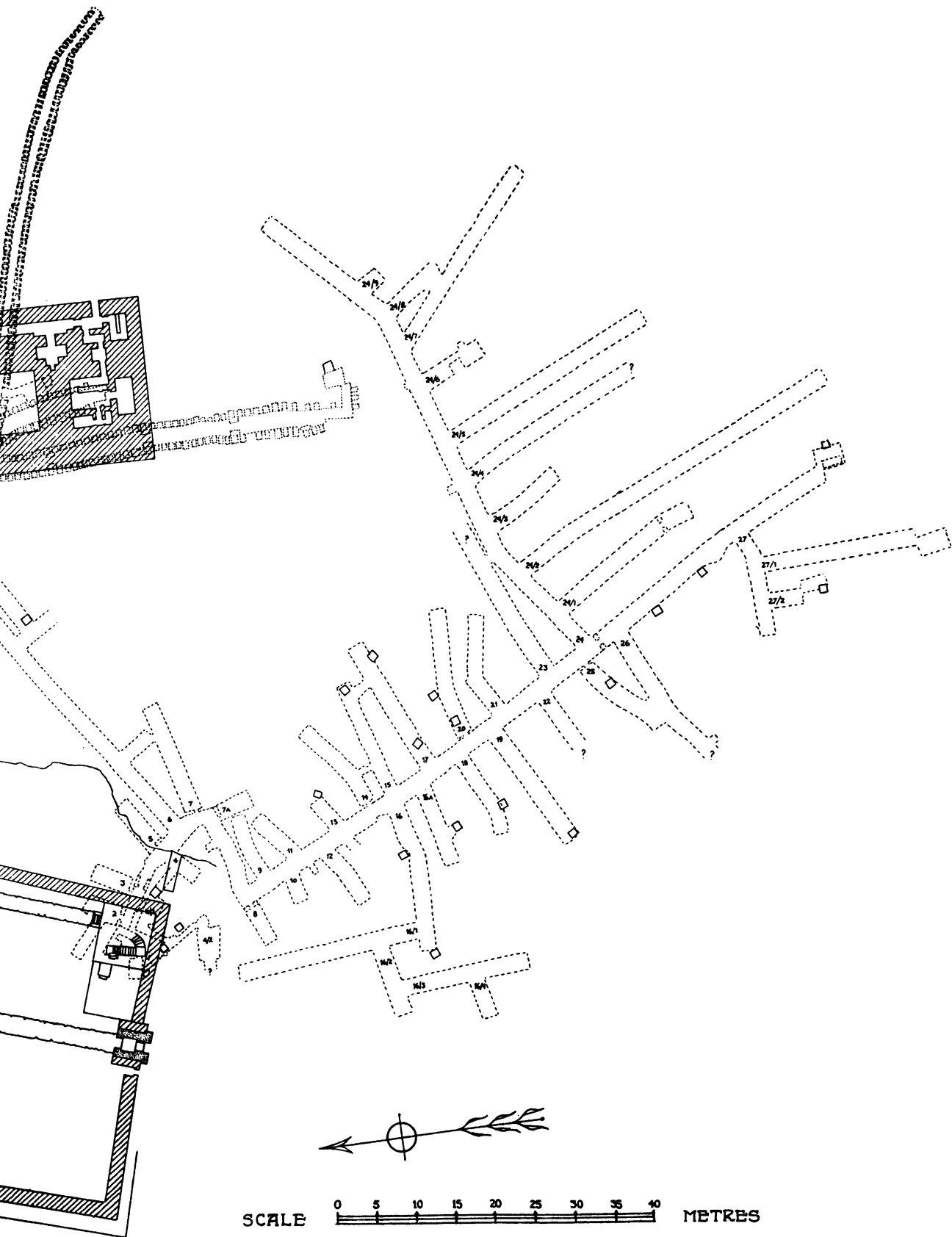
TOMB № 3518



SCALE

SKETCH MAP
AREAS H4-5-6 G4-5-6

NORTH SAQQARA 1969-70



wall cut in the rock which leads towards the face of the escarpment. Further investigation was impossible without the removal of overhanging rock fallen from above and large-scale clearance would also entail the moving of part of the temple fabric. There can be little doubt that a structure of some sort existed here, over which Nectanebo II built his shrine, and it is tempting to think that below may exist an entrance to an earlier part of the 'Iseum', which would probably have escaped the attention of the Christian iconoclasts who destroyed the pagan sanctuaries after the edict of Theodosius in A.D. 379.

COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 148

By MORDECHAI GILULA

IN *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 54 (1968), 40-4, R. O. Faulkner published a translation of Spell 148 of the Coffin Texts. Since my translation and interpretation of this spell differs in many essential points from those of Faulkner, Gwyn Griffiths,* and Drioton† I offer them here.‡

Translation

(THE) TAKING SHAPE AS A FALCON. The lightning-flash strikes(?)¹ and the gods are afraid. Isis wakes up pregnant with the seed of her brother Osiris; the woman raises herself in a hurry,² her heart rejoicing over the seed of her brother Osiris, and she says:³ 'O gods! I am Isis the sister of Osiris who wept for the father of the gods, Osiris, who parted (= settled) the slaughterings of the Two Lands.⁴ His seed is within my body, and it is as the son of the foremost of the Ennead who will⁵ rule this land and who will⁶ become heir to Geb and who will⁷ speak for his father and who will slay⁸ Seth, the enemy of his father Osiris, that I have moulded the shape of the god within (my) egg.⁹ Come, O gods, so that you shall make¹⁰ his protection within my womb. Know in your hearts that¹¹ your lord is he, this god, who is in his egg, blue(?) of form, the lord of the gods. Great is their beauty, namely (that of) the blue barbs(?) of the two plumes.'¹²

'Oh,' said Rē-Atum, 'let your heart be prudent, O woman.¹³ How do you know¹⁴ that he is a god and lord and heir of the Ennead so that you should act¹⁵ against him in the egg?'

'I am Isis, more spirit-like and august than the gods. There is a god within this body (womb) of mine and the seed of Osiris is he.'¹⁶

Then said Rē-Atum: 'Young woman! If you are pregnant, then conceal from the gods that you are pregnant and that you are giving birth and that the seed of Osiris is he,¹⁷ lest¹⁸ that enemy who slew his father shall come and break the egg in its early stages—the one¹⁹ of whom The Great-of-Magic is afraid.'²⁰

'Hear this, O gods,' said Isis, 'which Rē-Atum the lord of *Hwt-ḥmw* has said. It is within my body (womb) that he has decreed for me the protection of my son²¹ and it is within this womb of mine that he has arranged an entourage around him,²² for he knows²³ that the heir of Osiris is he.²⁴ The protection of the falcon, who is in this body of mine, has been provided for by Rē-Atum, lord of the gods.'²⁵

'Come²⁶ and go forth on earth and I shall give you glory—the retainers of your father Osiris will serve (follow) you²⁷—and I will make your name when you shall have reached the horizon²⁸ having passed over the battlements of the (Mansion of) Him-whose-name-is-Hidden. Strength will issue from within my flesh²⁹—since power has reached (or: attacked) my flesh³⁰ and power reached . . .³¹ No sooner will *Ḥw* have fared³² than he³³ will have occupied his own place and will be seated³⁴ at the head of the gods in the entourage of *Wḥr*. O Falcon, my son Horus,³⁵ dwell in this land of

* J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool, 1960), 52-3.

† E. Drioton, *Pages d'Égyptologie* (Le Caire, 1957), 270-84.

‡ I first read this spell with H. J. Polotsky, and I also had the benefit of attending a class of E. F. Wente in Chicago in which this spell was read.

your father Osiris in this your name of Falcon who is on the battlements of the Mansion of Him-whose-name-is-Hidden, and I shall ask that³⁶ you shall be in the suite of Rēc-Akhety and in the prow of the primeval bark for ever and ever.'

Isis goes down to the *Whr* which brought Horus³⁷ after Isis had asked that he will be in the *Whr* as leader of eternity.³⁸

'Behold Horus, you gods!³⁹ I am Horus the (Great) Falcon who is on the battlement of the Mansion of Him-whose-name-is-hidden. My flight has reached the horizon, having overpassed the gods of the sky,⁴⁰ thus promoting my position more than that of the Primeval Ones—(even) *Isr* is unable to equal my first flight⁴¹—so that my place is far⁴² from Seth, the enemy of my father Osiris. I have passed the eternal roads to the dawn,⁴³ going up in my flight. There is no god who has done what I have done. I shall attack⁴⁴ the enemy of my father Osiris, and he will be set under my sandal⁴⁵ in this my name of *idmw*. I am Horus born of Isis whose protection was made within the egg (and therefore) the fiery blast of your mouth did not attack me⁴⁶ and what you say⁴⁷ against me cannot reach me. I am Horus more distant of place than people and gods; I am Horus son of Osiris.'

Notes

1. The same expression *ki sšd* is found also in *CT* II, 254*a*. Drioton has translated: 'Un ouragan siffle' (*Pages d'Égyptologie*, 272 n. 3). Klaus Baer of the Oriental Institute told me that he thinks the verb *ki* is identical with the verb $\Delta\downarrow\downarrow$ found in Hatnub Gr. 20, 14. I think that J. Gwyn Griffiths is correct in assuming that this passage is just a spell-opening and has nothing to do with the impregnation of Isis (cf. *JEA* 56, 194 f.); so also *CT* II, 257*a*.

2. *ts sy hmt* is probably a 'dramatic' *sḏm:f* as is also *rs ist* of the preceding sentence. These are stage directions or a description of what is happening on stage and are to be translated as present tense. Although I have no decisive evidence as to its nature, it appears to me that this *sḏm:f* is identical with the circumstantial *sḏm:f* and that just as the circumstantial *sḏm:f* is used in describing pictured scenes (Polotsky, 'Egn. Tenses', § 11, n. 6) so it is also used in describing actual scenes (in dramatic texts). A case in point might be Pyr. 956: *dd mdw cḏ pt nwr tḏ iḏ Hr hr Dhwtj ts-sn Wsir hr gs-f di-sn cḥc-f m Psḏty*. If *di-sn* (and the preceding *ts-sn*) is not a *Prospective sḏm:f* of result or purpose, it has to be a *Circumstantial sḏm:f* (cf. Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, § 11) and the translation by R. O. Faulkner (*The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford, 1969) in the present tense fits very well: 'The sky reels, the earth quakes, Horus comes (The writing \downarrow in the Pyramid Texts is that of the *Perfect sḏm:f*—cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* §§ 474 bb, 473 cc. I have a suspicion that it might also be the writing of the *Circumstantial sḏm:f* in the aforementioned employment. For the writing of the various forms of the verb "to come" in M.E. cf. Polotsky, *ibid.* with note 7) Thoḥ appears, they raise Osiris from upon his side and make him stand up in front of the Two Enneads.'

The *sḏm:n:f* form in S2P, S1P can well be translated as emphatic, the stressed adverbial adjunct being the following circumstantial phrase or *wn:t(i)* (which is the Old Perfective or the infinitive used adverbially). With *ts sy hmt wnt* (or *wn:ti*) compare Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, I, 19 *ts tw wn tw* 'raise yourself, hurry!' and also *Pyr.* 622.

3. Or circumstantial *sḏm:f*, 'saying'.

4. Cf. Drioton, op. cit. 273 n. 3 and *JEA* 37, 29-31.

5-8. These are all *sdm.ty.fy* forms modifying Horus 'the son of the foremost of the Ennead'.

9. *ts.ni* (212b) is in all probability an emphatic *sdm.nf* and its stressed adverbial adjunct (the predicate of the sentence) is 212c-213b.

10. *ir.tn* is a prospective *sdm.f* following the imperative.

11. The particle *is* is a grammatical morpheme and not a mere strengthening particle. In its original use in Old and Middle Egyptian this *is* is found in affirmative as well as negative sentences. In negative sentences *is* is an integral part of the negation. Cf. my review of H. Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen* in *JEA* 56 and also *JEA* 55, 216-17 and *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 20 (1968), 60. In affirmative sentences *is* is a morpheme of subordination. I deal with these constructions in a book which I hope will soon be published. Meanwhile it will suffice to mention here that there are three different ways of subordination in Old and Middle Egyptian (especially in the religious literature) and each one of them is basically limited to a specific sentence pattern.

a. *ntt*. This is confined mainly to adverbial sentences (including what Gardiner termed the Pseudo-verbal Construction) which are of the pattern of *Non-Verbal Sentences with iw*. [For the difference between *wnt* and *ntt* cf. H. J. Polotsky, *Orientalia*, 38 (1969), 480-1. In Old Egyptian *wnt* is the subordinating morpheme of this sentence pattern. It is found occasionally also in verbal constructions with *iw*, but not (to my knowledge) in sentences without *iw*.] *ntt* is a part of the following sentence and forms with it a clause subordinated to a verb or preposition (*wnt* is extremely rare after prepositions; cf. Edel, *Altägyptische Gr.* § 1043). Thus the combination *n-ntt* (and for that matter all the combinations of 'preposition-*ntt*-sentence') is not to be understood as a compound (*n-ntt*), but rather is to be analysed as *n ntt*.

b. 'that'-form—a nominal form of the verb. This is confined to *Verbal Sentences with iw*, i.e. *iw sdm.f* and *iw sdm.nf*. These are the only indicative predicative main verbal sentences in Middle Egyptian and they are subordinated by turning them to a 'that'-form, i.e. by nominalizing them. Cf. 217d-e; 218b; 221f; 222c.

c. *is*. *is* is the subordinating morpheme of *Non-Verbal Sentences Without iw*, i.e. Nominal Sentences, Adjectival Sentences, and Cleft Sentences (the Participial Statement and Emphatic Sentences with stressed adverbial adjunct).

These modes of subordination are used respectively for each of the above-mentioned patterns when they are subordinated to a preposition or certain verbs—as their complements—especially *rh* 'to know' and *dd* 'to say'. These are the true instances of indirect speech in Old and Middle Egyptian and our text (214a) is to be understood in this way. It is a 'content sentence', so also 215c-d and 217e for which cf. Polotsky, *ibid.* and 219a. For a 'that'-form in a content sentence cf. 217d and Polotsky, *ibid.* and 221f. For an Emphatic sentence as a Content Sentence, cf. e.g. *CT* I, 278c-f and compare *Pyr.* 1862a-b (*wnt.f ii m ntr*). For an Adjectival Sentence as a Content Sentence cf. *CT* I, 155g, *CT* IV, 84g-i and *CT* V, 49b-c. For Possessive Sentences cf. *CT* VI, 348e; *CT*, IV, 391e. For Participial Statement cf. *CT* II, 24c (B1Bo). Altogether I have

47 examples of *is* in Content Sentences. In some cases, due to hypercharacterization, *ntt* and *is* are found together in the same clause, but this is mainly after a preposition, and I discuss it in my book. Some scholars have observed that after the preposition *n* the particle *is* is found in Nominal Sentences, but the only explicit observation I could find for this is by Satzinger, op. cit. 30, n. 32.

The negation of the subordinated sentences is carried out in three different ways: (1) by using *ntt* as a subordinating morpheme with independent negative sentences, e.g. *ntt n sdm:f*, *ntt n sdm:n:f*, *ntt n sdmw:f* (passive), *ntt nn sdm:f*, *ntt n sp sdm:f*. (2) by employing *tm* as a nominal form of the verb ('that'-form). Such sentences do not need an additional subordinating morpheme. In Old Egyptian in Content Sentences *nfr:n* is used. (3) by the nominalization of the negative word \neg , i.e. by employing *iwty* in all the constructions which would use *n* (sometimes *nn*) in an independent negative sentence. In a way this is the predecessor of no. 1 above.

12. ϵ_3 *nfr:sn* (S2P, S1P, S1 Chass.) can be a new sentence or a description of the gods (or of the 'blue(?) forms'—'whose beauty is great'). Although the exact meaning of *hww* (215a) is not known, the construction of the sentence appears to me to be that of a Badal-apposition and I would translate it either as I did above or 'they are great, they are beautiful, namely the blue barbs(?) of the two plumes' (or: 'the barbs of the two blue plumes'). Drioton has translated: 'le seigneur des dieux, de ceux mêmes qui sont grands, beaux et coiffés de deux plumes bleues'.

13. *si ib:t hmt*—an independent prospective *sdm:f*.

14. This is addressed to the gods by Rē-Atum who is on Isis's side, and he tries to pacify the gods who are obviously against her and her would-be son.

irh:tn rf mi-ışst. *mi-ışst* is the predicate of the sentence which must accordingly be an emphatic *sdm:f*. It is very probable that the writing *irh* represents the emphatic forms of 2-*lit.* verbs. In any case the \downarrow appears to be written not for merely phonetic reasons, but rather for syntactic reasons, and is a grammatical morpheme.

ntr is pw (215d–216a) is a case of a nominal sentence subordinated to *rh* by means of *is*. Cf. note 11 above.

15. *ir tn rf m-hnw swht* is a Prospective *sdm:f* of result.

16. Isis intervenes rather foolishly, stressing her point that the child she carries is that of Osiris.

17. Rē-Atum tries to instil Isis with some reason. For the construction of this exceedingly uncommon sentence, cf. H. J. Polotsky, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 4 (1947), 104, n. 9 and *Orientalia*, 38 (1969), 481 with n. 1. Paraphrased this sentence would mean: 'OK young woman! You *are* pregnant! Now what you should do (*sdh:t pw*—a *sdm:f pw* construction) is to conceal from the gods that you are pregnant and that you are about to give birth and that the offspring of Osiris is he (your child).' The first *iwr:t* is probably a 'that'-form and is the protasis of *sdh:t pw . . . r ntrw*. The second *iwr:t* and *ms:t* are 'that'-forms as complements of *sdh* 'to hide'. For this and for *wnt mtwt Wsir is pw* see n. 11 above. For the 'hyperarchaistic' employment of *wnt* in this sentence cf. H. J. Polotsky, *Orientalia*, 38 (1969), 480.

18. Or: 'so that the enemy will not come . . .' *imy* is the negation of the 2nd and

3rd person Prospective *sdm:f* when used as injunction. In this particular case it appears to me that it should be translated as purpose or result. Compare A. de Buck, *Egn. Reading-book*, 123, 14–15. Cf. also H. Satzinger's *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen*, 81–9.

19. i.e. Seth the enemy of Osiris.

20. Seth is so strong that even The-Great-of-Magic is afraid of him. *nri rf wr-hkꜣw* is a *sdm:w:f* relative form. Usually *nri* is used with the preposition *n*.

21. *wdꜣn:f*—an Emphatic *sdm:n:f* at the beginning of direct speech.

22. *tsꜣn:f*—Emphatic *sdm:n:f* or circumstantial *sdm:n:f*, 'for he has arranged an entourage around him in this my womb'.

23. *rhꜣf*—a Circumstantial *sdm:f*.

24. Cf. n. 11 above.

25. *dii* may be a circumstantial passive *sdmw:f* indicating result.

26. Cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* § 610, but also Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* § 250. Isis addresses Horus who is not yet born.

27. *šms ꜥw šmsw itꜣk Wsir* is either an independent Prospective *sdm:f* or a Prospective *sdm:f* dependent on *diꜣi* of the preceding sentence. It can also be translated as circumstantial *sdm:f*—'the retainers of your father Osiris serving (following) you'.

28. *phꜣnꜣk*—it appears to me that this would be best understood as circumstantial *sdm:n:f* relating to future events (future perfect). It can also be an emphatic *sdm:n:f*, the stressed adverbial adjunct being the Old Perfective *swꜣ. ti* 'having passed'.

29. Or: 'may the strength come out . . .' I take *pr phꜣty* as Prospective *sdm:f* but see end of n. 31 below. This (220b–221b) is addressed to the gods.

30. *phꜣn st m-hnw ifꜣi* appears to me to be circumstantial or circumstance in the future—'after the strength will have reached my body'—so also the following sentence. For *st* cf. *JEA* 34, 13–15.

31. Cf. Faulkner's note (no. 23). Professor Wente thinks that this passage has to do with the birth of Horus. The verb *ks* [*Wb.* v, 139 (4, 5)] is found in *CT* IV, 125c–d and 123d. In *CT* VII, 183k *ks* is a noun: *ink nb ks*, so also *CT* VII, 203i; in *CT* VII, 201i it appears to have some meaning of 'force', 'strength'. See also *CT* VII, 482f. It appears to me that it has some meaning of 'endurance' and that our passage might be translated: 'the power has reached its limits(?)' referring to the labour in giving birth to Horus. I understood *pr phꜣty* in 220b as prospective because of its being without *iw* in what appears to be an independent sentence. May be this is a 'dramatic' *sdm:f* uttered by one of the actors (Isis) and describing the situation: 'the strength is leaving (or: leaves) my body since the pangs(?) have reached (or: attacked) my flesh and the labour has reached its limit(?)'.

32. *skdd* can be an emphatic *sdm:f* and its predicate the following circumstantial clause.

33. Horus?

34. *hms(w)* is the Old Perfective of result.

35. Isis addresses Horus again.

36. *dbꜣi* is a Prospective *sdm:f*; *wnnꜣk* is a 'that'-form in a content sentence. Cf. note 11 above.

37. *in Hr* can also be a passive *sdmw·f* 'after Horus has been brought' (or: delivered).
38. Or: 'that he will be *whr* and leader'. For *wnn·f* cf. note 11 above. *dbh* can also be an independent Emphatic sentence.
39. Horus addresses the gods.
40. Or: 'the gods and Nwt'. *ph·n·i* appears to me to be Emphatic *sdm·n·f* and the stressed adverbial adjunct can be either *sw·n·i* (circumstantial *sdm·n·f*) or 223d *shnt·i*, which is in my opinion a Prospective *sdm·f* of result.
41. i.e. his first flight after he had been born. This appears to me to be a parenthesis.
42. i.e. out of the reach of Seth. *w·st·i* can be either a Prospective *sdm·f* of result or an independent adjectival sentence.
43. *in·n·i* probably Emphatic. Can it be that this is circumstantial continuing 223c and that 223d–224a is a parenthesis?
44. *sd·i* Prospective *sdm·f*
45. *dii* Old Perfective of result.
46. I prefer to read *n sd wi hh n r ·tn* (*n sdm·f*) rather than *n(n) sdm·f* for the future.
47. Or: 'what you will say' if *ddt·tn* is a Prospective relative.

EINE HIERATISCHE STELE DES MITTLEREN REICHS

(University College London, Inv. Nr. 14487)

By URSULA KAPLONY-HECKEL

Im University College in London befindet sich eine Kalkstein-Steile mit hieratischer Tinten-Inschrift (UC Inv. Nr. 14487), über deren Herkunft das Inventarbuch nichts mitteilt.¹ Die oben abgerundete Steile ist 15 cm breit, 23 cm hoch und 4 cm dick. Rechts und links oben und an den unteren Ecken ist die Oberfläche so stark verwittert, daß der Text völlig verloren ist. Ein ursprünglich vielleicht farbiges 5 mm breites horizontales Band schließt den Text gegen oben, in 2 cm Abstand zur oberen Mitte, ab. Neun schwarze waagrechte Linien gliedern die Schreibfläche — nach Art der Mittleren-Reichspapyri — in gleichmäßig breite Querstreifen von 20–22 mm. Vielleicht hat man die Spuren einer verwitterten Linie, innerhalb des untersten Querstreifens etwa 6 mm vom unteren Rand entfernt, als Reste eines unteren Abschlußbandes zu deuten.

Unter dem oberen Band läuft eine waagrechte Zeile (Zl. 1) quer über die ganze Breite des Steines. Der Text darunter besteht aus drei ungleichen Teilen: Auf eine einzige senkrechte Zeile (Zl. 2) ganz rechts folgen eine 7 cm breite Kolumne mit 25 waagrechten Zeilen (Zl. 3–27) und, nach rund 12 mm Abstand, eine zweite 4,5 cm breite Kolumne von 23 waagrechten Zeilen (Zl. 28–50). Die Schriftzeilen halten sich nicht streng an die Linierung.² Ganz unten scheint noch einmal eine Zeile (Zl. 51) über die ganze Breite des Steines zu gehen.

Umschrift

Zl. 1 [...] ... *nb n* ... [...] 2 [...] *imj-r3 pr S-n-Wsrt imj-r3 hwt-ntr Sbk-htp*
 3 [...] ... 4 [...] 5 [...] ...-*Sbk* 6 [...] ...-*htp* 7 [...] ...*k(?)jj* 8 [...] ...-*w3h(?)* 9 [...] ... *Yrt(?)* 10 [...] ...*s(?) Mtj(?)* 11 [...] ...*s It3* 12 *imj-r3*
chnwtj n Ddw Hntj-htp 13 *imj-r3 n s3 Hntj-htj-m-s3-f* 14 *imj-r3 pr hsb it mhj cnh-mswt*
 15 *nbt-pr S3t-mrt-f* 16 *imj-r3 hwt-ntr Ddw-S-n-Wsrt-cnh* 17 *imj-r3 pr Ddw-n-j-S-n-*
Wsrt-snb 18 *imj-r3 pr Hntj-htj-htpw* 19 *imj-r3 hwt-ntr cnh-mswt* 20 *imj-r3 hwt-ntr*
Hntj-htpw 21 *nbt-pr S3t-Hthr* 22 *nbt-pr S3t-Hthr* 23 *nbt-pr S3t-nht-...* 24 *nbt-pr*
S3t-mnht 25 *hrj-hb Wn-n-it-f* 26 *nbt-pr Mrt-f(?)* 27 [...] 28 [...] 29 [...] ...
 30 [...] 31 *3m(?)* [...] 32 *3m(?)* [...] 33 *nbt-pr ...* 34 *nbt-pr Hjt(?)* 35 *nbt-pr*
Prtj(?) 36 *imj-r3 pr Snb-tj-fj* 37 *nbt-pr Hmk-n(-j?)* 38 *nbt-pr Snt-b3w(?)* 39 *imj-r3*
hwt-ntr Ddw-... 40 *nbt-pr Rn-s-cnh* 41 *nbt-pr S3t-Hthr* 42 *imj-r3 pr Hntj-htpw(?)w(?)*
snb 43 *imj-r3 pr M3r-hrw* 44 *nbt-pr S3t-Rc* 45 *nbt-pr cnht-rn* 46 *nbt-pr ...m...*

¹ Das Inventarbuch enthielt nur einen Bleistiftvermerk „XIXth dyn?“.

² Vgl. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*, 9.

47 *nbt-pr* *Tj(?) - m(?)*... 48 *nbt-pr* *Sjt-tp-ihw* 49 *s-n*... [...] 50 ... [...] 51 [...] ...[...]

Übersetzung

Zl. 1 [...] ... Herr von ... [...] 2 [...] für] den Hausvorsteher *S-n-Wsrt*, den Tempelvorsteher *Sbk-htp* 3 [...] ... 4 [...] ... 5 [...] ...-*Sbk*, 6 [...] ...*k(?)jj*, 8 [...] ...-*wsh(?)* 9 [...] ... *Irt(?)* 10 [...] ... *Mtj(?)* 11 [...] ... *Itj*, 12 den Palastvorsteher von *Ddw Hntj-htp*, 13 den Phylenvorsteher *Hntj-htj-m-s-f*, 14 den Hausvorsteher und Zähler der unterägyptischen Gerste *nh-mswt*, 15 die Hausherrin *Sjt-mrt-f*, 16 den Tempelvorsteher *Ddw-S-n-Wsrt-nh*, 17 den Hausvorsteher *Ddw-n-j-S-n-Wsrt-snb*, 18 den Hausvorsteher *Hntj-htj-htp*, 19 den Tempelvorsteher *nh-mswt*, 20 den Tempelvorsteher *Hntj-htpw*, 21 die Hausherrin *Sjt-Hthr*, 22 die Hausherrin *Sjt-Hthr*, 23 die Hausherrin *Sjt-nht*..., 24 die Hausherrin *Sjt-mnht*, 25 den Vorlesepriester *Wn-n-it-f*, 26 die Hausherrin *Mrt-f(?)*, 27 [...] 28 [...] 29 [...] 30 [...] 31 den Asiaten (?) [...] 32 den Asiaten (?) [...] 33 die Hausherrin ..., 34 die Hausherrin *Htjt(?)*, 35 die Hausherrin *Prtj(?)*, 36 den Hausvorsteher *Snb-tj-fj*, 37 die Hausherrin *Hmk-n(-j?)*, 38 die Hausherrin *Snt-bw(?)*, 39 den Tempelvorsteher *Ddw*..., 40 die Hausherrin *Rn-s-nh*, 41 die Hausherrin *Sjt-Hthr*, 42 den Hausvorsteher *Hntj-htpw(?) - snb*, 43 den Hausvorsteher *Mrc-hrw*, 44 die Hausherrin *Sjt-Rc*, 45 die Hausherrin *nh-rn*, 46 die Hausherrin ...*m*..., 47 die Hausherrin *Tj(?) - m(?)*..., 48 die Hausherrin *Sjt-tp-ihw*, 49 den Mann von ..., [...]

Bemerkungen

Zl. 2: Das erste erhaltene Zeichen ist der „Ehrwürdige“,¹ hier und in der rechten breiteren Kolumne als Personendeterminativ bei Männernamen gebraucht, in Zl. 3–27 tabellenartig ans Ende der Zeilen gerückt und mit dem Frauendeterminativ abwechselnd. Diese Rubrik der Personendeterminative befindet sich ungefähr in der Mitte der Stele und ist an einigen Stellen nur mehr in verblaßten Spuren vorhanden.² In Zl. 12 und 23 scheint das Personendeterminativ zu fehlen, in Zl. 24 ist das Frauendeterminativ unmittelbar hinter dem Namen angefügt, also das Tabellensystem das erste Mal durchbrochen, das in Zl. 28–50 ganz aufgegeben wird. In Zl. 39, 42, 43 fehlt das Männerdeterminativ, in Zl. 34, 44 das Frauendeterminativ, in Zl. 36 ist einem Mann das Frauendeterminativ nachgesetzt. Die Zeilen 28–50 wirken überhaupt eiliger, weniger sorgfältig geschrieben als die Zl. 3–27 (vgl. unten Anm. 12, S. 24).

Für *imj-rj* „Vorsteher“ gibt Zl. 2 zweimal die „Zunge“,³ der übrige Text zwölfmal die Ligatur „Eule + Mund“;⁴ dieser Gegensatz mag von der verschiedenen Schriftrichtung in der senkrechten Zl. 2 zu den übrigen waagrechten Zeilen bedingt sein.⁵

¹ Moeller, *Pal.* I, 26.

² Daß die verblaßten Schriftzeichen zu einer älteren ausgelöschten Beschriftung gehört haben, möchten wir nicht vermuten.

³ Moeller, *Pal.* I, 161.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Anhang x.

⁵ Ähnlich sind die beiden Schreibungen nebeneinander belegt in der hieroglyphischen Stele Berlin Nr. 1200. Auch Hayes, *op. cit.*, 11, beobachtet bei senkrechten Zeilen eine weniger kursive Schrift mit weniger Ligaturen als bei den waagrechten Zeilen.

Aus dem Kahun-Archiv bringt Moeller, *Pal.* I, keinen Beleg zur Schreibung „Zunge“ bei *imj-rj*; (vielleicht zufällig?); aus den Berliner Illahun-Texten können (P. 10. 001 ff.) wir sie auch nicht nachweisen.

Zl. 5: Die Spuren vor dem Krokodil (*sbk*) passen nicht zu *Htp*- wie etwa Zl. 18; wenn sie zur Ligatur „Mann + Frau + Pluralstriche“¹ gehören, warum steht dann der Gottesname am Ende des Frauennamens?

Zl. 8: Das undeutlich erhaltene Zeichen könnte *-wsh*² sein. Die Spuren davor passen weder zu *Imnj-wsh*³ noch zu *Hntj-hjt-wsh*⁴ für den kurzen Namen *Wsh*, wie etwa in dem Kahun-Testament belegt,⁵ wäre die Schreibung ohne *h* auffällig, in diesem Fall müßte der Titel sehr lang sein.

Zl. 9: Die drei noch vorhandenen Zeichen lassen sich nicht zu dem durch das Determinativ geforderten Frauennamen zusammensetzen; keines paßt ganz zu dem Namen *Ij-rs* „Der Wachsame ist gekommen“.⁶ Liest man die beiden letzten Zeichen als „Sitz + Auge“,⁷ „Osiris“, warum steht dann der Gottesname am Schluß? Vielleicht hat man nur *Irt* oder *Irr* zu lesen.⁸

Zl. 10: Vorhanden ist ein hohes Zeichen, entweder *s*⁹ oder die „Feder“,¹⁰ sodann vielleicht die kleine „Eule“¹¹ und der „Phallus“,¹² sowie kleinere Zeichen ringsum. Einen Personnamen *Smt*-... belegt Ranke nicht, nur *Mtjw* für das Alte Reich;¹³ in diesem Fall muß das [...]s zum Titel gehören, vgl. zu Zl. 11.

Zl. 11: Der Titel endet auf [...]s, in Frage kommt ein kurzes Wort, wie *šms* „Gefolgsmann“;¹⁴ die Spuren davor scheinen aber nicht zu *šms* zu passen, ebensowenig zu *nhs* „der Negersklave“;¹⁵ inhaltlich ließe sich am besten *ihms* „Diener“ einfügen,¹⁶ das aber meist mit einem Zusatz vorkommt.

Zl. 12: Eigenartig ist die Schreibung von *Ddw* mit einem Vogel, dessen Kopf und Füße angedeutet sind. Das hier vorhandene Zeichen entspricht dem *tjw*-Vogel¹⁷ und dem *b*-Vogel.¹⁸ Die bisher bekannten hieroglyphischen Belege¹⁹ werden mit zwei

¹ Moeller, *Pal.* I, Anhang LIX.

² *Ibid.*, 398.

³ Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 31, 19.

⁴ Hayes, op. cit., recto 65a.

⁵ Griffith, *Kahun*, Pl. XII, 7, wo allerdings *Wsh* mit *h* und Buchrolle, also plene geschrieben ist.

⁶ Moeller, *Pal.* I, 284 + 588 + 82. Bei Ranke, *Personennamen* nicht belegt.

⁷ Moeller, *Pal.* I, 383 + 82.

⁸ Vgl. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 39, 14 und 40, 26 u. ä. Wäre dann das erste erhaltene Zeichen als *h* (Moeller, *Pal.* I, 277) mit dem Determinativ der Waage (Moeller, *Pal.* I, 405, eigentlich *wš*, also nicht der „Sitz“, vgl. aber ib. Anm. 4) zu *mḥst* die „Waage“ (*Wb* II, 130, 8 ff. zur Schreibung) zu rekonstruieren und ein Titel *imj-rj pr irj-mḥst* zu denken? Dann wäre hier wie in Zl. 36 fälschlich das Frauendeterminativ gesetzt. Der Titel *irj-mḥst* ist nach dem Wörterbuch für das Mittlere Reich nicht belegt; könnte er hier in den Zusammenhang passen?

⁹ Moeller, *Pal.* I, 432.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 237; danach ist die Feder für das Alt- und Mittelhieratische nur als *šw* belegt.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 196B.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 95.

¹³ Ranke, *Personennamen*, II, 292, 24: *Mtjw* für das Alte Reich.

¹⁴ Cairo CG 20025 u, 3 geschrieben mit Moeller, *Pal.* I, 443 + 432. *rs* „Wächter“ ist nach *Wb.* II, 451, 15 ff. erst vereinzelt im Neuen Reich belegt.

¹⁵ *Wb.* II, 303, 3.

¹⁶ Vgl. *Wb.* I, 122, 14. Nach Lange-Schäfer, *CG* III, 52 f. in den Stelen aus Cairo nur mit „liegendem *s*“ (Gardiner, *Grammar*, Sign List O 34) und ganz selten ohne Ergänzung belegt. Vgl. auch Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, 254.

¹⁷ Moeller, *Pal.* I, 190.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 208.

¹⁹ Vgl. Helck, op. cit., 260 Anm. 7. Ob man zu *imj-rj ḥmwty n Ddw* auch *pr n Sbk nb Ddw* P. Wilbour 14, 14 stellen kann (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 127 und IV, 92)? Das „Haus des Sobek, Herrn von *Ddw*“ gehört dort in die Liste der kleineren Tempel des Fayum; *Ddw* ist mit den beiden *dd*-Pfeilern, zwei kleinen *w* und dem Götterdeterminativ (Moeller, *Pal.* III, 541 + 541 + 200B + 200B + 188B) geschrieben, also ebensowenig wie in dem Mittleren Reichs-Titel mit einem Stadtzeichen determiniert.

„Pfeilern“,¹ bzw. mit zwei „Armen“² und mit dem Ideogramm der drei *b*-Vögel³ geschrieben. Der Schreiber von UC 14487 hat hingegen statt dem Plural der drei *b*-Vögel⁴ das nicht häufige *Ddw* mit nur einem *b*-Vogel geschrieben.

Diese hieratische Vogelform von *Ddw* aus *mr-ḥnwṯj n Ddw* fällt überraschenderweise mit der des plene geschriebenen Kükens⁵ zusammen, mit dem in hieroglyphischen Texten das Element des Männernamens *Ddw*- auftritt, hier in *Ddw-S-n-Wsrt-ḥnh* (Zl. 16, ähnlich Zl. 17, 39).⁶ In dem Männernamen *Mṣr-ḥrw* steht die übliche Kurzform des Kükens.⁷

Die mit *Hntj*- gebildeten Personennamen (*Hntj-ḥtp* Zl. 12, 20, *Hntj-ḥtpw-snb* Zl. 42) unterscheiden sich in der Zeichenwahl deutlich von den mit *Hntj-ḥtj*- zusammengesetzten (*Hntj-ḥtj-m-sj-f* Zl. 13, *Hntj-ḥtj-ḥtpw* Zl. 18): *Hntj*-wird wiedergegeben durch „Krüge mit Ständer + Stöbel“,⁸ während *Hntj-ḥtj*- aus „Krügen mit Ständer + Ligatur *nt* + *h* + Ligatur *tj* besteht“.⁹

Zl. 14: An „Zähler“-Titeln sind bekannt:

imj-rj pr ḥsb ihwt „Hausvorsteher und Viehzähler“¹⁰

imj-rj pr ḥsb bdt „Hausvorsteher und Weizenzähler“¹¹

imj-rj pr ḥsb it mhj „Hausvorsteher und Zähler der unterägyptischen Gerste“.¹²

Analog zum letzten Beleg lesen wir in Zl. 14 *ḥsb it mhj* „gekreuzte Stäbe + Buchrolle + drei Gerstenkörner + *mh* + Scheffelmaß + Pluralstriche“,¹³ und vermuten, daß die in Hieroglyphen und im Hieratischen¹⁴ sonst einzeln dargestellten drei Gerstenkörner hier etwa wie die Pluralstriche¹⁵ zu einem waagrechten Strich abgekürzt sind.

Im Personennamen *ḥnh-mswt*, der ebenso in Zl. 19 vorkommt, wird *ḥnh* ohne *n* + *ih*, d. h. also nicht plene geschrieben.

Zl. 23: Den Namen *Sst-nḥt*-... vollständig zu lesen, gelingt nicht. Zu den bekannten Bildungen wie *Sst-nḥt-Hr* oder *Sst-nḥt-Spdw* aus dem Mittleren Reich¹⁶ passen die vorhandenen Spuren nicht.

Zl. 25: Die Ligatur an zweiter Stelle des Namens kann nur *n* + *t* + *f*,¹⁷ jedenfalls nicht *n-f*¹⁸ zu lesen sein. Weder *Wnntj-fj*, noch *Wn-n-it-f* sind bei Ranke belegt.

¹ Gardiner, *Grammar*, Sign List R 11.

² Ibid., D 37.

³ Ibid., G 30.

⁴ Moeller *Pal.* 1, 212; die *b*-Vögel sind hier aus den Kahun-Texten für Hymn I und II belegt.

⁵ Gardiner, *ibid.*, G 43; Moeller, *Pal.* 1, 200.

⁶ Belege dafür, daß der sogenannte *b*-Vogel auch in den Hieroglyphen Schwierigkeiten bereitet, bzw. für den *b*-Vogel andere Vögel eintreten, hat schon Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der XI. Dynastie*, 10, gesammelt. Vgl. auch Blackman, *JEA* 17 (1931), 57 Bem. 2: Auf der Stele des Thethi (Brit. Mus. 614) sind die fast übereinstimmenden Vögel in *b**k* „Diener“ und *wr* „groß“ durch die entsprechende Lesehilfe *k* (*b**k*) und *r* (*wr*) einwandfrei zu unterscheiden.

⁷ Moeller, *Pal.* 1, 200b.

⁸ Ibid., 504 + 401.

⁹ Ibid., 504 + Anhang xx + 169 + Anhang 1XL. — Das gleiche Nebeneinander ist in Hieroglyphen belegt in Cairo CG 20080 *Hntj-m-sj-f* (Zl. g4): *Hntj-ḥtj-ḥtp* (Zl. g5), nur bei der Schreibung *Hntj-ḥtj-m-sj-f* (b2) fehlt die Ligatur *n* + *t*. — Die hieratische Form für *Hntj-ḥtj*- ist identisch mit der bei Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom* . . ., wo allerdings *Hntj*- allein nicht vorkommt.

¹⁰ Griffith, *Kahun*, Pl. IX, 13; Louvre C 194.

¹¹ *Brit. Mus. Stelae* II, Pl. 13, Nr. 123 [187]; Cairo CG 20117b.

¹² *Brit. Mus. Stelae* II, Pl. 17, Nr. 186 [559]; ähnlich Pl. 18, Nr. 168 [575].

¹³ Moeller, *Pal.* 1, 566 + 538 + 459 Anm. 3 + 470 Anm. 2.

¹⁴ Ibid., 459 Anm. 3; Gardiner, *Grammar*, Sign List M 33.

¹⁶ Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 290, 16, 17.

¹⁷ Moeller, *Pal.* 1, Anh. XXI.

¹⁵ Moeller, *Pal.* 1, 561.

¹⁸ Ibid., Anh. XVI.

Zl. 31/32: Die Lesung des Titels als *ꜣm* ist ungewiß.

Zl. 34: Das letzte Zeichen des Namens ist ungelesen. Sollte es eine Abkürzung von „Kehle“¹ sein, das als ähnlich nach links auslaufendes Zeichen *hh* determiniert² und das in voller Darstellung von Kopf, Gehörn usw. bei *htjt*³ vorkommt?

Zl. 35: Warum bilden die beiden kleinen Zeichen hinter dem *pr*-Zeichen keine Ligatur?⁴

Zl. 37: Zu *Hmk-n(-j?)* vgl. den *bꜣk n pr-dt Hmk* aus Illahun⁵ und auch den Namen *Hmꜣ-kꜣ* aus der Frühzeit.⁶ Zieht man den Frauennamen *Hmꜣgt* „Edelstein“ aus dem Mittleren Reich⁷ heran, so könnte *Hmk-n(-j)* etwa „ein Edelstein für mich“ sein.

Zl. 38: *Snt-bꜣw(?)* ist gar nicht sicher; zum *bꜣ*-Vogel vgl. oben Zl. 12, vielleicht ist hier der Kopf schärfer waagrecht gezeichnet.⁸ Ist das Zeichen hinter dem Vogel die Ligatur „Buchrolle + Pluralstriche“?⁹

Zl. 43: Der Name *Mꜣꜣ-hꜣrw* ist nicht oft belegt.¹⁰

Zl. 48: Hier ist offensichtlich eine Zeile eingeschoben worden; wir schlagen vor, *Sꜣt-tp-ihꜣw(?)* zu lesen.

Zl. 49: Der Titel *s n . . .* „Mann von . . .“ ist nicht zu rekonstruieren.

Analog zu anderen Stelen des Mittleren Reichs muß in der obersten durchgehenden Zeile (Zl. 1) die *htp-dj-nꜣswt*-Formel oder ein ähnlicher Anruf gestanden haben. Dazu passen auch die vorhandenen Reste [. . .] . . . *nb n . . .* [. . .] „. . . Herr von . . .“ als Apposition des angerufenen Gottes. In der untersten durchlaufenden Zeile (Zl. 51) ist z. B. die in Zl. 1 begonnen Formel fortgesetzt oder vielleicht derjenige angegeben, der dem Eigentümer die Stele errichtet hat.¹¹

Als Beispiel für die nicht gerade häufige Aufspaltung des Schreibraumes in zwei eng mit Personennamen beschriebene Spalten aus waagrechten Zeilen läßt sich Cairo CG 20733 anführen. Diese in Hieroglyphen gearbeitete rechteckige Stele hat mit UC 14487 auch die Eigenart gemeinsam, daß die linke, d. h. die zweite Spalte weit weniger sorgfältig ausgearbeitet worden ist. In der ersten Spalte von CG 20733 folgt auf die Namen der Männer als Determinativ der „Ehrwürdige“, auf die der Frauen die „sitzende Frau“, sorgsam nach Tabellenart untereinandergerückt, in der zweiten Spalte hat man die Determinative zu einem kleinen senkrechten Strich abgekürzt.¹²

¹ Moeller, *Pal.* I, 150.

² Sinuhe 22.

³ Kahun Hymn. III, 6. — Vgl. auch den hieroglyphischen Männernamen *Htjtjt(?)* (Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 257, 14), der noch den Strich (Gardiner, *Grammar*, Sign List V 1, Lautwert *htꜣ*?) enthält und den Palmzweig (Gardiner, M 4, Lautwert *tr*), was wohl auf *Htr* (Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 260, 22 ff.) hinweist.

⁴ Vgl. etwa Moeller, *Pal.* I, Anh. xxv (*r+j*), IXL (*t+j*), XLII (*t+r*), XLIII (*t+t*).

⁵ Berlin P. 10085.

⁶ Ranke, *Personennamen*, II, 305, 22.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 240, 19.

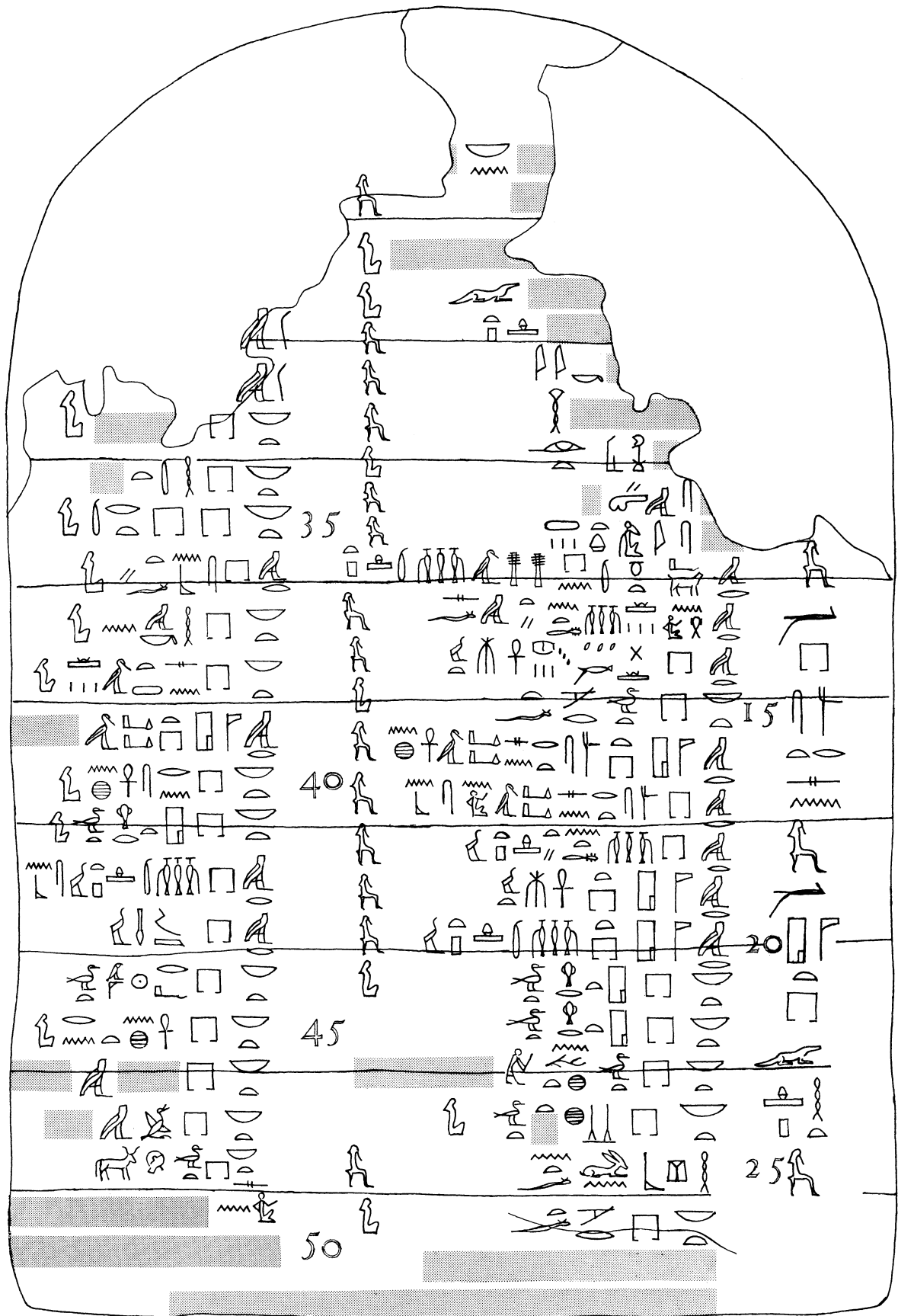
⁸ Der Personennamen *Snt-bꜣ* Ranke, op. cit. I, 296, 27 ist jetzt nach Ranke II, 385 als *Snt-Hnmw* zu lesen.

⁹ Moeller, *Pal.* I, Anh. LXIII.

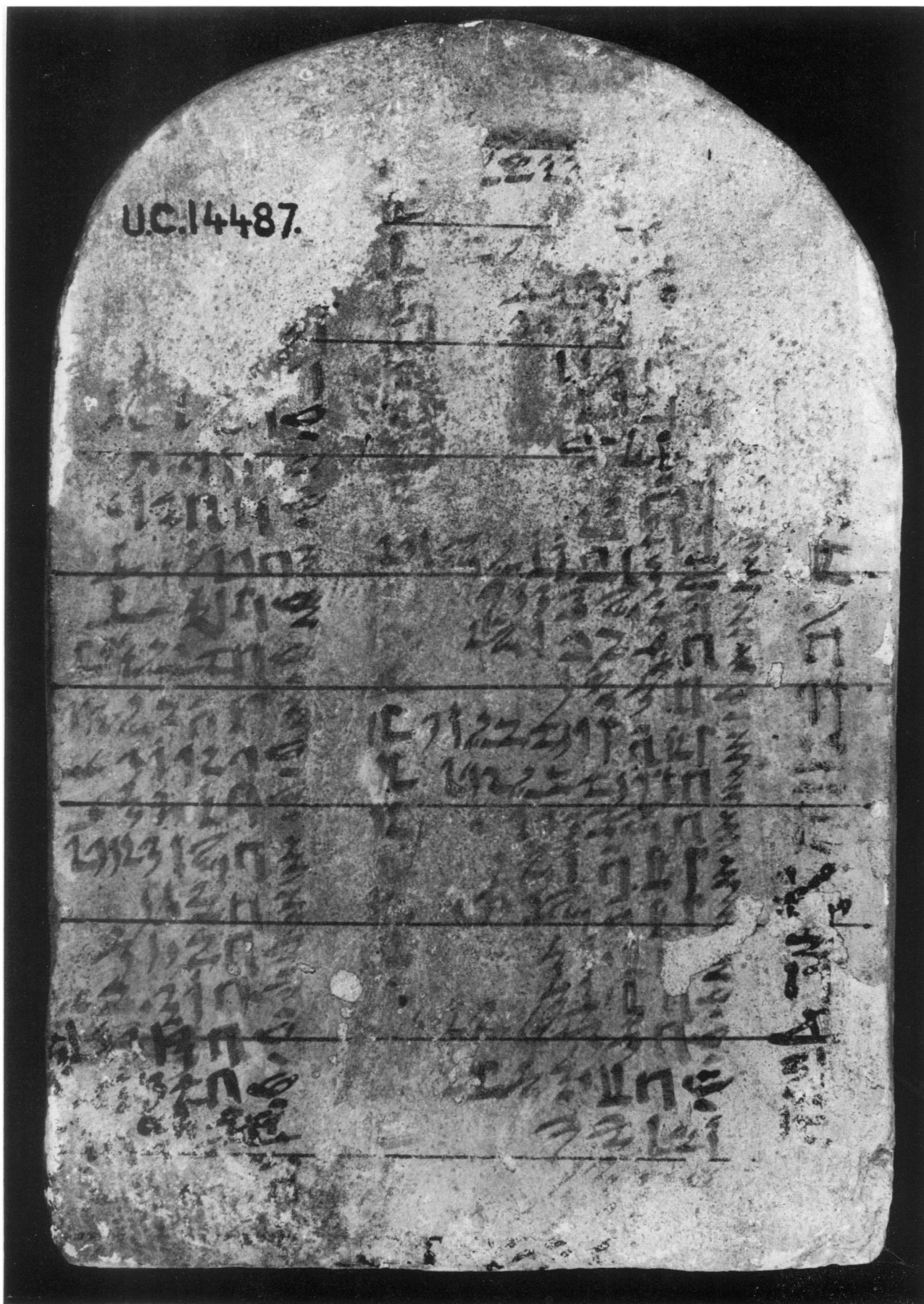
¹⁰ Vgl. Ranke, op. cit. II, 359 (zu I, 144, 19): „Ob auch CG 20556c und 20660a?“ Das ist zweimal derselbe „Diener der Fleischkammer“ *Mꜣꜣ-hꜣrw* (bei Lange-Schäfer, CG III nicht verzeichnet).

¹¹ Vgl. dazu Louvre C 194, Cairo CG 20147, 20198, 20733 unten links und auch 20048.

¹² In Cairo CG 20733 sind in der ersten (rechten) Spalte die Personen nach dem Schema *n kꜣ n* + Familienstand + Name + in Tabellenform „der Ehrwürdige“, bzw. die „sitzende Frau“ + *nb-imꜣh* aufgeführt, in der



EINE HIERATISCHE STELE DES MITTLEREN REICHS



EINE HIERATISCHE STELE DES MITTLEREN REICHS
(University College, London, Inv. Nr. 14487)

Als Eigentümer der Stele sehen wir die drei in der senkrechten Zeile (Zl. 2) genannten Männer an, von denen ihrer Position nach die große Zahl der übrigen Personen abhängig sein müssen.¹ Die drei Herren der Stele sind ein nach Namen und Titel nicht mehr erhaltener Mann, ein Hausvorsteher *S-n-Wsrt* und ein Tempelvorsteher *Sbk-htp*. Ein Tempelvorsteher *Sbk-htp* ist u. W. nicht bekannt, aber neben dem Hausvorsteher *S-n-Wsrt* aus UC 14487 kennen wir noch zwei Männer, die den gleichen Titel und Namen führen wie er: Das sind der Hausvorsteher *S-n-Wsrt* aus der hieratischen Stele von Abydos,² ohne Filiationsangabe, und der Hausvorsteher *S-n-Wsrt*, Sohn des *In-it-f* und der *Htpt* aus einer hieroglyphischen Stele des Louvre.³ Ob alle drei Männer miteinander identisch sind, muß offenbleiben. Für die in Zl. 3–50 genannten Personen ist keine zuverlässige Gleichsetzung mit anderswoher bekannten Leuten vorzuschlagen.⁴

Die Eigenart der UC-Stele, die nach Art der Papyri vorliniert und beschriftet ist, liegt darin, daß fünf Tempelvorsteher, sieben Hausvorsteher, ein Palastvorsteher von *Ddw*, ein Vorsteher der Phyle, ein Vorlesepriester, zwei Asiaten, ein Mann von [...] neben sieben weiteren Männern und einundzwanzig Hausherrinnen, abgesehen von fünf ganz unbekanntenen Personen in dem Text vereinigt sind. Nirgends wird die Filiation angegeben.

Die fünf Tempelvorsteher heißen:

ꜥnh-mswt (Zl. 19); *Hntj-htp* (Zl. 20); *Sbk-htp* (Zl. 2); *Ddw-S-n-Wsrt-ꜥnh* (Zl. 16); *Ddw-...* (Zl. 39).

Die sieben Hausvorsteher heißen:

ꜥnh-mswt, der auch Zähler der unterägyptischen Gerste ist (Zl. 14); *Mꜣꜥ-hrw* (Zl. 43); *Hntj-htpw(?) -snb* (Zl. 42); *Hntj-htj-htpw* (Zl. 18); *S-n-Wsrt* (Zl. 2); *Snb-tj-fj* (Zl. 36); *Ddw-n-j-S-n-Wsrt-snb* (Zl. 17); der Palastvorsteher von *Ddw* heißt *Hntj-htpw* (Zl. 12); der Vorsteher der Phyle heißt *Hntj-htj-m-sꜣ-f* (Zl. 13); der Vorlesepriester heißt *Wn-n-it-f(?)* (Zl. 25); der Titel ist unbekannt für *Itꜣ* (Zl. 11). Von den beiden Asiaten(?) (Zl. 31/32) sind die Namen unbekannt. Namen und Titel sind verloren von den Männern in Zl. 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 49.

(linken) Kolumne nur mehr mit Familienstand + Namen, oft sogar zwei Personen in einer Zeile, und am Schluß kommt statt des „Ehrwürdigen“ nur in Tabellenform der senkrechte Abkürzungsstrich. Auf der hieroglyphischen Stele Louvre C 173 ist die untere kleinere Hälfte — die obere Hälfte trägt auch figürliche Darstellungen — sogar in drei Kolumnen eingeteilt. Die sorgfältige Wiedergabe der „Ehrwürdigen“ hat man bis zur letzten hieroglyphischen Zeile der III. Kolumne beibehalten; aber am unteren Rand links ist noch eine kurze Zeile in Hieratisch nachgetragen.

¹ Ähnlich in einer einzigen senkrechten Zeile vor vielen waagrechten Zeilen aufgeschrieben ist der Eigentümer z. B. in Louvre C 178, 243 und beherrscht somit die in den waagrechten Zeilen genannten Personen.

² Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, Pl. xxix [281].

³ Louvre C 21. Bei beiden Belegen kommt auch eine Frau *Sꜣt-Htꜣr* vor, wie in UC 14487 gleich dreimal, in Louvre C 21 als Schwester des *S-n-Wsrt*, in den *Tombs of the Courtiers* als Mutter eines hinter *S-n-Wsrt* genannten Mannes.

⁴ Mit dem *imj-ꜣꜣ ꜥhwtj n Ddw* (Zl. 12) kann man kaum den *imj-ꜣꜣ ꜥhwtj n Ddw* aus dem Sinai identifizieren, der *Hntj-htj* heißt? (Gardiner-Peet-Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, I, Pl. 42, Nr. 156, das Fragment ist an dieser Ecke etwas bestossen.)

Die fünfzehn namentlich bekannten Hausherrinnen heißen:

ꜥnhꜥt-rn (Zl. 45); *Prtj(?)* (Zl. 35); *Mrt-f(?)* (Zl. 26); *Rn-s-ꜥnhꜥ* (Zl. 40); *Hmk-n(-j?)* (Zl. 37); *Htjt* (Zl. 34); *Sꜥt-mnhꜥt* (Zl. 24); *Sꜥt-mrt-f* (Zl. 15); *Sꜥt-nhꜥt-...* (Zl. 23); *Sꜥt-Rꜥ* (Zl. 44); *Sꜥt-Hthꜥr* (Zl. 21, 22, 41); *Sꜥt-tp-ihw* (Zl. 48); *Snt-bꜥw(?)* (Zl. 38).

Ungelesen oder verloren sind die Frauennamen in Zl. 4, 5, 6, 33, 46, 47. Unbekannt sind die Personen in Zl. 27, 28, 29, 30, 50.

In welchem Verhältnis stehen die einundfünfzig Personen der Stele zu einander? Obwohl jegliche Angaben über Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen fehlen, möchten wir aus den Personennamen schließen, daß ein großer Teil der Leute miteinander verwandt ist, wie es sonst in anderen Stelen deutlich zum Ausdruck zu kommen pflegt. Ein Verwandtschaftsverhältnis vermuten wir für die Frauen namens *Sꜥt-Hthꜥr*; das ist zwar ein häufiger Name, aber unter den fünfzehn lesbaren Frauennamen erscheint er gleich dreimal. Zu den seltenen Personennamen *Ddw-S-n-Wsrt-ꜥnhꜥ* und *Ddw-n-j-S-n-Wsrt-snb¹* ist wohl ein gemeinsamer Vorfahre *Ddw-S-n-Wsrt* zu rekonstruieren. Von den achtzehn lesbaren Männernamen sind fünf mit *Hntj-* bzw. mit *Hntj-hꜥtj-* zusammengesetzt. Es kann auch kein Zufall sein, daß den seltenen Männernamen *ꜥnhꜥ-mswt²* ein Tempelvorsteher und ein Hausvorsteher, der auch Getreidezähler ist, auf der gleichen Stele tragen; vielmehr werden sie Brüder oder Vettern sein oder, wenn sie aus verschiedenen Generationen stammen, einen Großvater oder Onkel gemeinsam haben.

Wenn die in Zl. 3–50 genannten Männer und Frauen nicht zur Familie der drei Stelen-Herren aus Zl. 2 gehören, müssen sie beruflich mit ihnen zusammenhängen; das läßt sich nicht rekonstruieren, da uns der erste der Stelen-Herren nicht mehr erhalten ist.³

Versuchen wir, die Stele zeitlich einzuordnen!

Da wir keine Person mit anderen aus datierten Texten bekannen Leuten identifizieren können (vgl. oben),⁴ kann der in Frage kommende Zeitraum nur vorsichtig eingegrenzt werden: der Paläographie nach gehört die Stele in die XII. Dynastie, wenn wir das Illahun-Archiv und den Brooklyn-Papyrus⁵ vergleichen. Dem widersprechen die Namen der Personen nicht. Der doppelt belegte Name *ꜥnhꜥ-mswt* lautet zwar wie der Horusname *Hr-ꜥnhꜥ-mswt* von Sesostri I; das genügt nicht zur Datierung. Aber mit Sesostri sind noch drei Namen gebildet. Interessant ist es, die Stele Louvre C 5 auf

¹ Bei Ranke, *Personennamen* und Lange-Schäfer, Cairo CG III nicht belegt.

² Bei Lange-Schäfer, Cairo CG III nicht nachzuweisen.

³ Vgl. ähnliche Stelen nur mit Titeln, ohne jegliche Filiationsangaben, z. B. Cairo CG 20048, Stele des *hꜥtj-ꜥ Rsw*; es werden außer ihm noch zwei Tempelvorsteher und eine Hausherrin genannt. Interessant, daß die Zeile des Stifters den *Sšnw* als „ihren Sohn“ bezeichnet, d. h. die genannte „Hausherrin“ ist die Ehefrau des *Rsw*, und die beiden Tempelvorsteher gehören in die Reihe der Vorfahren von *Rsw* und *Sšnw*. — Cairo CG 20286, Stele des Schreibers der Vorhalle *Tjt*; genannt sind Hausvorsteher, ein Tempelvorsteher, Hausherrinnen, Hausverwalter; hier sind zwar Filiationen angegeben, lassen sich aber nicht zu einer Familie rekonstruieren. Das umfangreichste Beispiel für viele Titel liefert der Große der Zehn von Oberägypten *Nhꜥj* (Cairo CG 20520).

⁴ Dies ist z. B. Simpson geglückt, der den großen Papyrus Reisner II aus Naga-ed-Der mit dem bekannten Veziar Inyotefoker hat datieren können (vgl. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner*, I, 20); vgl. auch Papyrus Boulaq 18 (zitiert unten Anm. 2, S. 27).

⁵ Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*.

die Personennamen-Wahl der UC-Stele hin zu betrachten. Die Louvre-Stele stammt aus dem 1. Jahr von Amenemhät III. Neben Ableitungen aus den *njswt-bjtj*-Namen von Sesostri I. und Sesostri III. (*Hpr-kꜣ-Rc* und *Hꜥj-kꜣw-Rc*) und Namen, die mit *-htj*- zusammengesetzt sind, kommen noch drei auch in UC belegte Frauennamen vor.¹ Einen späteren Ansatz der UC-Stele, etwa in die XIII. Dynastie, möchten wir nicht vorschlagen.²

Woher stammt die UC-Stele, vielmehr, aus welchem Ort in Ägypten stammen die darauf genannten Leute? Denn aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach hat man den Text — wie so viele andere — auch in Abydos gefunden. Wiederum sind wir auf die Aussagen der Personennamen angewiesen. Von den einundreißig namentlich bekannten Leuten der Stele sind es fünf, die vielleicht auf einen königlichen Namensträger Bezug nehmen; in elf Personennamen ist ein Gottesname oder ein Epitheton eines Gottes enthalten:

<i>Hntj</i> - und <i>Hntj-htj</i> -	5mal.
<i>Hthr</i> 3mal, <i>-tp-ihw</i> 1mal.	4mal.
<i>Rc</i>	1mal.
<i>Sbk</i>	1mal.

Ein Personennamen, der eindeutig auf einen Ort hinweist, wie etwa in den Illahun-Papyri *Nb-rꜣ-shꜣwj*,³ fehlt. Es ist also kein Grund da, die Stele ins Gebiet von Illahun zu lokalisieren. Vergleichen wir mit anderen Papyri, die ebenfalls herkunftsmäßig gesichert sind: Sowohl Papyrus Reisner I als auch Papyrus Reisner II entfallen, da in ihnen der in UC 14487 so gut belegte Gott *Hntj-htj* nicht innerhalb der Gruppe der mit Göttern gebildeten Personennamen erscheint. Es ist also kein Anlaß vorhanden, die Personen aus UC 14487 für Naga-ed-Der zu bestimmen. Betrachten wir hingegen den Brooklyn-Papyrus, der das Gebiet von Achmin bis Gebel Silsile betrifft!⁴ Dort ist der Gott *Hntj-htj*- so auffällig häufig nachzuweisen wie auf der UC-Stele, daß wir durchaus berechtigt sind, als Herkunftsort der Personen Oberägypten, mit Hayes vielleicht die Gegend von Gebel Silsile zu vermuten.

¹ *Sjt-Rc*, *Sjt-tp-ihw*, *Sjt-nht-Spdw* (neben *Sjt-nht*- . . . in UC 14487).

² Im bekannten Papyrus Boulaq 18 (Scharff, *ZÄS* 57 (1922), 51 ff. und Tafel 1 ff. „Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie“) aus Oberägypten — Fundort Dra^c-Abū nNaga^c — ist kein einziger Personennamen mit *S-n-Wsrt* oder *Hntj-htj*- zusammengesetzt; das kann doch nicht zufällig sein!

³ Personenliste, Berlin P. 10.047, 22: [*irj*-] ꜥꜣ n *hwt-ntr nt Sbk* [. . .] *-nht sꜣ Nb-rꜣ-shꜣwj*; *ibid.*, 23[. . .] *w sꜣ Nb-rꜣ-shꜣwj* (unveröffentlicht). Vgl. auch von den Edfu-Stelen die Namen *Hr-m-Bhdt* und *Ntrjsj*, Gunn, *ASAE* 29 (1929), 5–14.

⁴ Hayes, *op. cit.*, 16.

THE EXCAVATION OF SAWÂMA IN 1914 BY G. A. WAINWRIGHT AND T. WHITTEMORE

By JANINE BOURRIAU *and* ANNE MILLARD

IN 1914 G. A. Wainwright and T. Whittemore spent just over one month exploring, on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Society, the cemeteries around the village of Sawâma, near Akhmîm, on the east bank of the Nile. A brief preliminary report appeared in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. i, pp. 246-7, and further references to the finds were made by Whittemore, in his foreword to Wainwright's publication of Balabish,¹ the site they excavated later the same year. However, the final report never appeared. The records made in the field were deposited in the archives of the Egypt Exploration Society in London and the finds were divided up in 1914 between the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the Brooklyn Museum, the University Museum in Philadelphia, Cornell University, and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

During the recent cataloguing of the archives of the Egypt Exploration Society, prior to the transfer of its premises to Doughty Mews, the records of the excavation were re-examined, and found sufficiently complete to form the basis of a full report of the work. We are most grateful to the Committee of the Society for granting us permission to prepare this, making the fullest use of all the documents in the Society's possession.

The records consist of tomb cards, drawings of pottery, stone vessels, scarabs and beads, seventy-seven half-plate negatives, and a notebook listing the photographs. The distribution lists of objects sent to America were found in the Brooklyn Museum by Janine Bourriau, during a visit to America in the summer of 1968. Many of the objects from the site were then located and examined. In the following report any supplementary information from this re-examination has been distinguished from that derived from the original records, both in the text and drawings.

There is one serious gap in the records in that no plan of the site has survived, and the tomb cards give no details. With a few exceptions it is impossible to establish the location of any grave and its physical relationship to any other, but a sketch on a tomb card shows the situation of graves S. 136, S. 141, S. 142, and S. 145, and is reproduced in fig. 8. Graves S. 86 and S. 88 were side by side, and S. 85 was situated under S. 74. The only information on the situation of the cemeteries is contained in the preliminary report. From this it seems that all the recorded graves were concentrated on a mound at the north end of an extensive Coptic cemetery. Three other promontories of land, two to the south, and another to the north of the Coptic cemetery, were tested in the preliminary survey, and found to contain only plundered graves of Eighteenth

¹ London, 1920. E.E.S. Memoirs, 37.

Dynasty and Roman date. The group of excavated graves were situated on the west end of the mound, and crossed it from north to south. The graves on the lower slopes had been cut into by farmers and by *sebakh* diggers. References on the tomb cards indicate that S. 124-8, and S. 132-3, were situated on the slopes, and that S. 152 lay on the western slope of the mound. The note to S. 134, '1st. number of the northernmost cemeteries', is puzzling. At the extreme northern end of the Coptic cemetery was an area of denuded New Kingdom shafts, some containing reburials of the Roman period, according to the preliminary report. However, the report also states that this area was explored before the recorded cemetery was found.

Of the 161 graves cleared, 132 were rectangular trench graves with an average size of 2.20 m. length, 1 m. breadth, and 2 m. depth. In the tomb register these are recorded by length, breadth, and depth. A further twenty-two graves were shafts with an average depth of 3 m. The depth of S. 105, 14 m., was quite exceptional. The chambers of the shaft graves lay in general to north or south, only six had chambers to east or west. No measurements were recorded for twenty graves, though thirteen of them were said to be trenches, and two shafts. There are no records of any superstructures and the photographs confirm their absence, see pl. XVI, 1. The sketch plans of shafts, S. 9, S. 11, S. 14, S. 15, S. 20, S. 117, and S. 151, which were found on the back of their tomb cards, are reproduced in fig. 8. They are not to scale. The orientation of only fifty-one graves was noted, and of these roughly half were north-south and half east-west. The tomb cards for S. 96 and S. 101 were missing, and no record of any objects from these graves was found.

Whittemore states that the burials were predominantly of women, and the tomb cards give the actual figures as 37 female, 9 male, and 5 children. However, the bones were not sexed for 46 graves, and no note of the presence of bones was made in 33 graves. The bodies were apparently very much disturbed, there being only 19 graves in which the body was found in its original position. It seems clear that the sexing was done by an examination of the skulls, since no body without a skull was sexed. Some bodies with skulls were not sexed, S. 55, S. 85, S. 153, possibly because these skulls were not brought in from the site for study.¹ Eighteen out of the thirty-seven female skulls had braided hair, and the suspicion arises that the excavators assumed that plaits indicated a female burial. Wainwright had doubts, in spite of their plaits, about the skulls in S. 120, which he described as very masculine, but the sex was not altered. A *caveat* should be added to Whittemore's statement that the cemetery was almost exclusively female, because only one-third of the bodies were sexed and the criteria used may be suspect.

Twenty-two bodies were found in their original position, and they showed no uniform arrangement. Nine were extended supine, two lay extended on their right side, and one on the left. Six lay with their heads north, three with heads south, and one with head left. Four bodies lay in a contracted position on their left side. Unfortunately these burials cannot be dated precisely, since two were found without objects, and two with pottery of a broad date-range from the Middle Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom.

¹ On the card for S. 55, the words 'not brought in' have been written beside 'skulls'.

Only one-quarter of the tomb cards note the existence of a coffin, but it may be safely assumed that most of the coffins had decayed, or had been destroyed when the graves were plundered. Most of them are described simply as 'rectangular, wood'. None were inscribed and only three, those in S. 16, S. 22, and S. 25, were painted. There were two graves with pottery coffins, S. 14, the grave of a child (pottery coffins are common for child burials at all periods), and S. 106*b, c*, where coffins for two extended adult burials were formed by laying two large pots mouth to mouth for each body.

Whittemore was especially interested in the well-preserved plaits which he found on many of the skulls, but sadly, little more can now be added to the account he gives of them in the preliminary report.¹ The description of them is meagre, but several heads were photographed, S. 4, S. 19, S. 24, S. 28, S. 55, S. 100. The two best photographs are reproduced in pl. XX. The skulls in S. 4, S. 21, S. 28, S. 52, S. 75 are described simply as having braided hair. In S. 40, S. 78, S. 155, the braids were fine, in S. 41*a* 2 cm. wide, and 1 cm. wide in S. 63. In S. 66*b* the ends of every strand of hair making up the mass of plaits on the head had been bound round with hair to secure it. These details, interesting though they are, do not indicate, as Whittemore suggests, elaborate hairdressing. The style adopted is basically the same, and very simple. The hair has been divided along a parting, and bound in very many tight slender plaits close to the head. Any variation in size and number of plaits could be due as much to differences in texture and quantity of hair, as to personal taste. If the two heads of hair in pl. XX are compared, only the thick back hair on the skull from S. 4 has been plaited, while the sparser hair on the top of the head, which appears too fragile for tight plaiting, has been left free. In the case of S. 100, a much thicker and longer head of hair, all the hair, apart from that in the very front, has been plaited into fat braids falling from a centre parting. From the photograph it appears that the plaits themselves have been woven into a design, but this may be the accidental shape into which the plaits have fallen, which has become fixed by the dust in which the head was lying. The hair in S. 19, S. 37, S. 61 was worn in ringlets. Plaits have been found at other sites on the bodies of women and children in cemeteries of the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom,² but few details have been recorded. Generally however, as at Sawâma, the hair was bound into a mass of narrow, tight plaits.

Before discussing some of the objects found in the graves, the sources and the arrangement of the illustrations on the plates must be explained. The guide to the plates is the tomb register, and a list of the symbols and abbreviations used will be found in p. 40. The number of an object in the register refers to the outline drawings of pottery, stone vessels, scarabs, and beads, found in figs. 3-9, respectively. The drawings are Wainwright's, except for those marked with an asterisk, *, which were done in 1968. The identification of materials is by Wainwright, unless otherwise stated, as is the description of the fabric and decoration of pottery. It seemed impossible

¹ Apart from the tomb cards, none of his notes have survived. Presumably they remained in his personal possession.

² Brunton, *Matmar* (1948), graves 521, 544, 5002, etc.; Brunton, *Mostagedda* (1937), graves 724, 1901, etc.; Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment*, I and II (BSAE, 1924), graves 1265, 1001; Brunton and Engelbach, *Gurob* (BSAE, 1927), graves 228, 236, 454; Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, I-III (BSAE, 1927-30), graves 3712, 5297.

to reduce his description of the pottery to a formula which would fit on to the plates of drawings without re-examining all the pottery to remove ambiguities. Since only a small proportion of the pottery has been located, this was impracticable, and it was decided to reproduce all Wainwright's descriptions fully, in a list to be used in conjunction with the drawings, but for the sake of clarity a uniform terminology was imposed on his notes: fabric, was adopted for Wainwright's 'pottery', 'clay', 'ware', and 'fabric', except for 'gulleh ware' which was retained; slipped, for 'painted' and 'slipped', where no distinction between the two was intended; and similarly, burnished, for 'polished' and 'burnished'. Otherwise Wainwright's exact words have been given, and any notes of ours placed in brackets.

The register incorporates the information from all sources, but it has been built up on the basis of the tomb cards. Wherever possible the wording of the cards has been reproduced, and with it, inevitably, some inconsistencies of practice and terminology. Only a proportion of the graves have been marked 'disturbed', although every grave, other than those specifically stated to have been found intact, was almost certainly plundered. The terms 'blue-glazed' and 'blue-painted' for blue faience have been left unaltered. We have standardized to 'medoom', a name given by Wainwright to a variety of nut (which we have been unable to identify) which he wrote 'medoon', 'mendoom', 'mendoon', and 'medoom'. Where the records conflict, no choice has been made between them to the exclusion of any object. The comments column of the register is given over largely to setting out such discrepancies, and the excavator's notes have been placed in inverted commas to distinguish them. It is clear that the tomb cards were meant to provide only the roughest guide. They were written in haste by Whittemore, presumably at the grave side, and details were added later by Wainwright. In general they should not be preferred to the evidence of the drawings which were much more carefully prepared. The dates on the tomb cards show that, on average, ten graves were cleared in a day. All objects in the register followed by the symbol † are not mentioned anywhere in the excavator's records but have been identified from museum records and/or the Sawāma tomb number which they bear. Generally speaking these were small items such as beads or amulets.

The photographs, except for two, pl. XX, 3, 4, kindly supplied by the Brooklyn Museum, have been selected from the seventy-seven taken on the excavation. The negatives are now in the Egypt Exploration Society's archives. Unfortunately, all the photographs of graves with objects *in situ* were too underexposed to be reproduced. The photograph of the ivory spoon, pl. XVIII, 1, is not very satisfactory in view of the interest of the inscription, but no drawing or copy of the inscription was found among the records. The spoon itself is probably in Cairo since it was not found in any of the American collections.

Most of the objects mentioned in the preliminary report have been identified; the scales of tortoise shell are from S. 10; the ivory palette from S. 27, and now in the Brooklyn Museum 14. 615; the ivory bracelet, pl. XVII, 2, from S. 23; the inscribed ivory spoon, pl. XVIII, 1, from S. 28; the ebony bracelet, pl. XVIII, 1, also from S. 28 and now in the Brooklyn Museum 14. 638; the lapis lazuli ring bezel set in silver, fig. 7,

from S. 78; the silver flies, fig. 8, from S. 53 and now in the Brooklyn Museum 14. 641; the ivory wand with the head of Hathor, pl. XX, 4, from S. 121 and now in the Brooklyn Museum 14. 614; the set of three bronze instruments from S. 58, and now in the Brooklyn Museum 14. 633. 1-3; the two plaster masks from S. 80 and S. 84, pl. XVI, 2. The heavy gold ring mentioned may be the ear-ring of gold leaf, fig. 8, 16, from S. 83, now in the Brooklyn Museum 14. 630.

The ivory scribe's palette is rectangular and narrow, 14.3 cm. long by 3 cm. wide, with two small depressions for inks, and two grooves, one broken away, for pens. A similar type is illustrated in Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, pl. lvii, 43, but the Sawâma example is smaller, uninscribed, and has two instead of three depressions for ink. Traces of ink and an ancient repair indicate that it had been used before being placed in the grave.

No record of the inscription on the ivory spoon was made apart from a very rough sketch on the tomb card, and this copy has been made from the photograph. The top of the spoon, which presumably carried a *hṯp di nsw* formula, has been broken off, but the name and title of the owner remains.

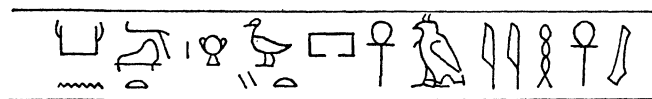












FIG. 1

n kꜣ n imy-r st hr(y) sꜣwtꜣ pr-ꜥnh Nhy whm ꜥnh.

The owner's name, *Nhy*, is one common in the Middle and New Kingdom, for both men and women,¹ but his title is quite uncommon.² The writing of *imy-r st* with , instead of , and *hry* with  instead of  or , is unusual.³ The reading of  as *sꜣwtꜣ* is suggested, but remains uncertain in default of other examples of the writing. The examples quoted in *Wb.* III, 416-19, all have the determinative  or , and the only example of the title *hry sꜣwtꜣ* given, *Wb.* III, 418, 11 and Supplement, is one with the determinative , and the meaning of 'Chief Archivist'. In his comprehensive list of titles associated with the *pr-ꜥnh*, Gardiner, in *JEA* 24, 157-75, does not include *hry sꜣwtꜣ pr-ꜥnh*, so that although the title may be translated as 'Chief Guardian of the House of Life', its meaning remains obscure. Perhaps the preceding *imy-r st* should be understood here as an indication of rank rather than a specific title, following the suggestion made by Helck.⁴ In the *cursus honorum* of an official of the Fifth-Sixth Dynasty the highest rank is , which Helck translates as 'Vorsteher des Buros'. It is also possible that the titles have been abbreviated to fit into the limited space on the handle of the spoon, and the full version might be, *imy-r st pr-ꜥnh hry sꜣwtꜣ pr-ꜥnh*.

¹ Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 207, 19.

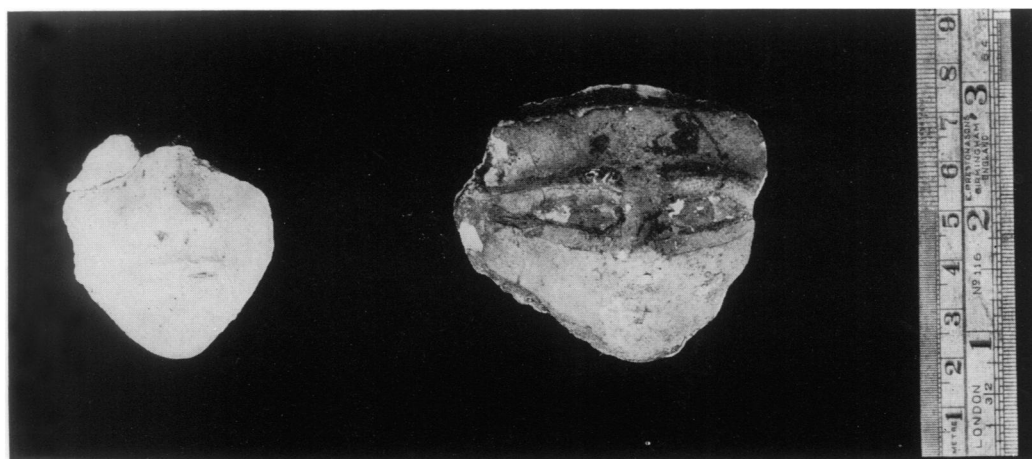
² The title was shown to the late Professor Černý, and to Dr. Málek of the Griffith Institute, and we are most grateful for their suggestions.

³ Lange-Schäfer, *Grab und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs*, give two examples of the former, Cairo 20023, I, pp. 24-6, iv, pl. iii; and Cairo 20104, I, pp. 127-8, iv, pl. x, and six of the latter, Cairo 20018, I, pp. 17-18 iv, pl. ii; and Cairo 20102, I, pp. 123-5.

⁴ Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, 1954, 107.

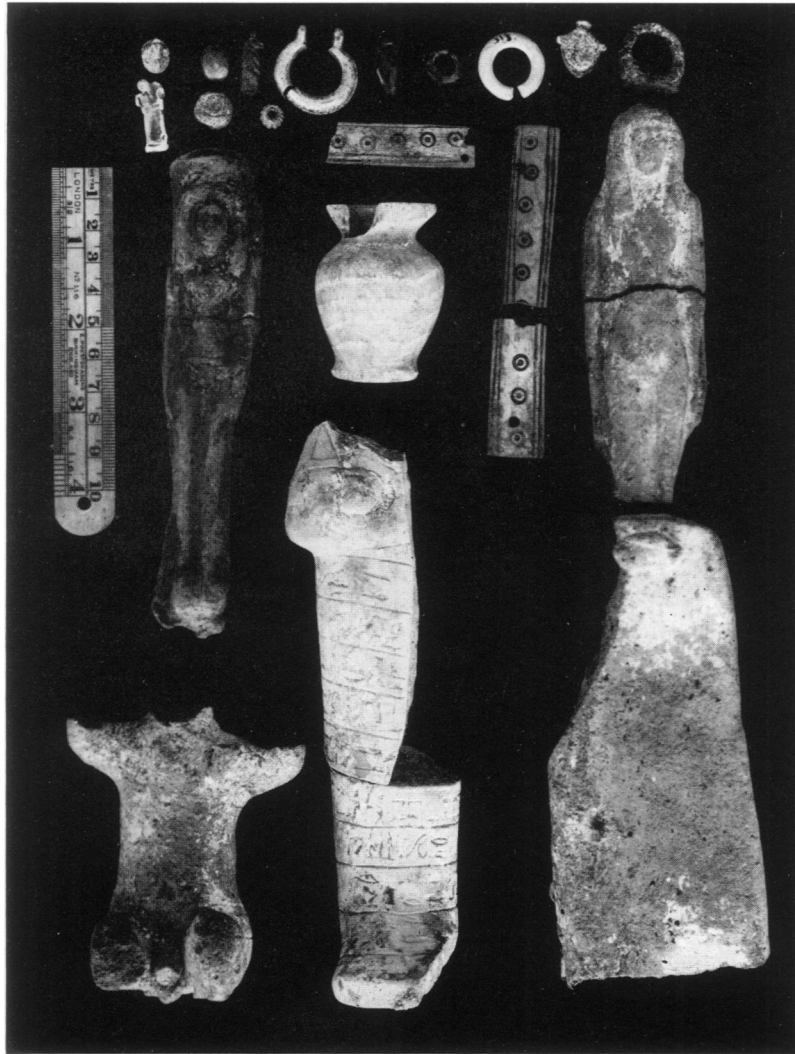


1. View of the work looking east

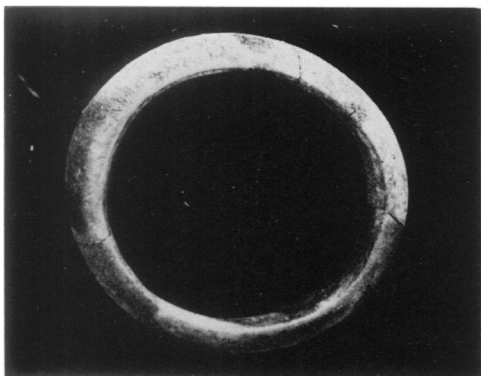


2. Plaster masks from S.80, S.84 respectively

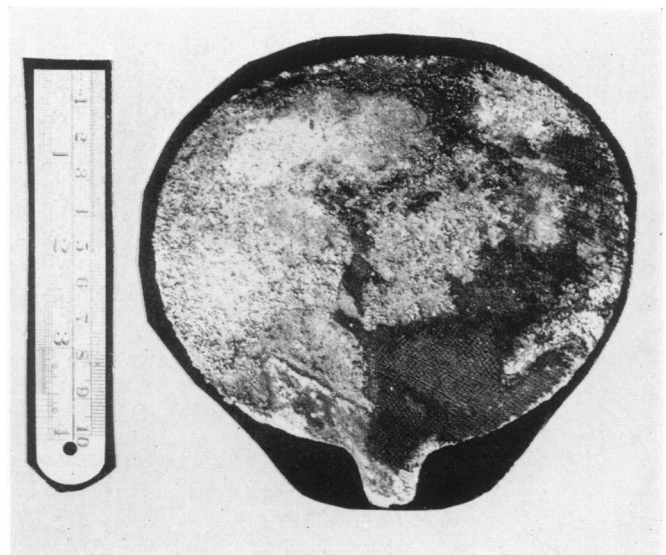
SAWĀMA 1914



1. Group of objects from S.15



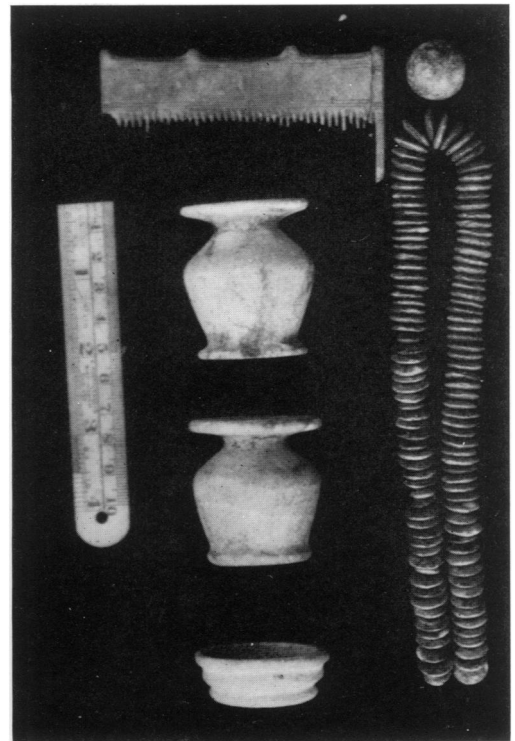
2. Bangle from S.23 (no scale)



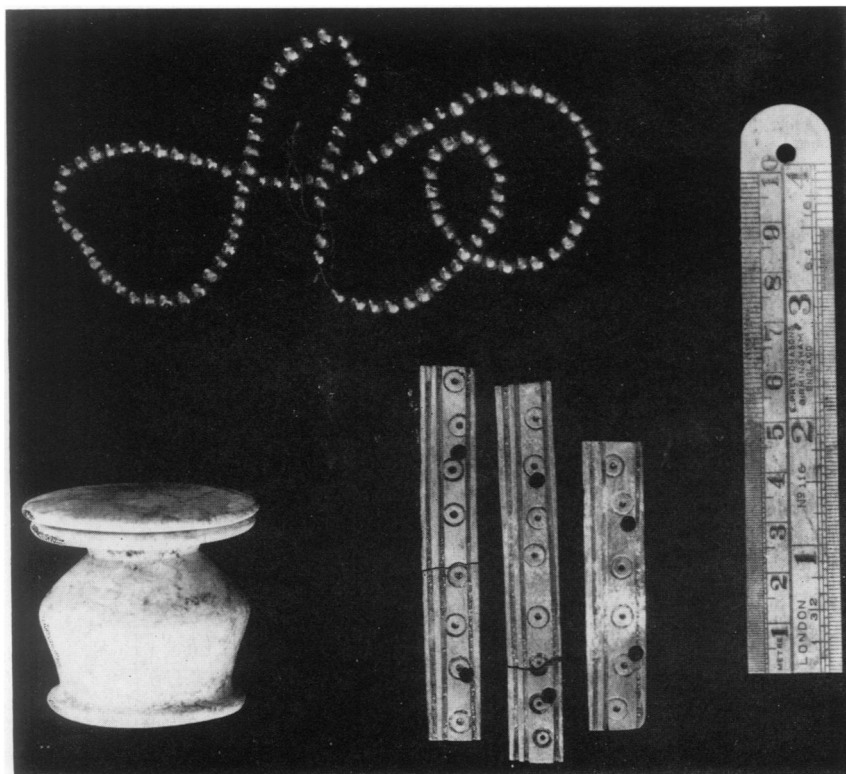
3. Mirror from S.66b



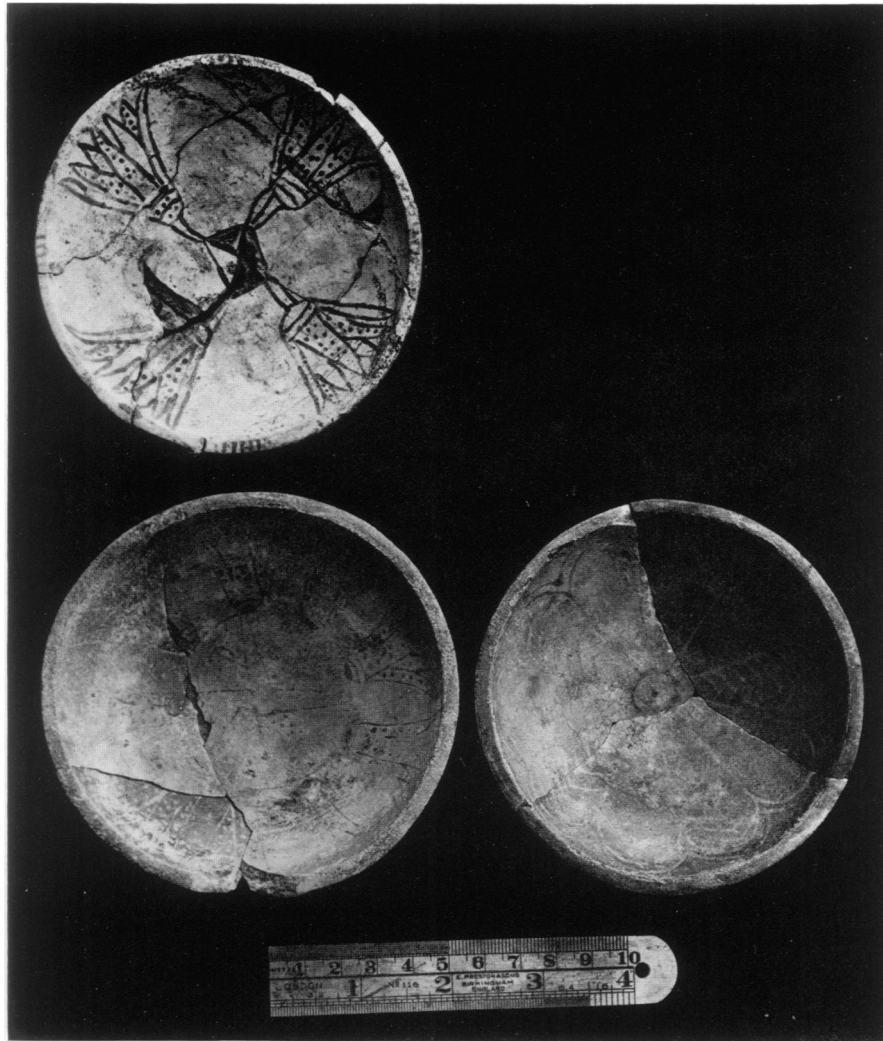
1. Group from S.28



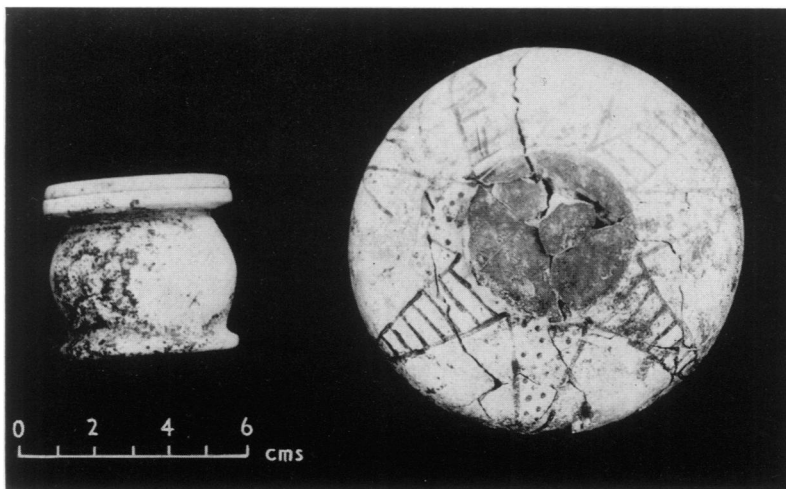
2. Objects from S.25



3. Objects from S.122



1. Upper: interior of faience dish from S.49
Lower: interior of faience dishes from S.20,
left from W. chamber, right from E. chamber



2. Exterior of faience dish and kohl pot from S.49



1. Skull from S.4



2. Skull from S.100



3. Shabti from S.15



4. Hathor wand from S.121

The bracelet from S. 28, pl. XVIII, 1, was made of a single piece of wood, which, according to the museum records, is perhaps ebony. The outside surface has been incised with a chevron design. The silver flies from S. 53 were found with fourteen tiny spacer beads, also of silver.

The ivory wand with the head of Ḥaṭḥor from S. 121 is perhaps more correctly to be called a clapper. These objects, made out of ivory or wood in the shape of a human arm and hand, were originally made in pairs, and when complete are usually pierced for stringing. Examples of them are to be found in most cemeteries of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.¹ However, we have found only one other example which also has the motif of the head of Ḥaṭḥor. A clapper made of ebony in the form of an elongated hand with, carved in relief on the wrist, a Ḥaṭḥor head bearing a sistrum capital, was found by Reisner at Kerma.² The workmanship of the clapper from Sawāma is very fine and there are traces of red pigment on the head of the goddess. The material may be bone and not ivory, according to the museum records.

The bronze instruments from S. 58 were: a small borer (Brooklyn Museum 14. 633. 1) length of blade 11.1 cm. and greatest width 0.8 cm., set in a wooden handle which has decayed; a smaller borer (Brooklyn Museum 14. 633. 2) with a finely pointed blade 4.9 cm. long, set in a round-ended wooden handle; and a tiny chisel (Brooklyn Museum 14. 633. 3) set in a wooden handle with a square butt. A fragmentary bronze tool set in a wooden handle was also found in S. 10, and is now in the museum of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 9300.

Among the objects not mentioned in the preliminary report were the pottery figurines and models. Six were found, in S. 15 and S. 102, and one without a tomb number has been identified from museum records. Several of them belong to a class of 'concubine figures' which, in these examples at least, are clearly concerned with ensuring a woman's fertility. The two examples from S. 102, see fig. 19, and the one without a tomb number, which is published in James H. Breasted Jr., *Egyptian Servant Statues*, 1948, pl. 93c, p. 96, are in the Brooklyn Museum, 14. 607-8, 14. 606, respectively. They depict women lying on their backs with their arms by their sides on beds, and two of them, 14. 606 and 14. 608, have the figure of a child by their right foot. The figure is not at all clear, because the pottery is very worn, but a parallel type in limestone shows quite unmistakably the figure of a squatting boy beside the woman.³ The object next to the woman's left foot in Brooklyn Museum 14. 608 is more difficult to identify, but it may possibly have represented the hieroglyph for 1,000. All three examples were made out of a coarse clay, and baked a deep red-brown. The figures were formed in high relief, but all details of the faces and musculature have been obliterated. Traces of red paint remained on the body. In S. 15, see pl. XVII, 1, two figures of women lying on their backs, a model bed, and a figurine of a boy were found. The style, material, and technique are identical with those of the other figurines, and

¹ Maciver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos* (EEF, 1902), pl. xlvi, top left; Garstang, *El Arabeh* (BSAE, 1901), pl. xiv, 356; Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (BSAE, 1907), pl. xxvii; Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (BSAE, 1906), pl. xii B.

² Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma*, IV-V (1923), 261 (b), Type II, pl. 52, 1.

³ *Christie catalogue*, Feb. 24, 1970, p. 26 (90), with pl. xvi, middle. The example is unprovenanced.

the only difference seems to be that the elements of the design, the woman, child, and bed, have here been made separately. The figure of the boy, in the Brooklyn Museum 14. 643, is very fragmentary, but he seems to have been in a seated position with arms raised, and on the left shoulder there are the remains of a sidelock of youth. Details,



FIG. 2.

such as the wig or headrest, may vary, and the figure of the child is not always present, but similar figurines of the same crude workmanship have been found in graves at other sites, such as Gurob and Qurneh.¹

The inscription on the broken shabti from S. 15, pl. XX, 3, is given in fig. 2, and we are indebted to Mr. T. G. H. James who has kindly allowed us to reproduce his copy of the text, shortly to appear in his edition of *Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, pl. xxxix, 203. It is a version of the standard middle to late Eighteenth Dynasty formula, with several errors, and the name is lost. The shabti is of limestone, with traces of blue pigment in the hieroglyphs, and faint traces of red pigment on the body. The hands are clasped, with the left hand holding a hoe, and a basket hung over the right shoulder.

There are two graves, S. 66b and S. 78, which deserve more comment than the space in the register provides. Although S. 66b was not described as an intact burial, the body was found in position, and the rough sketch on the card, see fig. 9, indicates

¹ Brunton and Engelbach, *Gurob* (BSAE, 1927), pl. xiii, 6, pl. xxv, 20, and pl. xlvi, 10, 13; Petrie, *Qurneh* (BSAE, 1909), pl. xxxi, 5.

that it was undisturbed. Two pots lay one either side of the head; two kohl pots lay one on the chest and one beside the left arm; the basket lay on top of the right arm; and the mirror beside the pelvis on the left side. A string of small white beads were found around the pelvis, and below them, loose in the dust, were the scarabs. A plan of the burial in S. 78, will be found in fig. 9. The wall dividing the chamber from the shaft had broken away. The contents of some of the pots were noted, types 20, 22, 24, 32, 34, and 120 contained grain mash, types 12, 88, and 120 berries, and type 16 leaves. To complete the food offerings, ox bones, presumably the remains of joints of meat, and pomegranates, were found.

Scarabs of Amenophis I and Amenophis III were found, suggesting a date for the cemetery which agrees unusually well with the accepted date range of other objects found, such as the blue faience dishes, the fly amulets and slips of inlay, and the toilet vessels, fig. 9, types 10-12, 25, 31-2. Naturally this date cannot be imposed rigidly on the material. Two kohl pots of anhydrite were found in S. 22 and S. 52, and the associated scarabs and pottery suggest a Seventeenth-Dynasty date. Other examples of some of the pottery types can be found both earlier, 3, 5, 6, 10, 16, 44, 60, 61, 94, 96, and later, 90, 97-8.

Description of pottery

1. No description.
2. Brown fabric.
3. Brown fabric, very little straw. Scraped rough underneath like Fourth-Dynasty pottery. Red slip inside.
4. As 3.
5. Hard brown fabric.
6. Very fine black fabric, thin walled, and hand-made. In S. 20, red burnished inside. In S. 44, rim and inside black, red burnished outside.
7. Hard pink fabric, unevenly fired. Outside yellow-green with red-brown patches, burnished.
8. Hard brown fabric, with red slip outside. Cuts made in soft clay.
9. Brown fabric, red slip.
10. Rough brown fabric, black in section.
11. Brown fabric, red slip inside and black rim. Shape distorted in firing.
12. Brown fabric, red slip inside and out. In S. 25, S. 74, S. 78, S. 139, burnished inside, and in S. 74 burnished outside also. In S. 105, black painted rim. In S. 133, gulleh ware. In S. 78, contained berries.
13. Brown fabric, red slip inside and out. In S. 91, burnished inside. In S. 70, contained wheat.
14. Soft brown fabric, red slip inside and out, burnished inside.
15. Brown fabric without straw. In S. 11, S. 122, red slip inside and out, and in S. 122, burnished inside. In S. 15, yellow-white slip (but according to the tomb card, hard red fabric with greeny-grey slip).
16. Usual brown fabric, red slip inside and out, burnished inside. In S. 78, contained leaves. In S. 102, unburnished and black rim.
17. Brown fabric, red slip inside and out, burnished inside.
18. Rough brown fabric.
19. Brown fabric.

20. Brown fabric with straw, red slip inside and out, burnished inside. Burnish not as good as best predynastic pottery, but inclined to be streaky like Second-Dynasty pottery. In S. 78, contained grain mash.
21. Soft brown fabric, red slip, burnished inside.
22. Brown fabric, red slip inside and out. In S. 16, S. 85, burnished inside. In S. 122, red slip on rim only. In S. 78, contained grain mash.
23. Brown fabric.
24. Hard brown fabric without straw. In S. 117, hole pierced in base when clay wet. In S. 78, contained grain mash.
25. Thick brown fabric. In S. 136, inside covered with white powder.
26. Brown fabric without straw. Cross 2 cm. wide in white paint on inside.
27. Brown fabric, red slip.
28. Usual brown fabric, red slip inside and out, burnished.
29. Usual brown fabric, red slip.
30. (Coarse brown fabric, red slip outside, base trimmed with tool.)
31. Brown fabric, red slip.
32. Brown fabric, red slip, black rim. In S. 57, S. 78, S. 80, burnished and no black rim. In S. 78, contained grain mash.
33. Brown fabric, red slip, burnished outside and black rim. In S. 119, S. 122, no black rim.
34. Hard brown fabric, red slip. In S. 78, contained grain mash.
35. Brown fabric, red slip outside, burnished.
36. Brown fabric, red slip outside.
37. As 36.
38. Brown fabric, red slip. In S. 57, burnished.
39. Brown fabric, red slip, black rim.
40. Brown fabric, white slip.
41. Brown fabric, red slip. In S. 9, contained grain mash.
42. Rough red-brown fabric.
43. Red fabric without straw. In S. 62, contained grain?
44. Hard red fabric practically without straw, red slip and black painted rim. In S. 21, no black rim. In S. 41a, contained grain, ? barley.
45. Brown fabric, red slip. Contained similar grain mash to the others.
46. No description.
47. Red fabric, finely burnished. Very predynastic in shape and appearance. Full of corn.
48. Brown fabric, red slip. In S. 67, contained a little vegetable fibre.
49. Finest quality whitish-yellow fabric bound with sand, no straw. Outside greenish-yellow-white just like the First-Dynasty jars.
50. Hard fine red fabric, white slip outside.
51. Hard brown fabric without straw, red slip and burnished.
52. As 51. Contained grain, possibly barley, and a small hard fruit.
53. As 51.
54. Usual hard brown fabric, red slip, burnished and purple painted rim.
55. Brown fabric, red slip.
56. Coarse red-brown fabric.
57. Red fabric, greenish-white slip.
58. Brown fabric, red slip.
59. Hard coarse green-yellow gulleh ware, pink patches due to under firing. Lines incised.

60. Fine-quality red fabric without straw, walls very thin. In S. 97, yellow-green-white slip. In S. 155, red slip.
61. No description.
62. Usual red-brown fabric. In S. 143, red slip.
63. As 62.
64. Pattern dug into the wet clay.
65. Usual hard brown fabric, white slip.
66. Usual brown fabric, red slip, burnished.
67. Usual brown fabric, red slip.
68. Red slip.
69. Usual brown fabric, red slip.
70. Red painted lines.
71. Usual brown fabric, red slip. In S. 71, sealed with mud.
72. As 71.
73. As 71.
74. Brown fabric, red slip. Rim and lines black painted.
75. Usual brown fabric, red slip.
76. As 75.
77. Brown fabric, red slip, burnished. In S. 156, soft yellow fabric.
78. Fine hard pink fabric, with greeny-grey patches, burnished. In S. 73, pattern in black only.
79. Hard red fabric. In S. 25, no red painted decoration. In S. 80, burnished. In S. 57, soft greenish-yellow-grey fabric.
80. Red slip, burnished.
81. Fine hard pink fabric, black lines on rim.
82. As 81. In S. 2, contained grain mash.
83. Hard pink fabric, burnished to a yellow-grey with red patches.
84. Brown fabric, red slip, burnished, black rim.
85. (Fine hard pink fabric, red painted lines.)
86. Brown fabric with straw, red slip, burnished.
87. Soft pink-brown fabric.
88. Coarse brown fabric, red slip, burnished. In S. 13, with mud sealing. In S. 78, small, no slip, contained berries.
89. Fine hard pink fabric, burnished to greeny-grey with pink patches. In S. 5, decoration in black and four groups of black lines on the rim.
90. Fine hard pink fabric. In S. 15, buff fabric with red painted lines.
91. As 89.
92. Brown fabric, red slip, burnished.
93. Fine hard pinky-yellow fabric, thin walled.
94. Brown fabric, red slip outside. Pattern incised into wet clay.
95. Grey-green gulleh ware. Shoulder and rim decorated with two brown lines.
96. Fine hard pink fabric, without straw bound with large grains of sand or fine gravel. Yellowish-white slip.
97. Soft fine flaky fabric, surface light buff, thin red slip and burnished. Neck inserted dry.
98. Hard thin fine grey fabric, grey-white slip red in patches. Neck inserted dry.
99. Hard thin red fabric, burnished black as usual (see R. S. Merrillees, *The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery found in Egypt*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, xviii. 93).
100. Hard black fabric, roughly burnished black.
101. As 100.

102. As 100.
 103. Fine brown fabric, red slip.
 104. Brown fabric, red slip with band of white paint round middle.
 105. Brown fabric, red slip inside and out.
 106. Brown fabric, red slip outside.
 107. Soft brown fabric, thick black band in section, red slip with yellow painted bands.
 108. Rough brown fabric, red slip.
 109. Sherd of grey-green gulleh ware.
 110. Brown fabric with straw. Black stains in centre.
 111. Red slip, burnished.
 112. Mud.
 113. As 112.
 114. As 112.
 115. Brown fabric, red slip.
 116. As 115.
 117. Mud.
 118. No description.
 119. Brown fabric.
 120. Rough fabric. In S. 78, contained grain mash, and another example, berries.
 121. Mud.
 122. Black fabric.

Distribution list

Apart from those finds sent to Cairo, objects were sent to:

The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn	Abbreviated Br.
The University Museum, Philadelphia	„ Ph.
The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago	„ Ch.
The Department of Anthropology, Cornell University	„ C.

Grave no.	Pottery	Stone objects, toilet vases	Scarabs	Beads, amulets	Bronze, ivory, misc.
9.			1, Br. 14. 645	Turtle, Br. 14. 644	
10.					Frag. of tool, Ch. 9300
11.	15, Ph. E15823 82, Br. 14. 635	Lids of kohl pots, Ch. 9259 and C. 3204/67. 1			
13.	59, Ch. 9321 88, Ch. 9247				
14.	12, Ch. 9329				
15.	50, Ch. 9323 90, Ph. E15449 99, Ph. E15445	1, Ph. E15462	4, Ch. 9308 51, Ch. 9314-15	10, 13 Ch. 9304-5 15 carnelian, Ch. 9312 15, Br. 14. 646 Tawerets, Ptah, Bes, Ch. 9310, 9306-7, 9309	Shell ring, Ch. 9313. Inlay, Ph. E15559. Shabti, Br. 14. 632. Figure of boy, Br. 14. 643. Female figure, C. NN. Bed, Ch. 9251. Piece of glass, Ch. 9317

Grave no.	Pottery	Stone objects, toilet vases	Scarabs	Beads, amulets	Bronze, ivory, misc.
16.	119, Ch. 9333				
18.	36, Ph. E15451 111, Ch. 9328	21, Ch. 9334			
19.		16, Ph. E15459	5, 6, Ch. 9299	Ch. 9299	
20.		19, Ch. 9336			Saucer with lotus pattern, Br. 14. 612
21.	44, Ch. 9245 87, Ch. 9327				
22.	5, Ch. 9332 65, Ch. 9320	7, C. 3204/67. 1			Kohl tube, Ph. E15720. Comb, Br. 14. 636
25.	11, Ph. E15453 12, Ch. 9330 17, Ph. E15820 17, Ch. 9252 101, Ch. 9324	3, C. 3204/67. 1 13, Ph. E15461			
26.				Br. 14. 629	Inlay, Br. 14. 620
27.					Palette, Br. 14. 615
28.				17, Ch. 9271	Tweezers, Ch. 9270. Shell, and bracelet, Br. 14. 637-8
32.				15, Ch. 9302	Frag. Ch. 9303
34.		10, Ch. 9257			
36.				Ch. 9319	
38.				6, 20, C. NN.	Comb, C. NN.
39.		15, C. 3204/67. 1			
41a.	94, Br. 14. 730				
43.	35, Ch. 9322	6, Ch. 9255 Lid, Ph. E15464			
44.	61, Ch. 9242				
45.		27, Ph. E15560			
49.		18, Br. 14. 609 A-B			Saucer, Br. 14. 610
50.	103, Ch. 9325				
52.		10, Ch. 9254	25, 24, Br. 14. 617-18		
53.				14, Br. 14. 641	
56.				7, Br. 14. 647	
57.	38, Ch. 9246 38, C. 3195/67. 1	31, Br. 14. 613			
58.	93, Br. 14. 634				Tools, palette Br. 14. 633. 1-4
59.	85, Ch. 9249				
60.	100, Ph. E15446				
61.		30, C. NN.			
66a.				Cylinders, and 18, Ch. 9264-5	Inlay, Ch. 9261-3
66b.		14, Br. 14. 640 A-B	27, 34, 36, 38, 37, 35, 31, 30, Br. 14. 621-8. 26, Br. 14. 631. 29, 32, Br. 14. 648-9		Mirror, Br. 14. 619
67.			39, 51, Ch. 9268-9	11, Ch. 9266	Shell, Ch. 9267
73.		12, Ch. 9258			
77.		26, Br. 14. 616			
78.	12, Ch. 9253	25, Br. 14. 611			

Grave no.	Pottery	Stone objects, toilet vases	Scarabs	Beads, amulets	Bronze, ivory, misc.
78.	30, Ch. 9244 32, Ph. E15450 40, Ph. E15447 88, Ch. 9326 120, C. 3243/67. 1 120, C. 3244/67. 1				
80.	39, Ph. E15456				
83.				16, Br. 14. 630	
84.	101, Ch. 9250	22, Ph. E15457	48-9, 44-7, 51, Ch. 9279-84, 9287. Cow- roid, Ch. 9286. Scaraboid, Ch. 9288	1, 8, Ch. 9285, 9290-1. Plaque, Ch. 9289	
89.		12, Ch. 9256			
91.	95, Br. 14. 642. 96, Ph. D1484 (see note)	2, C. 3204/67. 1			
102.					Female figure on bed, female figure, Br. 14. 607-8
103.	4, C. 3257/67. 1				
105.	12, Ph. E15452				
109.				Discs, 4, and fly, Ch. 9294-5, Ch. 9297. Ch. 9298	Shells, Ch. 9292-3
111.					
121.		9, 16, Ph. E15460, E15463 A, B			Wand, Br. 14. 614
122.		16, Br. 14. 639 Lid, Ch. 9260		Ch. 9277	Inlay, Ch. 9272-6
156.		8, Ch. 9335			
NN.					Female figure on bed, Br. 14. 606.

Note

The pot from S. 91, type number 96, was found to have been incorrectly identified as coming from Fisher's excavation at Denderah, and given a Denderah number, D 1484.

Abbreviations and symbols used

L.	Length	Cyp. jug.	Cypriote base ring juglet
B.	Breadth	Dist.	Disturbed
D.	Depth	Frag.	Fragment
H.	Height	Gl.	Glazed
F.	Female	Gr.	Green
M.	Male	Rect.	Rectangular
NN.	No number	St.	Steatite
Blk.	Black	Uninsc.	Uninscribed
Bl.	Blue	*	Indicates drawings made from objects in 1968
Carn.	Carnelian	‡	Indicates objects not recorded by excavators

Colour Convention used for painted pottery

—————	Black line	//////////	Purple line	-----	Red line
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SCALE 0 6 12 cms.

POTTERY CORPUS

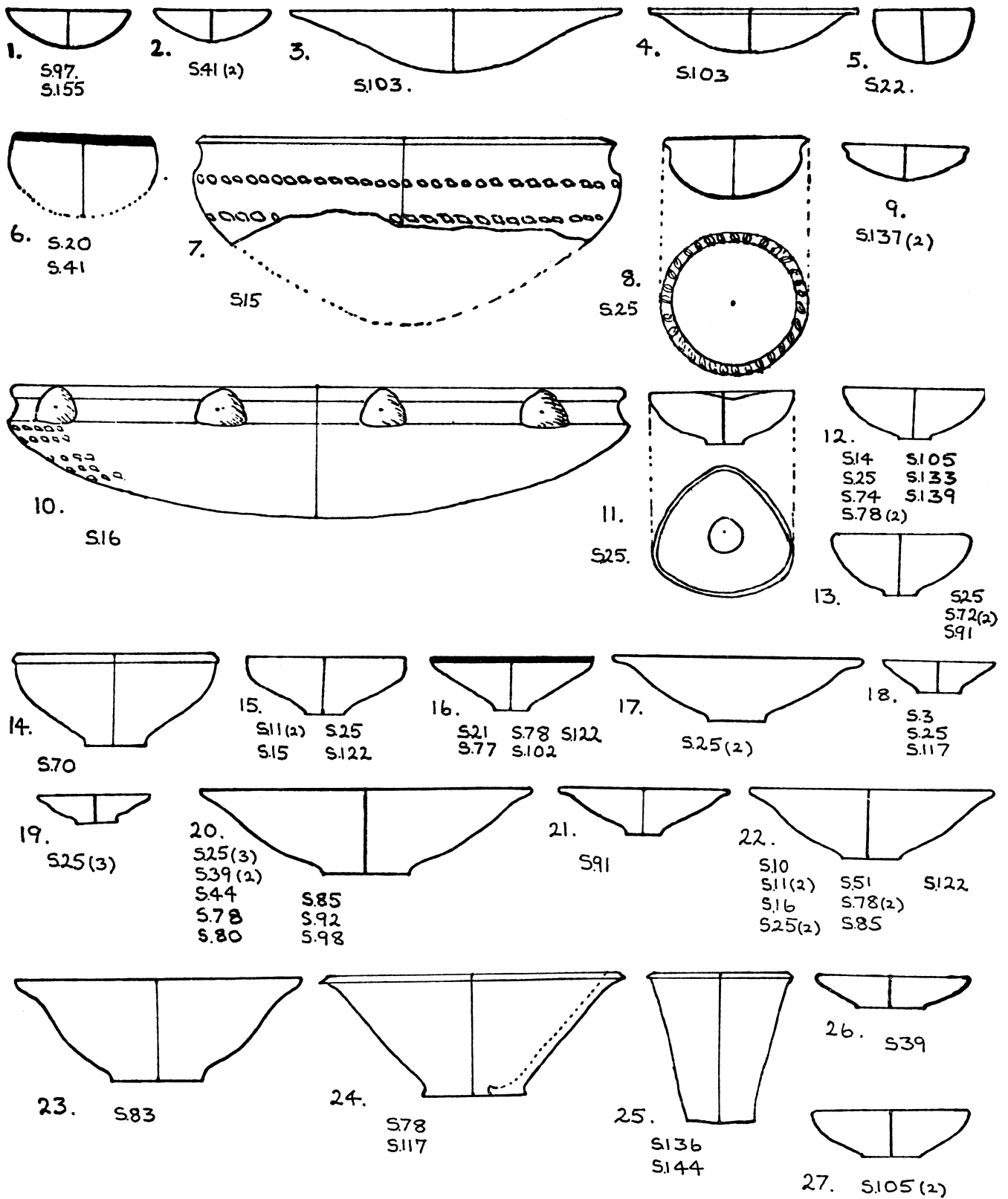


FIG. 3.

SCALE 0 6 12 CMS.

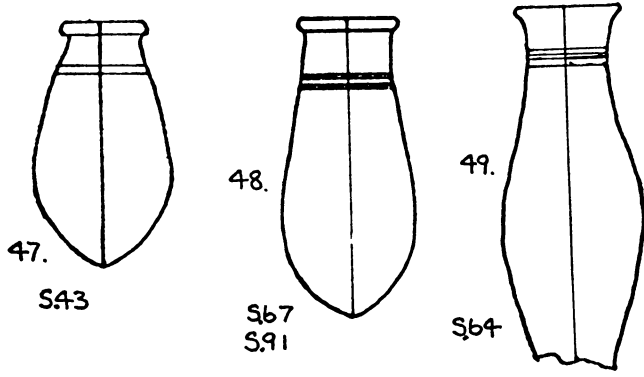
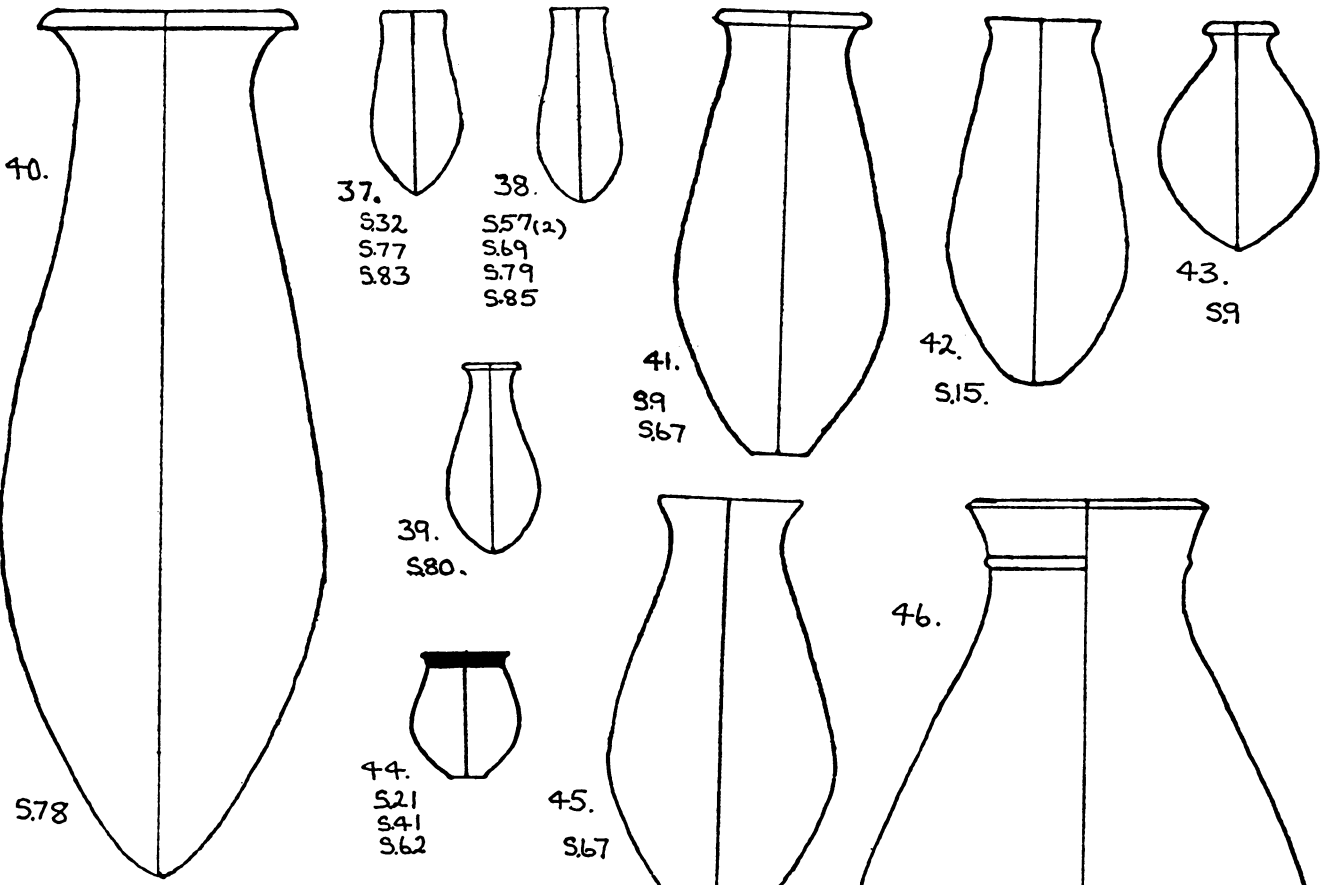
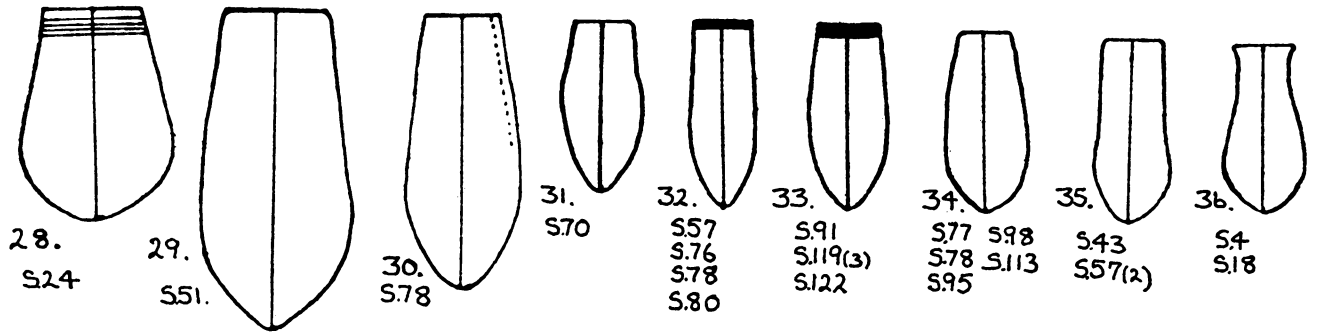


FIG. 4.

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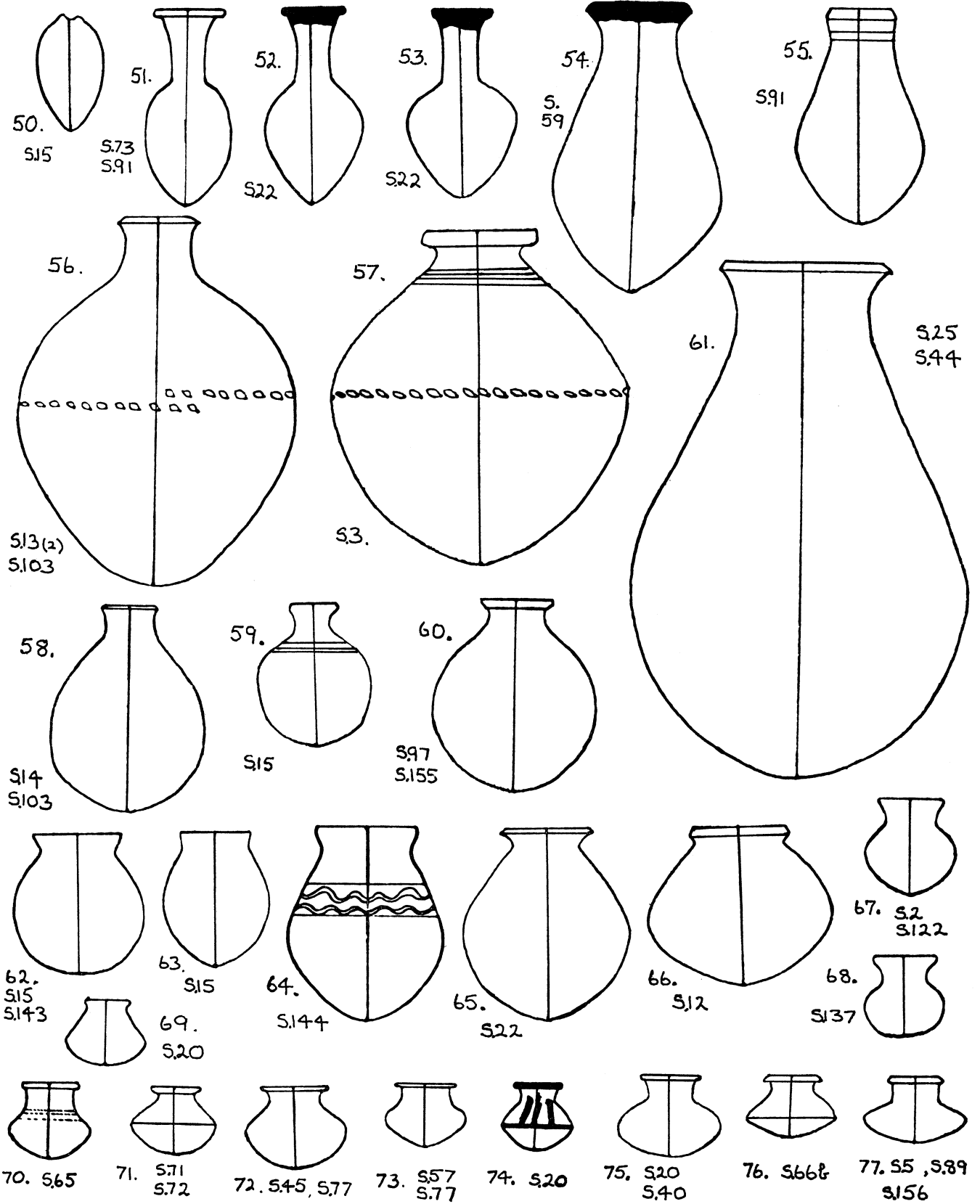


FIG. 5.

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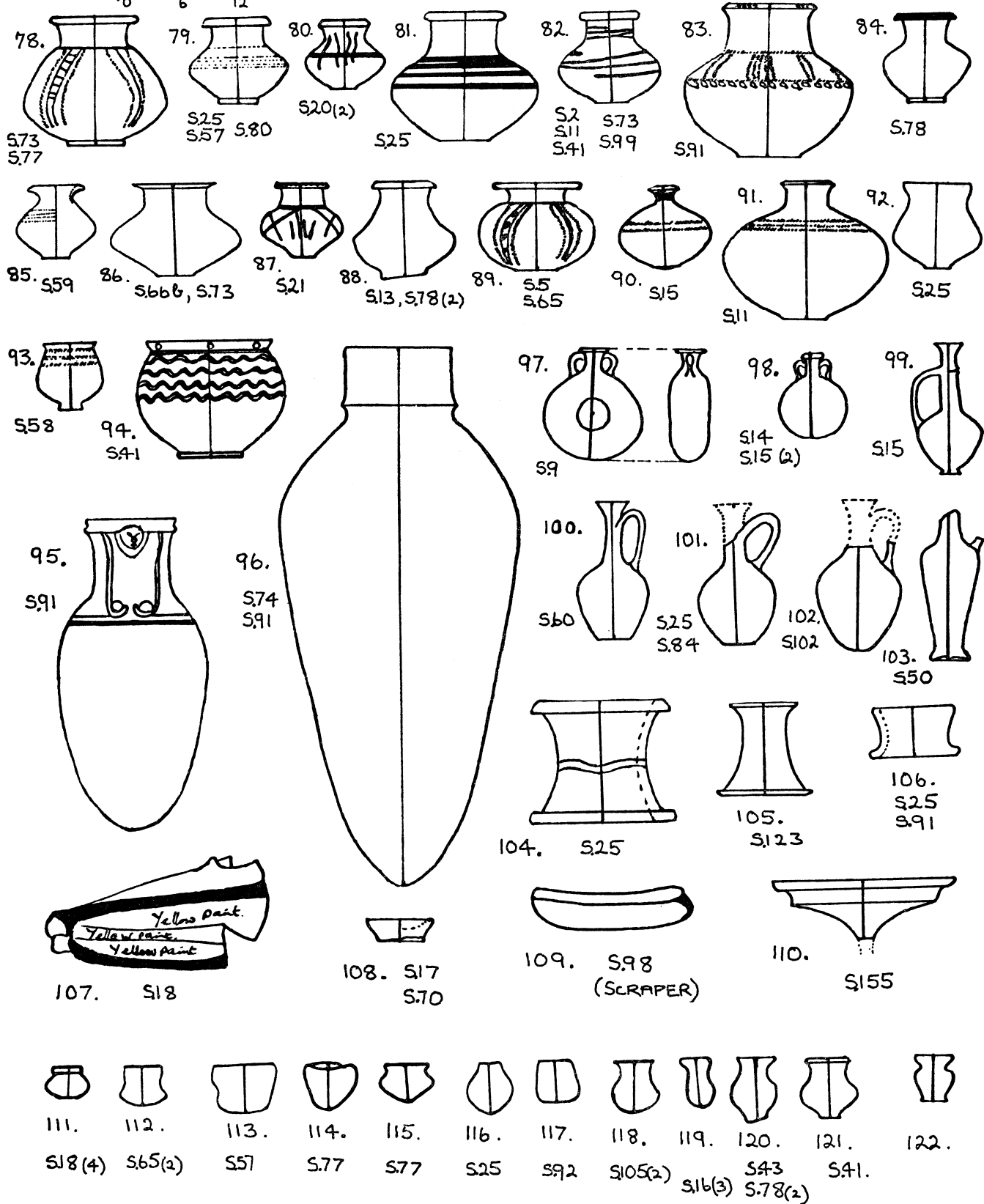


FIG. 6.

SCALE: 1. 2. 3. CMS.

SCARABS, COWROIDS, AND PLAQUES.

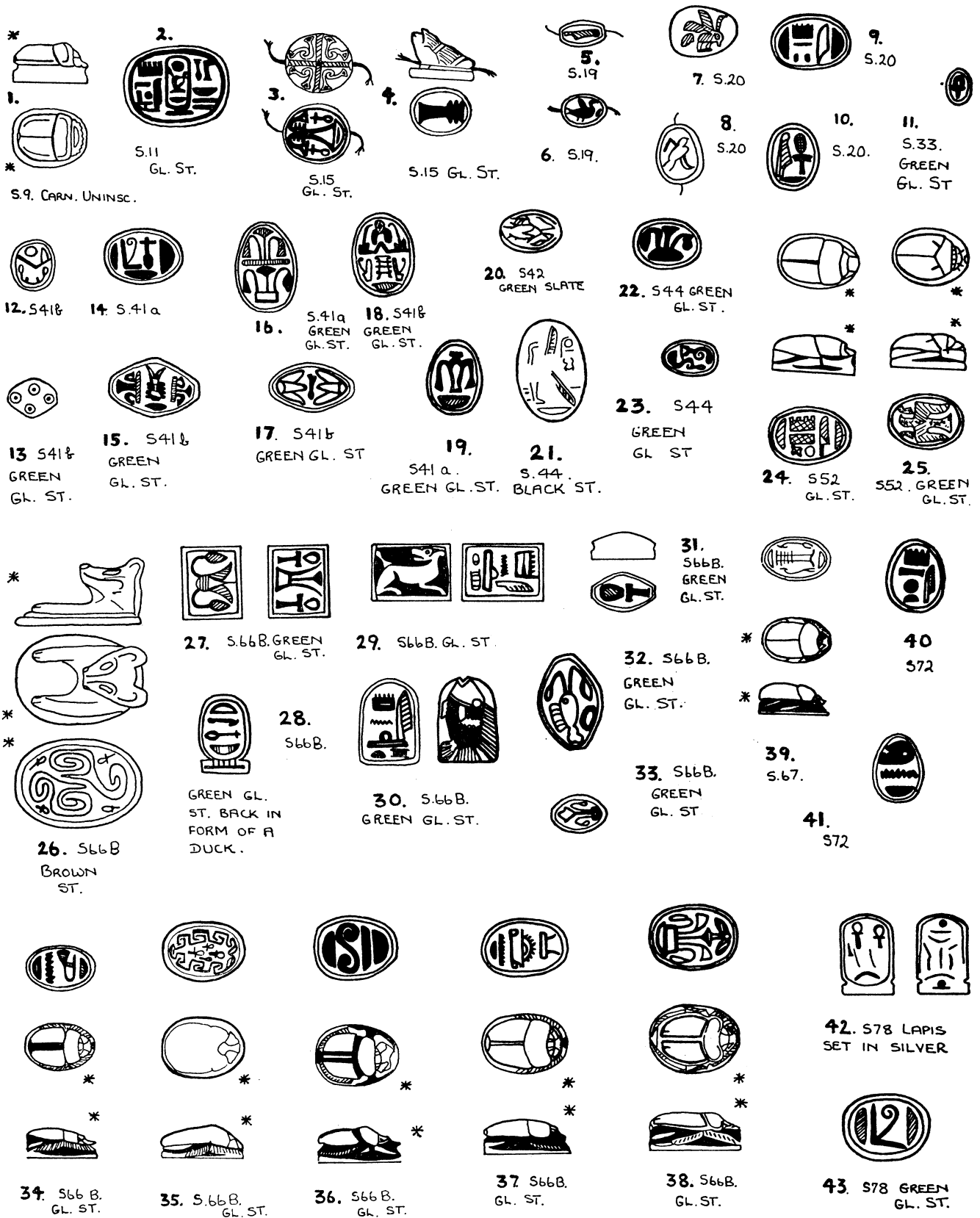
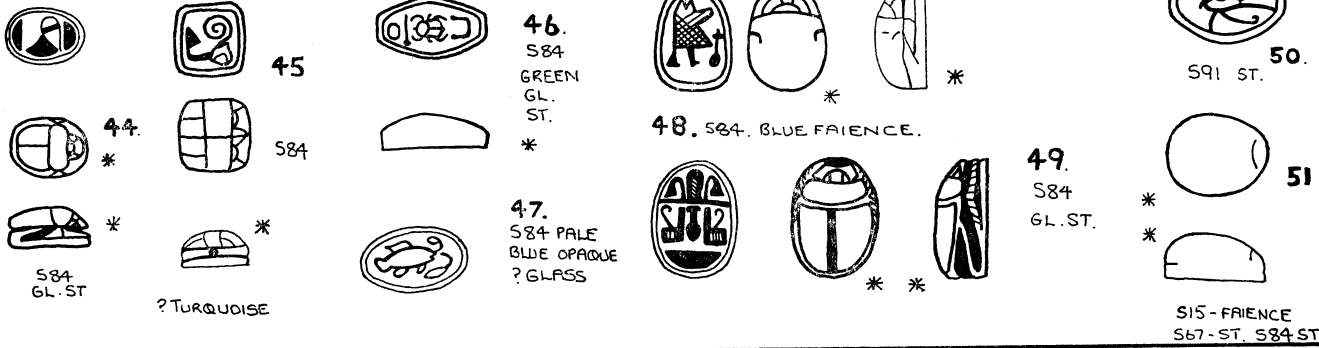


FIG. 7.

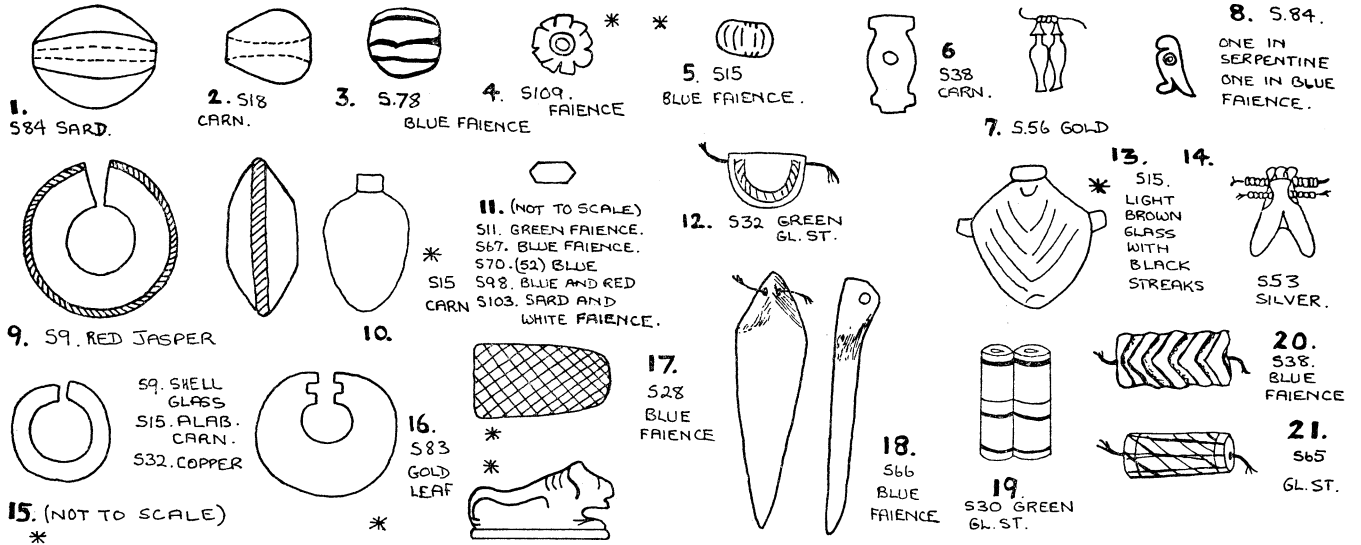
SCALE: 1 2 3 CMS

SCARABS, COWROIDS, AND PLAQUES CONT.



SCALE AS ABOVE.

BEADS, AMULETS, AND PENDANTS.



SKETCH PLANS OF THE LARGER GRAVES

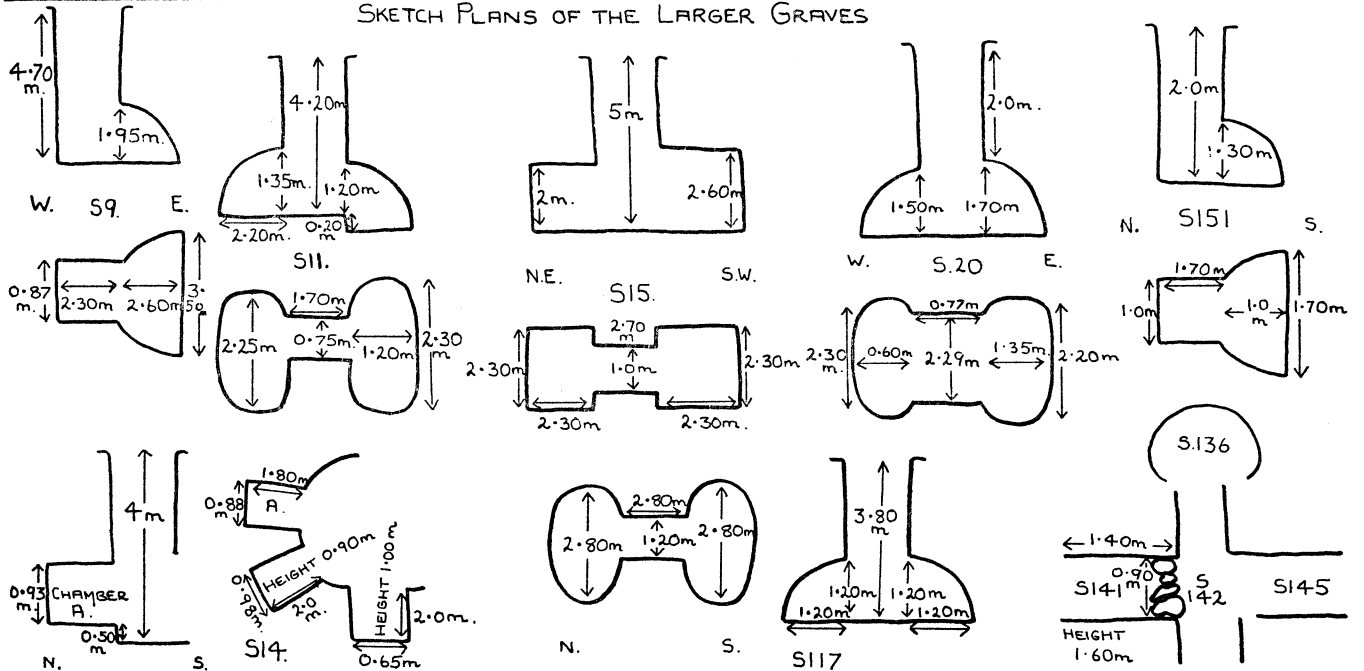
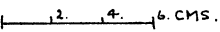
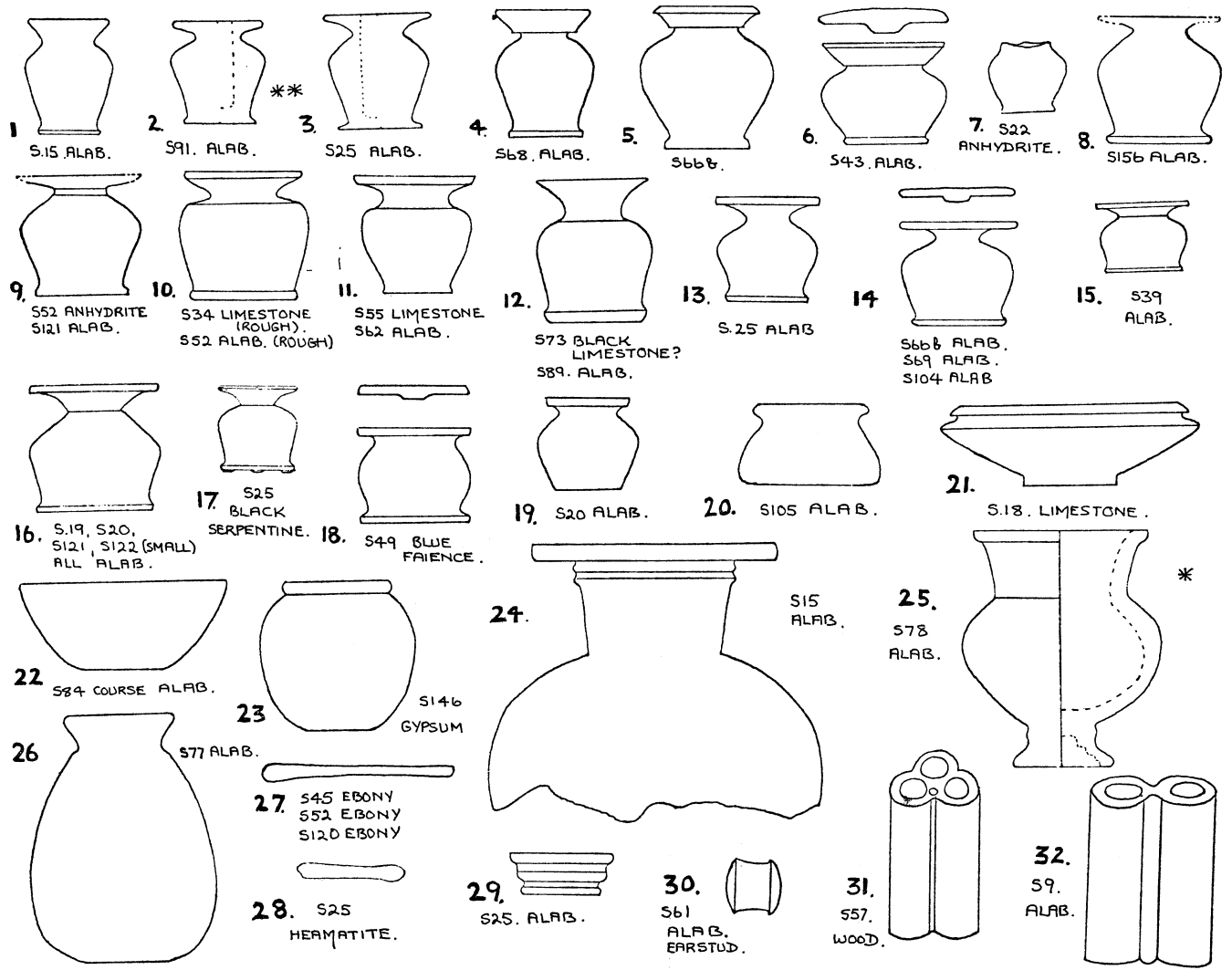


FIG. 8.

SCALE:  2 4 6 CMS.

STONE VESSELS AND TOILET OBJECTS.



SKETCH PLANS OF TWO GRAVES' CONTENTS

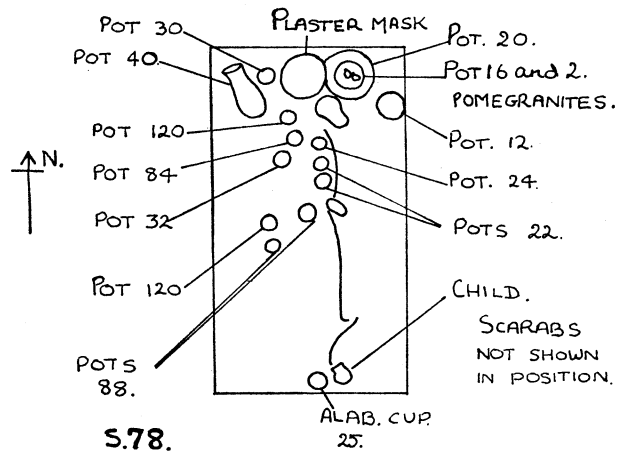
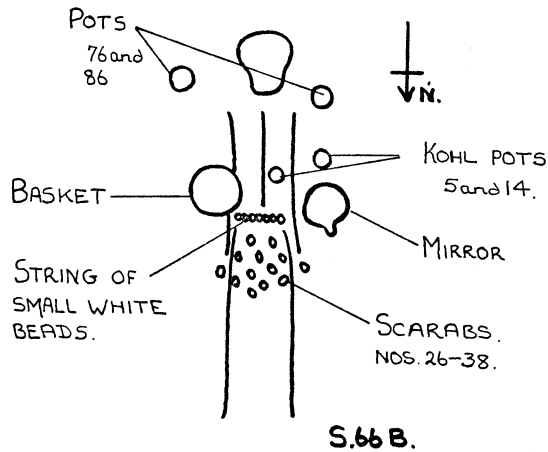


FIG. 9.

TOMB REGISTER


GRAVE NO. STATE	SIZE IN METRES	ORIENT.	COFFIN	BODY	POTTERY	STONE AND TOILET OBJECTS	SCARABS ETC.	BEADS ETC.	BRONZE OBJECTS	IVORY BONE AND SHELLS	MISCELLANEOUS	COMMENTS.
1.	L-2.20 B-0.80 D-3.70	N-S	Rect. Wood							Ivory comb Ivory Kohl stick	Wicker (?) Reed-nest.	Comb, fig. 19.
2. Dist.	L-2.0 B-0.60 D-2.0	E-W			67, 82.							Pot 82 found at E. end of grave.
3.	L-2.0 B-1.20 D-0.40				18, 57.							Pot 18 in corpus but not on tomb card.
4. Dist.	L-2.30 B-1.0 D-2.80			F. with braided hair.	36							Pot 36 in corpus but not on tomb card. Skull, pl. XX, I.
5. Dist.	L-2.50 B-1.0 D-2.20	NE-SW			77, 89.	1 broken limestone Kohl pot.						Pot 77 in corpus but not on tomb card. Kohl pot not in corpus.
6.	L-1.60 B-0.70 D-2.90			M.							Red clay object 1 mudborn nut	
7.	L-1.04 B-0.80 D-1.0		Wood	Extended, supra-Head S.								
8.	L-? B-0.90 D-1.70			Extended, supra-Head N.								The tomb card mentions "objects" but does not list them.
9.	See fig. 8.				41, 43, 97.	32	1.	Staff-  skull small gr. of beads Grave chamber 9, 15(3) Canaanite Urn. 100. gr. disks Bl. gr. 100 Bl. gr. Bl. gr. eye.				Pots and Kohl pot one on corpus not tomb card. For Urn see Fischer "Egyptian Tombs" in B.M.A. Feb. 1966, p. 198. Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turfles, M. M. A. House No. 13, p. 26 (66), pl. 17 (66)
10.	L-2.20 B-0.80 D-1.30	N-S			22.				Frag. of tool with wooden handle.	Frag. of tortoise shell.		Pot 22 in corpus but not on tomb card. Shell, Fischer op. cit., p. 81 ff
11.	See fig. 8.				15(2), 22(2), 82, 91.	2 alab. Kohl pot covers	2.	11.				Of the pottery, the tomb card mentions only "1 bowl."
12.	L-3.0 B-1.0 D-2.0	N-S			66						Frag. of painted stucco.	
13.	L-2.40 B-0.90 D-2.50				56(2), 59, 88				2 knives 1 broken ring.			Pots 56 in corpus but not on tomb card.
14.	See fig. 8.			3 m well - a) child, head extended b) child, head w. extended, wrapped. c) F. adult head E.	58 98. #12							This tomb was only partially cleaned due to rock falls. The 3 chambers open off the shaft on N. and W. sides. Possibly others on other side on corpus but not on tomb card.

FIG. 10.


Grave no. / Dist.	Size in meters	Orient.	Coffin	Body	Pottery	Stone and toilet objects	Scarabs etc.	Beads etc.	Bronze objects	Ivory, bone, and shell	Miscellaneous	Comments
15. Diot.	See fig. 8.	NE-SW.			In well 15, 42, 50, 62, 63, 90, 98(2), 99. 	In well 1.	In well 3, 4.	In well 10, 13. 1 gr. of. Pear. 1 gr. of. Tawert 1 gr. of. Bes.		Ivory inlay. Shell ring.	Frag. limestone Shabti. Frag. 2 pottery worms. Frag. pottery bed	Inlay on corpus but not on tomb card. Shabti to be published in "Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum" by T.G.H. James, no. 203 pl. xxxix.
16. Diot.	No measurements. Shaft and chamber.		Painted	In shaft - M? extended. Head S. In shaft - F extended. Head N. In chamber M?	In chamber 7, 15, 42, 50, 62, 63, 90, 98(2), 99.	In chamber 24	In chamber 51	In chamber 5, 15(2). 1 glass bobbing. 1 gr. of. rubbed bead. 1 Tawert Bk. st. with red gl.	In chamber piece of a bronze rod. 1 ring		Piece of (?) glass. Broken pottery figurine of a boy.	The figurine of the boy is on Photo. 20 but is not mentioned on the tomb card. Group, pl. XVII, 1-a reproduction of Photo. 20 Shabti, pl. xx, 3, p. 314ff.
17. Diot.	Rect. no measurements				In chamber 10, 22, 119(3). 108			Odd beads			In chamber flay, round pibble.	Pot 108 is on the corpus but not the tomb card.
18. Diot.	Shaft D-4-45 Chamber H-1-85 L-2-20 B-3-90	On S. side	Painted		In shaft 107 In chamber 36, 111(4)	In chamber 21	In chamber 2	In chamber 2		In chamber 1 shell pierced for suspension		A "painted bowl" is recorded on the tomb card but does not appear on the corpus. Only one example of it is mentioned on the tomb card. Neither stone vessel or head appear on tomb card.
19.	L-2-04 B-1-20 D-3-0		Rect.	F. hair in ringlets.	16.	16.	5, 6.	# 4 can., 5 shell, and faience beads				The Kohl pot contained Kohl and a waad of flint.
20. Diot.	See fig. 8.	N-S		W. Chamber - F.	E. chamber 6 in frag. In W. chamber 69, 74, 75, 80(2) In W. chamber 16.	In E. chamber 19 and a large slab. Kohl pot. In W. chamber 16.	In E. chamber 7, 8, 9, 10, 12. scarab bead.	In E. chamber Bl. and red sphere beads			In E. chamber 1 fl. painted naucer, broken. In W. chamber 1 fl. of. naucer with helix pattern	The large slab Kohl pot is not in the corpus. It contained Kohl, as did Kohl pot 16. Sarcophagi, pl. XIX, 1.
21. Diot.	L-2-15 B-0-65 D-1-70	E-W	Rect. wood	2 skulls ? F. Hair braided.	16, 4-4, 87.							
22. Diot.	L-1-05 B-0-45 D-1-03	E-W	Wood, some parts painted.		5, 52, 53, 65.	7. also a double wooden Kohl pot.						Kohl pot 7 contained a black metallic substance. The wooden Kohl pot is on the tomb card but not in the corpus. It is probably E. 15720. now in Philadelphia and mounted S. 22.
23. Diot.	L-2-80 B-0-95 D-1-15	N-S	Wood				Disks	Small ring with traces of gold leaf.	Ivory bracelet.			Bracelet, pl. XVII, 2.

FIG. II.

TOMB REGISTER (cont.)

Grave no. Site.	Sign in masonry.	Orient	Coffin	Body	Pottery	Stone and other objects	Scarabs etc.	Beads etc.	Brace- lets	Ivory, bone, and shell.	Miscellaneous	Comments
24. Dist.	L-2.02 B-0.90 D-1.0	N-S	Wood	F, braided hair	28			In chamber - 31 disks.			Ball.	Kohl pots 3 and 13 contained Kohl. The pottery is not given in detail on the tomb card but appears in the compo. Group, pl. XVIII, 2. Ball recorded on photograph only.
25. Dist.	Shaft L-2.06 D-3.0 Chamber L-3.06 H-1.05	on E. side	Painted wood.		Fragments of pottery in shaft. In chamber - 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17(2), 18, 19(2), 20(3), 22(2), 61, 79, 81, 92, 101, 104, 106, 116.			Small blue beads.		Slip of ivory inlaid with paint. Broken ivory scabes (about) Traces of red and black paint.		For ivory inlaid see fig. 19. On tomb card a note "Objects stolen night of March 15th, 1914." Group, pl. XVIII, 1. Inscription on spoon, p. 32ff
26. Dist.	L-1.08 B-0.70 D-1.06	N-S	Wood.					17	Broken beverage	2 shells. Ivory spoon	1 carved ebony bracelet.	Group, pl. XVIII, 1. Inscription on spoon, p. 32ff
27. Dist.	L-2.40 B-0.70 D-3.0	N-S						19. Tiny beads.			6 medloom nuts.	
28.	L-2.30 B-0.80 D-4.0		Large flag.	F, braided hair.				1 broken bk. of bead.				
29. Dist.	L-2.50 B-1.0 D-1.90	NW- SE.	Wood	M.				12. #15 1 bead.	Frag. of an amulet(?)		6 medloom nuts.	Bead 15 does not appear on the tomb card. Scarab was "extracted for Cairo."
30. Dist.	L-1.90 B-1.0 D-1.60	E-W.	Wood.					15 small green amulet.			4 medloom nuts.	Kohl pot contained shiny black powder. "The limestone was just below the surface."
31. Dist.	L-2.40 B-0.80 D-1.50	E-W.						1 dark bk. of spheroid and 1 bk. and 1 bk. small disks.				
32. Dist.	L-2.03 B-0.80 D-2.0	N-S	Rick wood.		37.		11.	6 20 and a brown faience disk #				
33. Dist.	L-2.50 B-0.70 D-1.70	N-S		F.		10.						"No objects.
34. Dist.	L-2.20 B-0.90 D-2.0	N-S.		F								
35. Dist.	L-2.80 B-1.20 D-2.70											
36. Dist.	L-2.50 B-0.90 D-1.80	N-S	Wood	F.								
37. Dist.	L-2.30 B-1.90 D-2.40	E-W		F, hair in ringlets.								
38. Dist.	L-2.0 B-1.0 D-1.80	N-S.										
40. Dist.	Shaft L-2.0 B-1.0 D-3.0 Chamber L-2.0 B-0.70 H-1.0	N-S on W. side.			20(2), 26, 15, 27.							

FIG. 12.


Grave no. Site.	Size in metres.	Orient.	Coffin.	Body.	Pottery.	Stone and other objects.	Scarabs etc.	Beads etc.	Bronze.	Ivory, bone and shell.	Miscellaneous.	Comments.
40. Dist.	L-3.30 B-0.80 D-3.0	N-S		1 F, plain in long inside. 1 sex unknown.	75.						Upper part of wooden head-rest. Badly broken.	
41a. Dist.	L-2.0 B-1.0 D-2.50	NE-SW.		F, braided hair.	2(2), 4, 4, 82, 94, 121.		14, 16, 19.				1 medium nut	
41b.					1 black pottery Kohl pot.		12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 1st. scaraboid.	Beads				 Pottery Kohl pot is sketched on tomb card but does not appear on corpus.
42. Dist.	L-3.0 B-0.90 D-2.50	E-W	Rack wood.	F.			20.				1 medium nut. Part of a wooden comb.	"Scarabs extracted for Cairo".
43. Dist.	Skull L-1.40 B-1.0 D-1.30 Chamber L-1.40 B-0.50 H-1.0	NE-SW. On W. Side.			35, 47, 120.	6						
44. Dist.	Skull L-2.60 B-0.90 D-2.40 Chamber L-2.60 B-0.60 H-1.10	E-W		F, braided hair.	6, 20, 61.		21, 22, 23.		1 pair forceps			
45. Dist.	L-2.50 B-1.0 D-3.0				72.	27.						No bones, no objects.
46.	L-1.50 B-1.0 D-2.20											No bones, no objects.
47.	L-1.60 B-0.90 D-2.0											No bones, no objects.
48.	L-1.50 B-0.80 D-0.85											No bones, no objects.
49. Dist.	L-2.30 B-1.0 D-2.0					18					1 silver ring. Frag. of saucer with lotus pattern.	Saucer, pl. XIX, 1, 2.
50.	L-2.0 B-1.20 D-1.40	N-S			103			14. gl. sphere. 1/2 of blue and white disks.				
51. Dist.	L-2.20 B-0.80 D-2.0	E-W.	Rack wood.		22, 29,							All pottery appears on corpus but not tomb card.
52.	L-2.20 B-0.90 D-3.0			F, braided hair.	Small pot	10, 9, 27.	24, 25.				Remains of beads and cover. Unusual spiral work.	The "small pot" does not appear in the corpus. Kohl p/10 comb and wadding. Kohl pot of contained wadding and the remains of a Kohl stick.
53.	L-1.50 B-0.90 D-1.0							14(10), a cann. sphere and white disks				

FIG. 13.

TOMB REGISTER (cont.)

grave no Sta. .	Size in meters .	Orient.	Coffin	Body	Pottery	Stone and other objects	Scarabs etc.	Beads etc.	Bronze .	Ivory bone, shells .	Miscellaneous	Comments .
54.	L-2.30 B-0.90 D-2.30			F.								
55. Dist.	L-2.20 B-1.0 D-3.0				11.							Kohl pot II in corpus but not on tomb card.
56.	L-1.90 B-0.60 D-0.80							7 also 1 lb. amulet and 3 or 4 con. beads.				Double and con. beads not in corpus.
57.	L-2.50 B-1.0 D-3.0		Rect. wood	Bones scattered.	32, 35(2), 38(2), 73, 79.	31.						
58.	L-1.80 B-0.70 D-0.40			M. Head N. On right side.	93.				3 holes with wood roundels.		1 slate palette under face.	
59.	No details				54, 85.							
60.	No details				100							
61.	L-1.80 B-0.90 D-3.60			F, hair in ringlets.	30						Mudoom nuts.	
62.	L-1.70 B-0.90 D-3.0	E-W			44	11						Kohl pot II in corpus but not on tomb card.
63. Dist.	L-2.20 B-1.0 D-1.50			F, short braids.			Unusc. scarab of opaque glass.					Scarab not on corpus. "Extracted after Cairo."
64. Dist.	L-1.40 B-1.0 D-3.0										2 mudoom nuts.	
65. Dist.	L-2.60 B-1.0 D-2.20	NE- SW.	Wood	F.	70, 89, 112 (2).			21.				
66a. Dist.	L-2.40 B-1.0 D-1.80	N-S.	Rect. wood					18. One long cyl. beads in lft. jawline.		Slips of ivory; see fig. 19		"This grave was above 66B."
66b.	L-2.60 B-1.0 D-2.70		Rect. wood.	F, plaited hair. HeadS. Supine, extended.	76, 86.	5. 14.	26-38 inclusive	Small white beads round pelvis.	Mirror		Booklet and fig. of mummy wrappings.	For burial, see fig. 9. Mirror, pl. XVII, 3.
67	Shaft L-2.70 B-1.0 D-3.40 Chamber-no details	NE- SW On NE side.			In shaft-dog painted pottery In chamber 41, 45, 48.		In chamber 39, 51.	In chamber 11 and 12. Spine cyl.		F shell.		"The pottery was on the S. side of the coffin."
68.	L-2.0 B-0.50 D-1.80	E-W.				4						
69.	No details	NE- SW.			38	14.						
70.	L-2.60 B-1.0 D-3.50		Rect. wood.	Half body missing.	13(2), 14, 31, 108			11 (62)	Handle	1 shell		1 broken pottery dish is mentioned on the tomb card but is not in corpus.
71.	L-1.40 B-1.20 D-2.0			Extended on right side.	71.							
72. Dist.	L-1.80 B-1.0 D-3.0	N-S	Wood		71.		40, 41.					Only 1 scarab mentioned on tomb card and it was "extracted after Cairo."

FIG. 14.

Grave no. or Str.	Size in meters	Orient.	Coffin	Body	Pottery	Stone and other vessels	Scarabs etc.	Beads etc.	Brnze	Ivory, bone, and shell.	Miscellaneous	Comments.
73. Dist.	L-2.70 B-1.0 D-3.0	NE-SW.	Wood		51, 78, 82, 86.	12		2 lt. gl. drop beads.				
74. Dist.	No details			M.	12, 9b			Conn. brown and small white disc.				
75. Dist.	L-2.90 B-1.0 D-2.0			F, braided hair.	32							
76. Dist.	L-2.50 B-1.0 D-2.50				16, 34, 37, 72, 78, 114, 115.	26						Mat. pot 26 found by body.
77. Dist.	L-2.30 B-1.0 D-4.0											
78. Artifact	Shaft L-3.0 B-2.20 D-3.40 Chamber L-? B-2.0 H-?		"Coffin" no details.	In chamber - F, braided hair. Extended. Also bronze child with 24 teeth.	In shaft - 12 In chamber - 12, 15, 20, 22 (2), 24, 30, 32, 34, 40, 84, 88 (2), 120 (2).	In chamber 25.	In shaft 43 In chamber 42	In shaft - uninc. stone canouches. In chamber 3.		In chamber or bone.	Small linen and plaster face mask and 2 pendants, also in chamber.	For burial, see fig. 9.
79.	No details				38							Pot 38 in in corpus but not in tomb cand.
80.	L-3.0 B-1.0 D-3.0	N-S		2 F. skulls	20, 32, 39, 79.						Frag. of painted plaster box.	"Lower part of one skull covered with plaster." Mask, pl. XVI, 2.
81.	L-2.30 B-0.80 D-2.0	NE-SW.		M. Extended; supine. Head left. Hands on pelvis.	101							Pot 101 is not in tomb cand. We believe this is a mistake and that it really belongs to grave 84, as Fig. 101 is shown on the tomb card of grave 84 but is not credited to it in the corpus. "No objects."
82.	No details											Pot 37 is in the corpus but not in the tomb cand.
83.	L-2.50 B-0.70 D-3.0 Chamber L-2.50 B-0.80 D-0.80	E-W.			In chamber - 23, 37, 46.			16.				
84.	L-2.60 B-0.80 D-2.40				101	22 Kohl pot	44-49, 51 + Rain uninc. scaraboid, cowrie shell, and plaque. Faience	1, 8 (2)			Plaster mask.	Kohl pot is not in the corpus though it is mentioned on the tomb card. Mask, pl. XVI, 2.
85.	Under grave 574. No measurements.											
86.	No details											
87.	L-2.0 B-1.0 D-2.30			2 bodies	20, 22, 38.							By the side of grave S. 88.
88.	No details											
89.	L-2.40 B-1.0 D-3.0			F. Hair	77	12		2 in known glass with white streaks. Also 1 of disc beads.			Mudoom nut	By the side of grave 86.

FIG. 15.

TOMB REGISTER (cont.)

Grave no State.	Sign in marble.	Ornmt.	Coffin	Body	Pottery	Stone and tablet objects	Scarabs etc.	Beads etc.	Biogze.	Ivory, bone, and shell	Miscellaneous	Comments.
90.	No details			F, supine extended								
91.	Shaft L-3-60 B-1-20 D-4-0 Chamber L-2-80 B-2-70 H-1-03	On E. Side.		F. skull and nothing else. Also M. Supine extended. Head N. on left side	In chamber 13, 21, 33, 48, 51, 55, 83, 95, 96, 106.	In chamber 2	50					"Scarab extracted for Cairo."
92.	L-2-50 B-1-0 D-4-0				20, 117.			1 bl. drop bead.				Pottery is in the corpus but not on the tomb card.
93. Dist.	L-2-60 B-1-0 D-2-40											No objects
94.	L-1-30 B-0-70 D-1-40							1 lotus-shaped blue bead.				"Child's grave"
95. Dist.	L-2-40 B-1-0 D-2-50	E-W.	Rect. wood.	M	34.							
96.												Card missing
97. Dist.	L-2-20 B-1-0 D-1-90	E-W.	Rect. wood.		1, 60.			11 large blue- green "barnacles."				Pot 1 on corpus but not on tomb card.
98.	L-2-40 B-1-20 D-3-0				20, 34, 109			11.				The beads type 11 are said to be red and blue but I do not say how many were found.
99.	L-1-40 B-2-0 D-2-0				73(a), 82.							Pot 82 is on the corpus but not the tomb card.
100.	L-2-40 B-1-0 D-1-80	N-S	Rect. wood.	M., Head N, Supine extended. F. Head S.								Only a few bones of the F. skeleton were found. Skull, F, pl. X, 2. Card missing
101.												Card missing
102.	Shaft and chamber. No measurements				In chamber-16, 102. Frag. Cyp. jug.			In shaft - bl. gl. drop beads.				Model bed, fig. 19.
103.	Shaft L-2-90 B-2-40 D-4-40 Chamber ? B-1-75 H-1-50 Chamber L-2-10 B-1-40 H-1-45	N-S. N side S. side.			3, 4, 56, 58, 59.			11. Bi-cone bead.				In shaft - pottery bed with figures of a woman, child, and the hieroglyph "1000" (?)
104.	No details					14						
105. Dist.	Shaft L-2-50 B-1-0 D-1-40 Chamber L-2-30 B-2-30 D-2-0	N side			12, 27(x), 118(x) Frag. Cyp. jug.	20						Does not say which chamber contained the burial.

FIG. 16.

Grave no. / Grave cont.	Size in meters	Orient.	coffin.	Body	Pottery	Stone and other objects	Scarabs etc.	Beads etc.	Brnze	Juwy, bone, and skull	Miscellaneous	Comments.
105 cont.	Chamber L- 2.40 B- 3.0 H- 2.0	S side.										
106. (a) (b) (c)	No details.		(b) 2 circular pots fitted together. (c) as (b)	(a) F. Head w. Body wrapped. (b) Head N. Body wrapped.				(a) 2 large bl. gl. spheres and 1 large red gl. sphere. A quadruple eye in bl. gl.		(a) piece of spinal shell.	(a) Pig. bl. gl.	(b) "no objects".
107.	L- 1.40 B- 0.70 D- 0.80			Bones scattered								"no objects".
108.	L- 2.20 B- 2.0 D- 2.0		Ract. wood.									"no objects".
109.	L- 1.70 B- 1.0 D- 2.30			F.				4. Also small plant disk beads and # gl. fly.		12 shells.		Bead 4 is on the corpus but not the tamb caud.
110. Dist.	L- 2.30 B- 1.26 D- 1.90							2 long bl. cyl. beads.				Beads in neck.
111.	L- 2.0 B- 1.0 D- 1.10			2 F. skulls.	34.						1 silver earring.	
112. Dist.	L- 2.40 B- 0.80 D- 2.40			Skull				White faience disk and bl. gl.				Pot 34 is in corpus but not on tamb caud.
113.	L- 3.0 B- 1.0 D- 2.60			F. Skull.				2 on 3 beads.				
114.	L- 2.40 B- 1.0 D- 3.0			Bones much broken.	18, 24.							
115.	No details											
116. Dist.	L- 2.50 B- 1.0 D- 3.0			F skull in upper part of grave.								
117.	See 118.	E-W.										
118.	L- 2.50 B- 1.0 D- 3.0			Skull and bones very fragile.								
119.	L- 3.0 B- 1.0 D- 2.0		Rch. wood.		33(3). 1 Frag.							
120. Dist.	L- 2.50 B- 1.0 D- 2.20			2 F skulls much broken.	Unshaded pottery.	27 and a Inucia kohl pot.						Pottery not on corpus. Buccia kohl pot sketched on tamb caud but not in corpus.
121.	L- 2.50 B- 1.0 D- 3.60	N-S		4 skulls and bones.		9, 16.						Kohl pot 9 contained a black substance. Sketch by my the word is bone, see pl. 4
122.	L- 3.0 B- 3.0 D- 3.30				15, 16, 22, 23, 67.	16.		Small con. beads.				Ivory slips, fig. 19. Group, pl. xviii, 3.
123.	L- 2.50 B- 1.0 D- 3.0			No bones	105.							"On sakh slopes. No objects."
124.	L- 2.10 B- 1.0 D- 1.90			A few bones, scattered.								"On sakh slopes. No objects."
125.	L- 2.40 B- 1.0 D- 2.30			Scattered bones.								

FIG. 17.

TOMB REGISTER (cont.)

Grave no. Shaft	Size in meters.	Orient.	Coffin	Body	Pottery	Stone and other objects	Scarabs etc.	Beads etc.	Bronze.	Ivory, bone, and shell.	Miscellaneous	Comments.
126.	L- 3.0 B- 1.10 D- 2.0				1 piece pottery							"On sabbath slopers" Pottery not in corpus.
127.	L- 1.50 B- 1.0 D- 2.10			Broken bones								"On sabbath slopers." No objects.
128.	L- 3.0 B- 1.0 D- 3.0			No bones								"On sabbath slopers." No objects.
129.	L- 1.40 B- 1.0 D- 1.10			No distinguishable bones								"No objects."
130.	L- 2.30 B- 1.0 D- 1.70											
131.	L- 1.50 B- 0.90 D- 2.10		Indic. of wood.	Broken bones								"No objects."
132.	L- 2.40 B- 1.0 D- 2.0											"On sabbath slopers."
133.	L- 2.50 B- 1.0 D- 3.0				12			A few beads.				"On sabbath slopers."
134.	No details.				Pot.							list no. of not known most ceramics. Pot not in corpus.
135.	L- 1.30 B- 0.70 D- 1.20			Body on L side contracted.								
136.	See fig. 8			Dog's skull and human bones.	25.							Pot "in nictum".
137.	No details			Contracted L-side heads	9(2), 68.							This was above the entrance of a chamber grave but could does not say which.
138.	L- 1.40 B- 0.70 D- 1.0			No bones								"No objects."
139.	L- 1.80 B- 1.0 D- 2.40	E-W			12							
140. DisE.	L- 2.80 B- 1.0 D- 1.0	N-S		F. extended, L. side.								
141.	See fig. 8.	E-W		Child. Little remained.								"Sealed with" slopers
142.	See fig. 8.	E-W		Body before entrance of 136.								
143.	L- 1.0 B- 0.80 D- 0.50		Wood.	Contracted, L. side.	62							"Pot by head of body."
144.	Shaft B? D 3.0 Chamber L- 2.20 B- 1.0 H- 1.30			Bones scattered.	25, 64. frag. of painted pottery.					1 dog's skull.		
145.	See fig. 8.			Contracted L. side.								"No objects."
146.	L- 2.50 B- 0.80 D- 1.60			Skull and Rau.		23						
147.	L- 3.0 B- 1.0 D- 2.30			Scattered bones	1 pot							"Pot not in corpus."

FIG. 18.

Cave No. Strat.	Size in meters.	Oriental.	Coffin	Body	Pottery	Stone and other objects	Scarabs etc.	Brads etc.	Bronze.	Juwy, bone, and shell.	Miscellaneous	Comments.
148.	L-2.0 B-1.0 D-0.80			No bones								"No objects"
149.	L-2.80 B-1.0 D-2.0			No bones								"No objects."
150. Dist.	L-1.40 B-0.70 D-1.20			Bones scattered								
151.	See fig. 8.	E-W. S. side.		No bones								"No objects."
152.	L-1.50 B-1.0 D-1.20			No bones.								"W. slopes. No objects."
153.	L-2.30 B-0.80 D-2.0			Skull and bones.							Frag. of W. bowl with pattern of fish and lotus.	"Bowl just below surface."
154.	L-2.0 B-2.0			No bones.								"No objects"
155. Dist.	L-2.50 B-0.80 D-2.50		Rect. wood.	F. Hair braided.	1, 60, 110.						2 pieces of green stone. Malachite?	
156. Dist.	L-2.50 B-0.60 D-1.60			No bones	77.	8						Kofu pot & Red Linen inside.
157.	L-1.40 B-0.90 D-2.0			No bones								"No objects"
158.	L-1.50 B-1.0 D-2.0			No bones								"No objects"
159.	L-1.40 B-0.90 D-1.70			No bones								"No objects"
160.	L-1.40 B-0.70 D-1.50			No bones								"No objects"
161.	L-1.90 B-1.0 D-2.0			No bones								"No objects"

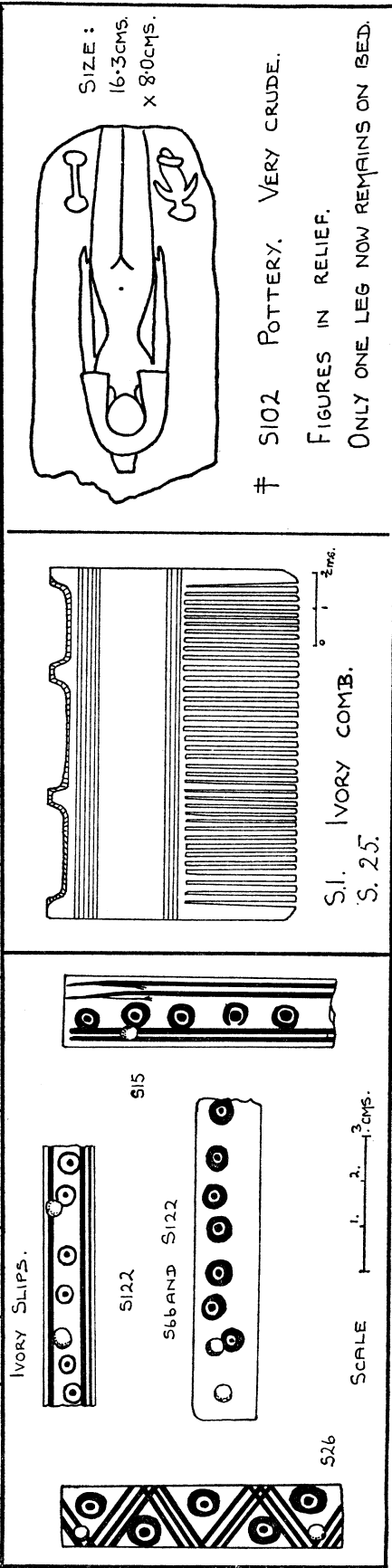


Fig. 19.

SDMT·F „SCHLISSLICH HÖRTE ER“

By HELMUT SATZINGER

Die Form sdmt·f als Teil der Suffixkonjugation

DIE Existenz der Form sdmt·f ist erstmalig von Erman festgestellt worden.¹ Er sah darin zunächst eine Art konjugierten Infinitivs: „An den Infinitiv schließt sich ferner die häufige Form sdmt·f, die anstatt des Infinitivs da gebraucht wird, wo das logische Subjekt desselben verschieden ist von dem Subjekt des vorhergehenden Satzes. In dem Satze ‚*sie* staunten als *sie* kamen‘ gebraucht man den Infinitiv . . . *m ijt*, aber in dem Satze ‚*ich* staunte als *sie* kamen‘ verwendet man . . . *m ijtšn*.“² Sie stelle demnach eine „Substantivierung des Tempus sdm·f“³ dar: sdm·f „er hört“, aber sdmt·f „daß er hört“.

Zu der Auffassung als konjugierter Infinitiv kam es nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil damals in der Hauptsache Belege von schwachen Verben bekannt waren, bei welchen der Infinitiv ebenfalls eine Endung *t* zeigt. Die Zahl der wenigen Belege von starken Verben reduzierte Sethe⁴ noch weiter mittels der Annahme, daß ein Teil der betreffenden Verben ursprünglich schwach gewesen sei (z. B. *ph* < **phi*).

Später hingegen betonte Erman, „daß es sich bei dieser Form nicht um einen wirklichen Infinitiv handelt“,⁵ da sie zum Ausdruck des Objekts das enklitische Pronomen anstatt des Suffixpronomens erheische, eine Tatsache, die Sethe noch nicht hatte belegen können.⁶ Heute müßte man dieses Argument allerdings ablehnen, da die Grammatik auch beim Infinitiv den Gebrauch des enklitischen Pronomens kennt.⁷ Als Erman schließlich zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt seine Ansicht über den Ursprung der Form äußerte, dachte er nicht mehr an den Infinitiv, sondern an „eine Entstehung aus einem weiblichen Particip“.⁸ Aber noch immer leitete er die Besprechung der Form mit fast den gleichen Worten ein wie damals, als er darin einen konjugierten Infinitiv sah: „An den Infinitiv schließt sich die häufige Bildung . . . sdmt·f . . ., der Umstand, daß er hört“.

Eigenartigerweise wurde jedoch niemals festgestellt, daß infinitivische Gebrauchsweisen ähnlich der der *t*-Form ja durchaus auch eine Domäne des sdm·f sind. Es liegt dabei auch keine Arbeitsteilung vor, dergestalt daß starke Verben bei infinitivischer Verwendung sdm·f aufwiesen, schwache Verben hingegen sdmt·f (obwohl vielleicht eine gewisse statistische Tendenz in diese Richtung bestehen mag): Ein solcher

¹ Vgl. Sethe, *Das aegyptische Verbum*, II, § 353.

² Erman, *Äg. Gr.*² (1902), § 304 (die 1. Auflage ist mir leider nicht zugänglich).

³ Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 353.

⁵ Erman, *Äg. Gr.*³ (1911), § 418.

⁷ Gunn, *Studies*, 179, Anm. 2; Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* § 301; Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, § 700 f.

⁸ Erman, *Äg. Gr.*⁴ (1924), § 418.

⁴ Vgl. *ibid.*, § 355.

⁶ Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 357.

Tatbestand spräche natürlich für eine Identität mit (oder doch Entstehung aus) dem Infinitiv; ferner müßte man dann ein eigenes Paradigma *sdm·f*: *dd·f*: *hst·f* usw. aufstellen und könnte nicht von einem „*sdmt·f*“, sondern nur etwa von einem „*hst·f*“ oder „*mrt·f*“ sprechen. — Erman machte auch nie den Versuch zu erklären, was das Verhältnis von affirmativ *sdmt·f* „daß er hört“ und negativ *n sdm·f* „bevor er hörte“ ist: Es fällt ja schwer, in letzterem eine infinitivische Form zu sehen.¹

Dadurch aber, daß entgegen dem Augenschein die infinitivische Verwendung als ein Spezifikum der *t*-Form aufgefaßt wurde, verbaute man sich den Weg zur einzigen logischen Konsequenz, nämlich *sdmt·f* losgelöst von der Frage nach seinem Ursprung als eine Form der Suffixkonjugation an die Seite von *sdm·f* (bzw. mehrerer *sdm·f*-Formen), *sdm·n·f*, *sdm·in·f* usw. zu stellen.

Es wies diese von Erman geprägte Einstellung ein ganz besonderes Beharrungsvermögen in der Geschichte der ägyptischen Grammatik auf: Weder Gardiner,² noch Lefebvre,³ noch de Buck,⁴ noch Edel⁵ behandelt die *t*-Form in Zusammenhang mit der Suffixkonjugation. Farina bezeichnet die *t*-Form in Anlehnung an die Grammatik der abessinischen Sprachen sogar als „gerundivo“, welches man erhalte „da un infinito femminile, con l'aggiungere il soggetto nominale o pronominale“. ⁶ Erst Westendorf war es, der in seiner *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*⁷ den Bann brach, indem er die *t*-Form im Zusammenhang mit *sdm·f*, *sdm·n·f*, *w*-Passiv, *hr*- und *in*-Form behandelte.⁸ Ferner konnte in einer Darstellung, die auf den Negierungsmöglichkeiten basierte,⁹ die *t*-Form gleichfalls nicht anders denn als Teil der Suffixkonjugation gewertet werden.

Die „Modi“ der *t*-Form

Ermans Abgrenzung *sdm·f* „er hört“: *sdmt·f* „daß er hört“ — das ist Indikativ: Subjunktiv¹⁰ — kann nicht aufrecht erhalten werden. Die Unterscheidung modaler Kategorien läuft vielmehr quer zur Unterscheidung der Formen der Suffixkonjugation nach den äußeren Kennzeichen (den Augmenten Null, *w*, *n*, *t*, *in*, *ks*, *hr*, beim *sdm·f* sogar noch quer zur Unterscheidung von *mr·f* und *mrr·f*, etc.). So sagt schon Gardiner

¹ Daran scheidet Gunn, der in *sdmt·f* ebenfalls eine infinitivische Bildung sieht (*Studies*, 174 ff.) und deshalb annimmt, die Negation \neg fungiere als Präposition („ \neg is thus apparently equivalent to a preposition“, *Studies*, 181), eine Annahme, die zu allem anderen, was Gunn über die Negationen so klar erarbeitet hat, in krassem Widerspruch steht. Irreführend wurde Gunn dabei nicht nur durch die Annahme infinitivischen Charakters für die *t*-Form, sondern auch durch die charakteristische adverbiale Kraft des ägyptischen Zustandsatzes. — Thacker (*Verbal Systems*, 269 f.) und anscheinend auch Edel (*Altäg. Gr.*, § 732, Anm.) behelfen sich mit der Annahme, daß in *n sdm·f* die Negation ursprünglich prädikativ gewesen sei (wie mittelägyptisch \neg).

² Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* § 401 ff. in allen drei Auflagen.

³ Lefebvre, *Gr.*, § 415 ff.

⁴ De Buck, *Grammatica* (1941), § 131 ff.; *Gr. élémentaire* (1952), § 173 ff. (vgl. insbesondere: „La forme *sdm·t·f* . . . donne . . . l'impression d'une forme verbale personnelle. Néanmoins, pour des raisons d'ordre pratique, nous l'étudions ici“, § 173).

⁵ Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* § 730 ff.

⁶ Farina, *Grammatica*² (1926), § 230.

⁷ Westendorf, *Gr. der medizinischen Texte* (1962), § 264 ff.

⁸ Auch Korostovtzev, *Egipetskij jazyk* (1961), behandelt die *t*-Form bereits im Rahmen der Suffixkonjugation (S. 54, Nr. 9). Ähnlich Sander-Hansen, *Gr.* (1963), § 426, der sie allerdings zusammen mit *ti/tw*-Passiv und *sdmty·fy*-Form in das Prokrustesbett seines „Fortuitativs“ spannt.

⁹ Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen* (1968), vgl. § 39 ff., 77.

¹⁰ „Subjunktiv“ sei hier und im folgenden allgemein als Bezeichnung für „daß“-Formen verstanden, im Gegensatz zu „Indikativ“ = „Hauptsatz-Konstruktion“ (vgl. Satzinger in *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 84 ff.).

bezüglich der *t*-Form: „. . . we shall deal with a verb-form which ist partly verbal and partly nominal“,¹ wobei wir „verbal“ insofern näher präzisieren können, als unter dem Gemeinten zumindest teilweise eine indikativische oder Hauptsatz-Konstruktion verstanden werden muß. Dies gilt insbesondere für die durch \neg verneinte *t*-Form „noch nicht“, „bevor“. Als „nominal“, das wäre subjunktivisch, ist auf den ersten Blick die *t*-Form nach Präpositionen anzusprechen. Die „narrativen“ Formen² schließlich erfordern eine genauere Betrachtung. Eine solche würde zeigen, daß es sich teilweise um „emphatische“ Formen³ handelt, z. B. *Sinuhe* B 15:

Nach längerer Verfolgung des eingeschlagenen Weges wendet sich *Sinuhe* in eine neue Richtung: *rdt.i wst n rdwy.i m hd* „(nun) gab ich den Weg meinen Füßen nach Norden“; der Kern der Aussage ist das prädikative *m hd* „im Nordwärts-Gehen“, das Vorausgehende wird Subjektsatz sein: „daß ich den Weg meinen Füßen gab (war . . .)“.

Oder *Sinuhe* B 23:

Sinuhe liegt ermattet da: *tst.i ib.i sqt.i hcw.i sdm.n.i hrw nmi n mnmnt* „daß ich mein Herz aufrichtete und meinen Körper aufraffte, erfolgte (erst) als ich das Gebrüll einer Rinderherde hörte“ (ähnlich übersetzt schon Westendorf,⁴ ohne allerdings damit für den „emphatischen“ Charakter der *t*-Form zu plädieren); *tst.i* und *sqt.i* sind zwei parallele Subjektsätze, „adverbiales“ Prädikat ist der Zustandssatz⁵ mit *sdm.n.i*.

Hauptsatz-Konstruktionen hingegen werden überall dort zu finden sein, wo das Verb in der *t*-Form mehr als resumptive Kraft hat bzw. nicht nur Ausdruck einer selbstverständlichen Folge der Handlung ist. Z. B. *Schiffbrüchiger* 54:

Nachdem er die Insel erreicht hat, schläft der Schiffbrüchige zunächst drei Tage,⁶ dann stillt er seinen gewaltigen Hunger. Nun ist es an der Zeit, Gott für die Rettung zu danken: *šdt.i dš šhpr.n.i ht ir.n.i sb n šdt n ntr* „(schließlich aber) nahm ich einen Feuerbohrer, machte Feuer und brachte Gott ein Brandopfer dar“.

Auch *Sinuhe* R 28 (~ B 5) wird hierhergehören:

Sinuhe „entfernte sich springend“ vom Heer, „um sich ein Versteck zu suchen“; *rdt.i wi imitw bty r iw d wst smw.s* „ich (be)gab mich zwischen zwei Büsche, um den Weg und seinen Geher zu trennen“.

Sdmt.f als Zustandsausdruck⁷ dürfte in den Wendungen *hr irt* „also hat gehandelt“ *Sinuhe* B 147 und *hpr.n rdt.i* „nun gab ich“ *Schiffbrüchiger* 166 vorliegen; dazu siehe unten.

¹ Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*, § 401.

² Ibid., § 406.

³ Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte* (1944), 71 ff.; ders. in *Revue d'égyptologie*, 11 (1957), 109 ff.

⁴ Westendorf, *Gr.*, § 264.

⁵ Zum Zustandssatz in der Funktion eines adverbialen Prädikats vgl. Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses* (1965), § 16 ff.

⁶ *Qni.n.i šwyt*: Zumal im Freien fällt der Schlagschatten auf den Boden; „indem ich den Schatten umarmte“ wird nichts anderes heißen als „indem ich mich auf den Erdboden legte (sc. mangels eines Bettes)“. Es wird sich um eine stehende Phrase handeln, die man dann auch vom Schlafen im Innern einer Hütte o. ä. gebrauchen konnte, wo die gedankliche Verbindung von Schlagschatten und Erdboden nicht in demselben Maß gegeben ist.

⁷ Die negierte *t*-Form scheint immer ein solcher zu sein, und zwar in der Regel in freier Verwendung (d. h. nicht mit auxiliären Elementen eine komposite Form bildend), daher als Nebensatz wiederzugeben.

Die Bedeutung der *t*-Form

Von den anderen Formen der Suffixkonjugation scheint eine jede einen bedeutungsmäßigen Grundcharakter in etwa auf der Ebene von Tempus und Aspekt zu haben, der auch durch alle „Modi“ geht (soweit solche unterschieden werden können — wobei es hier belanglos ist ob tatsächlich jeweils verschiedene Formen zugrundeliegen oder zum Teil nur verschiedener Gebrauch einer und derselben Form). Schwierig ist die Frage beim *sdm·f*, da die Trennung der verschiedenen Formen, die sich in vokalloser Schreibung unter dieser Gestalt verbergen, noch längst nicht befriedigend durchführbar ist. Bei *sdm·n·f* hingegen ist mit der Anwesenheit des Augmentes *n* die präteritale Notion verbunden, gleichgültig ob die Form eine solche des Hauptsatzes, des Zustandsatzes oder des Nomensatzes ist.¹ Ähnlich sind die Verhältnisse bei der *in-*, *ki-* und *hr-*Form, für die allerdings keine modalen Variationen festzustellen sind. Für die verschiedenen Gebrauchsweisen der *t*-Form hingegen konnte noch keine gemeinsame bedeutungsmäßige Charakterisierung aufgestellt werden (was übrigens nach wie vor auch für die *w*-Form gilt), und dies war bestimmt ein weiteres Hindernis, ein Paradigma *sdm·t·f* für die Suffixkonjugation anzuerkennen.

Wieder war es Westendorf, der diesen Mangel verspürte und ihm mit einer eigenen Konzeption abzuhelfen versuchte.² Aber seine Auffassung der *t*-Form als „relatives Futurum“,³ demonstriert an je einem charakteristischen Beispiel für negierte, „narrative“ und von einer Präposition abhängige *t*-Form, vermag vor allem auf dem heikelsten Gebiet, den „narrativen“ Formen, nicht recht zu befriedigen. Um dieses Unbehagen in einen Satz zu fassen: Wie kann eine Form für „relatives Futurum“ (*t*-Form) geradezu regelmäßig als Variante eine Form für relative Vergangenheit (*n*-Form) haben?⁴

Die Frage nach der gemeinsamen Grundbedeutung ist sehr wichtig; denn wie schon angedeutet, könnte ihre positive Beantwortung die letzten Hemmungen beseitigen, die einer Auffassung von *sdm·t·f* als einer Form der Suffixkonjugation entgegenstehen mögen.

Fest steht einstweilen die Bedeutung der negierten *t*-Form. Diese ist unverwechselbar und durch keine andere Form zu ersetzen. Aber es ist noch nicht geklärt, warum aus der Verbindung der *t*-Form mit der Negation *n* ein „noch nicht“ bzw. „bevor“ resultiert. Der Versuch, aus dem negativen „noch nicht“ ein affirmatives Pendant abzuleiten, das sich als generelle Grundbedeutung der *t*-Form erweisen ließe, würde scheitern.⁵ Es gilt also, zuerst für die anderen Verwendungsweisen, wie nach Präpositionen und als „narrative“ Form, eine Grundbedeutung festzustellen, die sie von den anderen Teilen der Suffixkonjugation abhebt. Die Aussichten auf einen Erfolg scheinen

¹ Störend ist hier vor allem die Konstruktion *n sdm·n·f*, die von einigen (nach der „Gunn’schen Regel“) einfach als präsentisch, von anderen als spezieller Ausdruck des Nicht-Könnens angesehen wird (vgl. Satzinger, *Neg. Konstr.*, § 30 ff.). Gerade die letztere Auffassung würde vielleicht einen Brückenschlag zum Präteritalen ermöglichen, wenn man den perfektiven Aspekt als Überbegriff über Präteritum und Nicht-Können setzt.

² Auch Sander-Hansen glaubt an eine einheitliche Bedeutung der *t*-Form (die sie aber noch mit dem *ti/tw*-Passiv und der *sdm·ty·fy*-Form teile), doch vermag ich ihm bei seiner Feststellung einer „Nüance des Unumgänglichen“ (*Gr.*, § 429) nicht zu folgen.

³ Westendorf, *Gr.*, § 264.

⁴ Nämlich in den Varianten des *Sinuhe*-Textes.

⁵ Das Gegenteil von „noch nicht“ ist „schon“, „bereits“; das Gegenteil von „bevor“ ist „nachdem“. Keine der beiden Bedeutungen bewährt sich in der Praxis bei affirmativen Beispielen.

mir bei den „narrativen“ Formen die besseren, und zwar erstens weil die Möglichkeit wegfällt, daß die Aspektverhältnisse durch ein weiteres Element (wie die Präposition) konditioniert sind, und zweitens weil bei den Belegen für die Form die Situation eine sehr günstige ist: Es handelt sich vor allem¹ um ein gutes Dutzend von Sätzen aus zwei oft bearbeiteten und recht gut verständlichen narrativen Texten, nämlich der Geschichte des Sinuhe und der Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen. Es müßte also möglich sein, die jeweiligen Tempus-, Aspekt- und sonstigen Bedingungen im Zusammenhang zu erkennen und zu analysieren.

Es seien zunächst zwei Beispiele herausgegriffen, die dieselbe Situation schildern. Auf der Flucht ist Sinuhe zweimal genötigt, sich zu verbergen. Zunächst, als er vom Heerlager desertiert: „Ich entfernte mich springend; ich begab mich zwischen zwei Büsche, um zu trennen den Weg und seinen Geher“. Ferner, als er die „Mauer des Herrschers“ erreicht: „Ich ‚nahm meine Bückung‘ in einen Busch aus Furcht davor, daß die Wache . . . mich sähe“. In keinem Fall wird berichtet, was geschieht, während Sinuhe im Versteck ist. Im ersten Fall wartet er offenbar bis das Heer weitergezogen ist (ob er nun vermißt und vergeblich gesucht wurde oder nicht), im zweiten Fall gibt schließlich der Einbruch der Dunkelheit Gelegenheit zum Weitermarschieren.

Wichtig in unserem Zusammenhang ist, daß jeweils für die Schilderung des Aufbruchs eine *t*-Form gebraucht wird: *irt·i šmt* (B 5 = R 29 und R 45 (~ B 19)). Es wäre müßig, ein Charakteristikum für diese Form auf der Tempus-Ebene zu suchen. Jeder der beiden Sätze ist „narrativ“, im Fluß der Handlung gelegen, nachgeordnet dem Vorausgehenden, vorgeordnet dem Nachfolgenden. Man würde vom Tempus her diejenige Form erwarten, die sonst vielfach mit der *t*-Form wechselt, nämlich die *n*-Form. Der Unterschied zwischen diesen beiden Formen wird also ein solcher des Aspekts sein. Allerdings werden die Charakteristika einander nicht ausschließen, sondern es wird nur eine Form — *sđmt·f* — ein bestimmtes Aspektverhältnis zum Ausdruck bringen, während die andere — *sđm·n·f* — diesbezüglich neutral sein wird, so daß der Autor oder Redaktor zumeist die Wahl zwischen beiden hat und auch ein Abschreiber die eine für die andere einsetzen kann, ohne daß der Sinn gestört würde. Die Aspektverhältnisse in den beiden Beispielen sind nun derart, daß eine durative Handlung bzw. ein Zustand (das Kauern im Versteck) abgelöst wird durch eine perfektive Handlung, und zwar hier von inchoativer Aktionsart: den Aufbruch.² (Bezeichnend erscheint mir, daß in der *t*-Form nicht das durative *šm* gebraucht wird, vielmehr als Hilfsverb *iri* „tun“, das offenbar eine dem perfektiven Aspekt zugehörige Aktionsart aufweisen kann: *irt·i šmt* „ich begann zu gehen“.)³

Will man diese abstrakte Beschreibung der Aspektverhältnisse in einer Arbeits-

¹ Die übrigen Beispiele, die Gardiner anführt (*Egn. Gr.*, § 406), sind: Louvre C 12, 3 (= Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 87, 4); *Sinai* Nr. 90, 5 (= *MDAIK* 18 (1962), 15); *Urk.* IV, 1074, 10 (Rekhnirē). Keiner dieser Belege läßt sich mit dem vereinen, was sich aus den *Sinuhe*- und *Schiffbrüchigen*-Beispielen ableiten läßt. Es wird demnach eine andere grammatische Erscheinung vorliegen. Zu den beiden erstgenannten Beispielen (beide mit *iw*) vgl. auch unten, zu *Sinuhe* B 109.

² Ähnliche Feststellungen macht schon Grapow, *Der stilistische Bau der Geschichte des Sinuhe* (1952), 17.

³ So schon von Grapow, op. cit. 14 f., übersetzt.

übersetzung anschaulich machen, so drängt sich einem auf: „. . . schließlich (aber) begann ich zu gehen“.

Soweit könnte noch alles Zufall sein: Wir hätten eben eigenmächtig ein „schließlich“ in einen Text hineingelesen, ohne daß die gebrauchte Verbform solches intendierte.¹ Es erweist sich jedoch, daß eine gleiche oder doch sehr ähnliche Auffassung für alle anderen „narrativen“ *t*-Formen im *Sinuhe* und im *Schiffbrüchigen* sinnvoll ist; womit die Grundbedeutung der „narrativen“ *t*-Form erwiesen wäre.

Die „narrative“ *t*-Form in der Geschichte des *Sinuhe* und des *Schiffbrüchigen*

In der nachfolgenden Übersicht über die „narrativen“ Belege für die *t*-Form im *Sinuhe* und im *Schiffbrüchigen* ist die aspektmäßige Analyse nur knapp angedeutet: Es wird vermerkt, was die jeweils vorausgehende durative Handlung ist, dann folgt wörtlich die Stelle, die die *t*-Form enthält, wobei die Übersetzung anschaulich machen soll, daß die Auffassung von *sdmt·f* als „schließlich hörte er“ jeweils möglich und sinnvoll ist. — Auch die beiden bereits besprochenen Stellen werden der Übersichtlichkeit halber wieder aufgenommen.

Abschließend folgt fallweise der Versuch einer „modalen“ Analyse.

Sinuhe B 4 = R 29²

Vorausgehend: *Sinuhe* ist auf der Suche nach einem Versteck.

t-Form: *rdt·i³ w³ imitw b³ty* „Schließlich begab ich mich zwischen zwei Büsche“.

Sinuhe B 5 = R 29 = G 15

Vorausgehend: *Sinuhe* kauert im Versteck.

t-Form: *irt·i⁴ šmt m hntyt* „Schließlich begann ich südwärts zu gehen“.

irt·i könnte als „emphatisch“ aufgefaßt werden: „daß ich schließlich zu gehen begann, war südwärts“.

Sinuhe B 15 = C 6 = *Ashm.* 15

Vorausgehend: Schilderung des ersten Teiles der Marschroute.

t-Form: *rdt·i⁵ w⁵t n rdwy·i m hd* „Schließlich gab ich meinen Füßen den Weg nordwärts“.

rdt·i ist vermutlich „emphatische“ Form, siehe oben.

Sinuhe R 45

Vorausgehend: *Sinuhe* kauert im Versteck.

t-Form: *irt·i⁶ šmt <r?> tr n hwy* „Daß ich schließlich zu gehen begann, war zur Nachtzeit“.

rdt·i ist „emphatisch“, prädikativ ist: „(war) zur Nachtzeit“. — Noch ein zweites Mal tritt die Verbindung von „emphatischer“ Form und temporalem Ausdruck auf (*Sinuhe* B 23 = R 48); in beiden Fällen lassen sich die Aspektverhältnisse im Deutschen am zwanglosesten mittels eines „erst“

¹ Dies ist jedenfalls für diejenigen Varianten anzunehmen, die eine andere als die *t*-Form haben, wie *ir·i Sinuhe* B 19 (als Variante von *irt·i* in R 45).

² Bezeichnung und Zitierung der Handschriften nach Blackman, *Bibl. Aeg.* 2; ferner: *Ashm.* = Barns, *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe*.

³ Variante C 5 hat *rd·i*, was wohl kaum das „perfektische *sdm·f*“ (mittelägyptisch anscheinend nur in selbständigen Sätzen nach der Negation *n*) ist, sondern für ein *rd·n·i* „ich begab (mich)“ steht, wie es *Ashm.* 11 hat.

⁴ C 5 hat *ir·n·i* „ich begann“; *Ashm.* 11 hat $\overline{\text{ir·i}}$ oder *irr·i?* -*Irr·i* wäre „emphatisches“ *sdm·f*, aber als Alternative zu *irt·i* wäre eher „emphatisches“ *sdm·n·f* zu erwarten: „daß ich zu gehen begann, war südwärts“.

⁵ R 41 hat *rd·n·i* „ich gab“.

⁶ B 19 hat *ir·i*, C 7 hat $\overline{\text{ir·i}}$; dazu vgl. oben Anm. 4.

wiedergeben: „ich ging erst zur Nachtzeit weiter“ und „ich erhob mein Herz erst . . . als . . .“ (siehe im folgenden). Ebenso wie „schließlich“ drückt ja „erst“ eine Überbrückung der zeitlichen Distanz vom Vorausgehenden aus, verlangt aber in dieser Rolle eine Angabe des Zeitpunkts der Handlung.

Sinuhe B 23 (= R 48)

Vorausgehend: „Ich ließ mich nieder auf eine (*sic!* — Bild des Vogelflugs) Insel des Bittersees. Ein Niederfallen vor Durst ?hatte mich ereilt . . . ich sagte, dies ist der Geschmack des Todes!“.

t-Form: *tst-i ib-i s3qt-i hrw-i¹ sdm-n-i hrw nmi n nmnmt* „Daß ich schließlich mein Herz erhob, meine Glieder zusammenraffte, war als ich die brüllende Stimme einer Herde hörte“, oder „ich erhob mein Herz erst, raffte meine Glieder erst zusammen, als ich . . .“ (siehe oben zu *Sinuhe* R 45).

Wieder liegt in *tst-i* und *s3qt-i* eine „emphatische“ Form vor; siehe oben.

Sinuhe OB³ 32 = OClère² 2

Wie schon Clère betonte,³ ist die *t*-Form der beiden Ostraka nicht unbedingt deshalb zu bagatellisieren, weil sie in den älteren Handschriften nicht aufscheint.

Vorausgehend: *Sinuhe* lebt zunächst kurze Zeit bei dem Beduinenstamm, der ihn vor dem Verschmachten gerettet hat.

t-form: *rdt⁴ wi h3st n h3st* „Schließlich (aber) gab mich ein Land dem anderen“.

Sinuhe B 86

Vorausgehend: *Sinuhe* empfängt im Lauf der Zeit viele Gunstbeweise.

t-Form: *rdt-f wi m hq3 hy m stp n h3st-f* „Schließlich setzte er mich (sogar) als Herrscher eines Stammes ein im besten (Teil) seines Landes“.

Sinuhe B 107

„Er gab mich an die Spitze seiner Kinder“ bezieht sich auf die in B 78 berichtete Ehrung *Sinuhes* (und drückt nicht eine nochmalige Ehrung aus, wie Grapow meint⁵); analog muß man *mr-nf wi* auf Vergangenes beziehen:

3h-n(i?) m ib-f

mr-nf wi
rh-nf qnn-i
rdt-f⁶ wi m h3t hr3wf
mr-nf rd cwy-i

Sinuhe war erfolgreich in vielen Kriegszügen: „Es (oder: Ich?) war nützlich in seiner Auffassung (o. ä.): Wenn er mir Liebe erwiesen hatte, erfuhr er (jetzt), daß ich tapfer war; wenn er mich schließlich (sogar) an die Spitze seiner Kinder gesetzt hatte, sah er (jetzt), daß ich tatkräftig war.“

Als der *t*-Form „vorausgehend“ ist also das parallele *mr-nf* anzusehen.

Ich glaube nicht, daß in *mr-nf* und *rdt-f* „emphatische“ Formen vorliegen; denn in Analogie zu *Sinuhe* B 23 f. (dazu siehe oben) müßte *rdt-f* . . . *mr-nf* dann heißen: „er gab mich erst . . . als er sah“. Am wahrscheinlichsten scheint mir die Annahme, daß von allen vier Verben — *mri*, *rh*, *rdt* und *ms3* — subjunktivische Formen vorliegen, die einander paarweise nach dem Schema des nominalen Nominalsatzes zugeordnet sind:⁷ * „daß er mich geliebt hatte, ist daß er erfuhr . . .“ und * „daß er mich schließlich . . . gegeben hatte, ist daß er sah . . .“.

¹ R 48 hat *tst-i ib-i hrw-i* „ich erhob mein Herz und meine Glieder erst . . .“; *Ashm.* 18 hat *ts{w}-n-i ib-i s3qn-(i) hrw(i)* . . . mit zwei „emphatischen“ *n*-Formen, ähnlich C 8 und OB⁴, jedoch mit *s3q-i* (ob verschrieben für *s3qn-i*?).

² Siehe Clère in *YEA* 25 (1939), 16 ff.

³ Op. cit. 22.

⁴ B 28, R 52 und *Ashm.* 20 haben *rd-n* „es gab mich“.

⁵ Grapow, *Der stilistische Bau*, 44.

⁶ H 3 hat *rd-nf* „er hatte gesetzt“; *Ashm.* 43: *rd-nf n-i r h3t-i*.

⁷ Vgl. Polotsky in *Orientalia*, 38 (1969), 471, zu Edell, *Altäg. Gr.*, § 504.

Sinuhe B 109

Vorausgehend: Sinuhe war erfolgreich in kriegerischen Unternehmungen.

t-Form (?): *iwt nht n (R)tnw* „?Schließlich kam ein Retenu-Held“.

iwt ist keine eindeutige *t*-Form, es könnte auch „prospektives *sdm·f*“ sein. Doch schiene ein solches hier syntaktisch nicht gerechtfertigt, während andererseits eine „schließlich“-Interpretation recht plausibel ist.¹ Zu beachten ist allerdings, daß nach der Negation \neg die *t*-Form von „kommen“ *iwt·f* lautet.²

Sinuhe B 147

Sinuhe besiegt den Herausforderer und macht reiche Beute.

t-Form: *hr iri³ ntr r htp n ts(w)·n·f im·f th(w)·n·f r kt hst* „Also hat Gott schließlich (doch) gehandelt,⁴ um gnädig zu sein dem, dem er gegrollt hatte, den er hatte fehlgehen lassen in ein anderes Land.“

Mit *iri* „handeln“ meint Sinuhe die Gewährung des eben errungenen Sieges. Was „vorausgeht“, ist all das, was er als sein Unglück darstellt: die Flucht, das Leben unter den Barbaren fern der Heimat.

Die Partikel *hr* „dann“, „also“⁵ scheint keine subordinierende Wirkung⁶ zu haben, da sie auch vor Nominalsätzen — also charakteristischen Hauptsatz-Konstruktionen⁷ — auftritt.⁸ Somit wäre noch zu klären, ob auf *hr* Hauptsatz-Konstruktionen im eigentlichen Sinn (wie in selbständigen Sätzen) oder Zustandssatz-Konstruktionen (wie nach *iw·(f)*, *hc·n·(f)*, etc.) folgen. Hier hilft das Beispiel *Urk.* IV, 690, 5⁹ weiter, das nach *hr* vom Verb „geben“ die Form \leftarrow aufweist, die zum Unterschied von \leftarrow charakteristisch ist für Zustandssatz-Konstruktionen (abgesehen davon, daß auch das „prospektive *sdm·f*“ dieses Verbs so aussieht).¹⁰ Wie man sich das Zustandekommen der Bildung *hr* + Zustandssatz vorzustellen hat, ist allerdings unklar, zumal da über den Ursprung des *hr* nur Vermutungen angestellt werden können.

Sinuhe B 283

Vorausgehend: Sinuhe ist in Audienz beim König.

t-Form: *prt·i rf m hnw chnwti msw·nswt hr rdt n·(i) cwsn* „Als ich schließlich aus dem Palast herauskam, gaben mir die Königskinder ihre Hände“.

Prt·i ist wohl absolut gebrauchte Subjunktivform („Temporalsatz“).

Schiffbrüchiger 54

Vorausgehend: „Ich sättigte mich und legte (die Früchte) auf die Erde, weil (sie zu) schwer für meine Arme waren“.

t-Form: *šdt·i dš shpr·n·i ht* „Schließlich nahm ich einen Bohrer und machte Feuer“.

Schiffbrüchiger 166

Vorausgehend: „Ich lud (alle Geschenke) auf jenes Schiff.“

¹ Nicht so bei einigen anderen Stellen mit *iwt*, wo dieses ebenfalls als *t*-Form angesprochen wurde; z. B. *Sinai*, Nr. 90, 5, vgl. Goedicke in *MDAIK* 18 (1962), 17 ff. (Anm. h) (*iwt·i hr Kmt bdš hr·i* „?als ich ?aus Ägypten kam, war ich mutlos“); Louvre C 12, 3 = Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 76, 4, vgl. Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*, § 406 (NN . . . sagt: *iwt sš n tšty . . . r iš n·i . . .* „Es kam der Schreiber des Veziars . . . um mich zu rufen . . .“; es folgen die initialen Formen *hc·n·i šm·kw* und *hc·n rd·n . . .*). Hier kann unmöglich mit „schließlich“ übersetzt werden, aber auch eine Interpretation als „prospektives *sdm·f*“ fällt schwer. Eher wird man in *iwt* einen Infinitiv sehen wollen (vgl. zur Form Gardiner, § 299). Man könnte eventuell erwägen, ob nicht doch auch das *iwt* von *Sinuhe* B 109 ebenso aufzufassen ist. ² Siehe Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*, § 403. ³ *Ashm.* 56: *hr nḥm*.

⁴ Zur Bedeutung des objektlosen *iri* siehe Anthes in *JEA* 54 (1968), 31 ff. und 55 (1969), 41 ff.

⁵ Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*, § 239.

⁶ Vgl. Satzinger, *Neg. Konstr.*, § 3 (Anm. 4).

⁷ Vgl. Satzinger in *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 84 ff.

⁸ Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*, § 119, 5. 142; S. 105, Anm. 6.

⁹ Nach Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*, § 450 c.

¹⁰ Siehe Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, § 11.

t-Form: *hprn rdt·i wi hr ht·i r dwi-ntr n·f* „Schließlich (aber) warf ich mich auf meinen Bauch, um (der Schlange) zu danken“.

Bezüglich *hprn* ist das von Junker, *Götterlehre*, 50 ff., Gesagte zu vergleichen:¹ Mit Recht setzt Junker *hprn sdm·f* etc. in Parallele zu *iw sdm·(n)·f*, *chrn sdm·n·f* und dergleichen. In allen diesen Fällen stellt die Einleitungspartikel sehr wahrscheinlich das Subjekt eines adverbialen Nominalsatzes dar (wobei teilweise die Ellipse eines Personalpronomens *f* anzunehmen ist;² Junker allerdings sieht die Einleitungspartikel primär als unpersönlich an: *hprn* „es ist“ usw.), die folgende Verbalform bildet einen Zustandssatz in der Rolle eines adverbialen Prädikats.³ Demnach sind *chrn·(f)* und *hprn·(f)* „emphatische“ Formen:

Subjekt:	(Nexus:)	Prädikat:
<i>chrn·(f)</i>		<i>sdm·n·f</i>
„daß (er) aufstand“	„ist/war“	„indem er hörte“
<i>hprn·(i)</i>		<i>rdt·i</i>
„daß (ich) wurde“	„ist/war“	„indem ich schließlich gab“,

woraus bedeutungsmäßig ein „schließlich aber gab ich“ resultiert.

Nicht in jedem der angeführten Beispiele trifft völlig zu, was oben als Charakterisierung angegeben worden ist: Die durch die *t*-Form zum Ausdruck gebrachte Handlung ist nicht immer etwas Neues, das die bisherige durative Handlung ablöst, sondern mitunter nur der Höhepunkt der bisherigen Entwicklung:

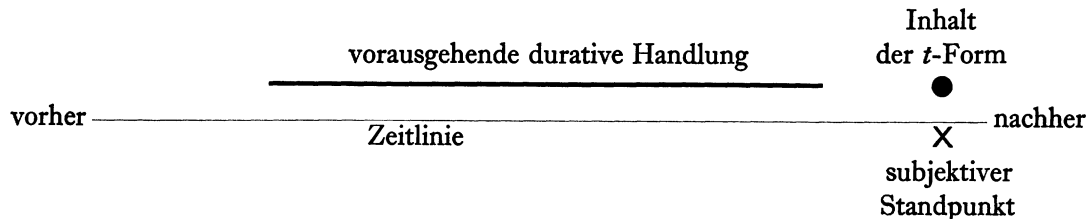
Sinuhe B 86: die Installation als Häuptling ist der Höhepunkt der bisherigen Gunstbeweise.

Sinuhe B 107: das „an die Spitze der Kinder Stellen“ ist der Höhepunkt des bisher erwiesenen Wohlwollens.

Sinuhe B 109: die Herausforderung des Starken aus Retenu ist der Höhepunkt der Anforderungen an Sinuhes persönliche Tapferkeit.

In der Mitte zwischen beiden steht *Sinuhe* B 4: Das Finden des Verstecks ist die logische Folge, wenn auch nicht der Höhepunkt des Suchens.

Aber allen diesen Schattierungen wird das deutsche „schließlich“ gerecht, und so mag es auch mit der ägyptischen *t*-Form sein. Diese dient also zum Ausdruck eines perfektischen (punktuellen oder inchoativen) Vorgangs, der einen durativen (d. h., auch iterativen) Vorgang ablöst oder abschließt:



Die übrigen Fälle von *sdmt·f*

Mit einem Mal wird verständlich, warum „*sdmt·f* nach Präpositionen“ hauptsächlich im Ausdruck für „bis er hört“ (*r sdm·t·f*) belegt ist:⁴ Denn in diesen Fällen entspricht

¹ Vgl. auch Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, § 901, Anm.

² Siehe Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, § 42.

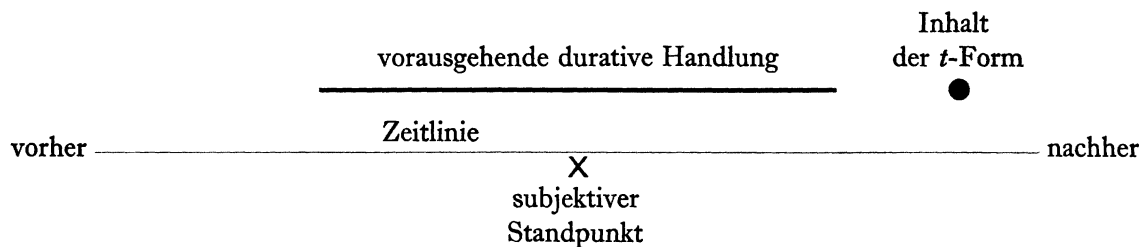
³ Op. cit., § 16 ff.

⁴ Zu *dr* + *sdmt·f* siehe R. Anthes in *Studies . . . John A. Wilson* (1969), der dafür die Bedeutung „weil er hört“ nachweist (ähnlich für *dr* + *mrr·f*). Insbesondere in den präsentischen Perfekta der von Anthes zitierten „Reden

die Aspekt-Situation genau der oben für die „narrativen“ *t*-Formen beschriebenen; etwa in Westendorfs Beispiel¹ *Sinuhe* B 247: Die durative Handlung ist das Brauen und Maischen während der Überfahrt; der perfektive Abschluß davon ist die Landung: *r pht·i dmi n itw* „bis ich die ‚Stadt des Eroberers‘ erreichte“.

Die Fragen, die sich mit der Verwendung der einzelnen Formen der Suffixkonjugation nach Präpositionen verbinden, sind zu kompliziert als daß man sie hier cursorisch beantworten könnte. Aber nach dem oben Ausgeführten ist wohl das Postulat statthaft, daß überall dort, wo eine Grundbedeutung „schließlich“ passend erscheint, von einer *t*-Form im eigentlichen Sinn gesprochen werden kann, während überall dort, wo dies nicht der Fall ist, in dem Element Verbalstamm + *t* ein Infinitiv (nur bei schwachen Verben) oder ein feminines Nomen actionis gesehen werden muß.

Ähnlich leicht fällt die Verbindung zur negierten *t*-Form *n sđmt·f*: Auch hier ist die Grundsituation das Nacheinander einer durativen und einer perfektiven Handlung. Nur ist es in diesem Fall noch nicht so weit, daß die Ablösung der durativen durch die perfektive Handlung schon stattgefunden hätte, der subjektive Standpunkt ist mittels der Negation vorverlegt:



Es ist bedeutsam, daß die Negation nicht die Existenz der in der *t*-Form ausgedrückten Handlung verneint, sondern vielmehr den Zeitpunkt ihres Eintretens in die „relative Zukunft“² verschiebt: Es wird gleichsam nur das „schließlich“ negiert, nicht das „Hören“. Dies zeigt vielleicht besser als jede andere Argumentation, daß der hier festgestellte Aspekt ein integraler Bestandteil des Inhalts der Form ist.

Die Möglichkeit, mit „schließlich“ zu übersetzen, fehlt in den folgenden Fällen scheinbarer *t*-Form:

1. indikativesches *wnt* in dem Zustandsausdruck *n wnt* „ohne daß existiert“³,
2. subjunktivesches *wnt* „daß existiert“,
3. „Prospektiv“-Formen *iw·t·f* „daß er kommt“, *int·f* „daß er bringt“,
4. *sđmt·f* „als Objekt hinter Verben“.⁴

Man wird also diese Formen nicht mehr unter der Bezeichnung „*sđmt·f*“ oder „*t*-Form“ behandeln können.

und Rufe“ (S. 9, Beisp. 1–5) scheinen mir die Aspektverhältnisse dem oben Gesagten zu entsprechen, wobei das Vorausgehende durchwegs unausgedrückt bleibt. Sinngemäß wären die Beispiele zu paraphrasieren: „(Du hast die ganze Zeit getrödelt (durativ)); schließlich ist . . . gekommen (perfektiv): Nun beeil dich aber.“

¹ Westendorf, *Gr.*, § 264.

² Ibid., § 264.

³ Siehe auch Thacker in *JEA* 35 (1949), 34.

⁴ Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, § 739.

Historische Skizze

Wir haben nun — durch Feststellen ihrer besonderen Grundbedeutung — die *t*-Form als selbständigen Teil der Suffixkonjugation etabliert, und wir haben andeutungsweise ihre modale Funktionsbreite umrissen. Was vor allem noch fehlt, ist eine diachronische Betrachtung: Diese soll jedoch nur skizzenhaft erfolgen.

Über die Entstehung der Form wurden im Lauf der Zeit die verschiedensten Theorien aufgestellt:¹

1. Die Form sei aus dem Infinitiv entstanden bzw. mit dem Infinitiv identisch:² Seit der Entdeckung von *t*-Formen starker Verben ist diese Hypothese hinfällig.

2. Sie sei aus einem anderen, durchwegs femininen Verbalnomen (Nomen actionis) entstanden:³ Damit sind zwar die starken Verben berücksichtigt, aber eine Erklärung der Notion „schließlich“ ist dadurch nicht möglich.

3. Eine Entstehung aus einem femininen Partizip⁴ ist entschieden abzulehnen:⁵ erstens weisen prädikative Partizipien keine Genus/Numerus-Endungen auf, zweitens ist nicht vorstellbar, wie aus einer Opposition maskulin ($\sim \underline{sdm}f$): feminin ($\sim \underline{sdmt}f$) eine Aspektopposition neutral: „schließlich“ erwachsen wäre.

4. Das Morphem *t* gehe auf ein altererbtes Morphem zurück, das auch im akkadischen Perfekt *iptaras* vorliegen soll:⁶ Diese Frage ist vergesellschaftet mit dem ganzen Problem des Verhältnisses der ägyptischen Suffixkonjugation zur semito-hamitischen Präfixkonjugation; nur in diesem größeren Rahmen könnte man sie behandeln.

5. Das Element *t* gehe auf ein Hilfsverb zurück:⁷ Die Notion „schließlich“ wäre solchermaßen am ehesten zu erklären, aber da kein Verb, das hierfür in Frage käme, nachzuweisen ist, bleibt der Vorschlag hypothetisch.

Jedenfalls liegt die Entstehung ebenso in vorhistorischer Zeit, wie dies bei den anderen Teilen der Suffixkonjugation der Fall ist. Im Altägyptischen liegt die *t*-Form bereits voll ausgebildet vor, allerdings nur 1. als *n sdm̄t̄f* in Zustandssatz-Konstruktionen, und 2. nach Präpositionen.

Die Problematik der darüber hinausgehenden Gebrauchsweisen — der oben diskutierten „narrativen“ Formen — besteht darin, daß sie anscheinend nur in den beiden mittelägyptischen Texten des *Simuhe* und des *Schiffbrüchigen* festzustellen sind. Zwar ist für die vorausgehende Periode zu bedenken, daß wir keine narrativen Texte aus dieser Zeit besitzen. Für die späteren Sprachperioden aber können wir mit Sicherheit sagen, daß die *t*-Form nur in den beiden oben genannten Gebrauchsweisen weiterlebt,

¹ Siehe auch Gunn, *Studies*, 174 ff.; Westendorf, *Gr.*, § 265.

² Vgl. Erman, *Äg. Gr.*², § 304; Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 353.

³ Vgl. Erman, *Äg. Gr.*³, § 418; Gunn, *Studies*, 174 ff.; Lefebvre, *Gr.*, § 415; de Buck, *Grammatica*, § 131 und *Gr.*, § 173; Farina, *Grammatica*², § 230; Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, § 732, Anm.

⁴ Vgl. Gardiner in *Revue égyptologique*, N.S. 2 (1921), 55; Erman, *Äg. Gr.*⁴, § 418 ff. Ein prospektives Partizip nimmt Westendorf an (*Gr.*, § 265), eine Relativform Thacker (*Verbal Systems*, 267).

⁵ NB. Der Akzent liegt auf „feminin“: Die verbale Basis der Form mag durchaus auf ein Partizip zurückgehen, vgl. dazu auch die Opposition aktiv *hst̄f*: passiv *hsyt̄f* (Gardiner in *Revue égyptologique*, N.S. 2 (1921), 50 f.); abzulehnen ist jedoch die Ableitung des Morphems *t* aus der Femininendung.

⁶ Vgl. Petrovskij, *Egipetskij jazyk* (1958), § 146 (den Hinweis auf diese Theorie verdanke ich Professor Polotsky).

⁷ Vgl. Sander-Hansen, *Gr.* 208, Anm. 237.

und zwar in erstarrten Bildungen sogar bis in Koptische: einerseits in $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\eta}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\gamma}$ - < *bw irt:f*,¹ andererseits in $\overline{\omega}\overline{\alpha}(\overline{\eta})\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\gamma}$ - < *š:ɾ-r irt:f*.²

Das Formativ *t* scheint seinen vollen morphematischen Wert bald verloren zu haben, es überlebt nur noch als Teilmorphem (in Verbindung mit der Negation *bw* ~ $\overline{\omega}$ und nach der Präposition *r* bzw. *š:ɾ-r*). Das Bedürfnis nach einem selbständigen festen Morphem für den komplizierten Aspekt „schließlich“ war erloschen.

¹ Siehe Erman in *ZÄS* 50 (1912), 109.

² Siehe Mattha in *BIFAO* 45 (1947), 52 ff.; Volten in *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H. J. Polotsky* (1964), 69 ff.

A UNIQUE OFFERING LIST OF AMENOPHIS IV RECENTLY FOUND AT KARNAK

By RAMADAN SAAD *and* LISE MANNICHE

IN 1966, during the work of the Egyptian Antiquities Department on dismantling the IXth pylon of the temple of Amen-Rē⁶ at Karnak,¹ hundreds of stones were found which had been reused in the pylon. Some of them are big blocks, reused in the outer courses, from various monuments belonging to Amenophis III, Amenophis IV, and Tutankhamūn.² The interior of the west wing of the pylon was filled with *talatats* from the temple of Aten.³

A big block was found in the interior of the pylon among the *talatats* at the level of course no. 10:

Material: sandstone.

Dimensions: 194 cm. × 105 cm. × 22 cm.

Decoration: sunk relief painted yellow; the colour has mostly disappeared.

Storage: the shelter for the *talatats* from the IXth pylon.

A block of such dimensions indicates that the temple of Aten was built not only from *talatats* but also from bigger blocks.⁴ This block deserves attention as it bears lists of offerings of Amenophis IV, something unique in this period.⁵

The text, twice introducing lists of offerings, gives the impression that the wall from which the block came contained several similar lists of offerings instituted by Amenophis IV in various parts of Egypt, not only to Aten but also to other gods, as offerings to Rē⁶ are mentioned in the first list.

On this block are preserved one almost complete list and part of a second one.

Columns 1-3:

‘. . . Aten on the offering-tables of Rē⁶ from Memphis⁷ to Diospolis.⁸ A divine offering⁹ instituted by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Nfr-hprw-Rr-wr-n-Rr* to his father Rē⁶ as daily offerings of every day in Memphis.’

Columns 4-11:

cbt-loaves: 240 (measures containing) 60 *ḥekat*

¹ The pylon of Ḥoremḥeb. Barguet, *Karnak*, 252.

² Ramadan Saad, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Kairo*, 22, 64, pls. 17*b*, 23*c,d*, 24.

³ Pillet, *ASAE* 22, 249-51, pls. 2-4; Ramadan Saad, *MDAIK* 22, 64, pls. 18, 20, 21, 22, 23*a,b*.


⁴ *MDAIK*, loc. cit.

⁵ A few of the *talatats* are inscribed with offering-lists, but only fragments of the text remain.

⁶ Restore 

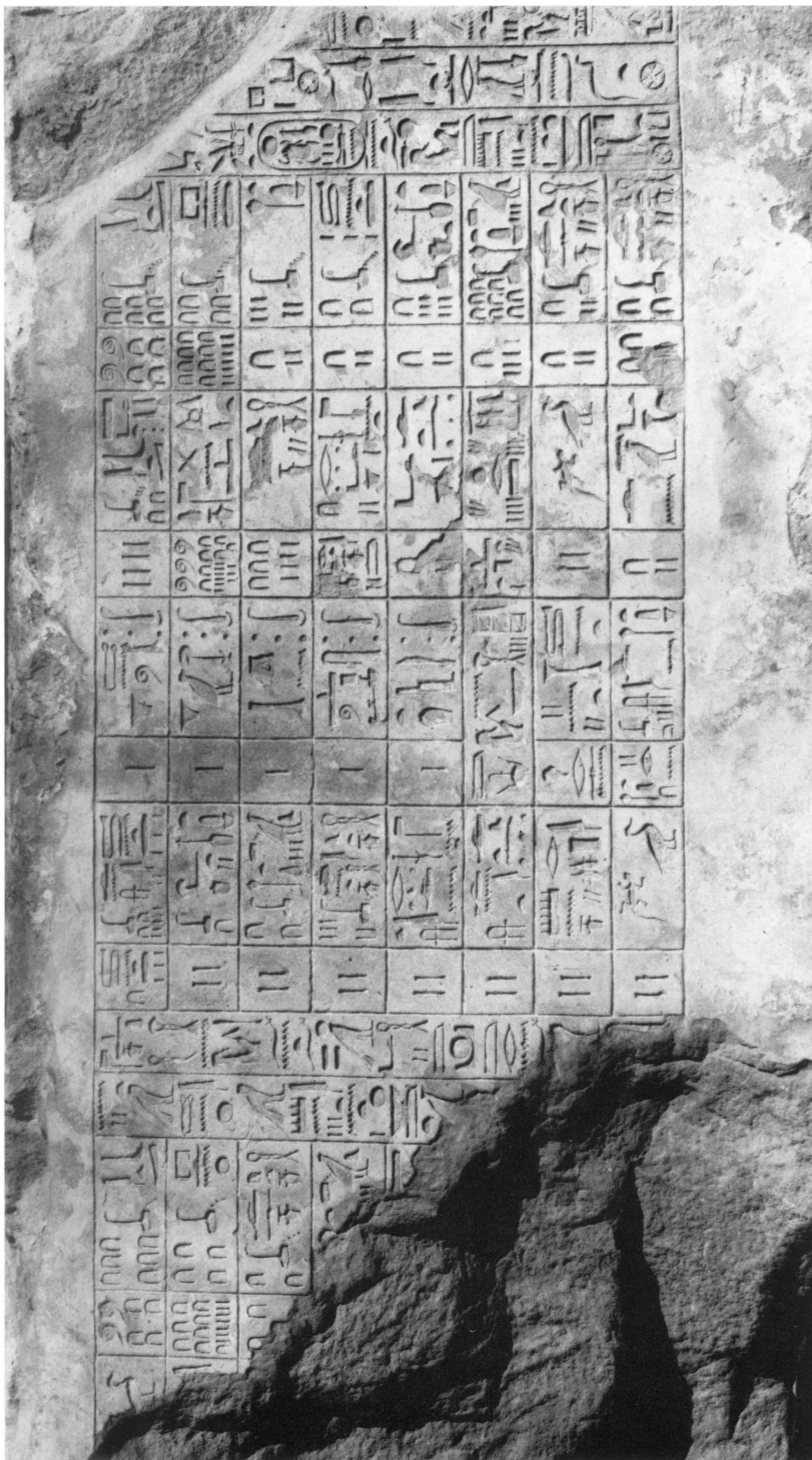
⁷ Restore 

⁸ An unusual way of writing the name of the 17th nome of Lower Egypt. Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 30, 43.

⁹ Restore 

16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

AN OFFERING LIST OF AMENOPHIS IV



AN OFFERING LIST OF AMENOPHIS IV AT KARNAK

<i>psn</i> -loaves: 87	(measures containing)	40	<i>hekat</i>
white bread: 12	„ „	5	<i>hekat</i>
<i>wdnt</i> -loaves: 12	„ „	20	<i>hekat</i>
white bread: 12	„ „	16	<i>hekat</i>
<i>nfr-hꜣt</i>			
<i>kꜣw</i> -cakes			
white bread: 14	„ „	80	<i>hekat</i>
jugs of beer: 12	„ „	12	<i>hekat</i>
jugs of beer: 23	„ „	20	<i>hekat</i>
<i>šꜣt bit</i> -cakes: 4	„ „	20	<i>hekat</i>

The sum of the various divine offerings: 379¹

jugs of beer: 34
 incense: 12 *r*-measures
 milk in two *hn*-jars
 fruit: 12 (measures containing) 1 r
 herbs: 1 bundle (containing) 4 bundles
s-ršꜣ-birds: 2
 brazier for offering: 12
 bronze *tnm*-jar: 1
 bronze *hꜣw*-bowl: 1
 bronze *gn*-stand: 1
 bronze censer: 1
 bronze *nmst*-vase: 1

Offerings instituted by the Lord on New Year's Day:

2 *wdnt*-stands (and) what is on them
 white bread: 2 baskets of 2½ *hekat* amounting to 10 white loaves
wdnt-loaves: 2 baskets of 25 *hekat*, 10 *wdnt* loaves
 white bread *nfr-hꜣt*: 2 (measures containing) 10 *hekat*
kꜣw-cakes, white bread 2 („ „) 20 *hekat*
inhꜣt-jars of beer: 2 („ „) 5 *hekat*
 incense: 2 baskets
 fruit: 2 baskets
 wine: 2 *mni*-jars
s-ršꜣ-birds: 2

The second offering list is not complete, but the text introducing it is well preserved except for the last word.

Columns 12–13:

'The divine offering instituted by his Majesty to his father Ḥarakhte, who rejoices

¹ The actual sum of the listed items is 416.

on the horizon in his name of light, who is in the sun's disk, as daily offerings of every day in. . . .¹

Columns 14-16:

<i>bit</i> -loaves: 240	(measures containing)	60	<i>hekat</i>
<i>psn</i> -loaves: 87	„	„	40 <i>hekat</i>
jugs of beer: 30	„	„	20 <i>hekat</i>
<i>kw</i> -cakes, white bread: . . .			
š. . . .			
. . .			
. . .			
. . .			
s-š-birds			
i. . .			

¹ The last part of this column probably gave the name of a geographical place or temple. The sign following the *t* cannot be distinguished with certainty. Breasted (*ZAS* 40, 112) enumerates the names of temples of Aten. The names beginning with *t* are only two, $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (Aten temple in Memphis) and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ('Amarna temple, but this is to be excluded, as this text is from the pre-'Amarna period). Geographical names beginning with *t* are $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, a district in the western part of Thebes (Gauthier, *Dict.* IV, 15, quoting Budge, *Egyptian Dictionary*, 1053, the latter giving no references), and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, an unidentified locality in the Theban region (Gauthier, *Dict.* v, 147, ref. *Pap. hiératique no. 3226 du Louvre*). In any case none of these names would fill out the space left.

A SEATED STATUE OF AMŪN*

By WILLIAM H. PECK

IN the collection of the Cranbrook Academy Galleries, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, is an especially interesting statue of the God Amūn. It was acquired by Mr. George G. Booth, the founder of the Academy, in 1938 for this collection. In May 1937 the sculpture was part of a London sale of the collection of Frederick Temple, First Marquess of Dufferin.¹ The sale catalogue gives the identification of the piece as follows:

42 A figure of a king in hard white limestone, probably a portrait of King Amen-Hetep II represented as the God Amen-Ra, the figure is seated on a solid throne formed to represent the name of Isis, he wears the usual cap of the God, ceremonial beard and fivefold necklace indicated in relief, a belt around the chest is supported by straps over the shoulders, a belt around the waist supports the short skirt which is shown by fluting, the girdle buckle of Isis joins the belt in the centre, the right hand is outstretched palm downwards on the right knee, the left palm downwards clenches an Ankh amulet; between the two bare legs an implement is represented, probably a spear—34 in. high—XVIII Dynasty.²

The statue is illustrated as the frontispiece of the catalogue of the sale. There was no other background information or provenance provided when Mr. Booth acquired the piece. It has been rarely exhibited until recently, and, to my knowledge, has never been the subject of extensive study.³

The material of the statue is hard, white limestone (sometimes called indurated or compacted limestone or 'Egyptian marble').⁴ It is 34 inches high and in an excellent state of preservation with the exception of the head-dress, the plumes of Amūn, which are missing. The socket in the crown, in which the plumes were set, has been broken at the back. The actual material of which the plumes would have been made is

* I wish to acknowledge my thanks to Mr. Wallace Mitchell, Director of the Art Galleries, Cranbrook Academy, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, for permission to publish this statue. I am indebted for information and assistance to the following: Mr. Bernard V. Bothmer, Mr. John Cooney, Mr. Cyril Aldred, Dr. I. E. S. Edwards, Miss Christine Lilyquist, Madame Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, and the late William Stevenson Smith. The opinions expressed herein are, however, those of the author.

¹ Cranbrook no. 38.28. It was bought by E. Ascher of Paris. Mr. Booth purchased it from Spink & Son, London.

² Catalogue of Egyptian and Classical Antiquities from the collection formed by Frederick Temple, first Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, K.P., P.C., now removed from Clondeboye, Co. Down. Christie Manson & Woods, May 31, 1937.

³ Included in the exhibition *Life and Art in Ancient Egypt*, Detroit Institute of Arts, July 9–Sept. 1, 1963. The statue was illustrated on the cover of the exhibition check list. It has been on view in the galleries of Cranbrook Academy only at irregular intervals because of limited exhibition space. The provenance of the piece is discussed by I. E. S. Edwards in his article 'Lord Dufferin's Excavations at Deir El-Bahri and the Clondeboye Collection', *JEA* 51 (1965), 16–28.

⁴ See A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (fourth edition, 1962), rev. J. R. Harris, 414 under *Limestone and Marble*.

unknown, but projecting from the left of the crown is a tang which formed the bottom of the plume on that side, suggesting that the plumes were of the same stone, carved separately and set in the crown.

The only evidence of polychrome decoration is a trace of paint in black¹ or dark grey, indicating the attachment for the false beard. There is no inscription of any sort, suggesting either that the statue was not intended to bear an inscription or, more probably, that the carving of the inscription was never carried out.

The problem of dating a completely uninscribed statue representing the god Amūn is an interesting and intriguing challenge since statues of the gods were often carved with the features of the ruling king. The identification of the ruler depicted has never been satisfactorily established for the Cranbrook statue; it is this problem which is the general concern of this paper. It is generally accepted that the 'Amarna heresy and its attendant destruction of images of Amūn make it most likely that this is an image dating in some period after the disappearance of Akhenaten and perhaps in the time of the re-establishment of the worship of Amūn and the re-erection and re-dedication of his statues.² It would be very interesting indeed if the Cranbrook piece were a representation of the god Amūn with the likeness of Amenophis II somehow overlooked by the iconoclasts of the reign of Akhenaten, as is suggested in the sale catalogue description. Such, I believe, is not the case.

The iconography of this statue includes the incomplete crown of Amūn, a broad collar divided into nine rows of tubular beads and a final lower row of pendants, a pair of braces attached to a horizontal band which encircles the body just below the breasts, and a finely pleated kilt supported by a belt fastened with a buckle in the form of the *tyet* amulet. In his left hand the figure holds an *ankh*, palm down, on the left knee. The right hand is extended empty, palm down, on the right knee. There is no other body decoration, that is, there are no armlets, bracelets, anklets; however, the earlobes have slight indentations presumably intended for ear-rings of some material. Between the legs may be seen a tail³ which is apparently hanging down the front of the throne (the object described in the sale catalogue as an 'implement').

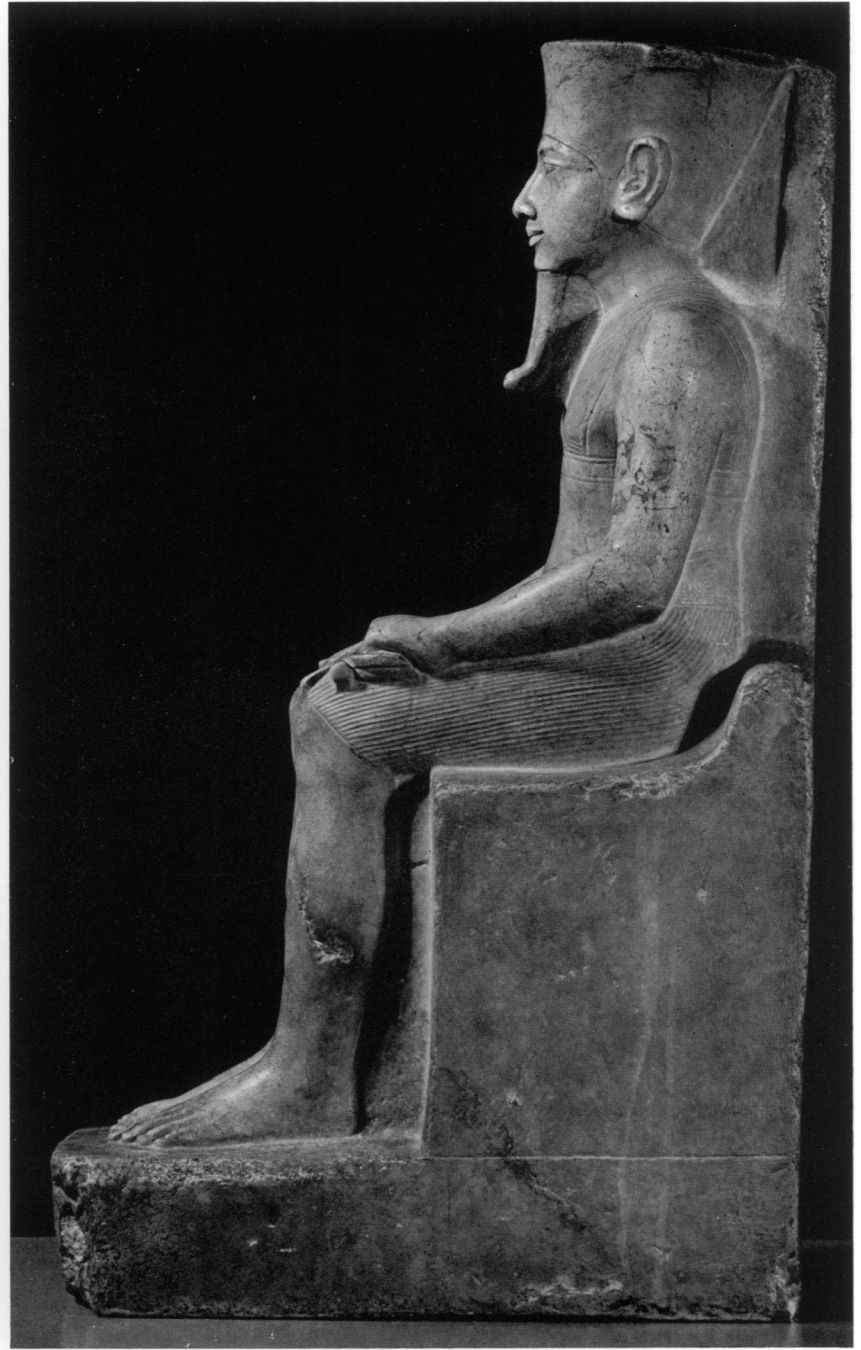
There exist three statues which are closely related to the Cranbrook Amūn: Oriental Institute statue 10503, and two statues in the Cairo Museum, Catalogue Général Numbers 42093 and 42094. The two Cairo pieces I have seen only in illustrations in *Statues de Rois et de Particuliers*, pls. lxvii and lix. I have had an opportunity to examine the Chicago statue on exhibition in the Oriental Institute galleries. It is so close in size, style, execution, and general appearance to the Cranbrook piece that it might have come from the same workshop and perhaps even the same hand. The disturbing fact is that all three related works are headless.⁴ The inscriptions in every case are to

¹ Not unlike the Canopic stoppers or lids from the tomb of Tutankhamūn of alabaster with only a small amount of black paint.

² See John Bennett, 'The Restoration Inscription of Tutankhamūn', *JEA* 25 (1939), 8-15, for the document which suggests Tutankhamūn as the king in whose reign a great number of images of the gods were made anew.

³ The ceremonial bull's tail attached to the back of the king's belt but shown hanging down the front of the throne.

⁴ The restoration of the Chicago statue is with a likeness of Akhenaten, a particularly unsettling combination.



A SEATED STATUE OF AMÛN IN THE CRANBROOK ACADEMY GALLERIES

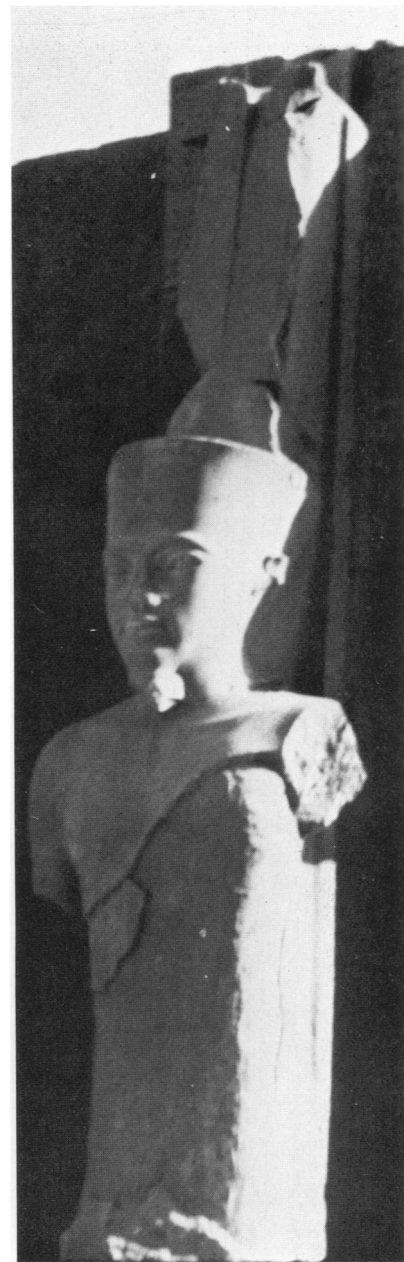
(Courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts)



I



2



3

STATUES OF AMÜN

1. Amün protecting Tutankhamün: Louvre Statue no. 11609 (*Photo: Giraudon*)
2. Standing statue in Cairo (JE 38689)
3. Fragmentary statue at Karnak

Ay. The inscription on the Chicago statue is clearly recut (a fact noted on the exhibition label). The two Cairo statues are from the Karnak Cachette.¹ The Chicago piece was purchased from a Cairo dealer in 1919.² The Cranbrook statue was found at Deir el-Bahri by Lord Dufferin while excavating the Eleventh-Dynasty temple there.³

In order to show the close similarity of these four statues the following chart has been prepared. The necessity for this comparison will emerge when one correlates the evidence of the resemblance of the Cranbrook statue to other inscribed examples beyond the three which are inscribed to Ay.

Chart I

	CCG 42093	CCG 42094	OIC 10503	Cranbrook
Height	61 cm.	70 cm.	84 cm.	34 inches
Material	'Calcaire'	'Grès Jaune Sonore'	Hard white limestone	Hard white limestone
Source	Karnak cachette	Karnak cachette	Cairo dealer	Deir el-Bahri
Attitude	Seated, hands on knees holding an <i>ankh</i> in the left hand	Same as CCG 42093	Same as CCG 42093	Same as CCG 42093
Costume	False beard, collar, braces, kilt with buckle, two bracelets, two armlets	Same as CCG 42093	Same as CCG 42093	No bracelets or armlets, otherwise same
Colour	Traces of gold	None	None	False beard attachment
Inscription	Damaged but readable, two names of Ay	Same as CCG 42093	Reinscribed to Ay	None
Technique, carving, and finish	'trés bonne'	'trés bonne'	High quality	High quality

The most telling point is the obvious reinscription of the Chicago statue to Ay which suggests the usurpation of this statue by him from a previous ruler who may have been Tutankhamūn. The Cairo statues are not as significant to our comparison as the inscriptions apparently have been partially mutilated.⁴

Working from the premise that the Cranbrook statue may be a representation of Tutankhamūn it is then necessary to compare this figure with other known statues of the king. One must begin with, and perhaps exclude those which are only 'called' Tutankhamūn. These include such works as the monumental Khonsu at Cairo (CCG 38488), usually recognized as this ruler, the Turin Horemheb group (Turin 768), thought to be a usurpation, the small red granite head of Amūn in Cairo (CCG 38002) identified as Tutankhamūn, and numerous statues and heads identified solely on the basis of facial resemblance to this king.⁵ For a concrete comparison based on inscribed material I suggest three examples: the fragmentary statue of Amūn at Karnak, reinscribed to Horemheb (Karnak NE XVIII); the Louvre Amūn protecting a small headless figure of Tutankhamūn and inscribed to this ruler (11609); and a standing figure in Cairo (J. E. no. 38689) inscribed to Tutankhamūn. In addition, all portrait

¹ *Statues de Rois et de Particuliers*, 54, 55.

² Information by letter from the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

³ Edwards, *op. cit.*

⁴ *Statues de Rois*, loc. cit.

⁵ Some examples: Boston 11.1533, New York 50.6, Brussels 5698, Berlin 1479, Copenhagen Æ IN 35.

material from his tomb which represents the king at a mature age also may be used for comparison.

The Cranbrook piece is of the style usually described as Post-‘Amarna, a term used to designate works from the reigns of Tut‘ankhamūn, Ay, and Ḥoremḥeb. While apparently there was some effort to shed the excesses of Akhenaten’s style, there remain in Post-‘Amarna sculptural representations of the human figure a weakness of chest and swelling of stomach (sometimes verging on obesity) which had their origin in the ‘Amarna interlude. Contrasted with these characteristics there is a thickness of limbs, especially the lower legs and ankles, suggesting an attempt to return to pre-‘Amarna prototypes. The Cranbrook statue shows both these tendencies in a work displaying the finish typical of the craftsmanship of New Kingdom sculpture at its best.

The face of Tut‘ankhamūn is familiar from the numerous portraits found in his tomb in the Valley of The Kings. For comparison may be cited the gold mummy mask and the face of the first gold coffin, both of which have the intensity and observation of portraits as opposed to vague generalization. The most direct comparison, however, is the painted wood and stucco ‘dummy’ left intentionally incomplete without arms and consisting of torso and head alone.¹ This piece has long been considered a support for garments or jewellery of the king. It would be interesting to postulate that this unusual sculptural type was a model for artists involved in the execution of images of the king. This cannot be proved with any certainty, but taking into account the rarity of the type (the portrait bust being virtually unknown in Egyptian Art), the ‘dummy’ could conceivably have served as such a sculptor’s model. The more important reason for the choice of this work as a comparison in this paper is that it is one of the few examples from the tomb in which Tut‘ankhamūn is shown wearing a crown similar to that of the God Amūn.² The difference between the crown of the wooden statue and the standard headgear of the god is not in general shape, which is most important to our comparison, but in the addition of the uraeus and the lack of the double plumes of Amūn. The basic shape, a flat-topped hat, closely fitting around the forehead and sides with a slight concave transition to the top is the same. The handling of the features of the face of the sculpture in wood suggests the intimacy of a direct portrait and observation from life. The countenance is not as mature as that of the gold mummy mask and the face of the first coffin, but has a slightly more youthful appearance.

It is in the exaggeration of this more youthful portrait that the facial characteristics peculiar to Tut‘ankhamūn are more evident and easily described. The forehead and orbital ridge come together forming a sharply defined angle at the brow ridge which is partially obscured by the heavily painted brows. The eyes are large and wide in proportion to the face as a whole and have outer corners which are distinctly higher than the inner ones, a characteristic and important feature of the face of Tut‘ankhamūn.

¹ Cairo T16; a good illustration may be found in Penelope Fox, *Tutankhamun’s Treasure*, 1951, pl. 8.

² The curious nature of this crown has given rise to some discussion. In *A Brief Discussion of the Principal Monuments* (The Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 1963), it is suggested that ‘the crown is one worn by Queens, e.g. Nefretete’.

The nose has a narrow bridge, flaring somewhat abruptly at the nostrils and has an apex or tip which is soft and rounded betraying a degree of immaturity. The mouth is wide but not excessively so. The lower lip is full to the extent that it suggests sensuousness. The lip rim, or line delineating the separation between the lips, is straight and horizontal with a distinct dip in the centre formed by the meeting of the tubercle of the upper and the groove of the lower lips. An important characteristic of this head which I believe to be present to a degree in all portraits of Tutankhamün is the distinct separation of sculptural mass of the cheeks and chin. The flesh of the cheeks to right and left frame a chin and mouth which have a unity of their own. This central unity is distinct and the transition to the jaws on each side is sharply marked. This wooden sculpture has ears that stand out from the head and are modelled in an especially plastic manner. The pierced ear lobes are particularly prominent. In more youthful representations some of these features are even more distinctly handled. The mature portraits have less distinction of parts, the roundness of childhood fat gives way to the subtle transitions of early manhood, but these features are generally to be found to a greater or lesser degree in every portrait of Tutankhamün.

Taking into consideration the fact that this is a wooden sculpture which may be based, as it seems to be, on direct intimate observation, that plasticity is obviously more easily achieved in wood, and that the examples with which I shall compare it are for the most part in stone, I shall attempt to show that a group of statues very much related to it are also related to the Cranbrook Amün and hence try to prove that this statue represents the pharaoh Tutankhamün in the guise of Amün, dating probably from his reign and not from that of Ay or Horemheb.

The fragmentary standing statue at Karnak lacks almost all of its central trunk. (In the reconstruction the head and shoulders are supported above fragments of the legs by a characterless cement block.) The subject is the god Amün. The inscription on the back pillar is recut for Horemheb, that is, an earlier inscription has been cut out and reworked. The decoration agrees generally with the four seated statues discussed. The crown of Amün and part of the plumes are preserved. The right arm is preserved enough to show the existence of armlets. The wide collar and part of the braces are still in evidence. On what is preserved of the lower part of one of the legs can be seen one anklet. The face agrees in the main with the wood and stucco from the tomb taking into account the unyielding character of stone and the purpose for which such a heroic-sized statue must have been intended.

This badly defaced statue at Karnak and the Cranbrook Amün are similar in facial details, treatment of upper body, and the dress of the god Amün. The inclusion on the Karnak statue of armlets and anklets suggests a variation in dress which I believe not to be significant and which I shall explain below.

The second object for direct comparison is a standing statue in Cairo, JE 38689 (also listed under JE 37518, $\frac{10}{24} \frac{6}{15}$), a statue described in the *Journal d'Entrée* as Tutankhamün or Amün complete in four fragments. This figure is also in hard white limestone. It is listed under the temporary location number as being 1.53 m. high, and

is a standing figure agreeing in general character with the Cranbrook Amūn as to the dress of this god. In addition there are armlets circling the upper arms and in each hand is held a *tyet* amulet. The ears of this figure are apparently not pierced. The face is again a good representation of the Tutankhamūn type, agreeing with the wooden model. On the back pillar of the statue is an inscription which includes one of the names of this king (the statue is not complete; the restoration is more noticeable on the back). The similar stone and scale argue a close connection between the four related seated statues already mentioned. The importance of this inscribed statue for establishing a date need hardly be stressed.

The third direct comparison is the Louvre statue no. 11609, Amūn protecting Tutankhamūn, suitably inscribed and as such forming another key piece of evidence for a representation of Amūn bearing what are probably the features of the king in the god's face (the head of the small figure of Tutankhamūn is unfortunately missing). The dress of Amūn agrees generally with that of the Cranbrook Amūn: head-dress, false beard, wide collar, braces, tightly pleated skirt, but armlets and anklets are missing. The ears are not pierced. There were bracelets, a trace may be seen on the right wrist. The features of this head of the god generally agree with the wood and stucco dummy from the tomb and with the Cranbrook statue.

The insistence in this paper on the details of the dress of Amūn began as an attempt to relate the Cranbrook statue to the criteria set forth by Cyril Aldred for Eighteenth Dynasty representations of this god.¹ He suggests as standard for the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the use of: the plumed crown, a corslet with an imbricated pattern and shoulder straps, broad collar, knee-length kilt, the corslet sometimes missing but the collar usually retained. In the post-Amarna period he adds wristlets and armlets and pierced ears, and in Ramesside times the addition of anklets is noted.

The following chart will show a certain inconsistency in these criteria but will allow identification of the Cranbrook statue as late Eighteenth Dynasty on the basis of unresolved iconography perhaps due to the lack of prototypes or the need for speed during the preparation of many Amūn statues after the end of the Amarna period.

Of the late Eighteenth Dynasty criteria suggested by Aldred it may be seen that the Cranbrook statue has the pierced ears, but not the wristlets or armlets, but the Louvre statue which is definite in its inscription has neither pierced ears nor armlets. The anklets given by Aldred as a Ramesside characteristic appear, as shown on one example, to be used as early as Horemheb, or earlier as the recut inscription suggests.

The statue most like the Cranbrook Amūn in dress is the one in the Louvre which is generally accepted from its inscription as dating in the reign of Tutankhamūn. On the grounds of similar detail of dress alone the Cranbrook statue might be safely said to date in the same period. Taken together with the evidence of the three strikingly similar statues inscribed (or recut) to Ay, and the striking resemblance to other representations known to be Tutankhamūn, the evidence becomes more clearly indicative of a date in the reign of this young pharaoh (and perhaps very near the end, because of the mature facial features).

¹ Cyril Aldred, 'The Carnarvon Statuette of Amūn', *JEA* 42 (1956), 3-7.

Chart II

	Karnak NE XVIII	Cairo JE 38689	Louvre 11609	The Cranbrook statue	Aldred's criteria
Attitude	Standing	Standing	Seated protecting Tut ^c ankhamün	Seated	Either standing or seated
Head-dress	Crown with plumes fragmentary	Crown with plumes	Crown with plumes	Crown, plumes missing	Crown with plumes
Ears pierced	Uncertain	No	No	Yes	Late 18th Dynasty
Collar	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Throughout 18th Dynasty
Braces	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Corslet with pat- tern and straps of 18th-Dynasty thought
Armlets	Yes	Yes	No	No	Late 18th Dynasty
Bracelets	(Lower arms gone)	Rudimentary perhaps unfinished	Yes	No	Late 18th Dynasty
Plaited beard	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Not discussed
<i>Tyet</i> buckle on belt of kilt	Portion missing	No	Uncertain	Yes	Occasionally during 18th Dynasty
Holding an <i>ankh</i> or <i>tyet</i>	Portion missing	Two <i>tyets</i>	Hands on each side of figure of Tut ^c ankhamün	<i>ankh</i> in left hand	<i>Tyet</i> at end of 18th Dynasty
Inscription	Recut to Horemḥeb	Tut ^c ankhamün	Effaced, but clearly Tut ^c ankhamün	None	Variable

SOME REMARKS ON THE STRUCTURE OF EGYPTIAN DIVINE TRIADS¹

By H. TE VELDE

ALTHOUGH the Egyptian word for triad rarely appears in Egyptian texts, the triad is undoubtedly a structural element of Egyptian religion.² We too often find traces in Egypt of the triadic ordering of gods to suppose it to be due to an illusion of modern scholars preoccupied with Christian trinitarian doctrine.³ A critical approach is needed, however; the triadic structure was not realized always and everywhere in Egypt. Neither is there much point in disqualifying the triad as a secondary religious phenomenon. Theological treatment of the religious tradition, such as grouping gods into triads, is no less an element of religion than certain aspects and developments of cult and devotion.

The triadic structure (or structural element) was used in Egypt to answer the problem of divine plurality and unity. The triad restricts plurality and differentiates unity, as every plural number does. In Egypt the triad was an extremely suitable structure for connecting plurality and unity, because the number three was not only a numeral, but also signified the indefinite plural. This is apparent, for instance, in hieroglyphic writing: to express the plural, an ideogram may be repeated three times or three strokes placed after the signs indicating a noun.

Thus the triad was a structure capable of transforming polytheism into tritheism or differentiated monotheism. Because of the nature of binary oppositions within the triad, its monistic tendency could not always be realized, and pluralism remained dominant in most cases. Monistic and pluralistic triads may be distinguished, with differently assembled inmates. One might reserve the term triad for the pluralistic triads and call the monistic triads trinities. The danger is, however, that in doing so one would lose sight of their connections, and would also no longer distinguish a main objection in Egyptian religion to monotheism. The breaking-point between the monistic and pluralistic triads, or a stumbling-block for monistic tendencies lies in sexual differentiation. In triads containing the binary opposition of male and female, the way from plurality to unity is obstructed.

¹ Paper read at the XIIth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions at Stockholm, Aug. 16-22, 1970. I do not pretend to have reached definite conclusions in this paper on the vast subject of Egyptian triads, but it may stimulate further research to publish it.

I thank Professors E. Anati, J. Bergman, J. Gwyn Griffiths, L. Kákosy, M. Heerma van Voss, and J. Zandee for their remarks and questions. Dr. J. Gwyn Griffiths read at the same congress a paper entitled 'Triune Conceptions of Deity in Ancient Egypt', and I thank him for his readiness to publish this paper in *JEA*.

² H. Kees, *Götterglaube*, 148-61; H. Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 251.

³ Cf. S. Sauneron in G. Posener et al., *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne* (Paris, 1959), 291: 'On peut même se demander si la notion de triade n'est pas une illusion des modernes . . .'.

We can distinguish (a) triads consisting of three gods or three goddesses, and (b) triads consisting of two gods and a goddess or one god and two goddesses. The triads containing both sexes usually have the family structure: father, mother, and child. When a family was placed in the triadic structure, the concept of a differentiated monad could not subsist, and it remained a pluralistic totality.

In the lesser temple of Abu Simbel there is a place where three Nubian gods are portrayed: Horus of Miam, Horus of Bak, and Horus of Buhen.¹ The three of them together represent the many Nubian deities. Actually the triad restricts this profusion by only comprising three gods. Since their names and iconography agree although their origins are different, these three Horus gods make the impression of being three local forms of one god. The tritheistic reduction of polytheism is mono- or henotheistic here. In the great temple of Abu Simbel, not three but four figures are carved in a central place: Amen-Rēꜥ, Rēꜥ-Ḥarakhte, Ptaḥ, and Pharaoh Ramesses II. The three gods form an essential representation of the many gods of the empire, and the pharaoh seems to represent the unity of this triad. And indeed, the great temple of Abu Simbel is named: House of Ramessesmeramūn.² By way of the triad, plurality moves to unity here, and vice versa, for in this temple to the unique pharaoh many gods are present in written or sculptured form. Elsewhere too we find that a god may be the unity of this triad. Thoth is called: 'The heart of Rēꜥ, the tongue of Tatenen (= Ptaḥ) and the throat of the Hidden of name (= Amūn).'³

Sometimes the starting-point is not plurality but unity, which is differentiated into three, that is into plurality. In the sun-god the rising sun Khepri, the midday sun Rēꜥ, and the setting sun Atum are distinguished, and these modalities are joined in the name Khepri-Rēꜥ-Atum.

The gods Ptaḥ, Sokaris, and Osiris could be conjoined and depicted as a single being: Ptaḥ-Sokaris-Osiris. The great majority of texts regard this composite god as singular. In a few cases, where the third person plural is used of him, he seems to be looked upon as a plural being.⁴

An excellent example of the triad not only as a triple, and so implicitly plural differentiation of unity, but particularly as a restriction of plurality is found in Pap. Leiden I, 350 IV, 21.⁵ The Egyptian scribe even uses the Egyptian word for triad:

The pantheon (*ntrw nbw*) is a triad who do not have their equal. Hidden is his name as Amūn. He is Rēꜥ in countenance. Ptaḥ is his body.

We note the changing inflexion for the number of the pronouns. The many gods—all the gods, says the text⁶—are summarized in a triad, an Egyptian plural. At the same time they are restricted to three gods. Referring to this passage, Gardiner⁷

¹ C. Desroches-Noblecourt and C. Kuentz, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel* (Cairo, 1968), I, 90; II, pl. civ.

² L. Habachi, 'Features of the deification of Ramesses II', *ADAIK* 5 (Glückstadt, 1969), 10, pl. vb.

³ *Opet*, 119 i, 167 c; *Urk.* VIII, 47 (58 b); C. de Wit, *Les Inscriptions du temple d'Opet à Karnak*, III (Brussels, 1968), 64, 95, 133, n. 262.

⁴ S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, 150.

⁵ J. Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350*, 87 ff.

⁶ If this translation is right. In his paper 'Triune Conceptions of Deity in Ancient Egypt', which he read at the above-mentioned congress, J. Gwyn Griffiths translated *nbw* as 'lords'.

⁷ *ZAS* 42 (1905), 36.

speaks of 'trinity as a unity' and Zandee¹ remarks: 'Amūn, Rē^c and Ptaḥ are regarded as one god.' By the aid of the triad, divine plurality is explained as a unity.

The examples of triads given so far were trinities. They all consist of male deities. Morenz² gives an example of a trinity consisting of three female deities: Qadesh-Astarte-^cAnat. He also mentions a triad containing one goddess: Atum, Shu, and Tefnut. He calls this 'eine Trinität des Werdens', and remarks: 'Wir sehen zwar die Einheit sich entfalten, aber der Grundakkord der Einheit wird nicht durchgehalten, der die Trinitäten erst zu dem macht, was sie sind.'³

Where the threefold differentiation comprises a differentiation of male and female divinities, no return to unity is possible any more. One god as indweller of another is a common conception in Egypt, for instance Atum and Rē^c, so that they are looked upon as the single god Atum-Rē^c. For the indweller of a goddess to be a god, however, or the other way round, is not possible. The union of man and woman is not restrictive but productive, and leads to the birth of the child. The triad Atum, Shu, and Tefnut, indeed, develops into an ennead. Mixed male-female triads are no trinities, and not monistic but pluralistic triads.⁴

Worship in the temples was not usually confined to a triad. The tritheism inherent in the triad, also in the pluralistic triads of mixed sex, was clearly felt as too much of a limitation. An ennead was worshipped, in which the triadic structure was sometimes plain to see. Such an ennead did not always consist of nine gods; there might be more or less. It was not a matter of a definite number of gods, but of undefined plurality. In the temple of Abydos there were seven chapels, for Osiris, Isis, Horus, Amūn, Rē^c, Ptaḥ, and the pharaoh. The Osirian triad, the triad of the empire, and the pharaoh together constitute a triad.⁵ The ennead of Karnak, consisting of fifteen gods, was

¹ *Hymnen aan Amon*, 87.

² S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, loc. cit.

³ S. Morenz, op. cit. 153 f. In the discussion after the paper was read J. Bergman remarked: 'Pap. Ebers 95, 8 stellt bekanntlich Isis als Mutter von Schu und Tefnut dar. Dahinter scheint eine Struktur von Urgöttin-erster Zweierheit (etwa als Parallele zu Atum-*is-ti*, CT Spell 261/ siehe Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 286 mit Anm. 3) zu stecken. Man denke an den Sagenkreis um *si-ti bit* „das Kinderpaar des Königs von Unterägypten“ (vgl. *Pyr.* 804c, 1017a und Sethe, *Komm.* Bd. IV, 30 f.). Hier sind wohl auch andere unterägyptische Muttergottheiten (vor allem Neith; vielleicht auch Bastet — vgl. die gewöhnliche späte Darstellung dieser Göttin als Katze zusammen mit zwei Kätzchen) in der Rolle einer einzigen Urgöttin-Muttergottheit aufgetreten.' In future studies on divine triads in Ancient Egypt it may be of interest to make further investigations into these 'Trinitäten des Werdens', consisting of one 'Urwesen' with a male son and a female daughter. Cf. also S. Sauneron, *Les Fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (Cairo, 1962), 111, § 6.

⁴ J. Bergman remarked: 'Wenn auch der Geschlechtsunterschied gewöhnlich für die Götteridentifikationen/ Zusammenschmelzungen eine nicht zu übertretende Grenze zu bilden scheint, zeugen die späten Spekulationen über Neith und Isis, nach denen diese Gottheiten zu zwei Dritteln männlich, zu einem Drittel weiblich sein sollen (siehe hierzu Sauneron, *Mélanges Mariette* (1961), 242 ff. ("Le créateur androgyne"), von einer auffälligen Einheit vom Männlich-Weiblichen. Diese aus drei Elementen bestehende Einheit kommt m. E. einer aus drei Gottheiten entstandenen Trinität sehr nahe.' These examples seem to be connected with the problems, as yet unsolved, about the above-mentioned 'Trinitäten des Werdens'. One might call the two-thirds male and one-third female goddess a preliminary stage in the 'Trinitäten des Werdens'. She is not yet a triad, nor even a trinity with three different names. As soon as the three parts in the goddess are given three different divine names the point of no return is reached, because of the male-female opposition.

Answering a question of J. Gwyn Griffiths on the difference between triads and trinities, we stress the point that trinities are monistic triads or 'tri-unities' and triads groups of three gods.

⁵ E. Otto, *Saeculum*, 14 (1963), 268 n. 48.

structured in three phases: 1 became 2, 2 became 4, 4 became 8, 15 altogether (1 + 2 + 4 + 8).¹ The ennead of Heliopolis was also structured in three phases: Atum became Shu and Tefnut; Shu and Tefnut became Geb and Nut; Geb and Nut became Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys. Thus the triadic structure of the ennead of Heliopolis is not 3×3 but $1 + 2 + 2 + 4$. To the one god, gods were added three times, that is many times. The ennead is unity and plurality together, like the quaternity in the temple of Abu Simbel.

Most pluralistic triads consist of father, mother, and child. As a rule, the child is a son. The most familiar example is Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Other examples are: Amūn, Mut, and Khonsu in Thebes; Ptah, Sakhmet, and Nefertem in Memphis; Montu, Rattawy, and Harprē in Hermonthis and Karnak; Horus, Hathor, and Harsomtus or Ihi in Edfu and Denderah; Atum, Bastet, and Horhekenu in Bubastis.

The deities of these triads are often named together in the texts and depicted together on the monuments, but they are never referred to in the singular, always in the plural form. Because of the male–female opposition they cannot be regarded as a trinity. The contrast of man and woman is not unified in the child because of its sexual differentiation. The binary opposition of father and mother is repeated in the opposition of mother and son.

The deities are summarized in a pluralistic triad: the family. This theological solution of the problem of divine unity and plurality corresponds to the Egyptian conception of man not as a lone individual, but as a member of society. This society was not the larger family, as we see from the comparative poverty of the Egyptian language in kinship terms. Neither did a local or social community take first place, though ties with town and nome were certainly felt; what counted was the small family unit. In Egyptian texts and visual material it is noticeable how important to the Egyptians were the relationships within the family unit, of man and wife, mother and child, father and son. As the family unit was so important in Egyptian society, we can understand that Egyptian theologians made use of the family to solve the problems of divine unity and plurality. It is remarkable that the divine family does not impair the triadic structure. Triads contain one child, and no more. The child, usually Horus the child, represents the pharaoh who is the ideal man. Where a triad is incomplete and a divine pair is worshipped, e.g. Khnum and Heket in Antinoë, we may suppose that the pharaoh or man forms the third member: Khnum is the creator of man. Examples of triads consisting of father or mother with two children are hardly to be found, apart from Atum, Shu, and Tefnut, which is a special case. The example given by Kees² of Hathor with Harsomtus and Ihi at Denderah is highly doubtful.

However important the family was in Egyptian culture, in itself the triad is a totality and a plural. Thus we find triads in Egypt that are not trinities, nor does the family structure seem to have been impressed upon them in order to preserve the aspect of unity.

¹ P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Ré à Karnak* (Cairo, 1962), 23.

² H. Kees, *Götterglaube*, 151.

There are several stelae from Deir el-Medineh bearing the figures of the Syrian goddess Qadesh with the Syrian god Resheph, and the Egyptian god Min.¹ The structure of this triad is problematic. In this triad consisting of a goddess with two companions, worshipped in a non-Egyptian milieu of Syrian immigrants, we must take into consideration a deliberate disturbance of the family structure. Though Min can be the son in a family triad,² this triad of Qadesh-Resheph-Min would rather seem to be a 'triad of sexuality', appearing in those Ramesside times when extra-conjugal erotic relations were not so suppressed as before.³

The family structure is also problematic in triads consisting of a god with a pair of goddesses: Khnum with Satis and Anukis, Montu with Iunyt and Tenenet. Sometimes such triads are formed by Osiris with Isis and Nephthys, or Horus with Isis and Nephthys, or Atum with Iusaas and Hathor-Nebet-Ĥetepet.

In the family triad of father, mother, and son the masculine element is doubled in father and son. This duplication does not always appear. It is resolved in the figure of Kamutef ('bull of his mother'). Min-Kamutef of Koptos is husband and son of Isis.⁴ It was suggested above that the son may sometimes be absent in a triad because the pharaoh or man took the place of third member. The conception of a divine pair without a son, or a goddess and her son without a father (Isis and Horus) was obviously regarded as incomplete. The triadic structure could be filled out by doubling the female component.

Duplication of a goddess or pairs of goddesses are often found in Egyptian religion: the two Ma'at goddesses, the two Meret goddesses, the two mistresses Nekhbet and Uto, the two sisters Isis and Nephthys, 'Anat and Astarte. Hathor is called angry as Sakhmet and gay as Bastet,⁵ while in the list of fifty-six goddesses at Karnak⁶ Bastet and Uto form a pair, as do Satis and Anukis and Iunyt and Tenenet. One may also name Mut and Sakhmet at Karnak, and Nebtu and Menhyt at Esna who according to Sauneron⁷ 'ne sont pas deux déesses, mais deux fonctions différentes d'une déesse'. In all these cases we have little or no indication as to the nature of the division.

Too little is known of the triad comprising the god Montu with the pair of goddesses Iunyt and Tenenet, to draw any certain conclusions.⁸ The two companions of Montu form part of the Ennead of Karnak, and appear in other connections also as a divine pair or as one goddess with a double name.⁹ A text speaks of the mother of Montu and one of his companions, but it would be too uncertain to conclude from this alone that the relationship of Iunyt and Tenenet was that of mother and daughter.¹⁰ The goddess Rattawy, female sun of the two lands, can replace Iunyt and Tenenet as

¹ Cf. R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*, 74, 118.

² L. Habachi, *MDAIK* 19 (1963), 44, fig. 21. Pharaoh Mentuhotep as the ithyphallic Min-Amun-Kamutef.

³ W. Helck, 'Zum Auftreten fremder Götter in Ägypten', *Oriens Antiquus*, 5 (1966), 9.

⁴ H. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 364.

⁵ H. Junker, *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien*, *APAW*, Phil.-hist. Kl. (Berlin, 1911), 32.

⁶ G. Legrain, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 280.

⁷ *BIE* 45 (1968), 47.

⁸ M. S. Drower in R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *Temples of Armant*, 1, 159; J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains*, 260 f.

⁹ E. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gau*, 89.

¹⁰ H. Wild, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 191.

consort of Montu. Her son is Harprē. Montu is also often called lord or king of the two lands. This is accentuated by the iconographical element which characterizes him: two uraeus-serpents on his forehead.¹ The name Iunyt means the 'Hermonthic' or 'Upper-Egyptian Heliopolitan' goddess. The name Tenenet can be connected with the god Tatenen and Lower-Egyptian Memphis. Perhaps this pair of goddesses represent the two lands of Egypt of which Montu is lord.

The duplication of the female complex in the triad of Elephantine, Khnum with Satis and Anukis, is according to Habachi² that of mother and daughter. A stela in Berlin names 'Satis mistress of Elephantine, Anukis the beloved of her mother, Khnum lord of the cataract region'. Elsewhere Anukis is 'favourite of her mother'. From these epithets of Anukis Habachi deduces that Satis is the mother of Anukis, and that the family structure was maintained in this triad, the only difference being that the child is not a son but a daughter. However, this difference is by no means slight. Although the position of women in Egypt was certainly not very subordinate, the ideal child was undoubtedly a son.³

In so far as could be checked, Anukis is nowhere else plainly described or portrayed as child and daughter of Khnum or Satis. Anukis is chiefly known as nurse of the king,⁴ and her name might mean wet-nurse (*snk*—to suckle).⁵ Apparently an Egyptian prince was usually not suckled by the queen, but cared for by an official nurse, while the actual suckling seems to have been done by other women.⁶ Thus the child with its mother and nurse was a familiar conception in Egypt. In mythology: Horus with Isis and Nephthys. If Anukis is the daughter of Satis, then she is not like Horus in the Osirian triad the representative or redeemer of her father, i.e. Harendotes,⁷ but her mother's helper. An Egyptian princess could take over certain functions from her mother, so that sometimes she was not only 'daughter of pharaoh' but also 'consort of pharaoh'. The 'divines adoratrices' of Amūn were daughters, but also consorts of the god.⁸ Habachi goes a little too far in pronouncing that the old theory that Anukis was one of the two consorts of Khnum 'has nothing to justify it'. That Anukis was Khnum's daughter need not always prevent her from functioning as consort. In the Theban tomb no. 73 Anukis is indeed the 'consort' of Khnum.⁹ As the opposition between male and female in the father, mother, and son triads is repeated in the mother and son relationship, so it is repeated here in the father and daughter relationship of Khnum

¹ J. Leclant, *Mélanges Maspero*, 1, 4, 78.

² L. Habachi, 'Was Anukis considered as the wife of Khnum or as his daughter?', *ASAE* 50 (1950), 501-7.

³ A. de Buck, *JÉOL* 11 (1949-50), 9 (stela of Taimhotep).

⁴ C. Desroches-Noblecourt and C. Kuentz, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, 1, 59; 188.

⁵ I concede to M. Heerma van Voss, who made an objection to this suggestion that the name Anukis might mean nurse, that indeed the Egyptian verb *snk* (causative of the verb **ink*, cf. E. Edel, *Altägyptische Gr.* 1, 1955, § 443) and the corresponding Hebrew verb do not show the *ayin* which is written in the name of Anukis (*cnkt*). There is, however, an Egyptian verb *cnk*, alternatively written *ink* (*Wb.* 1, 206, 2-3) and a verb *crk* (*Wb.* 1, 211) alternatively written *irk* (*Wb.* 1, 116). The Egyptian verb *ink*, 'embrace' etc. (*Wb.* 1, 100, 19 ff.) is written in Semitic *cnk* (M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique* (Paris, 1969), 91).

⁶ F. Jonckheere, *Aesculape*, 37 (1955), 203-23.

⁷ G. van der Leeuw, *Godsvoorstellingen in de Oud-Aegyptische pyramideteksten*, (Leiden, 1916), 85; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *JEA* 37 (1951), 32-7.

⁸ J. Leclant, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 169.

⁹ T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four 18th Dynasty Tombs*, 4.

and Anukis. It is noteworthy that in the father, mother, and son triads father and son do not form a pair as Satis and Anukis do. The son replaces the father, the daughter helps the mother and duplicates her. Although one of the Egyptian words for nurse (*rnmt*) can also mean virgin,¹ it does not become clear in how far the separation into mother and nurse also implies the separation into mother and virgin in the triad of Elephantine.

Comparative religion has shown that the duplicating of a goddess may comprise more than mother and daughter, mother and nurse, mother and virgin, older and younger woman. Careful study of Egyptian religious material will surely yield more findings. Female reduplication was at any rate popular in Egypt. Hence Egyptian theologians, unable to formulate divine unity through triads once male-female differentiation had been introduced, will have felt the need sometimes to express the female complex in a triad not only in the two functions of one goddess as mother and consort, but in two goddesses, because to them woman was not simple, but ambiguous.

¹ F. Daumas, *Les Moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien comparés dans les décrets du Canope et de Memphis* (Cairo, 1952), 236.

A CROSSWORD HYMN TO MUT

By H. M. STEWART

WHILE excavating in Karnak in 1817, Belzoni¹ discovered amongst a row of sphinxes 'parallel with the point of the temple'—his topography is far from clear—'a stone, irregularly shaped, but flat and smooth on the surfaces'. 'It is divided by lines', he said, 'into many little squares of half an inch, in each of which is a hieroglyphic', and he suggested that the piece 'might be of much service to Dr. Young in his undertaking of the discovery of the alphabet of the Egyptians'. It is unlikely, however, to have served such a purpose, and after a short time in the possession of Henry Salt, the Consul-General in Egypt, it was sold to the British Museum, probably during 1820–1.

Since then the stela (pl. XXIV), registration number 194, has remained unpublished except for extracts discussed by J. J. Clère² and J. Zandee³ and for brief notes elsewhere.⁴ In preparing the present edition⁵ use was made of the following additional sources: (a) a hand-copy of the inscription by S. R. K. Glanville, kindly lent by H. S. Smith; (b) S. Birch's copy and manuscript notes in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum; (c) the British Museum's official photographs, C. 178–81; (d) the Williams rubbings, vol. 4, 123–4, made in about 1840, and now in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.⁶

The stela, which is of limestone, survives as two conjunct fragments, together measuring 1·10 m. in height and 0·83 m. in width. Because of the present wall-mounting the outlines are difficult to examine, but portions of straight edge at the top and bottom suggest that the full height of the stela has been preserved. Much of the left edge remains, but the short vertical one on the right cuts through a column of squares, and is evidently the result of more recent trimming. The width of the grid, now sixty-seven squares, may originally have been about the same as its height, which is eighty squares.

In the top register (pl. XXV) is a line of at least nineteen deities in attitudes of adoration, and presumably facing a figure of Mut, now lost. Many of them are headless, and all are un-named, but of the last eleven figures one can identify (from right to left) Osiris, Isis, an erased god (possibly Seth), Nephthys, Horus, Hathor, a god, a goddess, Nekhbet(?), a pharaoh, and Seshat. While these are in incised relief, the right half of the row appears to be scratched only in outline. This difference may, however, be due to uneven surface wear, and is exaggerated in the photograph by the modern white filling which has been applied to improve legibility.

¹ *Narrative*, 162.² *Chron. d'Ég.* 25, 43 ff.³ *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle*, 5 ff.⁴ *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, 122 f.; S. Mayes, *The Great Belzoni*, 330.⁵ The writer is grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the monument, to Dr. I. E. S. Edwards, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, Professor H. S. Smith, Monsieur J. J. Clère, and Dr. C. F. Nims for their kind co-operation and advice, and to Miss Helen Murray for bibliographical help.⁶ R. L. B. Moss in *JEA* 27, 9.

Under the frieze is a line of rubric, inscribed from right to left, which provides information about the stela's provenance: ' . . . he¹ is the great [god] who adores this goddess. As to this writing, it is to be read three times.² Never was its like seen before; never was it heard since the time of the god.³ It is established in the temple of Mut, mistress of Ishru, forever like Rē^c eternally.' Belzoni's find cannot, therefore, have been far from its original site. The full significance of this rubric will be discussed after the main inscription has been described.

At the bottom of the stela (pl. XXVII) are slight traces of another line of hieroglyphs of the same size as those at the top, but possibly in the opposite direction on the evidence of one doubtful bird-sign. The line may have contained a personal dedication, for the only other clue to the owner—assuming that we are dealing with a private monument—is the name 'Paser, justified', which occurs apparently in isolation in the left margin (pl. XXVI). This graffito-like ascription seems oddly inappropriate for such a display piece.

The date is well established by the cartouches of Ramesses VI, which occur several times in the main text. In the *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, 122, these were erroneously attributed to Amenophis III, whose prenomen is somewhat similar.⁴

The hymn to Mut, which is the stela's principal feature, is inscribed from right to left, horizontally and vertically, in squares which measure about 12 mm. each, the signs being unusually small for a monumental inscription, and discouragingly so for one such as this. Although they are moderately well cut, definition at such a scale is not very precise, and the identification of damaged signs is often difficult. Fortunately, the transverse text provides useful clues and verification.

Including the present example, five such inscriptions are known, all containing hymns, and ranging in date from the reign of Amenophis IV to the Twenty-first or the Twenty-second Dynasty. Three are of the grid type,⁵ the others having the transverse text in a single, centrally placed column⁶ or in widely separated columns.⁷

Since crosswords and acrostics⁸ normally read in only two directions, the instruction 'to be read three times' in the rubric above is puzzling. It is true that both Clère⁹ and Zandee¹⁰ have 'sp 2', but close examination of the stela shows three clearly incised strokes, which had been partly obscured by the white filling. These were noted also by Glanville and Birch, although the latter miscopied them together with the sign above as the raying sun. Unless it was intended simply that the whole inscription should be read several times for proper appreciation, the possibilities would seem to be confined to the directions in which hieroglyphic inscriptions normally run, retrograde motion being obviously impracticable. There remain, therefore, only two likely methods: (a) vertically from the left, and (b) round the border. Of these the latter is

¹ The determinative of a god, probably Amen-Rē^c, precedes. *sv(t)* is the OE. indep. pron. 3rd pers.; Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 64.

² *ššw* as singular; *Wb.* III, 477. *r sp*; Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.* § 610 (8). See also Clère, *op. cit.* 57, n. 2.

³ I.e. primeval times.

⁴ Clère, *op. cit.* 44, n. 1.

⁵ (a) An example in the Theban tomb of Kheruef (no. 192), temp. Amenophis IV, mentioned prior to publication by courtesy of Dr. C. F. Nims; (b) Clère, *op. cit.* 45 f. (c); (c) the present example.

⁶ Zandee, *op. cit.*

⁷ Clère, *op. cit.* 35 ff. (A).

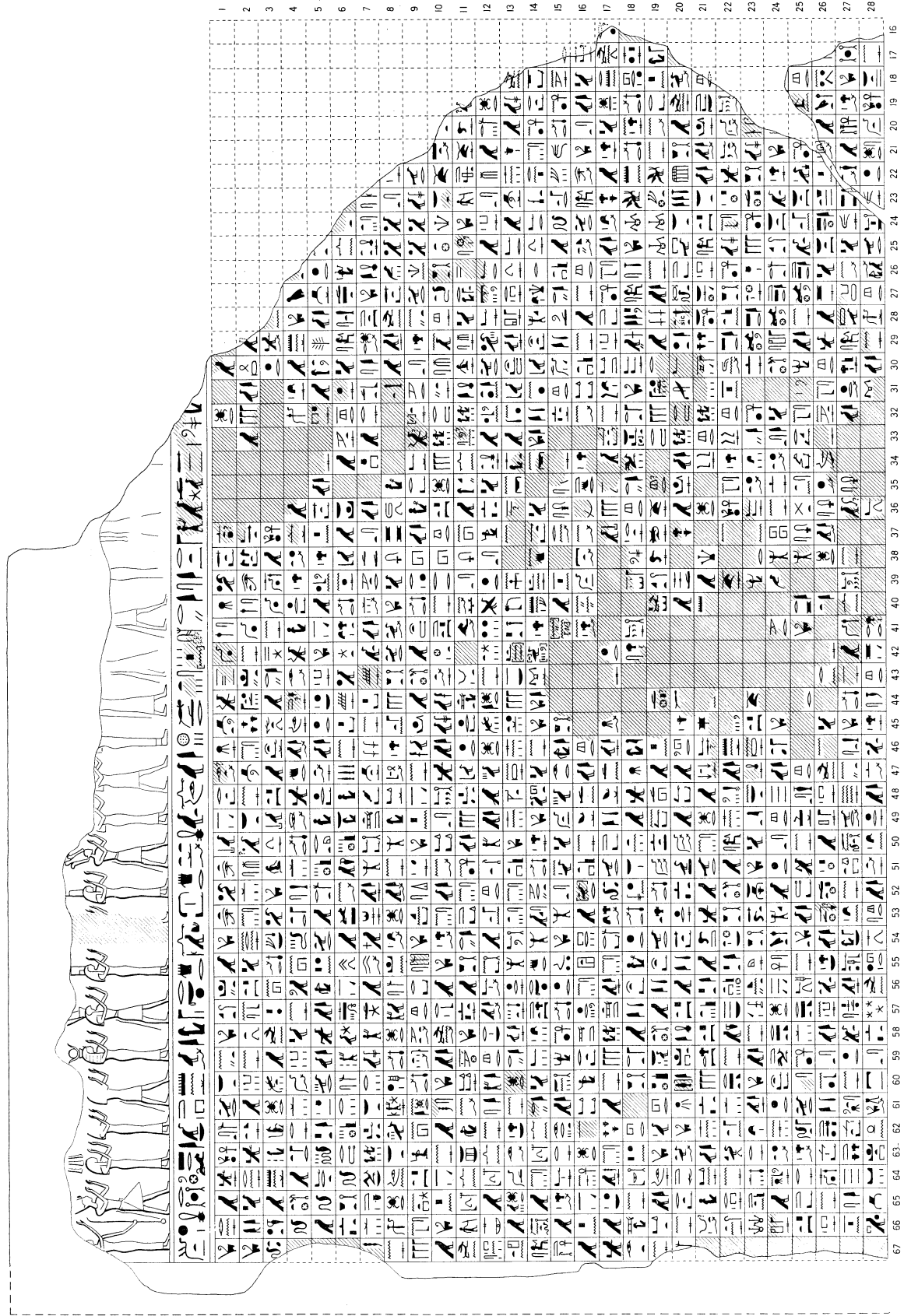
⁸ The latter term strictly concerns the extremities of lines (*ἄκρος + στίχος*).

⁹ *Op. cit.* 45, 57.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* 5 f.

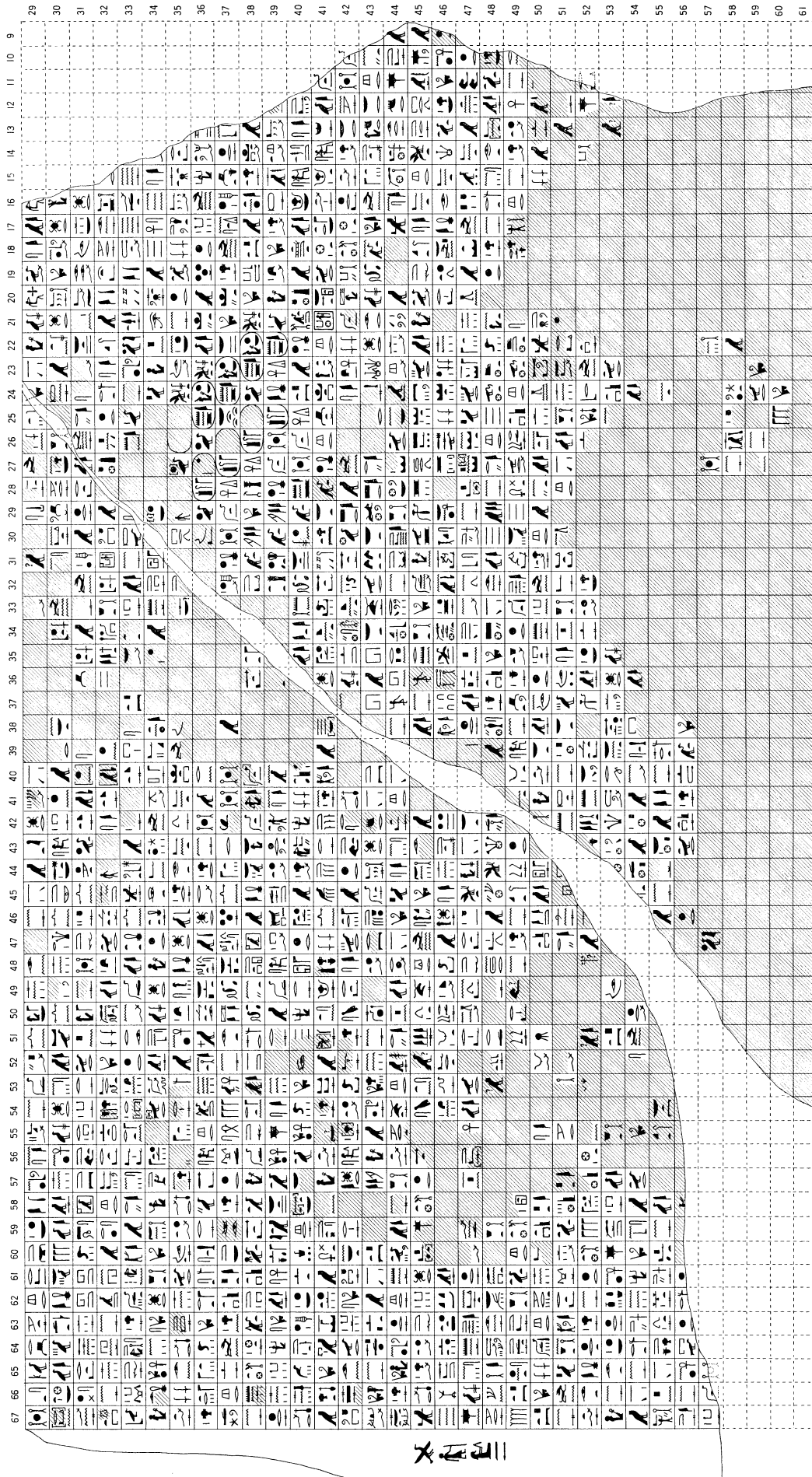


CROSSWORD STELA (Brit. Mus. 194)
Scale 1 : 5



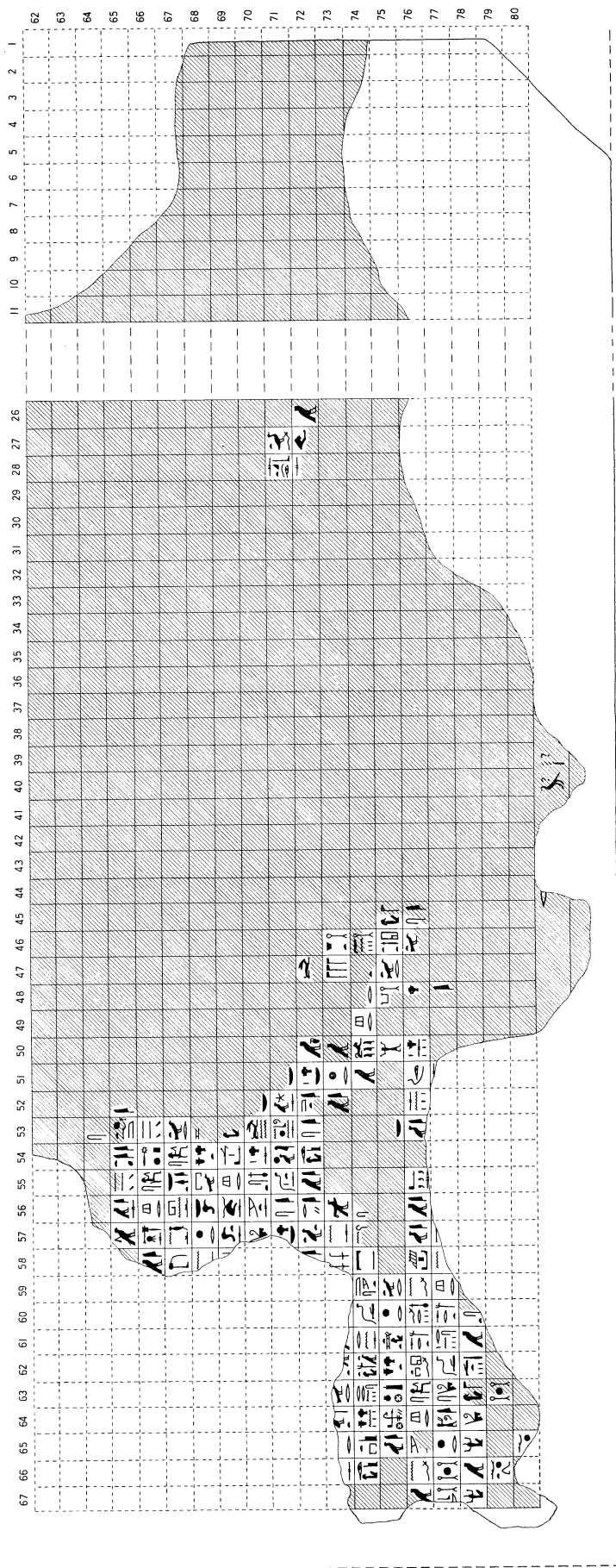
CROSSWORD STELA, UPPER PART

Scale 1 : 3



CROSSWORD STELA, MIDDLE PART
Scale 1 : 3

三三三三



CROSSWORD STELA, LOWER PART
Scale 1 : 3

the one which seems to stand the test, the top line and the left column reading continuously, so far as a lacuna near the top of the column allows one to judge. The fact that a line of rubric at the bottom perhaps runs from left to right would in itself hardly constitute a solution. Such elaboration of a style of composition already difficult enough may be explained by the fact that when this example was written, the crossword technique was at least 200 years old, and it may have been felt that a new twist in the form of a third mode of reading was needed in order to command attention.

Circumstances which aided the composition of such texts in Egyptian are fully discussed by Clère. In the one published here the following are the chief points.

(a) There was a tendency in ordinary writing to group signs in squares, which often contained complete words or word-groups (including suffix-pronouns, prepositions, etc.). Recombination of these units transversely was simpler than word-making from odd signs. With words occupying more than one square other uses of the component squares were often possible. In cases of difficulty, however, exact repetition could be resorted to, producing the diagonal arrangement which is particularly noticeable in the cartouches (pl. XXVI).

(b) Omission of vowels and occasionally of certain consonants, variation in sign-values, and graphical metathesis offered considerable adaptability in the transverse reading.

(c) The Egyptian hymnic style made it possible to string together epithets with only the loosest thematic connection.

(d) The present hymn is written almost entirely in the third person, a restriction which further simplified the problem of combining texts.

The difficulties were, nevertheless, formidable and far in excess of those involved in Egyptian and Asiatic¹ examples of the acrostic type. Long sentences and continuity of theme must have been extremely difficult to achieve, but since they do occur, it is possible that certain passages may have been drafted in advance at the expense of intervening material perhaps as a procedural technique.

As in many religious compositions of the New Kingdom the language is very largely Middle Egyptian with only slight elements of the later stage. Grammatical licenses are remarkably few and relate chiefly to word-order, as in the placing of the dative *n*+suffix after the subject in some non-verbal sentences expressing possession,² and in the occasional writing of the plural demonstrative after its noun.³ There is no cryptography. Obscurity would, in fact, have defeated the author's purpose, for in order to be effective a crossword or acrostic must be clearly seen to read in two directions.

Besides its obvious philological interest this text provides a useful store of information, titles, and epithets relating to a goddess whose qualities are little mentioned in inscriptions. By far the greatest emphasis is placed on attributes which Mut would appear to have assimilated from her consort Amen-Rē^c. References abound to her creation of all living things, her benevolence towards them, her manifestation as the

¹ For references see Clère, *op. cit.* 57 n. 1.

² E.g. *šhwt pt n s* (col. 67).

³ E.g. *wrw nn nw ts-ntr* (col. 23).

sun, and the universal rejoicing with which she is greeted in that form.¹ Her relationship with 'her father Rē^c' is, in fact, given much more prominence than her association with Amūn. Almost as frequently mentioned is her equation with the uraeus, the Lower Egyptian goddess Wadjet,² who protected Rē^c and the pharaoh. Identification is made also with Nekhbet,³ the tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt, and with Hathor⁴ and Neith.⁵ It is curious that there is little reference to Bastet and Sakhmet,⁶ to whom Mut had long been assimilated. This is in marked contrast to the liturgical hymns in Berlin papyri 3014 and 3053, where the Memphite influence of her father Ptaḥ and his consort Sakhmet is more apparent.⁷ Unusual before the Ptolemaic period is the mention of the goddess Atemit⁸ (the female counterpart of Atum), with whom Mut appears also to be identified.⁹

From a list, unfortunately incomplete, of cult-places of Amūn,¹⁰ inscribed in Luxor in the reign of Ramesses II, it seems likely that most of the major towns had guest-cults of the god and presumably of his consort. The title 'mistress of every city' given to Mut in the present text¹¹ may, therefore, have been more than purely honorary. Several places are, in fact, named here as cult-centres of the goddess. They include the twin cities of Pe and Dep,¹² where she was identified with the local goddess Wadjet (see above), the neighbouring Chemmis,¹³ and probably Sambeḥdet.¹⁴ Although the last two were associated primarily with Horus, Sambeḥdet certainly had a temple of the Theban triad.¹⁵ Mut is also described as mistress of Saïs¹⁶ (being assimilated to Neith) and of Crocodilopolis,¹⁷ both of which appear in the Luxor list.

The passage 'She smites the rebels who cross her lake of Crocodilopolis'¹⁸ seems to refer to the Libyan incursions which were increasing during the Twentieth Dynasty.¹⁹ Otherwise, the conventional allusions to foreign tribute²⁰ give no hint that Egypt's power was declining.

Translation of the horizontal text

1. . . . offerings(?), great of sunlight, who illumines [the entire(?) land with]²¹ her rays. (She is) his eye(?), who causes the land to prosper, the glorious eye of Ḥarakhti, the ruler (fem.) of what exists, the great and powerful mistress, life being in her possession in her name of

2. . . . in the circuit.²² The gods are in . . . great of might. (Her) eye has illumined the horizon. (As to) the Ennead, their hearts are glad because of her, the mistress of their joy(?)²³ in this her name of Heaven, for the spirits go forth within it because of her in this²⁴ her name of

3. . . . with him . . . who lives as the luminary. The Two Lands and the netherworld thereof are

¹ Cf. Stewart, 'Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns of the New Kingdom' in *Bull. Inst. Arch.* 6, 34 ff.

² For this identification and others cited below see Bonnet, *Realexikon der äg. Religionsgeschichte*, 491 ff.

³ Ll. 30-2, cols. 32, 34, 35.

⁴ Ll. 31, 38, col. 47.

⁵ Col. 27.

⁶ L. 39, cols. 31, 32.

⁷ *Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, I: *Rituale für den Kultus des Amon und für den Kultus der Mut*, Taf. 43-52.

⁸ Ll. 11, 40, 75, cols. 18, 44, 61.

⁹ Col. 61.

¹⁰ Daressy in *Rec. trav.* 32, 62 ff.

¹¹ L. 22.

¹² E.g. ll. 23, 26, 51.

¹³ E.g. ll. 18, 19, cols. 23, 45.

¹⁴ L. 26, col. 53.

¹⁵ Gardiner in *JEA* 30, 41 ff.

¹⁶ L. 21, col. 27.

¹⁷ Col. 34.

¹⁸ L. 46.

¹⁹ Černý in *CAH* II, ch. 35 (= fasc. 27), 13 ff.

²⁰ E.g. l. 47, cf. Černý, op. cit. 11 f.

²¹ Restore square 43/1 as *t; tm(?) m*. (In references to squares the column number precedes the oblique, and the line number follows it.)

²² I.e. of the sun or the horizon.

²³ *ms*, *Wb.* I, 11.

²⁴ Read 65-6/2 as *pwj*.

light because of her, when she has appeared in the sky. When she goes forth, all good plants are born. She who rises early, existing in a multitude of forms,¹ enduring as the nurse²

4. . . . the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt being established on her head. . . . is light . . . as the sole one in the presence of Rē̄. For he sees her [might(?)] (just as) she sees by means of him, since he knows³ her majesty's beauty. The goddesses shout for her: food and provisions for her, the goddess in Thebes, the goddess(?) . . .

5. . . . and being extensive. Emmer is heaped up within it. . . . The greatness of this one⁴ shines in the land for her spirit every day. Furthermore, her father Rē̄ is in mighty Karnak with the great one who breathes(?)⁵ there. Then the princes of the land, the harîm and the uraeus are in . . .

6. . . . There are not many who desert⁶ her majesty. She is a noble one. When she shines, the land possesses love of her, . . . the mistress of the horizon at her beautiful rising at dawn. She has received the insignia of Rē̄, lord of the thrones. He receives rejoicing as he traverses the land, and the praises and adorations of the high-ranking and of mankind. The mistress who rests . . .

7. . . . They follow her likeness, (she being) like him who crosses the sky, his manifestation indeed, who shines within . . . She grants what he wishes. Mut has received these gifts. All animals rejoice at her. She rests between his brows,⁷ while everyone worships him. The people and all mankind are joyful of heart.

8. . . . millions flourish. The great one who exists in it as the majesty . . . Rē̄, who travels the Lakes of Fire⁸ for his great daughter, mistress of the gods, this goddess who is upon his breast. The god gives rejoicing to her who is with him, he who came into existence (by) himself. She who is beneficial(?)⁹ to the mighty one, who adores the manifestation, happy of lifetime. All the people worship her, when (her) form is seen. She has caused to flourish

9. . . . He is great, flourishing because of the great one, who is on the throne which she loves. Rē̄ is just(?). It is a happy day, she having appeared in Thebes, when she has protected this land for her son. She gives victory to the mighty one, who possesses what he loves, his years being happy of events. There is rejoicing¹⁰ (from) heaven to the netherworld. The gods are well.

10. . . . [great of(?)] dignity, mistress of Lower Egypt, lady of the uraeus, it being subject to her. Mankind and the gods are her offspring. When heaven came into being, she rested in heaven, the city of her father. She who protects him with her person. There are given to him their praises¹¹ concerning him, to Horus of Libya.¹² He exists there, for she has made pleasant this land . . .

11. . . . fear of her and awe of her in the palace. The chief of her city(?) and the Two Lands(?). She is the goddess who bore them like the people who are begotten. There is no form who escapes her flame. Those were before him . . . which Atemit, Rē̄ and Geb began. (As to) mankind and the gods, their lives are of her giving, the mistress with her offering for Egypt. She gives him praise, the lord of the *sed*-festival, without ceasing. The great one, who exists

12. . . . form, mighty of births. Her spirit is in the sky(?).¹³ She gives sunlight, the great one of the sun-disk, which shines as this her likeness. When she goes to rest, there is praise of her by the prim-
eval ones. Khepri, numerous of forms, adores her; Horus is in praise. There is prosperity under

¹ The first determinative of *hprw*, 62/3, resembles an ass or the Seth animal squatting with forelegs in the air, a representation both unusual and difficult to explain. It may perhaps refer to the ability of Seth and his followers to assume the forms of many different kinds of animal; see J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth*, 101 ff.

² *hnmntt*, *Wb.* III, 294, *h* interchanging with *h*, cf. *Wb.* III, 381.

³ *cm*, *Wb.* I, 184.

⁴ I.e. Rē̄.

⁵ *hnp*, *Wb.* III, 290 f.

⁶ *dšt* a variant of *tš*, *Wb.* v, 329 (10).

⁷ I.e. as the uraeus.

⁸ A place in the solar mythology; see Altenmüller in *ZÄS* 92, 86 ff.

⁹ A pun on *hî*, 'horizon'.

¹⁰ *nh*(?), cf. 37/11-12. Perhaps a metathesis of *hmv*.

¹¹ *i(i)w*, cf. 50/11-12 and 63/51.

¹² An epithet referring to his warrior nature. See Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 312.

¹³ Cf. *crvt*, *Wb.* I, 209.

this goddess, who is with his arm¹ together with him. Everyone is in praise of her ceaselessly, while making festive their houses.

13. . . . She² is in their hearts, they being glad when she ascends to her abode, her temple. She has appeared and has shone as the woman of gold . . . of best pure silver. All lands give her their divine property in her name, and their standards of their places. They rejoice for her and her beauty which belongs to her. Everyone comes into existence through her when he is created, say the living in this temple.

14. . . . who opens and causes them to live. She who is young rises behind, high of crown. She shines as gold . . . the sole one when she placed plants on the entire land. The apes chatter to her because of her kindly face, the beloved one, who has been exalted since (primeval) times in heaven. Her ancestors are endless. (She is) the noble uraeus

15. . . . for she loves life. The lotuses of the goddess are beautiful in her abode. The estate is put in peace . . . her flame. His name . . . This land is in [greeting(?)] . . . the mistress. O ye creatures, it is an eternity for her son, high of crown, who sees by means of (her) beauty. Millions live, and acclamations are made for her. Her hand is upon him with life and prosperity.

16. . . . She is the great one(?). She is³ his noble *wedjat*-eye, the great one who is before him, and who is under the king as the throne.⁴ She who gives to him . . . when he sails across his sky eternally. Greeting to his face . . . She represents the throne in the dwellings of their temples. All voices give praise. She who gives . . . and it comes to pass that they⁵ live. This land is in

17. . . . He⁶ is one who knows that which passes away from what endures. It is those things which come into existence because of her that are in the midst of his head. Health and life are in the possession of her spirit, they having been given with governance to her, the sole one(?) . . . the gods. She who traverses . . . when he shines. She is represented by the uraeus which is upon his head. They are strong through her; all men and gods belong to her, their hearts being content every day among

18. . . . her action. The day is beautiful because of her beautiful face. Chemmis is enduring through this noble papyrus-sceptre which is in her hands, because of the goddess, mistress of mankind. The common people thereof are subject to her utterance. The queen(?) of God's Land . . . Her body . . . the light which is amongst you. The lord Khons is happy, also Rē⁶, when she has appeared as the goddess and mistress . . . this day of festival for her. Atum makes⁷

19. . . . this god. He has given her Chemmis and Upper and Lower Egypt. To her belong these things which . . . the Ennead, gods and men . . . possessing respect, fear and dread of her, the ruler of Punt . . . Dep(?), this . . . in allotting offerings and provisions. The kindly of face, the great one, who has appeared in Thebes. The lords of Heliopolis are glad at seeing her there. There is given to her

20. . . . his daughter. She is the mistress of the columned hall, the lady of the Per-wer⁸ in company with Neith. She who distributes the goods which [he] gives, the leader of mankind. Her protection is in the midst of . . . She who puts fear in . . . , she who satisfies the heart, it being content with what is allotted⁹ as provisions and offerings by her. She who is great in heaven like the horizon. Sunrays belong to his daughter, since power has been given to her.

21. . . . possessing protection. She is guarded by him. The house of the mistress of heaven is noble. The lady of Saïs, the mistress of life, who is in the midst of God's Land. [Mankind] and the

¹ Also in col. 56, cf. Horus's epithet, *tm:-r*, 'strong of arm', 52/25.

² *sw* = suffix *s*. Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.* § 74.

³ In 21/16 *n* = *m* of equivalence. Erman, op. cit. § 467.

⁴ See further in the same line, and cf. the personification of the throne by Isis: Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 102.

⁵ For the same metathesis of the suffix *sn* see 62/24.

⁶ I.e. Rē⁶.

⁷ *hr* omitted before the infinitive.
dhn.

⁸ On the Per-wer see Gardiner in *JEA* 39, 24 f.

people are under her feet . . . breath. She whose associates were great when they came into existence. The great one among the people in Karnak. Heaven, the firmament and the gods are content. Rē^c has given her his crown . . .

22. . . . His members, his body and his limbs are in Pe. He is hale. The mistress of the throne of Ishru lives. He has placed¹ this land under her feet for the health and life . . . awe of her . . . which are established there, while their noble majesties are in Thebes. (She is) the mistress of every city. Karnak and the whole of the Two Lands are filled with joy. (As to) this goddess, when she enters her temple, she rules . . .

23. . . . She is the mistress of Dep. The gods of her city of Ishru live. She rests . . . the living, when she gives(?) . . . millions . . . the august one of heaven because of her name. She is the likeness(?) of the lady of justice,² the lady of joy, great of dread, mistress of her harîm, foremost in the south. To her belongs the red crown through her, the first indeed of beauty in the places of Upper and Lower Egypt . . .

24. . . . to her face. Mut, mistress of heaven, mighty ruler in Ishru, her Theban temple . . . when she goes to rest. For her there are lamentations in millions . . . for the goddess. The lands are under her and under Horus, high of white crown, who causes the Two Lands to live. Joy occurs among the people, when she appears to them,³ and when she shines in her temple . . .

25. . . . living of soul, mistress of heaven, this goddess Mut in Ishru. To her belong a million years of health. (Her) enemy has been thrown to her fire. Rejoicing . . . water⁴ of . . . possessing favours, which Horus, strong of arm, has established for her. The red crown belongs to her.⁵ Joy arises that she lives. The great one,⁶ the goddess, is over him in the sky . . .

26. . . . the flagellum, the white crown being upon this his [head]. Mistress of the Two Lands and of Ishru, lady of heaven. He whom she loves is one possessing health because of her love. Her [enemies] have been destroyed. They have been burnt⁷ by him. . . . Her house and temple are in Pe, Dep, and Sambēdet(?). Everyone is united to her spirit. She shines in the sun-disk, the sole one. She has illumined her temple . . .

27. . . . an eternity in his sight; life, stability, and prosperity in his favour. It is she who spits out⁸ for him the food of the ocean.⁹ Her Horus-throne is noble under him. . . . Her heat(?) has parched(?)¹⁰ (their) bodies. There is no destruction in her land, which is happy because of her majesty, and which is loyal to her.¹¹ (She is) his great one of the uraeus and the throne. To her belongs the head of every god,¹² she having been provided¹³ with it. When Mut shines, sunbeams fall for her, the sole one in the midst of the lands. Behold, this land . . .

28. . . . for her, the lady of the Two Lands, living forever, who causes to come into existence and spits out the Nile, which is great of offerings and possesses happiness because of her. There are united. . . . The blossoms of the lake possess her sweetness. Her face is fair when he goes to rest there with her, the chief one of her father there, who possesses her. He who spends the day and the hours that she may be happy. He who is over the earth reaches the circuit of the horizon and the mountains. He who is extensive of shrine . . .

29. . . . a child there. Behold, his daughter; she is the child of Rē^c and the land for years. These . . . the land and its plants. Justice comes into being in the land. To her belongs . . . which every

¹ *rdî:nf*; Zandee, op. cit. 7 (ac).

³ For the same metathesis of the suffix *sn* see 64/16.

⁵ On the word-order see p. 89.

⁶ *rs* is the participle.

⁸ See also l. 28 and cols. 23, 24. Cf. the spitting out of Shu and Tefnut by Atum, *Pyr.* 1652; Faulkner in *Ex Oriente Lux*, 18, 266 ff.

⁹ Cf. l. 36.

¹⁰ *wj*, *Wb.* I, 244.

¹¹ *hr* omitted before *mw:f*.

¹² I.e. in her role of uraeus.

¹³ The determinative confused with that of *rbj*, 'glitter'. Or perhaps the phrase is to be rendered 'which glitters by means of her'.

² I.e. Ma^cat.

⁴ *ir(t)*, *Wb.* I, 106.

⁷ *h(n)f*, *Wb.* III, 291.

god made for them. He is no evildoer, one says to her. He is true of reckoning. She shines every day as gold. The land is placed entirely in possession of her love for ever.

30. . . . the king. It happens that he shines in her person (She is) the manifestation of the king in her name of Mistress. To everyone belongs her love. The gifts which they(?) give . . . Nekhbet is . . . for the mistress . . . in her noble abode. Everyone is in festival. Their utterance is not mournful . . . There is no sadness amongst them. Indeed,¹ it happens that they live through her. All the gods and every city [give]

31. . . . all forms. His eyes see the turquoise . . . of the mistress of the Two Lands. . . . thereof that she may exist. What is given to her is a lifetime. She exists . . . as Nekhbet . . . that her nostrils may breathe. The daughter of Rēꜥ, beloved of Rēꜥ. She has no equal, since eternity belongs to her and this god. She is indeed² great of spirit in her temple as the foremost in heaven, Hathor, whom the people extol. Their shouts and their voices cause him to be deaf because of her.

32. . . . the Nile. She had done what she wished, having appeared as the ruler, the mighty one indeed with him of the two banks. Heliopolis . . . within Memphis. Nekhbet, mistress of the chapel, the protector of the Two Lands . . . that her nostrils may breathe . . . the chief one of provisions(?), the sole and great one on earth. These coils of the uraeus are in the midst of the offerings. The arms belonging to the palace are in jubilation³ because of her. They rejoice because of her. The throne

33. . . . her moisture(?) and her perspiration⁴ have flowed over the two banks. Her charm is the light which shines because of her. The son of Amūn . . . the ocean. To her belongs her temple . . . his mistress(?) . . . heaven. She . . . her harīm . . . as what is desired⁵ from her. There is not its like, he has said concerning what is done by our mistress. (As to) the temple (personnel) of this goddess, their arms are in adoration at what is said concerning her, they being cared for in her company, when (their) spirits have joined Geb.⁶

34. . . . indeed, the water. She who causes the lands to live by means of her sun-rays. This *wedjat*-eye of Rēꜥ . . . every day . . . her temple being her abode, enduring as . . . the sun-disk. Just is her temple, (where) he spends the hours. The Beautiful One⁷ is her likeness, says Rēꜥ. He is one who comes into existence in health through her. The great serpent⁸ . . . and the Ennead are in adoration, jubilation, and praise for the mistress. They have come into existence and live as Rēꜥ has done.

35. . . . who gives sun-rays. His body joins that of his mother, one says to her every day. He sees the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Neb-Maꜥat-Rēꜥ, Mery-Amūn], son of Rēꜥ, [Ramesses (VI)], the great one, who goes forth . . . The horizon is beautiful when she goes forth. Her face is beautiful. There exists no one like her on earth. She who lives by the might of her word. The goddesses . . . to her kindly face, when she is seen, their great one with her good name(?). Her father has done these things

36. . . . his office (for) millions of years. The spirits are under the protection of Ḥarakhti. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neb-Maꜥat-Rēꜥ, Mery-Amūn, son of Rēꜥ, [Ramesses (VI)], son of Rēꜥ, just . . . for ever. To her, indeed, belongs authority,⁹ she having become as one who advances, the lady of contentment, the sole one who makes the food¹⁰ which the waters contain, Mut, who possesses riches. How great, indeed, is her majesty, the mighty one, the goddess of mankind. Goddesses and gods

37. . . . health under her, happiness, and a lifetime of her giving. Her face is propitious to the lord of the Two Lands, Neb-Maꜥat-Rēꜥ, Mery-Amūn, lord of diadems, [Ramesses (VI)], given life

¹ *sw(t)*, enclitic particle implying contrast; Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 254.

² *rs* is the particle.

⁴ See also col. 16. For a reference to the Nile as the sweat of Osiris see Erman in *ZÄS* 38, 30.

⁵ *ꜥbt*.

⁶ I.e. after burial.

⁷ I.e. Hathor, *Wb.* 1, 190.

³ *nḥm*, *Wb.* II, 285.

⁸ *ꜥdft*, *Wb.* v, 633.

⁹ Cf. *rdi ḥr n*, *Wb.* III, 127.

¹⁰ *wnmt*, cf. l. 27.

for ever and ever like Rē̄. His lifetime . . . for ever and ever. [Her] power exceeds that of (other) goddesses. She is unique,¹ she who advances, the lady of contentment, the goddess who perceives what she has made. (As to) the living and the gods, their entire protection is under her charge, she who is vigilant as the mistress of Karnak. The face of her who exists (continually) is happy through praise.

38. . . . in his horizon. Her face is the sun in the sky in the morning for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neb-Maꜣat-Rē̄, Mery-Amūn, son of Rē̄, [Ramesses (VI)], given life, stability and prosperity, for him who is beloved of Mut, who gives . . . the great goddess . . . for ever and ever. The lord² of all, like Hathor in the temple, who is the mighty goddess. The land is in praise³ of this goddess, when Rē̄ says: She is the great one, glorious of throne in the abode of Mut, her city of Thebes, which endures because of her.

39. . . . his body. It is his⁴ custom to make pleasant her name with him for his chief. The son of Rē̄, beloved of Amūn, given life like the god, ruler of Thebes for ever and ever like Rē̄, beloved of Mut, Sakhmet, and Bastet . . . of Horus. One invokes and speaks before her form within his noble abode. What is said by their mouths: [Give] us, indeed, the breath of life. The mistress of the Two Lands in truth. (As to) the divine offerings, she lives by means of them. To her belong millions, their spirits being under her.

40. . . . in their hands. She rests upon the brow of the lord. Atemit is in Heliopolis, and Mut is in Thebes like Rē̄ in heaven, who is given life for ever and ever. The beloved of Amūn and mother of Khons, the mistress of the Two Lands, goddess of the uraeus . . . [Horus], son of Isis. These millions of cares⁵ are upon him in the Ennead and in the temple. Millions of lands awake, and men see and live. (She is) mistress of all that exists under her. The spirits are happy every day of their period of millions of years. Their goodly power.

41. . . . for ever. She rests upon the brow of her father, the god who is lord of the great city, the lord of the temple of Memphis, which possesses his sacred image. She who is rich of possessions like Rē̄, Mut, mistress of heaven, ruler of the Two Lands, great of dread, foremost in the Ennead. She who came into existence. . . . All lands are in praise of her face for tens and hundreds of thousands of years. These things⁶ would not be in the midst of Heliopolis except for her. She honours Horus. She presents her face . . . her father Rē̄ . . . with burnt offerings of things from God's Land in the house of her who is kindly of face in

42. . . . for ever and ever, for she loves the lord because of his face, her father Rē̄ of the city of Thebes, the magician who knows eternity. These who live upon the earth indeed . . . existing in Ishru, great of might, foremost of the Thebans(?), resting as queen(?) . . . goodly of . . . being foremost of voice(?) among the great gods. The white crown is placed upon her. [She causes(?)] dread before her noble face. Khepri . . . her utterance, the mistress of her residence. To her belong the spirits, the great one, born of the lotus(?)⁷ within

43. . . . which is under the lord of eternity, namely the king of the gods, who exists for Mut, the goddess. It is she who makes the forms of Upper and Lower Egypt, her majesty . . . of Ishru, mistress of power, great of majesty, lady of the war-cry. . . . in heaven and (on) earth, since her members came into existence, her body being the light⁸ of tens of thousands in the sky, when . . . She illumines our faces, when she shines as Rē̄, who is loved . . . Heaven and earth are in peace, when she shines, she having joined his bark.

¹ (*hr-*)*hw-s*.

² Determined by a male deity, but perhaps with general sense.

³ *i:(z)*.

⁴ I.e. the king's.

⁵ *ry*, *Wb.* 1, 169. For similar references to a deity's burdens see the hymn of Suty and Ḥor, *Brit. Mus.* 826 (Fecht in *ZÄS* 94, 25 ff.), also Faulkner in *Ex Oriente Lux*, 18, 269 f.

⁶ Cf. use of the demonstrative without noun in *Camino*s, *L. Eg. Misc.* 136 f.

⁷ An apparent equation with Nefertem.

⁸ *cb* or perhaps *m-cb*, 'among', with wrong determinative.

44. . . . who brings breath, since she made Upper and Lower Egypt. It is she who . . . with its districts, which belong to it, as the great mistress of . . .¹ and every region, mistress of the sea, when she travels the regions of Egypt this day. The [people] of the land jubilate for her, bearing this which they give to the land. He knows that this land of hers is protected(?) by her, it possessing awe of her, who is loved by her father. (She is) the mistress. To her belongs the land, it having been established under her by her. Rē̄c shines through her face. The night-bark

45. . . . as the sweet breeze which goes forth from her mouth. The queen who possesses beauty, she indeed who rules along with his daughter² of Rē̄c there, and the great ones who have authority over the hill-countries and the deserts. She who travels the seas and the ocean of Rē̄c, for he has said on behalf of the mistress in order that praise of her may endure there . . . in making praises to her image. Moreover, respect exists of her who travels her country. Horus(?) causes her crown to be honoured . . . the great one in Thebes, the breath of the people. The spirits come into being in his following.³ His kindly face . . .

46. . . . life to everyone. Lower Egypt is pleasing and beautiful like the mistress of Punt as a result of the actions of their. . . . These foreign lands and these vile enemies of the sea . . . the lord of life. She smites⁴ the rebels who cross her lake of Crocodilopolis. The vizier of the land. The exultations of the Thirty⁵ and the praises . . . the primeval one of the Two Lands as their king. Indeed, her form is the protector before him. Her feet open up (territory). Her uraeus is above us . . . with her, who eats⁶ the offerings, who drinks the water

47. . . . under your chiefs with myrrh of Punt, which they have brought. (As to) the goddesses of God's Land and these great ones of the hill-country of Byblos(?), their people belong to her, who are in it, whom he has sent from this land that she may be pleased. . . . is under her, . . . the mistress of the land, the queen of the land. What is given when travelling he brings by hand . . . the great one. [One] lives because of her. This land . . . nostrils . . . by her, for it has been placed in them that they may endure. She is the breath of

48. . . . Everyone is pleased through her, their beautiful one, who is mighty of her countenance for them(?), say(?) . . . Neith, the people of Egypt, the desert and the lands subject thereto. To her belong the sea and the lands. She has made the land a garden for her pleasure, a praised place⁷ in . . . the marshes of Chemmis, in the state of traversing . . . her feet . . . the mistress . . . of the Northern Shrine,⁸ the lady of the lotuses. She has made the papyrus and the fruit tree through her wish.

49. . . . Life belongs to her in his presence. To her belongs property. There is rejoicing in the midst of . . . Egypt and the desert are under the place of her feet. (She is) his great one, the flame of all lands and of the foes who are in them. Words spoken to his mistress, her heart being glad because of them: Noble is the crown . . . under her feet. She has ruled because of him. To her belong . . . the action(?) of her feet . . . the temple of Thebes also.⁹ Gracious is the mistress, who bears with her hand¹⁰ the supports of the sky.¹¹

50. . . . She is content with these . . . splendour, with the bound ones which have been brought to this goddess, who is under the care of her father. She whose spirit exists (forever) because her temple endures, and the mistress sees by means of it her father Rē̄c. . . . her temple there in the place . . . Karnak, their beloved . . . by means of the words spoken. These things belong to heaven

¹ A geographical term or place-name with hill-country determinative.

² I.e. Ma'at.

³ *m-ht:f*; Clère, op. cit. 53.

⁴ *k* substituted for *k* in *ski*.

⁵ On the Thirty (judges) see Zandee, op. cit. 43.

⁶ Read as *wmm*; *Wb.* I, 320.

⁷ *shsy* does not seem to be recorded as a place-name.

⁸ I.e. of Neith in Saïs. See Sethe in *ZÄS* 44, 27 f.; Schott in *Rev. d'Ég.* 19, 99 ff.

⁹ Read as the adverb *gr*; Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 205. For confusion of *𓄀* and *𓄁* see 49/24-5; Clère, op. cit. 54.

¹⁰ For the use of adverbial expressions before the object see Gardiner, op. cit. § 507, 2.

¹¹ A role usually attributed to Shu; see Faulkner, loc. cit.

51. . . . who causes them to be captured for the mistress. The land possesses . . . gifts, which the hands of the mistress of this land give. Behold, the aspect of the mistress of Pe belongs to her. Her name is enduring . . . Karnak. All his images give praise to the mistress. She exists

52. . . . who gives breath . . . the magician . . . her throne, which exists in the goodly place where [she] rests . . . everyone, when she goes to rest in it every day. Prosperous . . . the sole one, mistress of the region. The uraeus(?) . . . the city, the place of the Ennead, the gods of Thebes. They say concerning her: (It is) a matter such as her father has done

53. . . . the great one of the throne . . . She is . . . of forms, great of property, mistress of that which exists. The papyrus flourishes. The region of . . . sees . . . heaven . . . mistress. . . . Her house is filled with the breath of life. Offerings are with her every day, which Rē^c has made for her.

54. . . . the house of her majesty to him in Pe. Horus of Dep . . . for the great [mistress] who is in health for millions of us, who are in strength because of her. The land is in

55. . . . She who is mighty of royalty(?) as the mistress of Pe. She has . . . as . . . the mistress of heaven, the ruler. . . . There belong to her the people who are in it, its roads and its movements within this land. . . . rejoice

56. . . . for Mut, who is content because of it. Her throne . . . the mighty one, who is with the palace, and who lives in its because of her.

57. . . . for ever . . . Shu . . . for ever and ever. Her spirit

58. . . . the hours of . . . She has repeated . . .

59. . . . of the great one . . .

60. . . . of the gods . . .

61-4. . . .

65. . . . The fortress(?) of the Two Lands by means of her. Horus . . .

66. . . . the Two Lands. The noble sun-disk possessing her rays . . .

67. . . . the great and noble one, possessor of charm, who is trusted, the pleasant and pure one.

68. . . . who is in the palace, the mistress of dread. There falls(?) for her . . .

69. . . . the sole one, possessing awe of her and dread of her . . .

70. . . . every . . . which exists because of her. She is beautiful, and she is loved by . . .

71. . . . his wise daughter . . . all . . . adore her. The light of her body shines for her. Everyone, indeed, . . .

72. . . . Everyone unites with the form of Osiris. His charm is pleasing . . .

73. . . . mistress of the gods . . . She has planned these things . . . great . . .

74. . . . jubilation . . . possessing joy, who rules heaven and earth by means of her wish. Her name is spoken, the Mighty One, on their lips. She who is in the midst of us. The throne of Osiris . . .

75. . . . the god of the palace, great of magic, rejoicing(?) . . . the great one with Atemit in the midst of Thebes . . .

76. . . . the great one . . . their hearts when they see . . . her limbs there. He has received the beauty of the mighty one, his noble palace possessing her whom he loves . . .

77. . . . under the mighty one. Their mouths utter praise with an eternity of festivals(?)

78. . . . with sacred writings for millions and millions

79. . . . for ever . . .

80. . . .

Translation of the vertical text

1-9. . . .

10. . . . for ever, who brings the breath of life to everyone . . .

11. . . . for ever and ever, bearing the sweet breeze to the heart of him who is pleasing to her. . . .

12. . . . in their hands. She loves the lord of eternity. Everyone of you goes forth by means of her, living . . . breath . . .

13. . . . health in his body. The lord of eternity sits while she acts by means of her word. She who is pleasing of beauty when she rest in . . .

14. . . . His functions are given to her, his horizon and his possessions. She rests upon him¹ as queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, being beautiful upon him as . . . the magician . . .

15. . . . its waters. Behold, sun-rays in millions and happiness are upon her, while she rests upon the brow of her father. The goddesses of Lower Egypt possess their myrrh. To her belong these . . .

16. . . . child of the king. The Nile comes into being (as) the sweat² of his body. 'She who exists for the lifetime of the sun' is her name. She who rests upon the brow of the lord, her father Rēꜥ. She is beautiful within³ Pe, the mighty one who possesses . . .

17. . . . the great one(?), who is swift of her actions. The god . . . for ever. To her belong all forms. She has made her waters to give life to those who have joined the spirits, that they may be placed in his sight. The god is lord of the city. Who, indeed, is like the one who exists (for ever)? To her belongs rejoicing . . .

18. . . . which is opened because of her wish until this day. His daughter possesses . . . holding the flagellum of the lord of the Two Lands. Lo, he shines, looking upon what she loves. He has seized these lands. Furthermore, heaven exists for Atemit, and the city of Thebes for Mut, the ruler and mistress of Punt. Her face is in the midst of . . .

19. . . . She is one who comes into existence, who gives life, and there are beautiful forms. She is caused to be the protector of his person . . . the white crown being upon him. His daughter lives in his sight, she having appeared as his mother, and he being protected because of her. She who is fruitful upon him as (the uraeus) Great-of-Magic, the goddess who . . . after . . .

20. . . . dread of her, they who are powerful in life. She is kindly of face to him as she protects his person . . . in life, stability and prosperity for ever. Her limbs are rejuvenated. The Two Lands have been made (as) turquoise by her rays, says Ḥarakhti to Rēꜥ of Heliopolis, lord of the temple, who recognizes her as his daughter. The limit which . . . reached . . .

21. . . . awe of her in their hearts. The lotus belongs to her face, and beauty belongs to her, the mistress who is with him. She is his limb of life, [who is upon] him, she being one who brought him into existence. . . . came into existence through her graciousness. Prosperous because of her are the horizons of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Mut in Thebes and Memphis for ever. She who reached the regions of Rēꜥ. Their . . . Neith . . . shines . . .

22. . . . great of majesty in the palace. He who creates them, the plants, he flourishes as the king's palace endures. It is in the charge of the mistress, who is over it. This soul is favoured by Rēꜥ, the king, lord of the Two Lands, the ruler, this light of every day. The lord of the Two Lands, Neb-Maꜥat-Rēꜥ, Mery-Amūn, is like Rēꜥ, possessing these his forms in them. The gods and the people of Egypt are in the charge of the one who causes her throne . . .

23. . . . she follows him. (As to) the mistress, she is great and lengthy of years. The noble goddess who is in Chemmis, Wadjet, mistress of Pe and Dep, Mut, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands. She spits out⁴ the land . . . Lo, Rēꜥ shines that he may see the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neb-Maꜥat-Rēꜥ, Mery-Amūn, given life, as his image, living upon earth. Upper and Lower Egypt are under him. These chiefs of God's Land, Egypt and the desert are taken captive. The great one exists . . .

24. . . . them, flourishing of her spirit as the great uraeus which is upon him. She of the Delta, mistress of heaven, she who is well and alive, mistress of heaven, the goddess of Ishru. She spits

¹ I.e. as the uraeus, cf. cols. 15, 16, 24.

² Cf. l. 33.

³ Read as *m-hmw*; *Wb.* III, 370.

⁴ Cf. l. 27 and col. 24.

out the Nile in her name of . . . the mighty one. To her belongs the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neb-Ma'at-Rē̄, Mery-Amūn, the son who is like Rē̄. Heaven is, indeed, the abode of her majesty. In (her) charge are the leaders of the hill-countries, the chiefs of the desert carrying their tribute to the place where her throne is . . . the hours, the great one of . . .

25. . . . There is none like her. Glorious is the horizon, her city(?), when she ascends before him. She who comes to Egypt and the Per-wer, she is the noblest of the gods, the ruler, Mut, mistress of heaven, many of years . . . thereof under the son . . . [Neb-Ma'at-Rē̄], Mery-Amūn, lord of diadems, [Ramesses (VI)], given life, wealth . . . of the mistress of foreign lands. These lands are the domains of the good mistress of . . . the gods . . .

26. . . . and millions like the hundreds of thousands of plants(?) of the mistress of the Two Lands(?). She ascends the throne possessing health. She is happy because of it in her house, life belonging to the mighty one in Ishru. To him belongs what is presented, these things of the mistress. He of the Two Lands exists for her, Amūn . . . [beloved of Amūn], the son of Rē̄, [Ramesses (VI)], for ever and ever, possessing . . . the great one of the desert, the vile one of the hill-country being under the feet of this goddess. Offerings(?) . . . who causes to be repeated for her . . .

27. . . . [high] of white crown, long of red crown, great of uraeus, more than the goddesses who are over(?) her temple, the guardians thereof. To her belongs life, the noble one there, Neith, lady of Saïs, mistress of her city in Ishru, which she loves, and the provisions and goods which exist for everyone. Heliopolis . . . the son of Rē̄, [Ramesses (VI)], given life forever and ever like Rē̄. She who belongs to . . .¹ travels around the sea and Byblos(?) thereof, his great one there. The land . . . eternity belongs to her. . . . his daughter, the chief . . .

28. . . . of the red crown. Her majesty is in heaven. This means that everything that exists is under her. She causes her temple to be high. There are placed in her charge these things which the lord of life distributes. The throne of Ishru belongs to her with her great name. Her . . . flourishes, which she loves. She who gives . . . [Ramesses (VI)], given life, stability, and prosperity like Rē̄. The beloved of Amūn, Mut in Ishru, mistress of the seas . . . the people. To her belongs the flame which is under . . .

29. . . . in his charge. The splendid emmer(?) endures. He comes into existence in it on account of these glorious creations. She has appeared to them, her spirit being among the offerings which are in the midst of Ishru, her temple there. The unique and noble one. To her belongs her wealth, it being extensive with her . . . every day, the great one, son of Rē̄, for ever, who is beloved of Mut, lady of Ishru, mistress of health, possessor of life. To her belong the sea and the lands . . .

30. in the circuit and also when this form is indeed with her. She is born, the great one, and has appeared. Her estate is abundant.² She who gives with her hands . . . God's Land. He has caused³ her to rest (in) Thebes. Millions are under her charge . . . what she has placed within the ocean . . . who goes forth triumphant for ever. She who is loved, the mother of Khons. She who is chief of (her) district, the mistress of the great sea, she who destroys⁴ those who are in it. All lands are under tribute . . .

31. . . . upon it with the lapis-lazuli of (her) majesty. Her eyes are like the sun which shines. She who gives orders to the Ennead(?), leader of the [people] of this land. . . . health under him, being united . . . the lifetime of Memphis. Her temple belongs to her. . . . like Rē̄. Mut-Bastet, mistress of the Two Lands, ruler of the two banks, great of might in the bark of Rē̄. She who overthrows the rebels for her father. She who gives . . .

32. The gods came into existence . . . Her abode is light, the land possessing . . . mankind. When she has risen, he is pleased with her. Gods and men possess life and health through her love. . . . Nekhbet is there in her temple . . . his lifetime, which Bastet gives, the goddess who is great of dread.

¹ A place with hill-country determinative.

² Read as *wbn dt:s*; Zandee, op. cit. 7 (ac).

³ *rdi:nf*; Zandee, *ibid.*

⁴ *k̄* substituted for *k* in *sk̄i*.

He who is mighty because of her has said: I have traversed what she has created amongst them. Her hand is swift. Everyone . . .

33. . . . what she loves . . . mankind. They are begotten(?) among . . . the sole (?) one, mistress of the people, mankind being under her feet. Behold, the rebellious . . . mistress of her house, enduring . . . the uraeus of dread, foremost of majesty. It is the districts which she loves; to him belongs the land. Words spoken: The spirit of the mistress is before . . .

34. . . . within . . . the gods. She has no equal. The woman of gold . . . the people. . . . Her feet are upon the heads of the enemies, who have been slain . . . Nekhbet in the chapel . . . foremost of the Thebans(?), mistress of Egypt, mistress of Crocodilopolis in the land of the lake. Furthermore, this land is stable. She is content . . .

35. . . . Rē^c, who causes this golden form to come into existence. . . . under her protection . . . health, when she goes to rest. What she illumines is exalted . . . Nekhbet, protector of his mistress(?) . . . the goddess. . . . The Ennead is happy on this day. The man of this land¹ is borne to his mistress (in) her temple every day.² He . . .

36. . . . the great one, mistress of the horizon. Rē^c traverses the sky in peace . . . her warmth. The gods journey in awe of her, who came into existence living. She gives them her fire, she who is far(?) . . . the Two Lands . . . the great one. . . . It comes to pass that he is in praise and exultation when she goes to rest. Her favourite place is with him who sees by means of her. The form(?) . . .

37. . . . offerings(?) of the great one. This sole one lives by means of her, the beloved one. There is acclamation . . . The Sole One is his name. To him belong her needs. Fear of her is in the midst . . . her fiery blast by means of him . . . heaven. . . . The Thirty dance(?)³ because of her. Her heart is glad at the happy sight . . .

38. great of might in the presence of those whom her fiery blast burns . . . his sky dread of her . . . rejoicing which occurs because of her . . . for the mistress . . . the sun-disk . . . all lands. . . . To her belongs praise. They say it is a celebrated place⁴ because of her who is in it, the mistress . . . great of possessions . . .

39. the eye which illumines the face, when she shines. She is one whom Rē^c loves for her speech and voice of silver. This land is given to her for ever . . . God's Land, the ruler who causes fear⁵ through awe of her. Millions and millions . . . body . . . abode, the just one who exists . . . as the noble one, mistress of Pe, the sole one, mistress of all that exists, her majesty, the mighty one, Mut . . .

40. Rē^c illumines with his beauty, for that is pleasing to her. The pure of herb is in greeting. . . . Punt . . . water(?) . . . There is no . . . the land with her odour. Her temple is the eternal and everlasting horizon of Horus, son of Isis. Praise . . . in heaven and (on) earth . . . the brow of her father. To her belongs the lord of the district,⁶ which he has administered for her. She is content . . .

41. Rē^c illumines the land for her, the chief one. His daughter has appeared in heaven. His foremost of the primeval ones makes greeting to his face . . . her body . . . His blossoms, which she smells, are white . . . he sends myrrh eternally. These things are summoned for her kindly face. The land possesses . . . Rē^c . . . her name. The papyrus endures which is in her sight . . .

42. She has illumined the Two Lands early, she who is seen at dawn. Mut, the great one in the city . . . the stars. The land is given to her . . . to her face . . . in the sea. Her harim came into being. . . . She courses for ever the limits of eternity. She who is invoked for millions of years . . . since she

¹ I.e. Amen-Rē^c.

² Probably a reference to the sun-god's daily journey above the temple, cf. col. 55, rather than an otherwise unknown ceremony involving the cult-image.

³ Perhaps [zr]h, *Wb.* 1, 334, or metathesis of *hnw*, cf. 37/11-12 and 62-3/9.

⁴ See note on line 48.

⁵ *ss(n)d*.

⁶ Alternatively, it is conceivable that 40/52 may in this context be an unusual writing of the geographical term *nbw(t)* as in *hꜣw nbwt*, cf. Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. Onom.* 1, 206*.

was placed(?) as the primeval one of the Two Lands. The mistress of the marsh-lands . . . papyrus-plant. Pe is her abode . . .

43. the entire(?) land is her temple. He makes her spirit, it being splendid and bright. The mistress of Thebes; it is her father who opens for her the entire land . . . her land possessing justice. The noble one, daughter of Rē^c . . . for hours. She possesses more myrrh than the lord, one says. She who was anxious at the prospect of their coming into existence. She who was made queen of the land, the Delta being under . . . in the midst of the district of Horus, lord of Pe. The great one . . .

44. The Ennead sees by means of her rays(?) every day. She whom the gods receive into protection. Atemit and Khepri are(?) the gods . . . Dep . . . the august one . . . happy. Her sweetness is in every body. She whom Rē^c loves, the great one of the east. She who is more beautiful of face than all the goddesses, who are before him in tens of thousands, and also of her body. Indeed, they acclaim the queen of Upper and Lower Egypt. She is the administrator of her temple . . . [Pe(?)] and Dep . . .

45. happiness when she is seen. She has governed, this goddess whom Rē^c protects. Rich is the property of the mistress . . . he shines . . . heart, the breath . . . heaven . . . of her face. The land is in festival. There is no sadness among them. (As to) the eye of her face, there is none like its form among millions (it being) in this her body, which belongs indeed to Chemmis. (She is) the ruler there . . . the god . . .

46. their¹ rays(?), which shine by means of him. These things belong to her as a protection there. Furthermore, they came into existence because of her. Indeed, she is this light of day, the great one(?) who endures through her name, the goddess . . . her majesty, what is pleasing to her. She has no equal, the unique one who has no peer. There has come into existence none like her within the Ennead. There are no gods among tens of thousands of her form. Her manifestation of the land is as the queen there. She has brought(?) . . . the mistress. The palace rejoices . . .

47. who does(?) what is splendid(?)² because of her father. Gifts decorate his breast because of her from the dignitaries in this her name of Creator. The sunlight is shared among her companions there as (with) her. Indeed, whoever exists is happy. [There is no] mournfulness of speech in the company of the great one likewise. Furthermore, she has become as one who advances, the Hathor of his house with these great ones in heaven and on earth, she being one who places the track upon it, the place thereof . . . light . . . the gods . . . the great one . . .

48. Heaven is given to her by Rē^c, the heir, who gives the land and the bodies of the people, Horus of the standard. Rejoicings are shared among those who are appointed as servants of the mistress of the lands. One praises her house within it there. They have achieved an eternity on earth. Rē^c is like one who advances, the lord of offerings in the temple. Noble is the temple in the midst of Heliopolis. Behold, the enemy knows fear when she has traversed(?) . . . the magician . . .

49. every land. His eye is sound. Rē^c, the lord, and this Atum; she is (as these) gods, being as them for ever, she having been substituted in being designated as their forms. Ma^at, who founds³ her temple. His great one who is with them(?) . . . Her forms say: (She is) the mistress of peace, the goddess concerning whom it is said: Her sight is opened. She who gives. . . . Her majesty is before him. She(?) travels . . . sees . . .

50. She proceeds happily to Karnak, rejoicing that praise is given to this her face because of it. Behold ye, their offerings and provisions are costly. To her belongs the uraeus of the head of every god. There is no god who has seized(?) it for himself on earth. The unique one who creates wisdom, the goddess among millions, whose white crown is exalted. She who illumines this land. Her feet traverse what he has reached . . . the end . . . imbued with joy. Their hearts . . .

51. flourishing of births. The places receive joy because of her. (As for) her son, to him belongs

¹ On the redundant *s* see Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.* § 78.

² *irt fꜣw*(?). It is unusual for a word to begin in the latter part of a square and continue in the next.

³ *grg*; see Clère, *op. cit.* 54.

life and prosperity. Good fortune belongs to her eldest son, the lord of provisions, the great one with the red crown under Horus of Pe, the throne of her father. They will not be sad who act in health and life. She who is in the eye is indeed the mighty one of the lands. She is distinguished above them. To her belong their fields, which the activity of her feet opens up. She who shines . . . the sky . . . everyone . . . sees . . .

52. the power of her majesty. She who is mighty because of him, her form being with him. They give their praise because of them. She is the beloved one, the great one of Khons, the beautiful one who rests in Thebes, the possessor of happiness. (As to) Horus, the strong of arm, of Dep, to her belongs that one. The crown of Lower Egypt is also with her as what she holds. The land is [her gift(?)], the eye of Horus,¹ which she gives to us, who are protected by her. Horus(?) of the uraeus . . . her feet . . . He opens(?) . . . She adores the form(?) there . . .

53. They are prosperous. Glorious is the goddess in Ishru, where she dwells. Their victories occur, which this goddess gives. They have been exalted as his chief ones. Thy face is kindly, they say, who are with the mistress, great of dread, and exalted. Sambēdet(?) is the chief of her possessions. They say concerning her: The uraeus which is above us, the great serpent, is mighty for us.² (As to) the living, we give praise, for she puts dread (in) the faces of those who are under her uraeus. The great one . . . fortress of the Two Lands, the great one . . . who exists, when she shines . . .

54. the crown of Lower Egypt in her name of 'She who becomes rejuvenated', mistress of the uraei, the great one who is on his head, for his face is in rejoicing because of (his) mighty goings forth with the great one, great of dread in every city, the mistress of the white crown and the red crown. Every god is conducted to her, when her spirit comes into existence in the midst of the temple. She who is great of utterance, Mut who is with the gods. The goddess to whose face the people appeal when she shines, her majesty and her white crown being over us. . . . mistress of heaven . . . the noble sun-disk, who is in the heart, the sole one, whose face is the light. Osiris . . .

55. This goodly Horus, who is early³ of travelling. He encircles⁴ the horizon through the power of the mistress, and there is rejoicing⁵ when their temple of Rē^c is seen, she having appeared in her harīm. She has caused everyone to live. When the day (light) shines, he proceeds⁶ to her temple, and gratifies this goddess. . . . The goddesses are under her protection, since the breath of life . . . upon(?) her as what she wishes . . . the mistress, for the ruler . . . of the Two Lands, the noble one, the mistress of charm, the Per-wer possessing the beauty of her body there . . .

56. the horizon of heaven. The land shouts when the mighty one, Horus with his arm,⁷ is with her. (May it be) a lifetime, they say, with her. She had appeared in Karnak, foremost of the Two Lands, which stand united by means of her, who existed alive at the beginning. The arms of the Ennead make [jubilation(?)]. The noble one who embraces stability and life. The image of her noble father, Rē^c, her father whose greatness(?) . . . the city . . . through her, possessing the trust(?) of the lord of dread. Her majesty and her love, indeed . . .

57. the ruler who has no fault, she whom praises extol. She who possesses Libya is content with it. Her beauty is in heaven. She who is happy of affairs, the complete one in heaven and the places of the Two Lands. Mistress of the south. Rejoicing occurs for her spirit when she shines. The stars shine in the sky, their arms in adoration to her face. She who is great under Rē^c, the mistress of Rē^c, beloved of Khepri. The mistress who is with . . . this land . . . Karnak, the great one . . . Horus. Her sun-rays are pleasing, and awe of her is in everyone, who is happy because of her. (She) has ruled . . .

58. She who runs(?) is swift, he will say, who worships the form which he loves. It is in every

¹ For the equation Eye of Horus = Egypt see *Pyr. Utt.* 587; Faulkner, *Anc. Eg. Pyr. Texts*, 239 ff.

² For 1st pers. plur. suffix *nm* see Erman, *op. cit.* § 75.

³ *nhp*; the *p* and sun-determinative presumably transposed. The same word in 56-7/3.

⁴ *inh.f*.

⁵ *hnrc* perhaps a variant of *hrc* or simply the conjunction.

⁶ *sw(t)* is the enclitic particle.

⁷ Cf. the epithet *tmw-c*, 52/25.

mouth. She is over them, that all may live in Thebes as (in) heaven. She is imbued with joy; Mut is happy with them. Hathor also rejoices. How happy is her face, the mistress of the Two Lands and all that exists . . . Thebes . . . the temple of Karnak. The Ennead and her temple are in jubilation¹ . . . pure . . . these things, heaven and earth . . . receive . . .

59. which belong to her with the spirits. He whose years are happy there praises her. Egypt is under her, and millions of gifts,² which the gods and goddesses give, the lords of the horizon. Heaven belongs to her there with the people. They live under her every day. (Her) fame is extolled with rejoicing when the great one awakes. Ma'at belongs to her as her midday meal³ Her mouth . . . there, breath . . . [her] nostrils. The mistress of Thebes and the throne. The gods are pleased, being full of health because of her. . . through her great love of him, possessing(?) . . .

60. Mistress of the spirits, numerous of provisions, great of power. A good lifetime is what she gives. Praise occurs(?) and rejoicing because of her, the mistress of Heliopolis. The gods are delighted and joyful when she appears. When she shines, heaven and earth are as gold. Gods and men are in praise, when they see her majesty as the mistress of sun-rays. Offerings and burnt incense belong to the mistress of heaven and earth. The people . . . Thebes. The breath of the people . . . said in the presence of the beauty of the mighty one . . .

61. Greatest of the forms of the earth. Everyone praises her to Khepri. He has been made happy because of her. There is given . . . in the daytime contentment from her. Further, she is great of sun-rays, which he has brought. Every land gives shouts for the great and powerful mistress of Karnak. She lives and is happy within it. The land endures, which came into existence through her, and was filled. They were assembled entirely. Now millions live who are in it . . . her name of Atemit, the mighty one. Their mouths are in [praise(?)] . . .

62. Mighty of her countenance, the great(?)⁴ one of Karnak, mankind and the common people. Everyone shouts for her. There is nothing that is done. . . Hearts are content which belong to them. This goddess, their chief, the goddess with the sun-disk, the sole one, who encircles what is below like a bird(?),⁵ is what is said. When they come into existence, the goddess of the throne is in the house with them every day. The property which belongs to her is theirs. The spirits eat what she gives. The lady of the lotuses, mistress of love. Offerings are given to her. To us belong her ways. The mighty one . . . the mighty one who is in the midst of his temple. Words spoken . . .

63. who lives with the gods and goddesses. All men jubilate for her, the mistress of the festival, without ceasing. They come into existence this day because of his daughter. She enters into his presence, the sole one in the midst of the horizon. What she loves and what she makes belong to her. Her face belongs to her in its name of 'face of Mut'. To her belongs a lifetime in God's Land. The spirits are contented with her as a result of the offerings which are with them. She has acted with her hand, possessing praise on account of it. They say, who are in her following(?) . . . the great one, their nurse. Heliopolis is noble because of her. The god of eternity . . .

64. in her possession(?). Her name endures as the uraeus. All the people see heaven and earth ceaselessly. They say: She causes them to live, they being well. Those who see her are festive, when she has presented (her) beauty to them. She shines and illumines the plains and the mountains entirely. Their voices shout: We are cared for. Happy are the people. Her city will exist for millions of years as the Per-wer. She who shines and glitters in front of the offerings. The plants are established by her hand. Words spoken to the mistress of affairs every day, the mighty one in the midst of the Per-wer . . . in the midst of us. Upper Egypt is in adoration because of . . .

65. She is . . . as the goddess of Thebes, the mistress who was in the heart, when the netherworld came into existence. The one who⁶ remains⁷ in manifestations in his sight. The land every day

¹ *i(i)w.*

² *diw.*

³ On the equation of Ma'at with offerings see Bonnet, *Realexikon*, 430 f.

⁴ 62/3 to be read as *r*; see note on l. 3.

⁵ *hms*(?), perhaps related to *hmy*, 'aviary', *Wb.* II, 490.

⁶ *pn = p' n*, probably for *t' n*.

⁷ Or 'rejoices' with wrong determinative, *Wb.* I, 7 (4).

belongs to her. Rē^c gives her temple with this throne therein. To her belong offerings; they are placed in her possession. What the goddesses have created lives. She makes Thebes content. Millions of spirits, which Rē^c has made for her through his sight, they are known.¹ That is, they are promoted like what she has made. The land, living for ever . . . the place. (She) is loved by millions . . . throughout . . .

66. her name. The nurse-goddess² comes in peace. Prosperity and health belong to the great one, who is made festal with the Meḥnyt as this one who is with Atum. There is given to her his headdress. She has ruled Upper and Lower Egypt. Her temple is the sky, her house is this land, and her shrine is every city. She has smitten all the spirits, as these gods have done, who possess their monuments and their sceptres. She who is beautiful of face, the lotus being associated with her beautiful face. She who eats the wheat of heaven, because what she has made exists (continually). This land belongs to her for ever . . . Osiris . . . forever, accompanying(?) . . .

67. of Neith(?) . . . The gods are joyful because of her, while their temples exist. The mansion of the noble one is in life and prosperity among what she has done. The mighty one . . . for ever. He has given to her the throne of Geb.³ Rē^c, her father, adores her, being with her, who is beautiful within his bark. The night-bark is with water and wind through her wish. The supports of heaven belong to her. Rē^c rejoices because of her. Her spirit . . . in festival(?). Millions . . .

¹ *cm.*

² *ḥnmt*; see note on l. 3.

³ A reference to Geb's primeval kingship on earth; see Bonnet, *op. cit.* 202.

A TECHNIQUE FOR THE ORAL EXAMINATION OF A MUMMY¹

By F. FILCE LEEK

THOSE responsible for the progress of the science of Egyptology have always been receptive to the disciplines of others, and this is especially true in the case of radiology. The advantages of the use of X-rays for revealing information of bony structures were quickly appreciated by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, who is frequently described as the father of Egyptian archaeology. Within three years of the discovery by Röntgen he published a picture (pl. XXVIII, 1) of the lower extremities of an ancient Egyptian mummy (Petrie, 1898). His example was followed by others (Wells, 1963), and an amusing story was related by the late Sir Grafton Elliot-Smith, of how, being anxious to X-ray the mummy of the Eighteenth-Dynasty Pharaoh, Tuthmosis IV, he enlisted the aid of Howard Carter, and surreptitiously slipped out the rigid anthropoid object from the museum after dark, put it into a cab, and went to the only nursing home in Cairo where an X-ray apparatus was to be found in those days (Dawson, 1967).

In more recent times the knowledge of Egyptology has continued to benefit from the continued use of radiography and our interest in many collections of mummies, both in this country and abroad, has been greatly increased by the recent work of Dr. Peter K. Gray (Dawson *et al.*, 1968).

A linen-wrapped mummy presents many more radiological difficulties than does an unwrapped one. The latter can for practical purposes be regarded as a normal cadaver. Nevertheless, even in this instance orthodox procedures do not always produce satisfactory results. And this applies especially to the dentition and the lower third of the face. It is often found that most, if not all, the pathological and other abnormalities that might be present are quite obliterated by the overlapping and superimposition of structures (pl. XXVIII, 2). Unfortunately, owing to the post-mortem rigidity of muscles, intra-oral radiography, which provides adequate image reproduction of the dental structures normal and otherwise, cannot be practised.

It is now necessary to consider what can be seen in the dentition and the surrounding bony tissues of the ancient Egyptians.

The author, during his anthropological studies, examined some 3,000 dry ancient Egyptian skulls, dating from predynastic times and through the historical period until the days of the Ptolemies (Leek, 1966). Although teeth during the time are characterized by good calcification, hyperplasia of the enamel being almost entirely absent, a

¹ We are grateful to the technical journal *X-Ray Focus* (Ilford Ltd., London) for permission to republish this article.

great variety of non-pathological abnormalities is to be seen. These include absence of one or more teeth, the third molar being the one usually missing, and examples can be seen where one, two, three, or even four are lacking. There are also to be found retained deciduous teeth, supernumerary teeth, varieties of non-pathogenic cysts, and impacted and unerupted teeth—these latter being usually confined to lower third molars.

Dental abnormalities

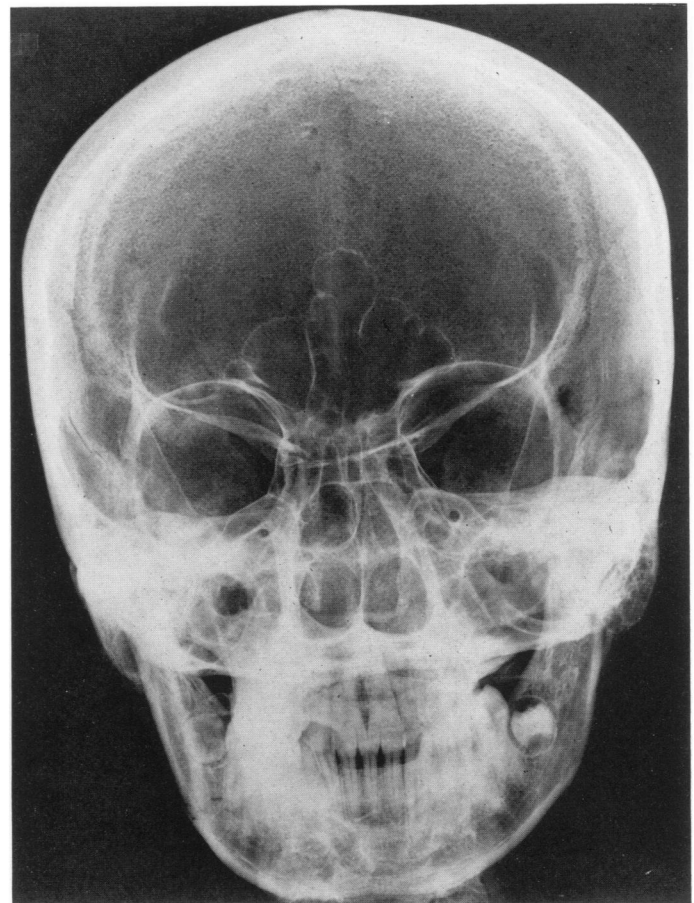
The prevalence of pathological dental abnormalities is far greater than is generally appreciated. Because of the efficient calcification of the teeth, few examples of caries are to be seen. Where it is present, the caries is usually confined to a single surface cavity, but examples are seen where caries affecting a mesial surface of a tooth has infected the distal side of its neighbour and vice versa. By far the greatest amount of disease is the result of attrition of the cusps. Rarely is a permanent dentition seen without this condition, varying from mere flattening or levelling of the cusps to almost complete loss of the crown structure. This cuspal wear is due to a gritty diet, although in some cases a skeletal III pattern (edge to edge articulation) commonly seen in negroid races, accelerates the process. Miles (1963) worked out how, in some cases, the varying degrees of attrition observable in a mouth can be used as an indication of the age at death.

In the normal progress of attrition a protective layer of secondary dentine is deposited by the pulp, and this acts as a protective barrier safeguarding its life. When, however, the attrition takes place faster than the deposition of secondary dentine, the pulp eventually becomes exposed and, after a period of inflammation, dies and becomes putrescent. This is eventually followed by the infection of the surrounding periodontal and osseous tissues. The sequel of this process would be the formation of a chronic or acute abscess, the former leading to the creation of a pathogenic cyst, whereas the complications of the latter can be osteomyelitis and necrosis of the surrounding bony structure. The transmission of toxins and bacteria through the lymphatics and the blood stream can lead to cellulitis and toxæmia (pl. XXVIII, 3 and 4).

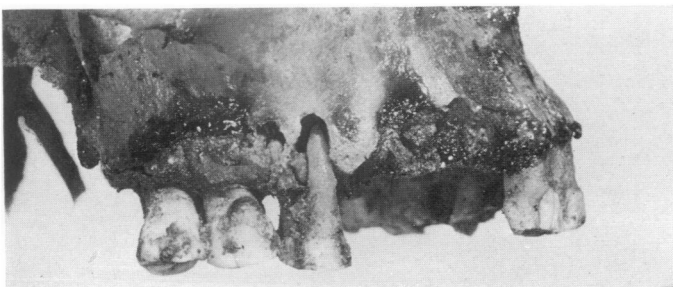
The alveolar and bony structures surrounding the teeth are usually well developed, but marked recession of both the inner and the outer plates frequently occurs, a condition which results from gingivitis and is known as pyorrhea alveolus. In this case the periodontal membrane surrounding the tooth eventually becomes infected with local abscess formation. Sometimes it is the unequal wear of the cusps by attrition that gives rise to the lateral pressures during mastication, and this produces the surrounding bony changes. Hypercementosis caused by a low grade infection of the periodontal membrane is observable, and loss of one or more tooth units, together with maxillo-facial injury by some form of violence can be found. Unfortunately, as previously indicated, many of the foregoing conditions can remain undetected in a lateral or antero-posterior radiograph.



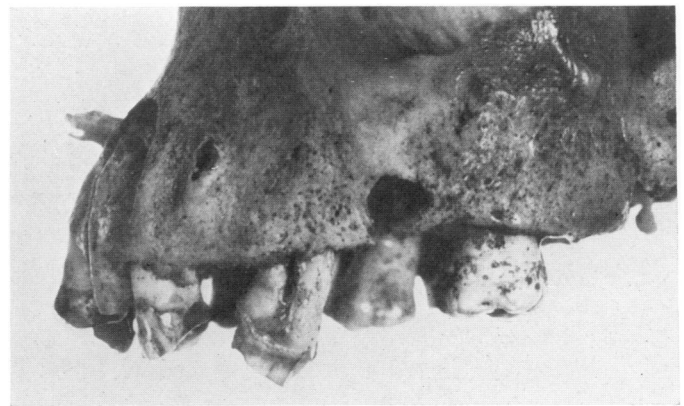
1. A positive print of the radiograph taken by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie in 1898. Note the lines in the region of the epiphyses of the tibia and fibula on the left side of the illustration. These lines are thought to record periods of arrested growth due to illness



2. 20° occipito-frontal projection of a mummy showing the overlapping and super imposition of dental structures. Lateral X-ray projection also shows similar loss of structural detail



3. The canine and premolars were lost ante-mortem; the alveolar bone loss at the apex of the 2nd premolar resulted from advanced osseous necrosis, whilst the 1st molar shows signs of apical and periodontal abscesses



4. The premolar teeth were lost ante-mortem; the opening in the alveolar bone in the region of the 1st premolar apex was the result of apical infection; the almost circular area of bone loss adjacent to the root of the 2nd molar was caused by a periodontal abscess; the pitted appearance of the alveolar bone in the molar region was due to an infection of its covering of soft tissue

Initial investigations

The author had very much in mind these difficulties in the radiography of a mummified head when Professor R. G. Harrison of Liverpool University agreed that he should accompany him on a projected anthropological and skeletal examination of the mummy of Tutankhamūn, the Eighteenth-Dynasty pharaoh who reigned from c. 1347 to 1339 B.C. (pl. XXIX).

Nor did he feel any greater confidence in a successful result of the examination when he read, in the note from the Egyptian Service des Antiquités, that a licence for the work would be permitted only on condition 'that the mummy should not be removed from its place in any case'.

On the other hand, as the result of the examination of the mummy in 1926, Dr. Derry (1927) had suggested that death had occurred at eighteen years, in which case it was improbable that there would be pathological changes in any of the calcified tissues. There was the possibility, however, that other dental abnormalities were present. Because orthodox radiological techniques might be difficult, especially if the mummy could not be removed from its sarcophagus, the author considered it essential to examine all other possibilities of obtaining the fullest evidence of the dental structures.

About that time, details of the Pantascope and Ortho-Pantomograph were published, both new techniques for panoramic dental radiology. This gave rise to the idea that a panoramic radiograph of the dentition, and of any abnormalities present, might be obtained if only a source of energy could be found emitting X- or Y-rays, plus a method of placing it in the required position. Inquiries at the Radio-chemical Centre, Amersham, resulted in the information, sent from the Wantage Research Laboratory of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, that a technique of panoramic radiology in the oral cavity, employing a radioactive source of energy, had been fairly well developed and that there was a choice of several suitable radioactive isotopes. Eventually this choice was reduced to three: Iodine-125, Thulium-170, and Americium-241.

It was apparent that little work had been done with these nuclides, and positive knowledge of their relative merits was lacking. The Isotope Production Unit of the U.K.A.E.A. offered to provide specimens of each for experimental purposes, and the one giving the best results would be chosen. Unhappily a national economic crisis occurred and the offer was withdrawn, whereupon it became necessary to make a choice without any experimental aid. Fortunately at that time attention was drawn to the work in Stockholm of Rune Soremark (1964) and his colleague C-O. Henrikson (1967), using Iodine-125 (pl. XXX, 1).

R. W. Bradford wrote (1969): 'Iodine-125 is a man-made isotope of iodine, produced by irradiation of xenon in a nuclear reactor. It decays by a process known as electron capture to a metastable state with emission of a 35.3 keV gamma photon. This gamma emission undergoes extensive internal conversion, however, so that the most abundant radiation to escape takes the form of characteristic 27.4 keV X-rays originating equally from the electron capture and conversion processes. Since no beta particles or gamma rays of higher energy are emitted, problems of shielding and filtration are reduced to a minimum while film contrast is at a maximum—in theory at least. The other

requirement for high definition radiography, that of small source size, can also be met; some disadvantages are the comparatively short (60 day) half-life coupled with the rather high cost of production and processing.'

Technique

In order to achieve minimum image distortion, the projection angle of the main beam of the nuclide must be placed equidistant to the structure involved and at 90° to the angle of the film, which must be positioned parallel to the long axis of the image. This position can easily be recognized by the examination of a dry skull. Looking from behind and between the rami of the mandible, it corresponds to a point in the midline, on the occlusal level of the teeth, and opposite the first permanent molars.

It was agreed with members of the Isotope Production Unit, that because distortion increases with the size of the source of energy, and because it is essential to avoid damage to the mummy, the ideal size of the head of the bead of Iodine-125 would be 0.5×0.5 mm. This would make possible the incorporation of 12 mCi of the nuclide on a bead of resin which could be sealed into the tip of a hollow stainless-steel tube or hypodermic syringe needle not exceeding 1 mm external diameter. A complication of a mummified skull is that the leathery tissue interferes with the placing of the film parallel to the long axis of all the teeth. This can be overcome by suitable packing. A greater complication is the fact that in many cases the chin of the mummy is tucked closely into the sternum, and this prevents easy access for the nuclide (pl. XXX, 2).

As it is desirable that the needle containing the radioactive isotope has an obstacle-free insertion and withdrawal path, penetration of the tissues is made beneath the chin in the midline with a pointed metal 1 mm explorer. Judgement must be exercised to ensure that its final resting point coincides with the occlusal level of the teeth and is opposite the position of the first permanent molars.

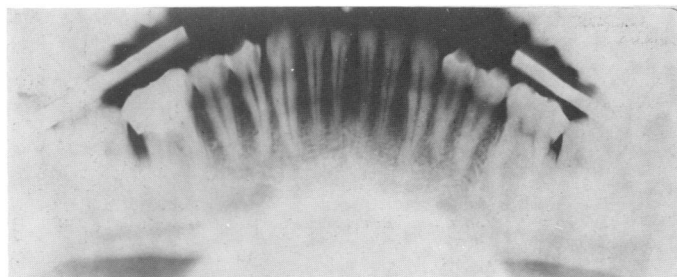
In practice this is easily accomplished as, although the soft tissues of an ancient Egyptian mummy assumes a leathery consistency, the resistance to a sharp pointed explorer is negligible.

After an investigation of the possibilities of various films, Ilford Industrial B film was chosen, and, from previous experimental work in the Ilford laboratories, a three-hour exposure was decided upon for the initial trial. As both the date of departure for Egypt and the length of time necessary to produce the nuclide were uncertain, it was difficult to decide when manufacture of the isotope should commence. In the end, only a few hours were available for the essential trials. These took place in the Isotope Production Unit at Harwell by kind permission and co-operation of C. B. G. Taylor, manager of the unit, and R. Langley, radiologist to the department.

Pl. XXX, 3 shows the result after a three-hour exposure. Three things are apparent: a longer exposure would have been advantageous; the film was not wide enough to cover the subject; and care must be taken to align the film correctly in the buccal region to prevent distortion.



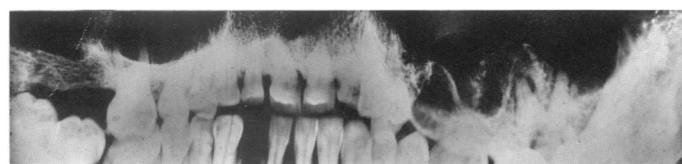
THE MUMMIFIED HEAD OF THE EIGHTEENTH-DYNASTY PHARAOH T^UTANKHAM^ŪN



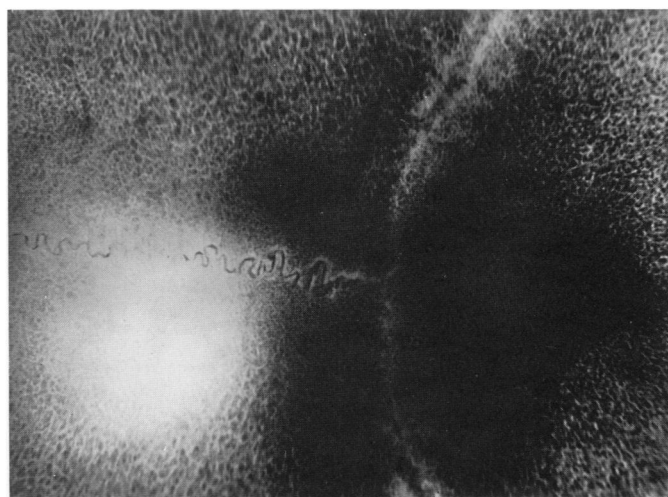
1. Radiograph using Iodine-125 as radiation source in odontology. (Reproduced by kind permission of C-O. Henrikson)



2. A Ptolemaic mummy head *c.* 250 B.C. illustrating the apposition of chin and neck, a factor preventing easy access of the nuclide



3. Radiograph of first trial exposure



4. Radiograph of cranial sutures

EXAMPLES OF RADIOGRAPHY

Further possibility

The author had for some time been engaged on research into the method by which the ancient Egyptian embalmers removed the brain of the corpse. This research had shown that during the process the cribriform plate of the ethmoid bone was pierced. It would therefore be possible to insert the nuclide into the cranial vault through one of these holes, and if the film were placed over the outside of the skull a revealing radiograph of the cranial sutures would be obtained. Since the amount of closure of these sutures is a reliable indication of the age at death, such a radiograph would be a valuable adjunct to any age study (Leek, 1969).

The exact position of the nuclide in the cranial vault would of necessity be uncertain, but in spite of this, pl. XXX, 4 shows that the radiograph reproduces the width of the cranial sutures with exactitude.

In the words of C. B. G. Taylor (1969): 'The experimental results of using I-125 as the source of radiating energy for the production of panoramic radiology of the dentition and other structures in ancient Egyptian mummies and the like, is extremely successful and certainly a very elegant technique and should be a great help to archaeologists.'

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank the British Broadcasting Corporation for their co-operation; E. G. Mercer and F. Green of Ilford Limited; R. West, C. B. G. Taylor; and J. Stevenson of the U.K.A.E.A.; and the many others who gave valuable advice and assistance.

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THE EARLIEST YEARS OF RAMESSES II, AND THE BUILDING OF THE RAMESSIDE COURT AT LUXOR¹

By D. B. REDFORD

THE early years of a king's reign in ancient Egypt, like the proverbial 'one hundred days' of some modern administrations, were usually crowded with a variety of activities. When dated monuments are sufficiently numerous it is sometimes possible to catch a glimpse of the bustling monarch as he hastens about his realm. For the first five regnal years of Ramesses II the dated inscriptions supply a rough outline of the royal itinerary, and thus merit more attention than they have sometimes been given.

No dated text known at present gives the accession date of Ramesses II, but Helck has made a compelling case for iii *shmu*, 27.² Moreover, only when the dated inscriptions are placed in sequence beginning with this calendric does a meaningful pattern emerge;³ and the list which follows has been so arranged.⁴

1. Year 1; inscription, external face of the eastern wall of the Triple Shrine, Luxor: M. Abd el-Razik, *MDIAK* 22 (1967), pl. 28 (*b*).

2. Year 1, ii *akhet*, 25: inscription, Abu Simbel: P-M VII, 108 f.; Abd el-Razik, *op. cit.* 69 n. 1.

3. Year 1; Dedicatory Inscription, Abydos (line 22): P-M VI, 3.

4. Year 1, iii *akhet*, 23; Dedicatory Inscription, Abydos (line 26): P-M VI, loc. cit.

5. Year 1, iii *akhet* (*sic*);⁵ biographical inscription from the tomb of Nebwennef: Sethe, *ZÄS* 44 (1907), pl. 1; P-M I, 1², 267.

6. Year 1; stela from Giza: Gauthier, *LdR*, III, 35 (v); P-M III, 9.

7. [Year 1, . . .] *proyet*, 20; inscribed block from Giza: P-M III, 6; Sethe, *ZÄS* 62 (1927), 112; K. C. Seele, *Coregency*, 79 f.

¹ Part of a paper delivered to the Oriental Club of Toronto, Feb. 3, 1970.

² *Studia Biblica et Orientalia*, III (Rome, 1959), 119; see also E. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 57 n. 11; 95.

³ Sethe placed the accession of Ramesses between ii *proyet*, 8 and iv *proyet*, 20 (*ZÄS* 62 [1927], 113), Seele between ii *proyet*, 8 and iii *proyet*, 1 (*The Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I* [Chicago, 1940], 80 f.), and Von Beckerath between i *proyet*, 17 and ii *proyet*, 8 (*ZÄS* 81 [1956], 3). But any date in *proyet* would make the visit to Silsileh (no. 8) antedate the visit to Thebes (nos. 2-5). Thus Ramesses, coming from the north, would have already been to Thebes on his way to Silsileh before he arrived in the city for the Feast of Opet. Yet in the Dedicatory Inscription (line 22) this journey to Thebes for the festival is called 'his first excursion to Wēse'.

⁴ Note the following abbreviations: Gauthier, *LdR* = H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois*, III (Cairo, 1912); P-M = B. Porter and R. Moss, *A Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1927-64); Seele, *Coregency* = K. C. Seele, *op. cit.*

⁵ Between the 27th and 30th of the month, according to Borchardt, *ZÄS* 67 (1931), 29 n. 5.

8. Year 1, iii *shmu*, 10; Silsileh inscription: P-M v, 218; P. Barguet, *BIFAO* 50 (1952), 49 ff.
9. Year 2; inscription on the island of Sai: P-M vii, 164.
10. Year 2, iii *shmu*, 26; stela between Aswan and Philae: P-M v, 245; E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴ (Paris, 1962), 422, 664.
11. Year 2; stela from Serabit el-Khadim: Sir A. H. Gardiner and J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* (London, 1952-5), pl. 78 (no. 252).
12. Year 3, iv *akhet*, 1 (?); building inscription from the rear (south) face of the east pylon, Luxor: Abd el-Razik, op. cit., pl. 26; also our plate XXXI.
13. Year 3, i *proyet*, 4; Kubban stela, line 1: P. Tresson, *La Stèle de Koubân* (Cairo, 1922); C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie* (Brussels, 1933), 30.
14. Year 4, iv *akhet*, 1 (?); Dog River stela: K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1969), 1.

It is important in a list such as this to distinguish between an inscription which records reasonably soberly a dated royal speech, edict, or an entry in the king's daily records, and an antedated text that reconstructs an event long past. In the former one expects to find a document, however stylized, composed shortly after the event whose date is commemorated in the first line; in the latter one may expect a fair amount of embellishment.¹ Thus, for example, the inscription of Nebwenef (no. 5), though conforming to a common motif² and probably inscribed years later, and the Dog River stela (no. 14) are based upon compositions, oral or written, which recorded the events in question at the time they occurred. The Dedicatory Inscription (nos. 3-4), on the other hand, is free composition of much later date. It is based upon a real event, but it bears no date in the first line, as an edict or transcript would. Therefore, even though the date in no. 4 is undoubtedly derived from a written record, the content is anachronistic.

When his father died Ramesses was in the Delta,³ and he probably celebrated some sort of enthronement ceremony at Heliopolis.⁴ A little over two months later (i.e. at

¹ Contrast Tuthmosis I's Tombos stela (T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Bib. Or.* 13 [1956], 122; cf. idem, *Ägypten und Nubien* [Lund, 1941], 147 ff.), and the Gebel Barkal stela of Tuthmosis III, with the text of most of the annals of Tuthmosis III and the Memphite and Karnak stelae of Amenophis II. The latter belong in the first category, the former in the second. The source whence the annals were derived, often verbatim (albeit with some embellishment), was the army day-book; cf. A. Alt, *ZDPV* 70 (1954), 41. The stelae in question had no such *Vorlage*. They were free creations in which the date recalled some authentic event (in the case of the Tombos stela the building of a fort, in the case of the Barkal stela probably the delivery of a speech at the dedication of a fort).

² Viz. the motif of the investiture which may be found in several New Kingdom examples: Rekhmirê (N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekhmirê* [New York, 1943], pls. 13-16), Kenamun (idem, *The Tomb of Kenamun at Thebes* [New York, 1930], pl. 8), Nebamun (idem, with A. H. Gardiner, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis IV* [London, 1923], pl. 26), Meryrê I (Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, I [Cairo, 1903], pls. 7-8), Huya (idem, *El-Amarna*, III, pls. 8-12), Huy (idem, with Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamun* [London, 1926], pl. 4, 6).

³ J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (New York, 1905; Bantam Books, New York, 1964), 352.

⁴ Cf. A. W. Shorter, *JEA* 20 (1934), 18 f., with pl. 3; Seele, *Coregency*, 30. Of course the stylized scene of the king before Atum does not of itself indicate a Heliopolitan venue; but it is significant that prior to the building of Pi-Ramesses the XIXth Dynasty is known to have resided either at Memphis or Heliopolis (see below, p. 112 n. 3).

the end of the first month of *akhet*) the king and his entourage, bearing the mummy of Sety, will have begun the journey upstream to Thebes for the Feast of Opet. At the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty this festival probably began, as it did a century later in the early years of Ramesses III, on ii *akhet*, 19.¹ By ii *akhet*, 25 (cf. no. 2) Ramesses had arrived in the southern capital,² and after a stay of about one month, on iii *akhet*, 23 'His Majesty departed . . . beginning the water journey, the king's flotilla illuminating the river, setting out downstream for the mighty seat (called) "House-of-Ramesses-Great-of-Victories" . . .'.³ At Abydos he delivered his famous speech, inducted Nebwennef, and probably commissioned the carving of two cult images for his father, one to be set up at Abydos, the other at Memphis (Dedicatory Inscription, line 22; cf. also line 49). Thereupon he repaired to the Delta, probably to Memphis where no. 7 suggests he was present on the twentieth of a month in *proyet*.

Six months after his return from the south he had begun an extensive tour of Nubia. Late in his first year (cf. no. 8) he is found at Gebel el-Silsileh performing the festivities there before proceeding south. One wonders whether it is to this trip that the king refers in the Manshiyet es-Sadr stela:⁴ 'I went to Elephantine and examined a fine mountain in order that I might give you [the stonemasons] the use of it.' At an unspecified point in his second year the king had reached the island of Sai (no. 9), and by the last day of the same year he had returned to the first cataract (cf. no. 10). Four months later (year 3, i *proyet*, 4; cf. no. 13) he was back in Memphis, and from this time on his attention must have been occupied by his forthcoming campaign in Asia.

¹ S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (Wiesbaden, 1950), 84 f. Seele has shown (*Coregency*, § 110) that the relief at Karnak attributed by Sethe to the Feast of Opet (ibid., fig. 22), in reality commemorates the Feast of the Valley, and has nothing to do with events of the first year. It is equally misleading, however, to make it a depiction of an earlier feast, which took place during the alleged coregency (ibid. § 109). It is not a specific feast at all that is the subject of this relief, but an idealized celebration that will continue throughout eternity (cf. the writer's remarks in *History and Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty, Seven Studies* [Toronto, 1967], 115 f.); and the juxtaposition of the rebuses of the throne-names of Sety I and Ramesses II conveys nothing but the close affection Ramesses felt for his deceased father.

² Restore line 4 of no. 2 'regnal year 1, ii *akhet*, day 25, in Ape[t-Sut . . .],' the locus of the action to be recounted being an expected addition to the date. The restorations of Borchardt (*Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte* [Cairo, 1935], 50) and Seele (*Coregency*, 77 n. 37) do not seem possible.

³ Abydos Dedicatory Inscription, line 28. The reference to Pi-Ramesses is anachronistic; cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 182. Certainly the early XIXth Dynasty is in evidence in the north-east Delta (for a fort [*bḥn*] of Ramesses I, see W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 56 [1921], 55 f., pl. 4; H. Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* [Cairo, 1925-31], II, 31; for Sety I's palace at Qantir, see M. Hamza, *ASAE* 31 [1929], 31 ff.); but whenever texts speak of the king's residence during this period, it is usually either at Memphis (Wady Halfa stela, line 3 [P-M VII, 130]; W. Pleyte, *Les Papyrus Rollin de la Bibliothèque Impériale de Paris* [Leiden, 1868], pl. 12, line 1; pl. 14, line 3; C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie* [Brussels, 1933], 30, line 16), or at Heliopolis (Pleyte, op. cit., pl. 1, line 1; A. Hamada, *ASAE* 38 [1938], pl. 30, line 1). My student, Mr. F. T. Miosi, has drawn to my attention the parallel between the building of Pi-Ramesses and the building of Akhetaten. The latter was begun around the fourth year of the reign, but was still unfinished in year 6 (when Akhenaten was obliged to reside in a 'bower of matting' [*Urk.* IV, 1982, 11]). In the eighth year of Ramesses II, according to the stela from Manshiyet es-Sadr, the king had still not taken up residence in Pi-Ramesses, but stayed at Heliopolis (Hamada, loc. cit.); and the fact that statues were still being prepared for the various temples of the new city (ibid., lines 7-8) suggests that, while the buildings themselves may have been largely completed, they lacked decoration and furnishings. On the basis of the lapse of time in the case of Akhenaten, it seems likely that work started on Pi-Ramesses in the fifth or sixth year of Ramesses.

⁴ Hamada, *ibid.*, line 18.

If the second campaign in year 5 is any criterion, Ramesses probably crossed the frontier at Sile in the direction of Palestine in the second month of *shmu*, late in his third year. A little over five months later, perhaps on his return march, he had his first stela at the Dog River inscribed (cf. no. 14).

It is against the background of this flurry of activity devoted largely to the south, that Ramesses's building inscription at Luxor must be viewed. The inscription, of which sixteen columns (twelve divided by vertical lines) are preserved, is found on the rear (south) face of the eastern pylon, lowest register.¹ To the left of the text is the gate of the pylon, with a scene showing Ramesses offering Maꜣat to Amen-Rēꜥ; to the right a row of princes and princesses is shown approaching a schematic depiction of the pylon itself.² Above, in the next highest register, the large figures of the king and queen are shown before the god. The queen, with two elaborate sistra in her hands, is a fine example of the better relief work done during the early years of the dynasty (pl. XXXI). Before her is a column of text reading: 'playing the sistra before thy beautiful face, I sing of thy love'; and behind her a second column reads: 'I play the sistra before thy beautiful face, I propitiate thee for thy goodness's sake; mayest thou protect thy son whom thou lovest and with whom thou art pleased, the Lord of the Two Lands, *Wsr-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ Stꜣn-rꜥ*, given life like Rēꜥ eternally.' At the eastern end of the south face of the pylon the king offers to the ithyphallic Min, behind whom stands a female personification of the Temple. These figures too display a delicacy of line not usually associated with Ramesside times.

The text of the building inscription begins in a horizontal band of hieroglyphs, approximately 2.5 m. above the floor, running north along the eastern wall of the forecourt to the north-east corner, then turning west along the inner face of the pylon. The beginning of the inscription is at present concealed by the mosque, and the earliest visible groups have to do with the intelligence of the king: 'wise in knowledge like Thoth, knowing how to instruct (*rꜥ tp-rꜥd*), skilled(?) in craftsmanship . . .' The wall beneath this line of text is occupied by a scene showing men carrying trestles filled with jugs, and others, in pairs, bearing large vessels suspended from poles held between them over the shoulder. A thrice-recurring caption mentions 'the beer department for the daily offering of the storehouse of the altar'.

On the south face of the pylon the line of text continues: 'Now His Majesty made a search in the library (*is n sꜣw*), he opened and read the books of the House of Life, and he learned the offering prescriptions of heaven and every secret of earth. He found (that) Thebes, the Eye of Rēꜥ, was a "Primaeval Mound" (*kꜣꜣ*), (and that) a "Seat" (?) had been(?) in existence since the time when this 'land' was [. and] Amen-Rēꜥ was king, illuminating the heaven. He divided(?) its circuit, espying a place where he might let his Eye alight, his right (one), Wēse being the city of Southern Heliopolis, and his left (one) being *Hkꜣꜣ ꜥnd*, the nome of Northern Heliopolis. . . .' Having informed

¹ The writer wishes to thank the Documentation Centre, Cairo, for the photograph in pl. XXXI, the other being his own. He had also a hand copy made while on a visit to Luxor in June 1965 (collated in the spring of 1970). Both trips were made possible by grants in aid of research given by the Canada Council, Humanities and Social Sciences Division. Use was also made of photographs in the collection of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto.

² Abd el-Razik, *MDAIK* 22, pl. 27a.

himself about the reason for Thebes' primacy among Egyptian cities from a document which, incidentally, sounds rather like Leiden I, 350,¹ Ramesses proceeds to communicate his new-found knowledge and his plans to his entourage: 'King Usermarēc Setepenrēc said to his noble(s) who were in his following . . .' Unfortunately his first words are fragmentary, but at the point where the scribe changed to vertical columns the gist is clear:²

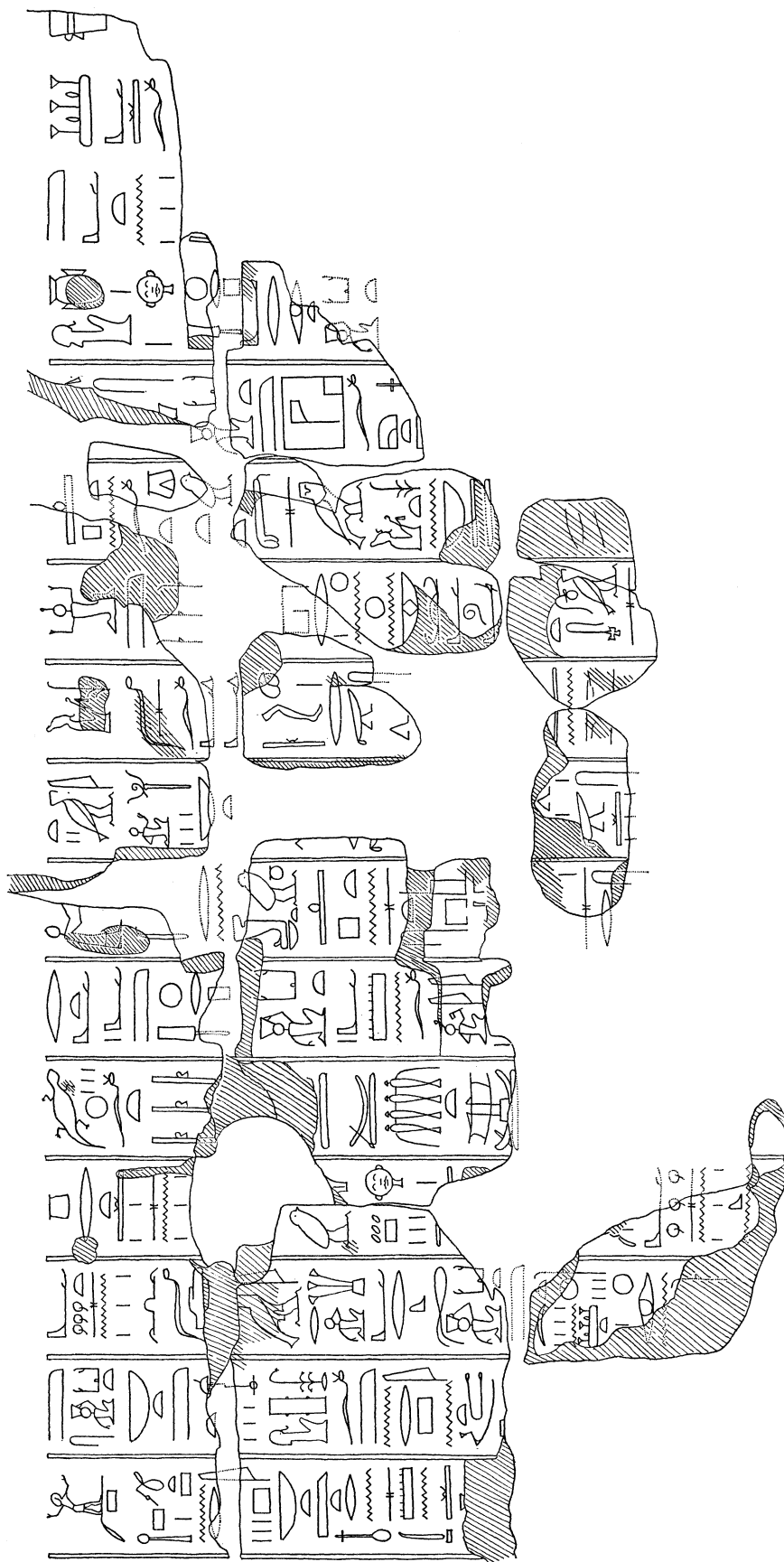
'[. . .] (x+1) "since (x+2) he(?) began to exist. (a) (x+3) Look ye, (x+4) I have it in mind (b) to perform "construction work" [for my father, Amen-Rēc, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, —*approximately one-half column*—] (x+5) "carrying out" (c) the work in his southern temple (d) of Lux [or, —*three-fifths column*—] (x+6) "he sat upon the throne of him who begat" him (e), as king and Lord of the [Two Lands, —*one-half column*—inasmuch as(?) Amūn had rewarded him with(?)] (x+7) millions of [years (f) . . . Regnal year . . . month . . . day . . .], "being the day" of *psdntiw* (g) (there occurred) "the "Loosening of the String"" (h) [—*one-half column*—]; (x+8) the king himself [issued] instructions for conducting [the work (i), laying a charge upon the superintendents of construction, —*c. two-fifths column*—, and to] (x+9) all grades "of craftsmen" (j) [to carry out the work, . . .] the images(?) (k) [—*one-half column*—] (x+10) being built (l), [and Renen]utet took her seat (m) (on) its [] . . . [—*one-half column*—] (x+11) Assistance was given in the performance of the work by the infantry (n) [—*three-fifths column*—] (x+12) many [ships] as well as (o) crews; and [they?] sailed south [—*three-fifths column*—] (x+13) their provisions [consisting of] "Upper Egyptian" [grain] along with [Lower Egyptian] grain (p); [their hearts were] "happy?" (q), their arms "strong" (r) [—*two-fifths column*—, healthy(?) were] (x+14) their limbs; not [one of them] (s) said "Would that. . . !" (t) The work was finished in regnal year 3, iv *akhet*, 1(?) , making (u) [—*two-fifths column*—, being made sound (v)] (x+15) in all its construction according to the "art" of Him-Who-is South-of-His-Wall (w), consisting of granite [of Elephantine(?) (x), —*one-half column*—], (x+16) (y) sandstone and limestone (z), and every true costly stone (aa); its beautiful name is "[August] Shrine [in the Temple of Ramesses-Maiamūn-United-with-Eternity-in-the-House-of-Amūn." (bb)]'

(a) Read *ḏr šꜥf*. For the rare use of *šꜥ* without following infinitive, see *Wb.* iv, 407, 6. The common use of the verb to denote the time of origin of a primordial god, and the example in the Great Amūn-hymn (I, 17: Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 [1905], 18) [*ḏḏ?*] *nꜥr ḥft šꜥf*, 'the god [spoke?] when he first began to be', suggests Amūn as the antecedent of the suffix.

(b) *Ib-i ḥr ḥr[p] r ir[t] [kꜥ]r[t]*. For this common locution, see *Wb.* III, 327, 3-4. Another example from the lips of Ramesses II occurs in the Abydos Dedicatory Inscription (line 42): *ib-i ḥr ḥrp ḥr irt šht*, 'I had it in mind to make useful things' (for Sety); cf. also (from Sety himself) Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, i, 224 (Elephantine): *mtn ib-i ḥr [ḥ]r[p][. . .]*, 'behold ye, I have it in mind [. . .]'. The common

¹ Cf. especially, ii, 10-15, 24; v, 19-21; Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 (1905), 12 ff.

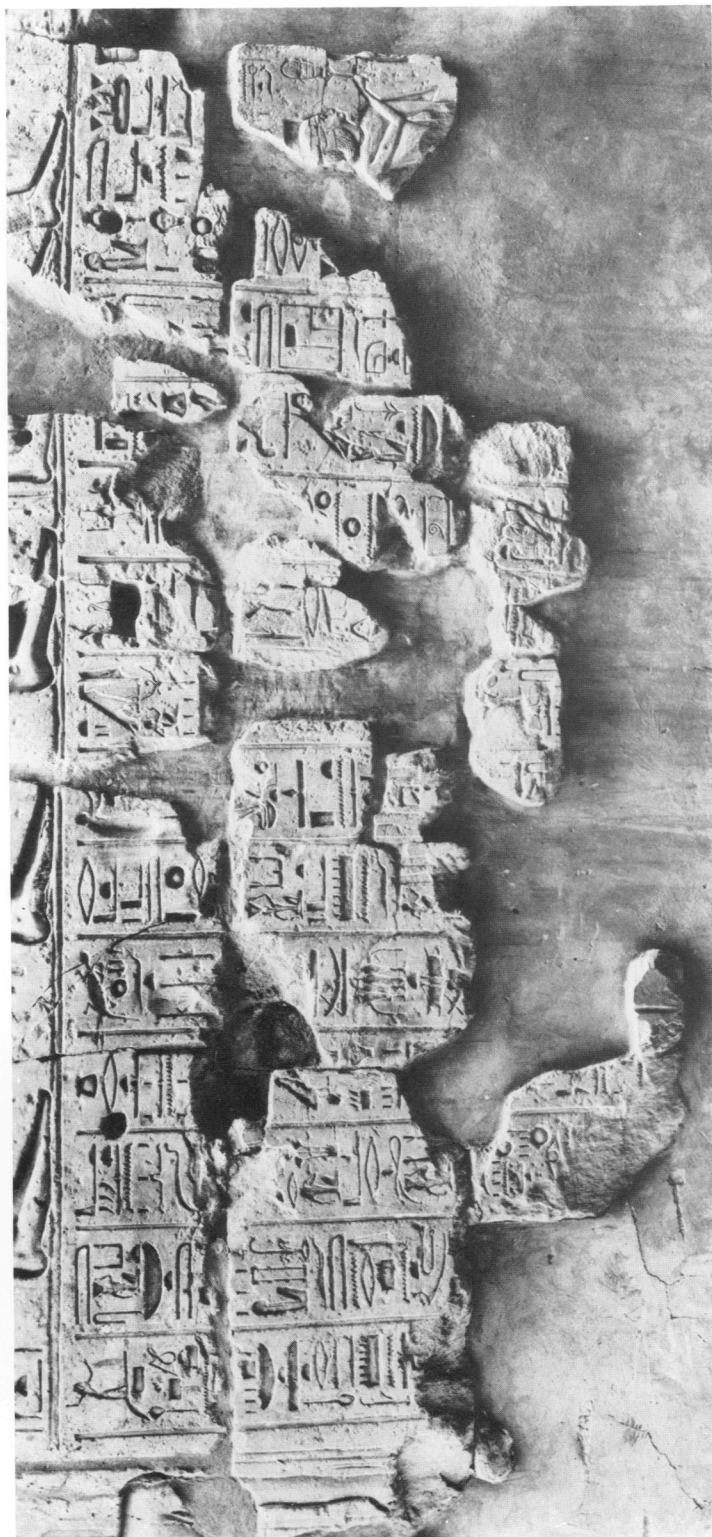
² The letters in parenthesis refer to the textual notes which follow the translation.




BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF RAMESSES II AT LUXOR

BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF RAMESSES II
AT LUXOR

Above the inscription: his Queen before Amen-Rê




occurrence of the dative with the god's or king's name (cf. *inter alia*, *Urk.* IV, 75, 2; 365, 1; 750, 5-7) has suggested the present restoration.

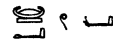
(c) Restore , and construe with *hr* or *r* at the end of column 4. For the expression *hwsī kst* see *Wb.* III, 249, 1, and for the word used of temple-building see H. G. Fischer, *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 60.

(d) *Hwt-ntr:f imy[t] Ipt-[rst]*. Cf. the illuminating epithet of the Luxor temple, *hwt n(t) rsi*, 'temple of the south': B. Bruyère, *FIFAO* 5² (Cairo, 1928), fig. 37; E. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus* (Berlin, 1952), 42.


(e) *Ht p n f ns[t] w[tt] s(w)*; for the direct object following *htp*, see *Wb.* III, 191.

(f) Below the horizontal bars of the *m* one can just make out a trace of the curve of the palm branch (Gardiner, M 4) at the left side of the break. This suggests pluralization by threefold repetition, and calls to mind the passage in the Abydos Dedicatory Inscription (line 27) in which it is said that Amūn 'has rewarded him with millions of years, approaching the lifespan of Rē' (*fk:n:f sw m hh m rnpwt r ch n Rē*).


(g) Reading . For the restoration and the reading *psdntiw*, see *Urk.* IV, 657, 2.


(h) Reading ; cf. *Urk.* IV, 166, 10-14, and for the expression see *Wb.* I, 250, 2, and P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amonrē à Karnak* (Cairo, 1962), 217; also A. Badawy, *Ancient Egyptian Architectural Design* (Berkeley, 1965), 46f. The determinative of the fire-stick has been taken from the homonym *wswt*, 'fire' (*Wb.* I, 250, 4). It appears that the next word begins with *s*, and one naturally thinks of *smn*, 'to make firm (cord, stake, etc.)'.

(i) *nsw ds f [dd] tp-rd r ssm [kst]*; (the basket in the determinative of *kst* is just visible beneath the legs). This formula, in forms which vary slightly, is very common with reference both to commoners (cf. *Urk.* IV, 421, 8-9; 1149, 10-11) and to kings (cf. *Urk.* IV, 1333, 3-4; 1673, 5; 1679, 16-17; 1682, 17-18; 1697, 3; 1761, 10; Barguet, op. cit., 59 n. 3), or to gods (cf. *Urk.* IV, 363, 11). Ramesses himself was noted to be 'one who gives instruction (*tp-rd*) to the superintendents of construction like Him-with-the-Fair-Face, skilled in every craft like Thoth' (A. Rowe, *ASAE* 38 [1938], pl. 98, lines 4-5). Elsewhere in the first court at Luxor (architrave inscription: *Belegstellen zu Wb.* v, 289, 1) Ramesses makes an identical statement: *nsw ds f dd tp-rd ssm kst m mnw:f*, 'the king himself issued instructions (for) conducting the work on his monuments'.

(j) Read *iw t nb[t nt hmwt]*; for this expression see the Abydos Dedicatory Inscription, lines 70-1. The traces of  which appear in the lacuna, I cannot accommodate.

(k) *Ssmw*. In the inscriptions of the Triple Shrine in the Luxor forecourt (see L. Habachi, *MDAIK* 20 [1965], 93 ff.) there is much talk of fashioning the 'images' (*ssmw*) of the Theban triad: cf. W. Fr. von Bissing, *Acta Orientalia* 8 (1930), 154, 161. In our inscription the sign for walking legs is to be seen just above, and the thought occurs that we might be dealing with *šmt*, 'ambulatory' (*Wb.* IV, 466, 14).

(l) Read .

(m) For the construction cf. *Urk.* IV, 1772, 18 , 'she (Mutemwiya) seated

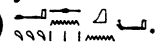
herself in her barque'. Renenutet is most commonly associated with agricultural growth and the suckling of Nepri (cf. J. Leibovitch, *JNES* 12 [1953], 74 ff.); but her serpent form also links her closely to the class of malevolent snake goddesses: cf. B. Bruyère, *FIFAO* 4² (Cairo, 1925), 49, fig. 2 (with Meret-seger); von Bissing, op. cit. 151 (with Great-of-Magic, Edjo and Sakhmet); *Pyr.* 302 (with the uraeus); *Urk.* IV, 478 ff., A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen* (Berlin, 1911), 34 (5) (with Edjo and the uraeus). What precisely she is doing in the present context is not clear. One expects the goddess to take her seat *in* or *upon* something; and in fact a vertical stroke appears below the lacuna, suggesting the presence above of *hr* placed on the right side of the column, as in column 13 (see below). Alternatively the stroke might be understood as part of a plural. The bolt *s* beneath is most probably the 3 f. s. suffix, but whether it refers to Renenutet herself, or to the architectural feature which is the antecedent of *kd·ti* is uncertain.

(n) ϵ *mnfyt* is here construed in apposition to ϵ in *rdi·t(w) \epsilon*. For the implication of the use of the basically military term *mnfyt*, 'infantry' (cf. A. R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* [Berlin, 1964], 13), see below, p. 118. In his speech at Abydos to the court and the superintendents of construction, Ramesses specifically mentions the *imyw-r mnfyt* as being present as well (Abydos Dedicatory Inscription, line 34).

(o) Cf. Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*³, § 169, 3.

(p) The right side of that fragment of block on which portions of the last four columns occur has been tilted upwards at some time in the past. This has resulted in a dislocation of some groups in column 13, including the group read here $\text{𓆃} \text{𓆃}$. The passage as reconstructed reads *hrt·sn [m it] Šm^cw hr it T³-[Mhw]* (where the function of *hr* is that of addition: Gardiner, *ibid.* § 165, 8). For a similar thought, cf. Ramesses's address to the craftsmen in the Manshiyet es-Sadr stela: 'for your benefit Upper Egypt transports to Lower Egypt, and Lower Egypt to Upper Egypt barley, emmer, wheat . . .' (Hamada, op. cit., pl. 30, line 17). Two minor irregularities do not, it seems to me, invalidate this reconstruction: first, in *it Šm^cw* a written *w*, according to *Wb.* IV, 474, 9, is unusual; and second, in *Wb.* I, 142, 13 and II, 124, 2 only 𓆃 is given, with no variant incorporating *t*.

(q) Reading [*ib·sn*]^r *w¹*; what may be the left spinal cord of the sign F 40 in Gardiner's numbering protrudes from the break, but it is so faintly cut that it could easily be simply a scratch.

(r) 

(s) Restore *n dd [w^c]^r im¹*.

(t) Cf. the similar passage in Manshiyet es-Sadr, lines 11-12: *k³w tnf m-^ck³·tn nn h³nr r·s*, 'provisions superabound in proportion to you(r numbers), there is no "Would that . . ." concerning them'. Note the writing *h³nr*, as opposed to the usual Late Egyptian *h³nr*.


(u) *Ir n* (cf. Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*³, § 422, 3), followed by the faintest trace of the top of the *rnpt*-sign, the whole undoubtedly to be rendered 'amounting to [x] ^ryears¹ [. . . months, . . . days]'; cf. Manshiyet es-Sadr, line 4, *ir n w^c rnpt*, 'making one (full) year'. The presence of this formula argues strongly in favour of another regnal year

date which stood earlier in the text, perhaps at the beginning, but more likely in the lacuna in column 7. This date will have fixed the time either when the decision was taken to go ahead with the work, or when the ground-breaking ceremony occurred (cf. the 'Loosening of the Cord' in column 7). It is not too hazardous to suggest that the date was in year 1, perhaps during the king's first visit to Thebes for the Feast of Opet.


(v) Reading [*smnh·ti*] *m kst·s nbt*; cf. *smnh·(ti) m kst (nt) nhh* (or *dt*), *Urk.* IV, 1359, 16; 1648, 16; 1667, 19; 1699, 6.

(w) See *Wb.* III, 84, 11.

(x) Cf. *Urk.* IV, 1249, 14; 1648, 15; we have opted for this expression of provenience in the light of the southern voyage attested in column 12, but other qualifications of *mst* are equally possible: cf. *mst rwdt c-rsy*, *Urk.* IV, 362, 11; *mst km*, Von Bissing, op. cit. 136.

(y) This sign baffles me and I know of no parallel. A man in loin cloth stands upon a horizontal baseline which, at the left, slopes downward and expands slightly. His torso is bent forward so that his raised arms are not at an equal height, but his right hand is higher than his left. His stance, and especially the position of his hands, suggests a man in the act of wielding a harpoon, or stretching a measuring cord over a block of stone (cf. N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekhmire* [New York], 1943, pl. 62). But this figure carries nothing in its hands. The block beneath the sign militates in favour of an ideogram to be read as some kind of stone; and the context mentioning *mst*, and *rwdt* and *hdt* suggests a list of stones used in the building. With a great deal of diffidence one might propose the reading *bist* (Sethe, *Die Bau- und Denksteine der alten Ägypter und ihre Namen* [SPAW 19 (1933)], 889 ff.), although as far as I know neither with that word, nor with the verb *bisi*, 'to wonder', does such a determinative ever occur. For a collocation of *mst* and *bist* see the Manshiyet es-Sadr stela, line 9. Another possibility might be *bhn*; for a god , see A. Lucas and A. Rowe, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 151; J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies* (Berlin, 1961), 78 ff.

(z) Or 'white sandstone'? See Sethe, op. cit. 873 ff., esp. 876.

(aa) Read probably , and cf. *Urk.* IV, 1673, 4, *inr cst nbt špst*, 'every valuable gem of stone'. For *cst mst* [*ct*], see the Abydos Dedicatory Inscription, line 63.

(bb) Of the possibilities for the restoration of this lacuna *rn·s nfr mn* [*m sš*] followed by the name of the temple (cf. *Urk.* IV, 1668, 10) is ruled out by the fact that the head of the owl would be placed asymmetrically on the right side of the column, not squarely in the middle as the traces here indicate. The same consideration excludes a restoration *mn* [*wšh hwt-ntr Wsr-mst-rc Stp·n-rc hnmt nhh*], 'Way [station of the temple "Usermarē Setepenrē-United-with-Eternity"]' (cf. C. F. Nims, *JNES* 14 [1955], 115), since *wšh* would be written with two vertical signs (Gardiner, v, 28, 29) side by side, and therefore on the right and left of the column. The only choice left is to treat the trace as the top of the water pot (Gardiner, W 15), and read *mn k[bh špsy]*, '[august] shrine' (*Wb.* II, 90, 16-17), followed by the name of the temple: Otto, op. cit. 41. For *mn kbh špsy* as an appellative of the Triple Shrine, see Von Bissing, op. cit. 147, pl. ii, fig. 3.

The speech of Ramesses to the court(?) with which the text commences resembles the Abydos speech and the address at Nebwennef's induction. It informed the assembled dignitaries of the king's intention to perform a beneficent act, in this case for Amūn and the Theban triad. Ramesses had, in fact, been intending ever since his childhood to do something special, at least for Mut, if we are to believe an inscription from the Triple Shrine:¹ 'His Majesty came to the throne (*hrt*) thinking about her statue, and when he was a child, the heir apparent, he planned in his heart to rejuvenate her (*wḥm mswt.s*).' Though the date is lost, the speech was delivered most likely in the first year at the Feast of Opet, at which time the ceremony of the demarcation of the site (cf. column 7) would have been performed. Indeed, it now seems probable that the plans for building operations at three great Ramesside sites, viz. Luxor, Abu Simbel, and Abydos, were already laid and promulgated in the first year, and that work on each began at once. The great southern expedition, which occupied most of the second year, must now be seen as concerned as much with surveying for good building stone as with punitive action against recalcitrant tribes. For the references to the 'infantry' and to 'sailing south' in columns 11 and 12 cannot be divorced from the southern campaign; and the description in columns 13 and 14 of well-fed men of indefatigable qualities can only be applied to quarrymen and masons who accompanied the soldiers.

Scarcely twenty-eight months after Ramesses had succeeded his father upon the throne, the work at Luxor was complete. The name in the final column of the inscription shows that the building with which the text is principally concerned is the Triple Shrine abutting on the south face of the western pylon. If the construction work commemorated in this inscription were that expended on pylon and forecourt as well as shrine, it is curious that only the latter would be singled out for mention. Moreover, Von Bissing² and Habachi³ have concluded, in view of the fact that roofing blocks of the shrine are engaged in the pylon and efface some of the reliefs thereon, that the Triple Shrine was put up only after the pylon and colonnade had been erected. Since our inscription strongly indicates that the decision to build the Triple Shrine⁴ was taken in year 1, dare we conclude that pylon and forecourt were among those many structures already planned and partly erected when Sety I died, and were completed along with his own addition by Ramesses II?

With one minor corollary to the international relations of the period under discussion, this study will conclude. The almost exclusive concentration of the administration on construction work during the first three years of the reign renders it unlikely that all the feats of aggression claimed to have been accomplished by the king on the Aswan stela were in the past by the last day of his second regnal year. In particular Ramesses claims in this text to have defeated the Asiatics, the Libyans, the Sea Peoples, the Nubians, and in the wake of all this to have been visited by delegations from Babylon and the Hittites. If the date on the stela is interpreted as the date of writing, the

¹ Von Bissing, *Acta Orientalia*, 8 (1930), 154.

² *Ibid.* 16 (1937), 192, 198.

³ *MDAIK* 20 (1965), 94.

⁴ For the contention that Ramesses simply rebuilt the Triple Shrine, see *ibid.* 93 ff.

victories claimed here (apart from the Nubian war) could only be dated to the last five months of the first year, which seems preposterous. We may conclude either (*a*) that these vague assertions of military successes are meaningless, or (*b*) that the stela is antedated. Both conclusions may prove correct. In any case, there is no ground for the common belief that at the outset of his reign, in his first or second year, Ramesses fought a battle with raiding Sea Peoples in the Delta.¹ His first brush with the Sherden could as easily be dated to his fourth year, and connected with his first Asiatic campaign along the Phoenician coast.²

¹ J. von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben* (Glückstadt, 1951), 51; R. O. Faulkner, 'Egypt: from the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses III', *CAH* II, ch. 23 (Cambridge, 1966), 12; Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), I, 195* f. (who suggests the attack may date before Ramesses ascended the throne); idem, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1962), 259; J. Yoyotte, *Kémi*, 10 (1949), 68.

² Cf. J. Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne* (Neuchâtel-Brussels, 1961-3), II, 352.

BILL OF SALE FOR A SET OF USHABTIS

By I. E. S. EDWARDS

A Papyrus recently acquired by the British Museum and published here for the first time¹ (pl. XXXII) gives some interesting information on the sale of a set of Ushabtis to the son of a deceased person. It is the only document of its kind at present known, though doubtless this fact is to be attributed to the accident of survival. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that no other example has come to light, in view of the very large number of Ushabtis which have been found. The explanation may be that it represents a custom which lasted for a relatively short time in history, a conjecture which gains some support from the fact that the only text with which it can be compared is the Ushabti decree of Neskhons² and the two texts are probably not far distant from each other in date. Unlike the decree of Neskhons, however, this papyrus is drafted as a legal document, although it includes a short invocation of a magical character. Its real purpose was to serve as a quittance for a set of Ushabtis supplied by a 'Chief Modeller of Amulets in the Temple of Amūn' named Pedikhons to a priest named Espernub, son of Ihafy (or Ihafishery) for whose tomb-equipment the Ushabtis were made.

To judge from the title of the supplier, the manufacture of Ushabti figures and funerary amulets was under the control of the priesthood and no doubt constituted a lucrative source of revenue. Faience being the material of which both Ushabtis and amulets were most frequently made, it is not surprising that they were produced in the same workshops,³ and the magical properties which they were thought to share in common would provide sufficient reason for keeping their manufacture a temple monopoly.

It has been proved by discovery that the number of Ushabtis placed in a tomb varied widely, but exceptionally it would correspond with the number of days in the year.⁴ In this papyrus it is expressly stated that 365 Ushabtis and 36 foremen were supplied. They are described as male and female slaves,⁵ and it is thrice repeated that

¹ It was acquired by the Trustees in 1966 and now bears the registration number 10800. Its measurements are: l. 19.0, w. 13 cm. The writing is on the side with the fibres running horizontally. No precise information is available about its recent history; at the time of its purchase the vendor stated that it had been in this country for many years, an assertion which finds support in the method employed in its mounting. Internal evidence suggests that its provenance is Thebes. In the preparation of this article I have received some valuable suggestions from Professors Malinine and Parker, and I wish to thank them. My debt to the late Professor Černý far exceeds what would be apparent from the references to his publications in the following footnotes.

² See Černý, *Bull. inst. fr.* 41 (1942), 105-33.

³ According to the Ushabti-decree of Neskhons (see Černý, *op. cit.* 114 n.M) the manufacturer was called *bcbt*, a word used also in the more general sense of 'maker of faience'. See Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. On.* 1, 68*, 161 and *Wb.* 1, 447, 5.

⁴ See n. *k* below and Černý, *JEA* 34 (1948), 121.

⁵ A similar description is found in a magical text referring to Ushabtis which seems to date back at least to the Nineteenth Dynasty. Later it was incorporated in the Book of the Dead as a supplement to Chapter 166.

their purchase-price has been paid, but unfortunately the amount paid is not specified. The wording of the invocation accords with this description of their status, for they are charged to work on behalf of Osiris *for (n)* the priest Ihafy, not *instead of (r dbꜣ)* him as his substitutes. Černý, in his publication of the Neskhons Ushabti-decree,¹ has pointed out that the conception of Ushabtis as slaves is confined to the New Kingdom, and apparently only to a part of it; at other times two contradictory conceptions can be detected: they were considered on the one hand as images of the deceased person, intended to do the work required of him as his substitutes, and on the other hand as slaves to work in his service. It has already been said above that the present document, except for the invocation, follows the pattern of legal contracts, in this case contracts for the sale of slaves from one owner to another, but it should also be noticed that the witnesses are here three deities, and not human beings as would normally be found. The explanation of the difference appears to be that the contract, or possibly only the invocation, acquired a divine sanction comparable with the Ushabti-decree of Neskhons, which, however, was a divine utterance in the form of an oracle. Nothing is actually known about the circumstances of its discovery, but it is not unlikely that it was originally placed in the box which contained the Ushabtis of Ihafy,² both as a directive to the figures themselves and as a record that the formalities connected with their acquisition had been fully discharged.

The papyrus is written in a cursive hieratic script which is slightly reminiscent of the Papyrus Reinhardt³ and of some of the oracular amuletic decrees of the late New Kingdom.⁴ Some of the signs are indeed indistinguishable from abnormal hieratic. In its form of presentation also it displays features which are found in legal contracts written in abnormal hieratic, the most obvious example being the omission of the royal name from the date.⁵ Both Griffith⁶ and, more recently, Malinine⁷ have argued convincingly that abnormal hieratic (at present not attested before the reign of either Piankhi⁸ [c. 751–716 B.C.] or Shabaka [c. 716–701 B.C.] at the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty) was the direct descendant of the cursive hieratic developed in Upper Egypt, and particularly at Thebes, under the Twenty-first–Twenty-second Dynasties. There can be little doubt that this document is to be dated to the formative period of abnormal hieratic, and seemingly before the process was very far advanced. In the absence of a royal name the ‘date’ in the first line of the text offers little help in identifying the king to whose reign it refers. It does, however, rule out Tefnakht and Bocchoris, the two kings who comprised the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, because neither of

This spell was first published by Spiegelberg in *Die aegyptische Sammlung des Museum-Meermanno-Westreenianum in Haag*, 14 ff. and more recently by Černý, with many additional parallel texts for the passage referring to the servile status of Ushabtis, in *Bull. inst. fr.* 41 (1942), 118 ff. See also Speleers, *Les figurines funéraires égyptiennes*, 91 f., and P. Barget, *Le Livre des Morts*, 239.

¹ Op. cit. 116 f. See also Gardiner, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 57–9.

² I have been unable to trace any of the Ushabtis of Ihafy and his tomb has not been identified.

³ Berlin, P. 3063. See G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, 1 n. 3.

⁴ *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Fourth Series.

⁵ See below nn. a, b, l, and y.

⁶ See Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library*, III, 182.

⁷ Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques en hiératique ‘anormal’ et en démotique*, XIII f.

⁸ See R. A. Parker, *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 111–14.

them attained a regnal year 14. For the same reason only Pedubast, the first king of the Twenty-third Dynasty, comes into the reckoning, but since his entire reign overlapped the latter part of the Twenty-second Dynasty, seven of whose nine kings occupied the throne for the necessary length of time, it does not extend the temporal limit under consideration. Smendes and three later kings in the Twenty-first Dynasty also reigned for more than fourteen years, so that on the basis of the 'date' the possible range extends from the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty to the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty (c. 1085-730 B.C.), with palaeographical indications favouring the second half of this period.

An archaeological detail, which has not yet been mentioned in connection with the dating of the papyrus, is the reference in the text to the thirty-six foremen. Sir Flinders Petrie remarked many years ago¹ that figures of overseers were first introduced in the Nineteenth Dynasty and continued to be made until the end of the Twenty-third Dynasty, but not later. Thus the archaeological evidence provides a *terminus ad quem* for the dating of the papyrus which is nicely in agreement with all the indications of both palaeography and style.

Translation

Year 14, second month of inundation, eighth day^a. Pedikhons, son of ^bEspenankh, son of Ḥor, the chief modeller^c of (2) amulets of the temple of Amūn, has declared^d to the beloved of the god,^e the *wereb*-priest Espernub, son of Ihafy,^f son of Iufenkhons: (3) 'As Amūn, the great god, endures, I have received from you^g the silver, (the price) of these^h 365 Ushabtisⁱ (4) and their 36 foremen^j, 401 in all,^k to my satisfaction^l—male and female slaves are (5) they^m—and I have received from you their (value in) refined silver,ⁿ (namely the price) of the 401 Ushabtis. (6) (O Ushabtis,) go quickly to work on behalf of Osiris^o for^p the beloved of the god, the *wereb*-priest Ihafy. (7) Say 'we are ready'^q whenever he will summon (8) you^r for the service of the day;^s I have received from him your silver'. So he said in the presence of^t (9) Bastet (?) -----,^u Ptaḥ and Horus, the great one of the holy place; so he said speaking with his own mouth.^v (10) The witness scribe^w Pamiu, son of Ankhpakhered, son of Djedkhonsiufankh (son of ??) Ḥerpakhered^x (??) concerning his declaration^y (?)

a. For other examples of documents with a date but no royal name, see Griffith, *op. cit.* III, 13, who points out that the king's name is often omitted in abnormal hieratic documents, and Malinine, *op. cit.* 8 n. 1. See also p. 121 above.

b. On the transcription of this common abnormal hieratic group, see R. A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, 54.

c. *Ts* in the sense of 'to model' is found in G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat*, no. 54: 'le modelage de la face (du sphinx)'. It is similarly used with the meaning 'to form' unborn bodies (see Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 307). See also Blackman, *JEA* 4 (1917), 127 n. 2. H. de Meulenaere has drawn my attention to two occurrences of *ts wdʒw* (cf. *Wb.* I, 401, 10, 11): (a) E. Otto, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 207 (= Louvre N 663), and (b) an unpublished fragment of a Saite statuette in the British Museum, no. 13010 ().

d. Malinine, *op. cit.* 8-9 n. 2, states that abnormal hieratic contracts until the reign of Taharqa are regularly introduced by *hrw pn dd* 'on this day . . . has declared'; from

¹ Petrie, *Shabtis*, 11.

the time of Taharqa this formula is sometimes abbreviated to *dd* as regularly in demotic documents. In this respect the wording of the papyrus therefore differs from the early abnormal hieratic pattern.

e. *Wb.* I, 142, 6, and II, 101, 3. See Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. On.* I, 50* f.

f. In ll. 6–7 below, the name is written more clearly (cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, II, 266, 28, who reads *Thfy šri*). Ranke, *op. cit.* I, 43, 28, gives what appears to be the feminine form of this name *Ihs*. The name *Ih*, without suffix (Ranke, *op. cit.* I, 43, 30–2), is well known (e.g. Černý, *Griffith Studies*, 55 n. 57; Malinine, *op. cit.* I4 n. 23; Parker, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, 17; and B.M. Ushabti box 35289). The horizontal line visible above the 𓆎 in the photograph of the papyrus is merely a stain, not the sign.

g. *Šsp(i) n.k.* On this idiomatic use of *šsp* (*šp*) see Malinine, *op. cit.* 18 n. 5 (also 69 n. 14), Griffith, *op. cit.* III, 222 n. 2, Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 60 n. 7 and *id.*, *The Inscription of Mes*, 18–19 n. 38.



h. Cf. Griffith, *op. cit.* III, 46 (l. 4) and 203. If ‘silver for . . .’ were intended, *r-db* would be required (cf. Malinine, *op. cit.* 66 (91) *et passim*). For *hd* in the sense of ‘payment’ see Peet in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 126.

i. Both here and in l. 5 below the word is in the plural, although the singular is more usual after the numeral in this construction (Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*, § 262, 2; Erman, *Neuaegyptische Gr.*, § 247).

j. Černý, *JEA* 34 (1948), 121, recognized the previously unknown title $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ in the hieratic inscription of a ushabti found at Gurob (Brunton and Engelbach, *Gurob*, pl. 46, 6).

k. Speleers, *Les Figurines funéraires égyptiennes*, 4 and 7, notes that 401 ushabtis were found in the Persian Period tomb of Heḳaemsaf at Saqqara (Porter, Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, 175) and suggests that the number is composed of 365, one ushabti for each day of the year, and thirty-six foremen, one for each group of ten ushabtis. Five ushabtis, presumably for the epagomenal days, would thus have no foreman. Although 364 ushabtis were found with a late burial at Deir el-Bahri (Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri*, 1911–31, 98) and a late tomb at Abusir el-Melek (*ZĀS.* 41 (1904), 8) actually contained 365 ushabtis, the number placed with a burial, to judge from the mass of evidence available, might vary from a single figure in the Twelfth to early Eighteenth Dynasties to 700 in the tomb of Sethos I. Petrie, *Shabtis*, 12–13, attaches little significance to the isolated discovery at Abusir el-Melek and does not refer to the 401 ushabtis found in the tomb of Heḳaemsaf (in which the foremen were not differentiated by their dress), but, in the light of this papyrus, it seems hard to believe that a relationship between the numbers of ushabtis provided and the number of days in the year did not exist in some cases.

l. Griffith, *op. cit.* III, 13 and 182, who renders ‘in contentment of heart’, points out that *m ib hri* is used as a technical term in legal documents written in abnormal hieratic to express the satisfaction of a party. Malinine, *op. cit.* 39 n. 10 and 69 n. 13, comments on two instances (Louvre Pap. E. 3228, 4 and Turin Pap. 246, 12) in which the 1st pers. pron. suffix is added to *hri*. He regards the expression as a compound substantive and translates ‘de mon plein gré’.

m. Černý, 'Neskhons', 117, remarks: 'Comme on achète un  on achète aussi un *oushebti* et le prix payé à l'ancien propriétaire dans un cas et au fabricant dans l'autre rend l'acquéreur maître du  ou de l'*oushebti* et lui donne le droit de propriété sur leur travail.' Cf. *ibid.* 122 (3) and n. 5 above. In the case of Ushabtis the price might be the equivalent of payment for service (Černý, *ibid.* 116).


n. *Hd wdḥ.w*. This is probably the earliest example at present known of this term, which is common in demotic (see Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 107, who translates 'vollwertig' and notes that the genitival *n* is often omitted, as in this instance). Griffith, *op. cit.* III, 80 n. 8, renders 'refined (?) silver'. Thompson, *Family Archive from Siut*, 69, gives 'refined silver' without the question-mark. The scribe wrote 'my' silver, but corrected it to 'their'. Malinine, *op. cit.* 28 n. 5 and 94 n. 18 adopted the more literal translation of *wdḥ* 'cast' (fondu). In a later discussion (*Rev. d'Égyptologie*, 19 [1967], 75 and 83 n. (t)), he prefers 'pure silver, silver of good quality'.

o. *I-dḥḥ Wsīr* 'on behalf of Osiris' or 'for the sake of Osiris'. For this meaning of *i-dḥḥ* (= *r-dḥḥ*) see *Wb.* v, 560, 2 and P. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt*, 825, 163 n. 53.


p. *Bsk . . . n* 'work for'. See Faulkner, *op. cit.* 78.

q. For this idiomatic use of *iri* see Erman, *op. cit.* § 283, *Anm.*, Wenamun, 2, 32, Černý, *op. cit.* 114 Q and Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 4th ser., 2 n. 13.

r. Literally 'At any hour of summoning you which he will make' (*iwf (r) irtf*). The scribe began to write *iw.w* but corrected it to *iwf*.

s. I am indebted to Malinine for the reading  (*wsš*) and also for drawing my attention to Erichsen, *op. cit.* 95, who shows that in demotic *wrš* is often written with this sign. Gunn, *Rec. de Trav.* 39 (1921), 108, points out that the normal meaning of *wrš* was 'to spend the whole waking day, to do something all day'. In the present context it must mean 'to perform the service of the day', a sense in which the descriptive noun *wršy* (*Wb.* I, 336, 7) is found.

t. See Malinine, *op. cit.* 120 n. 3.

u. I am unable to offer a satisfactory reading for the beginning of this line. The surviving traces of the first sign are not sufficient to be certain of the reading .

v. For the explanation of this phrase I must thank Professor Richard Parker, who points out that it may also be rendered 'with his mouth himself'. See *Wb.* v, 267, 14-16, Erichsen, *op. cit.* 626, and Griffith, *op. cit.* III, 205 n. 37.

w. See Malinine, *op. cit.* 41 n. 19.

x. It is very difficult to account for the name Harpocrates without any indication of affiliation and my reading may not be correct. It would be very unusual to find the great-grandfather of the scribe mentioned.

y. I.e. concerning the statement of the vendor Pedikhons. Malinine kindly informs me that the expression occurs in abnormal hieratic documents in the testimony of witnesses (e.g. Malinine, *op. cit.* 44, l. 10 *et passim*).

ARTIFICIAL EYES IN MUMMIES

By P. H. K. GRAY

It is generally held that the use of artificial eyes, made either of a radio-opaque material, e.g. calcite or linen (radio-lucent), was one of the major innovations introduced by the embalmers of the Twenty-first Dynasty in order to make the body more life-like. The other salient features were subcutaneous packing and a return of wrapped viscera to the body cavity. According to Dawson,¹ this new and elaborate mode of embalmment was 'maintained throughout the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties, and thereafter, less skilfully, occasionally until the 25th and 26th Dynasties'. However, the use of artificial eyes was foreshadowed in the Twentieth Dynasty as these objects were present in the mummy of Ramesses III.²

Reference to this type of 'eye' in the literature is scanty. Lucas,³ in his lengthy chapter on 'Inlaid Eyes' devotes but a few paragraphs to this variety. Elliot Smith⁴ lists their occurrence in the royal mummies, and after his examination of forty-four mummies of the priesthood of Amūn records two cases with 'stone eyes', the remainder having linen 'eyes'.⁵ MaCalister,⁶ who examined 'nearly 500' mummified heads, describes a solitary example with 'enamel plaques'. As, according to Lucas,⁷ enamel was not used in ancient Egypt, it is possible that these 'eyes' were of some form of faience. Budge⁸ states that 'In the case of women of quality, eyes made of obsidian and ivory were inserted in the eye-sockets'. However, a recent radiographic survey of a large number of mummies has shown that there was no wide discrimination between the sexes. The mummy of Ḥorsiese,⁹ which showed other Twenty-first Dynasty features, unwrapped and examined by Pettigrew in 1834 had, according to Clift, 'enamel' eyes.

In later periods the original purpose of these 'eyes', i.e. to make the body more life-like, appears to have been forgotten and 'eyes' of a symbolic nature are evident. A description of a mummy unwrapped in Exeter in 1837 by Pettigrew¹⁰ tells us, 'On each knee was a thin piece of gold, resembling the lotus flower; over each eye of the same material the providential eye of Osiris'. Pettigrew,¹¹ quoting the twelfth-century

¹ W. R. Dawson and P. H. K. Gray, *Cat. Egypt. Ant. in B.M.* (London, 1968), vol. 1, p. x.

² G. Elliot Smith, *Royal Mummies* (Cairo, 1912), 87.

³ A. Lucas, rev. J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed. (London, 1962), 117 f.

⁴ G. Elliot Smith, *op. cit.* (*vide* Table I).

⁵ G. Elliot Smith, *Contrib. to Study of Mummification in Egypt* (Cairo, 1906), 13 and 28.

⁶ A. MaCalister, *J. Anthropol. Inst.* 22-3 (1894), 116. These heads were supplied by Budge from undated mummy pits, mainly from Elephantine. See Budge, *By Nile and Tigris*.

⁷ A. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁸ British Museum, *Guide to the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms*, 1924, p. 17.

⁹ W. R. Dawson, *JEA* 20 (1934), 174.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 176. The Eye of Horus is, of course, involved.

¹¹ T. J. Pettigrew, *History of Egyptian Mummies* (London, 1834), 63.

physician Abd 'Allatif, states that gold leaves were to be found over the eyes in mummies and such was in the case of the mummy of Petemenophis¹ from the tomb of Cornelius Pollius. Radiographs of Sensaos,² also from the tomb of Cornelius Pollius, showed two circular objects, somewhat like limpet shells, over the orbits, and the 'eyes' present in the mummy of a male named Djehor³ dating from the Ptolemaic period differ greatly (radiographically) from those of the earlier times.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for Plate XXXIII, 3, and Mr. T. Mallin, Kodak Ltd., for Plate XXXIV, 1 and 2.

TABLE I. *References to artificial eyes in Royal Mummies (op. cit.)*

<i>Ramesses III.</i>	'Artificial eyes are found on this mummy', p. 87, pl. li.
<i>Ramesses IV.</i> ⁴	'In front of each collapsed eye a small onion had been pushed under the eye lid', p. 88, pls. liii and liv.
<i>Ramesses V.</i>	'Linen packed under eye lid to form artificial eyes', p. 90, pl. lv.
<i>Ramesses VI.</i>	No mention of 'eyes'.
<i>Nedjemet.</i>	Artificial eyes of 'Black and white stone', p. 96, pl. lxx.
<i>Makerē.</i> ⁵	'Stone eyes' present, p. 99, pl. lxxii.
<i>Honttowe.</i>	'Stone eyes' present, p. 103, pl. lxxv.
<i>Taiouhrit.</i>	'Stone eyes' present, p. 105, pl. lxxviii.
<i>Masherti.</i>	No mention of 'eyes'.
<i>Pinudjem II.</i>	No mention of 'eyes'.
<i>Neskhons.</i>	'Artificial eyes of stone', p. 108, pl. lxxxiii.
<i>Nestanebasher.</i>	'Stone eyes made of black and white material', p. 111, pl. lxxxviii.
<i>Djedptaheufankh.</i>	'Pieces of white stone, into the front of which a circular patch of black stone was inserted to represent pupil and iris', p. 114, pl. xcii.

TABLE 2. *Incidence of radio-opaque artificial eyes in dated mummies, recently X-rayed*

Date	No. X-rayed	Opaque 'eyes'
Dyn. 21/22 ⁶	22	10
Dyn. 21/26	1	1
Dyn. 23/25	3	Nil
Dyn. 25	1	Nil
Dyn. 26	24	2
Dyn. 27/28	3	Nil
Ptolemaic	22	1
Roman	53	1

¹ F. Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé* (1823-7), vol. II, pl. lxxi.

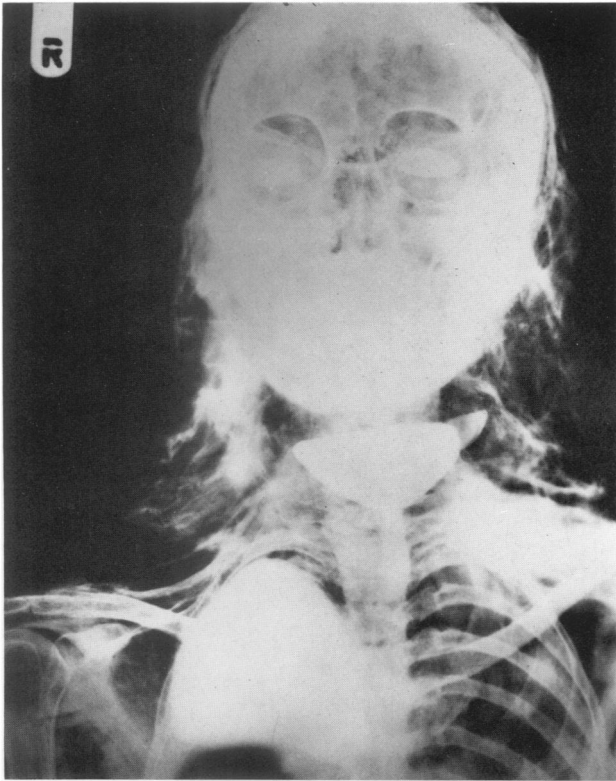
² P. H. K. Gray, *Oud. Med. Leiden*, 47 (1966), p. ii and pl. x.

³ W. R. Dawson and P. H. K. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 24, pl. xxxi d.

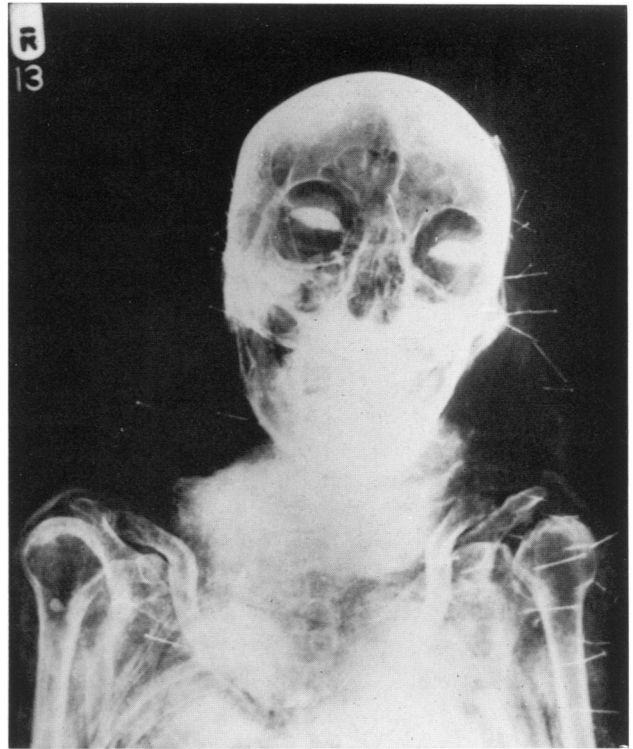
⁴ Elliot Smith informed W. R. Dawson that 'the effect was *highly realistic*'.

⁵ Within the coffin of Makerē^c was a linen parcel purporting to contain the remains of 'the baby princess Moutemhit'. M. Maspero tells us that 'La reine Mâkerî, épouse du grand-prêtre et roi Pinotmou I^{er}, mourut en mettant au monde l'enfant qui fut enseveli avec elle', pl. lxxiv. On p. 115, *Egyptian Mummies* (Elliot Smith and Dawson), a footnote states, 'Unfortunately it has not been possible to get a radiograph of this baby. When this has been done its age and sex can be determined.' A recent X-ray shows that the wrappings contain a mummified monkey; opaque artificial eyes are present. *Pulse International*, Oct. 5, 1968, p. 24.

⁶ In three cases the orbits were obscured by the petrous portion of the temporal bones; opaque 'eyes' cannot be excluded in these cases.



1. Opaque 'eyes' in mummy of female. (B.M. 22812B. Cat. no. 17)



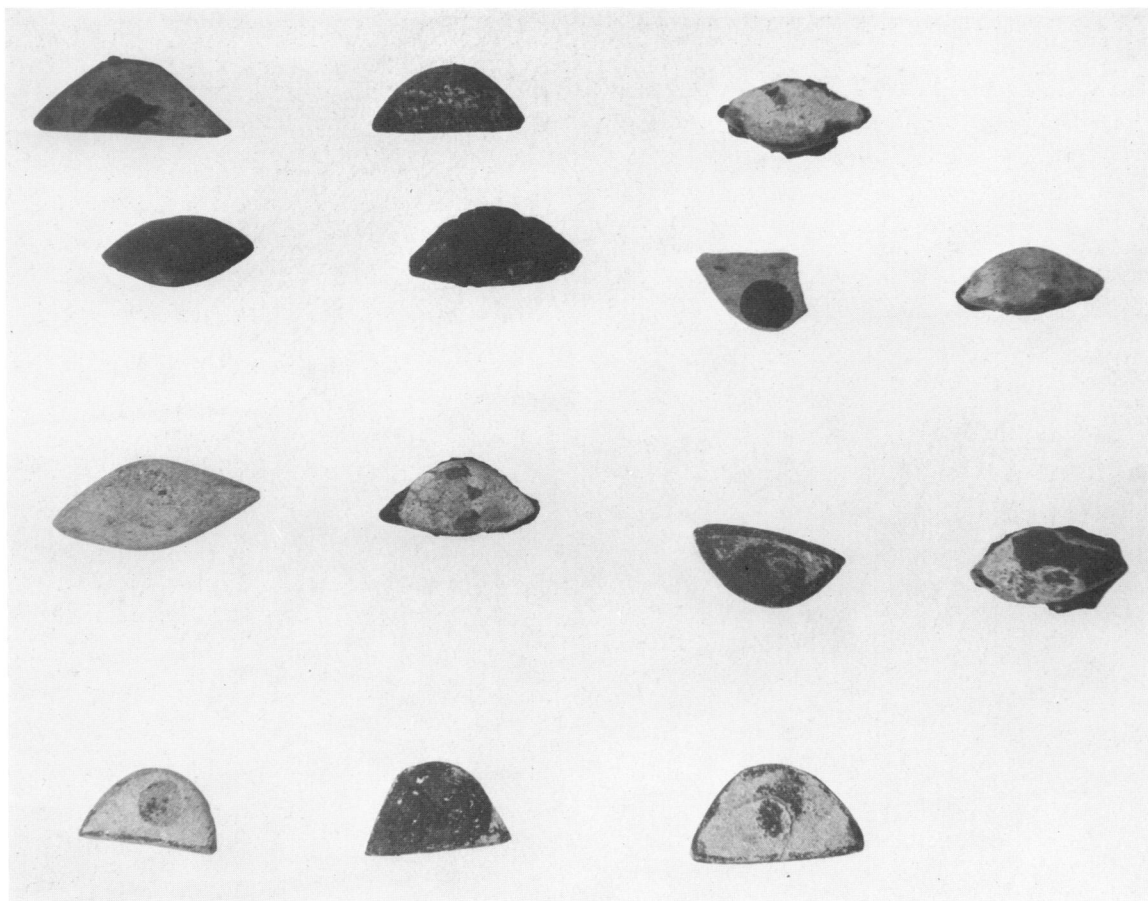
2. Opaque 'eyes' in mummy of male. (Leiden no. 13. Oud. Med. p. 15, pl. 27, 4)



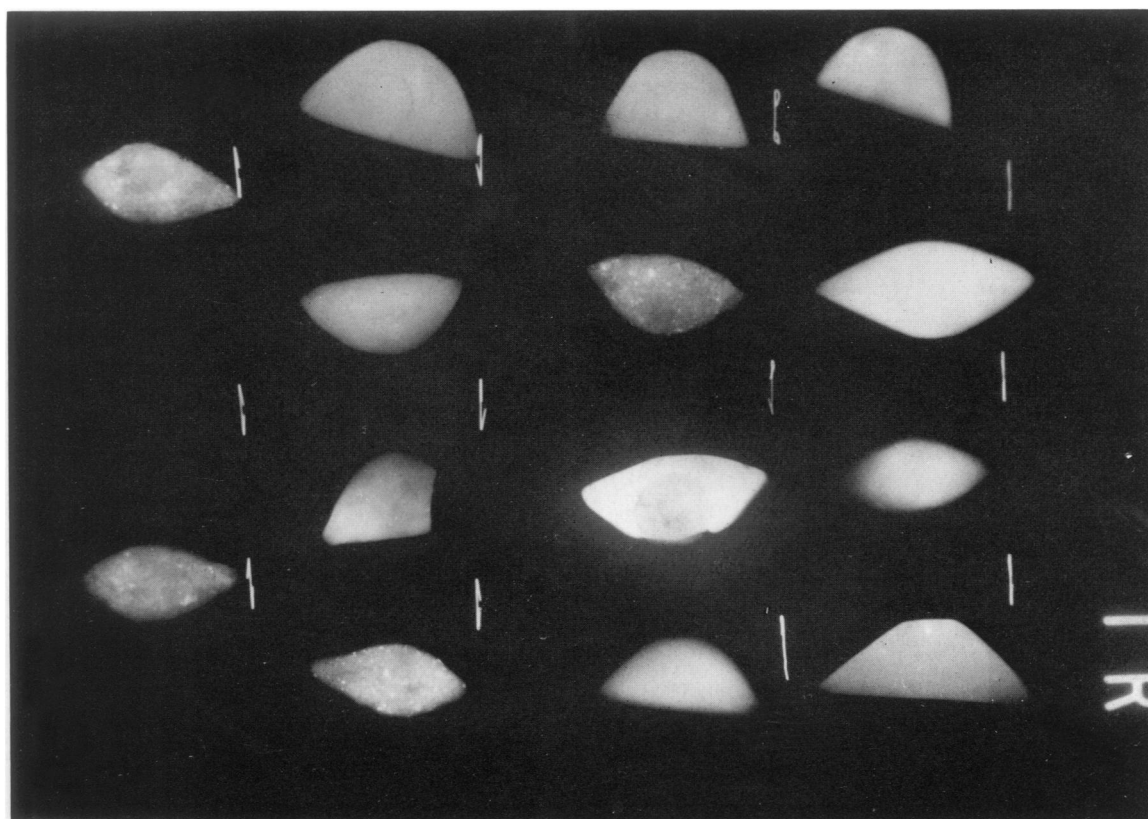
3. Left profile of mummified head with opaque 'eye' in orbital cavity (B.M. 48973)



4. Radiograph of B.M. 48973



1. Collection of artificial eyes of unknown provenance. Scale approx. 5 : 8



2. Radiograph of 1
ARTIFICIAL EYES

AN ABNORMAL HIERATIC TABLET

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ and RICHARD A. PARKER

IN 1966 Georges Posener discussed several tablets of the Late Period and their inscriptions and described as well several others, published and unpublished.¹ Among the latter is the present tablet MMA 35.3.318 and we are grateful to Dr. Henry Fischer of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for permission to publish this small but interesting document.

The tablet measures 18.5 by 12.25 cm. and is 1.5 cm. thick. A projection at the top, looking like four rings, is pierced for a suspension cord. Whether this is indeed a school tablet as Posener suggests, or is a scribe's memorandum tablet used preparatory to a formal papyrus document is uncertain though the difference in dates of the two sides, if correctly read by us, would suggest the former. The writing, however, is that of a practised scribe and reveals no beginner's awkwardness.

The tablet was found during the museum's excavations in 1930-1 in tomb no. 121 of the Theban necropolis which belonged originally to an 'Aḥmose of the Eighteenth Dynasty. His tomb was reused for later burials and the tablet may be dated palaeographically to about the reign of Taharqa. One side, which for convenience we will call the verso, has a smear resulting from an interrupted attempt to wash it clean of writing. The recto, with a complete text, makes a contribution to the economic history of the period with its specifications of interest and in addition provides an opportunity for a discussion of the problem of the *artaba*.

Recto



(Plate XXXV)

1. Year 5, I *šmw* 2.
2. The farmer of the Estate of Amūn Peteerenuphis,^a son of
3. Peḳeri,^b said to the prophet of Amūn, Ḥarsi-
4. ese, son of Djedkhensef(onkh): (I) have received from you the 30 (sacks) (in) *oipe*^c
5. of barley at interest. It is I who shall give them to you (in) year 6,
6. IIII *ḥt* 30, they being 45^d (sacks) (in) *oipe* of barley. They shall be
7. delivered to your house, (I) having nothing at all
8. to dispute with you^e. The witness^f: scribe Mentertais,
9. son of Petekhons.

a. This name, not listed in Ranke, *Personennamen*, was not uncommon at Philae in the Roman period; see Griffith, *Cat. of the Dem. Graf. of the Dodecaschoenus*, I, 249.

b. Ranke, *Personennamen*, II, 283, gives the meaning of the name as 'the vagabond'.

¹ 'Tablettes scolaires de Basse Époque', *Rev. d'Ég.* 18, 45-65, and see especially p. 51.

- c. For the reading of the sign which follows 30 as  and as an abbreviated writing of $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \square \\ \Delta \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$  'oipe', see the note which follows. Observe the resemblance to B2 of A on fig. 1.
- d. Eight months between loan and payment dates, with payment half as much as the loan, represents an effective interest rate of 75 per cent per annum.
- e. On this clause see now Malinine, *Choix de Textes Juridiques* (1953), 12–13.
- f. If *mtr-sš* were a compound title 'witness-scribe' it should not have the article. Hence we dissent from the usual rendering.

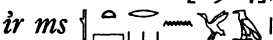
Verso

(Plate XXXV)

1. Year 3 (?), I *šmw* 11.
2. [. of] the Treasury of Amūn of
3. D[., son of] Peteipwēre,^a said to
4. [., son of Djed]amen(?)efonkh, son of Pete-
5. ḥatmeh[yt]^a: (I) have received from you the 2½ *deben* of
6. [silver of the Treasury of Ḥar]shafe at their increase,^b there being [. . .] *kitē*
7. [per 1 *deben* of silver]^c to the month.
8. [It is I who shall give them] to you with their increase, (at) your^d
9. [. on the day^e] of wishing them which you^f
10. [shall appoint], I having nothing
11. at all to dispute with you. The witness: scribe Ḥarsiese.

a. Neither name appears in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

b. The use of *hsw* 'growth, increase' for *ms* 'interest' is quite unusual.

c. The restoration is based on a passage in B.M. 10113 (Reich, *Papyri jurist. Inhalts in hierat. u. demot. Schrift aus d. B. M.*, Denks. d. Kais. Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien [1914], Bd. 55, Abh. 3, 5–8 and pls. i–ii), line 4, which reads: *iw'w hpr i ir ms*  *hd n pš ḥbd* 'they will begin to bear interest, (at the rate of) ⅓ *kitē* to the one *deben* of silver by the month'. Lacking in our text, unfortunately, is the fraction of *kitē* as interest. If it were ⅓ that would amount to 40 per cent per annum.

d. We have no suggestion for the place of delivery, feminine in gender.

e. We have found no contemporary parallel. Demotic papyri suggest our tentative restoration; see Sethe, *Bürgschaftsurkunden*, no. 7. Lines 6 and 7 read *mtw'y int:f n'k r pšy'k mš n dl̄ md̄t n pš hrw n wh:f mtw'y nty-iw iw'k (r) ir'f* 'and I shall bring him to your bureau on the day of wanting him from me which you shall appoint'. In his commentary (pp. 136–7) Sethe points out that other texts substitute *pš sw* for *pš hrw*.

f. The appearance of *tw'k* instead of the expected *iw'k* after *nty* in a future construction is very unusual. We know of no parallel.

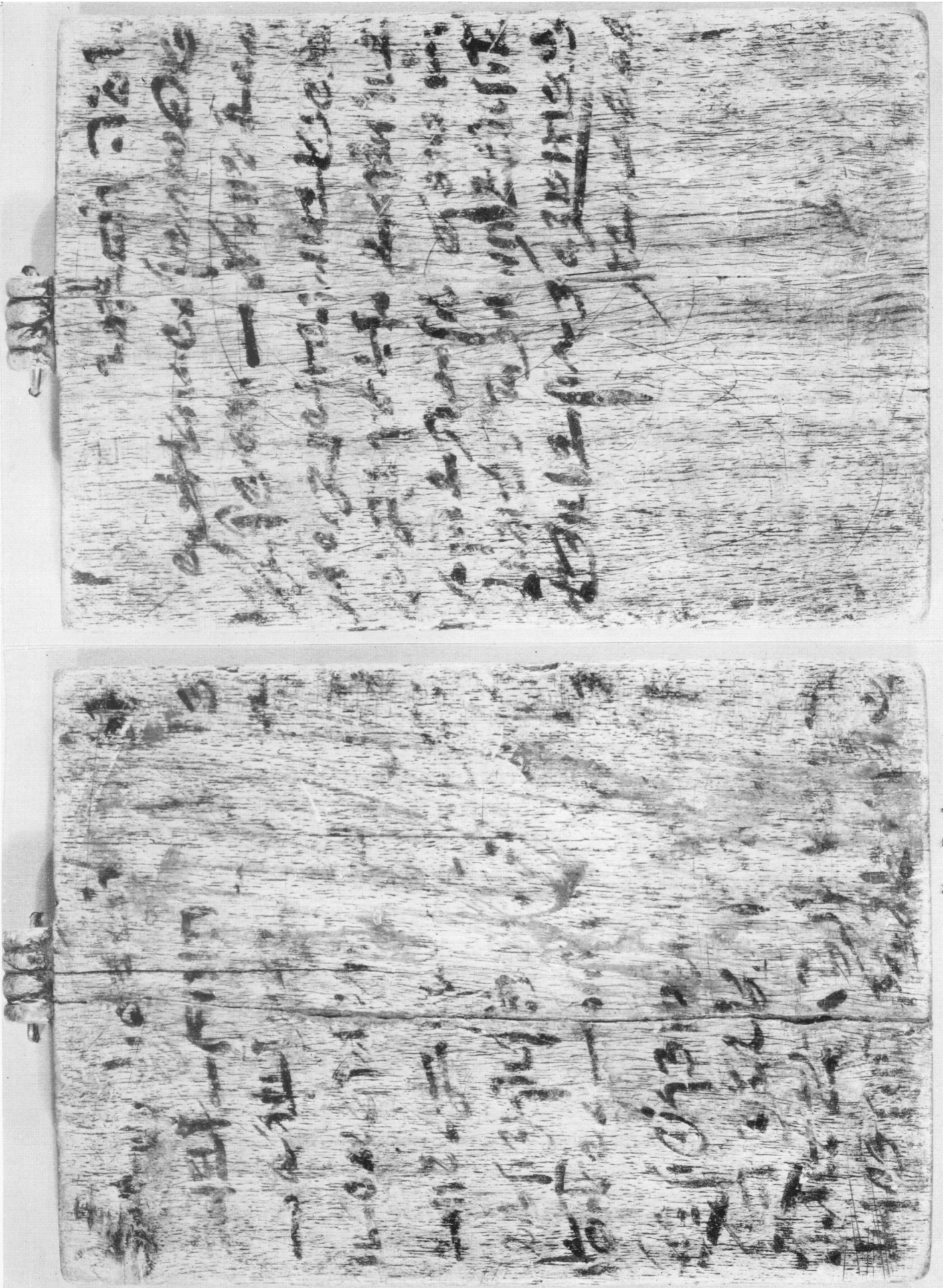
Note on the *Artaba*

It is commonly accepted that this is the name of a Persian measure which was taken over and applied to an Egyptian measure already in existence, most probably during the Persian domination of Egypt.

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ABNORMAL HIERATIC TABLET, MMA 35.3.318



ABNORMAL HIERATIC TABLET, MMA 35.3.318

The most recent pronouncement on the problem in general and the measure re-named was made in 1950 by Michel Malinine in the course of a new study of a demotic papyrus (Strassburg, no. 4).¹ In line 2 of the text Malinine read the amount of the loan as *it 27 rrtb? hn 40* 'barley, 27 artabas? of 40 hins' and he sought to demonstrate the correctness of his reading by comparison with the same phrase (*rrtb? hn 40*) in many other demotic papyri, notably one recently published by Erichsen (Berlin, no. 13614)² where in line 3 *hn* is written in full, though 40 is lacking. Malinine recalled the fact that the Egyptian measure with a capacity of 40 *hins* is known to have been the *oipe* and that this has already been suggested (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 65) as the measure taken over as the *artaba*. Malinine pointed out, however, that the complete phrase in Berlin no. 13614, which is a marriage contract, is *bdt 50 n rrtb? hn (40)* and this has its earlier counterpart in two abnormal hieratic marriage contracts (Louvre, E. 7846, 6 and E. 7849, 7) where the measure is the *hrr* (B and C, fig. 1). Now in B, 6 and C, 7, 18 there appears after the number 50 a sign which Černý had transcribed in 1932 as \smile in a passage in the abnormal hieratic Leiden Tablet (D, fig. 1, ro. 19) with the comment that it had to be either a fraction or a measure, probably the latter as a second element in writing the measure *hrr* 'sack' and possibly the measure that came to be known later as the *artaba*. He argued then that it could not be the *oipe* because the masculine article precedes it in the Louvre papyri passages.³ Malinine agreed and likewise viewed the sign as a complement to the *hrr* and the ancestor of the later *artaba*.⁴ He concluded that the *artaba* was the later name of the *hrr* and since that was originally equal to 4 *oipe* of 40 *hins* a devaluation of the *hrr* by three-fourths must have taken place.⁵

It is here that we now find it necessary to dissent from Malinine's conclusion. We prefer to see no devaluation but rather the direct development of *ipt* into *rtb*. To support our argument it will be found most instructive to examine Louvre 3228 B (A, fig. 1), the record, in abnormal hieratic probably of the reign of Shabaka, of a loan of grain with eight witnesses' attestations, seven of which afford considerable variety in writing.⁶ In all the passages *pr* or *pry* appears, followed twice by \dagger for *hrr*. When the numeral $22\frac{1}{2}$ follows *pr* or *pry* directly *hrr* is surely to be understood. The sign which then appears we take as \smile for *ipt* and understand it as the specification of the exact measure of barley used to produce the $22\frac{1}{2}$ sacks. This measure is further defined as [*ty*] *ipt 40 hn*, *tyk ipt 40 hn* or quite simply *ipt 40 hn* with *ipt* written again as an abbreviation (A 3 with [*ty*], B, 6 and B, 11 alone). The whole purport of the text would thus be that the $22\frac{1}{2}$ sacks are to be measured out in *oipe* of barley, with the *oipe* consisting of exactly 40 *hins*.

¹ 'Un prêt de céréales à l'époque de Darius I', *Kémi*, 11, 1-23.

² 'Zwei frühdemotische Urkunden aus Elephantine', *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute* II (1950) = *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*, 271-86.

³ *Griffith Studies*, 53 n. 32.

⁴ Malinine's article must be consulted for the details of the palaeography, both abnormal hieratic and demotic, of the historical development of the group which at some time became read as *artaba*.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 18-19. This conclusion was accepted by Erichsen and is embodied in his *Demotisches Glossar*, 259.

⁶ Malinine, *Choix de Textes Juridiques*, 4-9, has *ipt n pr* in all the passages, but *ipt 40 hn* is surely to be read.

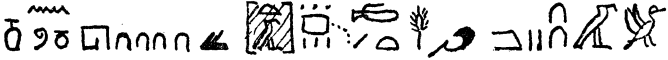

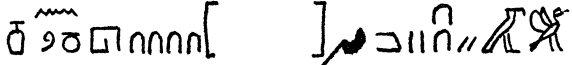
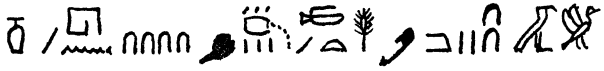
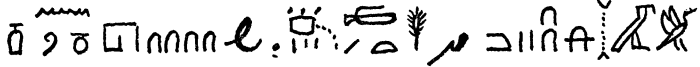

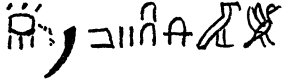
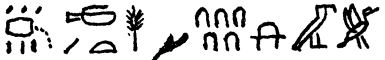



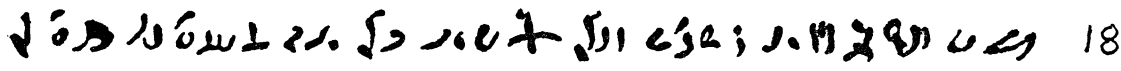

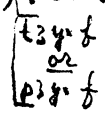
<p>A. LOUVRE 3228B</p>	
	A3
	A10
	A16
	B6
	B10/11
	B15
	B2
<p>C. LOUVRE 7849</p>	
	7
	18
<p>B. LOUVRE 7846</p>	
	6
<p>D. LEIDEN TABLET</p>	
	19
<p>E. RYLANDS 9</p>	
col. 17	
	
<p> faw hu Tzy.w-dzy Imm r sop w-w 40 kn 1 1 33 16dt gm. (y) </p>	
	

FIG. 1.

This same interpretation can be applied to all the passages referred to by Malinine, whether or not *hꜣr* or *pꜣ(y)* is written, and whether or not a specification of the *ipt* as *40 hn* (or *hn 40*) appears. Thus our present text omits the latter.

Nims in his publication of Oriental Institute papyrus 17481, a marriage document of 365 B.C., read the passage concerning grain as *bdꜣ 36 tꜣ hn 40 r itꜣ 24 tꜣ hn 40 r bdꜣ 36 tꜣ hn 40 rn* and in a footnote he commented:

The reading and interpretation of this clause concerning grain was first solved by Malinine. He, however, believed that the sign before *hn 40* should read *ꜣrtb*. In the present papyrus I think it must read *tꜣ*, being totally unlike any known writings of *ꜣrtb*. It is possible that the phrase *tꜣ hn 40* is an abbreviation of something like *tꜣ ipꜣt n hn 40*, 'the oiꜣpe of 40 hins,' i.e., the standard capacity of the oiꜣpe in dynasty XX. In some documents this becomes further abbreviated to *tꜣ 40*. The reading *tꜣ* is possible in all examples given by Malinine.¹

Though conceding that in many demotic examples the group read by Nims as *tꜣ* and by Malinine as *ꜣrtb* does indeed resemble the feminine article we prefer to take it with Malinine as in origin a writing of \curvearrowright and in all cases before the Persian period we would read it as *ipt*. That it cannot be the article *tꜣ* is clear from P. Rylands IX 17, 18 (fig. 1, E) where the group is preceded by another which must be either *tꜣyꜣf* if *ipt* is to be read or *pꜣyꜣf* if we are now to take it was *ꜣrtb*. The text would then read: 'I found 33 (sacks) of barley, (at) his *oiꜣpe* (or his *artaba*) of 40 *hins*, appropriated to Amūn of Teuzoi daily.'

This would all seem to be clear enough sailing were it not for the obvious difference in Louvre 3228 B between the writing of \curvearrowright as the abbreviation for *ipt* after the numeral and the writing of the same sign when it appears as determinative or abbreviation for *ipt* in the phrase *ipt 40 hn*. As the latter the sign is clearly written in the abnormal hieratic tradition. As the former the writing is much closer to normal hieratic. We view the difference as arising from an earlier specialization in varying contexts and see no difficulty in accepting both writings as \curvearrowright .

¹ Charles F. Nims, 'A Demotic "Document of Endowment" from the time of Nectanebo I', *MDAIK* 16 (1958), note o, p. 242.

SOME GEM-AMULETS DEPICTING HARPOCRATES SEATED ON A LOTUS FLOWER

TO THE MEMORY OF MY GREAT FRIEND
DR. ALEXANDRE PIANKOFF

By A. M. EL-KHACHAB

‘So behaupten sich Aegyptens Amulette königlich über denen fast aller anderen Völker. Es ist also die magische Sphäre, aus der es hervorgegangen ist und in der es beheimatet bleibt, wo es sich auch ansiedelt.’¹

THIS small collection of gems engraved with the figure of Harpocrates seated on the lotus capsule are, as we mentioned before,² amulets inserted in rings, which the bearer puts on his finger to have the protection of the god with whom he is in contact—especially Harpocrates, who was the most beloved of all the Egyptian deities to the Egyptian.³

The same Horus the child, *Har-pi-chrod*, is called by the Greeks Harpocrates.⁴ It is not the only name Harpocrates has; sometimes when he is combined with another god such as Khnum (the creator) he is called in the magical papyri *Ἀρπονκνοῦφισ*.⁵ The Greeks, says Perdrizet, have sought to modify the name *Ἀρποκράτης*, which for them has no meaning, into *Καρποκράτης* ‘Le maître de la moisson’.⁶

Harpocrates is the same personification of Horus ‘the divine boy, son of Osiris, born of Isis’⁷ and absorbed all his attributes; thus the Metternich Stela addresses him: ‘Heil dir, Hor, der aus Osiris hervorging und der von der göttlichen Isis geboren ist’;⁸ and so he was the soul of Osiris and the soul of the great god.⁹ The two names Horus and Harpocrates denote one God. According to Plutarch the generation and birth of Harpocrates is the same as that of Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, and the avenger of his father.¹⁰

¹ Kurt Lange, *Pyramiden, Sphinx, Pharaonen*, 105.

² El-Khachab, *Ann. Serv.* 50 (1950), 469; also idem, *ŶEA* 47 (1961), 119 ff. Cf. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*.

³ Perdrizet, *Les Terres cuites grecques d’Égypte*, 27.

⁴ *Plutarch Über Isis und Osiris*, 1, *Die Sage*; by Theodor Hopfner, 78: ‘Neben “Hor dem Kinde”, d. h. Harpi-chrod, den die Griechen Harpokrates nannten’.

⁵ *Ibid.* 88: ‘Oft wird er mit Schöpfergott Chnum kombiniert und heißt dann in den griechischen Zauberpapyri *Ἀρπονκνοῦφισ*’ (Hopfner, *Arch. Or.*³ (1931), 128).

⁶ Perdrizet, *op. cit.* 28. Cf. also Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, 355: *Hri* = *der Obere*, ‘the high’; Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, 150: ‘Horus is Helios, so called because he rules the hours’ (Horapollo); and H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 38: ‘Horus (*Hrw*) seems to mean “the distant one”.’

⁷ Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, 466.

⁸ Cf. Hopfner, *op. cit.* 87 and Golenischeff, *Metternichstele*, l. 105.

⁹ Hopfner, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ When Plut. 19, 358 E and 65, 377 B–C speaks of the birth of Horus, he identifies him with Harpocrates; cf. also Hopfner, *op. cit.* 78, who says: ‘was Plutarch . . . über die Zeugung und Geburt des Harpokrates erzählt, gilt eigentlich für die Zeugung und Geburt des einen Hor, “des Sohnes der Isis und Osiris und Rächers seines Vaters”.’ Also of his mother = τῷ πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ τιμωρεῖν Plut. 19, 358 B; cf. also Samuel Mercer, *Horus, Royal God of Egypt*, 195: ‘the last modification in the character and attributes of Horus took place when he became Harpocrates’, and p. 196: ‘the Greek writers and thinkers made no distinction between Horus son of Isis and Harpocrates.’

Hopfner¹ says that Horus the child and the god called by the Greeks Harpocrates were not two independent different gods but were two degrees of evolution of the same god, and compares Jesus the child and Jesus the saviour whom the Catholic church reveres, but naturally not as two different persons.

Harpocrates represents the young sun-god; he is the first rays of the rising sun. The magical papyrus of Paris bears witness that for the Greeks he is in general equal to the sun-god: 'I call thee the greatest god, the lord Horus-Harpocrates-Alkib-Harsamosis . . . who lightens every thing and with his own power shines through all the world.'²

As the young god of the rising sun Harpocrates was represented seated crouching on a lotus capsule; he became the personification of the sun rising from the primordial sea³ and the child raises his finger towards his lips. The narration of Plutarch (19), that Horus-Harpocrates was prematurely born, *τεκεῖν ἠλιτόμηνον*, and his lower members were weak, *ἀσθενῆ τοῖς κάτωθεν γυίοις*,⁴ was perhaps the reason for this 'geste enfantin' in which the young Horus used to be represented as a baby suckling his finger which the coins and the small objects of art as well as the ancient writers attested.⁵ According to Plutarch Isis, in order to nourish him, puts the finger in his mouth instead of the breast, *ἀντὶ μαστοῦ τὸν δάκτυλον εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ παιδίου διδοῦσαν*.⁶ Perdrizet suggests that the finger was that of Harpocrates and not of Isis, and observes that this gesture was not understood by 'les profanes' since Ovid explains it *quique premit vocem digitoque silentio suadet*;⁷ this idea of keeping silence by suppressing the voice with the finger was shared by other ancient writers, so that the gesture had been curiously interpreted by Varro as a grimace of silence, since in this way it orders Harpocrates to keep silence about the fact that Sarapis in origin may be only a human being.⁸ Thus Ausonius calls Horus the Egyptian god of silence: *Aegyptius Sigalion*. Such an interpretation is not Egyptian; Harpocrates was for Egypt just the young Helius; he was the first rays of the sunrise (as we saw above). If the position of the finger on the Graeco-Roman representation of the god was on the lips and not in the mouth, this was a matter of style. Also we see, on the coins of Alexandria and on the other objects where Harpocrates was figured as a young man, that the gesture was changed and the finger was shown away from his mouth.⁹ When he was represented as Sol he

¹ Hopfner, op. cit. 78.

² Ibid. 88; also n. 3 for P. of Paris 987 ff.; cf. 1048 ff. Also Mercer, op. cit. 111 and 130.

³ Günther Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, 488, fig. 660 (c), cf. pl. XXXVI, 9: 'als Verkörperung der aus dem Urmeere aufsteigenden Sonne'.

⁴ Plut. *Isis and Osiris (Moralia*, v, Loeb Classical Lib.), 19, 358 E. Apart from the myth, the child when a baby looks as if his legs were weak, but Harpocrates on coins is a big child standing with his legs naked and looking very normal; cf. El-Khachab, *ASAE* 50, 469 f., pl. i, 1 and 1a, 1b, and 1c.

⁵ A very interesting statuette (red terracotta) shows Harpocrates seated on earth, holding a small pot and his forefinger to mouth; his phallus is uraeus-shaped and is erected high on the left side up to the shoulder, which denotes eternity (pl. XXXVIII, 1). Hopfner, op. cit. 87, mentions also Pap. Beatty which accords with Plutarch's narration of the weak lower members of Horus.

⁶ Plut., op. cit. 16, 357 C, also Hopfner, op. cit. 88; and Perdrizet, *Les Terres cuites grecques d'Égypte*, 27.

⁷ Perdrizet, op. cit. 27 and Ovid, *Metam.* 9. 692.

⁸ Hopfner, op. cit. 87 and notes 10, 12 + 14; cf. St. Augustine, *Civ. Dei.* v. 18. 5 (Loeb Cl. Lib.): 'Varro existimat ut homines eos fuisse taceretur.'

⁹ S. Poole, *B.M. Cat. of Gr. Coins—Alexandrian Coins*, no. 764, a piece of bullion under Hadrian; the reverse's type is a bust of Harpocrates of Pelusium crowned with *hemhem* with a pomegranate in front (pl. xvii),

had the gesture of Sol, as we shall see later, on one of the gems (pl. XXXVI, 4) in our collection.

Hopfner observed that the mystic interpretation of the gesture is not Egyptian, for the finger held to mouth means for the Egyptian 'speak', also 'eat'; but to keep silence is expressed by covering the mouth with the whole hand.¹

Horus-Harpocrates, the young sun, was to the Late Egyptian Rē^c; he is the renewal of the old and forgotten primeval god, 'O old who grows young in his time, the old who is still a child.' This has been rightly explained, according to Barb,² as referring to the sun that renews itself daily. For the Greek he was called Apollo and was identified with the latter through his birth, as a text cited by Brugsch states, on an island in the marshes: 'ich, die Göttin, gebar den Hor, den Sohn des Osiris, auf einer Insel in der Sumpfegend.' This makes a kind of parallelism with the birth of Apollo on the island of Delos.³ According to the Metternich stela Isis says, 'I have given birth to Horus, the son of Osiris in the papyrus-nest.'⁴ The Romans identified him with Sol.⁵ The prominent form in which Horus was represented in Egypt was the winged solar disc type.⁶ This original disc which is the natural sun gave the idea in later periods, during the Graeco-Roman era, of the cosmic *clipeus*, the 'world circle', and they put the cosmocrator in it as god, or king, as a reflection of the world god;⁷ cf. the *imago* of Caracalla *in suo clipeo* (pl. XXXVII, 13). This *imago clipeata* was at first depicted with a god, then with the apotheosized ruler, then with the dead man.⁸

cf. also pl. i, 16 and pl. xvii, a bullion coin of Gallienus; on the reverse: Harpocrates standing, looking head to right, with *hemhem* crown, holds vase and uncertain object; to his left Paniskos stands, head to right, holding *pedum*, with palm to right. Cf. also pl. XXXVII, 15.

¹ Hopfner, *op. cit.* 88.

² Alphons A. Barb, 'Der Heilige und die Schlangen', *Mitt. der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 82 (1953), 20: 'Horus ist die "Erneuerung" des alten, fernen und vergessenen Ur-Gottes; "O Alter, der sich in seiner Zeit verjüngt, . . . Alter, der wieder zum Kinde wird . . ." Man hat dies sicherlich in gewissem Sinne mit Recht auf die sich täglich erneuernde Sonne gedeutet.'

³ Hopfner, *op. cit.* 86 and note 8. A text mentioned in Brugsch, *Thes.* 608; cf. also Mercer, *op. cit.* 196. Bonner, *op. cit.* 4 mentions a ring with the inscr.: Μέγας Ὠρος Ἀπόλλων Ἀρποκράτης ἐύλατος τῷ φοροῦντι. Cf. also Herod. II, 144.

⁴ Golenisheff, *Metternichstela*, 15, l. 168. Also Hopfner, *op. cit.* 86. Perhaps their role in the triads of the mysteries of each country were similar; cf. Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie*. For Horus Apollo see Brugsch, *Relig.* 558.

⁵ *Mél. de l'Univ. de Saint Joseph*, xv (1930), René Mouterde, *Le Glaive de Dardanos*, 63; cf. also A. A. Barb, *JWCI* 27 (1966), 8. Horus-Harpocrates, the sun-god born from a lotus flower, or Karios replacing Kronos-Chronos, the New Aion: both were soon identified with Christ.

⁶ Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, 273 and 564. Cf. also *ibid.* 545, the figure of the winged sun-disc, and 558, fig. of the Egyptian Horus-Apollo. Maurice Alliot, *Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, 27, 'Horus d'Edfou — grand-dieu-du-ciel; "le (dieu)-au-plumage-moucheté" qui sort de l'horizon, le vénérable "Disque-ailé" en tête de tous les Naos'; also p. 688, 'Il étendit ses ailes, en disque-ailé divin, au-dessus de la proue de la barque d'Harakht . . .'; this passage is engraved under the scene of the rite of the feast of Mechir; cf. also p. 708, no. 3, 'Horus à Edfou sous la forme de disque-ailé solaire'. Also p. 711, 'Il monta (en planant) jusqu'aux cieux sous (forme d'un) grand disque-ailé . . .', etc., and p. 755, 'Il se métamorphosa en disque-ailé sur la proue de la barque de Rà—cf. Edfou, II, 114, 3-4.'

⁷ H. P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, 93-4; Philon d'Alex. 'voit dans le soleil l'image du Logos divin ou même du Dieu Suprême': F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, I, 355, Note C, 'Le soleil symbole du Christ'.

⁸ L'Orange, 94: the disc on the Assyrian and Achaemenian monuments was divided into an inner circle and plastically projecting rim, sometimes with a representation of the zodiac. Cf. Alex. Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri*, 73: 'The representation of the disk symbolises the eternity of movement.'

Horus was regarded as the disc of the sun who ascends to the sky and settles afar,¹ in the middle of the sky, in the highest spot (*ὑψωμα*) of the sun as cosmocrator.²

Following the evolution of ideas through the Graeco-Roman syncretism we find in the Cairo Museum two interesting *imagines clipeatae*; one is a bust of Harpocrates and the other is a bust of Sarapis:

1. Harpocrates *hieracocephalic*, on his head a small *pskhent* laureated, with ribbons falling on shoulders, wears a military dress (cuirass), with knot on breast; behind his head is the radiated sun-disc or the immortal circle of God, as it was called later. The disc is partly broken, also the god's nose. Limestone, 0.51 cm. in length (pl. XXXVII, 11) J. 66143.

2. Bust of Sarapis in the rimmed disc-*clipeus*, crowned with modius, facing. Limestone, 0.40 cm. in diameter (pl. XXXVII, 12) J. 764825.

This late representation of the *imago mundi*³ of the two solar gods Sarapis and his son Harpocrates in Roman times is the continuity of the same conception in the Pharaonic period as was mentioned in the *Livre des Portes*:⁴ *Rē* is 'he who is in his disc, the great god in many forms'; cf. also the invocation which figures Amen-*Rē* as 'this august god of eternity', 'he embraces the sky when he appears as a disc in the morning'.

The influence of this evolution is obviously seen in the winged sun-disc, in the Egyptian Museum (J. 71264); here the two uraei are replaced by two Roman Agathodaemons, one crowned with the *pskhent* as Osiris and the other with the hairdress of Isis (pls. XXXVII, 17; XXXVIII, 2). The disc itself became different from the usual old winged one of Horus of Beḥdet, for the idea of trinity is much more evident. On this monument we see the two serpents who represent Isis and Osiris forming the celestial trinity altogether with the disc. For on the winged disc of Horus of Beḥdet the two uraei represent the south and north of Egypt as Horus the King (*infra*, p. 144 n. 3) just as was illustrated on the Alexandrian coins, on the reverse of a piece of money belonging to Hadrian. *Obverse*: ΑΥΤΚΑΙΤΡΑΙΑ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΚΕΒ bust to right, laureated, with palud. and cuirass and aegis. B.M. no. 749, pl. xiv. Compare two jugate busts of Sarapis to right with modius on head and of Isis with her hairdress to left; between them, above, the child Harpocrates standing naked, finger to mouth, and holding *cornucopiae*, beneath them eagle flying, facing head to left, wings spread; in field L and IH (pl. XXXVII, 19). Still on another monument the disc was changed into a bust of Helius (Christ) radiated, facing; his two arms form two serpents coming from his shoulders and rising up on both sides of the bust; that on the right represents Osiris crowned with *pskhent*, and that on the left represents Isis with her typical hairdress (pl. XXXVIII, 3). This was in the collection of the antiquities of the merchant K. Hamouda in Cairo.

The triad here is evident, but one also can see, in this monument, a gnostic nuance; for in the mode of the Kabbalah, the two arms of God or the first cause, the infinite light, the *Ensof* symbolize the second triad of the sephiroth, since the right arm is love, *Chesed*, and the left one is justice or strength, *geburah*. The former, *Chesed*, is

¹ Golenisheff, op. cit. line 83.

² Hopfner, op. cit. 89.

³ L'Orange, op. cit. 94.

⁴ Alex. Piankoff, 'Les grandes compositions religieuses du Nouvel Empire et la réforme d'Amarna', 214 and n. 5 and 215 n. 9; *BIFAO* 62 (1964), 207 ff.

the life-begetting principle, while the left arm represents might and from the union of the two comes *tifereth*, beauty or rather mercy, *rachamím*, which is the eminent quality and principle of the Christian teaching,¹ and the assurance of the moral order of the world.

The tendency in the late period to emphasize the trinity permits us to accept Goodenough's idea that the two buds in the lotus stem with Harpocrates on the cup denote the trinity.²

From the tomb of a certain Eretes in Eretria, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, some small clipeiform terracottas represent the radiated head of Helios in the centre now and then with stars around it; they give also an *imago* of Jupiter in the middle of heaven seated on a throne (*Sol in suo clipeo*).³

This heliolatry deepened during the Graeco-Roman period along with the cult of the imperial cosmocrator,⁴ and the *imagines clipeatae* of the Roman Emperors and the spread of Mithraism⁵ influenced Christianity, which not only adopted the solar motifs, but also gave them a new philosophy.

Thus we find the representation of Jesus Christ on the lotus in the manner of the typical representation of Harpocrates on the lotus which Iamblichus explains as denoting superiority over slime, *ὑπεροχὴν τε ὑπὲρ τὴν ἰλύν*,⁶ which he says enigmatically does not touch the slime, *μὴ ψαύουσιν μηδαμῶς τῆς ἰλύος*. Then he indicates the intellectual fiery hegemony, *καὶ ἡγεμονίαν νοερὰν καὶ ἐμπύριον ἐπιδείκνυται*, because every part of the lotus appears circular, *κυκλοτερῆ*: its leaves and fruits are mentioned, but to this circular movement is related energy of mind, *ἥπερ δῆμόνη κινήσει τῆ κατὰ κύκλον νοῦ ἐνέργειά ἐστι συγγενής*, which appeared of the same nature and just as one order and one reason.⁷ But he also explains the seated god: 'he (the god) seated himself above this hegemony and energy; great and saintly in his transcendent simplicity, he remains by himself'.⁷

¹ The first triad of the ten sephiroth, which are the qualities or the agencies serving as the media for the manifestations of God in the finite, represents Him as the Thinker of the universe. The second triad interprets Him as the moral power of the universe, and the third one represents the material universe; cf. Isidore Epstein, *Judaism—a Historical Presentation*, 235–336; also Budge, *Amulets and Talismans*, 371 f.; also Serge Hutin, *Dictionnaire des religions* (1954), s.v. Kabbalah.

² Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, II, 255 n. 465.

³ L'Orange, op. cit. 94, fig. 66 and 95, fig. 76.

⁴ Ibid. 97.

⁵ El Khachab, 'Ο "ΚΑΡΑΚΑΛΛΟΣ" ΚΟΣΜΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ', *JEA* 47 (1961), 119 f.

⁶ Jamblique, *Les Mystères d'Ég.*, ed. Édouard des Places (Coll. Budé), 7, 2. Cf. also Mayassis, *Mystères et initiations de l'Égypte anc.* 63. See further Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, for the representation of Horus as frog on lotus, figured on a vase (Kopp, *Stud.* III, 31), fig. 6, p. 131, § 517, and pl. XXXVI, 8; Hopfner explains, following Iamblichus, 7, 2, that the slime is to the Egyptians 'all that is corporeal and material, or the engendering and nourishing power in nature'. It is thus the first and fundamental principle of elements and its active power. But the divinity which is the cause of creation and is represented also in the elements stands superior and incorporeal, immaterial, unborn and indivisible, unique in itself, enveloped and hidden in itself. But because it embraces also all things in the universe, one therefore says symbolically that the divinity comes out of the slime, but stands high above and separated from it.

For the frog itself as a symbol denotes resurrection. There can be no doubt of that, as Lange says, because of the occasional inscription which was added, *I am resurrection*; see Kurt Lange, *Pyramiden, Sphinx, Pharaonen*, 111; cf. also Manfred Lurker, *Symbole der alten Aegypten*, s.v. Frosch; Goodyear, *The Lotus and Egyptian God*, 13; Perdrizet, op. cit. 135 (no. 360): 'La déesse grenouille Haqit avait existé avant la création, dans les eaux primordiales'; also Brugsch, *Relig.* 158—'Symbol für den Begriff der Genesis'.

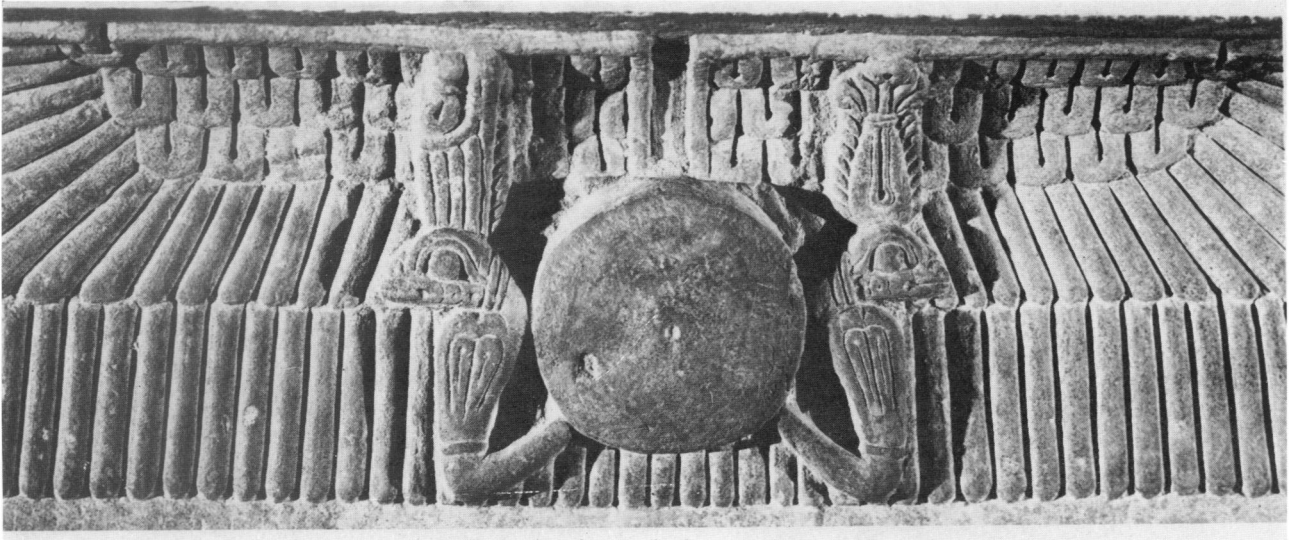
⁷ Iamblichus, 7, 2.



HARPOCRATES ON THE LOTUS



HARPOCRATES AND SUN-WORSHIP



2. Winged sun-disc with uraei representing Isis and Osiris (cf. pl. XXXVII, 17)



1. Harpocrates with uraeus-shaped phallus (red terracotta)



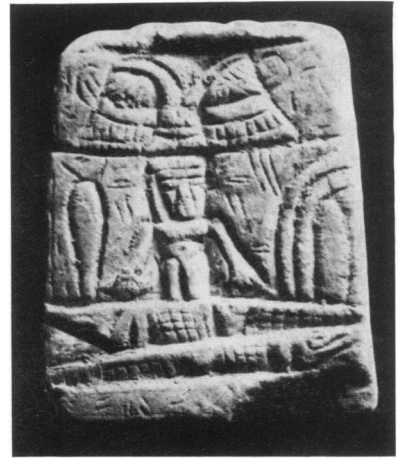
4. Horus on the crocodiles (Cairo Mus. JE 46341)



3. Radiate Helius (Christ) with serpent-arms representing Isis and Osiris



1. Small stela with 'Horus on the Crocodiles' from Sakha (Ptolemaic)



2. Another Horus Stela from Sakha (Ptolemaic)



3. Terracotta figurine of Sarapis or Osiris between two serpents (Könen Collection)



4. Eros standing on the lotus flower

Harpocrates, who with Sarapis and Isis formed the triad on which the official Graeco-Egyptian cult was based,¹ not only in Alexandria but in the Fayûm and Philae,¹ became a private god of the home and of the lower classes.² Therefore he played an enduring role in magic and remained a powerful god long after the appearance of Christianity in Egypt.³

This solar background of creed and art relating to Harpocrates is consonant with the fact that the figure of Horus was applied in early Christian iconography to our Saviour, as was shown by W. Drexler.⁴ So we see also Jesus Christ on the snake (or dragon) and on the lion in a wall-painting from Alexandria,⁵ which replaced the representation of Horus with the pantheos head of Bes. These Jewish and Christian representations of the figure of Harpocrates constitute an enormous collection of magical monuments as stelae and gems. This religious spirit is, as Barb deduces, the expectation of the arrival of a Saviour in the world as a child ('Erwartung des als Kind in die Welt kommenden Erlösers') who will make all things new and who is the incarnation of all gods of the Greeks and Romans in the form of Kronos identified with the Jewish God,⁶ and is mentioned with Isis side by side with Jewish archangels and with Jesus.⁷

Even the cross was represented on the winged solar disc (pl. XXXVII, 20) which was the exclusive symbol of Horus as mentioned above. This representation meant the new victorious (*invictus*) Sol or Jesus, and in this new religion, Christianity,⁸ he was identified with the Sun as shown by the dedication made by the courtiers of the king of

¹ Samuel Mercer, *Horus Royal God of Egypt*, 131.

² *Ibid.*; cf. also Perdrizet, *op. cit.* 27.

⁴ Barb, *JWCI*, 27, 15.

³ Mercer, *op. cit.* 131.

⁵ *Ibid.* fig. 2 f. (pl. 2).

⁶ Barb, 'Der Heilige und die Schlangen', *Mitt. Anthropol. Wien*, 82 (1953), 16-17 and 20, mentions a number of magical stelae of bronze and stone showing Horus with various representations of other Egyptian gods, and Horus standing on two crocodiles and holding in his two hands two serpents, a lion, scorpions, and gazelles; cf. also Golenischeff, *Metternichstele*, 18; Jelínková-Reymond, *Les Inscr. de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-Her-le-Sauveur*, fig. 4; Helen Jacquet-Gordon, 'Two Stelae of Horus-on-the-crocodiles', 53-64, in *Brooklyn Museum Annual*, 7 (1965-6). All the stela is covered with hieroglyphs, and the person who uses the magic of this monument will gain cure from the scorpion's sting or from the bite of the serpent or from the harm of similar animals. So the simple victim of such injuries certainly will be cured if he uses his Horus amulet rightly. Water is sprinkled on the monument in order to gather in it the magical power of the texts and images, and flows into the basin beneath. From it the victim can, as may be needed, employ the healing water.

Among these different Horus stelae there are small types of different materials for the private use of homes. One plunged them for some time in a water vessel and the healing water would then be drunk by the patient or used from outside. In the excavation in Sakha (1963) I found two small Horus amulet stelae; Horus facing, standing on two crocodiles, with snakes in his hands (pl. XXXIX, 1 and 2). These are rough-work limestone and can be dated from the Ptolemaic period. Among these groups of magical healing stelae, a very interesting representation on a stela in Cairo Mus. represents the god-saviour 'Soter' Shedou who, like Horus, stands on two crocodiles, and holds serpents, a scorpion, a gazelle, and a lion. This divinity is also figured standing in a chariot, to right, drawn by two griffons harassing two crocodiles, and the god shoots arrows at the evil serpents. See Y. Leibovitch, 'Un nouveau dieu égypto-cananéen', *ASAE* 48, 436-7 and fig. 2. Cf. Hauteccœur, *Mystique et architecture*, 194-5; Christ (Sol) defeats the evil animals and demons; cf. Psalms 91:13.

⁷ Barb, 'Der Heilige usw.' 20; Mercer, *op. cit.* 131, and *ZÄS*, 32 (1894), 47 ff.

⁸ *Theurgia or the Egyptian Mysteries* by Iamblichus, translated by Alex. Wilder, 240 note †: 'Because he is superior to the universe he is spread out over it.' Also note ††: 'The representation of the winged disk so common in the Egyptian symbolism is here denoted.' Hauteccœur, *op. cit.* 182, explains 'Le Soleil ailé' as 'victoire et ἀνάστασις ou la resurrection du seigneur comme l'ἀνατολή, celle du Soleil'.

Persia: *Διὸς Ἡλίου μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ Ἰησοῦ*;¹ for the winged solar disc or the world ring was transformed into the *clipeus, imago mundi*, or cosmos.²

The monuments here studied are all depicted with the local Egyptian representation of the Egyptian sun-god Harpocrates, which offered the Graeco-Roman period a favourable artistic theme for sculpture, inscriptions, coins, and gems, that is Horus the child or the young, with the infant lock resting on his right side and with his right hand's forefinger to mouth, while he holds in the other hand the flail;³ he is seated on a lotus capsule. This lotus flower was for the Egyptians a kind of national symbol, which refers to the power of life existing, the fecundative power of the Nile⁴ or the *Urwasser*.

This type of Harpocrates on the cup of the lotus means, as Plutarch states, that the Egyptians do not think that the sun rises as a new-born baby from the lotus, but they picture the sunrise to indicate enigmatically in this manner the kindling of the sun from the waters. Plutarch also tells us that the Egyptians, to show the beginning of the sunrise, paint a very young child sitting on a lotus flower.⁵ Plutarch in these two passages wanted to show that the Egyptians do not mean that the tales actually happened in the manner they are related.⁶

But Moret⁷ considers that what the author of the *De Iside et Osiride* said is different from what the Egyptians believed and that the lotus for the Egyptians is 'l'agent de la naissance miraculeuse quotidienne du soleil', and when Rē, Nefertum, or Horus is figured standing on the lotus cup or squatting on the white flower, 'cela signifie en Égypte comme dans l'Inde que l'artiste a représenté ce dieu à sa naissance ou bien au moment où il renouvelle sa vie par une naissance miraculeuse'.⁸ Support for this

¹ F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, I, 355: 'Le Christ est "la Lumière du monde" (S. Jean viii, 12)'; Meliton (*Pitra Analecta sacra*, II, 5) compares the sun that sinks in the ocean to Jesus baptized in Jordan and mentions that he is *μόνος Ἡλίου οὐτός*. Also Jesus was called 'Sun of Righteousness' (Gr. *Ἡλίου Δικαιοσύνης*). Cumont mentions that in the *Διηγήσεις τῶν ἐν Περσίδι πραχθέντων*, 'les mages de la cour du roi de Perse font cette dédicace' (mentioned above). Cf. Michaelides, 'Vestiges du culte solaire parmi les chrétiens d'Ég.', *BSA Copte*, 13 (1948-9), 41. Also cf. above, p. 137 n. 8 for the winged solar disc and Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, II, 272: 'the birth of Harpocrates who was the young sun born each day may be replaced even in the Talmud when it is said that at the birth of Moses the whole house was filled with light'; then he says, 'Infancy stories of all heroes were apt to be enriched from that of the great Horus-Harpocrates. It is interesting to see that these details got into the legends of Jews about their heroes as well as in Christian stories of Jesus.'

² L'Orange, op. cit. 92.

³ Brugsch, *Relig.* 355; Hopfner, op. cit. I, 88; Perdrizet, op. cit. 28: 'c'est un type fréquemment à l'époque romaine'; also Lanzone, *Dict. pl.* 214, no. 1; Goodenough, op. cit. II, 255. The description of the bronze piece of coin under Emperor Hadrian found in Sakha (1963) is: *Obv.* ΑΥΤΚ . . . (effaced) ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟCCEB. Head bare to left, with aegis. *Rev.* Harpocrates seated crouched to left on lotus cup, forefinger of left hand to mouth, holds with right hand (?) (obscure); crowned with disc and (horns?)—(Back view). In field, ΕΝ[Ν] ΕΑΚ[Δ] (not clear). Only one bud appears on the left side of lotus, the other is effaced (pl. XXXVI, 7). Cf. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini*, no. 1725, tav. XIV.

⁴ Siegfried Morenz, *Der Gott auf der Blume*, 43, and Moret, 'Le lotus et la naissance des dieux', in *J. asiatique* (1917), 500; Perdrizet, op. cit. 28.

⁵ Plut., *Isis and Osiris*, II, 355 B-C., and *Oracles at Delphi* (De Pythiae Oraculis), 400 A.

⁶ Plut., *Isis and Osiris*, II, 355 B.

⁷ Moret, op. cit. 499-500 n. 1; also Mercer, op. cit. 130, 'Harpocrates God of rising sun', and 116 'sitting on the lotus or rising from it'. Also Brugsch, *Relig.* 345-55.

⁸ Moret, op. cit. 502.

idea comes from the representation of Harpocrates on the lotus cup flanked by the midwife Tawert and Bes.¹ In reality this idea had been clearly illustrated by a very interesting terracotta recently added to the collection of Dr. Ludwig Könen, who kindly showed it to me and offered me the photograph for this study. This important piece represents Harpocrates seated on the lotus cup holding the fecundative jar,² forefinger of right hand to mouth, a great sun-disc behind him; in the interior of the lotus itself appears within the leaves Sarapis (the upper part of his body), or Osiris, the father of Harpocrates and the head of the triad of Alexandria, with modius on head, and flanked on both his sides by two great serpents (pls. XXXVI, 10; XXXIX, 3).

The theological composition which the artist ingeniously composed in this terracotta concretely illustrates the conception of the resurrection of the celestial movement of the sinking 'sun setting' represented by Sarapis who descends in the bottom of the lotus as the god of the dead in the underworld denoted by the two serpents which replace 'Kerberos', the infernal dog of the chthonian Sarapis as the Greek Hades.³ Or as Brugsch calls it the 'Sonne der Unter himmelshemisphäre'. In its circulation there is reborn the child Harpocrates, the son of Oserapis and Isis, 'als der zum neuen Dasein wieder entstandene Osiris (Sarapis)' to the upper hemisphere, 'der junge Horus zur oberen Hemisphäre'. Then the arrival to the summit in midday is here symbolized by the great solar disc behind Harpocrates.

This conception of the circulation of the sun and of the moon means that as Osiris the father is reflected in the lower hemisphere, so the young Horus is symbolized in the upper hemisphere.

According to Brugsch⁴ the god of light is 'ein Kind am Morgen, ein Jüngling zur Mittagzeit, ein Greis am Abend'.

Brugsch remarks that Plutarch rightly observed that Horus was born about the solstice of winter and that the Egyptians celebrate the days of his birth after the spring equinox.⁵

This concept is due to the nature of the lotus flower itself, which is the second element in the subject of our gems. By night it closes its leaves and submerges so deep

¹ Moret, *ibid.*: 'Il est l'agent de la naissance quotidienne du Soleil'; cf. Morenz, *op. cit.* 61, especially 48: 'Man kann aber genauer sagen: Der Gott wird in der Blume geboren. Er öffnete seine Augen in dem Lotos, als er aus dem Nun hervorging.' Also see Erman, *Rel.* (tr. Wild), 87: the lotus in which the child is seated 'eût poussé de l'eau primordiale'. Goodyear, *The Grammar of Lotus. A New Hist. of Classical Ornament as a Development of Sun Worship*, 17, plausibly urges that 'the sun coming from Nun was preceded by a matter-of-fact observation of a primitive race on the Eastern African shore' and that 'the sun visibly rising from the sea was conceived actually to have such origin'. Cf. Morenz, *op. cit.* 48 and fig. 9; also Fr. Daumas, *Les Mammisis de Dendara*, pl. xcv, fig. A. 287; 'face intérieure des Architraves', fig. B, 'L'Entablement', p. 271.

² Professor Dr. Könen is the Professor of Papyrology in the University of Cologne. Cf. the doubtful inscription in hieroglyphic for the Greek word *χρημβοπάστης* in *ASAE* 36, 115-16, xxxvi (Guéraud et Kuentz, 'Crépuscule d'un dieu. Harpocrate').

³ Roeder in *PW*, s.v. Sarapis: 'Eine besondere Eigentümlichkeit ist der Höllenhund Kerberos' (and the Egyptians have a similar form). But he is more frightful when he is figured with one or more great serpents around him; they play a big role in Egyptian eschatology. Cf. also Perdrizet, *op. cit.* 74. For the name of Sarapis and Oserapis, see C. Bradford Wells, *Historia*, 11 (1962), 295, 'The Discovery of Sarapis and the Foundations of Alexandria'.

⁴ Brugsch, *Relig.* 355-6.

⁵ Plut., *Isis and Osiris*, 65, 376 B-C. Cf. Hopfner, *Über Isis u. Osiris*, II, 245.

under the water, that the hand cannot reach it. At dawn it directs itself eastwards to the light, and raises itself above the water and opens again.¹ The Egyptians believed or rather observed this relationship between the sun and the lotus, and represented the young sun-god of the sunrise seated above its capsule; it was the symbol of light.²

Between the leaves of this august lotus, the primordial plant, lies the sun-god, 'à l'abri du contact d'eau', and illumines the earth which was in darkness. Rē^c in the beginning of time did as Horus did: he separated the dark from the light.³ The lotus itself was the agent of the daily birth of the sun, and as a place of rebirth of the god, it became a theme of the iconography and the liturgy of all the gods.⁴

So other sun-gods came out of it, Rē^c himself 'the selfborn, who comes out from Nun, the unique one of the great lotus'⁵ and the sun-god who 'emerges as the child in Hermonthis, as the lotus emerges from the great sea'.

Also Nefertum 'raises himself' as in the Pyramid Text of Wenis.⁶ Compare the representations of the Graeco-Roman divinities represented standing or seated on the lotus; thus pl. XXXIX, 4 shows Eros standing on the lotus flower.

The primeval origin of the lotus is stated in the hieroglyphic texts. In one representation in Denderah the king offers the sun-god a lotus flower, the symbol of the sun, which was in the beginning the glorious lily of the great water.⁷

In the Book of the Dead (81A; B, 4) the lotus is said to come forth out of the light;⁸ and, as we mentioned above, the *Urlotos* is the symbol of the resurrection and it is well illustrated by the representation of the head of kings on the lotus flower, as, for example, the wooden head of Tutankhamūn on the lotus.⁹

It is then one of the ways of introducing the dead to the divine life in the rebirth by the lotus,¹⁰ so that men after death can be reborn from the lotus as the gods: 'I renew my life after death like Rē^c.'¹¹ In the Horus myth from Edfu the king is called

¹ Manfred Lurker, *Symbole der alten Aegypter*, s.v. Lotos; cf. Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber*, 131, § 517.

² Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber*, 97, § 393: like the Heliotropion, the lotus also gradually unfolds itself with sunrise. He continues § 498, p. 119: 'Two fragments from the magical Leiden Pap. mention the ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνθη τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀστέρων.' In these two fragments the lotus is first the flower of Mars and then the flower of Jupiter; cf. *ibid.* 131, § 517, quoting Pliny, *HN* 13. 32, 17. 3 on the lotus in the Euphrates: 'There the lotus in the evening closes its leaves and puts down its head so deep under water that the hand cannot reach it, and in the morning it raises itself gradually up and with the sunrise it appears above water opening its leaves.'

³ Moret, *op. cit.* 505-8; Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber*, 131, § 517.

⁴ Moret, 507 and 511: 'Le lotus siège de la naissance des dieux.' Goodyear, *op. cit.* 6, pl. 2.

⁵ *BD* 81 A and B 4. Cf. Morenz, *op. cit.* 45: 'wo der Lotos als hervorgegangen aus dem Licht bezeichnet wird'; Goodyear, *op. cit.* 6: 'The confessional chapter of the Book of the Dead closes with the words, *I am pure lotus, issue of the field of the sun*'; and Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol*, 239.

⁶ *Pyr.* 266 a; cf. Moret, *op. cit.* 505, 507; Morenz, *op. cit.* 16 n. 7. See also A. Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unas*, utterance 249, § 265: 'Unas is this (flower) at the nose of the great mighty one. Unas has come out of the Isle of Fire.' Cf. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol*, 67: 'Strictly, the god is not the flower itself but "that great god who is within the lotus bud of gold".' Cf. Moret, *ibid.* n. 1; also R. Anthes, *ZÄS* 95 (1968), 34-40 ('Nefertem und das Lotos-Emblem').

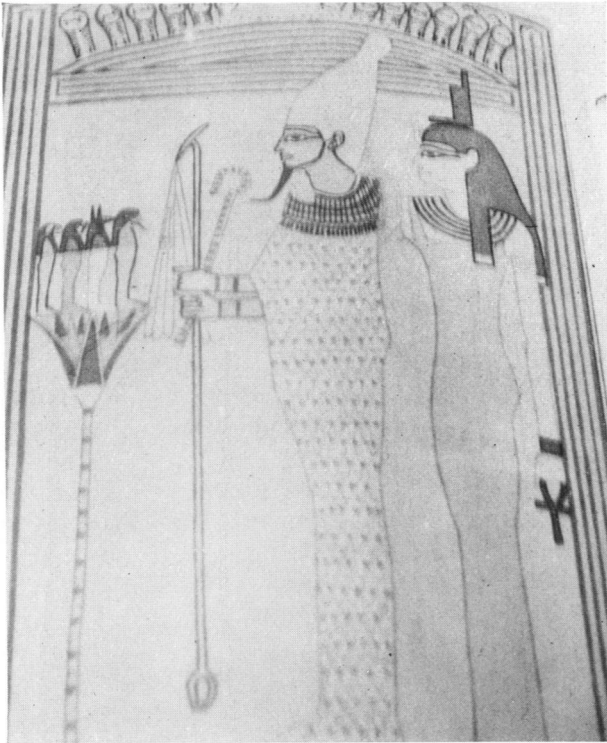
⁷ Moret, *op. cit.* 500 and 502; also n. 1; Mariette, *Dendérah*, 1, 55; Brugsch, *Relig.* 103; Goodyear, *op. cit.* 21-3.

⁸ Moret, *op. cit.* 505; Goodyear, *op. cit.* 6, pl. 2.

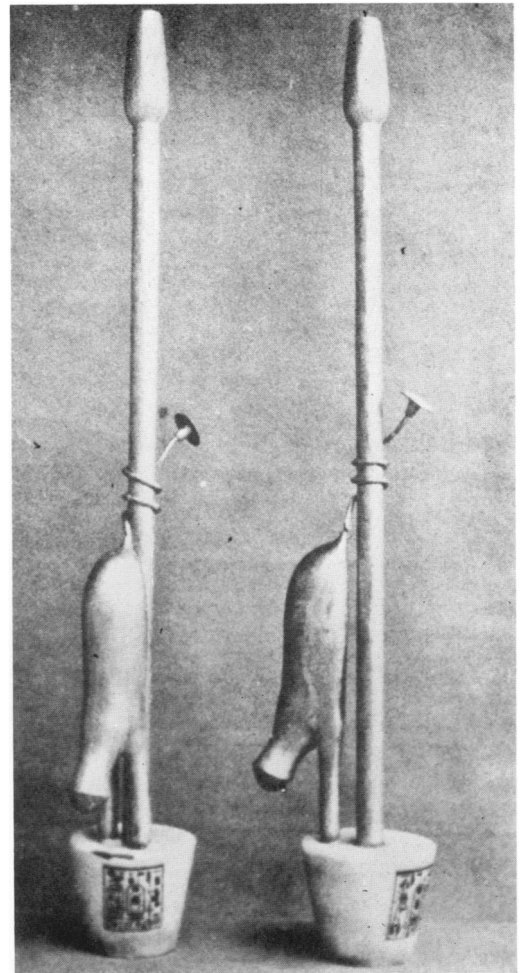
⁹ Morenz, *op. cit.* 50; Carter, *Tut-anch-Amen*, II, 63 and fig. b; cf. also Moret, *op. cit.* 506 for other figures.

¹⁰ Brugsch, *Rec. de mon.* II, 71, 2; Piehl, *Inscr. Hiérog.* II, 78.

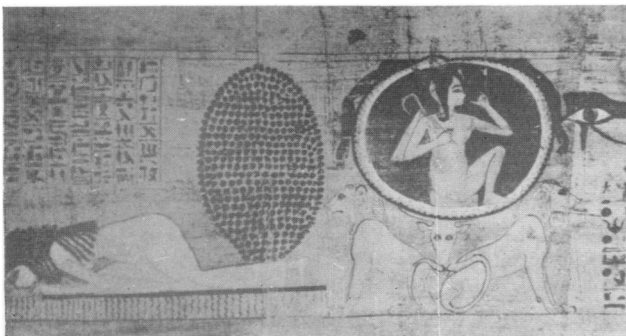
¹¹ Moret, *op. cit.* 507; also Goodyear, *op. cit.* 10.



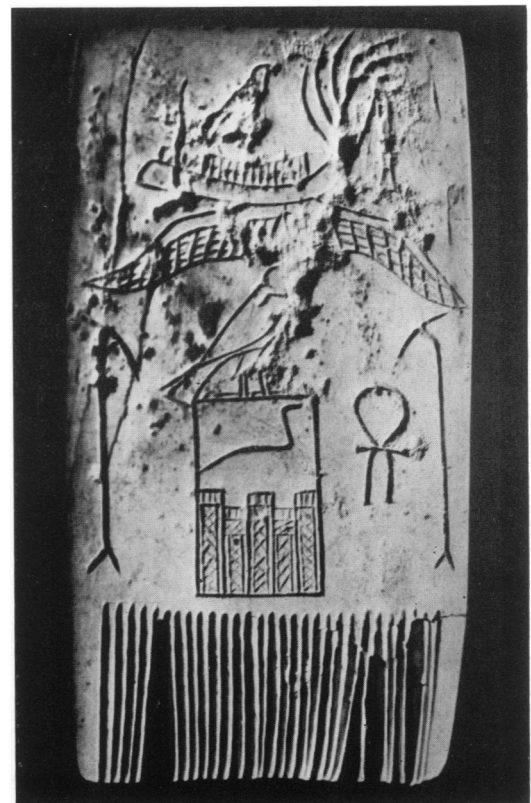
1. The four gods of the Canopic vases emerge from the lotus flower



2. The two nebrids of Tutankhamūn



3. Harpocrates in the solar disc



4. First-Dynasty comb with triple depiction of Horus

'man of the first leaf of lotus'.¹ Not only the king but also the four gods representing the Canopic vases come out from the lotus (pl. XL, 1), the cosmogonic primordial plant, and this means that the dead man in them will be reborn.²

Morenz³ too thinks that the lotus with the sun-god upon it means more than a simple elevation; it is a sort of new birth: 'es ist eine Art Neugeburt'. This primordial lotus and its association with Harpocrates, as we have seen, has been the subject of much discussion. It was thought to have existed since the primordial time in Egypt, as well as in India and China.

In Egypt, according to a Ptolemaic text from Thebes, the birth of the sun-god from the lotus took place in Hermopolis. This city can claim to be primeval as it was the city of Nun himself and of the Ogdoad who made the primeval plant emerge from Nun. Morenz sees in this, cosmogonically, a possible tendency of the late period to associate this conception of the sun child on the flower with the city Hermopolis, where the primordial bird and the World-Egg had long been associated with the city.⁴

This lotus flower from which the young sun-god was born was deemed to have originated in water or some other primeval material. This god is primordial and with his birth came forth the world.⁵ Morenz rightly recognized here a cosmogonic similarity between the dogmas of the primeval flower and that of the primeval bird who laid the primeval Egg, from which came forth the world and life.⁶ It follows that the discussion of the different theories concerning the primordial egg and Rē^c and the primordial plant and Harpocrates is a matter of different local theological dogmas.⁷ The primeval origin of creation is either a living animal or a plant.⁸ This same cosmogonic tradition involving the primogeniture of the myth of the two dogmas of the lotus and the primordial egg existed in Heracleopolis.⁹

As this rebirth by the lotus was a ritual means of the return of the dead to the divine life, it is connected with the other way to a new life, that is the passing through the skin, which was one of the ritual ways to the resurrection. The dead also can return to life through a sacrificed animal whose miraculous skin (in the form of the nebrid, νεβρός), was suspended upon a lotiform peg with a lotus in bloom; sometimes the tale of the sacrifice also ends in a flowering lotus, as we see in the two nebrids of Tutankhamūn

¹ Morenz, op. cit. 50; he thinks that this formula certainly goes back to the sun-god; cf. also Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, VII, 60, 9, and Blackman-Fairman, *JEA* 29 (1943), 2 f.

² Morenz, op. cit. 61; cf. Moret, op. cit. 504 n. 1: 'Les 4 enfants du Horus et les 4 dieux de l'Horizon'; Goodyear, op. cit. 10.

³ Op. cit. 61.
⁴ *Dendara*, II, 55b; cf. also Morenz, op. cit. 47 and n. 80 for the localization of the primordial plant, after Hermopolis, in Denderah.

⁵ Morenz, op. cit. 73; cf. Raffaele Pettazzoni, *Essays on the Hist. of Religion*, 35; Rundle Clark, op. cit. 66-7.

⁶ Morenz, op. cit. 73: 'Es ist eine Kosmogonie ähnlich der Lehre, die aus einem Ei, welches ein Urvogel legte, Welt und Leben hervorgehen ließ.'

⁷ Ibid. 45; cf. pp. 43-4.

⁸ Ibid. 73.

⁹ Cf. ibid. 44. Cf. also Brugsch, *Relig.* 104, 'Er öffnet seine Augen, da erhellt er die Welt, und scheidet die Nacht von dem Tag. Es treten die Gottheiten aus seinem Munde hervor und die Menschen aus seinen Augen und alle Dinge werden durch ihn, wenn er sich glanzvoll erhebt aus dem Lotos, so leben alle Wesen in ihrer Gesamtheit.' See also Rundle Clark, op. cit. 67: "'that great God who is within the lotus bud of gold'. Hence what rises from the opening flower is the world soul which is the light, life and air and sun.'

or the emblem of Anubis,¹ which were found in his tomb (pl. XL, 2). The return back to the old polytheistic religion after the schism, made by his predecessor Akhenaten, revived all the ancient ritual under the reign of the young king.

The association of lotus with the skin, according to Moret,² confirms a parallelism between Egyptian and Vedic rites. The human sacrifice that redeemed the deceased from death³ was replaced by an animal sacrifice and so the rite of passing through the skin was a passage through death to a new life. The meaning of the three skins in one bundle is to give birth; in the feast of Heb-Sed too, the renewal of the life or the rebirth of the living king is secured by the purification with the water of life, by the application of ointment, by going through the skin, and by the construction of an edifice or house where these rites were celebrated.⁴

This feast of the rebirth of the living king is closely connected with the lotus, the symbol of light, and the seat of the god;⁵ this creative force and power is indicated by the universal presence of the lotus on the altars of all the gods.⁶ Its development as a symbol of rebirth explains the great expansion of the lotiform decoration in the tombs and in temples since early times.⁷

As a symbol of light, this flower refers to the sun and the moon in Cyprus; on Assyrian seals and cylinders the lotus occurs with a crescent.⁸ In India and China the lotus is the product of fire (heat) and water; hence the dual symbol, spirit and matter. Prahma springs from the lotus.⁹ It is there as in Egypt an emblem of fecundity; sterile women have to eat a lotus and they become pregnant.¹⁰ This fecundative power is manifested in daily life when a woman eats a lotus or swims in the water where lotus flowers exist. The miraculous birth is the 'result of spontaneous influence of the divine lotus and the divine water'¹¹, and to facilitate the realization of the miracle the priests of the Far East established in every pagoda a lake of lotus. In Egypt it was the lake where the dead were conducted for being reborn, 'un bois de vie dont les dieux vivent'.¹¹ This wood of life, it seems, is the lotus itself by 'la manducation et le contact'; sometimes a lotus was found in the womb of women mummies.¹¹

The legend concerning the lotus as being 'le siège de la naissance des dieux' seems to be a variant of the general tradition of the belief in the lotus as a force of life which becomes fecund by contact or by manducation.¹² This was based on the reality that during very early times these wild aquatic flowers and plants grew in the vast deltas of the rivers in Egypt, India, and China. These plants and especially the lotus flowers

¹ Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-anch-Amen*, II, 32: 'Golden emblems of Anubis hung on a lotiform pole erected on an alabaster pot.' But he says that they might belong to 'the dark world, where the sun sinks and where also the dead sleep', 'emblems, it may be, to guide the dead to his domain'; cf. also Max Müller, *The Mythology of all Races: Egyptian Mythology*, 111; Albert M. Lythgoe, *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, 'Excavations at the south Pyramid of Lisht in 1914', 152: 'Anubis symbol'.

² Moret, op. cit. 508.

³ Moret, *Les Mystères égyptiennes*, 43.

⁴ Ibid. 85.

⁵ Mayassis, *Mystères et initiations de l'Égypte anc.* 63.

⁶ Goodyear, *The Grammar of the Lotus*; cf. also the plates showing the lotus being offered to the sun-god, pp. 6 and 13.

⁷ Moret, 'Le lotus et la naissance des dieux', 508.

⁸ Goodyear, op. cit. 14.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Moret, op. cit. 509 n. 1, Saint-Jues, *Les Vierges et la naissance miraculeuse*, chaps. iii and iv.

¹¹ Ibid. 510.

¹² Ibid. 511.

were sources of food for primitive people. The Greek writers agreed that during those days papyrus and lotus were natural nourishment without cultivation in Egypt. Herodotus speaks of the *λωτοφάγοι*,¹ who dwelled by the sea near the Gindanes. They lived on eating only the lotus's fruit, *οἱ τὸν καρπὸν μούνον τοῦ λωτοῦ τρώγοντες ζώουσι*. The fruit of the lotus was as big as that of the mastich, and in sweetness like that of date. The *lotophagoi* make wine of this fruit. Then in Egypt, says Herodotus,² the Egyptians give the name lotus to the many lilies which grow in the water; after drying them in the sun, they crunch the poppy-like fruit from the centre and bake bread from this; its root is also edible and of sweetish taste. Diodorus³ also speaks of making bread from the lotus which was able to satisfy the natural needs of the body. It is Pliny⁴ who first mentions the lotus as a plant of a god, whose honeyed leaves cause to disappear scars on the eyes and *aigina*. Then he says that from the rotted seeds of the *lotometia*, 'a plant derived from the lotus', the shepherds in Egypt make loaves, which they knead mostly with water or with milk. It is said that no bread is more beautiful or lighter than this so long as it is warm; it is an established fact that those who live on it are never attacked by dysentery, tenesmus, or any other disease of the bowels. So as a result of this old experience, it is just logical that an ordinary Jew, pagan, or Christian believed in bearing such gems decorated with this representation to avoid stomach-ache, drowning, or failure in business or love.⁵ Such was the reason why the lotus has this creative and miraculous power, much as we feel nowadays respect and veneration towards corn and other nourishing cereals.⁶

These are the two elements of the motif found in our gems. Horus-Harpocrates, the young sun and the resurrection of the old, is the beautiful child known to the inscriptions of both Edfu and Denderah⁷ and as such is he represented on the coins; also as the traditional Horus, the child of the weak lower members, as Plutarch and the magical papyri describe him. He is the primordial god, the creator of the cosmos, the god of sky, the sailor who dominates the rudder and controls it, the saviour⁸ who protects and cures all bane of wild beasts, insects, evil animals, reptiles, and the evil eye, the young god whom the world is expecting. He is the god who was amalgamated with the Greek and Roman gods, with the Jewish archangels and Christ; the one who had a very wide popularity and existed in the minds of all people and classes, and lived with them in their homes and their private lives. He is the prominent member of the Alexandrian trinity whose cult extended everywhere all over the ancient world; and 'in the system of Pistis Sophia each world seemed to have its Horus'.⁹ As equated with Iao, he is the ultimate god as the self-originated, the self-nourished, the primal light, and the final mystic silence. In his monism he is Iao, Sabaoth, Abrasax,¹⁰ and Eros. The second element is the primeval lotus pushed from Nun,

¹ Herod. iv. 177.

² Herod. ii. 92.

³ Diod. i. 34 and 43.

⁴ Pliny, *HN* 22. 56; also 24. 6 (for the lotus boiled in wine being good for dysentery): 'Ramenta ligni decocta in vino prosunt dysentericis.'

⁵ Goodenough, *op. cit.* II, 274.

⁶ Moret, *op. cit.* 511 and 512.

⁷ Brugsch, *op. cit.* 121.

⁸ *Brooklyn Mus. Annual*, vol. VII, 1966, 'Two Stelae of Horus on the Crocodiles' by Helen Jacquet-Gordon.

⁹ Mercer, *Horus Royal God of Egypt*, 196.

¹⁰ Goodenough, II, 272. For the finger in the mouth means that the god is self-sufficient, *αὐτοφύης*.

the symbol of the resurrection and miraculous rebirth of gods and dead beings. The solar plant appears on the water with the rising of the sun and disappears with the sunset; it is the symbol of light and the source of the creation as the primordial egg; the eternal plant, whose seeds burst the pericarp and float away to take root in the slime by themselves;¹ the nourishing plant upon which the primitive people subsisted before cultivation; hence it has a fecundative and miraculous productive power. Still this astral magical plant yielded sweet wine and medicine and those *lotophagoi* everywhere found everything in it. Finally it is the symbol for the final defeat of the powers of Abyss.²

Therefore it is logical that the late period found in the combination of these two elements, Horus-Harpocrates and the lotus, a favourable subject for benediction and incantation, to guard people against all evils. Consequently they depicted it in amulets exemplified in the following gems:

1. A long oval schist stone, depicting Harpocrates seated crouched to left, on the lotus cup, forefinger of right hand towards mouth; he holds in left hand flail upon shoulder; on the god's head an obscure crown(?); on both sides of the stem of the flower two buds. These two buds with Horus on the capsule of the lotus, as usually represented on all the gems, amulets, and coins, are very probably a symbol of trinity as Goodenough has justly observed; compare our remarks above on the representation of the late period where the winged disc is accompanied by two *Agathodaemones* representing Isis and Osiris, instead of the two uraei symbolizing Upper and Lower Egypt.³ On the representation of Horus Iao we shall see (*infra*) that these two buds have been replaced by two stars as a trinity of the celestial constellation of two stars and the sun (pl. XXXVI, 1).
Reverse: A sort of naos with some obscure writing resembling hieroglyphics(?).
2. Small oval lapis-lazuli stone similar to No. 1 (pl. XXXVI, 2).
3. Similar (pl. XXXVI, 3).
4. A large oval stone of blue jasper, engraved with an interesting representation of Horus Sol,⁴ radiated, seated on a lotus capsule to left; one leg is folded, the other suspended on the side of the capsule; raising his right hand in a gesture of cosmocrator, and holding with his left a strange badly cut flail as that of Harpocrates (pl. XXXVI, 4).
5. *Obverse*: A very interesting large oval crystal stone cut in cobochon; an engraved ouroboros⁵ encircles Harpocrates seated on a lotus capsule with no buds on the stem of the flower but

¹ *Theurgia or the Mysteries of Eg.* by Iamblichus, trans. by A. Wilder, p. 240, n. †† and n. †; the last word has been conjectured to be *ἀτροφής*.

² Rundle Clark, *op. cit.* 67.

³ Brugsch, *op. cit.* 272-3 and 355.

⁴ Bonner, *op. cit.* 133; 'Many, probably a majority, of the extant Graeco-Egyptian amulets express one aspect of a syncretistic solar religion, which had gained a powerful hold upon those who accepted it.' In fact heliolatry was an essential creed in Egyptian religion from the beginning.

⁵ John Bathurst Deane, *The Worship of the Serpent*, 127; a symbol of eternity when represented in the act of biting its own tail. Cf. W. R. Cooper, *Observations on the Serpent Myths of Ancient Egypt*, 16: 'when they would represent the universe they delineate a serpent devouring its own tail'; Raffaele Pettazzoni, *Essays on the History of Religions*, 190-1 for the ouroboros represented also in Mithraic art. Cf. also Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, II, 208, fig. 36; Goodenough, *op. cit.* II, 268: 'The ouroboros, while it may mean eternity, as is often said, seems a border giving sanctity to what is within it, rather than a sign with a specific denotation.' Cf. Bonner, *op. cit.* 250. An interesting representation from the 21st Dynasty shows Horus seated crouched to right, finger to mouth, holding crook and flail on shoulder, in the solar disc, surrounded by a serpent biting its tail—the symbol of eternity (pl. XL, 3). Mythological pap. of Her-Uben A., pl. 1—*Mythological Texts*, trans. with introd. by A. Piankoff, 73.

in their place, near the stem on both sides, two stars. Horus seated left, forefinger of right hand to mouth; crowned with Pskhent(?), holds solar whip with left hand over his shoulder.

In the field behind the god IAO; above, the sign of eternity (8), beneath, an obscure character, before the god, three other magical characters $\hat{\Lambda}$, and beneath, \mathcal{E} .

Reverse: The inscription $\begin{matrix} \Phi Y \Lambda \Lambda \\ \Sigma A I \end{matrix}$ (pl. XXXVI, 6a-b).

This crystal stone cut in cobochon is similar to some gems of the same material and shape, but, as mentioned by Bonner, the inscription on the reverses is different.¹

Harpocrates as the cosmic Iao² sits on the cup of the lotus flower, the stem of which has not the two usual buds, but were replaced by two stars referring to the celestial triad and its heavenly setting.³

It is interesting to compare Iao with the sun-god Io = IHO; 'the loftiest conception of god, in the religion of New Zealand, is found in him, the eternal; the uncreated being . . . lives at the highest point in the sky.'⁴

6. Very beautiful small oval gem of blue jasper depicting Harpocrates on the lotus cup, in a papyrus boat; on the two ends of the boat stand two hawks crowned with two discs (obscure), looking towards Horus who sits to left, forefinger of right hand to mouth, holding with left hand flail on his shoulder, crowned with disc. Horus is sailing in the heaven among the stars, two of them beneath the boat⁵ and above to right a crescent, and a star to left (pl. XXXVI, 5).

The conception of eternity denoted by this representation during the late period is originally figured during the archaic period on an ivory comb in the Cairo Museum (J. 47176), belonging to a courtier of the First Dynasty; it is a 'completely symbolical design including standard motifs of Egyptian classical art'.⁶ On this comb Horus is depicted three times; two of them are very interesting to compare with our monument.

The one is that of Horus 'the lord of heaven' whose outstretched wings are the sky. The other one is represented above Horus hieracomorphic in a boat sailing as the sun across the sky (pl. XL, 4); 'as such he (Horus) is known from the First Dynasty to Greek times as "Ḥarakhte", Horus of the "Horizon" or of the "land of Sunrise"'.⁶ The conception of these two figures on the comb, one above the other, is intimately similar to the representation on our gem, where the stars and the planet denote the sky across which Harpocrates, seated on the lotus, is sailing in a boat.⁷

¹ Bonner, op. cit. 19.

² Roeder in *PW* s.v. Sarapis: 'Iao ist der Lenker aller Dinge.'

³ Goodenough, vol. 8 (2), p. 171.

⁴ R. Pettazzoni, *Essays on Hist. of Rel.* 37.

⁵ Petrie, *Amulets*, 30, pl. xlvi, 135x; also Goodenough, op. cit. II, 274, 'Harpocrates in boat claimed for Iao'.

⁶ H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 38.

⁷ For the conception of the sun in the boat which is figured in different ways according to different legends, cf. Erman, *Relig. des Ég.* (tr. Wild), 87-8.

EINE NEUE DEUTUNG DER ZEREMONIE DES *INIT RD*

By HARTWIG ALTENMÜLLER

A. H. GARDINER hat im Jahre 1915 in der Publikation des Grabes des Amenemhet in Theben (Grab 82) eine grundlegende Untersuchung der Zeremonie des *init rd* durchgeführt¹ und ist dabei sowohl auf die Ritualform und den Sinn der Handlung als auch auf die Fragen, die sich bei einer Übersetzung des schwierigen Ritualtitels ergeben, eingegangen. Trotz weiterführender Untersuchungen der Zeremonie in jüngerer Zeit² blieben viele Fragen, vor allem im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung der Handlung und die Übersetzung des Ritualtitels noch offen. Einigen dieser Probleme soll mit Hilfe von neuem Material aus den Pyramidentexten an dieser Stelle noch einmal nachgegangen werden.

Die Ritualhandlung des *init rd* hat während der gesamten ägyptischen Geschichte ihre Bedeutung im religiösen Leben Ägyptens nicht verloren. Seit dem Alten Reich bis in die Spätzeit hinein ist das Bild der Zeremonie in den Darstellungen der Privatgräber unter den Schlußriten des Totenopferrituals zu finden.³ Auch an den Wänden der Tempel des Neuen Reiches begegnet das Bild der Zeremonie.⁴ Es steht dort sowohl im Zusammenhang mit den Schlußriten des Opferrituals als auch bei den Riten des Kultbildrituals und des sog. Amenophisrituals, wobei die Bildszenen teilweise von der Niederschrift eines zu der Handlung rezitierten Ritualtextes begleitet werden. Der letzte Beleg für die Zeremonie des *init rd* liegt in einer ptolemäischen Abschrift des Mundöffnungsrituals vor, wo die Handlung das Opfer vor der Statue beschließt.⁵

Die Handlung ist in einer Bildversion und in einer Textversion erhalten. Beide Versionen sind aufeinander bezogen und bildeten ursprünglich eine Einheit, doch können sie in den einzelnen Aufzeichnungen auch selbständig und unabhängig voneinander erscheinen.

Die Bildversion ist verhältnismäßig stereotyp, aber keineswegs uniform. Die Szenerie der Darstellung wechselt, je nachdem ob die Handlung im Rahmen eines Opfers oder im Zusammenhang von Handlungen am Kultbild steht. Auch der die Handlung durchführende Priester ist in unterschiedlichen Bildtypen belegt. Zwar wird er in allen Fällen beim Verlassen des Ortes, an dem der Opfertisch oder das Kultbild aufgestellt sind, gezeigt. Er wendet dabei dem Opfertisch oder dem Kultbild den Rücken zu und bewegt

¹ N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (1915), 93 f.

² A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), 87 ff.; J. J. Clère, *JEA* 25 (1939), 215 f.; H. H. Nelson, *JEA* 35 (1949), 82 ff.

³ H. Junker, *Giza*, III (1938), 110 f., Nr. 17; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, IV (1964), 111, Nr. 17.

⁴ H. H. Nelson, *JEA* 35 (1949), 82 ff.

⁵ E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* (1960), Szene 70 A: I, 181, II, 155; Szene 70 C: I, 185 f., II, 159.

sich vom Opferplatz weg, indem er einen aus Pflanzen zusammengebundenen Wedel hinter sich herschleift. Doch sind in den Einzelheiten gewisse Unterschiede zu bemerken. Die aus dem Alten Reich stammenden ältesten Bilder stellen den mit dem Wedel ausgestatteten Priester gewöhnlich aufrecht gehend und mit zurückgewendetem Gesicht dar.¹ Daneben ist ein zweiter Bildtyp belegt, bei dem der beim Verlassen des Kultplatzes dargestellte Priester den Kopf nicht nach hinten, sondern geradeaus richtet.² Beide Bildtypen begegnen in dieser einfachen Fassung auch noch im Neuen Reich.³ Daneben erscheint jedoch im Neuen Reich eine erweiterte Bildfassung, bei der der Priester nicht nur mit dem Wedel, sondern auch mit einem Libationsgefäß dargestellt ist. Auf den ersten Bildtyp des Alten Reiches geht dabei die Darstellung aus Medinet Habu zurück, in welcher der das Ritual ausführende König Ramesses III. mit zurückgewendetem Gesicht und in aufrechter Haltung gezeigt wird, während er mit dem Wedel in der linken und dem Libationsgefäß in der rechten Hand den Kultraum verläßt.⁴ Mehrfach dagegen belegt ist die Erweiterung des zweiten Bildtyps. Der beim Verlassen des Kultplatzes dargestellte Priester wendet den Kopf nicht zurück, sondern schreitet in weit nach vorne gebückter Haltung aus der Kammer, indem er mit der einen Hand den Wedel hinter sich herzieht und mit der anderen das Libationsgefäß vor sich hält.⁵ Die Beischriften zur Ritualdarstellung bestehen in alter Zeit nur aus dem Ritualtitel. In den Darstellungen der Schlußriten des Opferrituals aus dem Alten Reich lautet dieser: *init rd* oder ausführlicher: *dd mdw init rd* — „Rezitation und *init rd*.“⁶ Beide Formulierungen des alten Ritualtitels werden beim Opferritual auch im Neuen Reich beibehalten. In den Beischriften des Kultbildrituals und des Amenophisrituals wird der Titel jedoch geringfügig erweitert.⁷ Mit Bezug auf den vom Priester gehaltenen Wedel heißt er dann: *init rd m hdn* — „*init rd* mit dem *hdn*-Wedel“.

¹ Mit Ritualtitel: N. de G. Davies, *Ptahhotep*, I (1900), Taf. 30; *Ars antiqua Luzern*. Auktion vom 2. 5. 1969, Taf. 2, Nr. 3; P. Duell, *Mereruka* (1938), Taf. 61A und 67; Fr. W. von Bissing, *Gemnikaj* (1905–11), Taf. 19 und 30 (= *JEA* 24 (1938), Taf. 5); Selim Hassan, *Giza*, IX (1960), 54, Abb. 23. Ohne Ritualtitel: N. de G. Davies, *Ptahhotep*, II (1901), Taf. 31 = 34, Taf. 24; T. G. H. James, *Khentika* (1953), Taf. 14, 21; Selim Hassan, *Giza*, II (1936), 29, Abb. 27 und Taf. 8; J. E. Quibell, *Saqqara*, 1905–6 (1907), Taf. 19. 1 = W. C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I (1953), 146, Abb. 88.

² Mit Ritualtitel: H. Junker, *Giza*, IV (1940), 23, Abb. 7. Ohne Ritualtitel: H. Junker, *Giza*, III (1938), 228, Abb. 46.

³ 1. Bildtyp: Mit Ritualtitel: M. R.: N. de G. Davies, *Antefoker* (1920), Taf. 28; N. R.: N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *Amenemhet* (1915), Taf. 18, 21; N. de G. Davies, *Ramose* (1941), Taf. 20. Ohne Ritualtitel: N. R.: J. Spiegel, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), Taf. 13; R. Caminos and T. G. H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* (1963), Taf. 52; N. de G. Davies, *Neferhotep*, I (1933), Taf. 32. Zum 1. Bildtyp gehören auch folgende Tempeldarstellungen: E. Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, IV (1901), Taf. 109, 112; H. H. Nelson, *JEA* 35 (1949), 82 f., Nr. 1–5.

2. Bildtyp: Mit Ritualtitel: M. R.: P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, I (1893), Taf. 32, 34; N. R.: R. Caminos and T. G. H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* (1963), Taf. 38, 47. Ohne Ritualtitel: M. R.: A. M. Blackman, *Meir*, II (1915), Taf. 10, vgl. Taf. 8. ⁴ *Medinet Habu*, IV, Taf. 424 D = *JEA* 35 (1949), 84, Abb. 5.

⁵ H. H. Nelson, a. a. O. 83, Nr. 6–14.

⁶ Vgl. oben Anm. 6–8; hinzuzuziehen sind die Vermerke der Opferliste: G. Reisner, *B MMA* April 1925, 13–14; C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (1926), I, 95; H. Schäfer, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus Berlin*, I (1913), 58; G. Maspero, *Trois Années de fouilles* (1885), 207; *ASAE* 13 (1914), 174; *ASAE* 15 (1915), 250 = A. M. Blackman, *Meir*, IV (1924), Taf. 18; *ASAE* 17 (1917), 133; H. Junker, *Giza*, VIII (1947), 116, Abb. 56; *Kairo, Inv. Nr. 1491 (Nfr-sšm-Pth)*.

⁷ Kultbildritual: A. H. Gardiner and A. Calverley, *Abydos*, I (1933), Taf. 17, 25; II (1935), Taf. 3, 13, 21.

Amenophisritual: E. Bacchi, *Rituale di Amenhotep*, I (1942), 42 (Pap. Turin rt. 18, 12–13; vgl. Chester Beatty IX, rt. 5, 8–9).

Die Textversion zur Ritualhandlung ist durch zwei verschiedene Ritualtexte vertreten. Der erste Ritualtext begegnet seit dem Neuen Reich in mehreren Exemplaren, die im Zusammenhang des Kultbildrituals und des Amenophisrituals stehen. Als Beischrift zu einer Ritualdarstellung ist er jedoch durch Zufall nur bei den Bildern des Kultbildrituals, nicht aber bei den Bildern des Amenophisrituals erhalten, wie er andererseits als isolierter Rezitationstext einer Ritualhandschrift nur bei den Texten des Amenophisrituals und nicht bei den Texten des Kultbildrituals erhalten ist. Alle Aufzeichnungen stehen in Verbindung mit dem Spruch zum Verschließen der Tür:¹

Spruch des *inît rd* mit dem *hdn*-Wedel. Es kommt Thot. Er bewahrt (*nhm*) das Auge des Horus vor seinen (d. h. des Kultempfängers) Feinden. Kein männlicher oder weiblicher Übeltäter (*ḏi*) kann diesen Tempel betreten.

Der Rezitationstext vergleicht den die Handlung durchführenden Priester mit dem Gott Thot und deutet die Handlung als Abwehr möglicher Feinde des Kultempfängers, die das Auge des Horus rauben wollen. Wahrscheinlich wird mit dem Horusauge das in den vorausgegangenen Riten überreichte Kultobjekt mythologisch ausgedeutet.

Der zweite Rezitationstext zur Handlung ist singular und nur ein einziges Mal belegt. Seine Niederschrift findet sich auf dem spätptolemäischen Papyrus der Dame Sais innerhalb einer Aufzeichnung des Mundöffnungsrituals.² Im Gegensatz zu dem vorher besprochenen ersten Rezitationstext zur Handlung des *inît rd* ist dieser Text weder als Beischrift zu einer Ritualdarstellung belegt, noch steht er in Verbindung mit einem Spruch zum Verschließen der Tür. Der Text ist stark zerstört und schwierig zu übersetzen. In Anlehnung an die Übersetzung von E. Otto ist zu verstehen:³

inît rd. Zu rezitieren: Gebracht wird Thot (zu) seiner Mutter. Seine Arme sind auf seinem Vater. Jeder Feind (des) Ptaḥ, der eingetreten ist um das Opfer (*wdb iht*) zu rauben, wird gefällt. O N! Dein Feind, der dir das Opfer wegnehmen will, sein Auge Seth. seine (Arme) in jenem ihrem Namen „Opfer“ (*wdb iht*). Euer Duft (*st*), ihr Götter, euer Wohlgeruch (*fdt*), ihr Göttinnen, dieser Gotteshonig(?) (*hdt ntr*) dieser Gotteshonig(?) in diesem Tempel. Wenn man (dir) opfert, sollst du nicht zurückweichen. Es kommt, der dein Opfer gemacht hat. O N, nimm dein Opfer, welches dieses Gottesopfer ist. Nimm es dir, indem es rein ist, auf deine Arme! Das Horusauge gebe sich dir zu eigen (zweimal)!

Trotz aller Schwierigkeiten, die der stark verderbte Text bietet, ist zu erkennen, daß auch hier der das Ritual durchführende Priester mit dem Gott Thot mythologisch gleichgesetzt wird. Ebenso steht fest, daß die Handlung wie beim ersten Rezitationstext als apotropäisch gedeutet wird. Eine besondere, allerdings nicht näher definierbare Schutzwirkung scheint dabei der Geruch (*st*, *fdt*) der Götter und Göttinnen auszuüben.

¹ Der im Amenophisritual des Tempels von Medinet Habu als Beischrift zur Darstellung der Handlung des *inît rd* aufgezeichnete Text (Medinet Habu IV, Taf. 424 D) berücksichtigt zwar den Text zur Zeremonie des *inît nh* (JNES 8 (1949), 227 ff.; E. Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, Szene 74 B) und zum Verschließen der Tür (JNES 8 (1949), 310 f.), nicht aber den Text zum *inît rd*. Der Text zum *inît rd* ist auch im Amenophisritual von Karnak nur in Fragmenten erhalten (vgl. P. Barguet, *Temple d'Amon-Ré à Karnak* (1962), 74 Anm. 3).

² E. Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, I (1960), 185 f.

³ Idem, a. a. O. II, 159.

Die beiden hier vorgeführten Ritualtexte zur Handlung des *init rd* weisen sicher ein wesentlich höheres Alter auf als ihre jeweilige Niederschrift angibt. Trotzdem scheint es nicht möglich, durch eine Analyse der Mythologisierung der Sprüche oder durch die Isolierung der bei Ritualtexten üblichen und sicher auch für diese Sprüche anzunehmenden Wortspiele eine nähere Deutung der Handlung oder gar des Ritualtitels zu erlangen. Noch immer wird die von A. H. Gardiner vorgetragene Erklärung allen erkennbaren Gegebenheiten am meisten gerecht.¹ Sie basiert auf der Vermutung, daß während der Zeremonie des *init rd* der Priester mit dem Wedel seine Fußspuren verwische, um dadurch die feindlichen Mächte am Betreten des Opferplatzes zu hindern. Da die wörtliche Übersetzung von *init rd*, die „Herbeibringen des Fußes“ lauten müßte, bei dieser Deutung der Handlung keinen Sinn ergibt, schlug Gardiner mit Vorbehalten die Übersetzung „Verwischen der Fußspur“ („removing the footprint“) vor. Dieser Übersetzungsvorschlag hat sich schließlich auch durchgesetzt. Er erscheint sowohl im Berliner Wörterbuch² als auch in R. O. Faulkners *Concise Dictionary*.³

Eine neue Möglichkeit der Interpretation der Ritualhandlung und damit auch des Ritualtitels eröffnet sich durch Heranziehen von zwei neuen Texten, die aus dem Corpus der Pyramidentexte stammen und als Ritualtexte zur Handlung des *init rd* bestimmt werden können.

Zahlreiche Exemplare der illustrierten Opferliste des Alten Reiches enden mit der Darstellung von zwei Bildzyklen, die bis in die Späte Zeit hinein mit nur geringfügigen Abweichungen überliefert werden.⁴ Die beiden, in oft stereotyper Reihenfolge wiederholten Bildzyklen enthalten Szenen des Opferrituals und Reinigungshandlungen. Am Ende des ersten Bildzyklus findet sich regelmäßig eine Darstellung der Zeremonie des *init rd*. Das Bild entspricht gewöhnlich dem oben besprochenen ersten Bildtyp und zeigt einen Vorlesepriester (*hry-hb*), der den *hdn*-Wedel in der Hand hält und mit abgewendetem Gesicht den Opferplatz verläßt.

Die Texte zu dem in den beiden Bildzyklen dargestellten Ritualhandlungen sind in Texten aus der Pyramide des Unas wieder zu erkennen, die zu zwei Spruchgruppen neu geordnet werden können.⁵

Die erste Spruchgruppe umfaßt die Sprüche (204 + 205 + 207 + 209) — (210 + 211 + 212), die zweite Spruchgruppe die Sprüche (223 + 199 + 244) — 32 — 23 — (25 + 200) — 224. Während die erste Spruchgruppe aus reinen Rezitationstexten mythologischen Inhalts besteht, enthält die zweite Spruchgruppe Rezitationstexte mit Ritualvermerken, die den Ritualtiteln des zweiten Bildzyklus sowohl in der Reihenfolge der Szenen als auch im Wortlaut entsprechen.

Da die Bilder des zweiten Bildzyklus mit den Sprüchen der zweiten Spruchgruppe aufgrund der identischen und in der gleichen Reihenfolge angeordneten Ritualvermerke miteinander verbunden werden können, ist anzunehmen, daß in gleicher Weise auch die Bilder des ersten Bildzyklus parallel zu den Texten der ersten Spruchgruppe

¹ N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, 93 f.

² *Wb.* I, 91, 7.

³ R. O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary* (1962), 22.

⁴ A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), Taf. 5 und S. 87 f.; J. Spiegel, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 190 ff., besonders 192.

⁵ H. Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, Teil B, Kap. 1, Abschn. 2-3 (im Druck).

verlaufen. Als Rezitationstext zu der den ersten Bildzyklus beschließenden Handlung des *inît rd* käme dann Spruch 212 in Betracht, der den Schlußtext der ersten Spruchgruppe bildet. Da jedoch am Ende von Spruch 212 ein Ritualvermerk fehlt, müssen die Entsprechungen zwischen Bild und Text durch eine Analyse der Ritualstruktur des Rezitationstextes aufgezeigt werden. Der Text hat folgenden Wortlaut (*Pyr.* 133a-f):¹

(1) Das Auge des Horus tropft (*ndfdf*) auf den Büschel der *dnw*-Pflanze.

(2) Der Erste der Westlichen (*Hnty-imntyw*) kommt zu ihm (d. h. dem König) und bringt die Speisen (*dfw*) und Opfer (*htpw*) des Horus, des Ersten der Häuser (*Hrw hnty prw*). Wovon er lebt, davon lebt auch der König. Wovon er ißt, davon ißt auch der König. Wovon er trinkt, davon trinkt auch der König. Die Speisen des Königs sind der Rindervorderschenkel und der Opferkuchen.

Spruch 212 besteht aus zwei selbständigen Abschnitten. Während im ersten Abschnitt (*Pyr.* 133a) berichtet wird, daß das Auge des Horus auf den Büschel der *dnw*-Pflanze getropft ist, wird im zweiten Abschnitt (*Pyr.* 133b-f) erzählt, daß der „Erste der Westlichen“ gekommen ist, um dem verstorbenen König die für seinen Lebensunterhalt im Jenseits notwendigen Speisen des heliopolitanischen Horus, des „Ersten der Häuser“² zu bringen.

Zur Abgrenzung ist dieser Spruch, der am Ende der frühen Fassung des Opferrituals steht, mit dem entsprechenden Rezitationstext der seit Teti belegten späten Fassung des Opferrituals (Spr. 400) zu vergleichen (*Pyr.* 695a-696g):³

(1) Das Auge des Horus tropft (*ndfdf*) auf den Büschel der *dnw*-Pflanze.

(2) O du, der du zu Horus, zum Ersten der Häuser gehörst (*Hrwy hnty prw*), dem Herrn der Speisen (*nb dfw*), dem Großen in Heliopolis (*wr m Iwnw*), gib dem König Brot, gib dem König Bier, mache reich den König, indem du den Opfertisch des Königs reich machst und indem du die Schlachtstätte des Königs reich machst. Denn wenn der König hungert, so hungert auch der Doppellöwe (*rwty*), und wenn der König durstet, so durstet auch die Nechbet.

(3) O Gottheit der *hdn*-Pflanze (*hdnwt*), O Gottheit der *hdn*-Pflanze (*hdnwt*), wende nicht den Geruch (*st*) deiner *hdn*-Pflanze gegen den König, du sollst nicht den Geruch deiner *hdn*-Pflanze gegen den König wenden.

Der jüngere Text besteht aus drei völlig selbständigen Teilen. Er beginnt mit einem Abschnitt (*Pyr.* 695a), der dem des ersten Abschnitts von Spr. 212 (*Pyr.* 133a) unmittelbar entspricht. Im Unterschied zu Spr. 212 wendet sich dann jedoch der zweite Abschnitt (*Pyr.* 695b-696d) mit der Bitte um die Sicherung des jenseitigen Lebensunterhaltes nicht an den „Ersten der Westlichen“, sondern an eine Gestalt, die dem „Horus, dem Ersten der Häuser“ zugehört. Der dritte Abschnitt, der in der frühen Fassung des Spruches nicht erscheint, besteht aus einer Aufforderung an die Gottheit *hdnwt*, den Geruch der *hdn*-Pflanze nicht gegen den König zu richten.

Durch den internen Vergleich der beiden Sprüche 212 und 400 ist die Gliederung der Rezitationstexte durchsichtig geworden. Beide Texte bestehen aus Einzelabschnitten die untereinander keine unmittelbaren Verbindungslinien aufweisen. Eine gegenseitige inhaltliche Bezugnahme der einzelnen Textabschnitte ist auch nicht mit

¹ vgl. R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (1969), 40.

² K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, III (1937), 271; *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 58.

³ K. Sethe, a. a. O. III, 269-74; R. O. Faulkner, a. a. O. 130 f.

Notwendigkeit zu erwarten, da — wie sich herausstellen wird — die Verbindung zwischen den einzelnen Abschnitten durch das Ritual geschaffen wird, auf das im Rezitationstext mit dem Mittel der Mythologisierung und des Wortspiels jeweils von neuem Bezug genommen wird.

Für den ersten Abschnitt (*Pyr.* 133a–695a) ist zunächst festzustellen, daß der im Ritual benützte Kultgegenstand mythologisch als „Auge des Horus“ ausgedeutet wird. Da das Auge des Horus tropft (*ndfdf*), scheint es sich bei der Opfergabe um einen flüssigen Ritualgegenstand zu handeln. Diese Interpretation wird durch die Analyse des Wortspiels bestätigt. Da das Bezugswort für die Wortspiele der dramatischen Texte des Opferrituals gewöhnlich bei dem Wort, das eine Eigenschaft des Horusauges angibt, zu suchen ist, wird es hier bei dem Verbum „tropfen“ (*ndfdf*) liegen. Das Wortspiel ist besonderen Regeln unterworfen. Daher ist zu erwarten, daß das Wortspiel mit dem Bezugswort *ndfdf* analog zu dem in *Pyr.* 644d/e zwischen *nhrhr* und *rhit* zu beobachtenden Wortspiel gebildet ist, sodaß als Bezugswort auf das Anspielungswort *ndfdf* schließlich das Wort *fdt* ermittelt werden kann. Im Endergebnis wird damit der herbeigebrachte Kultgegenstand als eine als „*fdt* — Schweiß, Wohlgeruch“ (*Wb.* 1, 582. 8) bezeichnete Flüssigkeit bestimmt. In einem mythenfreien Ritualtext dürfte dann die Aussage des ersten Ritualabschnitts so formuliert werden: „Eine wohlriechende Flüssigkeit (*fdt*) tropft auf einen Pflanzenbüschel (*dnw*) herab.“

Der unverbunden neben dem ersten Abschnitt stehende zweite Abschnitt ist bei Spr. 212 (*Pyr.* 133 b–f) und Spr. 400 (*Pyr.* 695b–696d) in zwei Fassungen unterschiedlichen Alters vertreten. Die sich aus dem Altersunterschied ergebenden Folgen wirken sich in erster Linie auf die Mythologisierung der das Ritual durchführenden Personen aus. Denn der im Ritual agierende Priester, der mit dem göttlichen Wesen gleichgesetzt wird, das im Rezitationstext das Subjekt der dort geschilderten Handlung ist, wird in Spr. 212 mit dem „Ersten der Westlichen“ (*Hnty-imntyw*) und in Spr. 400 mit einer mit „Horus, dem Ersten der Häuser“ (*Hrw hnty prw*) verbundenen Gestalt identifiziert.¹ Auf die von diesem Priester ausgeübte Handlung nimmt wieder ein Wortspiel Bezug. Welches spezielle Wort des Rezitationstextes Anspielungswort für das Wortspiel ist, müßte sich aus der Betrachtung der in der Bildfassung dargestellten Handlung ergeben. Wenn nun angenommen wird, daß der Spruch als Rezitationstext für das *init rd* gedeutet werden kann, darf aus der Ritualdarstellung der Bildfassung die Handlung als Wischen (*df*) mit dem Wedel bestimmt werden. Auf das aus dem Ritualbild erschlossene handlungsbezogene Verbum *df* — „wischen“² wird nun auch offenbar in Spr. 212 und Spr. 400 durch das Bezugswort *df* — „Speise“ angespielt. Dieses Wort erscheint nämlich als einziges gemeinsames Wort des zweiten Abschnitts

¹ Eine Doppelform des „Horus, des Ersten der Häuser“ (*Hrw hnty prw*) ist außerhalb dieser Stelle (*Pyr.* 695b) nicht bekannt. Da die dualische Schreibung eine mögliche Schreibung für ein Nisbeadjektiv ist (vgl. *nwtw* in *ntr nwtw* „Stadtgott“, *šhty* in *Hrw-šhty* „Harachte“), liegt die Annahme eines Nisbeadjektivs, hier eines substantivierten Nisbeadjektivs, bei dem dualischen *Hrw hnty prw* nahe. Diese Vermutung wird durch die Analyse des Ritualtextes sehr wahrscheinlich, da sich aus der Bildfassung ergibt, daß der Ritual des *init rd* nicht von zwei, sondern von einem Priester durchgeführt wird.

² *Wb.* v, 571. 11. Das Verbum ist erst im Neuen Reich, dort aber im Ritual belegt. Da es im Zusammenhang des Rituals vorkommt, ist eine ältere Ehtstehung sehr wahrscheinlich, weil die meisten Ritualtexte auf den Sprachgebrauch des Alten Reiches zurückgreifen.

sowohl in Spr. 212 als auch in Spr. 400 und steht beide Male in Beziehung zu der vom Priester gespielten mythologischen Figur.

Der Rezitationstext der späten Fassung (Spr. 400) wird im dritten Abschnitt (*Pyr.* 696e–g) durch eine Interpretation der Handlung abgeschlossen, die zugleich die Bestätigung für die Identifikation des Textes als eines Rezitationstextes zur Handlung des *inît rd* bringt. Dieser Abschnitt bezieht sich auf den starken Geruch der Flüssigkeit auf dem Pflanzenbüschel, mit der der Opferplatz abgewischt wird. Die als *hdnwt* bezeichnete Gottheit der *hdn*-Pflanze wird aufgefordert, den offenbar apotropäisch wirkenden Geruch der Flüssigkeit auf dem Wedel nicht gegen den Verstorbenen selbst zu richten. Hier ergeben sich Berührungspunkte mit dem Rezitationstext zur Zeremonie des *inît rd* im Mundöffnungsritual, bei dem sich ebenfalls Hinweise auf die offenbar apotropäische Wirkung des Geruchs (*st*, *fdt*) des *hdn*-Wedels finden.

Übereinstimmungen zwischen den bisher bekannten beiden Ritualtexten zur Handlung des *inît rd* und den hier neu vorgeführten beiden Sprüchen zur gleichen Handlung sind nur hinsichtlich der im Spruch ausgedrückten übelabwehrenden Bedeutung der Zeremonie zu erkennen. Dabei scheint die apotropäische Wirkung der Handlung vor allem auf dem Duft des Wedels zu beruhen. Der Weg zum Kultbild oder zum Opferempfänger wird den Übeltätern also nicht — wie bisher angenommen worden ist — durch das Verwischen der Fußspur, sondern durch die übelabweisende Kraft des in der Kammer verbreiteten Duftes verwehrt. Der Duft scheint dabei von einer Flüssigkeit herzurühren, die eine besondere Mächtigkeit besitzt.

Auf diese Flüssigkeit nimmt die erweiterte Ritualdarstellung des Neuen Reiches, in der der Priester sowohl mit dem Wedel, als auch mit dem Libationsgefäß dargestellt wird, Bezug. Ja, es ist sogar anzunehmen, daß die apotropäisch wirkende Flüssigkeit in dem vom Priester gehaltenen Libationsgefäß aufbewahrt wird.

Die bisherige Deutung des *inît rd* ging davon aus, daß die Fußspuren des Priesters mit dem vom Priester gehaltenen Wedel verwischt werden. Diese Deutung ist nun nicht mehr unbedingt zu halten, da sich aus der Mythologisierung der alten Texte ergeben hat, daß das Wischen mit dem Wedel nur zur Verbreitung des im Wedel haftenden Duftstoffes dient. Daher scheint es, daß der Ritualtitel „*inît rd*“ nicht als „Verwischen der Fußspur“, sondern wörtlich mit „Herbeibringen des *rd*“ übersetzt werden muß. Dabei bleibt allerdings zunächst noch problematisch, was unter dem Begriff *rd* verstanden werden darf.

Aus *Pyr.* 133a und 695a ist zu erschließen, daß der Begriff *rd* eine Flüssigkeit (*fdt*) bezeichnet, die eine besondere Mächtigkeit besitzt und zudem einen starken Geruch entwickelt. Ein Wort dieser Bildung und dieser Bedeutung ist zwar im *Wörterbuch* nicht belegt, doch kommt diesem Begriff das Wort *rdw* (*Wb.* ii, 469. 5–19) sehr nahe, dessen Bedeutung im *Wörterbuch* mit „Flüssigkeit, Ausfluß“ angegeben wird. Obwohl die angegebene Bedeutung nichts über den Geruch der betreffenden Flüssigkeit aussagt, scheint es sich doch um eine Flüssigkeit besonderer Art zu handeln, da sie als „Ausfluß aus der Leiche des Osiris“ bezeichnet werden kann und daher sicher auch einen bestimmten Eigengeruch gehabt haben wird. Der spezielle Geruch wird

wahrscheinlich dadurch erreicht, daß der Flüssigkeit ein bestimmter Duftstoff zugesetzt oder beigemischt wird. Das technische Verfahren ist bei der Libationszeremonie seit alter Zeit bekannt. Bei dieser Handlung wird das als „Ausfluß des Osiris“ mythologisierte Wasser mit zwei Kugeln aus Natron versetzt.

Wenn die Deutung von *Pyr.* 133*a* und 695*a* richtig ist, besteht der Verdacht, daß der Begriff *rd* ein altes Synonym für *rdw* — „Flüssigkeit“ ist.¹ Da diese Flüssigkeit höchstwahrscheinlich aus einer speziell aufbereiteten Art von Wasser besteht, könnte für *rd* im Zusammenhang des Ritualtitels *init rd* eine Übersetzung „Weihwasser“ vorgeschlagen werden. Der alte Ritualtitel *init rd* müßte dann als „Herbeibringen des Weihwassers“ neu gedeutet werden. Der gleiche Begriff *rd* — „Weihwasser“ dürfte dem zusammengesetzten Ausdruck *wdb rd* — „Opferzuweisung“ zugrunde liegen. Da es sehr wohl denkbar ist, daß neben jeder Opferzuwendung eine Weihung der Opfer mit Weihwasser einherging, scheinen von dieser Seite keine ernsthaften Bedenken gegen die Neudeutung des Begriffes *rd* als „Weihwasser“ vorzuliegen. Schwierigkeiten würden allenfalls die ungewöhnliche Schreibung bzw. Determinierung des Wortes mit dem Ideogramm des Beines sowohl im Zusammenhang des *init rd* als auch des *wdb rd* bereiten. Doch haben hier möglicherweise religiöse Vorstellungen einen gewissen Einfluß auf die Schreibweise ausgeübt. Denn aus späten Texten ist bekannt, daß die oberägyptische Variante des für den Kult benötigten Weihwassers aus dem „Bein (*wrt*!) des Osiris“ stammt, das als Reliquie im Abaton der Nilinsel Biggeh im ersten oberägyptischen Gau aufbewahrt wird.² Die Vorstellung vom Ursprung des Reinigungswassers aus dem Bein des Osiris ist aber sicher alt, da bereits in den Pyramidentexten die Beinreliquie des Osiris im ersten Gau lokalisiert wird (*Pyr.* 1867*a*) und aus dem gleichen Gau angeblich auch eine besondere Art des für den Kult bestimmten Reinigungswassers stammt (*Pyr.* 864*b*, 1908*c*).

¹ Von Bedeutung in diesem Zusammenhang ist vielleicht die seit dem Neuen Reich beobachtete Schreibung *init rdwy*: Pap. Chester Beatty IX, rt. 5, 8; Turin rt. 18, 12; E. Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, I, 181, 185.

² B. Altenmüller-Kesting, *Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult* (Diss. Hamburg 1968), 117–19.

UN PARALLÈLE TARDIF D'UNE FORMULE DES INSCRIPTIONS DE LA STATUE PROPHYLACTIQUE DE RAMSÈS III AU MUSÉE DU CAIRE

(Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.138, col. x+13, 9 à 15)

By JEAN-CLAUDE GOYON

EN 1939, le regretté Chanoine E. Drioton donnait la première publication d'un groupe de quartzite rose du Pharaon Ramsès III, découvert au cours d'un sondage exécuté en 1938 dans le désert d'Almazah (désert oriental du Caire).¹ Sur les côtés et le dossier du siège supportant le couple royal courent quarante-neuf lignes d'un texte formant une sorte de recueil d'incantations magiques à réciter contre les serpents et les scorpions.² Aucun des papyrus magiques connus, renfermant des formules prophylactiques dirigées contre les ophidiens et les arachnides venimeux, n'avait livré jusqu'à ce jour une version exactement parallèle, en tout ou partie, des inscriptions de la statue du Caire.

Au nombre des papyrus hiératiques du Musée de Brooklyn, déroulés en 1966 par Mr. S. Sauneron,³ se trouve un très long manuscrit magique inédit, malheureusement en fort mauvais état.⁴ Le titre de l'ensemble n'est pas conservé,⁵ mais la totalité des formules qui subsistent est consacrée à la conjuration des morsures dangereuses de tout ce qui rampe ou court, ainsi que de leurs effets néfastes.⁶ Toutes les incantations ont été copiées les unes à la suite des autres, sans séparation, et sont rédigées, la

¹ Musée du Caire, J. E. 69771; cf. E. Drioton, 'Une statue prophylactique de Ramsès III', dans *ASAE* 39, 57-89 et pl. ii-vi. Pour le récit de la découverte, voir, du même auteur, *Pages d'égyptologie* (Le Caire, 1957), 55-6; une traduction commentée y figure aux p. 58-68.

² E. Drioton, *Pages d'égyptologie*, 56-8; B. van de Walle, *Chron. d'Ég.* 83, 14 et n. 4.

³ Cf. S. Sauneron, 'Some newly unrolled hieratic papyri in the Wilbour collection', *The Brooklyn Museum Annual*, 8 (1966-7), 98-102. Nous tenons à remercier très vivement Mr. B. v. Bothmer, conservateur en chef du département égyptien du Musée de Brooklyn qui, sur la demande de Mr. S. Sauneron, a bien voulu nous associer aux travaux de publication de ces inédits.

⁴ N° 47. 218. 138, legs Theodora Wilbour. De provenance inconnue, ce document, comme les manuscrits 47. 218. 48+85 (S. Sauneron, op. cit. 102), a dû appartenir à la 'bibliothèque' d'un charmeur de serpents (*hrp-Šrk-t*). Sa paléographie le situe à l'époque saïto-persane. Il sera publié ultérieurement dans son ensemble.

⁵ Il semble qu'au moins une page manque au début; en outre, les sommets de pages sont rongés et morcelés. Toutefois, un grand espoir est permis: la découverte de nombreux fragments dispersés permettra, sans doute, de compléter nombre de passages lacunaires après que leur remise en place aura été opérée.

⁶ Certaines d'entre elles sont parallèles ou analogues aux divers textes magiques connus: stèle Metternich, socle Béhague, papyrus du Vatican n° 36, papyrus magiques de Turin et Chester-Beatty, ostracon Strasbourg H 111, etc. Les reptiles y sont la plupart du temps désignés sous les vocables *hfw*, *hfy-t*, *ddf-t*; le scorpion est nommé *grt* (orthographe néo-égyptienne développée).

plupart du temps, selon le même procédé: après une rubrique en rouge,¹ explicative ou tenant lieu de titre, vient l'exposé du charme, plus ou moins développé quant à son contenu; à la fin prend place, soit une indication de l'objet sur lequel doit s'opérer la récitation,² soit le moment de celle-ci,³ soit, enfin, une mention soulignant son efficacité.⁴

En gros, ces formules peuvent être réparties en deux groupes: le premier vise directement à prévenir ou à guérir les morsures, et s'applique à un patient humain; le second groupe rassemble un certain nombre de charmes destiné à 'purger' des insectes ou reptiles nuisibles les édifices et les jardins.⁵ Ces formules sont récitées par le *hrp-Srk:t*.

C'est dans ce second groupe de conjurations que nous avons retrouvé le doublet de la 'formule VII' des textes de la statue prophylactique de Ramsès III.⁶ Afin qu'il soit loisible de comparer la version du papyrus de Brooklyn avec celle, plus ancienne, de la statue d'Almazah, nous en donnerons ici une transcription (Fig. 1) disposée en regard de la copie donnée naguère par E. Drioton. En outre, à la lumière des données nouvelles fournies par le manuscrit, tant pour la compréhension du texte monumental que pour son interprétation, il devient possible d'en compléter la traduction.

┆ — , 'Autre formule de clore la gueule de tout reptile.'⁷

— Le fils de Rec, Pharaon ¹⁰┆, V.P.S.,⁸ (est) le Lion qui illumine le firmament!⁹

¹ L'incipit est toujours *R: n . . .*, ou *Ky r: n . . .*, suivi de la mention de l'action en vue du résultat recherché: 'empêcher tout serpent mâle ou femelle de se dresser' (col. x+8, 7); 'empêcher tout serpent de mordre' (col. x+11, 19); 'sceller (*htm*) la gueule de tout reptile (*ddf:t*)' (col. x+12, 9) etc. . . . Vient ensuite le formulaire introduit par *dd-mdw*.


² Col. x+11, 19 par exemple: 'Paroles à prononcer sur une figurine de Ptaḥ faite en or, à placer à son [celui du patient, *hr-dm:t*] cou'. ³ Col. x+9, 12: 'Paroles à prononcer après que . . . '.

⁴ Col. x+2, 13-14.

⁵ Col. x+11, 11: 'Que le *hrp-Srk:t* lise à haute voix les livres (suivants): "Les formules de sceller la gueule de tout reptile ainsi que de purifier le verger [*k:mw*, Gardiner, *Onom.* II, 215*] et l'avant-cour [*hryt*, *ibid.*, 211*]", "le rituel de repousser le mauvais œil (*nt-c-w n ḥsf ir-t bin:t*)" et les "écrits qui sont à la fin du rituel des cinq jours épagomènes *š:w nty(-w) r phw n nt-c-w n ššw 5 hry-w rnp:t*; cf. B. H. Stricker, *OMRO* 29, 55 70". Ceci précède, et sert à introduire, des formules pour chasser les reptiles et autres nuisibles des habitations. Plus haut, col. x+6, x+7, il est question (le contexte est, par grande infortune, très lacunaire dans son présent état) d'extraire (?) 'tout ce qui mord' des quatre coins et des murs d'une maison. La mention du mot *pr-c*; dans les formules semble indiquer que celles-ci, au moins à l'origine, étaient destinées au palais royal.

⁶ Statue Caire, J. E. 69771, face postérieure, l. 12-17 = E. Drioton, *ASAE* 39, 77-8; traductions: E. Drioton, *Pages d'égyptologie*, 65-6; G. Roeder, *Ägypt. Religion in Text und Bild*, IV (Bibl. der Alten Welt, Zürich-Stuttgart, 1961), 155-6. Au Pap. Brooklyn 47. 218. 138, le doublet occupe les lignes 9 à 14 (inclue) de la col. x+13.

⁷ CAIRE: 'de tout serpent mâle et de tout serpent femelle'. Le titre est en rouge (caractères gras) sur le manuscrit de Brooklyn. ⁸ CAIRE: 'Le Roi de Basse et Haute Égypte (*Wsr-m: r-t-Rc-mry-Imn*)'.

⁹ Pour le sens de *bi:* adopté ici, cf. R. O. Faulkner, *Concise Dict.*, 80 et la graphie  citée (Budge, *BD*, 185, 6); *Edfou* IV, 307, 3. La leçon de CAIRE: *wš bi:t w (?) phty:f* fait difficulté (voir les hésitations de E. Drioton, *ASAE* 39, 77, notes 1 et 2); le signe ⁸ devant *phty:f* doit être corrompu et résulter d'une confusion commise par le graveur qui a pris la forme cursive du *m* (Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* II, n° 196) pour celle du *w* (*ibid.*, n° 200 B). Dans cette hypothèse, le sens devient plus satisfaisant: en lisant *wš bi:t [m] phty:f*, il devient possible de traduire 'répandant la stupéfaction par sa force' (*bi:t*, *Wb.* I, 440, 3), comparable à celle employée à Esna pour décrire le lion ('celui) qui fascine par ses rugissements' (S. Sauneron, *Esna*, v, 369 = *Esna*, III, n° 262, 21); l'idée

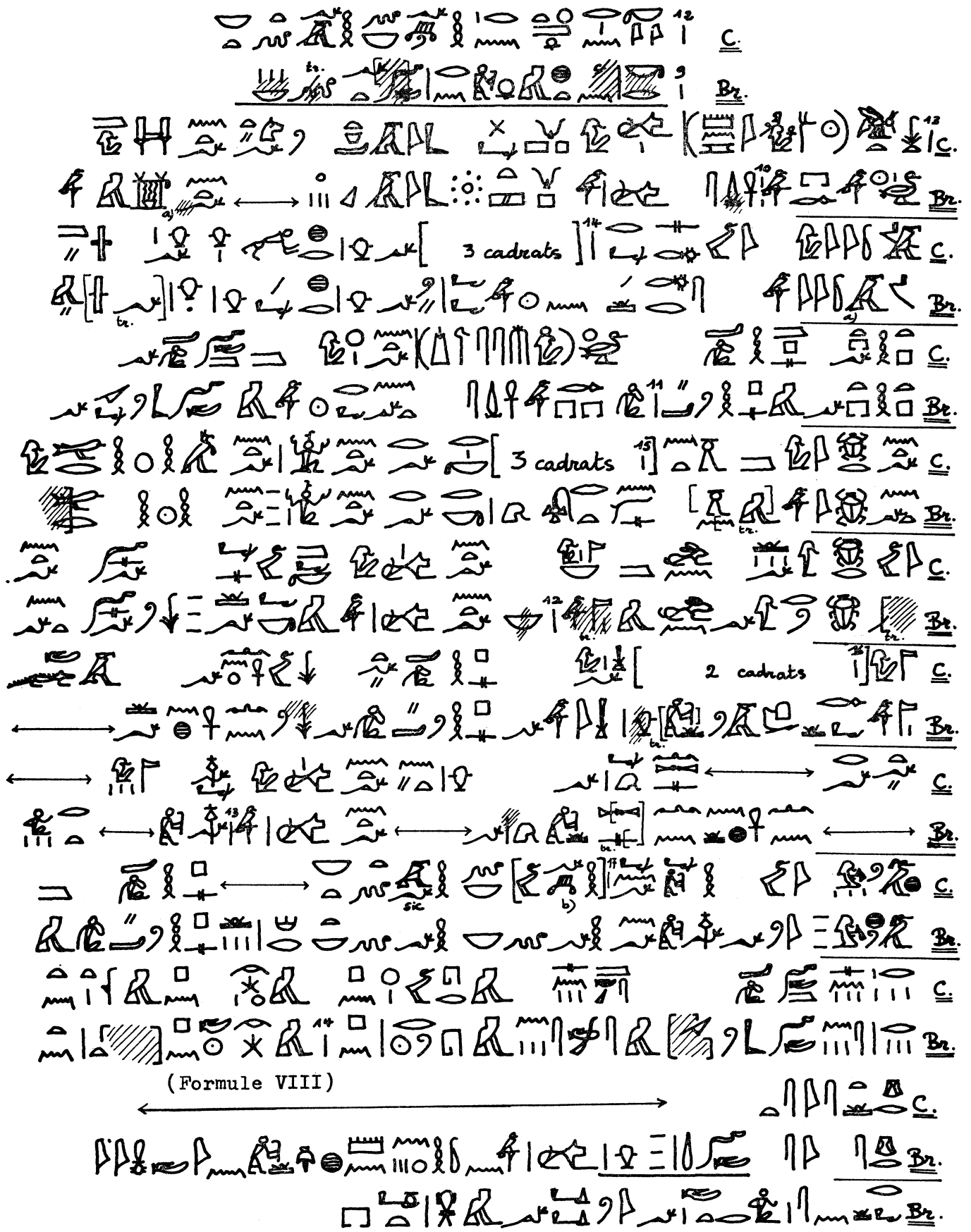


FIG. I

C.: Statue Caire J. E. 69771.

Br.: Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.138, col. XIII.

a)-a) Trou dans le papyrus, ne laissant subsister que le haut des signes; le fragment correspondant a été retrouvé, mais n'est pas encore remis en place.

b) Restitution proposée par E. Drioton, *op. laud.*

Il est Chesmou,¹ le lionceau (?)² dont Re^c a cuirassé³ les bras pour que tombe sur sa face⁴ celui-qui-est-dans-sa-grotte!⁵

(Au reptile)

Que ne soit pas mordu | Pharaon, V.P.S.,¹¹ car il est Re^c,

Qu'il ne soit pas piqué,⁷ car il est Khepri!

Que ne soit pas dardée contre lui⁸ la flamme qui est dans ta gueule, car il est Heheh,⁹ il est l'Éternel,¹⁰ le Grand dont les manifestations sont chacun des dieux,

| Il est le lion qui se protège lui-même,¹¹ il est le dieu grand qui combat pour¹² son frère, (et) celui qui le mordra¹³ ne survivra pas, [il ne pourra] plus vivre¹⁴ ni relever sa tête!¹⁵

Il est le lion qui | châtie les humains¹⁶ et les esprits-akhou, celui qui châtie pour lui¹⁷ tout serpent mâle et femelle, et caetera,¹⁸ (tous ceux) qui mordent avec leurs gueules (ou) piquent avec leurs queues, pendant ce jour, | pendant ce mois, pendant cette [année] et (toute) sa durée.¹⁹ —

est que le lion fige sur place tout ce qui le voit ou l'entend (Esna), interdisant toute réaction. La version plus récente du pap. Brooklyn 47. 218. 138, beaucoup plus traditionnelle en raison de la suppression du groupe gênant *w(?) phtyf*, ne serait qu'un remaniement commode d'un texte incompris.

¹ Sur ce dieu-lion, associé aux onguents et aux parfums, mais aussi combattant féroce et vengeur, cf. H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 679-80, et S. Schott, *NAWG* 1957/3, 61.

² Traduction hypothétique; cf. E. Drioton, op. laud. 77, n. 3.

³ *Šhr* paraît avoir ici un sens bien particulier, que le *Wb.* ne consigne pas, dérivé de son sens habituel 'recouvrir, enduire, plaquer' un objet de métal précieux (*Wb.* IV, 294, 13-14). Pour armer Chesmou qui s'en va affronter le monstre dans son antre, Rê recouvre ses bras, d'or probablement, le rendant ainsi invulnérable aux morsures.

⁴ L'emploi du tour 'tomber sur sa face' est assez fréquent quand il est question de la mort des êtres néfastes, ainsi Seth (*Urk.* VI, 43, 15; *Textes mythologiques*, I, 151 = J.-C. Goyon, *Kémi*, 19, 28, et surtout à propos des serpents ou assimilés, tel Apopis (Pap. Bremner Rhind 23, 17; 24, 8 et 21; 26, 7, 8, etc. = R. O. Faulkner, *Bibl. Aeg.* III, 47, 13; 49, 11; 51, 6-7; 57, 6).

⁵ C'est à dire Apopis, prototype de tous les serpents nuisibles.

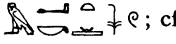
⁶ CAIRE: 'le fils de Re^c (*Rc-mš-šw, hḳꜣ Twrw*)'.

⁷ CAIRE, assez curieusement, porte la graphie plus récente *qdm*, alors que BROOKLYN a l'ancien *qdb*; cf. R. O. Faulkner, *Concise Dict.*, 326. Les verbes employés sont bien spécialisés: *psḥ* 'mordre' pour les serpents, *qdm/qdb* 'piquer' pour les scorpions.

⁸ Passage en lacune dans CAIRE; littéralement: 'que ne soit pas apportée contre lui la flamme ...'.

⁹ Surnom donné parfois au dieu Re^c; cf. E. Drioton, op. laud. 77, n. 4, renvoyant à *Pyr.* 1390 a.

¹⁰ Cf. Fairman, *apud* Mond-Myers, *The Bucheum*, II, 11-13 et III, pl. XVIII-XLIIIA.


¹¹ Comparer P. Louvre I 3079, col. 112, 23 et ses parallèles où Osiris-Sokaris est nommé ; cf. J.-C. Goyon, *Rev. d'Ég.* 20, 66 et n. 17.

¹² CAIRE est en lacune; l'espace de deux cadrats réservé par E. Drioton paraît trop court.

¹³ La forme *šdm-tyfy* de CAIRE est remplacée dans BROOKLYN par un simple *šdm-f* à sens futur.

¹⁴ Dans BROOKLYN, un membre de phrase, qui apparaît dans CAIRE, a sauté: au lieu de *šd-tyfy r-f n š(f) tpf*, le copiste du papyrus a écrit *nn rnh* qui doit être une dittographie.

¹⁵ Pour mordre. CAIRE reliait la proposition qui suit par la conjonction *hr-nty*, supprimée dans la version récente.

¹⁶ Lire *iw-f ḥsf n-f*, forme verbale relative (Présent II); Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 498, 883. Dans CAIRE, la répétition du dét.  est suspecte.

¹⁷ La mention *hmt-r* manque dans CAIRE.

¹⁸ Emploi archaisant de *š(f)*; cf. Lefebvre, *Gr.*, § 565, obs. La clause 'pendant ce jour, ce mois, cette année' se retrouve à la fin de bien des formules de protection. Cf. par exemple, S. Schott, *P. Berlin P.* 13342 (*NAWG* 1957/3), 48.

Paroles à prononcer sur un lion de fayence enveloppé d'étoffe-idemi,¹ à faire prendre en main par un homme (quand) il lui sera donné en tant qu'(amulette de) protection de la chambre.²

La notice finale de la formule du papyrus de Brooklyn nous fournit ainsi l'explication essentielle du but recherché: la protection de la chambre à coucher (ou du lit) contre toutes les manifestations mauvaises et, parmi elles, les serpents et les scorpions.³ La statue prophylactique de Ramsès III, en l'absence de la mention du rite parallèle, consistant en l'*animation* d'un 'lion de fayence' symbolisant le contenu du charme,⁴ laissait planer un doute sur la véritable destination de sa 'formule VII', et, surtout, ne permettait pas de déterminer dans quel recueil antique on l'avait puisée.⁵

Or, l'emprunt a été fait à un rituel bien connu, au moins quant aux attestations de son titre,⁶ et certainement fort ancien, nommé *Sꜣ-hnkꜣt*,⁷ dont une partie, contenant les formules de la protection de la chambre (ou de la couche) du Roi pendant les heures du jour et de la nuit, est conservée au papyrus 58027 du Musée du Caire.⁸ On y trouve également l'indication de certaines pratiques rituelles à mettre en œuvre pendant ou après la récitation. Toutefois, c'est au temple d'Edfou qu'il faut aller chercher le texte-programme de la 'cérémonie de la protection de la chambre (royale)' et obtenir la confirmation de l'emploi d'une amulette de fayence, en forme de lion, dans ce genre de conjuration. En effet, lors des festivités du couronnement du faucon divin, reproduisant celles du couronnement d'un roi terrestre, était pratiqué un rite nommé *Štp-sꜣ*,⁹ essentiellement prophylactique, et dont une phase était la mise en œuvre du cérémonial de la 'protection de la chambre (royale)'.¹⁰ Les gestes à accomplir sont clairement

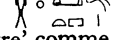

¹ Étoffe de lin rouge; cf. Ph. Derchain, *P. Salt 825*, 149 n. 19.

² Comparer le P. Ramesseum VIII, fragment publié par Gardiner, *Ramesseum Papyri*, 11; P. Ramesseum X, 2, 1 = ibid. 13.

³ A rapprocher de cette destination de base est celle attribuée au texte de protection de la chambre (ou du lit) par une adaptation qui en fut faite à l'époque ptolémaïque dans une tombe d'Atfih-Aphroditopolis (Daressy, *ASAE* 3, 169): 'les serpents ne le voient pas, les reptiles ne le trouvent pas, ceux-qui-sont-sur-leurs-ventres n'ont pas pouvoir sur lui (Texte A sud, l. 2)'.
⁴ Sur l'*animation* des talismans, cf. S. Sauneron, *Le Monde du sorcier* (Sources Orientales 7, 1966), 42-3 et notes.

⁵ E. Drioton, dans *Pages d'égyptologie*, 65, faisait remonter la 'formule VII' de la statue Caire J. E. 69771 à l'Ancien Empire, ce qui est fort possible, étant donné l'archaïsme relevé plus haut (p. 157, n. 19); il pensait qu'elle avait été empruntée au *Livre de protéger le Roi dans son palais* de la liste d'Edfou (III, 351). On verra plus bas qu'il était arrivé très près de la solution du problème de l'origine de la formule.

⁶ Cf. P. Barguet, *Le Papyrus N 3176 (S) du musée du Louvre (IFAO, Bd'É 37)*, 51-2. On doit noter que le rituel, royal au départ, a été *détourné* au profit d'Osiris, puis des simples particuliers, donnant dans son dernier état les *Stundenwachen*; ceci, dans la littérature funéraire. Dans le siècle, la formule, qui est encore royale sous Ramsès III, s'applique, avec le pap. 47.218. 138 de Brooklyn, à tout homme qu'on veut protéger des serpents pendant son sommeil. Là encore, la prière a été *détournée*.

⁷ : pap. Louvre N 3176 (S), v, 2, 5, 19; vi, 15 (P. Barguet, op. laud. 51). , sans le dét. du 'livre' comme dans BROOKLYN, *Edfou*, vi, 145 (1).

⁸ Golenischeff, *Pap. Hiérat. I (CGC)*, 114-31. Des parallèles fragmentaires existent au mammisi romain de Dendara (éd. F. Daumas, 203-6) et au mammisi d'Edfou (éd. Chassinat, 112-14). Le rituel est alors récité pour Harsomtous = l'enfant-roi.

⁹ Sur tout ceci, voir Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 634 sq.

¹⁰ *Edfou*, vi, 144 (15)-145 (1); la traduction d'Alliot, op. laud. 636, pour ce passage demande à être modifiée en fonction du sens du mot *irw* que réclame le contexte, c'est-à-dire celui de 'cérémonie, acte rituel' (S. Sauneron, *Esna*, v, 188). Nous proposons de traduire: 'Je viens devant toi ... pourvu (*pr*) du (rituel de la) cérémonie (*irw*) de la Protection de la Chambre.'

mentionnés: entre autres, l'allumage d'un cierge, l'imposition de pièces d'étoffe protectrices et, surtout, d'amulettes parmi lesquelles un $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ qui n'est autre que l'objet décrit à la fin de la formule du papyrus de Brooklyn et sur qui, pour qu'il ait sa pleine efficacité, le Cérémoniaire avait récité l'incantation que l'on vient de lire.

¹ *Edfou*, VI, 145 (5). Pour les autres rites accomplis au cours de cette phase finale, et très importante, du *stp-sz* d'Horus, cf. Alliot, op. laud. 636-43.

THE SUPPOSED EXPEDITION OF PTOLEMY II TO PERSIA

By DAVID LORTON

THE Pithom Stela of Ptolemy II tells (ll. 12–15) of an expedition of the king to a foreign land, in the course of which he found and returned to Egypt a number of ‘gods’ which had apparently been carried off to that territory at some previous time. In his first publication of the text in 1885, Naville did not attempt to specify the foreign country in question, but Brugsch nine years later identified the land as Persia, without comment.¹ This interpretation has since been followed by all the commentators. Two explanations have been offered for this expedition to Persia. Usually followed is that of Tarn,² who sees in it an expedition to north-west Arabia for the purpose of acquiring control of the incense trade through an alliance with the Minean kingdom there. According to his view, this area could be called ‘Persia’ since it had once been under Achaemenid control. More recently, Musti³ has suggested that the expedition was a part of the first Syrian war, and that Ptolemy went to Mesopotamia itself, the region east of the Euphrates. He cites as support for this view Pausanias, *Attica*, 1, 7, 3: Πτολεμαῖος διέπεμψε ἐς ἅπαντας ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντίοχος ‘Ptolemy dispatched (forces) against all whom Antiochus ruled.’

It should be surprising that such an expedition to Persia is not confirmed by any other source, Egyptian or Greek. Moreover, neither of the above-mentioned explanations of the expedition can be justified. The passage from Pausanias need not suggest that the king’s forces penetrated into every corner of the Seleucid state. Furthermore, Pausanias connects these military operations against the Seleucid kingdom with a contemplated attack on Egypt by Antiochus. Such a reference, if it is to be connected with anything in the Pithom text, could only be related to the event mentioned just after the presumed ‘Persian expedition’, the arrival of Ptolemy and Arsinoe II at Pithom in January 273 ‘to defend Egypt against the foreign lands there’.⁴ Finally,

¹ Publications of the text are: Naville, *The Store-city of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, 16–19, pls. 8–10; Brugsch–Erman, *ZÄS* 32 (1894), 74–87; Naville, *ZÄS* 40 (1902), 66–75, pls. 3–5; Sethe, *Urk.* II, 81–105; Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines (Catalogue général)*, I, 171–7, II, pl. 57. The text has also been translated by Roeder, *Die ägyptische Götterwelt*, 114–28. Improved readings and interpretations have been offered by Andersson–Sjöberg, *Sphinx*, 8 (1904), 223–36; Andersson, *Sphinx*, 13 (1909), 12 ff.

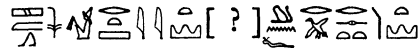
² *JEA* 15 (1929), 9–25; cf. also Kortenbeutel, *Der ägyptische Süd- und Osthandel in der Politik der Ptolemäer und römischen Kaiser*, 20 f.; Préaux, *L’Économie royale des Lagides*, 356 ff.; Volkmann in *PW* 23², 1649.

³ *Studi classici e orientali*, 15 (1966), 78. Before the publication of Tarn’s hypothesis, Walter Otto took this passage of the Pithom Stela as an indication of ‘einer großzügigen Angriffshandlung gegen das Seleukidenreich, die mit Recht allgemein in dem ersten syrischen Krieg verlegt ist’ (*ABAW* 1928, no. 1, 5).

⁴ *r mk(t) Km(t) r hswt im*, Pithom Stela 16. This connection is made by Volkmann, op. cit. 1651.

Pausanias states only that the king dispatched forces, while the Pithom text describes an expedition led by the king himself.

Before considering Tarn's view, it will be helpful to quote the passage which designates the location of Ptolemy's expedition:¹



The carving of the stela is very poor, and it is frequently difficult to ascertain the exact reading.² The place marked above with brackets and interrogation is one such difficult spot. In his first edition of the text, Naville left it blank.³ Brugsch read Ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧ with a note on the last sign 'eigentlich ⲓ', translating 'Ende des Südens'.⁴ It is this reading upon which Tarn's hypothesis is based: 'He (Ptolemy) went to a place called Teshi . . . "to the end of the South as far as the land of Parsetet"'.⁵ Naville later saw here Ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲓⲛⲧ and translated 'l'entrée du Sud'.⁶ Kamal read Ⲡⲓⲛⲧ. Sethe, however, read Ⲡⲓⲛⲧ, which he interpreted as *Stt* 'Asia',⁷ and this reading has been accepted by Gauthier,⁸ who states that the translations of Brugsch and Naville 'résultent de lectures défectueuses et sont à rejeter'. Tarn's hypothesis depends on a southerly direction for Ptolemy's expedition, but it appears that there is no support for such an assumption. Since there is no mention of an expedition to Persia in any other source, and since the suggestions of Tarn and Musti have no textual support, some other location ought to be sought as the king's destination.

Such an attempt has to be based first of all upon the passage of the Pithom Stela already cited, since it is the only direct reference to the event. In the place described above as difficult, the readings *phṭt rsyt* and *hntt rsyt* are to be rejected, as already stated. If Sethe's reading *Stt* is correct, it should be pointed out that the term refers specifically to Sinai, Palestine, and Syria.⁹ The term *tšyt* which appears immediately before this difficult point is regarded by Gauthier as a *hapax* referring to a specific, though unknown, locality.¹⁰ Since this designation cannot be identified with any known place-name, it would be helpful if it could be seen as a variant writing of a known term. The most likely such term is *t(š)š*, which is attested in the Late Period with the meanings 'region, province, nome', and which can be applied to Syria and Phoenicia.¹¹ 'Province' and 'nome' are administrative designations, and the postulated expression *tšyt Stt* would reflect Ptolemaic policy, which always regarded Phoenicia and Palestine as being under Egyptian sovereignty.¹² The term *Prstt* could mean 'Persia', though its writing would be unique.¹³ However, the writing *p-r-s-t* could equally well refer to Palestine.¹⁴ Since the idea of an expedition to Persia ought to be rejected, the evidence

¹ Pithom Stela 10-11.

² Cf. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 16.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. 9.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 79.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 9.

⁶ *ZÄS* 40 (1902), pl. 4 and p. 71.

⁷ *Urk.* II, 91.

⁸ *Dict. géog.* VI, 63.

⁹ Gauthier, *op. cit.* v, 95. Clédat states that the term could refer to Arabia, but he does not cite textual support for this view (*BIFAO* 21 [1922], 148).

¹⁰ Cf. Gauthier, *op. cit.* VI, 63.

¹¹ *Wb.* v, 236, 9-14; Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 656 f.

¹² Cf. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 24 f.; Volkmann, *op. cit.* 1611 f. Roeder (*op. cit.* 119) translates 'der König ging nach dem Gau Asien'.

¹³ Cf. Gauthier, *op. cit.* II, 144; Posener, *La Première Domination perse en Égypte (= Bibl. d'Ét.* 11), 200.

¹⁴ Cf. Gauthier, *loc. cit.*; Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, 42.

of the terms employed by the Pithom Stela justifies a consideration of the possibility that the expedition was to 'Palestine', a term which for the Greeks applied to a wider area than Philistia proper as early as the fifth century.¹

Ptolemy II was not the only king of his dynasty to boast of recovering divine images. The Satrap Stela, ll. 3 f., states of Ptolemy I, *in·n·f ḥmꜣw n ntrw gm(w) m-hnw Stt hnc dbḥw nb bꜣw-Rc nb n gsw-prw Šmꜣ Tꜣ-Mḥw rdī·n·f s(n) hr st·sn* 'He brought back the images of the gods which were found in Asia, together with all the cult equipment and all the sacred writings of the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt, and he placed them in their (proper) place(s).'² This reference, which follows a description of Ptolemy's prowess in battle, is to be connected with the successful expedition to Palestine and Phoenicia in 312.³ The same exploit is recorded of Ptolemy III in the Canopus Decree, line 6: *šḥmꜣw-ntrw it(w)·n ḥsyw n Prstt r rwt Bꜣkt wdꜣ·n ḥm·f r tꜣw Stt nḥm·f s(n) in·n·f s(n) r Tꜣ-mri rdī·n·f s(n) r st·s(n) m gsw-prw mnwn(w)·sn im hr-hꜣt* 'The divine images which the wretches of Persia had taken out of Egypt, his majesty set out for the lands of Asia, he rescued them, he brought them to Egypt, and he set them in their place(s) in the temples from which they had previously been removed.'⁴ This event can be assigned to the third Syrian war of 246–241.⁵ The Demotic text of the Pithom copy of the trilingual decree in honour of Ptolemy IV states, ll. 21 ff., that 'he took every care for the divine images which had been taken out of Egypt to the province of Syria and the province of Phoenicia in the time when the Medes devastated the temples of Egypt. He commanded that they be searched for carefully. Those which were found, apart from those which his father had brought back to Egypt, he had them brought back to Egypt, while he celebrated a festival and offered sacrifices in their honour, and he had them brought to the temples from which they had previously been taken.'⁶ These events are to be connected with the fourth Syrian war of 219–217.⁷

Scholars have viewed these accounts of the recovery of Egyptian gods by the early Ptolemies as stereotyped eulogies with no basis in fact. According to Volkmann, they are 'als konventionelle Wendung zu bewerten, mit der die Priester das Lob des Herrschers zu erhöhen suchten'.⁸ It is difficult to imagine, however, that the Egyptian priests

¹ Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 357 f.

² The Satrap Stela has been published by Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 14; Brugsch, *ZÄS* 9 (1871), 1–13; Sethe, *Urk.* II, 11–22.

³ Wachsmuth, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F. 26 (1871), 469.

⁴ For the Canopus Decree, cf. Sethe, *Urk.* II, 124–54, with a bibliography of publications of the extant copies of the text.

⁵ Cf. Volkmann, op. cit. 1668. St. Jerome preserves a tradition that 2,500 divine images were recovered on this expedition: *Cumque audisset in Aegyptum seditionem moveri deripiens regnum Seleuci quadraginta milia talentorum argenti tulit et vasa pretiosa simulacraque deorum duo milia quingenta in quibus erant et illa quae Cambyses capta Aegyptio in Persas portaverat* (Commentary on Daniel xi, 7–9). The burning and plundering of the Egyptian temples by Cambyses is also recorded by Diodorus Siculus, I, 46. It is not clear, however, which ruler was responsible for this plundering, since the Egyptian monuments dating to Cambyses' reign contradict the tradition of the classical authors by picturing him as honouring the cults (cf. Posener, op. cit. xii, 170 ff.).

⁶ The Pithom text has been published by Gauthier–Sottas, *Un Décret trilingue en l'honneur de Ptolémée IV*; Spiegelberg, *SBAW* 1925, no. 4. I owe this reference to Professor Hans Goedicke.

⁷ Cf. Volkmann, op. cit. 1680 ff.; Walter Otto, *ABAW* 1928, no. 1, 80–7.

⁸ Op. cit. 1684. Cf. also Wilcken, *Hermes*, 40 (1905), 558; Gauthier–Sottas, op. cit. 54.

would have invented such lies for this purpose. The Pithom Stela (l. 13), moreover, gives an account of what happened when the divine images were brought to Pithom and the priests of Egypt were summoned to inspect them: *stꜣꜣsn r iꜣꜣsn r bw n hmꜣf r hꜣft-⟨hr⟩ ntrw ip(n) gmꜣnꜣs(n) shꜣm n Wr(?)-Iꜣbt pw irꜣnꜣs(n) hrw IO irm hmꜣf im ntrw Bꜣkt iꜣꜣsn r Kmt ntrw Pr-Iꜣtm-Tkw iwꜣsn r hꜣtp im stꜣꜣsn pw dt.* 'They hastened to come to the place of his Majesty, before these gods. They found that divine image of the Western Harpoon Nome. After they spent ten days with his Majesty there, the gods of Egypt went to Egypt, and the gods of Pithom-Tkw came to rest there: (for) it is their eternal place.'¹ It is improbable that such a detailed narrative could be a mere fabrication.

It appears, then, that these accounts are to be accepted as factual, and the evidence of the Satrap Stela, the Canopus Decree, and the trilingual decree in honour of Ptolemy IV indicates that these confiscated images were recovered in Syria-Palestine.² Moreover, since these accounts employ a similar terminology, the use of *Stt* in the hieroglyphic texts and the use of *tš* in the expressions 'the province of Syria' and 'the province of Phoenicia' in the Demotic text serve as support for the readings in the account of the Pithom Stela which were mentioned above. Since it can be concluded that Ptolemy II recovered the images there, it is necessary to account for his presence in that area. Because the description of the role of Pithom in the king's successful prosecution of the first Syrian war begins immediately after the description of his recovery of the gods,³ the event under consideration here can only be connected with the first phase of that war (276), in which Ptolemy captured Damascus but was subsequently defeated by Antiochus I.⁴ The wording of the account in the Pithom Stela, lines 10 f., suggests such a connection: *šmꜣ⟨n⟩ nswt r tšyt Stt phꜣnꜣf r Prstt gmꜣf ntrw Bꜣkt im m ꜣw* 'The king went to the province of Asia, and he reached Palestine. He found numerous gods of Egypt there.' It seems improbable that the primary purpose of the expedition was the recovery of divine images, and the text seems to imply that their discovery occurred by chance after the king's arrival. Thus, the text states only that 'the king went', with no specification of the reason for the expedition and no account of the outcome of his purposes. Since the other descriptions of the recovery of images are connected with military campaigns, this strange silence suits the fact that Ptolemy suffered a defeat in Syria, while the lengthy description of the return of the gods seems to make the most of what was otherwise a setback for Egypt.

¹ I owe the interpretation of this passage to Professor Goedicke.

² Tarn states, 'Nothing turns on these gods, as bringing back gods was common form for every Ptolemy. . . . Any neighbouring Arab tribe might have carried off a god or two' (op. cit. 9 n. 6). It is evident, however, that these gods were always recovered from a specific area, namely Syria-Palestine. Moreover, these seem to have been important cult-images (and in great quantity, if any credence can be given to the figure quoted by St. Jerome), not one or two insignificant divine representations which some bedouin might have got hold of.

³ Cf. p. 160 n. 4.

⁴ Evidence for hostilities in 276 comes from a cuneiform chronicle of Antiochus I, B.M. 92689 rev. 10-14 (Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 150-9); for the two phases of the first Syrian war, cf. Tarn, *JHS* 46 (1926), 155-62; Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 61. The indication in the Pithom Stela of Ptolemy's presence in this area prior to January 273 serves as independent support for Tarn's chronology of the war, as opposed to that of Walter Otto who, despite the cuneiform text, prefers to place Antiochus' recapturing of Damascus in March 273 (*ABAW* 1928, no. 1, 3 ff.; cf. Volkmann, op. cit. 1651).

Further confirmation is afforded by the description of the gods' return to Egypt (l. 11): *in:f sn r Kmt ii:sn hnc nswt-bit nb-(trwy) Ptrwmys r Hmty wd sn hm:f r Kmt* 'He brought them back to Egypt: they came with the king, lord (of the Two Lands) Ptolemaios as far as *Hmty*, and his majesty sent them to Egypt.' Since Ptolemy was active in the Damascus region during this campaign, even holding the city for a while,¹ it is likely that *Hmty* is to be identified with Hamath on the Orontes, where Ptolemy must have brought the images for shipment by boat to Egypt.² The mention of Hamath suggests that Ptolemy's control of Syria in 276 extended at least as far north as that city.

There is no support, therefore, for the view that Ptolemy II conducted an expedition to Arabia or to Mesopotamia. The evidence of the text itself, as well as of other accounts of the recovery of divine images, makes it necessary to identify ll. 12–15 of the Pithom Stela as an account of the king's campaign to Syria-Palestine in 276.

¹ Cf. Tarn, *JHS* 46 (1926), 155–62; Polyaeus, *Strategematon*, IV, 15.

² I owe this suggested identification to Professor Goedicke. Hamath is not otherwise mentioned in Egyptian texts; for the city (later called Epiphaneia) at this period, cf. Benzinger in *PW* 6, 192. This *Hmty* is not the same as the *Hmtytt* of line 22. The latter is written differently and apparently indicates the site of Ptolemais Theron, a city founded by Ptolemy II on the African coast of the Red Sea (cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* IV, 176 f.; Triedler in *PW* 23², 1870–83; Pithom Stela, ll. 23 f.).

THE WELLS OF HIBIS

By PETER J. PARSONS

THIS curious text comes from a set of wooden tablets, part of a small collection which the Revd. A. H. Sayce bequeathed to the Bodleian Library in 1933.¹ The tablets, catalogued as *Bodleian Greek Inscriptions* 3018, are now on deposit in the Ashmolean Museum; and I am grateful to the Keeper of the Museum for permission to publish them here.

1. The Tablets²

The set consists of nine tablets, each *c.* 13·7 by 30·5 cm. They are of plain (un-surfaced) wood, the first and last some 6 mm. thick, the rest about 3 mm. The wood has split in places; some of this damage is clearly ancient, for the scribe takes pains to avoid the cracks. Each tablet has two pairs of tie-holes; through these holes passed the cords or thongs (now lost) which joined the tablets into a nine-leaf codex. The writing runs parallel with the shorter edge.

The maker of the tablets provided a means of keeping them in sequence. The top (short) edge of each tablet is marked with two shallow notches; when the codex is put together correctly, the notches combine into two continuous cuts; the cuts form a perfect 'V' shape, with its apex on the first tablet and its base on the last; any irregularity in the 'V' would point to a tablet displaced or missing.³ In fact, the set is complete. I have numbered the tablets from 1 to 9, according to the original order (front and back are distinguished as *a* and *b*). Nos. 1 and 9 are the covers of the codex, as their bevelled edges and greater thickness show.

We have no external evidence for the provenance of the tablets. Internal evidence proves that they come from the Great Oasis; the main text was written at Hibis. A find of papyri from the neighbourhood of Hibis certainly reached dealers at Luxor in the late nineteenth century; Sayce himself bought some there in 1893.⁴ It may be that the tablets belong to the same group.⁵

The codex contains two texts.

The first (tablets 1*b*, 2, 3, 4*a*) is published in full below. It is a list of eighty-six *hydreumata* near Hibis, written *c.* A.D. 246/249.

¹ Archibald Henry Sayce, 1845–1933; fellow of The Queen's College, Oxford, from 1896; Professor of Assyriology 1891–1915. He spent much time in Egypt for reasons of health; and played some part in salvaging the papyri (now in the British Museum) of Herondas, Bacchylides, and the *Athenaion Politeia*. For the collection, see *ZPE* 1970, 148.

² See pl. XLI.

³ The same device in a set of school tablets from Sayce's collection (*Bodl. Gr. Inscr.* 3019, *ZPE* 1970, 133 ff.); a single cut on a set from the Berlin Museum (Schubart, *Das Buch*², p. 24, ³ p. 29).

⁴ *Rév. Ét. Gr.* 1894, 301 (texts reprinted as *SB* 4651–7). The school tablets too turned up at Luxor, where Sayce bought them in 1906.

⁵ For the Oasis find in general, see Bingen, *Chron. d'Ég.* 39 (1964), 157 ff.

Seventy-five years later the codex was turned back-to-front and upside down to receive another text, which occupies tablets 9*a* and 8 (7, 6, 5, and 4*b* are blank except for traces of erased writing). The new text is a set of accounts, written in double column. The prescript reads: *ἐπαφροδείτως*:¹ *ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου ἀνικῆτου σεβαστοῦ τὸ ζ καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου καίσαρος τὸ α* (A.D. 326). The account is arranged by days. The entries (most of them now illegible) consist of proper names and sums of money. Each day ends with a total. For example, col. i, 45 ff. (under Mecheir 20):

Ἀπολλώνιος Πτολεμ(αίου) (ταλ.) β
Δρακόντιος (ταλ.) β
(γίνεται) ἐπ(ὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) (ταλ.) ρκθ.

The proper names give no indication of provenance.

The main text offers considerable difficulties. I am most grateful to Dr. John Rea, Dr. John Shelton, and Professor H. C. Youtie for their help. Even so, much remains doubtful. The ink is often faded or rubbed; reading becomes hazardous even in the formulaic parts, and the prescript has largely defeated me. The matter is novel and often problematic; many points need attention from an Egyptologist; with some, notably the interpretation of the personal names, I have not ventured to deal at all. The text and commentary below are offered only on the assumption that something is better than nothing.

I print the text as it stands in the original, except that words are divided.

2. The Text

(Tablet 1*b*)

1	<i>ειρηνη</i>	
		<i>Κλαυδιω Μαρκελλω τω διασημοτατω καθολικω Μαρκιω Καλουταριω τω κρατιστω επιτροπω των κυριων σεβαστ[ων] παρα Αυρηλιου Γεμμου αμφ[οδαρχο]υ αμφοδου Ιβιτων πολεως της μεγαλης οασεως προς τα γραφεντα υποβιβλ.....</i>
		(8–24 illegible)
25	<i>Ἰβιτων</i>	
α'	<i>υδρεῦ πη' α</i>	c. 16 letters
		c. 28
		c. 28

¹ This prescript recurs in the set of school tablets published by Kenyon, *JHS* 29 (1909), 32, and reprinted by Ziebarth, *Aus der antiken Schule*, 24. Kenyon read *Ἐπαφροδείτω(ς)*, and interpreted it as a proper name. But no doubt it is an adverb in both places, and equivalent to *feliciter*. Compare the use in *PMich* 174, 21 *ἐν τῇ ἐπαφρο[δ]είτω σου ἡγεμονία* (similarly *PRyl* II, 77, 36). In *OGI* 441 Sulla's title *felix* is rendered by *ἐπαφρόδιτος*.

		<i>Μεγχεουσ</i>	<i>c. 17</i>	
30	β'	<i>υδρεῦ</i>	<i>c. 20</i>	
			<i>c. 28</i>	
			<i>c. 28</i>	
		<i>υδρευματ.....</i>		
	γ̄	<i>υδρεῦ</i>	<i>c. 24</i>	
35		<i>πμουν</i>	<i>c. 17</i>	<i>εδαφη</i>
		<i>υδρεῦ</i>	<i>c. 14</i>	<i>απηλιω^τ εδαφη</i>
		<i>υδρεῦ</i>	<i>c. 18</i>	<i>βορρα</i>
			<i>c. 16</i>	<i>προς νοτον</i>
40		<i>λοφο[ι..... προς] βορρα</i>		<i>εδαφη υδρευμα</i>
		<i>πμουν c. 10</i>		<i>απηλιωτου προς νο-</i>
				<i>τον περιστασις της πολεως λιβος προς βορρα</i>
		<i>εν απειρω [.....].....</i>		
	δ	<i>υδρεῦ φρεαρ</i>	<i>c. 12</i>	<i>ανι. αυτος</i>
		<i>[ε]ν απειρω πη^γ α'</i>		
45	ε̄	<i>υδρεῦ π^μ Α.....</i>		<i>τριου εν απειρω πη^γ α'</i>
				<i>ομοιως εν τη κοιτασθειση διαθεσε̄</i>

(Tablet 2a)

	ς̄	<i>υδρεῦ πμουν Πχετε εν απειρω πη^γ α'</i>		
		<i>καταπατη^ς εν τη κοιτασθειση διαθεσε̄</i>		
		<i>απηλιω^τ εχομενα</i>		
50	ζ̄	<i>υδρεῦ φρεαρ Πεταπιος πη^γ α' γειτονες νοτου</i>		
		<i>εδαφη φρεαρ Πετεμεναπιος βορρα εδαφη</i>		
		<i>υδρεῦ απηλιω^τγος υδρεῦ πμουν</i>		
		<i>Περχ.....c..... λιβος</i>	<i>c. 9</i>	
		<i>υδρεῦ π^μ εν απειρω πη^γ α [καταπ]ατησει</i>		
55		<i>εν τη κοιτασθειση διαθεσε̄ ...</i>		
	η	<i>υδρεῦ π^μ Αρτε</i>	<i>c. 25</i>	
		<i>πη^γ β εχο..... υδωρ επι της πη^γ</i>		
		<i>μη ρεοντα δε</i>		
	θ	<i>υδρεῦ c. 10</i>		<i>εχουσης υδωρ και ου ρεουσης</i>
60	ι	<i>υδρεῦ c. 12</i>		<i>πη^γ α' καταπατη^ς εν τη</i>
				<i>κοιτασθειση διαθεσε̄</i>
	ια	<i>υδρεῦ πη^γ . εχογ υδωρ επι της πηγης</i>		
		<i>c. 18</i>		<i>εχουσης υδωρ και μη</i>
		<i>ρεον</i>		
65	ιβ	<i>υδρεῦ c. 12</i>		<i>εν απειρω πη^γ α</i>
		<i>καταπατη εν τη κοιτασθειση διαθεσε̄</i>		
		<i>c. 16</i>		<i>διαστημα</i>

- ιγ υδρεῦρβθ. πη' α ... και.....ρου
 c. 16 χειτονες νοτου εκ μεν του
 70 απη[λιωτικ]ου περιστασις της πολεως εκ δε του
 λιβικου c. 12 απηλιωτου εκ μεν του
 νοτινου περιστασις της πολεως εκ δε του βορι-
 νου c. 20 λιβος
 εκ μεν του βορινου λοφοι εκ δε του νοτινου
 75 c. 20 [cyn]επιρεοντων

 ιδ υδρεῦος πη' . ' εχον υδωρ και μη ρεον ...
 c. 12 υδωρ και μη ρεουσης βορρα
 εχομενα
 80 ιε υδρεῦαεως Ψεναμου πη' α' γιτο
 ρες εκ τριων ανεμων αμμος νοτου ...
 ις υδρεῦ εν απειρω πη' α' καταπατη...
 εν τη κοιταστηση διαθεσει βορρα εχομενα
 ιζ υδρεῦ c. 14 τρ. c πη' α' γιτονες
 85 νοτου και λιβος λοφοι απηλιω' και βορρα εν
 απειρω υδρεῦ Εβιην
 ιη υδρεῦ ..τε και Τκονομω εν απειρω πη' β'
 ιθ υδρεῦ Ψεννησιος Ψενετιμιος εν απειρω πη' α'
 κ υδρεῦ Πχουσον...εμ.. εν απειρω πη' α'
 90 καταπατηc των γ υδρεῦ εν τη κοιταθειση
 διαθεσει απηλιωτου εχομενα

(Tablet 2b)

- κα υδρεῦ Εβιην πη' α' γιτονες νοτου [...].
 μεθ ο εδαφη Πεουαν και Ποουαν και Πιν
 95 συνεπιρεοντων αλλων υδρεῦ δ' βορρα
 λοφοι λιβος εκ μεν του νοτινου εδαφη υδρεῦ
 Παννηβιος ...ρ. c εκ δε του βορινου
 αμμος απηλιωτου εχομενα
 κβ υδρεῦ τchon Αρωτου πη' α' γιτονες νοτου
 και λιβος εδαφη υδρεῦ Εβιην βορρα και απη-
 100 λιωτου λοφοι βορρα προς λιβαγον
 διαστημα
 κγ υδρεῦ Πιησε πη' α' καταπατηcκε
 κδ υδρεῦ π̄ ..ελοφ. ac πη' α (blank)
 κε υδρεῦ π̄ Παους πη' α γιτονες των τριων υδρεῦ
 105 συνεπιρεοντων αλλων [νοτου και] απηλιω'

- ορος βορρα και λιβος αμμος του
 τριτου και εικοστου υδρεῦ
 υδρεῦ συνεπιρευοντων αλλων
 110 κς υδρεῦ φρεαρ[..... εχον]
 υδωρ επι της πηγ' μη ρεον δε
 υδωρ και μη ρεουσης
 κζ υδρεῦ πμουν Α. ου πηγ' α' καταπατησει εξης
 κη υδρεῦ πηγ' α' συνεπιρευοντ (blank)
- 115 (blank)
- κθ υδρεῦ π Βηστεντω . . . πηγ' α' γιτονες νοτου
 αμμος βορρα και λιβος εδαφη υδρεῦ
 (blank) νοτου
 προς λιβα . . . αμμον
- 120 λ υδρεῦ πμουν Βελλη πηγ' α' γειτο νοτου . . . υρις
 απηλιωτ εδαφη υδρεῦ βορρα λιβος εδαφη υδρεῦ
 π Πιω βορρα αμμος
 λιβος εχομενα
- λα υδρεῦ π Πιω πηγ' α γειτο νοτου και βορρα
 125 και λιβος αμμος απηλιωτ εδαφη υδρεῦ π Βελλη
 λβ υδρεῦ . . .ρα πηγ' α' γειτο νοτου εκ μεν του λιβικου
 εδαφη υδρεῦ π Βελλη εκ δε απηλι[ωτικου] αμμος
 βορρα και απηλιωτ αμμος υδρεῦ
 πμουν Βελλη και γωσα . . . ου
- 130 κατα συγχωρησιw δε τοπαρχιαν
 τουποτ επι του ανω
 οαντου
- λγ υδρεῦ πηγ' α' εχον υδωρ επι της
 πηγ' και μη ρεον
- (Tablet 3a)
- 135 λδ υδρεῦ Χχουμεν εν απειρω πηγ' α' λιβος
 εχομενα μεθ' ον αμμος
- λε υδρεῦ Ουρης πηγ' α' γε[ιτο τω]γ ολων τοπων
 νοτου εκ μεν το[υ λιβικου εδαφη υ]δρεῦ πμουν
 Αμενηβιος Ουρης εκ δε του απηλιωτ μεγα
- 140 διαστημα αμμος βορρα αμμος λιβος αμμος
 απηλιωτ πτερισματα
- λς υδρεῦ π Ουσιρευωνε εν απειρω πηγ' α'
 νοτου τουτου

	$\overline{\lambda\zeta}$	υδρεῦ μ Αμενηβιος Ονηρης πη' α γειτῶ νοτου και λιβος αμμος απηλιω ^τ εδαφη υδρεῦ Ονηρης βορρα υδρεῦ
145	$\overline{\lambda\eta}$	υδρεῦ πη' α' εχον υδωρ και μη ρεον
	$\overline{\lambda\theta}$	υδρεῦ εν απειρω πη' α
	$\overline{\mu}$	υδρεῦ μ Τε πη' α'
150	$\overline{\mu\alpha}$	υδρεῦ μ εν απειρω πη' α'.
	$\overline{\mu\beta}$	υδρεῦ εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\mu\gamma}$	υδρεῦ εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\mu\delta}$	υδρεῦ υφθα εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\mu\epsilon}$	υδρεῦ πμουνη εν απειρω πη' α'
155	$\overline{\mu\varsigma}$	υδρεῦ πμουνη αιτος εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\mu\zeta}$	υδρεῦ ρπαησιος εν απειρω πη' α
	$\overline{\mu\eta}$	υδρεῦ μ τεκεν... εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\mu\theta}$	υδρεῦ τχον (blank) εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\nu}$	υδρεῦ Πετεχων... ονος... ομε εν απειρω πη' α
160	$\overline{\nu\alpha}$	υδρεῦ τχον πμουνη εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\nu\beta}$	υδρεῦ πμουνη Μι... θεως εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\nu\gamma}$	υδρεῦ Τεαιθεως εν απειρω πη' α'.
	$\overline{\nu\delta}$	υδρεῦ Τ..... εν απειρω πη' α'
165	$\overline{\nu\epsilon}$	υδρεῦ τχον Ψενψυθιος εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\nu\varsigma}$	υδρεῦ υρ... ιος εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\nu\zeta}$	υδρεῦ Τκουαιει εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\nu\eta}$	υδρεῦ μ Αμενηβιος Ψενπετ... ριος εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\nu\theta}$	υδρεῦ τχον Αμενηβιος εν απειρω πη' α'
170	$\overline{\xi}$	υδρεῦ μ Πα... εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\xi\alpha}$	υδρεῦ μ Αμενηβιος εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\xi\beta}$	υδρεῦ Ερ... του Νεχθ... νιος εν απειρω πη' α'
	$\overline{\xi\gamma}$	υδρεῦ πμουνη (blank)

(Tablet 3b)

	$\overline{\xi\delta}$	υδρεῦ Τκερτεςχηει εν απειρω πη' α'
175	$\overline{\xi\epsilon}$	υδρεῦ Τχαλμεπι... ος εν απειρω πη' α' . καταπατητ̄ απο υδρευματων ακ.... οκτω εως τουτου εν τη κοιτασθεῖ διαθεσει
	$\overline{\xi\varsigma}$	υδρεῦ Πιωριος Πχ..... ος πη' α' η καταπατητ̄ εξης
180	$\overline{\xi\zeta}$	υδρεῦ Πεουαν πη' α'

- $\overline{\xi\eta}$ υδρεῦ φρεαρ Τε..... εν απειρω πηγ' α
 $\overline{\xi\theta}$ υδρεῦ Καλλιροου πηγ' γ'
 \bar{o} υδρεῦ τχον Αμενηβιος πηγ' α'
 $\overline{o\alpha}$ υδρεῦ πηγ' α' των υδρεῦ συνεπιρε-
 185 οντων c. 22 νοτου
 εκ μεν του λιβικου αμμος εκ δε του απηλιωτι^κ
 εδαφη υδρεῦ τχον απηλιω^τ εκ μεν
 του νοτινου εδαφη υδρεῦ τχον εκ δε
 του βορινου λοφοι c. 16 ος λιβος
 190 αμμος καταπατη^ς των ξ υδρεῦ Λ'ω^ν
 $\overline{o\beta}$ υδρεῦ Πεττεμεναπιος πηγ' α εχον υδωρ
 και μη ρεον
 $\overline{o\gamma}$ υδρεῦ εν απειρω πηγ' α' η καταπατη^ς εξ'
 $\overline{o\delta}$ υδρεῦ τχον Εμφεως και τχον (blank) και
 195 τχον Αμενηβιος πηγ' γ' c. 12 τελειται
 $\overline{o\epsilon}$ υδρεῦ τχον .ε.ω εν απειρω πηγ' .'
 $\overline{o\zeta}$ υδρεῦ τχον .εν.ωρε εν απειρω πηγ' α'
 $\overline{o\eta}$ υδρεῦ ^μ Καλβιου εν απειρω πηγ' α'
 200 $\overline{o\theta}$ υδρεῦ Νε. .τη εν απειρω πηγ' .
 $\overline{\pi}$ υδρεῦ ^μ Βερριωρου εν απειρω πηγ' α'
 $\overline{\pi\alpha}$ υδρεῦ ^μ Βερριω.ικου εν απειρω πηγ' α
 (blank) απηλιωτου εχομενα
 $\overline{\pi\beta}$ υδρεῦ Πελ...ου πηγ' α γειτο[^ν εκ τριω]ν ανεμων
 205 λοφοι απηλιω^τ ε[κ] μεν του νοτινου οδος εκ δε
 του βορινου εδαφ[η] υδρεῦ φρεατος Πετεμεναπιος
 Μεγχεους
 $\overline{\pi\gamma}$ υδρεῦ Ψενπηουςβιος εν απειρω πηγ' α'
 $\overline{\pi\delta}$ υδρεῦ πμου Περχη.... πηγ' α' γειτο^ν των ολων
 210 τοπων νοτου λοφοι μεθ α εδαφη φρεαρ Πετεμεν-
 απιος Μεγχεους βορρα λοφοι απηλιωτου
 αμμος λιβος εκ μεν του βορινου εδαφη (blank)
 (blank) εκ δε του νοτινου εδαφη υδρεῦ φρεαρ
 Πετεμεναπιος Μεγχεους νοτου εχομενα προς λιβα
 215 $\overline{\pi\epsilon}$ υδρεῦ φρεαρ Πετεμεναπιος Μεγχεους
 πηγ' γ' γειτο^ν νοτου εκ μεν του απηλιωτι^κ
 αμμος εκ δε του λιβικου εδαφη υδρεῦ φρεα^ρ

(Tablet 4a)

υῖων Καφιος και υδρεῦ ^μ Σερεμφιος βορρα
 εκ μεν του απηλιωτι^κ εδαφη ^μ Περμαμιος

200 perhaps Νεκατη

201 perhaps Βερρι Ωρου (and so 202)

204 perhaps Πελαιθου

- 220 εκ δε του λιβικου εδαφη Ψηει λιβος εκ μεν
του βορινου περιστασις της πολεως εκ δε του
νοτινου εδαφη ^μ Cερεμφιος και εδαφη φρεα-
τος υιων Cαφιος απηλιωτου εκ μεν του νοτινου
αμμος εκ δε του βορινου λοφοι (blank) λιβος
- 225 εχομενα
π̄S υδρεῦ φρεαρ Cαστορος (blank) γειτο
νοτου και απηλιω^τ εδαφη φρεατος Πετε-
μεναπιος Μεγχεους βορρα και λιβος περι-
στασις της πολεως νοτου εχομενα

3. The wells of Hibis

The text, then, is a list of *hydreumata* near Hibiton Polis, drawn up by an amphodarch of the city, and addressed to the Rationalis Aegypti and his assistant.

Hibis (or Hibiton Polis), 'the city of the plough', was the capital of the Great Oasis. It stood in the eastern half of the oasis, El Khargeh, towards the north end.¹ The exact site was finally determined by the American expedition which published its results in 1941: north of the modern village of Khargeh, on an almost level plain at the south end of the foothills of the Gebel-el-Teir. The town was well placed for a commercial centre, since many desert roads meet here. It was equally well placed for prosperous farming: the ground level is so low that the artesian water is easily tapped, and the largest cultivable area in the Oasis lies just to the south.²

The oasis depended for its existence on artesian water. Wells had always been dug, and the Romans carried out a great development of the supply.³ We have a description from Olympiodorus of Thebes, who visited the area in the early fifth century A.D. Photius summarizes his account: *περί τῆς Ὀάσεως ὁ συγγραφεὺς πολλὰ παραδοξολογεῖ, περί τε τῆς εὐκρασίας αὐτῆς . . . καὶ περί τῆς ψάμμου τῆς πολλῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τῶν ὀρυσομένων φρεάτων, ὡς εἰς διακοσίους καὶ τριακοσίους, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ εἰς πεντακοσίους πήχεις ὀρυσσόμενα ἀναβλύζουσι τὸ ρεῖθρον αὐτοῦ τοῦ στομίου προχέομενον· ἐξ οὗ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀρρόμενοι, ὅσοις κοινὸν γέγονε τὸ ἔργον, τὰς οἰκείας ἀρούρας ποτίζουσιν οἱ γεωργοί.*⁴ Deep shafts were dug; the water rose under its own pressure and overflowed.

If modern conditions obtained, there were no natural springs. H. J. Ll. Beadnell, who worked at Khargeh in 1902–5, gives this description:

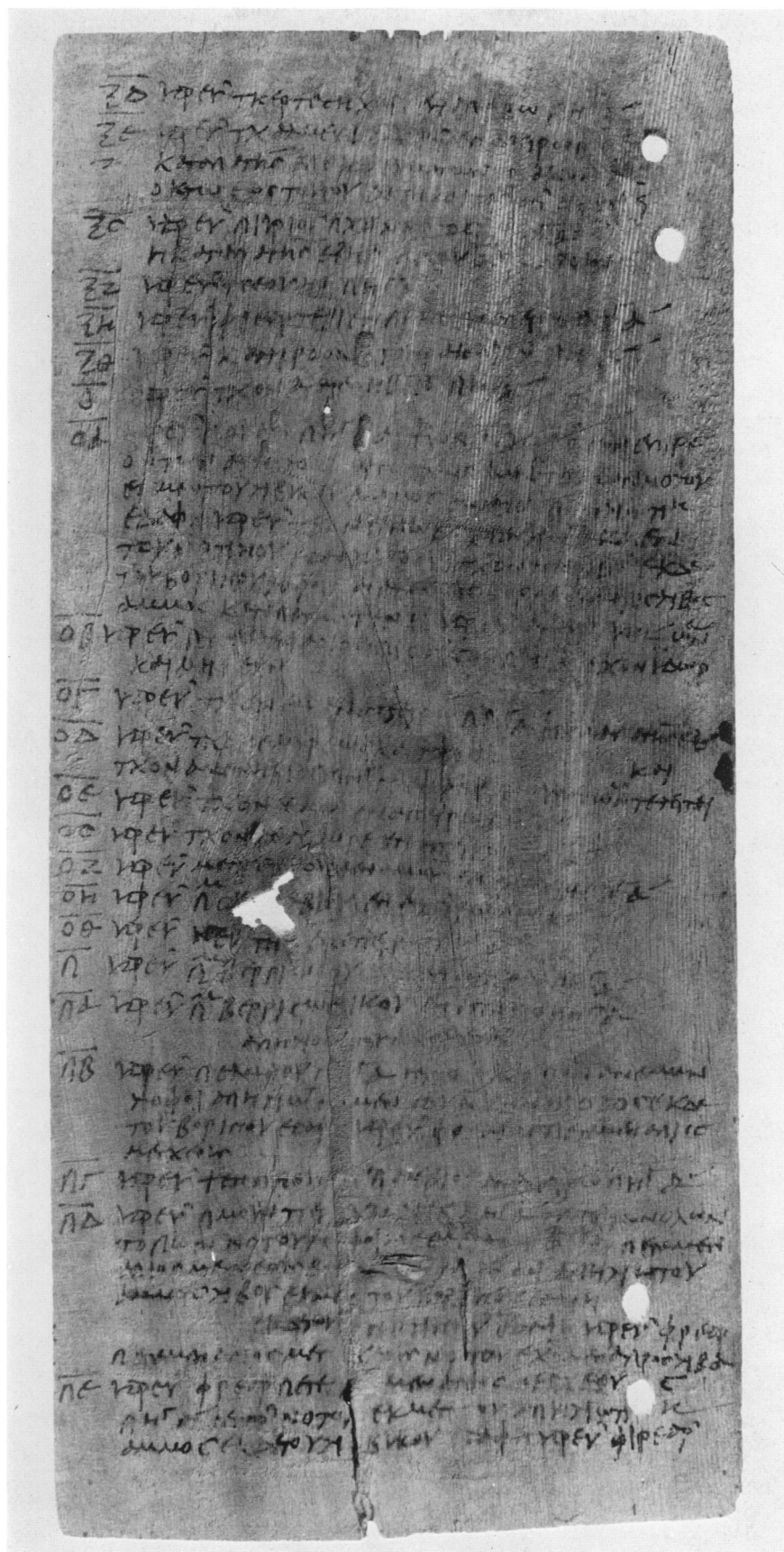
It is interesting to speculate on the conditions which obtained in Kharga before the first borings were made, as at the present day we cannot point, so far as I am aware, to a single natural efflux of water on the floor of the depression. Surface-water, of quite a different character from the deep-

¹ For a general account of El Khargeh, see H. J. Ll. Beadnell, *An Egyptian Oasis* (1909). Map: John Ball, *Kharga Oasis* (1900), pl. iv.

² For the site of the town, see H. C. Winlock, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis: I. The Excavations* (New York, 1941), 1 ff. and the map on pl. xxix. The papyrus documents which mention Hibis (Preisigke, *Wb.* III, 301; *SB* 7205–6) give no detailed information.

³ Beadnell, 94.

⁴ *FGH* IV, 64, ch. 33 (Photius, *Biblioth.* 80; I, p. 179 Henry). I do not see why Thompson (*CQ* 1944, p. 44) and Haedicke (*PW* XVIII (1), 201) refer the description to Siwah. Olympiodorus' further remarks clearly relate to Khargeh and Dakhleh (p. 180, 33 ff. Henry); and his 'third oasis' is Bahariyeh.



BODL. GR. INSCR. 3018 tablet 3b

Scale 3 : 4

(Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum)

seated water, is met with at comparatively shallow depths in various localities, and may either represent drainage water from the flowing wells and cultivated tracts, or be water which has escaped from the underground sandstones and found its way to the surface through fissures. . . . Nothing is known as to when flowing wells were first obtained, or by whom the original deep borings were made, and no trace of the implements used have been discovered. Many of these ancient wells, frequently over 120 metres in depth, continue to flow at the present day, although in most cases with a greatly diminished output; a few, however, are still running day and night at the rate of several hundred gallons a minute.¹

We have one source of information from Pharaonic Egypt: the famous stela from Dakhleh, republished by Gardiner in *JEA* 19 (1933), 19 ff. The text, of the Twenty-second Dynasty, describes how an oracle of the god Setekh decided a dispute about the ownership of some 'flood-water' (i.e. an area of land under water). The writer refers in some detail to the irrigation of this western part of the Oasis; and, although the interpretation of the hieratic is often uncertain, the technical terms used provide striking parallels to the vocabulary of the Greek text from Khargeh.

The Greek text is concerned with *hydreumata*. This word appears in other documents from the area: in *PGrenf* II, 71, 14 f. (A.D. 244–8) Petechon's property includes 'shares in hydreumata'; in *PGrenf* II, 69, 17 (A.D. 265) five days' use of a hydreuma seems to stand as security for a loan; *PLugdBat* XIII, 21, 6 and 12 (first century) mentions *πρόσοδος ὑδρευμάτων*.² Again in the Little Oasis: one party to *PMerton* III, 106 (third century) gives his domicile as *ἀπὸ ὑδρεύματος Παθώτου*. None of these contexts define the word precisely. It can be applied to the watering-stations on the desert roads,³ or to an agricultural reservoir, which needs to be scraped out and can be connected with a water-channel.⁴ *PFlor* 50 refers to an *ἀναβατικὸν ὑδρευμα* and to *ὄργανα δύο ἐπικείμενα τῇ αὐτῇ κρήνῃ τοῦ μεγάλου ὑδρεύματος*.⁵ A *hydreuma*, that is, is something which collects water, a pool or reservoir. In the peculiar conditions of the Oasis, it was presumably a pool of artesian water.

The tablets list eighty-six of these reservoirs, and then the text breaks off.⁶ The list is in fact a systematic survey; the diplomatic has parallels in regular land-surveys.⁷ Each entry begins with a serial number,⁸ then *ὑδρευμα* in abbreviated form. There follows a name or names in the genitive—sometimes a single name, sometimes a plurality, sometimes name and patronymic.⁹ Next, the technical detail: the source and character of the reservoir, sometimes its location. Some entries end with *ἐχόμενα*, 'adjoining', which links them to the next item.¹⁰

From time to time the writer refers back to a previous survey: *καταπάτησις*. The word is illustrated by *SPP* XX, 58, II, 6: *καταπάτησιν ποιήσασθαι χωρίων καὶ παραδείσων καὶ*

¹ Pp. 7 f. ² The editor prefers *ἔδρευμάτων*, a new word which is far from guaranteed by the context.

³ *JEA* 38 (1952), 94 ff.

⁴ *BGU* 530, 16–20.

⁵ *PFlor*. 50, 15, 54, etc.; 12, 47 f., etc.

⁶ The final *ἐχόμενα* points forward to an 87th entry which was never written; the heading *Ἰβιτών* (l. 25) may point forward to other geographical headings. In any case the writer never completed the list as it stands: he leaves occasional blanks for details not yet ascertained (e.g. 173, 212 f., 226).

⁷ On the surveys, see Déléage, *Ét. de Pap.* 2, pp. 118 ff.

⁸ Compare, e.g., the numbered *σφραγίδες* of *POxy* 918, *SB* 4325, *PFay* 339.

⁹ See below, p. 178.

¹⁰ Compare, e.g., *SB* 4325, II, 4, etc.

[ἀ]ναγραφὴν φυτῶν τῶν καταλαμβανομέν[ων δη]λῶσαι ἡμῖν καὶ διάθεσιν.¹ The note commonly takes the form καταπατης() ἐν τῇ κοιτασθείσῃ διαθέ(σει), which I take to mean 'at the (previous) survey in the same condition as here reported', 'no change'.² (The point of this comparison will be discussed later.) Such repeated checking of resources was of course endemic in Egypt. In the Dakhleh Stela the god himself cites the 'cadastral register of the wells and orchards of Pi-Rē', which the controller 'Onkhef . . . issued as a copy of the register of Pharaoh Psusennes, the great god, in Year 19'.³

Within each entry, set formulae record the details, hydrographic and geographical.

Of the hydrographic indications, one is universal: the number of πηγαί, normally one, sometimes two or three.⁴ These springs must be the sources which feed the reservoirs: that is, not natural springs (probably there were none) but artesian borings. The same distinction between the shaft and the pool at the surface appears in the Dakhleh Stela.⁵

A third word, φρέαρ, occurs quite frequently, often in combination with ὕδρευμα. Olympiodorus uses it for the borings; but clearly in the technical language φρέαρ is distinct both from πηγῆ and from ὕδρευμα. I suggest that these were wells in the normal sense (as against artesian wells), with water accumulated below the surface level, fed by drainage and not by pressure from below.⁶

The artesian borings easily silt up; the flow stops, the surface water becomes stagnant. The Dakhleh Stela mentions such 'closed wells';⁷ and in the Arab period silting produced wide depopulation of the oasis.⁸ The surveyor at Hibis has various phrases for this phenomenon. Some *hydreumata* are described as ἔχον ὕδωρ καὶ μὴ ῥέον:⁹ stagnant pools. For others, he adds ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς,¹⁰ or transfers the whole phrase to the πηγῆ:¹¹ here apparently the choked boring contained stagnant water, but produced no pool at the surface.

Two or more *hydreumata* may converge: συνεπιρρεῖν.¹² The same verb appears in the same sense at *PGrenf* II, 69, 18.

We have, then, a series of artesian wells, and the pools or reservoirs which they feed; some flow freely, some are stagnant. Each has its number and its eponym, in our survey as no doubt in the previous καταπάτης.

¹ Similarly *SB* 8246, 29 f. πόσα δὲ ἐστὶν ἔτη ἀπὸ τῆς καταπατήσεως Καβίνου τοῦ κηκυτορεύσαντος: this operation belonged to a general census of agricultural land in A.D. 297/301 (*PCairoIsid*, pp. 30–2). The basic notion may be illustrated from the two urban surveys discussed in *Rech. de Pap.* 2 (1962), 53 f.: the surveyors 'walk over' their area, and list the property as they come to it.

² The land-registers of *PMarmarica* establish the meaning of κοιτάζειν here (and in *BGU* 619, 4): in phrases like τὰ πρῶτως τῶ κζ (ἔτει) κοιτασθ(έντα) (*PMarm* II, 6, etc.) the sense is clearly 'report', 'return'; parallel phrases use σημειθέντα (VI, 31, etc.). I am not sure how καταπατης() should be resolved; instinct suggests καταπατής(εως), but καταπατήσῃ was probably written in lines 54 and 112. At line 102 καταπατηῶ κ̄ might refer to numbered columns in the old survey; at 179 and 193 (cf. 112) πηγ(ῆ) α ἡ καταπατηῶ ἐξῆς apparently means 'the one which is next in the survey'.
³ *JEA* 19, 22, ll. 10–11.

⁴ Two in l. 87, three in 195 and 216. The word is always abbreviated to πηγ. It is not clear what case the writer intended (if he thought about it at all). In 179 and 193, if correctly interpreted and read, we have a nominative: πηγ(ῆ) α ἡ καταπατής(εως) ἐξῆς. But in 59 ἐχούσης ὕδωρ κτλ must agree with a genitive πηγ(ῆς) α (the spacing shows this; nothing is actually legible).

⁵ *JEA* 19, 20 *hnm* 'must, I think, in so far as it is opposed to *wbn*, designate the underground water-supply which feeds the latter.' *Wbn* might be ὕδρευμα and *hnm* πηγῆ.
⁶ Beadnell, p. 8. See p. 176 n. 1 below.

⁷ *JEA* 19, 20 f.

⁸ Beadnell, p. 7.

⁹ Ll. 77, 147, 191.

¹⁰ Ll. 57, 62, 110, 133.

¹¹ Ll. 59, 111, and ? 63.

¹² Ll. 94, 105, 108, 113, 184.

Many entries insert an additional element before the genitive eponym: *πμοῦν* or its abbreviation $\overset{\mu}{\pi}$.¹ Thus l. 198 *ὑδρευ(μα) Μεγχείους*; but 199 *ὑδρευ(μα) πμ(οῦν) Καλβίου*.² The orientations given for particular properties include similar elements:³ *ὑδρευ(μα) πμοῦν*, *ἐδάφη ὑδρευ(μα) πμοῦν*, *ἐδάφη πμοῦν*, all with a proper name to follow.⁴

This element is, I think, of native origin; it is to be connected with Egyptian *p: mwn n*, Coptic $\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\gamma \bar{n}$, 'the water of'. Gauthier's *Dictionnaire Géographique* quotes many place-names with this beginning: for example *p: mwn n Amun*, Grecized as *Πμουνημοῦνις*.⁵ The second part of the compound is normally the name of a god or of a region. But ordinary names occur as well: thus *p: mwn n Nikandrus*, 'the water of Nicander'.⁶

In Greek I find no real parallel until the eighth century. Two tax-registers from Aphrodito, now in the British Museum, record the toponym *Πμου Νλακων*: 'the water of Lacon'.⁷

Suppose that *πμοῦν* does correspond in meaning and function to *p: mwn n*. Its combinations with proper names will be toponyms, which identify the wells to which they attach. *ὑδρευ(μα) πμ(οῦν) Καλβίου* will mean 'hydreuma of the water of Salvius', or better 'hydreuma (known as) the water of Salvius'; *πμοῦν Καλβίου* was the local name for this pool. This hypothesis is not excluded by anything in the document; though it does not explain why some *hydreumata* bear such names, and others not.⁸

The rarer element *τχον* behaves like *πμουνη*: that is, it intervenes between *ὑδρευμα* and the genitive of the person.⁹ For this element there is a parallel from the oasis itself: the village-name Tchonemyris, attested by *OGIS* 702. Lefebvre, discussing the etymology of this name,¹⁰ derived the first syllable from the Egyptian *hnm̄t*, Coptic $\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon$ 'well'; and rendered the whole as *τὸ ὑδρευμα τὸ μέγα*. If the derivation is tenable, we can assume that *τχόν* is parallel to *πμοῦν* in meaning as well as function: it corresponds to the Egyptian *t: hnm̄t nt*, and with the following genitive forms a toponym 'the well of . . .'.¹¹

The presence of these two forms is certainly unexpected. It may be that they belong

¹ *Πμοῦν* and $\overset{\mu}{\pi}$ are certainly equivalent. This is demonstrated by passages in which both forms apply to the same property. (a) l. 120 *υδρεῦ πμουνη Βελλη* ~ 125 *εδαφη υδρεῦ $\overset{\mu}{\pi}$ Βελλη*. (b) ll. 138 f. *εδαφη υ]δρεῦ πμουνη Αμενηβιος Ουρης* ~ 144 *υδρεῦ $\overset{\mu}{\pi}$ Αμενηβιος Ουρης*

² *Πμοῦν* ll. 47, 102, 120, 154, 155, 162, 209; *πμ(οῦν)* 45, 56, 103, 104, 116, 124, 142, 144, 149, 150, 157, 168, 170, 171, 199, 201, 202.

³ *Πμοῦν* ll. 52, 138 f.; *πμ(οῦν)* 54, 122, 125, 218, 222.

⁴ *Πμοῦν* appears as a proper name in the inscription *SB* 8959; dubious parallels *POxy* 1917, 65 *Πραοῦς Πμουναχός* and *PPrinc* 10, vi, 11 *Πανετβ(οῦς) Πμοῦτ(ος) πρ(εβυτέρου)*. But we cannot interpret *πμουνη* in our text as the first part of compound proper names: the compounds are too numerous and too implausible.

⁵ *Dict. Géogr.* III, 29, 28-33.

⁶ *Ibid.* 31.

⁷ *PLond* IV, 1419, 659, 723, 745; 1420, 100, 107. For the interpretation, and other relevant uses of $\sigma\sigma\sigma\gamma$, see Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 198. A much better parallel may lurk in *SB* 9873 (of the same date and from the same area as the Hibis survey): l. 5 *ἐν κόμη Πμουνη[.]η τῆς Κύσεως*. But how should the damaged name be restored?

⁸ An alternative would be to take *πμοῦν* as a substantive hydrographical term, on a par with *ὑδρευμα*. This would explain the unfinished entries, where no proper name follows: l. 161 *ὑδρευ(μα) τχόν πμοῦν*; 173 *ὑδρευ(μα) πμοῦν*. But the Egyptian parallels point elsewhere.

⁹ Ll. 98, 158, 165, 169, 183, 194-5, 196, 197.

¹⁰ *Ann. Serv. Ant.* 13 (1914), 9.

¹¹ I have found no very convincing Egyptian parallels (see Gauthier, *Dict. Géogr.* IV, 199 under *khmout*); and the unfinished *ὑδρευ(μα) τχόν πμοῦν* (161) remains unexplained. The Dakhleh Stela uses *hnm̄t* in the sense of *πηγή*, if Gardiner's interpretation is right (above, p. 174 n. 4).

to the technicalities of artesian irrigation. It may be that, in the remote oasis, normal Greek absorbed more native elements.¹

The formulae discussed so far refer to the name of the *hydreuma*, and to its character as a water-source. These make up the hydrographic part of each entry. The other part is geographical, and sets out to state the location of each source. The formulae of location are of two quite different kinds; each entry includes one of them, no entry includes both.

The first is familiar from many texts: the orientation or statement of *γείτονες*. These 'neighbours', listed in the regular order S., N., W., E., may be other *hydreumata*, and the land attached to them. At other times the surveyor refers to larger geographical features of the area. We find:

περίστας τῆς πόλεως: the outskirts of Hibis.² Compare, for example, *PTebt* 14, 19
περίστας τῆς κώμης, which the editors translate 'the free space round the village'.³
ὁδός: road.⁴

ὄρος: 'mountain', that is, according to normal usage in Egypt, the limestone of the desert.⁵

λόφοι: ridges.⁶

ἄμμος: sand.⁷ I am not sure how these last three terms relate to one another. The 'mountain' might well be the foothills of the Gebel-el-Teir, which lie just north of Hibis; it impinges at only one point in the survey. But *λόφοι* and *ἄμμος* occur much more often. Perhaps the ridges are rocky outcrops, projecting from the sand. Alternatively, ridges of sand (sand-dunes) are contrasted with level drifting sand.

διάστημα: intervening space. It appears only once in an intelligible context, as *μέγα διάστημα ἄμμος* 'a large stretch of sand'.⁸ The word occurs in other surveys: *PRyl* II, 207 (a) 31 *μετὰ διάστημα γ κο[ῆ](ται)* (cf. 27); *POxy* 918, v. 15 *ἀνὰ μ(έσον) οὔσης διώρυχο(ς) καὶ ἱκανοῦ διαστήματος*.

περίσματα: once only, and an odd word, but I can find no other reading.⁹ No less

¹ If it is accepted that *πμοῦν* and *τχόν* form part of toponyms and do not function as independent elements, we might wonder whether *φρέαρ* plays the same role. The phrases in which the word occurs are these (in each case a genitive proper name follows): *ὑδρευ(μα) φρέαρ* ll. 43, 50, 109, 181, 215, 226; *ἐδάφη φρέαρ* 51, 210; *ἐδάφη ὑδρευ(μα) φρέαρ* 213; *ἐδάφη φρέατος* 222 f., 227; *ἐδάφη ὑδρευ(μα) φρέατος* 206, *φρεαῖ* 217 (where the abbreviation stroke over the final rho is inexplicable: mechanical repetition? or a confusion of mind between *φρέαρ* and *φρέατ(ος)*?). There is not likely to be a significant difference in sense between nominative and genitive (l. 206 has one, and l. 210 the other, in reference apparently to the same property). But is *φρέαρ* a substantive item, 'hydreuma (and) well of . . .'? Or is it part of a local designation, 'hydreuma (called) "well of . . ."'? Observe that *φρέαρ* is never combined with *πμοῦν* or *τχόν*.

² Ll. 41, 70, 72, 221, 228.

³ Similarly *PTebt* 84, 6, 86, 2 and often; *BGU* 993, III, 8 π. τῆς πόλεως (Hermonthis); *PLond* 879, 18.

⁴ L. 205. The reading *ὄρος* is not possible.

⁵ L. 106. This *hydreuma* has 'mountain' to south and east, sand to north and west. (The reading *ὁδός* is excluded.)

⁶ Ll. 85, 95, 100, 189, 205 (*λόφοι* on three sides), 210, 211, 224.

⁷ Ll. 97, 106, 117, 119, 125, 128, 136, 140, 186, 190, 212, 217, 224.

⁸ L. 140; in dubious contexts ll. 67 and 101.

⁹ *πτέρισμα* is cited by Liddell and Scott only from Longinus, *Prolegomena ad Hephaestionis Enchiridion* (Hephaestion, ed. Consbruch, p. 83): *ἵππων πορεία . . . καὶ κίνησις δακτύλων καὶ μελῶν σχήματα καὶ χορδῶν κινήματα καὶ τῶν ὀρνιθῶν τὰ πτερίσματα*: Toup's emendation *πετεργίσματα* recommends itself. An agent noun of the same root may appear, without defining context, in a Christian tombstone from Athens, *IG* III, 3441: *κυμητήριον Βαλερίου πταιριστοῦ κτλ.*

obscure is *περικυμῶς* in the memorandum to Zeno, PCZ III, 59418: ἐν τ[ο]ῖς Γλαύκου φυτεῖα (ἀρουρῶν) ἰβλ, Λυσιμάχου (ἀρουρῶν) ι, περικυμῶς (δραχ.) β. εἰς τοῦτο ἔχω (δραχ.) κε.

The surveyor gives full orientations for about one-quarter of the legible entries. The rest have instead the phrase ἐν ἀπείρῳ, inserted between the eponym and the number of *πηγαί*. Since this phrase, and the statement of orientation, are mutually exclusive, we have at least one clue to the meaning: ἐν ἀπείρῳ implies an absence of *γείτονες*. Two interpretations offer, corresponding to the two basic senses of ἀπειρος: either 'on untried terrain', i.e. on virgin ground; or 'on unbounded terrain', i.e. in open country. Whichever of these is correct, the point remains the same. These *hydreumata* do not lie in cultivated plots, whose boundaries can be specified; but on open ground, unfarmed and therefore undivided. I owe to Professor Youtie an instructive parallel from LXX Jeremiah 2: 6, where Hebrew *b'eretz carabah*, rendered 'through a land of deserts' by the Revised Version, appears in Greek as ἐν γῆ ἀπείρῳ καὶ ἀβάτῳ.¹

So far we have considered the hydrographical and geographical formulae of which the survey is made up. More general questions arise about the surveyor's objectives and methods.

The survey is a survey of water-sources, not of the land which they irrigate.² Clearly most of them had a plot of land attached, and these plots (ἐδάφη) are cited within entries as part of the orientations. Thus the substantive entry will read ὕδρευ(μα) πμοῦν Βελλῆ;³ the same element, inside the description of a neighbour, appears as ἐδάφη ὕδρευ(μα) κτλ.⁴ Occasionally we find land without water,⁵ sometimes land with an ordinary well (φρέαρ).⁶ But the surveyor's interest was in *hydreumata*, and specifically in their condition and location; we hear nothing about the construction of the borings, or the means by which the water was retained and channelled on the surface.⁷

No doubt the surveyor walked the area in which he found his eighty-six *hydreumata*.

¹ Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *A Hebrew Lex.*, define *carabah* as 'desert-plain, steppe'.

² Dr. Shelton suggests an alternative: that the initial *υδρευ* of each entry should be interpreted as *υδρεύ(ματος)*, sc. ἐδάφη. This is possible (though not, I think, supported by the repeated *ἐχόμενα*: the word may stand as an adverb, without presupposing a neuter plural noun). But would the surveyor not have been more explicit?

³ L. 120.

⁴ L. 125.

⁵ Ll. 93, 220: ἐδάφη + genitive. Ll. 219 and 222 have ἐδάφη πμοῦν + genitive: does it follow that πμοῦν-names may exist apart from actual water-sources? Nowadays 'the question of ownerships is further complicated by there being persons who own water but no land, and by others who claim land but own no water' (Beadnell, 11).

⁶ E.g. ll. 206, 222 f. Above, p. 174.

⁷ In some cases the water may have been retained at the surface by a wall: 'the above-mentioned wells, like most of the others in the oasis, are generally recognisable from some little distance by the mud wall thrown up around them, and very commonly by the presence of a clump of acacias . . . the visible part of the well is generally a palm-timbered shaft about a metre square, and the water never rises to more than a short distance above the level of the surrounding country' (Ball, *Kharga*, 51). Alternatively, the water may overflow and form a pool; or it may flow away by a channel to the land to be irrigated. 'The position of each well is nearly always conspicuously marked by a thick clump of acacias, from which (more especially in the isolated settlements in the northern part of the depression) the main irrigating channel generally runs in a southerly direction, the cultivated land being of triangular form, with the apex at or near the source of water, and raised little if at all above the general level of the surrounding plain. By this disposition the fields present the least possible front to the north, from which side comes the bulk of the sand which is such a curse to these outlying settlements' (Beadnell, *An Egyptian Oasis*, 69).

Nos. 3 and 13,¹ near the beginning, have the outskirts of the city to the SE.; nos. 85 and 86,² at the end, have them to the NW. This suggests a semicircular progression, from a point NW. of Hibis, northwards or southwards, to SE. Nos. 38 to 81,³ with the exception of 71, are all ἐν ἀπείρω. The central part of the survey, that is, covered an extensive and continuous uncultivated area. Both these conclusions might be related to the topography of the area in modern times. Winlock's map shows the limits of the ancient city, and the present extent of desert and cultivable land around.⁴ The north and north-east corners abut directly on the desert (in which lies the pagan cemetery); to the west of this, but still north of the inhabited zone, there is cultivable land; and more in a large enclave which touches the city at the north-east and east. Given the shifts of cultivation, the present conditions fit reasonably with the assumption that our surveyor went round the city from west to north to east.⁵

The nature of the terrain is best illustrated from the groups of connected entries. Nos. 21 and 22:⁶ the two plots are contiguous, with ridges to the N. and E., sand to the NW., other plots to SW. and S. Nos. 30, 31, and 32:⁷ these three join from W. to E.; to the N., E., W., and SW. is sand. Nos. 35 and 37:⁸ the two contiguous plots are surrounded by sand except to the E. Nos. 84, 85, 86:⁹ these again form a group, with ridges and sand to N., E., and S., cultivated land to SW. and NW., outskirts of the city to NW. We see here that the surveyor was not dealing with any one continuous area of cultivation. *Hydreumata* and their land occur isolated or in small groups, largely or entirely cut off from others by sand or sand-dunes.

All these details, taken together, make a general picture. Hibis was a flourishing town, capital of the Great Oasis. Around it the country was watered from pools or reservoirs fed by artesian borings. Some of these had silted up; most were running freely. Some had a plot of cultivated land attached; most apparently lay in untouched desert. The cultivated area itself was broken up by patches of sand or rock. Our surveyor set out to list the water-sources available. He gave each a number and a name; some of the names were half-Egyptian toponyms in *πμοῦν* and *τχόν*; the rest will be the current owners or the first diggers of the well.¹⁰ He recorded also the number of borings to each *hydreuma*; and the location, whether an orientation in detail or the simple ἐν ἀπείρω.

We have now to consider two further points: the office and origin of the surveyor, and the date and purpose of his survey.

4. The amphodarch

A survey was drawn up by an official of Hibis; his name was perhaps Aurelius Geminus.¹¹ We know only three things about him; he used this wooden notebook for

¹ Ll. 41, 70, 72.

² Ll. 221, 228.

³ Ll. 113 ff.

⁴ *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis I: The Excavations*, pl. xxix.

⁵ The other circuit, W. to S. to E., looks less promising: it would be harder to fit in nos. 3 and 13; and the desert area south of the city is at present much narrower than that to the north.

⁶ Ll. 92 ff.

⁷ Ll. 120 ff.

⁸ Ll. 137 ff., 144 ff.

⁹ Ll. 209 ff.

¹⁰ It seems likely, though by no means certain, that the persons with patronymics are current owners. Several *hydreumata* are named from 'Amenebis' without patronymic: perhaps a normal person, perhaps Amon-of-Hib, the chief god of the oasis.

¹¹ L. 4. The traces neither recommend nor exclude *Γεμίνον*.

a draft which he never finished; he held the office of amphodarch;¹ and he headed his notes *εἰρήνη*.

The amphodarchy, though not common, is known elsewhere.² Many census-returns from Arsinoe are addressed to an amphodarch among other officials, at dates ranging from A.D. 75/6 to 147.³ We have a collection of papers from Heraclides, amphodarch of the quarter Apolloniou Parembolē in 72/3.⁴ Heraclides drew up lists of payers of various taxes, of minors, of slaves and freedmen, of Romans and Alexandrians, of aged and infirm—and of 173 inhabitants of the quarter, house by house. The duties of the office, that is, consisted in recording and reporting details of persons and property. Geminus exercises a similar function, but in respect of property outside the city proper.⁵

The heading *εἰρήνη* (or *εἰρήνη*) raises interesting problems. I have found no parallel in any Greek document. But there is something similar in Hebrew and Hebraizing sources.⁶ In Hebrew and Aramaic letters of the New Testament period, the regular introduction is *l' . . . šālôm*, 'to . . . peace'.⁷ Similar introductions appear in letters in the later books of the Old Testament. The LXX sometimes renders *šālôm* by *χαίρειν*, but sometimes by *εἰρήνη*. Thus:

2 Esdras 5: 7 (letter-heading) *Δαρείω τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰρήνη πᾶσα*;⁸

2 Esdras 4: 17 *ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . εἰρήνην καὶ φησιν κ.τ.λ.*;

2 Macc. 1: 1 *τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον Ἰουδαίοις χαίρειν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰρήνην ἀγαθὴν*.

Hence, in the New Testament, we have letter-headings like *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη*.⁹ And these epistolary formulae naturally derive from the spoken greeting 'peace be with you'.¹⁰

None of this is strictly parallel to *εἰρήνη* (whether nominative or dative) as heading of a document, where it seems to correspond in function to *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ*. But as the evidence stands, we have a choice. Either this is a standard Greek form, unique only by chance.¹¹ Or it is a Hebraism, in which case our amphodarch was either a Jew or a Christian.¹² A Christian community may well have existed in the oasis at this date; one certainly existed not much later, as the Epistle of Psenosiris proves.¹³

¹ L. 5. The reading depends on the space, since only the first three letters are legible: *ἀμφ[οδάρχου]* suits, whereas *ἀμφοδογραμματέως* looks too long (though an unpublished scrap from Oxyrhynchus attests this office for Hibis in the reign of Alexander Severus).

² Jouguet, *La Vie Municipale*, 282 ff.; *JJP* 6 (1952), 225.

³ Hombert and Préaux, *Recherches sur le Recensement*, 94 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* 138–40.

⁵ Hibis must have had more than one *ἀμφοδον*, and therefore more than one amphodarch. Did each survey the country which bordered his own city-district?

⁶ I am much indebted to Dr. S. P. Brock for this information.

⁷ Benoit, Milik, de Vaux, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, II, 42, 1, etc.

⁸ 1 Esdras 6: 7 translates the same original as *Δαρείω βασιλεῖ χαίρειν*.

⁹ Rom. 1: 1 and elsewhere.

¹⁰ Bauer, *Wb. z. Neuen Testament*, 450.

¹¹ After all, *ἐπαφροδίτως* (a similar heading) depends on two solitary instances: p. 166 above.

¹² There is of course another hypothesis: that this oddity, like *πμοῦν* and *τχόν*, reflects Egyptian idiom. It is true that Sinuhe (B 205) begins his letter to the king with the formula 'in very beautiful peace'. But I can find no other relevant passage among those cited by Erman–Grapow, *Wb.* III, 193.

¹³ Wilcken, *Chrest.* 127.

5. The purpose of the survey

Geminus' personal background remains uncertain; in his official capacity he must have been used to compiling registers. The precise circumstances in which he came to compile this register of water-sources will have been explained in the prescript, ll. 1–24. Unfortunately the ink is rubbed, and there are no obvious formulae to help; I have failed to produce even a tentative reading for most of it. But something of interest does emerge.

The first three lines are the address: *Κλαυδίω Μαρκέλλω τῷ διασημοτάτῳ καθολικῷ <καὶ> Μαρκίω Καλουταρίῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιτρόπῳ τῶν κυρίων σεβαστ[ῶν]*. The *rationalis* Marcellus and his assistant appear in other documents,¹ three of which are dated to the reign of Philip the Arab, A.D. 244–9.²

The survey which is submitted to these officials had been called for by a written order: *ὁ πρὸς τὰ γραφέντα*. Parallel texts suggest that the sense ran, in outline: 'in response to the letter from . . ., I report . . .'.³ The writer of the letter will have been named; but the name is illegible.⁴

We have then an approximate date, and a pair of addressees, and not much more. But the addressees are themselves significant. Marcellus and Salutaris constituted an extraordinary authority, which even encroached on the normal powers of the prefect. I have suggested elsewhere⁵ that this special commission was set up for a special purpose—to reanimate the agriculture and administration of Egypt, and so restore the declining tax-yield. The regime accordingly ordered the disposal of derelict land,⁶ the registration of acquisitions,⁷ the updating of registers:⁸ full cultivation and accurate records are the pre-conditions of efficient exploitation.

Aurelius Geminus had his place in this scheme. His task was to examine the water-sources on which agriculture depended in his remote enclave. He found that some three-quarters of them were *ἐν ἀπείρῳ*: they rose on open ground, not in cultivated estates. A great area of potentially fertile ground was out of production. This information no doubt went on its way to Alexandria. Files will have been amended. Marcellus and Salutaris may even have tried to remedy the situation; if so, we know nothing of it.

The copy for Alexandria will have been a fair copy on papyrus. Geminus retained his old wooden notebook, with its scribbled draft. The next user let the survey stand, and wrote his accounts on the blank pages. Sixteen centuries later the book, and its two texts, came into Sayce's hands.

¹ *JRS* 1967, 134 ff.

² The prescript of our survey should have ended with a date; and indeed l. 23 begins with a heavy angle which might be the symbol (*ἔτους*). But I can make nothing of what follows.

³ E.g. *PPetaus* 10, 4 ff. *πρὸς τὰ ἐπισταλέντα δηλῶ; POxyIned* πρὸς τὰ γραφέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπρότατου ἡγεμόνος . . . καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ ἡμῖν ἐπισταλέντα ἐπιστέλλομέν σοι κτλ.

⁴ The traces seem to exclude *ὑπὸ/ύμῶν* or *ὑφ' ὑ|μῶν*. The order, that is, did not come direct from Marcellus and Salutaris. ⁵ *JRS* 1967, 134 ff. ⁶ Wilcken, *Chrest.* 375. ⁷ *POxy* 78. ⁸ *PLeit* 16.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
STEPHEN RANULPH KINGDON GLANVILLE
(1900–1956)

By E. P. UPHILL

Compiler's note. When asked by Mr. T. G. H. James of the British Museum to undertake the revision of *Who Was Who in Egyptology* I was surprised to discover that many Egyptologists, some very major figures, were without bibliographies or with very inadequate lists of their works. It therefore seemed to me essential that this omission be rectified, at least in the field of British Egyptology, else how can any serious assessment be made of their work by future generations? I hope from time to time to be able to publish a number of these bibliographies gathered in spare moments, and also wish that others may perhaps produce similar inventories for scholars in our subject, the ideal time being of course soon after death. The present bibliography is the first of these along with a lengthy one of Sir Flinders Petrie scheduled to appear shortly in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, and both are, I feel, long overdue. At the moment the only one available for Glanville is that produced by Dr. Mustafa el-Amir in the *Annales du Service* some years ago; this lists forty items and does not include reviews. I have in fact been able almost to double the number of items listed, but there may still of course be the odd production unaccounted for although every endeavour has been made to make the list complete. Standard abbreviations have been used and all items are numbered consecutively. An obituary of Professor Glanville can be found in *JEA* 42, 99.

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JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

By T. G. H. JAMES

THREE years ago the contents of Volume 54 of this *Journal* were offered to Jaroslav Černý as a token of the affection and respect which he inspired in his colleagues and friends. By its very nature a *Festschrift* volume is one-sided and incomplete as a tribute. Only a few can contribute to it; the articles which it contains are usually specialized, and designed particularly to interest the recipient of the volume; it can reveal little of the man honoured, because the tribute is offered indirectly, and not in terms of personal laudation. To consider these inadequacies in the case of Černý is a poignant and sad exercise. On May 19, 1970, he died, quite unexpectedly, only a few days after returning from a busy four months' visit to Egypt. Born at Pilsen in 1898, he was in his seventy-second year.

When the progress of Egyptological studies is considered in future times, there can be no doubt that much will be made of Černý's contributions. The positive aspects of his achievement, evident in the many books and articles which came from his pen, will be relatively easy to assess and to understand. What may be less readily appreciated will be the degree of influence exercised by him on his Egyptological colleagues in many countries, not only in matters strictly technical, but also in the less precise field of Egyptological 'affairs'.

Scientifically Černý's greatest achievements lay in the field of Late Egyptian. He matured as a scholar at a time when Late-Egyptian studies were expanding rapidly. The publication of new papyri and the re-examination of already known texts, mostly of a secular nature, led to the realization that notable differences existed between the type of New Egyptian found in the literary texts of the New Kingdom and the language used for the composition of official reports, letters, wills, and the multifarious business texts which were written at that period. It became an article of faith with Černý that the term Late Egyptian ought properly to be applied only to the non-literary texts of the New Kingdom, and he conducted what was for a long time a single-handed crusade in defence of this theory. His belief in the validity of this narrow interpretation was supported by a study of non-literary texts of unparalleled scope and depth. For his own convenience he compiled a Late-Egyptian Grammar based entirely on examples derived from such texts. This 'working' grammar was frequently revised and augmented as time went by. When Černý became regularly engaged in university teaching, firstly as Edwards Professor at University College London (from 1946 to 1951) and then at Oxford University (from 1951 to 1965), his classes on Late Egyptian became famous, and copies of his 'grammar' in the form of working notes circulated widely. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that most serious students of this stage of the ancient Egyptian language today base their work on



JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

Photo: Zemina, Prague

Černý's teaching and unpublished notes. His intention to publish a grammar remained active until the end; but while his failure to publish it must ever be regretted, its absence is less to be mourned than that of other works which might have been written by him. His many grammatical discoveries in the field of Late-Egyptian grammar have become assimilated into the corpus of accepted teaching. It remains for a new generation of scholars to build on what Černý made clear.

It could be said that Černý's reluctance to prepare his grammar for publication stemmed from the fact that he was not attracted by linguistic studies as such. He studied Late Egyptian not for its own sake, but in order to understand texts written in it. Meaning was his concern: his interest lay in what was written, not in how it was written. His earliest special studies had been into the life and history of the community of artists and craftsmen who lived in the village at Deir el-Medina, and who worked on the royal tombs at Thebes throughout the New Kingdom. This subject provided the theme for his doctoral dissertation at the Charles University at Prague; it remained the principal interest of his life, and its extended treatment was to be his final task. One volume of a projected three on the workmen and their village was completed and is in the process of being printed by the French Institute in Cairo; part of the second volume is also in a state capable of publication; the rest, unhappily, is unwritten. A taste of what he would have produced is contained in his chapter for the new *Cambridge Ancient History*, 'Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-first Dynasty'. Černý's failure to complete what would have represented the consummation of the work of his whole life is tragic. No one knew the workmen as he did. For nearly fifty years he had steeped himself in their writings and in the products of their crafts. From 1925, when he had first gone to Egypt on the special recommendation of President Masaryk, until the war he participated annually in the excavations of the French Institute at Deir el-Medina, working on the many thousands of texts discovered there. Monsieur Bernard Bruyère, the director of these excavations throughout the period of Černý's participation, has written evocatively and charmingly of their collaboration in *JEA* 54. It was at Deir el-Medina that Černý developed a taste for field-work which he never lost. It was on the products of the excavations at Deir el-Medina, notably the ostraca, that he developed the skill for which he was pre-eminent in his time—the reading of cursive New-Kingdom hieratic. Between 1930 and 1935 he published in four fascicles *Ostraca hiératiques*, containing texts mostly from the Theban Necropolis in the collection of the Cairo Museum. Between 1935 and 1951 he produced for the French Institute five volumes of the *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*. In 1957 with Sir Alan Gardiner he published *Hieratic Ostraca*, vol. 1, devoted principally to ostraca in the Gardiner and Petrie collections. These volumes form the public testimony of Černý's industry and skill in reading ephemeral texts, most of which were written casually and carelessly. But they represent only the tip of the iceberg of his achievement in this field. There can be few New-Kingdom ostraca—or indeed papyri—in public and private collections which escaped the net of his attention. To the end of his life, even when handicapped by failing eye-sight, his ability to read

poorly preserved or poorly written hieratic was outstanding; he read it as if by instinct, assisted only by the pocket magnifying glass which had been given to him by his father, and for which there was no substitute.

The Second World War produced notable changes in Černý's fortunes. Up to the war a fairly regular time-table controlled his life. In the winter he visited Egypt and worked principally at Deir el-Medina. During the rest of the year he spent some time in Prague where he held an appointment in the university, and some time in England working with Gardiner. Throughout this early period the study of New-Kingdom documents and history occupied most of his attention, and little that he published touched on other aspects or periods of Egyptian antiquity. The steady pre-war rhythm was broken during the war. Unable to pursue his regular studies, Černý devoted himself, as opportunity offered, to other interests and found more time for reading than formerly. The war years, although forming a period of great personal difficulty, were also a time of consolidation and of expansion of knowledge. Gardiner once remarked that after the war Černý emerged as an 'immensely learned' scholar with deep knowledge of subjects and periods which had little interested him before the war. This was the Černý known to most scholars today—the man to whom one naturally turned for the answer to some difficulty, for the apposite reference to an obscure publication; this was the scholar who was never too busy to help someone whose problems were genuine, who always noted down a difficulty he could not deal with immediately, and who never failed to deal with it subsequently. His myriad acts of generous help in which he freely made his knowledge and scholarship available will not be evident to future generations of scholars; but it would be difficult to list all the publications which have benefited from his help and advice. Scarcely any edition of hieratic texts published in the last twenty-five years lacks notes of the form 'This suggestion (or reading, or interpretation) I owe to Professor Černý'. What Dr. Rosalind Moss said of him in her Introduction to the new edition of Volume I of *Topographical Bibliography* could be echoed by many others: 'Our work has been considerably lightened by consultation with him at every and any moment concerning the innumerable problems which have arisen during the years of preparation.'

His breadth of knowledge and willingness to help equipped him admirably for the task of university teaching. He was, perhaps, not an ideal instructor of undergraduates or beginners because his nature led him to expand more readily under the stimulus of new inquiry than in the course of routine teaching. But for postgraduate teaching and research he was an outstanding supervisor, skilled in suggesting lines of research, perceptive in determining the difficulties faced by the young scholar, masterly in imparting method and system to the inexperienced.

There were also more substantial by-products of his widened post-war interests. His *Ancient Egyptian Religion* of 1952 remains the best account in English of this difficult subject; his use of texts to illustrate his interpretations of obscure ideas is wholly free from that tendency to obfuscate which marks so much writing on Egyptian religion. His work in *Inscriptions of Sinai*, although begun before the war when he went at Gardiner's request to Sinai in 1935, was largely completed after the war. It

led him to deal with texts of a kind and of periods to which he was not accustomed. Černý's volume of translations and commentaries (1955), based on earlier work by Gardiner and Peet, represents one of the most satisfactory publications of a collection of homogeneous material in our science. The fruit of a somewhat more unexpected side-interest is yet to be seen. Lexicography for Černý meant in particular the discovery of the origins of the words used in Coptic. His slow accumulation of materials derived partly from the publications and discoveries of others, and partly from his own investigations, came happily to a conclusion before his death. His *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* is well advanced in printing; it will provide Egyptologists with a tool of immense value. Like so much of Černý's work it will also be a stimulus for much future research.

Being an Egyptologist was, for Černý, the most important thing in his life. The practice of his chosen study was a devotional activity for him, and nothing would ever have persuaded him to question the validity of his calling. His duty ever lay first towards Egyptology, and his willingness to help and to turn his hand to tasks beyond the scope of his normal activities resulted in constant calls for assistance. In the campaign to save the monuments of Nubia he was among the most active workers in the field, enduring long and exacting seasons in uncomfortable circumstances, copying texts in the Temple of Amada, at Gebel el-Shems, and at Abu Simbel. Subsequently he spent four winter seasons in the Theban necropolis helping to prepare a detailed map of the location of the hieratic graffiti, and supplementing Spiegelberg's record of these difficult texts. These campaigns of field-work, undertaken at an age when most scholars withdraw to their libraries, were carried out under great physical difficulties. He knew his heart was unreliable; he underwent two serious eye-operations, and could at the end see only imperfectly. It would, however, never have occurred to him to stop work or to retire before obstacles. It was partly because of his failing eye-sight that he undertook additional teaching in his last years, at the University of Pennsylvania (for one semester in each of four successive years) and at Tübingen (for one semester in 1968); he could not easily read or write, but he could teach, and thus serve his science to the best of his ability.

The fruitful activity of Černý's last years sprang largely from the happiness of his personal circumstances. In 1951 a fortunate collocation of events occurred. He was appointed to the Chair of Egyptology at Oxford University, and moved to the congenial atmosphere of the Griffith Institute with its fine library. As professor he became a fellow of The Queen's College where he found himself welcomed into a community of scholars renowned for its hospitality. At the same time he became a neighbour, albeit a distant one, of his old friend and colleague Sir Alan Gardiner; together they were to achieve much in the succeeding years. But above all, just before he moved to Oxford, he married Marie Sargant. For the rest of his life she was his constant companion, enduring with him the trying experiences of life in the field, sustaining him at moments of crisis, providing him with the love and attention which he especially needed.

Černý, who seemed to many people the typical austere scholar, responded warmly to companionship and friendship. Habits of a lifetime made him a scholar who could

work almost at any time and in any place; if there was nothing else to do he turned naturally to his books, his slips, his writing. But he also loved to be interrupted, to be taken away to drink a cup of coffee, to talk Egyptology with a colleague, to play a game of bridge, to go to the cinema or the theatre, to listen to Mozart (no other music counted). He was at home with his colleagues wherever he was; his friends were to be found wherever Egyptology is studied. Others will write of his special association with French Egyptology; the Americans of Providence, Chicago and Philadelphia in particular have good reason to remember him with affection; Egyptian colleagues regarded him with love and respect. Nothing has been said here of his attachment to Italy and Italian Egyptologists, particularly those of Turin; of his close association with Polish and Danish Egyptologists; Dutch, Belgian, and German scholars numbered him among their own Egyptological circles. His advice was sought by colleagues in all countries, and his opinion respected everywhere. He himself reserved his greatest love for his own native land, and although he lived a virtual exile for most of his last years, he retained the closest links with Czecho-Slovak Egyptologists; his fine library will go to the Egyptological Institute in the Charles University in Prague. To most European scholars he could speak fluently in their own languages; Černý was truly international. It is therefore a matter of pride to British Egyptologists that he made his home in Britain for so many years. On the very day before his death he told a friend that he had been happy in this country and had never regretted coming here. It was a privilege for us to have him in our midst.

WALTER BRYAN EMERY

By H. S. SMITH

WALTER BRYAN EMERY was born in Liverpool on July 2, 1903 to Walter Thomas Emery and Beatrice Mary Benbow. His parents both came from Staffordshire, but his father had moved to Liverpool early in life. Bryan Emery spent the whole of his youth there and attended St. Francis Xavier's College. When about 13 years of age he started reading the romances of Rider Haggard to which he always attributed his initial passion for Egyptology. Fortunately for him, Liverpool was at that time second only to London as a centre of Egyptological studies in Great Britain. Emery was able as a boy to hear the public lectures of Professor John Garstang on his discoveries in Egypt, the Sudan and the Near East, and see the exhibitions of his finds; to visit the Institute of Archaeology, and listen to Professors P. E. Newberry and T. Eric Peet; and to browse in the rapidly accumulating Egyptian collections of the City of Liverpool Museum. From the first, his imagination was caught by the excitement of exploration and discovery, and he dreamt of excavating in Egypt himself. His parents, however, after hearing Peet's warnings about the difficulties of making a career in Egyptology, wished him to train himself for some more secure profession, and he was apprenticed to a firm of marine engineers. Though Emery's heart was never in marine engineering, the training he received in the principles of engineering draughtsmanship were the foundation of his outstanding skill later in life in presenting ancient architecture and artifacts by means of line drawings, and he was himself always duly grateful for this.

By the time Emery was 18 his preoccupation with Egyptology had become so great that neither Peet nor his parents stood out further, and in 1921 he started studying Egyptology seriously at the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Liverpool. While there he produced at Peet's instigation his first publication, an article in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* on two interesting graves at Abydos containing examples of Kerma ware. Peet recommended him to the Egypt Exploration Society, which sent him as a student assistant on its excavations in 1923-4 at Tell el-'Amarna. His fellow student there was a high-spirited young Oxford graduate, Stephen Glanville, who had become fascinated by Egyptology while teaching English in a school at Mansura in the Delta. They immediately struck up a close friendship, which was to last throughout their lives and was of great importance later to them both. Under F. G. Newton's directorship in the first half of the season, Emery learnt something of archaeological surveying and planning; in the second half under Professor F. Ll. Griffith he found himself charged with planning the large areas of the central town which were cleared. Unfortunately this work was never published though some of Emery's plans have recently come to light.

At this point in his career, Bryan Emery had a stroke of good fortune. That great



WALTER BRYAN EMERY

Photo: G. Argent

benefactor of Egyptology, Sir Robert Mond, had decided to resume his work of clearing, restoring, and effectively protecting the tombs of Western Thebes, and was looking for an Egyptologist to direct the field-work for him. It happened that on one occasion when Mond came to the Liverpool University Institute of Archaeology, under the auspices of which the excavations were to be undertaken, Garstang, Newberry, and Peet were away or otherwise engaged and he was received by Emery. Mond was taken by Emery's enthusiasm, and as no more senior Egyptologist was immediately available, appointed him in 1924 as Field Director of the Mond Excavations of the University of Liverpool at Thebes. Here began the most enthralling period of Emery's career, which he loved to recall in later years. He established his camp on Wilkinson's plateau on the top of the hill of Sheikh 'Abd-el-Qurna, and started the work of clearing, restoring, and providing with iron gates about 20 tombs in the Upper Enclosure, including Kenamun and other well-known tombs. He found himself in the midst of a fever of archaeological activity by expeditions of many nations in Western Thebes, all however overshadowed by the great events in the Valley of the Kings; for this was the final year of Carter's clearance of the tomb of Tutankhamun. Emery was privileged to witness that work and occasionally to assist; he was in fact at the time of his death the last living Egyptologist to have been present at the opening of the sarcophagus. The discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb made a lasting impression on Emery, confirming him in his ambition himself to discover new wonders; while Carter's great skill, ingenuity, and patience in solving the complex problems of removing the shrines and funeral furniture from the crowded chambers taught him many lessons that stood him in good stead later.

In 1925-6 Emery, still only 22 years old, found himself directing 400 men in the clearance of the great tomb of the Vizier Ramose. It is doubtful whether so young an archaeologist has ever been in sole charge of so large a dig, and some eyebrows were raised among his seniors at Thebes. But no one who has enjoyed the splendours of this tomb can do other than admire the adept restoration of the columns and roof that Emery achieved, and be grateful for the rescue of perhaps the finest of all the splendid limestone reliefs of the time of Amenophis III. During the restoration of the tomb, he found time to explore the desert area behind Armant, in the hope of locating the burial-place of the sacred Buchis bulls, and persuaded Mond to apply for a concession at Armant. In 1927-8 Emery started work for Mond at Armant, and after most careful survey and study of the ground, discovered the vast catacombs containing the burials both of the Buchis bulls and of the divine cows who were their mothers. Sir Robert Mond and Liverpool University reluctantly decided that the full exploration of this find would place too heavy a burden upon their resources, and the concession was transferred to the Egypt Exploration Society. Emery was appointed adviser to the Society's expedition to Armant for the next season.

In summer 1928, he married Mary Cowhey in Liverpool after a brief courtship. Together they returned to Egypt to camp in a tomb at Qurna. Thus began a partnership of 45 years' duration, much of which was spent in tents, tombs, on Nile boats, in bare comfortless mud-brick houses, shared with insects, mounds of potsherds, endless rolls of drawings, and the indefinable smell of the Egyptian desert. Molly Emery

immediately took over the running of these camps, with all the difficulties of commissariat and service. To her loyal companionship and constant help, Bryan Emery owed a vast debt upon which he always insisted; a debt shared by the many Egyptologists who have worked in Emery's camps, and the many scholars and friends who have visited them.

In the winter of 1928-9, after a few weeks at Qurna, during which Emery prepared facsimile drawings of the reliefs in the tomb of Ramose, which were later used as a basis for N. de G. Davies's publication, the Emerys joined the Egypt Exploration Society at Armant. The Society's excavations at Armant under Henri Frankfort were the first truly scientific investigation of a major Egyptian animal cult necropolis; the report remains, and may always remain, the most complete description of the burials of sacred bulls and cows in ancient Egypt, while the integral publication of the archaeological, anatomical, and textual material gives the site a special value. Though Emery took part only in the first season at the Bucheum and did not contribute to the final publication, the discovery was his, and he was formally congratulated by the Egyptian Government upon it. This success was directly responsible for his appointment to direct the Archaeological Survey of Egyptian Nubia between Wadi Sebu'a and Adindan as an officer of the Egyptian Government Antiquities Service in 1929.

So his association with Mond ended. He always stressed his admiration for and gratitude to Mond, whose services to Egyptology he thought to have been seriously undervalued; indeed there is a sense in which Emery's own career with all its achievements must be credited to Mond's discrimination in patronizing him when few other openings offered. The quality and style of Mond's generosity is illustrated in Emery's story of going to report to him in Luxor the winding up of the camp and his own departure home at the end of his first season; Mond, after advising him to visit the Egyptological collections in the Museums of Europe on his way home, said good-bye, then turning, added 'Oh, I expect you'll need some lolly' and thrusting his hand into his pocket pushed a large wad of notes into Emery's hand, and departed without a word.

The Survey was made necessary by the raising of the Aswan dam, which involved the destruction of all ancient sites on either side of the Nile below River Level 130 over a stretch of 90 miles. Following in the footsteps of Professor G. A. Reisner and C. M. Firth, who had conducted the first survey of Nubia in 1907-11, Bryan and Molly Emery, with their assistant director, L. P. Kirwan, and five Egyptian assistants set off in two sailing vessels to the hot and arid wilderness of Nubia, where they were to spend five long seasons (1929-34). The first two seasons were spent in traversing the whole region on foot with a gang of 150 men, excavating each site discovered. Though the results of this survey served mainly to confirm and fill out the earlier work of Reisner and Firth, there were in fact many sites which by their special character cast new light on the cultures of Lower Nubia. This survey resulted in Emery's first major archaeological report, *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebu'a and Adindan*, with L. P. Kirwan, 1937; while it followed Reisner's model, many improvements in the presentation of the material were introduced.

In 1931, Emery arrived at the great mounds of Ballana and Qustul near the southern boundary of the flooded area. These mounds had been commented upon by several travellers, notably Miss Amelia B. Edwards, who had speculated whether they covered the tombs of Nubian kings. Only shortly before Emery's arrival, the geologists K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell had been inclined to regard them as natural formations, though this opinion was unknown to Emery. Their regularity suggested to him that the mounds were artificial tumuli, but their great size and the expenditure of time and Government money necessary to remove even one of them presented him with a formidable decision. Encouraged by signs of plundering at some of the smaller Qustul mounds, Emery cut through one of the largest tumuli. At the end of six weeks of anxious work, his skilled pickmen announced that they had reached bedrock. The men abandoned work amid a clamour of disappointment and dispute, but one old Qufti, Ibrahim, continued picking away; suddenly he straightened, and shouted. In his hand was a tiny glass bead. Everyone fell to work, and soon the brick vaulting of the burial chamber was revealed. These mounds proved to contain the burials of the Kings, Queens, and nobility of a pagan people who lived in Nubia in the fourth to sixth centuries A.D., whose culture had been designated by Reisner in his analysis of Nubian archaeology as the X-group. The owner of a tumulus was buried on a bed in his full regalia, surrounded by the bodies of his women and servants; in the dromos leading down to the burial-chamber were his slain horses and camels in their silver harness; in a magazine were the bronze furniture, lamps and accessories, the inlaid wooden chests and furniture, the glass vessels, the iron weapons that had been the owner's pride. These remarkable objects, which show a mixture of Byzantine and Meroitic traditions, now adorn the Cairo Museum.

The discovery presented Emery with hard problems; cutting out the fragile silver, glass, and ivory objects from the hard concretion in which they were embedded was highly skilled and delicate work. When, despite his efforts, Emery had not completed the excavation of the major mounds at the end of what was to be his last full season, he was ordered back to Nubia in the early summer for a further three months. The heat was intense, often 120° Fahrenheit even in the shade; and there was no shade. The work in the tomb-chambers required lamps, while the paraffin stove had to be kept always flaring to melt the wax used to preserve the decomposing silver treasures. That campaign is one of the untold stories of derring-do in the annals of archaeology. Those perusing the spare, modest pages of the two volumes of *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (1938), with their terse factual descriptions of architecture and objects, and their meticulous explanatory drawings, get little idea of the cost to those involved.

While working at Ballana, Emery noticed that in the bay of hills behind the tumuli there was a large ancient high-level flood-plain. Acting on his own initiative, he reported this to the irrigation authorities responsible for the flooded area of Nubia. As a result, pumps were installed. Ballana, from being a very small hamlet, became one of the most prosperous villages of Lower Nubia, famed all over Egypt for its wonderful dates, and the village *romda*, Tawfiq, became the most important and respected *Sheikh* of Lower Nubia. When in 1961, almost thirty years later, the last Nubian Survey was in

progress, Emery came to Ballana to inspect the work. To witness the respect and gratitude shown by the old *Sheikh* to Emery as the father of his people was a moving experience.

Back in Cairo, Emery worked on his Nubian publications. But in 1935 he was asked to take over the work of C. M. Firth, who had died in 1931, in the necropolis of the Archaic Period at North Saqqara. Thus began an involvement with this site which, despite many interruptions, only ended with Emery's death. In his very first season at Saqqara, in the course of completing the clearance of Tomb 3035 begun by Firth, it occurred to him that he should investigate the internal fill of the *mastaba* superstructure, hitherto regarded as solid. He was rewarded by the discovery of forty-five intact magazines containing a magnificent funerary provision, including some remarkable inlaid alabaster discs, now among the treasures of the Cairo Museum. The next year he discovered a great *mastaba* tomb (No. 3357) belonging to the reign of Ḥor-aḥa, the earliest in the necropolis. In the following seasons (1936-9), he discovered further remarkable tombs of the First Dynasty. No. 3471 of the reign of Horus Djer contained a unique and magnificent 'copper treasure' now in Cairo, which radically changed our knowledge of First Dynasty craftsmanship. No. 3111 was unique in preserving intact the skeleton of a First Dynasty noble *in situ*, probably the 'district administrator Sabu'. In No. 3038, of the reign of Aneḏib, the burial chamber was surmounted by an unparalleled stepped structure of brick, which Emery was later to see as a precursor of the Step Pyramid. These tombs were published with others in a series of volumes (*The Tomb of Hemaka*, 1939; *Ḥor-aḥa*, 1940; *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, vol. 1, 1949), which set a new standard in the presentation and reconstruction of the mud-brick architecture of ancient Egypt. During these years, Emery also re-cleared and excavated many Second and Third Dynasty mastabas, which yielded much detailed information concerning the evolution of Egyptian architectural forms.

Emery had always taken every opportunity to explore the western desert. When he joined the army after the outbreak of war he was therefore employed at H.Q.B.T.E. in the Long Range Desert Patrol and in the interpretation of air photographs. In this capacity he saw some action in the early stages of the Eighth Army's campaigns, and narrowly escaped capture outside Tobruk. He was mentioned in despatches in 1942, and was awarded the M.B.E. (mil.) in 1943. Later, he was transferred to the Intelligence branch at H.Q.B.T.E., and ended the war as Director of Military Intelligence there with the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. In later years Emery often recalled the desert campaign, especially when in the company of those who had shared some of his experiences.

When he left H.M. Forces, he was determined to return to his work at Saqqara in response to the Egyptian Government's request. In the season 1945-6 he discovered Tomb 3503 of the reign of Merneit, but financial difficulties forced him to resign. He accepted a post at the British Embassy in Cairo as an Attaché, and was raised to the rank of First Secretary in 1948. Most of his diplomatic career was served in the Embassy in Cairo with short periods in London. Emery was a successful diplomat: his trust in the Egyptians and his knowledge of the political scene in Cairo were valuable, and he

was popular in diplomatic society. But deep down his heart was still in Egyptology, and Glanville and other colleagues in England felt his loss to Egyptian archaeology keenly. When in 1951 Jaroslav Černý vacated the Edwards Chair of Egyptology at University College London to move to Oxford, Emery was a natural choice to fill the vacancy; for it seemed only appropriate that Petrie's mantle should fall upon him.

His election inaugurated the busiest and most exacting period of his career. He was appointed Field Director to the Egypt Exploration Society in 1952, and by virtue of his long association with Saqqara as an Antiquities Service official was able to secure agreement with the U.A.R. Government for him to resume work there on behalf of the Society. There followed four fruitful campaigns of excavations in which the large First Dynasty tombs 3503–3506 were discovered. This work completed the excavation of the great line of major First Dynasty tombs along the edge of the escarpment above Memphis, so that a chronological sequence of tombs was established from the beginning to the end of the Dynasty, one reign excepted. Many new architectural and historical discoveries emerged, as well as some splendid, if often fragmentary, examples of First Dynasty craftsmanship. When Emery had brought out Volume II (1954) and Volume III (1958) of his *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty* under the Egypt Exploration Society's imprint, he could feel that he had handsomely discharged the responsibility placed upon him over twenty years earlier by the Egyptian Antiquities Service. These new volumes incorporated in addition to the usual plans and finely detailed drawings several superb isometric and axonometric projections, which made the splendour and intricacy of First Dynasty architecture fully appreciable even by those least adept in interpreting plans.

In 1956, diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Egypt were broken off as a result of the Suez crisis, and the work at Saqqara had perforce to terminate. The Egypt Exploration Society decided for the time being to fulfil its responsibilities to Nile valley archaeology by digging in the Sudan, and sent Emery out on a short tour in 1956–7 to prospect for a site. Somewhat to the general surprise, he lighted on the Middle Kingdom fortress of Buhen, which had been dug by the Eckley B. Coxe expedition of the University of Pennsylvania in 1910–11. Emery's judgement was however proved right when his first full season's work in 1958–9 revealed the ditch and lower ramparts of the fortifications, unsuspected by his predecessors, with many novel details of interest for the history of military architecture. In choosing this site, however, Emery had also in mind the impending archaeological crisis in Nubia which the building of the Aswan High Dam would cause. As soon as the decision to build the dam was taken, Emery's advice was sought by the Governments of both the U.A.R. and the Sudan. When their appeal to the United Nations resulted in a UNESCO international campaign for the preservation of the monuments of Nubia, Emery was appointed to the Consultative Committee as the British representative. With his long experience of archaeological work in Nubia, he was looked to by many members of the Committee, and more particularly by the Egyptian and Sudanese representatives, as their natural adviser, and much of the planning of the archaeological side of the campaign was based on his suggestions. He advised the setting up of two archaeological

survey teams either side of the frontier, outlined the methods of excavation to be adopted, and took responsibility for the survey of Egyptian Nubia; he prepared a schedule of major sites to be delegated to foreign concessionaires; and was one of the advocates of a scheme, which was adopted, for offering 'counterparts' in the form of monuments and antiquities to nations who made major financial contributions to the salvation of temples and standing monuments. He was to a considerable measure responsible for obtaining funds through the British Academy for the Egypt Exploration Society to enable them to take on the major concession of Qasr Ibrîm in Egyptian Nubia as well as Buhen and the Survey, and to undertake the moving of the fine temple of Ḥatshepsut at Buhen to the Khartum Museum. The handsome contribution made by the British Government to the saving of the temple of Abu Simbel was also in part the outcome of his work. Throughout the campaign he gave unsparingly of his time and advice to the Egyptian and Sudanese authorities and to several of the foreign concessionaires, and he eventually became chairman at the invitation of the U.A.R. Government of the committee responsible for distributing 'counterparts'. The U.A.R. and Sudanese authorities handsomely acknowledged both publicly and privately his contribution to the success of the campaign.

The work at Buhen under Emery's direction continued throughout eight seasons; it included the clearing of the whole of the inner and outer fortifications, the excavation of the Commandant's palace and inner town, the recording and removal of the Ḥatshepsut temple and the discovery of the Middle Kingdom temple below it, the excavation of an Old Kingdom town site, the clearance of the fortifications of the town of Kor, the investigation of cemeteries, and much epigraphic work. Because of the mass of material and his other heavy commitments the publication is incomplete, but in the last year of his life he sent to press his plans and reconstructions of the fortress; these perhaps represent his finest achievement, being almost works of art in their own right. When the site is completely published, Emery's firmly held doctrine of the necessity of excavating ancient sites as a whole will receive a powerful demonstration.

The fortress site of Qasr Ibrîm had interested Emery since the Nubian Survey of 1929-34, for he had then worked on a few of the tombs in the two cemeteries and it was clear they belonged to the X-group culture represented at Ballana and Qustul. In 1961, in a two-and-a-half-month season, he cleared these two great cemeteries. Though heavily robbed, some of the tombs were evidently those of important local rulers and officials, and yielded fine objects, less impressive only than the rich haul from Ballana and Qustul. After that season, Emery handed over the excavation of Ibrîm fortress to Professor J. M. Plumley, whose subsequent work in the great Christian church and its environs over a series of seasons included some of the most important discoveries of the Nubian campaign. By the end of 1961 the survey of Egyptian Nubia had also been completed by Emery's assistants, under myself, and the reports prepared; as a result several interesting sites were allocated to foreign concessionaires.

When in 1964 Emery had finished his seven long campaigns of field-work in Nubia under the pressure of the emergency, he might well have been excused for asking the Egyptian Exploration Society to allow him a rest. But before he had left North Saqqâra

in 1956 he had made a test in the Third Dynasty area of the necropolis which promised interesting results, and the Society was anxious to resume excavations there. Accordingly Emery re-negotiated agreements with the U.A.R. Antiquities Service, and returned to his old house at Saqqâra in October 1964. In his first season he laid bare an interesting series of Third Dynasty mastabas; these had been deliberately cut down in the late period, and sacrificed bulls buried round the shafts. Investigation of these shafts revealed that in the late period a vast catacomb containing the burials of many hundreds of thousands of mummified ibises had been cut through them; evidently a major cult of Thoth or associated deities had been discovered. The next year he found the decorated tomb of Hetepka and an entrance to the ibis galleries. Above was a shrine from which was recovered a most interesting series of ostraca in Greek and demotic concerning the prophetic dreams of a native of the Sebennyte nome named Ḥor in the time of Ptolemy VI: possibly these dreams had been interpreted at the shrine. In 1966–7 Emery moved the work to a near-by temple-enclosure, where he found rich hoards of damaged temple furniture and statuary, deposits of fine bronzes, and a great haul of damaged demotic and Aramaic papyri of most varied character, including fragments of two new Egyptian stories belonging to the Setne Kha'emwese cycle. In 1967–8 Emery, working with four hundred men, established that within the temple enclosure there had existed five shrines, one of which, dating to Nectanebo II, had probably belonged to the Isis-cow, mother of the Apis bull. The shrines had been rased in the fourth century A.D. by the Christians who had founded a village on top of them. Clearance round the enclosure yielded many more deposits, including an intact miniature wooden temple shrine with gilded images, and a spectacular collection of bronze figures of deities, mostly of the fourth century B.C. Investigation of the cliff-top and rock-face behind the shrines in 1968–9 led to the discovery of further large Third Dynasty mastabas, and of another catacomb devoted to the burials of the baboons. These incarnation animals, sacred to Thoth, had dwelt in life in the temple of Ptah-who-is-under-his-moringa-tree in Memphis. Found scattered in the baboon galleries were a series of Carian funerary stelae which promise new light upon that undeciphered language. Winter 1969–70 brought first the discovery of the catacombs of the falcons sacred to Horus, in Gallery 16 of which was found a splendid group of bronze temple furniture of the late period. Later there was discovered the entrance, long sought, to the great gallery where the Mothers of Apis were buried, similar in all but extent to the Serapeum itself. The burials themselves had been badly ravaged by the Christians, but over 90 demotic stelae and inscriptions were found. These gave fascinating details concerning the burials of these sacred cows, and the personnel who entombed them. At last it was clear that Emery had discovered the mortuary cult centre for some of the most important animal-cults of the city of Memphis in the Saïte-Ptolemaic period, and that the combination of archaeological and documentary evidence recovered would throw a flood of light on this fascinating aspect of Egyptian civilization. It is poignant indeed that Emery's last major discovery should have echoed his first, the catacomb of the Buchis-bulls and their cow mothers at Armant.

Emery's negotiations had secured that the yield of fine antiquities from these excavations

was divided between the U.A.R. Government and the Egypt Exploration Society. The Cairo Museum has thus been enriched with many fine and unusual objects, while contributing museums in Great Britain and abroad have acquired precious complements to their Egyptian collections through the division of the Egypt Exploration Society's share. This was the cause of deep satisfaction to Emery, who had always had the needs of museums at heart, and he was particularly delighted to be able to benefit the collections of Cairo, Liverpool, and University College London, with which his own career had been associated. In the summer of 1968, the Egypt Exploration Society staged a retrospective exhibition of its work since 1952, when Emery had taken over the Directorship; it was held in the Egyptian galleries of the British Museum, where the splendid array of objects from several sites, interspersed with photographs and full scale drawings by Emery himself, were shown to their best advantage and attracted many visitors. To many the exhibition was a revelation; and when his friend, H.E. Dr. Sarwat Okasha, then the U.A.R. Minister of Culture, opened it, it was perhaps the proudest moment of fulfilment in his career.

His work in the field was the core of Emery's life, and he himself accounted it so. But he was also active at home. He published three books of archaeological interpretation for the general public, which gained popularity through their simplicity and directness of expression and excellent illustration (*Nubian Treasure*, 1949; *Archaic Egypt*, 1961; *Egypt in Nubia*, 1965). In 1954-5 he was Norton Lecturer of the Archaeological Institute of America, and toured all over the United States delivering lectures to large and enthusiastic audiences. In 1962 he gave the de Buck memorial lecture at Leyden (*A Funerary Repast in an Egyptian Tomb of the Archaic Period*); and almost every year afterwards lectured there upon his field-work at the instigation of his old dig assistant and friend, Professor Adolf Klasens. Emery frankly dreaded public lecturing and was doubtful of his powers; but in fact his annual lectures on his excavations to the Egypt Exploration Society were always well attended. Once in his stride, his enthusiasm for the work, his judgement and good sense, his thrill at discovery, and the warmth of his good humour came through to audiences, who probably appreciated him better than many a more polished performer. He was also modest about his teaching abilities; and it is true that owing to his absence in the field each winter, he gave fewer lecture courses and classes than any normal Professor. But his example of total involvement in his work was alone an inspiration to his students, and those who had the privilege of working under him in the field had an unforgettable experience. Rarely did he give a word of instruction, though he would always help if appealed to; but having provided a model he left his staff to learn by example. His own meticulously ordered, unhurried recording, his scrupulously clear annotation, and his constant reference to the drawing-board in planning strategy were models of their kind. Often he would appear to make decisions on the work intuitively, and he could be reticent about his reasons; but his changes of tactics generally led to important discoveries. Above all, his knowledge of and 'feel' for the terrain of the Nile valley were notable, and though not easily communicable by word of mouth impressed themselves upon all the more receptive of his students. Through his work and his reputation, the Department of Egyptology at

University College London gradually regained, after the vicissitudes caused by war-time bombing and disruption, the status it had held in the days of Petrie.

Though Emery had a very high regard for most of the great figures among his predecessors, especially for Mariette, Petrie, and Reisner, his especial hero appears to have been Engelbach, whose thoroughness and versatility he admired, and whose great efforts at the Cairo Museum he thought insufficiently appreciated. In particular he always quoted with approval Engelbach's division of his private library into eternal works—original excavation reports and editions of text—and ephemeral works—grammars, history books, archaeological reviews and analyses, which he maintained would all be outdated in a few decades. This viewpoint explains an aspect of Emery's publications that earned him some criticism. In his archaeological reports, he believed it his duty to present objective facts as he had observed them for posterity; inference from them and argument about them he thought could be safely left to scholars of the future. Being of a practical rather than an analytical turn of mind himself, he rarely attempted either in conversation or in print a reasoned deductive argument, but he often formed firm views, as any excavator must, of what his discoveries portended; and he regularly expressed these in the introductions to his reports and in his semi-popular works, though not in the actual record of his excavations. Several of these views have become the subject of long academic discussion, in which Emery rarely joined. For example, in the introduction to his Ballana and Qustul volumes he expressed his opinion that the X-group graves represented the burials of the pagan Blemmyes of the eastern desert, not the Nobatae introduced into Nubia by Diocletian; and he publicly maintained it to the end on the grounds that his opponents could not prove their case. Privately, however, he admitted that the truth was uncertain, and was tolerantly amused at the controversy. In *Great Tombs*, Vol. II, and in *Archaic Egypt* he expressed in print a view which had long built up in his mind that the large *mastaba* tombs of North Saqqâra were in fact the true burial places of the First Dynasty kings of Egypt. This provoked a mass of scholarly comment, mostly adverse, much of which Emery did not trouble to read, for he was not really concerned whether his view triumphed or not, but only that new evidence should be garnered and objectively presented. His opinions were regarded by him largely as 'Aunt Sallies'. In his last period of work at Saqqâra he early formed the view that the association of the later catacombs of the ibis with the ancient Third Dynasty *mastaba* tombs was to be interpreted as evidence for the existence of a mortuary and healing cult of the deified Imhotep in this area. He further inferred that this cult resulted from the proximity of Imhotep's original tomb, which he hoped that he might find. He did not hesitate to give expression to this view, and to allow his campaign to be termed 'The Search for Imhotep' in the press; but he always realized that this was a theory which would require the support of solid evidence, and that the principal importance of the work lay in the material actually revealed. His true attitude to his work is expressed in a comment in the Preface to *Great Tombs*, Vol. I: 'So much theory has become quoted as fact from the early work on the First Dynasty that it is now almost impossible to distinguish between the two. Having suffered from these errors, I have no intention of adding to them and, as far as possible, I intend to

eschew major theories and confine myself to the hard facts revealed by the excavator's pick, until our investigations are more advanced.' No doubt this position was a strong reaction to Petrie's tendency to present his finds and his analyses of them as if they had the same type and measure of authority. Emery was surely right that factual evidence and analysis should be kept apart. If his later expressions of opinion were to some extent a departure from this principle, they are nevertheless separate from the main body of his work. He would have wished to be judged on the new evidence he had discovered and on the accuracy of its presentation, not on the success of his more outspoken opinions.

By this criterion his contribution was a fine one. Indeed, all of his major excavations produced discoveries that were at once sensational in the quality and interest of the material they yielded, and of vital historical value for the new scientific information they produced. This 'nose' for discoveries came from a confidence in common-sense judgements, a trained and experienced eye, and great practical ingenuity; what he did often seemed simple, but it was he who thought of it and did it. In some ways he may be considered the last of a long and famous line of 'monumental' archaeologists, in that his *forte* was the excavation of the major remains of ancient civilization, not the detailed dissection and analysis of living debris by modern methods. But he had made himself a master of the work he really understood, the presentation and interpretation of ancient architecture, and his methods were largely appropriate to the sites he dug and their physical condition. It is sad indeed that the illustrated dictionary of Egyptian building methods which he had always intended to write in his retirement, a project for which he was ideally equipped by experience, is now lost to science.

Emery's achievements were marked by many academic and public honours. He was awarded the degree of Master of Arts *honoris causa* by Liverpool University in 1939. In 1941 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. He was awarded the Degree of Doctor of Literature of London University in 1959, and in the same year became a Fellow of the British Academy. He was also a member of the Institut d'Égypte and of the Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut in Kairo. In the New Year's Honours List in 1969 he was created Commander of the Order of the British Empire, a recognition of his services in many fields that was very widely and warmly welcomed everywhere.

The catalogue of successes and honours however gives little idea of Emery as a man. His bluff directness of manner proclaimed a salient characteristic, his absolute sincerity. He never used more words than necessary, but these inspired confidence that he would execute what he promised, a confidence he always justified. With this sincerity was allied an imperturbable good humour and *bonhomie*; he had always at his command a good story, a joke, or a cheerful smile to dispel gloom or to turn awkward and embarrassing corners. His optimism was perennial and infectious. Behind these traits was an intuitive feeling for the temperature of an occasion, and when circumstance demanded he could use his charm with great shrewdness, while always appearing relaxed and at ease. It was these qualities that so endeared him to the Egyptians and the Sudanese; they felt that they could understand him and trust him implicitly, and that he would

never let them down. Indeed, they were right; throughout his career he proclaimed his friendship for them, and it says much for the quality of this mutual trust that it survived his years in British Intelligence. He had friends throughout all orders of Egyptian and Sudanese society, from the highest in the land to his loyal workmen, who regarded him as a father. His sociability and humour also did much to alleviate the rigours of camp life; those who worked with him will always remember him best seated on some ancient mud-brick wall, puffing contentedly at his pipe and yarning of past Egyptologists and past discoveries, or late at night after hours at his drawing-board, gently conversing over a nightcap and speculating about the next discovery. His social bent was indeed for drinking or eating with small familiar groups of friends in a relaxed atmosphere; visits to the Turf Club and the Semiramis bar in Cairo, to the Athenaeum and various hostelrys in London were a part of his daily routine. It would be hard to say in all cases whether he was attracted to these groups or they were attracted by him; but always his warm personality was at the heart of them, and relationships carried on mainly at the level of comradely badinage were the mask for sincere affection, and regard.

Few however who had not seen Emery in action can have fully realized his courage and strength of will. Already apparent from his early struggle in Nubia, and confirmed by his war service, these qualities were most nobly shown in his last years. In November 1967, after two years of indifferent health, he underwent a very serious surgical operation. Six weeks later, straight from convalescence he returned to Saqqara. The circumstances following the 'June war' were of great delicacy; the work was at a critical stage, full of technical and administrative difficulties; Emery was in constant pain, to which he would not confess. He carried on his full responsibilities as field director, taking duty each morning on the work; few realized that when on the mile return walk over rough desert, he stopped, he was not simply admiring the view. Throughout that season and the next two, Emery's iron will and remorseless optimism pulled him through. By summer 1970, he had made a remarkable recovery. He went out to Saqqara in October in the best of spirits, which he maintained throughout a long season, in which more mastaba tombs and a further catacomb of mummified ibises were the only discoveries of note. On Sunday, March 7, 1971 a few days before the scheduled end of the work, he was found after the morning's work collapsed outside his office in camp. He was taken to the Anglo-American hospital in Cairo, where he appeared to be recovering; but on the evening of March 9 he suffered a second stroke. He did not recover consciousness, and died peacefully on the night of Thursday, March 11. He was buried next day in the Roman Catholic section of the British cemetery at Cairo. At the funeral, held in the Roman Catholic church of St. Joseph, Cairo, the extraordinary respect and affection in which he was held were shown in a most moving way. Though his loss is to his wife, his colleagues, and his friends a grievous one, none who knew him could doubt that his was how he would have wished to die, pursuing that romantic passion for the discovery of ancient Egyptian civilization which he had nourished since he was a boy. No soil could more appropriately shroud his bones than that of Egypt, which he had loved and from which he had dug so many treasures.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Hy (m) nwh 'make a rope fast'

In *Pyr.* §303*d* occurs the expression $\square \square \square \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (W), var. $\square \square \square \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (T), which in my translation of this passage I suggested might mean 'make your cable fast'. I now observe that the same expression occurs in *CT* VII, 443*a*, in the forms $\square \square \square \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ B1Bo, $\square \square \square \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ B1C, $\square \square \square \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ B9C, B1L, B3L, probably also B2P, while B3C and B4C have the variant $\square \square \square \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *m nwh*. The deceased (*CT* VII, 442) says: 'Behold, O Rēc, I have come voyaging, for I am one of those four gods who are at the side of the sky, and I show you Him who is in his disc (*or* day).' To this Rēc appears to reply: 'Make your cable fast (*hy (m) nwh*), for there is no opposition to you', i.e. 'it is safe for you to moor'. The *m* in B9C, etc., could be either the particle *m* reinforcing an imperative (Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.* §250), or just possibly an early instance of *m* intervening between a transitive verb and its object, well known in Demotic and Coptic (𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏). The variant *hny* of B3C and B4C may perhaps be due to confusion with *hny* 'rejoice', which often appears in the compound expression *hy hny* 'make acclamation'. It is interesting to note that the converse error occurs in *Pyr.* §307*c*, where *hny* 'rejoice' is determined with 𓂏 .

R. O. FAULKNER

A reconsideration of $\left(\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \right)$

Contemporary and near-contemporary (Old Kingdom) occurrences have long established that the name of Snofru's predecessor was written $\left(\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \right)$.¹ In his article Professor Goedicke draws attention to the contemporary writing and proposes an involved grammatical interpretation (in addition to refuting the reliability of the version *Hwni* found in the New Kingdom lists and Papyrus Prisse). Goedicke contradicts Borchart's proposal 'that the contents of the cartouche, namely $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, are to be divided into the royal title and . . . the actual name of the king, thus explaining the whole group as "King *H*"',² pointing out that 'the royal title as far as it appears inside the cartouche is, without exception, in the form $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ '. Furthermore, there is no case where $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ in the Old Kingdom is used as a royal title instead of $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ in connection with the name of a pharaoh.³ The conclusion is 'that the division of $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ into royal title and name cannot be correct, and that the entire group represents the royal name'.⁴

I fully agree that the entire group in the cartouche must be the monarch's name, but I am also of the opinion that a more straightforward rendering of the name than Goedicke's *Ni-Swth* is possible and that Borchart's suggestion points in the right direction, only falling short in the evaluation of $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ as a title. Borchart asserted the 𓂏 to be 'Schläger'⁵ from the verb *hwi/hii* 'smite, strike, beat'; as a matter of fact 𓂏 is attested as an Old Kingdom writing of *hwi*, and several other

¹ G. E. Kadish, 'An Inscription from an Early Egyptian Fortress', *JNES* 29, 2 (April 1970), 99–102; and Hans Goedicke, 'The Pharaoh *Ny-Swth*', *ZÄS* 81 (1956), 18–24. Kadish comments, p. 99 n. 8: 'It should be noted that no attempt is being made here to examine Goedicke's ingenious, but for me unconvincing, reading of the royal name.'

² Goedicke, *op. cit.*, 19.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

Westminster College Papyri: A further note

SINCE the publication in *JEA* 1969 of our article on the Greek papyri in Westminster College, Cambridge,¹ a new discovery has made it clear that we were not, after all, first in the field: transcripts by Grenfell and Hunt of the two papyri from Soknopaiou Nesos have been found in Westminster College Library, in an envelope addressed to Mrs. Lewis. The transcripts are printed, but seem not to have been published; after collating them with our own and re-examining the papyri we have obtained the results set out below.

P. Westminster College 1, edited by B. P. Grenfell, 18.11.97.

1. There are a number of cases where our own tentative readings appear to be confirmed by the fact that Grenfell offers the same text without square brackets; it is possible that when he examined it the papyrus was in a better condition than it is now, perhaps before it was in its present mounting. However, it is hard to believe that it has been very seriously worn and rubbed in the last seventy years, and as Grenfell makes no use at all of the dot below an indistinct letter his limited use of square brackets should be treated with some caution. In each case our reading is given first:

9. τεσσαράκ[οντα]: τεσσαράκοντα Grenfell.

13. μητρ[ι]κῆς: μητρικῆς Grenfell.

26. Περεσ[ο]ύχ[ου τ]οῦ Ἐνούφι[ος]: Περεσούχου τοῦ Ἐνούφιου Grenfell.

27. [μοι μέ]ρος: μοι μέρος Grenfell.

29. τούτω[ν]: τούτων Grenfell.

30. πράγ[μ]ατος: πράγματος Grenfell.

37. [α]ὐτῶν γράμματ[α]: αὐτὸν γράμματα Grenfell.

2. Study of Grenfell's transcript has shown us one or two instances where we made a careless slip; in a few others his reading seems to accord more closely with the traces. We also find ourselves convicted of an illiteracy rivalling that of the miserable Zosimas and Stotoetis in our false accentuation (read ἐπιβάλλον l. 12; οὐδενός ll. 19 and 30; παραβί l. 20 and παραβῆ in the *apparatus*).

6. ἐτ[ῶν]: ἐτῶ[ν] Grenfell; read ἐτῶ[ν].

8. ἐαυτῆς: ἐαυτῆς l. ἐαυτῆς Grenfell, correctly. Περεσούχου: Περεσούχος l. Περεσούχου Grenfell, perhaps rightly.

18. ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ l. ἐπ' αὐτῶ μηδὲ τοῖς. Grenfell (who offers the same reading) emends to ἐπ' αὐτὸν μηδὲ τόν. The accusative is clearly correct, but we should prefer τοῖς to τόν.

20. τέ τις l. δέ τις: τέ τις l. δέ τί τις Grenfell, no doubt rightly.

22. ὑπογραφ[ε]ῖς: ὑπογραψ... το ? for ὑπεγράψαντο Grenfell. We are convinced by Grenfell's reading of the seventh letter as a psi and should now prefer to read ὑπογραψαντο l. ὑπεγράψαντο. We originally thought that there was space for three letters after the psi, but the writing is very sprawling in this part of the document, and it may well be that all that is missing is part of the psi, αν having filled the rest of the space where now only the faintest traces are visible.

23. με, μ ex corr., fort. λ a.c.: κε Grenfell. Grenfell's κ is probably correct as the reading p.c., but with λ a.c. as we originally suggested. The change to κε involves altering the translation to 'aged 25'.

33. Ἐριεύς Σαμ- ought to have been printed Ἐρ[ιεύς Σαμ-.

3. In the remaining cases of disagreement between Grenfell's transcript and our own we believe Grenfell's reading to be either incorrect or less closely in accord with the traces.

¹ *JEA* 55 (1969), 184-90.

8. ἀνδρῶς: ἀντρῶς Grenfell.
12. νοῦ: μου Grenfell. We find it hard to read the first letter as anything other than a nu.
23. καστρῶκν(ημίᾱ): ἀντικνη(μίῳ) Grenfell.
27. Ἐριεὺς: Ἐριεῦτος Grenfell. This looks like a straight error on Grenfell's part ('dittography' under the influence of the following τοῦ?).
28. ἐπίπλων καὶ ἰστῶν: ἐπίπλων καὶ εἰστῶν Grenfell.
29. ἐγκαλῶ: ἐγκαλεῖν Grenfell.
31. ἄπαι[τα χ]ρόνον καθῶ[ς]: ἄπ[αν]τα χρόνον κα[θῶς] Grenfell.
32. αὐτῶν: αὐτοῦ l. αὐτῆς Grenfell. The traces are very indistinct, but seem closer to the shape of ων.
33. αὐ[τῶς]: αὐτῆν Grenfell. We should have recorded that after αὐ there are minute and (to us) illegible traces.
- 39-40. Παχῶ[ν] κγ [ἀναγέγρα-] | πται: Παχῶν [τρίτη καὶ εἰκάδι. γέγραπ-] | ται Grenfell. The end of l. 39 is extremely indistinct, but there does not seem to be enough space for Grenfell's twenty letters. The first two letters of l. 40 are quite clearly visible as π and τ.

P. Westminster College 2, edited by A. S. Hunt (undated, but evidently printed by the same press as Grenfell's transcript of Papyrus 1).

The writing on this papyrus is much more clearly legible than that of Papyrus 1, but the mounting seems to have caused slight dislocation at the ends of ll. 6 and 7 and perhaps 8. Hunt's readings in this area are therefore particularly interesting; elsewhere there is little to add to our own findings, and there are some cases (ll. 1-2) where we have had the benefit of parallel texts published after Hunt examined the papyrus.

1. Apparent confirmation of our readings:

5. Σαταβοῦτρ[ς]: Σαταβοῦτος Hunt. The final letter of this word is now completely lost.
14. Νήσ[ου]: Νήσο[υ] Hunt.

2. In one place Hunt offers a fuller reading:

7. [καὶ...]: [καὶ] Τεσ[ε]γο[ύ]- Hunt (supplying φεως at the beginning of l. 8). This is an attractive conjecture, which accords well with the small traces that survive. If Τεσενοῦφης is correct this is the only priest mentioned without his father's name.

3. There are two places where we cannot reconcile Hunt's readings with what is now to be seen on the papyrus:

6. Στω. : Στοσοή[τιος] Hunt.
- 8-9. πρε[σ] | β[υτέρων]: προ[κ]ει | μ[ένων] Hunt. The present traces seem very slightly to favour our reading (against προκειμένων with ἱερέων see our note on l. 17 below) but the papyrus may have been damaged at the end of l. 8.

4. We feel confident in one case that our reading is the correct one:

7. β φυλ(ῆς): δ φυλ(ῆς) Hunt.

5. Hunt interpreted this text as a 'declaration showing the names of the holders of various priest-hoods at Socnopaei Nesos during the 21st year of Antoninus Pius (158 A.D.)', but without the evidence of comparable texts since published (e.g. Gilliam, *Yale Classical Studies*, 10 (1947), 235) he was unable to read παραλήμ(πταις) | β[ι]βλίω in ll. 1-2. This evidence makes it clear that the text is in fact a letter accompanying such a declaration, which was countersigned and returned to the temple. A problem arises over the contents of the list. It was normal practice to submit

a list of both priests and property (*γραφὴ ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ in this order*) and that this was the case here is suggested by the Demotic docket. In l. 17 Hunt proposed to read *ἱερέων* for *ἱερῶν*, but in view of the formula used in other documents (e.g. P. Yale 361, 9-11=Gilliam, op. cit. 238 *γραφὴν ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ τοῦ προκειμένου ἱεροῦ*) the correct emendation would be *γραφὴν (ἱερέων καὶ) χειρισμοῦ τῶν προκειμένων ἱερῶν*, that is, if we can be confident that on this occasion priests were included in the list.

D. J. CRAWFORD
P. E. EASTERLING

REVIEWS

The Origins of Osiris. By J. GWYN GRIFFITHS. Münchner ägyptologische Studien, vol. 9. Bruno Hessling, Berlin, 1966. Price DM 26.

In this volume, published under the auspices of the University of Munich, Dr. J. Gwyn Griffiths has filled a real want in providing students of Ancient Egyptian religion with a new study of the early stages of the Osiris cult, based very largely on the relevant passages in the Pyramid Texts, and he is to be congratulated on the outcome of his endeavour. He divides his book into seven main sections, each dealing with a principal aspect of the Osiris religion, and these will be discussed in turn.

In Part I, 'The Original Myth', the author's account seems eminently acceptable, and I think few would criticize it as a whole, even if there may be differences of opinion here and there; certainly the present reviewer finds himself generally in accord with it. On points of detail, Griffiths is surely right in discarding the idea of a foreign origin of the myth, the Osiris-Adonis theory; the myth seems to be purely Egyptian, originating in Upper Egypt (see pp. 53 ff. of the present book), and whatever may be the difficulties in interpreting it, the name *Wsir* 'Osiris' has no foreign flavour. However, I share Scharff's scepticism as to the theologians of Heliopolis having a part in developing the legend in its early stages; the passages quoted on pp. 115-16, especially *Pyr.* 350 and 1267 ff., seem to imply hostility between Osiris and the sun-cult. There are three points in this section which call for remark: on p. 4, in the quotation from *Pyr.* 651-2, the line 'O Osiris-King, awake! Horus has caused Thoth to bring thine enemy to thee' has been misplaced by the printer; it should come at the beginning of the passage. On p. 6, in connection with the association of Osiris and Orion, the author might have quoted *Pyr.* 959c-d: 'When you said, O Seth, "It was he (Osiris) who kicked me", when there came into being this his name of Orion'. On p. 12, in the discussion of *Pyr.* 186, I am not entirely in accord with Griffiths's rendering. Where in 186a he would read *rnp·k . . . rnp·k*, the text has quite certainly *tr·k . . . tr·k*, and I see no good reason for emendation. Nor is his proposal to emend *spdt* of 186d into *Spd* 'Sopd' acceptable; *spdt* is the old perfective 3rd fem. singular 'effective' in reference to *mtwt* 'semen', and the collocation *mtwt . . . spdt* recurs in *Pyr.* 632, 1505, 1508, 1636. In 632 and 1636 *spdt* is used of the readiness of Isis-Sothis to receive the seed of Osiris, while in 1505 and 1508 it refers to the sexual potency of the gods in question, *spdt* being understood in these two instances as old perfective 2nd common singular. All these different nuances arise from the basic meaning 'sharp' of the stem *spd*.

In Part II, 'The Original Cult', the author points out that there is no direct evidence of the existence of the Osiris religion before the Fifth Dynasty, but assumes, with good reason, that the cult must have come into existence at an earlier date, though he justly returns a non-proven verdict on Ricke's architectural theories. He goes on to discuss embalment and the other rites of the royal funerals which were taken over by the Osiris cult—the physical facts of embalment and the rest must have preceded the idea of their mythological adoption by Osiris—and rejects the suggestion that at an early date there was ever a ritual dismemberment of the body, even though it may have been an early custom to unflesh the body for preservation. In connection with embalming, there are two passages of translation with which I do not altogether concur. On p. 35, quoting *Pyr.* 1983, the author speaks of the four children of Horus 'who have made their names as embalmers(?)', but he does not indicate that the two last words are a restoration; further, if Sethe's restoration be accepted, the words in question are not *m wtw* 'embalmers' but *m twt* 'wholly'. On the top of p. 36, quoting *Pyr.* 1122, my translation of 1122d differs from those of both Griffiths and Allen, for I do not think that *phrw* here means either 'offerings' or 'remedies', see my note 3 to Utt. 509. A literal version would be 'the encircling of Horus is encircled in Abydos (and also or namely) the embalming of Osiris', Horus going round and round the body applying the mummy-wrappings. This view strengthens the author's case as regards this passage.

The author goes on to discuss the significance of animal sacrifice in Osirian ritual as symbolizing the slaying of Seth, while in no way denying the basic idea of providing food for the dead king. In dealing with the Egyptian ideas of the king's life after death, Griffiths justly points out that besides the generally accepted solar and Osirian hereafters, the king can become a star—possibly the oldest belief of all—he may rule in the Beyond, he may take any shape he chooses, and so on, or the very fact of death can be denied. After dealing with the rites of purification and of Opening the Mouth, he discusses (pp. 48 ff.) the passages where Seth is made to carry Osiris on his back and makes the point that the Egyptians in early days did not ride their animals. That is true, but he does not bring out sufficiently the idea of subjection implicit in the notion of carrying, which receives concrete expression in the round in the figures of a king standing on the back of a wild animal which is under his complete control, cf. e.g. Fox, *Tutankhamun's Treasure*, pl. 56. Osiris could have been thought of as standing on Seth's back or even as being carried on it as a mummy. In this connection one might also quote a line from the Poetic Stela of Tuthmosis III: 'I cause them to see Your Majesty as the Protector (*ndty*) appearing on the back of his wild bull (*smꜣ*)', where the determinative of *smꜣ* shows a bull in a state of collapse. The allusion seems to be to Horus *ndty it:f* having utterly subdued Seth, who in *Pyr.* 1977 is described as a wild bull (*smꜣ*). Compare *hr-sꜣ* 'a subjected bull', *Pyr.* 1544*d*. I also find it hard to accept that in *Pyr.* 1628 Seth is a ship which carries Osiris (p. 51).

Part III is concerned with Osiris as an Upper Egyptian god of the royal dead. Several pages are devoted to the discussion of the name *Wsir* and its representations in the script. Here Griffiths favours a derivation from *wsr* 'mighty'. It may be so, but to the best of my knowledge the name of Osiris is never found written as $\uparrow \parallel \ominus$, and one would expect a sporadic occurrence of this form. He goes on to discuss the bearing of the 'Memphite Theology' and Sethe's 'Dramatic Papyrus' on the nature of Osiris, deals briefly with the private tomb inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, and gives a short but interesting account of the epagomenal days as they concern Osiris. As regards the acceptance of Osiris and his company into the Heliopolitan doctrine, Griffiths rightly does not commit himself as to when this happened, except that it had already taken place in the Fifth Dynasty, but it would seem likely that such entry was enforced by the rapidly growing devotion to Osiris in royal and possibly aristocratic circles. There is a possibility that this event may have taken place by the Third Dynasty, see pp. 72–3. In dealing with the topography of the myths of Horus and Osiris, the author rejects Sethe's historico-religious interpretation as set out in his *Urgeschichte*, and there are few who would disagree with him. Giving a useful summary of the localities with which Osiris is associated in the Pyramid Texts in both Lower and Upper Egypt, Griffiths accepts an Upper Egyptian origin for the god, and he makes the important point that the crown worn by Osiris is essentially that of Upper Egypt, whatever it may acquire by way of ornamental accretions. In going into the importance of Abydos in this connection, I would suggest than on p. 83, in the discussion of *Pyr.* 798*b*, his difficulty over the 'lake' can be resolved by reading $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ as *mr* 'waterway': 'Betake yourself to the waterway, fare upstream to the Thinite nome, traverse Abydos.' On this question of Abydos, Griffiths favours the idea that Osiris was originally the god of the royal necropolis rather than of the town itself, and there seems good reason behind this view. He also discusses briefly the problems of Osiris–Andjety and Seth–Ash. He considers that Andjety was the original god of the Busirite nome, in which Osiris came to establish a local cult, while Seth and the Libyan god Ash were separate deities, even if they had some affinity. He is also inclined to the view that Osiris was originally a jackal-god of Abydos who took on human form on being identified with the dead king.

In Part IV the author deals with the vexed question of Osiris as a god of water and vegetation. After reviewing the evidence, he comes to the conclusions that Osiris was not a water-god identified with the Nile, and that his connection with vegetation arose, at any rate in part, from his association with Orion and Sothis. It seems possible that this in turn may have arisen from the association of the king with Orion and Sothis in sharing the responsibility for the yearly growth of food-plants, cf. *JNES* 25 (1966), 161. At any rate there can be no doubt that Osiris came to be closely connected with the idea of vegetation.

As regards Osiris as ruler and judge of the dead (Part V), the evidence adduced by Griffiths is quite unmistakable in pointing to Osiris as king of the Netherworld, but at first not always as the embodiment of the dead king; in *Pyr.* 251 the king is the Lone Star, and he looks down from aloft at Osiris in the Netherworld governing the spirits, presumably of the noble dead. As regards judgement after death, I feel that Griffiths's translation of *Pyr.* 309 (p. 121) does not quite bring out the full force of the passage. My own

version takes *n hms-f* (var. *n hmsw T*) to be a non-existential clause 'there will be no session on him', implying that the dead king will be exempt from trial before the Tribunal; this interpretation falls into line with the other passages quoted by Griffiths. The fact that it is made clear that the king is not to be tried implies that judgement after death was normally to be expected. As regards the three passages quoted on p. 122, declaring that the king has done no wrong, it might perhaps be pointed out that my translation of *Pyr.* 892a-c differs materially from those of Griffiths and Sethe (see Utt. 467, nn. 7, 8), though the general sense of the argument is not affected. Griffiths thinks that the role of Osiris as judge of the dead arises from his identification with the king, who in life was judge of the living, and his view well fits the facts as we know them.

In Part VI, 'The Cult and the Society', the author takes the view that early Egyptian society was essentially patriarchal, and discusses the views of Otto, Spiegel, and other scholars on early religion in Egypt. With regard to the supposed universal god *Wr* 'the Great One' postulated by Junker, he refers to the views of other scholars on the point, but does not quote Gardiner's comments in *AEO* II, 267* ff., which on the whole are unfavourable. The question as to whether the brother-sister marriage of Osiris and Isis was a reflection of a royal custom in real life is debated at some length, with the conclusion that it was entirely mythological, 'a structural necessity arising from the myth itself' (p. 144). Griffiths deals briefly and effectively with the belief that the king was deliberately put to death in a ritual sacrifice. This section closes with a discussion of the Sethian symbolism in sacrifice, a topic on which he has already touched.

Finally, in Part VII the author writes of 'An Embryonic System of Salvation'. There is discussion of various modern theories regarding the relationship of the king and Osiris and of the possible significance of the location of various groups of Utterances on the walls of the royal pyramids. In rightly remarking that 'the king thus subsumes the nature and power of the sovereign ruler of the dead' (p. 160), the author quotes *Pyr.* 658a-b. This, however, is a doubtful support for his case, for, thanks to the ambiguity of hieroglyphic writing, a different interpretation is possible: 'Be great, O King! Ferry over, O King! May your name be notified to Osiris.' Here the important point is the translation of *wṯz-t(w) rn-k n Wsir*. Griffiths translates as 'thy name is raised to (that of) Osiris', but there is the alternative given above in which *wṯz* is connected with the meaning 'lay an information', 'delate', *Concise Dict.* 72. This alternative version avoids the necessity for inserting '(that of)', but no longer supports the author's case, which *per se* is hardly to be controverted. He makes a good point when he states on p. 161 that the king, beside being obviously an individual, 'was probably a corporate personality which embodied his subjects', an idea which led ultimately to every dead person becoming an Osiris, because in a sense he was a part of the king, and while the idea of judgement after death plays but a minor part in early religion, it became, at any rate in theory, an ordeal which all must undergo, but which led the vindicated dead to the Elysium over which Osiris ruled.

This review has stretched to a great length, but it is a measure of the importance of this book, which is a well-thought-out account of its subject. Differences of opinion there inevitably must be on so difficult a topic, but it remains to be said that in the reviewer's opinion it is the best study of the early Osiris cult yet to appear, and it should be found on the desk of every student of Egyptian religion.

R. O. FAULKNER

Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt. By HENRY GEORGE FISCHER. Pp. xxiii+246, frontispiece+30 pls., 44 figures in text, 1 map. J. J. Augustin, Inc., New York, 1969. Price \$16.50.

This volume provides an admirable summary of the early history of Dendera so far as it can be recovered from the remains which have survived in the cemetery of this important town. The evidence is dealt with in chronological sequence; that from the Archaic Period (Part I) consists of the contents of two tombs only, and is set out in a couple of pages.

Part II, 'The Fourth and Fifth Dynasties', opens with an account of the provincial administration. A point of interest here is the author's description of the various attempts at locating 'the eastern Crocodile nome' (*Urk.* I, 2, 6) of which Metjen was High Commissioner, and comes to the conclusion that the nome

of Dendera is what is named. Reference to inscriptions of the early Old Kingdom leads to a comparison of the titles of the officials of the nome in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, and to a discussion of the geographical implications. A section on temple administration gives plans of a group of tombs all earlier than the Sixth Dynasty, of which only one has yielded inscriptions. The owner's sole titles are *rh-nswt* and *hm-ntr Hwt-hr*; Fischer points out that from the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty down to the Eleventh Dynasty, these two titles in the southern nomes seem to be held only by women, and that only the higher ranks of the clergy of Ḥathōr (*imy-r hmw-ntr*, *shd hmw-ntr*) seem to have been filled by men.

Part III deals with the importance of Ḥathōr at the Residence-city and elsewhere, and the point is made that the goddess seems to have been held in great esteem at the capital; of fourteen mentions of her which fall between the Fourth and Eleventh Dynasties, no fewer than eight come from the Memphite area, the rest being from sites extending southward to Thebes. In discussing the relationship between Dendera and Heliopolis suggested by the similarity of their names, Fischer remarks that, while that similarity led to the two towns being associated in the minds of the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom, in fact in the Eleventh Dynasty and the Coffin Texts Ḥathōr is often associated with Re^c but rarely with his city. In Part IV the author further notes that, despite the popularity of the goddess at Court, there is no direct association of a king's name with Ḥathōr of Dendera before Tety of the Sixth Dynasty, though this may be due to the accidents of survival; it would seem that Phiope I held the goddess in especial esteem. On pp. 44 and 47 Fischer quotes two late inscriptions from the temple of Dendera which attribute the founding of the temple to the Followers of Horus and allude to the finding by Phiope I and Cheops respectively of the 'great plan' of the temple, which the author thinks may refer to its organization rather than to its ground-plan.

Part V deals with the Sixth Dynasty onward. This section contains a discussion of the titles borne by the nomarchs and other officials at Dendera, with a comment on the peculiar usage attaching to the title of *rh-nswt* and its feminine counterpart. There is also a most useful study of the palaeography of the inscriptions, with a clear tabular display of the most significant signs and groups from eleven tombs. Part VI deals in turn with the individual officials connected with Dendera from the Sixth to the Ninth Dynasties where strictly speaking the scope of this book comes to an end. Part VII, however, deals with some officials whose dates fall a little after the Ninth Dynasty, while Part VIII is devoted to a general summing up. There are three appendices, on the cemetery of Gozeriya, on some inscriptions of the Ninth Dynasty, and on the composition of false doors and architraves. There are six pages of addenda, and a whole series of valuable indexes, while the photographic plates are excellent. This book will be of permanent value to the historian of the Old Kingdom, especially as regards the administration of nome and temple.

R. O. FAULKNER

The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts. Translated into English by R. O. FAULKNER. Pp. xii+330. Oxford, 1969. Price £3.25. *Supplement of Hieroglyphic Texts.* Pp. 88. Price £1.80.

These volumes, it may be said at once, will be a real boon to all students of Egyptian. They have been beautifully produced and their price is very reasonable (doubtless owing to generous subventions); above all they are the work of a philologist whose competence is beyond question. Obviously they will also be found useful by non-Egyptological students of the religion of Ancient Egypt, since these texts form the basic corpus.

In the first volume Dr. Faulkner offers his translation, with valuable notes on language and content, and he has naturally used Sethe's text in the main, supplemented by the material which Jéquier published. It is this material that is reproduced from the translator's autographed copies in the second volume. In his Preface he properly disavows any claim to have produced a definitive version and he points to 'the ambiguity of the written language and also our imperfect knowledge of it'. His version will none the less rank with Sethe's in importance, and what is particularly helpful is that he often discusses in the notes those points where he differs from Sethe. Dr. Faulkner wisely opts for a modern idiom and stylistically his translation reads well. He arranges parts of the text in poetic line-units, and it seems to me that a great deal more invites treatment of this kind; it would, of course, prove very wasteful of space. Recent studies, notably those of Spiegel and Piankoff, have shown that some importance must be attached to the location

of spells, and the absence of any indication of this may be regretted. There would, however, be no brief and convenient way of including such information since the translation usually rests on a number of sources in which the location may vary. Again, paronomasia is a frequent feature of the Egyptian, and it is arguable that in 819*a*, for instance, *he who is in Nedit is felled* should be *he who is in Nedit (The Place of Felling) is felled*. Probably the translator felt, with reason, that such a procedure would be cumbersome.

Occasionally one feels that the notes might profitably refer to discussions more recent than those of Sethe; e.g. at 215*b* to Spiegel's interpretation in *ASAE* 53 (1955), 358 and at 257*a* ff. to Sainte Fare Garnot's *L'Hommage aux Dieux* (1954), 249 ff. (Piankoff's study of the text of Wenis appeared, however, too late for use.) The god named Babi here should probably be called Babawyi: see Edel, *ZÄS* 81 (1956), 74–6. Edel's Grammar, on the other hand, has been well deployed. There are a few misprints, such as 'millenium' (dust-jacket) and 'Zába' (p. xii); the form 'nisba' (pp. 51, 309, 325) is perhaps intended to reproduce the Arabic noun, but 'nisbe' seems preferable. In the List of Abbreviations two conflicting entries appear for the book by Breasted; and under the third index (at the end) we read that 'the references are to the pages of the preceding index', where the last word should be a plural since the first index is also involved. But these are very minor matters and the last word of this review must be one of fervent congratulation.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Das jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten. By REINHARD GRIESHAMMER. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen ed. W. Helck and E. Otto, Bd. 20, pp. 188. Wiesbaden, 1970. No price given.

The importance of the idea of judgement in Egyptian religion well merits a special study of the Coffin Texts from this point of view, and in the present work, which was submitted as a doctoral thesis in the University of Heidelberg under the direction of Professor E. Otto, a thorough survey of the material is conducted.

Dr. Grieshammer distinguishes, to start with, the concept of litigation after death and that of a general judgement of the dead. Allusions to either of these in the Coffin Texts tend to be brief, and there is nothing comparable to the expansive treatment given to the second theme in Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead. When assembled, however, these allusions amount to a considerable sum of evidence, and they show a surprising variety of detail. The judges and courts mentioned, for instance, include Rē, Atum, Thoth, Geb, Shu, Sefeg-ieru, Osiris, Anubis, the Two Truths, Hathor, Isis, Neith, the Djadjat, the M'abayt, and the Shenut, while the scene of judgement is located in heaven, in the bark of the sun-god, in the Island of Fire, in the realm of the dead, and in cult-centres such as Heliopolis and Abydos. Rē and Osiris are the most frequently mentioned as judges, and sometimes they are named together.

It is known that these texts refer occasionally to the psychostasia, and these allusions are here discussed with welcome detail. Rē and Thoth are the gods named in this connection, and one passage (*CT* IV, 298*a*–301*a*) personifies the balance as a daemonic being. A remarkable combination of ideas occurs in a section quoted on p. 46 (*CT* I, 181*a*–*e*): *Thine evil is expelled, thine iniquity is effaced by those who weigh with the balance on the day of the reckoning of qualities*. It seems that forgiveness is being secured beforehand in spite of the concept of rigorous impartiality inherent in the balance. The author does not elaborate on this, but later (pp. 48 and 56) he notes similar, though not so striking expressions of a desire to avoid by magical means any dread consequences which the weighing may threaten to bring: there is an anticipation, as he points out, of the statement at the beginning of *BD* 125.

Allusions to litigation after death are shown to be more frequent. In this context premature death is sometimes described as an injustice caused by an enemy and reunion with one's family is ascribed to a behest of the divine court; the deceased is found also to be demanding of this court that his enemy be delivered to him, so that he may wreak his vengeance on him.

This is a well-managed and methodically presented piece of research. A valuable appendix provides a translation and detailed discussion of the more important spells discussed. The book has been photo-mechanically produced, and a minor complaint is that some of the hieroglyphs have not emerged very clearly from this process.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

The Eastern Libyans, An Essay. By ORIC BATES. Demy Quarto. Pp. xxii+298, pls. 11+frontispiece, figs. 100, maps 12. London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. 1970. Price £8.40. SBN 7146 1634 6.

Although published as long ago as 1914, Oric Bates's *Eastern Libyans* remains a standard work on the parts of Africa that are now included in Egypt and the Sudan to the west of the Nile Valley, and the new countries of Libya and Chad, in pre-Islamic times. This book has been out of print for very many years and copies have been hard to find. It is a pleasure, therefore, to welcome the excellent reprint that now lies before us. The only *caveat* that one has is the high price asked for what is after all a mechanical reproduction.

This book was reviewed in this journal by T. Eric Peet on its first appearance,¹ and this review should still be consulted.

Before the First World War the region concerned was little known away from the coast, while archaeologically it was quite unexplored. This study broke entirely fresh ground. The scanty material available was culled from every available source: Ancient Egyptian inscriptions and papyri, Greek and Roman authors—even the most obscure references being searched out, early Arab writers and later travellers. All this was supplemented by the author's own journeys and built up into a sweeping survey which, after an account of the geography, flora, fauna, and climate, went on to a description of the native inhabitants, their language, culture, religion, and history. Inevitably superseded in many respects, as a rapid inspection of such books as J. L. Forde-Johnson's *Neolithic Cultures of North Africa* and C. B. M. McBurney's *The Stone Age of Northern Africa* will show, the book remains a compendium of the information available from the old literary sources.

C. H. S. SPAULL

The Records of a Building Project in the Early Twelfth Dynasty. Papyrus Reisner III. Transcription and Commentary by WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON. Folio. Pp. 45, pls. 21 collytype+21 lithographic. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1968. Price \$45.

Papyrus Reisner III, like its predecessors, is a papyrus of accounts, similar in some respects to Reisner I in that it is also concerned with building operations. It was originally about 2.5 m. long but of this only 2.06 m. survive and much of that in a very fragmentary condition. The skill with which Simpson has reconstituted the papyrus and analysed its contents is beyond praise, for the difficulties are formidable: much more so than in Reisner I or II. Even now so much remains to be elucidated as to the contents that he feels constrained to say: 'My aim is the presentation of a useful and accurate edition with a manageable commentary, not an exhaustive treatment.' In this he has admirably succeeded and it is only necessary to attempt to get further oneself to realize very quickly how intractable is the material to hand.

The papyrus is inscribed on both sides and is to be assigned to the early part of the Twelfth Dynasty and probably to the reign of Ammenemes I. Formerly all the Reisner papyri were attributed to the reign of Sesostri I, but new evidence found and to be published by Žába as to the period over which Ammenemes I and his vizier Inyotef-ōkre were linked together, makes the attribution to the time of Ammenemes I more likely although still not certain.

The recto, apart from a building account occupying a single page at the end, is taken up entirely by a labour register, the sections of which have been labelled from A to D to facilitate study. The entries are daily and run for a period of some seventeen months in the years 22 and 23 of a king who, on the assumption as to date already mentioned, will be Ammenemes I. The column headings are extensively damaged which has the effect of greatly increasing the difficulty of investigating the structure and purpose of the figures set down, which themselves are rendered difficult of comprehension by innumerable lacunae. Throughout the register consists of a date column followed by a column of figures giving the number of man-days (*hsbw*) available each day. That the actual men involved are *mny*-labourers from This is shown by the almost intact heading to Section B. Section A is very fragmentary so that its connection with B, C, and D,

¹ *JEA* 1, pt. IV, pp. 303-4.

although very probable, is not certain. B, however, starting on 3.S.9¹ in year 22 continues into C and through D down to 2.S.30 of the following year. In the first page of Section B an additional column headed *wrrw*, 'absent', occurs, while Section D also has an additional column headed *dt*-serfs. Section A likewise has a number of extra columns but of these little remains. In the middle of the second page of Section C the main register breaks off and is replaced by a register with the same two initial columns as before but followed by up to six extra columns of figures headed Treasury, X-men, Staff (*tt*), Temple, —(?), Brick-making (lit. '*dt*-serfs striking brick'). This register runs from 3.W.6 to 2.S.13 at which point the end of Section C is reached. Section D then resumes the main register. Here and there brief notes are inserted as, for instance, 'finished this day', 'roll-call'. At the end of each month the figures are totalled and eventually carried forward to over-all summaries. This should be straightforward enough but a summary on the last page of D well illustrates the tantalizing difficulties presented not only by this register but by other accounts in this papyrus. It will perhaps be of advantage to quote it in full as an illustration:

Year 22 <u>3.W.14</u> ²			
Man-day account			
3. W.	7440		
4. W.	7440		
1. S.	7440		
2. S.	7440		
	<u>24960</u>		
		Man-days.	
Man-day account: palace: 200 man-days.	<u>70</u>	4	24000
<i>dt</i> -serfs <u>day</u> 20			960
		Total	<u>24960</u>
Completed therefor upon the project	<u>70</u>	2	22320

What is to be made of this? The figures do not seem to accord with the register. Simpson in his commentary indicates a number of striking points but can reach no solution. Even the year date is disconcerting since 23 is expected instead of 22. 3.W.14 is the initial date of Section D and incidentally also of the main part of the multicolumned register in the latter part of Section C. As is pointed out in the commentary 7440 must be a 'quota or ideal figure' and will, I think, probably be the number of man-days theoretically available (248 men × 30 days = 7440). The figure in red, 24960, is positioned as though it were the total of the four 7440s, but it is obviously not so intended since 4 × 7440 = 29760 and because its derivation is given below as 24000 + 960. Now 200 men for 4 months makes 24000 man-days and perhaps accounts for the line with the figures 200, 4, 24000. The 70 that also occurs remains, however, unexplained. Following upon this it would be possible to split the 7400 into 200 × 30 = 6000 and 48 × 30 = 1440. If the 200 represents the intended man-days of Section D and the 48 the intended *dt*-serfs and these were only expected to work for 5 days in the month, it becomes possible to rewrite the above summary thus:

3.W.	200 × 30 + 48 × 5 + 48 × 25 =	6000 + 240 + 1200 =	6240 + 1200 =	7440
4.W.	200 × 30 + 48 × 5 + 48 × 25 =	6000 + 240 + 1200 =	6240 + 1200 =	7440
1.S.	200 × 30 + 48 × 5 + 48 × 25 =	6000 + 240 + 1200 =	6240 + 1200 =	7440
2.S.	200 × <u>30</u> + 48 × <u>5</u> + 48 × <u>25</u> =	6000 + 240 + 1200 =	6240 + 1200 =	7440
	120 20 100			
	days days days			
		<u>24000 + 960 + 4800 =</u>	<u>24960 + 4800 =</u>	<u>29760</u>

This produces the normal man-day figure of Section D, but does not accord with the daily 24 *dt*-serfs, nor does it explain the two 70s or the 2 in the last line. The 22320 at the end of the register is, as Simpson says, 3 × 7440. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the time between 3.W.14 at the head of this summary and at the beginning of Section D and 2.S.13, where the *dt*-serf figures may well have ended in that section,

¹ 3.S.9 stands for 'Third Month of Summer Day 9'. Other dates are similar with I for 'Inundation' and W for 'Winter'.

² Underlining denotes a red entry in the original.

is exactly three months. The inconclusiveness of these speculations is only too clear but they do serve to show the sort of difficulties that beset all attempts to understand this papyrus.

The verso also is almost entirely filled by a single account. Its sections are labelled F and G, K and L. F and G are really two halves of the same account set side by side for lack of space to do otherwise. This account runs for 72 days from 3.W.14 to 1.S.25, probably in the year 23. The date 3.W.14 was also met with on the recto but it is not possible to prove any connection between the accounts of the two sides of the papyrus. This account is devoted to seven named individuals who are without title but must surely be foremen. Each has a page to himself on which is recorded the daily number of man-days credited to him. In this account there is only a single date column on the extreme right which has to be read across all seven pages. At irregular intervals (e.g. 10, 20, 8, 3 days) the man-day figures are totalled and multiplied by 10 to produce a figure called *sty*, 'computation'. Two other figures are then introduced called respectively *kmt n-f*, 'what has been completed for it' and *ḡt-f*, 'its remainder'. Some detail of the make-up of the completion-figure is often given and one suspects that in these cases the undetailed mass involves one type of task since it is carried to a special tabular summation called Section L. The remainder-figure is always the difference between the computation-figure and the completion-figure. In Section K the F and G totals are summarized in sets, one for each of the irregular day-intervals already mentioned, except that towards the end they seem to be conflated and eventually are incomplete. Each set has an entry for each foreman in five parts: man-days, computation-figure, completion-figure, remainder-figure, and a final figure of unknown origin and significance. These entries, apart from the last, are totalled for each set. As has been pointed out above, certain completion-figures are carried to a special summary in Section L. This is done for the undetailed mass from the 20- and the 8-day intervals and in the case of the 3-day interval, for the entire completion-figure. The three columns of figures thus produced are summed down and across to produce an over-all total. That this is a special item involving one particular task is, I think, indicated not only by the circumstances of the case but also by the title borne by Section L, 'Working out the computation of soil from this account'. It will be noted that although these figures are completion-figures they are referred to as 'computation' (*sty*). This happens also in F and G.

All attempts to explain the four terms *hsbw*, *sty*, *kmt n-f*, *ḡt-f*, which are referred to in this review as man-days, computation-figure, completion-figure, and remainder-figure, have their snags. D. Müller has admirably explained *hsbw* as meaning 'man-days' in a review that he wrote in *Orientalia*, 36 (1967), 351-64. Using this and various ideas put forward by Simpson in this book, it seems to me not unlikely that the situation is as follows:

- (1) The man-day figure is the product of the number of men actually at work and the number of days during which they worked. It is thus equivalent to the cost of the work since the men were present and their rations will have been consumed.
- (2) The computation-figure is a task (e.g. volume of earth to be moved, number and size of blocks of stone to be hauled or erected) either done or to be done as the case may be.
- (3) The completion-figure is the amount of work that has actually been done by the men employed in the time taken. It is the result of actual measurement so that its calculation is also a 'computation'.
- (4) The remainder-figure is the amount by which actual accomplishment has fallen short of theory, and so is the difference between the computation-figure and the completion-figure. It is a loss, for the rations issued have not bought all the work that was expected of them.

Similar methods are in use in construction work to-day, nevertheless the above suggestions are not without their difficulties.

Sections E, J, and H are building accounts quite different in character to the other contents of the papyrus. One stands at the end of the recto, the others are placed towards the end of the verso. They deal with the construction of a temple in This and contain items involving straw, brickwork, timberwork, walls, courts, rooms, gates, staircases, etc. The fact that many of the terms used are of uncertain or unknown meaning adds to the difficulty of understanding these accounts. It would naturally be a great help if the plan of the building were known or could be surmised.

With this papyrus are also published two fragments under the title Papyrus Reiser III Supplemental. They were originally thought to be part of the main papyrus but further study has shown that this idea can

no longer be upheld. They contain very fragmentary accounts concerning bricks which are, however, not without interest, especially from a philological point of view.

At the beginning of the book there is a chapter which gives additions and corrections to Reisner I and II. This chapter goes on to give a physical description of Reisner III and to discuss various over-all details, concluding with a note on the palaeography which includes a plate of hieratic signs supplementing the information published in the two previous volumes. The concluding chapter of the book contains an interesting and stimulating lexical commentary. Following this are various indexes and a set of 21 plates giving a collotype facsimile of the entire papyrus including the supplemental one. Each facsimile plate is faced by a plate of transcription.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Egyptian Astronomical Texts, III. Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs. By O. NEUGEBAUER and RICHARD A. PARKER. Brown Egyptological Studies, VI. Folio. Text volume: pp. ix+273, figs. 50, map. Plate volume: pp. vi, pls. 3 coloured, 42 collotype, 35 lithographic. Brown University Press, Providence, Rhode Island, and Percy Lund, Humphries & Co. Ltd., London, 1969. Price \$45.

This third volume of *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* brings Neugebauer and Parker's superb work to conclusion. It is in two parts, a volume of text and one of plates, each equal in size to a single one of the previous volumes.

After a short introduction comes a catalogue of the monuments concerning Egyptian astronomy dealt with in the present volume. These monuments, eighty-one in number, range in time from the Eleventh Dynasty to the early Christian era. The very great majority, however, belong either to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties or to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The subject-matter comprises ceilings in temples and in tombs, both royal and private, coffins for the most part of post-pharaonic date, and two water-clocks; all bearing astronomical material of various sorts. The catalogue assigns a number and title to each monument. It then gives a description (e.g. 'Water-clock, found at Karnak and now in the Cairo Museum'), the date, the astronomical content, the position of the astronomical matter on the monument, the arrangement of this matter, other data (e.g. measurements), bibliography, and finally a reference to the plate or figure illustrating the monument in this book. Fifty-seven of the eighty plates are devoted to these monuments. An account in some detail with elements of commentary follows the purely cataloguing part for all but a very few of the items.

The majority of the most interesting and spectacular astronomical monuments which have survived from Ancient Egypt have already been illustrated and discussed in the first two volumes. Nevertheless quite a number remain to which it will not be amiss to call special attention: the water-clock of the time of Ramesses III (no. 3), the ceiling in the tomb of Sethos I (no. 6), the ceiling in the tomb of Pedamenope of about 560 B.C. (no. 32), the fragment of a water-clock of the time of Necho II with its 'association of the decans with the months of the year' (no. 34), the pieces of a stone slab from Tanis with a text concerning the lengths of the day and the night (no. 35), the sarcophagus from Kôm Abû Yâsîn with its diagrams of the positions of the Foreleg (our Great Bear) at various times of the night and in various months of the year (no. 37), the famous zodiac and other scenes from the temple of Hathor at Dendera (nos. 53-5, 59-60, 64), the wooden coffins of Cornelius Pollio, Soter, Cleopatra, and Petemenophis of the late first and early second century A.D. with their pictures of the zodiac which are published in colour (nos. 66, 67, 68, 70), and finally the zodiac on a glass plaque found by Petrie at Tanis and now in the British Museum which is also shown in colour (no. 79).

After the catalogue the book continues with a general study of the material, divided between the list of decans, the planets, the constellations and the zodiacs.

To quote, 'The decans originated in Egypt as a means of dividing the night into hours, at first by risings, later and alternatively by transits as well, of stars'. No examples of the star clocks based on decans are later than the Ramesside period, but the decans did survive into Ptolemaic times and eventually became incorporated with the Graeco-Babylonian zodiac, three to a sign, so that each covers 10° of the full circuit of the heavens. 'In this rejuvenated form', say the authors, 'the decans became an important component of the Hellenistic-Roman and later astrology, known in India and the Islamic world, in medieval astrology and finally in the European Renaissance.' The way in which the decanal lists are married up with the

non-Egyptian zodiac is investigated and lists are given of the Greek transcriptions of the names of the decan stars with identifications of their Egyptian counterparts. The lists of decans discussed in this volume are shown to fall into five families, apart from three anomalous examples which do not tie up with any of the main lists. Three of the families are closely related, they make use of the rising of stars and descend from the latest revision of the Middle Kingdom coffin star clocks. These three families are named: the Senmut Family, with examples from the Eighteenth Dynasty down to the Ptolemaic period; the Seti 1A Family and the Seti 1C Family, both with examples confined almost entirely to the Ramesside period. The fourth family, that of Seti 1B, uses the transit of stars instead of the rising. The earliest occurrence is in the Cenotaph of Sethos I belonging to the Twentieth Dynasty and the latest in Dendera in the time of Trajan. The fifth and last family, that of Tanis, is found in examples from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty down to the end of the first century A.D. It is suggested that it is probably 'a mixed and artificial list'. For each family the examples are listed, the decans occurring and their associated gods are given with the decanal names set out in transcription and in hieroglyphics along with variants. There are also some additional notes: in particular two rather long ones in which difficulties in the Senmut list are resolved. In conclusion all the decans from all the families are gathered together with some commentary and a table, which latter covers the Middle Kingdom coffin decanal families as well as those of later date which are the particular subject of this present volume. There is also a complete list of the associated gods.

The five planets, Jupiter, Saturn, Mars, Mercury, and Venus were known to the Egyptians, and appear, usually in that order, either by name or as figures, or both, on Egyptian astronomical monuments and in a number of papyri and ostraca of the Roman period. In the decanal lists the decans used in connection with the epagomenal days are so placed as to separate the outer planets, Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars, from the inner ones, Mercury and Venus. The Egyptian names of the planets were long ago correctly identified by Brugsch working from the Stobart Tablets. It is interesting to note that the three outer planets all have names compounded with Horus, whereas the two inner ones have individual names: *Sbg(w)* of unknown meaning and *D*: 'The Crosser'. In the plate volume seven plates are devoted to setting out all the writings of the planetary names including those found in demotic papyri and ostraca. A list is given of all the astronomical monuments on which planets occur and there is also a statement for each individual planet covering the occurrence, the variations in the form of the name, the associated deity figure, and other details.

Taking the ecliptic as the dividing line, the authors separate the constellations represented by the Egyptians on their astronomical monuments into northern and southern. As with the decans and the planets there is a catalogue of all occurrences and, for the northern constellations, an individual note for each one with details of spelling, pictorial representation, and commentary. A regrouping of the representation of the constellations on the Senmut ceiling is proposed, these having become confused by a rearrangement motivated by lack of space. The Foreleg (our Great Bear) and the standing figure of a female hippopotamus are the most striking figures amongst the northern constellations. Incidentally the Great Bear is the only northern constellation which can be identified. So far as concerns the southern constellations, which of course include those to which the decan stars belong, only Orion and the star Sirius can be identified.

The next section catalogues the occurrence of the zodiac on various post-pharaonic monuments with an account of the iconography sign by sign.

The concluding portion of the book deals with a number of miscellaneous texts, all of late date. Here, after mentioning the twenty-sixth dynasty inscription on a sighting instrument belonging to a star observer, Ḥor, and the early Ptolemaic inscriptions on the statues of Ḥarkhebi and of Khenty, a selection of Demotic and Coptic ostraca and papyri are listed with summaries of their contents. To this list is attached a most interesting table giving all known Demotic writings of the Egyptian names of the signs of the zodiac. The inscription of the astronomer Ḥarkhebi is translated so far as it is of an astronomical nature and is supplied with a commentary. It would have been useful if a plate had been given with a photograph and a copy of the text. In addition P. Carlsberg 9, P. Berlin 8279 and the Stobart Tablets, P. Carlsberg 31 and 32, P. Vienna D4876, P. Florence 8 and 44, P. Oslo Inv. 1336, all Roman in date, are published in facsimile and transcription, and are furnished with translations and commentaries. The matters dealt with in these texts include tables for the 25-year lunar cycle (309 lunations=9125 days=25 Egyptian years), other lunar tables, and planetary tables. Four of the texts are published for the first time.

At the end of the text volume there is an appendix on the subject of the four winds which appear on some of the Graeco-Roman monuments here published.

Finally there is a list of abbreviations, an index of the Egyptian names of the decans, etc., a subject index, and a set of additions and corrections to all three volumes.

In line with the purpose of the authors throughout the volumes of this book the study is mainly confined to the marshalling of facts; there is little speculation and no attempt at identification of stars; in fact it is more than once emphasized that, with the evidence at present available, all attempts at identification are futile. The amount of work done and the meticulous attention to detail are, however, most praiseworthy and a really definitive setting out of the data available for the study of Ancient Egyptian Astronomy has been achieved. It is a pity that almost all we know of this subject should appear through the filter of religious texts. No pharaonic texts comparable with those on mathematics or medicine have been found, yet the information presented by the religious texts and the Roman period Carlsberg Papyrus points, I think, clearly to their existence. It also points to an astronomy the only purpose of which was the measurement of time and the due observation of religious ceremonies. There was not the drive of an astrological theory, which however misguided, gave the astronomy of Mesopotamia a continuing and compelling reason for the exact recording and study of the phenomena presented by the sun, the moon, and the stars.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Introduction à l'égyptien pharaonique. By GERTIE ENGLUND. Pp. 133. Skriptor, Stockholm, 1969. \$ 6.

Miss Englund's aim in this little book is to prepare beginners for the tougher studies to be found in the grammars of De Buck, Lefebvre, and Gardiner (two of the three have more recent editions than the book acknowledges). By means of many examples grouped in phrase types according to ideas originating in Chomsky's *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, the author attempts to build up a working knowledge of the language that could, she hopes, lead straight on to the reading of texts. The first half of the book is devoted mainly to examples introducing some 350 signs, a wide vocabulary, and a bare minimum of grammatical explanation. The second part is an appendix with some seventy paragraphs on Middle Egyptian grammar, and about half the number on the main structural and morphological differences to be found in Old Egyptian and again in Late Egyptian, plus a selective sign list based on Gardiner.

There is undoubtedly room for an elementary study that could tearlessly introduce the beginner to Egyptian grammar; unfortunately Miss Englund has not written it. Without some guidance on transliteration, a hint on pronunciation, a word or two on biliterals and trilaterals, some general help on word order, considerable assistance on why *iwty* should become *jwty* in the next line or how 'venir' should be *ii* on one page and *jjj* on another, the beginner can only flounder. Miss Englund might have saved the book with a detailed scheme of cross-references, introducing new signs only with the aid of the list in the appendix, substantiating her examples by indicating the appropriate grammatical paragraph, reinforcing the grammatical point with the relevant examples, and so on. But beneath the examples there are references to less than a third of the grammatical paragraphs, and in the grammar section references back to less than a quarter of the phrase types. Thus the book, which is nicely produced with pleasantly drawn hieroglyphs by Lucie Lamy, could only be of use in the hands of a teacher already thoroughly familiar with the language.

ROBERT ANDERSON

Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt—a new study. By CYRIL ALDRED. *New Aspects of Antiquity*, ed. by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. Pp. 272, pls. 17 in colour and 120 monochrome, 6 figures. London, 1968. Price £4.20.

The epoch of Akhenaten is of perennial interest far beyond the limited circles of professional Egyptology, and the last decade or so has seen work and interest in the Amarna age at an all-time 'high' both within and without our discipline. Thus, it is not surprising that the new Thames and Hudson series of quality popular surveys in antiquity should include one on the Amarna period focused upon its most intriguing figure.

After a brief *Introduction* on the rediscovery of Akhenaten and his works from the nineteenth century to the present, the book consists of three main divisions: I, *The Context*, giving the basic background; II,

The Problems, discussing the main points of controversy; and III, *Synthesis*, presenting Aldred's own reconstruction of the reigns of Akhenaten and his successors. An Epilogue, chronological outline, notes to the text, and index round-off the book.

Part I takes into account the completely non-egyptological reader by outlining Egypt's agriculturally based society and the role of the king (ch. I), sketching Eighteenth-Dynasty history to the accession of Amenophis III (ch. II), and giving a twofold account of the reign of Amenophis, historical and cultural (chs. III–IV). Then Aldred presents (ch. V) what he terms an 'orthodox' outline of events under the kings Akhenaten to Horemheb based on Breasted but with some retouches to include data that have become available only subsequently. Thus is the stage set for Aldred's own treatment of major facets of the period.

Part II is the 'meat' of the book, covering six 'problems' in six chapters (VI–XI). First comes that of Amarna family relationships. Aldred conjectures virtually a minor 'dynasty' of Masters of Horse closely linked with the royal family from Tuthmosis IV onwards. He suggests that a 'father of the God' Yey was at once father of Queen Mut-em-wia and of the famous Yuya (himself father of Queen Tiye). In turn, Yuya is postulated as father of Ay (chief courtier of Akhenaten and eventual pharaoh) and—entitled 'father of the God'—of a queen of that king. The queen in question is suggested to be Nefertiti as a daughter of Ay by a wife other than Ty. Yuya and Tiye apart, this entire scheme is conjectural; but it is not unattractive, and would make the marriage of Amenophis III to Tiye more comprehensible and less seemingly anomalous. It would also explain the consistently high standing of Ay from Akhenaten to his own accession as king—although the fact that Akhenaten had other wives besides Nefertiti (canopic jar of Kia, etc.) indicates that a daughter of Ay here may have been someone other than Nefertiti. Negatively Nefertiti's lack of the title 'King's Daughter' would favour non-royal origin, if indecisively.

Even more ticklish than Nefertiti's origins are those of Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun. The latter at least was definitely a king's son (p. 97) and his predecessor cannot conceivably have been less. But, then, of which king(s) were they sons? Modern autopsy suggests that the two were brothers (either full or half), on their close physical similarities, with one father. Various considerations make it very hard to believe that Akhenaten was that father (pp. 97–8, cf. briefly, *JEA* 53 (1967), 181–2), leaving only Amenophis III as a serious candidate. As Tutankhamun was only nine years old at his accession, this would impose a co-regency of Amenophis III and IV (Teutonic and Transatlantic opposition notwithstanding).

Thus as second problem (ch. VII), Aldred proceeds to lay out his case for an eleven-year co-regency of Amenophis III and IV, on the principal Egyptian data. Rather than debate this well-thrashed topic for the *n*th time, the reviewer limits himself to occasional *marginalia*. One notes that Aldred's interpretation of the Gurob papyri (pp. 110–11) gives a more 'economical' view of people and transactions than would the addition of a decade-and-a-half extra required by the anti-co-regency lobby. Aldred also cogently exposes misapprehensions concerning twin court-establishments (103 f.), different viewpoint of foreign rulers (105), and so on, on some of which compare already the reviewer, *JEA* 53 (1967), 179 ff. On the other side, it is *just* possible to turn the edge of the evidence of the Athribis block—see Redford, *History & Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, 1967, pp. 141–3 (appearing too late to be used by Aldred)—but not very convincingly (cf. *CdÉ* 43/86 (1968), 316). While Twelfth-Dynasty co-regencies furnish Aldred with suitable analogues for an Amarna co-regency, the case of Ramesses II as regent with Sethos I is less cogent in so far as Ramesses II counted his Year 1 only from his father's death (102/3). In conjunction with observations by R. A. Parker, Aldred would argue persuasively for reading the vexatious docket on EA 27 as Year [1] 2, not 2 (pp. 115–16).

The third problem tackled is the pathology of Akhenaten (ch. VIII), as illustrated by the monuments. That Akhenaten suffered from some inner disorder (endocrine or other) seems inescapable, but Aldred is wisely non-committal in weighing-up exactly what condition the pharaoh exhibits. Ch. IX gives detailed consideration to Tomb 55 of the Valley of Kings at Thebes. Aldred makes an attractive case for assuming that under Tutankhamun there occurred here the reburial of Queen Tiye, Akhenaten, and Smenkhkare, followed by a reopening of the tomb under the Ramesseses who would have returned (?) Queen Tiye to her husband's tomb in the West Valley, have destroyed Akhenaten's burial, and have desecrated that of Smenkhkare *in situ*. Harrison's recent work on the body from Tomb 55 (now pretty certainly that of Smenkhkare) is utilized.

In ch. X Aldred sketches salient aspects of Egyptian religion, especially solar, and the nature of Aten as heavenly ruler worshipped by Akhenaten and in good measure identifiable with him, while ordinary people adored the king rather than the god directly. In this, A. suggests, Akhenaten may in reality be harking back to hoary antiquity rather than truly innovating (pp. 185, 191–2). His most remarkable suggestion is that Akhenaten's iconoclasm against the gods (esp. Amūn) 'was perhaps the last great act of his reign'. Intriguing rather than convincing, on the present poor state of datable evidence. Finally (ch. XI), A. tackles the Amarna letters, rightly dismissing Albright's and Campbell's erroneous identification of the official Maya; there is little or nothing to choose between the alternative Mayas offered by Aldred (264 n. 42) and the reviewer (*JEA* 53 (1967), 179–80, modifying Spiegelberg). Aldred accounts for deposition of the tablets at Amarna by suggesting that they were superfluous once their data had been translated and transferred into regular Egn. papyrus-records, and so were discarded when Amarna was abandoned.

Part III outlines Aldred's own view of the reigns of Akhenaten (ch. XII) and his successors (ch. XIII), clearly and circumspectly, incorporating his findings on the problems as noted above. For the reign of Horemheb and the role of the Ramessides as the real obliterators of Akhenaten, his people, and his works, Aldred comes to conclusions close to those of Hari, *Horemheb*, 1965.

The *Epilogue* points out the weaknesses of various modern interpretations of Akhenaten's reign, such as church *v.* state, evolution and the individual, revolution and reaction, etc. The chronological table is idiosyncratic for early Eighteenth Dynasty (rather longer reigns than most would accept, also for Amenophis II), and the introductory note thereto seems unaware of the Theban attribution for Papyrus Ebers (with its Sothic date) offered by Parker in *Bi Or* 21 (1964), 64 n. 1. The notes document selected points; the bibliography is limited; and the index, comprehensive but rather incomplete (such people as Kia are omitted). On lesser points, *passim*, one may wish to differ, e.g. that the New Kingdom High-priesthood of Ptah of Memphis is 'an office that was customarily filled by the heir-apparent' (p. 94) is too sweeping and probably wrong—I know of only three princes who held that office.

This book is attractively produced, as one has come to expect from the house of Thames and Hudson. The plates include not only standard pieces but also well-known things not usually illustrated and some very recent items (e.g. the Brooklyn Ay, p. 66). The colourwork is mainly good (XVII is biliously off-true). The book is a handy outline of most of the main facts, clearly presenting Aldred's own view but with some indication of differing viewpoints; it will serve in some measure as a well-produced 'interim report' on a fascinating epoch. In Amarna studies the great need is now for full publication of known data and recovery of new material, rather than endless discussions on the same ground. K. A. KITCHEN

Ikhnaton, Legend and History. By F. J. GILES. Pp. viii, 255, xvi pls., 11 line drawings, 3 maps. Hutchinson, London. 1970. Price £2.75.

This is a debunking book and lovers of beautiful legends are warned that it is not intended for them. The author has adapted a thesis undertaken some years ago at University College London, to form a popular historical work intended to answer certain questions for the informed layman. Just how far he succeeds in his aim only time will tell, but it should be emphasized that this is not a general history of the period, nor is it intended to provide yet another discussion of the religious views of the 'heretic' king, but rather sets out to answer certain specific questions and to show the problems connected with the attempt to answer them.

Dr. Giles, as befits an iconoclast, lays about him with his weapons; no theory or preconceived notion is safe from them, and no scholar who has written upon the period, save only Petrie, escapes the hail of blows that descends on all and sundry. Some might detect a preconceived idea behind the author's theme in the constant return to two basic propositions, namely the insanity of the subject of the book and the constant insistence on establishing co-regencies throughout the reign. But nobody can accuse him of being dull or not opening up new vistas in the study of an age which seems to exercise a constant fascination for both specialist and public alike.

The book begins with a review of the present state of Amarna studies, giving the author's own interest in Egyptology and its origins, and follows this with a short account of the early explorers and excavators of the site of Amarna itself. It must be pointed out that this synopsis was written ten years ago, as the author admits, so that some of the more recent views expressed are not included.

Part One of the book is a précis in four short chapters of the old accepted esoteric view of the period, the writer stressing the fact that Egyptologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries put together a picture of Akhenaten as a dreamer and idealist at variance with a harsh world of reality. The chief exponent of this now much modified theory is shown to have been Breasted, whose ideas were unfortunately further exaggerated by Baikie, Weigall, and many others, only to be yet further distorted by other writers in recent times.

According to this view Amenophis III left things to Queen Tiy and other court factions at the end of his reign, thus preparing the way for the dominant place of sun worship under Akhenaten. The latter became completely immersed in his new religion and neglected the government of the empire which as a result gradually fell to pieces under his incompetent rule. In the meantime the old cults were persecuted, monuments were defiled, names hacked out, and the country reached a state of revolt. Monotheism was established and art was freed from age-old restrictions. The end of this story is too well known to need telling here, the whole regime collapsed and under Tutankhamun a reversion to the old religion took place while the city of Akhetaten was abandoned.

The true picture is a very different one, Giles suggests. Amenophis was really a man of tremendous energy and a great builder, who himself began to construct shrines to the Aten, as a form of the sun god whose earthly embodiment he was considered to be, so that this cult had advanced to major proportions by the end of his long reign.

As stated at the beginning of this review, this study is intended to redress the balance and is therefore an iconoclastic work, so it should come as no surprise that the author is highly critical of the work of many contemporary writers on the Amarna age, Gardiner, Helck, Fairman, Seele, and Aldred being among these.

Turning to the archaeological evidence, he shows that the so-called mummy of Amenophis III is suspect as an identification and that therefore the arguments based on such material are extremely questionable. The status of Tiy is discussed at some length and in detail; perhaps more stress might have been placed on the evidence supplied by an offering table from Gurob which she dedicated to her deceased and deified husband 'The Osiris Nebma'atrē', surely very significant in that it implies that the dowager queen kept to the old forms of worship and was neither influenced by the new nor likely to have instigated it.

On another point the author seems to be somewhat inconsistent. This is the statement on page 49 that Akhenaten 'was apparently raised in Thebes'. Now it is fairly certain that no Pharaoh was ever brought up solely in one place, as indeed the author himself states in note 11, page 234: the location of the royal residence in Egypt is an important question often governed by purely geographical factors ('it is far more likely that there were a number of royal residences in Egypt among which the king travelled'). He thus refutes his own statement.

Akhenaten's marital status is next shown to have been polygamous, not monogamous as was once suggested. The view of the 'revolutionary' nature of Amarna art is somewhat modified, a salutary reminder to those who wish to see everything in this period as a break with the past. A warning is also given that secular art in houses and homes must also be used in any judgements of this material, for far too much has hitherto been based on funerary and temple art alone.

Another 'illusion' is shattered in the identification of the bust of Nefertiti from the workshop of Thutmose, which, if the author is correct in assigning it to the period of the abandonment of the city, may well have been a portrait of another queen. I leave it to the art historians to decide whether it may be Ankhesenamun as postulated by Giles.

The co-regency question, while no doubt vital to the author's view of the history of the age, produces nevertheless a rather lengthy and involved discussion for a popular book. It is in fact not nearly so amenable to proof as suggested here, and many Egyptologists have swung round against the idea during recent years; besides those quoted by Giles one can cite in particular Hornung and Redford.

The situation as stated by Giles produces some truly startling implications. For twelve out of seventeen years of Akhenaten's reign the old king was the senior partner and real ruler; following his death Queen Tiy acted as regent for the first six months at least of the new king's *sole* reign. Then there is a three years' association with Smenkhkarē to be accounted for, thus really allowing Akhenaten no independent rule at all, or at the most about $1\frac{1}{2}$ years on his own. For a ruler who succeeded as an adult this state of affairs is

very peculiar and a very unorthodox suggestion is given to account for it. The assumption is made, and it is a very big one, that Amenophis III would not have allowed Akhenaten to reign at all if he had become mentally deranged before his association on the throne; but what if such was the case afterwards? An old theory is now cited in support of this idea, namely that after showing signs of madness Akhenaten had to be removed from power and was therefore allowed to build Akhetaten as a residence and a place where he could be confined. The suggested regency of Tiy is thus accounted for, Giles argues, as well as Smenkhkarē's association, the brief period of real power being thus used to account for the religious persecution and damage done to monumental inscriptions.

The question of the legitimacy of the non-royal Queen Tiy's children and descendants and their acceptance as heirs and heiresses to the throne was first raised by Dr. Margaret Murray, and the author sees in this a strong reason for Amenophis associating with his eldest son by Tiy on the throne. This would be done well before his own death, thereby to prevent another prince who was the child of a royal heiress from seizing the throne before Akhenaten was firmly established. This theory certainly deserves more discussion than it has received.

Part III is concerned with the origin, nature, and distribution of the Aten cult. The old theory of the Mitannian origins of Aten worship is rightly dismissed as improbable together with the absurd identification with the Hebrew word *Adon*, 'Lord'. The textual evidence relating to the cult of the Aten, with and without the divine determinative, is traced back to the time of Ammenemes I in the Twelfth Dynasty, and especially to its period of growth under the early rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The widespread diffusion of the Aten cult is also discussed; in this context the recent discovery of traces of Akhenaten's building activity at Abydos should be mentioned.

Much the most interesting part of the book, I would suggest, is that concerned with foreign policy and the Amarna letters. Necessarily the treatment of this subject must differ from that of other writers in recent years such as Kitchen and Campbell, and the author takes a view that is probably highly novel to many readers, namely that the empire was not really lost at all during this period. Giles establishes an important difference between the system of territorial government used under the Egyptian and ancient oriental monarchies and that prevailing under later empires such as Rome, showing how lightly held and nominal much of this government must have been, local rulers being left in office with an Egyptian official merely there to report on what was going on. The temptation to rebel on the accession of a new and possibly weak Pharaoh was strong, and often abetted by the Hittite or other neighbouring kings. Given this premise a study of the Amarna letters, in themselves a very incomplete guide, furnishes a very different picture from that usually offered by history books.

The reader must form his own conclusions on much of this interpretation of what is still very difficult evidence to control historically. Considerable ingenuity has been expended by the author in grouping the tablets chronologically with the result that they are allocated to the last years of Amenophis III and the years of Akhenaten's reign up to the association of Smenkhkarē, a period of only a few years if the overlap of a long co-regency is assumed.

A few criticisms may be in order. The phrasing used is at times awkward, thus, for example, line 1, para. 2, page 11, 'I have attempted to achieve this double-barrelled aim', or the opening paragraph on page 39, 'Let us begin with a companionable conversation about a couple of corpses'. The sketch plan of Akhetaten on page 38 needs a scale and certainly a direction to indicate north. On page 68 Alashia is referred to as Cyprus, but this identification is far from being certain and has been disputed by some scholars. For 'Amenhotep' read 'Tuthmosis I' on page 115, line 7. For 'Hays' read 'Hayes' in line 21 on page 118. A criticism of a more general nature is that this book lacks an index, while it also does not employ standard abbreviations in the bibliographical notes. A popular book surely requires a selective bibliography in addition. The author has been ill served by the publisher in some respects, for a compressed page format has been used, the print being confined to a narrow area of the page and the margins so reduced that those on the outer side are only half an inch wide, giving a feeling of meanness. The plates and illustrations have also been pushed between the end of the text and an appendix, with little or no attempt to establish any relationship between them and the text.

Apart from these points the book makes stimulating reading and should provide the general reader with much interesting material.

E. P. UPHILL

The following additional comments are by Mrs. Julia Samson, who was at Amarna with John Pendlebury in 1936. She contributed a chapter to *City of Akhenaten, III*, on the Amarna Collection at University College London, on which she is again working.

Without extending the general review of this book I should like to mention some specific facts.

On page 59 Giles discusses the view that Nefertiti was 'disgraced' some time after Year 12, which, he says, is assumed from the replacement of her name on the walls of the Southern Palace Maruaten. He writes: 'the only change of this kind is in the Maruaten, where it is confined to a name change.' But this is not the only site of such changes, and they are not confined to name changes. In the excavation Report of Maruaten, *City of Akhenaten, I*, Leonard Woolley wrote that Nefertiti's distinctive attributes were blotted out with cement, her features re-cut and her head enlarged into the exaggerated skull of the Princess Royal. In another excavation Report (*JEA* 19) Pendlebury wrote that in the Great Temple inscriptions Nefertiti's cartouche had been erased—'in one case it had been smoothed over preparatory to being inscribed for Meritaten'. On another inscription the words 'born of the great royal wife' had been hacked away after Meritaten's name and a clumsy attempt made to alter the cartouche so that Meritaten's name should appear twice. The replacement of one royal name by another on Egyptian monuments is not uncommon, but to carve the same name twice so as to obliterate the hereditary link of an Amarna princess with her mother is most remarkable. In addition, there is an earlier reference (*JEA* 12) to the excavation of the North Palace, where Professor Whittemore wrote of the name of Meritaten being in palimpsest 'throughout the edifice'.

As Giles has omitted to quote the Amarna Aten Sun Hymn which expresses the beliefs of this pharaoh who was both innovator and reformer, it is important to assess Giles's views on sun hymns. He writes that 'the sun hymns of the Aton are very similar to older sun hymns'; but he gives as a reference for this statement H. M. Stewart's article in *JEA* 46, which concludes (p. 90), 'the contrast between Aten specimens and their precursors is on the whole very marked. The emphasis on universalist ideas is by no means comparable, and in matters of expression there are remarkably few parallels.'

Giles also writes of Akhenaten, 'We have no written works by him, or purporting to be by him.' But on the huge stelae surrounding the new capital city built by Akhenaten are the inscriptions he caused to be carved, giving his aims, and his dedication of the city to the Aten. Carved on tomb walls of the city is the Hymn to the Aten, which describes the Aten as his sole god, and elaborates the conception of the Aten as the beneficent creator of all living things in the known world of Palestine, Syria, and North Sudan, as well as Egypt. On this evidence Breasted¹ recognized Akhenaten as the earliest known monotheist, and an eminent authority of today has recently described the Hymn as 'the first truly monotheistic composition in the literature of the world'.² From this Hymn Akhenaten's universalist ideas are evident; and with a knowledge of the art of his city, unique in the whole history of Ancient Egypt, it is not unscholarly to describe him as an individualist.

But without such historical facts it is obviously difficult to assess Akhenaten in his own time, or the work of earlier scholars in theirs. J. S.

The Ancient Near East in Pictures relating to the Old Testament. Second Edition with Supplement.

JAMES B. PRITCHARD. Pp. xvi+vi, 396, 370 pls., 4 maps. Princeton University Press, London: Oxford University Press. 1969. £12.

This, the companion volume illustrating the now standard collection of ancient texts edited by the above-named author, was first issued sixteen years ago as the result of the co-operation of eleven scholars. The revised version now published is, to quote the editor, 'intended to enlarge upon and to illustrate the picture one gets of the past from texts, by providing in photograph and drawing the remains of monuments fashioned purposely for record, as well as of those common, but often more revealing, objects of daily life which have come from scores of archaeological expeditions'. The book is in fact intended for the average reader and the scholar who requires a general survey of such illustrations as are linked with the Old Testament narrative, and it is limited specifically to these needs. The field thus defined is nevertheless an enormous

¹ J. H. Breasted, *CAH* 1924.

² I. E. S. Edwards, *Introductory Guide to Egyptian Collections* (B.M. 1964), 96.

one as even a casual glance at the pages will show, and the book will undoubtedly serve the needs of the student who seeks information about the history and cultural background of the whole Near Eastern world.

Twenty-four museums in three continents were visited in search of material, although not apparently Cairo Museum, resulting in the most comprehensive selection of such material yet assembled, and, thank goodness, the deletion of a number of the old stock pictures in favour of new and refreshingly less familiar subjects. The editor stresses the fact that particular emphasis has been placed on objects in American museums, these sometimes replacing better-known pieces from European collections, those hardy evergreens of the standard textbooks. The illustrations are arranged in a vast corpus numbering 882 items, supplemented by four maps showing site locations, and comprising nine sections. Within these sections the normal arrangement is under the headings of topics, geographical areas, or chronological divisions, with directives when they appear under more than one heading. Failure to locate a picture by this method may be obviated by the use of a comprehensive index.

The descriptive catalogue lists concisely the significant points about each picture and cites references which may help the reader who desires further information. The second paragraph written in smaller type of each entry states, where possible, the present location of the object and its museum number; the provenance; date of discovery in years A.D.; material from which the object is made; size or indication of scale; attributed date, from either archaeological context (the safest and soundest system) or on the basis of style (less satisfactory) in years B.C.; references to publication, significant or convenient references to other publications and discussions; and the source of the photograph. Few publications are as thorough as this and the decision to list material and size of objects is particularly to be commended.

The illustrations cover the whole of the ancient Near Eastern civilizations and this review will confine itself to comments on the Egyptian subjects. The first section, 'Peoples and Their Dress', makes lavish use of representations in paintings, bas-reliefs, and statuary. It gives particular reference to ordinary people, kings and courtiers being found elsewhere. The first picture is a good example of the sources used, a scene of captives from the funerary temple of Saḥurē and now in the Berlin Museum. In general it may be remarked that the quality of the photographs is very good although at times they lose something when reproducing coloured originals in black and white. It must be owned that many details of the actual dress of the very varied peoples shown in this section are either reproduced on too small a scale or else are too indistinct for clear appraisal. But a general picture is given and Egyptian changes of fashion are immediately apparent as the illustrations follow one another chronologically.

The second section, 'Daily Life', is much more varied as might be expected and subjects range from jewellery to pots and ploughs. Here the Egyptian tomb scenes and wooden models are particularly valuable; one need only cite the delightful scene from the tomb of User-ḥet showing a barber doing the hair of an army recruit under a tree, or the adze from a foundation deposit at Deir el-Baḥri. Many crafts such as ivory carving are dealt with using both representations of the finished objects and ancient scenes of actual work. The notes are particularly helpful here. As always the Theban models, especially those of the Eleventh Dynasty, provide the most realistic of all glimpses of the hard work and drudgery of peasant and servant in those days; cf. no. 149. Music and games are also included.

Section three, 'Writing', uses sculpture to illustrate methods, the supreme figure of the seated scribe in the Louvre, reliefs such as Ka-ny-nesut's mastaba, actual palettes and materials, papyri, and examples of hieroglyphic writing. Curiously enough there are no examples of hieratic script included, the only piece from the 'Book of the Dead' shown being in linear hieroglyphs. Section four, 'Scenes from History and Monuments', includes protodynastic material, many New Kingdom wall scenes such as the Nineteenth Dynasty wars at Karnak, the Beth-shan stele of Sethos I, the Israel stele of course, and other topics relating to the Bible and the Exodus.

'Royalty and Dignitaries', as the title suggests, presents many fine pieces of sculpture, stretching from the time of king Djoser and the Old Kingdom Pharaohs down to the reign of Mernepthah and including some Saïte and late heads. Particular interest is shown in the Amarna period and the throne of Tutankhamun is featured, although the view of the rear panel is somewhat shadowed, losing much in being in black and white as does the Abydos scene of Sethos I being suckled by a goddess, no. 422, which may be contrasted with Hirmer's magnificent work in the context.

Section six, 'Gods and Their Emblems', presents much illustrated material of Egyptian religion as derived from funerary papyri, sculpture, reliefs, and tomb paintings as well as iconographic figurines. The relief of Isis dandling king Sethos no. 545, is here much more successfully reproduced. The next section, 'The Practice of Religion', shows the burial of the dead in the New Kingdom, the weighing of the heart as depicted in the Papyrus of Hū-nefer, and the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony. It entirely ignores ordinary worship of a non-funerary kind, whether in temples or private chapels in the houses of the living.

Section eight, 'Myth, Legend and Ritual on Cylinder Seals', does not concern this review and the last section, 'Views and Plans of Excavations', falls down rather badly as regards Egypt. This, in many ways the most exciting and informative section, covers the vast field of modern archaeological field-work and excavation, sites and town plans, and also gives reconstructions of temples and prominent city buildings. But Egypt hardly features at all and the best that the compilers can do is to include two conventional views of the Step Pyramid and the Sphinx. Of what real relevance to biblical history and archaeology? Surely a few views of the vast site of el-'Amarna with its huge areas of domestic buildings belonging to the age just prior to the Exodus, and possibly some reconstructions of typical dwellings such as those of Seton Lloyd would have been most informative, and would also provide an account of both archaeological work and techniques and a fascinating picture of daily life at this period.

Again why not a view of Heliopolis, the great religious and university centre of ancient Egypt and one of the cities mentioned in the Old Testament, thereby bringing the subject right on to the biblical scholar's home ground, not to mention the palace of Merneptah discovered by Fisher at Memphis? Here is a magnificent example of a contemporary monument on the largest scale completely neglected by all standard books; yet the museum in Philadelphia is full of material discovered in it.

The supplement only contains one scene of the Sea-Peoples from Medinet Habu, being mainly concerned with the newly excavated sites in Israel, and such interesting hoard finds as the copper objects from the cave of Nahal Mishmar.

In conclusion this book fulfils the purpose for which it was designed in an admirable way, and is to be commended to all libraries seeking a reference work of illustrations for the student, that is both clear in its purpose and adequately documented and annotated.

E. P. UPHILL

Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr. By MANFRED BIETAK. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, 97. Band. Berichte des Österreichischen Nationalkomitees der UNESCO—Aktion für die Rettung der Nubischen Altertümer, v. Pp. 188, 19 pls., 14 tables, 34 text-figs., 1 map. Wien, 1968.

This volume really constitutes the summing up of the results of a series of studies devoted to the Austrian archaeological expedition's work in Lower Nubia. It is also, as will become apparent, of far more than ordinary interest in that the author has here done nothing less than forge a new archaeological tool of the utmost importance and of great significance to all future Egyptological studies and field-work. Such advances in technique are sufficiently rare that they may be hailed as major events in the story of Egyptian and Near Eastern archaeology, and for this very reason require far closer scrutiny than is normal in book reviewing. Consequently we make no apology for devoting what may at first glance appear to be an inordinate amount of space to a single volume dealing with an area rather remote from the main course of history and not very exciting from the cultural point of view.

We shall therefore in this review deal rather with the methodology employed by the author in his work and assessment of material, and pay less attention to his actual results and the historical statements made here, which are more relevant and can be better understood if the volumes previously published about the work of the Austrian archaeological expedition are read in conjunction with this contribution.

The importance of filling historical lacunae by archaeology in this area, and of learning more about the Pan-Grave and C-Group people, is pointed out in an introductory note by Dr. Gertrud Thausing, who coins the phrase 'Historical Desiderata' for this. Again as the author himself points out in his Foreword this material must be used to form a relative chronology for the area, with where possible 'absolute' dating by cross referencing with Egyptian finds; then these so-called 'C-Group', 'Pan-Grave', and 'Kerma' cultures

may not only be better understood but also seen in perspective, not only from the point of view of the Egyptologist but also from that of the Africanist, which is equally important in this respect.

Thus the study begins with a useful map of Lower Nubia showing the positions of sites at which important finds from these cultures have been made, as well as marking the important Middle Kingdom fortresses. The area covered stretches from North Kubanieh to Mirgissa in the south and employs the first series of clearly defined symbols which are used throughout all the plans and charts that follow, and which have been of great service to archaeologists since the war especially in work in Nubia by field workers such as Adams. Thus ● = C-Group cemetery, ■ = C-Group settlement, △ = Pan-Grave culture, ▣ = Kerma-Culture, and so forth. The saving in time by those examining these maps and charts may be readily appreciated by a comparison with those of older type which do not use them.

Because some indication of the context of the work undertaken must be given, Lower Nubia is first introduced as a geographical entity, its products, minerals and resources cited and the contacts and links with Egypt briefly recounted. These commence with Reisner's 'A-Group' in the period of the first three Egyptian dynasties, a discussion of the 'B' and 'C-Group' peoples naturally following, and the period ends with the establishment of the New Kingdom and the expansion southwards by the Eighteenth Dynasty, c. 1550 B.C. The two Intermediate Periods thus become of great importance here as in Egypt itself.

An account of the discovery and exploration of C-Group material is included before the aim and methods of the study are set out. These methods are of particular interest both to the specialist in the area and also to those concerned with the direction that Egyptological and archaeological studies in general are taking, both in the field and in the *analysis* which must follow excavation.

The method used for obtaining a relative chronology is clearly set out in the text. The first line of approach is through objects found in the cemeteries and graves. The settlements next provide objects in stratified context which help to fill a gap in material evidence. The one-sidedness of material purely derived from a cemetery must therefore be allowed for. To obviate this to some extent, a special method of dealing with cemeteries when excavating was evolved, which is explained in the first four text-figures. The accumulation phases showing the general growth and development of the cemeteries are ascertained with the help of what are termed Type Propagation Charts. These are in the form of fourteen tables arranged in grid form showing in columns the different pottery types and their frequency by tabulating each grave with its number and marking with a dot when it produced a certain class of ware. By this means it was possible to show the development pattern.

Given some information on the date of some classes of ware it is thus possible to build up a sequence of ceramic and other material, and then apply the results to the contents of individual graves to ascertain which form the majority in each case. Then the graves can be also sequenced and thus dated early or late in a cemetery and in the general history of Nubia itself ultimately. In this manner it is possible to see clearly for the first time how a cemetery developed in a particular direction from say south to north, or else how it spread out from the central area in two different directions as is the case at Toshka. Here then is a most important and fundamental advance in the principle of sequence dating established originally by Petrie and now exploited in new and advanced methods. Such methods enable diagrams to be made of purely local and thus relative chronological value, and can also be used in conjunction with constructional features and developments observed in graves.

The method for establishing absolute chronology was both a simple and commonly adopted one involving cross-dating with objects and material already datable from Egyptian contexts. Waves of Egyptian settlers and invaders brought clearly recognizable material into this area at clearly defined points of time. How absolute the term 'absolute chronology' can be said to be is a question raised by the author at the end of his introduction, the one followed in this study being that used by Hayes in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, but the space allowed for the New Kingdom differs from the shorter chronology of Parker, 1957, and those of Helck, Hornung, and Beckerath. This reviewer feels that when those of Redford and other recent writers are added, the discrepancies become sufficiently wide to suggest that such countings must be considered accurate only to within a ten- or fifteen-year period at best and not exactly fixed schemes.

The main part of this study is concerned with a detailed analysis and discussion of the material used for the establishment of the relative chronology, which has been gathered from a wide variety of sites, Aniba, Kubanieh, Toshka, Ermenne, Shellal, Moalla, Gerf Husein, Kubban, Wadi Alaqi, etc., and it will be

noted that the bulk of this material is from cemeteries. In all about fifty-seven have yielded material, only a small part of the total coming from five settlement sites, Aniba, Wadi el Arab, Areika, Faras, and Sayala. Consequently the reader must, as is so often the case, be on his guard against forming an impression that is biased, being based on a funerary view of civilization rather than seeing it as it should be, in the context of a projection of the life of the neighbouring settlements and towns and nothing more.

Many of these cemeteries are large and contain many graves, but as always with such material it must be kept in mind that the length of time these were in use should be allowed for before any serious deductions can be made as to the importance and size of local communities. Witness the fatuity of the wrangles of Petrie and Peet in this journal as to the length of time to be allotted to certain predynastic communities whose cemeteries were the main source of their information, the one extending the chronology inordinately, the other reducing it as it suited him. This is in fact where the method used in this study becomes most valuable, for instead of guessing how many graves were included in one generation, or even merely predicting a statistical number for such a period of years, by showing the growth of such burial areas most informative and useful material can be gathered to control policy in making such assessments. Thus, for example, Aniba N. cemetery dug by Steindorff before the Second World War, contained about 1,000 graves, the largest of which were scattered about at the north and south ends of a tightly packed burial area, and were large C-Group tumuli, some being over 10 m. in diameter. In the centre of this densely filled cemetery, however, were the old 'stone circles' which can be clearly distinguished and understood better if drawn on a separate plan as is done here (Fig. 6). These being the earliest graves constructed on this site, it is important to see what objects and archaeological material can be associated with them. Accordingly the plan marks those which have stone stelae with another of the characteristic symbols, Λ , and further adds information about those with certain types of pottery, thus $\blacktriangle = 1a7$ (of corpus). The reader is able at a glance to distinguish which of them have yielded this type of ware, without having recourse to consulting endless lists and inventories and then if wishing to pursue the point further can refer to the pottery illustrated at the end of the book, where on pl. 1 not only are the representative wares of type 1a reproduced in detailed and excellent drawings, but there is also provided a useful little sketch plan and sectional elevation of the original tumulus itself. This not only shows the construction but also indicates the position of the body and reproduces the stone stelae associated with this burial. We have only one criticism to make of this system: the pottery, if drawn to scale, has no indication of that scale shown on the plates alongside it. While this can be ascertained by consulting the original archaeological reports this aid ought nevertheless to have been included for purely technical reasons. Otherwise this detailed and orderly system of classification can only be described as admirable. It is clear, concise, easy to use when the book is properly consulted, shows the direction of north in relation to the illustrated burial mound, and thereby not only follows correct archaeological usage but also gives anyone interested in the religious ideas that possibly lay behind the orientation of crouched burials, the direction the face is turned towards, and on which side the skeleton was placed.

Returning to the original figure plan, one finds it also refreshing to see a proper archaeological grid set over the area planned, these squares again being in standard sizes such as twenty metres square. Without wishing to labour the point, it is a fact that all too commonly archaic ideas and standards of excavation have prevailed in the Near East when it comes to both surveying and planning archaeological sites, and many field-workers in the past have neglected to use the basic and by now commonplace tools of their trade. It is refreshing then to find excavators who instead of bringing out the age-old excuses that sites in Egypt are too big or too difficult to dig by anything like the standards in general use in Western Europe and America, have as a policy used every modern technique and method available to produce work of the highest order. Again in the following figure (no. 7) the actual *growth* of the cemetery is shown by means of the ceramic tool described above, the humble polished incusted and decorated ware, type 1b for instance, acting as a guide, and if one can use the expression, blazing a new archaeological trail. 'Bowls with intertwined designs', 'Network designs', these terms take on a wholly new significance. Perhaps never since Petrie evolved sequence dating has pottery been put to such effective use in the Nile Valley or even possibly in the Near East.

Type after type is sorted out and its distribution over the whole cemetery area shown by repeated plans, in this way clarifying the whole position. Not only pottery but also such building features as grave chapels,

brick shafts, stone casing, vaulting, and objects such as figurines, weapons, and ornaments, are classified in the same way. Particularly interesting, although also extremely complicated and needing careful study by the reader, is the summary chart that appears on page 33. Here all the classes of grave construction and all the different artifacts are reduced down to a card index form, whereby each different item is expressed as a clearly defined symbol, almost mathematical in its precision, and registered on a squared chart. Such reductions will probably be used more and more in the future as computer work in such fields becomes common, and is a way of obtaining what might well be called 'patterns' of the development of sites.

The result is in a kind of step form with group *Ia* at the base, as is to be expected, and with arrows indicating movements through *Ib* both horizontally and vertically to a final culmination in *IIb* at the top and also to left and right of centre. On the way up, or down, the passage of time, the different styles of grave, their developments and contents, can all be seen in relation to one another. This system is then applied throughout all the cemeteries.

The settlements by contrast can provide little material for assessing in this manner when compared to the cemeteries so rich in finds, because so few have been excavated to date. Here, however, stratification can be studied in a way that is of course not possible on the cemetery sites, and correct order and sequencing of material are easier to establish as a result. Another great advantage of the settlement sites when used to try and establish the story of the development of these cultures is the fact that pottery and other objects are found in the *actual dwellings* of the people who once lived in this area, and so wares of certain classes, for example, can be seen in actual physical association with round huts with a central supporting post or a more regular rectangular-shaped house.

Four different layers or strata are recognized at Aniba and classified accordingly, being naturally integrated with discoveries from other sites. As a consequence of all this typological dating and classification it becomes absolutely imperative to have full and exact details of the shape, colour, and style of ware, decoration, and full documentation, where possible, of each example in the pottery corpus, and the author has given us a complete descriptive inventory to answer this need, running into many pages and copiously annotated. This corpus also includes known examples from the Pan-Grave and Kerma ware cultures as found in Lower Nubia. The discussion of relative chronology ends with a special section devoted to a comparison with the chronological findings of other writers, the views of Emery, Kirwan, Firth, and Steindorff being assessed.

Absolute chronology is a much shorter section of this work, there being much less material available for study, and makes extensive use of imported objects from Egypt, commencing with seals and other objects from the Sixth Dynasty and the beginning of the First Intermediate Period. Scarabs are quite frequently used and it should be borne in mind that these are never a very safe or reliable method of dating sites, tombs, or graves absolutely, owing to their small and easily transportable nature, so that they can often become displaced and out of context with the objects and levels they should be associated with, and can also be retained over the years as valued possessions or even deliberately manufactured in earlier forms for good luck. Taken in general and with objects around them that can definitely be associated, they are of value as forming a series of fixed points in time on which to base a chronology when all else is lacking. Larger objects may again have even more positive use in this respect. The material used here continues down to the New Kingdom and provides the framework for fixing the Second Intermediate Period and also seeing it in association with what was happening not only before and after, but simultaneously with Egypt itself.

The author's final discussion is in the form of an 'historical argument for the fixing of the absolute chronology' of the area. It has a useful survey of the geographical conditions prevailing in Lower Nubia at the time of the occupation of the C-Group people, remarks on the similarities of the A-Group pottery with predynastic Egyptian and Omdurman culture wares, and examines the textual references from Egyptian inscriptions, especially those of the Sixth-Dynasty tombs that refer to the lands to be found in this district such as Wawat or Iam. Similarly Middle Kingdom historical references are quoted and some from the Second Intermediate Period as well. A very full and comprehensive bibliography is included, all the pages being also copiously footnoted in exemplary fashion.

The final results may perhaps be best ascertained in the first table on page 165, which is a chart showing in a very general way what was happening chronologically in Lower Nubia between about 2300 and 1500 B.C.

It gives a bird's eye view of this in three columns, firstly relating to Egypt, then to Lower Nubia, and lastly on the desert edges of the Sudan, with arrows pointing out probable movements of peoples into and out of the area under discussion.

In conclusion it may justly be remarked that in this most important study, Dr. Bietak has not only helped to fill a gap in the history of an area that has in many ways remained a lacuna in history, but has also contributed something new to Egyptology in addition.

E. P. UPHILL

Egyptian Epistolography. From the Eighteenth to the Twenty-first Dynasty. By 'ABD EL-MOHSEN BAKIR. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque d'Étude, 48. Pp. xvii+122, 38 pls. Cairo, 1970. No price stated.

Handsomely produced by the press of the French Institute in Cairo, the present work originated as an Oxford thesis; later study and elaboration have accrued to make it a valuable contribution in which much of the basic material is presented in plates and transcriptions.

After a general introduction chapters are devoted to 'The Address', 'Introductory Formulae', 'The Complimentary Preamble', 'Terminal Formulae', and 'The Epistolary Style'. There is a full index to 'Epistolary Formulae' and another to 'Syntactical Usages' (this section is indeed much more than an index). The transcriptions and plates come at the end. In the discussion of technical terms (pp. 33 f.) it emerges that *sdm* was used of the receipt of a letter and *dd* of the sending of one; clearly, then, letters were read out to the recipients and dictated by the senders. Bakir shows that the names of recipient and sender are sometimes separated by a stroke which was formerly transcribed *n*; he proves that its function is merely to separate and points to similar cases in *The Heḳanakhḳe Papers* edited by T. G. H. James. Occasionally touches of archaism are seen in the syntax as when *sdm-n:f* is explained as a 'simultaneous present' in the manner of Middle Egyptian (p. 49); a further possibility is noted here, which also involves Middle Egyptian; it may be 'a true perfect because the sender is looking forward to the time when the letter is received'. Of *ddt-n S. n R* Bakir says (p. 49) that 'this form cannot be taken as relative, as such a form would designate past action in Late Egyptian'. The sender, however, may here be similarly looking at his action from the standpoint of the recipient, an epistolary usage frequent in Latin; a past tense then becomes logical. Locutions involving *ky* are carefully discussed (pp. 52-4) and a new explanation convincingly offered. Bakir shows that in the majority of cases this *ky* ends with the determinative of the seated man. He therefore argues that instead of translating *ky dd n* as 'another matter for' (e.g. Wenté, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 32, 'Another matter for the chantress of Amon Tauhenu') we should render 'the other (i.e. I) says to. . .', the *ky* being a polite circumlocution parallel to *b:k im* in Middle Kingdom letters. The matter is complicated, however, by an admission (pp. 54 and 82) that at a certain stage *ky dd* comes to mean 'another saying' as a formula of transition.

There is an enlightening discussion (pp. 517-61) of the gods involved in the complimentary preamble. Bakir thinks that *d: m:st*, which occurs in two letters (and is surely not, then, a *hapax legomenon*) is an epithet of Amūn meaning 'he who spreads righteousness'; here he is rejecting the view of Wenté, following Nelson, that Djeme is meant, his main point being that the determinative is a god. He finds that usually the sender begins by invoking his own local gods, while the names of gods in the neighbourhood of the recipient are then mentioned in the full versions of the preamble. The most frequent deities to appear are forms of Amūn, and correlations in time and place seem to work out more tidily than in the Heḳanakhḳe letters: see the discussion by T. G. H. James, *op. cit.* 124.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Les Inscriptions du Temple d'Opet, à Karnak. III. Traduction intégrale des textes rituels — Essai d'interprétation. By CONSTANT DE WIT. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, XIII. Pp. xxi+196. Brussels, 1968. No price stated.

Dr. De Wit here deals in full with the inscriptions published by him in 1958 and 1962 (cf. *JEA* 47, 168 f. and 50, 196). Purely geographical texts concerned with processions of Nile-gods have been reserved for another study; the important ritual texts and scenes are studied here. After a full bibliography a continuous

translation is given and this is accompanied, at the foot of the page, by a complete transliteration of the hieroglyphs—a useful expedient in the case of Ptolemaic texts and one conducive to a more concise commentary. A section follows devoted to notes on readings and on points in the translation; then comes a long discussion of 'Myths and Rites', after which there are shorter sections offering a 'General Synthesis' and 'Conclusion'. There is an index of words discussed and an especially valuable index of deities and their epithets.

De Wit shows in his 'Conclusion' that the mythological centre-piece of the texts concerns the conception of Amūn in his Osirian form. In the northern hall, which represents the West, Amūn-Osiris is buried; in the southern hall, which represents the East, he is reborn as a young solar god, Harpocrates-Amūn. The god Osiris-Onnophris is important here, and the presiding hippopotamus-goddess, Opet-Nut, is said to be his mother. It was in the temple of Opet, according to this tradition, that Osiris-Onnophris was procreated, born, and buried; his burial, however, was only a prelude to a new birth. Even from this summary it is obvious how heavily syncretistic the tradition is, and in his detailed discussions (esp. pp. 146–57) the editor brings this out very clearly. Behind the ultimate form of the tradition we can see the outline of the original doctrine: it was the sun-god Rē̄, identified with the Theban Amūn, who was born in this temple of Opet. This becomes particularly clear in text 233: *Rē̄ rises in Thebes, the justified Onnophris in the Mansion of his Procreation; he shines within it, in the Mansion of the Great Opet: his eyes illumine heaven and earth: his mother delivered him in the Mansion of his Birth. . . . He is powerful (wsr) on the throne of Rē̄-Amūn, who is called Osiris.* (Cf. the translation on pp. 109 f. from which I have diverged only in one small point.) In one case (107–8) Amaunet and not Isis appears as the consort of Osiris. The development of the syncretism is well illustrated in 31 E, where the text reads *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, he who created himself, the hidden ba of Osiris*, but where the editor tells us (p. 15) that the reference is to Amūn; this is borne out by the description of Amen-Rē̄ in 91 and 121 as *the noble ba of Osiris*. There can be no mistaking the significance of this: the supremacy of Osiris has involved the reduction of the greatest god of Thebes to the status of an Osirian manifestation. Early stages in the advance of Osiris can be contrasted; thus in the New Kingdom it is he that is described as the *ba of Rē̄*: see Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept*, 37. In the developed Theban tradition light is closely associated with Osiris, and this clearly arises from his equation with Amen-Rē̄; cf. now the discussion by Jan Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* (Uppsala, 1970), 89 ff.

De Wit's exposition of this theme and of others is instructive, lucid and well equipped with parallel data. Of special interest are his discussions of Opet as a possibly bisexual deity (pp. 159 ff.); the triadic statement which describes Thoth as the heart of Rē̄, the tongue of Tenen, and the throat of Hidden-of-name (p. 133 n. 262, where the last epithet, it is suggested, may refer to Osiris; one would expect a reference here to 40, 183, and 185, three instances where De Wit finds Amūn involved); the revivification of Osiris on the double-lion couch where his *ba*-bird (Amen-Rē̄) comes down to him (pp. 150 f. and 167); and the conflation of myths which allows Amūn to appear in these texts in several of the forms associating him with the Ogdoad of Hermopolis (pp. 157–9).

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Le Temple d'Esna. By SERGE SAUNERON. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Esna III. Pp. xxxvi+394, 3 pls. and many text-figures and plans. Cairo, 1968. No price stated.

M. Sauneron's labours at Esna have resulted in several admirable volumes and studies, and the textual record will be complete when the present book's successor appears (*Esna*, IV). *Esna*, V, where the religious festivals are studied, has already appeared, and provides translations of most of the texts here published, which embellish the eighteen interior columns of the hypostyle hall of the temple of Esna. These texts are happily in good condition and are not marred by any serious lacuna although many mutilations of individual signs occur. They belong to the first and second centuries of our era, and the editor rightly stresses their originality: they are not mere copies of material already known. They therefore constitute, as he says, faithful reflections of the main aspects of the religious beliefs which prevailed towards the end of the pagan period, the only proviso to be borne in mind being that they naturally have a strong local colouring.

In addition to the texts the columns bear numerous ritual scenes which are reproduced here in line-drawings. Various gods are figured on the upper parts of the columns and these are shown to relate,

usually, to the main text engraved below. Not unexpectedly, the lower portions of the texts do not normally maintain the calligraphy of the upper parts; the writing may become cramped and barely legible, except that on occasions when the remaining space proved larger than was anticipated, the writing becomes expansive and freely multiplies determinatives and phonetic complements. The temples of the Graeco-Roman era do not normally, of course, have texts on pillars. In date the texts of Esna range from A.D. 81 to 161 and their main theme concerns the religious festivals, attention being specially focused on the great festival of Khnum of Esna on Phamenoth 1st.

Producing a photographic record of this material was an extremely difficult task, as M. Sauneron shows. Nearly four thousand photographs were necessary and they have been used in checking the editor's direct copies. The ritual scenes are presented in elegant drawings by the late Pierre Clère and they were also checked and prepared from photographs as well as from a study of the original reliefs in which the editor collaborated. It is with evident skill that the press of the French Institute has produced the printed hieroglyphic text, expanding its fount to meet new demands. The method is clearly not the ideal one; as M. Sauneron himself remarks, 'il y a toujours une petite trahison à passer d'un original écrit à la main, où chaque signe est individualisé, à une édition typographique, où les formes sont *normalisées*'. There are frequent notes, however, on the exact shape of individual signs, and there is no aspect of the publication which does not confirm one's complete confidence. The editor ends his introduction with an understandable expression of feeling: he has spent fifteen years of his life on the texts of the temple of Esna, and the long, strenuous task has brought its intellectual compensations. He can be assured that the enduring excellence of his work will be widely appreciated.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple. By E. A. E. REYMOND. Pp. viii+355+11 figures. Manchester University Press, 1969. Price £3.50.

The reviewer was privileged to read this study in its first form when it was presented as a doctoral thesis in the University of Liverpool under the supervision of Professor Fairman. Since then it has been considerably elaborated; in its final phase it was afterwards cut down somewhat. The resulting book is not easy to read, but neither are the texts of the temple of Edfu on which it is primarily based. Dr. Reymond is to be commended for her skill and patience in her attempt to extract from these texts a doctrine of creation in which high importance is assigned to the sacred places.

An island emerging from primeval waters is the first phase of creation. It vanishes, but re-emerges, and in this phase of renewal appear the sacred places of the gods—the *Seat of the Creator*, the *Homeland of the Primeval Ones*, and eventually the *Perch*, on which the Falcon alighted. The *Perch* is the nucleus of the earliest temple, and around it was a shelter of reeds. What is significant here is that the origin of the temple is regarded as a primal part of the natural order of creation. The historical temple in Egypt is consciously and proudly derived from this primeval temple; local cult-centres adapted the doctrine suitably, so that eventually 'every temple in Egypt appears to have claimed to be the original place of the creation of the Earth' (p. 327). Indeed a text from Philae seems to claim that the temple there, late as we know it to be, existed before everything else, *when the earth was coming into being from night and darkness*: see Junker, *Abaton*, 9, where his version of the last clause should be emended; in the present work there is a reference to the text on p. 43, though the page-citation is wrong.

In this cosmogony the Earth-Maker or Ptaḥ is the main creator-god, and Tanen is his material form. Among the assistant deities are the Seven Sages, the Builder Gods, the Ogdoad, and the Shebtiw. The late lamented Rundle Clark once suggested verbally that the last-named, since they are active ministrants, might be connected with the well-known *Šwbtyw*, the term used of funerary figures. Dr. Reymond has made a good case for relating them to the verb *šb*, 'transform': they are 'transformers' in the process of creation; see her remarks in *ZAS* 87 (1962), 42 f. While her book concentrates on the exposition of the texts from Edfu, she reviews the other Egyptian sources for doctrines of creation in chapters 4 and 5. In chapter 17 the Memphite origin of the Edfu doctrine is urged. The argument is not easily refuted, in view of the prominence of Ptaḥ in the account of the earliest phases of creation. Ideas emanating from Heliopolis, Hermopolis, and Heracleopolis are also present, of course, as other chapters make clear. One of the most

satisfying chapters is that on 'The Homeland of the Temple', where archaeological evidence from the Archaic Era is cited in illustration of some of the beliefs discussed. The primitive sacred enclosure involving a falcon on a perch is aptly exemplified from Petrie, *Royal Tombs* (here figs. 1, 3, and 4). These figures derive from Abydos and in relating them to statements in the Edfu texts, the author spans nearly three millennia—an impressive token of the continuity of Egyptian traditions. J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

The Origins of Alchemy in Graeco-Roman Egypt, by JACK LINDSAY. 1970. Pp. 451, figs. 71. Frederick Muller, London. Price £3.25.

Alchemy is 'the chemistry of the Middle Ages and 16th. c.; limited to the pursuit of the transmutation of baser metals into gold', as defined in the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary*. Without trying to contradict this statement, the author comes to the final conclusion that 'in the last resort it is the *unity of craft-process with theoretical thought* which is the great revolutionary mark of alchemy' (p. 391).

In this, his fourth book on life in Graeco-Roman Egypt, Jack Lindsay is making fresh discoveries on ancient and much-disturbed ground. His guiding lights are the two questions: how did alchemy come into being and what has Egypt contributed to its growth? Beginning with an outline of Greek scientific thought before alchemy, and having explained the origin of the word, he comes to the alchemists themselves including Bolus of Mendes (and his connections with Democritus of Abdera), the Persian Mage Ostanès, the mythical Hermes Trismegistus who is really the Egyptian god Thoth, Zosimus of Panopolis, and writers on alchemy who go under the name of 'Maria the Jewess', Isis, and Cleopatra.

As with its forerunners, the strength of this book lies in its numerous and lengthy quotations from a wide range of little-known literature, which is carefully cited—in fact there are over fifty pages of bibliographical and general notes; unfortunately, the same claim cannot be made for the line-drawing illustrations. To give only one example: the picture of the 'Ancient Egyptian goldsmith at crucible' would be of much greater value if its provenance and approximate date were indicated (fig. 5, p. 46).

Hermes-Thoth is the focal figure and 'highly important not only in alchemy, but in almost all the fields where revelation was involved' (p. 159). Quotations from Plato are given to prove that the importance of the Egyptian God Thoth was acknowledged in Greek philosophy already before the foundation of Alexandria. The position of Thoth in Ancient Egypt is noted as that of 'holder of the Divine Book', a minister and scribe who kept the Book of Government of the Sun-god, who sailed on the Sun-boat and defeated by his magic the Dragon Apopis who planned to swallow the Sun. We are told that 'by Graeco-Roman times Thoth as the high god's scribe had turned into the supreme philosopher and natural scientist' (163). Here more details would have been welcome of the kind given by A. J. Festugière: 'Dès l'antiquité la plus haute, Thoth fut identifié au dieu Lune, Ioh, adoré en Haute et en Basse Égypte: c'est peut-être en vertu de cette assimilation à la Lune que Thoth fut considéré comme l'inventeur de la chronographie. . . . Tout naturellement alors, on fit de lui l'inventeur de l'écriture et, par suite, de toutes les branches de science et d'arts qui dépendent de l'écriture et sont attachées aux temples' (*La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, Paris, 1941, 67). The research into the origins of alchemy is the more difficult because the first practitioners (the word alchemy itself in its present form came only with Islam) were philosophers, in the sense that they searched for ultimate truth; they were mystics in their language and their secretiveness and artisans in their technique.

Apart from being a rich quarry of information this book has certainly succeeded in giving the spiritual and intellectual climate of the period and place. KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS

Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Milano 2-8 Settembre 1965. Milan, Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, 1966. Price L. 900.

Six hundred pages of learned discourse from the Congress of Papyrologists held in Milan in 1965. About one-third of the papers deal with Greek literature; the remainder with the history and life of Greek Egypt from every possible angle.

Among the literature little is quite new. Rea's catalogue—a list of comic poets and their titles—is now POxy 2659. Most substantial is Bartoletti's anthology, with notable new snippets of Euripides and Menander;

more interesting, the drawing of Agnoia, which Turner derives from an illustrated text of the *Perikeiromene*. Other speakers made contributions to the interpretation of texts already published. Among the more substantial, Barigazzi discusses the elegiac epigrams in the Guéraud-Jouguet school-book; Davison takes three major problems from the 'Comment on Lyric Poems', POxy 2506, and conjectures further that the whole work is biographical, perhaps even Satyrus himself; Gigante proposes interpretations and supplements for POxy 2450, the new piece of Pindar's νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς. The first great papyrus find, that from Herculaneum, has been among the most neglected. Here Sbordone carries on his important work with improvements to the text of Philodemus *De Poetica*.

The documentary entries are very various. Egypt may be seen in the general context of the Mediterranean world: its evidence is outstandingly important for some imperial issues, thus the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (A. D'Ors) and the *Edictum de maximis pretiis* (Bingen); general aspects of its history may have a wider interest: the decline of the Hellenistic kingdom (Préaux), the dark age of the fifth century A.D. (Rémondon). Others take narrower but still continuous facets of the papyri: Bonneau discusses the evidence for the height of inundation; Biezunska-Malowist that for freedmen; Lewis gives another of his indispensable papers on the liturgical system. More detailed still, we have Samuel on the powers of the Ptolemaic oeconomus, Cadell and Uebel on the salt-tax; Oates collects documents and compiles a prosopography as a basis for a demographic study of Philadelphia in the Roman period. On the legal side, Seidl discusses the obligation of a daughter to maintain her parents; Biscardi manumission *μεταξὺ φίλων* in the third century A.D.; Volterra the application of the SC Orfitianum in the same period. Among linguistic papers I note as of special use Triantophyllopoulos on *κουριωσος/curiosus*; and O'Callaghan's assembling of patristic references to papyrus and other writing materials.

Some speakers chose to report on work in progress, or to plan for the future: thus Herrmann draws attention to the collection at Pommersfelden; Tomsin discusses computer applications in papyrology; Snell appeals for a resumption of digging at Herculaneum.

Much of this material, then, has its uses. Little of it is particularly suited, in matter or in style, for oral presentation at an international gathering; nor is there any common theme to unite the parts. I for one wish that the papers of congresses would make their own way to print in the usual journals: we might be spared these fat volumes of heterogeneous learning, which are likely—whatever they may say for the vitality of our subject—to crush the reader and confuse the bibliography.

P. J. PARSONS

Studien zur Papyrologie und Antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Friedrich Oertel zum achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet: ed. HORST BRAUNERT. Habelt, Bonn, 1964. Price £6.5.

Papyrological literature has few classics; and one of them is Professor Friedrich Oertel's *Die Liturgie*. It is proper then that this volume of essays, presented to him on his eightieth birthday, should be of unusually high standard. I pick out the contributions which, for their subject and quality, are most likely to interest readers of this journal.

Welles publishes PYale Inv. 494, which though scrappy adds to the tenuous evidence for the farming of grain-taxes in Ptolemaic Egypt.

Heichelheim suggests reading]Ξ<ε>ιφρου in POxy 2435 verso 4: a new stage in the early career of Tiberius' favourite.

Youtie revises POxy 40. This text, as it stands, records an interesting scene in which the prefect tests the qualifications of a public physician by asking a technical question. Much that was extraordinary in the papyri has dissolved under Professor Youtie's gaze; and this is no exception. The revised text is a conventional delegation to the strategus.

Braunert publishes an Hermopolite house-lease of A.D. 330. The text itself may need revision at points. But the commentary is extensive and full of material.

Peremans collects and assesses the scanty evidence for bilingualism in Ptolemaic Egypt: a fascinating topic.

Kupiszewski surveys the discussion (since Mitteis) about the relation between Roman, provincial, and local law in Egypt: in particular two institutions which he believes were local creations which then found their way into the general law of the empire—*longi temporis praescriptio* and *protopraxia*.

Tomsin deals with the history of the great estates (first under their possessors, later as usiac land), and the procedures used to keep them in cultivation.

Zucker analyses the formulae, and their origin, by which *kleroi* come to be identified by proper names.

Grohmann discusses the administration of Egypt in the first century of Arab rule, and concludes that it was in general decent and efficient. He shows how the basic Byzantine structure was retained, and how Arabs gradually appear in the more important offices.

Schiller presents an interesting bilingual archive of the seventh century: legal action over a mortgage, documented by two Greek papyri in the British Museum and by a Coptic record of the hearing now at Columbia.

Straub looks at the tax *ἀερικόν*, with special reference to *SHA Niger* 7. 6.

Lauffer re-edits and greatly improves a stone fragment of the *Edictum de Maximis Pretiis* from Pherae in Messenia, first published in 1911. This is a preliminary for his complete treatment of the document, which has just (1971) appeared.

P. J. PARSONS

Papyrologica Bruxellensia: (3) *La Sitométrie dans les Archives de Zénon*. By T. Reekmans, 1966; (4) *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri*. By R. A. Coles, 1966; (5) *Le Bordereau d'ensemencement dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque*. By P. VIDAL-NAQUET, 1967; (7) *Papyri Variæ Alexandrinae et Gissenses*. By J. SCHWARTZ, 1969; (8) *Epimerismos*. By G. POETHKE, 1969. Prices in Belgian francs: (3) 200; (4) 125; (5) 120; (7) 230; (8) 220.

These five monographs each contribute something to our knowledge of the life of Graeco-Roman Egypt. The whole series, elegantly produced and reasonably priced, is much to be commended. It provides for the publication in book form of short treatments of limited topics: a much greater gain to learning than if the same material were dissipated in articles or puffed up into volumes.

Dr. Reekmans is concerned with the Zeno Archive: specifically with the regular payments in wheat, flour, or bread which the management of the estate made to its employees. He tries to find a system in the extensive data which the archive provides, and concludes that the estate provided a daily or monthly ration adequate at first for subsistence; that bread, or wheat, or flour from which bread could be made, was the only solid food provided; that the quantity depended not on the social status of the recipient, but on the work he had to do (so adult slave-labourers get most); but the quality on sex, age, and rank (the ration is calculated to produce black bread, made from unbolted flour, for the labourers; white bread for women and children and the management). All rations appear to have been reduced by one-quarter from the 38th year of Ptolemy II: reason unknown. This is an imaginative contribution to our picture of the Apollonius estate. Incidentally it raises issues of interest to all students of Greek Egypt: the displacement of spelt by wheat under Greek influence (p. 68); the high cost of milling (14 f.); the quantitative relation between wheat and the bread produced from it (13); the calory needs of the individual (32 f.); and (though this is necessarily a slippery subject) the interesting comparison with the recommendations of Cato's *De Agricultura*.

Dr. Coles lists and surveys papyrus documents of a single genre: the reports (protocols) of legal proceedings: he discusses their origin (verbatim reports or summaries? which entail, or at least suggest, the existence of short-hand reporters?), and looks for a chronological pattern in the development of their basic formulae. Much is necessarily inconclusive. But the questions are eminently worth asking; the material will be of the first use to editors; the whole inquiry should be in the hands of historians who apply themselves to the *Acta Alexandrinorum* or the Christian Martyr Acts.

M. Vidal-Naquet is concerned with the *διαγραφή του σποροῦ* in Ptolemaic Egypt. He summarizes the divergent views which scholars have taken of this institution; then reprints the documents and discusses them in detail. Doctrine agrees in translating the phrase as 'Schedule of Sowing'; a specification by authority of what land, and how much, should be sown with what crops. The question is, which authority? The first view saw the schedule as a prime feature of the centralized economy: a plan for the whole country, drawn up in Alexandria. This large conclusion was undermined by the publication in 1954 of what is now PYale 36, which shows such a *diagraphē* being prepared by a toparch. The author accepts the consequently modified doctrine, that the Schedule was in fact drawn up by local officials in view of local

conditions—but insists that it was still an authoritarian scheme, in which the peasants being prescribed for will have had no voice, however much they could in the event disregard or sabotage it.

Professor Schwartz publishes various papyri from Alexandria and from Giessen. **1-13** are a mixed group, for the most part ameliorations of texts published in *PAlexandrie*; the most interesting novelty is **1**, which provides yet another example of the activity of the Severan procurator Clau. Diognetus (see *CdE* 1963, pp. 128 f.). The remaining forty-eight texts, almost all unpublished, come from the dossier of Apollonius the strategus. In the main they are fragmentary and difficult. Note especially: **15** census-return, an *ineditum* provides the top of PBremen 34; **18** census return which like PBremen 32 has the extraordinary feature of a demotic subscription; **25** the official report PFlor 326 now completed by a Giessen fragment; **43** a scrap of letter to Apollonius mentioning 'the walls and pillars of the theatre here'; **57-60** more letters from Apollonius' mother Eudaimonis, notably **58** (almost complete) which enjoins Apollonius to look after himself amid the disorders of the day (the Jewish revolt, presumably). For the most part, then, this volume is a preliminary study for Professor Schwartz's eagerly awaited re-edition of the whole Apollonius archive.

Dr. Poethke's subject is the compulsory assignment of land for cultivation. The general scene remains much as Wilcken sketched it. But the collection of evidence, and discussion of the history, mechanics, and terminology of the *epimerismos*, is exemplary. An extremely useful book for the papyrologists; and of interest to historians of *adiectio sterilium* in the empire. P. J. PARSONS

Menander's Dyscolus. Introduction, text, textual commentary and interpretative translation by *WARREN E. BLAKE. American Philological Association, Philological Monographs No. 24. New York, 1966. £3.97½.

When the late Professor Blake began his Introduction to this posthumously published edition there were already 'over a dozen' editions of *Dyscolus* on the market. By the time this one appeared there were two dozen, among them Handley's excellent English one. The chief value of Blake's edition is that it reproduces the plates of the papyrus from the *ed. pr.*, which is now out of print. These are perhaps slightly less well defined than the original plates, but still worth having as a substitute. Apart from this an English reader will find Handley's edition more helpful.

Blake's interest was in the text: the Introduction describes and discusses the papyrus, and the commentary is textual. Much of the material traditionally found in exegetical commentaries is incorporated in the translation and stage directions, an admirable procedure. But there is hardly any comment on dramatic technique or linguistic usage, except when these are relevant to the solution of a textual problem or to the distribution of lines among the characters. On these occasions Blake's incidental remarks reveal a sensitivity to interesting and important matters whose ruthless subordination to textual discussion can only be regretted—the more so as Blake's own contributions to the text are sometimes wild and rarely compelling, and many have been anticipated by others. There are good discussions of part distributions (e.g. on 906-31), based on a firm but by no means blind belief in the reliability of the papyrus; and Menandrian scholars will often find his arguments worth attending to, even when they reject his conclusions. But it cannot be said that the constitution of the text is much advanced by this edition.

The translation is generally accurate, though I dislike 'and you don't need to worry now' for *μάτην δὲ κακοπαθεῖς* at 348, 'seem' at 356 and 'Morality' for *τοῦ τρόπου* at 742. It also reads well enough, though I think it would have been better in prose than in seven-beat iambic lines. Without the added constraint of having to fit the words into a metrical pattern, Blake could have concentrated even more on conveying the exact nuance of each phrase; and in fact the style and diction of the translation are so prosaic that it is hard to read it as verse at all.

One of Blake's rarer qualities is his constant awareness of the stage situation and his visualization of the *Dyscolus* as a play being performed. The text is enlivened again and again by the stage directions, but even here a mild complaint must be registered. The job of a commentator or translator is to extract from the text every indication that it contains of stage business; he must tell us what the text *dictates*. Great harm will result if this is confused with the job of the producer, who has to decide how to bring the text

to life on the stage, and may to this end add any number of gestures and movements which the text *allows*. Does Pan have to snort at the end of line 10? Must Sostratus pause and wipe his forehead after the first word of line 54? Must he rub his chin thoughtfully at 135? Let the producer add these touches if he will; there is nothing about them in the text, and they add nothing to our understanding of the text. Blake's directions are, however, hardly ever wrong; but I was surprised to see that Getas at 458 'winks at Plangon, who stares at him with open mouth'.

In short, though there is much to praise, only the Menandrian scholar need feel obliged to consult this edition; and he will probably find that it is near enough to hand if it is in the nearest library.

P. G. McC. BROWN

Le scene d'annuncio nella tragedia greca. By LAMBERTO DI GREGORIO. Milano, Vita e Pensiere, 1967. Pp. viii+109. L. 3000

This dissertation, for all its erudition, is not the place to go for a balanced account of the interesting things that may be said about messenger scenes in Greek Tragedy. For that one still cannot do better than the excellent monograph of Fischl.¹ Di G. has put all his weight on a theory about the *evoluzione strutterale* of narrative scenes; and the foundations of the theory are not solid enough to carry it. He has to break down any distinction between set-piece anonymous *ἀγγελίαι* which narrate in vivid detail an important event, and any speech or scene with some narrative content. This is the purpose, though not always explicit, of much of the first two chapters (3–32). The other chapter (33–97) argues that the conventional scenes, which are familiar from Euripides and Sophocles and which most of us (like Aristophanes) think of as messenger scenes, are a later solidification which developed from an embryonic form of scene of which we still have traces in Aeschylus, though already in transition. Both these theses are, on our limited evidence, implausible. Firstly, in any structural analysis, such as Di G. is attempting, it is not surely the narrative element alone which distinguishes messenger scenes, for that would include certain prologues, *parodoi* and other anomalous elements; it is rather a fluid combination of the anonymous narrator, the conventional form, and, above all, the structural function of the scene within the tragedy. Thus on this last count we must distinguish the kind of messenger or herald, who prepares for some central event, from the more usual one who later in the play describes the event, and who is, as a rule, followed by the 'survivors'. We have no good reason to suppose that these two kinds of scene stem from a common root. Secondly an intractable stumbling block to Di G.'s theory of evolution is the remarkable *lack* of narrative speeches in Aeschylus; and those that there are share disquietingly few features with those in Sophocles and Euripides. The one and only 'aftermath' messenger, that in *Sept.* has two speeches, which are very short and contain no detailed narrative. Of the three *κῆρυξ*-type messenger scenes (*Pers.*, *Sept.*, *Agam.*) that in *Sept.* is unique, both in internal structure and in its function within the play (cp. Fischl, pp. 62 f.).

Di G. sometimes has to view scenes from a distorting angle in order to make them fit his thesis. Take, for example, his treatment of Aesch. *Supp.* (pp. 37–52 in particular), which he takes to be our earliest surviving tragedy. The play is central to his argument, since he holds that it preserves the earliest form of tragedy consisting of a series of narrative speeches, which lead into choral songs, epirrhematic scenes, or stichomythia. There are four messenger scenes '*se non di nome, di fatto*' (p. 36): 176 ff., 600 ff., 710 ff., 980 ff. But two of these (176 ff., 710 ff.) are not even news brought from offstage; they are Danaos' reports from his look-out post of what he sees in the distance and his consequent advice. They are, in fact, a kind of extended entry announcement, and as such are unique in surviving tragedy (though there may be another vestige at *Agam.* 489 ff.). Any structural account of 600 ff. must take into consideration the similarity of *Pers.* 598 ff., and maybe also of *Eum.* 276 ff. In each case an episode consists solely of a short rhesis by an actor, who then stays on stage for the song which his rhesis provokes. A narrative element is not in any way essential to the structural technique. In any case in all four *Supp.* scenes the narrative element is

¹ J. Fischl in *Dissertationes Philologicae Vindobonenses*, 10 (1910). Recently there have been several theses on messenger speeches, but all are unpublished and not easily available. They include those by B. M. W. Knox (Yale, 1948), A. G. Barker (Manchester, 1955), J. Keller (Tübingen, 1959), G. Erdmann (Kiel, 1964), and D. Stanley-Porter (London, 1968).

minimal. Indeed we might go so far as to say that, if the narrative speech was the *embryone* of tragedy, then Aeschylus has developed a good deal further from these beginnings than Sophocles or Euripides: he shows considerable skill in *avoiding* plain narrative, particularly in the *Oresteia*.

A reader of this *Journal* might look for discussions of any messenger speeches which may have turned up on papyri. He will find a text and discussion of the fragment of Aesch.'s *Glaukos Pontios* (*P.Oxy.* 2159=273 Ll.-J.=55 M) on pp. 65-8, and of the largest fragment of Soph.'s *Euripylus* (*P.Oxy.* 1175 fr. 5=210P) on pp. 92-5. But both are treated almost exclusively in the light of the theory of 'structural evolution'. Other papyri are disregarded, even though they include such intriguing and relevant fragments as *P.Oxy.* 2369 from Soph.'s satyric *Inachos* but based on tragic technique, Eur. *Alexandros* fr. 18 Snell, and the Queen's account of the previous night in the 'Gyges fragment' (*P.Oxy.* 2382), which some consider to be from a very early tragedy.

I hope it is not unfair to say that this book, which is packed with learning, is of more interest for its discussions of the views of modern (and ancient) scholars, than for its discussion of Greek Tragedy itself. The footnotes contain a thorough bibliography and many acute comments. Any scholar concerned with a messenger speech, or anything in Aeschylus remotely analogous with one, would do well to look his passage up in the exhaustive *indice dei luoghi citati*.

OLIVER TAPLIN

Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus. By DIETER GEORG WEINGÄRTNER. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, Band 11. Pp. xi+216, with one plate. Rudolf Habelt, Bonn. 1969. No price given.

This is a detailed and comprehensive examination of the short visit which Germanicus paid to Alexandria and the Nile valley in A.D. 19 not long before his death. The subject has not been systematically treated as a unity before and, although the present book may not greatly advance our knowledge, it is very helpful to have such widely scattered primary and secondary material thus conveniently assembled. Weingärtner's account is lucid and well written, and his judgement is generally sensible, not least in consistently rejecting the wilder theories of modern scholars. The papyrological content is slight (text and commentary on the two edicts in *Select Papyri*, II. 211 and the ostrakon W. Chr. 413, revised text with discussion of P.Oxy. 2435 recto), but it is none the less a useful addition to the Bonn series of monographs.

The author treats his subject under three heads, (a) the problems raised by Germanicus' decision to visit Egypt, (b) the stay at Alexandria, and (c) the journey through the *chora*. To this he has prefaced a critical appraisal of the documentary and literary sources, principally Tacitus. Weingärtner's conclusion (p. 28) is that, while we may illuminate the background against which Tacitus was writing by disentangling the strands of the tradition available to him and the different bias they would reflect, in the last resort we cannot get behind the account in the *Annals*.

In considering the nature and extent of Germanicus' *imperium* and *cura provinciae*, the motives which led him to go to Alexandria, and the reason why he failed to seek a dispensation from the *instituta* of Augustus forbidding entry, Weingärtner is of course dealing with important questions of early imperial *Staatsrecht*, over which scholars have long debated with as yet small measure of agreement. Among his conclusions are that the *imperium proconsulare* which Germanicus had had since A.D. 14 was defined anew in A.D. 17 as *maius* in respect of the eastern transmarine provinces, an area which included Egypt. Thus Germanicus had full legal authority in Egypt, a point which is in no way contradicted by the language of the edicts, nor was it on this score that Tiberius complained. Further, since Germanicus had a general *cura* for the well-being of the provinces in his area (cf. his assistance in Asia Minor in spring A.D. 18 (pp. 40-1)), he could claim a moral obligation to bring aid to the Alexandrians; there was no ulterior, ambitious motive, no treasonable intention (which suits the language of P.Oxy. 2435). If this is persuasive, Weingärtner must nevertheless concede that Germanicus was in the wrong in entering Egypt without a special dispensation from Tiberius and, if the above is correct, it is very hard to see why he did not ask for one. Weingärtner's answer, that the famine at Alexandria was critical and brooked no delay, relies heavily on the accuracy of Suetonius' reference (*Tib.* 52.2) to an *immensa et repentina fames*, and takes too little account, it seems to me, of the view that it simply did not occur to Germanicus that he, the heir apparent, was bound by rules which applied to ordinary senators. There is also the motive given by Tacitus, *cognoscendae*

antiquitatis, which in Weingärtner's view would have no relevance to the original decision to enter Alexandria (contrast P.Oxy. 2435), but relate only to the subsequent excursion through the rest of the land.

The discussion of the stay at Alexandria is able to draw on the relatively new information of P.Oxy. 2435 recto, of which Weingärtner reproduces a plate, which is a marked improvement on the one in P.Oxy. xxv, a slightly revised text, and an extensive commentary. Unlike the plate, however, his text, which begins inauspiciously with *ἐξηγετήης* where the *ed. pr.* and the papyrus have correctly *ἐξηγητήης*, is a step back from Turner's original edition, and the commentary, though interesting, is not very illuminating. More valuable is the section on the *pretia frugum* (pp. 91–9), with the attractive suggestion that what Germanicus did which the prefect could not or would not do, was to release corn from the granaries of the imperial domains, a measure for which the prefect would have needed the emperor's sanction.

The chapter on the journey through the *chora* opens with a well-balanced discussion of the 'requisition edict' (pp. 124–35), and proceeds to deal at length with all the known incidents. Weingärtner believes that the visit to the Apis bull was deliberately omitted by Tacitus, probably because it showed Germanicus in a superstitious and un-Roman light. He discusses the Graeco-Roman concept of *res Aegyptiae* at length and concludes that an Egyptian priest-guide would be expected to give a distinguished visitor an account of the past greatness of the Pharaohs; what Germanicus heard in Thebes was doubtless dictated more by convention than by what the hieroglyphic inscriptions said. Finally, Tacitus ends his account with a contemporary reference to the *claustra imperii*; this was no doubt intended to glorify Trajan the extender of the empire in contrast to Tiberius, and also served to class Germanicus among the expansionists.

J. DAVID THOMAS

Urkunden Römischer Zeit. Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen Berlin: Griechische Urkunden, XI. Band; 1. Hälfte, 1966; 2. Hälfte, 1968. Edited by HERWIG MAEHLER. Pp. xii+261, with 8 plates. Berlin. Verlag Bruno Hessling. No price stated.

This is the first volume to be added to the series of Berlin papyri since the ninth volume was published in the late 1930s, and it will be sure of a warm welcome. It is very heartening to find that this great papyrus collection is recovering from the vicissitudes of the last decades. One consequence of the aftermath of war unfortunately remains: like the city the Berlin papyri are divided into an eastern and a western half. The tenth volume is to be published in East Berlin, hence this volume is number eleven, and the numeration is not continuous from Volume IX, but runs from 2012 to 2131.

The papyri are in the main from the Arsinoite nome and all belong to the first three centuries A.D. As three of them date from the reign of Diocletian (2027, 2069, 2074), the title could be slightly misleading. All are documents, but within this broad heading they vary considerably in content and importance. Legal contracts are the dominant group (leases, sales, sessions, loans), and notifications to the authorities are also well represented. The remainder include petitions, receipts, reports, and official communications from the prefect and other top administrators. The few plates give some slight indication of the considerable difficulties, above all palaeographical, which must have faced an editor of these varied, often fragmentary, texts. To have produced single-handed an edition of such proportions is a considerable achievement on which Dr. Maehler is to be congratulated.

Each text is accompanied by an introduction, which is especially strong on bibliography, judicious notes, and a translation. In many cases the content is of no more than routine interest, but several texts will have a wider appeal, as the following examples may show. 2056 is an edict which the editor thinks may give instructions for the *damnatio memoriae* of Geta. Greater precision is brought to the dating of prefectures by 2024 (Claudius Julianus), 2057 (Mettius Rufus), 2058 (M. Annus Syriacus), and 2069 (Titius Honoratus). Interesting information on high officials is provided by 2013, where the *iuridicus* tries a case *ἐξ ἀναπομπῆς* of the prefect, and 2023, which appears to prove that there were two men with the title *procurator usiacus c.* A.D. 200. On the system of taxation and liturgies we have an interesting letter from the prefect concerning tax-farming (2057), evidence that a Roman and Alexandrian citizen had been drafted into the *practoria* (2058), and an indication that the liturgy of *practor* began on Mecheir 1st (2064). Closely related are the letter from the *dioecetes* dealing with the status of land and control of its use (2060), and

two papyri which add to our knowledge of ἐπιβολή and ἐπιμερισμός (2023 and 2063). The military information contained in 2024 (A.D. 204) and 2074 (A.D. 286/7) is noteworthy, as is the title τῶν γεγνημνασιάρχικῶν τοῦ Ἀρσινόιτου (i.e. of the nome) in 2122. Interesting legal contracts include 2031, a παράθεσις, 2041, an apprenticeship, 2095–2100, all part of the same transaction (sale of a house), and 2116, a loan with a Latin subscription (A.D. 25/6). 2019 adds to our scanty information on the Memphite nome, while 2072 is an exceptionally long and valuable list of cleruchs. Finally in 2114–15 we have, it seems, a rare example of the verso of a papyrus being written before the recto.

One remarkable feature of the texts here presented is that so many of them relate to papyri already known, some but by no means all from the Berlin collection. The most important of these are without doubt 2012–14 and 2070–1, which belong to the well-known case of Drusilla; especially interesting is 2071, which forms the left-hand part of P.Alex. 5, here republished in an improved version (cf. below). Also noteworthy are 2033, an offer to lease a θησαυρὸς Σοκονοπαίου θεοῦ μεγάλου μεγάλου in the same year as P. Lond. 216 (presumably one of the two offers did not succeed), and 2043, where the same people apparently are to be found as in several other texts, but both ages and personal descriptions fail to tally.

In conclusion I offer a few suggestions on readings. 2012: the petition is in the singular (ἐνέτυχον, l. 7, etc.), therefore it is tempting to supply ἔχω] πρὸς in l. 4 and get rid of [κα]ἰ Σερην before it; Dr. Maehler has re-examined the papyrus and reports ‘instead of [κα] there seems to be a blank space, and the following *iota*, taken together with the supposed *sigma*, could be interpreted as a large (i.e. initial) *pi*. I should now like to read Περὶ ὧν [ἔχω] πρὸς. . . and remove the full stop after Δρούσιλλαν in l. 7.’ 2018 10: something must be amiss with τὰς σ. [θ]υγ(ατέρας), since ἀπάτωρ means ‘of unknown father’. 2021 2: no doubt μ[ετα^α] i.e. μετὰ κυρίου. 2024 6 (plate): διαδεχομέ(νου) καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρα (τηγίαν) must have been intended, and in l. 9 the papyrus has λαμπρωτάτου ἡγεμώνος. 2050 5 (plate): at the end one expects π[ε]ρὶ followed by the name of a place; l. 6 perhaps ἐκ τοῦ τετάρτου]ν μέρους, and l. 8 ἐγ (l. ἐκ) νότου? 2056: there is no plate of this important text, and no comment on the strange προνοία τοῦ πον. [in l. 2; is it possible that we should read προνοία τοῦ πάντ[α νικῶντος, vel sim.? 2065 22: I suggest ἀκοῦ]σαι. 2071: the possibility of a shorter gap between the Berlin fragment and P.Alex. 5 might be explored, based on ἐ[γ]ράφ[ησα]ν in l. 11 and ὁ κρᾶτ[ιστ]ος Μαξιμ[.]νός in l. 13. Dr. Maehler would accept that this may be so and himself suggests the attractive [ζήτ]ει in l. 2; but, as he stresses, grave difficulties remain. 2080: in view of the mention of comarchs the text can hardly be earlier than the mid third century. 2101 ii 3 (plate): read Πακύσ[εως]. 2118 2 f.: the name Aurelius by itself can hardly be right; no doubt Σ[ε]ρῆ[ν]ψ, and similarly in l. 23. 2126: see my re-examination in *Jnl of Juristic Papyrology* (forthcoming). 2129 11: I am suspicious of postponed γάρ, and wonder whether a proper name could be read; in l. 20 perhaps κατέλ[α]βα ἄψτόν.

J. DAVID THOMAS

Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica. By G. CAVALLO. Studi e testi di papirologia, 2. Pp. xvi+152, with a separate album of 115 plates. Le Monnier Florence. 1967. Lir. 12,000.

This book is a full-scale study of the style of Greek script commonly known as ‘biblical uncial’. It is accompanied by a lavish album of plates, almost all of which are of high quality, so that every important stage of the author’s argument can be illustrated; as a collection of photographs it constitutes a most complete and serviceable guide to the development of the uncial hand, and the price is unusually reasonable.

A short preface by A. Pratesi, to whom the book is dedicated, makes clear the intention of the book: it is to be the first real application to Greek palaeography of methods adopted some time ago with success in dealing with Roman script, especially in regard to ductus. A good deal of the first chapter is devoted to questions of pen angle and the analysis of the strokes by which each letter was formed, in much the same style as Mallon’s celebrated work on Latin palaeography; but this form of analysis does not play so prominent a part in the remainder of Cavallo’s book, and after some reflection I am less convinced of its value than I was originally. Other matters discussed in the first chapter are the most suitable name of the script and the formation of the canon, i.e. the essential characteristics of the script in its earliest recognizable form. Cavallo adopts the name ‘biblical majuscule’, rejecting the term uncial as ambiguous, since it is of uncertain etymology and has a different meaning when applied to Latin script; he retains the conventional epithet

'biblical' because it has become a traditional and useful way of describing a script that is represented at its peak by the three famous biblical manuscripts of the fourth and fifth century, the Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus; but he is perfectly well aware that at all dates pagan texts were written in it, so that it must be regarded as misleading. Personally, at least as far as English usage is concerned, I should prefer to see 'uncial' remain the normal term. As to the canon, which Cavallo regards as an important advance in method to be traced back to the work of Cencetti and Serruys, I wonder whether this is really more than a formal description of a notion implicit in the work of all skilled palaeographers in their attempts to distinguish styles of handwriting. Cavallo says (p. 11) that one will no longer have to use Gardthausen's notion of progressive decadence from the norm as a means of dating; the application of the canon will give a surer basis. But from the later chapters it does not become clear that there is an essential difference between the old and the new methods of dating. Here too the reviewer's second thoughts have proved less favourable than first impressions.

In the second chapter Cavallo reviews previous theories about the origin of uncial script. He has little difficulty in showing that most work hitherto has been unsatisfactory, partly because earlier workers did not have as many published documents available for study, partly because they failed to identify with sufficient precision the features typical of the mature uncial hand. These features are (1) the square module of the letters; (2) the absence of serifs; (3) the strong contrast of thick and thin strokes; (4) the cross-stroke of alpha written at an angle; (5) rho and upsilon descending below the line. They are observable at the end of the second century in P. Oxy. 661, 678, 2356, 2364 (all of which are classical texts, hence my reservations about Cavallo's terminology expressed above). There is no reason to believe that the creation of the new script has anything to do with the change from roll to codex, since most of the early examples are rolls. Cavallo finds the first examples of the script perfected in the first quarter of the third century in P. Ryl. 16, P. Dura 2 and 7; these are important, since they were written earlier than the year 256, and the last two demonstrate that the script was identical in at least two regions of the empire. The merit of this section of the book is not so much that Cavallo has drawn attention to these papyri for the first time, since many of them have been adduced by previous workers, but rather that he has examined these and other papyri in a more thorough and painstaking fashion so as to identify the most important of them.

Cavallo briefly mentions a number of other books of similar date, and then passes to discussion of the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, the finest examples of the script, which he is inclined to date *c.* 330–*c.* 370. He notes that the use of parchment may have helped scribes to achieve a more calligraphic effect. In dealing with these two celebrated books he inevitably covers much familiar ground, and there is no need for a reviewer to do more than comment on a few details. In connection with the Sinaiticus there are two palaeographical observations to be made. Plate 37 shows a quire mark in the top right-hand corner of the folio, the most common position for these serial numbers; but in this manuscript the original series of numbers was on the top left-hand corner, which is much less common although found also in the Sarraviensis, the Ambrosianus and the Cairo codex of Menander. In the Sinaiticus the lines for the script are mostly ruled on the flesh side, which again is unusual in Greek manuscripts. As far as I can see neither of these facts is mentioned by Cavallo, who is concerned too exclusively with letter forms. Since so much remains to be discovered, information of this kind ought to be collected and studied in the hope that it will prove useful.

From the end of the fourth century the decline of the script can be traced. Cavallo discusses all the well-known and many less-known examples, attempting to assign them a date by his criteria. The most interesting and original pages in this part of the book are devoted to the problem of distinguishing regional scripts in the fifth and sixth centuries (pp. 84 ff.). Four groups of manuscripts are identified and assigned to (1) Alexandria and Nile valley, (2) the Nitrian desert, (3) Constantinople, (4) Syria and Antioch. But the argument is not entirely convincing. A general objection is that Cavallo now uses as criteria for geographical distinctions the same variations of letter forms that he has hitherto used as chronological evidence. There are other difficulties as well. Are we really to believe that two copies of Homer (P. Berol. 6794 and B.M. Add. 17210) were written in the Nitrian desert, the home of narrow-minded ascetic hermits? Why should we assign to Syria rather than the capital of the empire several luxury editions with gold or silver ink on purple parchment? Certainly I must protest vigorously against the belief (pp. 99–100), often held by art historians, that the place where a manuscript was first discovered in modern times is a useful guide to its place of origin; both in late antiquity and the Middle Ages there were book collectors and pilgrims, not to mention refugees, who will have caused manuscripts to stray far afield.

The rest of the book deals with the Ambrosian Iliad, which Cavallo regards as a deliberately archaizing product of c. 500, and the various late forms of uncial, such as Coptic, which he is not able to date more accurately than his predecessors. I note the absence of any reference to the Bobbio mathematical fragment (MS. Ambr. L 99 sup.), which has some interesting abbreviations, a rare feature in any uncial script; Cavallo has not taken to heart Traube's maxim 'quotiens aetatem codicis sciscitari volo, ad compendia me verto', and neglects this topic; of course most uncial manuscripts exhibit few if any compendia, but since Cavallo has examined so many more specimens than the average palaeographer one would have welcomed some statement about the few exceptions to this rule.

Although Cavallo may not have solved all the problems that he set out to tackle, he deserves our thanks for a wide-ranging and painstaking study which marshals in convenient form a great quantity of evidence.

N. G. WILSON

Didymos der Blinde: Kommentar zu Hiob (Tura-Papyrus), Teil I and II. Edited by A. HENRICHs. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 1-2. Pp. 333, 219. Bonn, 1968. *Kommentar zu Hiob (Tura-Papyrus)*, Teil III. Edited by U. and D. HAGEDORN and L. KOENEN. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 3. Pp. xxi+280. Bonn, 1968. *Psalmenkommentar (Tura-Papyrus)*, Teil I. Edited by L. DOUTRELEAU, A. GESCHÉ, and M. GRONEWALD. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 7. Pp. 238. Bonn, 1969. *Psalmenkommentar (Tura-Papyrus)*, Teil II. Edited by M. GRONEWALD. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 4. Pp. xii+257. Bonn, 1968. *Psalmenkommentar (Tura-Papyrus)*, Teil III. Edited by A. GESCHÉ and M. GRONEWALD. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 8. Pp. 429. Bonn, 1969. *Psalmenkommentar (Tura-Papyrus)*, Teil IV. Edited by M. GRONEWALD. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 6. Pp. 327. Bonn, 1969. *Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes (Tura-Papyrus)*, Teil VI. Edited by G. BINDER and L. LIESENBORGHS. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 9. Pp. xviii+261. Bonn, 1969. No prices given.

Besides providing some lost works of Origen, the papyri from the Origenist monastery of St. Arsenios at Tura have brought to light commentaries on Genesis, the Psalms, Job, Ecclesiastes, and Zechariah, all belonging, fairly certainly, to Didymus the Blind. Of these the Commentary on Zechariah has already been published in *Sources Chrétiennes* (83-5), and an edition of that on Genesis is in preparation for the same series. The remaining commentaries, on Psalms, Job, and Ecclesiastes, are in the course of publication in the series *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*. (The Tura Commentary on the Psalms is a separate work from that for which fragments are preserved in Catenae, and is more in the form of an oral exposé than a formal commentary.)

The present volumes contain the text of the commentaries on Job i-xi, Psalms xx-xxvi. 10, xxix-xxxix (the leaves containing xxvi. 11-xxviii are missing), and Ecclesiastes xi-xii. There remain still to be published pp. 310-408 of the commentary on Job (covering chs. xi. 21-xvi. 2), pp. 1-315 of that on Ecclesiastes (on chs. i-x; planned to appear in five further volumes), and pp. 291-352 of that on the Psalms (on chs. xl-xliv).

Each volume contains the text with a facing German translation, but the provision of introduction, footnotes, and indexes varies considerably from one volume to another. Brief introductions will be found in *C. Job*. I and III. and *C. Eccles.* *C. Job* I and II, and *C. Eccles.* are provided with fairly full footnotes giving parallels especially from other works of Didymus, while in *C. Job* III the notes are listed separately at the end of the volume (pp. 224-80). The remaining volumes have rather more sparse notes; there are also excursuses on specific points in *C. Job* I, II, and *C. Pss.* IV. All the volumes except *C. Job* III have indexes of biblical quotations, and of Greek words which are the subject of special comment by Didymus, while *C. Job* I and II have a further subject/name index, and *C. Eccles.* has one listing exegetic terminology.

Didymus' commentaries are very much in the Alexandrine tradition. One feature here that may be singled out for comment is his love of number symbolism: of particular interest is his treatment of the numbers 7 and 8 in *C. Eccles.* 317, and the very elaborate discussion of the whole subject in *C. Pss.* 106-8 (cp. 156^{18 ff.}). Future work will no doubt throw more light on Didymus' relationship both to his predecessors and to his successors. As far as the former is concerned, the editors have pointed out several instances of dependence on Origen, and it is not hard to find others (e.g. for the allegorical meaning of *σέλγη*, *C. Eccles.*

340²⁵, compare Origen, *Comm. John* 1, 25 and vi, 55). For the latter, Didymus' comments on the heading of Ps. xxxiii (equating the *Αβιμελεχ* there with *Αγχοος* of I Samuel xxi) would seem to have been known to Basil (*PG* xxix, 349D ff.), and the new text thus nicely confirms G. Mercati's supposition¹ that Basil's remarks must have derived from some such writer as Didymus.

The commentaries contain many passing references to heretics, including a number of otherwise very obscure ones, such as the Hierakaites (*C. Pss.* 53²⁴) and the Dimoiritai (*C. Pss.* 285⁴). Particularly interesting is the brief note, evidently misplaced and deleted by the second hand, on Bardaisan (*C. Pss.* 181^{8ff.}): for the most part Didymus seems to be dependent on Eusebius,² but there is the additional information that on his conversion to orthodoxy Bardaisan became a priest. This detail is found nowhere else in the Greek tradition, but is confirmed by the late Syriac writer, Theodore bar Khoni.³

Another interesting feature is provided by Didymus' many references to apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature. Particularly important are the new testimonium to the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (equation of Levi with Matthias, *C. Pss.* 184⁹⁻¹⁰) and the long reference to the *Ascension of Isaiah* in *C. Pss.* 218^{3 ff.} (cp. *C. Eccles.* 329²¹⁻²). Didymus also shows acquaintance with the *Shepherd* (*C. Job* 224²⁶, 254³¹; *C. Pss.* 262³⁴), *I Clement* (*C. Job* 299^{22 f.}) and *Ep. Barnaba* (*C. Pss.* 262³⁴).

C. Job 300²⁸⁻³⁰, which is paralleled by *C. Zech.* 369^{1ff.}, provides, as the editors point out in their note (n. 150, p. 276), what appears to be a new agraphon. It may be added that the same text in fact *also* turns up in Ps. Athanasius, *Dial. Trin.*, *PG* xxviii, 1245C, although it has not hitherto been recognized as such, having been taken as a free variant of Phil. iii. 20. Finally, on a negative point, it is worth noticing that in his *Commentary on Job* Didymus shows no acquaintance with the *Testament of Job*.

From other points of view, too, the new commentaries offer much of interest. For the lexicographer Didymus provides a number of words not recorded in the lexica (not always noticed by the editors), e.g. *C. Pss.* 26¹¹ *παράμειγμα*; *C. Eccles.* 329⁹, *C. Pss.* 264¹⁰ *ἐνπολιτογραφῶ* (only the noun is given in *LSJ*) etc. For the textual critic there is not only available a continuous biblical text in the form of lemmata commented on, but also a vast array of scriptural quotations. The editors reasonably enough do not attempt any analysis, leaving this for future workers. It is a clear that proper study of the biblical quotations would be well worth while: as far as the text of Job is concerned it is of interest that in some instances Didymus comments on the supplemented asterised passages (e.g. Job ix. 15b, x. 24b, etc.), but others (e.g. x. 4b) are evidently unknown to him. Didymus' break up of the text often goes against the punctuation of Rahlfs's edition.⁴ For the New Testament quotations, too, random sampling throws up a number of interesting readings, such as *C. Job* 147^{15f.}, with a quotation of Matthew vii. 24-5 in a form otherwise recorded only from the Old Latin and Christian Palestinian Aramaic versions. Didymus himself only rarely refers to textual variants: thus *C. Pss.* 110^{24 f.} (on Ps. xxvi. 9), 104¹² (on Ps. cxl. 6), 277³⁰ (on Titus iii. 10). Two further interesting features of the biblical quotations may be mentioned. First, the presence of a number of gaps left by the scribe in the text, usually for the quotation itself, evidently to be looked up and inserted at a later date, but sometimes for the name of the biblical writer quoted (e.g. *C. Pss.* 43²² (*sc.* Haggai)), who indeed elsewhere is not always correctly given (e.g. *C. Pss.* 233¹⁴: Isaiah for Jeremiah). The second feature to which attention should be called is the curious orthography of many biblical names: the scribe of *C. Job* regularly employs *Ισδραηλ(-)*, which is rather rarely attested elsewhere, though notably in Codex Sinaiticus for the text of Acts: is this a further piece of evidence in favour of an Egyptian provenance of this famous manuscript (or at least, of this part of its text)? Among other forms (this time in *C. Pss.*), whose fairly regular occurrence shows that they are not mere slips, are *Φαραωθ* (e.g. *C. Pss.* 233¹⁸; also *-ωτ⁵*), *καφαρναου* (compare the missing final nasal from *Λαβα(ν)* and *Αμα(ν)*), *Ναβουθεμ* (*LXX-θαι*), *Ισα(α)χ* (*LXX Ισαακ*).

¹ *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae. I, Osservazioni* (Rome, 1965), 186. It may be noted that the catena of the Milan hexapla palimpsest provides some new passages of Didymus' formal commentary on the Psalms.

² *H.E.* iv, 30.

³ *Liber Scholiorum* (ed. A. Scher), [*CSCO* 69], II, 307-8=H. Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaites des Coupes de Khouabir* (Paris, 1898), 122-3 (tr. 177-8). Some other oriental writers state that he was a deacon (Agapius, *PO* VII, 518; Michael the Syrian (ed. Chabot), I, 183 (tr.); IV, 110 (text)).

⁴ Didymus at times specifically refers to points of punctuation, e.g. *C. Pss.* 38^{8ff.}, on Psalm xxi. 16-17.

⁵ *θ* and *τ* are not infrequently interchanged in this manuscript: e.g. *αἰρεθικός* 73¹² and often; *ἡρεθίσατο* 82²¹; *Λωθ* 207²⁸, 225²⁹.

These rather scattered remarks should show something of the very varied interest these new commentaries have. It only remains to say that the series is pleasingly produced, although it is to be hoped that the rather high incidence of blank pages in the review copies is not typical. S. P. BROCK

Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel Kap. 5-12, zusammen mit Susanna, Bel et Draco, sowie Esther Kap. 1, 1a-2, 15, nach dem kölner Teil des Papyrus 967. By ANGELO GEISSEN. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, Band 5. Pp. 313+4 plates. Bonn, 1968. No price quoted.

Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel Kap. 1-2, nach dem kölner Teil des Papyrus 967. By WINFRIED HAMM. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, Band 10. Pp. 281. Bonn, 1969. No price quoted.

Among the famous Chester Beatty biblical papyri published by F. G. Kenyon were a number of fragments of a second or third century A.D. Greek text of Daniel iii. 72-viii. 27. The importance of these fragments (assigned the siglum 967) is quite out of proportion to their extent, since they represent the only surviving witness to the prehexaplaric form of the older of the two Greek recensions of Daniel, the so-called o' text (itself preserved only in a single miniscule and in the Syrohexaplaric translation). Among other features, 967 offers a different ordering of the chapters, with vii and viii coming before v and vi. Extensive further fragments of the same papyrus are now to be found in the Köln collection of papyri, and these, apart from the fragments of chapters iii and iv (reserved for a further volume in the series) are published in the present two volumes, together with fragments of Esther i-ii.

Both editors provide extensive and valuable introductions, discussing the textual aspects of the fragments, and in particular their relationship to the hexaplaric form of the o' text.

The portion of text covered by PTA 10 (Daniel i-ii) is totally unrepresented among the Chester Beatty fragments. Hamm gives the text on the left-hand page, with the variants of 88 Syh below, while facing it he provides a very full textual commentary. Much the same pattern is to be found in PTA 5, although the commentary is there rather less extensive; a very welcome feature is the incorporation of the text of the Chester Beatty fragments, so that an almost continuous text of chapters v-xii is provided in this volume¹ (the comment also covers the Chester Beatty fragments).

In PTA 5 some of the commentary will be found to be unnecessarily duplicated: thus, for example, an almost identical discussion of vi. 12 will be found both in the introduction (p. 41) and in the commentary (p. 173); both are in fact very closely based on Ziegler's introduction to the Göttingen edition of Daniel (p. 21). Again some of the suggested reconstructions of the Semitic text read by the translator tend to lack plausibility (e.g. PTA 5, p. 42=p. 255 on Daniel xi. 18).

PTA 5, besides the Daniel text, contains fragments of Esther A, i. 1-ii. 15 (the Chester Beatty fragments for this book run from ii. 20-viii. 6). While the Göttingen edition of Daniel (Ziegler, 1954) of course knew nothing of the Köln fragments of 967, that of Esther, by Hanhart (1966), was able to incorporate the Köln material.² Geissen's short introduction to the Köln Esther fragments (pp. 72-8) is probably the least useful part of the book, for it uses as a basis for comparison only the materials available in Rahlfs's hand edition. This means, for example, that many of the 'singular' readings of 967 listed on p. 78 are in fact attested elsewhere, although not in the great uncials.

Apart from minor defects such as these, the editors will readily earn the gratitude of all who are interested in the Septuagint for their extremely full and useful presentation of this very important new material. PTA 5 provides four plates; it is to be hoped that a complete set will eventually be made available.

S. P. BROCK

Other Books Received

1. *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine.* Colloque de Strasbourg 16-18 mai 1967. By various authors. Paris. 8½" × 5¼". Pp. 141, pls. 4. Presses universitaires de France, 1969.

¹ There are still some missing parts, and two unpublished pages (181-2) with part of chapter xi are in Barcelona. Details can be found conveniently set out in PTA 5, pp. 11-17.

² At i. 15 967 should be added to the witnesses omitting *Αστν* in Hanhart's edition.

2. *Myths and Legends of Ancient Egypt*. By T. G. H. JAMES. 7" × 4½". Pp. 159, many coloured illustrations by Brian Melling. Hamlyn all-colour paperbacks. London, Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd., 1969. Price 6s. (30p). SBN 600 00131 8.
3. *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV. Psaumes, XVII–CXVIII*. By RODOLPHE KASSER. 9½" × 6¾". Pp. 235, pls. 97 (loose inside back cover). Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1967.
4. *Papyrus Bodmer XXV. Ménandre, La Samienne*. By RODOLPHE KASSER with the collaboration of COLIN AUSTIN. 9¾" × 6¼". Pp. 65, pls. 18 (loose inside back cover), coloured frontispiece. Cologny-Genève, Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1969.
5. *Papyrus Bodmer XXVI. Ménandre, Le Bouclier*. By RODOLPHE KASSER with the collaboration of COLIN AUSTIN. 9¾" × 6¼". Pp. 49, pls. 15 (loose inside back cover). Cologny-Genève, Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1969.
6. *Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*. By NAPHTALI LEWIS. American Studies in Papyrology 3. Quarto. Pp. not numbered. New Haven and Toronto, The American Society of Papyrologists, 1968. Price \$10.
7. *La cour, les relations internationales et les possessions extérieures, la vie culturelle. Nos. 14479–17250*. By W. PEREMANS, E. VAN'T DACK, L. MOOREN, W. SWINNEN. *Studia hellenistica* 17. *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* par W. PEREMANS et E. VAN'T DACK. 9½" × 6". Pp. lv+297. Louvain, 1968. Price 225 Belgian francs.
8. *Archives from Elephantine. The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony*. By BEZALED PORTEN. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. xxi+421, pls. 16, figs. 15. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1968.
9. *The Book of Gates*. By J. ZANDEE. Reprinted from *Liber Amicorum*, Studies in Honour of Professor Dr. C. J. Bleeker. Pp. 282–324. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1969.
10. *De Messias Oprattingen aangaande het koningschap in de godsdiensten van het oude nabije oosten*. By J. ZANDEE. 9½" × 6½". Pp. 44. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970.

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- XLV. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SINAI, Part I. By ALAN H. GARDINER and T. ERIC PEET. Second revised edition, by J. ČERNÝ. One hundred and two Plates. 1952. £8.25
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54. THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, Part XXXVIII.

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