

THE JOURNAL OF
Egyptian
Archaeology

VOLUME 58
AUGUST 1972

PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG

Price to non-members £5.00

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

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1972

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY VIVIAN RIDLER
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

A SAYING attributed to the late Mahatma Gandhi maintains that people in general can be divided into two classes: those who do the work and those who get the credit for it. Our Society may sometimes claim the felicity of being able to merge these categories, and this is manifestly true of the dedication of our present number as a Festschrift to Dr. Rosalind Moss.

It is also true of the tribute recently paid by our chairman to Miss Margaret S. Drower when she relinquished the Honorary Secretaryship after fourteen years in that position. Professor Turner's remarks deserve to be quoted: 'She has not only been a first-rate secretary, able to foresee needs and trends, and to help establish the Society on a firm basis of scholarship and of activities; but her charm, courtesy, wit, and lightly worn learning have endeared her to Members and Committee alike, and have also greatly helped the atmosphere of friendly intimacy that has marked the Society's social occasions.' Her successor is Mr. Robert Anderson and to him we extend our best wishes. He is fortunate in being able to rely on the continued help of our Secretary, Miss Mary Crawford, whose able and devoted service to the Society goes far beyond the accepted requirements of her post.

The exhibition 'Treasures of Tutankhamun' at the British Museum this year has aroused tremendous public interest, and although there are some strange features in what has become almost a popular religious cult, the experience in general must be warmly welcomed. To many this has proved to be the first introduction to the civilization of Ancient Egypt, and the importance of Egyptology is bound to be more widely appreciated. The Catalogue prepared by Dr. I. E. S. Edwards is itself a treasure. Exquisitely illustrated and produced, it is packed with expert information. It is good to note, at the same time, that the series published by the Griffith Institute, Oxford, is proceeding apace, the latest arrival being F. Filce Leek's study, *Human Remains from the Tomb of Tutankamun*. The editor of the series is Professor J. R. Harris.

It was in September 1822 that Jean-François Champollion made the discovery which inaugurated modern Egyptology, and our colleagues in the 'Société française d'Égyptologie' have been celebrating the 150th anniversary with an attractive greeting-card which Professor Jean Leclant has kindly sent to us. It quotes the famous words in the *Lettre à M. Dacier*: 'Je pense donc, monsieur, que l'écriture *phonétique* exista en Égypte à une époque fort reculée.'

Dr. Revel Coles has asked us to publish the following notice:

XIV. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PAPYROLOGISTS

The Organizing Committee are pleased to announce that the Fourteenth International Congress of Papyrologists will take place at Oxford from the 24th to the 31st of July, 1974.

This is a preliminary announcement only: further details with a formal invitation to participate will be sent out towards the end of 1972. These will be sent out automatically to all members of the Association Internationale de Papyrologues, and to all participants in the recent papyrological Congresses. Only those therefore who are not members of the Association and have not previously attended a papyrological Congress need apply to the Secretary to be included on the mailing-list. Since the mailing list will be based in the first instance on addresses of members of the Association as given in the last list published in *Chronique d'Égypte*, with supplementary information from the lists of Congress participants, the Secretary would appreciate early notification of any changes of address or membership.

Dr. Coles can be contacted at the Papyrology Rooms, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England.

The publication of the results of academic research in book form is getting more and more difficult, and Egyptological works involve special problems. It is therefore very welcome to learn from Professor H. S. Smith of a new and promising venture on the part of Aris and Phillips, a London firm of publishers. The first volume in their series 'Modern Egyptology' is *Amarna: City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti* by Julia Samson; it is subtitled 'Key pieces from the Petrie Collection.' Forthcoming titles are *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* by K. A. Kitchen and *Ancient Hierakonpolis* by Barbara Adams. The *City of Akhenaten* volumes published by the Society have now been provided with an object index listing registered objects in catalogue number order with volume and page references. Cyclostyled copies are available at £1.00 each, and orders should be sent to Mr. John Ruffle, M.A. at the Society's address. Cheques should be made out to Mr. Ruffle, who is also collaborating in a project for an index to texts cited in Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*, on the lines of the Gauthier-Laurent *Supplement to Gardiner's Grammar*. Those interested should contact Mr. Ruffle or Dr. Harry A. Hoffner, 61 Church Lane, Madison, C.T. 06443, U.S.A. In the meantime Professor Sarah Groll is preparing a new Late Egyptian Grammar based on Černý's work. A further project, which has already realized its first issue, is *Egyptology Titles* by Barry J. Kemp, of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge. Monographs as well as articles in periodicals are covered, and the initial impetus was provided by the Wilbour Library of Egyptology at Brooklyn, which has been producing quick lists of its accessions. These Mr. Kemp has supplemented from information available in the Cambridge University Library. The annual subscription is £1.50, payable to 'Egyptology Titles' at the Cambridge address just mentioned.

'The Triumph of Horus', a play performed at the Padgate College of Education, is a revised version of the translation of a text in the temple of Edfu which Professor H. W. Fairman published, with A. M. Blackman, in *JEA* 28-30. The play was received with acclaim, and Mr. James Lewis, writing in *The Guardian*, aptly remarked that it was a pointer to the existence of dramatic presentations among the Egyptians long before the rise of drama among the Greeks and Romans. While the Edfu text itself dates from the first century B.C., it doubtless derives from a much earlier prototype, and the Old Kingdom has actually provided a dramatic text. The production at Padgate aroused considerable interest, and Berlin Radio has broadcast a German translation. Professor

Fairman's new verse rendering is to be published in book form, and an Arabic translation is also to appear.

Dr. A. A. Kampman, Editor of *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, has recently celebrated his sixtieth birthday. He is also the genial and learned Director of the Netherlands' Institute for the Near and Middle East in Leiden, and his institute houses the office of the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography*, edited now by Dr. Jac. J. Janssen. Among other *personalia* of interest is the election of Professor A. M. Bakir to a one-year tenure of the Budge Fellowship at Christ's College, Cambridge. The Wellcome Collection of Antiquities, which was formerly in the charge of Dr. David Dixon at University College, London, has now been divided into two; one part is in the Liverpool City Museum, where Dr. Dorothy Slow is in charge; the other part is in University College, Swansea, and Dr. Kate Bosse-Griffiths is acting as honorary curator. Professor Abdel-Aziz Saleh, of the University of Cairo, has completed a season's excavation at Giza in the area to the east and south of the Third Pyramid.

Our Russian colleagues have not been inactive of late. Professor N. S. Petrovsky, of the University of Leningrad, has produced a study of Egyptian syntax in Russian (Moscow, 1970). Dr. O. D. Berlev, who is also in Leningrad, has published in the Ancient History proceedings of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences (Moscow, 1969, pp. 3-30) a study entitled "'Falcon in Boat", a Hieroglyph and a God'. This work may not be easily accessible, and we venture therefore to quote from the English synopsis:

Sethe's reading *'ntj* for the ideogram G 7* gained almost universal credence, although it has never been proved. This reading gave rise to a certain concept of the god whose name was symbolized by the hieroglyph in question. '*Der Bekrallte*', '*der mit Krallen Versehene*' (such was Sethe's rendering of the name *'ntj*) must have been a victorious Horus triumphant over powers of evil. Both the reading and the theory evolved by Sethe are in flat contradiction with what is known of the god in the boat. Suffice it to say that the god whose name (according to Sethe) was derived from his claws was in reality thought of as a cripple with amputated feet. This and other similar contradictions leave no doubt but that in the present case the eminent scholar was wrong.

The reading of the enigmatic sign is disclosed by two stelae (early XIIth dynasty), Guimet C 13 and Leiden 21, as *nmt(j)*. Further investigation brings to light writings where the sign G 7* was used as a determinative to the phonetically written god's name, Hamm. G 68 and Hermitage 1063. In both cases the name reads *nmtj*.

This reading is in perfect agreement with Manetho. His *Μενθεσοῦφης* is an irreproachable rendering of *nmtj-m-z:f*.

The new reading also accounts for the boat in the image of the god, since the god's name cannot but be identical with the word *nmtj* determined with the sign of walking legs. This word, well attested as a personal name, must have had some such meaning as 'wanderer', 'traveller'. So the falcon in the boat is a travelling god, protector and patron of all the travellers.

Without expressing approval or disapproval of this new thesis, we feel that we have quoted enough to show that it must be taken seriously.

When Professor M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss succeeded C. J. Bleeker in the chair of the History of Ancient Religions in the University of Amsterdam, there was every prospect that he would continue the tradition of making Egyptian religion the main

professorial interest. A token of confirmation has emerged in his inaugural lecture, *Een Mysteriekist Ontsluierd*, which is a valuable discussion of the 'mystery-chest' depicted in the Papyrus of Kenna. The theme chosen by Dr. Herman te Velde on the occasion of his induction to an Egyptological post in the University of Groningen was the Egyptian concept of 'having a good time' (*iri hrw nfr*)—a subject well suited to act as a corrective to the traditional European view of Ancient Egypt as the mysterious land of the dead, as the author himself suggests.

Losses inflicted on Egyptology during the past year included the lamented deaths of Professors Siegfried Schott and Keith C. Seele, who were associated for long periods with the universities of Göttingen and Chicago respectively. Schott was the author of several important works, among which were *Mythe und Mythenbildung im alten Ägypten* and the invaluable *Altägyptische Festdaten*. In 1967, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, he was presented with a Festschrift edited by W. Helck. Seele was best known for his studies of historical problems relating to the New Kingdom. In recent years he had directed excavations at several sites in Nubia on behalf of the Oriental Institute, Chicago; and he had been for many years Editor of the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.

The publication of our present volume has been aided by a generous grant from the Griffith Institute, Oxford, for which we are duly grateful.

AN OPEN LETTER TO DR. ROSALIND MOSS

DEAR DR. MOSS,

I believe that you are not wholly unaware that this volume of the *Journal* is dedicated to you as a token of regard and affection by the Egypt Exploration Society. In writing this letter of introduction I am very conscious of the responsibility I bear, for what I say should represent the feelings not only of members of the Egypt Exploration Society, but also of all members of the world-wide community of Egyptologists.

When I began my studies at Oxford and first used the library of the Griffith Institute, I was much puzzled by the comings and goings between the library and the room across the corridor. Books I should never have thought of consulting appeared to be of interest in that arcane place. Every now and then a brisk foray would be made by you or Mrs. Burney on Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, and the cradled volumes would be flipped over with practised ease. I have never known anyone who consulted Lepsius with more confidence and less sense of occasion.

In the years since then my own needs and my professional connections have brought me to appreciate with ever increasing gratitude what you were doing in that room, and how you have made the labours of all Egyptologists infinitely easier. It is not just that we refer daily to the published volumes of the *Topographical Bibliography*; we have become used to consulting the great collection of references assembled at Oxford, which has always been available to every serious scholar. You made Oxford a place of pilgrimage for all Egyptologists who visited this country; and for every scholar who came to Oxford, how many used to write? And even if you are no longer in Oxford, and working in that room across the corridor, the scholars still write, because they know that they can obtain answers from the files of the *Topographical Bibliography* which they could not easily get in any other way.

A few evenings ago I read again Professor Griffith's preface to Volume I of the *Topographical Bibliography*. Writing in 1927 he explained how the idea of a bibliography of hieroglyphic inscriptions had been proposed by Professor Erman, and how the task had been put into the hands of Miss Bertha Porter. After describing the way in which the original bibliography had been slowly built up over thirty years of dedicated work, he continued by explaining that 'an energetic hand' was needed 'to put the finishing touches to it and see it through the press'. Some Egyptologists maintain that Griffith could encapsulate in a short comment what most scholars would expand into several pages. What he wrote next in his preface fully corroborates this claim: 'She [Miss Porter] has now found in Miss Moss an ideal assistant, willing to devote all her energies to perfecting the Bibliography.' Forty-five years later, and even in retirement, you are still perfecting the Bibliography.

It is of course true that a good, well-used bibliography has Parkinsonian tendencies; it grows with use, and the more it is used the more uses can be seen for it. So, its users

become more demanding, and its organizers more aware of what can be provided. One of the most remarkable things about the *Topographical Bibliography* is that each volume has been better than its predecessor; and this improvement has been due not so much to the criticisms of others, as to your own appreciation of the needs of scholars. How often have you said to me, 'Do you think that an index of so-and-so would be useful?', or, 'Do you find that you use such-and-such an index in Volume X?' I know you have asked others the same questions, testing the usefulness of what is provided, and trying out new ideas. What other discipline is as fortunate as ours in having such a bibliography? What bibliography is so appreciated that the successive volumes are waited for with real anticipation?

Strangers to your methods of work, who have visited you at Oxford for the first time, have often expressed surprise that you have achieved so much without any of the technical paraphernalia needed these days by so-called efficient 'operators'. It is surely because you have always understood and practised the virtues of concentration, regular work, accuracy, and sensible economy. Whether you were in Oxford, in some foreign museum (and in what foreign museum have you not worked?), or in the field in Egypt, you were always superbly prepared for the task in hand. And while you never failed to appreciate the value of civilized social exchange, work always came first. I shall ever remember the month we spent in the Theban necropolis—you, Mrs. Burney, Father Janssen, Monsieur Mekhitarian, and myself—dealing, among other things, with problems concerning the revision of Volume I. I do not think that anyone else would have succeeded in getting us to crawl into some of the places you wanted examined. And I am sure we felt it a privilege to crawl, as we eased ourselves along some rough tunnel on the point of collapse. You certainly possess the remarkable gift of being able to persuade people to do things—not against their better judgement, I should say, but because they believe that you ask only what is really necessary, and what you are unable to do yourself. Everyone has been glad to help you, for your work has ever been truly disinterested, in the best sense of that word. If exploitation has occurred it has been only of you and of the resources of the *Topographical Bibliography*, so carefully assembled on those flimsy (but not too flimsy) slips.

When you read these words, I wonder whether you will just have returned to Anglesey from some extensive Balkan journey, or be on the point of leaving for Portugal and the lesser-known corners of Spain. In sending you the heartfelt best wishes and thanks of all Egyptologists, may I say how very much we hope you will go on travelling for many years. You have so many friends in many countries; you know probably more Egyptologists than anyone else in our close professional community. I know that you are held in the highest regard and affection by Egyptologists everywhere. Please visit us whenever you can. In the Common Market of Egyptology you have ever ranged widely; frontiers have never presented problems to you and Mrs. Burney in your open tourer. You may be assured of a generous welcome wherever you go, not only because of what you have achieved, but particularly for what you are. We all owe you so much, and are happy to be able to tell you so on this occasion.

Ever yours,

HARRY JAMES



Photo: Oxford Mail & Times

ROSALIND MOSS

This Volume is dedicated
to
DR. ROSALIND MOSS
with
admiration and gratitude

EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ

A PRELIMINARY REPORT. II

By GEORGE T. SCANLON

Part II. The Monastery

It has been noted in the first part of this Preliminary Report that the enlargement of the church coincided with the foundation of the monastery.¹ On architectural evidence this was datable to A.D. 750–950. The prevalence of pottery whose terminus is given by Adams as 950 confirmed this. However, the majority of the designs originating in the Faras kilns were clearly of the first phase of Classic Christian ceramics, which Adams has appearing about 850. Hence we may surmise a more approximate date of 850–950 for the enlarged church and monastery.²

Yet the greater part of this pottery came from a room (I–I in Plan I, *Wizz—I*), most of whose fill was disturbed³ and whose walls seemed to *adjoin* the enlarged church rather than to be integral with it, and whose eastern wall lacked the plaster covering of the west wall (see pl. II, 1); and its stone foundations are less suavely laid than, for example, those of the north wall of the church courtyard (cf. *Wizz—I*, pl. XLV–1 and 2). The same lack of intimate architectural connection and differences in laying the stone foundations seemed to obtain for I–N, U, Y, AA and CC; III–M; II–P, R, AA, BB, CC, DD, RR, SS, and TT.⁴

¹ George T. Scanlon, 'Excavations at Kasr el-Wizz: A Preliminary Report. I', *JEA* 56 (1970), 42–57. (Hereinafter referred to as '*Wizz—I*'. All other shortened bibliographical references therein will be retained here.)

² *Wizz—I*, 52–7.

³ *Ibid.* 52 n. 2.

⁴ The distinction between areas II and III is discussed in *Wizz—I*, 31 n. 2. All topographical notations are to be found in Plan I therein.

Originally it was believed that I–DD might be equally distinct from the enlarged church, mainly because of its disturbed state. But it seems to be a self-contained unit, with its sunken hold for water-jars (one *in situ*) and a raised kitchen-area containing the plastered floor of a bee-hive oven, whose base was 76 cm. in dia. (See pl. II, 2.) This I would take to be the 'porter's lodge' of the enlarged church and hence of the same date as the enlargement.

The drawing of this unit in Plan I needs modification in view of pls. II, 3 and V. There is a good 30 cm. between the water-jar *in situ* and the west wall and the south wall of the hold goes against this *back* west wall with nothing intervening, so the plan of *DD* should be as it appears in fig. I herein. The north wall is slightly thicker towards the west to symmetricize the northern spur wall of the western entrance to the enlarged church.

Four of the six sherds found in the fill were of the first phase of Adams's Classic Christian, and one (fig. 2) had its decoration painted on the underside of the base, similar to one found in I–I (cf. *Wizz—I*, pl. XLIV, 4 and Adams, *NP I*, fig. 3A, motif 2 under N IV A). though the latter had a ring-foot whereas ours lacks the inner side of a true ring. The crickled remnant of a leather belt with stamped and tooled geometrical designs in panels (fig. 3) carried the remnants of three thongs at one end, giving it a possible utility for flagellation: this

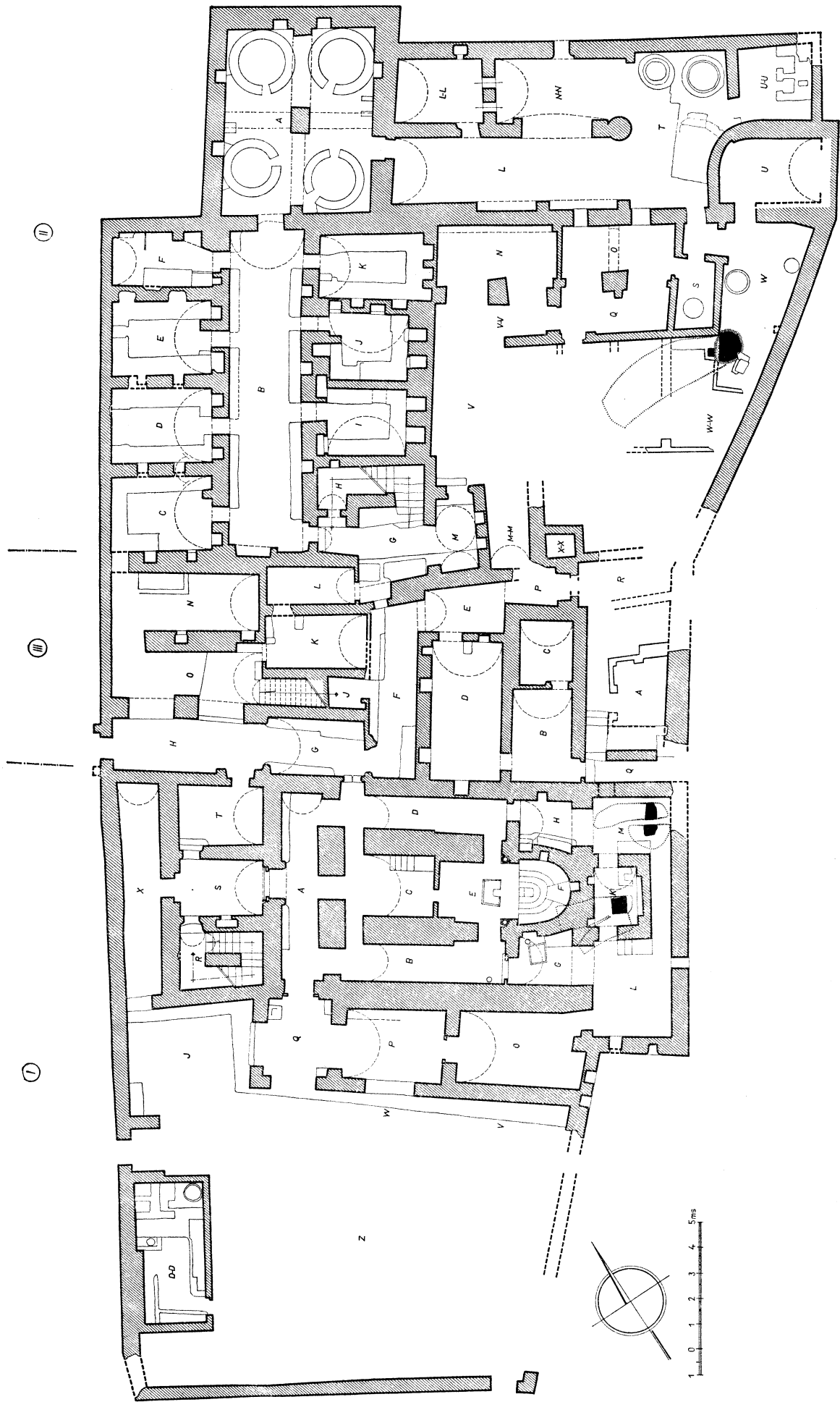


FIG. 1. Plan of enlarged church and early monastery.

EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ

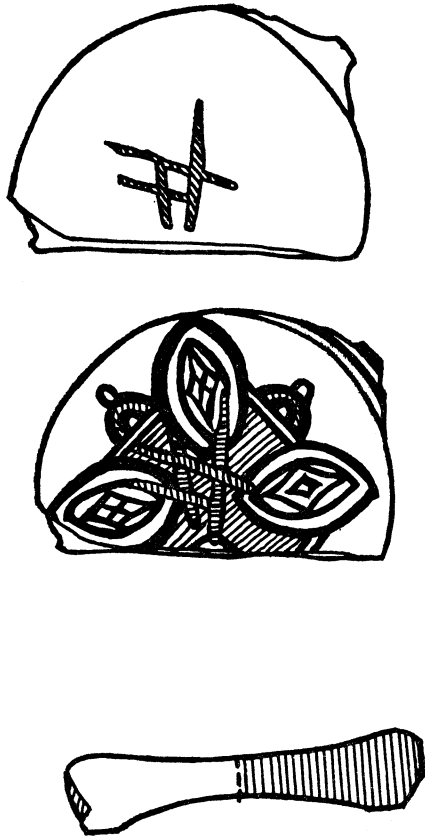


FIG. 2. Base of small bowl, incised internally, painted design underside. Classic Christian.

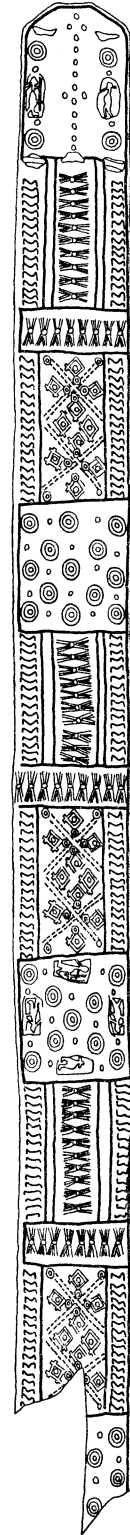


FIG. 3. Leather belt with stamped and tooled design. Present max. length 54·5, width 4·3 cm.

As was the case with the church, it now seems clear that there were at least two building periods in the history of the Wizz monastery. But two difficulties are inherent in the description of the monastery which were absent by and large in the analysis of the church: (a) far greater damage has been done in the monastery area, even in this century, which does not allow a completely accurate plan;¹ and (b) it is well-nigh impossible to date the construction of the ensheathing portions to the E., N., and SE. as noted in the preceding paragraph, except that it was before the abandonment of the complex as a whole sometime before A.D. 1200.²

A. The early monastery : ca. A.D. 850–950

The enlarged church and monastery measured app. 54·5 m. at its greatest N–S extent and app. 28·5 m. at its greatest E.–W. extent. (Cf. fig. 1; *Wizz—I*, Plan I, and section A–A of Plan II.) The monastery proper was about 30·5 m. on the maximum N.–S. axis. Like the enlarged church its walls were founded on and/or strengthened by field-stones, quarried from the mauve limestone *gabal* on which the complex was reared, inserted either as thin plaques or as partially dressed boulders. This allowed for wider vaulting and for the erection of an upper storey in some areas. Mud-bricks of the standard Nubian proportions were used to complete walls and to construct the vaults and domes.³

For purposes of analysis the following are isolable for discussion: the western entry bloc and stairway; the cell-bloc and stairway; the refectory; the service and comfort areas; the ‘courtyard’ and wine cellar. Much less clear are the eastern entry from the escarpment and the attendant bloc; and the elements forming the southern side of the ‘courtyard’.

1. The western entry bloc

The western entrance to the monastery (as distinct from that into the enlarged church) led into III–H and down the corridor into III–G (see pl. III, 2 and fig. 1, where the was found associated with the sherds, and may be contemporary with them. If the latter surmise be plausible as to utility and date, the porter must be termed an inmate of the monastery and be considered when assessing its population.

If I–DD was the main western gate-house of the monastery as a whole, then access to the monastery could only have been through the church, i.e. through I–Q and A into III–G, if the other entry from the west (into III–H) lacked a gate-house. This latter entry was gainsaid by the erection of room III–M to the west, which left the entry guarded by I–DD as the only entrance from the desert side, thus forcing the awkward access to the monastery through the church. For the more general discussion of entrance-ways to Coptic monasteries see C. C. Walters, ‘The Archaeology of Egyptian Monasticism’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool, July, 1970), 132–6 (hereinafter referred to as ‘Walters, “AEM”’).

¹ Cf. pl. III, 1, which is pl. 3, a from Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, which shows the high vaulted and domed area of II–M, the vaulted but much lower room of II–MM, and the high-standing remnant of the SE. corner of corridor II–F with what remained of the same areas after cleaning in 1965 (*Wizz—I*, pl. XXXII, 3 and p. 29 n. 3).

² *Wizz—I*, 51 and n. 1.

³ Except for the elliptical domes of the refectory, the architecture of Wizz presents no novelties *vis-à-vis* materials and modes of construction and therefore conforms to the modules and examples to be found in Mileham, *op. cit.* 7–13; Somers Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*; *LNM* III, 108–23. For the more general Egyptian monastic building practices, cf. Walters, ‘AEM’ 37–182.

spur-wall to the north of the entrance can be seen *in situ*;¹ and pl. III, 3, with the eastern wall of corridor III-F). Originally there was an entrance to Room I-T of the enlarged church from III-H, but this had summarily been closed off (cf. *Wizz-I*, 43 n. 1 and pl. XLII, 2), leaving the entrance from III-G into I-D, a step composed of two stone flags, comparable to the flooring of the church (see pl. III, 4). III-G was vaulted as can be seen from the remains of the springing and was plastered (see pl. IV, 1). What remained of the plaster carried numerous *graffiti* and incised drawings, particularly of autochthonous river-vessels. Not a few of the inscriptions were in Arabic, indicative of squatter habitation after the abandonment of the monastery. From the fill came a large fragment, including the ribbed central section, of what in Egypt is referred to as a bronze 'kohl-stick', complete samples of which have been found in Fustât (an example is shown in fig. 4), from contexts definitely anterior to A.D. 1200.

To the north of H (i.e. room III-O) an entirely different situation obtained. Originally two E.-W. arches, each app. 1.70 m. in span sprang from two engaged and one free-standing squarish pillars (see pl. IV, 2) with outstanding stone courses at exactly the same height (see *Wizz-I*, section AA of Plan II). But as exposed, the eastern archway was partially closed-off (see pl. IV, 3). When this was cleared, loose rubble from behind (i.e. to the north) fell out leaving a corridor to the stairway (see pls. IV, 4 and V, 3), but revealing a clear flooring to the north of the western archway, almost on a line with the eastern side of the central pillar (see pl. V, 1). Further, it will be noted in pl. V, 1 that the NW. corner of III-O is built out, and the abutment continues into the SW. corner of N (see pl. V, 2).

Hence, it seems clear that we have three periods involved in the entry-way. In the earliest period of the monastery, we had an entrance from the west with slight spur walls to north and south of the doorway. One entered an open long passage (III-H) which gave access on the right into the enlarged church at I-T, and proceeded eastwards into a vaulted passage (III-G) which also contained an entrance into the church (into I-D), made no doubt at the time of the founding of the monastery,² and an entrance into the long N.-S. corridor (III-F). This provided an unobstructed vista of 12 m.

To the left of H one had a double arched opening into a parallel vaulted room (III-O) from which one had access to a vaulted stairway at its SE. (see pl. V, 3), an entrance to a vaulted room (III-K) at its NE. (see pl. V, 4), and an entrance to a parallel vaulted room (III-N) at its NW. corner. This latter room was no doubt the door-keeper's room, for it contained a niche for clothing and utensils (with a plaster cross in relief above the niche) and a brick-lined area 1.75 × 0.5 m. for a sleeping pallet.

¹ There can be little doubt that the southern spur-wall was removed or encased when the ensheathing addition to the monastery was constructed. The difference in style in laying the stones is apparent when one compares the southern and western walls of III-M with the remains of its eastern wall, part of the primary structure of the monastery. When III-M was constructed, the entrance to the monastery, minus one spur-wall, was retained, but this entrance was no longer accessible from outside the complex.

² Cf. *Wizz-I*, fig. 1 and pp. 41-2 and 50-1.



FIG. 4

Originally O was at the same floor level as H, G, K, and N and served probably as a deposit area for goods brought by land to the monastery in its earlier phase.

The utility of room K is difficult to determine, though one might surmise that it was a reception room for visitors, for it lacked the niches which bespeak habitation by one of the inmates. (However, if the monastery kept its animals distinct from those of the church congregation, who used the church-yard (I-Z), then K might have been a stable, app. 2×4 m., capable of accommodating about ten small donkeys.)

Then in the second period, when the ensheathing rooms were added, very significant changes took place in the western entry-way bloc. Room III-M was added to the west, thus shutting off the monastery in that direction and engulfing the southern spur wall of the doorway into the wall separating I-AA and CC from III-M. The doorway from H into I-T was sealed, leaving that from G into I-D as the only ingress from the monastery to the church. Access from O to N (which was probably low and arched as is that from O into K), was likewise sealed and a smooth dirt flooring added to the western half of O, which rendered the western archway between H and O almost nugatory, but still allowed access to the stairway through the eastern archway.¹

Finally the eastern portion of O was filled in and the eastern archway filled to the level of that of the western one. This rendered O little more than a raised dais and pointed to an abandonment of the stairway and the upper storey. It was undoubtedly, too, the period when the *graffiti* were incised on the north wall of G, i.e. when squatters moved in on the abandoned convent.²

¹ When the pavement was investigated it proved to contain a fragment of parchment with portions of eleven lines of Greek in red ink (see pl. VI, 1); a number of sherds with painted decoration of the Early Christian period (e.g. Adams, *NP I*, fig. 3A-B, motifs 6, 9, and 26 under N III), one sherd with a roulette-wheeled decoration external and one with stamped decoration internal, both pre-Classic Christian (cf. Adams, *Kush* 10, 253-4, fig. 18, upper left example under 'Stamped Collar and Ledge Bands', and fig. 23 for chronology).

For the most mettlesome discussion of the philological problems of medieval Nubia see K. Michalowski, 'Open Problems of Nubian Art and Culture in the Light of the Discoveries at Faras', in *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in Christlicher Zeit*, ed. Erich Dinkler (Recklinghausen, 1970), 17. (Hereinafter referred to as *KGNCZ*.)

² That the place was in use up to rather modern times was proved by the presence in K of a large storage jar, with a greyish clay stopper *in situ*, and with rope lace to prevent or redress cracking (see pl. VI, 2). It was filled with grain which smelt fresh to the nostril. And from room N, there came another large storage jar with a flat lid lifted by a half loop (see pl. VI, 3). That it belonged to the monastery was proven by the anagram incised on its shoulder; but it contained burnt grain and animal refuse of a more recent date. Further, the eastern wall of N contained *graffiti*, including a river vessel, exactly like those in G. However, once the entrance from O to N was sealed, it would have been impossible to get into N during the second phase, and there was no other mode of ingress possible. Hence it seems more than probable that N was entered after the monastery was abandoned, perhaps when its vaulting and the parallel one at O had fallen (see pl. VI, 4 where the height of the vaultings are respectively 3.7 and 3.2 m.). The break in the far west wall of III-M (see *Wizz-I*, Plan I) represents the path of the squatters into the complex.

The majority of the sherds of the fill in N and K were of the first phase of Classic Christian with an admixture of Early Christian types and imported 'Samian' wares of the latter period. From K came the peculiar mauve sandstone object in fig. 5. A palm motif is carved between the two columns on two sides, and the globular surface of the upper side carries radiating lines. The fourth vertical side is undressed, so that the object may be a fragment of a larger object, perhaps a sun-dial. As it was highly charred on the inner surface, there seems little doubt it was re-used in some connection with cooking. However, in material and mode of carving, it corresponds exactly with the carved masonry objects associated with the first phase of the church, cf. *Wizz-I*, 31-41.

The stairway of the entry bloc had thirteen uneven and irregularly laid stone steps. It led to a N.-S. passageway which passed over the vaults of J and the eastern halves of the vaults of K and L. To the west were the remains of two small rooms (K' and L'), with a slight rise while proceeding north from in front of K' (with its entry-way *in situ*), passing in front of L' (which lacked any entry-way, except for the remains of the broken north wall of K' where it meets its western wall), and no doubt joining the top of the

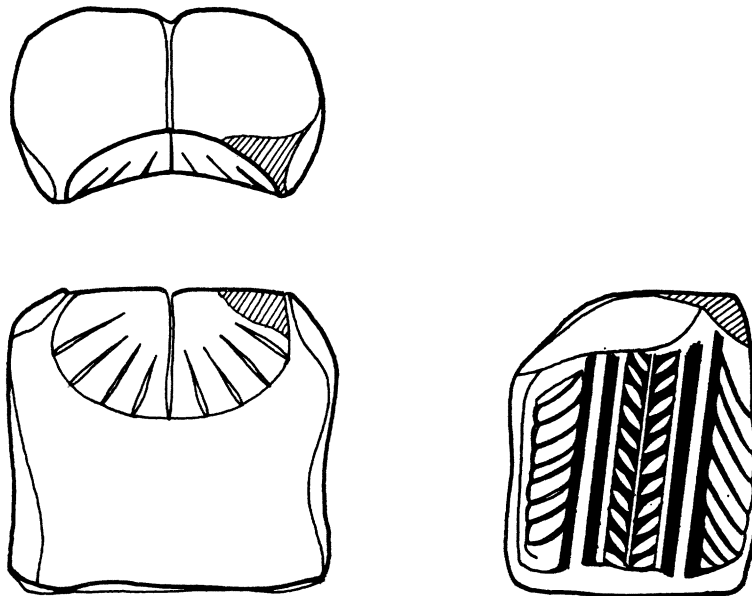


FIG. 5. Carved mauve sandstone fragment, *ca.* A.D. 550-750.

stairway rising from two right-angle turns in the area of II-H. This joined passageway then led to the passageway above corridor II-B, from whence opened another group of cells corresponding to the areas of II-C, D, E, F, H, I, J, and K, though no trace whatsoever of an upper cell-bloc remained. But the presence of the ascertainable remains of rooms K' and L', and the two stairways being joined by the same passageway permits one to posit an upper storey.¹

Corridor III-F originally united the entry bloc with the cell bloc, but the ingress was blocked (see pl. VII, 2), perhaps at the time when the door between III-O and N was blocked. At its SE. corner there was a narrow platform 2×0.5 m., used perhaps as a sleeping pallet (see pl. VII, 3). There was no trace of vaulting. All of the sherds within the considerable fill were of Early and the first phase of the Classic Christian periods; a very fine example of the latter can be seen in fig. 6, with the decoration in black and red on light brown.

Room J simply fitted in beneath the upper ascending vaults of the stairway (see pl. VII, 4), and was probably a store-room. As was the case with F, there is no trace of vaulting, so it is difficult to imagine its ceiling. Among the finds in this practically

¹ For a discussion of the entrance of the Faras monastery see *Faras* (Warsaw '61), 114-17, and for the stairway and passageway over vaults see *Faras* (Warsaw '61-2), 145-51. Much more of the upper storey was intact at Faras, and there is little doubt that it was the model for Wizz.

undisturbed room were an Early Christian dish-type lamp with a loop handle;¹ the base and part of the shoulder of a slip-painted bowl whose central radial design marks it as a product of the Faras potteries in the first phase of the Classic Christian period (fig. 7);² and the stamped centre seal of a Faras pottery dish of the same period (fig. 8).³

Because of the integrity of its walls with rooms K and N and its relationship with room L' on the upper level, room L may be considered structurally part of the entrance

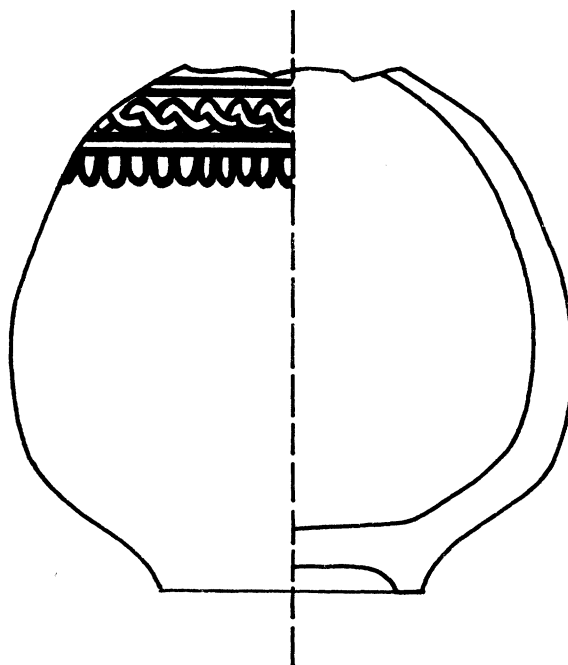


FIG. 6. Major fragment of slip-painted jug. Classic Christian. Faras kiln.

ensemble, while functionally it is related to the cell-bloc since its doorway does not give on to corridor F, though it could be reached from the latter's ingress before it was blocked. (See pl. IX, 1.) Though smaller than it, L was vaulted like room K, but there was no passage between them. One might assume it was a cell, except that there was neither sleeping platform nor any niches, both or either of which seem to identify the monk's personal rooms. It does not seem well placed for a store-room. Its very disturbed fill contained sherds of the Early and Classic Christian periods and the major matching portion of an Aswân-ware bowl, with an interesting design painted in the usual 'slap-dash' manner.⁴

¹ Cf. *Wizz-I*, 56 and fig. 16 g.

² Cf. Adams, *NP I*, fig. 3B, motif 24 under N IV A, and W. Y. Adams, 'The Evolution of Christian Nubian Pottery', *KGNCZ* 117 and pl. 58.

³ Cf. *Wizz-I*, 52 and n. 3 for a discussion of the duplicates found at Arminna West and the 'helmeted man' motif.

⁴ The design and shape are reproduced in Scanlon, *Pottery*, 66 f. and fig. 12. For a discussion of this ware see Adams, *NP II*, Group A IV; and *KGNCZ* 118-20 and pl. 68. If Adams's thesis about the rhythm of Aswân imports into Nubia be correct, this bowl must be dated after A.D. 1050.

This western entry bloc at Wizz points to a significant difference between the Nubian monastery and those in Egypt in that we lack either the 'tower-keep' sort of entry or

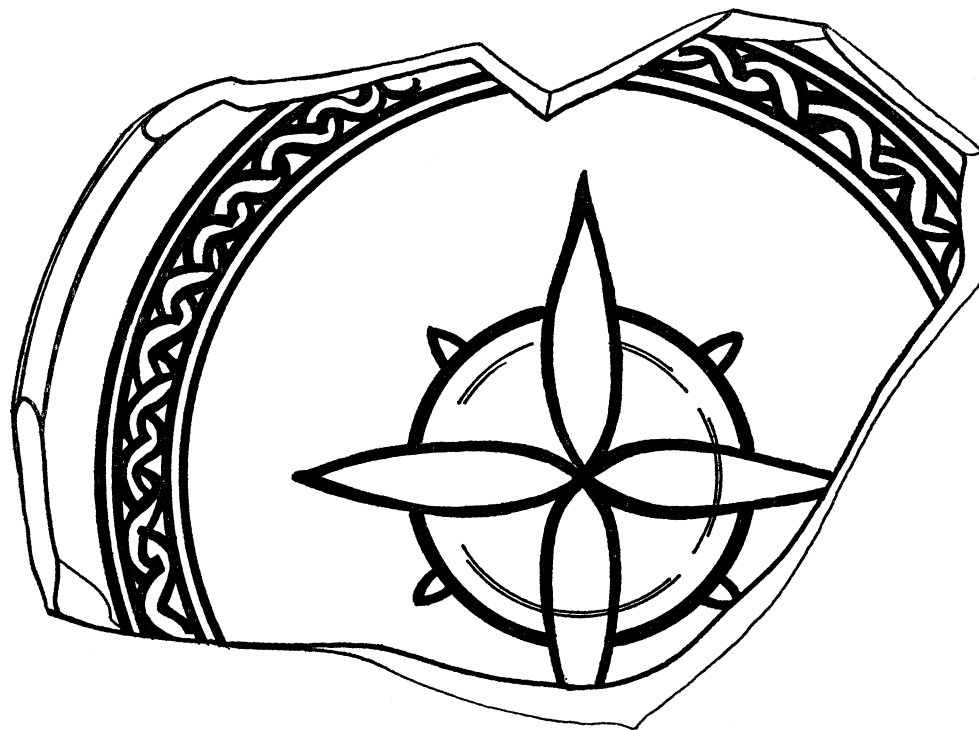


FIG. 7. Fragment of slip-painted bowl, design interior. Probably from Faras Kilns, *ca.* A.D. 850-950.

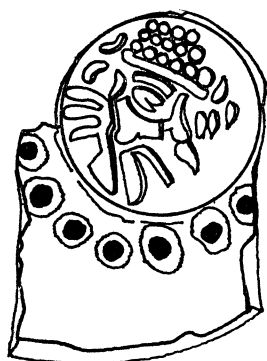


FIG. 8. Stamp centre-piece of 'helmeted man'. Classic Christian. Faras Kiln.

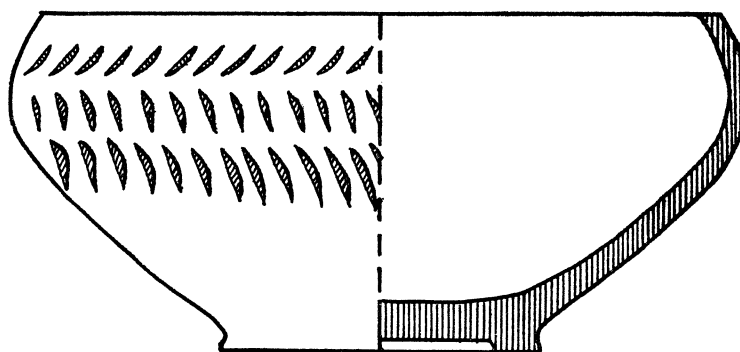


FIG. 9. *Terra sigillata* bowl with chisel grooves external. Early Christian.

ingress via a windlass from lower to upper levels.¹ Being so close to the fortified capital of Pachoras (Faras), perhaps there was little fear of depredation.

The greater part of the sherds found in the various units were of the period before 1050 when Lower Nubia was at its *floruit* politically, religiously, and artistically. Had we

¹ Cf. Walters, 'AEM' 132-62.

more information on the monastery at Faras (taking into account the sparse facts supplied from al-Ramal, Tamit, and Ghazali), we might be able to initiate a sub-typology of Nubian monasteries, a key feature of which would be the entry-ways. We are left only with the knowledge that at some date, probably in the tenth or early eleventh century, the monastery saw fit to forgo this area as a *functioning* entry-way, and altered quite radically the internal movements of monastic life at Wizz. The exact reasons for this change are well-nigh impossible to comprehend with the evidence at hand, since the monastery shows the effect of late, destructive habitation and speaks of a paradoxical situation in that there is an over-all enlargement which effectively denies logical entry to the monastery from the west and begets a contraction of intelligent movement within, viz. the fill-in of loggia III-O, the blocking of the doorway from vestibule H into the church, and the blocking of the passage from F to II-G and the cell-bloc and refectory.

2. The cell-bloc

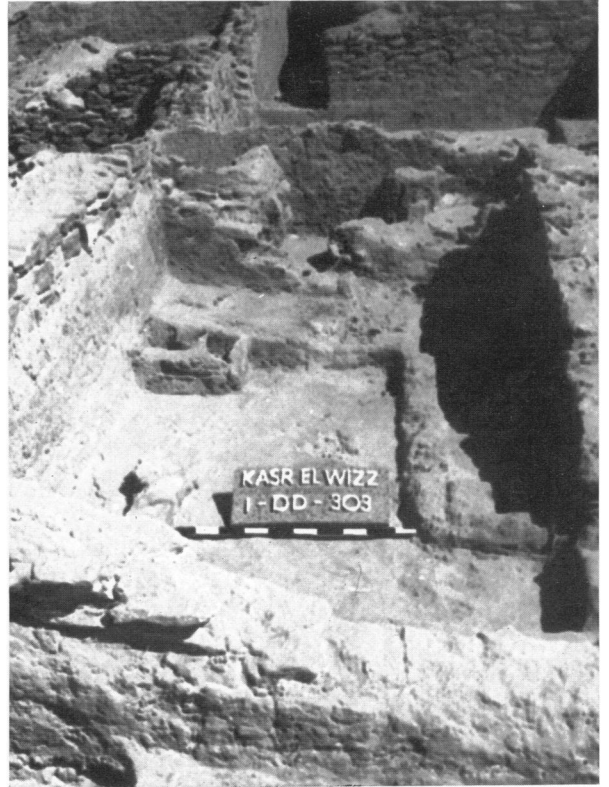
The cell-bloc on the ground floor centred on a long, vaulted corridor (II-B), entered from a vestibule-type room (II-G), which was entered from the entry-bloc via III-F and from the upper storey of cells via the stairway II-H, and was connected by the vestibule with the originally domed room (II-M), which in turn seems at some period to have connected with the open 'court-yard' of the monastery. From B, which measured app. 12.5×2.8 m. and was 3.6 m. high (see pl. VIII, 2), there were entrances to four vaulted cells on the west and three on the east, and a door into the refectory at the north end (see pl. VIII, 3). At the south end there was an arched recess, app. 0.5 m. deep, from the soffit of which a small rectangular shaft made verbal communication with the upper storey possible (see pl. VIII, 2) where the shaft, which has lost its thin north face can be seen rising from the top of the arched recess; and pl. VIII, 4, where the shaft may be seen from below the soffit of the arch). Above and slightly to the east of this recess was a light-and-air shaft, which was probably duplicated in the north wall, whose upper portions have disappeared.

The floor of the corridor was originally of irregular stone plaques with tamped sand and mud-brick rubble surface, most of which has disappeared. Between the doorways there were slightly raised platforms analogous to, but not quite as high as, those in the cells. Finally there were three arched niches between the doorways in the east wall, unduplicated on the north wall, which held lamps (see pl. VIII, 2 and 3 and *Wizz—I*, Plan II, Section A-A).

All the cells were irregular in dimensions and planning, but all were vaulted and all, except II-I, had arched entrances. But where the remains sufficed to be positive, all contained two characteristics of monastic habitation: a small, raised platform which went round the cell (where it did not on Plan I of *Wizz—I* it was clearly a result of disturbance), and which was used for sitting and for sleeping pallets; and a series of arched niches in the walls, which were used for lamps, books, utensils, and clothing,



1. Room I-I with I-BB in foreground; looking east



2. Room I-DD; looking north



3. Room I-DD with water-jar *in situ*; looking west



4. Room I-DD with remains of bee-hive oven in NE corner

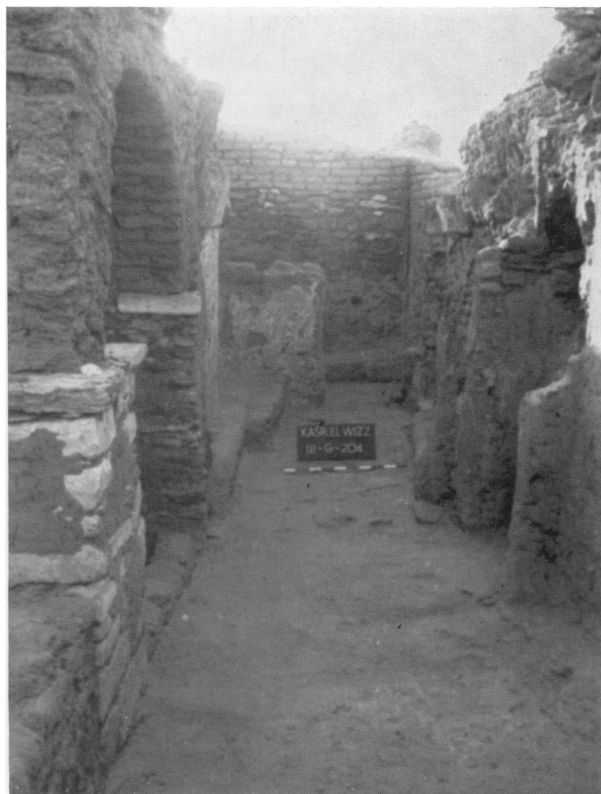
EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ



1. Pl. 3a of Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, showing II-M domed



2. III-M effectively blocking the original western entry-way; looking south

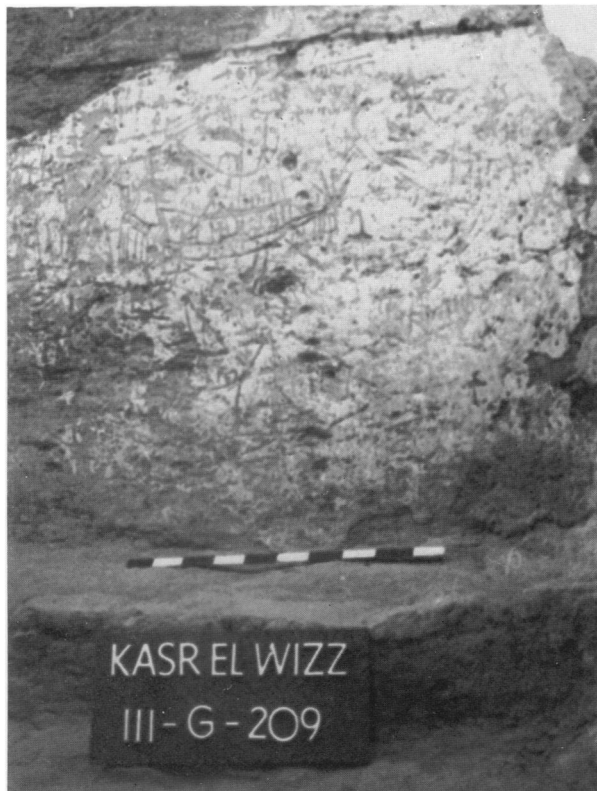


3. III-H into III-G, looking east



4. Entry-way from III-G into the church at I-D

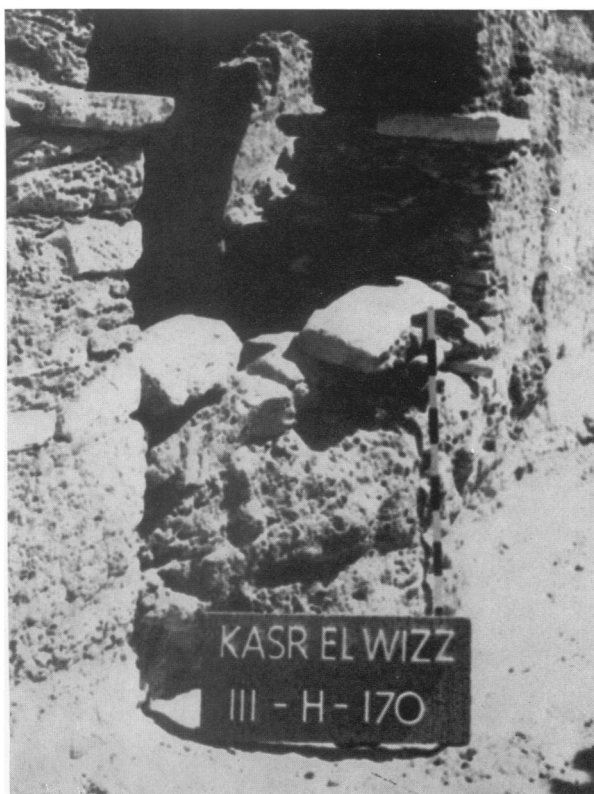
EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ



1. Plastered west wall of III-G, showing later *graffiti*, and traces of vault springing



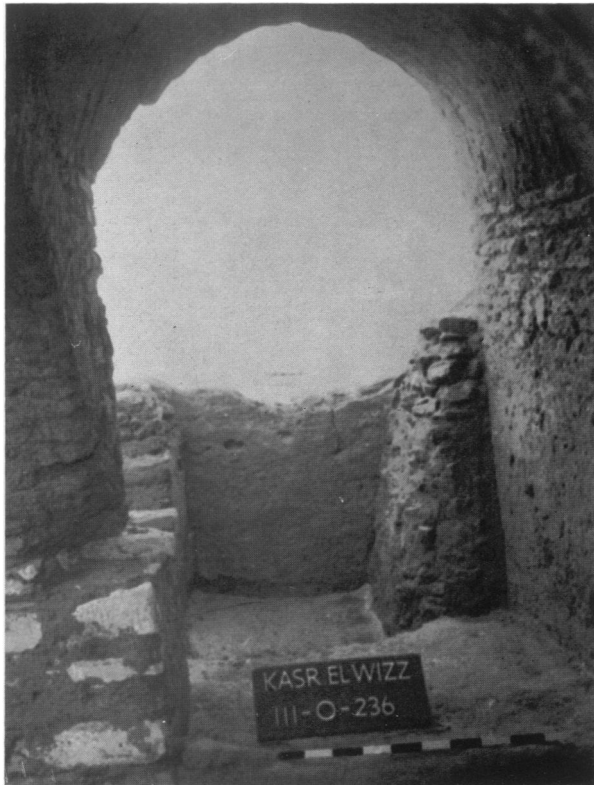
2. Eastern archway between III-H and III-O; looking west



3. Lower part of archway in 2. as originally blocked



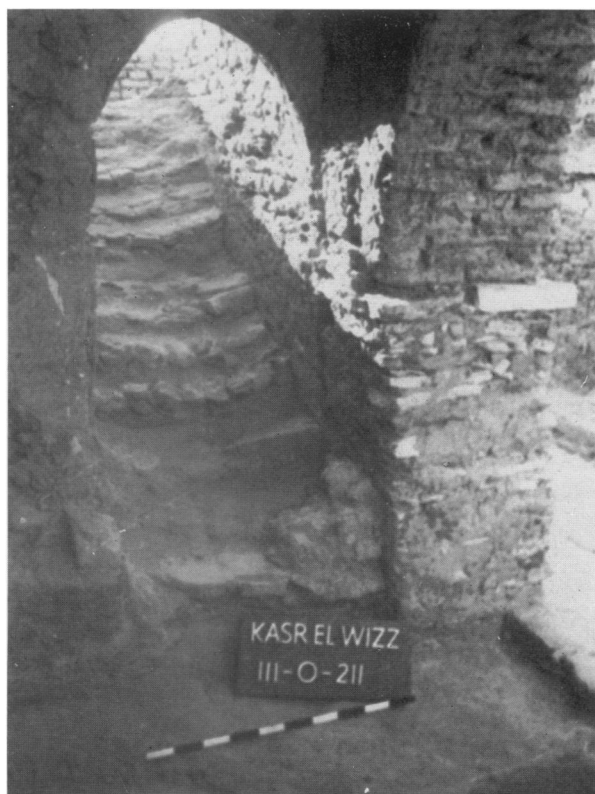
4. Eastern part of III-O as cleared; lower part of stairway in upper centre



1. Western part of III-O showing later flooring and blocked entrance into III-N



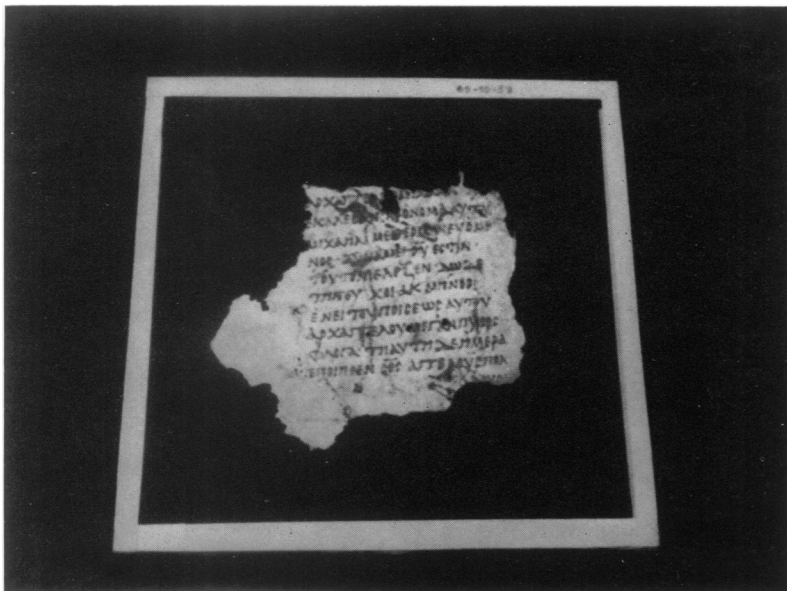
2. III-N looking west, with blockage of entry to III-O *in situ*



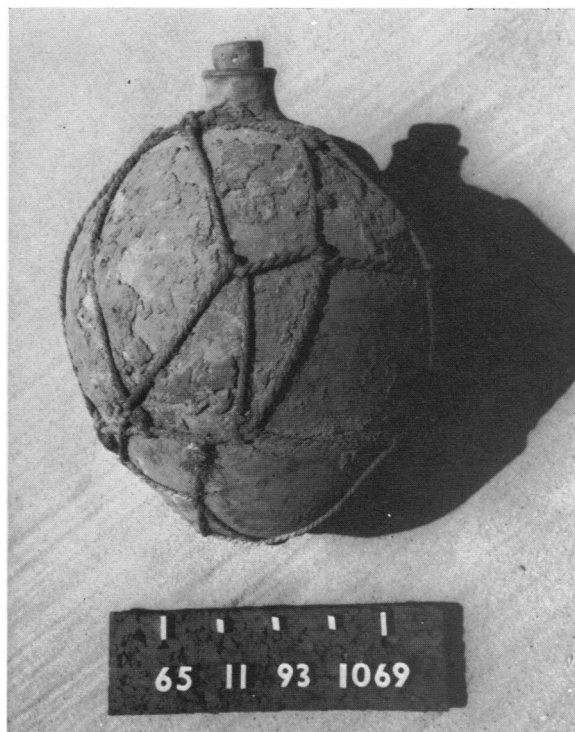
3. Stairway from III-O to upper storey



4. Entry from III-O to III-K before clearing of latter



1. Fragment of parchment with Greek text, in fill of later flooring of western part of III-O



2. Enlaced storage jar from III-K



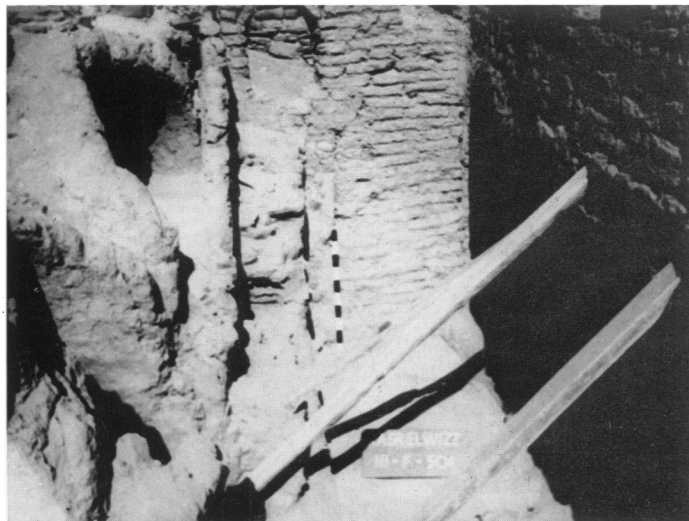
3. Storage jar with incised anagram found in III-N. Ht. 44.5 and max. dia. 37.0 cm.

4. Vaulting of III-O and N; looking east





1. Upper rooms III-K¹ and L¹ with vaulted stairway from III-O at left; looking east



2. North end of corridor III-F with blocked passage into II-G



3. South end of corridor III-F with platform *in situ* in SE corner



4. Room III-J beneath rising vaults of stairway from III-O to upper storey

EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ



1. Entry-way into room III-L as photographed from II-G; looking SW



2. Cell corridor II-B; looking south



3. Cell corridor II-B; looking north into refectory II-A

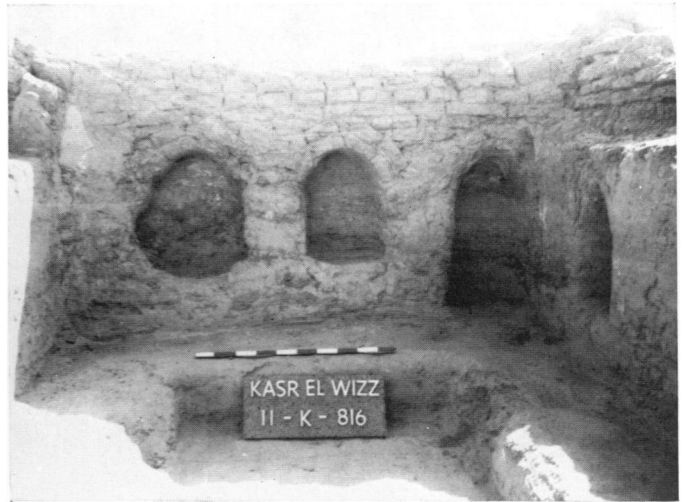


4. Communications shaft in soffit of archway in south wall of II-B (see 2. above)

EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ



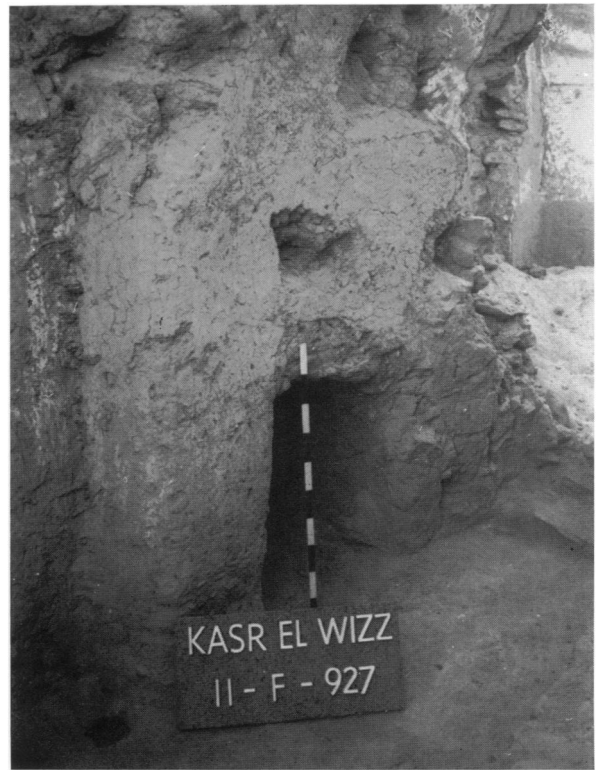
1. Platform in cell II-E from above



2. Platform and niches in cell II-K



3. Platform and 'gouged' niches in cell II-F

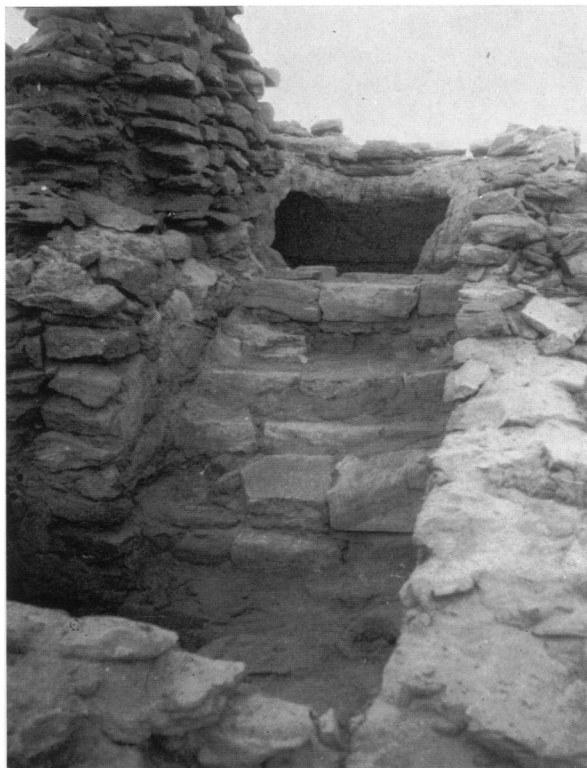


4. Floor 'cupboard' in cell II-F

EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ



1. First landing and part of middle flight of stairway at II-H



2. Upper flight of stairway at II-H



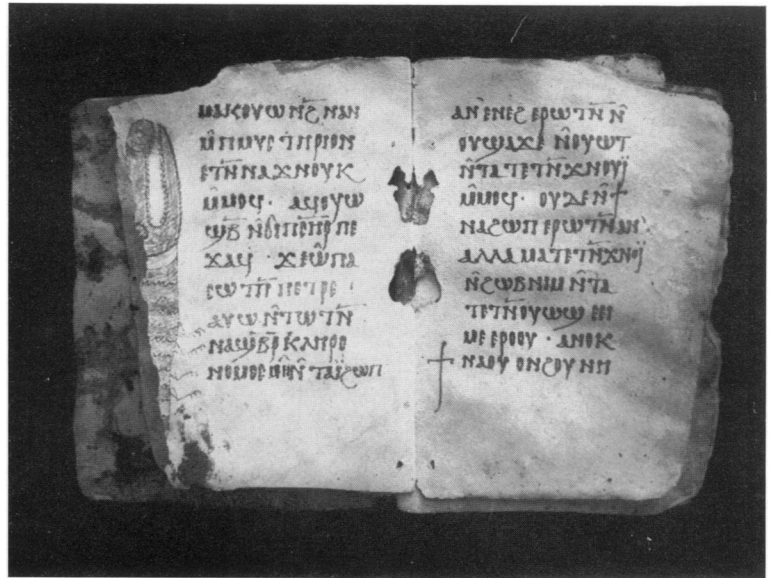
3. Entry-way into area beneath stairway at II-H



4. Traces of intermediate vaulting between cells II-E and F



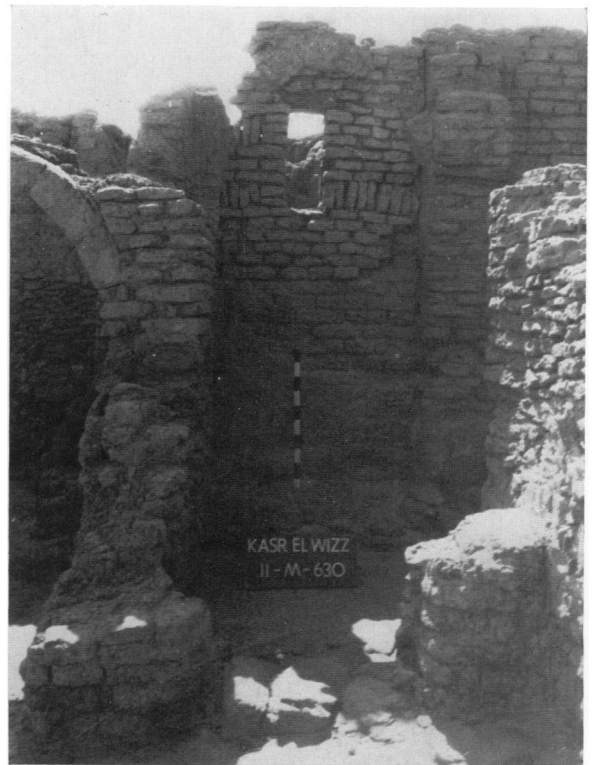
1. First page of prayer-book found in cell II-E



2. Folios 4-5 of prayer-book

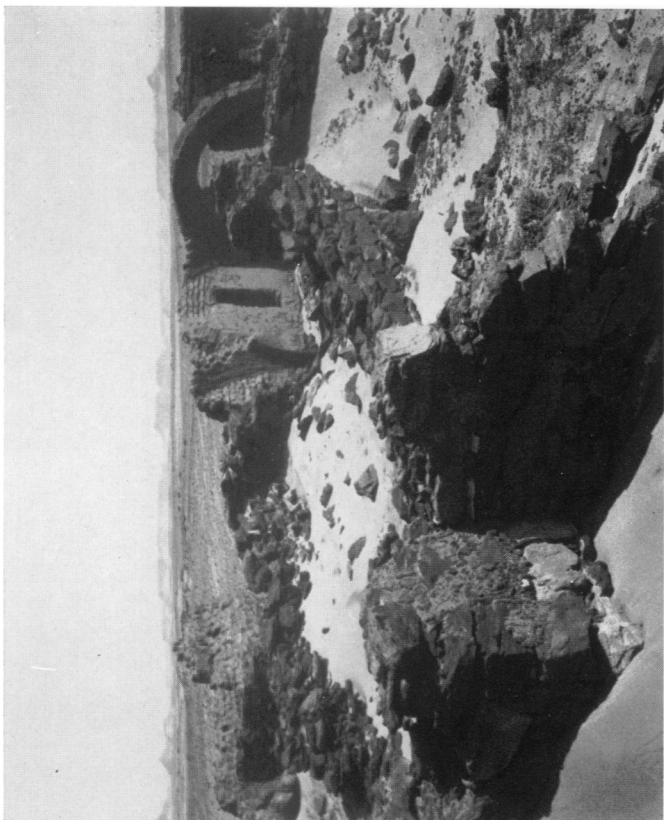


3. Aswân bowl, 'slap-dash' slip decorated

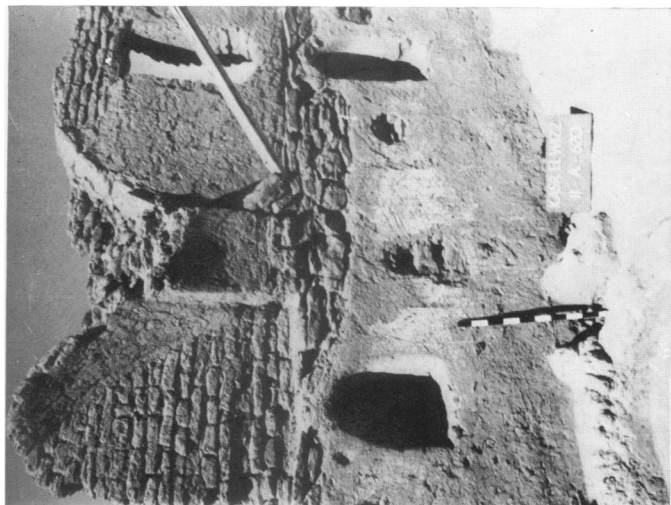


4. II-M; looking south

EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ



1. State of refectory II-A (in right background) before clearing



2. II-A, west wall



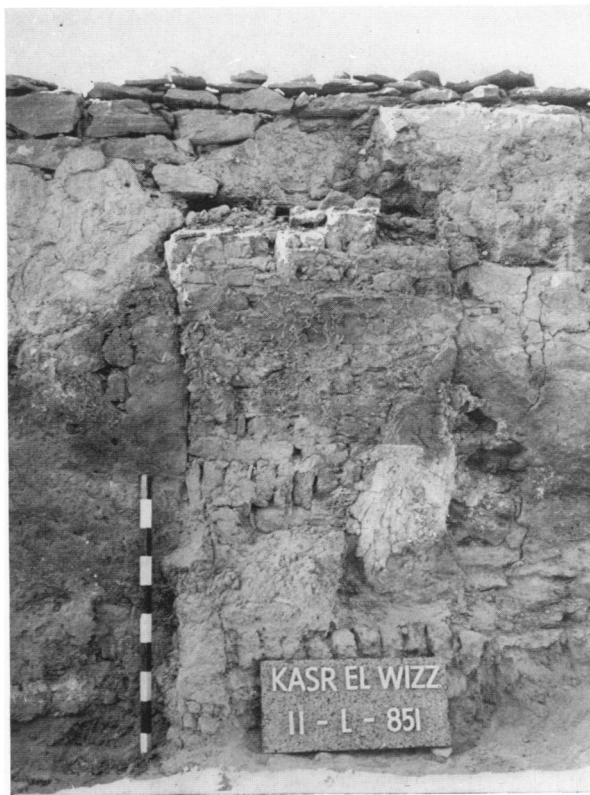
3. II-L with entrance from refectory II-A; looking west



4. II-NN with postern-door blocked; looking west



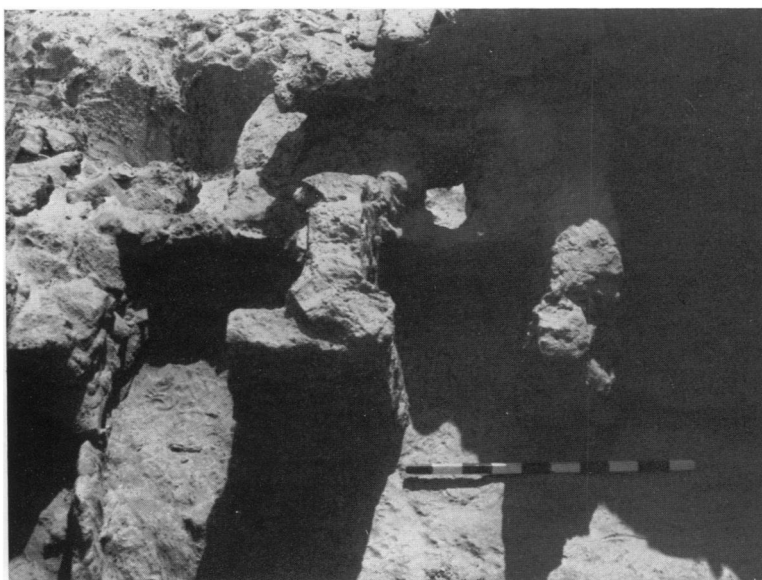
1. Blocked archway in south wall of II-L



2. Blockage of western entrance from II-L into II-O



3. Remains of ovens of kitchen area II-T; looking NE



4. Remains of latrines at II-UU

and which are generally referred to in the archaeological sources as 'cupboards' (see pl. IX, 1 for the platform in II-E; and IX, 2 for the niching in II-K). The number and size of the latter varied from cell to cell: in C there were three; in D four; in E, four precise and two possible; in I, 4; in J, five; and in K, five.

Cell F provides something of a quandary. It is the smallest of the seven. Its platform is just sufficient for a sleeping pallet, not unlike those noted in III-N and III-F; and lacks any but the most rudimentary wall niching (see pl. IX, 3). Further it is the only one of the cells which seems to have a floor cupboard (see pl. IX, 4).

Except for the vaultings, platforms, and margining courses of doorways, recesses, and niches, all these elements were built of rough unevenly dressed stones, which would have been natural as a base for an upper storey (see below). A thick mud plaster was applied and then a coat of lime whitewash, which might have carried paintings, since many unrelated small fragments of fresco were discovered in the fill of the vestibule III-G. And, though none remains *in situ*, it seems reasonable to suppose that each of the cells had a skylight of some sort high in the wall opposite that containing the doorway.

(If this be a reasonable assumption, it must follow that elements II-P and R were built subsequently to the cell-bloc, since cells C, D, E, and F originally depended on outlets to the west for their interior lighting. One wonders then if these cells were abandoned after P and R were constructed. If not, they must have been hot and damp beyond endurance during the Nubian spring and summer.)

Another element of this ensemble was the stairway (II-H) entered from the vestibule II-G. There were two landings for two ninety-degree turns, and like the stairways at I-R and III-O, the three flights of steps were vaulted (see pl. X, 1 and 2). At the summit one turned ninety degrees to the west and entered what must have been the duplicate of corridor B with cells to the east and west of it. If one posits a cell above the stairway, this would mean eight cells above and seven below, for a total of fifteen in the bloc as a whole, though no trace of these upper cells exists. Beneath the stairway was a right-angled room which when cleared was not unlike the space which remained under the last two flights of the stairway (I-R) of the church (see *Wizz—I*, pl. XLIII, 2); but its utility was more like that of room III-J (see *supra* and pl. VII, 4). The entrance into this room from G was rectangular, but had a relieving arched window cut about the lintel, something of a rare feature at Wizz (see pl. X, 3).

In addition to the two stairways within the monastery, further proof of an upper storey was provided by the remains of intermediate vaulting between the vaults of cells E and F (see Pl. X, 4). Although such interstitial vaulting has not been seen associated with the monastery at Faras, the nearest structural congener to Wizz, it has been noted at Karanog and Gabal Adda,¹ where it is clearly employed to support an upper storey over lower vaulting. It was the common practice throughout the great monastery of St. Simeon at Aswân.²

¹ *LNM* III, 119-21 and figs. 106 and 107.

² U. Monneret de Villard, *Il Monastero di S. Simeone presso Aswan* (Milano, 1927), 120-32, and figs. 45, 52, 118, 119, 124, and 125. Walters refers to this monastery more correctly as Deir Anba Hadra, 'AEM' 10 f. Also *ibid.* 167-79 for a discussion of cells in Egyptian monasteries.

Though the fill in what remained of the cell-bloc seemed highly disturbed, the sherds evidenced an overwhelmingly consistent chronological pattern—from Early Christian, most notably in a *terra sigillata* bowl with chisel grooves under the rim externally (see fig. 9), the zoomorphic handle of a slip painted bowl (see fig. 10, black touches on cream slip), both found in corridor B;¹ through the first phase of Classic Christian (including a sherd of lead-glazed ware imported from Egypt—green dots in a manganese lattice on honey-brown—found in vestibule G²), with a very few examples of the second phase of Classic Christian. No Nubian ware of the Post-Classic and Late Christian eras, i.e. roughly nothing made after A.D. 1100, was found in this cell-bloc.

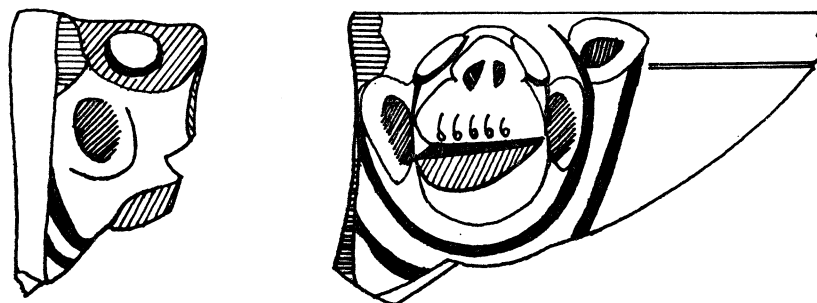


FIG. 10. Slip-painted zoomorphic handle.

The most important find was the book of prayers, written in Sahîdic Coptic and illuminated, complete in seventeen folios, but with the cover missing, found on the floor of cell E at the NW. corner below the platform. The parchment was worm-eaten, but the text was clearly written in black ink on both sides of fifteen leaves and one side of a sixteenth. The decoration was in red, green, black, and sometimes touched with white, and included two crosses of entrelacs (see pl. XI, 1 for that on the first page), a three-sided rectilinear frame of entrelacs, various *ansae*, zoomorphically rendered capital letters, a peacock-like bird nibbling what appears to be bunches of grapes, a vase of flowers,³ and what looks like an amusing crocodile (see pl. XI, 2, which is fols. 4 recto and 5 verso).⁴

¹ The former is clearly a type of Adams's Aswân-made ware A II, cf. Adams, *NP II* and Adams, *KGNCZ* 119; while the latter seems a stylistic hold-over from the X-Group period into the Early Christian phase, in that it is a lion's head which does not appear thematically in the Classic or Late Christian phases, but is well known as an architectural motif in Meroitic and X-Group periods.

² This is Adams's glazed Group G I, cf. Adams, *NP II* and Adams, *KGNCZ* 121 and pl. 69. This is an eighth-ninth century ware in Egypt, and, *pace* Meinarti, I believe it was imported into Nubia well before A.D. 1000 since by that date it would have disappeared from the *suqs* of Aswân, its point of importation into Nubia. During the tenth century tin glazes had replaced lead glazes in Egypt and if Adams's chronology for the importation of glazed wares into Nubia be taken at face value, it means that it took more than a century to dispose of the inventories of a ware no longer popular in Fustât and Lower Egypt. Of course the matter can only be resolved by crucial excavation in the Aswân area.

³ The latter two can be seen in Scanlon, *Pottery*, 65 and fig. 4. These are fols. 3 recto and 4 verso.

⁴ The book has been discussed and some pages printed, e.g. Scanlon, *Pottery*; *The New York Times* and *The Times* (London), both of Dec. 24, 1965, and *Time*, Jan. 7, 1966; and G. R. Hughes, 'Qasr al-Wizz', *Oriental Institute Reports* (1965/6), 10-14.

It is now generally accepted that the book represents the Coptic original of the Nubian translation of Griffith's

Not far from it was a letter of seven horizontal folds, possibly incomplete, written in black ink on one side in the Nubian language, and addressed ('Marianos to Marianos') on the other in a single line of Greek.¹ In another area of the fill, somewhat above the floor, another letter in the Nubian language, this time on parchment folded six times and written on both sides, came through. Still further up in the fill, two small fragments of parchment with inscription written in Coptic in black ink with one capital letter in red were discovered. When these documents have been deciphered and studied

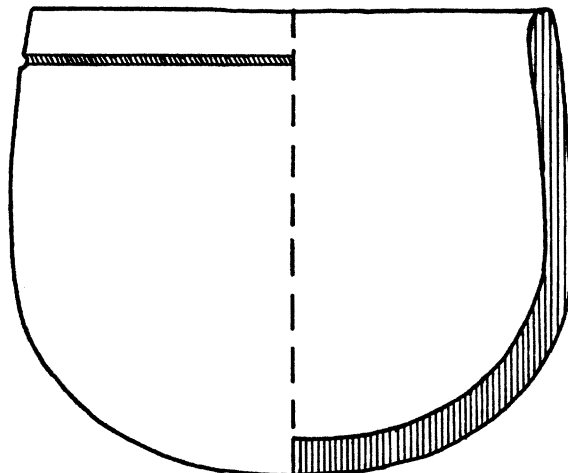


FIG. 11. Round-bottomed, cream slipped cup, Early Christian.

against the broad range of written materials brought forth in the Nubian campaigns, they will, no doubt, contribute significantly to the dating of the occupation of the monastery as a whole, and the utility of the cell-bloc in particular.

But three other objects in cell E call for special attention when the chronology of the ensemble is at question. All were dispersed in the sandy loose fill of the room in contexts not significantly different from the written materials noted above. One was composed of seven matching fragments of a round-bottomed cup, cream slipped except for a band of red at the rim below which was a single incised rib (see fig. 11). In shape and finish it resembles Adams's exemplar for the Early Christian period.² Then there was the major portion of a mauve sandstone capstone with a floral design carved on its outer face. In shape, size, and mode of decoration it was similar to the capstones found associated with the original western entrance of the church, except

Berlin MS.; cf. his 'The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period', *Abh. Berlin* (1913) and 'Christian Documents of Nubia', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 14 (1928). Thus it represents a key philological link for the modern comprehension of the evolution of the Nubian language.

¹ The text will be published with the other epigraphical materials from the excavation. Suffice it here to speculate if either the writer or the addressee was Bishop Marianos, whose name was missing from the bishops' list at Faras (*Faras* [Zurich], 131-2 and bibliography, and p. 186 for trans. of list), but whose tomb and stela were discovered at Kasr Ibrîm (J. M. Plumley, 'Some Examples of Christian Nubian Art from the excavations at Qasr Ibrîm', *KGNCZ* 131 and pl. 102). He died in A.D. 1037.

² Adams, *NP I*, fig. 1B, example 3 of Form Class 'Cups'. Except that it lacks the external body decoration of his example, ours is dimensionally the same as his Cup B-3 of fig. 2 in his earlier study: Adams, *Kush* 10, 255.

that it lacked the outer coat of whitewash. Such carved stone embellishments permit us an Early Christian dating, and force the surmise that this particular object, the only other stone carving found in the monastery, might have been brought from the early church at the time of its enlargement to decorate this particular room of the monastery, which then assumes an importance greater than any other cell in the bloc.¹

The third object was composed of five matching and one unmatched sherd of a slip-decorated bowl (see pl. XI, 3). This piece has already been published (Scanlon, *Pottery*, 66 and fig. 13), and it is certainly an Aswân import, with the typical 'slap-dash' decoration of Adams's group A IV. It is similar in fabric and mode of decoration (they share the same central motif) to the Aswân bowl discovered in room III-L (cf. *supra*, and esp. p. 15 n. 1). If Adams's theory that such wares came into Nubia only after 1050 is put against the overwhelming evidence of the sherds in the cell-bloc (and most probably the written documents in E) of a chronology anterior to even the Post-Classic Christian period, then we can assume that these two bowls arrived in Wizz before 1100 and that the monastery was in use at least until that date.

The most difficult unit to conjure from the present remains and in architectural terms (particularly the absence of stone for strengthening the walls) is the adjunct to the cell-bloc, room II-M. Both Mileham and Griffith noted it as being central within the ensemble and domed (to differentiate it from the remains of the domed refectory); but already by Monneret de Villard's survey, this central dome could not be discerned, and by the time of our arrival in 1965 there was no overhead structure whatsoever.² If the corner springing shown in *Wizz—I*, pl. XXXII, 3 be for a dome, and if we take the entire width of app. 2.8 m. to the doorway as that of the dome, then it would seem to dictate a most haphazard elliptical dome in view of a cross-width of 1.5 m. But if one looks at pl. XI, 4, one notices the remnant of similar vault-springing at the SW. corner. Then if one notes in Mileham's photographs that there is a partial barrel vaulting at the north end of the dome (which no doubt covers the entrance from the interior courtyard, see pl. XII, 4), then we arrive at an elliptical dome with axes of 1.8 and 1.5 m., supported by north and south short barrel vaults.

Though this might fit in with the structural integrity of the cell-bloc and by inference with the western entry bloc (with III-F giving on to II-G which connects with cell corridor B and with M, with egress into the interior 'courtyard'), we are left with the odd fact that the walls lack any stone strengthening. Further, if one observes the lay of bricks in the south wall one is face to face with either the most highly irregular brick-laying even for Nubia, or at least two construction periods. (It was for both these reasons, but more particularly the latter, that the wall connecting II-M and part of G was posited as secondary construction in Plan I of *Wizz—I*. It is not so handled in fig. 1 herein simply to see if it could appear integral with the first period of the monastery. It remains just one of the many open questions associated with Wizz.) The twelve small sherds found within the fill were all either Early Christian or of the first phase of Classic Christian, uniting this unit typologically with the others in the cell-bloc.

¹ *Wizz—I*, 39 and fig. 8 b.

² *Wizz—I*, 29-31 and pl. XXXII, 2 and 3 for what can be discerned today after cleaning.

3. The refectory

Next to the church, this room (II-A) was the most impressive architecturally in the monastery. One of the four domes had survived almost intact when Mileham saw it, and little more than the shell of the NW. domical structure greeted Monneret, who, however, cleared enough to make a possible reconstruction (*LNM* 1, figs. 167-9). When our work commenced, little more than the north and west walls (which had to be supported so that the room could be cleaned) remained above the fill (see pl. XII, 1).

When cleaned it proved to be an asymmetrically quadrangular room, constructed of the same materials and in the same fashion as the entry-way and cell-bloc, roughly 5.75×7.25 m. It was divided into quadrants by a central pillar, 1.1×0.75 m. with an *in situ* height of 1.85 m., to support the relieving arches for the domes, the north and south arches of which rested on engaged pillars standing out from the north and south walls (see *Wizz-I*, pl. XXXIII, 1 for the engaged pillar at the north wall, and pl. XII, 2 herein for the absence of such support against the west wall).¹ The dimensions of the quadrants to carry the domes were: SW., 3.3×2.6 ; NW. 3.3×2.5 ; SE. 3.2×2.3 ; and SE. 3.2×2.6 m. These dimensions would make for the oddly elliptical domes posited by Monneret. In the light of his section of the north wall and an assumed domical height of just over a metre from the arched springing above the window, the assumed height of the domes in Plan I of Wizz-I (roughly 1.65 m.) should be revised slightly to accord with Monneret's over-all reconstruction.

There were four windows: two *in situ* in the NW. quadrant and the edge of one in the SW., and for symmetry's sake there would have been one in the NE. quadrant. Since two were in the west wall of the refectory and two in the north, we may assume that in the original monastery the refectory formed the NW. corner. Thus the addition of rooms II-AA and DD reduced somewhat the utility and lighting of this dining-room. As with the enclosing of the entrance at III-H, it is difficult to fathom the reason, as there was no door cut at any later date from either of the involved walls into the new rooms.

In each of the quadrants, but set without regard to symmetry, were four circular mud-brick benches (see pl. XII, 2 and *Wizz-I*, pl. XXXIII, 1), each about 43 cm. high and 35 cm. wide. Three had one opening each, and the one in the SE. quadrant had two. The inner diameters of the four were: SW. 1.5; NW. 1.7; NE. 1.8; and SE. 1.6 m. More probably than not the monks would eat from a common bowl set in the centre of each ring. Though six monks could be accommodated at each ring with ease, five would seem the more comfortable number. The community would then number twenty or twenty-four. We have seen that the cell-bloc, allowing eight cells on the upper storey, would accommodate fifteen monks. There would have been a gate-keeper at the western church entrance (I-DD) and a porter in III-N, the entrance to whose room from III-O was later blocked. (Considering the thickness of the walls at N., there might easily have been a cell directly above it.) This gives a possible total of eighteen, leaving from two to

¹ Monneret's plan (*LNM* 1, fig. 168) is in error in that the central pillar is not cruciform, there are no engaged supports from east and west walls, and the support from the south wall is not the complement of that from the north.

six cells (depending on the number accommodated at the rings in the refectory) to be accounted for. III-L is a possibility, but it lacks both a sleeping platform and niches. It was impossible to deduce from the dilapidated remains to the north and south of the interior 'courtyard' where the remaining cells might be.¹



FIG. 12. Fragment of slip-painted vessel, found in the same context as the Wizz Vase. Classic Christian, Faras Kiln.

There were two entries, one from the cell-bloc corridor II-B, the other from the kitchen area through II-L. There were two niches for utensils and lamps in the west wall, two in the north, and one in the east wall. Smaller niches were 'gouged out' and would have been large enough for additional lamps. There was no sign of a lectern, unless the remains of a small spur-wall against the west wall (see pl. XII, 2) be considered the base of one, or, if not, the slightly raised section of the ring built into the west wall of the SW. quadrant be the equivalent of one (again see pl. XII, 2), where it is slightly to the south of the aforementioned spur-wall). The nine sherds found within the fill of the refectory paralleled those of the cell-bloc, being of either Early Christian or Phase I of Classic Christian.

¹ For the nearest exemplars see Monneret de Villard, *Il Monastero . . .*, 106-8, figs. 114, 120, 134-7; *Ghazali*, 21 (Room K), and pl. VI a; and W. Y. Adams, 'Sudan Antiquities Service Excavations at Meinarti', *Kush* 13 (1965), 161 and C in fig. 4. For the Egyptian tradition see Walters, 'AEM' 163-6.

4. The service area

This area was slightly less well preserved than either the western entry bloc or the cell-bloc, and it is much more difficult to adduce *exactly* its function or chronology. It consists in the main of two parallel, vaulted east-west areas, the south end of which was a long vaulted room (II-L see pl. XII, 3), with egress on the west into the refectory, on the north through a doorway into a vaulted room (II-LL) and through a wide (2.7 m.) archway into a parallel vaulted room (II-NN), which did not connect with LL, but merely had two rectangular windows into it in its west wall (see fig. 1¹ and pl. XII, 4). Both of these parallel vaulted entities (II-L on the south, II-LL and NN on the north), were open-ended on the east, resting on an engaged column 90 cm. in diameter.

But at one time corridor L had an arched connection on or in its southern wall (see pl. XIII, 1), and later its western entrance into II-O was blocked (see pl. XIII, 2; it can be seen partially unblocked in pl. XIV, 2). The difficulty of assessing this arched recess or entry-way involved the strong and usual wall against which it is laid, for the latter is a continuation of the south wall of the refectory and, because of its usual stone composition, seems integral with it, and hence of the earlier period of the monastery. It may be that what we are seeing is not so much a case of blockage (as in that shown in pl. XIII, 2), as of a strengthening of the vaulting on the south side of L, noticeable, too, from the projected spur walls on either side of the truly blocked entrance in pl. XIII, 2.

There was a blocked entrance also in NN (see pl. XII, 4). Originally this could have been a postern gate into the service area, making NN into a reception-cum-storage area. It is difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether the blockage took place when the ensheathing rooms with the staircase (II-RR, SS, and TT) were constructed, in which case there would be entry to the monastery from the upper storey only, for there was no connection between RR and DD; or after the erection of the new northern entry-way bloc. If the latter, one cannot imagine, on present evidence, when or why.

Notwithstanding these chronological enigmas, it is clear that the parallel vaults of L and NN gave on to the open area T which was definitely part of the kitchen area, with the base of two mud-brick ovens *in situ* on a raised platform (see pl. XIII, 3). (By the appearance of the more eastern one it seems they would have had a bee-hive shape.) Their bases measured 1.2 and 1.5 m. in diameter. There might have been others to the south of the entrance to the latrine which have disappeared. Considering the smoke emanating from two and possibly four ovens, it was normal that the area be open to the atmosphere, permitting a draught of air to circulate through corridor L and into the refectory.

The latrine (II-UU, which measured app. 2.9 × 3.1 m.) with the remains of two and room for three compartments formed the SE. corner of the original monastery. The compartments were on raised platforms (see pl. XIII, 4), and the waste was channelled through the outer salient and on to the escarpment. The latrine lacked vaulting, so one can surmise it was open to the atmosphere.

¹ The wall between II-LL and NN in Plan I (*Wizz—I*) should be modified to indicate windows rather than walk-through connections.

Next to room I-I (see *Wizz—I*, pp. 52–5), the latrine proved the richest source of pottery, practically all of it of the first phase of Classic Christian, and all most probably from the kilns at Faras. Here was found the supremely beautiful Wizz Vase (see pl. XIV, 1), a superb example of the slip-painting art of Nubia.¹ Other examples may be



FIG. 13

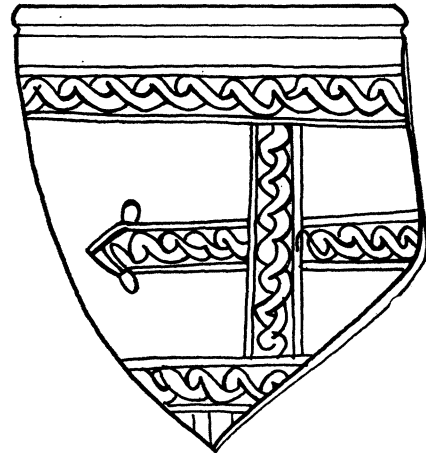


FIG. 14

Fragments of slip-painted vessels, found in the same context as the Wizz Vase. Classic Christian, Faras Kiln.

seen in figs. 12–14. Amongst the sherds three were of note: a fragment of an Egyptian lead-glazed ware, with bands of green and yellow, a type associated in Fustât with the eighth–ninth century;² a fragment of an Egyptian green lead-glazed lamp with a rectangular body section, a shape whose terminus seems to be *ca.* A.D. 900,³ and the only sherd with the chess-board motif found at Wizz, of Adams's second phase of Classic Christian.⁴ The presence of the former two sherds associated with some eighty sherds of the first phase of the Classic Christian period, notwithstanding the singularity of the third which is of the second phase whose terminus Adams establishes as *ca.* 1100, reinforces one's conclusion that lead glazed wares from Egypt reached Nubia long before A.D. 1000 (cf. p. 18 n. 2 *supra*).

The rooms adjoining this service area provide little evidence for analysis (see pl. XIV, 2). But the easy egress and ingress among them demonstrate comparable 'service' utility. From II–L and T there were no less than three entrances from one area to the other. It is tempting to see another quadrangular domed room centring on the odd-shaped central pillar in II–O and Q, but it is just as likely that the east and west ends

¹ This vase has been published extensively in Scanlon, *Pottery*, 65–6, figs. 6, 8, and 9. What can be considered the initial 'exercise' for this vase should be noted on the cover and in fig. 10, loc. cit.

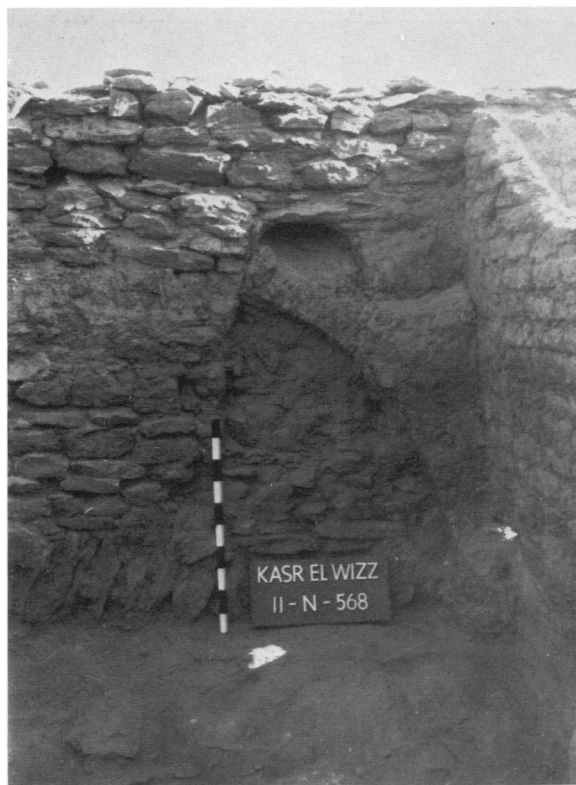
² It is of the same type as the bowl illustrated in Scanlon, 'Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report 1965 Part I', *JARCE* 5 (1966), pl. xxxv–20, associated with an eighth-century context.

³ Though for a slightly longer period of use; cf. Wladyslaw Kubiak, 'Islamic Glazed Lamps from Fustat', *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970), *passim*.

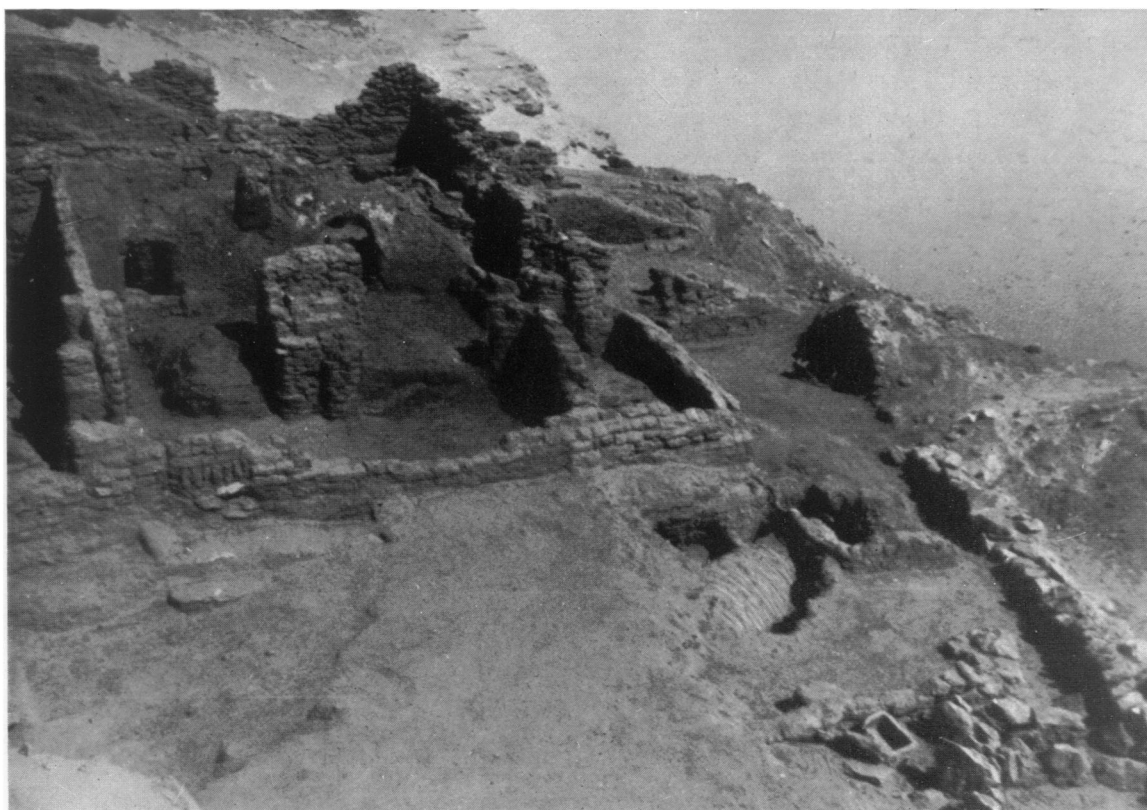
⁴ Adams, *NP I*, fig. 3A, motif no. 3 under N IV B.



1. Wizz Vase, found in II-UU. Product of Faras Kiln, c. A.D. 900



3. Blocked archway at II-N

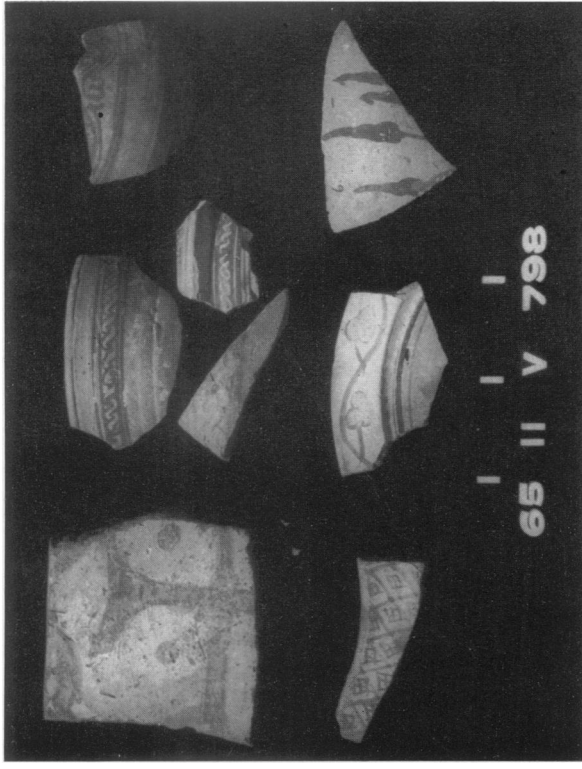


2. North side of 'courtyard', looking into II-Q and O. Uncovered vault of wine-cellar centre right

EXCAVATIONS AT KASR EL-WIZZ



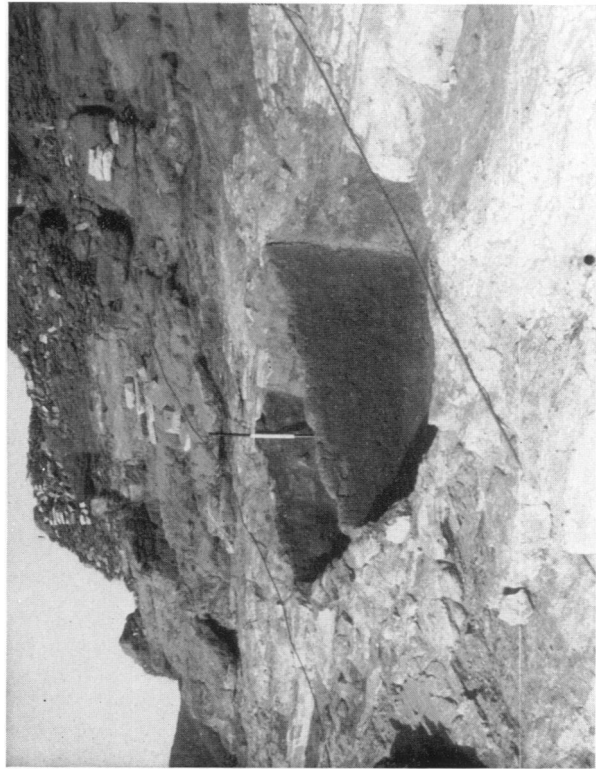
1. II-S and W with covered entrance to wine-cellar in upper left corner; looking south



2. Sherds from 'courtyard' (II-V); note very early vine-leaf pattern on rim of lower central sherd



3. Wine-cellar before uncovering; looking east



4. Rectangular, plastered hewings in the escarpment, fronting area III



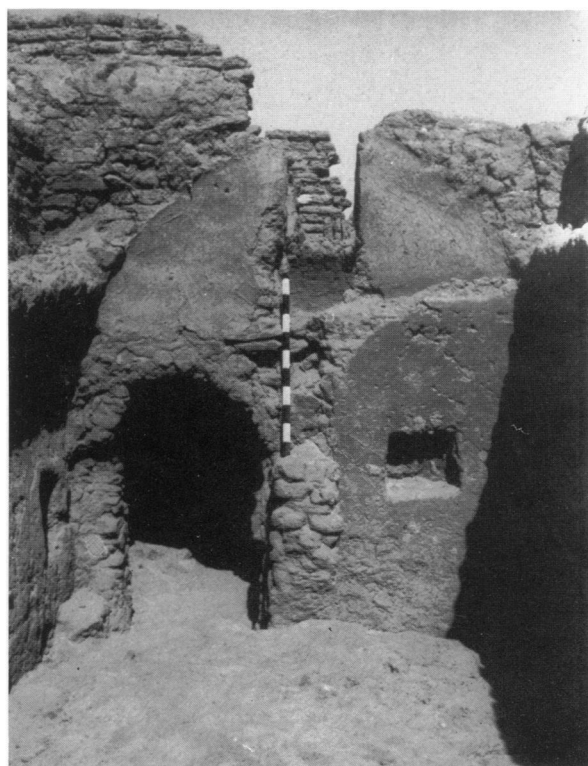
1. Monastery corridor (III-Q) to entrance from escarpment (?); looking east



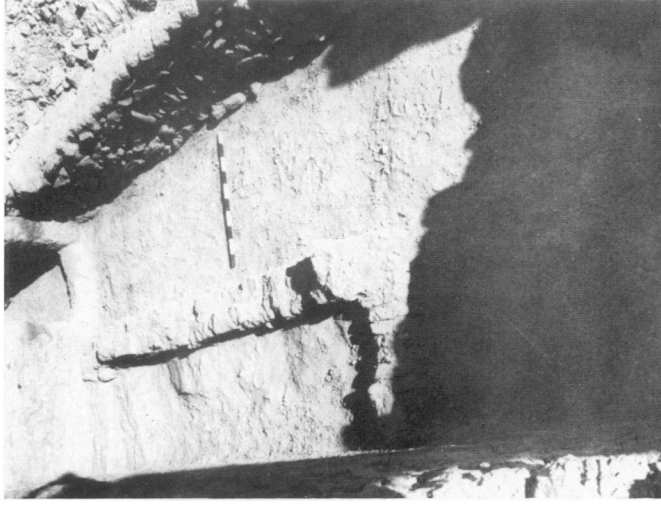
2. Inner steps leading from river side to monastery entrance (?); looking south



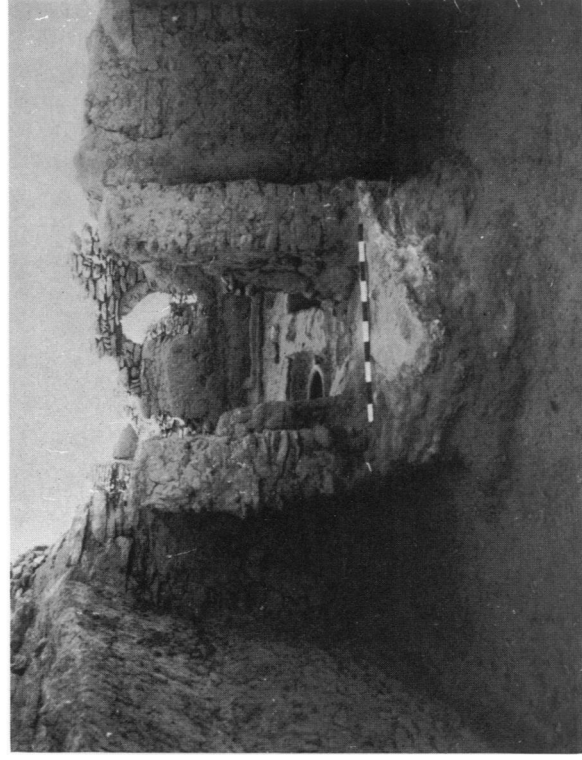
3. Room II-MM, showing possible entrance to II-P at rear



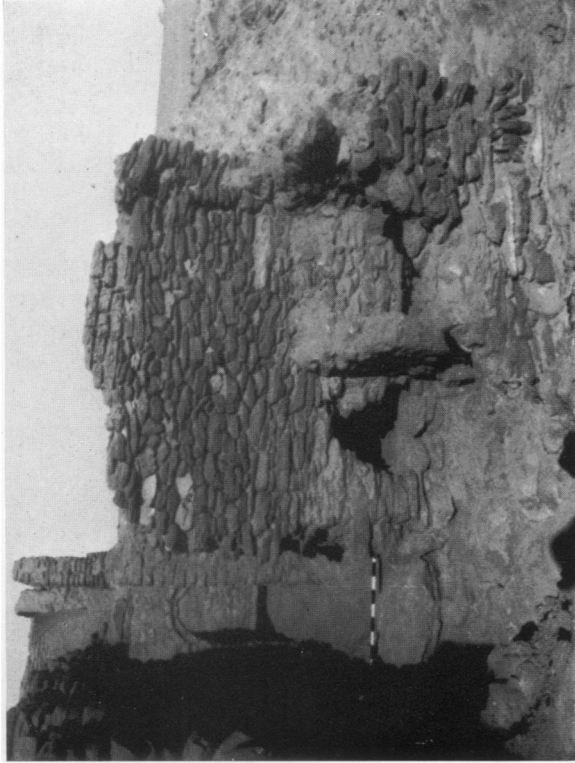
4. Northern wall of III-D. Cleared rectangular niche had originally been blocked up



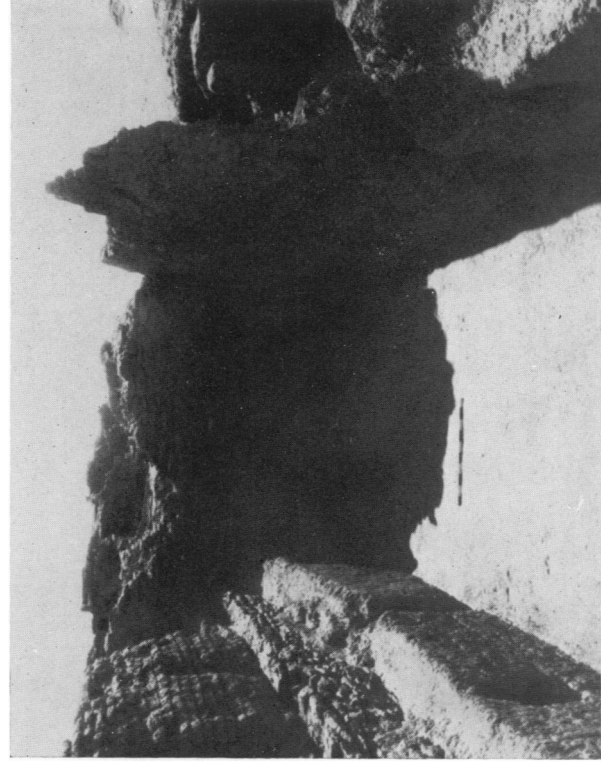
2. Room II-DD with raised rectangular frame at SW corner



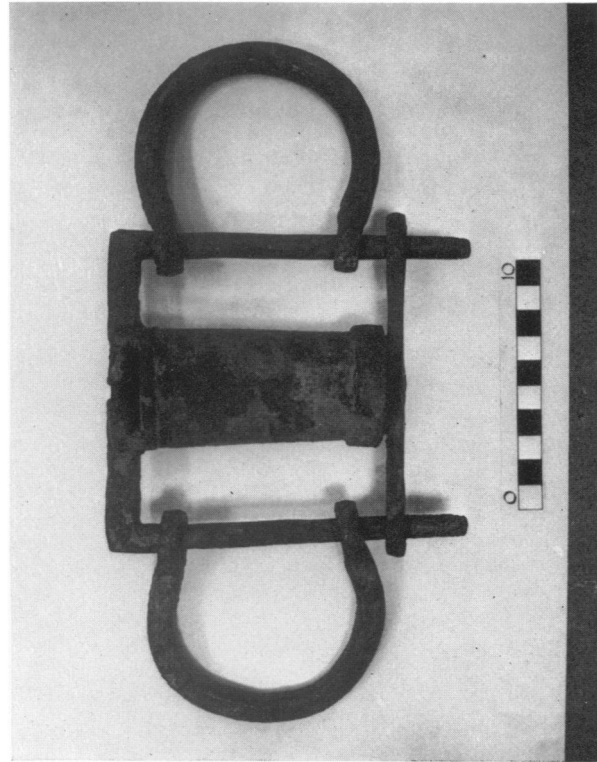
4. Doorway between II-BB and II-R; looking south



1. NE entry-way at II-TT; arched entrance into II-RR

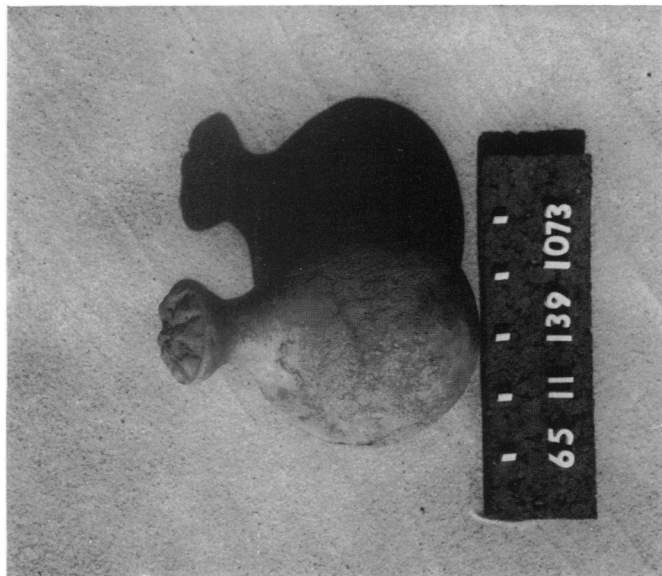


3. Room II-AA, showing low-set niches and original west wall of refectory II-A; looking south

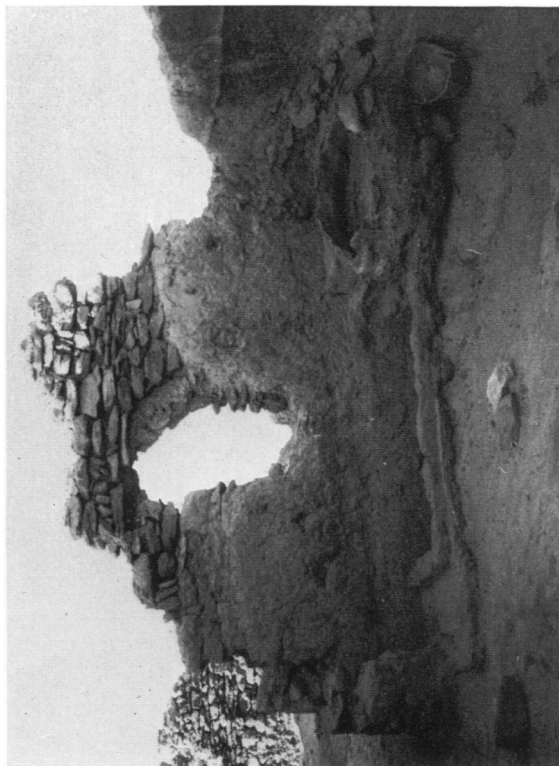


1. Iron lock or harness part, found in room II-DD

2. Red ware undecorated jar with mud seal *in situ*, found in room II-DD



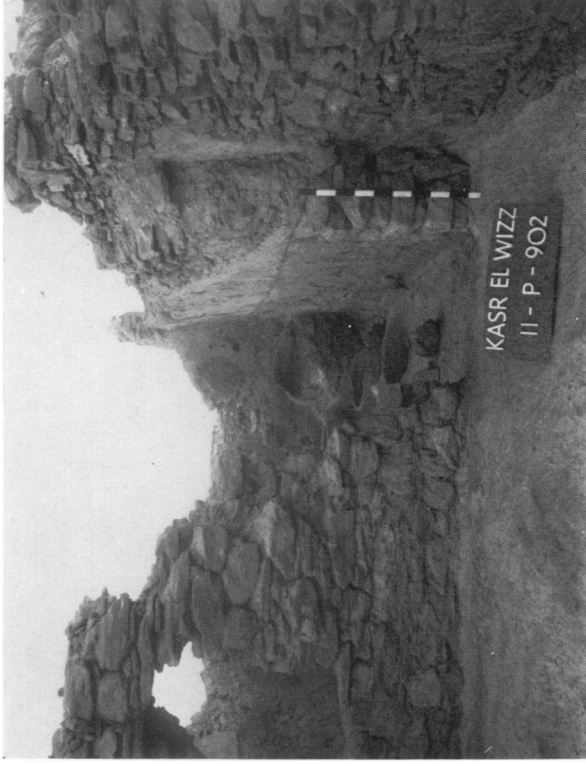
3. Bakery II-R, looking north with bee-hive oven in NE corner



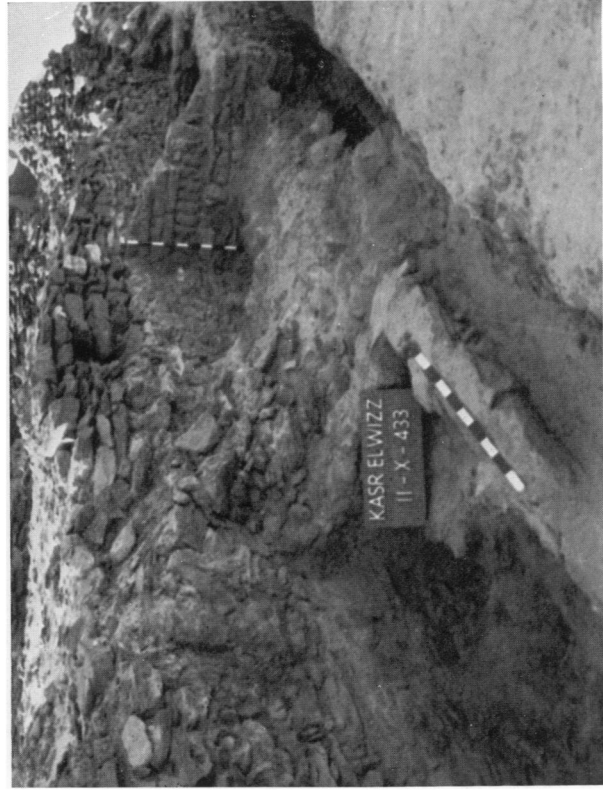
4. Bakery II-R, looking south with bee-hive oven in SW corner and window connection with M-P



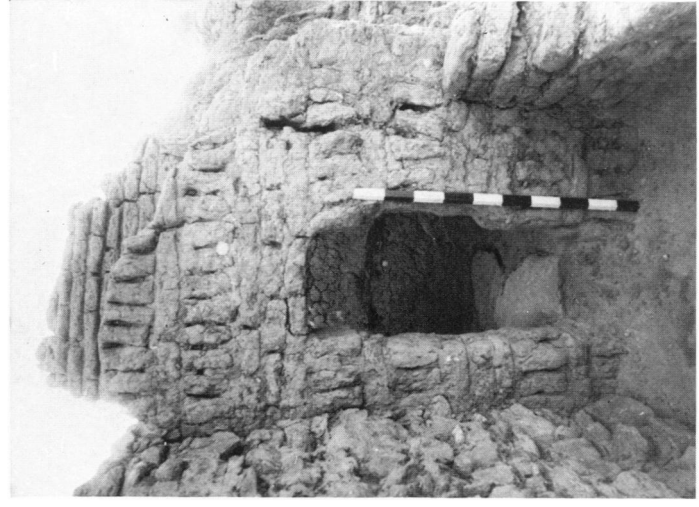
1. North wall of bakery II-R with western 'mixing-bowl' *in situ* over as yet unexposed northern rectangular pit



2. II-X and Z attached to west wall of bakery II-R



3. Room M-P, looking north into the bakery II-R



4. Doorway between I-AA and CC; looking east

of O were vaulted, with the vaults resting against a supporting arch whose springing is visible from the north wall of O in pl. XIV, 2. And does one see at N an original double-arched opening similar to that terminating L and NN, with the western archway blocked at a later period? (See pl. XIV, 3.) Except for one sherd of the latter phase of Classic Christian,¹ the sparse ceramic contents of these rooms were either Early Christian or the phase I of Classic Christian.

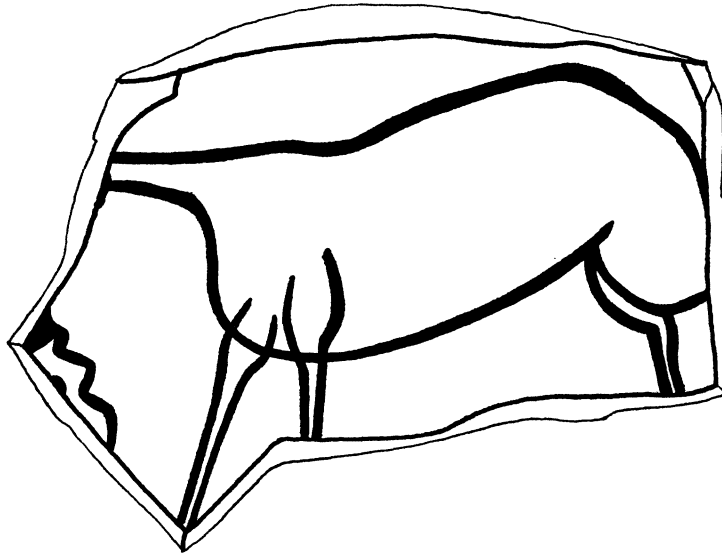


FIG. 15. Fragment of slip-painted vessel. Classic Christian, Faras Kiln.

The remaining three rooms of the ensemble (II-S, U, and W) were all disturbed and difficult to define, though all interconnected internally and with kitchen T and the quadrangular unit O-Q. Room U was vaulted with a strengthening wall on its north side. S might have been a scullery with the base of a mud-brick flat-bottomed basin *in situ*. The base of the same type of basin was present in W (see pl. XV, 1), as well as the remains of a large red-ware vessel *in situ*, but very broken and brittle. Again the sherds were all of the two periods noted above, and a particularly fine example of painting the quadruped can be seen in fig. 15.

5. The 'courtyard' and wine-cellar

If one compares fig. 1 and pl. XIV, 2 herein and Plan I and pl. XXXII, 3 of *Wizz—I*, it is apparent that there was an open space to the east of the cell-bloc, one with an entrance from the south at II-M (*supra*) and one (at II-VV), if not two, from the north (what appears to be a blocked door at Q; see pl. XIV, 2). This area, denominated II-V, can be considered an open 'courtyard', though this definition has certain disadvantages from a structural point of view. [Here I except the roughly laid wall-traces from VV into V and paralleling the back wall of the cell-bloc, since these are clearly intrusive and late.] One thinks rather of (a) lack of any northern definition of vaulted room MM, so clearly marked in pl. XXXII, 3 of *Wizz—I*; (b) the very slight wall-spurs from the southern wall of Q, apparent in pl. XIV, 2, as is also a rough 'rubble' wall which, if it is

¹ Cf. Adams, *NP I*, fig. 3A, motif 9 under N IV B.

original, gives southern definition to WW; (c) and the puzzling wall-trace which would be the northern wall of III-R. Disallowing (but only for argument's sake) any outlet to the eastern salient, we would have a space roughly 4.5×5.5 m. which lacked any specific groundlines. This hypothetical 'courtyard' would have linked the entry-bloc (III-F into II-G and M) with the service area (through II-VV), and it would have provided a source of light and air for the cells I and J and the two cells directly above them. The sherds were once again either Early Christian or the first phase of Classic Christian, and one very interesting variation on the Graeco-Roman vine wreath on a rim of an Aswân ware transitional between Adams's A I and A II (see pl. XV, 2).

When the southern section of room W was being cleaned in search of the definition of the court-yard, a group of heavy stones could be seen *in situ* with a squarish rectangular bricked opening adjacent but *outside* a thin wall of bricking (see pl. XV, 1 and 3). When the stones were removed, an almost semicircular opening (app. 2 m. wide) into a vaulted chamber could be seen. When this was thoroughly cleaned, it proved to be a wine cellar hewn into the *gabal*, curving irregularly in a SW. direction for app. 5 metres. At its widest it was 2 metres across and its depth beneath the vaulting (very clearly outlined in pl. XIV, 2) sloped from just under two metres to just under a metre and a half. The opening (app. 35 cm. square) apparent in pl. XV, 3 was an air duct, ensuring circulation and an even temperature. The cellar was empty of artifacts, except for a coarse red-ware ostrakon with a Coptic inscription which was indecipherable. However, sherds of the ribbed bodies, pointed feet, and doubled-handled necks of typical imported amphorae were found throughout the site, but strangely not from the areas II-S, W, and WW.¹ Though Adams sees but a trickle of amphorae coming into Nubia after 750, by reason of our analysis wherein we posit the building of the monastery in its first phase with the enlarging of the church, it seems more than probable that these amphorae arrived at Wizz after 850.

6. Entry-way from the escarpment (?)

When the escarpment was cleaned, a number of tombs appeared aligned with the E.-W. axis of the church. Slightly to the north, fronting area III of the complex, two oddly rectangular hewings, brick-lined and mud-plastered, were discovered in the *gabal* beneath the downward-sloping sands (see pl. XV, 4, and *Wizz—I*, 56 f., pl. XXXI). There were runnels cut into the rock above these hewings, and pieces of terra cotta piping *in situ* in some of these runnels (*Wizz—I*, Plan I, Escarpment III, to the right of '5'). The contents were overwhelmingly of the Early Christian period, including the remains of the spouted vessel in fig. 16,² and the remaining small group of sherds were

¹ The overwhelming number of these sherds were of Adams's type P-2 (Adams, *Kush* 10, figs. 7 and 8, pp. 261 f.).

² The fabric (fine red ware R4), but not the shape of this vessel is assigned by Adams to the second phase of Aswân imports. The shape with the double ribbing at the neck and incising below the spout was duplicated at Arminna (Weeks, *Arminna West*, fig. 39) and seems a holdover from the X-Group period. Interestingly enough, a spout vessel shape and decoration which Weeks found at Arminna, but had not been included in any previous typology, was duplicated in a sherd from our northern hewing (top example in fig. 40 in Weeks, *Arminna West*). For other finds from Escarpment III cf. *Wizz—I*, figs. 16 and 17, and Scanlon, *Pottery*, fig. 1.

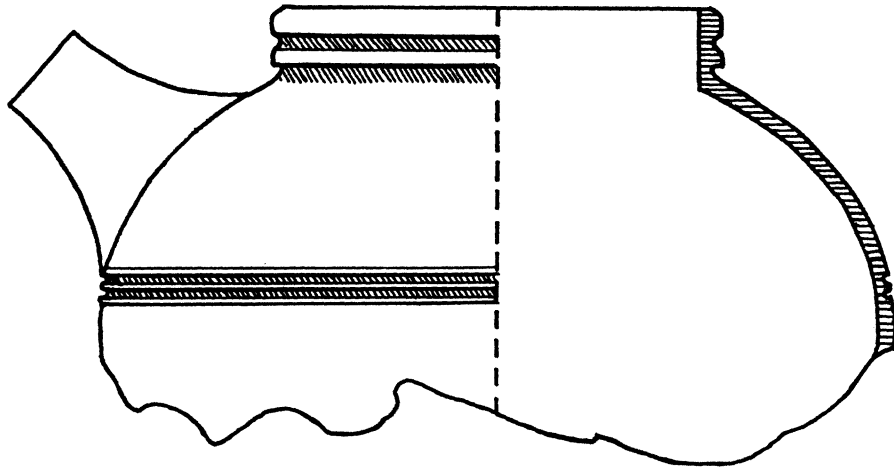


FIG. 16

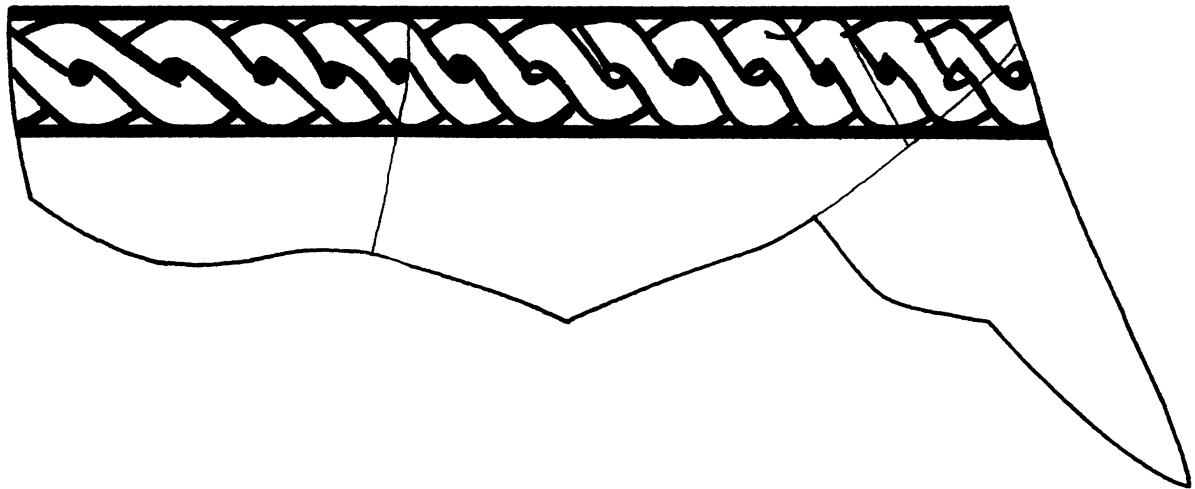


FIG. 17

Fragments of rim of large slip-painted vessel, black on light red; pattern laid flat in drawing. Classic Christian.

of the first phase of Classic Christian (see fig. 17 for a simple handling of the guilloche pattern).

It would be tempting to see in these hewings the terminus for waste from a latrine built against the salient as in II-UU, but there were no comparable hewings anywhere in the escarpment fronting area II of the complex, which was double the width of that fronting area III. They were not tombs. Could they have been for wastes or for rain storage, no matter how little of the latter fell in Nubia? They would have had to be serviced from above and this would entail an entrance to the monastery from the river-side.

Such a break in the salient is noticeable in pl. XV, 4, where the southern rope ascends to the monastery area. Also, the rock above the hewings is 'stepped' somewhat, either as a result of quarrying or in a crude manner making the ascent easier. From inside the monastery at this point (i.e. III-Q) a corridor without an eastern wall, and seemingly with no other function than that of a vestibule, came through the debris (see pl. XVI, 1). As the entry from the riverside, it would be structurally reasonable since one could proceed straight through III-B into III-D, turn right into III-E, and left into III-F, whence one could proceed into the cell-bloc (via II-G) or the western entry-way (via III-G); or turn right at the end of III-Q down some steps, right into III-R and from there (possibly) into the 'court-yard' and on toward the service area.

But this other low stone stairway *in situ* (see pl. XVI, 2) was associated with such low remnants of walls (particularly at III-A which seemed to give egress to the stairway corridor) or simply indefinite wall traces (as at III-R) that it was impossible to prove its utility, or that it really did afford access to the courtyard through III-R. Notwithstanding, this stairway did lead to an entrance into the church (which was later blocked) cut into the south wall of Q and giving access to room M of the enlarged church (the blockage of the arched entrance can be seen beyond the top of the steps in pl. XVI, 2).¹ Further it should be noted that the salient in this area was quite dilapidated, and that the entry-way from the escarpment might have been in this area (say between III-A and R) with a right-angle left turn on to the low stairway *in situ*. III-A might then have been the 'porter's lodge' and III-Q becoming something of an interior 'cul-de-sac'.

7. The south-eastern bloc?

This group of rooms seems to be composed of a major quintet (III-B, C, D, E, and P) and an unassociated duet (II-MM and XX). The latter two are unconnected; indeed XX seems to be without connection at all, and MM has survived without a trace of a defining northern wall (both rooms are visible in pl. XXXII, 3 of *Wizz—I*). It seems more than probable that the latter afforded egress into II-P (see pl. XVI, 3), and thus this vaulted 'porch' connected the 'courtyard' with the entrance from the escarpment and the eastern entrance into the church. This makes III-P peculiarly apposite for the

¹ This blocked entryway forces one to amend slightly the north wall of I-M in *Wizz—I*, Plan I towards the more exact entry-way noted in pl. XVI, 2 and fig. 1 herein. This then would make for *three* routes from the monastery into the enlarged church: at III-H into I-T, III-G into I-D, and now III-Q into I-M, with item 'x' of the characteristics of the enlarged church to be so amended, *Wizz—I*, 50.

direction of traffic within the monastery, for, if what remains of its eastern wall did contain an entrance into R, we then have a total E.-W. throughway for the original monastery, i.e., III-H, G, F, E, P, and R, from which last point one proceeded to either of the two possible routes from the salient to the escarpment and thence to the Nile. There is a certain structural rigour to this hypothesis, but too little remains at focal points to give it full credence.

The quintet of rooms noted above did form a bloc, in that they shared walls and were all interconnected: B into C and D; D into B and E; E into D and P. Except for a bit of E and D, the vaults had fallen and were held in place by the fill. It was difficult and dangerous to clean these rooms; the walls themselves were weakened and bound to fall at the first touch of the spade. Though D had niches, it was difficult to see it as a cell since ingress was possible from B and from the point where Q and the low stairway *in situ* met, and if either of the latter functioned as part of an entry-way from the escarpment there is even less reason to imagine D as a cell. The walls in this ensemble were all of mud brick, with practically no stone strengthening, so an upper storey seems difficult to conjure.

What could be cleaned of E yielded not a single sherd, though a niche in its eastern wall was later blocked up, as was the one in the northern wall of D (see pl. XVI, 4, where the niche has been cleared). The contents of B-C-D-P were all of the Early Christian and first phase of Classic Christian, except for one sherd in D, which was of a glazed import from Egypt and of the same approximate date of manufacture as the wine-cup discovered in the church (cf. *Wizz—I*, 43, pl. XLII-3 and 4).¹

8. Summary results

By relation to the building sequence of the church (cf. *Wizz—I*, *passim*), it has been posited that the monastery was built at the time of the enlarging of the church. This was put at about 850-950 because of stylistic differences in the new church and the presence of so much pottery carrying the designs of the Faras kilns whose terminus is generally ascribed to the latter date. The certain characteristics of the earliest monastic ensemble we may assume to be as follows (refer to *Wizz—I*, Plan I, Plan II, section A-A; and fig. 1 herein):

- (a) Masonry of rough and lightly-dressed fieldstone and boulders, plastered and in some areas lightly whitewashed. Bricks used for niches, doorways, vaulting, and throughout in those areas which had comparatively narrow vaulting, or for walls which did not have to carry the weight of a second storey.
- (b) Three entrances to the monastery proper: the main one from the west at III-H giving on to

¹ This sherd has a honey-brown alkaline glaze, one of four tones associated with the ware now termed Fustât-Fatimid Sgraffito, for which see Scanlon, 'Fustat Expedition . . . 1965 . . . Part II', *JARCE* 6 (1967), 83 f. Our sherd has the same tonality as the middle one in the left hand column of pl. 71 of Adams, *KGNCZ*, which he terms G II and would have in Nubia well after 1100, whereas I believe these alkaline glazed wares were imported throughout the eleventh century. The paucity of sherds from the Late Christian period and the absence of any known Ayyubid or Mamluk ceramic (comparable to those in pls. 70 and 72 of Adams, *KGNCZ*) force one to the tentative, but strong, conclusion that except for squatters, the active life of Wizz as a monastery must have concluded sometime soon after A.D. 1100.

- block which contained a double-arched loggia (III-O), a porter's lodge (III-N), a stairway to an upper storey, a reception room (III-K), and connecting passages (III-G and F) to other parts of the ensemble; a postern gateway (at II-NN) into the service area; and possibly an entry from the riverside, most probably at III-Q.
- (c) A cell-bloc containing seven vaulted cells entered from a long N.-S. vaulted corridor (II-B) and a stairway of three right-angle turns to an upper storey. Each cell contained niches for domestic appurtenances and a raised platform for sitting and sleeping. The vaults of these cells had interstitial vaulting for support of upper rooms, which architecturally may be numbered at eight, for a total of fifteen in the bloc as a whole.
- (d) An asymmetrical quadrangular refectory, with a central pillar to support four elliptical domes. The room was niched and contained four raised circular dining platforms. Depending on assessment of comfortable room, these allow us to posit a roster of between twenty and twenty-four monks. Fifteen cells in the bloc, two porters' lodges (I-DD and III-N), and a possible cell at III-L (though without niches or platform) still leaves from two to six cells to be found elsewhere in the ensemble as it is now revealed or in the upper storey which has disappeared.
- (e) A large service area containing a long corridor from the refectory (II-L), storage rooms (II-LL, NN, and U), kitchens and bakery (II-T, S, and W), a latrine (II-UU), and a group of possibly open and arched rooms (II-N, Q, and O) which might represent the work-shops of the monastery (though no specific utensils or raw materials were discovered).
- (f) A small open 'courtyard' (II-V), entered from the cell-block (via II-G and M, which was originally domed) and the 'work-shop' area (via II-Q and VV and through the arch, later blocked, at N).
- (g) A large, vaulted, curving wine-cellar, hewn into the *gabal*, given air circulation through a rectangular duct, and entered from a semi-circular opening in room II-W; which opening was covered by rather flattened stone boulders. The position of the opening serves to relate the wine-cellar with the service area.
- (h) A group of rooms to the south of the 'courtyard' (III-B, C, D, E, P, and II-MM and XX) which seems structurally integral as a 'bloc', but whose exact utility it is difficult to define. They provided some association with the entry-way from the riverside and an apparent E.-W. communications route through the monastery corresponding to that from the refectory (II-A) to the service area through the long corridor (II-L).
- (i) Three entrances to the church: III-H into I-T, which obviously served those coming down the stairway giving on to III-O; III-G into I-D, for those coming from the cell-bloc via corridor III-F; and III-Q into I-M, for those coming from the 'courtyard' and/or service area. At a subsequent period the first and third of these were blocked up.
- (j) With three notable exceptions (the two Aswân 'slap-dash' bowls (Scanlon, *Pottery*, figs. 12 and 13, and pl. X, 3) and the sherd of Fustât-Fatimid Sgraffito), the ceramic finds were of the Early Christian and the first phase of Classic Christian, and the latter were mostly from the Faras kilns. This permits a dating range of A.D. 750-950.
- (k) The eastern wall as something of a salient, going down to the *gabal* base and made of plaques and boulders with traces of a mud mortar but externally unplastered. There were outlets for wastes, and two breaks: one going from room I-L of the enlarged church to the tomb areas of the escarpment; the other probably at III-Q, which gave egress to the monastery from the riverside and permitted servicing of the hewings in area III of the escarpment.
- (l) The ensemble of enlarged church and monastery measured app. 54.5 × 28.5 m., and the original monastery proper 30.5 × 28.5.

Enough examples survive *in situ* to allow one to posit that the ensemble was well aired and lighted through fenestration and crude air ducts. There was probably fresco decoration, particularly in the cell bloc, though nothing was found *in situ*. Thus until the monastery (or monasteries) of Faras are published in plan, this small, compact ensemble represents the most complete, albeit incompletely explained, example of Nubian monastic architecture and demonstrates significant differences from Egyptian monastic construction as analyzed by Monneret de Villard and Walters.

B. Second phase : ensheathing rooms and blockages

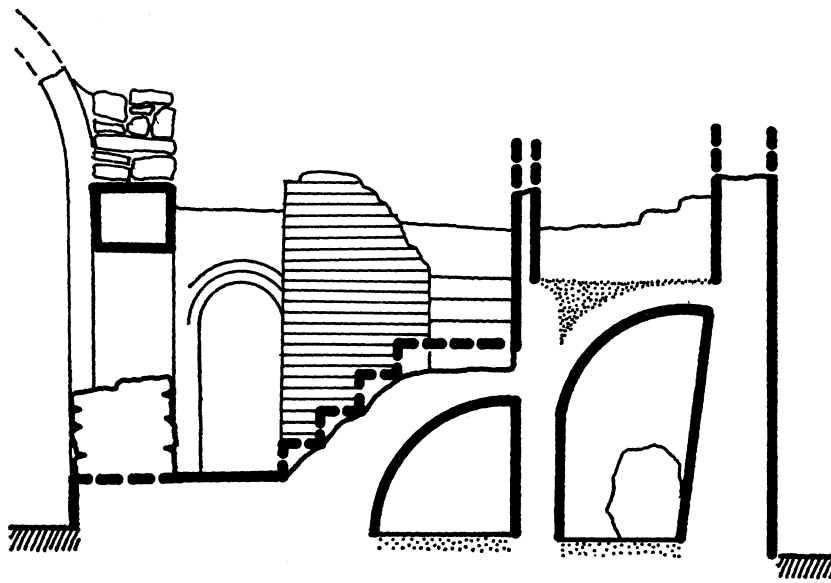
Some time after the establishment of the monastery, but exactly when is difficult to deduce, rather large additions were constructed at the SE. corner (I-N, U, and Y) and in a continuous pattern on the northern and western sides. Particularly in the latter instance, this had the effect of at once enlarging the monastery with quite substantial rooms and reducing mobility within by blocking off the western entry-way (at III-H). Further, though a new entry-way bloc was constructed on the north (II-RR, SS, and TT), it did not connect with other new rooms; and, though these latter were continuously connected (II-DD to AA, AA to CC and BB, BB to R, R to P-M), it was only at the latter point that one entered the monastery, making for a most cumbersome jaunt from II-DD. Finally the outer wall of all these additional rooms was continuous and all were structurally different from or had structural 'breaks' with the continuous outer wall to the west and north of the original monastery.

Proceeding counter-clockwise (see *Wizz—I*, Plan I) and with the knowledge that most of the vaults had fallen and that throughout there was much evidence of squatters' presence amid the ruins, we may isolate the following for analysis:

1. North-east entry-way

This unit was built almost entirely of stones (see pl. XVII, 1), lightly dressed, and a thin mud mortar. The entrance hall gave immediately on to the postern gate into the service area (into II-NN), and further along to a narrow stairway of three ninety-degree turnings, the middle one of which was supported by a hollow vaulting. Adjacent to this was another hollow vaulting, of a space rectangular in plan, which must have supported an upper chamber, accessible from the second landing, neither of which had survived (see *Wizz—I*, Plan I and fig. 18 herein). At the end of this long corridor was a vaulted room (II-RR), which was either a storeroom, a reception room, or another 'porter's lodge'. It lacked any other egress.

It is difficult to determine whether this entry-way operated while the postern into II-NN was in use, but at some date the latter was blocked (see pl. XII, 4). The few sherds in the fill of the rooms were again either of Early Christian or the first phase of Classic Christian wares. However, in the vault below the first landing of the stairway a thin handle in the form of a cock (or a peacock?) of a bronze vessel was found (see fig. 19). It is of Egyptian workmanship, and because of the handling of the eyes and the over-all stylization, one is prompted to assign it to the pre-Fatimid era.



KASR AL WIZZ SECTION C-C

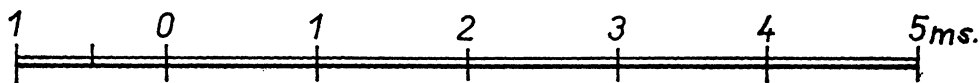


FIG. 18. Section C-C through stairway in NE entryway.

2. The north-west bloc

These four vaulted rooms were interconnected and shared a continuous outer wall. (Though not even the springing is left, it is safe to assume that DD was vaulted; we have seen no examples of a flat room at Wizz and there is no obvious reason why it should have been unroofed.)

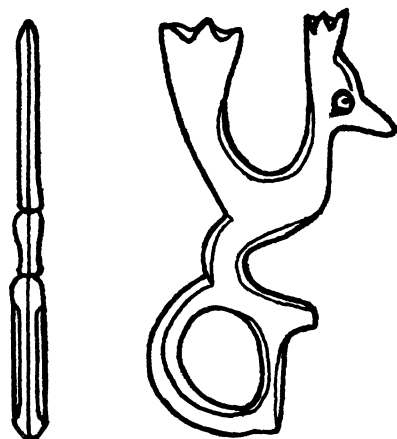


FIG. 19. Thin bronze handle in form of cock. 9th-10th century

DD and AA must have eliminated or reduced considerably the lighting of the refectory, which hitherto had formed the NW. corner of the monastery. There were three notable architectural features: in DD, a rectangular frame of bricks, laid in the SW. corner, 3.9×1.2 m., which, in addition to being too long for a sleeping pallet, had a hollow central portion (see pl. XVII, 2); in AA (a very large chamber, app. 10.5×3.5 m.), six niches set very low in the north and south walls (see pl. XVII, 3; notice, too, the original west wall of the refectory whose fenestration would have been curtailed by the vault of AA); and in BB, the elevated (app. 50 cm.) and pierced portal between it and room II-R (see pl. XVII, 4), but with no trace of descending steps to the general floor-level of BB, a level shared by AA, CC, and DD.

Again one is perplexed as to utility. The bloc as a whole was cut off from the monastery except through the bakery II-R. The rooms were too large to be cells, but the niches in AA and the outline of a rectangular platform in DD bespeak some function, as does the interconnectedness. Perhaps this was another (and later?) workshop area, but again without a trace of equipment, raw materials, or finished products. Room CC, without any distinguishing features at all, was most probably a store-room. The bloc was comparatively rich in artifacts, the ceramics again being of the Early Christian and

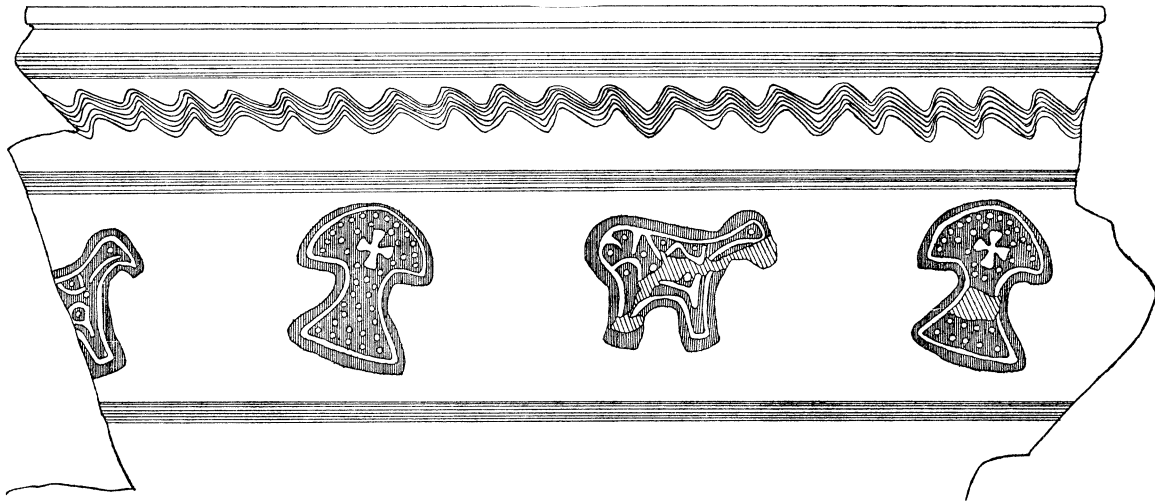


FIG. 20. Section of rim of polished red-ware vessel, stamped decoration; pattern laid flat in drawing. Egyptian import; ca. A.D. 700.

phase I of Classic Christian, with a generous admixture of early Aswân imports, including the large sherd in fig. 20, a fine example of polished red-ware with grooved and stamped decoration, here of alternating motifs of a paschal lamb and a maltese cross within a noduled fan-shape.

However, two pieces on stylistic grounds must be assigned to a period later than the end of the first phase of the Classic Christian. One (fig. 21) has the typical grid-cross which Adams finds characteristic of the Post-Classic Christian period;¹ while the other (fig. 22) has a design about the shoulder which combines elements from the second phase of Classic Christian and the Post-classic Christian.² These pieces were found in the fill of AA, which also yielded three fragments of parchment with Coptic inscription in black ink on both sides.

In addition to the usual range of Early Christian (see fig. 23 a for a fine example of a white-slipped, white-ware bowl) and Classic Christian wares, room DD contained at its SE. and SW. corners, quite near the flooring, three metal objects of some interest. One was the hasp or hinge of the lock of a small box; the second was of highly rusted iron (see pl. XVIII, 1), part of a harness or intricate lock, the two side pieces turning easily on

¹ Adams, *NPI*, fig. 3B, motif 29 under N V. But it should be noted that the outer cross in fig. 21 could be construed as a variant of the left example under N IV B (loc. cit.), a fact which could put the object safely before A.D. 1100.

² Adams, *NPI*, fig. 3A, motif 14, under N IV B and N V. Again one feels the transitional nature of the motif would place it before A.D. 1100.

the parallel rods; and a small bronze ewer, with applied handle and device of a maltese cross (see fig. 24). Again, as with the zoomorphic handle (fig. 19), one tends to place the ewer in the pre-Fatimid period on the basis of shape and workmanship. This seems corroborated by the presence, in closest proximity to the ewer, of the empty unslipped red-ware jug with a charred mud seal *in situ* (see pl. XVIII, 2). Its shape and size are

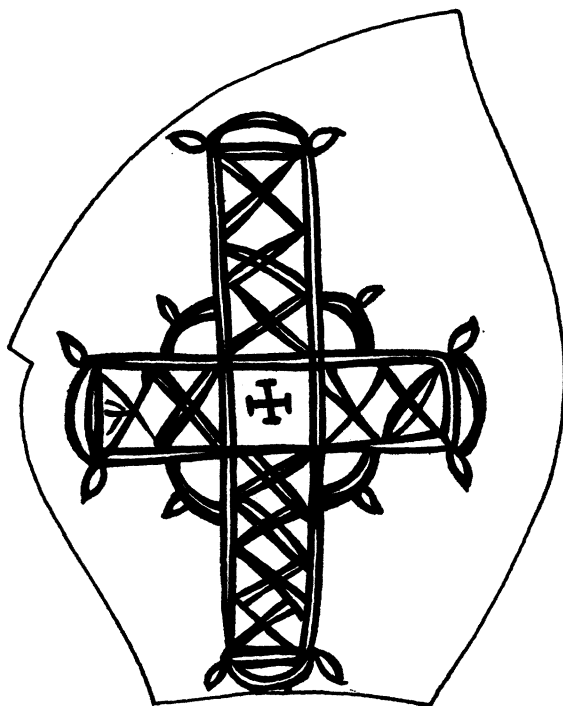


FIG. 21. Fragment of slip-painted vessel. Before A.D. 1100.

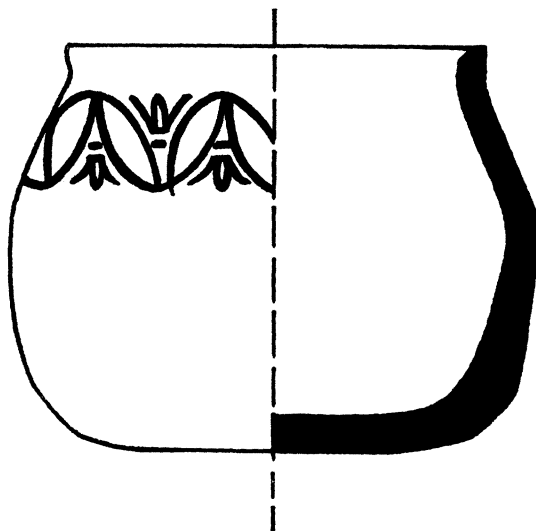


FIG. 22. Flat-bottomed slip-painted bowl. Before A.D. 1100.

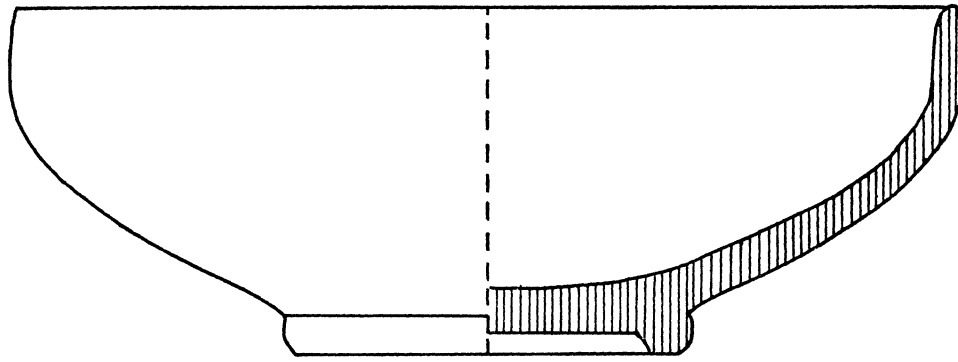
exactly akin to those assigned by Adams to Early Christian and the first phase of Classic Christian,¹ hence well before A.D. 1000.

3. The bakery

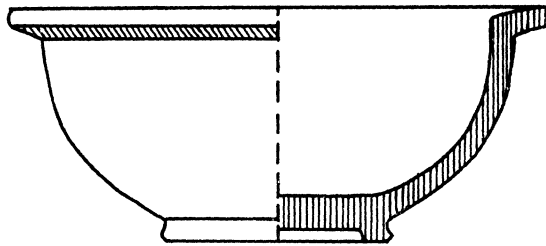
This room (7 × 4.5 m.) had been very badly depredated, though sufficient objects or their remnants remained *in situ* to give some idea of its utility (see pl. XVIII, 3 and 4). In the SW. and NE. corners there were bee-hive ovens, smaller than but not unlike those in II-T of the service area. They were raised about 75 cm. above the floor. There were five large cylindrical mud vessels between 1 m. and 1.40 m. in height (the rim diameters varied between 60 and 80 cm.) partly immured in the flooring. There remained too the rounded bottoms of two 'mixing bowls' set on platforms above floor level. All of these were obviously hand-made Nubian wares and all lacked decoration of any sort.

The fill above and in and around these vessels contained a surprisingly large number of sherds (numerically behind those from I-I and II-UU), all of which can be dated between *ca.* 750 and 1050 according to Adams's typology. (A very good example of the

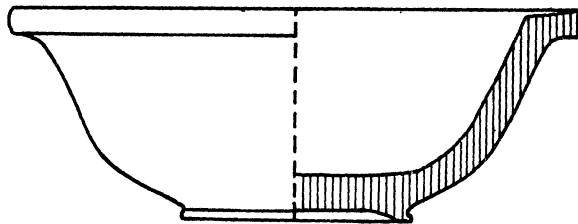
¹ Adams, *NP I*, fig. 1B, no. 33 under 'Jars and Bottles'.



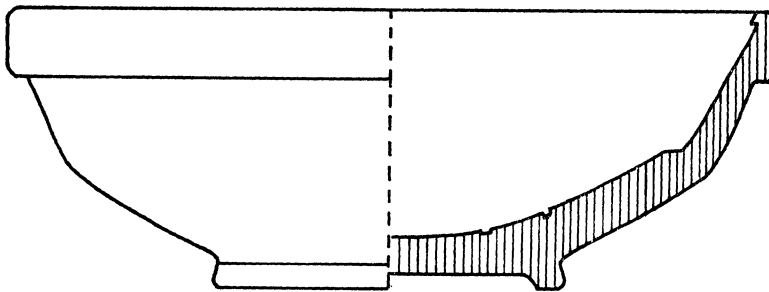
a



b



c



d

FIG. 23. Shapes of undecorated white-slipped, white-ware bowls. Early Christian.

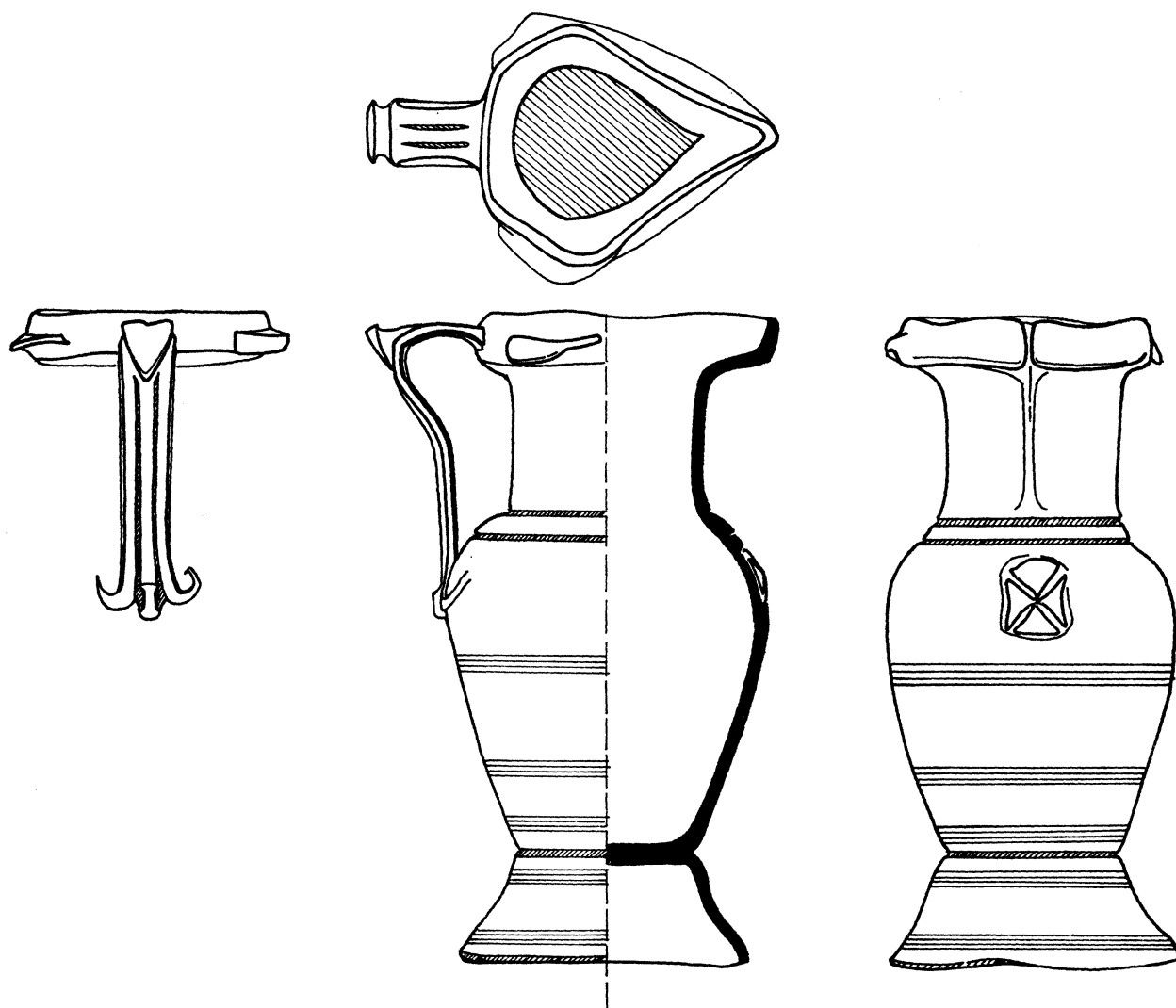


FIG. 24. Bronze ewer with appliqué handle and maltese cross device. 9th–10th century.

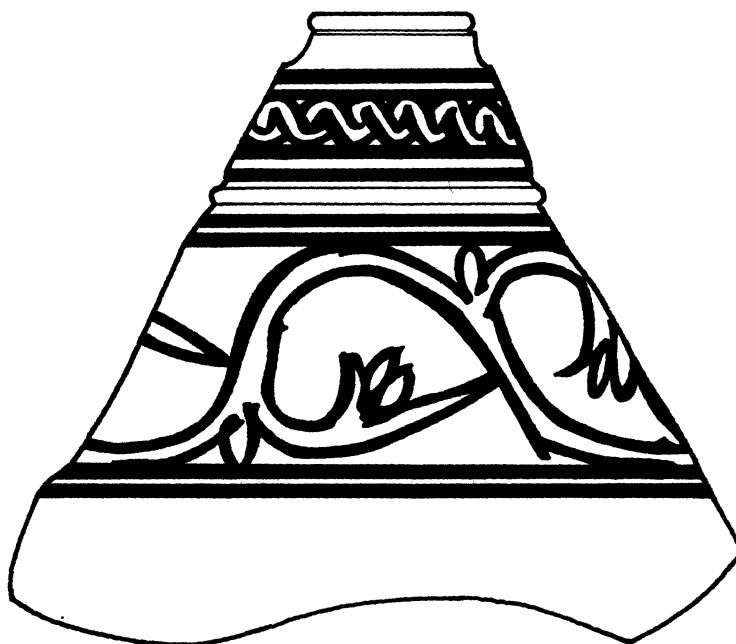


FIG. 25. Fragment of slip-painted bowl. Classic Christian, Faras Kiln.

first phase of Classic Christian can be seen in fig. 25, a fragment of which came from room II-DD, providing some little proof of the depredation noted above.)

Apart from the ceramics, the disturbed fill yielded an undistinguished spindle whorl, possibly of squatter origin, as might also be a leather punch composed of an iron flange in a conical-grip wooden handle. But what of the three iron bracelets in fig. 26? Two might be considered of the same late origin as the spindle whorl and iron punch, but the

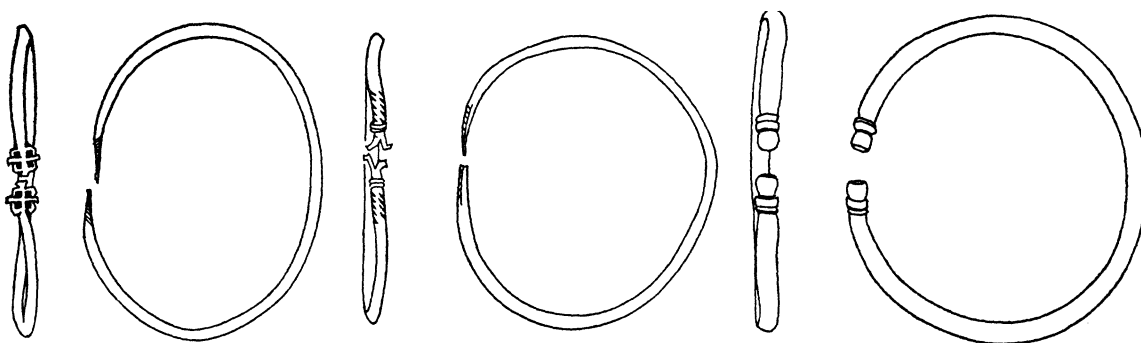


FIG. 26. Three iron bracelets with incised and stamped decoration.

third, with maltese crosses stamped at the extremities, would seem to bespeak a monastic connection. Finally there were many small fragments of parchment, with inscriptive material in Coptic and Greek, scattered throughout the fill.

A large rectangular pit (1.4 × 0.9 m.) had been dug into the flooring and very nicely plastered with mud and, as excavated, showed a depth of 1.25 m. below the original flooring. It contained the matching sherds of three miniature slipped but undecorated bowls, whose shapes were clearly Early Christian (see fig. 23 *b-d*).¹ However, when the second of the two 'mixing bowls' noted above, which was held in a platform 80 cm. above the flooring (see pl. XIX, 1), was removed, it was found partially to cover a second rectangular pit (see pl. XVIII, 3), very slightly smaller than the first, but as deeply sunk and as carefully plastered. Further both had small niches 'gouged' in their northern and southern walls. Further clearing provided a shaft-like rectangular opening between them, but otherwise unconnected with them. It was sunk to about half the depth of the other two. Were these three elements part of an earlier grave system, later covered when the ensheathing walls were added to the monastery? But, there were no skeletal remains. They could not have served as bins in the period of the bakery, for that function is clearly assumed by the five cylindrical vessels, immured in the new flooring.² Withal, it seems safe to conjecture that room II-R contains evidence for two periods of utility, during the latter of which it served as a granary-bakery for the enlarged monastery.³

In pl. XVIII, 4, to the east of the SW. oven, there was a rectangular hold (app.

¹ Adams, *NP I*, fig. 1B, two variants of Footed Bowl 78 (though much smaller than Adams's exemplar) and one of 74.

² For other examples of the cylindrical mud-bins for storing grain see Shinnie, *Soba*, pl. iv a and Winlock and Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius*, Pt. 1, pl. xiv. This type of vessel, or simple clear variants of it, is still in use in Egypt and Nubia.

³ Cf. Walters, 'AEM' 487-90 for a discussion of ovens and kitchens in the monasteries of Egypt.

1.5 × 0.4 m. internally), with only the lowest two courses of mud-bricks *in situ*. However, it was immediately below an arched opening from M–P to the south, and one may surmise that it held the finished bread which could then be sent through the opening with little difficulty. Conversely, it might have held water-jars or the fuel necessary to heat the ovens. It is impossible to relate it exactly to either of the two periods predicated for II–R, but the lowness of the opening into the room immediately to the south would seem to put it into that period which relates these two rooms, i.e. the second when R functioned as a bakery.

The last chronological anomaly attaching to the bakery concerns the two small rectangular rooms (X and Z, see pl. XIX, 2) jutting out from the western wall. As the situation obtained when excavated, there was no visible connection or piping between the bakery and these units. The masonry was roughly the same and the ceramic contents roughly analogous. Surprisingly II–Z yielded a carved mauve sandstone offering table with traces of a Meroitic inscription about the rim of the decorated face (see fig. 27). One would like to see in these two rooms (and in I–BB to the south) receptacles for trash and rubbish; but it is as impossible to gauge their utility as their precise date.

4. Another refectory?

When the area of III–M was being cleaned, what was thought to be a portion of an E.–W. wall appeared. It was thought convenient to denominate northern and southern portions. But it proved to be a single room, the largest in the complex, app. 13.5 m., with a slightly asymmetrical pier (app. 1.1 × 1.0 m.), positioned asymmetrically. The portion to the south was denominated M (in area III); that to the north, P (the greater part of which lay in area II). Thus, the unit will be known as M–P, with the knowledge that it straddles two areas in Plan I (*Wizz—I*).

The pier (with an *in situ* height of app. 1.4 m.) which divides the room unevenly (see pls. III, 2 and XIX, 3) either served the function of that in II–A, and carried four unequal and unimposing elliptical domes; or, more likely, carried the weight of two long parallel barrel vaults with two N.–S. arches of unequal span. However, a careful cleaning of the floor revealed no support point for such arches on the north or south walls, nor was there any trace of vault springing *in situ*. Hence it is difficult to conjure the shape of this room, which looms so large on the Plan, and represents a considerable addition to the original monastery.

Three characteristics should be noted, though these are rather tentative and depend on the solution offered for the plan of the original monastery in fig. 1. First, M–P effectively sealed the western entry-way to the monastery at III–H, making for a cumbersome entry from the west via the churchyard and the church itself. Secondly, it represents the only ingress to the monastery for the north-western bloc (II–AA, BB, CC, and DD) and the bakery (II–R), no doubt a source of great inconvenience and an example of very poorly planned integration. Thirdly, its utility was intimately connected with that of the bakery because of the relatively low opening in its northern wall which would allow things to be passed from one to the other with ease (see pls. XVIII, 4 and XIX, 3).

There seems, too, to have been an intimate but again undefinable relationship with the two small rooms to the south (I-AA and CC) via a trough-like appendage at the flooring of the SW. corner. The major part of the latter *in situ* and the low rectangular

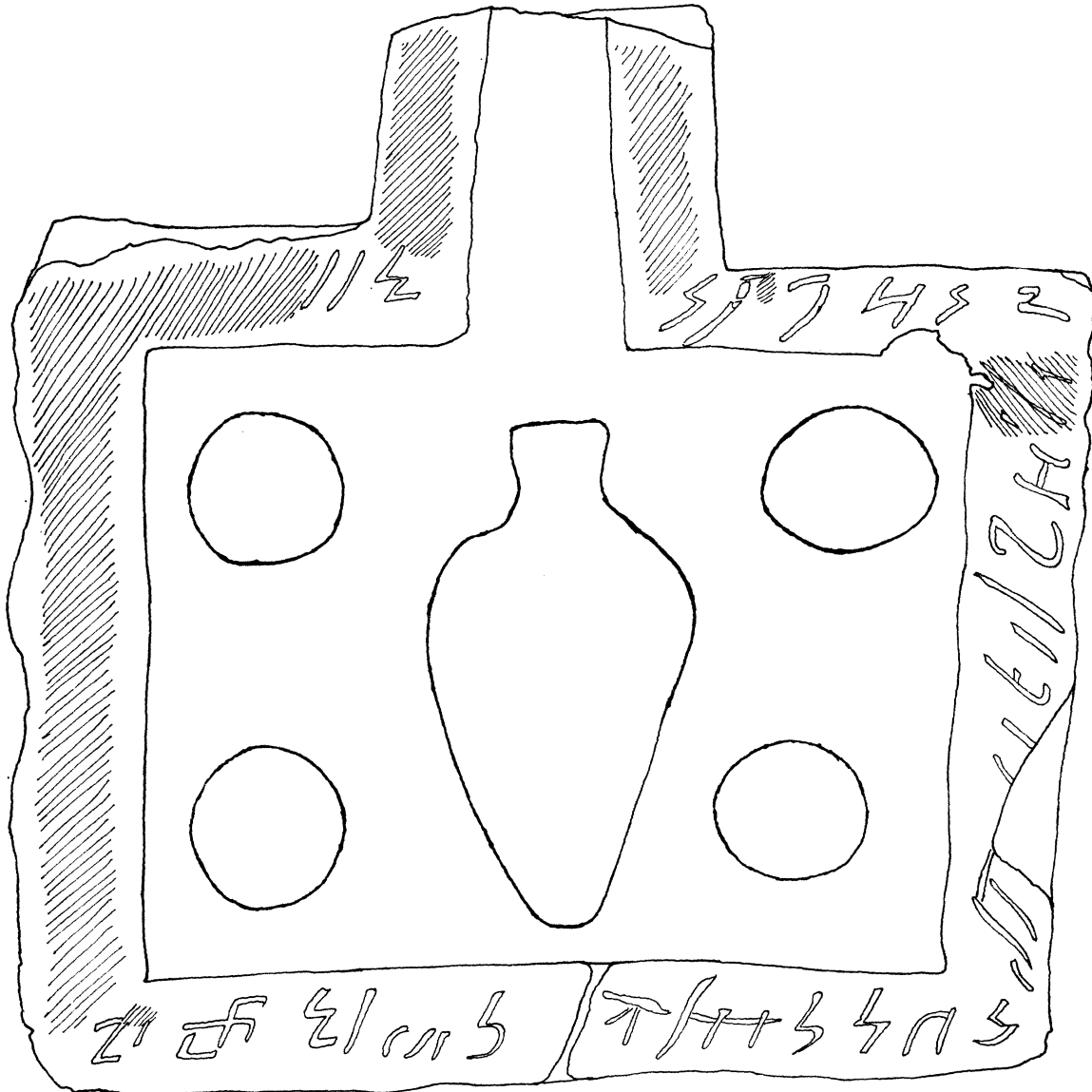


FIG. 27. Re-used Meroitic mauve sandstone offering-table; inscription partly worn away.

connection with CC can be seen in the SW. corner of pl. III, 2. Room AA was vaulted but room CC lacks evidence of being so roofed. They were connected by a low (1.17 m.) rectangular doorway (see pl. XIX, 4), but neither had any connection with room I-I to the south.

Hence M-P was structurally (and functionally?) related to the bakery on the north and AA and CC on the south. Does it represent some sort of communal hall, or can it be another refectory, one for an enlarged monastery? If the latter, II-R could be

considered a new 'service area', and the smaller chambers must have provided complementary services, perhaps for the supply of water and wine for M-P. The few sherds found in this area (M-P and I-AA, BB, and CC) were mostly of the first phase of Classic Christian with a few good examples (stamped designs on polished red-wares) from the Early Christian period.

If the thesis of refectory and service area be maintained two questions arise: (a) was the smaller, earlier refectory abandoned for this more spacious chamber?; and (b) did such an enlarged refectory reflect an increase in the size of the community, and, if so, where were the new cells? If one would offer II-AA, BB, CC, and DD (and duplicate cells in an upper storey?) in response to the latter query, it must be pointed out that such an arrangement would entail passage through the bakery for all duties within the compound other than meditation and sleeping. The placing of the storage bins within the bakery would make such frequent passage too cumbersome (even for Nubian monastic architecture) to allow the response any *functional* credibility.

5. Adjunct to the enlarged church

(I-I)

The contents of this room have been discussed at length elsewhere.¹ Suffice to say here that the room is functionally associated with the churchyard rather than with the church proper, though it shares a common wall with the new narthex (I-X) of the latter. The walls *in situ* are too low to posit any vaulting, though it would be odd (for Wizz) if there were none. Could it have been used as a shelter for animals belonging to the local parishioners? It is quite large enough, app. 8.3 × 4.8 m.; but then the churchyard proper (I-Z) would seem to be even more reasonable a place for such service. But then it might be considered the stable for the monastery as a whole, particularly after the western entry-way was blocked. And this would be feasible if the ensheathing represents an enlargement of the community, since the loggia III-O and room III-K combined would not provide sufficient accommodation for the monastery's livestock. The depredation and disturbance in this room were particularly noticeable; hence it remains by appeal to other complete Nubian monastic plans to posit exactly the function of I-I.

6. The south-east salient

This area (I-N, U, and V; see *Wizz—I*, pl. XLV, 1) demonstrated the same structural discontinuity with earlier masonry as has been noted for the other additions to the monastery. The flooring was widely 'stepped' towards a low arched window giving on to room I-L of the enlarged church. There were two low niches in the west wall of U, and no connection *in situ* between N and the other elements. A trace of a spur wall (which originally might have continued on) helped to divide U from Y, and traces of a spur wall cut from the original eastern wall of the churchyard indicates some connection between Y and the churchyard.

¹ *Wizz—I*, 52-5, particularly n. 1 on p. 54 where further argument for the earlier dating of lead-glazed wares in Nubia is presented; Scanlon, *Pottery, passim*; herein p. 18 and pl. II, 1.

It may be that U and Y represent the area where the mud-bricks for repairs and added construction were made, as stacks of these were found in O and P, the so-called 'satellite chapels'.¹ That N represents the base of a tower, not unusual in Coptic architecture (but not necessarily Nubian Coptic) is purely conjectural; its function is as difficult to analyze as that of II-XX.

The sherds in this area were all of the early Christian and first phase of Classic Christian. In Y a single lead-glazed sherd comparable to those found in I-I, and in N two alkaline glazed sherds point to the continuity of Egyptian imports, and indicate our usual dating of *ca.* 850 to *ca.* 1100 for the monastic ensemble.

7. Blockages

Two questions abide *vis-à-vis* these ensheathing rooms: (a) when were they added?; and (b) did the blockages noted (III-H into I-T; III-Q into I-M; III-O into III-N; between II-N and the 'courtyard'; between II-Q and the 'courtyard'; II-L into II-O; and the postern gate into II-NN) take place at the time of the ensheathing or subsequent to it? A tertiary consideration must be entertained: did the blockages and the raising of the floor of III-O take place subsequent to the finale of the utility of the monastery, i.e. sometime after A.D. 1100?

The added rooms severely limited traffic within the monastery as defined in fig. 1; but the artifacts paralleled the general ceramic sequence of the latter. (Further, it is not to be forgotten that the presence of the letter in II-E and the two Aswân 'slap-dash' imports point to an occupation within the monastery, irrespective of blockages, until the end of the eleventh century.) Thus the ensheathing might have taken place not too soon after the establishment of the monastery, either within the period (A.D. 850-950) posited (based on the terminal date of the Faras kilns) or quite immediately after. The latter supposition is somewhat vitiated by the paucity within the areas concerned of samples of the second phase of Classic Christian wares.

As for the blockages, it would seem that they would be subsequent to the ensheathment, if the latter represented an enlargement of the original monastery, functional cumbersomeness notwithstanding. But if subsequent, do they indicate a contraction of numbers and functioning within the enlarged monastery? The latter seems probable, which then permits a chronology as follows:

- (a) Enlargement of church and establishment of monastery; *ca.* A.D. 850-950.
- (b) Enlargement of the monastery within the above period or immediately subsequent to it.
- (c) Contraction and finale of the ensemble: *ca.* A.D. 1050-1100.
- (d) Squatter occupation.

Though structure and function are often contradictory and neither separately nor together provide irrefutable clues, it remains for the ceramic finds to establish one incontrovertible fact, namely that the religious occupation was terminated well before the onset of Adams's Late Christian period.

¹ *Wizz-I*, 49 and pl. XLI, 4.

Acknowledgement

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago is grateful to Dr. and Mrs. Edmundo Lassalle of New York for a substantial donation toward the costs of preparation and publication of this report.

THE ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF BUHEN

By H. S. SMITH

FOUR groups of ancient Egyptian rock inscriptions existed within the confines of the Egypt Exploration Society's concession of Buhen. One of these, on the hill of Gebel Sheikh Suliman behind the fortified town of Kor, was originally published by Prof. A. H. Sayce.¹ It was first fully recorded by Dr. A. J. Arkell while Commissioner for Archaeology for the Sudan, and subsequently published by him with the assistance of Prof. J. Černý in 1950.² It included the now famous triumphal scene of the First-Dynasty king Zer, eighteen Middle-Kingdom hieratic *graffiti* containing private names with in some cases filiations and titles, and three similar New-Kingdom *graffiti*. In 1963, Miss W. Needler, as a member of the Society's staff, discovered a hitherto unnoticed figure of a scorpion on the hill; she discussed this important drawing in a paper which she delivered to the Orientalists' Congress at Michigan in 1967, but which was published separately.³

A second group of eight Middle-Kingdom *graffiti* is situated high up on the south face of a hill 2.9 km. south-west of Buhen fort, at the north-west corner of the great bay of hills stretching southwards to Gebel 'Abdu'l-Qader, 1.9 km. from the river; it is here designated 'Hill A', as in the preliminary report already published,⁴ and its location is shown by sight lines drawn on the air photographs (pls. XX, XXI). This group was first discovered, to the best of my knowledge, by Prof. A. Klasens on a visit to the Society's excavations early in 1961 and hand-copied by him: to him I express thanks. I made study-copies of these inscriptions in December, 1961, while the facsimile record published here was made by myself with the assistance of my wife in January–February, 1965.

A larger group of forty-two *graffiti*, thirty-five of which are of Middle-Kingdom date, are inscribed above a path round the summit of the small round-topped hill immediately to the west of Buhen fort, in which the more important officials of the place constructed their rock-tombs (Cemetery J).⁵ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, who excavated these tombs and thence christened this hill 'Gebel Turob' (location shown on air photographs, pls. XX and XXII), were presumably aware of the presence of these *graffiti*, but do not refer to them in their publication.⁶ Prof. J. Vercoutter, as

¹ A. H. Sayce, 'Karian, Egyptian and Nubian Greek Inscriptions from the Sudan', *PSBA* 32, 262 ff.

² A. J. Arkell, 'Varia Sudanica' in *JEA* 36, 27–31. Also Vercoutter, *Kush* 3, 14 note 40.

³ W. Needler, 'A Rock-drawing on Gebel Sheikh Suliman (near Wadi Halfa) showing a Scorpion and Human Figures', *JARCE* 6, 87–92.

⁴ *Kush* 14, 330–4. Unfortunately no air photograph is available to me which shows this hill.

⁵ D. Randall-MacIver and C. L. Woolley, *Buhen* (Philadelphia, 1911), I, 129–36; 167–84; II, Plan G. The foot of the path is 650 m. from the gate of the Hatshepsut Temple.

⁶ It seems probable that the Gebel Turob and Hill A inscriptions are those containing the names of Mentuhotpe, Sebekhotpe, and Amenemheb 'seen in the hills round Buhen', which were reported in *Bessarione*,



Air photograph showing Buhen Fortress, Gebel Turob and neighbouring hills, with sight-lines to Hill A
ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF BUHEN

Commissioner for Archaeology in the Sudan, photographed some of these inscriptions in the course of a visit to the site in 1957–8, and showed them to Prof. Posener; these scholars have kindly ceded their interest in publication to the Society. I made study-copies of these inscriptions in December, 1961; Dr. D. B. O'Connor did some planning work upon them early in 1962, and my wife and I completed the record here published in February–March, 1965.

Behind the northern end of the Old-Kingdom settlement on the north of the concession is a group of low hills. Half-way up the south face of the easternmost of these (Hill B; location shown on air photograph, pl. XXII) is an inscription of the Archaic Period, which was discovered by A. J. Arkell while Commissioner for Archaeology for the Sudan.¹ Prof. Emery made the facsimile drawing reproduced here, utilizing copies and notes made by several scholars. A further rock inscription from these hills was found by Prof. J. M. Plumley in 1962. Both these inscriptions are published here from Prof. Plumley's photographs; I gratefully acknowledge his kindness in permitting me to use them.

Many of these rock inscriptions were in positions where, because of inaccessibility or light conditions, it was impossible to obtain a photograph of sufficient quality for publication purposes—at least without scaffolds and highly specialized equipment. In the emergency circumstances of the Nubian campaign, when the Society's policy was to spend the largest possible proportion of its funds in the major works of rescue excavation, the necessary expenditure would have been out of all proportion to the value of these soldiers' mementoes. However, every care was taken to produce the most accurate tracings possible, and every reasonably certain trace recorded, whether intelligible or not. In two cases (Gebel Turob, 37 and 39) where rock falls have taken place since the Middle Kingdom, the inscriptions were so inaccessible as to make tracing impossible; hand-copies elicited with a binocular were resorted to.

Translations of the inscriptions with notes on their location, condition, and interpretation follow.²

Hill A

At the south-east corner of this hill, a large block (15 m. by 4 m. by 1.8 m. high) has fallen and lodged with its long side parallel to the south face of the hill at a height 14 m. above the surrounding plain. A narrow corridor 0.8 m. wide and 15 m. long has so been formed, which provides an ideal shelter and observation post. It is on the warm side of the hill, sheltered from the wind, but provides some shade when the sun is not directly overhead. It is inconspicuous except from immediately below, and commands the desert road from Buhen to Mirgissa, which passes below at a distance of 75 m. away, and the whole of the plain at the north end of which Kor lies. Buhen itself is not visible,

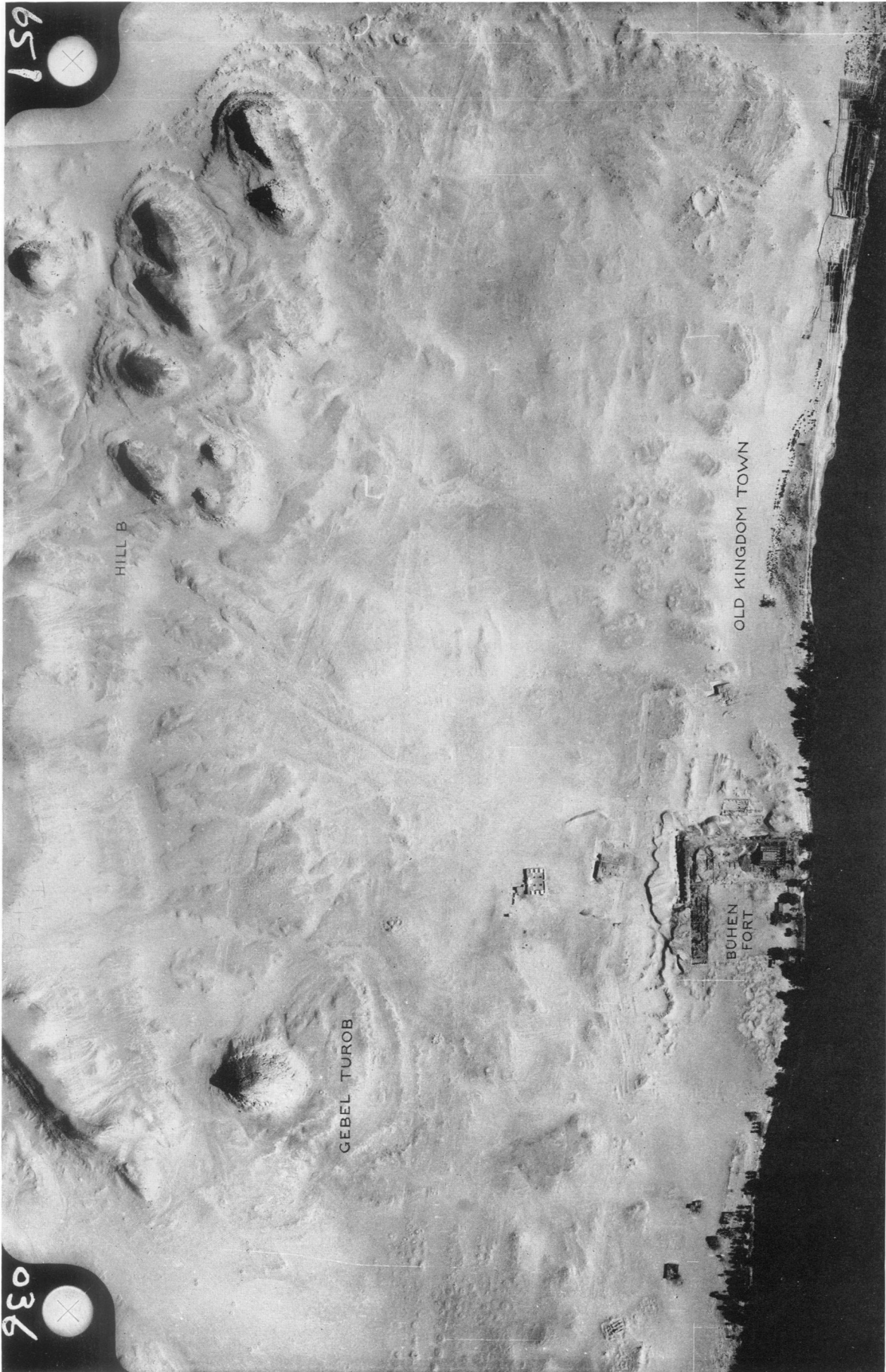
Ist Ser. 9 (1900 and 1901), 428 by Col. H. G. Lyons, and referred to by Arkell in *JEA* 36, 27. It is true that according to my copies Amenemheb does not occur (see p. 52), but this may well represent a misreading of another Amen-name.

¹ *JEA* 36, 27.

² I am indebted to Mr. T. G. H. James, not only for an unusual measure of editorial assistance, but for many valuable suggestions concerning readings and for corrections of my own mistakes. I am also indebted to Miss J. Townend for her kindness in inking in the drawn plates.



Air photograph showing Kor Town, Gebel Sheikh Suliman, with sight-lines to Hill A
ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF BUHEN



Air photograph showing relation of Gebel Turob and Hill B to Buhen Fortress

ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF BUHEN

but the summit of Gebel Turob (74° E. of N.) and the shelters below it are visible through a gap in the hills; the summits of Gebel 'Abdu'l-Qader (6° W. of S.) and Gebel Sheikh Suliman (7° W. of S.) are also visible. Inscriptions 1-4 are situated on the north face of the fallen boulder, that is inside the shelter; Inscription 5 is upon the southern, external side of the fallen boulder; Inscriptions 6-8 are on the south face of the hill itself within the shelter, disposed as in fig. 3, 1. The base line in these schematic plans is that of the floor of the shelter.

- No. 1. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 1, 1 and pl. XXIII, 1). 'Mon(tu)emḥat's son Ḥotpi the elder's son Mon(tu)ḥotpe's son Ḥotpi'.

For the abbreviation *Mn* for *Mntw*, see Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, *Sinai*, II, 77, n.e. That the sign between the names represents *sw* rather than the name determinative is evident from the presence of the fuller writing of the latter at the end of the line. Elsewhere in these inscriptions there occurs the special form which James has shown to represent the name determinative followed by the filiation sign: see T. G. H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and other Early Middle Kingdom Documents*, Palaeography 5, G.39, also p. 139. For examples see the comparative palaeography (fig. 12).

- No. 2. Crudely incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 1, 2 and pl. XXIII, 1). 'Khemy(?)'.

Reading very dubious, as \equiv is not in current use for *m* before the New Kingdom.

- No. 3. Crudely incised Middle-Kingdom hieroglyphic-hieratic (fig. 1, 3).

The signs vaguely suggest the reading *ḥtmty bity* 'Treasurer of Lower Egypt', if it be granted that *ḥ* might be written laterally. This seems exceedingly unlikely, because (1) the spelling is irregular; (2) no name appears; (3) no other title as exalted as this occurs in these inscriptions. If the *graffito* contains a name I cannot identify it.

- No. 4. Lightly incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 1, 4). 'Ḥatry('s son) Nesmontu('s son) Ameny'.

The filiations are uncertain but perhaps to be assumed.

- No. 5. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieroglyphic-hieratic (fig. 1, 5), 'The scribe Iniotef. The priest In. Iniotef'.

The gaps left between the names may indicate that three separate individuals are concerned.

- No. 6. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 2, 1 and pl. XXIII, 2). 'Wedjato's son Amenemḥat's son Nesmon(tju)'s son Amenemḥat. The scribe Iwu's son In's son In's son Montjuḥotpe. Heren's son In's son Kay. Ḥiḳa's son Itj's son Itj's son Itj.'

For the reading *Wd₂-t₂* see Ranke *Personennamen*, I, 89, 5 (James); but compare also the name read *D₂ty* (?) in Hill A, No. 8. For the unattested name *Hr-n*, perhaps compare the Old-Kingdom name *Hr-ib*, Ranke *Personennamen*, I, 230, 5. Two ruminants are drawn on the left of the inscription and are discussed below, pp. 57 f.

- No. 7. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 2, 2). 'Ihy's son Nesmontju'.

The writing of *n(y)-sw* here and in Hill A, No. 6, line 1 is not that normally employed in the name *N(y)-sw-Mntw* (compare No. 31), and is perhaps to be read otherwise. For the form of the name determinative see James, *Hekanakhte*, Palaeography 1, A. 1.

- No. 8. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 2, 3). 'Djaty's son Amenemḥat's son Senwosret's son Djaty'.

D₂ty is unattested and may be a misreading; compare the name read *Wd₂-t₂* in Hill A, No. 6, line 1.

Gebel Turob

Up the north side of Gebel Turob from the point nearest Buhen fort¹ a steep path rises past the tombs to the summit, on which is located Sudan Govt. Survey mark No. 144. At a point 5.5 m. below the top a second path leaves it which leads right round the hill approximately on a single level. A surveyed plan of this path is given on fig. 3, 2 giving the position of the forty-two *graffiti* on the rock walls above it. It will be seen that apart from two groups (Nos. 1-4B on the north face, Nos. 5-6A at the south-east corner) which are probably in the main later than the Twelfth Dynasty, the *graffiti* cluster round three rock shelters, two on the south side of the hill, one on a jutting spur of the west face which looks south. It was undoubtedly to these shelters that the path led, and the obvious inference is that the *graffiti* were carved by or for the men occupying them. Examination of these shelters for occupation debris unfortunately proved fruitless, for they had been swept completely clean by the wind. That the south-eastern shelter had been occupied at some time was, however, proved by a neat round hole, 30 cm. across and 5 cm. deep, which had been ground in the rock floor in the mouth of the shelter. Whether it was intended as a socket for a post that might have supported some sort of screen or curtain to protect the shelter at night, or whether it was simply a convenient safe repository for small objects that one did not wish to be blown away, is impossible to say. What is common to all three shelters is their warm and sheltered position, protected by the hill from the bite of the prevailing north-west wind, their command of the desert road from Buhen to Mirgissa which skirts below the hill, and their easy access to the summit. From the summit there is a clear view of all parts of Buhen fort half a kilometre away, and through a gap in the hills of the summit and south-east corner of Hill A over 2 kilometres off. The importance of this is that neither from Buhen fort nor from Gebel Turob is there a direct view of Kor town, of Gebel Sheikh Suliman, or Gebel 'Abdu'l-Qader because of intervening hills, but these were all visible from Hill A.

The relative positions of the inscriptions on the various rock-faces are shown in fig. 4, 1-2. In these the base line represents the level of the path, approximately 30 m. above the flat desert.

No. 1. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieroglyphic with seated figure, with crudely cut standing figure superimposed (fig. 5, 1).

A smooth rectangle of rock (46 cm. wide by 48 cm. high) was obtained by cutting back 1 cm. from the face. The earliest inscription was a single horizontal line of neat hieroglyphs: 'The royal acquaintance Montjuemhat's (son)'. The end of this inscription is obscured by the superimposed standing figure, but traces of a determinative imply the presence of a son's name.

Vertically down the left side of the panel is a line of larger and cruder hieroglyphs, terminated by a seated figure facing right, bearing a staff of office before him in his left hand and what may be intended for a sceptre in his right. The relation of the inscription to the figure suggests that it is the legend to the figure and therefore contemporary with it. Neither the transliteration nor the interpretation of this inscription is self-evident. If it is

¹ See D. Randall-MacIver and C. L. Woolley, *Buhen*, vol. 2, Plan G, and the air photographs, Pls. XX, XXII.

a continuation of the horizontal inscription, then it might be interpreted as two further filiations; 'The royal acquaintance Montjuemhat's son 's son Irenen(?)'s son Itef(?)'. The difference of style and the unlikely nature of the names are against this. Otherwise it appears necessary to assume some error or omission to explain the order of the signs. It seems most likely that the text is a botched version of one of the formulae *ir·n n·f s3·f*, *ir·n n·f s3 n s3·f* 'made for him by his son', 'made for him by his grandson', which occur in *graffiti* Nos. 3, 5, 6 at Hieroglyph Hill (see Arkell in *JEA* 36, 26). As, however, no name appears to follow the formula, it is not parallel with those dedications.

The superimposed standing figure is in a different technique; the whole body of the figure has been cut into the rock, not merely the outline, and the style is at once both clumsier and freer. The figure strides forward facing right; he bears in his left hand the staff of office, but in his right wields a long lance ready for a throw or to spear his victim. In front of his waist is shown a double bulge, which might be intended to represent the tie of a skirt or, less plausibly, a phallus-sheath. His nose appears to be hooked and he wears a short beard. It seems likely that this figure belongs to the Second Intermediate Period, and may, like certain unpublished stelae from Buhen fort, represent a chieftain of the independent kingdom of Kush.

No. 2. Deeply incised scene, with later scratched figures (fig. 5, 2).

A rectangle of rock has been carelessly smoothed. In the centre, deeply but crudely incised, is a vase-like object apparently surmounted by two feathers. Below is an incised sign somewhat resembling \neg *ntr* (or hieratic $\frac{\text{𓏏}}{\text{𓏏}}$, as in the figures), but unlikely from its size and position to be intended as a hieroglyphic or hieratic sign. To the right below is the standing figure of a man advancing to the right, in the same outline technique; he has a short beard, and wears a plain kilt of Egyptian type. He bears the staff of office in his left hand and what may be a sceptre in his right. Despite the ludicrous disproportion of the right arm and the general crudity of the work, these representations may well be Egyptian workmanship. To the left is a more lightly incised figure, badly weathered; so far as can be observed he stood facing right with both arms folded across the chest, though the intention may have been to show them holding ceremonial objects. Behind him is what appears to be intended as a representation of the ceremonial tail—a remarkable feature, which suggests some aping of royalty. This figure, though perhaps an addition to the original scene, is placed within the rectangular border. At the top right-hand corner of this is a very lightly scratched figure of a standing male facing right, wearing a skirt with tie or phallus-sheath before it. The body is arched back, poised to cast a javelin upheld in the right hand. The figure does not observe the boundaries of the *graffito* and is therefore not part of the original design; the posture and the free technique suggest that this may be a native drawing of the Second Intermediate Period.

No. 3. Lightly incised figure of a lizard, possibly intended for the hieroglyph *ꜥ3* 'many' (fig. 5, 3).

No. 4A. Deeply incised, much weathered signs, probably intended as hieroglyphic; perhaps the name *Ybb*, see Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 21, b (fig. 5, 4).


No. 4B. Deeply incised, standing male figure (fig. 5, 5).

The figure faces right, wearing a long cloak hanging from shoulder to crutch, and bears a staff of office in the left hand. The right hand is upraised behind him as if to throw a javelin or spear a victim. While the position of the figure is similar to that of those in Nos. 1 and 2 described above, the figure is better cut, while the depiction of motion is much less free. Conceivably it is Egyptian work.

Nos. 1-4

These *graffiti*, the only group on the northern side of the hill, are different from all others on Gebel Turob in comprising scenes, not simply inscriptions; they alone have been defaced with later figures. With the exception of a doubtful sign on No. 2, they exhibit only hieroglyphic, and no hieratic writing. The Middle-Kingdom date of the original design of Nos. 1 and 2 is clear from the inscription on No. 1. It seems probable that they belonged to a higher class of official than those whose names surround the shelters on the south side of this hill and Hill A, an inference supported by the occurrence of the title 'royal acquaintance' on No. 1, whereas elsewhere only 'scribe' and *wcb*-priest appear. It is worth noting that they are on the corner of the hill nearest the fort, and most quickly reached by the ascending path. If I am right in seeing the superimposed figures as those of warriors or chiefs of the independent Kushite kingdom in the Second Intermediate Period, it is easy to understand why they singled out these particular *graffiti* for usurpation.

No. 5. Deeply incised hieroglyphs (fig. 6, 1 and pl. XXIV, 1. 'Amen-rē', Lord of Karnak (?).'

The reading *nswt-tywy* is open to serious doubt, since the last two signs differ and only one resembles , and there should be three of them. No other title of Amen-rē seems, however, to fit so well. The epithet 'Lord of the Seats of the Two Lands' is attested for the Middle Kingdom, but a later date is preferable.

No. 6A. Deeply incised hieroglyph, probably intended for *ḥ* 'palace', closely associated with No. 5 (fig. 6, 2 and pl. XXIV, 1).

No. 6B. Lightly incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 6, 3). 'Montjuhotpe's (son)'.
No. 7. Lightly incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 6, 4). '(. 's son) Ameny'.





No. 8. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 6, 5). 'Ḥor's (son)'.
No. 9. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 6, 6). 'Bebi's son Bebi's son Ḥedj'.

No. 10. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 6, 7). 'Ḥarnakhte('s son) Iniotef'.
Filiation uncertain.

No. 11A. Lightly incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 6, 8). 'Montjuhotpe's (son) Amenemhat. Montju ('s son) Montju'.
Filiations uncertain; more probably two men than four.

No. 11B. A square of smoothed rock surface, 14 cm. wide by 13 cm. high, perhaps never inscribed.

No. 12. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 7, 1). 'Iniotef's son Montjuhotpe. Montjuhotpe's son Montjuwoser('s son?) Montjuhotpe'.

The form transcribed  in line 2 is quite different from that used in line 1, but it is difficult to see what else it could have been intended for; note that the forms of  and  differ within line 2. The sign at the end of *Mntw-wsr* might be either  or ; three individuals may be present.

No. 13. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic, deliberately effaced by abrasion; the bottom left corner of 13 is superimposed upon the top left corner of 14 (fig. 7, 2 and pl. XXIV, 2). 'Senwosret('s son) Im Montjuhotpe's son Montjuhotpe'.

Most probably two men. Perhaps read *ḥm*, not *Im*

No. 14. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 7, 3 and pl. XXIV, 2). 'Ḥenut(y)'s son Montjuhotpe's son Montjuwoser'.

For the second sign of the first name there are several palaeographical possibilities,

- No. 24. Lightly incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 8, 8; pl. XXV, 2). 'Amenemhat('s son) Sebekhotpe(?)'.
The scribe appears to have written an *m* after *Sbk*, but correcting himself to have utilized it as a *htp*. Filiation uncertain.
- No. 25. Lightly scratched forms within a light border, with bolder Middle-Kingdom hieratic inscriptions superimposed (fig. 8, 9; pl. XXV, 2).
Apart from the name 'Ameny' written over the border, the relation of the remainder of the signs to one another is obscure, though some may be contemporary.
- No. 26. Very lightly incised hieratic, badly weathered and barely legible even in the most favourable light (fig. 9, 1).
Traces too uncertain for interpretation.
- No. 27. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 9, 2). 'Sebekwoser's son Sebekwoser. nakhte's son Montjuhotpe'.
The traces at the top of line 2 appeared clear upon the rock but I cannot interpret them.
- No. 28. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 9, 3). 'The priest Khau'.
The inscription is immediately to the right of No. 27; only the name determinative can have been lost.
- No. 29. Lightly incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 9, 4). 'Woser'.
- No. 30. Very lightly incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic, heavily weathered (fig. 9, 5).
Traces and interpretation uncertain.
- No. 31. Very deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 10, 1). 'Montjuhotpe's son Iniotef's son Nesmontju'.
- No. 32. Deeply incised hieratic (fig. 10, 2).
The first sign is enigmatic; both interpretation and date uncertain.
- No. 33. Upper line, deeply incised; lower line, lightly scratched; Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 10, 3). 'Inu(?)('s son) Sebekemhat. Iniotef's son'.
The interpretation of the first group as ⲛ is dubious; compare Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 36, 19. The stroke appears to be a substitute for the name determinative, see James, *Heḳanakhte*, p. 139, 2.
- No. 34. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 10, 4). 'Nes(mon)tju's son Montjuhotpe'.
- No. 35. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieroglyphic-hieratic (fig. 10, 5). ' i. Montjuhotpe. Iniotef'.
Montjuhotpe's name appears to have been written so as to avoid that of Iniotef; probably no filiation is to be assumed.
- No. 36. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic (fig. 11, 1). 'Woser('s son) Sebekemhat'.
Filiation uncertain.
- No. 37. Deeply incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic; hand-copy (fig. 11, 2). 'Montjuhotpe's son Woser(?). ('s son) Amen'.
The apparent presence of a *p* in the final name, suggesting 'Amenhotpe', is troubling as this name is rare before the New Kingdom.
- No. 38. A small very roughly shaped stela of deep red Nubian sandstone (fig. 11, 4). The stela was found by Mrs. H. F. Smith in February, 1965 at the foot of the southern scarp of Gebel Turob without archaeological context; it may have come from one of the tombs. It bears the design of a figure wearing the Upper-Egyptian crown and bearing a bow (?) in his right hand; with his left hand he holds the bound arms of a prisoner whom he forces to walk before him. This motive is familiar from the Middle-Kingdom jar sealings

from Nubian forts and from a rock inscription in the western desert 20 km. south-west of Aswân; see T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 132-3, but in these the rear figure wears the feather, not the white crown. Conceivably, if the crown is really intended, this is a Second-Intermediate-Period reinterpretation of a Middle-Kingdom motive; a rather similar scene occurs on an unpublished stela from Buhen fort.

No. 39. Lightly incised Middle-Kingdom hieratic; hand-copy (fig. 11, 4). 'Montjuwoser's son'

Rock-face badly worn.

Summary

Palaeography and Titles

On fig. 12 the forms exhibited by sixteen selected hieroglyphic signs in the Middle-Kingdom inscriptions of Gebel Turob and Hill A are shown. The variety is considerable, not only between inscription and inscription but even within inscriptions. Such variations are not altogether uncommon in Ancient Egypt at any date, even in professional scribal hands. Whether the variety of forms here should be explained by the assumption that in general each man carved his own name on these rocks must be a moot point; some of the *graffiti* support this impression, while in others the names of more than one man appear to be written in a single hand.

If such an assumption is even partially correct, it may have some bearing on the extent of literacy in the Middle Kingdom, for most of the men who left their names on these rocks were undoubtedly relatively humble people. The number of people represented in the Middle-Kingdom inscriptions is not easy to decide, because of doubts in some cases whether or not filiations were intended, but on the bases of the suggestions made above the total is 66. Of these only five bore titles: the royal acquaintance Montjuemḥat (GT 2), the *wrb*-priests Khau and In (GT 28, A. 5), and the scribes Iniotef and Montjuḥotpe (A. 5, A. 6).¹ Montjuemḥat is the only man likely to have held a good position in the Egyptian hierarchy; his inscription is placed apart from the others, and unlike them includes representations. The *wrb*-priests probably served in the local temple of Horus of Buhen, the scribes as garrison scribes. The majority bore no titles at all, nor did their ancestors according to the inscriptions. The conclusion that these people were in the main the rank and file, whether employed in civil or military capacities, seems justified. In some inscriptions, forms approximating to the hieroglyphic have been introduced into the cursive hieratic script, perhaps deliberately, as testifying knowledge of the forms suitable to monumental inscriptions.

The Names and the Date of the Inscriptions

In the preliminary report upon these inscriptions² some provisional figures were given for the number of occurrences in the inscriptions of certain names. As these figures have been altered slightly by improved readings and changes of view concerning filiations, a complete list of all Middle-Kingdom names from Hill A and Gebel Turob is given below. As, if names are to be used for chronological purposes at all, it is essential

¹ Omitting the very dubious case of Hill A, No. 2.

² *Kush* 14, 330-4.

to observe which generation of a family they belong to, the names have been divided in the list according to the relationships to the owners of the *graffiti*, on the basis of the suggestions in the notes to the transliterations. It must be emphasized again that these cannot be certain in all cases owing to occasional omission of the filiation sign. Whereas in the preliminary report I used the rather arbitrary assumption that mention of grandparents and great-grandparents was abnormal, now greater attention has been paid to the technique, placing, and palaeography of the inscriptions.

NAME-LIST

Name	Owner's great- grand- father	Owner's grand- father	Owner's father	Owner	Total
'Iww	I	—	—	—	I
'Imny	—	—	I	4	5
'Imn-m-ḥꜣt	—	2	I	2	5
'Imn (?)	—	—	—	I	I
'In	—	I	2	I	4
'In-it-f	—	—	3	9	12
'In-it-f-ꜣ	—	—	I	—	I
'Inw(?)	—	—	I	—	I
'In (?)	—	—	—	I	I
'Iḥy	—	—	I	—	I
'Itt	—	I	I	I	3
Wsr	—	—	I	2	3
Wḏꜣ-tꜣ	I	—	—	—	I
Bbi	—	I	I	—	2
Mntw-wsr	—	—	2	3	5
Mntw-m-ḥꜣt	I	—	—	I	2
Mntw-ḥtp	—	2	8	8	18
Mntw- (?)	—	—	2	I	3
Nsw-mntw	—	—	3	2	5
Hr-n	—	I	—	—	I
Ḥnt(y)	—	I	—	—	I
Ḥr	—	—	I	—	I
Ḥr-nḥt	—	—	I	—	I
Ḥkꜣ	I	—	—	—	I
Ḥtpi	—	—	—	I	I
Ḥtpi-ꜣ	—	I	—	—	I
Ḥtry	—	I	—	—	I
Ḥḏ	—	—	—	I	I
Ḥꜣw	—	—	—	I	I
Ḥmy (?)	—	—	—	I	I
Ḥntw-ḥty- . . . (?)	—	—	—	I	I
Sbk-wsr	—	—	I	I	2
Sbk-m-ḥꜣt	—	—	—	2	2
Sbk-ḥtp	—	—	—	I	I
S-n-wsrt	—	—	2	I	3
Kꜣy	—	—	—	I	I
Dng	—	—	I	—	I
ḏꜣty (?)	I	—	—	I	2
Uncertain reading	—	I	3	6	10

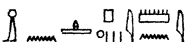
In 1950 Dr. A. J. Arkell wrote: 'The occurrence of *graffiti* at Hieroglyph Hill¹ and Gebel Shêkh Suliman indicating people with names as closely associated with the Eleventh Dynasty as Intef, Mentuhotpe, and Sebkhotepe, employed in the vicinity as officials on such settled pursuits as quarrying stone for offering tables,² hunting, and clerical work suggests that we may have here evidence for the occupation of Nubia as far as the Second Cataract by the Eleventh Dynasty. The even earlier scene in relief depicting a fight round a ship must have been carved to commemorate the original First-Dynasty conquest; and these occurrences so near the Middle-Kingdom base of *Ikn* suggest that the base too may date back to Dyn. XI or even earlier.'³ This view, eminently reasonable at the time of publication, looks more questionable in the light of recent work in the Second Cataract area. The full excavation of Buhen fortress has not yielded a single inscribed monument or artifact of certain Eleventh-Dynasty date out of over 2,000 items. Excavations at Kor (Buhen South), considered by Arkell to have been the site of *Ikn*,⁴ have yielded no evidence of occupation earlier than the Twelfth Dynasty.⁵ The publication of Reisner's and Wheeler's work at the forts higher up the Second Cataract has not yet revealed any positive evidence for Eleventh-Dynasty occupation,⁶ nor to judge by preliminary reports has much been recovered during the Nubian Campaign.⁷ The case for an Egyptian occupation of the Second Cataract area in the Eleventh Dynasty rests upon the interpretation of the personal names inscribed upon the hills and rocks there, and upon an interpretation of the place-name *Bn* in the *graffito* of *Thmw* at Abisko as a miswriting of *Bhn*.⁸

Hintze has not yet fully published the *graffiti* recorded by the Epigraphic Expedition of the German Academy of Sciences, Berlin, but in a preliminary report he gives the figures (rounded out) for the region between Serra and Semna, including the *graffiti* at Semna previously published by Reisner, as follows for certain key names:

'In-it f	over 40	'Imny	over 10
Mntw-htp	over 20	S-n-wsrt	over 20
		Sbk-htp	over 10

Presumably these figures include those of parents and ancestors of those actually inscribing the rocks.⁹ The *graffiti* at Hieroglyph Hill and Gebel Sheikh Suliman combined yield the following figures:

¹ This site has now been renumbered 5-N-1 by Hintze, see *Kush* 12, 40.

² This rests on Černý's interpretation of Hieroglyph Hill *Graffito* 3, which he transcribes  translating 'the carrier of stone (? *inr*) for offering tables (?) Imeny'. Without a photograph or copy of the original, certainty is impossible, but I suspect that Hintze's promised re-edition may show the true reading to be *In Mn(tw)-htp Imny*, 'In's (son) Montjuhotpe's (son) Ameny'.

³ *JEA* 36, 31.

⁴ *Ikn* is now known to be Mirgissa, not Kor: see *Orientalia* 34 (1965), 213-14, and J. Vercoutter, *Mirgissa*, 1.

⁵ *Kush* 3, 4-19; 14, 187-243.

⁶ N. F. Wheeler in *Kush* 9, 87-179; D. Dunham and J. M. A. Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts*, 1: *Semna-Kumma*, Boston, 1960; 11: *Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa*, Boston, 1967; J. Vercoutter *et alii*, *Mirgissa*, 1, Paris, 1970.

⁷ See recent numbers of *Kush* and Prof. Leclant's summaries in *Orientalia*.

⁸ See the discussion in T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, Lund, 1941, 59-60.

⁹ *Kush* 12, 41.

Name	Owner's grand- father	Owner's father	Owner	Owner's son	Total
'Imny	—	—	1	1	2
'Imn-m-ip·t	—	1	—	—	1
'In	1	—	—	—	1
'In-it-f(i)	—	—	3	—	3
Mntw-wsr	—	1	—	—	1
Mntw-ḥtp	—	4	3	1	8
Mntwy	—	—	1	—	1
Mrw	—	—	1	—	1
Ḥtp(i)	—	—	2	—	2
Sbk-ḥtp	—	—	1	—	1
S-n-Sbk	—	1	—	—	1

The argument for an Eleventh-Dynasty date is that, as the names *In-it-f* and *Mntw-ḥtp* were at the peak of their popularity in that Dynasty, when many were named after the Pharaohs of those names, and as there is a high proportion of persons with these names in the Second Cataract rock inscriptions, there is an overwhelming probability that some of the inscriptions were inscribed during the rule of the Eleventh Dynasty. Indeed, taking the inscriptions from Hieroglyph Hill, Sheikh Suliman, Hill A, and Gebel Turob together, the combined proportion of the names Iniotef and Montjuhotpe to the whole is $\frac{41}{130}$, 31·5 per cent; if the related name *In* and other names compounded with Montju are included the proportion rises to $\frac{58}{130}$, 44·6 per cent. But 28 of these 58 names (18 out of 41 considering Iniotef and Montjuhotpe only) belong not to the inscribers of the *graffiti* but to their fathers and remoter ancestors. If the inscribers were born in the early Twelfth Dynasty, their parents will necessarily have been born in the Eleventh. The proportion of actual inscribers named Iniotef and Montjuhotpe is $\frac{22}{55}$, 40 per cent; or taking the wider range of names above, $\frac{29}{55}$, 52·7 per cent. These high proportions seem to favour Dr. Arkell's argument. But there are other factors to be considered. A man who was of military age or who held an official position in the reigns of Amenemhat I or Sesostri I is very likely to have been born in the latter years of Nebhepetrē Montjuhotpe or of one of his short-lived Eleventh-Dynasty successors, and to have been called after him. We must also take account of the well-established Egyptian practice of calling children after their grandfathers, so that the name-pattern A-B-A-B is sometimes maintained through several generations. Indeed, we know that the names Iniotef and Montjuhotpe continued in common use throughout the Twelfth Dynasty into the New-Kingdom Period.¹ Probably too Ammenemes I and Sesostri I continued to draw the majority of their military forces from the Theban nome, where theophorous names compounded with Montu must always have been rife.

The names Amenemhat, its abbreviation Ameny, and Senwosret are, on the other hand, not very likely to have been conferred on private individuals before the reigns of the first rulers of those names, and there is little clear evidence that they were. Men called Amenemhat or Ameny after a Pharaoh will not have been of age to be sent to Nubia before the reign of Sesostri I, nor those called Senwosret before that of Amen-

¹ Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 34, No. 5; 154, No. 21.

emhat II. Thus the inscription Hill A, No. 8 of Djaty's son Amenemhat's son Senwosret's son Djaty may not be earlier than the reign of Sesostris II or III, and the same applies to Hill A, No. 6, in which Wedjato's son Amenemhat's son Nesmontu's son Amenemhat appears.¹ Likewise Ameny's son Montuhotpe (GT 17A), Amenemhat's son Sebek-hotep (?) (GT 24), and Senusret's son (?) (GT 13) may not be earlier than mid Twelfth Dynasty. Other theophorous names compounded with Amen-, whose rise was due to the Twelfth Dynasty, should belong to that Dynasty or later. Theophorous names compounded with Sebek- are very much less convincing evidence, since these names had long been current in the Fayyûm, ar-Rizeiqat, and elsewhere.² Arkell's use of them to prove Eleventh-Dynasty date is, however, wrong, for there was a rise in their popularity when the Twelfth-Dynasty kings moved their chief residence to the vicinity of the Fayyûm, reaching a peak in the Thirteenth Dynasty. The numerical proportion of the names Amenemhat, Ameny, Senwosret, and the Sebek names to the whole corpus from Hieroglyph Hill, Gebel Sheikh Suliman, Hill A, and Gebel Turob is $\frac{25}{130}$, 19.2 per cent; $\frac{17}{130}$, 13.1 per cent if Sebek-names are omitted.

The analysis of the evidence of the personal names for the date of these inscriptions leads then to the following conclusions: that while some of these rock inscriptions certainly may have been carved during the rule of the Eleventh Dynasty, the evidence does not really force this conclusion; and that some of the inscriptions must be of Twelfth- to Thirteenth-Dynasty date, with important inscriptions on Hill A hardly earlier than Sesostris II. The decision on whether the Eleventh Dynasty occupied the Second Cataract area cannot be based on these inscriptions alone, but only on broader historical grounds. This must be left until the material and inscriptional evidence from the forts and the rock inscriptions throughout the area is fully published.

The Shelters as Watch-posts

The date at which these names were inscribed near the tops of hills around Buhen and Kor has a direct bearing on the view that is taken of why men spent time there at all. If they were inscribed in the Eleventh Dynasty before the foundation of either Buhen or Kor, or of any other Middle-Kingdom riverside settlement in this area, then we can only fall back on the view of Vercoutter concerning Gebel Sheikh Suliman, namely that it was used as a hill-fort by the Egyptians in the Eleventh Dynasty before any riverside settlement was founded.³ This view seems to me to have some inherent difficulties. The greatest is water-supply; even Gebel Turob and Gebel Sheikh Suliman are half a mile from the river, Hill A is over a mile, and Hieroglyph Hill about six miles. All attackers would need to do would be to surround the hills and intercept water parties

¹ With this man in A. 6, and necessarily contemporary, appears the scribe Iwu's son In's son In's son Montjuhotpe, which demonstrates the use of In and Montjuhotpe in Dyn. XII.

² See Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 304, 1, *Sbk-wsr*: 305, 6, *Sbk-htp*, both O.K. *S-n-Sbk* (I, 279, 14) and *Sbk-m-sr* (I, 304, 8) are admittedly not attested before the Middle Kingdom. See Vercoutter in *Kush* 5, 61-9 for the importance of Sebek, Lord of Sumenu (ar-Rizeiqat) in Nubia in the Middle Kingdom, and examples of names compounded with his.

³ *Kush* 3, 14. 'C'est encore près du point le plus élevé que se trouvent les graffiti du Moyen Empire relevés par A. J. Arkell, parmi lesquels figurent des Intef et des Montjuhotep, ce qui semblerait indiquer que jusqu'à la XIème Dynastie encore, le site se trouvait sur la montagne même, et non au bord du fleuve.'

to induce a quick surrender. Without a protected base on the river, supply of food and weapons would also be exceedingly difficult, quite apart from the question of relief for the men. Moreover, if these places were hill-forts, there would surely be traces of fortifications round the summits. As Vercoutter has pointed out, these do exist on Gebel Sheikh Suliman in the form of a rectangular stone 'keep' or guardroom on the summit and a rather crude stone wall following the line of the hill a few metres below it (see pl. XXI). But I believe these to be of Maḥdist date, like certain stone outworks on other hills round Buhen which bear no ancient Egyptian inscriptions.¹ Gebel Turob and Hill A bear no traces of fortification whatever.

If on the other hand the inscriptions belong to the Twelfth Dynasty, then there is a simple explanation for these *graffiti*. We know from the Semna dispatches that the Egyptians kept the strictest watch on the desert routes round the Second Cataract, and sent most detailed routine reports to the garrison commander at Semna, and no doubt at other major forts, even concerning quite trivial movements of the native population.² There is no doubt that from the time of Sesostriis III the purpose of these was to see that his decree, recorded on the Semna boundary stela, forbidding any Nubian to pass north thereof by land except on legitimate business as far as *Ṭkn* (Mirgissa), was carried out to the letter. But the watch must have been essential throughout the Twelfth-Dynasty occupation for the protection of convoys, the prevention of smuggling, and to guard against surprise attack. As has been pointed out above, these hill shelters are ideally sited for keeping an inconspicuous watch on the main Buhen–Mirgissa–Semna route; there are direct sight lines between them for signalling purposes;³ and they provide a signal link between Buhen and Kor, which are not directly visible from one another.⁴ They were in my view the watch-posts, which explains the choice of the warm sides of hills with clefts and shelters available.

The details of how the system functioned cannot of course be known to us, but some conjectures may be made. The watches will have been sent out from Buhen and Kor for a set tour of duty, at the end of which they would be relieved. Probably the watches for Gebel Turob and Hill A were supplied by the garrison of Buhen, those of Gebel Sheikh Suliman, Gebel 'Abdu'l-Qader, and Hieroglyph Hill by Kor. Those on Gebel Turob and Gebel Sheikh Suliman were so close to base that provisioning would be no problem; in the case of the farther posts, no doubt a pack animal went with them bearing food and water for forty-eight hours or whatever the tour of duty was. Some evidence for the size of the parties is provided by the inscriptions, though its interpretation is a somewhat delicate matter, because it is uncertain in several cases how many individuals are comprised in what is apparently a single inscription, and even occasionally whether

¹ One of these Maḥdist forts can be seen on the hill on the left of the air photograph in pl. XXII.

² P. Smither in *JEA* 31, 3–10. Papyrus fragments found in the Commandant's Palace in the Inner Fort at Buhen are evidently part of similar correspondence, and some of them seem on palaeographical grounds to belong to the early Middle Kingdom, whereas Smither's documents are later than Sesostriis III. These fragments will be published in the volume of the Buhen excavation report devoted to inscriptions.

³ Suggestions concerning the methods used were made in *Kush* 14, 332.

⁴ Perhaps Hieroglyph Hill, Gebel 'Abdu'l-Qader, and other sites discovered by Hintze form a further link between Kor and Mirgissa, and the signal chain may have continued via peaks and islands as far as Semna itself.

names carved within a single frame are contemporary. However, on the basis of the interpretations suggested in the notes to the transliterations the figures are as follows:

Gebel Turob

Inscriptions naming one man with his son as dedicator	1
Inscriptions naming one man	19
Inscriptions naming two men	13
Inscriptions naming three men	1 (?)

Hill A

Inscriptions naming one man	6
Inscriptions naming three men	1
Inscriptions naming four men	1

Gebel Sheikh Suliman

Inscriptions naming one man	16
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Hieroglyph Hill

Inscriptions naming one man	2
Inscriptions naming one man and his son as dedicator ¹	3

In considering these figures we must realize that there is no reason why individuals out of a party should not have inscribed their names separately; what is significant is that unrelated individuals so often grouped their names together. The evidence thus seems to be in favour of parties of two as the usual rule on Gebel Turob, rather larger parties on Hill A, and perhaps a single man on Gebel Sheikh Suliman. This fits quite well with the necessities of the several posts. On Gebel Turob, at least in time of trouble, one man would be needed to watch the road and receive signals from Hill A, while the other kept in communication with Buhen fort. At Sheikh Suliman, however, one watchman only might be required, since signals from Hill A and 'Abdu'l-Qader could be received directly at Kor. At Hill A it would be necessary to watch routes both on the east and west of the hill and to signal to both Gebel Turob and Kor, and probably to Gebel Sheikh Suliman and Gebel 'Abdu'l-Qader also. Besides, a larger party would have more chance, in the case of an attack, of getting back to Buhen intact. Hill A, No. 6 is of particular interest; it is clear that the four Egyptian names have been designed so as to avoid encroaching on the two cattle to the left; in fact the determinative at the end of line 3 has slightly overlapped the horn of the leading beast, confirming that the Egyptian inscription is later. Both of these cattle apparently have twisted, presumably deliberately mutilated horns; the rear one exhibits body markings and a bell. These details, taken with their situation, are interesting because recent authors have proposed that in the C-group culture the same type of bond may have been felt between a man

¹ These cases cannot be considered parallel with those of two unrelated men, as it is by no means certain that both father and son were present; in any case these inscriptions, as suggested in the comment on GT 1-4, belong to a rather different class from those of the watchmen. In view of their predominance at Hieroglyph Hill, that site is perhaps to be viewed as a 'rest-post' on the route round the cataract rather than a watch-post.

and his cattle as is found in some Sudanese societies today.¹ Among the Longarim, for instance, a man may bear the same name as his 'favourite beast', and regard it as his *alter ego*; such cattle often have their horns twisted into distinctive shapes and are otherwise adorned.² It is at least conceivable, then, that these two drawings of cattle are the signatures of two C-group people, perhaps employed as mercenaries on watch duty.

The appearance of scribes among these watch parties is not surprising; they would have been required to write the reports of which we have fragments in the Semna dispatches. The presence of priests might be considered less explicable, but it must be remembered that at this period at any rate *wcb*-priests were not full-time professional priests; they undertook their duties in the temple by rota as an honourable and lucrative addition to their normal functions in life. No doubt these priests were present in the same capacity as on other occasions were the scribes.³ On Gebel Sheikh Suliman the title 'Master of Hounds' (*mn̄w t̄smw*) also occurs three times. It seems conceivable that when Nubians were spotted from the hill on suspected unlawful pursuits, hounds were used to track them down, as it is very easy indeed to disappear completely from view in this desert. But this may be pressing the evidence too far. It may be hoped that the still tentative conclusions in this summary may be reinforced or discredited when the German Academy of Sciences, Berlin, publish their much more extensive survey of rock inscriptions.

Buhen North

Hill B

No. 1. On the south face of this hill (for location see air photograph, pl. XXII) about 5 m. above the surface of the surrounding desert, a re-entrant in the rock forms a narrow platform sheltered from the wind.⁴ Probably this was formed by a rock-slide in very ancient times; at all events, the hill-face above the ledge is relatively smooth, and this has been utilized as a surface for an inscription about a metre above the ledge (fig. 11, 5). This inscription, unlike those discussed above, is not cut with a graving tool but hammered and ground out; the original hammer-marks, though partly obliterated by subsequent grinding, could be clearly discerned. As is well known, this was the technique regularly used for stone and rock inscriptions in the Archaic Period, and in itself is an indication of the early date of the inscription. Unfortunately, though the original incision is reasonably deep, the surface has been considerably worn by sand-blast at the left end, rendering the photograph rather unsatisfactory (pl. XXVI, 1), but the facsimile drawing is the result of checking observations made in various lights by different scholars.

Palaeography confirms the evidence of technique for the early date of the inscription. The following comparisons for some of the more distinctive forms may serve to illustrate this:

¹ See most recently H. A. Nordström and H. T. B. Hall in *Kush* 10, 34-61, and P. Huard in *Kush* 12, 63-81.

² See A. Kronenburg in *Kush* 9, 258 ff.

³ It need not of course be assumed that these officials were members of the watches.

⁴ The inscription is situated 825 m. from the gate of the Ḥatshepsut temple as the crow flies, and 680 m. from the stone boundary wall of the Old Kingdom north of the fort.



Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, I, pls. 19, 20. Stone vase 'Dyn O'.
W. B. Emery, *Hor-Aha*, 93, Seal Impression no. 23. Dyn. I, Hor-aha.
W. M. F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, II, pl. 3, no. 15. Ivory label. Dyn. I, Hor-aha.
Emery, *Hor-Aha*, 32, fig. 35, reproduced by P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, III, Taf. 28, no. 72.



Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. 15, 16. Ivory Label; *srh* of *Dn*, Dyn. I.
Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, III, pl. 107, 16, 17. Drawn in ink on pottery, *Srh* of *Dn*, Dyn. I.
Emery, *Great Tombs*, I, 82, fig. 44. Mud jar-sealing; *srh* of *Dn*, Dyn. I.
Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. 32, 9. Private Stela, Dyn. I, king uncertain.
Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. 7, 6. Rock crystal vase. Dyn. I, Semerkhet.



Petrie, *Abydos*, II, pl. 1 and pl. 5. Glazed tile, attributed by Petrie to Dyn. I. Perhaps also the Gebel Sheikh Suliman rock inscription of Zer, see Arkell in *JEA* 36, 28, fig. 1. Otherwise Dyn. I forms seem to show the 'cross-roads' diagonally, e.g. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 16, 114, Mud jar-sealing, *Dr*.



Perhaps compare Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. 36, no. 45 (Cambridge Fitzwilliam 208/1900). Private Stela. Attributed by Petrie to Semerkhet or Ka-a, Dyn. I.



Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. 11, 6 and 14, 11. Ivory Tablet. Dyn. I, *Dn*.
Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. 11, 14 and 15, 16. Ebony Tablet. Dyn. I, *Dn*.
Emery, *Hor-Aha*, 23, fig. 18, reproduced by Kaplony, I, 68; III, fig. 80.




Z. Y. Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs*, pls. 29, 30 give fairly close parallels, though the jar is directly upon the man's head.

A further indication of early date is the irregular order of the signs. The hieroglyphs in line 1 face in the opposite direction to those in line 2; in each line the perfect passive participle *mry* is written with its termination preceding the word sign: the common epithet *ntr* 𓂏 or *ntr nfr* in line 1 appears in reversed order; one sign, 𓂏, appears actually to be drawn upside down in line 1. Taken together, the evidence suggests that the inscription can hardly be of a later date than the Third Dynasty, and may even belong to the First Dynasty.



Its interpretation is difficult. The signs in line 2 may be plausibly interpreted *mry ntrt 𓂏st nb(t) pt tꜣwy* 'beloved of the goddess Isis, lady of heaven and of the Two Lands'. On analogy it is tempting to read *mry Hr*¹ 'beloved of Horus' at the right-hand end of line 1 first, and to regard the remainder of the line as epithets of the god: *mry Hr nb*

¹ The form of the falcon with the curving base-line might be held to favour the reading *nty*. However, a number of representations of falcons on First-Dynasty *serekhs* show base-lines with a curving profile (see references quoted above). It would be surprising to find the local god of the XIIth Upper Egyptian nome at the Second Cataract, whereas Horus appears as the god of various Nubian towns, including Buhen, in later times.

nṯwt ntr ʿ3¹ d·f² pt tꜣwy ‘beloved of Horus, the lord of the city, the great god, who set (down) the sky and the Two Lands’. Alternatively, if the direction of the writing is followed throughout, we may perhaps read: ‘The lord of the city, the great god, he sets (in order) the sky and the Two Lands, the one beloved of Horus, the one beloved of the goddess Isis, the lord (lady?) of heaven and the Two Lands.’ If this version is correct, the inscription can surely only refer to Pharaoh. In this case one would expect him to be named; but careful examination of the whole rock surface revealed no trace anywhere of either a *serekh* or a cartouche. Indeed, even if *nb nṯwt ntr ʿ3 d·f pt tꜣwy* refers to Horus, there remains the difficulty of deciding who is referred to in the epithets ‘beloved of Horus’, ‘beloved of Isis’. It is perhaps just possible to interpret the separate group of signs to the left of line 1 as containing a title and a name, *wꜣb Mꜣwy*³ ‘the *wꜣb*-priest *Mꜣwy*’ to whom these epithets could apply. But in the Archaic Period and the Old Kingdom only the Pharaoh can normally be spoken of as ‘beloved’ of a deity. Besides, it seems inherently probable that  is to be interpreted as the determinative of *wꜣb*, in which case the final *y* is presumably to be considered as a participial or *nṯbe* termination.⁴ Perhaps then *wꜣby* should be taken as an epithet ‘pure, purified’, parallel to *mry* in lines 1 and 2. This leaves unresolved the crucial difficulty of deciding to whom these epithets refer; it would seem that if they do not refer to an unnamed Pharaoh, they can only well refer to the place itself, somewhat in this fashion: ‘(This place), which is purified, which is beloved of Horus, lord of the city, the great god, who ordained heaven and the Two Lands, which is beloved of the goddess Isis, Lady of Heaven and the Two Lands.’

Whether the inscription refers to the place or to an unnamed Pharaoh, its purpose should be considered. It is not a campaign record, like the scene of King *Dr* on Gebel Sheikh Suliman, nor is it simply the record of an individual’s presence. The inscription seems more suitable to a dedicatory text, and though poorly laid out even for the Archaic Period, it is on a large scale and in a prominent position. It is situated on the group of hills closest to the Old-Kingdom town at Buhen, less than 300 yards from its surrounding wall. According to the archaeological evidence, this town must have been founded at some time before the reign of Snofru, perhaps considerably before.⁵ The two deities who figure in the inscription were later the principal deities of Buhen,⁶ and though this may of course be chance, it need not be so. If the inscription did commemorate the foundation of the town, the epithet *nb nṯwt* ‘Lord of the city/town’ would

¹ Palaeographically *ntr nfr* is also possible, but this epithet is used only of Pharaoh, and then probably not before Dynasty V (see H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 383).

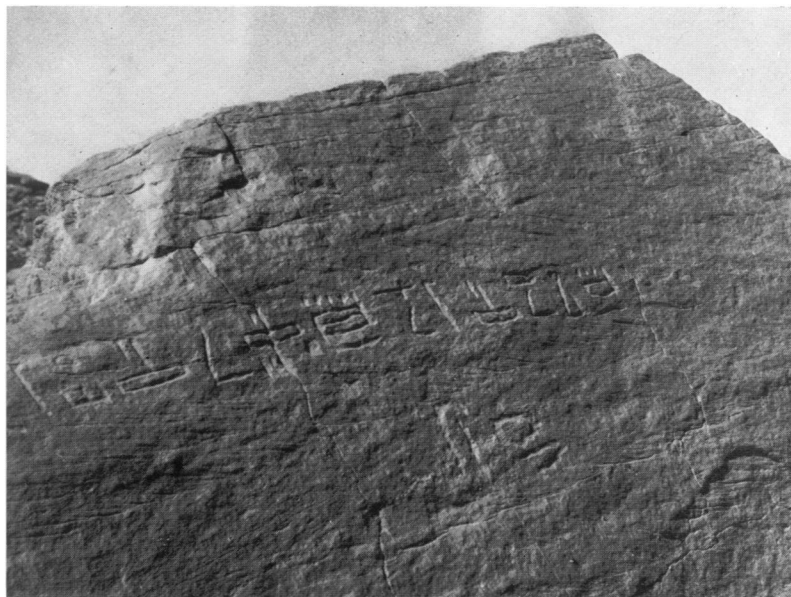
² This reading involves a reversal of signs, which may perhaps be acceptable in view of the other examples of this quoted. Presumably *d·f*, if correctly read, is at this date more probably a *sꜣm·f* of *dwi/wdī* than of *rdī*. Dr. Gwyn Griffiths, however, suggests reading  instead of , and interpreting the group as a perfective active participle of *wdi*, which has much to recommend it.

³ This name first appears in the New Kingdom, and then only for a female (Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 146, 28–9); it does not figure in the name index of P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, II.

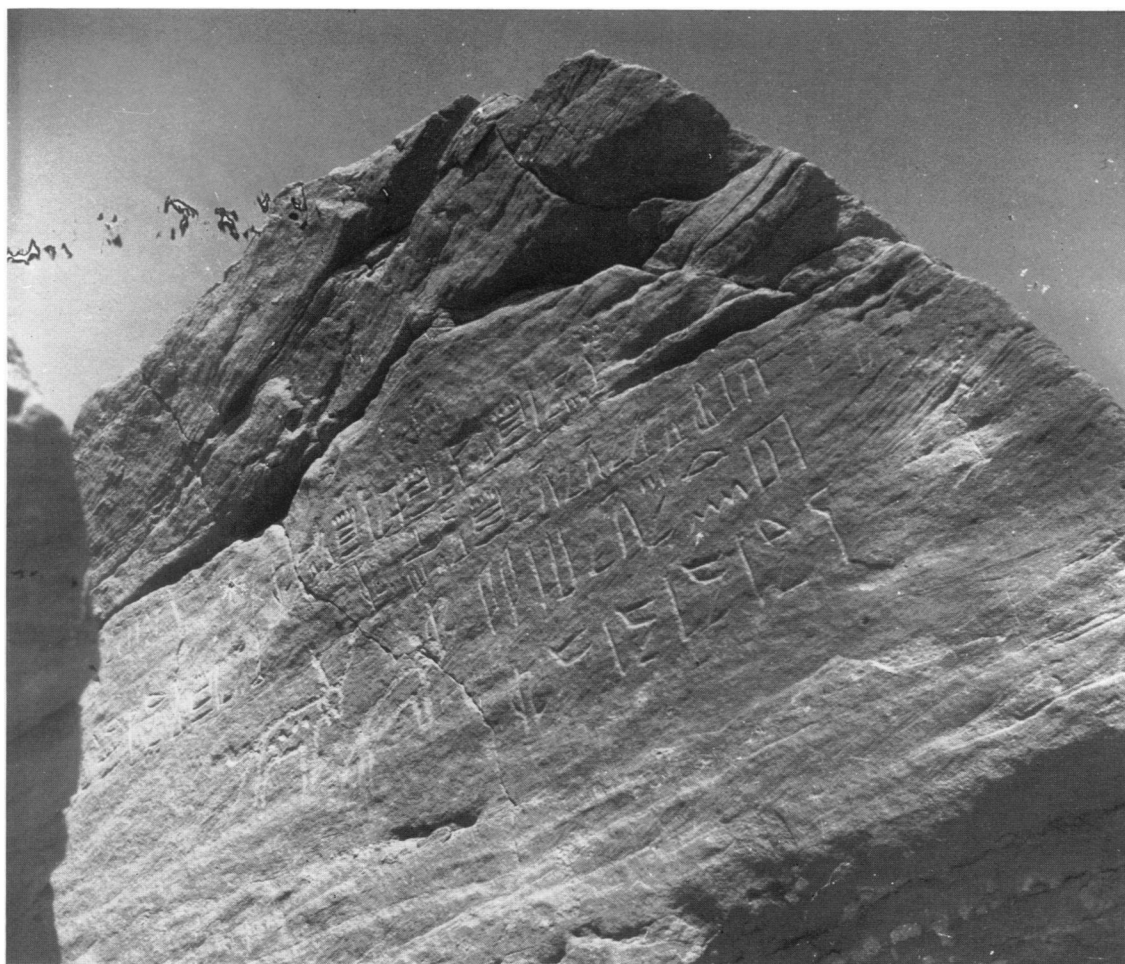
⁴ E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, § 638 quotes *i* but not *y* as an ending of the perfect passive participle: he quotes no instance from a strong trilateral root.

⁵ W. B. Emery, ‘A Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society at Buhen, 1961–62’, in *Kush* 11, 116–20.

⁶ The first mention of Horus, Lord of Buhen, is on a stela of the reign of Sesostri I (Ashmolean 1893/175), of Isis at Buhen on a stela of the reign of Tuthmosis IV (Ashmolean 1893/173).

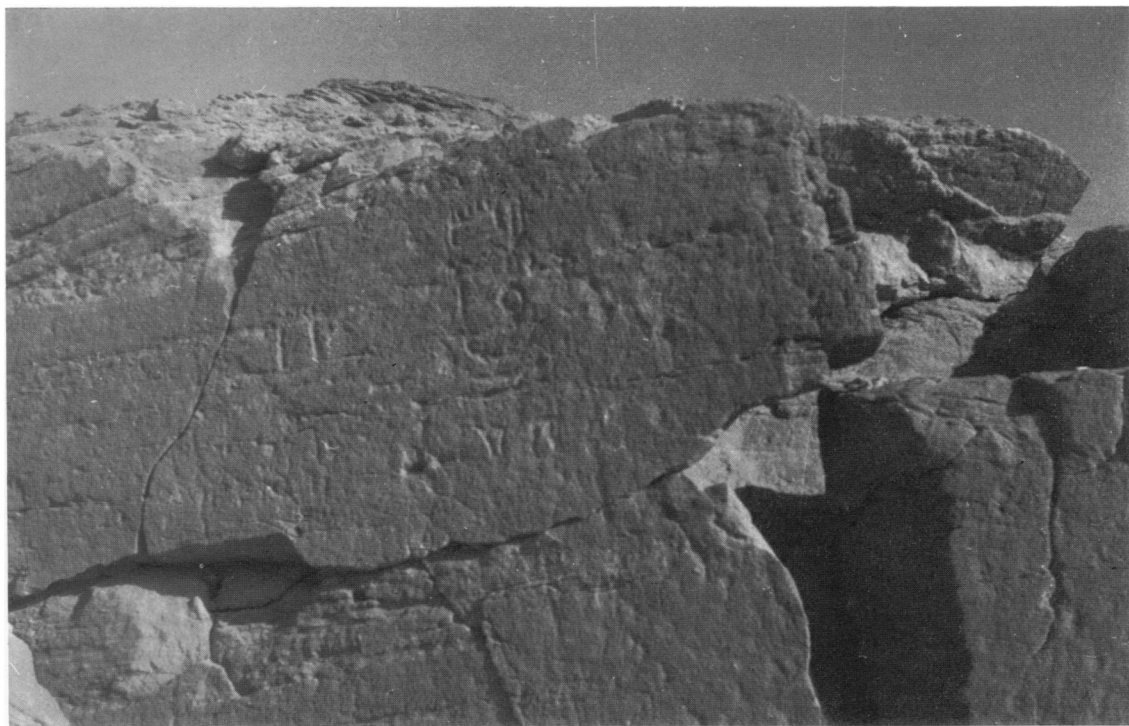


1. Hill A, Nos. 1 and 2

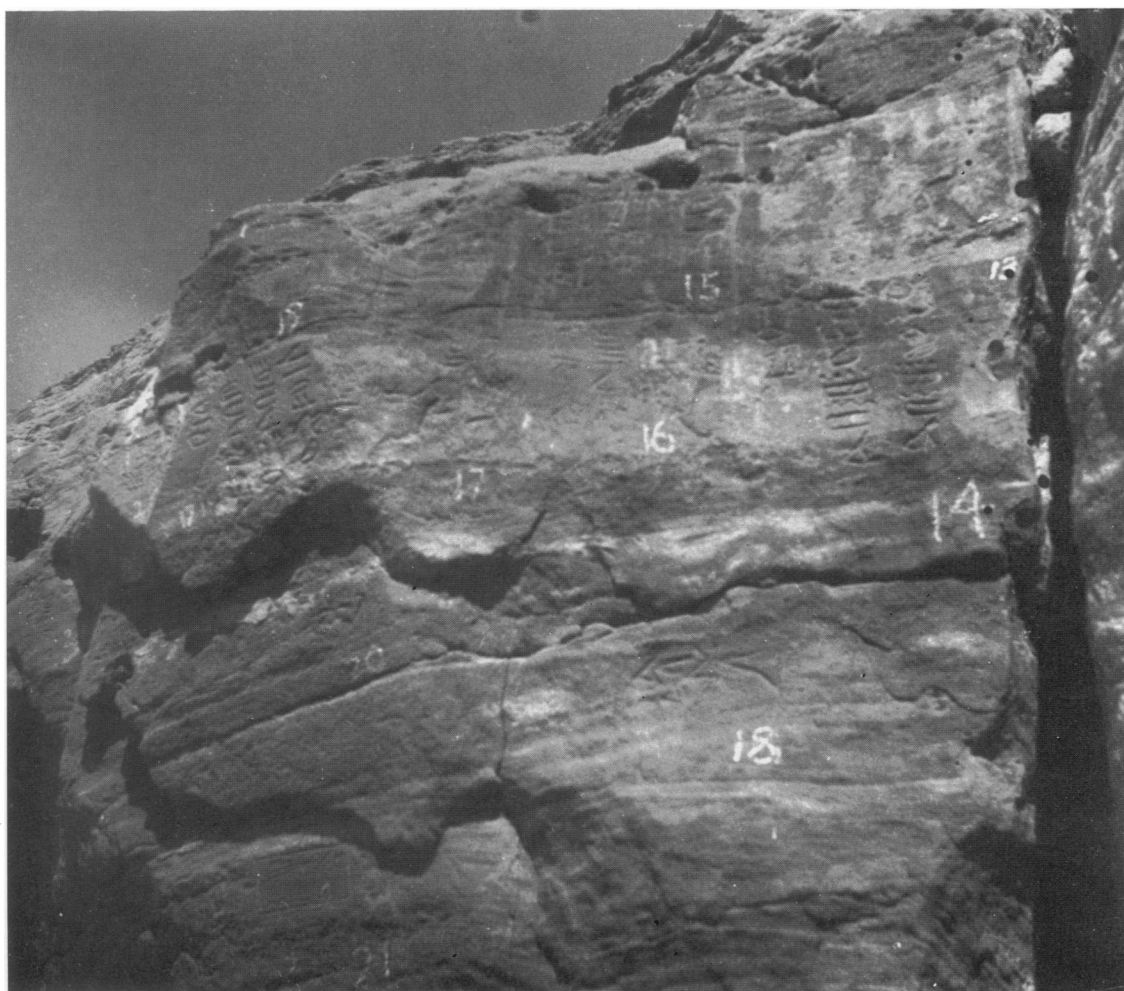


2. Hill A, No. 6

ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF BUHEN



1. Gebel Turob, Nos. 5 and 6A



2. Gebel Turob, Nos. 13-21



1. Gebel Turob, Nos. 15-23

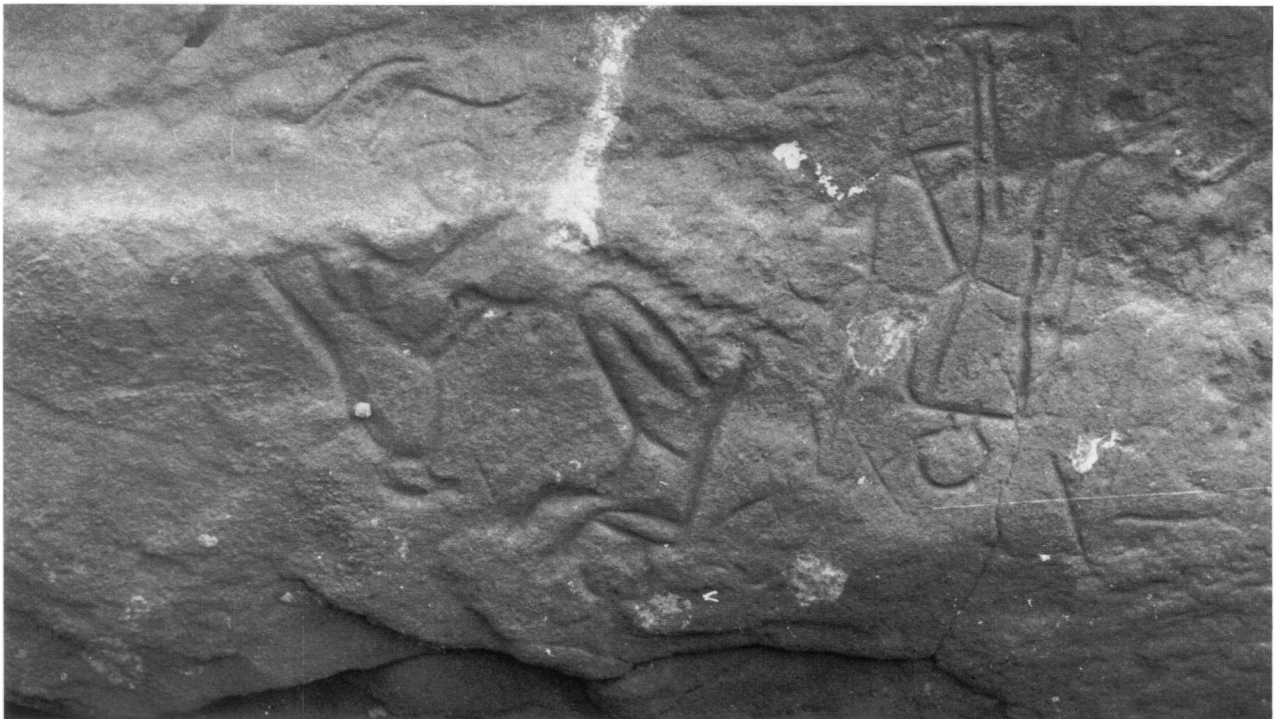


2. Gebel Turob, Nos. 24-25

ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF BUHEN



1. Hill B, No. 1



2. Hill B, No. 2

acquire a significance, which otherwise it rather lacks. Whether this explanation is right or not, the inscription is a further important piece of evidence of Egyptian activity in the Archaic Period in the region immediately north of the Second Cataract.

No. 2. On one of the small knolls east of Hill B (see pl. XXI) was the complex of rock-drawings shown in pl. XXVI, 2. In the centre a male figure kneels, facing right, with his arms raised before him in the Egyptian posture of adoration, before a falcon, presumably the god Horus, Lord of Buhen. The man appears to be wearing a tight-fitting skirt; his upper body is probably intended to be unclothed. The technique is deeply incised work, executed with fair certainty; both the figure and the hawk are drawn in the Egyptian manner. It appears possible that an inscription may have existed below the scene, and subsequently been deliberately battered out. To the left of and below the kneeling man is a more lightly and crudely incised standing male figure, advancing to the right. Before him in his left hand he bears the staff of office; his right arm hangs by his side. He wears a short skirt with what appears to be a long tie at the front; hardly in this instance a phallus-sheath. Behind him from the waist hangs a tail. A hole in the rock below the chin may have been intended as a beard, or may be accidental. Above the figure to the left are what may perhaps be traces of two signs of a horizontal hieratic inscription. Immediately behind the kneeling figure is what appears to be a very lightly scratched drawing of a second falcon facing right, and scratches elsewhere on the rock wall suggest obliterated figures.

The standing figure bears a marked resemblance to certain figures in Gebel Turob, Nos. 1-4, in style, technique, and detail. He bears the staff of office like the figures in GT 1 and 4. B; he wears the skirt that appears on the throwing figure at the top right-hand corner of GT 2; and, most important, sports the same tail as the standing figure on the left of GT 2. If my dating of these figures is correct, then he should belong to the Second Intermediate Period. The worshipping figure and the falcon may be of that date or earlier.

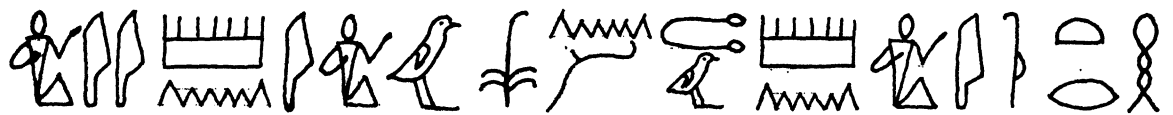
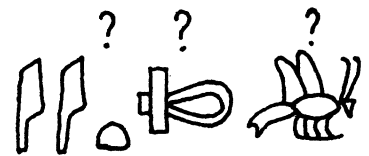
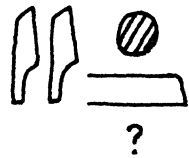
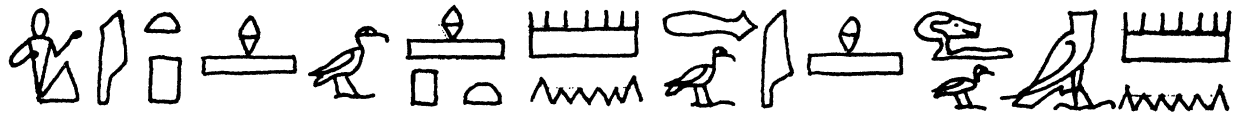


FIG. 1A. Rock inscriptions of Buhen: Hill A, 1-5.



0 2 4 6 8 10 cms

1. Hill A, 1.

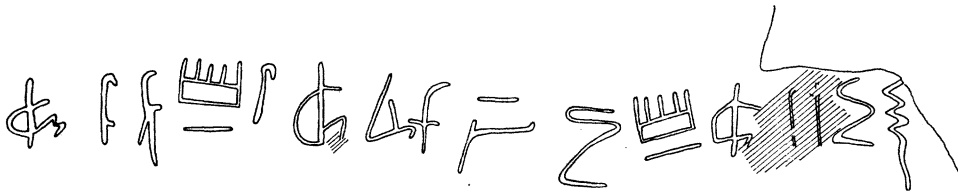


0 2 4 6 8 10 cms

2. Hill A, 2.

0 2 4 6 8 10 cms

3. Hill A, 3.



0 2 4 6 8 10 cms

4. Hill A, 4.



0 2 4 6 8 10 cms

5. Hill A, 5

FIG. 1. Rock inscriptions of Buhen.

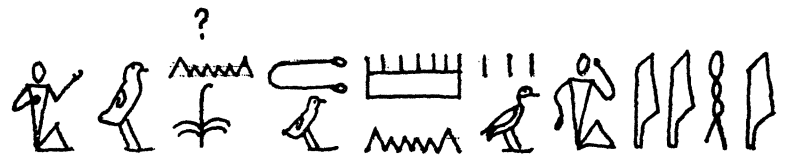
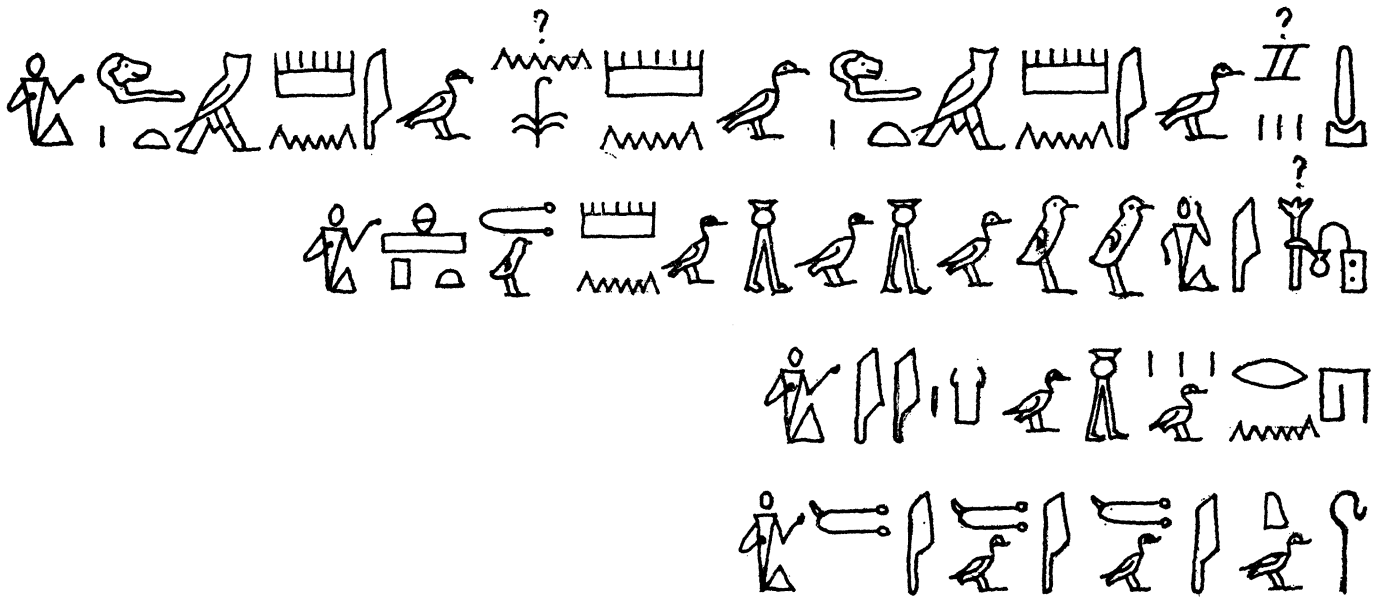


FIG. 2A. Rock inscriptions of Buhen: Hill A, 6-8.

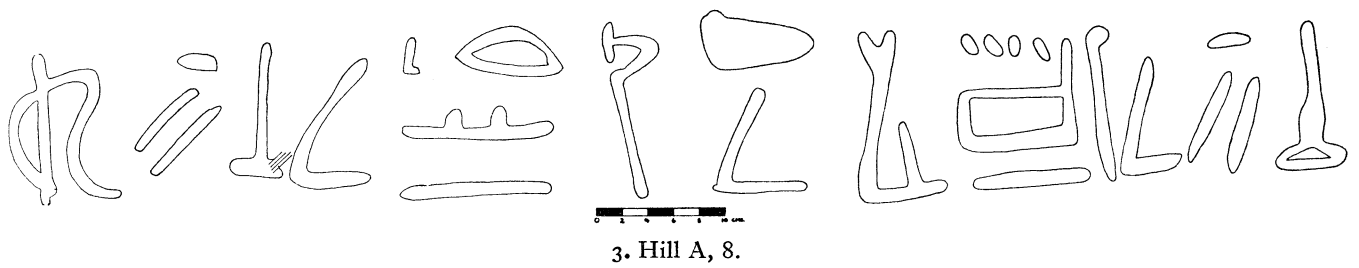
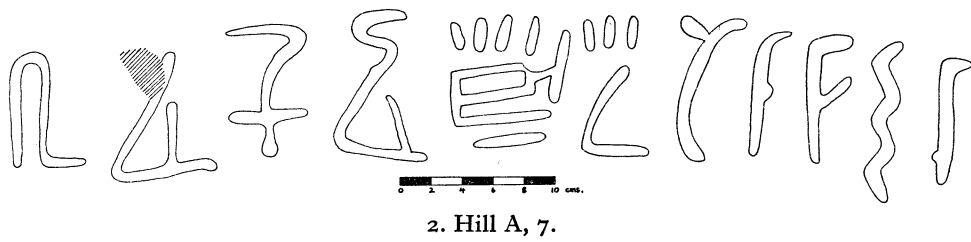
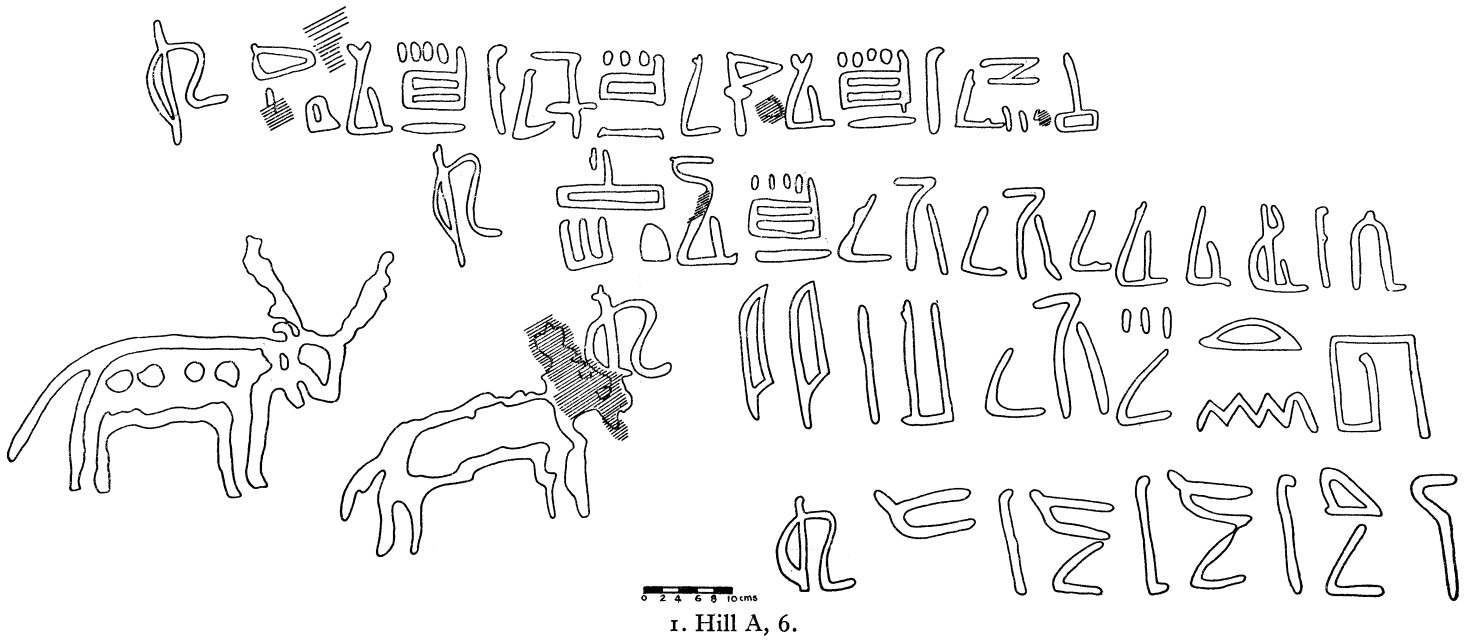
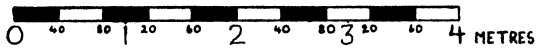
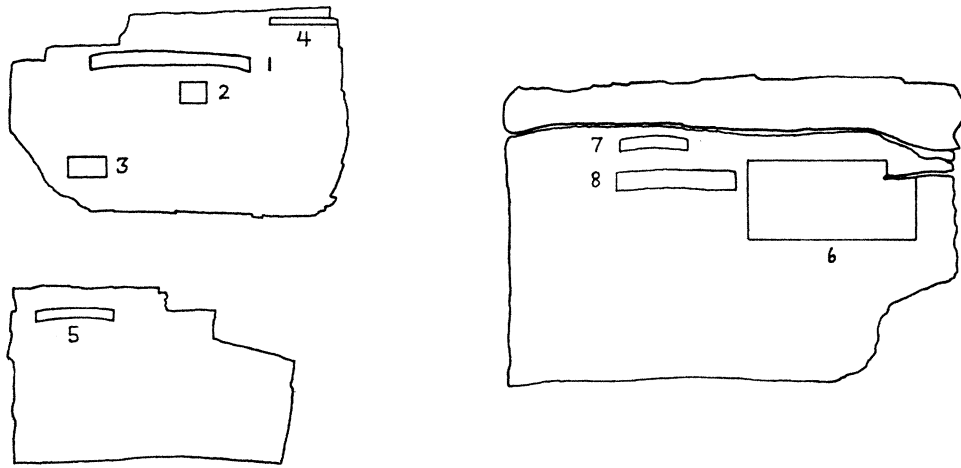
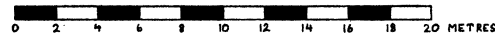
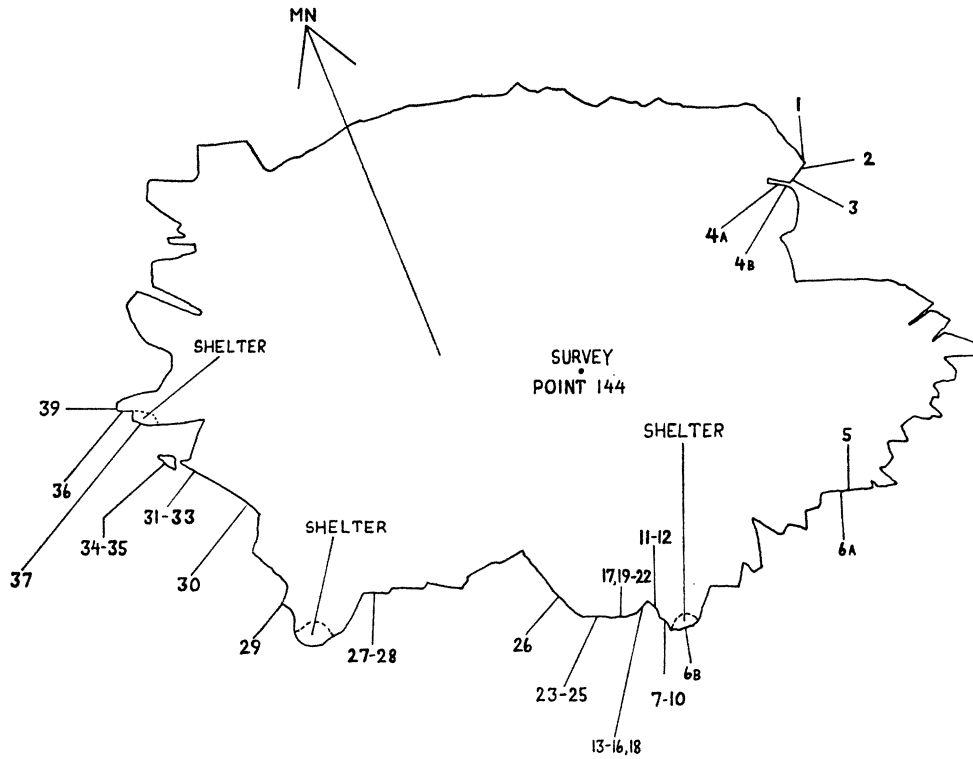


FIG. 2. Rock inscriptions of Buhen.

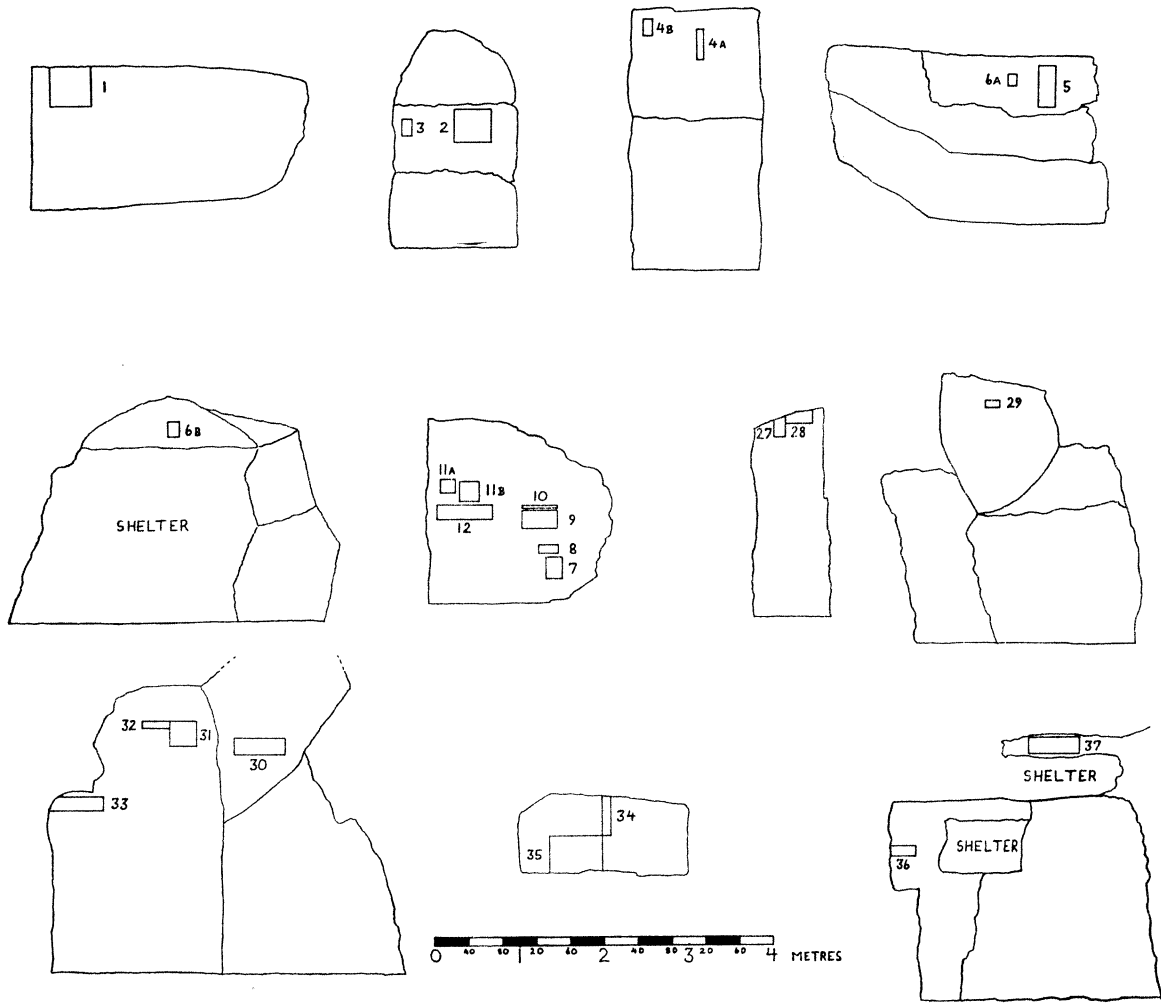


1. Hill A, south-east corner. Key to inscriptions.

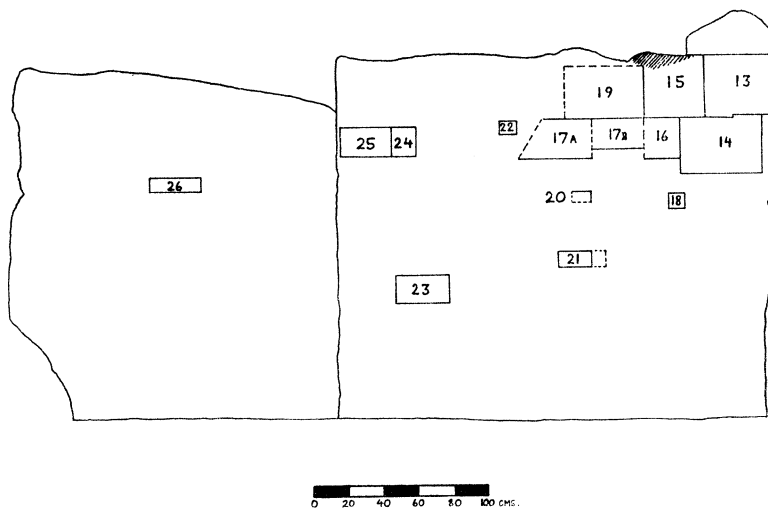


2. Gebel Turob. Key-plan of inscriptions.

FIG. 3. Rock inscriptions of Buhen.



1. Gebel Turob. Location plan of inscriptions 1-12, 27-37.



2. Gebel Turob. Location plan of inscriptions 13-26.

FIG. 4. Rock inscriptions of Buhen.

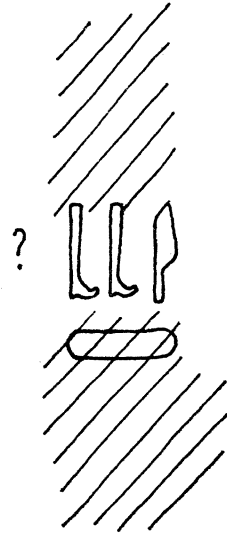
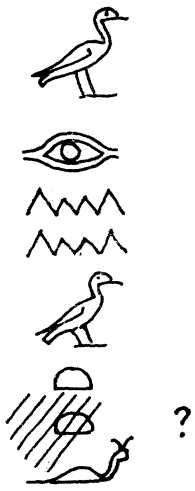
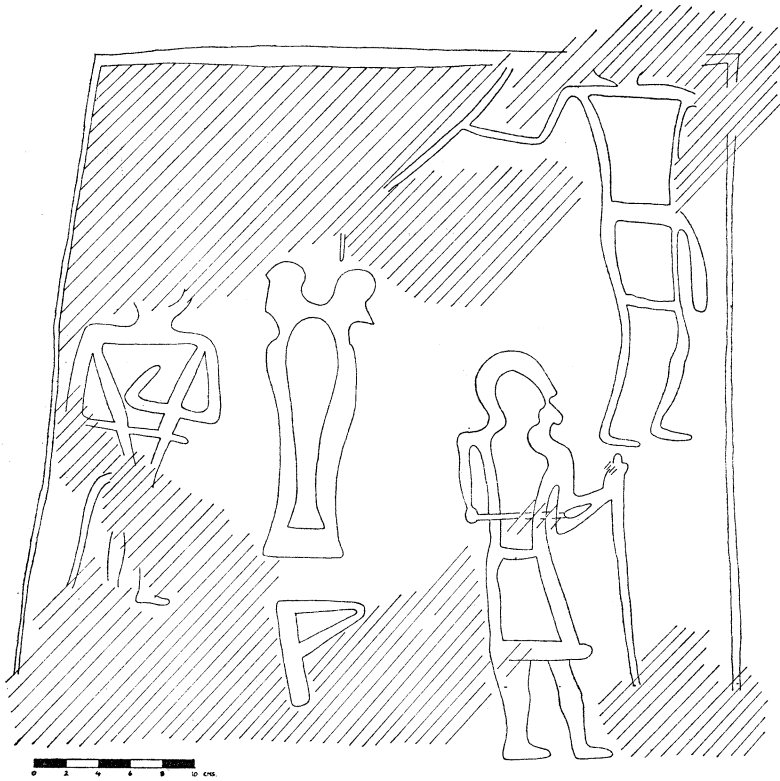


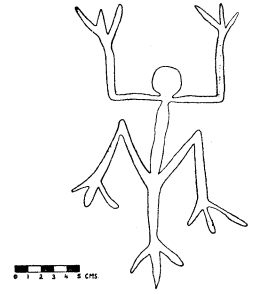
FIG. 5A. Rock inscriptions of Buhen: Gebel Turob, Nos. 1-4B.



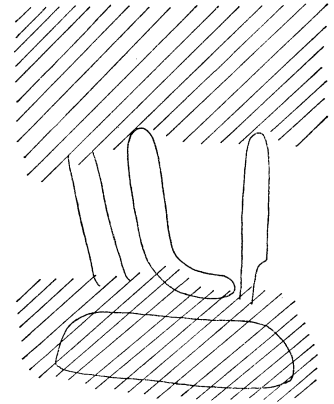
1. Gebel Turob, 1.



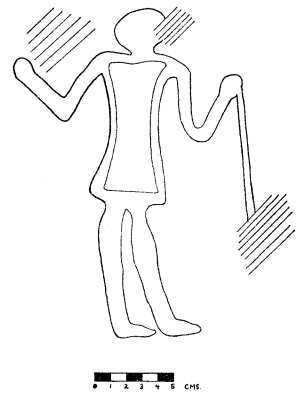
2. Gebel Turob, 2.



3. Gebel Turob, 3.



4. Gebel Turob, 4A.



5. Gebel Turob, 4B.

FIG. 5. Rock inscriptions of Buhen.

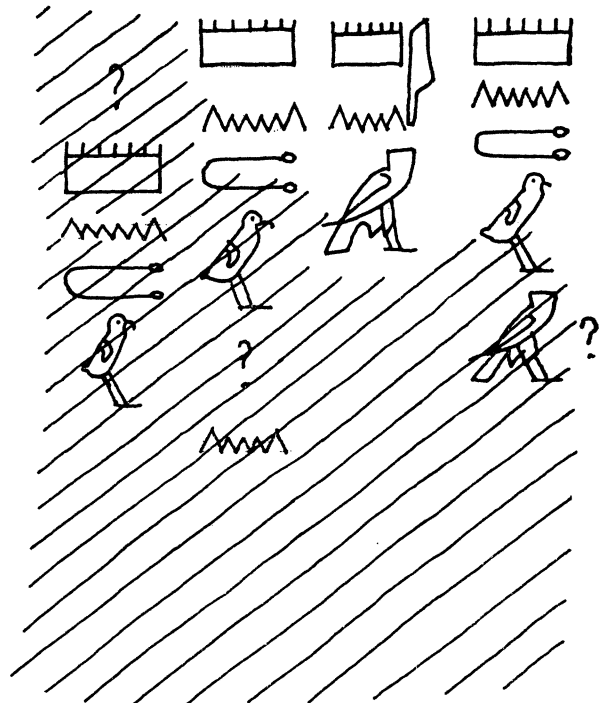
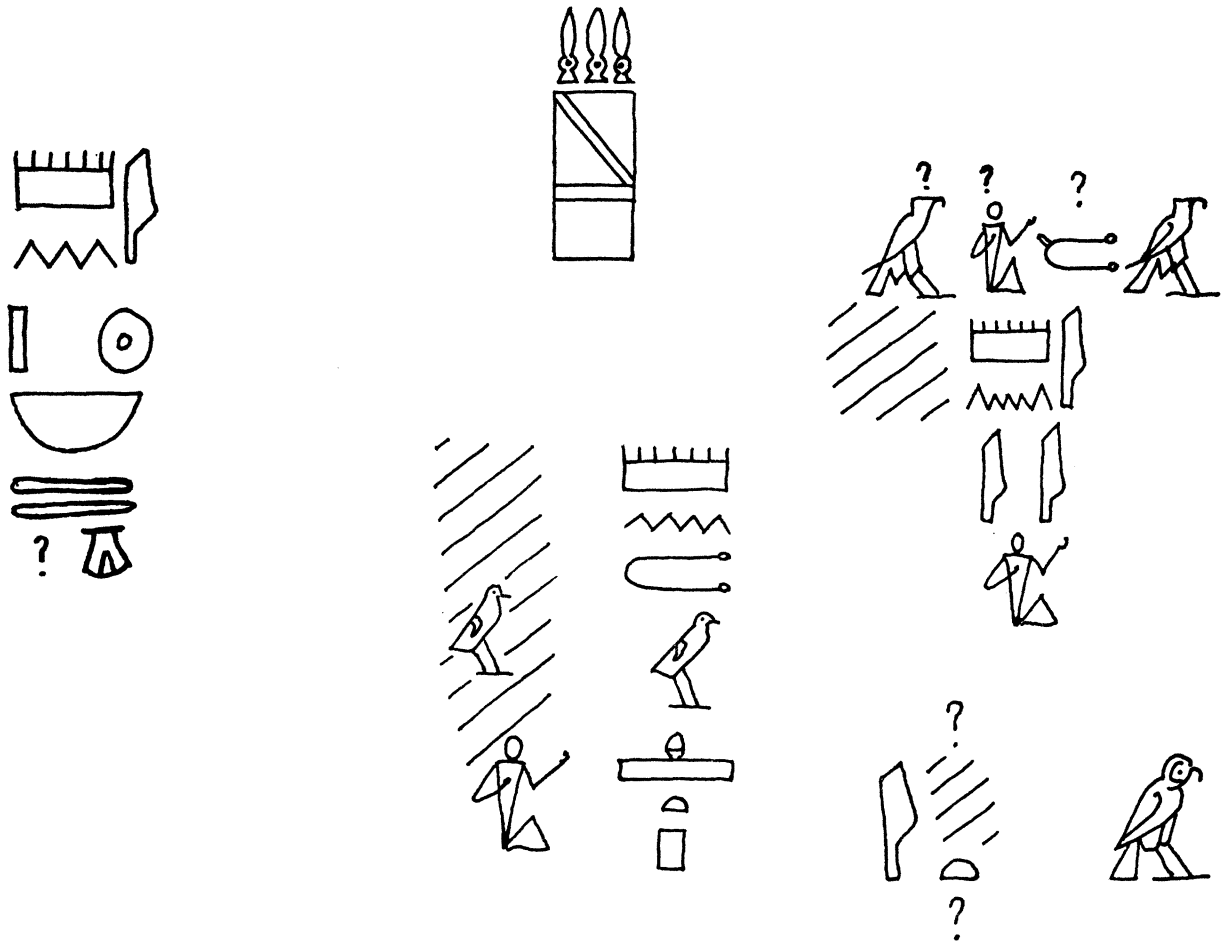
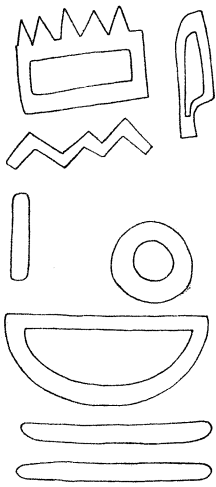
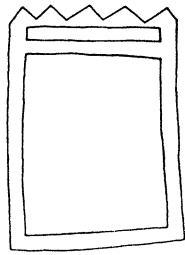


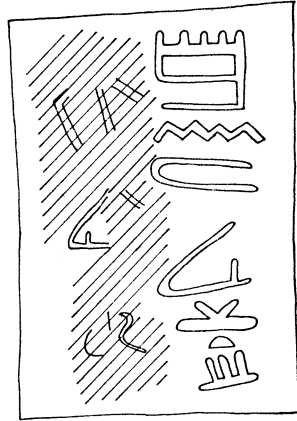
FIG. 6A. Rock inscriptions of Buhen: Gebel Turob, Nos. 5-11A.



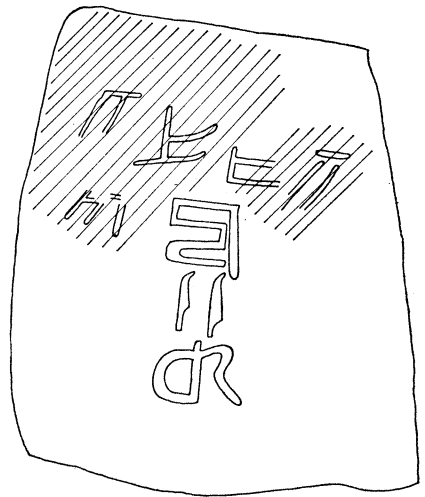
1. Gebel Turob, 5.



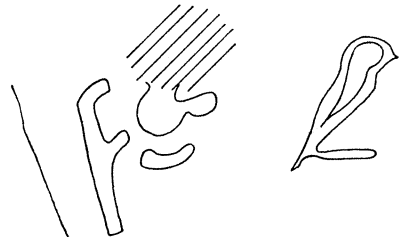
2. Gebel Turob, 6A.



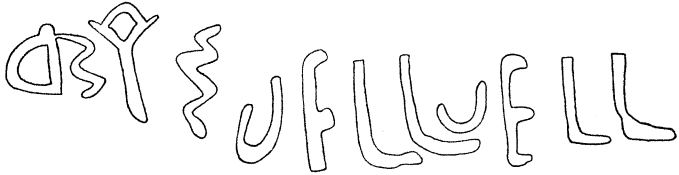
3. Gebel Turob, 6B.



4. Gebel Turob, 7.



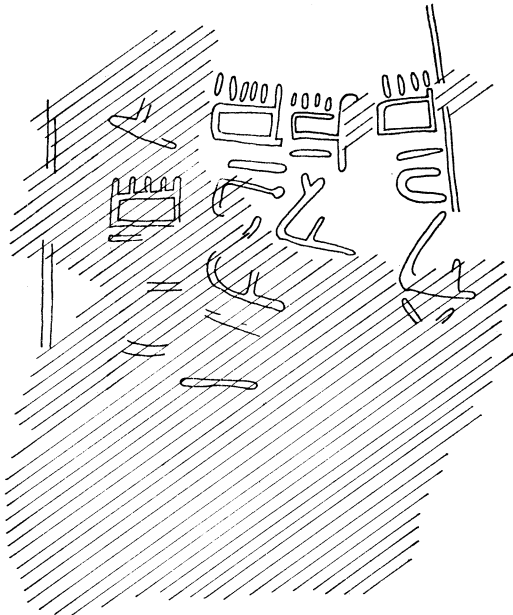
5. Gebel Turob, 8.



6. Gebel Turob, 9.



7. Gebel Turob, 10.

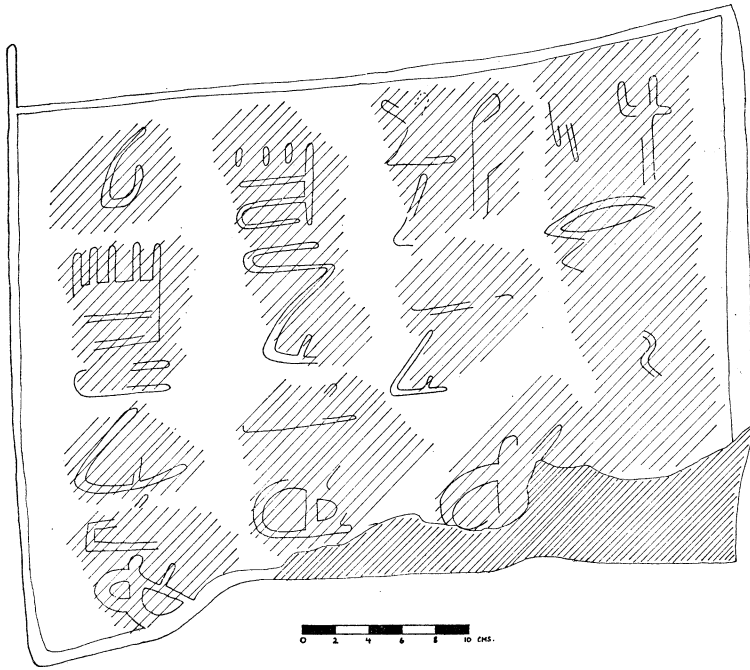


8. Gebel Turob, 11A.

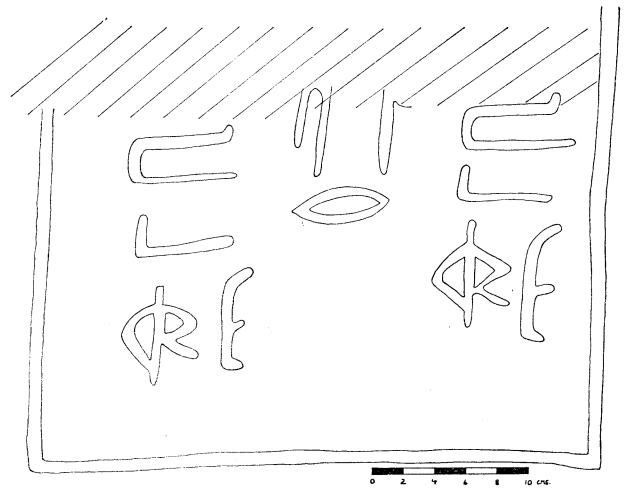
FIG. 6. Rock inscriptions of Buhen.



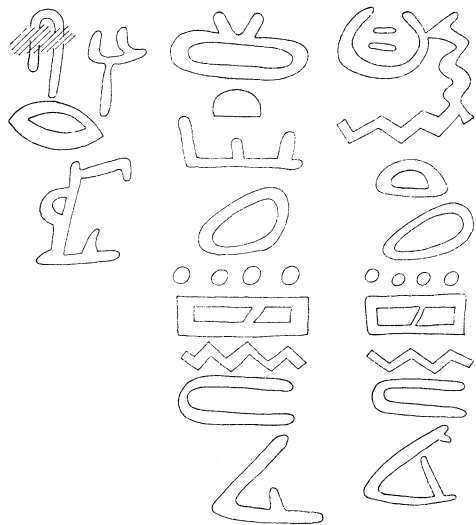
1. Gebel Turob, 12.



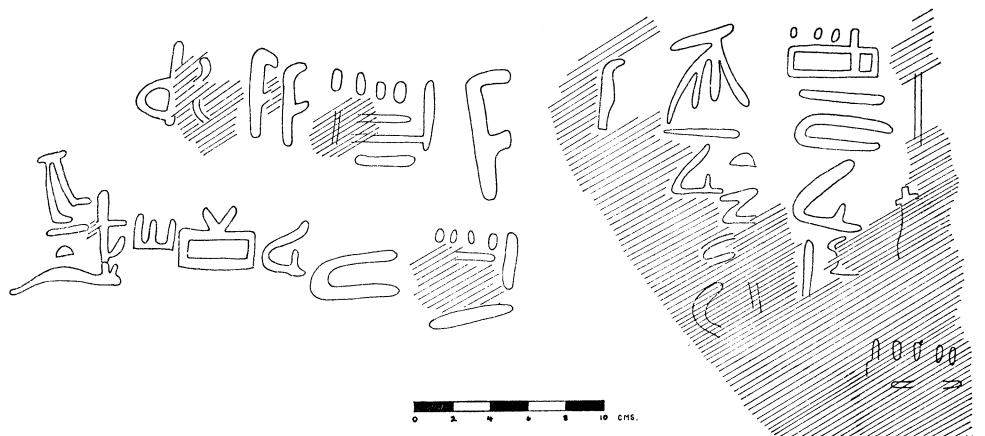
2. Gebel Turob, 13.



4. Gebel Turob, 15.



3. Gebel Turob, 14.



5. Gebel Turob, 16 (right), 17A (left).

FIG. 7. Rock inscriptions of Buhen.

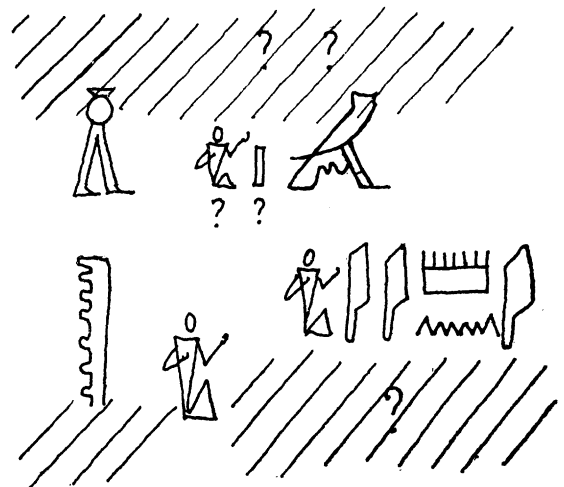
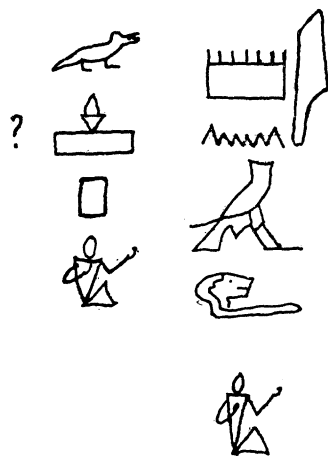
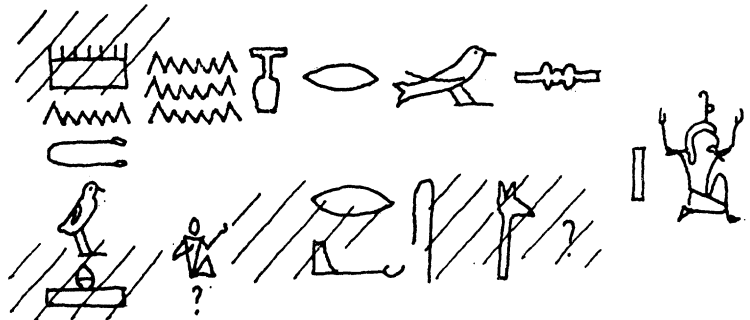
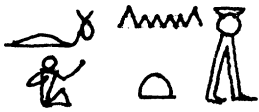
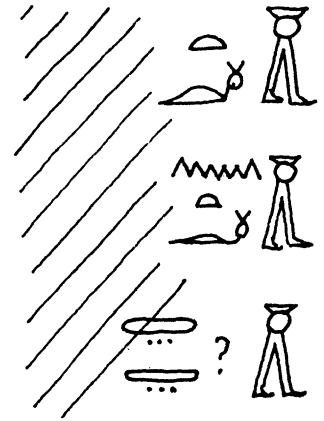
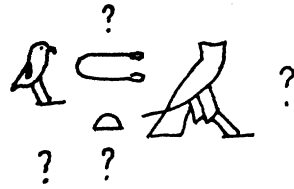
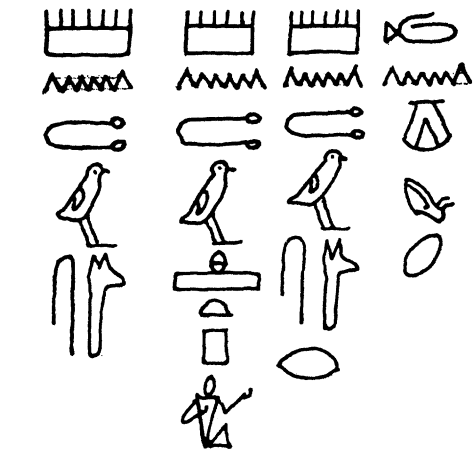
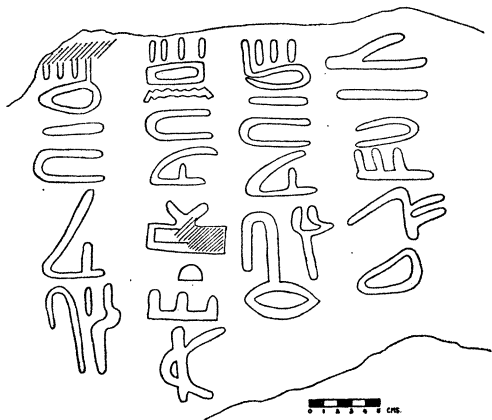
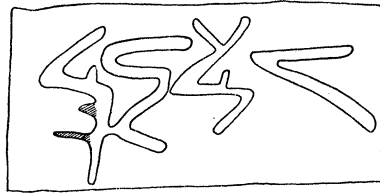


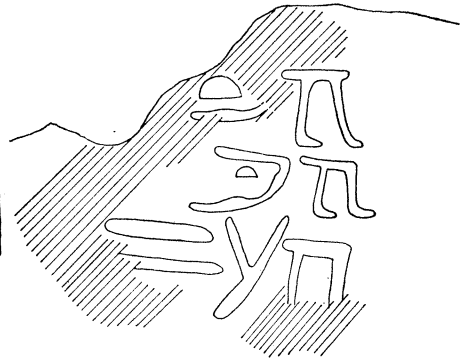
FIG. 8A. Rock inscriptions of Buhen: Gebel Turob, Nos. 17B-25.



1. Gebel Turob, 17B.



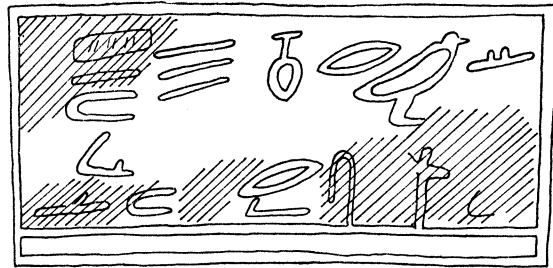
2. Gebel Turob, 18.



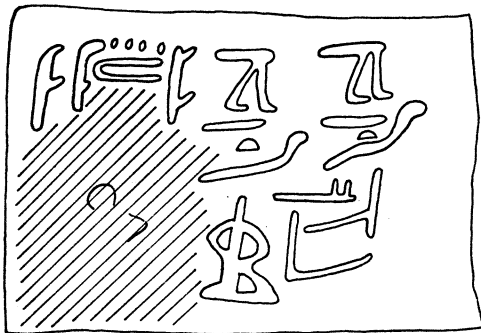
3. Gebel Turob, 19.



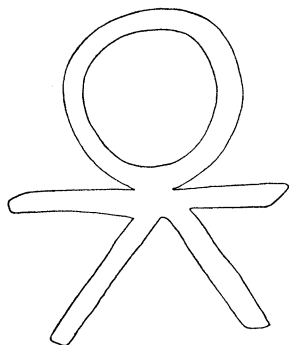
4. Gebel Turob, 20.



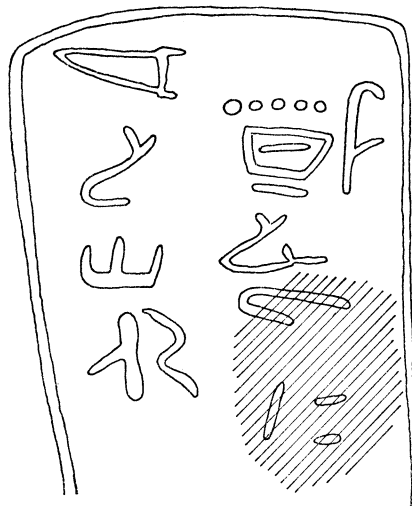
5. Gebel Turob, 21.



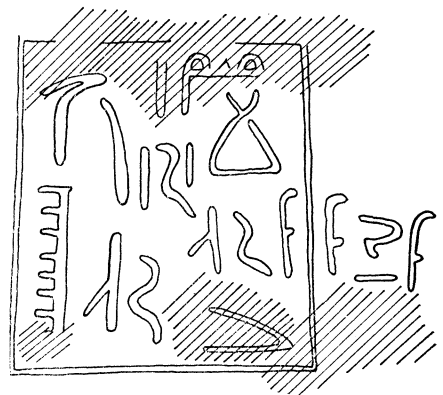
6. Gebel Turob, 22.



7. Gebel Turob, 23.

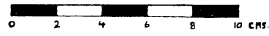
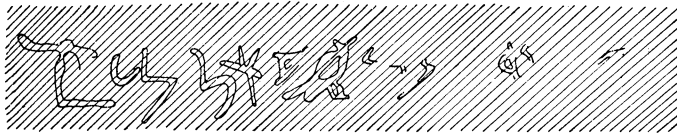


8. Gebel Turob, 24.

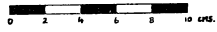


9. Gebel Turob, 25.

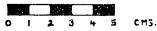
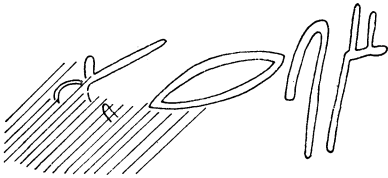
FIG. 8. Rock inscriptions of Buhen.



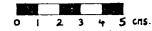
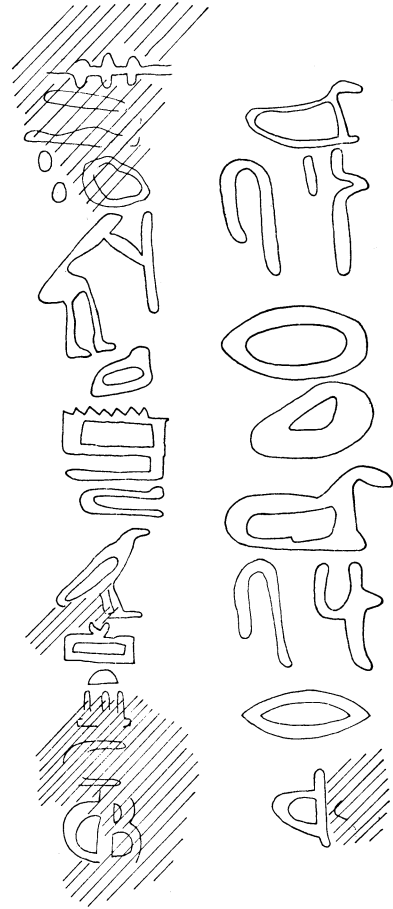
1. Gebel Turob, 26.



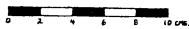
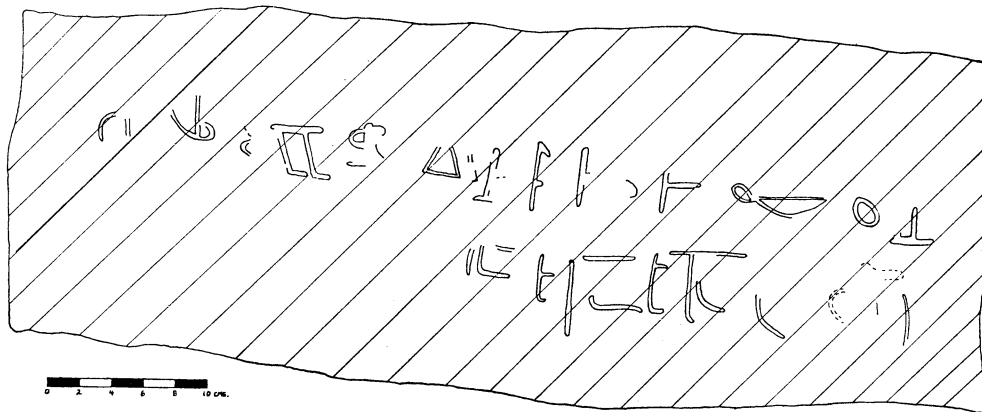
3. Gebel Turob, 28.



4. Gebel Turob, 29.



2. Gebel Turob, 27.



5. Gebel Turob, 30.

FIG. 9. Rock inscriptions of Buhen.

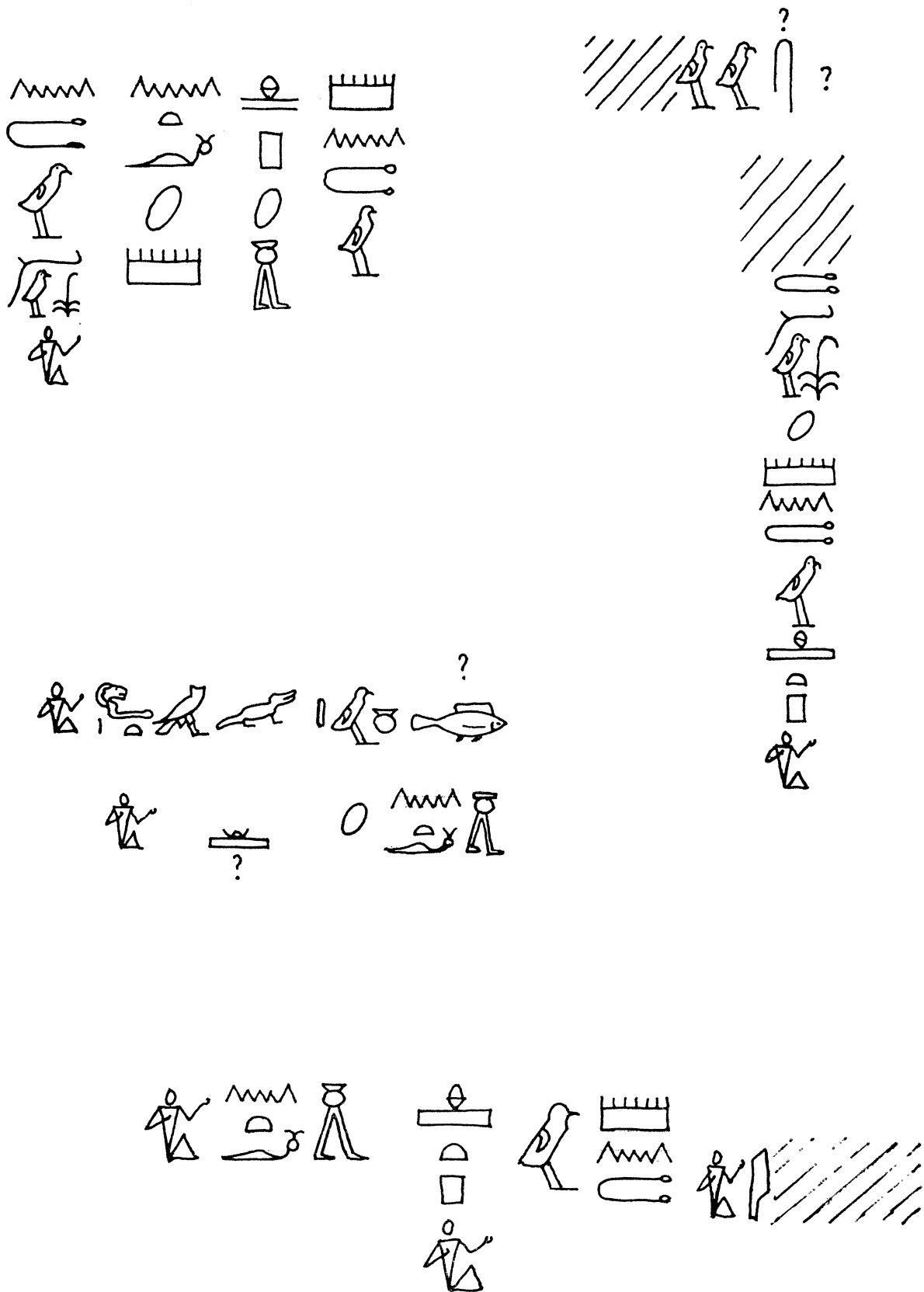
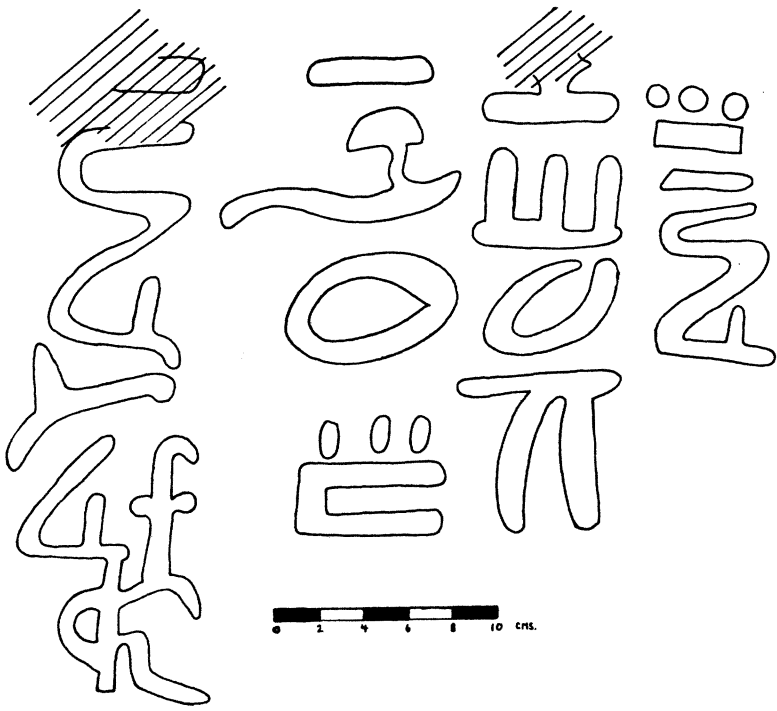
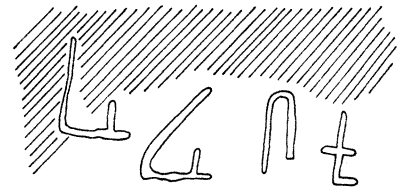


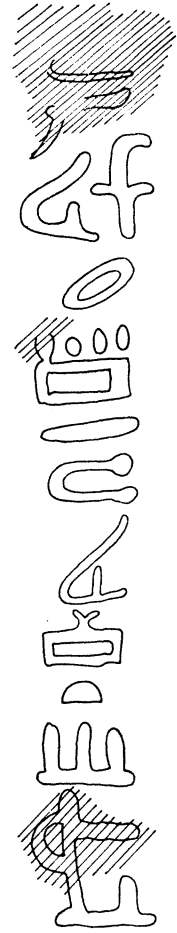
FIG. 10A. Rock inscriptions of Buhen: Gebel Turob, Nos. 31-5.



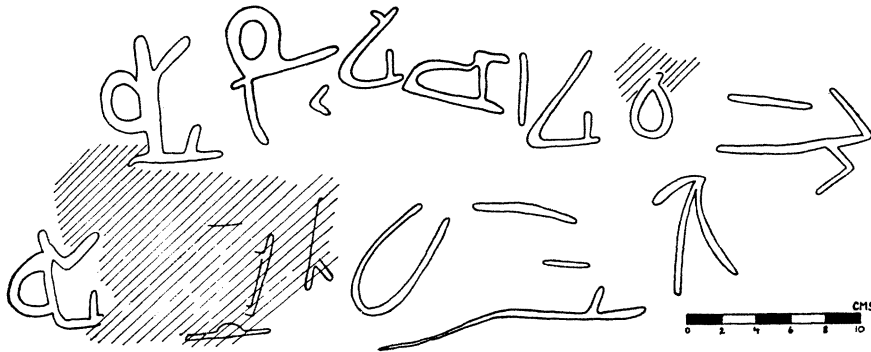
1. Gebel Turob, 31.



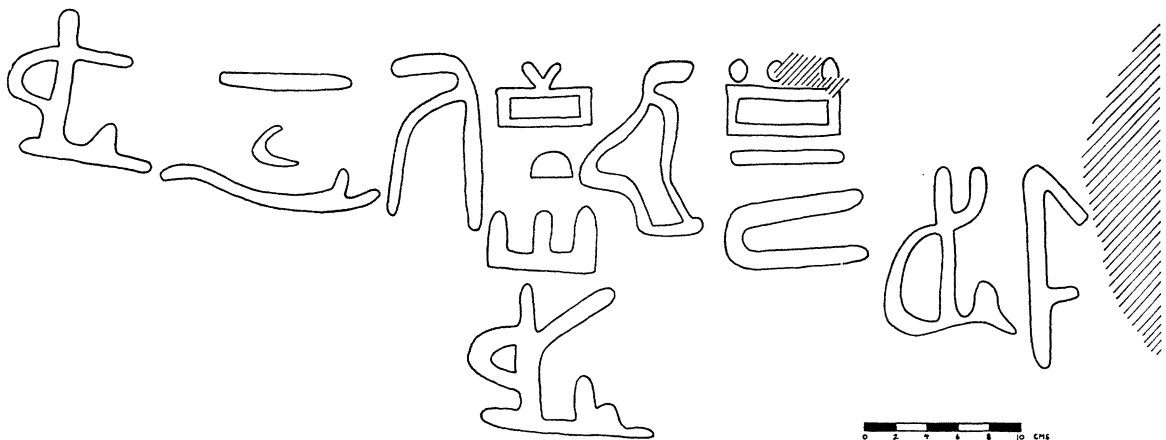
2. Gebel Turob, 32.



4. Gebel Turob, 34.



3. Gebel Turob, 33.



5. Gebel Turob, 35.

FIG. 10. Rock inscriptions of Buhen.

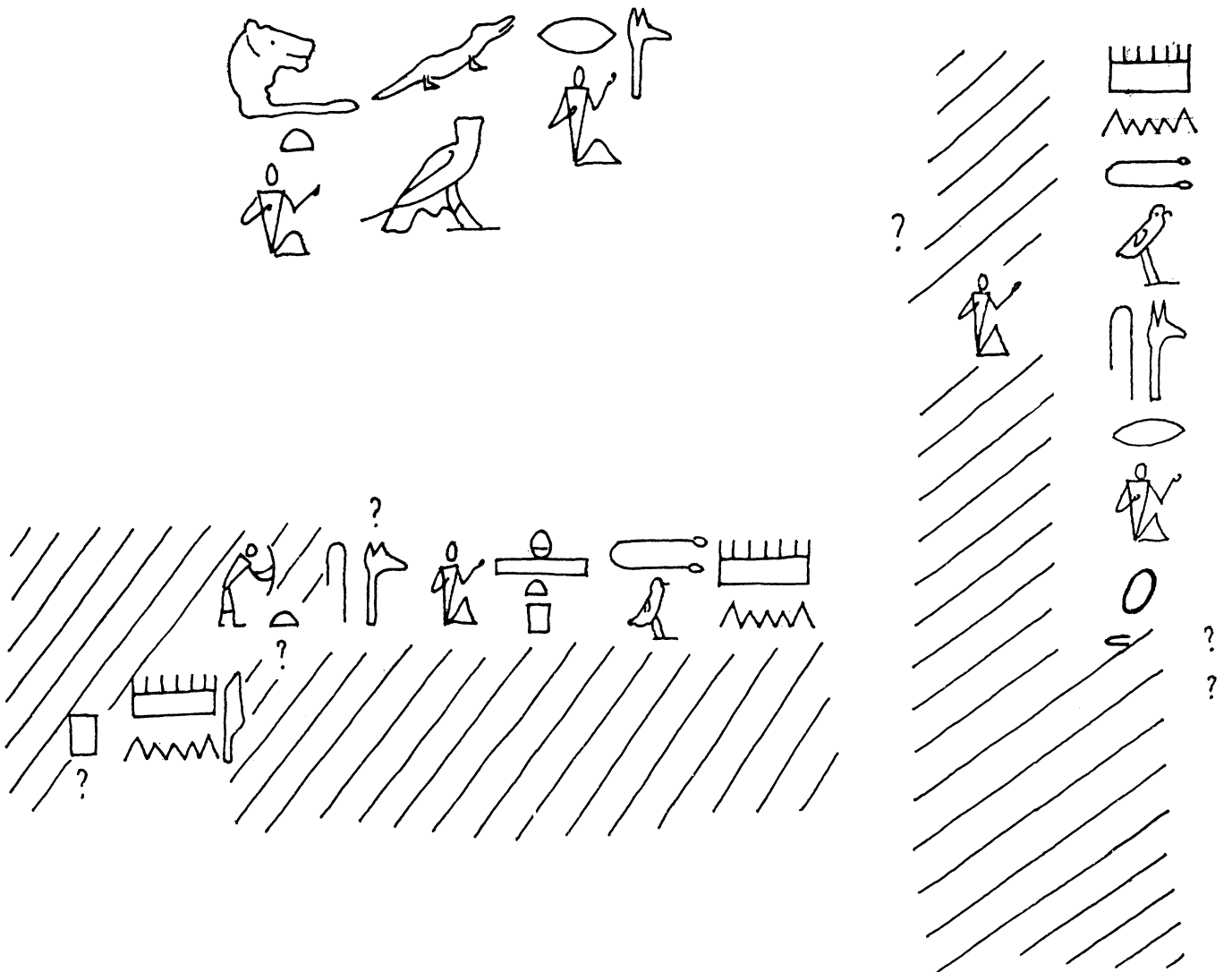
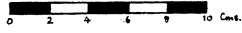
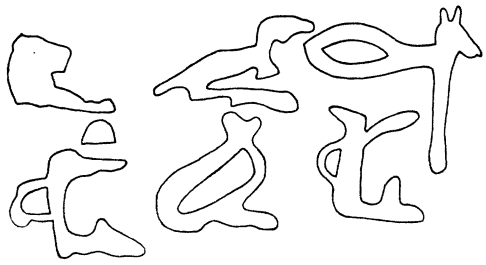
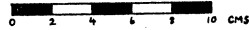
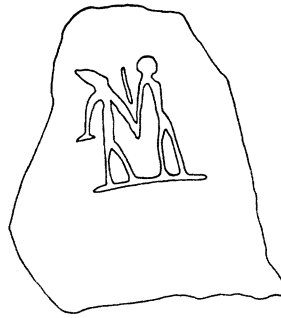


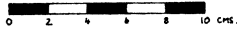
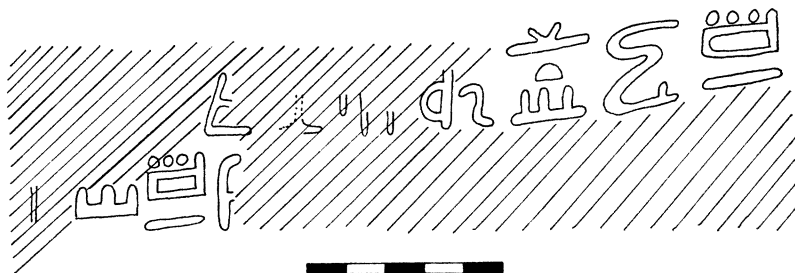
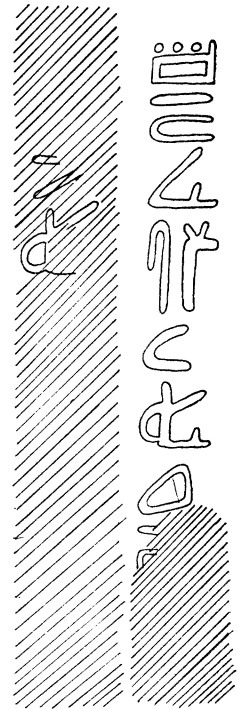
FIG. 11A. Rock inscriptions of Buhen: Gebel Turob, Nos. 36-9.



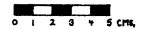
1. Gebel Turob, 36.



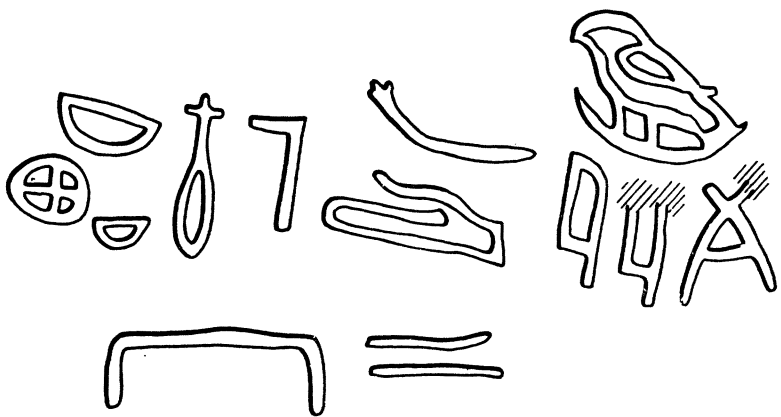
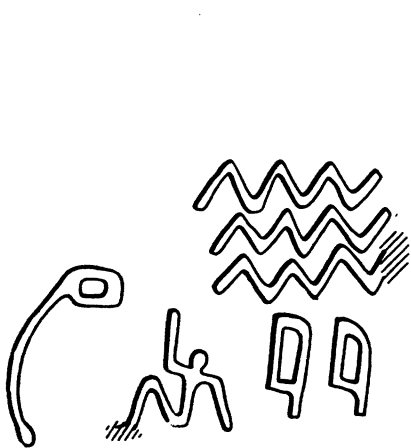
3. Gebel Turob, 38.



2. Gebel Turob, 37.



4. Gebel Turob, 39.



5. Hill B, 1.

FIG. 11. Rock inscriptions of Buhen.

THE EGYPTIAN NAME OF THE FORTRESS OF SEMNA SOUTH

By LOUIS V. ŽABKAR

DURING the 1966–7 and 1968 seasons the Oriental Institute Expedition to Sudanese Nubia conducted excavations at the fortress of Semna South and the adjacent predominantly Meroitic cemetery. The work on the publication of this excavation is well advanced and a preliminary report on it will appear in *Kush* 16 which hopefully will soon be in press.

The most significant finds for the study of the history of the Semna South fort, particularly for the study of its communications with the other forts of the first and second cataract regions, came from a dump situated outside the fort on its north-west side. Previously referred to as a 'graveyard', 'encampment',¹ and 'occupation site or settlement'² the dump was thickly covered with sherds of remarkably uniform types. A trench cut through one of its kôm-like hillocks or piles of sherds and debris revealed that it had been a dumping-place for the fort during the Twelfth Dynasty. As has been observed elsewhere, notably at Uronarti³ and Serra East,⁴ the Semna South fort too was periodically cleared and the broken pottery as well as other discarded objects were carried across the walls to be thrown into the holes. Some of these holes, cut into the alluvial soil, were shallow, some deep. The two deepest were K-1 and K-4, the former cut to 165 cm. and the latter to 200 cm. deep in the alluvium (Plate XXVII). These holes were clay quarries, encountered elsewhere at Semna South, and later served as dumping-places for discarded objects from the fort. Twenty-one such holes or quarry dumps have been excavated. All of the discarded objects and literally thousands of pottery fragments mixed with drift sand were a loose mass of debris deposited in a relatively short period of time or at very short intervals without any stratified layers being discernible at any time.

All of the sherds have been sorted out and examined, and it was found that all of them were of Middle Kingdom provenance. Interspersed among these fragments were sherds of the C-Group type represented in a fairly high percentage—a fact which points to a peaceful coexistence of the C-Group people with the Egyptians, or even their co-operation with or subordination to the Egyptian garrison personnel.

Of great interest among the discarded objects found in the dump was an unexpectedly large quantity of seal impressions on mud from scarabs and other seals. Many of them were decorated with a variety of design, and many were inscribed. Some of the inscribed

¹ L. Borchardt, *Altägyptische Festungen* (Leipzig, 1923), 22. Somers Clarke in *JEA* 3 (1916), 172 does not make any detailed reference to the area of the dump, but speaks generally of 'great quantities of broken pottery' that strew the ground south of the fortress of Semna El-Gharb.

² J. Vercoutter in *Kush* 14 (1966), 131 and Pl. 5 at D.

³ G. Reisner in *Kush* 3 (1955), 26.

⁴ J. Knudstad in *Kush* 14, 176.

ones were official sealings with rounded top or bottom bearing royal names (fig. 1, 1) and the names of various forts or departments of the forts (fig. 2, 1-4: *Snm̄t*, *ꜥbw*, *Bhn*, *Šhm-Hrkꜣwrꜥ*); some bore the official stamp of the Semna South fort (fig. 3, 1; 1, 4), of its granary, *šnw̄t* (fig. 1, 3), 'treasury', *pr-hꜥd* (fig. 4, 2),¹ storehouse, *wꜥdꜣ* (fig. 3, 3),² provisions or portions, *hrt* (fig. 4, 1); some were papyrus sealings still bearing the imprint of papyrus on the reverse side (fig. 2, 2); some were door sealings, and some must have been intended for marking packages and were apparently attached to the neck of a sack. Private seal impressions were also found, several of them similar in decoration to private sealings found at Uronarti and other Second Cataract forts. In a number of instances (fig. 1, 1; 2, 2), these small scarab-shaped private seal impressions were imprinted on the side or sides of the large official stamps as an 'overstamp' to the official stamp—apparently a precautionary measure on the part of the controlling officer in charge of provisions and rations.³ We wish to mention a rare occurrence in which the upper part of an official large sealing with an imprint of a small decorated scarab was found (in K-4), then, two days later, from the same hole (K-4) there turned up the lower part of the same large sealing with the imprint of the same scarab; a day later the scarab itself, which fitted perfectly into the impressions made by its owner almost four thousand years ago, was found, not in K-4 but in K-1.

As far as the Semna South fort is concerned, the most important seal impressions are those which contain the name of the fort, hitherto only partially known. In a well-known papyrus of the late Middle Kingdom found in a tomb near the Ramesseum by J. E. Quibell in 1896, the so-called Ramesseum Onomasticon,⁴ there is a list of seventeen Egyptian fortresses, extending in consecutive order from the Semna forts in the south to Gebel es-Silsileh (about 70 km. north of Elephantine) in the north. The name of the southernmost of the Semna fortresses, the first on the list, is shown incomplete, because after the first hieroglyphic sign (*dꜣr*, written as an ideogram with bow-string), its determinative (man striking with stick), the sign for *t* (bread), and the fourth sign (*hꜣst?*, foreign land), the papyrus breaks off. Furthermore, after the third sign (*t*) there is another break in the papyrus and the fourth sign (*hꜣst?*) appears to be damaged. What remains of it differs from the same sign which occurs in the same column of the same papyrus as a determinative after *ꜥkn* (no. 176A), *Bw̄hn* (no. 177), *Mꜣm* (no. 181), *Bꜣki* (no. 182), *Snm̄wt* (no. 183), *ꜥbw* (no. 184), and apparently as a second word of the name of the Shalfak fort (no. 175);⁵ and Gardiner transcribed

¹ The 'treasury' of the fort was a department or a depository for various goods, tools, equipment, etc.; see on this W. Helck, *Untersuchung zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen alten Reiches* (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1954), 59; id., *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden, 1958), 180-91; G. Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris, 1957), 85.

² *Wꜥdꜣ*, so to be read in spite of the unusual arrangement of signs, thus confirming H. Goedicke's suggestion (verbal communication). The same word in the same arrangement occurs in a seal from Shalfak, but erroneously written; since we assume that the editors have transcribed the signs correctly, the seal-maker must have made a mistake in engraving, see Reisner-Wheeler-Dunham, *Uronarti Shalfak Mirgissa* (Second Cataract Forts, II, Boston, 1967), Pl. 71, No. 1.

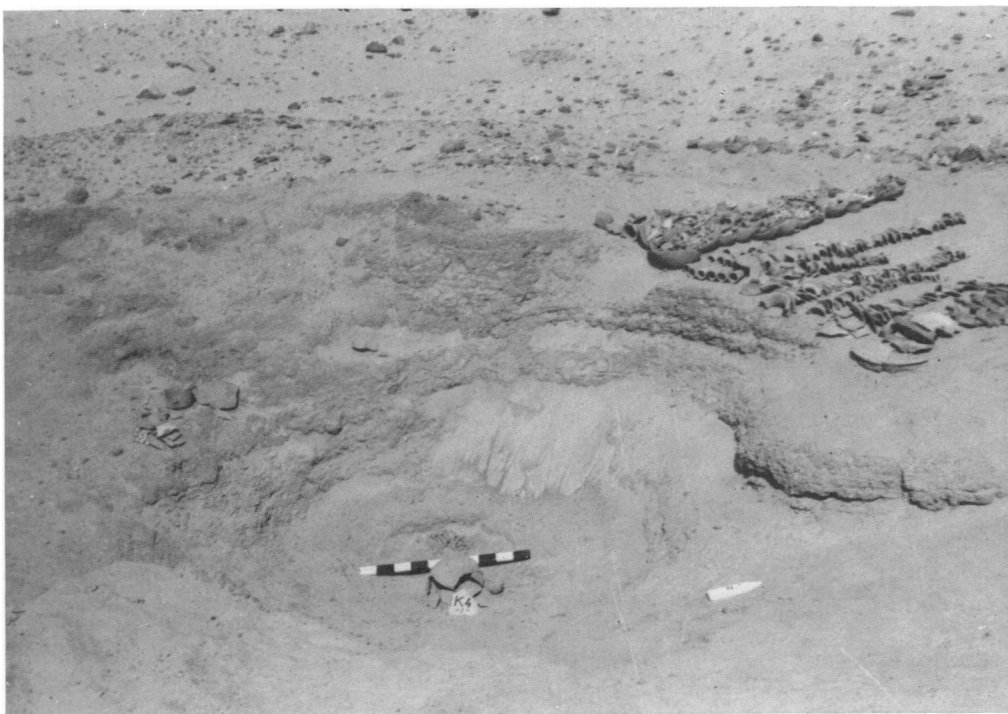
³ See on this Reisner-Wheeler in *BMFA* 28 (1930), 49.

⁴ Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I* (Oxford, 1947), 6; vol. III, Pl. 2 and 2 a, Nos. 171-87.

⁵ *Wꜣf hꜣswt*, also damaged in Onom. Ram.; for a complete reading see Reisner-Wheeler-Dunham, *Uronarti Shalfak Mirgissa*, 65, No. 4 (from Uronarti) and Pl. 71, Nos. 1 and 2 (from Shalfak).



1. Semna South, Clay Quarry K-1. In the far background the fortress of Semna West



2. Semna South, Clay Quarry K-4

SEMNA SOUTH

and transliterated the name of the fort with a question mark: *dʿir ḥst* (?).¹ As already stated, there is a larger gap in the papyrus after this group of four signs, a break of unequal width which runs vertically through the fibres of the papyrus from the top to the bottom of the column, and it is quite possible that another hieroglyphic sign pertaining to the name of the fort has been lost prior to or just possibly during the mounting of the papyrus.

Now, it seems to me that the reading of the name of the Semna South fort in the Ramesseum Onomasticon as *dʿir ḥst* is improbable. It is true that, as Vercoutter observes,² *dʿir ḥst* does not seem to appear elsewhere in the Egyptian texts as the name of the fort. It does appear, however, as an epithet of the Pharaoh as 'one who subdues foreign lands' in the hymn to Sesostriis III in the Kahun Papyrus,³ in Sinuhe B 50 where it is said of Sesostriis I: *ntf dʿir ḥswt*;⁴ but long before that the same verb *dʿir* in its older form *dʿ*⁵ occurs in the Sinai inscriptions with reference to Snefru (*dʿ ḥswt* 'subduing the foreign lands'), Saḥurēc and Neuserre (*dʿ ḥswt nbt* 'subduing all foreign lands'), and Phiops I (*dʿ Mntw ḥswt nbt* 'subduing the Mentju and all foreign lands').⁶ In all of these instances, the hieratic as well as hieroglyphic, the writing of the word *ḥst* or *ḥswt* differs from that which occurs in the name of the first fort on the Ramesseum Onomasticon. In the latter the sign *t* is written above the sign for hill-country (?) while everywhere else, as is to be expected, it is always written after it. Thus it could be argued that regardless of whether or not some of the signs pertaining to the name of the fort were lost in the long vertical break of the papyrus, on palaeographical grounds alone the reading of the name of the Semna South fort as *dʿir ḥst* would appear to be doubtful.

As can be seen from published drawings here, the newly found seal impressions from Semna South consistently write the name of the fort *dʿir Stī* (fig. 3, 1 and 4, 2) or *dʿi Stī* (fig. 3, 3 and 4, 1), the word *Stī* being written, with one exception (fig. 3, 2), with the signs for bow, bread, and the hill-country. The name of the fort is to be translated either as 'Subduing the Setiu-Nubians' or 'the Subduer of the Setiu-Nubians'.⁷ It is to be observed, however, that the name of the fort on the sealings is determined by the sign for foreign or hill country, not with that of its inhabitants, and that the translation of the name of the fort as 'Subduer of the Seti-land' or vaguely

¹ Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica III*, Pl. 2 a, No. 171 and Vol. I, p. 10. In his discussion of the fort in *JEA* 3 (1916), 185, Gardiner, with regard to the third sign, hesitates between *t* (sign for bread) and *r* (sign for mouth). Borchardt in *Altägyptische Festungen*, 25 n. 4, seems to think that the first fortress of the Ramesseum Onomasticon might be identified with 'Kidinkalo' ('danach dürfte Kidinkalo die im Ramesseum-Papyrus zuerst genannte Festung sein'). On the same page 25 Borchardt speaks of this fort as being located on an island. But nothing is known of such a fort in the region of Semna, and Kidinkalo, according to our information derived from the Nubian natives of that area, is the name of a Nubian village several kilometres south of Semna South.

² *Kush* 14, 127.

³ F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898) Pl. 1, line 3; G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke* (Leipzig, 1927) I, Pl. 4, line 3.

⁴ A. M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, II, Bruxelles, 1932), 19.

⁵ Cf. *Wb.* v, 414, 4-7, *Pyr.* 271 a and K. Sethe, *Pyr. Komm.* I, 282; A. H. Gardiner-T. E. Peet-J. Černý *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, II (London, 1955), 57, note c.

⁶ See Gardiner-Peet-Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, I, Pls. 2, 5, 6, 8; II, pp. 57, 58, 59, 63.

⁷ Cf. P. C. Smither in *JEA* 31 (1945), 8 n. 9, and Borchardt, *Altägyptische Festungen*, 25 n. 5.

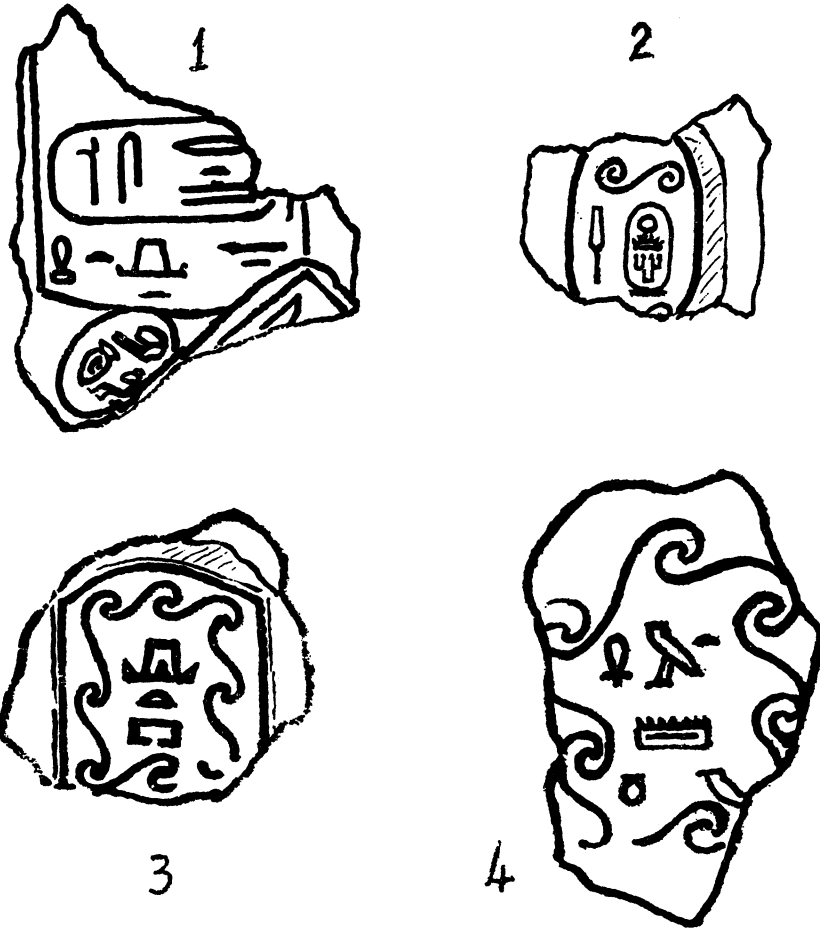


FIG. 1

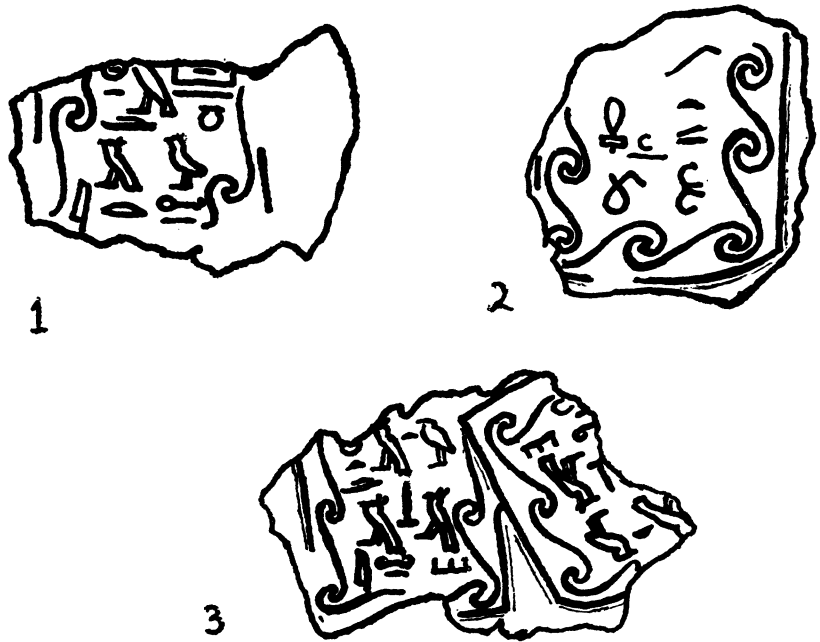


FIG. 3

SEMNA SOUTH: SEALINGS

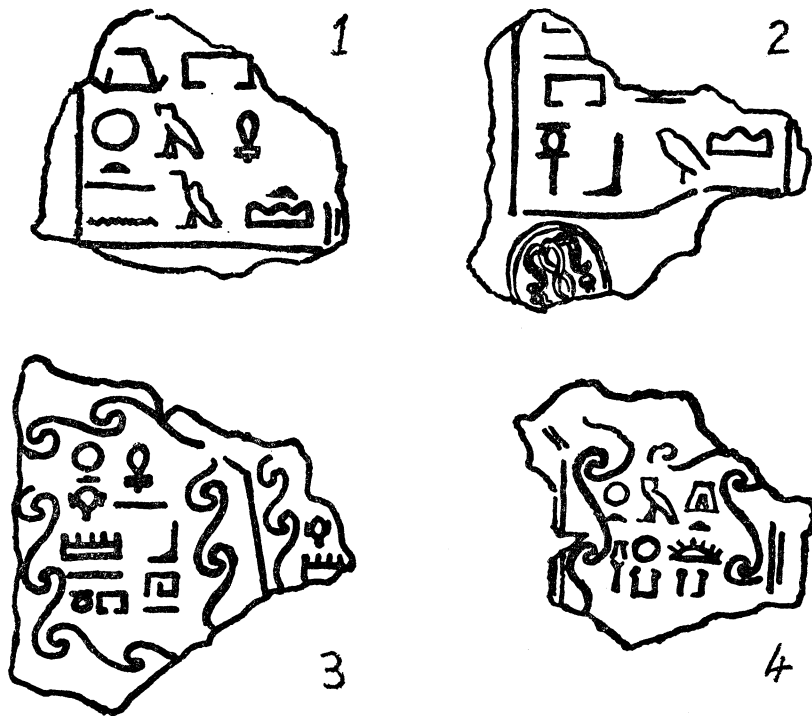


FIG. 2

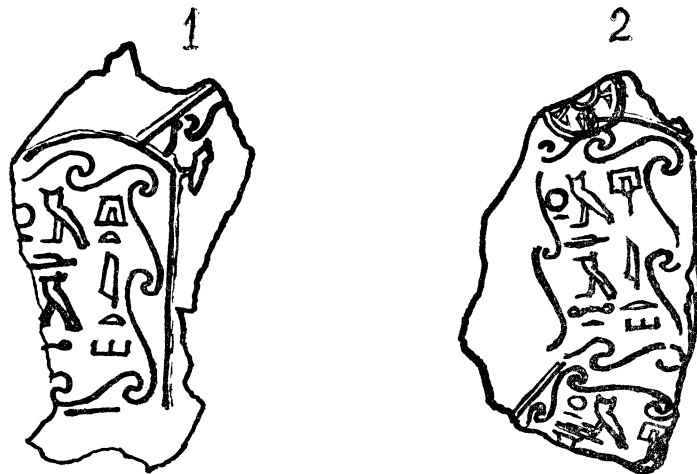


FIG. 4

SEMNA SOUTH: SEALINGS

'of Nubia' is also acceptable. It is to be noted that *Tj-Sti* never occurs on the sealings from Semna South. As has already been mentioned, on the sealings from Semna South the word *Sti* is determined by the sign of foreign land, a writing which occurs already in the Pyramid Texts;¹ furthermore, on all of them the sign is written in its hieratic² rather than hieroglyphic form, while on the sealings coming from some other forts (fig. 2, 1 and 2: *Snm* and *sbw*) the same determinative is shown in its hieroglyphic form. The influence of the hieratic on the hieroglyphic writing can also be seen in the writing of the vulture-sign with the two 'diacritic' marks on the head of the bird (fig. 3, 3; 4, 1 and 2). Another feature pertaining to the name of the Semna South fort to be noted is the writing of the sign for bow which, with one exception (fig. 3, 2), is consistently written on all the sealings in horizontal position, thus confirming P. Montet's remark that not only in the New Kingdom but in older periods too this hieroglyphic sign could be written horizontally³ as well as vertically.⁴ The bow represented in vertical position on the aforementioned sealing (fig. 3, 2) is a complex one, which, like its hieratic model,⁵ shows two horizontal lines issuing from the middle of the bow. This variant spelling of the name of the fort on this sealing, on which also the first word *djir* is written as an ideogram, is instructive in that it proves that this archaic bow-sign is to be read *Sti* even when it is written without the *t*-sign.

Returning now to the name of the fort as written in the damaged Ramesseum Onomasticon, we should like to make the following observation: since the names of the other forts thus far ascertained⁶ on the monuments and seal impressions are identical with those on the Onomasticon, it is to be expected that the name of the fort of Semna South which is now known from the large collection of seal impressions found on the site should also be identical with the name of the first fort on the Onomasticon list. Furthermore, since the name of the fort is perfectly well preserved on the seal impressions from Semna South, and since almost all of the signs pertaining to the name of the fort in the Onomasticon occur also on the sealings,⁷ it is reasonable to assume that the missing or defective signs of the name of the fort in the Onomasticon list are to be supplemented and completed by those certain ones of the sealings. We are therefore justified in attempting to bring into conformance the admittedly uncertain reading of the name of the fort on the Onomasticon list with that of the sealings. This approximation can be attempted in two ways. We accept the sign after the determinative of man striking with stick as a *t*-sign; if the following sign placed right under it is the damaged

¹ See *Pyr.* 1867 and cf. G. Steindorff in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), 362; emend Steindorff's *Pyr.* 1876 to *Pyr.* 1867.

² See G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I (Leipzig, 1909), 31, No. 322.

³ Thus written already on the wooden label from Abydos, see Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Edinburgh, 1961), fig. 11, p. 51 and Steindorff, *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 363.

⁴ *Kémi* 6 (1936), 46. Correct Gardiner's statement (*Grammar*, 512, Aa 32) accordingly.

⁵ Möller, *Paläographie*, I, No. 437, p. 41.

⁶ See on this T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941), 81; A. H. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 10-11; II, 266*; Vercoutter in *Kush* 12 (1964), 62, *Kush* 13 (1965), 66, *Mélanges offerts à K. Michalowski* (Warszawa, 1966), 205, *Rev. d'Ég.* 16 (1964), 179 ff. and elsewhere; A. Badawy in *Kush* 12, 47; W. Adams in *Mélanges offerts à K. Michalowski*, 20.

⁷ The determinative of man striking with stick is never indicated in the name of the fort on the sealings.

sign for foreign land to be read *h3st*, then the *Sti*-sign would have to be supplied at the end in the gap of the broken part of the papyrus, and the *t*-sign would belong to the *Sti* group of signs. The name of the fort would then have to be read *d3ir h3st Sti*. If the sign below the *t*-sign is not to be read as *h3st* then the bow-sign again would have to be supplied at the end in the broken part of the papyrus, but the preceding foreign-country sign would be a determinative to this *Sti*-sign to which the *t*-sign would also belong, and the name of the fort would be *d3ir Sti*.

As far as the composition of the name of the fort is concerned, the first of the two reconstructions would appear to be acceptable. *H3st Sti* would be one of many such combinations of the word *h3st* followed by the name of the country to which it refers, e.g.: *h3st Kš*, *h3st Pwnt*, *h3st Rtnw*, *h3st Ht(3)*, etc.¹ As far as the uncertainty about the *h3st*-sign is concerned, in spite of the fact that in its damaged form it does look different from other *h3st*-signs in the same column of the Onomasticon, we do think that it is a *h3st*-sign in a hieratic spelling well attested in the contemporary hieratic manuscripts.² The missing parts of the sign can be easily reconstructed from what is left of it, and the practice of writing the same sign in various ways when occurring in various positions in a manuscript is a well-known practice. The writing of the *h3st* with hill-country sign only without the *t*-sign does not represent a problem, but the writing of the *t*-sign before instead of after the bow-sign is anomalous.

The second reconstruction *d3ir Sti*, though identical with the writing of the name of the fort on the seal impressions and therefore to be preferred to the first reconstruction, is not fully satisfactory either. In addition to the anomalous writing of the *t*-sign before the bow-sign, it represents a very unusual example of a determinative being placed before the word to be determined, that is the word *Sti*. It is true that the Egyptian scribe treated the archaic bow-sign with a certain flexibility, thus, e.g., it could be written horizontally or vertically, facing right or left,³ but the only other examples of writing the word *Sti* this way which we know are from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.⁴ Is it possible that the scribe arranged the signs this way for some calligraphic reasons of his own? Perhaps so that the sign *Sti*, written in hieratic in a complex manner with the bow and two horizontal lines issuing from the middle of it, for the reason of a better graphic arrangement or economy of space, may be placed at the end?

I should like to make still another suggestion. It is interesting to notice that, with the exception of Iken and Buhen, all of the Second Cataract fortresses bear descriptive names, and that, with the exception of the name of Semna West (*Shm-Hck3wrc*) which contains the name of Sesostris III, all of them are composed of two elements: *Itnw-pdwt*, *Hsf-Iwntyw*, *Wcf-h3swt*, *Dr-Mtyw* (?), *Ink-t3wy*, *Hsf-Md3w*. As K. Sethe,⁵ H. Schäfer,⁶ and P. C. Smither⁷ observed, it is possible that these fortresses' names

¹ For all these and other references see *Wb.* III, 234, 9 and 235, 5 with respective Belegstellen.

² See Möller, *Paläographie*, I, No. 322, p. 31.

³ Cf. Montet in *Kémi*, 6, 45; Gardiner, *Grammar*, 512 (Aa 32); compare *Pyr.* 994 *d* and 1867 *a*.

⁴ *Urk.* III, 60 and G. A. Reisner—D. Dunham, *the Barkal Temples* (Boston, 1970), 12 and 55: *Sti* is determined by 'sandy tract' (Gardiner, *Grammar*, 487, 18) instead of 'sandy hill-country' (Gardiner, *Grammar*, 488, 25), but these two determinatives frequently interchange; see on this Steindorff in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 362.

⁵ *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Deutsch, 92 notes 1 and 3.

⁶ *Apud* Borchardt, *Altägyptische Festungen*, 25 n. 5.

⁷ In *JEA* 31 (1945), 8 n. 9.

originally contained the names of their founders, e.g.: 'Sesostris-is-one-who-repels-the-Medjau', 'Sesostris-is-one-who-curbs-the-foreign-lands', etc. Now that the name of a fortress (or a fortified town) of Sesostris I—archaeologically unidentified—containing the name of the founder has become known,¹ the abovementioned hypothesis of Sethe, Schäfer, and Smither acquires a strong measure of probability.

It is reasonable to assume that for the reason of economy of space the designers and seal-makers when producing and inscribing the seals had to leave out the names of the founders of the fortresses and to reduce them to the two essential elements referred to above. Thus the original name of the fort of Semna South, which would have been recorded in the official documents in the royal Residence, might have been *dʿir Stī S-n-Wsrt* 'Sesostris-is-one-who-subdues-the-Setiu-Nubians'. But when the seals were to be made, or even brief dispatches sent from fort to fort,² for the reason of economy of space (especially when dealing with the very limited amount of space on seals) abbreviated names of the forts were used. Thus the name of the fort of Semna South known in the Residence as *dʿir Stī S-n-Wsrt* came to be, on the sealings and probably also in the Onomasticon list, *dʿir Stī*.

This reading of the name of the fort of Semna South clarifies a passage in the hymn to Sesostris III of the well-known Kahun Papyrus. In lines 7 to 8 of this hymn it is said of the Pharaoh that 'it is the tongue of his majesty which restrains the Setiu-Nubians (or: Nubia), it is his utterances which make the Asiatics to flee (*ns n hm-f rth Stī tsw-f sbhʿ Styw*)'.³ H. Grapow had correctly transliterated the beginning of line 8 as *rth Stī*,⁴ but for some undisclosed reason Faulkner,⁵ following Sethe,⁶ transcribed the fifth sign of line 8 (*Stī*) as the sign for nose-eye-cheek and appended it as a second determinative to *rth*. It is true that, owing to their similarity in hieratic, the sign for nose-eye-cheek is sometimes used for *Stī* (bow-sign),⁷ but already Griffith⁸ had correctly understood the fifth sign as referring to the following word which he translated as 'Nubia', only—understandably for his days—he had read it erroneously as 'Khent'. Now that the name of the fort containing the word *Stī* has been established from the sealings, it becomes certain that the passage in the Kahun Papyrus hymn is indeed to be read *rth Stī*, showing the word *Stī* written as on the sealings: bow-sign, bread-sign, and foreign-land sign. It is to be noticed, however, that the sign for 'bow' is written not with the simple bow but with the complex one showing two horizontal lines issuing from the middle of the bow, the same bow as on the sealing from Semna South in fig. 3, 2.⁹

¹ P. Lacau et H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sesostris Ier à Karnak* (Le Caire, 1956), 67 f., 83, 208, 210.

² Smither in *JEA* 31, 8 where a dispatch from the fort *Hsf-mdʿw* (now identified as Serra East, see J. Knudstad in *Kush* 14, 175 f.) also uses the abbreviated name for the fort.

³ We take with G. Lefebvre (*Grammaire de l'Égyptien classique*, 2nd edn. 1955, § 617 and n. 2) and Goedicke (in *JARCE* 7 [1968], 25) *rth* and *sbhʿ* to be participial forms, instead of suffix-conjugation forms with the suffix-pronouns omitted, as explained by Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 486, ex. 11.

⁴ *MIO* 1 (1953), 192.

⁵ R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 154.

⁶ *Ägyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig, 1928), 66, line 8.

⁷ Cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, 452 (D 19); *Wb.* III, 488; Möller, *Paläographie*, 1, Nos. 491, 90, 437; Montet in *Kēmi* 6, 53 and in *ZÄS* 48 (1911), 96 ff.

⁸ F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 2.

⁹ I have written a brief study on the 'Nubian' bow which will soon be published; it is hoped that it will bring Montet's very useful article in *Kēmi* 6 up to date.

COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 313

By R. O. FAULKNER

THIS spell, the title of which is essentially identical with, e.g., those of the entirely different spells 148 and 312, is of interest in that it lends itself to the view that it is a fragment of ritual concerned with the demise of the king, here represented as Osiris, and the accession of his son in the form of Horus. In it Osiris speaks first, claiming royal rights and calling on his son Horus to view him in his regalia (87*b*–88*e*). But that Osiris is king in the realm of the dead is made clear not only by our knowledge of the normal mythological role of the god and by the general trend of the spell, but also by the fact that Atum calls upon Thoth to visit Osiris in the Island of Fire (*iw nsrsr*), a region of the Beyond, where Thoth will find him in (*m-hnt*) Ninsu (88*f*–*k*). This place occurs also as the abode of Rē^c (89*c*), but appears to be a celestial counterpart of the actual Ninsu-Heracleopolis on earth, for Rē^c is also spoken of as ‘who is yonder’ (*nty im*, 89*a*); in 89*g* Thoth says to Osiris: ‘I will open up for you the roads of the Netherworld (*imht*)’, and in 91*a* ‘I have [set] the love of you in the Island of Fire’. The whole trend of Thoth’s long speech (88*l*–91*a*) seems to imply that Osiris has only now taken up residence in the Beyond.

Horus now appears on the scene, and calls on Thoth (91*b*) to do for him what he has done for Osiris, for Horus too claims kingly rank; finally Osiris in a last word declares that he will not die, be destroyed, nor be wiped out, nor will his name be wiped out; in other words, he will not be forgotten, even though departed; Thoth also states, in an earlier passage (90*q*): ‘I have set a fair remembrance of you in the Castle (*‘h*)’; see also 88*b*. We thus have both Osiris and Horus simultaneously claiming royal rights and powers, and it is difficult to avoid the impression that this is the moment when Osiris, embodiment of deceased royalty, departs to reign in the Beyond, while his successor Horus assumes the earthly kingship. The fact that Thoth, who was prominent in the rites of accession, here also plays a significant role, lends colour to the view that this text was originally employed at a demise of the Crown and that it is not a purely mythological fragment.

The translation of this spell is not without its difficulties, as the notes which follow it will show; in particular we meet from time to time with the confusion of suffix-pronouns on which Professor de Buck commented in his article on BD Spell 78 in *JEA* 35 (1949), 87 ff. This phenomenon of Egyptian funerary texts is no help to the translator, especially as in the present case there are no variant texts to come to our aid.

Translation

BEING TRANSFORMED INTO A FALCON (CT IV, 87 ff.)

Osiris: Come [in] peace, my son Horus: so says Osiris. You shall see me in my great *atef*-crowns¹ which Rē^c gave to me and which Atum and the Enneads made [firm for] me, being pleased at it. You shall see me, my son Horus, seated in front of[. . .]² with my uraeus on my brow and my *atef*-crowns on my head, my staff in my grasp and my knife³ in my grip, my image of Truth on my shoulder, and crookedness⁴ under my feet. I confirm [powers], I [promote] positions, I obstruct my foes who shall come⁵ opposing me, because⁶ I have appeared⁸⁸ as ruler [of the sky] and king of the earth, and my foes fall through fear when they see me. | I am exalted⁷ in my great *atef*-crowns which are in Ninsu, and I indeed am your father, O my offspring upon earth. May you establish my powers, may you increase my rule (?)⁸ among⁹ those who bestow their powers [on you (?)]¹⁰ and who increase the rule (?) of them for you. Slay and obstruct your foes and my foes.

Atum: O Thoth—so says Atum—travel for us upon the Island of Fire, see Osiris for us, for you will find him in Ninsu. I have implanted fear of him, I have created awe of him; regrant his crown for me, for you are the god for the protection (?)¹¹ of Osiris.

Thoth: Behold, I have come—so says Thoth (to Osiris)—and I have brought to you truth and joy, I have brought to you authority and vindication. You are triumphant over your foes, the love of you is in the Bark of Flesh,¹² a fair remembrance of you is in the Castle.⁸⁹ | I will grant to you the lifetime of Rē^c who is yonder < . . . >¹³ I will place the awe of you in Ninsu, [and also] the awe of Rē^c who is in Ninsu. I will grant to you oblations in Memphis,¹⁴ [I] will repeat your festivals in Ōn, I will open up for you the roads of the Netherworld, I will put fear of you in Busiris, I will regrant your crown in Abydos, and also the crown of Rē^c which is in Thinis.

He who shall come against you in the sky shall be (doomed) <to>¹⁵ the striking-power of your crown.

He who shall come against you on earth shall be (doomed) to the striking power of your majesty.

Those who shall come¹⁶ against you from the South shall be driven off by Satis, Lady of Elephantine, who will shoot at them with her arrows, which are painful and sharp [against (?)]¹⁷ them.

⁹⁰ | Those¹⁸ who shall come against you from the North shall be (doomed) to Hēḳes [and to] Hēpḥep.¹⁹

Those who shall come against you from the East shall be (doomed) to Sopd, Lord of the East, and they shall be driven off with your knives in them.

¹ The plural refers to the triple *stf* sometimes worn by gods and kings; it is employed regularly in this spell.

² According to de Buck, n. 4, *itrty*, which is what one would expect here, does not fill the lacuna.

³ For *ḏt-r* 'knife' see also below, 92r; *BD* 207, 10.

⁴ *Hḥbt* with det. ⁹ is used of the curl on the Red Crown, but this cannot be the meaning here; the additional det. ⁹ indicates that this is a variant writing of *hḥbt* 'crookedness' in conduct, de Buck, *Reading-book*, 118, 5, the defeat of which here is symbolized by its being trodden underfoot.

⁵ This spell uses the singular *iw-ty-fy* with plural reference not only here but in 89l; 90c. *d. f.*

⁶ Restore *wi* in the lacuna after *ḏr ntt*.

⁷ Read *ḳ·k(w)*, old perfective 1st singular.

⁸ The det. ⁹⁰ in ⁹⁰ and also the sense required, indicate that this is a cryptic writing for *ḥḳt* 'rule' based on the word for 'bushel'.

⁹ There is an unexpected ending ⁹⁰ after *m-m*.

¹⁰ Restore *n-k* in the lacuna?

¹¹ For *gs-dpt*, hitherto recorded only in late texts, see *Wb*. v, 200, 14 ff.

¹² See also 93n.

¹³ After *iw grt* (89b) a whole sentence has been omitted.

¹⁴ Restore as *Hwt-[ḳ]-Pth*; the restoration *ḳ* is necessary to fill the lacuna, but the corresponding passage 97h (spell 315) has simply *Hwt-Pth*.

¹⁵ Lit. 'shall be for'; in this instance the preposition *n* has been omitted, but it is present in 89k; 90a. *c.*

¹⁶ See n. 5 above.

¹⁷ Restoring *r* in the small lacuna before *·sn*.

¹⁸ The translation in the plural must be maintained, cf. the plural *·sn* in 90c. *d. f.*

¹⁹ See de Buck, n. 1*.

Those who shall come against you from the West shall be (doomed) to Ḥa, Lord of the West, and they shall be driven off by¹ the striking-power of Atum in his ascendings from the horizon.

I have placed your foes in bonds and the Scorpion in fetters:² so says Thoth to Osiris. I have come that I may do again what is good for you, I will raise up Truth for you, I will gladden you with what you desire, for I have smitten, subdued and felled your foes for you, I have driven off for you those who rebelled against you, I have massacred them, I have obstructed them, again I have appeared [against them (?)].³ I have given you vindication in the Two Conclaves and joy in the Two Enneads, I have set a fair remembrance of you in the Castle,⁹¹ I have [set] the love of you in the Island of Fire, just as Rē^c commanded to be done for you.

Horus: O Thoth,⁴ you shall do for me what you did for Osiris, so that I may be triumphant and that you may fell my foes, for I am the offspring of Osiris, I am Horus, son of Osiris, born of the divine Isis.⁵


I am king in Chemmis, my face is formed as that of a divine falcon; I created my Eye in flame, I am alert, and my Sacred Eye is united with his⁶ Sacred Eye. I made my Eye, a living serpent . . .⁷ There shall be done for me more than was done for him; my name is like his name, my form is like his form, my foe is afraid⁸ of me, having fallen on his face;⁹ he beholds me with my face formed as that of a falcon. My shape is like that of Rē^c [. . .] which are in Ōn; Thoth [is he]¹⁰ who makes them firm at my accession¹¹ ⁹² in the shape of Horus because of the shape of [Rē^c . . .:] so says (?) Rē^c-Atum of me, because I [see]¹² my face as his face. My shape is like his shape as a divine falcon, I have smitten the gods with my hands, I have [kicked (?)]¹³ them with my toes,¹⁴ I have bruised (?)¹⁵ them with my fingers and I have gripped them with my nails, because my strength [is greater] than theirs in my avatar as Horus great of strength. I am he who spoke to them (?),¹⁶ namely Shu [and Tefēnet],¹⁷ Horus and Nūt, and Thoth and his tribunal; my Eye is stronger than their strength. I departed (?) at my birth and went forth in the manner of kingship with my uraeus on my brow, my great *atef*-crowns on my head, my staff in my grasp and my knife in my grip; ⁹³ my tress¹⁸ is on my [. . .], the limits of my mouth are those of the head of a vulture, my face is formed as that of a divine falcon, like the shape of Rē^c [. . .]. I have become ruler of the Two Banks, I have inherited the thrones of Horus, I have taken possession of the horizon of Khopri, I sit on the throne of my father Onnophris by the word of Rē^c, by the command of Gēb and by the confirmation of Thoth,

¹ *N* presumably for *in* 'by'.

² The suffix in *intwt:f* is superfluous.

³ Restore as *hct rsn?*



⁴ For *in* read *i* 'O'; Horus, originally perhaps the new king, begins his speech by invoking Thoth in 91b-e. but thereafter himself proclaims his rights and qualifications to be ruler.

⁵  in 91f is superfluous.

⁶ The suffix presumably refers to Osiris.


⁷ The reading of the word after *cnht-i* is doubtful; according to de Buck, n. 5*, *hr* is not possible. *Dt-cnht* appears to have been construed as a compound noun, since the suffix follows *cnht* instead of *dt*.


⁸ Note the odd writing of *snḏ* 'afraid'.

⁹ For  read ; 'two faces' is an absurdity.

¹⁰ Restore *pw* in the lacuna. The following 'them' may refer to a mention of the *atef*-crowns in the lacuna in 91r.

¹¹ For *hct:f* read *hct-i*; Horus is still speaking.

¹² Restore the lacuna as .

¹³ Restore as ? The traces recorded in n. 5* might suit.

¹⁴ For *gwt* used of toes cf. *CT* IV, 46k.

¹⁵ *ḥḏ* is not recorded, and the meaning suggested for it depends solely on the context.

¹⁶ Emending *ḏḏ n nf* into *ḏḏ n sn*, recalling the tendency of this text to employ singular for plural. In what follows it seems necessary in 92l to emend *nhtw:f* into *nhtw:sn*, and in 92m. n. to translate in the 1st person; cf. 92o ff.

¹⁷ *Nwt* after [*Tfnt*] appears to be an erroneous anticipation of the name of the goddess which follows that of Horus.

¹⁸ With *wpt* compare *wbt* 'tress' *Pyr.* 282 and the masc. var. *wp*, 1363.

and the Two Conclaves are pleased at it, the sky is in festival, the earth is in joy, and the Enneads are glad at the sound of the storm of the Blower.¹ I go forth as Horus the vindicated in my avatar as Horus;² my name is like his name, my shape is like his shape.

Osiris: I am Osiris, son of Gēb, the successor to Rē^c; my mother is in the Bark of Flesh, and I will not die, I will not be destroyed, I will not be wiped out, and my name will not be wiped out. I will not be wiped out, for I am in this land³ for ever.

¹ The reference to *ḫrr n nfy* is quite obscure to me.

² i.e. I go forth as the earthly Horus, the representative of the celestial Horus.

³ Note the use of the independent pronoun with adverbial predicate, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³ § 117, end.

THE LETTER TO THE DEAD, NAG' ED-DEIR N 3500


By HANS GOEDICKE

THE stock of Letters to the Dead was recently increased by another specimen of this epistolary genre from the Nag' ed-Deir tomb N 3500.¹ The difficulties typical of this type of text apply equally to this instance. It is mainly an outcome of the ambiguity of the formulation and the use of implicit insinuations which constitute major obstacles to an understanding. Dr. Simpson considers his study 'tentative in many respects'. In the following some suggestions are submitted as a contribution toward a better understanding.

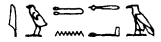
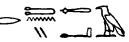
Translation

Writing to Hetep-neb(i)'s son Pepi-seneb:^a Have you really seen these wailings,^b while (I), here, suffer?^c Lo, you are excellent indeed! (I), here, meditate:^d Heal your child! Take truly hold of this demon or demoness!^e Do not let them see his single mishap^f—because there is not one who can raise the voice so that I, here, suffer.^g


Commentary

a. Simpson assumed two addresses which forced him to postulate an inconsistent use of the second person in the singular and the dual. As it would seem improbable that a letter should be ambiguous concerning its recipient, this postulation is *a priori* suspect. While the use of the second person singular is certain, the presumed second person dual does not stand up under close scrutiny, as will be shown later. Thus it has to be concluded that the letter is directed to *one* person. The two names given at the beginning include, of course, the filiation of the addressee. As usual before the Middle Kingdom, the father's name is listed first; see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³ § 85; Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa*, II, 70 ff. Thus, *Htp-nb(i)* is the name of the father. The son's name should be read  and not Teti-seneb.² For the frequently attested name, cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 132, 11; II, 357; Jéquier, *Monument funéraire du Pepi II*, II, 48, 59; III, 30; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, 224 and in particular Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae*, nos. 45, 46, 65.

b. Despite Simpson's insistence there is no need to emend to an unattested *iww(t)* instead of retaining the ascertained *iww*; cf. *Wb.* I, 48, 20.

c. In view of the *isk* following it,  has to be taken as a sentence, as is also done by Simpson. The similarity to  at the very end of the text was recognized by him, instigating his translation 'now that the two of you are there' for

¹ William Kelly Simpson, 'A Late Old Kingdom Letter to the Dead from 'Nag' Ed-Deir N 3500', *JEA* 56 (1970), 58–64.

² A spelling *  is not attested for the king's name.

the first and 'against the two of you here' in the second instance. As I have already mentioned, there are two instances in the short text in which *·k* is clearly used in reference to the addressee. Thus, a sudden change to dual reference would constitute a major inconsistency or contradiction. Secondly, the word *ꜥ* is rendered inconsistently. It occurs once more at the beginning of line 3 and Simpson vacillates in its translation between 'here' and 'there',¹ which remains unconvincing.

According to Simpson there is no mention of the writer of the letter which would also seem unlikely.² The particular nature of *ꜥ* as indicating the immediacy of 'here' (*hic*) would make it a suitable reference to a letter-writer. The three occurrences confirm this. While in two instances *ꜥ*, 'here', could be taken as following a noun, in the third case it stands unquestionably after a verb which requires a subject. This could be assumed only as the first-person suffix, as usual omitted, which apparently has to be envisaged as being followed by *ꜥ*, 'here'. A consistent use can justly be presumed in all three instances. The formulation appears to correspond to the expressions composed with *im*, like *bꜥk im* and *ꜥ im*. The difference lies apparently in the combination with the suffix instead of a noun.³ For a parallel use see Hatnub Gr. 32, 3 *šm·n·i ꜥ* 'I, here, went' and GI 227b.⁴

As a consistent use can justly be presumed in all three instances, $\overline{\text{ꜥ}}$, which according to its occurrence in line 5 is *tni*, has to be a verb. I surmise it to be identical with *tni*/*tni*, 'to be weak of old age',⁵ (*Wb.* v, 310, 4 ff.; 380, 6) and to understand it here as 'to be miserable'. Such a negative connotation seems required by the context as the cause of the writing of the letter.⁶

d. Simpson considered ꜥꜥ a contracted spelling for **iw·s* and accordingly emended **iww(t)* in order to have an antecedent for the presumed pronoun. As **iwwt* is not attested and is thus no inescapable reason for the promulgated view, I would rather take ꜥꜥ as the enclitic particle reinforcing the preceding *·k*.⁷

e. As discussed above (note c), *ꜥ* is here an 'adverbial' qualification of the subject which is the first-person pronoun. Thus $\overline{\text{ꜥ}}$ has to be recognized as a verb, which I deem identical with *nkꜥ*, 'to think about', despite the defective spelling.⁸

¹ Although James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, 109 f. discusses a small number of instances where *ꜥ* takes on the meaning 'there' due to a transposition in the speaker's point of reference, those cases are isolated and do not reflect any such vacillation within a text as Simpson assumes in this letter.

² Other letters of this type, like the Chicago Jar (*JEA* 16 (1930), 20) and the Louvre Bowl (*JEA* 20 (1934), 159) mention the writer.

³ For the epistolary use of *bꜥk im*, cf. James, op. cit., 128; cf. also Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten . . .*, IV, 129 ff.

⁴ The assumption that *ꜥ* means in this instance 'from here' (so Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 68; Edel, *Altägyptische Gr.* § 753) results from a misconception of the role of the 'adverb' in Egyptian. Unlike that in the Indo-European languages, the Egyptian 'adverb' qualifies not the verb, but the noun preceding it, whether subject or object.

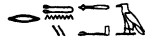
⁵ *Sinuhe* B 190 f parallels it with the absence of sexual strength, so that *tni* could be surmised to have a more specific connotation than 'to grow old', which seems to be the Late Egyptian usage (*Doomed Prince*, 4, 11).

⁶ A connection with *tnm-nw-rꜥ*, 'oral reminder' (cf. Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, 14; *JEA* 16 (1930), 148; *CT* IV, 28 j; James, op. cit. 114) might seem tempting. However, the expression is an extension of *tni* 'to distinguish', 'to lift up', which cannot be assumed here.

⁷ Cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³ § 247. 1.

⁸ Cf. Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, 101; id., *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 157.

mentioned previously. *Zp* appears to have negative connotation as 'mishap'; cf. *BIFAO* 34 (1934), 138; Caminos, *Literary Fragments*, 11; Berlin 1950.¹

N wnt wn, lit. 'there is not a being one', i.e. 'there is no one'; cf. also the discussion by Simpson, op. cit. 61.  has to have the same meaning as in line 2, where it was recognized as a verb. It can be taken here only as *r*+*sdm·f* indicating purpose; cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³ § 163. 11 (a). The closing passage indicates the position of the writer as suffering unduly.

Although the letter remains vague in its specifications, I would interpret it as follows. The child (son or descendant) of a certain Pepi-seneb is suffering from sickness. He turns to his father (or ancestor) to alleviate his misery by checking the cause of the sickness, which is ascribed to the influence of demons. He considers his sufferings unmerited as he denies the existence of any indictable act on his part. Feeling innocent, he finds his suffering undeserved and thus asks for redress.

¹ *Zp* could also be taken as 'portion' in regard to food and medicine; cf. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 222.

AN EARLY EGYPTIAN GUIDE TO THE HEREAFTER¹

By DIETER MUELLER

ACCORDING to an old adage, most Egyptian texts are easy except for the difficult passages. In the funerary literature of the Ancient Egyptians, the latter seem to prevail. The reasons for this lie partly in their fondness of obscure mythological allusions, but even more in the very nature of this type of literature. Designed to secure for the deceased the full status and privileges of an *ꜥḥ ḥꜣr ꜣꜣr*, most spells are for the life in the hereafter rather than about it. As a rule, the magical incantations that make up their bulk do not specify the exact circumstances under which they are to be used, nor can these be easily deduced from their contents. They merely constitute the tools for survival in a world which they presuppose, but seldom explicitly describe, and thus resemble disconnected scraps of conversation for which the context has been lost.

As a result, the random glimpses they afford of the nature and geography of the hereafter are few and mostly incidental, and information on its structure must often be sought outside the spells proper. One clue might be found in the sequence of the spells, if their arrangement was dictated by an underlying principle. Unfortunately, no such principle has as yet emerged. The early copies of the Book of the Dead display great variability in the choice and order of their chapters; the canonical arrangement found later is the work of priests of the Saïte Period.² The Pyramid Texts on the other end of the spectrum show a certain degree of consistency in their distribution over the walls of the Pyramid chambers.³ However, their order is governed by the requirements of the funeral rites which they once accompanied, and thus is disassociated from the lay-out of the mythical world beyond the tomb.⁴

The Coffin Texts, which stand in every respect between their predecessors and the Book of the Dead, pose a particularly complicated problem. Less uniform in their

¹ This article was first drafted in Würzburg (Germany) in 1966. A much-abbreviated version under the title 'A Curious Concept of Life in the Hereafter' was read at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt in Berkeley (California) in 1969. Since then, it has been enlarged and thoroughly revised. I wish to express my profound gratitude to Paul E. (M. H.) Dion, O.P. (Toronto), and Dr. Leonard H. Lesko (Berkeley) for their help in supplying literature which would otherwise have remained inaccessible.

² Ed. Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII.-XX. Dynastie* (Berlin, 1886), Einleitung, 8-9; E. A. W. Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, I: An English Translation with Introduction, Notes, etc. (London, 1898), LXVII-LXXI, etc. For remarks on the BD as a literary entity see J. Leipoldt and S. Morenz, *Heilige Schriften* (Leipzig, 1953), 40 and 53-5. However, even in the early recension the order seems to follow certain guidelines: cf. M. S. G. Heerma van Voss, *De Oudste Versie van Dodeboek 17a* (Leiden, 1963), 4 f.

³ Plans in K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, III (Leipzig, 1922), 116-63 with concordances 164-79; for their use in later sources Th. G. Allen, *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts with Cross Indexes of These and Other Egyptian Mortuary Texts* (SAOC 27, Chicago, 1950).

⁴ S. Schott, *Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Pyramidenkult* (Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 5, Cairo, 1950), 135-252, esp. 149 ff.

disposition than the older group, the extant copies nevertheless exhibit certain preferences for the location and order of various spells. For practical purposes, these had to be ignored in Adriaan de Buck's admirable edition, and are now somewhat difficult to verify.¹ As a result, little has been done to study the principles governing their disposition which may also have varied from place to place or even from occasion to occasion.² That the arrangement was entirely capricious seems unlikely, and the order of spells should always be carefully noted by each student of the Coffin Texts.³

By comparison, an approach through the titles and docketts at the beginning and the end of many spells may seem more promising. Unfortunately, they did not form part of the recitation and were therefore omitted when the scribes of the Old Kingdom copied the royal mortuary texts from the papyri on to the walls of the pyramids. Since this principle was less consistently followed in later times, the Coffin Texts have preserved much valuable information on the purpose of many spells and their application.⁴ However, this information is not exhaustive, and only on occasion pertains to the subject under investigation.

This state of affairs increases the relative importance of the few, often quite as enigmatic compositions in which the Egyptian ideas of the hereafter have been organized into a system. Supported by maps, drawings, and descriptive legends, they encompass all available information on the world beyond at the expense of the incantations, and thus provide veritable traveller's guides for the owners of such books. The two most famous examples of this type of literature are the Book of the Hetep Field and the Book of Two Ways (two versions) from el-Bersheh.⁵

To these can now be added a third book from el-Bersheh that displays the same predilection for scientific systematization as the other two. It was published as Sp. 404 (*CT* v, 181–200) by Adriaan de Buck, and is also attested in Lisht, Abydos, and in a slightly different version in Meir (Sp. 405: *CT* v, 200–10).⁶ In its present state it

¹ See his remarks, *CT* I (Chicago, 1935), xii. An invaluable help for the location of spells is Chr. Müller's 'Index zur Anordnung religiöser Texte auf Särger' (Göttingen, 1962) which has, unfortunately, so far remained unpublished.

² In some instances, texts were grouped according to their contents; see, e.g., the position of Sp. 576 (*Orientalia* 35 (1966), 262 and 267 f.). However, this is by no means the only method: see below, pp. 124 f.

³ Exemplary is Heerma van Voss, *De Oudste Versie*, 4–5.

⁴ It is an erroneous conclusion that titles and docketts were not in use when the Pyramid Texts were composed (e.g. H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter*² [Berlin, 1956], 9 and *passim*; for an important reservation see S. Schott in *Handb. d. Orient.*, Abt. 1, Bd. 1, Abschn. 2: *Ägyptologie, Literatur*² [Leiden, 1970], 257). In one instance, a title ('Opening the Doors of Heaven') has escaped the attention of the priests who edited the texts for the pyramid of Teti (*Pyr.* 572a), and others are quoted elsewhere: *Pyr.* 855a and 856a ('this spell of Rē'); *Pyr.* 1251a–b (the 'Spell of Natron' and the 'Spell of Incense'), etc. By the same token, the titles and docketts in the Coffin Texts are integral parts of the compositions they accompany, and cannot be explained as secondary additions. The extent to which they were retained when the spells were transferred from the papyri on to the coffins depended entirely on the individual scribe; for a striking example see below, p. 111.

⁵ *CT* v, 336–86 = Sp. 464–8, and *CT* vii, 252–521 = Sp. 1029–1185 with the displaced spells 513 and 577 (*CT* vi, 97–101 and 192–3). On the latter see most recently L. H. Lesko, 'Some Observations on the Composition of the Book of Two Ways', *JAOs* 91 (1971), 30–43.

⁶ There may be some doubt as to whether these two spells qualify as 'books' (*md't*), but the concluding remark of Sp. 405 ('I have come here speaking and reciting the Book of Divine Words') certainly points in this direction. For the Book of the Hetep Field and the Book of Two Ways see also *ZDMG* 116 (1966), 362 f.

consists of a heading followed by a section in which the deceased has to pass an unspecified number of gates (v, 181i–186b). At each gate a conversation ensues, in which he reveals his familiarity with the name and character of the door-keeper and receives permission to advance: ‘You who have come spiritualized, my brother: proceed to the place about which you are informed.’ The same pattern is followed in v, 186c–187b, where he placates the gangway of the ferry that will take him across the river separating these gates from the Field of Reeds. This provides the transition to Section Two, an invocation of its skipper followed by a catalogue of the various parts of the ferry (v, 187c–195f). The text concludes with another invocation (v, 195g–199a), and a docket promising freedom of movement and arable land in the Field of Reeds to anyone who knows this spell (v, 199b–200d).

Version A (Sp. 404) is preserved on the front-end of B₃L (the invocation v, 195h–199a only), B₅C, B₉C, and B₁₀C, and on the foot-end of B₇C. The first episode of Section One is also found on the top (outside) of L₁Li, and on one of the fragments of Ab₁Ph. Version B (Sp. 405) occurs in Meir only, where it appears on the bottom of M₁C, M₁NY, and M₂C.¹ The order of texts around Sp. 404/405 is as follows (a dash indicates the beginning or end of line and side):

B ₃ L	Front:	—	404	464
B ₅ C	Front:	467	404	1147
B ₉ C	Front:	390	404	335
B ₁₀ C	Front:	Pyr 134–92	404	510
B ₇ C	Foot:	—	404	228
L ₁ Li	Top:	243	404	—
Ab ₁ Ph		397	404	—
M ₂ C	Bottom:	397	404 (?)	—
M ₁ C	Bottom:	—	405	608 (Sp. 335 on top)
M ₁ NY	Bottom:	—	405	— (Sp. 335 on top)

Although there is considerable variation in the selection of spells, their grouping does not seem entirely fortuitous. The spells 464 and 467 are part of the Book of the Hētep Field, and thus closely related to the purpose of Sp. 404 as described in the docket. Sp. 510, though otherwise not connected with this composition, also culminates in the declaration: ‘I am the lord of the Hētep; disorder is my abomination’ (CT VI, 96e–f). Sp. 243 is once called ‘Spell for Going Down to the Field of Reeds’ (CT III, 329c: BH₄C); in M₁C, it has become the final section of Sp. 405 (see below, p. 111). The same ‘rural flavour’ prevails in Sp. 228, meant to guarantee the ‘eating of bread with Osiris’.² On the other hand, Sp. 397 which precedes Sp. 404 on two coffins of different provenience,³ consists of a dialogue with the skipper of the ferry. A similar conversation

¹ The text of Sp. 405 is surrounded and divided into sections by strips of water—an arrangement also found on the bottom of Sq₁C, T₁Be, and T₂L (Sp. 397); see the plans in CT v, 75 and 200. Adriaan de Buck has treated the text of M₂C as a variant of Sp. 404, but as only the first episode of Section One is preserved, it may equally well represent the beginning of Sp. 405, a typical ‘bottom text’. In CT v, 181i, it agrees with the Meir texts in reading *gš* instead of *gšgš* against the Bersheh group. For similar reasons, L₁Li and Ab₁Ph cannot be assigned to Sp. 404 with absolute certainty.

² Translation and commentary by H. Kees, *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien: Totenbuch Kapitel 69 und 70* (Unters. 17, Berlin, 1954), 19–39.

³ H. Kees, ‘Zur lokalen Überlieferung des Totenbuch-Kapitels 99 und seiner Vorläufer’, in *Ägyptologische Studien* = F. S. Hermann Grapow, ed. O. Firchow (Berlin, 1955), 182 f.

serves as introduction to Sp. 398, the catalogue of ship's parts of which that in Sp. 404/405 is a variant.

The following pages contain a tentative translation of Sp. 404/5, intended to generate interest in this fascinating but neglected guide to the hereafter. As it touches upon many topics also covered in other texts, an exhaustive commentary would have to include the complete treatment of numerous additional spells, and thus exceed the scope of this article. The accompanying notes are therefore confined to essential philological matters and problems pertinent to the literary structure of this text. If the article succeeds in stimulating further studies of these and related concepts, it will have more than fulfilled its purpose.

The Title

Translation (181a–h)

B₅C: *Spell for Reaching the First Gate of the Field of Reeds.*

B₇C: *Spell for Going Down to the Field of Reeds.*

B₉C, B₁₀C, B₃L, L₁Li, Ab₁Ph: *Omitted.*

Remarks

The B₅C version appears inadequate, as the text that follows deals with more than one gate. Its wording is a rather obvious adaptation of the phrase *spr·hr·f r ky sb*, which recurs several times in Section One (v, 182b; 184a; 184f; sim. 186c).

The variant in B₇C seems better, but hardly represents the original beginning. Contrary to normal usage, the title is written in black, and the rubric does not begin until the next sentence: 'They will say: Behold a man who is spiritualized []' This is rather abrupt for an opening line. Moreover, the continuation in B₅C ('To be said to the door-keeper') does not follow the usual pattern of Section One. These inconsistencies indicate that the beginning of Sp. 404 was already lost when the extant copies were made. This forced the scribes to reconstruct the missing portions.¹ While the scribe of B₅C took his cue from Section One, his colleague started from remarks found at the end of the spell: 'As to any man who knows this spell when he goes down to the Field of Reeds . . .' etc. (CT v, 199b–c).

The extent of the damage suffered when the first page(s) of the papyrus began to crumble cannot be determined. That it also affected the first episode(s) of Section One is certain: see below, p. 112.

For reasons that will become apparent later, it seems preferable to leave Section One aside for the moment, and turn immediately to Section Two.

Section Two

General remarks

Section Two contains the well-known catalogue of ship's parts. It doubtless originated from similar lists that were compiled to help reassemble ships and boats taken apart

¹ The ability to fill gaps in a text was a special skill; see *Urk.* iv, 1817, 9: 'I was one . . . who found (supplied) the phrase when one was found destroyed.'

for overland transport.¹ Despite the pioneer work by Gustave Jéquier ('Essai sur la nomenclature des parties de bateaux', *BIFAO* 9 [1911], 37–82), Hellmut Biess ('Rekonstruktionen ägyptischer Schiffe und Terminologie der Schiffsteile' [unpubl. diss. Göttingen, 1963], 108–33) and others, much of its technical terminology still requires clarification—an undertaking beyond the scope of this article. For a modern translation of the catalogue in BD 99 see Th. G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* (OIP 82, Chicago, 1960), 171–5.

The catalogue has survived in three versions, each of which exists in several recensions. The main types are represented by Sp. 397 (Saqqâra and Thebes), Sp. 398 (Meir, but also Gebelein and Aswân), and Sp. 404/5. They differ in the number of listed parts and their names, but also in their general setting. In Sp. 397, the relatively short catalogue is embedded in a dialogue with the skipper. He pretends that the ferry is defective, while the deceased suggests replacements for the missing parts (the 'naturalistic version' of H. Kees, 'Zur lokalen Überlieferung', 177 ff. and 182 f., transl. in 'Göttinger Totenbuchstudien: Die älteste Fassung der Einleitung des Totenbuchkapitels 99', *Miscell. Acad. Berolinensia* (Berlin, 1950), 77–96). In Sp. 398, the catalogue has been expanded and systematized, but the subterfuges of the skipper are only briefly touched upon.

The el-Bersheh version begins with a short appeal to the skipper, and then immediately turns to the parts of the ferry. However, the emphasis is now placed upon the deceased's knowledge of their magical names (H. Kees, 'Zur lokalen Überlieferung', 180 f.). It is presently attested in three recensions. Of these, Sp. 405 (our Version B) is far inferior to Sp. 404, and links the older tradition to the later Chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead (examples H. Kees, 'Zur lokalen Überlieferung', 185).

Within Sp. 404 (our Version A), the text represented by B₉C and B₁₀C is less original than that of B₅C and B₇C. In v, 188e–f, for example, the invocation *i shm m pt wn itn, i Rc nb dšrw* has been changed to *i shm m pt, wn i shw in (!) Rc nb dšrw*. This makes poorer sense, but is halfway to the reading of Version B (*shw pw wr wn itn hr Rc hry-tp dšrw*: v, 202b–c; sim. BD 99). Similarly, the name of the mast (*in wrt m-ht w3s pw*: v, 189i) has become *in wrt m-ht sw3 pf*, further distorted to *in wr m-ht w3s pn* in Version B (v, 205e). In other instances, the archaic wording of the older text has been modernized: the difficult *ir-n tw m msk3 n nm-wr* of v, 191b was replaced by *ir-n-tw-tn m msk3*, the reading found in BD 99 (Nu), etc. The translation will therefore follow the text of B₅C/B₇C.

On the other hand, the inferior recensions have preserved more of the original framework. In the older text, the phrase 'say my name, says NN' is repeated only once, and subsequently shortened to 'the name of NN (in red)'. B₉C and B₁₀C spell it out after each designation, and Version B is even more elaborate: 'The spirit shall address (*dd hft*) the skipper of this ferry, (from) a district in Hermopolis: I know the

¹ For this technique cf., e.g., J. Couyat-P. Montet, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât* (*MIFAO* 34, 1912), no. 114; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Äg. Abh. 5, Wiesbaden, 1962), 21.

name of this entire ship; I know the name of its bow-warp', etc. Again, this *iw-i rh-kwi* is repeated before each part. It can be demonstrated that these phrases are integral parts of the original composition, because the older recension has retained the corresponding pronouns (*rn-k*, *rn-t*, etc.) even where the connecting words are missing. On the original, the text must have been arranged in tabular form, spelling out the recurring phrases only once (H. Grapow, *Sprachliche und schriftliche Formung altägyptischer Texte* [LÄS 7, Glückstadt, 1939], 43 ff.).

Translation (187c–188g)

B₁₀C: [Spell] of Calling the Ferryman of the Field of Reeds.


B₅C/B₇C: *To be said to the Ferryman of the Field of Reeds, so his face (will be) toward these gods who are on the other side of the river. He shall say to them^{sic} when he calls: 'Oh cut-off rush, tongue of Rēc, inḏbw, guide of the Two Lands, don't return to them! Oh power in heaven who opens the sun-disk, oh Rēc, lord of the glow, haul over for me, don't leave me stranded!'*

Notes on 187c–188g

187c The form *ḏdt n* occurs only here, and in 181b (*ḏdt n iry-c*) where it has been restored by the scribe of B₅C—possibly in analogy to 187c (see above, p. 102).

187d–e For *hr* modifying an adverbial sentence see Gardiner, *Gr.* § 119.5 and 239.

187e B₅C: *ḏd-hr-f* [] *is-f*; B₇C: *ḏd-hr-f n-s* [] *is-f*. The restoration *n-s[n]* seems inevitable, although the deceased is calling the ferryman, not 'these gods'.

187g B₉C and B₁₀C have *wmm hn*, probably the erroneous interpretation of a mutilated [] .

188d The *wn itn* after *i shm m pt* could also be another imperative parallel to *m hmw n-sn* (188b) and *in n-i* (188g). The wording of B₉C/B₁₀C awkwardly interrupts the address and is clearly secondary: 'The sunshine is opened by (*in!*) Rēc, lord of the glow'. Version B has 'you great power opening the sun-disk before Rēc, the master of the glow' (v, 202b–c; sim. BD 99).

188g *in n-i* (also CT V, 121d var.) is short for *in n-i nw* 'bring me this!': CT V, 75d, 121d, etc.

Remarks

At this point, the deceased has arrived at a river, the 'Winding Waterway' which borders the Field of Reeds (e.g. *Pyr. Sp.* 263–6, 359 etc.; for the following see also H. Kees, *Totenglauben*, 73 ff.). There he must avail himself of the services of a ferryman, often called *m-sf hr-f* 'who looks to his rear', or *hr-f hr-f* 'whose face is to his rear' (references in R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, I (Oxford, 1969), Index I s.v.; in the CT see, e.g., Sp. 397, etc.). His name probably derives from the fact that a rower would sit with his back toward the bow, and thus be forced constantly to turn around and check his course. Neither name occurs in Sp. 404, but the text presupposes the same situation: in order to transfer the new customer, the skipper must turn around to face the gods 'on the other side (*hr pf gs*)' of the river, and then row toward the deceased without paying attention (*hm*) to their signals.

Version B has embellished this scene by adding (202d–204c):

'Have the ferry cross over for this spirit. Behold he has arrived clad and wrapped, that

he may descend to the shore as a messenger of the Great God! Have the ferry cross over for this spirit. Behold he has arrived!

The skipper of this ferry, (from) a district in Hermopolis, will say: 'If he is indeed a spirit, let him pronounce the name of the ground upon which he has arrived!'

This spirit shall address the skipper of this ferry, (from) a district in Hermopolis: 'I know the name of the ground upon which I have arrived. Spine of Geb, ribs of Isis, chest of Neheb-kau; destroyer (?) with outstretched arm in the Wabet is its name.'

The skipper of this ferry, (from) a district in Hermopolis, will say: 'If he descends to the bow of the ferry, his Ba will destroy him. If he descends to the stern of the ferry, he is indeed a spirit.'

The skipper of this ferry, (from) a district in Hermopolis, will say: 'Pronounce the name of this entire ship before you descend to it!'

This spirit shall address the skipper of this ferry, (from) a district in Hermopolis: 'I know the name of this entire ship. I know the name of its bow-warps . . .', etc.

Notes on 202d–204c

202f *wḥ(w) sṣq(w)* are both old perfective, but the meaning of *sṣq* in this context is obscure.

202k M₁NY adds *Wsr N pn* after *ir wnn wr im pw n ḥ* as if 'if there is one (ferry) for this spirit Osiris N' were meant. This is impossible, as *wr* would have to agree in gender with *mḥnt*. *W^r n* is the indefinite article of *ḥ*, the grammatical subject of his clause. The predicate is either *im* or *pw*; their combination is very puzzling and throws some doubt on the translation suggested above. The construction *ir wnn* followed by a nominal (or adverbial) sentence does not seem to be attested so far; for *ir wnn sdm:f* see CT V, 203g, 203i and Gardiner, *Gr.* § 474. 1; more recently T. G. H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers* (New York, 1962), 41 no. 40.

203e *Htmwt (?) ṣw-ε m wbt*: a corruption of *sṣmt ṣw-ε m ḥbt*, the name of the *ihmwt* (fem.!) in 195c, see below, p. 107.

203j One expects another speech by the deceased at this point.

203l For this meaning of *dr* here and in 207c–l see H. Junker, *Giza*, III (Wien, 1938), 93.

202j–204a *W m Hmnw nfw n mḥnt tn*: Certainly not '(Der Verklärte soll nennen) die Lokalität in Schmun, den Schiffer dieser Fähre' (H. Kees, 'Zur lokalen Überlieferung', 184), as neither is named, and both are subject in 202j, 203f, etc. *Nfw* could be a badal apposition to *w m Hmnw*: 'the district in Hermopolis, (rather) the skipper of this ferry' (J. Spiegel, 'Zum Gebrauch der Apposition in Ägyptischen und Arabischen', *ZÄS* 71 (1935), 69 §§ 11–12). The expression is noteworthy as an example of bureaucratic style.

The Catalogue

Translation (188h–194f)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 'Say my name', says the bow-warps. | 'Oh you lock of Isis that Anubis has attached with the craft of the embalmer.' |
| 'Say my name', says the mooring-post. | 'Mistress of the Two Lands in the Shrine, is your name.' |
| 'The name of the mallet'. | 'It is the buttock of Tzi-zp.f.' |
| 'The name of the punt-poles'. | 'They are the ṣw of the Field of God.' |
| 'The name of the ḥt'. | 'Aker is your name.' |

'The name of the mast'.	'It is Who brought back the Great One after she had been away.'
'The name of the mhnnw'.	'It is the standard of Wepwawet.'
'The name of the yards'.	'The rods of Rēc residing in Hermopolis.'
'The name of its dbḥw'.	'The rods of Rēc which are in Hermopolis.'
'The sail'.	'Nut is your name.'
'The šdw, 'wt, iwt'.	'One has made you from the leather of the Mnevis bull, and from the sinews of the Ombite.'
'The name of the oars'.	'They are the fingers of Horus the Elder.'
'The bailer'.	'It is the hand of Isis that swabs the blood from the eye of Horus.'
'The bailer'.	'It is the gullet of Imseti.'
'Its ribs and its innards'.	'Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, Kebehsenuf—The Plunderer, Behaving as a Robber, Seeing His Father, Creator of His Own Name.'
'The zmꜣyt'.	'Foremost in the gardens, is your name.'
'The rower's seat'.	'Mrw-wood is your name.'
'The rudder'.	'Accurate is your name. Sunshine cutting the water is the name of your blades.'
'The name of its handle'.	'It is the nose of Ptah.'
'The name of this ship'.	'It is the leg of Isis that Rēc cut off with a knife when she had brought him the night-bark.'
'The name of the skipper'.	'... is his name.'
'The name of the skipper'.	'... is his name.'
'The name of the helmsman'.	'The Two Baboons is his name.'

Notes on 188h–194f

189d For the translation of *wḏwt* see G. Jéquier, 'Parties de bateaux', 46 ff. and 69.

189e Version B: *icrwṯ pw nt šḥt nṯr* (204j).

189f B₉C/B₁₀C: 'Say my name', says the *hṗt-ḥt* (possibly the socket for the mast: Th. G. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 174 note *am*).

189i See above, p. 103.


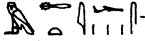
190c–d Om. by B₉C and B₁₀C; corrupt and partly destroyed in Version B (205l–m). The repetition of *mꜣwt nt R'* in 190h looks suspicious.

190e–f B₉C and B₁₀C insert: 'Say my name', says the mast head (B₉C *bdꜣ*; B₁₀C *dꜣdꜣ*).—'It is the gullet of Imseti.' The latter is used as the name of the second *mḏꜣbt* in B₅C/B₇C (191g–h) where two skippers and two bailers are listed.

191a The 'halyard bags' according to Th. G. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 172.

191b B₉C/B₁₀C: *ir-n-tw-tn m mskꜣ*; B₅C/B₇C: *ir-n tw m mskꜣ* (see above, p. 103). The latter is probably another example of the form *sḏm-ny* discovered by E. Edel, 'Die Herkunft des neu-ägyptisch-koptischen Personalsuffixes der 3. Person Plural -w', *ZÄS* 84 (1959), 30–8.

191e–g There are minor differences in spelling between the two *mḏꜣbt*; are they two distinct words? (G. Jéquier, 'Parties de bateaux', 61 and 68; R. O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 123 s.v.)

- 192c B₅C: ; B₉C: —later interpreted as *imyw-ht-s* ‘which are in its hull’ (Th. G. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 172).
- 192g *Zmryt* possibly dovetails: Th. G. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 174 note *ax*; G. Jéquier, ‘Parties de bateaux’, 62–3.
- 193a *Ibryt*, varr. *ibzyt* and sim.; translation proposed by G. Jéquier, ‘Parties de bateaux’, 65 f.
- 193e B₉C: *ishw m šmw* (‘sunlight in summer’); B₁₀C and Version B (206j): *ishw m tsš mw*—both secondary. For a different explanation of the *dnḥ* see W. K. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II* (Boston, 1965), 39.
- 193f *Rn n swf*: a part of the rudder (masc.) parallel to *dnḥwy-k(y)*, not of the ship (fem.). In B₉C/B₁₀C, 193f–g are mistakenly treated as the name of the ground (*stw*), and therefore inserted after the name of the river 195a–b.
- 193j B₅C/B₇C: *in·n·s n·f msktt*; B₉C/B₁₀C: *int·s n·f msktt*. Version B, where ‘I know the name of this entire ship’ precedes, has *phwy pw n Ist*; *š·n sw Rc m d·st·r irt·f n·f m m[h]nyt*, ‘It is the posterior of Isis; Rc has cut it off with a knife to make it into a ferry for himself’ (206k–m). It concludes the catalogue of parts in Version B.
- 194a–d B₅C and B₇C have two skippers, B₉C and B₁₀C only one (see above on 190e–f). Their names are illegible; read *wh* in 194b?
- 194f B₅C only: *bnn·ty·wy* probably for *bn·ty*, the name of the helm(sman) in *CT V*, 71c.

The remaining items concern geographical features. Their treatment in Version A does not differ in any way from that of the ship’s parts, but Version B begins a new section on the pattern of the introduction.

Translation (194g–195f)

- ‘The name of the wind’. ‘North wind that came forth from Atum to the nose of Khentamenti, Lord of Abydos.’
- ‘Say my name’, says the river. ‘Who behold their lord, is your name.’
- ‘The name of the river-bank’. ‘Give me your hand, lips of Isis on the day of the msyt—
Eating putrefaction in the darkness, and Annihilating him who stretches out the hand against the waters.’

Notes on 194g–195f

- 194h B₉C/B₁₀C: *r ndndn tp n Hnty-imntyw nb sbdw*, ‘to buffet (?) the head of Khentamenti, Lord of Abydos’—a misinterpretation of *fnḏ* ‘nose’.
- 195c–f This is already the opposite bank of the river; see H. Kees, ‘Zur lokalen Überlieferung’, 181 f. and below, pp. 110 f. The two banks are explained as the upper and lower lip of Isis, each of which is given an awe-inspiring name.
- 195d B₉C/B₁₀C omit *Ist*; was the papyrus damaged?
- 195f B₉C/B₁₀C have replaced *hbbt* by the more common *w^cbt*, though the sense obtained is less satisfactory (see above, p. 103).

Version B reads (207a–208a):

The skipper of this ferry, (from) a district in Hermopolis, will say: ‘Pronounce the name of the river before you descend to it!’

This spirit shall address the skipper of this ferry, (from) a district in Hermopolis: ‘They have beheld, is its name’.

The skipper of this ferry, (from) a district in Hermopolis, will say: 'Pronounce the name of the wind before you sail with it!'

'North wind that came forth from Hermopolis to the nose of Khentamenti, Lord of Abydos, is its name.'

The skipper of this ferry, (from) a district in Hermopolis, will say: 'Pronounce the name of the river-bank before you descend to it!'

'Spine of Geb, ribs of Isis, chest of Neheb-kau, is its name.'

Section Three

Translation (195g–199a)

To be addressed to these gods who (have been) listed: 'Hail to you whose Kas are beautiful, property owners who will exist for ever and in eternity! I arise for you that you may please me, and put the Macat to this my mouth that I speak with it. My bread is from Pe, and my beer is from Dep; my cake is baked, and my seat is spacious before the Great God.

I know the name of that god for whom you put food to his nose: Tkm is his name. He opens the western Akhet, and he knows the eastern Akhet: Tkm is his name. If he departs, I depart, and he is expelled from his msqt. The rebels have no power over this my flesh: My bread is from Pe, and my beer is from Dep.

I possess this capability of mine: My capability means bread and beer; my capability means life, prosperity, and health; going forth by day in any shape I wish to go forth in within the Field of Reeds.'

Notes on 195g–199a

195g Again, the rubric poses problems. To connect *ddt* with *nty m sš* seems grammatically impossible, although B₇C reads *ddt hft ntrw iw pn nty m sš*, 'what should be said to the gods, it is the following which is in writing'—a very unusual construction! Even then, *pn nty m sš* ought to mean 'is written down in the following' to make any sense, and it is doubtful whether the phrase could be interpreted in that way. The translation adopted above implies that *nty m sš* (sing.) refers to *ntrw ipn* (pl.); for this use of *nty* instead of *ntyw* see Gardiner, *Gr.* § 199.


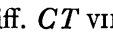

That the deities called *ntrw ipn* include the inhabitants of the Field of Reeds is shown by the subsequent address. As they are not enumerated there, the demonstrative pronoun must refer to a preceding portion of the text. The only part of Sp. 404 where gods are listed is the catalogue of ship's parts, and it is this catalogue that must be meant by *nty m sš*. BD 99 has therefore shortened the rubric to *ddt n·sn*, 'to be said to them (i.e. the gods identified with the various parts of the ferry)'. In Sp. 398, their enumeration concludes: 'All other things that I (may) have forgotten in this ferry which I have invoked—it is (also) these gods (*ntrw ipn*) who are in them (i.e. these parts: CT V, 150a–b)'. The ambivalence of their role in Sp. 404 is indicative of the make-shift character of this rubric, inserted to establish a superficial connection between two disparate sections.

195h The address that follows does double duty as a vote of thanks to the gods of the ferry after crossing the Winding Waterway, and as an invocation of the (other?) inhabitants of the Field of Reeds. It is preserved in four recensions, those found in Versions A and B, in BD 99 (partial transl. H. Kees, *Totenglauben*, 278), and independently as Chapter 72 of the Book of the Dead. That it was originally a separate spell is confirmed by the docket: see below on 200d.

The *nbw hrt* also occur in CT IV, 60g; v, 363d and VI, 412g (beginning of Sp. 782, same text as

here). In *CT* I, 82a–83a and VII, 480a, the term definitely includes the blessed dead who receive funerary offerings; compare the description in the 9th Hour of the *Amduat* (text E. Hornung, *Das Amduat. Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes*, I [Äg. Abh. 7, Wiesbaden, 1963], 154). In Sp. 404 and some other instances, it seems to designate a group of minor deities responsible for the distribution of food and offerings: cf. E. Hornung, *Amduat*, II (Übers. u. Komm.), 102; R. Grieshammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten* (Äg. Abh. 20, Wiesbaden, 1970), 74. Version B explains them as the ‘Great Ennead in the Field of Reeds’: see below, p. 110.

196b–c A variation of the well-known theme of Offering the Ma’at: see, e.g., Ph. Derchain, ‘Le Rôle du roi d’Égypte dans le maintien de l’ordre cosmique’, *Le Pouvoir et le sacré* (Brussels, 1962), 66 ff.; recently E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Wiesbaden, 1971), 209 ff., etc.

197b–198c The deity described here is apparently the sun-god. His name seems to have originated from a passage in Sp. 395 (BD 58). This text, in many respects a close parallel to Sp. 404, consists of a series of dialogues between the ‘spirits who are in the necropolis’, and the deceased who replies to their question ‘whom do you approach (*rwi·k r·tp m*)?’—‘I approach the *Tkš* (?); it is he who has me ferried to the house of *Gm·hrw* (*CT* V, 70a–g)’. In B₂L, the name of this deity is spelled , followed by a bird perched on a rectangle. This sign is still used as an ideogram in B₆C (v, 197f). Elsewhere, the name has been reinterpreted. Some versions of Sp. 395 have turned it into *tkn msqt*, ‘he who comes to the *msqt*’ (a celestial region, sometimes perhaps the Milky Way; cf. *Pyr* 279d; 334c; diff. *CT* VII, 2j, etc.). The  of Sp. 404 seems to be a contraction of the original *tk* followed by the *m* of  in 70a.

The meaning of *rwi·f rwi·i dr·tw·f hr msqt·f* in 198a–b is not entirely clear, as one would expect *rwi·i rwi·f dr·tw·i dr·tw·f* etc.; see, e.g., *Pyr*. Sp. 310. In BD 99, the passage has been revised in this sense.

198e–199a This rendering of *st* is based upon observations by Sir Alan Gardiner, ‘The First Two Pages of the *Wörterbuch*’, *JEA* 34 (1948), 13–15. Sp. 404 attributes three effects to the possession of this *st*: bread and beer; life, prosperity, and health; and the ability ‘to go forth by day’. It is impossible to interpret the latter in any other way, partly because of the *pw* inserted in B₇C; even more because of the 1st pers. sing. at the end of the sentence. It is, however, at least conceivable that the final clause was originally an explanatory remark summing up this spell. Such remarks often occur at the end of funerary texts, where they form part of the prescriptions concerning their application. This technique is best illustrated by *CT* II, 46a–48d, the end of the book about the Ba of Shu. Other traces of the revision to which this text has been subjected, tend to confirm this. The scribe of B₉C has adjusted the infinitive *prt* to the general context by changing it to *pry·i*. In Version B, a similar process has swallowed up the whole docket, which was subsequently converted into a dialogue similar to that preceding the catalogue of ship’s parts: see below, p. 110.

The Docket

Translation (199b–200d)

As to any man who knows this spell when he descends to the Field of Reeds, cake is given to him, a jar, a loaf, and an aroura of land: A full seven cubits is the barley, and likewise the emmer. It is the Followers of Horus who reap it. He shall chew the barley and the emmer, and rub his flesh with it; then his body will be [fresh] like (that of) these gods when he comes forth from the Field of Reeds in all shapes he wishes to assume.

Notes on 199b–200d

The docket is found in B₅C, B₇C, and B₁₀C only. The most detailed version is that of B₁₀C, translated above.

199c *ṯw·f ḥ·f r šht ṯrw* B₁₀ only. The phrase qualifies the preceding *ir z nb rh r pn*; cf. the change from *ṯw·f sdm·f* in 199c to *ṯw sdm·ṯw·f* in 199d; sim. 200c.

199d Compare BD 126 (Nu). For this rendering of *mḥ 7 m it (mitt ṯry m) bdt* and the parallels see my remarks in *CdÉ* 42 (1967), 259–65.

200b The restoration *wn·ḥr ḥw·f[w;d] mi nn n ntrw* is certain: see Version B (209j).

200c Again, the *ṯw·f sdm·f* is used as a virtual clause of circumstance; see above on 199c.

200d B₁₀C: *m ḥprw nbw mrr·f ḥpr[im·sn]*; B₅C/B₇C: *[m]ḥprw nb mry·f m šht ṯrw*.

According to Sp. 404, the Field of Reeds is the final destination of the deceased. This disagrees with the conclusion of Section Three and the docket, which guarantee his ability to leave the Field of Reeds, and ‘go forth by day’. The editors of B₉C/B₁₀C and B₃L apparently noticed the contradiction, and changed the text to *m-ḥnw šht ṯrw*, a promenade ‘within the Field of Reeds (199a)’. This adds further support to the impression that Section Three was originally an independent spell, incorporated into Sp. 404 despite the difference in purpose (see above on 195g–h). The docket beginning in 199b belongs exclusively to Section Three, and was not composed for Sp. 404 as a whole. The B-Version brings this out even more clearly.

Translation (B-Version : 208b–210l)

This means going forth in the presence of the Great Ennead which is in Heliopolis and has come forward rejoicing at the approach of this spirit. This spirit shall be spread out on his stomach among them, and shall address them:

‘I have come here to greet you, share-owners who will exist forever and in eternity []. My cake is baked, my bread is from Pe and my beer from Dep. I possess offerings; my offerings are bread and beer; (it means) life, prosperity, health and serenity; (it means) going forth in any shape I wish within the Field of Reeds.’

The Great Ennead in the Field of Reeds will say: ‘Give him cake, a jar, a portion [of meat]!’ He shall eat of it, and not go forth for ever and ever.

The Great Magistrate in the Field of Reeds will say: ‘Give him an aroura of (?) [] with emmer of three cubits in height. It is the Followers of Horus who cut it for him in the first year.’

He shall chew it, and shall rub his body with it; (then) his body will be fresh like (that of) each one of them.

The Great Magistrate in the Field (of Reeds) will say: ‘Give him the . . . of a washerman or washerwoman. Let him drink water at the waterhole. Let him enjoy intercourse.’

The Great Magistrate in the Field (of Reeds) will say: ‘Let him sing and dance and receive ornaments. Let him play draughts with those on earth, his voice being heard, though he is not seen. Let him go to his house and inspect his offspring for ever and ever.’

This spirit shall say: ‘I have come here to inspect my offspring, after I have received my basket (?). I am the one who bites with its coil. I am the baboon with the strong name. I am the fighting (?) ḥwnt mnty, who has felled the gang of Seth. I have come here speaking and reciting the Book of Divine Words.’

Notes on 208b–210l

208b The name of the river-bank (207k–208a) precedes; see above, p. 108. As it concludes the catalogue, the deceased must have already crossed the ‘Winding Waterway’ (H. Kees, ‘Zur lokalen

Überlieferung', 181 f.). This is confirmed by the ensuing dialogue, which takes place inside the Field of Reeds.

208d *Wn·hr šh pn zh·tw hr ht·f* follows the pattern *wh·hr·f sdm·f* (Gardiner, *Gr.* § 473) with omission of the second suffix pronoun; so far, the passive construction does not seem to be attested elsewhere. *Zh* obviously stands for *zš* 'ausbreiten' (*Wb.* III, 482, 16 ff.).

208o *M₁NY* comes to an end after the name of the deceased.

209c–d Possibly a comment rather than part of the conversation; see below on 209h–j. Note the emphasis on the permanent character of the sojourn.

209e The *dšdšt est imyt šht irw* must probably be distinguished from the *psdt est imyt šht irw*; cf. *CT* VII, 18c.

209g *Rnpt tpyt* 'the first year' for 'at the beginning of the year'?

209h–j Apparently not part of the magistrate's declaration: *wc im·sn* (!) *nb*.

209l The meaning of  (read *chwtj* ??) is obscure.

209o Is the reply of the deceased lost?

209m–210g The following phrases are often quoted; see H. Kees, *Totenglauben*, 286; W. Westendorf, *ZÄS* 94 (1967), 146 f.; W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (Äg. Fo. 24, Glückstadt, 1968), 67. The best parallel is Sp. 697: 'Osiris <has> order<ed> that N enter his house, inspect his offspring, enjoy intercourse, and receive ornaments with those on earth for ever and ever. The august god in his egg has ordered that N breathe air on the day of the Great Ceremony (*CT* VI, 331k–q; *L₁Li*)'. Both texts show why the deceased is interested in leaving the Field of Reeds; elsewhere, the freedom to come and go is often mentioned among the prerogatives of the properly spiritualized (e.g. BD 58 docket (Ani), 91 docket (Nu), 126 (Nu), etc.).

210g–j This is a revised version of Sp. 243 (varr. Sp. 263 and 264), the text that precedes Sp. 404 in *L₁Li* (see above, p. 101): 'I am the pelican who saw your birth. I have come to inspect my nest (varr. my offspring) and (?) requisition the brain of the one who bites with its coil. I am the baboon, being stronger than you are (*CT* III, 330a–331b)'. The *dbh cmm* in III, 331a accounts for the equally mysterious *šzp·n·i cmm* in v, 210h; the *nht·kwi irf r·tn* of III, 331b appears as *nht rn* in v 210j. In both instances, the baboon (*irn*) is probably the *bšby* renowned for his sexual strength; cf. Ph. Derchain, 'Bébon, le dieu et les mythes', *RdÉ* 9 (1952), 23–47; and 'Nouveaux documents relatifs à Bébon', *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 22–5.

Before the results of the preceding investigation can be summarized, the form and contents of Section One, passed over so far, must be examined in some detail. This unique text consists of a number of episodes centred around gates through which the deceased must pass. Each episode is introduced by a brief description of the scenery. This is followed by his words to the various guardians, and their permission to pass.

The descriptive passages are essential to the understanding of the text, and form integral parts of its composition. Despite their vital importance, these passages are found only in *B₅C*, *B₇C*, the Abydos fragment *Ab₁Ph*, and the excerpt *M₂C*. The *B₉C/B₁₀C* recension and the other manuscripts of Version B have omitted the descriptions, reducing Section One to a sequence of incomprehensible altercations. The reason for this peculiarity must doubtless be sought in the fact that only the dialogues were supposed to be quoted when the deceased arrived at the gates 'speaking and reciting the Book of Divine Words' (*CT* v, 2101; see above, p. 118). The omission of these descriptions is therefore comparable to the absence of titles and docketts from much of the older funerary literature (see above, p. 100).

The exact number of episodes originally contained in Section One can no longer be determined, as the first page(s) of the papyrus had already suffered extensive damage before it was recopied. Both Version A and Version B begin with the address to a door-keeper called *wn gšgš*, but its pattern does not follow that of the other episodes. B₅C has ‘spell of reaching the first gate of the Field of Reeds; to be said to the door-keeper’, and M₂C reads ‘he will reach the first door-keeper and shall say to him’. However, these words belong to passages reconstructed by the scribes, and thus do not prove that this episode was always the first (see above, p. 102). Moreover, the description in B₇C (‘they will say: Behold a man who is spiritualized’ followed by a lacuna) does not fit a gate guarded by only one person. It would therefore seem that Section One had at least one more episode between the (lost) title and the beginning of the extant copies.¹

Section One : First Episode

Translation (181i–182a)

‘Open up, *gšgš*: *gšgš* is your name! Hail to you, whatever *imḥty* (you are): make room for me!’

‘Proceed, you who have come spiritualized, my brother, to the place about which you are informed!’

Notes on 181i–182a

181i The translation, again based on B₅C/B₇C, interprets the *zp sn* after *wn gšgš* as a direction to repeat both preceding words. The address would then follow the pattern of the other episodes (‘hail to you, NN: NN is your name!’); but this may well be secondary. That the passage already puzzled the Egyptian scribes, is shown by the many variants:

B₉C *wn gšgš wn wn n gšgš*

B₁₀C *wn gšgš wn wn gšgš*

L₁Li *wn gšgšw*

M₂C *wn gš wn gš*

M₁NY *wn gš wn wn gš*

M₁C *wn gš wn wn wn gš*

The confusion doubtless arose from the ambiguity of *zp sn* ‘twice’ (see, e.g., S. Schott, ‘“Zweimal” als Ausrufungszeichen,’ *ZÄS* 79 [1954], 54–65). It accounts for the discrepancy between the *gš* of Version B and the *gšgš* of Version A, and for the various meanings attributed to the whole phrase: ‘open up, *gšgš*: *gšgš* is your name’ in B₅C/B₇C; ‘*gš(gš)*- opener, open up! *gš(gš)* opener’ in B₉C/B₁₀C; ‘open the *gšgšw*!’ in L₁Li, etc. Since the meaning of *gš* is unknown, it cannot be decided which (if any) of these texts represents the original version. The readings of M₂C and L₁Li suggest a hypothetical prototype **wn gš zp sn*, but as neither text represents a particularly reliable tradition, their testimony should not be over-estimated.

181j *Imḥty* is a nisbe of *imḥt* (*Wb.* I, 88, 1–4), an obscure designation of the netherworld or one of its regions; cf. E. Drioton, *BIE* 34 (1953), 299 ff.; H. Bonnet, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 14; H. Goedicke, *JEA* 51 (1956), 33; E. Hornung, *Amduat*, III, 63; etc.; for its doors see also *CT* IV, 344c.

¹ A likely total would be seven, recalling the seven gates described in BD 144 and 147. There, however, *rryt* is used instead of *sb*, and the names are entirely different. For an early version of these texts see the Book of Two Ways, *CT* VII, Sp. 1039 ff. The 21 *sbḥt* of the Field of Reeds in BD 145–146 are not related to Sp. 404, and the names of the four door-keepers in *CT* Sp. 460 represent another, independent tradition.

As *imḥty* is qualified by *nb*, the following words do not seem to be directed to anyone in particular, and the vocative looks suspiciously like a general address comparable to the more common *mn pn* 'you so-and-so'. Moreover, one would rather expect the introductory *ind hr-k* before *wn gšgš* in analogy to the other episodes, where *ind hr-k NN: NN rn-k* recurs four times.¹ This raises the possibility that 181*j* represents the blank form for Section One: 'Hail to you, NN: <NN is your name.> Make room for me!' In this case, the deceased was to supply *ir st-k ri* in each address of Section One. The *ind hr-k imḥty nb* certainly does not fit the preceding *gšgš rn-k* at all, and casts further doubt on the accuracy of this tradition. The editors of Version B, who noticed the difficulty, emended *imḥty* to *imsty* but forgot to delete *nb* (200f).

182*a* *Ti* is a perf. participle used as a noun, *ḥ(w)* the old perfective. The exact connotation of *bw rh-n-k im* is uncertain, as the rare *rh m* (*Wb.* II, 44, 6–7: 'von etwas wissen, etwas kennen, in etwas erfahren sein') might stand for either 'having heard about' or 'knowing the ins and outs of'. The latter is slightly more probable; see Pap. Erm. 1116A, 52 and 127 (Instr. for King Merikarē), and L. V. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (SAOC 34 Chicago 1968), 115 f.

Section One : Second Episode

Translation (182b–183g)

He will reach another gate, and find the (rḥty) snsnty there standing. They will say to him: 'Come and we will kiss you!' and then will cut off the nose and lips of anyone ignorant of their name. A man shall say when he reaches [them]:

'Hail to you, rḥty snsnty of one mind, love-makers: I have parted you with my magic. I am the one who rises in the night-bark. I am Horus son of Isis, and have come to see my father Osiris.'

'You who have come spiritualized, my brother: proceed to the place about which you are informed!'

Notes on 182b–183g

182*c* *Gmm.f(rḥty) snsnty im ḥr* in B₅C only; the text of B₇C before *im ḥr* is destroyed. The omission of *rḥty* is due to a scribal error: see 183*b* and 201*b*. For the masc. perfective after a fem. dual see Gardiner, *Gr.* § 511.

H. J. Polotsky has noted the curious emphasis placed on *ḥr* 'standing' in 182*c* and 184*g* ('Egyptian Tenses', Proc. Israel Acad. of Sciences and Hum., II, No. 5 [Jerusalem, 1965], 6 f.). In the second example, the striking feature of the door-keeper is not that he is 'standing' at the gate, but that he is standing there 'equipped with the equipment of a corn-measurer (see below, p. 117 on 184*h*)'. Unless a similar phrase has dropped out after 182*c*, the posture of the *rḥty snsnty* must have some hidden significance; other passages refer to them as 'being seated' when approached: CT v, 317*g* and 319*i*.

183*b* The *rḥty snsnty*, or 'Sisterly Twin Companions', are called *tt-ty-ib* and *mrwty*. Of the two epithets, the latter is obviously a derivation of *mri* 'to love'. As the fem. dual of *mrwty* 'well-beloved' would require *mrwty-ty*, a perf. participle or *nomen agentis* seems the most likely explanation. This is confirmed by the ending *-w*, a distinctive feature of this noun form most often used where a continued or repeated action is meant (E. Edel, *Altägypt. Gr.* § 230; Gardiner, *Gr.* § 357). The characterization as professional lovers certainly agrees well with their habit of offering their female charms to every passer-by. The editors of Version B have substituted *mryt bsw* 'who love *bas*' for the less common *mrwty* (201*b*).

¹ See 184*d*; 185*c*; 185*f*; and 186*a*. The B Version has *rn-k r mty-k* 'is your name exactly' (or: 'is your name to match?'): CT v, 201*e* and *h*.

The translation of *tt·ty-ib* is far more problematical. It belongs to the large group of expressions formed with *ib* 'heart' that denote attitudes and qualities of mind and character. The dictionaries treat *tt* as a mere graphic variant of *tw*t 'complete, perfect, united, alike', and this may well be its original meaning (*Wb.* v, 258, 11 ff.; cf. H. Gauthier and G. Lefèbvre, 'Note sur le mot $\overline{\text{tt}}$ ', *ASAE* 23 [1923], 159–60). However, the rendering 'klug o.ä.' proposed for *tw*t-*ib* in the *Wb.* does not fit the usage of this term. In his inscription from Denderah, Šn-*sty* claims to have judged litigants *r tw*t *ib·sn* (Petrie, *Denderah* [Excav. Mem. 17, London, 1900], pl. xi a). Both 'so that their heart(s) were united' and 'so that their heart(s) were alike' would suit the context, which requires something like 'reconciled' (cf. W. Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben* [Äg. Abh. 12, Wiesbaden, 1965], 149: '. . . so dass ihre Herzen eins wurden'; J. M. A. Janssen, *De traditioneele egyptische autobiografie voor het Nieuwe Rijk*, II [Leiden, 1946], 82 f. remarks on no. II S 8); H. G. Fischer, *Dendara in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Locust Valley, 1968), 181 f. renders 'so that their wishes corresponded.' The idea of reconciliation seems to be frequently present where the term occurs, for instance *Pyr.* 26c (*tt ib nbwy zmin*: see R. O. Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, I, 7 ad loc.), or *Lebensm.* I. 40 (*tw*t *ib·f hnc·i* 'so that its heart is (again?) in accord with me': see H. Goedicke, *The Report about the Dispute of a Man with His Ba* [Baltimore, 1970], 116). However, this might be accidental, *tt-ib* expressing any form of complete agreement between two persons with or without prior discord.

Other uses are more difficult to account for. In *CT* I, 76g-h, where *tt hr ib n Rr* parallels *hry hr ib n d·dt·f* ('satisfactory in the heart of his magistrate'), R. O. Faulkner's 'pleasing' certainly fits the context better than 'reconciled' (*Concise Dictionary*, 295 s.v.).¹ In the episode under discussion, *tt-ib* as an attitude of the *rhty snsnty* might conceivably have a sexual connotation. 'Consenting' or 'willing' come to mind, and the B₉C/B₁₀C recension which inserts *m* between *tt·ty-ib* and *mrwty*, seems to think of 'pleasing the heart (?) with love (det. $\overline{\text{m}}$!!).' Unfortunately, the available evidence is not sufficiently unequivocal to substantiate further speculation along these lines. For the use of *tt-ib* in *Pyr.* Sp. 308 see below on this page.

Remarks on 182b–183g

The identity of the two goddesses is problematic. In the later BD, the passage 183b-f has become a separate chapter entitled 'Spell of Repelling the *mrty*-Snakes' (chap. 37). Its opening lines (*ind hrw·tn rhty snsnty mrty*) show that their association with the *mrty* is almost certainly due to a misinterpretation of the rare word *mrwty* in 183b, and without value for the earlier version. In Sp. 755, the *rhty snsnty* are explained as East and West, i.e. Isis and Nephthys, but this is probably mere theological speculation.

Other occurrences certainly point in a different direction. In *Pyr.* Sp. 308, a pair of unidentified goddesses appears as fourth in a group comprising Horus, Seth, Iaru in the Field of Reeds (!), and the *tt·ty-ib*. Described as 'the two daughters of the four gods at the head of the Great Mansion who have come forth naked at the voice of NN' (*Pyr.* 488a-b), they play the role of mother to Seth (*Pyr.* 489d). Unfortunately, the identity of all these deities remains shrouded in mystery; for possible explanations see J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris* (MÄS 9, Berlin, 1966), 28 (the crown goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt ?); H. Kees, *Horus und Seth*, II (MVAeG 29, Leipzig, 1924),

¹ It is worth noting that all other instances of the above-quoted formula from Denderah replace *r tw*t *ib·sn* by *r htp·sn* (I judged litigants) 'to their satisfaction'; cf. J. M. A. Janssen, op. cit. I, no. II S 8; E. Edel, 'Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches', *MDAIK* 13 (1944), 42 f.

60; id., *Der Götterglaube im Alten Ägypten*² (Berlin, 1956), 169; S. Schott, *Pyramidenkult*, 190 and 250 n. 427; K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altäg. Pyr.* II (Glückstadt, n.d.) 321 f. etc. Although their nudity would suit the role played by the *rhty snsnty* in Sp. 404, the case for identity rests solely on the dubious epithet *tt·ty·ib*, and the resemblance may be entirely accidental.

Moreover, neither Nekhbet and Wadjet nor Isis and Nephthys fit their description in a group of spells entitled 'Repelling the *rhty*' or 'Repelling the *mrwty* who have come to take the *ba* of a man away from him' (Sp. 439–50 = *CT* v, 297–319; see E. Drioton, 'Le mythe des "amies" de Rê', published as part of his painstaking review of *CT*, vol. v in *BiOr* 12 (1955), 63–6). The names assigned to them there differ rather widely from spell to spell, and even from text to text. The first one is called *Tbtb* (294c; 315l; 317c), but besides this, *Tbt* (308c), *Sbt* (308c var.), and even *Nbit* (319a) occur. The second name appears as *Isttt* (294c; 319a), *Stt* (308c), *Sttty* (315l; 317i), *Sntt* (308c var.) and *Istrt* (319i, not to be confused with the Asiatic goddess Ishtar; cf. S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), 248; R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten* (Leiden, 1967), 13 n. 4). The names *Ims* and *Imsst* found in Sp. 220 (*CT* III, 202d) show no relation to those used in Sp. 439–50 and may represent a different tradition. In view of this diversity, it seems uncertain how much importance should be attributed to forms like *Isttt* and *Sntt* followed by a phallus determinative. E. Drioton has emphasized the sexual connotation of these words and their relationship to *stt* 'beget' and *snt* 'to found', but these etymologies probably resulted from later attempts to align the names with the role of their bearers. The latter are normally called 'these two love-makers' (*mrwty ipty* or *iptwty*: 293e; 297e; 298d; 301d; 309d; 311g; 313a and e, etc.), said to 'inspire love in the hearts of the spirits' (*rdyty mrwt·sny m ib n shw* 297g, sim. 307b; *wddty mrwt·sny r ibw shw*, 315h). Their advances put the deceased into grave danger, for they are wont to 'fetch souls' (*ini kꜣw* 297f), and to collect their power (*icb shw* 297f and 301e) and their magic (e.g. 319n). They do this in their capacity as 'girlfriends of Rê' (*smrty Rꜣ* 293e; 294e; 309d; 311g; 313a) who have the privilege of seeing him every day (309e; 314c), and once even made a pass at Kheperi to dispossess him of his throne (294a; 298a; 302c; for the interpretation of this mythical precedent see E. Drioton, loc. cit., 63 f.).

Unfortunately, nothing is said about the outward appearance of this seductive pair. The words *rhty* resp. *rhty snsnty* (307a) are sometimes written with an unintelligible determinative resembling an insect (292a) or a pig (293a, confusion with *rrt*), and the term *mrwty* is occasionally followed by two birds.¹ If two better-known goddesses are hidden behind this disguise, the texts give no indication of it,² and their identity plays no role here or in Sp. 404.³

¹ *CT* v, 69b and 297e; 319a, c and j. It is not clear whether the 'trap' (*ibt*) mentioned in 309a is an instrument to catch them, or something they use for trapping. The latter seems more probable, as *CT* vi, 2210 alludes to 'what the *rhty snsnty* have caught'.

² In two instances, *smrty Rꜣ* has been replaced by *sqdty Rꜣ* 'the two rowers of Rê' (314b and 315l). One cannot help being reminded of the scantily clad maidens who row King Snofru on his lake in a famous episode in Pap. Westcar, recently linked by Ph. Derchain to the cult of Hathor: 'Snéfrou et les rameuses', *RdE* 21 (1969), 19–25.

³ See Postscript.

Much more important is the connection that exists between Sp. 439–50 and the Second Episode of Sp. 404. Their similarity shows that this episode is not an *ad hoc* invention by some scribe with a fertile imagination, but part of a popular concept of life in the hereafter. The piquancy inherent in the situation must have captured the imagination of the Egyptians, and consequently led to repeated treatments of this topic. What distinguishes both groups, is the difference in emphasis: while Sp. 439–50 contain the words to be recited by the deceased, Sp. 404 supplies a description of the two demons but has shortened his speech. This in turn suggests the possibility that other episodes of Sp. 404 have similar counterparts, and that the ‘complete version’ of the deceased’s speeches can be found elsewhere in the Coffin Texts. In at least two more cases, this can be established beyond doubt: see Episodes Four and Six below, pp. 119 and 122.

Section One : Third Episode

Translation (184a–e)

He will reach another gate by which the air enters cut off. It shall be said to it: ‘Hail to you, runner: Son of a runner is your name.’

‘Proceed, you who have come spiritualized, my brother, to the place about which you are informed!’

Notes on 184a–e

184a–c The descriptive portion of this episode departs slightly from the usual pattern: No door-keeper is mentioned, and the prescription has been put in the passive voice (*dd·hr·tw n·f*). Whether the *n·f* in 184c refers to *sbꜣ* in 184a, or to *ꜥꜣw* in 184b is not entirely clear. As it is improbable that the deceased would address the gate itself, the latter seems more likely, and the name ‘runner’ fits *ꜥꜣw* much better than *sbꜣ*. Consequently, *ꜥꜣw* must mean ‘air’ rather than ‘winds’ (which would require *n·sn* in 184c).

The text gives no indication why the air is described as ‘cut off’. The term suggests some kind of obstacle, either a closed door that interrupts the flow of air, or the corners of a building that ‘break’ the wind. In either case, the deceased would be exposed to a cold draught, a phenomenon whose effects are quite unpleasant, especially in a hot climate. Besides, a deserted gate with creaking hinges is an eerie place; and the soft whistle of the wind blowing through cracks in the door or around the corners may easily create the impression of hurrying footsteps, causing the lonely traveller to call out to the imagined runner.

184d The bird(s) inserted between the first and second *phrrw* could be a determinative. As it is not repeated after the second, the proposed translation seems preferable. The B-Version has ‘district of the runner’ instead (201h)—doubtless a corruption of the original text. ‘Runner’ is not inappropriate as a name for blowing air, but the exact nature of this demon remains obscure. In Sp. 100 (the later BD 89), a request to convey the *ba* of a man is directed to the ‘messenger in the temple, the runner in the temple’ (*inn imy hwt-ntr phrr imy hwt-ntr*, CT II, 96g–h), but it is more than doubtful whether the two are in any way connected (E. Otto, ‘Die Anschauung vom Bꜣ nach Coffin Texts Sp. 99–104’, *Miscell. Gregor.* (Rome, 1941), 154 and 156; for later occurrences see the references in *Wb.* I, 541, 18). The eventual discovery of the ‘complete version’ of the spells to be recited at this station may shed further light on his identity.

Section One : Fourth Episode

Translation (184f-185e)

He will reach another gate, and find its door-keeper standing (equipped) with the equipment of a corn-measurer, his measure in his hand to measure out excrements to a man with it. The man shall say to him: 'Hail to you, Twt; Twt is your name.' Filler is the name of your measure.'

'Proceed, you who have come spiritualized, my brother, to the place about which you are informed!'

Notes on 184f-185e



184f-g Preserved in B₅C only.










184h B₅C: *m š̄t n ḥrw*; B₇C: *š̄t m š̄t n ḥrw*. The grammatical pattern of 184g-h resembles 102c; see above, p. 113. Originally, the term *š̄t* had a more specific meaning. A similar phrase (*š̄t-kwi m š̄t n Ḥr*) occurs in *Pyr.* 1089b, followed by 'clothed in the clothing (*hbs*) of Thoth (1089c)'. Further on, the king is twice described as '*š̄t* as Horus, adorned (*db̄s*) as Thoth' (or: 'the Two Enneads': *Pyr.* 1507a and 1373b). The determinative indicates that *š̄t* was a kind of girdle consisting of two crossed strips of cloth that are part of the royal vestments (G. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* [MIFAO 47, 1921], 39 with fig. 100). In *CT* 1, 71b, a *š̄t* (det. ♂ as in 184h) ranks second in an enumeration that comprises a staff (*mdw*), a loin-cloth (*d̄iw*), a pair of sandals and other 'equipment for the road' (*ḥrw n wst*; a similar list in *CT* 1, 10a-b). The possibility that a different article is meant there cannot be ruled out, and R. O. Faulkner's 'satchel or the like' may not be far off the mark (*Pyramid Texts*, 1, 204 note 12 on *Pyr.* 1285c; *Concise Dictionary*, 273 s.v.).

The *š̄t* of the corn-measurer in 184h has certainly little to do with the crossed strips of fabric worn by Horus in the *Pyr.* Instead, the context seems to imply a distinctive piece of garb characteristic of his profession. The agricultural scenes in Egyptian tombs, where corn-measuring plays a prominent role, usually show a *nḥt-ḥrw* or 'crier' who calls out the number of measures for the 'scribe of the granary' who enters them in his list.¹ They restrict the designation *ḥrw* to the farmhands handling the measures. These are normally represented as wearing a short apron or loin-cloth whose waist-band is sometimes pushed back, leaving the genitals uncovered (H. Bonnet, *Die ägyptische Tracht bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* [Unters. 7, Leipzig, 1917], 2 ff.; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, 1, p. 128, notes the more formal dress of the officials supervising the measuring). In some instances, a leather net is worn over the loin-cloth to protect the latter from wear and tear: see A. W. Shorter, 'The Tomb of Aahmose, Supervisor of the Mysteries in the House of the Morning', *JEA* 16 (1930), pl. 15 with p. 55; N. de G. Davies, 'The

¹ Examples LD II, 51. 56. 71. 103; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, III, 51 with pp. 104. 64-5, 128; T. G. H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi*, pl. 9; Fr. W. v. Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, II (Berlin, 1911), pls. 9 and 12; *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, II (OIP 39, Chicago, 1938), pl. 116; H. Junker, *Giza*, IV (Wien, 1940), pl. 12 and pp. 82 ff.; P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I (Arch. Survey 1, London, 1893), pl. 29; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said* (Arch. Survey 10, London, 1901), pl. 16 with pp. 19 f.; A. M. Blackman, 'A Painted Pottery Model of a Granary', *JEA* 6 (1920), pl. 19, etc. In the New Kingdom, the number of officials multiplies; see, e.g., T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* (Oxford, 1957), pl. 22; J. Capart and M. Werbrouck, *Thebes* (New York, 1923), fig. 197; N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth* (Theban Tomb Series 3, London, 1923), pl. 9; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, 1, 63, 195, 234, 261, 325, etc. Further examples in the second edition of Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 1 (1960), 466 no. 15 (a) and (f); many are still unpublished. For *nḥt-ḥrw* and the various translations proposed for this title see W. K. Simpson, 'Historical and Lexicographical Notes on the New Series of Hammamat Inscriptions', *JNES* 18 (1959), 30.








Tomb of Tetaky at Thebes', *JEA* 11 (1925), pl. 4 (where the net is worn by the scribe). For an actual specimen see Petrie, *The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1909), 150 with fig. 140. Its use has been discussed by G. Jéquier, 'Notes et remarques', *Rec. Trav.* 32 (1910), 173-4, and others; see A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*⁴ (London, 1962), 36-7. However, these garments are regularly worn by labourers of all kinds, and in no way distinguish the corn-measurer from others. Moreover, nothing in these scenes indicates that the measuring of corn is more than a temporary duty to which the farmhands have been assigned by their supervisors. On the other hand, the titles *hꜣw*, *hꜣp-hꜣw* and *imy-rꜣ hꜣw* suggest a permanent office of considerable responsibility, the holder of which was entrusted with the controlling of stores and handing out supplies.¹ It must therefore be assumed that (*šꜣw*) *m šꜣ n hꜣw* does not refer to the dress of the corn-measurer at all, but signifies the implements of his trade, particularly the corn-measure described in 185a.

185a For , var.  as a new word for 'measure' see the separate communication below, pp. 301 ff.; in B₅C, the scribe has omitted the suffix pronoun after *m(r)dt*. The rendering of *hꜣt hꜣw n z im-s* is discussed below, p. 119 n. 3.

185c Reading and meaning of this name are obscure. B₅C and B₇C write  = , i.e. either *ttw* or *twt*, while B₉C and B₁₀C have  =  instead; in the B-Version, the entire episode is missing. Again, the discrepancy may have arisen from an abbreviation followed by *xp sn* 'twice' (cf. above, p. 112). A similar word, spelled , , , and the like, occurs in *CT* v, 91b-e, where it seems to signify some kind of winged animal. K. Sethe read *tt-mr-wy* (*ZÄS* 54 [1918], 14), but the  (= ) may well be a determinative (see *CT* v, 185f and below, p. 121). Its identity with the corn-measurer of the Fourth Episode is very doubtful.

185d *Mht* means 'filler' or 'filled'; either would be a strikingly appropriate name for this sinister measure. Alternatively, the name may contain an allusion to the well-known myth of Thoth as filler of the *wꜣst*-eye, whose parts represent the fractions of the *hꜣst*-measure (Gardiner, *Gr.* § 266, 1).

Most remarkable is a deviation from the normal pattern which would require **mht rn n m(r)dt-k*. In its place, B₅C and B₇C have *mht rn n tꜣy-k m(r)dt*. B₉C and B₁₀C omit *m(r)dt* after *tꜣy-k*, B₉C with an erroneous repetition of *rn-k* after *mht*. As the omission is found in both texts, the mistake must be due to a gap in the original, which was still intact when the texts of B₅C/B₇C were copied from it.

The occurrence of the possessive adjective in 185d is unique, and has no parallel in funerary texts and indeed the entire religious literature prior to the Amarna Period. The demonstrative pronouns *pꜣ*, *tꜣ*, and *nꜣ* from which it is derived, make their first appearance in legends from the Sixth Dynasty that obviously represent the vernacular of that period (E. Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* §§ 194-5 and 201; for the Upper Egyptian origin and early history of the definite article see B. Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit* (diss. Tübingen, 1970), 1-30). The possessive adjective seems to have developed at the same time. In the Gizah mastaba of Kayemankh (Sixth Dynasty), a musician playing the harp addresses his vocalist,       , 'join, do me the favour, my dear!' H. Junker has duly noted the remarkable use of *pꜣ mry* instead of *mry-i* (*Giza*, iv, 39 notes on fig. 9; for a different interpretation of *snsn* see S. Schott in H. Hickmann, *Musik des Altertums*, Lfg. 1—*Ägypten* [Leipzig, n.d.], 22). But the vocative could also be read *pꜣ(i) mry*, furnishing the earliest example of the possessive adjective (E. Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* § 195). Like the definite article, it is fairly well attested from the Twelfth Dynasty onwards, tends to replace the simple suffix pronouns in Late Egyptian, and becomes—with a few closely defined exceptions—

¹ H. O. Lange, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope* (København, 1925), 91-7 = col. 18, 14-19, 9; for a discussion of these titles see H. Junker, *Giza*, vi (Wien, 1943), 201 f.; id., *Giza*, ix (1950), 98 f.

the only means of expressing ownership in Demotic and Coptic. Since early examples come mainly from business documents, popular literature, and dialogues in Eighteenth-Dynasty inscriptions whose language is otherwise purely classical, it must have been used in colloquial Egyptian much earlier (K. Sethe, 'Das Verhältnis zwischen Demotisch und Koptisch und seine Lehren für die Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache', *ZDMG* 79 (1925), 306–11). Once created, it was only hesitantly adopted by educated speakers,¹ and the religious literature never gave up its reluctance to accept the modern form of language: notwithstanding some rituals and theological treatises which are purely Late Egyptian and belong to the second half of the last millennium B.C., Egyptian writers heroically kept up the traditions of their classical period until the very end of hieroglyphic writing.

In view of this resistance, the occurrence of the possessive adjective in—of all places—the Coffin Texts, comes as a great surprise and merits careful attention. As the proper way of speaking has remained a matter of social prestige and mutual courtesy in Egypt even today, the use of a colloquial form typifying a man from the lower strata of society may well imply an element of ridicule or even abuse. It certainly represents an attempt to mimic uneducated speech, and adds local colour to the scene.

Remarks on 184f–185e

The background of the Fourth Episode is of equal interest. The door-keeper described here is certainly no ordinary corn-measurer, in charge of the handling and distribution of grain. Instead, he uses the implements of his profession for the handling of excrements. Fertilization by manure suggests itself, but although pigeon droppings were used in vineyards of the Ptolemaic Period, a similar application of human excrements is not attested; the fertilizer mentioned in Greek papyri and ostraca was probably so-called *sebâkh* from the garbage dumps on the fringe of Egyptian villages.² Moreover, it is difficult to see why his intention to measure bowel movements would endanger the deceased. His position would be far more uncomfortable if the corn-measurer employed his instrument for distributing excrements to unsuspecting travellers.³ This would put the deceased in a predicament, for it is next to impossible to decline invitations in the classical land of hospitality. Although it seems a rather sinister use of this pleasant attitude, this interpretation agrees with information from other sources. In the 'complete version' of the spells to be recited at this station, the deceased explains lengthily why he is not willing to 'eat excrement and drink urine', and how he hopes to avoid it.⁴ They are usually interpreted as protective measures against utter destitution and the

¹ For an interesting example of this attitude see G. Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur* (Äg. Fo. 21, Glückstadt, 1960), 205 n. 580 (stele of Montuwoaser); compare the position of colloquial Arabic in modern Egypt.

² M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Münch. Beitr. z. Papyrusforsch. 7, München, 1925), 84–94. It is not attested in Pharaonic Egypt; L. Keimer's suggestion that BD 6 (CT VI, 1–2 = Sp. 472) presupposes the use of *sebâkh* ('Das Sandfahren der Totenfiguren', *OLZ* 29 [1926], 98–104) has been convincingly refuted by M. S. G. Heerma van Voss, 'De Sjawabtis en het zandmysterie', *Phoenix* 9 (1963), 53–7.

³ *Hî hsw n z* should therefore be rendered 'measure out excrements to a man' rather than 'measure the excrements of a man'. For this use of *hî n* see *Urk.* 1, 254, 16; and J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XIème Dyn.* (Bibl. Aeg. 10, Bruxelles, 1948), 6 no. 9; transl. H. G. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome* (Anal. Orient. 40, Rome, 1964), 67 f. ('measure out for'); W. Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben*, 31 ('austeilen').

⁴ They fill the bulk of vol. III of A. de Buck's edition; the same topic is covered in Sp. 368, 581–3, 660–2, 667, 771–2, 1011–14, etc. The concept is already attested in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. Sp. 210 and 409), and survives in the Book of the Dead (51–3, 82, 102, 124, 189, etc.).

necessity to fall back on this very basic and unsavoury diet.¹ However, this is only one aspect. According to most texts, the problem facing the deceased was apparently not so much lack of food as such, but gaining access to food reserved for the privileged. This was obtained by refusing the proffered dishes, and insisting on better nourishment. For the purpose of this article, one or two examples must suffice to illustrate this point. In Sp. 173, the deceased declares:

*'My abomination! My abomination! I don't eat! My abomination is excrement, and I don't eat it. The 'relief' does not enter this my mouth, and I won't eat it with my mouth' (CT III, 47c-h). This protest against an intolerable imposition prompts the astonished question: 'But on what are you going to live', these gods say to me, 'in this land to which you have come?'—'I eat of the bread of white emmer, and I drink of the beer of red emmer.'*²

The immediate rejection of the initial offer must have been of vital importance; presumably, any contact with human refuse would have defiled the deceased and impaired his ritual purity. Therefore his refusal is frequently followed by: 'I don't contact it; I don't approach it with my hands, I don't step on it with my soles, and I don't touch it with my fingers' (CT III, 92f-i; sim. 80e-h, 96f-h, 98e-g, etc.). To do otherwise would have prevented his admission to the abodes of the blessed, and relegated him for ever to the ranks of the 'condemned'.³ Egyptian book-titles therefore often combine the phrase 'not to eat excrement' with 'not to die a second time on the part of any *ba* alive or dead'⁴ and 'not to walk upside-down' (CT II, 291g-m and often in vol. III and the spells listed above, p. 119 n. 4). In his comprehensive study of these concepts, Jan Zandee has noted the constant association of *tm šm šhd(hd)* with *tm wnm ḥsw* and the proper functioning of the bowels, and explained it from the Egyptian belief in a netherworld below the earth where the dead walk with their feet against the ceiling.⁵ In this awkward posture, the order of the human organs and their natural functions would be reversed, and all digestive products flow toward the head.

This striking explanation undoubtedly reveals the reasoning that once gave rise to these concepts, but there is little to indicate that it was any longer taken literally. The refusal to 'step on it with my soles' clearly presupposes that the deceased approaches his interrogators in his normal upright position. The latter are normally described as 'gods' (*ntrw*) or 'spirits' (*ḥw*). These general terms are sometimes replaced by *htp wr*, a euphemistic personification of human refuse (CT III, 109c, 201g). It soon became a proper individual, depicted as a hawking street-vendor whom the deceased chases

¹ Thus, e.g., H. Kees, *Totenglauben*, 199–200 and 203.

² CT III, 50b-d and often elsewhere in these spells. Details vary, but the tenor and general pattern of the dialogues remain the same; see, e.g., CT III, 86d-i: '... that I am one who has power over things, and that I definitely do not eat excrement'.—'But on what are you going to live, and what are you going to swallow?' these gods say.—'I eat of that sweetstick in the shrine of the god', etc.

³ For *mtw* as a designation of the condemned see E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen (ASAW 59, 3, Berlin, 1968)*, 34–6.

⁴ On this expression see L. V. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept*, 105; 141–3; and 155 (with further references and literature).

⁵ *Death as an Enemy* (Suppl. Numen. 5, Leiden, 1960), 8 f. and 73 ff.; sim. E. Hornung, *Höllenvorstellungen*, 13 and 15; for a discussion of *šhd(hd)* see also H. Kees, *OLZ 53* (1958), 131 and S. Schott, *MDAIK 14* (1956), 187.

away by calling: 'Keep away, excrement-carrier!' (*hry-hsw*: *CT* III, 111*c*, 130*c-d*), or 'Hey boy (*hwn*) who cries out (*hsi*) excrements: don't bring this your excrement to me!' (*CT* III, 99*b-c*; sim. 130*c-d* var. and 125*b*. Cf. the title 'Repelling the *hry wh*' ('pot-carrier'), in *CT* III, 79*a*: B₁L). In another spell 'not to eat excrement in the necropolis', the traditional protest is addressed to the *gbg*-bird, a sinister black crow frequently mentioned as one of the scribes in the Field of Reeds.¹ In this instance, the scribal crow is appropriately called 'butler (*wdpw*) of the dead', i.e. those condemned to live on the malodorous residue of their own digestion (*CT* VII, 225*e-f*). It is tempting to identify this butler with the door-keeper of the Fourth Episode, and this assumption would receive some support from his role as a scribe responsible for the ferry and admission to the Field of Reeds.² However, this may be pressing the evidence too hard. Egyptian thinking was more flexible, and their creative imagination has populated the world beyond with a wide variety of colourful characters, each endowed with a personality of his own, whose competencies often overlap. The butler, the door-keeper with his corn-measure, and the street-vendor crying out his dubious ware are three different representatives created to fulfil but one function: to trick the deceased into touching what is impure. In a world where the normal order of things is reversed, the familiar corn-measurer or street-vendor from whom he used to purchase his groceries, are in reality 'sanitary engineers' who empty the cesspools of the hereafter. Those who see through their disguise pass unharmed into the realm of the blessed; those deceived by their misleading external appearance lose their purity, 'die a second time', and become the condemned.

Section One: Fifth Episode

Translation (185*f-g*)

'Hail to you, *hy* of (?) green stone: *Hy* of (?) green stone is your name.'

'You who have come spiritualized, my brother: Proceed to the place about which you are informed!'

Notes on 185*f-g*

185*f* The episode is preserved in B₉C and B₁₀C only. As both texts omit the descriptive portions, the modern commentator finds himself reduced to almost complete helplessness. To interpret *hy* (det. Δ in B₉C) as an interjection (*yh*) is impossible, as it forms part of the name; its meaning as a noun or verb (participle) is obscure. The translation of *wid* as 'green stone' is based on the determinative \equiv , but this criterion is not entirely reliable; see above, p. 118, note on 185*c*. Although a stone of this name is often mentioned in Egyptian texts (J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* [Berlin, 1961], 102-4), I have not been able to trace this episode to other spells.

Section One: Sixth Episode

Translation (186*a-b*)

'Hail to you, throw-stick thrower(s), in your name of throw-stick thrower(s) {is your name}.'

¹ R. Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 35 f.; S. Schott, 'Schreiber und Schreibgerät im Jenseits', *JEA* 54 (1968), 47-9.

² *CT* v, 106*b-116e*; S. Schott, *op. cit.* 47.

'You who have come spiritualized, my brother: proceed to the place about which you are informed!'

Notes on 186a–b

186a Again, this episode is not preserved in B₅C and B₇C. This is all the more regrettable, as the text of B₉C/B₁₀C is hopelessly corrupt. In B₁₀C, the suffix pronoun of *ind hr-tn* demands a dual or plural, while *rn-k* (mistakenly repeated at the end of the address) is sing. The text of B₉C does suggest a (mis-spelled) dual *ḥm-ḥwy*, but here **m rn-k n ḥm-ḥwy* has been shortened to a senseless *rn-k*. In the B-Version, the 'throw-stick throwers' have been replaced by *iw m wwy* (var. *ḥwy*) 'those who have come from the Two Districts (var. Two Doors)': CT v, 201e. Apparently, the original had suffered some damage at this point, which forced the copyists to restore the text to the best of their abilities.

ḥm-ḥw is obviously a noun (or participle) derived from *ḥm-ḥ* 'to throw the throw-stick'. The latter is a familiar hunting weapon used for bagging waterfowl in the Nile swamps (P. Montet, *Les Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* [Strassburg, 1925], 18–20; W. Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres* [Leipzig, 1926], 7 n. 3). Whether these hunters were guarding a gate or roamed some kind of game preserve in the hereafter remains uncertain, as the description that accompanied this episode in the original has been omitted. Fortunately, the situation is somewhat clarified by the 'complete version' of the text to be recited at this station. In a spell entitled 'repelling the throw-stick(s)', the deceased declares:

'Back there, throw-stick, quick one, swift one, messenger of the gods sent out by the gods on the bank of the Winding Waterway to meet their children, the magicians who know their spells, to take away their magic and steal their power' (Sp. 418, CT v, 252a–54c).

One version (B₁BO^a) has replaced the sing. *ḥm-ḥt* by the dual (as in B₉C?), and the texts from Meir have the pl. instead, but this may be secondary. The role of this divine weapon certainly resembles that of the *rhty snsty* in the Second Episode,¹ and indirectly that of the corn-measurer in Episode Four. Moreover, the location of this 'messenger of the gods' on the banks of the Winding Waterway agrees with the geography of Sp. 404; for with this episode, the deceased has reached the last station before crossing the river bordering the Field of Reeds.

Part One: Seventh Episode




Translation (186c–e; 186h–187b)

He will arrive at these planks, and these planks will say to him: 'We will not let you step upon us.' He shall say to them: 'Hail to you, spine of Rēḥ, chest of Neheb-kau which Neïth lowers to the crocodiles.'

'Proceed, you who have come spiritualized, my brother, to the place about which you are informed!'

Notes on 186c–187b

186c–e This episode is found in all four texts, although the description is partly destroyed in B₇C, and different in B₁₀C.

The word translated 'planks' is twice spelled  in B₅C, and  in B₁₀C (186f); compare the  in Version B where this passage has been incorporated

¹ For *iti ḥkrw* and *nḥm ḥw* in 254b–c compare e.g. CT v 297 f. 299b–d; 301e–302a; 311e–g, etc., and above, p. 115.

into the introduction to the catalogue of ship's parts (202*l* and 203*b*; above, p. 105). Although *ꜣꜣꜣw* is well attested as 'ground' or 'floor' elsewhere, a different word must be meant here. This is confirmed by the plural forms used in 186*c-e*, and the description as objects 'lowered by Neith to the crocodiles (*sbkw*)' in 187*a*. The context suggests *ꜣꜣꜣw* 'floor-boards' (*Urk.* I, 181, 10; *CT* I, 254*a*; *Urk.* IV, 707, 13; see *Wb.* III, 412, 14 and Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 211 s.v.)—here presumably planks lowered from the boat to facilitate the transfer of passengers. 186*e-f* B₁₀C has *ꜣꜣꜣw* 'ground' instead of *ꜣꜣꜣw* 'planks', and follows a different pattern: 'Say my name', says the ground, 'before you step upon me!' In this respect, it already resembles the B-Version and, as often, stands between the texts from el-Bersheh and Meir.

Remarks on 186*c*–187*b*

In its literary form, the seventh episode is still part of the first section of this spell, although its contents already fall among the topics covered in the following list. It thus provides a somewhat artificial transition from the series of gates to the catalogue of ship's parts that later became chap. 99 of the Book of the Dead.

Conclusion

In his treatment of the early versions of BD 99 Hermann Kees has harshly judged *CT* Sp. 404 as a relatively late compilation combining disparate and unrelated elements.¹ As an attempt to bring some system into the colourful and diversified world of the hereafter and establish landmarks for the orientation of the deceased, the spell is indeed of secondary character. Accordingly, the ties that hold its component parts together are sometimes quite tenuous: the Seventh Episode stands between Part One and Part Two, and the latter is clearly marked as a separate (and originally independent?) composition by the subtitle '[Spell] of Calling the Ferryman of the Field of Reeds' in B₁₀C. The invocation at the end of the catalogue serves simultaneously as an address to the gods of the ferry and the inhabitants of the Field of Reeds. It forms a separate spell in B₃L (195*h*–199*a*), and the attached docket seems better suited for this invocation than for Sp. 404 as a whole. Nor do the texts from el-Bersheh represent the final version of this spell: in Meir, the reworded docket continues the text, and has been augmented by the incorporation of at least one originally independent spell (*CT* III, Sp. 243).

Despite these and other symptoms, the age and reliability of this composition should not be underestimated. Unfortunately, Coffin Texts are notoriously difficult to date. About the age of the Meir coffins, little more can be said than that they probably belong to the Twelfth Dynasty.² The situation may be slightly better in el-Bersheh, provided

¹ 'Der Fährmannspruch ist also nur eine Episode des Jenseitsweges geworden. Ihm hat man unlogisch Pförtnergespräche vorgeschuht, die sich sachlich mit der Schlussrede überschneiden. Der Text ist also durch fremde Elemente angereichert, auch dies ein Zeichen einer relativ jungen Formungsstufe.' ('Zur lokalen Überlieferung', 182.)

² M₁C belonged to a woman named *Rrt*, and M₁NY to a certain *Wh-htp*. Nothing beyond their names and titles is known about them, and the excavation reports are unsatisfactory: Ahmad Bey Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Déirout au nord et Déir-el-Ganadlah au sud', *ASAE* 14 (1914), 61–2; and *ASAE* 12 (1912), 108–10; Porter–Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, IV (Oxford, 1934), 256; Th. G. Allen, *Cross Indexes*, 26–7 and 28–9 resp. The same applies to M₂C, the coffin of *Hnmw-htp*: Kamal, op. cit. 55; Porter–Moss, op. cit. 256; Th. G. Allen, op. cit. 26–7. H. Kees, 'Zur lokalen Überlieferung', 184, seems to consider the B-Version older than Sp. 404, but its text does not confirm this; see, e.g., above, p. 103.

that the *hsty-r hrp nsty imy-r hmw ntr* Amenemhet, for whom the coffins B₉C and B₁₀C were made, is indeed identical with the Amenemhet who led an expedition to the Hatnub quarries in the thirty-first year of Sesostri I.¹ No absolute date can as yet be assigned to the scribe *Dhwty-htp* of B₅C/B₇C,² but internal evidence shows that the copies found on his coffins must have been made prior to those of Amenemhet. The text of B₉C/B₁₀C is often inferior to that of B₅C/B₇C, and in at least one instance the deterioration was definitely caused by damage to the common source.³ But even these criteria are insufficient to establish an exact date for the original. The papyrus from which B₅C/B₇C or their common source were copied, had already lost a page or two when our tradition begins, and Sp. 404 must therefore be older than the earliest extant copies. On the other hand, the good preservation of the remainder does not favour a much earlier origin of this spell, and it seems improbable that more than a few generations lie between its composition and the coffins of *Dhwty-htp*. This alone would date Sp. 404 to the early Eleventh Dynasty, or even to the last decades of the First Intermediate Period, even if Wolfgang Schenkel is right in his conclusion that the oldest copies of Coffin Texts are comparatively late and come from the early Twelfth Dynasty.⁴ The vividness and originality displayed in this composition certainly suit the time between the Old and the Middle Kingdom with its craving for new ideas and new forms of literary expression better than a later date, when the creative spirit was already waning. Contemporary tradition declared the Coffin Texts and related literature to be the work of Thoth, the city god of Hermopolis;⁵ and the temple library of this city is certainly a likely place of origin for Sp. 404 and 405.

During the crucial period Hermopolis played a predominant role in the religious life of Egypt. Coffins from its necropolis at el-Bersheh have yielded a considerable number of similar compendia, among them the closely related Sp. 395, the Book of Two Ways, the Book of the Hetep Field, and others. As an important centre of theological thinking, its traditions are doubtless representative of their age. It is therefore not surprising to find elements of Sp. 404 closely associated outside this text. The *rhty snsnty* are also mentioned in Sp. 395 (CT v, 69*h*), and in one of the spells against

¹ R. Anthes, *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub* (Unters. 9, Leipzig, 1928), 76 f. and 99 ff.; for his tomb see Ahmad Bey Kamal, 'Fouilles à Déir-el-Barshéh', *ASAE* 2 (1901), 17-33; Porter-Moss, op. cit., 184; Th. G. Allen, *Cross Indexes*, 14-15. L₁Li, the coffin of the *hry-hb hry-tp Ssnb n:f* from his mastaba just outside the enclosure of the pyramid of Sesostri I. at Lisht, probably belongs to the same period: E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht (MIFAO 6, 1902)*, 74-9; Porter-Moss, op. cit. 84.

² Ahmad Bey Kamal, 'Fouilles à Deir-el-Barche', *ASAE* 3 (1902), 277-80; Porter-Moss, op. cit. 185; Th. G. Allen, *Cross Indexes*, 14-15.

³ CT v, 185*d*, above, p. 118; compare the revisions in Section Two (above, pp. 104, 107). That the same scroll was used for all four copies could be doubted, as other discrepancies are less easy to explain. The selection of episodes is not the same, the order of ship's parts varies slightly in both groups, and the standard response of the door-keepers is *ii ih sn'i wd r-k* in B₉C/B₁₀C, but *wd r-k ii ih sn'i* in the other group. On the other hand, the older texts have *ii ih sn'i wd r-k* once too (183*g*), and the differences could be due to peculiarities of the copyists. Alternatively, the revised text of Sp. 404 may have been recopied on to a new scroll before the coffins of Amen-emhet were inscribed. In that case, the time gap between the two would be even longer.

⁴ *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* (Bonner Orientalistische Studien n.s. 13, Bonn, 1962), 123; in any case, the 12th Dyn. is hardly more than a *terminus ante quem*.

⁵ S. Schott, 'Die Opferliste als Schrift des Thoth', *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 103-10.

eating excrements (*CT* III, 202*d-e*). The latter are invariably connected with the Field of Reeds or the Hetep Field, and often refer to the ferry and its skipper (e.g. *CT* III, 71*a*; 76*a-77q*; 112*e-g*; cf. *CT* VII, 226*u-w*, etc.). Similarly, a group of spells for 'bridging (*dmd*) the river banks' (twice called the 'spells of the necropolis': *CT* III, 5*b* and 29*c*) is often inserted among the texts for avoiding excrements or using the ferry.¹

Far from being a random compilation of unrelated elements distorting the underlying concepts, Spells 404 and 405 thus emerge as a comparatively early composition representing a widely accepted view of the hereafter. Once destined to guide the deceased on his way into the world beyond the grave, they may eventually help the modern scholar to orientate himself among the bewildering intricacies of Egyptian funerary beliefs.

¹ Typical sequences are those of B₁C (Sp. 165-8, followed by Sp. 173-4) and B₂C (Sp. 171, followed by Sp. 181-94); compare also the sequences described by H. Kees, 'Zur lokalen Überlieferung', 183 (M₅C and M₂NY; '... ein Beweis nicht nur für eine gewisse Überlegtheit der Auswahl, sondern für das Vorhandensein von Kompendien als Vorlage, die eine gruppenweise Ordnung der zur Auswahl gestellten Texte befolgten').

Postscript

After the completion of this paper another example of *rhty snsnty* has come to my notice, which makes a connection between these two and the crown goddesses more likely: see A. Schlott, *Die Ausmasse Ägyptens nach altägyptischen Texten* (Diss. Tübingen, 1969), 44 f. However, this does not affect the main conclusions reached above.

TEETH AND BREAD IN ANCIENT EGYPT

By F. FILCE LEEK

SUGAR, especially refined sugar, has been blamed by many investigators for causing much of the dental disease which is so universal in modern times. Pathological changes in teeth and their surrounding tissues, however, are not confined to the present generation, as they are to be seen in all populations commencing with neolithic man.

This is especially true of the ancient Egyptians. Students of the human remains found in the Nile Valley have discovered, in the skulls they have examined, evidence of the presence of every pathological and non-pathological abnormality known today.¹ Yet sugar cane and other sources of refined sugar were unknown prior to the Arab conquest in A.D. 640. Honey was extensively used as a sweetener in that country, but its use would not have had the same deleterious effects upon the teeth.

Examination of ancient skulls taken from cemeteries dating from pre-dynastic until Ptolemaic times reveals the fact that the fundamental cause of dental disease at that time was widely different from the origin of dental disease in modern man. In the latter instance the disease is initiated by a breakdown of the enamel of the tooth, i.e. by dental decay. In ancient Egyptian skulls cavities in teeth are infrequently seen, but in all age-groups there is gross attrition, that is, wear on the biting surface of the tooth. This was frequently so extensive, even in early adult life, that the dental pulp became exposed. This tooth-forming tissue became infected in the course of time by pathogenic organisms and died. The infection then passed into the surrounding apical tissues, resulting in abscess formation.

Another type of dental abscess sometimes seen today is the result of inflammation causing the breakdown of the gingival tissues around the margin of the tooth.² In ancient times, this type of abscess formation was extremely common, but again for a different reason. Unequal wear of the biting surface of the teeth, due to the attrition, caused abnormal pressures on the supporting tissues during mastication. This led eventually to degeneration of the tissue and abscess formation. Thus in ancient times there were two types of dental abscess, apical and periodontal, the former due to the death of the pulp and arising at the apex of the root; and the latter due to the breakdown of the supporting structures and arising at the side of the root. In both instances the abscess was initially due to wear of the biting surface of the tooth.

Attrition is seen today even in our western civilization, where food is so soft that only rarely does it require mastication to divide the particles before they are swallowed. Its

¹ Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains* (Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report of 1907-1908, Cairo, 1910).

² H. H. Stones, *Oral and Dental Diseases* (Edinburgh, 1948), 254-62.

causes come under a variety of headings amongst which are, (1) hypoplasia; (2) habit; (3) lateral movement of the mandible; (4) skeletal pattern.

Hypoplasia is an imperfect development of the enamel. Even in early life this results in the loss of the highly calcified covering of the tooth. An example of habit is Bruxism, i.e. the unconscious gnashing or grinding of the teeth, often limited to sleeping periods but sometimes occurring during mental or physical strain. Tobacco and betel-leaf-chewing are both predisposing causes. The Eskimos, whose teeth are used for a variety of reasons not usual in our culture, are very prone to this condition. Another reason which can be included under this heading is the loss of masticatory surface caused by the premature removal of teeth, whereby additional strain is put on the remainder.

With regard to lateral movement it is quite clear from studies of comparative dental anatomy that in dentitions that exhibit no such movement of the mandible, attrition is non-existent. The tendency to lateral movement in man depends upon, first, the interlocking of the canines. The canine teeth are the longest in the dentition, both in the height of the crown and the length of the root, and consequently the strongest. The freedom of lateral movement of the mandible is lessened in proportion to the amount of interlocking of opposing canines. Secondly, the shape of the temporo-mandibular joint is a factor. This in early life prevents excessive lateral movement of the mandible, but muscular forces can exert pressures which will cause a remodelling of the surface, so allowing greater freedom.

Three relative positions of the skeletal pattern and their gradations are possible: (*a*) where the maxilla is anterior to the mandible; (*b*) where the maxilla is vertically above the mandible; (*c*) where the maxilla is posterior to the mandible. The position in the first section is that which prevails for the greater part in our western civilization, and little or no attrition arises. In the section where the maxilla is vertically above the mandible, and consequently the incisor teeth bite edge to edge even with modern soft diet, attrition can be surprisingly excessive. In the last section, which is the reverse of the first, and where the same lack of attrition might be expected, the teeth frequently do not articulate to advantage; much lateral movement is therefore needed for mastication, and attrition can follow. In African races, another incisor relationship is seen, a bi-maxillary protrusion, characterized by a forward inclination of the crowns of both upper and lower teeth. In such cases again occlusal wear can be marked.

Although there is a proportion of ancient Egyptian dentitions that exhibit all the needed characteristics to promote attrition, so many do not, that the explanation must be sought elsewhere. It has been suggested that the food eaten in those days could have been of a more fibrous nature, and this would have been a predisposing cause of the attrition. Since, however, the same degree of attrition seen on the teeth of the ancient Egyptians is not to be found on the teeth of other early populations eating a hard and fibrous diet, this hypothesis cannot be accepted. Again, occlusal wear is seen not only on permanent dentitions but also on deciduous ones, therefore the causative factor is one that is independent of the type of occlusion and one common to all ages.

In order to try to find an explanation for this phenomenon it was decided to examine any evidence that could offer any hope of revealing the causative factor. As bread is the

basis of meals in most communities, its choice as the first subject of the investigation became apparent. This choice was helped by a paragraph in Ruffer's book, *Food in Egypt*, which reads,

The most important food of the Egyptians was bread made of various cereals, wheat, barley, and possibly, as well from lotus seeds and dum-palm dates. The fondness of Egyptians for bread was so well known that they were nicknamed 'artophagoi', or 'eaters of bread'; it was the food *par excellence*, and the word was and has remained synonymous with food in this country. The most terrible curse was 'They shall hunger without bread and their bodies die.'

Later in the chapter, he wrote, 'Bread and oil formed the main food for the people. The troops and the King's messengers were given 20 deben (about 4 lbs.) of bread daily as rations, which was carried by numerous parties accompanying the march.'¹

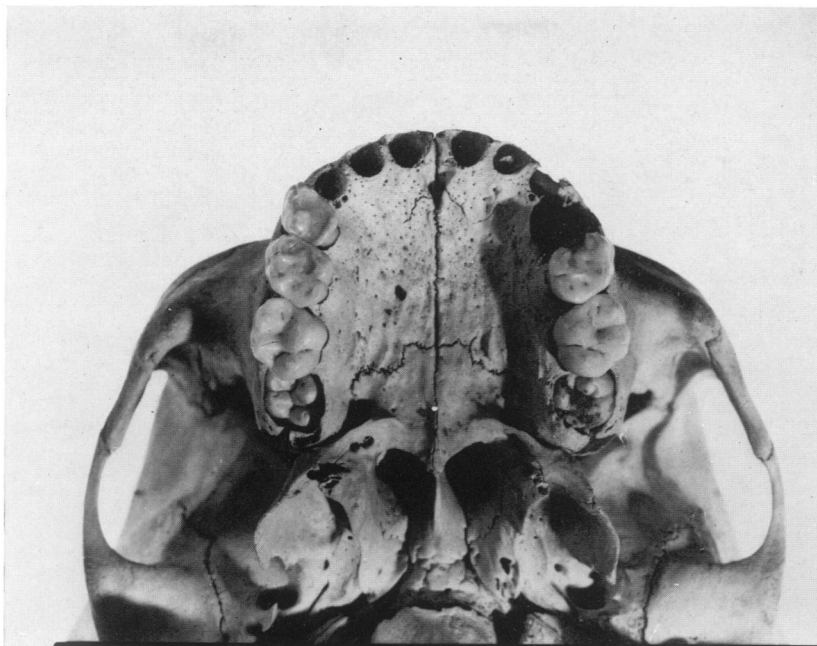
We were aided in this investigation, as indeed in many other inquiries that arise in Egyptology, by the scenes painted on the walls of a number of the tombs of the nobles at Thebes. Noteworthy examples are to be found in the tombs of Nakht, Menna, Sennedjem, and Rekhmirē, nobles who lived during the New Kingdom period *c.* 1567-1085 B.C. Methods of sowing the grain, and of reaping the corn with a sickle mounted with flint teeth are to be seen, as well as the subsequent beating, threshing, and winnowing of the harvested grain.

Examples of the ensuing processes in bread-making, that of grinding the corn, mixing the dough, and baking the bread, are even more realistically presented, by examples of three-dimensional sculpture and wooden models, showing precisely the methods used. These statuettes are to be seen in Cairo and other world museums. In the Louvre, Paris, and the Rijksmuseum, Leiden, are examples of Middle Kingdom (*c.* 2134-1786 B.C.) moveable wooden toys, illustrating actions involved in the preparation of dough. Only the string is not original, and this, when pulled, moves the hinged joints of the models. Garstang, who excavated at Beni Hasan in Middle Egypt for three seasons from 1902, found a number of wooden models depicting methods of making bread and beer during the Twelfth Dynasty (*c.* 1991-1786 B.C.).² In the times of the earliest dynasties, ivory and clay were the materials used for the figurines, but by the time of the Fourth Dynasty these had been superseded by limestone, and many such figures are extant. During the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom many realistic wooden models of corporate scenes were made. The earlier limestone statuettes usually depicted a servant, man or woman, kneeling behind a stone slab with a bowl containing the grain resting between the legs. The servant is leaning forward grasping a hand-stone, and at the lower end of the saddle-stone is a groove into which the cereal falls as it is ground. The pose is both purposeful and efficient.

The most primitive method of crushing corn was the use of a hand-stone on a convenient stone or rock. This was followed by the use of a pestle in a suitable hollow, and undoubtedly the use of a mortar was a natural sequence of the idea. By the time of the Old Kingdom, saddle-stones were in vogue, and there are many wooden and limestone statuettes extant depicting servants using these. It is interesting to note that in parts

¹ Sir A. Ruffer, *Food in Egypt* (L'Institut d'Égypte, Cairo, 1919), 45-51.

² J. Garstang, *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1907), 126-9.



1. The maxilla of a child, approx. 10 years old. Because of conical roots, the anterior deciduous teeth have no retention in their bony sockets, and have been lost post-mortem. The attrition of the remaining deciduous molar teeth, even at this youthful age, is pronounced. Giza, Ptolemaic

Courtesy of the Duckworth Laboratory, Cambridge



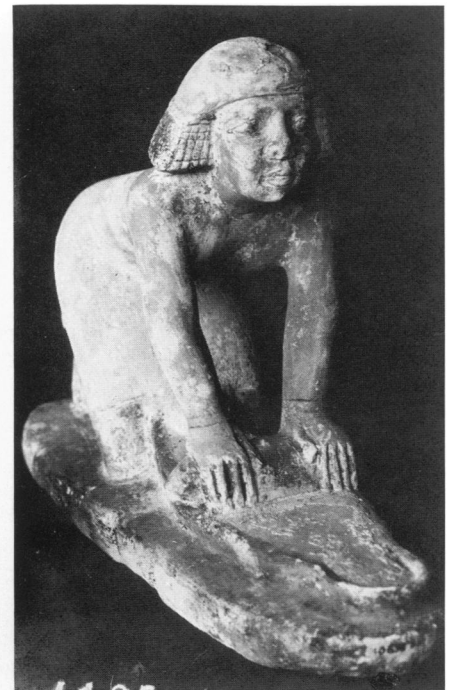
2. Mandible, showing gross attrition on all cusps. The thin alveolar bone in the anterior region suggests that the teeth in this area had been lost as the result of an accident, removing at the same time the outer alveolar plate. For other examples of attrition see *JEA* 52, pls. 11 and 12; 53, pl. 7. Giza, Ptolemaic

Courtesy of the Duckworth Laboratory, Cambridge



1. A primitive granite quern, still being used in a monastery in Wadi Natrûn

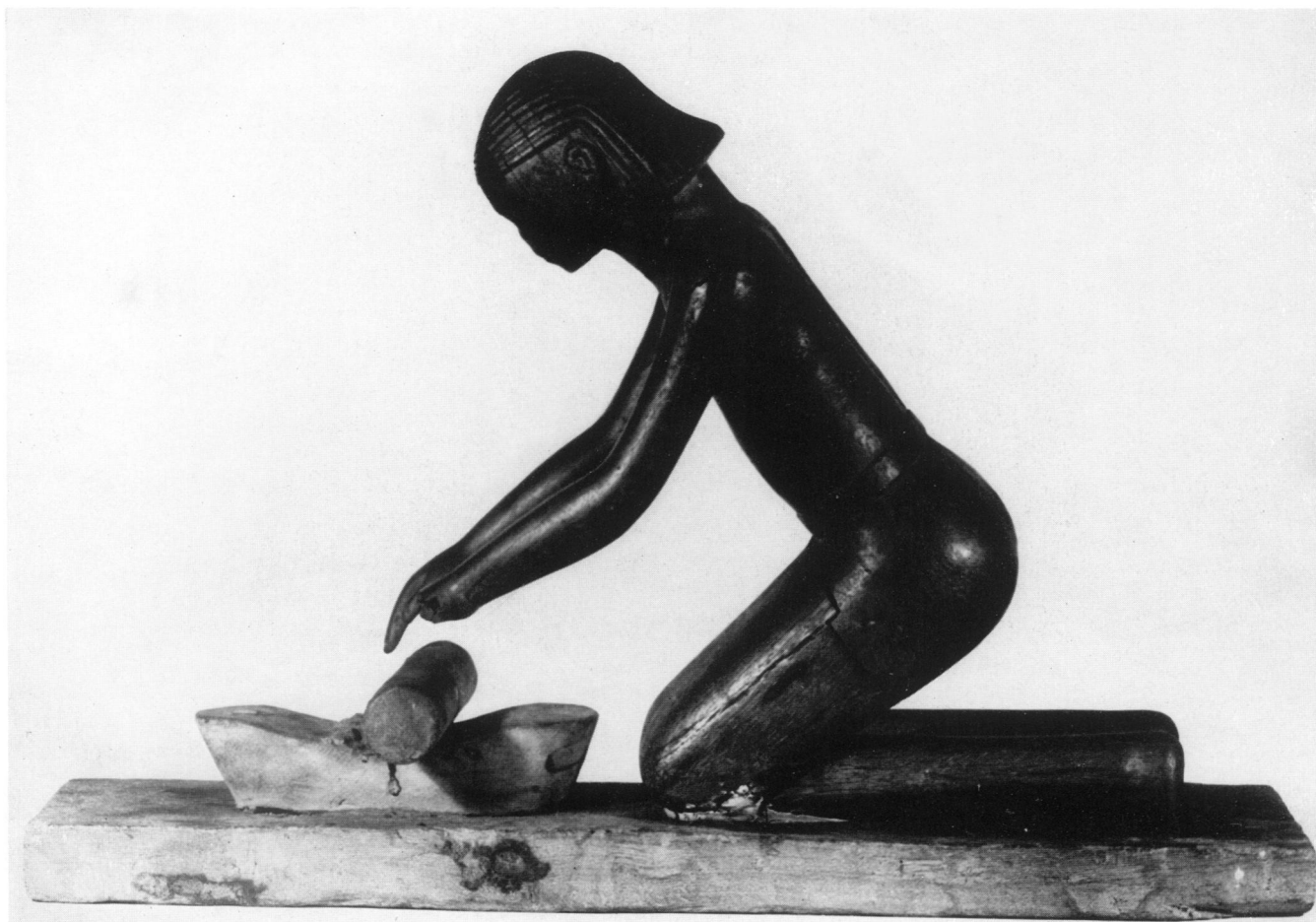
Courtesy of Violet D. Macdermot



2. Old Kingdom limestone statuette of a woman servant making dough. Part of the Nanupkan group

Courtesy of the Oriental Institute, Chicago

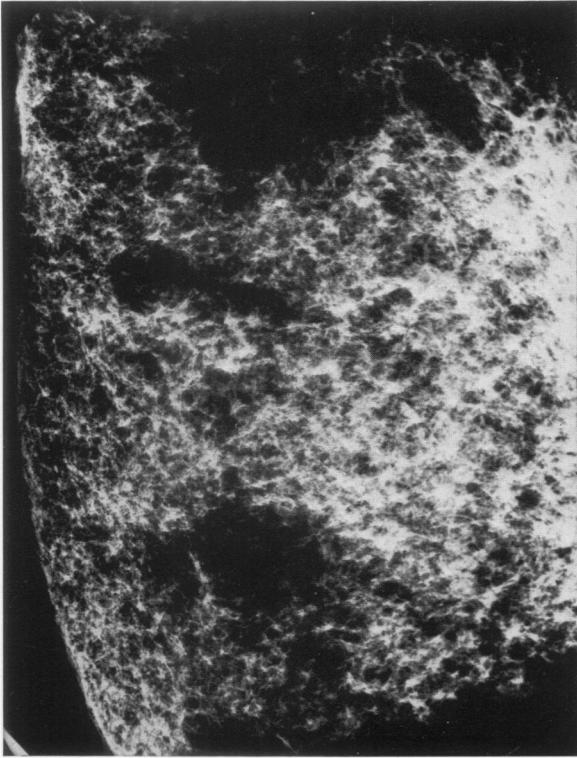
TEETH AND BREAD



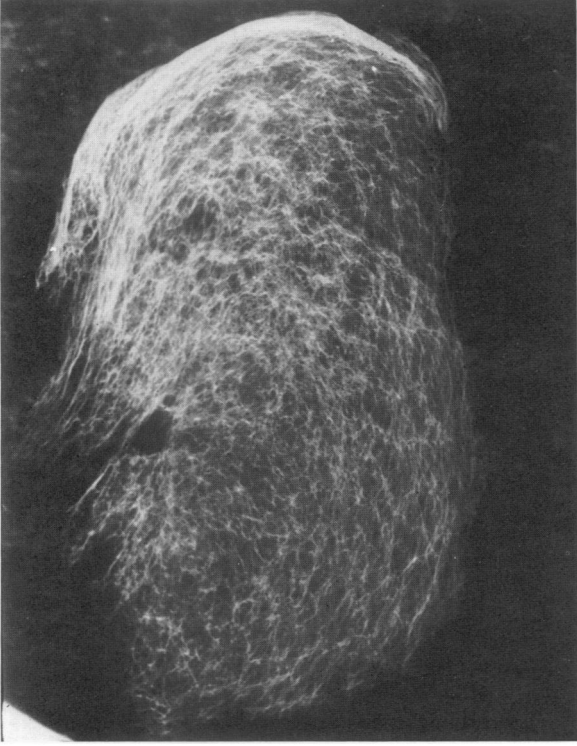
1. Fifth Dynasty wooden model of a servant woman crushing corn
Courtesy of Manchester Museum



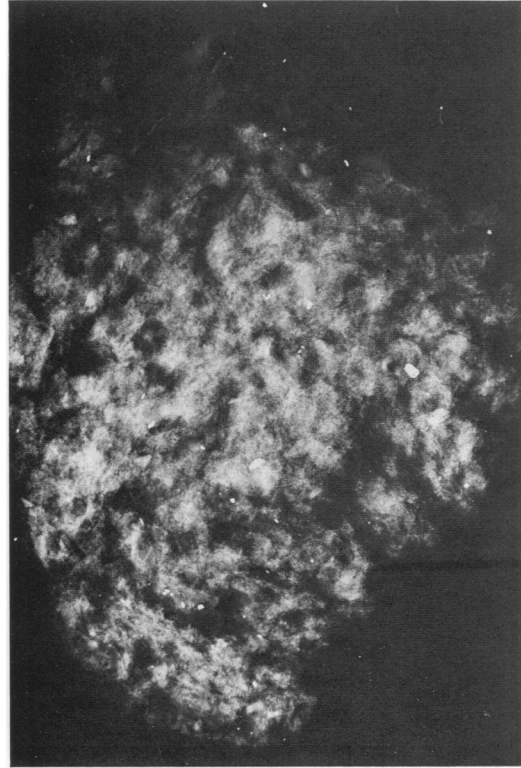
2. Old Kingdom limestone statuette of a man servant making loaves
Courtesy of Rijks Museum, Leiden



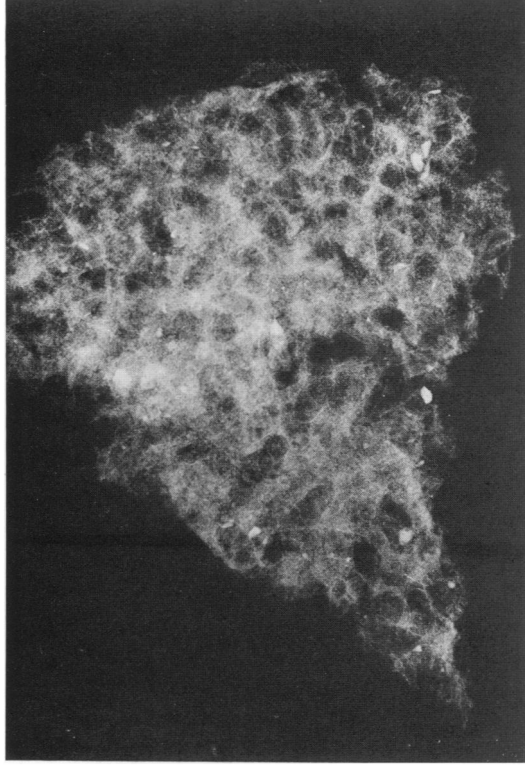
1. English home-baked whole wheat, stone-ground flour



2. English modern white, mass-produced



3. Sample from Thebes, New Kingdom, Leiden Museum

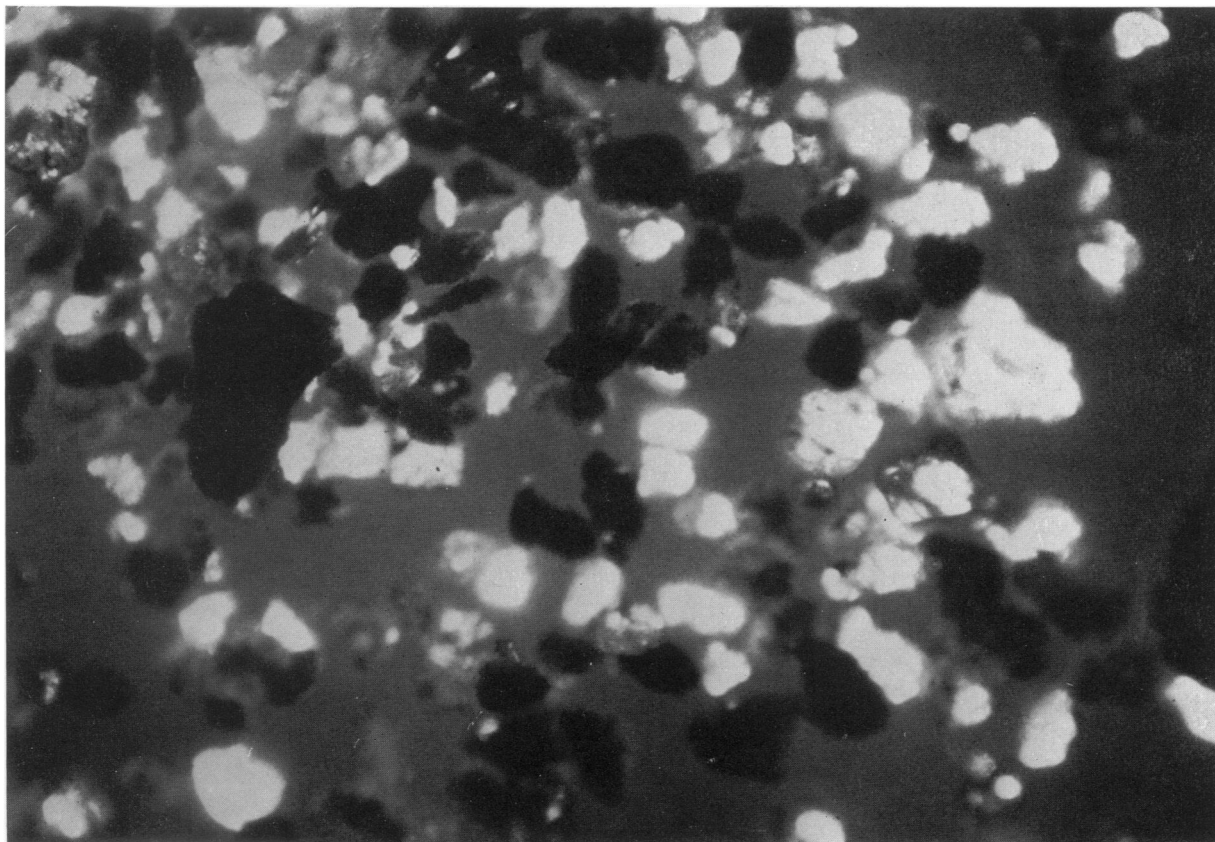


4. Sample from Sedment, 1st Intermediate Period, Manchester Museum

Courtesy of King's College Hospital Dental School

X-ray photographs of bread samples taken with modified Coslett-Nixon fine-focus tube

TEETH AND BREAD



1. Collection X 105 of inorganic residue with rounded and sharp-angled fragments recovered from Theban sample, New Kingdom, Leiden Museum

Courtesy of the Lord Rank Research Centre



2. Coloured limestone statuette of the Fourth Dynasty, recovered by Steindorff in Giza, 1905. Baker with loaves in front of fire. The pose suggests thoughtfulness, possibly prompted by fears that his product may be contaminated

Courtesy of Cairo Museum

TEETH AND BREAD

of Africa such methods of grinding corn are still being practised. It is difficult to date the introduction of grinding by rotary or circular motion, for which credit is given to the Romans, but there are undoubtedly many querns existing in Egypt which can be reliably dated to Ptolemaic times. It is impossible to date the reuse of the Shabeka Stone (to be seen in the British Museum) as a nether millstone, but it could have coincided with or even preceded this era. Bedouin women in Sinai and monks in monasteries in Wadi Natrûn still use the hand quern, and larger querns rotated by donkeys or other animals can be seen in some country districts of Egypt. As might be expected, a wide variety of stone was employed for these purposes, and examples of granite, sienite, mica schist, quartzite, limestone, sandstone, and basalt have been reported. In Europe today French burr stone is a frequent choice for milling, as it is most resistant to wear, but such stone was unknown in ancient Egypt.

Since bread was so popular as food for the living Egyptian, it is not surprising that it was a common practice to place some in the grave of the departed to support life during the hereafter. It has been found in the graves of the common people, in the tombs of the nobles, and even in the tomb of the Pharaoh himself. Several pieces of bread were found by Howard Carter during his excavation of the tomb of Tutankhamûn, placed there for the sustenance of the resurrected King.¹ It is not surprising that he also found a model of a hand-mill for grinding corn.

Because of the lack of humidity in desert necropolises a number of loaves and pieces of ancient bread have survived. These are distributed amongst world museums, but are of such rarity and interest that samples are not freely available for scientific investigation, more especially if destruction is involved in the process. It was fortunate that application to some museums had a positive response, and although these were not numerous, the samples covered a wide range of both date and site of origin. When some twelve samples had been received, it was considered that enough material had been collected to warrant an investigation.

Museum contributing sample	Origin of Bread	Age	Condition of sample
Ashmolean (England)	Badari	c. +3000 B.C.	Crumbled
Ashmolean (England)	Thebes	c. 1420 B.C.	Intact
Leiden (Holland)	Thebes	1567-1085 B.C.	Intact
Leiden (Holland)	Thebes	1567-1085 B.C.	Intact
Louvre (Paris)	Thebes	1567-1085 B.C.	Intact
Louvre (Paris)	Thebes	1567-1085 B.C.	Intact
Metropolitan (U.S.A.)	Thebes	c. 2050 B.C.	Crumbled
Manchester (England)	Deir el-Bahari	2134-1991 B.C.	Intact
Manchester (England)	Gurob	1567-1085 B.C.	Intact
Manchester (England)	Sedment	2232-2052 B.C.	Intact
Royal Scottish (Scotland)	Qurnah	1550 B.C.	Intact
Turin (Italy)	Thebes	c. 1370 B.C.	Intact
Turin (Italy)	Thebes	c. 1370 B.C.	Intact

It was decided to include in the investigation some samples of modern bread obtained from various sources to act as comparisons:

¹ H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*. Vol. 3 (London, 1933), 212.

(1) English whole wheat stone ground; (2) as eaten by the *fellahîn* at the Egypt Exploration Society's excavation at Saqqâra; (3) coarse 'village bread' as eaten by the dogs at Prof. and Mrs. Emery's house at Saqqâra; (4) sample obtained from a Coptic monastery in Wadi Natrûn; (5) English modern white bread, plastic-packed. A microscopical examination of the ancient samples of bread was carried out, and almost every piece revealed on the outer surface a preponderance of whole grains of corn. The examination of a line of fracture in some samples revealed the presence in some, and the absence in others, of a cellular structure, whilst here and there were particles of mineral matter which reflected light. When fragments of the samples were softened and the result examined, it was seen that what appeared to be whole grains of corn were in fact only husks. This would seem to imply that the ancient methods of grinding corn by hand were more efficient than at first appeared. Such, however, is not the case, as during the passage of time, oxidization and other atmospheric effects, whilst not causing any visible change to the fibrous husks, cause a change of consistency of the enclosed endosperm. As a result of this change, when a sample of ancient bread is placed in water, the husks float out, and the changed endosperm is left in the sodden mass.¹

As nothing further could be gained by microscopical examination it was decided to make a radiological examination of the internal structure and the gross composition. This was carried out at King's College Hospital Dental School, London. Because normal X-ray techniques give rise to loss of definition, due to penumbra effects, an XX90 modified Cossler-Nixon fine focus X-ray tube was used. $\times 4$ magnification, using Cronex 510 film, clearly showed the presence of inorganic particles in many of the specimens.

Stereoscopy showed that these particles were present within the substance of the bread and were not surface contaminants.

Result of Microradiographs

Sample	Inorganic fragments
Ashmolean	++++
Ashmolean	+
Leiden	++
Leiden	++
Louvre	++
Louvre	++
Metropolitan	++++
Manchester	+++
Manchester	++
Manchester	++
Royal Scottish	+++
Turin	++
Turin	++
English stone ground	Nil
<i>Fellahîn's bread</i>	++
Dog bread	+
Monastic	+
English modern white	Nil

¹ A. J. Amos (private communication).

It had now become imperative to isolate the inorganic material that had been revealed in the samples, and, where possible, to identify the minerals in the hope of tracing their source of origin, and the reason for their presence in the bread.

The samples were taken to the Lord Rank Research Centre, where the inorganic particles were isolated by the following technique. 1 grm. of the sample was heated with 20 mls. of conc. H_2SO_4 at 200–250 °C until it was completely charred. Sufficient 50 per cent hydrogen peroxide was carefully added until the mixture cleared. The result was allowed to cool, then diluted and neutralized with N_2OH . This was filtered and the retained residue washed with H_2O dist. and rinsed with acetone twice and then allowed to air dry.

Photographs $\times 105$ were taken, by both reflected and polarized light, of the regained inorganic material, and of samples of drift sand obtained from various sites in Upper Egypt. The angularity of some of the inorganic particles regained from the bread contrasted sharply with the smooth-surfaced granules of drift sand.

The next problem was the identification of the minerals in the inorganic fragments. This was undertaken by the Department of Mineralogy, British Museum (Natural History). An abridged version of the report reads:

Inorganic residue from ancient Egyptian bread samples were examined petrographically. Rounded desert grains mostly quartz predominated, but grains of feldspar, fragments of amphibole and mica were present, as also were ferromagnesian minerals probably hornblende, and other rock fragments very finely grained making identification difficult. X-ray examination confirmed the presence of both feldspar and quartz. The residue from the Turin and Metropolitan Museums contained small angular fragments of a greywacke type. The angularity of the fragments suggested a different origin from the rounded desert sand grains.

It is interesting to note that Pliny and other ancient writers refer to the custom of the Carthaginians of first pounding the grain with a pestle and adding pounded bricks, chalk, and sand prior to grinding the grain.¹ The necessity for such procedures has recently been confirmed by experiments conducted by A. J. N. W. Prag of Manchester University Museum. Using ancient saddle-stones and querns, he found that after grinding corn for fifteen minutes, the grains remained almost unchanged. When, however, the grains were first crushed with a pestle, and then 1 per cent of sand added to the sample, fine flour rapidly resulted.²

Scenes depicting the action of sifting flour are to be found on the walls of some of the ancient Egyptian tombs, but it is inconceivable that the bolters or sieves of those times were fine enough to prevent the passage of this inorganic material.

It is clear from the foregoing observations that the mineral fragments found in these samples of ancient Egyptian bread were derived from different and varied sources. The principal source, quite understandably, is from contamination with wind-blown desert sand, in which quartz grains predominated. Other sources of contamination could be:

1. The soil in which the grain was grown. In present day milling techniques, all grain, before being crushed, is washed, brushed, and scoured. This is done, not

¹ H. R. Bennet and J. Elton, *History of Corn Milling* (London, 1898), 84–5.

² A. J. N. W. Prag (private communication).

- only to remove surface contamination by organisms and wild yeasts but to remove the soil minerals that can be retained within the cleft or crease of the grain.¹
2. Harvesting. Paintings in Eighteenth-Dynasty tombs show the cutting of corn stalks with flint-toothed sickles, and these would wear and could fracture.
 3. Wind-blown contamination during winnowing.
 4. The period when the grain was in mud-brick silos or wooden granaries.
 5. The process of grinding the grain. The wear to be seen on saddle-stones and querns is most marked, and all the substance lost by these stones must have become incorporated into the flour, as well as any inorganic material added to the grain to initiate and hasten the grinding process.
 6. The process of baking. This would be surface or near-surface contamination.

Dr. A. C. Bishop ended his petrographical report by saying: 'It is conceivable that either the angular grains came from the grinding querns, or that they were present in the soil mixed with the cereal grains and crushed with them during grinding.'

Numerous statements are to be found in ancient papyri which substantiate the belief that impurities were commonly found in grain. A typical one is ' . . . I will repay in the month Pauni of the present third year, in wheat that is new, pure, unadulterated, free from earth and barley and sifted.'²

It became quite evident that the abrasive particles found in these samples of bread would more than account for all the attrition to be seen on the teeth in ancient Egyptian skulls, so much so that further investigation was clearly unwarranted.

There is no difficulty in believing the story written in the Talmud, and quoted by Polano, that one of Joseph's fellow prisoners was the Pharaoh's chief baker, and that the cause of his incarceration and the subsequent loss of his head, was the royal displeasure with gritty bread.³

Acknowledgements

Without the active support of the curators of the museums mentioned in the text, these experiments would not have been possible, and to the following I am most grateful for their co-operation: Cyril Aldred, Prof. Dr. Silvio Curto, R. W. Hamilton, A. J. N. W. Prag, Nora Scott, Dr. Hans D. Schneider, Dr. Jacques Vandier, and Diane Harlé.

I wish to record my gratitude to Prof. R. Cocker, King's College Hospital Dental School; Prof. A. Spicer, The Lord Rank Research Centre; Dr. A. A. Moss, British Museum (Natural History); for allowing the various experiments to be carried out in their laboratories, on my behalf, by N. J. D. Smith and Sylvia Hunt; M. R. Williams; and Dr. A. C. Bishop, respectively. For photographs I am grateful for those made in the aforementioned laboratories, and to Peter A. Clayton, London; Prof. George R. Hughes, Chicago; Dr. Hans D. Schneider, Leiden; and Dr. Violet D. Macdermot, London.

I am extremely pleased to acknowledge help given in various ways by Dr. A. J. Amos, Richard A. Fazzini, Prof. John R. Harris, H. W. Johnson, John F. Keane, and Prof. E. Turner. Throughout the research needed for this project, my wife has given much support, and I must thank Dr. David Dixon, whose remarks led me to embark on this investigation.

¹ A. J. Amos (private communication).

² B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. No. 1640. Vol. xiv. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1920.

³ H. Polano, *The Talmud. Selections from*, 82.

ZUR FUNKTION DES $\underline{SDM}\cdot HR\cdot F$

Von FRIEDRICH JUNGE

I. ZUR Verwendungsbreite der Form $\underline{sdm}\cdot hr\cdot f$ stellen W. Westendorf wie W. F. Reineke¹ übereinstimmend fest, daß sich von den durch Gardiner² aufgestellten Gebrauchsweisen als Erzählform, als Aufforderung und als Angabe des Resultats nur die beiden letzteren in den von ihnen untersuchten Texten finden. Ein Blick durch Gardiners Belege zeigt darüberhinaus, daß die für 'Erzählform' in Anspruch genommenen Beispiele zahlenmäßig auffallend gering sind (insgesamt 8!) und auf $-wnn\cdot hr\cdot f$ - und $-dd\cdot hr\cdot f$ - beschränkt sind. Erman³ fügt nur das Beispiel Urk. IV 245, 17 hinzu.⁴ Aus der sogenannten Literatur zeigen sich überhaupt keine.⁵

Dies Bild ändert sich auch nicht wesentlich bei Hinzunahme der Beispiele für die Form $hr(f)\underline{sdm}\cdot f$,⁶ deren, WMG § 276 formulierten, Zusammenhang mit $\underline{sdm}\cdot hr\cdot f$ zu bezweifeln kein Anlaß besteht; er erhält vielmehr eine weitere Bestätigung: mit Ausnahme dreier Stellen (und einer unklaren) aus der Literatur⁷ werden nur Belege aus der Amtseinsetzung und Dienstordnung des Wesirs aufgeführt, die ja beide als administrative Dokumente mit den mathematischen und medizinischen Texten in eine Textkategorie gestellt werden können, nämlich der gnomischer und allgemeingültiger Aussagen und zeitstellenwertloser Mechanismen.

Es scheint mir bei der Lage des Belegmaterials eine naheliegende Vermutung, daß die spezifische Funktion der Formen $\underline{sdm}\cdot hr\cdot f/hr(f)\underline{sdm}\cdot f$ gerade in diesen Texten zur Wirkung kommt und daher zweifelhaft, ob ein Vergleich etwa mit $\underline{sdm}\cdot jn\cdot f$, dieser so wichtigen Form der literarischen und erzählenden Texte,⁸ vertretbar ist.

II. Innerhalb der angeführten Textkategorie lassen sich etwa folgende Verwendungstypen aufstellen:⁹

¹ W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der Medizinischen Texte* (Berlin, 1962), § 270; (im Folgenden WMG abgekürzt); W. F. Reineke, *Die mathematischen Texte der alten Ägypter* (Berlin, 1964), 141.

² A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³ (London, 1957; abgekürzt GG), § 431 und § 471; die gleichen Belege bei G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'Égyptien classique* (Le Caire, 1955), § 289.

³ *Ägyptische Grammatik*³ (Berlin, 1928), §§ 318–19.

⁴ Ähnlich Urk. IV 246, 14.

⁵ Mit der Ausnahme der unten aufgeführten Stelle Bauer B 1, 188.

⁶ GG § 239.

⁷ GG, p. 181 n. 2 und 4.

⁸ Zahlenmäßig in den medizinischen Texten dem $\underline{sdm}\cdot hr\cdot f$ deutlich unterlegen (cf. insbesondere WMG § 283), fehlt es in den mathematischen Texten völlig (Reineke, loc. cit. 141: '... obwohl die formale Bedeutung dieser Form die gleiche ist.').

⁹ Reineke, op. cit. 97 ff.

1. Bei mathematischen Aufgaben der Text des Rechenweges¹

Rhind, 63:² *dmd·hr·k 2/3 1/3 1/4* ‘Du sollst $2/3$ $1/3$ $1/4$ summieren’ — Hier, nicht sehr häufig,³ durch pass. *sdm* ersetzt.

Rhind, 50: *hbj·hr·k 1/9·f m 1* ‘Du sollst sein Neuntel als 1 abziehen’ — Ersetzbar durch pass. *sdm*.⁴

Rhind, 50: *jrj·hr·k wšh·tp m 8 xp·w 8* ‘Du sollst aufeinanderlegen mit 8 8 Mal’ (= multiplizieren) — Ersetzbar durch pass. *sdm*.⁵

Rhind, 63: *njs·hr·k 1 hntj 1 1/2 1/4* ‘Du sollst 1 durch 1 $1/2$ $1/4$ teilen’; ersetzbar durch pass. *sdm* oder Infinitiv⁶ oder Umschreibung mit *jrj·hr·k+njs*.⁷

P. Kahun, 8, 40: . . . 16, *jrj·hr·k qnb·t m 4* ‘. . . 16, Du sollst die Wurzel als 4 machen’; Ersetzbarkeit ist fraglich.

Zur Beschreibung der Ergebnisse einer genau fixierten Zwischenrechnung⁸ findet sich ebenfalls *sdm·hr·f* (und zwar von *hpr*), üblicherweise⁹ interpretiert als zur Angabe eines Resultats verwendet, was eben nur zum Teil richtig ist, weil die ‘echten Resultate’, nämlich die ganzer Aufgaben, mit Hilfe von Nominalsätzen mit *-pw-* ausgedrückt werden,¹⁰ so daß die Form *hpr·hr·(f)* genaugenommen mit zum Text des Rechenweges gezählt werden sollte.

Rhind, 4: *jrj·hr·k 2/3 1/30 xp 10, hpr·hr 7* ‘Du sollst $2/3$ $1/30$ 10 Mal machen, 7 entstehen (= es ergibt 7)’ — Ersetzbar ist es durch das Part.pf.akt. mit *pw*:

P. Kahun, 8, 38: *hpr·t jm pw xp 1 1/3* ‘Das, was daraus entsteht ist 1 $1/3$ Mal’ — oder durch Ausdrücke im Stil der mathematischen Listen mit *-d·t-* ‘der Rest’ oder durch unpersönliches pass. *sdm* von *-jrj-*.¹¹

Rhind, 52: *jrj m šh·t 20* ‘Macht an Fläche 20’.¹²

2. Naturwissenschaftliche Beobachtung

Eb, 788 (93, 17–18): das Feststellen schlechter Milch: *mš·hr·k stj·s mj šnj n mhj·t* ‘Du erkennst ihren Geruch wie den Gestank von Fischen’ — W. Westendorf¹³ spricht von einer ‘allgemeingültigen Feststellung’.

Smith, 48 (17, 15–19): Aufforderung ‘Strecke . . . Deine Beine aus; *mš·hr·f sj grf·hr·f sj hr r·wj* dann streckt er sie aus (und) zieht sie sofort wieder zusammen’ —

¹ Wegen der großen Zahl paralleler Belege wird jeweils nur einer aus jeder Rechnungsart herausgegriffen; bei der Übersetzung halte ich mich an den üblichen Modus, cf. aber unten.

² Zitiert nach den Nummern der Ausgabe von Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus* (London, 1923).

³ Etwa *Rhind* 41 und 42, sonst, passim, *wšh·hr*.

⁴ *Rhind*, 64.

⁵ Einfaches *pass·sdm* *Rhind* 44; oder umschrieben mit *jrj*: *Rhind* 43; ich möchte mich der Auffassung Reinekes, loc. cit. 115 (*pass·sdm*), gegen *GG* § 338 (Imperativ) anschließen.

⁶ In der üblichen Phrase: *njs X hnt Y*; cf. Peet, loc. cit. 14 und Gunn, *JEA* 12 (1926), 124 (beide Imperativ), cf. dazu jedoch Reineke, loc. cit. 129 und n. 6.

⁷ So *P. Moskau*, passim.

⁸ Reineke, loc. cit. 140.

⁹ Etwa *GG* § 431.

¹⁰ Reineke, loc. cit. 154.

¹¹ *GG* § 422, 3; Reineke, loc. cit. 150 ff.

¹² Das *pass·sdm* enthält gemeinhin keine Resultativfunktion: ein Licht auf die Form *sdm·hr·f*!

¹³ *WMG* § 274.

qr̄f·hr̄f beschreibt, was unter bestimmten Umständen mit Sicherheit geschieht (ein verkappter Bedingungssatz); die Vertauschbarkeitsverhältnisse sind hier naturgemäß schwer zu beurteilen.

3. Im Diagnosenformular der Medizin

Das Schema der Diagnose hat folgende Gestalt:¹

(a) *jr̄ hr̄j·k* . . . 'Wenn Du untersuchst . . .'

(b) *dd·hr̄·k* . . . 'Du sollst sagen . . .'

(c) *jr̄j·hr̄·k* . . . 'Du sollst machen . . .'

Beide hier interessierende Formeln (b) und (c) sind durch *sdm·jn̄·f* ersetzbar, (b) häufiger als (c).² Im Allgemeinen scheinen die Formeln in ihrer Funktion dem in 1. behandelten Text der mathematischen Aufgaben nahe zu stehen. Es bleibt fraglich, ob man nicht auch in diesem Schema an einen Konditionalsatz denken sollte; dieser wird in Abschnitt III gesondert betrachtet.

4. In der Medizin bei Drogenbereitung, Untersuchung und Behandlung³

Hearst, 25 (2, 9–10): *ct̄h·hr̄·k m̄ dw̄* 'Du sollst (es) am Morgen durchpressen' — im Text der Drogenbereitung.

P. Ram, III B 9: *rd̄j·hr̄·k nh̄j jm̄ r̄ w̄jw̄ n̄ tp̄* 'Dann sollst Du etwas davon an eine *tp̄*-Erscheinung geben' — in der Behandlung; usw.⁴

Neben pass. *sdm* finden sich hier eine Reihe von anderen Formen: *sdm·jn̄·f*, *gem·sdm̄·f*, *jw̄ sdm̄·f*, bei denen sich jedoch in der Regel (vielleicht mit Ausnahme des *sdm·jn̄·f*, dessen spezielle Leistung gegenüber dem *sdm·hr̄·f* nicht deutlich ist) Gründe für den jeweiligen Gebrauch nennen lassen.

5. In einer angeordneten Abfolge

Es scheint hierbei der Blick darauf gerichtet zu sein, daß sich eines aus einem Anderen mehr oder weniger unvermeidlich ergibt, angeordnet von einer 'höheren Instanz', sei es bis hinunter zur 'Kapazität' des medizinische Texte verfassenden Arztes.

Urk. IV 1090, 7:⁵ 'Was einen Beamten betrifft, welcher so handelt, *hr̄ rwd̄·f c̄ m̄ t̄ s̄ t̄* er wird hier an diesem Platz bleiben' — Amtseinsetzung des Wesirs;⁶ dazu etwa eine koptische Parallele:

Luk. II, 10: (B) *ο̄ῡον̄ κ̄ῑθεν̄ ε̄τε̄ρε̄τῑν̄ ψ̄ᾱρ̄ᾱσῑ* 'Jeder der bittet, empfängt' —

Urk. IV 1110, 1–3: *hr̄·f pḡ·f sw̄*; *hr̄-jr̄-m-ht̄ m̄·f sw̄*, *hr̄ jt̄j·tw̄f r̄ s̄ t̄ f̄* 'Er öffnet es; nachdem er es gesehen hat, wird es an seinen Platz gebracht' — aus der 'Dienstordnung' des Wesirs.

Smith, 26 (9, 9–10): *jr̄-m-ht̄ jd̄·k sw̄*, *wt̄·hr̄·k sw̄ hr̄ jf̄ w̄d̄* 'Nachdem Du sie (die

¹ H. Grapow, *Von den medizinischen Texten*, Grundriß der Medizin, II, 30.

² Cf. Grapow, loc. cit. 33; im Fall (c): *Smith* 35 (12, 4–5), 36 (12, 10–11), 37 (12, 17), *Eb* 865 c (Hinweis Prof. Westendorf).

³ Sofern nicht, nach *WMG* 199 n. 6, als Diagnosenrest zu erklären.

⁴ Cf. die Belege bei *WMG* § 272.

⁵ *GG* § 239.

⁶ Cf. den Kommentar bei Sethe, 'Die Einsetzung des Wesirs', *UGAÄ* 5, 20 (87).

Wunde) genäht hast, sollst Du sie verbinden mit frischem Fleisch¹ — vertauschbar mit *sdm·jn·f*.

III. Wenn man nach der von Koschmieder² formulierten Methode die Hauptfunktion einer Form aus den Syntagmen erschließen will, in denen diese Form unvertauschbar mit anderen ist, so stößt man bei einer toten Sprache leicht an die Grenze der Verifizierbarkeit; es scheint mir aber einigermaßen sicher aus den Belegen hervorzugehen, *sdm·hr·f* in den sog. wissenschaftlichen Texten für unvertauschbar zu halten, allenfalls durch ein unpersönliches Passiv oder infinite Formen. Als Kronzeuge für die Möglichkeit einer eigenen Verbalform der allgemeingültigen Aussage bietet sich neben dem 'gnomischen Aorist' des Griechischen der osmanisch-türkische sog. 'Aorist' an, für den durch Koschmieder³ eben jene Funktion unbezweifelbar erwiesen worden ist. Weiterhin böte sich eine neue Basis für eine *opinio communis*: 'Im Koptischen möchte man im Anlaut von ⲩⲁⲢⲢⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓ unser *-hr-* wiederfinden',⁴ für das ja die Annahme dieser Funktion kaum auf Widerstand stoßen dürfte,⁵ trotz der irreführenden Bezeichnung als 'Präsens consuetudinis'.

Zwar scheint sich nachwievor die Zahl der Gleichungen zwischen *sdm·hr·f* und ⲩⲁⲢⲢⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓ nicht erhöhen zu lassen, beispielsweise sieht es so aus, als wäre im älteren Ägyptisch die im Koptischen so häufige Verwendung in Sätzen nicht nachweisbar, also etwa

I. Kor. 8, 1: ⲡⲥⲟⲟϥⲛ̅ ⲩⲁⲢⲢⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲡⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲩⲁⲢⲢⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓ
'Das Wissen erhebt, die Liebe aber erbaut'
Einem Typus aber wie

Matth. 7, 17: ⲩⲩⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟϥϥ ⲩⲁⲢⲢⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟϥϥ
'Der gute Baum bringt gute Früchte hervor'—könnte doch immerhin ein scheinbarer Einzelfall gegenübergestellt werden:

Bauer B I, 188: *dd·jn sh·tj pn: z3·mrw, tnm·hr·f*... 'so irrt der Sohn Mrw's denn: . . .'
—und zwar im Sinne von: er ist ein Irrender, etwa dargestellt als etwas dem Bauern nun endgültig offenbar werdendes dadurch, daß er für seine Ermahnungen nur Prügel übrig hat.⁶

Die Gleichung geht jedoch nicht zwanglos auf, denn die Allgemeinheit im koptischen 'jeder gute Baum' fehlt in der Stelle aus dem Beredten Bauern; daß nun aber beispielsweise die vorangestellten, substantivierten Relativsätze des Koptischen⁷

¹ WMG § 272.

² Zur Bestimmung der Funktion grammatischer Kategorien, AbhBAW, NF 25 (München, 1945).

³ Loc. cit. 29 ff.

⁴ A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*² (Leipzig 1933), § 667, mit dem Nachsatz: '. . ., doch hat *-hr-* unter seinen vielen Bedeutungen keine, die zwingend hierzu passte . . .'; eben dann nicht, wenn man statt von der Grund- und Hauptfunktion von ihren verschiedenen Verifizierungen in den einzelnen Syntagmen ausgeht; cf. auch Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, §§ 129–33.

⁵ Cf. H. J. Polotsky, *OLZ* 54 (1959), 460; WMG § 274 (zum Beispiel *Eb* 788, zitiert oben unter II, 2); W. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1961), § 304.

⁶ Gemäß der Doppeldeutigkeit des deutschen Präsens: 'der Hund bellt' heißt sowohl, daß ein bestimmter Hund gerade bellt, als auch, daß 'Bellen' die charakteristische Äußerung der Gattung Hund ist.

⁷ Cf. Till, loc. cit. § 480: 'Substantivierte Relativsätze sind oft in einem allgemeinen Sinne zu verstehen: "einer, der . . ."'.

häufig vom Präsens consuetudinis aufgenommen werden, zeigt wohl mit wünschenswerter Deutlichkeit, daß dieser Zug von Allgemeinheit eine wesentliche Rolle spielt:¹

*Phil.*² 100, 25: $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon \ \rho\eta\ \tau\eta\rho\omega \ \psi\alpha\gamma\omega\varsigma\ \rho\alpha\epsilon \ \nu\psi\omega\alpha\epsilon$

‘Die im Winter säen, ernten im Sommer’

Phil. 108, 6–8: $\eta\epsilon\tau\sigma\omicron\rho\alpha\epsilon \ \eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon \ \pi\pi\bar{\alpha} \ \chi\pi\omicron \ \bar{\alpha}\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\gamma \ \psi\alpha\gamma\omega\rho\alpha\epsilon \ \omicron\kappa \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \rho\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon$

‘Die Verirrten, die der Geist zeugt, sie gehen durch ihn auch in die Irre’

Phil. 112, 28–9: $\pi\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\rho\chi\iota \ \alpha\epsilon \ \epsilon\chi\omega\varsigma \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha\eta\kappa\epsilon \ \psi\alpha\gamma\psi\alpha\tau\epsilon$

‘Wer aber erhalten hat auf Zinsen dafür (= als Darlehen), (dem) wird man es abverlangen’

Phil. 128, 17–18: $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \ \pi\epsilon\tau\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma \ \rho\eta\sigma\omicron\pi \ \psi\alpha\varsigma\bar{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\gamma\pi\epsilon\iota \ \bar{\alpha}\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\gamma$

‘Aber wer sich gut benimmt, betrübt sie manchmal’

Im älteren Ägyptisch korrespondiert in seiner Allgemeingültigkeit der mit *-jr-* vorangestellte Satzteil; also findet sich erwartungsgemäß auch das *sdm·hr·f*:

Urk. IV 1090, 7–8: $[mk \ jr] \ srjw \ jrr \ mjt \cdot t \ ns, \ hr \ rowd \cdot f \ \epsilon\iota \ m \ t\iota \ s \cdot t$ ‘Siehe, ein Beamter, der so handelt, er bleibt fest hier an diesem Platz’

Urk. IV 1109, 11–13: $jr \ zh \cdot w \ nb \ hj \cdot w \ [t \cdot tj \ hr \cdot f \ . \ . \ .] \ . \ . \ . \ hr \ jtj \cdot tw \ nf \ . \ . \ .$ ‘Was jedes Dokument betrifft, nach dem der Wesir sendet . . ., so bringt man (es) ihm . . .’

Urk. IV 1111, 9–13: $jr \ spr \cdot tj \ nb \ ntj \ r \ dd: \ mnmn \ t\bar{s} \cdot n, \ hr \ m\bar{s} \cdot tw \ ntt \ st \ hr \ htm \ n \ srjw \cdot jrj \ . \ . \ .$ ‘Was einen Bittsteller betrifft, welcher sagen wird: Unsere Grenze ist bewegt worden, so achte man darauf, daß es gesiegelt ist für den zuständigen Beamten . . .’

So läßt sich der Schluß ableiten: Ein Ausdruck allgemeinen Sinnes induziert die Verwendung einer Verbalform allgemeingültiger Aussage; oder anders: eine jederzeit gültige Aussage (einer, der . . .; jeder, der . . .) bedingt eine jederzeit gültige Folge; diese Verknüpfung von Voraussetzung und Folge scheint für die Wahl der Form von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung zu sein.

Damit kann der letzte Schritt hin zum ägyptischen ‘Konditionalsatz’ getan werden, dessen Tiefenstruktur ja keine andere ist als die der oben angeführten Konstruktion.³

Bauer, B I, 162: $jr \ gs \cdot f, \ hr \cdot k \ gs \cdot k$ ‘Wenn sie (die Waage) (sich) auf die Seite neigt, neigst Du Dich (auch)’.⁴

Eb 448 (65, 4–5)⁵: $jr \ hmw \cdot s, \ rdj \cdot hr \cdot k \ mrh \cdot t$ ‘Wenn sie (aber) trocken ist, dann gibst Du Öl/Fett’.

Smith, 28 (9, 19–20):⁶ $jr \ swr \cdot f \ mw, \ stp \cdot hr \cdot f$ ‘Wenn er Wasser trinkt, dann würgt er’.

Urk. IV 1107, 4–5: $jr \ hpr \ skj \ r \ w \cdot jw \ m \ ns \ n \ srjw \ . \ . \ . \ hr \cdot f \ dj \cdot f \ jmj \cdot tw \cdot f \ r \ rrrj \cdot t$ ‘Wenn eine Beschwerde erhoben wird gegen einen dieser Beamten . . ., dann veranlaßt er (der Wesir), daß er (der Beamte) zur *rrj·t* gebracht wird’.

Freilich handelt es sich auch hier nur um eine der Nebenfunktionen des *sdm·hr·f*,

¹ Diese Beispiele hat mir Frau Dr. C. Müller lebenswürdigerweise mitgeteilt.

² W. C. Till, *Das Evangelium nach Philippus* (Berlin, 1963).

³ Cf. *WMG* § 417; *GG* § 150; Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, II (Rom, 1964), § 1035; zu *sdm·hr·f* in der Apodosis: T. G. H. James, *The Hekanakhte papers and other early Middle Kingdom documents* (New York 1962), 105 (8) und K. Baer, *JAOs* 83, 8 n. 63.

⁴ Ähnlich *Bauer B* I, 151.

⁵ *WMG* § 272.

⁶ *WMG* § 273.

wie die Verwendung zahlreicher anderer Verbalformen zeigt.¹ Daß insbesondere hier *sdm·jn·f* eintreten kann, liegt bei der spezifischen Funktion dieser Form² auf der Hand.

So sehr sich der koptische Konditionalsatz morphologisch von der älteren Konstruktion entfernt haben mag, so kann man doch festhalten, auch ohne der Frage diachronischer Zusammenhänge nachgehen zu wollen, daß die syntaktischen Strukturen erhalten geblieben sind:³

Joh. 10, 12:⁴ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲓⲟϥⲱⲛϣ ⲉϥⲛⲛⲟϥ ϣⲁϥϣⲱⲧ
 'Wenn er den Wolf kommen sieht, flieht er' (Wechsel mit Präsens)

KRU 96, 20:⁵ ⲉϥϣⲁⲛⲱⲛⲟϥ ϣⲁⲓⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲛⲁⲥⲧⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ . . .
 'Wenn es (das Kind) lebt, gebe ich es dem Kloster des . . .'

VC 54, 11:⁶ ⲉⲛϣⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲁϥ ϣⲁⲛϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲱⲓ
 'Wenn Du aufbrichst, dann suche mich auf'⁷

Bei Beschreibung der Funktion der koptischen Form sagt Till unter anderem:⁸ '. . . gelegentlich (besonders in vulgärer Sprache⁹) Zukunft' und *ibid.*, Anm. 5: 'Was gewohnheitsmäßig geschieht, wird auch in Zukunft geschehen.' Bestätigt wird diese Ansicht durch solche Stellen wie etwa der oben unter II aufgeführten: Luk. 11, 10, deren sa'idische Parallele ⲉϥⲛⲁⲁⲓ zeigt, und in der Tat kann ja eine gleichsam automatische Folge leicht als Nachzeitigkeit¹⁰ empfunden werden: Von einem in der Gegenwart (oder entsprechend dem Zeitstellenwert des Sprechers) ausgedrückten Tatbestand aus gesehen, der eine voraussehbare und mit Sicherheit eintretende Folge bedingt, liegt diese Folge zeitlich später, ist also 'relativ zukünftig'; daß aber bei einer der Nebenfunktionen des 'Aorists' ein anderer Schreiber oder Sprecher einer anderen Auffassung den Vorzug geben kann (also statt der Form der allgemeingültigen Aussage eine futurische), scheint mir nicht hinreichend Anlaß zu sein, der Form *sdm·hr·f*/ϣⲁϥϣⲱⲧⲁⲉ eine solche Funktion zuzuschreiben.

IV. Wenn man also der hier vorgeschlagenen Auffassung folgt, empfiehlt es sich, die Form *sdm·hr·f* mit dem deutschen Präsens zu übersetzen, in dem: '. . . zeitlos Allgemeingültiges, beständig oder unter bestimmten Verhältnissen Wiederkehrendes'¹¹ auch ausgesagt wird, etwa: 'Die Erde dreht sich um die Sonne', oder '49 v. Chr.: Cäsar überschreitet den Rubikon';¹² also zu übersetzen, etwa *Rhind* 30: Wenn der Schreiber zu Dir sagt: Es entsteht 10 als $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{10}$ von was? höre er (*sdm·f*): Du machst (*sdm·hr·f*) $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{10}$ um 10 zu finden . . .; oder (s. oben): Du ziehst sein Neuntel als 1 ab; Du preßt

¹ Cf. die Aufstellung *WMG* § 421 ff.

² *GG* § 429.

³ Man vergleiche Till, *Koptische Gr.* § 447: 'In den meisten Bedingungssätzen bleibt es offen, ob das in der Protasis Ausgedrückte wirklich zutrifft oder nicht. Wenn es aber zutrifft, so gilt der Inhalt der Apodosis' (gesperrt von mir).

⁴ Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, 218.

⁵ Crum/Steindorff, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden des 8. Jahrhunderts aus Djême* (Leipzig, 1912).

⁶ W. Crum, *Varia Coptica* (Aberdeen, 1934).

⁷ Weitere Beispiele: Steindorff, *Lehrbuch der Koptischen Grammatik*, § 343 Ende und § 492.

⁸ Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 304.

⁹ Gemeint ist im Wesentlichen die Sprache der Urkunden.

¹⁰ Oder auch als 'Resultat': cf. *GG* § 431.

¹¹ *Duden-Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (Mannheim 1959) § 81.

¹² *Loc. cit.* § 79.

es am Morgen durch; nachdem Du die Wunde genäht hast, verbindest Du sie mit frischem Fleisch; usw.

Außerhalb dieser bestimmten Texte, vor allem also der Literatur und anderem, kann man bei den wenigen Belegen vermutlich eine Verwendung als Stilmittel annehmen, etwa

Urk. IV, 245, 14–17: . . . *dd·s n rmt sdm·w hr· (w) hr ššf·t jm·sn, hpr·hr hm·t·s ʿt·tj r jh·t nb·t . . .* ‘sie (Hatschepsut) spricht zu den Menschen, welche hören, indem sie niedergefallen sind vor¹ dem (majestätischen) Ansehen unter ihnen; (das aber ist weiter kein Wunder, denn:) ihre Majestät ist sehr groß geworden . . .’

Urk. IV, 3, 5–6:² *wn·hr·j hr šmsj jtjj ʿnh wdʿ snb hr rd·wj·j m·ht s·wtwt·f hr wrrj·t* ‘(Gewöhnlich) folgte ich dem Herrscher auf meinen Beinen, wenn er ausfuhr auf seinem Wagen’.

Ähnliches gilt für die Stellen mit *-dd·hr·sn-*,³ bei denen man sagen könnte, daß die Reaktionen der Feinde vom Dogma festgelegt sind (diesen Hinweis danke ich Herrn Prof. Westendorf): Feinde des ägyptischen Königs sprechen eben so.

¹ *-hr-* eigentlich ‘ausgehend von, durch’ (cf. *WB* III 315 B).

² Cf. *GG* § 471, 2; zu *Nu* 72, 14 (*GG* § 471, 1) cf. *Eb* 3 (*WMG* § 169 c).

³ Cf. *GG* § 431, 3; sicherlich im Demotischen im Sinne des ⲙⲁⲢⲢⲟⲩⲧⲁ cf. Spiegelberg, *Die sog. demotische Chronik*, 2, 24: *hr dd = w* man pflegt zu sagen; Zur Rolle des Dogmas: E. Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest* (Darmstadt 1966), und *ibid.* p. 13; cf. *id.*, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 121 und 126. Nur am Rande ähnlich gelagert sind die Fälle von Verwendung in einigen Gruppen der Sargtexte (etwa *Spells* 404, 405; diesen Hinweis verdanke ich der Freundlichkeit von Dr. D. Mueller, Lethbridge): *dd·hr* hat den Charakter einer Vorschrift gemäß II 5 oben bzw. einer refrainartigen ‘Regieanweisung’ (im Wechsel mit *spr·hr* *CT* V 181–6).

SOME PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE PWENET RELIEFS AT DEIR EL-BAHARI

By ABDEL-AZIZ SALEH

THE purpose of the present study is not to attempt a complete account of the Pwenet¹ expedition sent out under Queen Hatshepsut, but to analyse certain problems which emerge from the reconsideration of the series of pictures and inscriptions concerning this expedition at Deir el-Bahari. Three reasons in particular have led me to adopt this goal. First, the lively controversy which still exists among certain scholars on the endless problems of Pwenet in general and on those of the Deir el-Bahari records in particular.² Second, the new perspectives which have been opened to us in relation to the possible arrival of the Gebbanitic Qatabanian Arabs in Egypt during the reign of Tuthmosis III (see our article: 'The *Gnbtyw* of Tuthmosis III's Annals and the South Arabian *Gebbanitae* of the Classical Writers' (in *BIFAO* 70). Third, the obvious combinations of Afro-Asiatic characteristics in the south-eastern delegations in the illustrations of the New Kingdom (ibid.).

As a preliminary, the reference in the annals of the year 31-2 of Tuthmosis III's reign to the coming of the *Gnbtyw*, i.e. most probably the envoys of the Qatabanian Arabs, with goods and rich gifts to his court in Egypt,³ has been explained in the aforementioned article as being accounted for by either: (a) a policy devoted to the maintenance of the goodwill of the victorious Pharaoh to secure Arab commercial interests on the channels along which the incense trade moved in his Afro-Asiatic empire; or (b) as a means of negotiation to establish direct commercial relations with the Egyptian court without outside trade intermediaries. Apart from these two possibilities, it appears unlikely that the Arabs' contacts with the Egyptians, and probably the arrival of Arabian traders at the Egyptian court, had arisen at one stroke with the reign of Tuthmosis III. Had the event really been the first of its kind, his inscriptions would have enhanced the unprecedented nature of the feat with more high-sounding and bombastic phraseology. This supposition is supported by the obvious desire of Tuthmosis III to surpass the feats of his energetic but detested predecessor, Queen

¹ This reading is hardly more than conjecture, but may coincide better with the Egyptian written name *Pwnt* than the popular appellation Punt. Compare, however, for Pwāni, Pownet, Pouanit, Pyene, Pwēne . . ., C. Meinhoff, *Zeit. f. Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 32 (1942), 300-2; E. Zyhlarz, *ibid.* 304 f.; G. A. Wainwright, *Man* 47 (1947), 143 f.; G. W. B. Huntingford, *ibid.* 48 (1948), 24; A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), 37.

² More recently see D. M. Dixon, 'The transplanted of Punt incense trees in Egypt', *JEA* 55, 55-65; F. N. Hepper, 'Arabian and African Frankincense trees', *ibid.* 66-72; R. Herzog, *Punt*, *ADAIK* 6 (1968); Eva Danelius and Heinz Steinitz, 'The fishes and other aquatic animals on the Punt-reliefs at Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 53, 15-24; K. A. Kitchen, 'Punt and How to Get There', *Orientalia* 40 (1971), 184-207.

³ Sethe, *Urk.* iv. 695, 5-7.

Hatshepsut, who enjoyed great honour for her active devotion to the development of Egyptian trade relations with the incense-producing areas of Pwenet.

The innovation seems to have had a more or less long history before the reign of Tuthmosis III, and a clue can be taken, for the present moment, from the series of reliefs portraying the expedition sent out to Pwenet under Queen Hatshepsut (c. 1482/81 B.C.).¹ In considering carefully the numerous descriptive passages and picturesque scenes of this expedition as shown on the southern colonnade of the second terrace of the temple of Deir el-Bahari, one comes across certain parallels and comparisons, intermittently suggested, between the sea-way and the land route; between Pwenet and God's-Land; between the Pwenetites and the *Hbstyw*; between the ancient conditions of trade and the contacts established in the time of the Queen; between the marvels of Pwenet, and the presents of God's-Land; and again, though more tenuous, between the products of both lands and the tribute of the southern countries.

In view of the fact that synonymous parallelism in its various forms, namely doubling or repetition, and symmetry, as well as antithesis and artificial comparisons, are some of the commonest characteristics of ancient Egyptian inscriptions, one would expect that inferences drawn from the accounts of the expedition of which Hatshepsut was most proud can by no means be trustworthy. But in so far as the historicity of the expedition is not suspect, it is not absolutely impossible to find in the details the approximate direction, at least, in which solutions to the various problems are to be found.

Hatshepsut ascribed the undertaking of her commercial enterprise to an oracle of the god Amūn. In addressing the Queen, Amūn promised not merely to give her the land of Pwenet, but also to endow her with 'Pwenet as a whole as far as the Lands of Gods (including?) God's-Land which had never been trodden (and?) the *ntyw* terraces which the people (of Egypt) did not know'.²

Amūn, who is represented as very keen on the safety of the expedition, is said, in the texts, to have decided to conduct the voyage both on water and overland, in order to bring marvels from God's-Land.³ 'A command was heard from the great throne, an oracle of the god himself, to search out the ways (*wꜣwt*) to Pwenet, and to explore the highways (*mtnw*) to the *ntyw* terraces.'⁴ To put it differently: with the purpose of seeking the unknown, the expedition is said to have been dispatched 'to investigate (?) its ways (*wꜣwt-f*) on behalf of (the god) himself, to learn its circumference (*phr-f*) and to throw open its highways (*mtnw-f*)'.⁵ The third masculine singular suffix in the forms *wꜣwt-f*, *phr-f*, and *mtnw-f* may refer to Amūn, but it seems preferable to assign it to the destination of the voyage, which is expressed throughout the text by the masculine.

¹ It is well to note that some Egyptologists suspect the commonly held opinion of the departure of the expedition in the ninth year of the Queen's reign. It only returned in this year. It is hard to assess the time spent on the journey. Cf. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, III, 20; W. C. Hayes, in *CAH*, vol. II, Ch. IV, Part I (1966), 19; Kitchen, *op. cit.* 196. For the probable dating see E. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Aeg. Abh. Bd. 2, Wiesbaden, 1964), 108.

² *Urk.* IV, 344, 6-8; *Deir el-Bahari*, III, pl. 84, 10.

³ *Urk.* IV, 345; *Deir el-Bahari*, III, pl. 84, 6, 13; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, 285; 288.

⁴ *Deir el-Bahari*, III, pl. 84, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 86, 11. See Breasted's note on the word *wbꜣ* as used long before of exploring unknown countries. (*AR* I, 333; 334; II, 294.) Also below p. 152 n. 1.

Ḥatshepsut definitely stated that the object of her expedition was 'a sacred region of God's-Land'.¹ The *ntyw* terraces of this land were, in particular, Amūn's place of delight which he founded for himself as well as for the sake of some of his favourite goddesses.²

The descriptive headings of the measuring of the heaps of incense, and the scenes of offering Amūn the imports of the expedition, sort the cargoes into two specific classes of articles: the marvels of the (hill) countries of Pwenet, *biꜣw ḥꜣswt Pwnt* (and variants), and the riches of God's-Land, *šps(w) n tꜣ-ntꜣ* (and variants).³ Another example of parallelism of identity between the marvels, *biꜣw*, of Pwenet and the presents, *inw*, of God's-Land is shown in the tomb of Puyemrēꜥ. There, the two groups are mentioned in two separate registers supervised by two sets of scribes.⁴ The Pwenetite scenes of this tomb are supposed by N. de G. Davies to be distinctly patterned on the scenes of Deir el-Baḥari.⁵

The brief inscriptions of Ḥatshepsut at Speos Artemidos can well be equated with the account of Deir el-Baḥari as regards the supposed dualism of ways and of the incense-producing lands. There, the Queen says: 'Rashawet and *ꜣww* highlands have not remained hidden from my majesty and Pwenet is now overflowing for me with fields of trees bearing fresh *ntyw*, after the highways, which were blocked on both roads, are opened (lit. beaten).'⁶ Rashawet was apparently an Asiatic region, perhaps not far from Sinai. Whether *ꜣww* was an Asiatic district too, or an African one is difficult to determine. Max Müller located it, however, in Arabia.⁷

There must surely be reasons for these seemingly arbitrary comparisons and differentiations, and the reasons are not far to seek. But before suggesting solutions, it seems appropriate to point out that no finality is claimed for them. We shall touch first on the opinions about the flora of the scenery of Pwenet, and afterwards proceed to a discussion of the population, and finally to the complicated question of the possible beginnings of Egypto-Arab contacts in Ḥatshepsut's reign.

I. Flora

According to the specialists, the flora and fauna of the scenery of Pwenet at Deir el-Baḥari are almost tropical and point quite clearly to the African coast of the Red Sea in the latitudes of the Eritreas and Somalia.⁸

Among the diverse imports which the ships of Ḥatshepsut brought back to Egypt from Pwenet were great heaps of *snꜣr* incense and *ntyw* resin (?) (*ḥmyt nt ntyw*), besides selected fresh *ntyw* shrubs (and myrrh shrubs?), and perhaps, as well, a

¹ *Urk.* IV, 345, 4 f.

² *Deir el-Baḥari*, pl. 84, 13-14.

³ *Ibid.*, pls. 77, 79; *Urk.* IV, 334, 335. For the various readings *biꜣ*, *biꜣy*, *biꜣit*, cf. *Wb.* I, 440.

⁴ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrē at Thebes* (New York, 1922), pl. 32 and p. 85.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-5. Compare *ibid.*, pls. 32, 33 with *Deir el-Baḥari*, pls. 76-9.

⁶ *Urk.* IV, 385, 13-16; Gardiner, *JEA* 32, 46.

⁷ Cf. Gauthier, *Dict. Géogr.* III, 127; I, 51; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 133 f.

⁸ For a summary of the commonly held opinions about the location of Pwenet, see Abdel-Aziz Saleh in *BIFAO* 70; and in detail, R. Herzog, *Punt*.

considerable amount of another species, called *ihmt* in the text. *Sntr* is a sweet-smelling resin, identified by V. Loret as a species of the turpentine or terebinth. Its tree may have grown wild in some of the wadis of the Eastern Desert of Egypt.¹ But to match the growing need of this valuable species, the Egyptians had to import great supplies of it from Nubia, Sudan, and Pwenet.² I am grateful to Professor W. Kaiser for information about a tomb-relief from the Fifth Dynasty depicting a leafy *senetjer* tree grown in an Egyptian garden.³ It is about the height of a man and conventionally drawn. An Egyptian is shown picking berries of *senetjer* and placing them in a small basket. *Thmt* is difficult to identify. Naville called it balsam.⁴ The much-prized substance was the *cntyw*. When the landing in Egypt was made, orders were carried out immediately to plant thirty-one shrubs of this species at Thebes, in order to create there 'another Pwenet' in honour of the god Amūn, who had desired the Queen 'to establish for him a Pwenet in his house'.⁵ The artist of Deir el-Baḥari was very proud to show these trees prospering to the extent that cattle could easily walk beneath their leafy branches.

The aromatic species called *cntyw* has until recently been rather poorly identified. According to the opinions of different Egyptologists, it may be frankincense (Naville), myrrh (Breasted), or balsam (Davies). Contradictory views among the botanists have been found, also, as to the classification of the *cntyw* tree under the genus *Boswellia* (with a dozen species) or under the genus *Commiphora* in a family consisting of some 160 species.⁶ Schoff attempted to identify the leafy *cntyw* tree with the oleo-gum resin tree known as *Boswellia carteri*, which he thought could scarcely be anything other than the Arabian frankincense of Dhôfar.⁷ Schoff thus put forward a notable Asiatic exception to the unquestionably largely African appearance of the products of Pwenet as represented at Deir el-Baḥari. However, the case does not end there. Among the widely different views expressed, D. M. Dixon's article, 'The Transplantation of Punt Incense Trees in Egypt' (*JEA* 55, 55-65), has challenged Schoff's view on quite new considerations. The pictures of Pwenet at Deir el-Baḥari exhibit two forms of aromatic trees. These forms are described by Lucas as one with 'luxuriant foliage' and the other 'quite bare' and 'without foliage'.⁸ However, the last designation, for the second type, is modified by Dixon,⁹ who says that 'only the branches and outlines of the foliage are shown'. According to Lucas,¹⁰ the two forms would be two varieties of the same kind

¹ V. Loret, *La Résine de térébinthe (sonter) chez les anciens Égyptiens* (Recherches d'archéologie, 19), Le Caire, 1949.

² Cf. R. Herzog, *op. cit.* 64-5; D. M. Dixon, *op. cit.* 55; F. N. Hepper, *op. cit.* 68.

³ *Aegyptisches Museum, Berlin*, fig. 295, p. 32; V. Loret, *op. cit.* 29 f.

⁴ E. Naville, *op. cit.* III, 15.

⁵ *Urk.* IV, 329; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, II, 295.

⁶ Cf. F. N. Hepper, *JEA* 55, 66 f.; F. N. Howes, *Vegetable gums and resins* (Waltham, Mass, 1949), 149 f.; R. Herzog, *Punt*, 62 f. A. Lucas, *JEA* 24, 217, sounds a precautionary note: 'One here recurs to a subject on which there is infinite confusion in modern as well as ancient times, discussing such things as resins, myrrh, frankincense and other incense materials.'

⁷ W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (London, 1912), 218-19.

⁸ A. Lucas, 'Notes on myrrh and stacte', *JEA* 23 (1937), 28 f.; *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th edn., rev. J. R. Harris (London, 1962), 92.

⁹ *Op. cit.* 56.

¹⁰ *JEA* 23, 29.

at two different seasons, or else two different kinds of trees. Dixon accepts the former suggestion, but with an alternative explanation which he bases on the circumstance that the form 'without foliage' is confined to those trees shown being carried aboard the Egyptian ships, while the form with 'luxuriant foliage' is found only in the trees depicted after arrival in Egypt. From this he drew the conclusion that the two types must represent the same species at different stages of development.

Closer examination of Naville's work and the remains of the paintings at Deir el-Bahari makes it possible to raise two objections to Dixon's conclusion. For one thing, plates 69 (upper and lower registers), 70, 71 (coloured), and 72 (bottom) show trees very similar in appearance to those seen carried in tubs aboard the Egyptian ships and described by Lucas as 'without foliage'. They have prospered in the soil of Pwenet itself so well, having grown to the height of a giraffe, that cattle can rest under their shade, in spite of the thorny appearance of their branches which induced Lucas to call them 'quite bare' and 'without foliage'. Therefore, it may safely be assumed that this kind of tree retains its 'bare form', or more precisely, its 'thorny appearance', as seen from a distance, in all its stages of development. Then again, it must not be left out of account that the 'luxuriant foliage' is not restricted to the full-grown trees which were planted in Thebes, but is shown also for the shrubs still enclosed in tubs just after arrival in Egypt.¹ This must mean that, contrary to the first type, they have 'luxuriant foliage' from the very beginning of their growth. It is surprising, if I have not misunderstood Naville's elaborate interpretations, that he has included the first kind of trees, of thorny appearance, among ebony trees, saying that the Egyptians are shown felling their branches, 'cutting ebony in great quantity' (*D.B.*, III, 12) or taking eggs from nests which birds have made in these ebony trees (*ibid.*, pp. 14, 15). But as far as one can judge from the fragments, the descriptive inscription, 'hewing of ebony in very great quantity', is not written close to any of these trees. Moreover, the logs of ebony shown carried by Negroes to the Egyptian ships are quite different in shape and size from the branches of these incense trees. It is true, however, that some pictures show men cutting the branches of the trees under consideration with axes,² but this may be explained as a procedure followed to cause the odoriferous gum to exude from them. The evidence is supported by other pictures showing men holding baskets and picking what seem to be ovoid or pear-shaped berries,³ probably of the oleo-gum resin, for, as a botanist states, 'by making incisions in the trunk or branches, the resin exudes and solidifies and is collected as soon as it has hardened sufficiently'.⁴

Therefore, until good evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, we must accept the other view that the two forms of incense trees in the reliefs of Deir el-Bahari are obviously of significant difference and represent two kinds of aromatics independent of each other. Interestingly enough, these two types are nearly identical in appearance with the illustrations given by recent botanists of the Arabian frankincense tree and the

¹ Naville, *op. cit.*, pls. 74, 79.

² *Ibid.*, pl. 70; cf. W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (1958), 137.

³ *Urk.* IV, 327, 2-4; W. S. Smith, *JARCE* I, 60; D. M. Dixon, *op. cit.* 63 n. 7.

⁴ F. N. Howes, *op. cit.*

myrrh tree, respectively. According to T. Bent and B. Thomas, quoted by Jr. R. Bowen, the frankincense tree is a clump of branches with no central trunk, growing to the height of a camel. The tree has ash-coloured bark and tiny crumpled leaves. In contrast, the myrrh tree has a definite trunk and branches, and a thorny appearance from a distance. The gum of the myrrh tree is reddish, while that of the frankincense tree is considerably whiter. Myrrh trees are scattered all over South Arabia and Somalia, usually in the high hills and mountains, while frankincense trees have not been found outside the coastal mountain range of Dhôfar and eastern Ḥadramaut, and, in lesser quantity and of inferior quality, in the mountains of northern Somalia.¹

It is tempting, therefore, without committing ourselves to any botanical statement, to compare these two species of frankincense and myrrh with the two different trees depicted at Deir el-Bahari. But, whether the Arabian frankincense of Dhôfar, mentioned by Schoff, has or has not been included, must be left to the experts. F. N. Hepper, in his article, 'Arabian and African Frankincense Trees' (*JEA* 55, 66 ff.), does not entirely rule out the possibility that the frankincense tree occurs in the reliefs of Deir el-Bahari. He concluded that if this tree, which should be known as *B. sacra*, was the species transported to Egypt, 'it would indicate a different location for Punt'.

However, in view of the fact that frankincense trees are not depicted in the scenes of the land of Pwenet itself, at least in what is left at present of the scenes of Deir el-Bahari, the question will arise as to the locality from which they were obtained. On this question see further below. To be sure, two other difficulties must be mentioned. First, owing perhaps to the lack of first-hand botanical knowledge on the part of the Egyptian scribe, the name *ḥntyw* is attached once to the 'bare' or 'thorny' form, while in other instances it is assigned to the luxuriant, leafy form.² Secondly, the designation 'fresh *ḥntyw*' appears over two huge heaps of aromatic substance coloured red, just below the *ḥntyw* shrubs.³ These are described by some scholars as myrrh gum, which is in fact usually reddish.⁴ This explanation is not entirely impossible. Nevertheless, Hepper⁵ points out that 'against this conclusion is the appearance of the trees, above, which much more closely resembles *Boswellia* than scraggy *Commiphora*'. An additional reason for the colour might be that, although frankincense is usually milky white or pale yellow, it soon takes on a reddish or greenish tinge upon exposure to the atmosphere.⁶

There is another consideration. W. Max Müller has called attention to the fact that the eye cosmetic, *msdmt*, mentioned in the records of Ḥatshepsut as a product of the Pwenetites, is not found in Somalia. It occurs in Arabia, or else was imported from some other country to the African coast.⁷ In addition, there is a linguistic fact which until now has not been much regarded. The word *smdt* (var. *smdmt*) appears not infrequently in Egyptian writing.⁸ It is perhaps the correct form of its more frequently

¹ Jr. R. Le Baron Bowen (j.a.), *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia* (Baltimore, 1958), 62, 41; G. V. van Beek, 'Frankincense and Myrrh', *Biblical Archaeologist* 23 (3) (1960), 70 f.; F. N. Hepper, *op. cit.* 66 f.

² Compare Naville's plates 69-70 and pls. 78-9.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. 79.

⁴ R. O. Steuer, *JAOs* 63, 282.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 70.

⁶ *Ibid.* 69, quoting G. B. Kempthorne and G. Birdwood.

⁷ W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 109; *Egyptological Researches*, II, 88-9.

⁸ *Wb.* II, 153; *Pyr.* 54; Berlin 1107, 1108 (*Berl. Inschr.* I, 97, 105); Cairo 1392.

occurring etymological equivalent *msdmt*. Loan words incorporated into Egyptian texts are often characterized by metathesis.¹ If this is the case here it would be very likely that *smdt* was simply the early Egyptian pronunciation of the Arabic word *ethmed*. The genuine *ethmed* was not readily available in Egypt, but was found in Arabia (and also in Asia Minor and Persia).² Particularly to be remarked is the fact that the only valuable item which the ancient Egyptian scribe had recorded out of the imports brought by Ibsha, chief of the 'Aamu, to Khnumhotep, the monarch of the Oryx nome during the reign of Sesostri II, was the *msdmt*,³ which is evidently supposed to be a precious commodity brought by the 'Aamu, who are generally assumed to have been Asiatics and, more specifically, Semites.⁴ According to Lucas,⁵ the materials of the other early eye-paints, malachite and galena, are both products of Egypt, malachite being found in Sinai and in the Eastern Desert, and galena near Aswân and on the Red Sea coast. When we read later about *msdmt* from Coptos or from Elephantine, this probably refers to the region through which it passed in transport.

Going back further in history, one can find other reasons which favour citing an Arabian place of origin for a few other articles of incense and resin imported from Pwenet to Egypt. It is not without significance, for instance, that the word *sty*, which occurs in Old Egyptian with the meaning of odorous fume or perfume,⁶ has a remarkable correspondence to the Semitic (Arabic) شذى *š-d-y*, used of incense, in sense and pronunciation. Moreover, Vycichl has called attention to the probable Semitic etymology of the word *iwdnb*, which denotes a particular article of resin among the products of Pwenet, in the tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor. According to Vycichl, the Egyptian form *iwdnb* can be reconstructed as **yawdanub*. This latter form can well be equated (he says) with the South Arabian *laudan-um* or *ladan-um*. In this case, Arabic *l* has been rendered by *y*, as there was no hieroglyph for *l* in the writing at that time, and the *m* is changed into *b* (compare *wnb*, 'to eat' (Pyr.) for *wnm*).⁷

Of minor importance is the fact that the odoriferous woods were usually considered among the products of God's-Land rather than among the products of Pwenet.⁸ Over the returning vessels of Hatshepsut we read, 'The loading of the ships very heavily with marvels of the country of Pwenet (and) all goodly fragrant woods of God's-Land . . .'.⁹ The Pwenetites and Egyptian carriers who transported the fragrant *ntyw*

¹ J. J. Janssen, 'Semitic loan-words in Egyptian ostraca', *Jaarbericht ex Oriente Lux* (Leiden, 1967), 443 f.

² Cf. A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials* (1962), 83, 196, quoting R. F. Burton, *The gold mines of Midian*, I, ii, 141, 168, 204, etc.; *The land of Midian*, I, xxi-xxiii, 75, 191, 194, etc. During the Eighteenth Dynasty, *msdmt* is mentioned among the imports from Naharin (*BAR* II, 501). Compare, however, H. Quiring, 'Die Lage des Gold- und Antimonlandes Punt . . .', *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 21-3 (Berlin, 1947), 161-3; F. W. von Bissing, 'Pyene (Punt) und die Seefahrten der Aegypter', *Die Welt des Orients* I. Bd. 3 (1948), 151 f.; F. Jonckheere, 'La Mesdemet. Cosmétique et médicament égyptiens', *Histoire de la médecine* . . . (Paris, juillet 1952), 1-12.

³ P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I. pls. 30-1.

⁴ Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 6 (1920), 100 n. 1; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 1943, 32 n. 27; W. Max Müller, op. cit. 120 f. For the writer's comments on the appellation *nmw*, 'tribesmen', see Abdel-Aziz Saleh, 'Arabia and the Arabs in Ancient Egyptian Records' (in the press).

⁵ *Anc. Egn. Materials* . . . (1962), 83; 196.

⁶ *Wb.* IV, 349-50.

⁷ P. Petersburg 1115, 141, 162; W. Vycichl, 'Notes on the story of the Shipwrecked Sailor', *Kush* 5 (1957), 72.

⁸ Compare also, in part, D. M. Dixon, op. cit. 59 f.

⁹ *Urk.* IV, 329; *Deir el-Bahari*, III pl. 74 and p. 15.

trees to the shore attributed them to the 'midst of God's-Land'.¹ After arrival of the trees in Egypt, the god Amūn commanded the Queen, in the texts, to plant the trees of God's-Land beside his temple.² Moreover, on Hatshepsut's obelisk at Karnak, it is noted in addition to references to the *ꜥntyw* of Pwenet and all its luxurious marvels, and to the malachite from the country of Rashawet, and to the cedar, juniper, and *meru* woods of the Asiatics, that the Queen makes a special allusion to 'all the costly sweet woods of God's-Land' (perhaps not meaning here the wooded highlands of the Lebanon, which are mentioned before).³ In the Karnak inscriptions of Sethos I, Amūn is said to have gathered together from the East 'all the countries of Pwenet (with) all their tributes of gum, *ꜥntyw*, *tishepses*-wood, and all the pleasant sweet woods of God's-Land'.⁴

The foregoing inference does not exclude other instances where the odoriferous woods occur also among the specialities of Pwenet (as in an inscription of Amenophis III).⁵ *Tishepses*-wood (cinnamon?) is one of the imports from Pwenet in the texts from the tomb of Puyemrē.⁶ *Khesayit* wood is listed among the products of the island where the hero of the romance of the Shipwrecked Sailor was cast ashore.⁷

II. Population

It is worthy of note that the list of the personal gifts which were brought by the chieftain of Pwenet to the Queen's ambassador consists mainly of gold of *ꜥmw* (foreign country, written as *ꜥmw*), a heap of frankincense, and truncheons such as one sees in the hand of the chieftain of Pwenet himself.⁸ The identification of the 'Amu hill- or foreign-country, which is the only geographical name mentioned here besides Pwenet and God's-Land, is neither easy nor certain. It furnished *wꜥd*-gold (i.e. fresh, or green gold, or gold-dust) and is mentioned elsewhere with the variants *ꜥmw*, *ꜥmw*, *ꜥmw*, *ꜥmw*.⁹ It is not far-fetched to identify it with a gold region south or south-east of Egypt.¹⁰ On the other hand, Krall, who sought to locate Pwenet to the south between the Nile and the western littoral of the Red Sea, found an explanation in that the 'Amu here may have been emigrant Arabs from the opposite coast of the Red Sea.¹¹ N. de G. Davies made the suggestion that the southern 'Amu-land could be an extension of the better-known Syrian 'Aamu. Accordingly, it could be located (he says) in Arabia, which was an almost unknown land to the Egyptians, who perhaps had intercourse with its inhabitants only through their neighbours on the west coast of the Red Sea. Davies concluded that the appearance of Semitic-looking men in association with the men of Pwenet in the tomb of Puyemrē, from the reign of Tuthmosis III, could be thus explained. The difficulty in Davies's view may be that the two Egyptian terms, the Asiatic *ꜥmw* and the southern *ꜥmw*, are often written in different ways from each other. However, he believed that the spelling of the southern *ꜥmw* (with variants) may be that

¹ *Urk.* IV, 328 and see below, p. 152.

³ Breasted, *AR* II, 321.

⁴ *Ibid.* III, 116.

² E. Naville, *op. cit.* III, 21.

⁵ *Ibid.* II, 892; III, 527.

⁶ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrē*, I, 85.

⁷ P. Petersburg 1115, 141, 163.

⁸ *Urk.* IV, 326, 5-9; E. Naville, *op. cit.*, pl. 69. Compare N. de G. Davies, *op. cit.* 85 and note 2.

⁹ Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, 143; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 120 f.

¹⁰ Cf. E. Zyhlarz, *Kush* 6, 34; Gauthier, *loc. cit.*, and older bibliography.

¹¹ J. Krall, 'Das Land Punt', *Mitt. Geogr.* 121 (1890), 75-7; R. Herzog, *Punt*, 37.

of the country of the *ꜣmw*.¹ It is known that the sphere of action of the Asiatic 'Aamu extended along the eastern boundaries of Egypt far to the south of the First Cataract.

How far the Egyptians were informed about the physical and social conditions of God's-Land is not easy to determine. All we can say is that in describing the *ꜣntyw*-producing areas by the name of *ḥtyw*, that is, the terraced hills, the Egyptians were distinctly aware of the peculiarity of those areas, for almost all the wild resiniferous species actually occur in high dry steppe regions and rocky places.² Steuer thinks that the Egyptians may have applied the term *ḥtyw* as well to the artificially elevated tracts of land made for the cultivation of certain species of incense trees.³ This is not entirely impossible (see further below). Allusions to the social organization of the Pwenetites are by no means uniformly consistent. The country had no king, but had at its head a chief or a great one (*wr*) and less important great ones (*wrw*), 'Sheikhs'. This can perhaps be taken as an indication of a tribal organization, though apparently the Pwenetites were settlers, not nomads. It may be a mere coincidence that the Egyptian title *wr*, given to the chieftain of Pwenet, suggests to the mind the Arabic title *kabîr* (great one), given to the South Arabian governors of the colonies on the great incense route of Arabia, though admittedly this is very late.⁴ It seems likely that the profitable trade of incense and luxury substances was mainly concentrated in the hands of the great men of the country.

As regards the inhabitants, the god Amûn (that is, presumably, his high priest?) assumed full knowledge of them, saying, 'I conciliated them by love that they might give to thee (the Queen) praise . . . I know (them), I am their wise lord'.⁵ According to his account, the *smntyw* of the Queen, too, knew them.⁶ Amûn, as gleaned from the inscriptions, classified the peoples with whom the emissaries of Ḥatshepsut were going to meet into two groups. They are described briefly as the Pwenetites who did not know the people (of Egypt), and the *Ḥbstyw*.⁷ The scenes at Deir el-Baḥari substantiate this division of peoples in one way, but weaken it in another. The point of weakness is that the types portrayed on the monuments are all joined under the appellation 'Pwenetites' without exception. Nevertheless, this does not vitiate the point made long ago that the population of the Pwenet scenes sketched at Deir el-Baḥari seems to have comprised a number of different racial types. Various peoples are shown side by side.⁸ Slight differences of colour, beards, hair styles, and in part of costume and items of trade, seem to separate them roughly into three groups. The characteristic features given to the stylized

¹ N. de G. Davies, op. cit. I, 86 n. 1, in contrast to Max Müller, loc. cit. See also G. Roeder, *Debod*, 103 f.; G. Posener, in *Arch. Orient.* 20 (1952), 163 f.

² Gus. V. van Beek (j.a.), *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia* (Baltimore, 1958), 139; idem, *JAOs* 1958, 144 f.; F. N. Hepper, *JEA* 55, 66-7; 69.

³ R. O. Steuer, in *JAOs* 63, 283; D. M. Dixon, in *JEA* 55, 63.

⁴ Cf. A. Grohmann, *Arabien* (München, 1963), 128 f.; 130; van den Branden, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 14 (1957), 16; W. Caskel, *Lihyan und Lihyanisch* (Köln, 1953).

⁵ *Urk.* IV, 346, 1-5; *AR* II, 288.

⁶ *Ibid.* 344, 16. On this point see my article (in the press), 'The ancient intermediaries in the incense trade between God's-land and Egypt in Pharaonic Times'.

⁷ *Urk.* IV, 345, 14-15; *AR* II, 288.

⁸ Cf. E. Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, III, pls. 70, 71, 74, pp. 12-13; 'Le Pays de Pount et les Chamites', *Revue archéologique* 5, série 23 (1926), 114-16; D. M. Dixon, op. cit. 62.

figures of the ruling class are generally identical with those of the Hamitic peoples. But in view of the fact that many branches of the Hamitic stock, which had a wide distribution in East Africa, were kindred to the Hamito-Semitic population of South Arabia in Asia and had essential features in common, the racial characteristics shown in the reliefs at Deir el-Baḥari can offer us but little guidance to effective identification, and the examination will, of necessity, be limited primarily to cultural aspects. The outstanding peculiarity, as scholars have long known, is that the men of the upper class of the Pwenetites have plaited beards turned up at the ends. Little can be determined from comparison between these beards and the long, narrow, closely plaited Egyptian beards, or the false beards, occasionally worn by certain gods and kings, as well as, to some extent, by certain notables of later times, in Egypt. Whether these similarities are to be accounted for as inherent survivals of a very old-fashioned complex taste, or whether they might have arisen in ways quite independent of each other, cannot be easily determined. All we can say about the sporadic appearance of ritual beards worn by some well-born Egyptians at later times is that there were closer affinities between the Egyptians of these times and the Semito-Asiatics than can be said to exist between them and the Hamito-Africans. It is well to note, on the other hand, that apart from the false beards of the notable Egyptians, other (natural) pointed beards are worn also, every now and then, by some old herdsmen and fen-dwellers, in the Egyptian scenes of the New Kingdom. N. de G. Davies¹ regarded it as improbable that these bearded men are foreign slaves. He was convinced that such a depiction is nothing more than an unusual stress on the signs of old age among the Egyptians themselves and among fen-dwellers to a special degree. In fact, one cannot fail to note other clear signs of old age in the facial portraits of the bearded Pwenetites too (Naviile, pls. 69, 70, 74). Those who have short stumpy beards among them (pl. 74) are otherwise not distinguished from the Egyptians.

Of equal importance to an understanding of the identification of the Pwenetite class in question are the varieties of hair styles among them. Parehu, the elderly chief of the country, has short curly hair which follows the lines of his head. The hair styles of his group fall into two types. Some of the men have long curled hair or a wig held in place by a fillet tied behind with strands extending below the shoulders. Others have rather long hair, cut unevenly and hanging behind. Although both fashions are typical of the Pwenetites of other periods, and the former is similar to the type of hair and fillet of the so-called Pwenetite chief depicted among the foreign representatives in the mortuary temple of Sahurē,² they are more often given later to the Asiatics in the tombs of the New Kingdom. N. de G. Davies mentioned significant examples from tombs Nos. 39 and 276 of the time of Tuthmosis III. Moreover, long ago Borchardt called attention to the Asiatic type of hair among the men of Pwenet, which he could not identify.³

Particularly to be noted is the fact that Parehu, the chief of the country, and at least

¹ Op. cit., pls. 12-19, pp. 63, 66; II, Appendix D.

² L. Borchardt, *Sahurē*, II, pl. 5.

³ Ibid. 21; cf. N. de G. Davies, op. cit. I, 86 n. 2.

one of his sons, have daggers with sheaths attached to their belts.¹ This is very rare in the representations of foreigners in Egyptian scenes, and strikingly calls to mind the custom of the Yemenites of later times. Probably the dagger was worn for purposes of prestige, for generally the Pwenetites seem to have maintained a peaceable character. About his neck the chieftain wears a necklace, which P. Montet² suggests may be a round medallion after the Syrian fashion. In any event, both the daggers and the necklace differ in type from those specimens shown as gifts from Ḥatshepsut to Hathor, the patroness of Pwenet, and to the chief of the land.

III. Arabian contacts

One wonders whether these varied facts can support the idea of a genetic relation or at least a close affinity between this group of Pwenetites and the Asiatic branch of the Hamito-Semites of South Arabia. E. Naville, who proposed this identification, sought to establish it by the circumstance that representatives of this group are painted red in the reliefs of Deir el-Bahari, but not so dark as the Egyptians. He concluded that they are probably not native Africans, and thought that they were immigrants from the other side of the sea, from the Arabian coast.³ Although little can be determined from trifling differences in colour, the supposed existence of Arabian strains among this group is not refuted by modern scholars such as N. de G. Davies, W. S. Smith,⁴ and others. Ernest Zyhlarz has regarded them as representing the *Hbstyw* of the account of Amūn, i.e. the god-like bearded ones of God's-Land or of South Arabia.⁵

Besides the preponderant class or stock, the Egyptians met in Pwenet with brown half-breeds as well as with black Negroes. The brown ones are identified by E. Naville⁶ with the Gallas, the native African inhabitants who shared a mixture of characteristics with the South Arabians but differed somewhat from them in cultural patterns. The situation with the genuine Negroes is difficult to clarify. Whether they lived in a state of subjection to the other inhabitants, or had settled beside them on the seashore area of the country, or had merely come from the hinterlands for purposes of trade, are all matters of debate.⁷

It seems very probable that the South Arabians, who were so famous for their incense trade, contented themselves for a time with faring across the narrow straits of Bab el-Mandab in their native boats and rafts laden with aromatics—chiefly frankincense,

¹ *Deir el-Bahari*, III, pl. 69. Cf. W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 137.

² *Everyday Life in Egypt*, tr. (London, 1962, 2 edn.), 186. Of another particular interest is the African leg bracing of rings, perhaps of copper, worn by Parehu on his right leg (erroneously mentioned by Naville as left). It is not clear whether it was the result of disease or whether it was a primitive symbol of sovereignty.

³ *Deir el-Bahari*, III, 13. See also A. Wiedemann, 'Die Kulturbeziehungen Altaegyptens zum Auslande', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 99, 4.

⁴ N. de G. Davies, loc. cit.; W. S. Smith, op. cit. 138.

⁵ *Wb.* v, 225, 7; *Urk.* IV, 345, 15; E. Zyhlarz, *Kush* 6 (1958), 10 n. 8; 17 n. 24. Note on the other hand that the Khebstyru have been differently identified to denote either 'those of the frontier Khebst' or the 'inhabitants of the terraces' or 'those who scrape or scratch the incense trees to cause the gum to exude from them', etc. See W. Max. Müller, op. cit. 116-17; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* IV, 172-3.

⁶ Op. cit. 13.

⁷ H. Junker, in *JEA* 7 (1921), 129; H. Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, 124; 350; D. M. Dixon, op. cit. 62.

cassia, and lidanon—westward to the coast of African Pwenet, where the Egyptians used to land.¹ We can readily imagine that, in order to further their economic prosperity and their commercial monopoly, the South Arabians preferred to veil their voyages in strict secrecy, a practice which they are known to have followed in later times in respect of commerce and navigation in the Indian Ocean.² It is not unlikely that this behaviour was common knowledge in Egypt, but that the Egyptians made no attempt to interfere with it. It suited them to buy goods at the mart known to them from ancient times, on the African coast. According to M. Maspero and E. Naville, this mart was probably a natural harbour which must have stood at the mouth of a river where trade was easily carried on and where the exotic goods of different peoples were imported for barter.³

Assuming that the presence of South Arabian representatives at Pwenet can be thus accounted for, we must admit that it cannot yet be easily decided whether they were satisfied with bartering there in the free mart and content to return home with the foreign goods which had been received in exchange, or whether they received a ready welcome from the population of this territory, which, like South Arabia, furnishes aromatic substances; or again whether they assumed control of the region to secure their economic interests, as may be discerned from the pictures of Deir el-Baḥari which show quasi-Asiatic strains among the upper class of the population. At all events, it may be remembered that the ancient South Arabians were seafaring men and intrepid traders, more so than the African Hamites. During their historical periods of expansion, for some centuries in the first millennium B.C. and well into the first millennium A.D., they not only prevailed in the Horn of Africa but penetrated to places beyond it.⁴ The more active and wealthy they were, the more easily did they assume control of the region. We cannot be sure, however, that the same would apply to the period under consideration.

IV. The Expedition

It was not until the time of Ḥatshepsut that the initiative first came. Perhaps, through the peaceful goals of the period and the consistent policy of developing commercial foreign contacts on a great scale after some generations of military activities, the Egyptian state felt it necessary to set up a new and major commercial enterprise.⁵ The growing need of the temples for incense at a time in which pride was taken in building to the glory of Amūn strengthened the desire to open direct negotiations with the inhabitants of some hitherto untrodden *ḥntyw* terraces, perhaps sought on the south-eastern coast of the Red Sea. Two passages from the inscriptions of Deir el-Baḥari support this theory. The supposedly miraculous arrival of Ḥatshepsut's expedition at the promised land had been foretold by the good omen of Amūn. His guidance of the voyage is

¹ Cf. A. Fakhry, *An Archaeological Journey to Yemen*, vol. I (Cairo, 1952).

² Cf. De Lacy O'Leary, *Arabia before Muhammad* (London, 1927), ch. IV; S. A. Huzayyin, *Arabia and the Far East* (Cairo, 1942), 110 f.

³ Naville, *op. cit.* 12; D. M. Dixon, *op. cit.* 62.

⁴ Cf. W. F. Albright, *JEA* 7, 83.

⁵ Cf. J. A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt*, 175–6; S. A. Huzayyin, *op. cit.*

described as follows: 'I will conduct it on water and on land while exploring (?) the waters of inaccessible channels (which) I (myself) have traversed (?) (unto) the *ḥntyw* terraces, this sacred region of God's-Land. It is indeed my place of delight . . .'.¹ Moreover, in an ambiguous text reproduced by Mariette, but largely hacked away before Naville's edition, the élite of Pwenet were amazed at the paradoxical ambition of the Egyptian expedition to go to a certain forbidden country which seemed inaccessible. On the basis of earlier publications Breasted translated this text as follows: 'They say as they pray for peace: Why have ye come hither (*lit.*, why have ye reached this?) unto this land, which the people (*ḥmt*) know not? Did ye descend upon the roads of heaven, or did ye sail upon the waters, upon the sea of God's-Land? Have ye trodden (the way of ?) *Rē*? . . .' Breasted took this speech as showing their astonishment at the sight of the Egyptians,² and his translation has been generally accepted with little change. But it is scarcely conceivable that the Pwenetites, who came to greet their valued customers with their rich gifts, inquired why they had come! Nor is it conceivable that they asked their visitors whether they had come by land or by sea or from heaven, while seeing Egyptian ships already landing in their quay. We might get a different result if we apply the question to future rather than past or present events. While keeping in mind the bidding of Amūn and the Queen to 'explore the highways (*ḥntw*) to the *ḥntyw* terraces' and to 'investigate its (?) ways (*wḥwt:f*), . . . as far as the Lands of the gods (including) God's-Land untrodden by others'³ and using Sethe's reproduction of the texts, the following rendering may be more legitimate:

They said (in) asking for favour: Wherefore should you reach thus that hill-country unknown to men? Will you descend (there) upon the ways of heaven? Or will you sail upon water, or over land? How happy is God's-Land which has been only trodden by *Rē*' (or How happy would be God's-Land which you seek to tread (like) *Rē*!). Lo, for the king of Egypt, is there no way to his majesty, that we may live by the breath which he gives?⁴

Proof of the correctness of this interpretation will be found below.

It will be clear that, before its departure from Egypt, the expedition had the object of opening direct negotiations with a forbidden region situated somewhere beyond the districts to which for a long time past their ancestors had sent expeditions to procure incense and other related luxury items of commerce. To put it differently, it is taken for granted that the intrepid Egyptian seamen had had long experience with the African seaboard of Pwenet. They might well have been accustomed to sailing through the channel between the outer reefs of the Red Sea and the coast.⁵ As a result of this fact, it may follow that the other supposedly much more perilous waters of the inaccessible channels joining the *ḥntyw* terraces, in the words of Amūn, i.e. the mysterious waters of

¹ *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 84, 13; *Urk.* IV, 345, 1-5. Note Breasted's comment (*AR* II, 117 n. c) that the word *wḥwt* has been used long before of exploring unknown countries. Also the interpretation of the *Wb* (II, 485, 12) of the verb *ḥb* as 'betreten, auch wohl: durchziehen'.

² Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, 257; *A History of Egypt* (1956), 276. Cf. Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari* (1877), 14; Naville, op. cit., pl. 69 and p. 15.

³ *Urk.* IV, 344-5.

⁴ *Ibid.* IV, 324. Cf. too J. A. Wilson, op. cit. 176; P. Montet, op. cit. 186.

⁵ T. Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Dynasty* (Uppsala, 1946), 16.

God's-Land in the warning notices of the Pwenetites, may mean the passage separating the African Pwenet from the Arabian coast on the south-eastern side of the Red Sea. Or, it may mean a sea-way much farther south than the Straits of Bab el-Mandab on the way to the southern coast of Arabia, that was able to supply the choicest *ntyw* and other aromatics in considerable quantities. Amūn's promise of assistance and guidance would be regarded as guaranteeing the men safety in such an arduous voyage, which is supposed to be continued to certain highlands at some distance from the shore.

The project probably seemed like an exploration to the Egyptians. Its consequences were hoped to be manifold. Not only would it put an end to all sorts of intermediaries in the incense trade about which Amūn, according to the inscription, complained to the Queen, and would furnish a cheaper way of getting frankincense of the best quality in fair amounts, but it would also procure really fresh *ntyw* shrubs to satisfy the desire of acclimatizing them in Egypt. However, it seems doubtful whether the inquisitive seafarers of Ḥatshepsut had planned to go the whole way up to the Ḥardrami-controlled land of Dhôfar, the main area producing frankincense (*Boswellia carteri*, or *B. sacra*),¹ where they had to face the dangers of navigation in the open sea. They can hardly have planned to sail towards the region of Qataban which lay much nearer to the south-western coast of Arabia than did Saba later.² There, myrrh grows in plenty, and frankincense could have been brought to it overland from Dhôfar. Furthermore, it seems much more probable that they had had the intention of starting with the African coast of Pwenet so that they might negotiate with the South Arabian representatives residing there. This meeting would pave the way for them to continue their voyage towards the forbidden region of God's-Land on the other side of the Red Sea.

Interestingly enough, the inscription in front of the five ocean-going ships at Deir el-Bahari can be interpreted to suggest these supposed successive attempts. It states precisely: 'Sailing in the Great-Green, beginning the goodly way towards God's-Land (by) landing in peace at the country of Pwenet . . ., according to the command of the lord of gods, Amūn, lord of the thrones of the two lands (presider over Karnak), in order to procure for him the marvels of every country . . .'.³ It makes no difference, probably, that the Egyptian chronicler has described the landing of the expedition in Pwenet, as 'The arrival of the royal messenger in God's-Land together with the troops who are accompanying him'.⁴ Besides the fact that Pwenet was considered as a notable territory in the vast domain of the half-mythical designation 'God's-Land', this touch of exaggeration may be forgiven (see below).

From what we see in the texts and pictures, the Pwenetites, to all appearances, had only the friendliest intentions towards Egypt, her Queen, and 'the lord of gods, Amen-Rē', the primordial god of the two lands who is throughout (all) foreign countries'.⁵ But, as it is said, the wind will not always blow as the sailor wishes it to. The main goal of reaching the *ntyw*-terraces of God's-Land in South Arabia seems not to have been attained. The Pwenetites were perfectly well aware of what the Egyptians wanted.

¹ Jr. R. Bowen (j.a.), *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia*, 36; 139-40; F. H. Hepper, op. cit. 66.

² Cf. Tkatch, 'Qataban', *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1936).

³ *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 69; *Urk.* IV, 324.

They were apprehensive lest too close a relation between Egypt and South Arabia might endanger their own position. Once the Egyptians trod upon the *ntyw* terraces of Arabia, it would become possible for them to develop a sea-way of their own, and in consequence, they would put an end to all sorts of mediation, and avoid—as far as possible—the territory of Pwenet.¹

With the intention of securing their trade and interests, the Pwenetites were avaricious enough to offer to show the Egyptian envoys the way to the *ntyw* terraces on the other shore of the Red Sea. The aged chieftain of Pwenet, Parehu, followed by his family, came forward raising his hands towards the Egyptians while a gleam of curiosity flitted across his face. Like a dealer who cries up his own goods and cries down the goods of another, the Pwenetites forged an ostensible pretext to lessen the Egyptians' ambition and prevent them from going beyond the Straits of Bab el-Mandab in the direction of South Arabia, declaring that this was a very hard task indeed; it would prove useless because the voyage could not be guided. Here, perhaps, we can recall the rendering of the text pointed out above which is not only possible, but also necessary for the correct understanding of the sequence of events (see p. 152).

Because of the Egyptians' probable lack of first-hand knowledge of the area, they were taken in by this ploy. They found that the matter was of no moment and so acquitted the Pwenetites of blame and did not turn the Queen's favour from them. In obedience to the orders of the Queen (L.P.H.) to be generous and to show something of her hospitality, the royal messenger Nehsi (?)² entertained the chiefs of Pwenet to a banquet in his tent which was immediately pitched on the shore. In the meantime, the Egyptians did not delay bartering and searching for huge quantities of frankincense, and, above all, for some of the trees which produced it, to be planted at Thebes. It seems that when the Pwenetites felt it necessary to hand over these valuable trees to the Egyptians, besides the other luxury merchandise, the latter admitted that it was fair. Surely there had been Egyptian expeditions to Pwenet before, but, says the inscription: 'Never have been brought the like of these (*ntyw* trees) for any king since the beginning of the world'.³ This would certainly become a meritorious act. After an indeterminate span of time, some men, presumably Pwenetites, appeared carrying a number of flourishing trees through the wooded country towards the shore.⁴ Others, certainly Egyptians, were shown ascending the gang-planks also with trees, to be loaded into the ships.⁵ Each tree is about the height of a man, being enclosed in a pot or basket, probably with its roots and the clod of clay in which it grew. Each is being carried on yokes by four to six men, to emphasize its importance. However, it has rightly been pointed out that neither the digging up of these trees, nor the terraces from which they were cut down,

¹ Cf. D. M. Dixon, *op. cit.* 64. For the competition in later times, see above, p. 151 n. 2.

² The royal messenger is not identified by name in the texts. Nehsi, the bearer of the royal seal and chief treasurer, was entrusted by the Queen to dispatch the expedition. But in Breasted's view, he conducted it only to the sea and then sent it out to Pwenet. Hence, the royal messenger is probably a different man. (*AR II*, p. 119 n. b).

³ *AR II*, 265, and cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.* 18.

⁴ *Deir el-Bahari*, pls. 69-70.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 74.

are shown in the pictures of Deir el-Bahari.¹ Another problem is that the so-called 'bare' trees are found only in the Pwenet scenes, while the leafy frankincense trees are shown mainly in the pictures after arrival in Egypt. Apart from the somewhat negative argument that the cutting down of the trees might have been depicted somewhere in the large portion of the reliefs which has disappeared,² three assumptions can be made. First, it would be well to remember that, according to Hepper,³ unlike myrrh trees which grew in the coastal region of Somalia, frankincense trees grew in the hinterland at an altitude of up to 3,600 feet. So the Egyptian artists, who have shown us everything worth observing in Pwenet, are absolved of blame, for it is unlikely that they ever reached the distant frankincense-growing highlands. Secondly, it is to be noted that though all the trees which are brought down to shore or loaded on ships in Pwenet are called *ntyw* trees, there is still a problematic variety. The trees which are brought by the Pwenetites along the shore are apparently of the so-called 'bare' form, perhaps myrrh trees. Only the outlines are shown of those trees represented as being carried by the Egyptian sailors up the gang-planks to be loaded into the ships. If laxity or a misguided attempt to achieve simplicity of line, on the part of the Egyptian artist, is not to be admitted, then were these latter trees perhaps of the frankincense species, but packed up tightly by nurserymen for transport? Thirdly, it is not improbable that the frankincense shrubs under consideration might have been transported from somewhere in South Arabia, the main frankincense-producing area. This would probably be the conclusion if the similarity between the leafy shrubs shown after arrival in Egypt and the Arabian *Boswellia sacra* is kept in mind. Attention may be drawn, in this connection, to the fact (see further above) that the inscriptions at Deir el-Bahari classify the imports of the expedition into two groups: marvels of the (hill) country of Pwenet, and riches of God's-Land. It is not unlikely that the Egyptian artist realized vaguely that the locality from which the *ntyw* trees were obtained lay at some distance from the coast of Pwenet. He depicted some porters, cheerful at the successful outcome, addressing a green *ntyw* tree as though it were a living being, saying, 'Proceed (in prosperity) with us (you) *ntyw* tree presiding over the midst of God's-Land, to the mansion of Amun, where Ma'atkarē (the Queen) will set you to grow in his temple, according to command'.⁴ After arrival in Egypt, the *ntyw* trees were described as 'trees of fresh *ntyw*, thirty-one, brought among the marvels of Pwenet'.⁵ The Queen herself mentioned the digging up of the trees in God's-Land, and the setting of them in the earth (in Egypt) for the king of the gods.⁶

It has been noted, first by Maspero and Naville, and recently by W. S. Smith, that the arrangement of the registers and the many types of racial stock and cultural features, besides the variety of animals and trees in the Pwenet scenes represent no coastal

¹ D. M. Dixon, op. cit. 63 f.

² In favour of this assumption there is a brief inscription cited by Sethe on the pulling up of the *ntyw*-trees, *fdt nhwt ntyw* (*Urk.* IV, 327, 6; 352, 11); cf. Smith, *JARCE* I, 60. A fragment from the tomb of Hēpuseneb, first prophet of Amun in the reign of Hātšhepsut, contains an interesting picture of felling incense trees in Pwenet (Nina M. Davies, *JEA* 47 (1961), 19 f.).

³ Op. cit. 69-70.

⁵ *Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 79, 17.

⁴ *Urk.* IV, 328.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 86, 12, 14.

scenery, but a cultivated as well as wooded country at some distance inland. Different peoples do not trade in exactly the same goods; what is brought to the Egyptians by the Negroes is not quite the same as what is offered by the Pwenetites, but all are loaded together from the same place on the Egyptian ships.¹

After a fair voyage homeward without mishap, the emissaries were cheered when they moored again at the docks of Thebes. We should not, of course, expect the acknowledgement of failure of any sort. All difficulties were smoothed away before them by the blessings of Amūn and the Queen. The narrative elements in the story at Deir el-Bahari insisted on the importance of the expedition and hailed it as a novelty. The Egyptian chroniclers appeared quite convinced that the accomplishments added something to that which had already been known about the land of Pwenet.² The Red Sea became well explored and the discovery opened up a direct route to God's-Land. The expedition eliminated all kinds of intermediaries. It would not be long before the valuables of God's-Land, which the Egyptians had longed for, would pass through their own hands. The operations were carried out 'according to all that the majesty of this revered god commanded' and 'according to the desire of her majesty'.³

Botanists do not categorically reject the reference in Theophrastus, the earliest Greek source for South Arabian history (*Hist. Plant.* 9. 4. 9), as well as in Pliny (*HN* 12. 33) to the circumstance that frankincense and myrrh trees in Arabia grew wild on the mountains and were cultivated at the foot of the mountains. The Egyptians might have attempted to take advantage of the ability of the frankincense tree to grow out of the ground as well as from crevices, and planted them somewhere in the temple of Deir el-Bahari.⁴ In Breasted's view, the Queen conceived of the terraces of this temple as like the *ntyw* terraces of Pwenet. She refers in one of her inscriptions to the fact that Amūn had desired her 'to establish for him a Pwenet in his house'.⁵

The keenly observant artist who sketched the scenes tended to be no less proud than the chronicler. He followed much the same lines of thought. He allowed himself some luxury of exaggeration in his intention of conveying the idea that the expedition met with complete success and achieved all its goals in accordance with the bidding of Amūn and the Queen. As was usually the case, parts of the representations are exact, others are approximate, and finally, some are symbolic or imaginative. To take but a few examples from many, the *ntyw* trees which a very short time before were small shrubs enclosed in tubs, are shown to have prospered so well since they were planted at Thebes that cattle can walk under their branches.⁶ Doubtless the claim is exaggerated, for as some botanists point out, even if the trees did grow at Thebes, there is the possibility that they did not develop much in size and height, or yield resin, since the growth of the plant apparently requires a certain combination of various ecological and climatic

¹ *Deir el-Bahari*, III, 12 f.; W. S. Smith, 'The Land of Punt', *JARCE* 1 (1962), 59 f.; idem, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven, 1965), 138; D. M. Dixon, op. cit. 62.

² Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit. 17; D. M. Dixon, op. cit. 58 f.

³ *AR* II, 285.

⁴ Cf. D. M. Dixon, op. cit. 62; F. N. Hepper, op. cit. 71.

⁵ Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (1956), 274; *AR* II, 295.

⁶ *Deir el-Bahari*, III, pl. 78 and p. 17; J. Capart and M. Werbrouck, *Thebes . . .*, 175.

factors which are not found in Egypt.¹ At least, this may be taken as an indication of the hope of the Queen and her men.²

It has been noted that not all the animals portrayed in the Pwenet scenes at Deir el-Baḥari specifically related to the land of Pwenet, but they were of a kind known to belong to the southern and south-eastern countries in general.³ According to a recent study of the fish fauna depicted near and beneath the ocean-going ships, the species of fishes and aquatic animals represented are nearly all of the fauna of the Indian Ocean, including the Red Sea and its gulfs. Nevertheless, they seem of a little value in determining precisely the latitudes of Pwenet.⁴ The various elements in the scenes are not all drawn to a uniform scale.⁵ Little regard was given to the relative size of the fauna and flora included.

Scholars usually bring up another puzzling problem. Neither in going towards Pwenet nor in returning to Egypt is the necessary transfer of cargoes between the Nile and the Red Sea across the Eastern Desert shown in the reliefs of Deir el-Baḥari. The same ships as are depicted sailing the Red Sea are afterwards shown on the Nile in the quay of Thebes.⁶ In consequence of this feature, two contradictory theories are expressed. Some authorities (Naville, Breasted, Capart, Erman, and, more recently, Montet) are convinced that a certain shipping waterway linking the eastern arm of the Delta (the Bubastite arm) with the Red Sea must have existed before the time of Ḥatshepsut, and that the ships must have passed through it to and from the Red Sea. Other scholars (such as Posener, Kees, and Gardiner) categorically reject the existence of such an important canal before the time of Necho II, about 600 B.C.⁷ They hold that the depiction of ocean-going ships in the quay of Thebes was fanciful and imaginary. They are also tempted to explain the omission of the transportation across the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea as due to the carelessness of the artist or to a misguided effort towards simplicity. The last word concerning this problem is far from being said.⁸

The consequences of Ḥatshepsut's expedition should be neither ignored nor exaggerated. Apart from touches of hyperbole in the highly coloured accounts, and the imaginary nature of a few pictures at Deir el-Baḥari, Ḥatshepsut's enterprise

¹ F. N. Hepper, *op. cit.* 71. Even though the project had probably met with little success, it had not been abandoned. The importation of *ḥntyw*-shrubs was continued by Ḥatshepsut's successors. Cf. N. de G. Davies, *The tomb of Rekh-mi-rē at Thebes*, I. 19; D. M. Dixon, *op. cit.* 58 f.

² Cf. Naville, *Deir el-Baḥari, Introd. Memoir*, 24-5; R. O. Steuer, *JAOs* 63, 281; D. M. Dixon, *op. cit.* 61.

³ W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (1958), 137.

⁴ Eva Danelius and Heinz Steinitz, 'The Fishes and other Aquatic Animals on the Punt reliefs at Deir el-Baḥari', *JEA* 53 (1967), 20-1.

⁵ D. M. Dixon, *op. cit.* 61.

⁶ *Deir el-Baḥari*, pls. 72, 75; *Urk.* IV, 329-30.

⁷ G. Posener, *CdÉ* 1938, 259 f.; 271; H. Kees, *Ancient Egypt* (tr.), 113-14; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 186.

⁸ The scholars who locate Pwenet at the borderlands of the Sudan and Ethiopia near the Blue Nile and the White Nile think that the whole journey was by the Nile and not by the Red Sea. See R. Herzog, *Punt*, 1968, 79-83. Cf., however, above, n. 4; and Kitchen, *op. cit.* 189 f.

unquestionably marks an important stage in Egyptian knowledge of the country of Pwenet, about which little was written in early times except brief inscriptions and works of semi-fictitious character. The Queen's expedition animated and developed Egyptian commerce with Pwenet. One of the ultimately most significant consequences, to the Egyptians, was the importing of the fresh *ntyw* trees from God's-Land to be planted in Egypt.¹ However, not only were the marvels of Pwenet and the riches of God's-Land loaded on to the ships, but the inscriptions record that natives from these areas, and their children, were brought as well, to deliver their products and pay homage to the Queen. Processions of men bearing gifts are represented, headed by the great men of Pwenet prostrating themselves before the Queen.² It has rightly been pointed out by scholars that such a representation need not be interpreted as a gesture of submission on the part of the Pwenetites.³ However, assuming that they, in some way or another, acknowledged the supremacy of the Egyptian Queen, with whom they were on friendly terms, this should perhaps be taken as in line with a policy of maintaining an active commerce with such a wealthy country. The expedition programme may also be considered as a step towards the goal of exploring the major *ntyw* terraces of South Arabia, an ambition to which the Queen and the god Amūn are said to have aspired. To what point this aim was carried out, later, must remain open to question. At least, however, the importing of the *ntyw* trees from this notable region of God's-Land, even through middlemen, must have paved the way for the owners of the *ntyw* terraces to open direct negotiations with Egypt proper and make a landing on its soil. Also, the circumstance that the acclimatizing of the *ntyw* trees of God's-Land did not meet with complete success in Egypt seemed to require that people of God's-Land be given more opportunity to take part in the incense trade with the so highly valued patrons of Egypt. The appearance of Asiatic-looking men in association with the men of Pwenet among the paintings in the tombs of senior Egyptian officials and high priests, after the time of Ḥatshepsut, as well as the coming of the *Gnbtyw*, most probably a section of the Qatabanian Arabs, to the court of Tuthmosis III (see *supra*), could thus be explained.

¹ See p. 156 n. 2.

² *Deir el-Bahari*, III, pl. 76.



³ In general, H. Kees, *op. cit.* 115.

SOME READINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS IN SUNDRY EGYPTIAN TEXTS

By JOHN W. B. BARNES

Most of the following notes are on points which have arisen in the course of my classes in Oxford; it will be seen that they incorporate suggestions made by my pupils themselves.

1. Couyat–Montet, *Inscriptions du Ouadi Hammamat*, No. 191 (p. 97)

In the account of the cutting out of the stone sarcophagus, the description of the prodigy which marked the occasion begins with the words: . This was translated by Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, § 451, as 'rain was made'; and this sense is reproduced by Gardiner in *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 125: 'there was a great rain-storm which disclosed a well 10 cubits by 10 across full of water to the brim'. It is hard to see how a rain-storm could have revealed what the subsequent description shows to have been a copious source and underground reservoir of virgin water. I believe that  is to be taken, not as 'rain', or (to anticipate another possible suggestion) 'flood', 'upsurge', with either of which we should expect *hpr* rather than *irt*, but in the more basic sense of 'striking'; *irt hꜣw* () will thus mean 'making a strike', as the term is used by miners; in excavating the stone block the workmen struck a virgin spring. In support of this, Mr. C. J. Eyre, of St. Edmund Hall, suggests that *hr nhꜣ n inr* in the next line means 'by reason of the disturbance of the stone'; the bulk of instances of words written *nhꜣ* in *Wb.* II, 290 f. and Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 136, suggests that the basic idea behind most of them is 'shake'.

2. *Kagemni*, I, 3–12 (text ed. by Gardiner, *JEA* 32 (1946), 71 ff.; pl. 14)

A few suggestions which I have to make about the interpretation of the passage concerning table manners and convivial conduct are perhaps best presented in the form of a continuous translation. In this I have generally followed Gardiner's where I agree with it, to make it the more clear where I have ventured to differ from it.

'If thou sit with a company, eschew the food thou lovest. Self-denial is (but for) a little moment; gluttony is a disgrace, and one points the finger at it. A cup of water quenches thirst; a mouthful of herbs fortifies the heart. (A single) good thing serves in place of good cheer; a small trifle serves in place of much. Vile is he whose belly is voracious when the (proper) time is past, and (who) has forgotten how to exercise the belly at home. If thou sit with a glutton, eat (only) when his greedy appetite is past; if thou drink with a drunkard, partake (only) when his craving is stilled. Be not bad-tempered in the matter of meat in company with one greedy, (but) take (only) when he

gives to thee; (then) reject it not; it will make for peace. As for one who is free from reproach (in the matter) of food, no word can prevail against him. So will there be personal respect toward him who is of a satisfied (?) disposition; the harsh man is kinder to him than (to) his (own) mother; all mankind are his servants.'

7. I take *sw*: *tr* with the *preceding* words; so Federn in *JEA* 36, 48. Mr. W. V. Davies, of Jesus College, points out a parallel to the construction here from *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 124 (Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories*, p. 45, line 3: *rš-wy sdd dpt·n·f, sn(i) ht mr*).

wstn ht m pr·sn: if *wstn* is intransitive (as usually), we may take this as a noun clause, the object of *smh·n·f*; but it might be transitive; if so, it would be infinitive, with *ht* as object. For *pr·sn*, 'home', see Gunn, *JEA* 37, 109. This seems to be the earliest appearance in ancient literature of the character type of the Parasite.

8 f. The obvious parallelism of these two sentences, which is brought out in Erman (tr. Blackman), *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, 66, seems to demand that we either delete 𓂏 before *ib·f*, or (as I would prefer, despite the general observation in Gardiner, *Middle Egyptian Grammar*, § 322), supply it before *ihf·f*. With regard to the latter word, I cannot agree with Gardiner's summary rejection (*JEA* 37, 109) of Federn's suggestion (*ibid.* 36, 48) that it is connected with *hf*. The message must be the same in both sentences: do not try to keep pace with one who eats or drinks to excess; give him a good start before you begin.

9. *m itw (sic) r iw·f*: the apportionment of choice morsels of (flesh) meat is an obvious occasion of greed, favouritism, and envy.


10. There seems no need to emend to 𓂏 ; *di·f* in fact makes better sense; so Scharff, *ZÄS* 77, 16; Lefebvre, *Gramm. ég.*² § 593; Sethe, *Erläut. äg. Lesest.* 59.

11. I would emend to $\text{𓂏} \leftarrow \langle \text{𓂏} \rangle \text{𓂏}$, taking *hr* as the particle, introducing a sentence with adverbial predicate (cf. Gard. *M. E. Gr.* § 119, 5). I take *tr* as a verbal noun (elsewhere *try*, *tryt*) from *tr*, 'to respect'; *tr n hr* would be, literally, 'respect of face'. In view of the proximity of *df* here one is led to suspect, without understanding, some connection with the expression *sdf*: *tryt* of *Urk.* IV, 1235, 16 (where the second determinative is 𓂏 , as here); *ibid.* 1304, 2: this appears from the context to mean '(swear) an oath of allegiance'; but the analysis of the term is difficult; 'satisfy respect'?

11 f. So Scharff, art. cit. 17. Or perhaps 'the harsh man is kinder to him than his own mother is'. Of three possible interpretations, Gardiner's in *JEA* 32 (cf. Scharff, art. cit. 18) seems to me the least convincing: 'kind unto him is one who is harsh even to his own mother.' In *JEA* 37, 110, however, he rejects this in favour of the alternative suggested above in this note.

3. *Sinuhe*, B 23-4 (Blackman, *MES*, p. 13, line 11)

Blackman here reads, with Gardiner, $\text{𓂏} \leftarrow \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$; see his note, *ibid.*, p. 13 a, defending the \leftarrow , which is not present in any of the other manuscripts. For disagreements with this, see Gardiner *M. E. Gr.* § 406 B (p. 320); so Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 1, no. 243; but the latter would account for certain features of his *Sinuhe* B example here by concluding that the sign has been altered from 𓂏 (his no. 242 = Gardiner, *M. E.*

Gr., Sign List I, 3). I reproduce B's writing here, and, for comparison, the more careful and elegant writing of  in *Sisobk* B i 5 (Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, No. 1, pl. 2; photograph in Gardiner, *The Ramesseum Papyri*, pl. ii):





Sinuhe B 24

FIG. 6

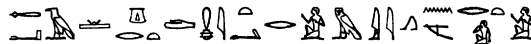






Sisobk B i 5

FIG. 6

It will be seen that what was read in B as  is in fact the foreleg of the crocodile, which would otherwise have a long neck, unlike any other example in hieratic known to me; what was taken to be the foreleg must be the hind leg, though this makes the crocodile's body disproportionately short in comparison with its tail. Two spots of ink behind this in the fold of the tail, presumably taken by some to represent the hind leg, find their counterpart in the *Sisobk* example in an apparently orderly row of dots, perhaps representing dorsal serrations on the tail itself. The elimination of  in B here has significant grammatical implications, since it disposes of what has been taken as the sole example of narrative *sdmt:f* with a verb having a masculine infinitive.

4. *Sinuhe*, B 85 f. (*MES*, p. 23, lines 9 ff.):



No other manuscript has this sentence. Scholars seem to agree in taking the last sign  as a possessive suffix; Gunn, for instance (in Lewis, *Land of Enchanters*, 36) translates 'Further, much accrued to me as a result of love of me'. But this must involve supplying  after ; as 'sic' in Blackman's edition suggests. I would understand  rather as the *determinative* of an expression *iy-n-mrwt*, meaning 'favourite', 'protégé', or the like.

5. *Sinuhe*, B 126 f. (*MES*, p. 27, line 1 f.)

I believe that this passage consists of two balancing clauses, in which *hm* is contrasted with *rh*: *in iw ntr hm št-n-f / rh(w) nt pw mi m*; *rh(w)* being Old Perfective, agreeing with *ntr*: 'Is the god ignorant of what he (himself) has ordained, / knowing (as he does) how the matter stands?'

6. P. Westcar, 7, 19 f.: *nd hrt imšhy pw*; *ibid.* 7, 26–8, 1: *nd hrt s3-nsw pw*.

These sentences were formerly taken to be part of the speeches of the King's Son and of Dedi respectively. Grapow, however, (*ZÄS* 77 (1942), 22 f.) would take them as glosses or asides addressed to the reader; a suggestion which appears to have won acceptance. I believe that it should be abandoned in view of the analogy shown in *Sinuhe* B 213 f. (*MES*, p. 33, line 11 f.): *nh (nht Ashm) pw n (nt Ashm) b3k im n nb:f*

šd (+*sw* Ashm) *m imntt*. No one, so far as I know, denies that this is part of Sinuhe's message.

With regard to the interpretation of the *Sinuhe* passage, it is interesting to note that the former of the two Westcar examples occurs in the *middle* of the Prince's speech; so there seems to be no reason why the analogous sentence in *Sinuhe* should not be thought to do so too; see my remark in *JEA* 53 (1967), 9.

7. P. Westcar, 12, 24 f.

At the end of line 24 I think that it is possible to read $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏}$; 𓆏 being very faint, and 𓆏 black and shapeless, as if the scribe's pen had run dry at the former, and being too full had blotted at the latter. In the next line we should read *iry's* $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏}$ *r-gs-i*; cf. 2, 6; there, however, 𓆏 is fully written, whereas here it has the abbreviated form noted by Möller, *Hier. Pal.* i, as 303 B.

8. *Urkunden* IV, 1229, line 20 (Gebel Barkal Stela, line 5): *šd·f r-imt·tw* $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏}$ *mi sb·*
d·f hrt.

$\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏}$, read as *pdy* 2, has been understood as 'the two bows (of heaven)' by edd. pr., and by Helck, *Urk. d. 18. Dyn.: Übers. z. d. Heften* 17-22, p. 6. This seems to involve an intolerable confusion of thought; we should surely take it as a miswriting of *pdyw*, 'foreign troops'.

9. *Urk.* IV, 1230, 13 (Gebel Barkal Stela, line 7)

The reading of edd. pr., $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏}$, followed by Helck in his edition, must be corrected to $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏}$, *hw-ny-r-hr*, as in *Urk.* IV, 1290, 11; *ibid.* 1292, 7 (Amada Stela of Amenophis II). Indeed, so far as one can judge from examination of the not very clear photographic reproduction in *ZÄS* 69, pl. 4, this is the actual reading of this inscription; the only sign whose reading might give rise to any doubt here is 𓆏 .

10. *Taking of Joppa* = P. Harris 500, vs. 2, 12 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 84, line 5 f.): *pti hst bkw·sn*.

Wilson's translation of the sentence in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*², p. 23: 'See the *vanguard* of their tribute' must surely be on the right lines; with *hst*, 'first (instalment)', contrast *ph(w)* in *Wenamün* 2, 49 (*LES*, p. 72, line 1): *pti ph p·*
ph(w) n t·y·k tt iw·f w·h(w): 'See, the last (lot) of your timber has arrived, and is stacked up.'

11. *Doomed Prince* = P. Harris 500, vs. 8, 13 (*LES*, p. 9, line 3 f.)

The end of this story is so fragmentary that any attempt to restore it must be a matter for conjecture; nevertheless I would venture to guess at the restoration and interpretation of its last two lines. The last speaker would appear to be the crocodile, who announces (line 11) that he is the Prince's pursuing fate; or rather, one of his three fates, and not, we may assume, the final one. He says that he has been engaged

¹ After I had come to this conclusion I found a manuscript note by Gunn to the effect that he too read *st* here.

in long conflict with the water-spirit (*nht*), and that he will release the Prince; a broken passage will probably have specified the conditions on which he will do so. In 8, 13 I would restore: *hdbw pꜣ nht; hr ir ptī-k pꜣ [nht, iw-k r ptī] pꜣ msh*: 'Kill the water-spirit! Now, if you regard the [water-spirit, you shall regard] the crocodile' (that is, myself). With *ptī* in this sense, compare the language in which the prince of Byblos urges Wenamūn to be on his way in *Wen.* 2, 50 f. (*LES*, p. 72, lines 3 ff.): *m ir iy r ptī tꜣ hry(t) n pꜣ ym; wnn iw-k (r) ptī tꜣ hry(t) n pꜣ ym, iw-k (r) ptī tꜣ y-i hr{t}·i*: 'Do not come to (= let yourself?) regard the terror of the sea! If you regard the terror of the sea, you shall regard the terror of *myself*.' In each case the person addressed is confronted with a choice of menaces, of which the speaker assures him that he himself will be the more formidable.¹

12. P. Abbott, p. 6 (Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies*, pl. 3 f.; translation in text volume, p. 41)

Pesiūr, Mayor of the City (of Thebes), is in lines 8–15 reported by his adversary Pwēro, Mayor of the West (of Thebes), the writer of the memorandum, to have announced that as a result of information laid by two scribes of the Necropolis against some of its personnel, he (Pesiūr) is submitting to Pharaoh five very serious charges against them, involving the severest penalties, the matters concerned being too grave to suppress; he confirms his intention by a tenfold oath. From this point onwards (lines 15–20) I think that the sense of the passage can be clarified by reconsideration of the placing of quotation marks distinguishing the quoted words of Pesiūr from the body of the document written by Pwēro. The latter reports: 'I (Pwēro) heard these charges which were uttered by this Mayor of the City (Pesiūr) to these people of the great and august Necropolis of Millions of Years of Pharaoh (l. p. h.) on the West of Thebes, (saying): "I (Pesiūr) have made report of them to my Lord; for this would be an offence for one in my position, to hear charges and conceal them." Now I (Pwēro) cannot fathom these "very serious charges" of which the Mayor of the City (Pesiūr) has said "these scribes of the Necropolis of Prohibited Access who are in close touch with these people have told them to me (Pesiūr)"; indeed, I (Pwēro) cannot follow them at all. I shall report them before my Lord, that my Lord may get to the bottom of these charges of which this Mayor of the City (Pesiūr) has said, "These scribes of the Necropolis told them to me (Pesiūr), and I shall send about them to Pharaoh (l. p. h.)"—so he said.' In three places (6, 16; 18; 20) the writer quotes the words of his adversary without introducing them with *r dd* (ⲁⲉ), doubtless because in each case the speech itself begins with the verb *dd*. (Compare 7, 8, and contrast *r dd*: *dd* in 5, 16.)

13. *Wenamūn* I, 43–5 (*LES*, p. 65, lines 11–14)

Nims in his article 'Second Tenses in *Wenamūn*' (*JEA* 54 [1968], 162), gives an interpretation of this passage which I believe to be mistaken in two respects. He would translate: 'Aren't you the one who *daily* took time to come to me, saying "Get out of my harbour"? Isn't it to *allow the ship that I have found to depart* that you say "Stop the

¹ Cf. Wilson in Pritchard, *Anc. N.E. Texts*², 28.

night”?’ (The italics indicate the part of the sentence which he believes to bear the emphasis.) I would render: ‘Are you the one who *every day* has kept coming to me, saying “Get out of my harbour”—and *tonight* do you say “Stay”—so that the ship which I’ve found will depart? (And then you’ll come again and say “Go away!”).’

To take the second point first:

(a) *m p; grh* means, not ‘(for) the night’ (to be taken with *mn*), but ‘tonight’;¹ for similar expressions employing the definite article when we might expect a demonstrative, compare ἡτερονος; ἡποσ; (ἡ)τροειπε. And this is the point of Wenamūn’s grievance; every day for the past twenty-nine days the harbourmaster has been coming to press him to depart; and *tonight*, of all times, when he has made arrangements for his voyage and got everything ready for his departure, the man announces that he must stay, by order of the prince. The postponement of adverbial expressions to the end of the sentence (cf. *cn* in the following clause) is a feature of Late Egyptian style which is a frequent cause of confusion to the modern reader; it is encouraged by the use of Second Tenses.

(b) I translate ‘Are you . . .?’ rather than ‘Are you *not* . . .?’² I am convinced that ^ⲁ in *Wenamūn* is never negative, but a consistent, if perverse, writing of ^ⲁ interrogative. (The range of meaning given to it by Gardiner, *LES*, p. 65 a, seems impossibly wide.) On this supposition, I would offer the following translations at the respective places where ^ⲁ occurs elsewhere in this text:

1, 55: ‘Did he hand you over to this barbarian ship’s captain so that he should kill you, and that you should be thrown into the sea?’

1, 57 f.: ‘Isn’t it an Egyptian ship and an Egyptian crew which sail under N.? *Has* he a Syrian crew?’ (W. implies that he has not.)

1, 58–2, 1: ‘Aren’t there twenty vessels here in my harbour which do business with N.? And as for that place Sidon which you also passed, aren’t there another fifty ships there which do business with W., plying to his establishment?’

2, 10–13: ‘If the ruler of Egypt had been the owner of what is mine, and I moreover his servant, would he have sent silver and gold, saying ‘Do the business of Amūn’? Was it a free presentation that they used to make to my father? And as for me, am I your servant? Am I the servant of him who sent you either?’ (The answer to all these questions is plainly expected to be ‘No’.)

2, 26 ff.: ‘Now, look here: you have let this great god spend these twenty-nine days moored in your harbour, without having ascertained (i.e. troubled to find out) whether he was (lit. ‘is he . . .?’) here, or whether he is not where he was.’³

2, 49: ‘Now (?) will it not be given to you?’

2, 65 f.: ‘Don’t you see these quails (?) which go down once again to Egypt? . . . And don’t you see these (men) who have come back to arrest me?’

2, 77: ‘Isn’t there any one among you who understands Egyptian?’

¹ So Wilson in Pritchard, *Anc. N.E. Texts*², p. 26.

² Such an indignant question can just as well be positive as negative in English; I see no reason why this should not be similarly possible in Egyptian. I note that Dr. S. I. Groll, *Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian*, 195, has a similar translation here.

³ Cf. Groll, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

2, 81: 'Are you going to let (people) lie in wait for me to kill me—*me*, the envoy of Amūn?'

2, 82 f.: 'As for this crew of the prince of Byblos which they are trying to kill, won't its master find ten crews belonging to you and kill them, for his part?'

14. *Wenamun*, 2, 34–7 (*LES*, p. 70, lines 9–13).

The small modification which I have to suggest here is chiefly a matter of the placing of quotation marks:

“... Have your clerk brought to me, that I may send him¹ to N. and T. . . ., and they will have everything brought; I will send him to them, saying 'have it² brought', (and wait) until³ I go to the South and have brought to you your entire deficit as well.” So I said to him.’ The payment described in detail in 2, 39 ff. is only a preliminary one; a further instalment will be sent after W.’s return to Egypt with the goods from Syria.

15. *Setne I*, v, 4 f. (Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 122 f.)

Setne, having become enamoured of Tabubu, directs that a message be delivered to her in his name. It is brief, and to the point: *iw-i (r) dit n-t nbw: (X) 10; r-iry wct wnw-t irm-i; g3 in wn-mtw-t smy n t3y kns? iw-i (r) dit ir-w s n-t; iw-i (r) dit t3y-w t-t r w m3c iw-f hp, iw bn iw rmt nb n p3 t3 (r) gmt-t*; of which a *literal* rendering, not differing materially from Griffith's, would be: 'I will give thee ten pieces of gold; spend an hour with me. Or hast thou accusation of violence? I will cause it to be done for thee. I will cause that thou be taken to a hidden place (where) no man on earth shall find thee.' (Gunn, in Lewis, *Land of Enchanters*, 77, has a translation agreeing with this.)

On p. 34 of his book Griffith notes: 'This, which seems to be in reality a corrupt offer to help her in the law-courts, has been understood to be a threat of violence if she does not comply, followed by imprisonment in an inaccessible place. Setne asks rather for an assignation.' The interpretation rejected by Griffith is presumably that of Maspero, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*⁴ (1911), 146: 'S'il y a nécessité de recourir à la violence, il le fera et il t'entraînera dans un endroit caché où personne au monde ne te trouvera.' Other translations have been attempted, e.g. by Roeder, *Altäg. Erzählungen u. Märchen* (1927), 151: 'Wenn du willst, dass man Gewalt anwendet, so will ich sie dir tun lassen, und ich will . . .'; and by Brunner-Traut, *Altäg. Märchen* (1963), 186: 'Fürchtest du etwa, deswegen bestraft zu werden, so will ich das für dich in Ordnung bringen. Ich will. . . .' Griffith's interpretation of *g3 wn-mtw-t smy n t3y kns*, besides being supported somewhat by *Setne II*, ii, 2 (see *Stories of the High Priests*, 151), where those who *wn-(m)ty-w smy t3y kns* are apparently counted among the righteous in the underworld, seems to be confirmed by a passage in Erichsen, *Eine neue demotische Erzählung* (Abh. d. Wiss. u. d. Literatur, Mainz 1953), 58, col.

¹ So Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 310; Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens*, 215; Wilson in Pritchard, *Anc. N.E. Texts*², 27 f. *hw* is not as a rule used of sending *persons* in Late Egyptian, but it would be unnatural to take it otherwise here and in 2, 36; 53, below.

² Sc. *p3 nty nb*.

³ I believe that this expresses W.'s meaning better than 'So that I shall be able to . . .', suggested in Groll, *op. cit.* 238.

ii, line 3 f.; here a petitioner stands before Pharaoh to voice a complaint; *dd Pr-ḥ: in smy tꜣy ꜥns pꜣ nty mtw-kꜣ tw-i ḥr-s. dd [pꜣ wrb (?)]: mdt mꜣrt tꜣy*. (Then follows his story.) And yet to take the passage in *Setne I* at its face value is as psychologically improbable as the other translations are philologically difficult. Even in litigious Egypt one cannot imagine an undertaking to a lady to settle any lawsuits she may have on hand sandwiched between a curt summons to an amorous assignation and an (unconditional) promise to abduct her. I suggest that the words in Erichsen's fragment, 'Is it a complaint of wrong that you have? I perform (i.e. settle) it' is a familiar formula, and is used in earnest in that place; but that in *Setne's* mouth we have a conscious and brutally cynical *parody* of that formula, a threat forestalling any objection to what *Setne himself* proposes to do to her: 'Any complaints? I'll soon get *that* settled for you!¹ I'll . . .' Here, in fact, we have a familiar melodramatic situation, in which a fair lady is presented by a potentate with a choice between seduction and abduction. Tabubu, however, proves more than equal to the occasion.

¹ In v, 8, below, where *Setne's* message is reported, with minor variations, *n-t* is replaced by *ḥn*, which I understand as 'still', 'anyway', 'just the same'.

ROYAL BRONZE SHAWABTI FIGURES

By PETER A. CLAYTON

AFTER the ubiquitous scarab, the shawabti figure, mummiform or in civilian dress, is the commonest of Egyptian antiquities. Shawabtis occur in a variety of materials; most frequently being made of faience, they also exist in various types of stone, wood, and bronze. Among the thousands of these figures that survive in public and private collections, shawabtis made of bronze and representing private persons are rare.¹ The purpose of this paper is to discuss those examples inscribed for royalty, and also the results of a series of scientific tests recently carried out on some of the specimens.²

Until the discovery, in 1939, of the royal tombs at Tanis by the late Professor Pierre Montet³ only six royal bronze shawabti figures were known, one of Ramesses II and five of Ramesses III; and they were either suspect or had been incorrectly attributed.⁴ With the opening of the tomb of Psusennes at Tanis a new pharaoh was added to the select list of those known to have bronze shawabtis, and the number of specimens extant was considerably raised.

RAMESSES II (Nineteenth Dynasty, 1304–1237 B.C.). The upper half of a bronze shawabti of this pharaoh is in the Staatliches Ägyptisches Museum, West Berlin, registration number 2502 (pl. XXXIII, 1–3).⁵ The remaining portion of the figure is

¹ Among examples known to me are: Ani, XVIIIth Dynasty, British Museum 32692 (for which see p. 174 below, and note 4; Nakht-min, XVIIIth/XIXth Dynasty, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 26.7.843, ex Carnarvon collection; cf. B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, 1 (1951), pl. 50, and G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren* (1956), pl. 391d; Hes-meref, XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty, C. S. Gulbenkian collection; see British Museum, Temporary Exhibition, *Ancient Egyptian Sculpture Lent by C. S. Gulbenkian, Esq.* (1937), no. 24, pp. 15, 27, pl. 30; Wennu-djebau-djedet, General and High Steward of Khons, XX1st Dynasty from Tanis (a large group of these, for which see note 3); Late Period (?), Rijksmuseum, Leiden, 544; C. Leemans, *Monuments égyptiens . . . à Leide*, II, 1846—a curiously crude, flat cast piece added to the collection c. 1830.

² I am indebted to Dr. I. E. S. Edwards, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, for taking a personal interest in my proposals for this series of tests. He kindly placed two bronze shawabtis from the collection (Ani, BM. 32692, and Ramesses III, BM. 33938) at the British Museum Research Laboratory's disposal (see also p. 174 n. 6 below).

³ Montet, P. *Les constructions et le tombeau de Psouennès à Tanis*, 1951.

⁴ See below, pp. 173–5, for the discussion of these pieces. Petrie, in vol. III of *A History of Egypt* (1905), 33, under Ramesses II notes a single bronze shawabti as being in the Louvre, and on p. 81 remarks that it is unusual. However, on p. 144 he notices, and correctly identifies, the two specimens of Ramesses III in that museum, giving the page references to P. Pierret, *Catalogue de la salle historique . . .* (1873), where Pierret erroneously identifies them as belonging to Ramesses II. Apparently Petrie corrected Pierret's attribution in his *History*, but also confused the number of pieces present, noting in effect a total of three bronze figures when, in fact, there are only two, of Ramesses III, in the collection, and none of Ramesses II.

⁵ Roeder, op. cit. 294. P. A. Clayton, 'Two Ancient Egyptian Bronze Royal Shawabti Figures', *Antiquaries Journal*, 50 (1970), 347–8, pl. 61. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Dr. Jürgen Settgast, Director of the Ägyptisches Museum, West Berlin, for affording me all facilities in his museum to study this piece, and then for allowing it to be loaned to the Research Laboratory of the British Museum for the purpose of the tests discussed below, pp. 173–5. My thanks are also due to the Central Research Funds Committee of the University of London, which enabled me to examine this shawabti in the first instance in Berlin.

15 cm. high and it is broken across through the third line of its horizontally inscribed text (fig. 1), the opening of the sixth chapter of the Book of the Dead.

By comparison with extant large wooden examples of shawabtis of this king it would appear that the figure was somewhere in the region of 30 cm. in height when complete.¹

The king is mummiform with his arms crossed, right over left, on his chest; he holds a pick in his right hand and a hoe in his left. Although the hands are modelled in

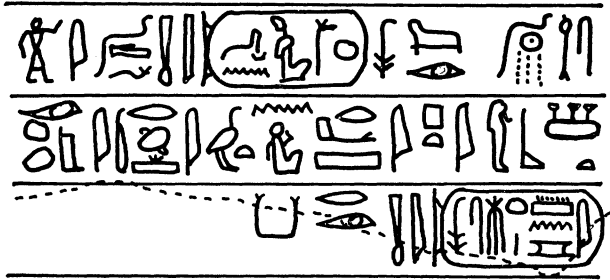


FIG. 1. Ramesses II Shawabti Inscription (West Berlin, 2502).

relief, the implements are incised. On his head he wears the *nemes* head-cloth which is gathered into a pig-tail behind and falls forward on his chest with two long lappets, reaching almost to the top of the crossed hands. On top of the head-dress, in relief, are the coils of the sacred uraeus, its tail reaching back to the apex of the head-dress at the rear. At the front, the coils end in an empty socket, one of two, in the king's forehead above the headband of the *nemes*. These two sockets held the separately cast bronze heads of the uraeus and the vulture (the Buto and Nekhbet *insignia*, respectively on the king's left and right). The only other royal shawabtis known having provision for these separately attached elements occur in the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn (died 1352 B.C.). Here, seven shawabtis, all of wood, have the same *insignia* added separately in bronze.² They are numbers 110 (with *nemes* head-cloth); 326A (with round wig); 330A and 330B (both with *Deshret*, the 'Red Crown'); 330E (with *Hedjet*, the 'White Crown'); 330F (with *Sekhemy*, the 'Double Crown'), and 458 (with *nemes* head-cloth). Of these seven examples only two, 110 and 458, wear the *nemes* head-cloth, as does the figure of Ramesses II. They vary from that because they originally held the crook and flagellum (both have lost their crooks), and have the text of the sixth chapter of the Book of the Dead inscribed vertically in four columns down their front, instead of horizontally around the figure. They are much larger than the Ramesses II figure, being 53.6 and 51.2 cms. in height respectively.

Details of the face, the eyebrows, eyes, and a beard at the point of the chin of the Ramesses figure were once inlaid. Some traces of the inlay, a white paste that may once have been a blue colour, remain in the right eye. On the chest, passing beneath the lappets of the *nemes*, is engraved an ornamental Broad Collar of six rows of beads, and

¹ Brooklyn Museum, o8.480.5, ht. 31.8 cm.; British Museum, no reg. no. (old collection), ht. 36 cm.; Oriental Institute of Chicago Museum, 10781, remaining ht. 26.9 cm., as restored 30 cm.

² Miss Helen Murray of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, kindly made Howard Carter's record cards available to me. See H. Murray and M. Nuttall, *A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb* (Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb Series, 1), 1963.

a simple bracelet, shown by only two pairs of parallel lines, is incised on the right wrist.

Engraved on the back, over the left shoulder, is a long basket (pl. XXXIII, 2), but there is no cord from it to the right hand in front, such as is found on the faience shawabtis of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Close parallels to this type of basket, long with square corners, occur earlier on some of the large faience shawabtis of Seti I, such as Louvre 472 (where the basket is drawn in black ink) and British Museum 22818 (where the basket is modelled in relief in the faience). Only the Louvre example has the cord hanging from the bottom of the basket divided in two by a knot exactly as on the Ramesses II figure; and on both the Louvre and the British Museum specimens it is placed lower down on the back than on the Ramesses II figure.

The Ramesses figure has been subjected to considerable pressure at some time which has caused extensive damage to the face, particularly the nose, and to the knuckles of the hands (pl. XXXIII, 1). There are several abrasion marks over the body and a deep dent in the back of the *nemes* (pl. XXXIII, 2). The whole of the figure has been flattened and it is only the thickness of the casting, between 2 and 3 mm., that has saved it from further damage (pl. XXXIII, 3).

It must be presumed that the piece comes from the tomb of Ramesses II, number 7 in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes. No official provenance is known for it save that it came to the Berlin Museum from the Minutoli collection. Unfortunately, its acquisition from this collection has tended to blight the piece over the years as a number of the antiquities originally in that collection were blatant forgeries. Add to this the fact that this bronze shawabti is unique and a very early example of hollow casting,¹ and one can see how doubts as to its authenticity could arise without close stylistic and scientific examination. Baron Minutoli (1772–1846)² made his collection in Egypt in 1820–1 whilst on a scientific expedition for the Prussian Government. Some of his pieces were sold in Paris and others to the Berlin Museum, the remainder of the collection being finally dispersed in 1875 at Cologne. Thus the shawabti has a history of over one hundred years in a public collection. Add to this the stylistic evidence of the piece itself, and the fact that certain features such as the inset uraeus and vulture were unknown before the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamūn in 1922, and the evidence is already heavy in favour of its authenticity even before the results of the scientific analyses (see below, pp. 173–5).

The tomb of Ramesses II is still very difficult of access and unsafe. It is larger in area but of the same length as that of his father, Seti I.³ There are, however, certain

¹ The only earlier hollow-cast piece is the kneeling, offering statue of Tuthmosis IV, c. 1414 B.C., in the British Museum, no. 64564. This figure is complete and so the interior cannot be visually examined. An unpublished British Museum Research Laboratory Report of August, 1963, suggested that the figure was hollow because its actual density was 5.33 g/cc. whereas, had it been solid cast, it should have been 8.9 g/cc. Its hollowness was subsequently confirmed by X-rays in 1967, revealing traces of a core used in the casting. Traces of sprues used in the casting process occur at the knees. No traces of sprues occur on the portion of the Ramesses II shawabti that remains, but one would expect them to have been similarly concealed in a convenient place, such as under the feet.

² W. R. Dawson, *Who was who in Egyptology* (1951), 109.

³ Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl., I. The Theban Necropolis: Pt. II, Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*, 2nd edn. 1964, 505–7; A. Weigall, *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt* . . . , 2nd edn. (1913), 201.

similarities in their plans, each having a large sarcophagus hall with chambers opening off. Belzoni,¹ in his original account of the opening of the tomb of Seti I, says that he found the shawabtis of Seti I in the room that he called 'the Bull's or Apis' Room', i.e. the chamber with four pillars beyond the sarcophagus hall, in the south-west corner of the tomb. The 'Annexe' of the earlier tomb of Tutankhamūn, similarly placed in the south-west corner of the tomb, held over half of the total number of shawabtis found in the tomb.² In the tomb of Ramesses IV the king's shawabtis appear to have been stored in two chambers, one in the south-west corner and the other in the north-east. On the walls of both these rooms are shown mummiform figures of the king bearing the same text as is found on his actual shawabtis.³ It should be noted also that, with one exception, the remainder of Tutankhamūn's shawabtis were found in the 'Treasury', in the north-east corner of the tomb.⁴ Hence, it is suggested that the shawabtis of Ramesses II may have been located originally in a room in his tomb having a similar south-west location. Such a room exists, side-room M, the walls decorated with the third division of the Book of Gates.⁵ It could also be suggested, on the analogies of the tombs of Tutankhamūn and Ramesses IV already cited, that the room opposite, in the north-east corner (side-room P), held further shawabtis (it is decorated with texts of the Book of Imy-Duat and the fifth division of the Book of Gates).

There are not very many shawabtis of Ramesses II known, and this could be due to one of two reasons. Either he was not originally provided with many, which is highly unlikely in view of the quantities provided for his father, Seti I (and one need only consider the vast number of other monuments relating to Ramesses II that have survived); or, the shawabtis still lie buried under the debris in side-rooms M and P in his tomb. After all, the bronze shawabti under discussion has been subjected to considerable pressure in order to flatten it, and it exhibits damage to prominent features such as the nose and knuckles of the hands (see above, p. 169, pl. XXXIII, 1). This could well be consistent with damage wrought by collapse from the roof of one of the two chambers mentioned.

The mummies of both Seti I and Ramesses II were found in the great Deir el-Bahari cache of royal mummies in 1881 and no shawabtis inscribed with their names were found with them.⁶ In fact, no shawabtis were found in the cache relating to the bodies of the first group buried (Seventeenth–Twentieth Dynasties). The necropolis priests, in removing the bodies from their original tombs to the various places of safety, seem to have occasionally removed some shawabti figures as well. Hölscher⁷ records examples of Amenophis III, Seti I, and Ramesses II⁸ as being found in excavations at Medinet

¹ *A Narrative of Operations . . .* (1820), 235.

² Murray and Nuttall, *op. cit.*, Annexe, 236; Treasury, 176; Antechamber, 1.

³ H. Carter and A. Gardiner, 'The Tomb of Ramesses IV and the Turin plan of a royal tomb', *JEA* 4 (1917), 140; Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* 497–500.

⁴ Murray and Nuttall, *op. cit.*

⁵ Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* 504, 506.

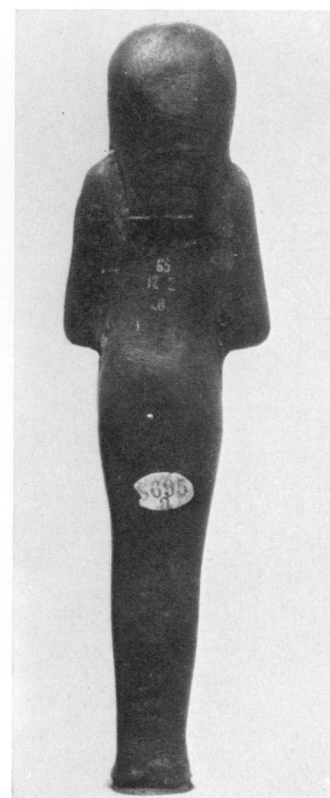
⁶ Maspero, *Les momies royales de Déir el-Bahari*, *Mém. Miss. fr.* 1, 511–26; Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* 658–62.

⁷ *The Excavations of Medinet Habu, Vol. V, Post-Ramessid Remains* (1954), 5.

⁸ Hölscher, *loc. cit.*, is incorrect in recording a shawabti of Ramesses II from Medinet Habu. The specimen to which he probably refers, Oriental Institute of Chicago 10781, has Thebes as a provenance, but was purchased in Cairo, not excavated under controlled conditions. I am indebted to Mr. Charles Van Siclen of the



1-3. Ramesses II (West Berlin, 2502)



4. Ramesses III (Louvre, 72)

5-6. Ramesses III (British Museum, 33938)

ROYAL BRONZE SHAWABTI FIGURES



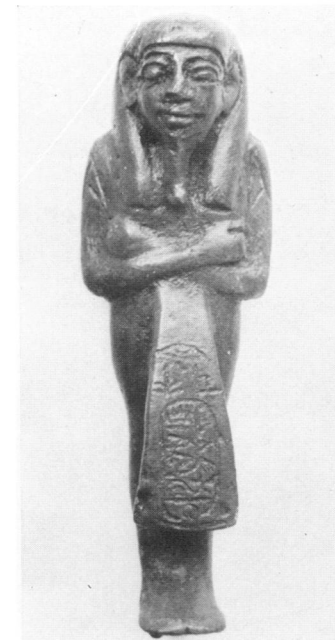
1. Ramesses III (Louvre, 71)



2. Ramesses III (Durham, 1832)



3-4. Psusennes, worker (private collection)



5-6. Psusennes, *reis* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 149/1954)



ROYAL BRONZE SHAWABTI FIGURES

Habu, where he assumed that the restoration of the various mummies was carried out before the final reburial. From the number of shawabtis left in the tomb of Seti I for Belzoni to find, the quantities found in various excavations in the Valley of the Kings, and the very few other royal examples with a Medinet Habu provenance, it would seem that those shawabtis found there arrived more by accident than by design on the part of the officials concerned. In the case of the royal mummies of the first group of the Deir el-Bahari cache, the officials were obviously not prepared to go to any trouble in order to keep shawabtis and mummies together for the final reburial.

Examples of the shawabtis of Ramesses II known are: the present bronze specimen under discussion; a complete wooden example in the Brooklyn Museum (reg. no. o8.480.5, ht. 31.8 cm.);¹ another, but mutilated, wooden example in the British Museum (no catalogue number available but old collection, ht. 36 cm.);² a wooden specimen in the Oriental Institute of Chicago Museum (reg. no. 10781, ht. remaining 26.9 cm., as restored 30 cm.); and a fragment of a figure in limestone in the Petrie Museum, Department of Egyptology, University College London (formerly in the Wellcome Collection, not catalogued, present ht. 8 cm.).

RAMESSES III (Twentieth Dynasty, 1198–1166 B.C.). There are five bronze shawabti figures known of this pharaoh.³ All are solid cast bronze, four are 12.5 cm. in height, and one, at Durham, 11 cm. The king is shown mummiform with arms crossed low on the chest, right over left; the hands are clenched but hold no implements; the back is plain and there is no basket on it. From his chin there hangs a short beard. He wears a lappet wig with no *insignia* of royalty on the brow, the lappets at the front being of the same length as the beard, while the bottom portion behind falls just below the shoulders. The facial features are incised and so are the inscriptions, placed vertically in a panel down the front of each figure below the crossed arms. It is only in their inscriptions that four of the five examples differ. The texts are:

1. 'The Osiris, Lord of the Crowns, User-ma'at-Rē', beloved of Amūn, justified for eternity.' (Louvre 72 and Turin 2507; pl. XXXIII, 4.)
2. 'The Osiris, Lord of the Crowns, Ramesses, ruler of On [Heliopolis], justified daily.' (British Museum 33938; pl. XXXIII, 5, 6.)

Oriental Institute for confirming that there are no Ramesses II examples from Medinet Habu in the Institute's collection. Personal checking of the records of the other extant examples reveals no definitely known provenance.

¹ Dr. B. V. Bothmer very kindly drew my attention to this piece and supplied me with photographs of it.

² Two other shawabtis inscribed for Ramesses II in the British Museum collection, reg. no. 54397 (wood, ht. 27 cm.), and 55020 limestone, ht. 17.5 cm.), I do not accept as genuine pieces of the king on stylistic and other grounds. Another 'curious' shawabti inscribed for Ramesses II was recorded by Amelia B. Edwards (*Rec. trav.* 1888, 126) in the collection of Jesse Haworth. Of bright blue faience, it was only 2½ inches high and 'bears the unmistakable *cachet* of the factory in which the innumerable ushabtis found with the royal mummies at Dayr-el-Bahari were made'. The inscription, as transcribed, is perfectly acceptable, but the piece seems most odd in its colour and size in relation to the other known examples of shawabtis of this pharaoh. It has since, apparently, been lost to view.

³ British Museum 33938, presented by the Trustees of the Christy Collection in 1865 (see also below, p. 174). Museo Egizio, Turin, 2507; P. M. Orcurti, *Catalogo illustrato dei monumenti egizii del Regio Museo di Torino* (1882); Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art, University of Durham, 1832; S. Birch, *Catalogue of the collection of Egyptian antiquities at Alnwick Castle* (1880), 247; Louvre 71, 72 (Inv. 656); Pierret, *op. cit.* 28.

3. 'The Osiris, the king User-ma'at-Rē', beloved of Amūn, justified in peace.' (Louvre 71; pl. XXXIV, 1.)
4. 'The Osiris, the king, User-ma'at-Rē', justified daily.' (Durham, formerly Alnwick 1832; pl. XXXIV, 2.)

None of these inscriptions occurs on the other shawabtis known for this king in both wood and alabaster.

No definite provenance is known for any of these five bronze figures, although they had started to reach museums by 1865 (the British Museum example was the gift of the Christy Collection Trustees in that year). It is presumed that they come from the extensive tomb of the king, 'Bruce's' or the 'Harpers' tomb, no. 11 in the Valley of the Kings¹ (his other tomb, no. 3, was unfinished). The sarcophagus chamber, V, has four chambers, W, W1, W2, and X, opening off it at the corners. It may be too much of a coincidence that chamber X, in the south-west corner, is labelled the 'Room of the Cow' with texts from the Book of the Cow² and that Belzoni called the shawabti chamber in a similar south-west position in the tomb of Seti I, 'the Bull's or Apis' Room, as we found the carcass of a bull in it, embalmed with asphaltum' (see p. 170 n. 1, above).

PSUSENNES (Twenty-first Dynasty, *obit.* c. 1000 B.C.). The discovery of the group of royal tombs at Tanis by the late Professor Pierre Montet in 1939 threw completely new light on the question of the provision of bronze shawabtis in royal burials. The tombs were virtually intact, but had been disturbed in antiquity. Their discovery was most inopportune as the outbreak of war was imminent. The major part of the find, including the gold masks, silver coffins, and jewellery, was removed immediately to Cairo, but the less valuable pieces by comparison, including the shawabti figures, were left in the magazines on the site. In 1943, when the expedition was unable to return to the site, the magazines were broken into and robbed and, of their contents, the shawabtis were the most portable and easily concealed objects.³ Consequently, via the art market, the shawabtis from the find were widely dispersed throughout the public and private collections of Egyptian antiquities of the world, the bronze shawabtis of Psusennes being particularly appreciated. It is a matter for great regret that, despite Montet's large publications on the find, and his several periodical articles,⁴ his records of the actual numbers of the shawabtis present leave much to be desired. There are no full lists of the numbers present.

The bronze shawabtis of Psusennes (there were faience examples also present, but they are outside the scope of this paper) fall into two basic types; the worker⁵ and the *reis*, or overseer. Both types are cast solid and their average height is about 8 cm.

Figures of the workers are mummiform and wear the lappet wig, the front and the back ends of which fall just below the shoulders. They do not have beards. Their arms

¹ Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* 518–27, plan, 510.

² *Ibid.* 526.

³ Montet, *op. cit.* 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*: 'La Nécropole des rois Tanites', *Kemi* 9 (1942), 3–96; 'Découverte d'une nécropole royale à Tanis', *Annales* 39 (1939), 529–39; 'La Nécropole royale de Tanis à la fin de 1945', *Annales* 46 (1947), 311–22; etc.

⁵ Clayton, *op. cit.*

are crossed on their chests, but they are placed indiscriminately right over left and vice versa. Each hand holds an incised hoe and a small, rectangular bag is incised on the back, hanging by two threads below the bottom edge of the wig. All the worker figures exhibit the same basic attributes, although they do vary slightly in size around the average height of 8 cm., and they also vary in the style of their facial features. Some are quite well modelled, others are grotesque. Obviously numerous moulds were used in the production of the quantity of cast figures required but, with their present dispersal, it would be impossible to analyse them to come to any conclusions as to the actual number of moulds employed. Another difficulty in such a study is the condition of the figures, which varies from very fine and well-preserved to extremely corroded pieces. They all bear the same text, incised vertically down the front of the figure, 'The Osiris Psusennes, beloved of Amūn' (pl. XXXIV, 3, 4).

Figures of the *reis*, or overseer, shawabtis are similar in height to the worker figures, about 8 cm. They wear the same style of wig as the workers, but they also have a beard of the same length as the lappets of the wig at the front. Similarly, they hold an incised hoe in each hand (where one would expect to find the more appropriate whip), and they seem to be consistent in having their right arms crossed over their left on their chests. In front of the figure is the normal type of projecting, stiff kilt found on *reis*-figures. It starts immediately below the crossed arms and then is modelled falling away, downwards, from the figure and widening, finishing in the area just below the knees. The kilt carries, incised, the identical inscription to that found on the workers, 'The Osiris Psusennes, beloved of Amūn' (pl. XXXIV, 5). The backs of the figures are plain below the bottom of the wig; no basket is shown, as is to be expected with *reis*-figures (pl. XXXIV, 6). At least several moulds were used to cast these figures as, like the workers, there are variations in style, particularly of the features.

The bronze shawabtis were found in one group together with model faience tools, and the faience shawabtis were in another group.¹ They had been placed in front of a block of limestone in the burial chamber, originally in two wooden boxes which had perished in the course of time, spreading their contents as they collapsed. The group of bronze shawabtis were numbered 333 by Montet in his catalogue, and he comments that it included both worker- and *reis*-figures inscribed with the king's name. The entry does not give any definite number for the group, merely the words 'cette collection'. This unhappy situation of bad recording in the publication means that it will never be possible to ascertain the correct number of the bronze shawabtis present due to their subsequent scattering throughout the world. The author has, to date, traced 226 examples of the worker-type and 15 examples of the *reis*-type,² but obviously many individual specimens must rest in private collections, some probably not even recognized for what they are.

The scientific examination

Due to the nature of the material involved, the bronze shawabtis mentioned above (except for those of Psusennes) have generally been regarded with some suspicion

¹ Montet, *op. cit.* 94, fig. 36.

² Clayton, *op. cit.*

where they have been mentioned in print. Of Ramesses III, Birch¹ wrote regarding the Alnwick (now Durham) specimen: 'Fair execution, but doubtful on account of its material'; he also noted it as being of copper. Orcurti,² writing of the Turin example, noted: 'Dubitamo però che questo bronzo sia genuino', whilst Whyte³ came to its defence with, 'Dr. Petrie says that to the best of his belief it is genuine'.

Correspondence and discussion with Dr. B. V. Bothmer of Brooklyn and Mr. Cyril Aldred of Edinburgh regarding the validity of the Ramesses II specimen in West Berlin led the author to try to solve the problem scientifically as well as stylistically.

The possibility of having micro-spectrographic analyses of the bronze carried out were discussed with Mr. Aldred and Dr. Edwards, both of whom expressed willingness to co-operate in the tests by allowing relevant specimens in their charge to be examined. Next, whilst examining the Ramesses II specimen in Berlin, the author put the proposal to Professor Dr. Jürgen Settgast, who was pleased to make the piece available for examination. The idea was that a series of bronze shawabtis should be examined, the doubtful pieces, i.e. of Ramesses II and Ramesses III, being 'sandwiched' between two undoubtedly genuine pieces and the analyses of all four being compared. The problem lay in finding a suitable specimen of earlier date than these two; a later one was easy as there were those of Psusennes. A bronze shawabti of the scribe Ani of the Eighteenth Dynasty⁴ was chosen due to there being no royal bronze examples known before Ramesses II.

The four pieces ready for scientific examination were:

1. Eighteenth Dynasty, c. 1400 B.C., the scribe Ani (B.M. 32692).
2. Nineteenth Dynasty, c. 1250 B.C., Ramesses II (West Berlin, 2502).
3. Twentieth Dynasty, c. 1175 B.C., Ramesses III (B.M. 33938).
4. Twenty-first Dynasty, c. 1000 B.C., Psusennes (Royal Scottish Museum, 1961.82).⁵

The examinations were carried out by the Research Laboratory of the British Museum.⁶ Initially the nature of the metal of the four specimens was investigated, using small samples taken from each one. By using a combination of emission spectroscopy, polarography, and atomic absorption spectroscopy, qualitative and quantitative analyses were arrived at that may be given as percentages of elements present.

	Scribe Ani	Ramesses II	Ramesses III	Psusennes
Copper	97.4	96.5	86.0	92.6
Tin	0.3	under	8.1	6.31
Lead	0.03	0.03	1.61	0.03
Iron	0.10	0.18	0.07	0.23
Silver	0.01	0.03	0.05	0.01
	97.84	96.75	95.83	99.18

¹ Op. cit. 247.

² Op. cit. 367.

³ *PSBA* 1896, 161.

⁴ British Museum 32692, from Abydos. See Randall-MacIver et al., *El Amrah and Abydos* (E.E.S. Excavation Memoir 23, 1902), 87; 96; pls. 39; 41, 7.

⁵ Mr. Cyril Aldred of the Royal Scottish Museum kindly made this piece available for the tests.

⁶ I should like to thank Dr. A. E. Werner, Keeper of the Research Laboratory, and Mr. H. Barker for their kind co-operation and help in carrying out these tests. What follows is heavily based on their hitherto unpublished report of November, 1970.

No significance should be attached to the fact that the analytical figures listed do not add up to 100 per cent. This is due to both the small samples used for the analyses and to the varying state of corrosion of the metal.

One very interesting point does emerge from the analyses, and that is the fact that the two earlier specimens, those of Ani and Ramesses II, are virtually pure copper, whilst the two later examples, of Ramesses III and Psusennes, are of bronze (Birch had thought that the Alnwick Ramesses III was of copper). In this context one may recall the separate metal *insignia* provided for the Tut'ankhamūn shawabtis and their metal model implements.¹ Analyses of a number of the latter showed them to be copper with, generally, no traces of tin; where it was present it was not above two per cent. In fact copper predominated over bronze in its use in the tomb.² Hence the analyses of the two earlier shawabti figures are well in keeping with their dates.

Microscopic examination revealed that the corrosion pattern was what one would expect to find in ancient objects. The Ramesses II specimen showed virtually no green surface mineralization (the deposits being mainly red cuprite). However, a light green deposit on the thumb of the right hand was examined by X-ray diffraction analysis and found to be calcite containing a small amount of paratacamite. This is a basic chloride of copper which becomes present with the slow corrosion of copper in salty environments. In the damaged areas of the figure the corrosion products present, and their appearance, were such as to suggest that the damage was not of recent occurrence.

The conclusions reached by Dr. Werner and Mr. Barker were that, 'in all four cases the scientific evidence is consistent with the age assigned to these objects on stylistic grounds'.

From the foregoing there can now be no doubt as to the authenticity of the hitherto doubted specimens of Ramesses II and Ramesses III. In view of the number of bronze shawabtis provided for Psusennes one can only wonder if, in fact, more bronze examples of Ramesses II still lie awaiting discovery under the debris in his tomb, and how many more examples of Ramesses III may be hidden in museum basements, unrecognized and unacknowledged.

¹ p. 168 above, and Murray and Nuttall, *op. cit.*

² Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th edn., 1962), 220; and H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, III (1933), 175.

Acknowledgements: Thanks are due to the Keepers of the Museums cited for permission to publish my photographs of objects in their care, and to the Curator of the Gulbenkian Oriental Museum, University of Durham, for supplying the photograph of the shawabti of Ramesses III in his collection.

RECHERCHES SUR QUELQUES SCARABÉES DE RAMSÈS II

By MOSTAFA EL-ALFI

PARMI les 'arts mineurs' de l'Égypte ancienne, les scarabées présentent une richesse de motifs et de courtes inscriptions sur leurs bas plats. Pour l'époque ramesside, on peut instituer des comparaisons fructueuses entre les motifs et textes des scarabées et l'art monumental.

I. Le culte de Mnévis

Dans la collection du Musée du Caire se trouve un scarabée en stéatite (ici, fig. 1)¹ dont les mesures sont: 0 m 017 × 0 m 013 × 0 m 008. Provenance: Abydos. Sur le plat de ce scarabée on voit un roi agenouillé levant ses deux bras et adorant un taureau. Newberry disait: 'over the bull is a hawk and hieroglyphic signs.'

D'après une comparaison que j'ai faite entre ce scarabée et une stèle de Ramsès II au Musée du Caire, ces signes hiéroglyphiques sont les signes *wsr* et *Rr* qui composent une partie du prénom de Ramsès II, *Wsr-(m)st-rr* (*stp-n-rr*), et deux signes qui composent le nom du taureau Mnévis *Mr-wr* (𐀓 𐀔). Entre le roi et le taureau on voit un signe qui ressemble au *h* (𐀓).

Ce scarabée sera comparé avec la stèle No. Prov. 2/2/21/1 au Musée du Caire, qui est une stèle d'adoration du taureau Mnévis par Ramsès II (pl. XXXV, 1 et fig. 2).² Elle est divisée en deux parties. Sur la première partie supérieure on voit Ramsès II debout tenant l'encensoir dans sa main gauche et un vase de libation dans sa main droite devant le taureau Mnévis qui est debout sur un socle. Entre le roi et le taureau on voit un brasier qui n'est autre chose que le 'signe' *h* représenté sur le plat du scarabée du Caire CCG 36437 mais en forme abrégée à cause de la surface étroite du plat du scarabée.

Sur la même stèle du Caire 2/2/21/1 et au-dessus du roi Ramsès II on lit ses titres habituels: 'Vive le dieu bon, Seigneur de double pays, Ousermâtrâ, l'élude-Râ, maître d'apparition, Ramsès, l'aimé d'Amon, donné vie.' Au-dessus du taureau Mnévis on lit le texte suivant: (𐀓) 'Mnévis, héraut de Râ, qui élève la justice pour Atoum.'³

Après cette comparaison entre le scarabée du Caire CCG 36437 et la stèle 2/2/21/1

¹ P. E. Newberry, *Scarab-shaped Seals* (Cairo, 1907: CCG) 36437, p. 110 et pl. xiv (cinquième rangée, toute à droite).

² Provenance: la tombe de Mnévis sous Ramsès II, Héliopolis; cette stèle est donnée (seulement en typographie) par G. Daressy, *ASAE* 18 (1919), 206-7.

³ Pour le titre *sr Mst n'itm*, cf. aussi la tombe de Mnévis de Ramsès VII (Daressy, *ASAE* 18 (1919), 211—cf. p. 217 fin— cité par E. Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Aegypten* (*Unters.*, 13, Leipzig, 1938), 38). D'autres contextes pour *sr Mst* sont donnés par le *Wb.* IV, 33: 14-16 et *Belegstellen*.

on peut lire les signes gravés sur le plat du scarabée comme *Mr-wr* (𓄿𓂏) 'Mnévis' mal-écrit à cause de la surface étroite sur laquelle l'artiste a gravé ces signes.



FIG. 1. Scarabée du Caire
CCG 36437.

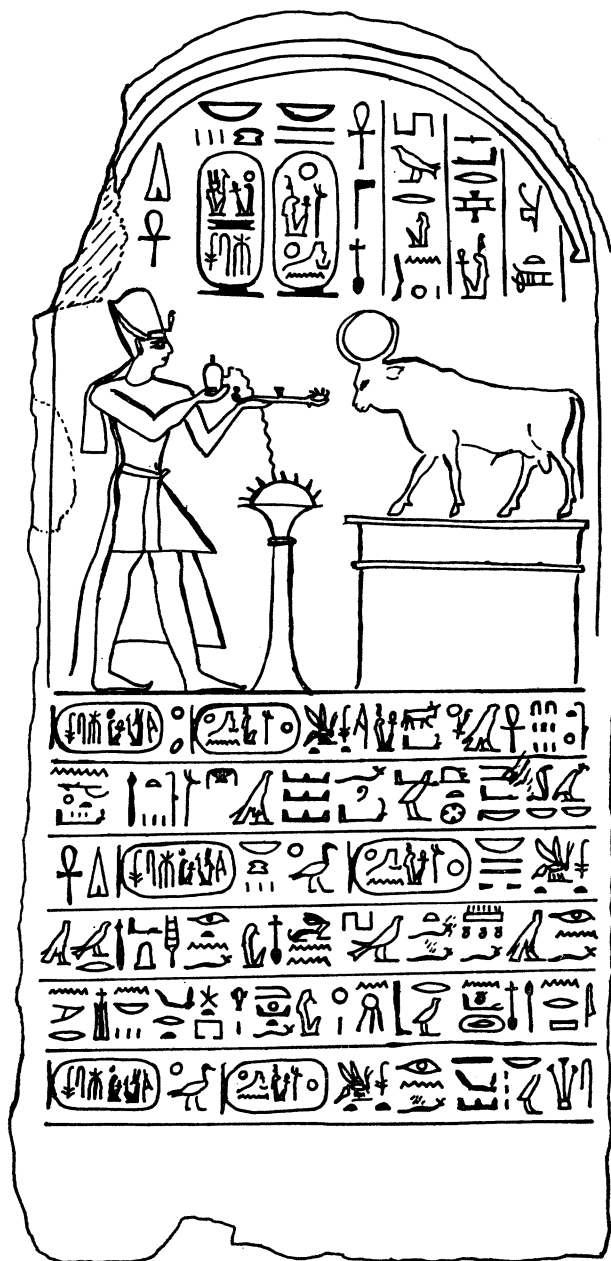


FIG. 2. Stèle du Caire No. Prov. 2/2/21/1.

Dans la partie inférieure de la stèle Caire 2/2/21/1 on voit une inscription dédicatoire en six lignes horizontales qui commence avec la date 'Année 26' sous le règne de Ramsès II (protocole usuel) et qui continue (dans la ligne 4): (Ramsès II) 'il a fait comme son monument (à) son père Mnévis-Onnophris, la fabrication d'une très grande stèle en beau calcaire d'Aÿnou afin que Râ brille dans son horizon sur la Douat sacrée pour les

maîtres d'Héliopolis, [et] pour que les maîtres du territoire sacré [nécropole] révèlent (?) ce qu'il a fait, le roi Ramsès II.'

II. Le prénom royal en monogramme

Le deuxième scarabée, qui sera comparé avec un relief d'Abou-Simbel (Grand Temple) se trouve dans la Collection G. Fraser (fig. 3).¹ La provenance de ce scarabée selon Fraser était Tell El-Yahoudeiah. Sur le plat de ce scarabée, on trouve un décor du type 'scroll-scarabs'; il est en stéatite dont le plat comporte le prénom de Ramsès II écrit pictographiquement par la déesse Mâtât tenant dans sa main gauche le signe *wsr*. Sa tête est surmontée par la plume de la justice (β) et au-dessus du signe *wsr* on voit le disque solaire; donc la lecture la plus plausible est *Wsr-mât-rc* qui n'est pas autre chose que le prénom de Ramsès II.



FIG. 3.
Scarabée
Fraser 302.

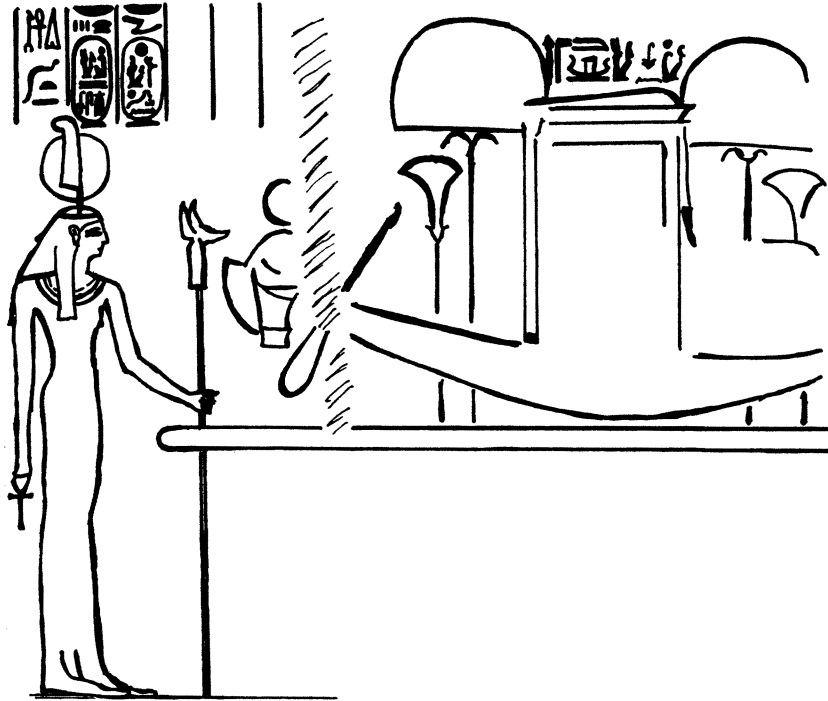


FIG. 4. Relief d'Abou-Simbel, Grand Temple.

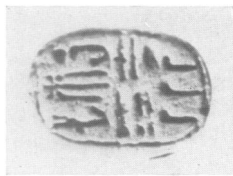
Le relief que nous comparons avec le scarabée Fraser No. 302, se trouve dans le Grand Temple d'Abou-Simbel dans la chapelle de Thot (mur nord) où l'on voit la barque sacrée de l'idole de Khonsou (ici, pl. XXXV, 3 et fig. 4).² Derrière cette barque se voit le prénom de Ramsès II écrit à la même manière par laquelle il est gravé sur le plat du scarabée Fraser 302. Dans ce relief la déesse Mâtât tient dans sa main gauche le signe *wsr*, sa tête surmontée par le disque solaire qui se lit Râ. Ce groupe représente

¹ G. Fraser, *A Catalogue of the Scarabs belonging to George Fraser* (London, 1900), 38, No. 302, et pl. xi, 302.

² Cf. Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* VII (Oxford, 1952), 98 (4).



1. Stèle du Caire No. Prov. 2/2/21/1



2. Scarabée du Caire J d'E 74478



3. Figure-monogramme d'Ousermâ'âtra', Grand Temple, chapelle sud, Abou-Simbel

aussi le prénom de Ramsès II, *Wsr-msr̄t-r̄* (voir le photo, pl. XXXV, 3). La ressemblance entre ce relief d'Abou-Simbel et le monogramme du scarabée Fraser 302 est donc très proche.¹

III. Les grandes statues royales sur les scarabées

Le troisième scarabée dans cette étude est celui désigné par le No. 74478 (Jd'E) du Musée du Caire dont les dimensions sont: 2, 2 × 1, 5 cm.; en stéatite. Sur le plat de ce scarabée on lit: *R̄-m̄s-s(w) mry-Imn hr-m-n̄trw*, 'Ramsès, l'aimé d'Amon, s'élève comme les dieux' (voir pl. XXXV, 2 et fig. 5).



FIG. 5. Scarabée du Caire Jd'E 74478, inédit de la Coll. Fouad Ier.



FIG. 6. Texte de Statue - Osirienne de Ramsès II à Garf-Hussein.

La statue que nous comparons avec le scarabée du Caire, Jd'E 74478, est une statue de Ramsès II du Temple de Garf-Hussein en Nubie dans la salle hypostyle; c'est une statue Osirienne du roi. Sur le corselet de cette statue on lit une ligne verticale des hiéroglyphes: 'Le dieu bon, Seigneur de double pays, Ramsès, l'aimé d'Amon, s'élève comme les dieux' (voir fig. 6);² la ressemblance entre ce scarabée et le texte de la statue de Garf-Hussein est donc très évidente.

La légende sur notre scarabée peut être classée comme 'légende courte'; nous verrons à propos d'autres scarabées qu'on dénomme les statues royales soit en termes explicites soit seulement par leurs épithètes particulières.

Nous savons que les statues royales avaient des noms qu'on peut retrouver sur les stèles et les scarabées du Nouvel Empire. Déjà dans la Dix-huitième Dynastie Aménophis III érigea des colosses appelés 'Nebmâtâtra' Souverain des Souverains' et 'Soleil des Souverains'³ et aussi un autre à Karnak (Xe pylône) nommé 'Nebmâtâtra' Montou des Souverains'.⁴

Ramsès II érigea une véritable foule de colosses qui portent toute une série de noms spéciaux.⁵ Aux alentours de Pi-Ramsès on a trouvé les stèles dites 'de Horbeit'.⁶ Sur

¹ Une autre personification de Ouserma'atrâ — roi debout et tenant *wsr* et plume-*ma'at*, avec disque sur sa tête — est sculptée dans le sanctuaire du temple de Derr; cf. Porter-Moss, op. cit. VII, 88-9 (27); A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr* (Cairo, 1913), 92-4, pls. 57-60.

² Temple de Garf-Hussein, Porter-Moss, op. cit. VII, 35 (pillars). L'épithète *hr-m-n̄trw* reparait dans le surnom du renommé trésorier Bay (appelé Ramsès-Khât-em-néterou), cf. W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden, 1958), 355-6, 473.

³ Voir A. Varille, *RdE* 2 (1936), 173 ff., et *ASAE* 33 (1933), 85-94, aussi *ASAE* 34 (1934), 13 ff.; Labib Habachi, *MDAIK* 20 (1965), 85-9, fig. 11, pls. 27, 30, et son livre *Features . . .* (note 5 ci-après), 26.

⁴ Sur ce colosse, voir Labib Habachi, *Features . . .* (n. 10), 48, fig. 33, et pls. 13 (b), 15 (b).

⁵ Voir G. Roeder, *ZAS* 61 (1926), 59-61; J. Yoyotte, *Kémi* 10 (1949), 86-9; J. J. Clère, *Kémi* 11 (1950), 24-46; L. Habachi, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 514 ff., pls. 30 ff.; L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, (*ADAIK* 5, Glückstadt, 1969).

⁶ Voir L. Habachi, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 514 ff.

non moins que 56 de ces monuments, on commémore la statue de Ramsès II *Mntw-m-twy*, 'Montou dans le double pays', tandis que d'autres stèles nomment les statues de Ramsès II *pꜣ-ntr*, 'le dieu'; *mry-Itm*, 'l'aimé d'Atoum'; *Rꜥ-n-hkꜣw*, 'Soleil des Souverains'; *hkꜣ-n-hkꜣw*, 'Souverain des Souverains'.¹ Les colosses du grand roi portent des noms caractéristiques aussi aux temples thébains (Louxor, Ramesséum) et en Nubie (Abou-Simbel).²

Ces colosses ramessides reparaissent sur les scarabées, tout comme notre statue de Garf-Hussein. Une seule statue peut être ainsi commémorée par une 'légende explicite', ou par une 'légende courte' (comme Garf-Hussein). On trouve à la fois un texte comme *pꜣ twt ꜣ n nb-ṯwy* *Wsr-mꜣt-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ*, *Mntw-m-twy* (scarabée du Louvre) et aussi tout simplement *Wsr-mꜣt-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ*, *Mntw-m-twy* (moule de Qantir),³ '(la grande statue de) Ouser-mââtrâꜥ, l'élû-de-Râꜥ, Montou dans le double pays'. Une 'légende courte' peut être accompagnée d'une représentation de la statue elle-même; ainsi paraît l'effigie de 'Ramsès II, Soleil des Souverains' sur le scarabée British Museum No. 2225.⁴ Enfin, les scarabées conservent le mémoire d'autres colosses qui font défaut encore parmi les monuments connus par l'égyptologie. Il convient de citer les 'légendes explicites' sur un scarabée de l'ancienne Collection Amherst et une moule de Qantir: *pꜣ twt ꜣ n Rꜥ-ms-s(w) mry-Imn*, *sh-n-Itm* et *sh-n-Sth* — 'la grande statue de Ramsès l'aimé d'Amon, qui contente Atoum' et '. . Sutekh'.⁵ Les mêmes statues sont également attestées par des 'légendes courtes', ainsi qu'un autre colosse, 'Ramsès l'aimé d'Amon, qui contente Râ'.⁶ Ces données sur les deux espèces de légendes semblent donc donner raison grandement à notre interprétation de la légende inscrite sur le plat du scarabée Caire Jd'E 74478.

IV. Scènes de guerre et de religion

Plusieurs scarabées rappellent les grandes scènes de guerre et du triomphe qui ornent les murs ou les pylônes des temples ramessides. On voit le pharaon debout sur son char, écrasant ses ennemis,⁷ comme à Karnak ou dans l'épopée de Qadech.⁸ Quand il bat ses

¹ Cf. Habachi, *Features* . . . , 28-9, 33-4.

² Cf. *ibid.* 8, 10, 18 ff., 24 ff. Ramsès II nomme encore d'autres statues et même ses carrières sur la stèle de l'an 8 de Manshiyet eš-Šadr (cf. A. Hamada, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 217-30).

³ Newberry, *Scarabs* (London, 1908), pl. 35: 6, et M. Hamza, *ASAE* 30 (1930), fig. 15: 1 et pl. 59 (mal lu); cf. Yoyotte, *Kémi* 10 (1949), 86 et figs. 13-14.

⁴ H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum*, 1 (London, 1913), 223, No. 2225; Yoyotte, *op. cit.* 88 et fig. 17.

⁵ Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. 36: 30, et Hamza, *ASAE* 30 (1930), 60, pl. iv c, fig. 15: 11; W. M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders* . . . , (London, 1917), pl. 46: 20. 6. 2; cf. Yoyotte, *op. cit.* 86 et figs. 8, 11-12.

⁶ Cf. Yoyotte, *op. cit.* 86, 88, et figs. 1-7, 9, 10, avec renvois; il a prouvé que ces scarabées réfèrent tous aux statues de Ramsès II et pas au roi Ramsès VIII (British Museum No. 2372 excepté).

⁷ Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jérusalem, cf. A. Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs* . . . (Cairo, 1936), 159, pl. 17, Nos. 667, 668; avec un lion, Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs* (London, 1925), pl. 15: 993. Sous Séthi II, cf. Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. 36: 7; sans nom, *ibid.*, pl. 42: 37-9. Pour Thoutmosis I comme précurseur, cf. *ibid.*, pl. 27: 4.

⁸ A Karnak, cf. Séthi I (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pls. 45, 46, 50, 53) et Ramsès II (*ibid.* II, pls. 54 a, 55 a, 56, etc.); Qadech, cf. Kuentz, *La Bataille de Qadech* (Le Caire, 1928-34), pls. 40, 41, etc.

captifs avec la massue devant son dieu,¹ Ramsès II peut être accompagné par son lion sur un scarabée comme au temple de Derr.² Le sceau-cylindre de Ramsès II trouvé à Beisan³ combine les motifs du triomphe et du 'roi sportif' (comme sur un relief d'Aménophis II)⁴ en une seule entité artistique.

Enfin, les scènes innombrables qui témoignent de la dévotion du roi envers les dieux à travers les murs des temples trouvent aussi leur écho artistique sur les scarabées. Parmi les scènes les plus 'conventionnelles' il suffit de citer Ramsès II agenouillé devant Amon ou le babouin de Thot,⁵ et le roi debout devant Renenout ou le pieu sacré d'Amon.⁶ Plus intéressant est le cas où le roi intronisé est porté par deux dieux 'séthiens' à la façon des scènes montrant le pharaon porté par des mortels.⁷

Pour résumer, nous avons cité un choix de scarabées dont les sujets peuvent être comparés avec ceux des stèles, des reliefs, et des statues. Tandis que les motifs comme la guerre ou les offrandes aux dieux peuvent sembler 'banal', quelques détails sont dignes d'attention (lion comme à Derr; pieu d'Amon; portage du roi); et nous citons les sujets moins 'ordinaires' (Mnévis; monogramme; statues avec noms) pour prouver que les artistes qui ont gravé les plats des scarabées avaient imité des scènes du 'répertoire' égyptien fourni soit par les stèles, soit par les reliefs des grands temples ou soit par les grandes statues.

¹ Sur les scarabées, cf. Newberry, *Scarab-shaped Seals*, pl. v: CCG Nos. 36257-8, 36260; Hall, *Catalogue, Scarabs, British Museum*, I, p. 221: 2211. Dans les temples, beaucoup de scènes, e.g. Porter-Moss, op. cit. II, 20 (59), 23 (65), 24 (70, 72), à Karnak, et ibid. VII, 101-2 (37, 38), 113-14 (15, 21), à Abou-Simbel, etc.

² Scarabée, cf. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders . . .*, pl. 40: 24. Temple de Derr, Porter-Moss, op. cit. VII, 85 (6), 86 (8); Blackman, *Derr*, pls. 6-7, 9-10.

³ Rowe, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs . . .* (1936), 252-3, pl. 28, S. 61.

⁴ H. Chevrier, *ASAE* 28 (1928), 126 et fig. 5, et républié maintes fois depuis.

⁵ Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. 34: 33, 35; Petrie, *Scarabs . . .*, pl. 40: 11, 12, 13.

⁶ Renenout, cf. Petrie, op. cit., pl. 40: 16. Pieu d'Amon, ibid., pl. 40: 10; à comparer avec le culte offert par Ramsès III (Médinet Habou, le calendrier) et dans le tombeau thébain No. 44 — voir H. H. Nelson et U. Hölscher, *Work in Western Thebes, 1931-33*, (OIC, No. 18, Chicago, 1934), 48-50 et fig. 21.

⁷ Le scarabée British Museum No. 2218 (32303), Hall, *Catalogue, British Museum*, I, 222, No. 2218, ou Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. 34: 32; Scarabée Moscou, Arch. Golénischeff, Album Photos, pl. 44, no. 19. Cf. les scènes telles qu'illustrent Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pls. 161-2 (Horemheb), Epigr. Survey, *Médinet Habu*, IV, pl. 198 (Ramsès III), et Naville, *Festival Hall of Osorkon II* (London, 1892), pl. vi (Osorkon II).

RAMESSES VII AND THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY

By K. A. KITCHEN

IN recent studies on the family relationships of the Twentieth Dynasty,¹ Ramesses VII (It-Amūn) has received least attention, his possible relationship to other kings of the line being either dismissed with a rapid conjecture² or left aside altogether.³ However, one small piece of probable evidence seems to have been entirely overlooked hitherto: a sandstone doorjamb found in pieces among the tombs of Deir el-Medineh.⁴ This bears in two identical columns the following text: '[. . . .] the good god, lord of the two lands, Usimaꜥrēꜥ-meryamūn-setepenrēꜥ, Son of Rēꜥ, lord of epiphanies, Ramesses (VII), (It)-Amūn, god, ruler of Heliopolis—he has made as his monument for his father, (may) live⁵ the good god, lord of the two lands, Nebmaꜥrēꜥ-meryamūn, Son of Rēꜥ, [Ramesses VI, . . . some work or other]'. Of course, any pharaoh could regard any of his predecessors as a 'royal ancestor' and thus call him *it*, 'father'/'(fore)father'; at first sight, therefore, this jamb seems merely to tell us what we already know—that Ramesses VII was a successor of Ramesses VI. However, as affording an example of one late Ramesside pharaoh commemorating another, this piece is practically unique,⁶ by contrast with the habit of usurpation.⁷ Therefore, one may accordingly attach somewhat more importance to this commemoration of Ramesses VI by Ramesses VII, and indeed suggest that its best explanation is that Ramesses VII is in fact to be regarded as son of Ramesses VI.

Ramesses VII son of VI and the Medinet Habu Princes

If the suggestion just made be granted, one may examine its possible bearing on the relationships of the Twentieth Dynasty, and especially on the interpretation of the twin processions of princes at Medinet Habu⁸ (and the position of certain queens), and on the order of succession of Ramesses 'VII' It-Amūn and Ramesses 'VIII' Sethirkhopshef.

¹ In the last two decades, these include: K. C. Seele (1) in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, 1955, 296–314, and (2) *JNES* 19 (1960), 184–203; C. F. Nims, *BiOr* 14 (1957), 137–8; J. Černý, *JEA* 44 (1958), 31–7; J. Monnet, *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 209–36, pls. 24–7.

² Cf. (e.g.) Černý, *op. cit.* 37 ('perhaps a son of Ramesses VI'), or earlier, T. E. Peet, *JEA* 14 (1928), 57, placing him either in the 'collateral line' (R. IV–V) or as a brother of Ramesses VIII.

³ So Seele, papers (1), (2), Nims, Monnet, *op. cit.*

⁴ B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1923–1924)*, 1925, 92, § 6.

⁵ As part of a fixed group (usually in initial position, of a living king, not deceased as here), the *ꜥnh* in *ꜥnh nꜥr nꜥr* should probably not here be translated.

⁶ At present, I know of no further examples from the reigns of Ramesses IV–XI.

⁷ Such as Ramesses VI usurping Ramesses III, IV, and V; or Ramesses VII and IX usurping earlier Ramesside works (cf. H. Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 203: iv and n. 3; 212: xxiv and n. 3).

⁸ Published by the Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu V*, 1957, pls. 299–302; cf. also photographs (north side only), Seele (2), pls. 3–4, figs. 1–3.

Two main interpretations of these processions exist, which may be summarized in their simplest and optimum forms as follows.¹

A. That all the princes as *named* by the secondarily-added texts were in fact sons of Ramesses III. On this view, figure No. 1 was labelled by Ramesses IV who added also a bandeau text below each procession. Then, figures Nos. 2 and 3 were labelled by and for Ramesses VI, and No. 4 for his then still living brother Sethirkhopshef (later Ramesses VIII). Ramesses VI then also added the names of six elder brothers who had pre-deceased him to figures Nos. 5 to 10. Finally, on becoming king, Ramesses VIII added his cartouches with alterations to the figure labelled earlier for him.²

B. That the initial 'Ramesses' was a son of Ramesses III and father of Ramesses VI; he never became king, but Ramesses VI considered him to have been entitled to the throne occupied by Ramesses IV and V.³ Ramesses VI thus labelled figure No. 1 for his non-regnant father, Nos. 2 and 3 for himself, and Nos. 4 to 10 for his own sons (great-grandsons of Ramesses III). Later, his son Sethirkhopshef, as Ramesses VIII, added his own cartouches, uraeus, etc.⁴

The bearing of the 'new' Deir el-Medineh jamb (as evidence for Ramesses VII as son of VI) on these two hypotheses is as follows. On either hypothesis, it is agreed that neither Ramesses V nor VII⁵ is named or represented in these processions. On Hypothesis A, the reason is at once simple and obvious. Ramesses V as son of Ramesses IV⁶ and Ramesses VII as son of Ramesses VI were but grandsons of Ramesses III, had no place in this series of his sons, and so never entered their names or cartouches on either series of figures. On Hypothesis B, however, the omission of It-Amūn—as Ramesses VII, historically the most important son of Ramesses VI—from the long line of seven supposed sons of Ramesses VI constitutes an inexplicable stumbling-block.

One is, therefore, inclined to prefer Hypothesis A. This view enjoys the further

¹ Common ground to both hypotheses are the following facts: (i) all *unlabelled* and adoring cartouches of Ramesses III, the figures of the princes were carved as a unit under that king; (ii) all the vertical columns of text of at least figures 2–10 were all engraved at one time, under Ramesses VI (needing two columns for full names and titles), and uraei added to his figures (Nos. 2–3); (iii) thereafter, Ramesses VIII Sethirkhopshef added his cartouches between the figure and text-col. at No. 4, adding a uraeus and fuller robe. This much is certain. On Hypothesis A, figure No. 1 was labelled (and uraeus added) by Ramesses IV in his own reign; on Hypothesis B, that figure is the non-regnant father of Ramesses VI and so was inscribed by the latter.

² Several variations on this view exist, e.g. of Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, III, 1905, 138–41; Nims in part (*BiOr* 14, 137–8), Černý, *JEA* 44, 33–4, and Monnet, *BIFAO* 63, 218–36 *passim*.

³ The further colourful hypothesis has sometimes been offered that this non-regnant father of R. VI was the prince Pentaweret found among those declared guilty in the harīm-conspiracy under Ramesses III, as their claimant for the throne but legally 'bested' by Ramesses IV; cf. Seele (1), 303–4, 311; (2), 197, 201–2, following on Peet, *JEA* 14 (1928), 55, and Schaedel, *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 103, n. 5. However, by this token, Ramesses VI would be son of a minor prince and grandson of a mere harīm-woman—hardly a superior claim to that of Ramesses IV and V.

⁴ Various forms of this view, cf. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 1896, 59–64; Peet, *JEA* 14, 55–7; Seele, papers (1), (2).

⁵ For elimination of early misreadings of the cartouche at No. 3 as R. VII instead of VI, see Peet, *op. cit.*, 54, n. 1. Sethe's objection (*Untersuchungen*, I, 60) to regarding these series of princes as sons of Ramesses III, that it would imply five successive rulers from a single generation, is misleading and invalid; in fact, only three brothers became king (R. IV, VI, VIII), the last two being rather younger than the first.

⁶ A relationship generally admitted, though inscriptionally not directly attested; age-at-death of the mummies of R. IV and V would be consistent with this view, and cf. on Queen Tent-Opet below.

advantage that a schematic¹ series of princes carved under Ramesses III was appropriately annexed by and for real sons of that king; this secondary set of inscriptions fits the nature of the processions. However, on Hypothesis B, a schema of 'sons of pharaoh' sculptured for Ramesses III is annexed by one grandson to commemorate himself, his own sons (merely great-grandsons of Ramesses III!), and his own father. This latter would be the only son of Ramesses III named, and ironically (unlike the grandson and first great-grandson) never a king except in fiction and perhaps involved in a court plot. On this view, the added texts are in flagrant conflict with the basic representations to which they were added; and one may wonder whether such a thesis does not overstep even the wide bounds of incongruity allowable in Egyptian decorative practice.

In favour of Hypothesis A, a minor point is Janine Monnet's observation of slight differences in the painted decoration of the uraei added to figures Nos. 1, 2-3, and 4 respectively.² However, as with minor variations in sign-grouping in the added inscriptions, such details should not be overstressed.

More important is the correspondence between some princes indubitably *known* to be sons of Ramesses III and some named with figures Nos. 5-10 of the processions.³ With No. 5, Prēḥirwenmef, First Charioteer of His Majesty, one may compare Prēḥirwenmef, Charioteer of the Great Stable of Ramesses III of the Residence of Ramesses III, for whom that king had Tomb 42 made in the Valley of Queens.⁴ More valuable as evidence is Khamwas entitled Sem-priest of Ptaḥ both as No. 8 at Medinet Habu and in his tomb (44, Valley of Queens) under Ramesses III. The latter is known to have deliberately modelled himself and his works on the example of Ramesses II.⁵ No such fact can be demonstrated for Ramesses VI.⁶ Thus it is not surprising that, once Ramesses III had become king, he should make *his* son Khamwas Sem-priest of

¹ 'Schematic', because the motif (like so much else) was borrowed and adapted from the Ramesseum. The 'theological' decoration of at least some Ramesside temples seems to desiderate the presence of the sons and daughters of Pharaoh in the forecourt(s); for Ramesses II, cf. their 'processions' in his father's temple at Abydos, in Thebes at Luxor and the Ramesseum, and in Nubia at Wadi es-Sebua. At Medinet Habu under Ramesses III, the important thing was the *motif*, not family history, and the omission of current proper names was probably nothing more than oversight of data 'to be done later' and never dealt with. Royal or non-royal origin of the queen, or children born in or out of the purple (considerations governing Seele's explanations (1), 311-12 and *passim* (2), 198) are hardly relevant, as Ramesses III himself had been a commoner. For monuments being prepared, leaving names and cartouches to be filled in later (and never done!), cf. Valley of Queens, Tombs Nos. 31, 36, 40, 73, and 75.

² Monnet, *BIFAO* 63, 232. Lack of paint in the uraei of figures Nos. 2/3 is not itself absolute evidence of distinction from the uraei of Nos. 1 (uniform bright blue paint) and 4 (traces of red and blue stripes).

³ A point already noted by Petrie, Gauthier, Peet, Monnet (233 ff.), etc.

⁴ His titles and function were probably accorded him by Ramesses III in imitation of Prēḥirwenmef son of Ramesses II who had been a First Charioteer and Overseer of Horse (Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 83-4).

⁵ So, in the size, general layout, and much of the decoration of Medinet Habu temple, directly inspired by the Ramesseum (calendar, Min-feast, processions of princes, princesses, Syrian war-scenes, etc.), even to including a room for Ramesses II; in adapting the Blessing of Ptaḥ text and pairing it with another text (as R. II also did); and in some aspects of his titulary.

⁶ Either in his texts, titulary (nearer to Ramesses III and Amenophis III) or monuments so far as yet known. This difference between Ramesses III and VI in relation to Ramesses II is overlooked by Peet, *JEA* 14 (1928), 58-9, in his assumption that Ramesses VI would automatically copy his father in imitating Ramesses II. See also next note but one.

Ptaḥ like the famed Khamwas, son of his exemplar Ramesses II. For any such son and act of Ramesses VI, we have *no* particle of evidence beyond the Hypothesis-B interpretation of the Medinet Habu princes. While no tomb is yet attested¹ for prince Ramesses Mery-Atum at No. 7, his title as Chief of Seers of Rē-Atum (High Priest of Heliopolis) is again directly imitative of Ramesses II's appointment of *his* son Mery-Atum to that post.² Again, this makes sense under Ramesses III but not VI. The remaining names, Sethirkhopshef at No. 4 (cf. Valley of Queens No. 43), Montuḥirkhopshef at No. 6, Amenḥirkhopshef at No. 9 (cf. Valley of Queens, No. 55), and Mery-Amūn at No. 10 are all names attested also for sons of Ramesses II.³

The order of succession of Ramesses VII and VIII

If with the Deir el-Medineh jamb Ramesses VII be taken as a son of Ramesses VI, and if Hypothesis A also stands (that the princes named at Medinet Habu were sons of Ramesses III), then one may confirm the succession of Ramesses VII It-Amūn and Ramesses VIII Sethirkhopshef. The latter is not yet known to have reigned beyond his Year 1;⁴ but the former lasted some seven years.⁵ So long as Ramesses VI had a son able to succeed him, it is not likely that a brother should succeed him before that son did. If, on the considerations already mentioned, Ramesses It-Amūn was such a son and Ramesses Sethirkhopshef but the brother of Ramesses VI, then there is no further reason to doubt that (i) Ramesses VI would be followed by his own son Ramesses VII It-Amūn and (ii) if Ramesses VII then left no son able to succeed him,⁶ the throne might readily pass to his father's younger brother Ramesses VIII Sethirkhopshef. The usual order and numbering of these two kings is, therefore, to be retained.⁷ Two further

¹ Perhaps one of the nameless tombs in the Valley of the Queens was his—unless one may assume multiple burials (with Seele (1), 307 and n. 2, one may note (e.g.) the tomb 55 of Amenḥirkhopshef given 'by favour' of Ramesses III 'to the great royal children', *msw-nsu rjyw*).

² So, also, H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat*, 1953, 95–6. As Kees notes, Mery-Atum is in office in Papyrus Wilbour 34: 49 (ed. Gardiner, I, pl. 16–16A; II, 145, § 144; III, 36, § 80) in Year 4 of *Ramesses V*. On this evidence alone, therefore, he cannot well be a son and appointee of the succeeding pharaoh Ramesses VI! This fact alone might have sufficed to give the *coup de grâce* to the interpretation of Sethe, Peet, and Seele of the Medinet Habu princes as sons of R. VI.

³ See respectively Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 98: 25, 90–1: 6, 80–1: 2 and 91–2: 8. Amenḥirkhopshef remained in itself a popular name in Dyn. 20, being the *nomen* of Ramesses V, VI, and X. Ramesses IX also had a son Montuḥirkhopshef, but no king after Ramesses III is yet known to have had a series of sons so consistently named after those of Ramesses II.

⁴ Theban Tomb 113 of Kynebu, now collapsed, Porter and Moss, *Topogr. Bibl.*², I: 1, 1960, 231 (3), after Hay MSS.

⁵ Cf. most recently, J. J. Janssen, *JEA* 52 (1966), 91–2.

⁶ As with Ramesses V. Ostrakon Louvre N. 497, verso, published by J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *JNES* 9 (1950), 134–6, esp. 136 and pl. 6, probably names a son of Ramesses VII, if one takes first her lines 2 and 3, with line 1 added in front for lack of space. The text then runs 'Given by favour of (*ht*, error for *hr* by scribe) the King to his son, his beloved, generalissimo, First King's Son of [His] Majesty, Ramesses, justified before the lords of truth in the Necropolis'. This is precisely the kind of formula found in dedicatory texts in the tombs of the sons of Ramesses III (and in that of Queen Isis under Ramesses VI) in the Valley of Queens; cf. (e.g.) Monnet, *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 211, fig. 1. Therefore, one may suggest: (i) this prince Ramesses was eldest son of Ramesses VII, (ii) that a tomb was planned for him in the Queens' Valley (prelim. text and sketches, O. Louvre N. 497), and (iii) he predeceased his father—as did several sons of Ramesses III, and Seti-Merenptah, son of Sethos II.

⁷ While technically some completely ephemeral king could have reigned between Ramesses VI and VII

aspects of this Dynasty, however, require a little more attention: the sons of Ramesses III, and the ladies of the royal family.

The sons of Ramesses III

In their tombs, *two* sons of Ramesses III are each entitled *sꜣ nsw tpy* or First King's-Son: Prēḫirwenmef and Khamwas. On Sethe's understanding of this title as signifying the first-born son of the king,¹ as Seele has remarked,² this cannot be literally true of *both* princes unless they were twins. Unless this rather theoretical solution be adopted, a different application of *sꜣ nsw tpy* should perhaps be sought. Perhaps a designation of the first-born, each by two different wives? Or simply 'first-ranking' sons? The most that can safely be predicated is some kind of seniority, that these were the two eldest sons;³ the suggestion of two wives will be followed up presently. The third son was perhaps the *sꜣ nsw smsw*, Eldest King's-Son, Sethirkhopshef i, known only from Tomb 43 of the Queens' Valley. The title 'Eldest' (following Sethe's definitions) would be his following the deaths of his two elder brothers.⁴ Had he himself survived the reign of Ramesses III, Sethirkhopshef i would have been senior to both Ramesses IV and VI and have been king first. He did not so precede them, so probably died in Ramesses III's reign (soon after his two seniors?), and should *not* be identified with the Sethirkhopshef (Ramesses VIII) of the Medinet Habu list dealt with below. Fourth son of Ramesses III may have been the Amenirkhopshef i of Valley of the Queens, Tomb 55, there entitled *iry-prt hry-tp tꜣwy*. This title may indicate that (following the decease of his elder brothers) he became heir-presumptive;⁵ he too will have died in his father's reign.⁶ Fifth son would be that Ramesses who eventually became Ramesses IV.⁷

(cf. Peet, *JEA* 14, 60, n. 1; Černý, *CAH*², II, ch. 35 (1965), 13), yet in the absence of any evidence this remains an empty theory. As already shown, Ramesses VIII could not well come between VI and VII unless he were son of VI, senior to VII—but as a brother of VI, this will not work. Ramesses VIII's reign is marked not solely by a few scarabs and the Medinet Habu cartouches (as sometimes suggested), but also by Tomb 113 of Kynebu at Thebes, and by the stela Berlin 2081 of the royal scribe Hori from Abydos.

¹ See *Untersuchungen*, I, 59, n. 1.

² In *Ägyptologische Studien*, 1955, 311; his further suggestion, *ibid.* 310 and n. 4, that *sꜣ-nsw tpy n ht-f* applies only to sons born in the purple is contradicted by the example of Ramesses, first-born son of Sethos I, who must have been born to Sethos as a commoner—he was present in the latter's Karnak reliefs of Year 1 and later (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, I/1, 1969, 9: 12–13, 21: 15; for the name of the prince, see Speleers, *Rec. Trav.* 39 (1921), 113 ff., pl. 4, from stela Brussels E. 5300).

³ Born before either Ramesses III or Setnakht ever came to the throne; their younger brother the future Ramesses IV was in his fifties at death, following on 31 years plus 6 years, total 37 years, of his father's and his own reigns—and so was also born to Ramesses III while yet a commoner.

⁴ However, Sethe's distinction between *sꜣ-nsw tpy* and *sꜣ-nsw smsw* is possibly illusory—and certainly so under Ramesses IX, whose son in Kings' Valley Tomb 19 is both *tpy* and *smsw* (cf. Gauthier, *op. cit.* III, 215: xxxiv, B, D, H, cf. C, E, F)! Under Sethos I, both titles applied to prince Ramesses would alike qualify the future Ramesses II.

⁵ However, the title *iry-prt* on its own need have no such meaning. Under Ramesses II, for example, this epithet is borne by his 24th (or 25th) son called Sethirkhopshef (Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 98: 25) who was certainly never crown prince or heir-presumptive.

⁶ Possible traces of his burial were found by Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori . . .*, I, 154, as pointed out by Seele, *JNES* 19 (1960), 199 and n. 45. This prince will be figure No. 9 at Medinet Habu.

⁷ I see no necessary objection to his having been that prince Ramesses 'born of the Great Royal Wife' (i.e. of Ramesses III's chief wife who became chief queen with his accession) for whom was prepared Tomb 53 in the Queens' Valley, as suggested by Yoyotte, *JEA* 44 (1958), 30 end, and esp. by Černý, *ibid.* 34–5. I remain

These five sons, especially if born to the future Ramesses III by two different wives, could all have been born to him in his twenties.

To these, further sons must be added. Of Montuḥirkhopshef, No. 6 at Medinet Habu, and Mery-Amūn at No. 10, little is known.¹ The younger Amenḥirkhopshef, ii, the future Ramesses VI, was probably so named to fill the 'gap' left by the death of the earlier prince of that name; likewise, a still younger brother Sethirkhopshef ii will have replaced the deceased first prince of that name, to become later Ramesses VIII.² Between these two, one may place Mery-Atum, who was born late enough and lived long enough to be High Priest at Heliopolis into the reign of Ramesses V and possibly a little longer.³ Finally, there is the prince known only as 'Pentaweret', son of a harīm-woman Tiy, involved in the harīm-conspiracy; his real name remains unknown, and he requires no further comment here.⁴

Records of any of the sons of Ramesses III during his reign are very few, as is so often the case with princes in pharaonic Egypt. An original⁵ named record of two princes is to be found in the Min-feast scenes of Ramesses III's small temple in the forecourt of Amūn at Karnak, probably dating to the second half of the reign.⁶ One is the King's scribe and generalissimo, prince Ramesses, and the other, the King's scribe and Overseer of Horse, prince Amenḥirkhopshef (ii)—precisely the titles found with the figures of Ramesses (IV) at No. 1 and of Amenḥirkhopshef ii—Ramesses (VI)—at Nos. 2–3 at Medinet Habu. We therefore probably have here a fleeting mention of the two eldest surviving sons of Ramesses III in the later part of his reign.⁷

It will be noticed that the two 'first-born' sons, Prēḥirwenmef and Khamwas, come only as Nos. 5 and 8 at Medinet Habu, not at the head of the series.⁸ But, on the known facts, they could not have come before positions Nos. 4 and 5 in any case. Ramesses IV took place No. 1 for himself; in his turn, as reigning king, Ramesses VI took the

sceptical of Seele's suggestion (*JNES* 19, 199) that tombs were not prepared in advance for princes yet living; I find it hard to believe that such splendid sepulchres, up to 70 or 100 feet long, extensively carved and painted, were put in hand and completed within the 70 days' embalming-period at need.

¹ Montuḥirkhopshef was a First Charioteer of His Majesty, just like his homonym son of Ramesses II (Gauthier, *op. cit.* III, 91: G). Tomb 19 in the Valley of the Kings belongs, however, to the son of Ramesses IX.

² By this means, Ramesses III could maintain alive a roster of princes named after those of Ramesses II. The existence of two Amenḥirkhopshefs in this way is vouched for by their both occurring at Medinet Habu, as Nos. 2/3 (Ramesses VI) and 9 (A. i).

³ Occurring in the Wilbour Papyrus, Year 4 of Ramesses V, as noted.

⁴ On his probable relative unimportance, cf. p. 183, note 3 above; had he been enthroned as a result of the harīm-conspiracy, he would perhaps have been a puppet in others' hands.

⁵ I.e., names and titles carved *with* the scenes, not subsequently.

⁶ Seele, *Ägyptologische Studien*, 309, notes the date Year 22 in a main inscription on this edifice, and suggests it was a work of the later decades of Ramesses III, undertaken after completion of Medinet Habu.

⁷ Epigr. Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, I, pl. 18A, 10, 11. Seele, *op. cit.* 309, infers from *mꜣ-hrw* following their names that they were already dead. This does not follow; the epithet is more theological than biological—in Tomb 148 in W. Thebes (dated to Ramesses III–V), the High Priest of Amūn Ramesses Inakht is honoured as *mꜣ-hrw* (personal copy), but four reigns later is still alive and active in Year 2 of Ramesses IX! (Cf. Helck, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 137, 138–9); cf. also the God's Wife Isis on the Koptos stela of Ramesses VI. The irrelevance of the term was long ago noted by Peet, *JEA* 14 (1928), 59, n. 1.

⁸ The occurrence of a *sꜣ-nsw tpy* in fifth place was one of Sethe's objections (*Unt.* I, 59) to these being sons of Ramesses III—but is rendered pointless by the occurrence of *another* such as No. 8 (Khamwas).

next places Nos. 2 and 3 for himself,¹ and added his still-living brother Sethirkhopshef ii as No. 4. Thus, for elder and deceased non-regnant brothers, Nos. 5 ff. were the next-available places for their names. This amply accounts for one first-born, Prēḫirwenmef, at precisely that position—but why does Khamwas the other first-born come only at No. 8 and not as No. 6? One may here hazard a suggestion, based upon the thesis of first-borns by two wives offered above. Namely, that Prēḫirwenmef was the first-born both chronologically and by one wife, and that the princes at Nos. 6 and 7—Montuḫirkhopshef and Mery-Atum—were later sons by the *same* wife of Ramesses (III). Then, at No. 8, Khamwas is first-born by the *other* wife (and chronologically second-born son), with the princes Amenḫirkhopshef i and Mery-Amūn at Nos. 9 and 10 being later sons of this other wife. As in his tomb (Queens' Valley, 55) Amenḫirkhopshef is 'born of the Great Royal Wife', we may also attribute Khamwas and Mery-Amūn to her—and if prince Ramesses of Tomb 53 of the Queens' Valley (there similarly entitled)² is the later Ramesses IV, then he too was son of Ramesses III by the woman who became his chief queen. Therefore, Prēḫirwenmef, Montuḫirkhopshef, and Mery-Atum will belong to the lesser consort. Sethirkhopshef i is not attributed to the Great Royal Wife in his tomb (Queens' Valley, 43) and can also be attributed to this lesser consort. Finally, one may attribute to her Sethirkhopshef ii (replacing i after his death), and attribute to the Great Royal Wife Amenḫirkhopshef ii (Ramesses VI) replacing i—a suggestion which may find further support from consideration of the queens just below.

The over-all picture for the sons of Ramesses III would show him as having had some five sons by (probably) two wives before he was 30 or had become king; thereafter, he had at least five more by the same wives, not to mention the offspring of the harīm such as the luckless Pentaweret.³ Ramesses (IV), Amenḫirkhopshef ii (R. VI), Mery-Atum, and Sethirkhopshef ii (R. VIII) survived the old king's death, all the rest having predeceased him, some by perhaps up to twenty or twenty-five years. Ramesses IV added his name and a bandeau-text to the processions of princes at Medinet Habu, and his name in the forecourt.⁴ When his son and successor Ramesses V died without survivor,⁵ his brother Amenḫirkhopshef ii became king as Ramesses VI; he added his own titles at Medinet Habu, plus those of his surviving brother, and those of his elder but deceased brothers. He was succeeded first by his own son It-Amūn as Ramesses VII, and when (like R. V) the latter left no son able to succeed was secondly followed (after seven years) by his own younger half-brother Sethirkhopshef ii as

¹ Two places, in order to have two columns of text for his full titles.

² Yoyotte, *JEA* 44 (1958), 26–30 and esp. fig. 5.

³ This seems a more natural view than the curious thesis of Seele, *Äg. Studien*, 308, that no sons were born to Ramesses III in his first 12 years of reign; likewise, his interpretation of Ramesses in the scene of the Amūn-temple (Karnak) of Ramesses III as being really Khamwas is totally unconvincing—when Ramesses-Khamwas is abbreviated, it is abbreviated to Khamwas (the distinctive element) as in the Medinet Habu series of princes (cf. No. 8 on N. and S. sides).

⁴ In the 'sporting reliefs', *Medinet Habu II*, pl. 111; both there and on the Florence lintel Inv. 4019 (cf. Gauthier, III, 176, n. 2), prince Ramesses has the same orthography of name and the same particular title—generalissimo—as figure No. 1 in the Medinet Habu series.

⁵ He and any sons were perhaps all carried off by some disease? It has been suggested that he died of small-pox (G. E. Smith, *The Royal Mummies*, 1912, 90–2, Cat. 61085).

Rameses VIII. He added his cartouches at Medinet Habu, but may not have long survived his first regnal year. Thereafter the throne passed to Rameses IX, X, and XI whose relations both to each other and to their predecessors remain unknown.¹

The queens of the Twentieth Dynasty

The royal ladies of this epoch are still rather elusive in number and relationships. The certainties may be noted first. From her association with Setnakht and Rameses III, Tiye-Merenēse was doubtless wife of the former king and mother of the latter.² Rameses V had two known consorts: the Great Royal Wife Henut-waḥti, and the lesser queen Ta-weret-tenru.³ By his Great Royal Wife Nub-khesbed, Rameses VI had a daughter Isis who became God's Wife of Amūn.⁴ Rameses III himself had a Great Royal Wife Isis surnamed *Tj-Hmsrt* (error for *Tj-Hmdrt*).⁵ Thus far the facts. Less absolutely certain, but most probable is the attribution of the Great Royal Wife (Duat) Tent-Opet or Ta-Opet to Rameses IV; she would be daughter of Rameses III, chief wife of Rameses IV, and mother of Rameses V.⁶

The real problems relate to further occurrences of queens or queen-mothers Isis, *Hm/bdrt*, and the parentage of Rameses IV and VI. Tomb No. 51 in the Valley of the Queens belongs to the *mwt-nsw*, Queen-mother, Isis (in cartouche), daughter of a non-royal woman *Hbnrdnt* (no cartouche); it was given her by favour of Rameses VI.⁷ As it is hard to see why Rameses VI should make such a gift to someone not closely connected with him, most scholars would admit that this Isis was in fact his mother.⁸ It is very hard to separate her from the one well-known chief queen of Rameses III, Isis *Ta-Hmdrt*; *Ta-*, 'pertaining to', is a wide term for 'belonging' which can surely include filiation without being limited to that nuance.⁹ This would make Rameses VI

¹ They could well have succeeded each other from father to son, with Rameses IX being a son of Rameses VIII—if the latter died rather early (from c. 40 to 50 years old at most?), the former reigning about eighteen years would be no older at death, followed by a short-lived Rameses X and correspondingly long-reigned Rameses XI. Perhaps to these last three or four kings (VIII–XI) one might attribute the King's Daughter, King's Sister and Great Royal Wife, and Queen-mother Tyti, known from her tomb, 52, in the Valley of the Queens—there is not much room, genealogically, for her either earlier in this dynasty or even in the Nineteenth. Her titles, cf. Gauthier, III, 227: 11.

² Cf. Gauthier, III, 156; Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions*, v/1, 1970, 5–6.

³ Both known so far only from Papyrus Wilbour, cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 141, § 109 and refs., 157, § 276.

⁴ His Koptos stela, Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. 19; also at Deir el-Bakhit.

⁵ Figure and cartouche on statue of Rameses III before his temple in precinct of Mut; on reading, cf. Černý, *JEA* 44 (1958), 31, 37. A Queen Isis of Usima'rē-meryamun (Rameses III, unless abbreviated for VII, omitting *stprc*?) occurs in Pap. Abbott 4, 16 as owner of a tomb alleged to have been robbed (Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, I, 33–4, 39).

⁶ On basis of her titles of King's Daughter, (Great) Royal Wife, and Queen-mother, Tomb 74 in Valley of Queens; cf. Černý, *JEA* 44, 35, and Gauthier, III, 190: lxiii (adoratrix), 227: 10, also Theban tomb 346.

⁷ Cf. Černý, op. cit. 31, 33, and Monnet, *BIFAO* 63, 210–11.

⁸ Monnet, op. cit. 211 f., objects that, in the dedication, Rameses VI does not explicitly specify his relation to Isis (as does R. III for his sons in their tombs)—hence, the link must be more distant than 'mother'. However, the title of queen-mother is surely sufficiently explicit; he would hardly do this for the mother of another king; and even in the princes' tombs, some dedications (as in Tomb 55) do not even name the prince but are simply for 'the great royal children'.

⁹ Thus eliminating Seele's objections (*JNES* 19 (1960), 191–3) to Černý's understanding of *Ta-* in this case, as too narrowly based. For *pj* = 'son of', compare Spiegelberg, *Theb. Graffiti*, Nos. 420 with 217, and Nos. 884,

a son of Ramesses III by Isis daughter of /*Ta-Hb/mḏrt*. The title Queen-mother in Tomb 51 should *not* be viewed as exclusive;¹ to Ramesses VI, Isis was King's Mother, while to Ramesses III she was King's Great Wife.

So far so good; two other monuments are less simply interpreted. First is the Karnak *cache* statue, now Cairo Cat. 42153; the thorough study of this monument by Janine Monnet² corrects all previous work on it. This statue was originally made for Ramesses IV³ and usurped by Ramesses VI. It bears also the figures and names of (i) 'the God's Wife and King's Mother, Isis *Te(n)t-HMDRT*',⁴ and (ii) 'the King's Son, Ruler of On-of-Rēc (?),⁵ Pa-neb-en-Kemyt'. But, of which king are these the Queen-mother and son—of Ramesses IV, maker, or of Ramesses VI, usurper, of the statue? The fine cutting of the hieroglyphs and figures of the two (especially of the Queen-mother) contrasts with the rough cutting of the usurping lines of text of Ramesses VI. Hence, one may suggest that we here have the mother and a son of Ramesses IV.⁶ This, in turn, would make Ramesses IV a son of Isis *Ta/Te(n)t-Hmḏrt*—and so a full brother of Ramesses VI, albeit definitely an elder brother.⁷

Secondly, there is the fragmentary inscription seen by Lepsius at Deir el-Bakhit in Western Thebes.⁸ This, as we have it, records the recognition (installation?) of the princess and adoratrix Isis as God's Wife of Amūn under Ramesses VI, probably during the Festival of the Valley,⁹ in the presence of [the king?], the Queen-mother *Hmḏrt*, and the vizier Neḥy. Princess Isis is the known daughter of Ramesses VI already referred to above (p. 189). The vizier Neḥy is otherwise almost unknown¹⁰—but if he was Theban vizier, he would have to be a successor to Neferronpet ii who served in that office throughout the six years of Ramesses IV, the four years of Ramesses V, and into the reign of Ramesses VI.¹¹ The name of the queen-mother—*Hmḏrt*—may, 735, with 785 (Sp. misinterprets as 'father of'); in the light of this attested use of *p* for filiation, Seele's objections to *t* in this sense lose their cogency.

¹ An error which vitiates the reasoning of Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 62–3, and of Peet, *JEA* 14, 57; beyond any serious doubt, Isis-*Ta-Hmḏrt* as queen of Ramesses III (Mut-precinct statue) and queen-mother of Ramesses IV or VI (Cairo Cat. 42153, see below) is one and the same person—the titles vary with the persons to whom they relate. And surely the 'King's Mother and King's Wife Isis' whose tomb features in Year 17 of Ramesses IX in the Necropolis Diary is our same royal lady (Botti and Peet, *Giornale della necropoli di Tebe*, 1928, p. 26, pl. 24, Year 17, rt. viii, 1 ff.), despite Peet's doubts (*ibid.*, p. 26 n. 4).

² See *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 220–6, fig. 2, and pls. 26–7.

³ Not V, as Seele had ingeniously suggested, using photos only.

⁴ *HMDRT* being expressed by a special plant-ideogram, see Monnet, *op. cit.* 226: D, and pl. 27B. *Tt* = *T(n)t* (equal of *Ta-*), cf. variations of Tent-Opet.

⁵ Previously read as 'Iwmw-mꜣt, making no sense. For On-of-Rēc, see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 1947, 145* and references.

⁶ Seele, *JNES* 19, 203, n. 64, speaks decidedly for a pre-R. VI date for these figures, but without giving supporting reasons.

⁷ If, however, these two figures were the work of Ramesses VI, then this would be additional evidence for his being son of Isis-*Ta-Hmḏrt*, and add another son alongside R. VII.

⁸ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler, Text*, III, 101, improving on *LD*, III, 218a, b; reproduced by both Seele (2) and Monnet. It is much to be regretted that this monument has not been rediscovered in more recent times.

⁹ Note Černý's reading and restoration, *JEA* 44, 32 and nn. 4–7.

¹⁰ Statue-fragment from Deir el-Medineh (Černý, *op. cit.* 32 n. 7) and perhaps another from Armant (cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 1958, 451, 25: a).

¹¹ See references in Helck, *op. cit.* 463–4, 41, cf. 333–5; the supposed reference in Year 13 of R. IX is very dubious and probably to be omitted (cf. Černý, *BiOr* 19 (1962), 143).

then, be understood as an abbreviated writing for Isis (*Tj*)-*Hmdrt*, already suggested as mother of Ramesses VI, and avoiding confusion with the younger Isis his daughter.

This text in three lines is cut across an earlier (?) set of scenes, and above a scene of a king *Wsr . . . r^c* before the barque-shrine of Amen-rē^c. If this were all,² interpretation would be easy: Ramesses VI had engraved the record of his daughter's installation (?) upon a predecessor's standing monument. However, both Černý and Seele have suggested that the added inscription itself had been usurped by Ramesses VI from a predecessor, either Ramesses III or IV.³ Ramesses III may be excluded without further ado.⁴ But if Ramesses IV be regarded as originator of this inscription, certain consequences follow. First, one must assume not only the complete erasure and replacement of the cartouches of Ramesses IV by VI (which is no problem) but also of the name of the daughter of Ramesses IV in favour of Isis the daughter of Ramesses VI, and additionally of the name of the vizier Neferronpet ii by that of his successor Neḥy. Then there is the queen-mother *Hmdrt*. If this is simply an abbreviation for Isis *Tj*-*Hmdrt*, and she was mother of both Ramesses IV and VI as suggested above, then her cartouche would be original and need no change. But if she were mother of VI and not also of IV,⁵ then one must assume yet a fourth usurpation in the names in this short text. All these changes are not impossible, but they are essential to Seele's hypothesis.⁶ However, it would seem altogether simpler and wiser at present to adopt Monnet's position that this inscription was in fact due to Ramesses VI from the start, and that the sole recorded trace of a possible usurpation—an apparent *rr* in the *Nb* of Nebma^crē^c—is fortuitous breaks on the edge of the stone possibly misinterpreted by Lepsius' draughtsman.

Additionally, under Ramesses XI, Papyrus B.M. 10052 mentions the robbery of a tomb of 'the King's Wife *Hbrdt*'.⁷ As there is no reason so far to suppose a separate *queen* of this name,⁸ one may with due reserve suggest that the *hmt-nsw Hbrdt* is simply an abbreviation or an error⁹ for *hmt-nsw(st)(tj)-Hbrdt*—i.e. for Queen and Queen-mother Isis *Tj*-*Hmdrt*. If so, the tomb (Queens' Valley, 51) was only rumoured

¹ Who may have been either Ramesses III, IV (early titular), or V; the cartouche is hatched in Lepsius' copy—erasure or just damage?

² The view taken by Monnet, *BIFAO* 63, 214–16, on lack of certain traces of usurpation (only *R^c* on *Nb* ??).

³ Former, Černý, *JEA* 44, 32 n. 3; latter, Seele, *JNES* 19, 194 and n. 28.

⁴ As pointed out by Seele, loc. cit., Mery-amūn in the first cartouche belongs to Ramesses VI, and would replace a Setepenamūn of Ramesses IV; there is no warrant for introducing Ramesses III here.

⁵ That she was mother also of R. IV is probable on the evidence of the statue Cairo Cat. 42153 considered above, and on his being identified with prince Ramesses 'born of the Great Royal Wife' in Tomb 53 in the Valley of the Queens as already suggested.

⁶ With Monnet, *BIFAO* 63, 215, 216, I am very sceptical of Seele's assumption (*JNES* 19, 195) that *both* kings (R. IV, VI) had each a daughter called Isis, and that each appointed his like-named daughter God's Wife of Amūn. There is as yet no evidence for any such daughter of Ramesses IV. Only rediscovery and scrutiny of the text can settle its origin.

⁷ Cf. Peet, *JEA* 11 (1925), 40, and *Great Tomb-Robberies*, I, 139, 143, II, pl. 25 (Pap. B.M. 10052, I: 15–16).

⁸ Only *Hbmdnt*, the non-royal mother of Queen Isis of Tomb 51, Queens' Valley, is so far established to exist apart from Isis-*Tj*-*Hmdrt* herself; this commoner has no reason to be called 'queen' or be assigned a royal tomb.

⁹ Probably an abbreviation to the more distinctive element, as at Deir el-Bakhit.

to be robbed under Ramesses IX (Pap. Abbott 4, 16), but was later entered and found 'open' by robbers under Ramesses XI.

Relationships of Ramesses IV, V, and VI

That, as brothers, Ramesses IV and VI had no special regard for each other is probable enough; however, the theory of an outright persecution of Ramesses IV and V by Ramesses VI probably over-interprets the facts.

In the case of Ramesses IV, the usurpations by Ramesses VI are by no means exhaustive or in any way comparable to, e.g., the elimination of Hatshepsut or Akhenaten on the monuments. Rather, they are limited very largely to claiming maximum prominence and credit on temple-structures for the minimum outlay in the same way that Ramesses IV had done. This is particularly evident in Karnak—greatest temple of the most prestigious deity, Amūn. There, Ramesses IV made his name prominent for posterity by adding his cartouches to the columns of the great hypostyle hall, columns of his titles to the obelisks of Tuthmosis I, his names in various parts of the main temple, oldest and holiest, from Pylon IV through to the Akh-menu and the solar roof-shrine; on the South Approach, he added bandeau-texts to the inner faces of the walls of the court of Pylons X and IX, of the court between Pylons VIII and VII, and of the *Cour de la cachette* north of Pylon VII, with a great festal stela on its east wall (inner face).¹ All these inscriptions kept the name of Ramesses IV prominent on the processional routes of Amūn through his precinct, and inside his temple proper. So, in due course, Ramesses VI gained an equal outward prominence (at his brother's expense) by merely usurping the cartouches (and sometimes the Horus-name) of Ramesses IV at the points mentioned—i.e. with minimum work and expenditure. However, this in no way demonstrates his hostility for Ramesses IV, any more than does usurpation of Ramesses II and Merenptah (his own father) by Sethos II, on both faces of the west wall of the *Cour de la cachette*, show any personal hostility by him to them. It is easy to forget the monuments and inscriptions of Ramesses IV *not* usurped by VI. In Karnak, in Ramesses III's temple in the forecourt, long bandeaux of Ramesses IV in its forecourt were left untouched,² and so also his cartouches elsewhere in Karnak. At Luxor, in the long colonnade with the famous scenes of the Opet-feast, Ramesses IV added long lines of text and at least 150 cartouches under those scenes—again, untouched by Ramesses VI.³ Over at Medinet Habu, alongside prominent lines of text usurped, there are others untouched;⁴ in particular, the long and large-writ titles of Ramesses IV under the processions of princes were respected and left untouched by Ramesses VI—hardly a mere oversight. Elsewhere in Egypt, beyond Thebes, Ramesses IV's names and monuments remained prominent and unsurped, whether by Ramesses VI or anyone else. Suffice it to mention, e.g., his two great stelae in Cairo from Abydos, his names in the courts of the Sethos-temple there, his stela from Koptos, texts in

¹ See Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-ré à Karnak*, 1962, *passim*.

² *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, 1, pl. 76B, D; seven out of eleven cartouches of IV were, however, usurped by VI on pillar-bases (pl. 27).

³ Personal copies and observation.

⁴ Cf. (e.g.) Nims, *BiOr* 14 (1957), 138; Seele, *JNES* 19, 194 n. 29.

Hamamat, his Heliopolis obelisk, lesser texts in Sinai, etc., etc.¹ To talk of persecution is to overstate the matter.

As for Ramesses V, there is no evidence whatever of persecution by Ramesses VI. In the first place, the monuments of Ramesses V are very few, and constitute no great body of evidence either way. In the second place, usurpation of Ramesses V by VI is limited almost *solely* to the former's tomb in the Valley of Kings (No. 9) and to his presumed funerary temple athwart the lower end of the Mentuhotep causeway at Deir el-Bahri. In both cases, Ramesses VI simply seized the opportunity of possessing himself of a tomb completely quarried-out but whose decoration was barely begun, and of a temple in building still to be completed.² Otherwise, evidence of 'persecution' is *nil*. Neither the Silsila stela of Ramesses V, nor his Heliopolis inscription (in its surviving fragment), nor the Bologna 'obelisk' shows any usurpation by Ramesses VI.³ That Ramesses V's body still was 'in burial' in Year 2 of his successor and buried only then⁴ is the result of Ramesses VI usurping the tomb of his predecessor, and taking eighteen or twenty months either to prepare a room in it for him or more likely to have hewn some small separate tomb, annexing the original tomb for himself. There is no warrant here for supposing any 'civil war' between Ramesses V and VI or their retainers, nor in an obscure local conflict reported in a Turin papyrus.⁵ The continuity of officials in office under Ramesses IV–V and VI also speaks against any real upheavals at this time.⁶ Thus, while Ramesses VI had no special regard for his predecessors, he can hardly be said to have persecuted them; he found it convenient to gain cultic prominence in Thebes and an already part-made tomb and temple at minimum outlay by annexing with his cartouche the works (in part) of his two immediate predecessors, and was similarly prepared to usurp the works of other kings besides.⁷

Addendum

Addendum: While this paper was in proof, there appeared von Beckerath's new study (*ZÄS* 97 (1971), 7–12) defending the succession R. VIII–R. VII, but on grounds that are entirely indecisive. Thus, the Paris and Marseilles offering-tables certainly show R. IX honouring R. II, III, and VII, but prove no *specific* relationship between R. VII and R. IX. And the entries in Pap. Turin P and R 72 (Cat. 1885) for years 7 and 1 can be either for R. VI and VII (without VIII intervening as von B. assumes), or just possibly for R. VII and VIII. Furthermore, von B. takes no account of: the jamb of R. VI and VII; Janine Monnet on Cairo Cat. 42153; Prince Meryatum (M. Habu) as Heliopolitan high priest under R. V (and so not a son or appointee of R. VI!); many flaws in the arguments of Sethe and Seele already noted in their place. Therefore, I still see no valid reason to reverse the order of R. VII and VIII.

¹ For convenience, cf. most of these texts in Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions*, VI/1, 1969, *passim*; Abydos cartouches, personal observation.

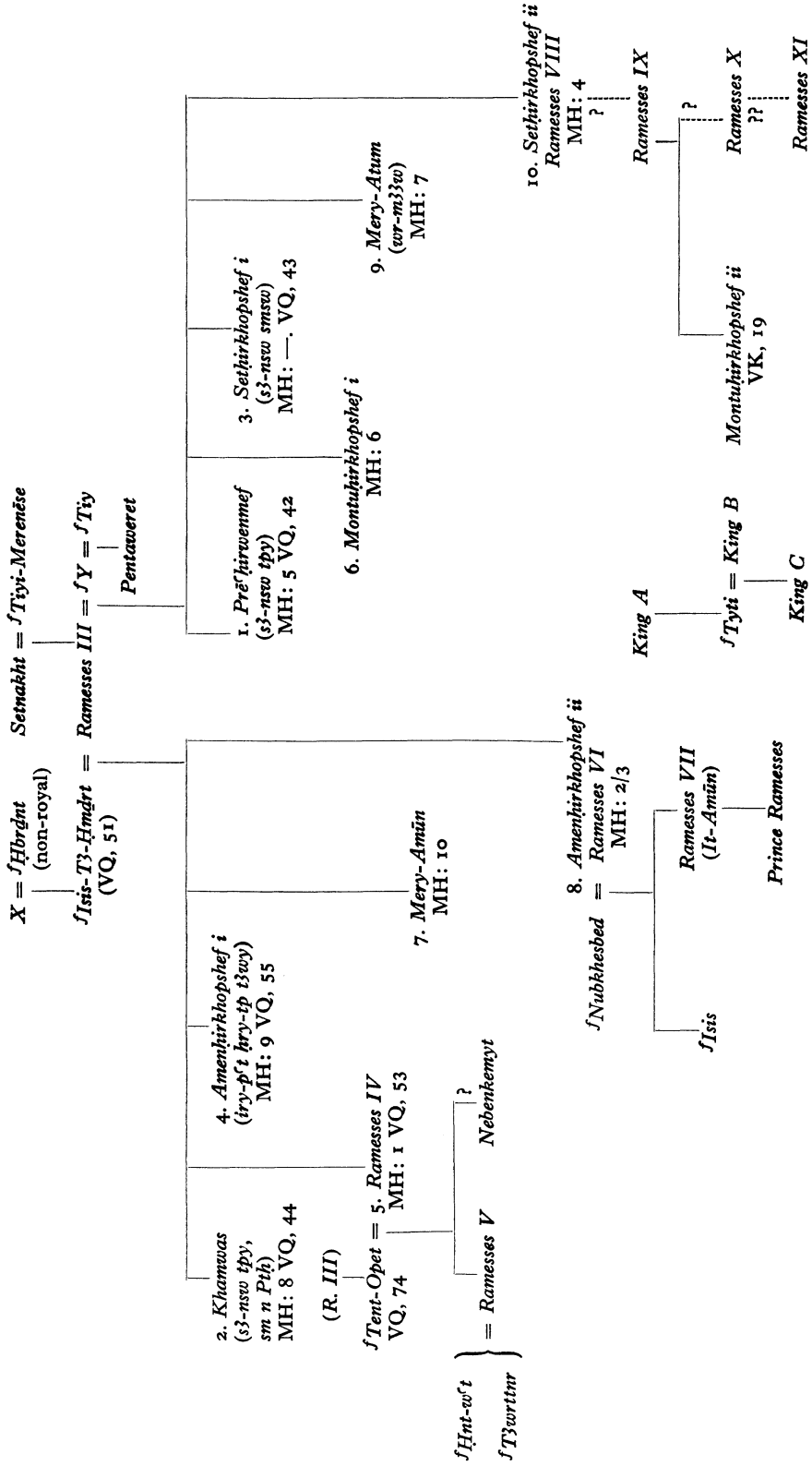
² Ramesses VI economized further on 'costs' by cutting down the number of workmen at Deir el-Medineh from the high figure of 120 taken on under Ramesses IV (and kept by V) back to the old figure of 60, cf. Černý, *CAH*², II, ch. 35 (1965), 10 end.

³ By contrast, his Karnak stela before Pylon IV was usurped years later by Ramesses X (cf. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-rê*, 92 and pl. 10a). ⁴ Cf. Černý, *op. cit.* 9. ⁵ Contra the conjectures by Černý, *op. cit.* 9–10.

⁶ A fact noted by Černý, *op. cit.* 11, citing the vizier Neferronpet ii, the treasury-overseer Montuemtawy, and the royal butler Qedren.

⁷ Contra Seele, *JNES* 19, 195 n. 31, one may note, for example, Ramesses VI usurping Ramesses III at Memphis (Porter and Moss, *Topogr. Bibl.* III, 227, 'Various').

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY — SUGGESTED GENEALOGY



A SECOND HIGH PRIEST RAMESSESNAKHT?

By M. L. BIERBRIER

IN the collection of Theban graffiti recently issued by Černý and Sadek, number 1860a presents an interesting historical problem.¹ It runs 'Year 8, third month of Akhet, day 6, this day of the closing of the tomb by the high priest Ramessesnakht, the royal butler Prēḥirwenmef, the mayor Amenmose [in the presence of ?] the chief workman Amennakht likewise'. A small part of line 4 remains illegible but does not affect the

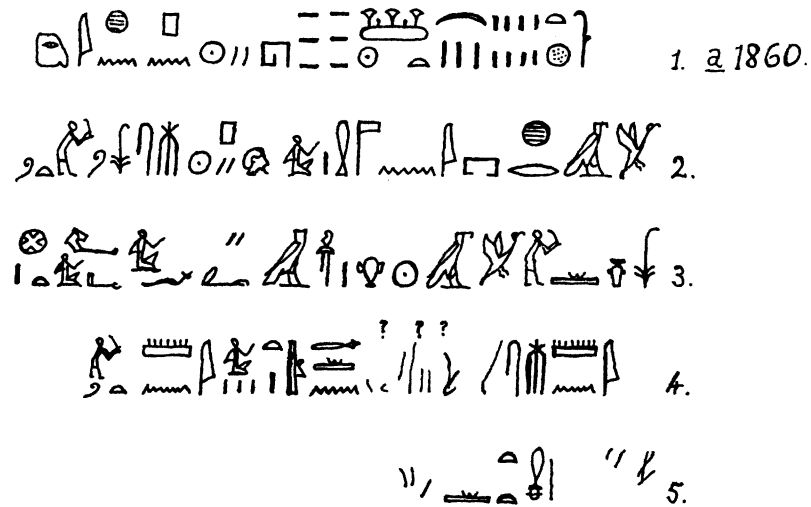


FIG. 1

sense of the graffito since something like 'in the presence of' or 'with' is clearly demanded by the context. The graffito thus commemorates the gathering of a group of high dignitaries to witness the completion of some stage of work on the royal tomb. The phrase *hni p; hr* need not necessarily imply that the tomb was completely finished. The chief workman Amennakht was obviously representing the workmen of the Theban necropolis at the ceremony. Although the name of the reigning pharaoh is not given, the names and titles of the various dignitaries can be used to date this event more closely. The royal butler Prēḥirwenmef is otherwise unknown, but the high priest Ramessesnakht is a very well-known character indeed. He first appears as high priest in year 1 of Ramesses IV and is last attested in year 2 of Ramesses IX.² Since his eventual successor, his younger son Amenhotep, is first attested in office in year 10 of Ramesses IX,³ Ramessesnakht obviously relinquished his office and

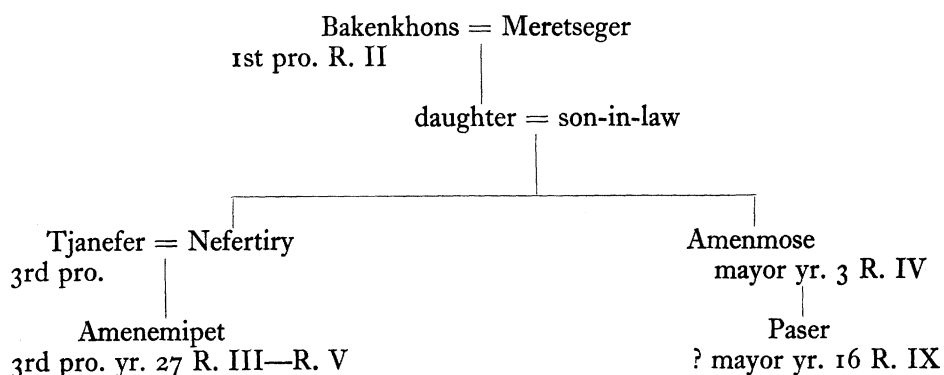
¹ J. Černý et A. A. Sadek, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine* (Cairo, 1970), IV, 21.

² W. Helck, 'Eine Briefsammlung aus der Verwaltung des Amuntempels', *JARCE* 6 (1967), 138-9.

³ G. Lefébvre, *Inscriptions concernant les Grands Prêtres d'Amun Roma-Roy et Amenhotep* (Paris, 1929), 63.

presumably died between year 2 and year 10 of Ramesses IX. Since Ramesses IV is known to have reigned six years,¹ the presence of Ramessesnakht would tend to suggest that the year 8 of graffito 1860a dates during the reigns of Ramesses V to Ramesses IX, but do the careers of the other two dignitaries allow of this dating?

Knowledge of the names and order of the mayors of Thebes during the Twentieth Dynasty is lamentably scanty.² In years 2, 3, and 18 of Ramesses III the mayor of the city is named Paser,³ so graffito 1860a clearly cannot refer to year 8 of Ramesses III. In year 3 of Ramesses IV *ꜥꜣ n šꜥ hꜣty-ꜥ ꜥmn-ms* is attested on a Wadi Hammamat stela.⁴ Finally in year 16 of Ramesses IX a second Paser is known to have held office.⁵ It would seem at first sight that the mayor of the year 8 graffito is the same as mayor Amenmose of year 3 of Ramesses IV, but a closer study of the latter's family connections renders this identification dubious. This mayor Amenmose is also attested on two Cairo statues 42175 and 42176 and in Tomb 148 of the third prophet of Amen Amenemipet who first appears in office in year 27 of Ramesses III.⁶ In Tomb 148 the mayor Amenmose is termed *sn n mwt-f*, that is, maternal uncle of Amenemipet and thus brother of Nefertiry, his mother, who was the wife of the third prophet of Amen Tjanefer.⁷ Now in Tjanefer's Tomb 158 Nefertiry is stated to be the maternal grand-daughter of the high priest Bakenkhons and his wife Meretseger, and hence her brother the mayor Amenmose must be a grandson of that couple.⁸ This Bakenkhons was none other than the celebrated high priest of Ramesses II, and the name of his wife Meretseger is found in his tomb.⁹ Furthermore, Cairo statue 42176 of a mayor Amenmose mentions his son *it nꜥr n ꜥmn Pꜣ-sr*, and it is possible that he is the later mayor Paser II who inherited his father's office.¹⁰



¹ T. E. Peet, 'A Historical Document of Ramesside Age', *JEA* 10 (1924), 116-19.

² W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches* (Leiden, 1958), 529-31.

³ S. Schott, *Wall Scenes from the Mortuary Chapel of Mayor Paser at Medinet Habu* (Chicago, 1957), pl. 1.

⁴ K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*. VI, Fascicle 1 (Oxford, 1969), pp. 12-14.

⁵ T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford, 1930), II, pls. 1, 2, and 3.

⁶ For the statues see G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes des rois et des particuliers*. CGC (Cairo, 1909), II, 41-2. For Tomb 148 see Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.*² (Oxford, 1960), I, part 1, 259-60; cf. a hand copy by K. A. Kitchen. There can be no doubt that *it nꜥr n ꜥmn hꜣty-ꜥ m nꜥwt rsy nꜥwt ꜥꜣ n šꜥ ꜥmn-ms* of Tomb 148 is the same as *ꜥꜣ n šꜥ hꜣty-ꜥ ꜥmn-ms* of year 3 of Ramesses IV. Apart from the exact concordance of titles, the *ꜥꜣ n šꜥ Bꜣk-n-ꜥnsw* who accompanies the latter on the expedition of year 3 also appears in Tomb 148.

⁷ For this parentage see K. Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes* (Chicago, 1959), 5-10.

⁸ Seele, op. cit., pl. 17.

⁹ Porter and Moss, op. cit. I, part 1, 61-2.

¹⁰ Legrain, op. cit. II, 42.

The above table makes clear the relations of mayor Amenmose and illustrates the problem of identifying him with the mayor of year 8. From his biography it can be deduced that the high priest Bakenkhons was in his early to middle twenties on the accession of Ramesses II.¹ If his daughter was born to him when he was about fifty-five *c.* year 30 of Ramesses II and if she in turn bore her son Amenmose between the ages of twenty and thirty, then the mayor Amenmose would have been born *c.* year 50 to *c.* year 60 of Ramesses II. In fact he may well have been rather older. The time which elapsed between the death of Ramesses II and the accession of Ramesses III is not known exactly, but, assuming minimum dates, it can be reckoned as 10 years for Merenptah,² 4 for Amenmesse,³ 6 for Seti II,⁴ 8 for Siptah and Twosret combined,⁵ no interregnum, and 2 for Setnakht,⁶ that is, 30 years. Taking account of the remaining 7 or 17 years of Ramesses II⁷ and 31 years of Ramesses III,⁸ we find that the mayor Amenmose would have been aged between 71 and 81 in year 3 of Ramesses IV. Considering that he took part in an expedition to the Wadi Hammamat, doubtless as a senior adviser, he is unlikely to have been any older than 81, thereby suggesting that the period between Ramesses II and Ramesses III was not more than 30 years. This age also indicates that his mother was indeed born to the high priest Bakenkhons in later life. However, Amenmose is unlikely to have been much younger than 71 since this would involve the coincidence of two late children in succession; namely, that his mother was born to her father Bakenkhons when he was over 55 and Amenmose was born to her when she was over 30. As will be shown below, graffito 1860a cannot refer to the reign of Ramesses V, so that to be the mayor named therein Amenmose would have to survive to a theoretical year 8 of Ramesses VI. At a minimum this would entail another eighteen years⁹ when Amenmose would be aged 89 to 99 and yet still be active in office. This is possible but unlikely. Thus the mayor Amenmose of year 8 must be distinguished from the mayor Amenmose of year 3 of Ramesses IV and his presence cannot be used for dating this graffito more exactly.

The person who is crucial in dating this graffito is the chief workman Amennakht. At present only one chief workman Amennakht is definitely attested, and he is dated to year 3 of Ramesses X.¹⁰ However, the Turin journal of workmen shows that in year 17 of Ramesses IX the two chief workmen in office were Ḥarmose son of Anḥerkhawi and Nakhtemmut.¹¹ Therefore Amennakht must have succeeded to office later than year

¹ See my note 'The Length of the Reign of Sethos I', *JEA* 58 (1972), 303.

² R. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954), 303.

³ W. Helck, 'Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten im Neuen Reich', *Studia Biblica et Orientalia*, III (Rome, 1959), 121-3. ⁴ J. Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*. *CGC* (Cairo, 1935), No. 25515.

⁵ G. Daessy, *Ostraca*. *CGC* (Cairo, 1901), No. 25293 and R. O. Faulkner, *Egypt from the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses III*. *CAH* (Cambridge, 1966), 25.

⁶ University College, London, ostrakon, see Kitchen, *op. cit.* v, Fascicle 1, p. 1.

⁷ Kitchen, *op. cit.* vi, Fascicle 1, p. 19.

⁸ Actually 31 years and 2 months: see J. Černý, 'Datum des Todes Ramses' III und der Thronbesteigung Ramses' IV', *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 109-18.

⁹ Given six years for Ramesses IV and four for Ramesses V; see J. Černý, *Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-first Dynasty*. *CAH* (Cambridge, 1965), 8.

¹⁰ G. Botti and T. E. Peet, *Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe* (Turin, 1928), pl. 56, line 6.

¹¹ Botti and Peet, *op. cit.*, pl. 10, line 1 for Ḥarmose and pl. 25, line 2 for Nakhtemmut. The problem of

17 of Ramesses IX and is presumably to be identified with the deputy Amennakht son of Ḥay who appears in year 17.¹ As shown above, the high priest Ramessesnakht relinquished office between year 2 and year 10 of Ramesses IX, and, if it can be proved that there was no earlier chief workman Amennakht before year 17, then there must have been two high priests Ramessesnakht. There were two chief workmen of the necropolis crew, one for each side, and in the Twentieth Dynasty the post had become hereditary in the families of Nakhtemmut and Ḥarmose. The family of Nakhtemmut is straightforward and presents no problems. Nakhtemmut I is first attested as chief workman in year 12 of Ramesses III² and last in year 15.³ He was succeeded by his son Khons first attested in year 18 of Ramesses III⁴ and last in year 31 of the same pharaoh.⁵ His son Nakhtemmut II is first firmly attested in year 6 of Ramesses IV⁶ and held office to at least year 17 of Ramesses IX as shown above. Hence no chief workman Amennakht can be interpolated in this line. The ancestry of the other line is illustrated in the tomb of the chief workman Anḥerkhawi II.⁷ The founder Ḳaha held office under Ramesses II⁸ and was followed by his son Anḥerkhawi I and by the latter's son Ḥay, first attested in year 1 of either Merenptah or Amenmesse⁹ and last attested in year 15 of Ramesses III.¹⁰ His son Anḥerkhawi II first appears as chief workman in year 22 of Ramesses III¹¹ and is last attested in office in year 1 of Ramesses VI in a graffito which mentions his sons Ḥarmose and Ḳenna and his fellow chief workman Nakhtemmut with two of his sons.¹² Hence graffito 1860a of year 8 cannot date earlier than Ramesses VI since no chief workman Amennakht held office from mid-Ramesses III to year 1 of Ramesses VI. Ḥarmose son of Anḥerkhawi II is first firmly attested in office in year 17 of Ramesses IX, but a reference to both chief workmen Nakhtemmut and Ḥarmose in a year 8 presumably dates to the reign of Ramesses IX if not earlier.¹³ Thus if an Amennakht is to be interpolated in this line, he must have held office after Anḥerkhawi II but before Ḥarmose in the reigns of Ramesses VI, VII, or VIII.

ḥ n iswt Wsr-ḥpš who appears in the Abbott Papyrus of year 16 of Ramesses IX (Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 3, p. 5, line 13) and in B.M. 10053 of year 17 (Peet, *op. cit.*, pl. 17, p. 1, lines 6, 7), thus indicating three chief workmen in office, can be easily explained. The Abbott Papyrus, in another section reporting on the same incident in year 16, only calls him *ḥry-drt n ḥ n iswt Nḥt-m-mwt* (Peet, *op. cit.*, pl. 3, p. 6, line 5), and an inscription makes clear that a Ramesses-Woser-Khepesh was in fact Nakhtemmut's son; see B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1945-47* (Cairo, 1952), 42. Thus in year 16 Woser-Khepesh was probably not chief workman, but was acting *in loco parentis*, although there exists the possibility that he may have succeeded his father by year 17.

¹ Botti and Peet, *op. cit.*, pl. 14, line 2.

² Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, No. 25553.

³ J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 1 (Oxford, 1957), pl. 39, No. 2.

⁴ J. Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* (Cairo, 1935 ff.), No. 422.

⁵ Černý and Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pl. 67, No. 3.

⁶ J. Černý, 'L'identité des "Serviteurs dans la Place de Vérité" et des Ouvriers de la nécropole royale de Thèbes', *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne* 2 (1929), 203 n. 2.

⁷ Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1930* (Cairo, 1933), 33-70.

⁸ Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, No. 25573.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 25779.

¹⁰ Černý and Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pl. 39, No. 2.

¹¹ Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques non littéraires*, No. 222.

¹² J. Černý, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole thébaine* (Cairo, 1956), No. 1269.

¹³ F. Rossi and W. Pleyte, *Papyrus de Turin* (Leiden, 1869-76), pl. 29, lines 5-6.

The hereditary tendencies which had assured the office of chief workman to the descendants of Kaha since the time of Ramesses II would seem too strong for an interloper from another family to obtain this office between Anherkhawi II and his son Harmose. If an Amennakht did precede Harmose, he must have been a very close relative, either an elder brother of Harmose or less likely an uncle. Neither in his graffito nor in his well-preserved tomb does Anherkhawi II mention the existence of a son or brother of this name although ten sons including his eventual successor Harmose and five brothers are depicted in his tomb.¹ Is it conceivable that his designated successor would fail to appear in his tomb? Hence it appears most unlikely that any Amennakht held the office of chief workman between Harmose and his father, and thus Harmose must have succeeded Anherkhawi II directly. If that were so, there would have been no chief workman Amennakht prior to year 17 of Ramesses IX, and graffito 1860a of year 8 must date either to Ramesses X or XI. With regard to the personalities mentioned in the graffito, the chief workman Amennakht could be identified with the chief workman Amennakht of year 3 of Ramesses X who may have held office into the reign of Ramesses XI;² the mayor Amenmose could be the successor of mayor Paser II and possibly his son and grandson of the earlier Amenmose; and the royal butler Prēchirwenmef might be identified with an untitled person of the same name who is referred to in a letter dated to the reign of Ramesses XI.³ Most important of all, there would have been a second high priest Ramessesnakht, doubtless grandson of the first. The existence of Ramessesnakht II would certainly force the modification of certain theories about the late Twentieth Dynasty, but is not contradicted by any firm evidence. The high priest Amenhotep is last attested in year 17 of Ramesses IX,⁴ and the problem of the dating of his suppression has never been resolved although the existence of a high priest Ramessesnakht II would of necessity date it before year 8 of Ramesses XI at the latest. An inscription published by Wente⁵ shows that Amenhotep was restored to office so the succession of a son or close relative to his office is not improbable. In conclusion, the graffito 1860a of year 8 can be dated either to the reigns of Ramesses VI, VII, or VIII if it can be established that there was a chief workman Amennakht at this period, a fact for which there is no solid evidence; or to the reigns of Ramesses X or XI, a conclusion for which there is some evidence. If the latter case is correct, as it seems to be, then there would have been a second high priest Ramessesnakht.

¹ Bruyère, *op. cit.* 33-70.

² E. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago, 1967), 7.

³ *Ibid.* 4 and 72.

⁴ B.M. 10053 in Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 17, p. 1, line 5.

⁵ E. Wente, 'The Suppression of the High Priest Amenhotep', *JNES* 25 (1966), 73-87. Helck in *JARCE* 6 (1967), 138-9 wishes to ascribe this inscription to the high priest Ramessesnakht on the grounds that the funerary establishment of Ramesses VI mentioned therein did not survive this king's death. However, it is much more logical to assume that this cult was in fact kept up for several more reigns (and there is no evidence that it was not) than to postulate that two high priests, father and son, were both suppressed for an equal length of time.

NOTES CONCERNING THE POSITION OF ARMS AND HANDS OF MUMMIES WITH A VIEW TO POSSIBLE DATING OF THE SPECIMEN

By P. H. K. GRAY

THE figures enclosed concern 111 mummies X-rayed in various museums since 1963.

I have not included the following specimens: (*a*) predynastics; (*b*) the mummies X-rayed recently in the B.M.; (*c*) the Liverpool collection; (*d*) B.M. nos. 6699B and 6659 where the date in the Catalogue is recorded as uncertain; (*e*) mummies in which the skeleton is incomplete, too disorganized to form an opinion or has been 'restored'.

Explanation of letters used with the figures

- Arms.*
1. *Ext.* means Extended.
 2. *C.P.* means crossed pectoral (folded upon breast). In every case of C.P. (unless indicated) the X-rays show that the right arm is folded over the left.
 3. *C.L.A.* means arms crossed over lower abdomen.¹ (Cf. basalt coffin lid in B.M. B.M. no. 90.)
- Hands.*
1. *P.* Palms cover genital area.
 2. *A.T.* Palms rest on anterior (front) surface of thighs.
 3. *I.T.* Palms rest on inner surface of thighs.
 4. *O.T.* Palms rest on outer surface of thighs.

Conclusions

1. *Dynastic* mummies, i.e. mummies dating from Dyn. 21 to the start of the Ptolemaic period. With the exception of B.M. 6669 (dated to Dyn. 25) and B.M. 29581 (dated Dyn. 27-8) *all* mummies have their arms in the extended position. The position of the hands varies, but only in one case are the hands in the O.T. position.
2. *Ptolemaic* period mummies. A change in the position of the arms takes place: the favoured position shows them crossed upon the breast (C.P.).
3. *Roman* period mummies. Yet another change, the embalmers reverting to the extended position of the arms. The majority by far have their hands resting on the outer aspect of the thighs (O.T. position).
4. *Child mummies.* Of the solitary 11th Dyn. mummy to the last on the Ptolemaic list (66 mummies) only two are those of children. Of the Roman and the two 'Graeco-Roman' mummies (45) no less than 24 are those of children.

¹ There are only two cases of this position, both in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, and dated to the Ptolemaic period.

POSITION OF ARMS AND HANDS IN MUMMIES

Date	Arms	Hands	Sex	Date	Arms	Hands	Sex
Dyn. 11	Ext.	P.	M.	Ptolemaic	"	—	F.
21	"	"	M.	"	"	—	M.
"	"	"	F.	"	"	—	F.
"	"	"	M.	"	"	—	M.
"	"	"	M.	"	Ext.	A.T.	F.
"	"	"	M.	"	C.P.	—	M.
"	"	"	F.	"	"	—	Boy
"	"	"	M.	"	"	—	M.
"	"	"	M.	"	C.L.O.	—	M.
"	"	A.T.	F.	"	"	—	? (Adult)
"	"	I.T.	?F.	"	Ext.	Rt. A.T.	F.
"	"	"	?	"	"	Lt. O.T.	
"	"	A.T.	F.	Gr.-Roman	"	P.	F.
"	"	P.	? (Adult)	"	"	"	Child
"	"	"	M.	Roman	"	O.T.	M.
" 21-2	"	I.T.	M.	"	C.P.	—	M.
"	"	A.T.	?F.	"	Ext.	O.T.	Child
"	"	I.T.	M.	"	"	"	Child
"	"	P.	M.	"	"	"	M.
"	"	I.T.	F.	"	"	"	Boy
" 22-5	"	Rt.P.	F.	"	"	"	Girl
"	"	Lt. O.T.		"	"	"	M.
" 23-5	"	A.T.	M.	"	"	"	M.
"	"	A.T.	F.	"	"	P.	M.
" 25	C.P.	—	M.	"	"	P.	Child
" 26	Ext.	P.	M.	"	C.P.	—	M.
"	"	"	F.	"	"	—	M.
"	"	"	F.	"	Ext.	O.T.	Child
"	"	"	F.	"	"	"	Child
"	"	"	F.	"	"	"	Child
"	"	"	F.	"	"	"	Child
"	"	A.T.	F.	"	"	"	Child
"	"	A.T.	F.	"	"	"	Child
"	"	O.T.	F.	"	"	"	Boy
"	"	I.T.	M.	"	"	"	F.
"	"	I.T.	M.	"	"	"	Girl
"	"	I.T.	M.	"	"	"	Boy
"	"	I.T.	M.	"	"	"	Boy
"	"	I.T.	M.	"	"	"	Boy
"	"	I.T.	M.	"	"	"	Boy
"	"	I.T.	M.	"	"	"	M.
"	"	I.T.	M.	"	"	"	Girl
"	"	A.T.	M.	"	"	?	M.
"	"	A.T.	M.	"	"	O.T.	Child
" 27-8	C.P.	—	M.	"	"	"	Child
Late Dyn. Ext.	Ext.	P.	F.	"	"	"	Child
"	"	A.T.	F.	"	"	"	Child
"	"	P.	Child	R. (Antin) ¹	"	I.T.	F.
"	"	P.	M.	"	"	P.	M.
"	"	A.T.	M.	"	"	P.	M.
Ptolemaic	C.P.	—	M.	"	"	P.	M.
"	Ext.	O.T.	M.	"	"	P.	F.
"	C.P.	—	M.	"	"	O.T.	? (Adult)
"	Ext.	O.T.	M.	"	"	"	Child
"	C.P.	—	M.	"	"	"	Child
"	"	—	M.	"	"	"	M.
"	"	—	M.	"	"	"	M.
"	"	—	M.	"	"	A.T.	M.
"	"	—	? (Adult)	"	"	?	? (Adult)

¹ Antin = from Antinoë. (Mummies in Louvre)

Position of arms and hands in mummies dated Dyn. 21-5

Twenty-three mummies date from this period and all have arms extended save one which has been dated to Dyn. 25, the arms in this case being crossed over the breast (C.P.). The following is an analysis of the position of the hands in the remaining twenty-two mummies.

Sex	P.			A.T.			I.T.			O.T.			
	M.	F.	?	M.	F.	?	M.	F.	?	M.	F.	?	
Dyn. 21.	7	2	1	—	2	—	—	1 ¹	1	—	—	—	Total 14 mummies
Dyn. 21-2.	1	—	—	—	1 ¹	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	Total 5 mummies
Dyn. 22-5.	One case (F.)			Rt. hand P.									Total 1 mummy
				Lt. hand O.T.									
Dyn. 23-5.	Two cases (1 M. and 1 F.).			In both cases hands A.T.									Total 2 mummies

Thus if we exclude the solitary case belonging to period Dyn. 25, the position of the hands are:

Sex	P.			Other than P. (A.T. and I.T.)		
	M.	F.	?	M.	F.	?
	8	2	1	3	7	1

Position of arms and hands in mummies dated Dyn. 26-Roman period (inclusive)²

Date	Arms			Hands					Total no. of mummies
	Ext.	C.P.	C.L.A. ³	P.	A.T.	I.T.	O.T.	?	
Dyn. 26	18	—	—	6	5	6	1	—	18
Dyn. 27-8	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Late Dynastic	5	—	—	3	2	—	—	—	5
Ptolemaic	4	13	2	—	1	0	2	—	19
	1 mummy of this group has arms ext. Rt. hand A.T., Left O.T.								
Roman	40	3	—	6	1	1	30	2 ⁴	43

POSITION OF ARMS AND HANDS IN ROYAL MUMMIES

Date	Sex	Arms	Hands
Dyn. 18			
Aaḥotpe	F.	Ext.	O.T.
Ray	F.?	„	A.T.
Nefertērē ⁴	F.	„	A.T.
Unknown	F.	„	A.T.
Aaḥmose	M.	„	R. hand A.T., L. hand O.T.
Henttemhu	F.	„	A.T.
Sitkamose	F.	„	Left over right. P.
Amenophis I	M.	C.P.	Hands lost, but were P.
Tuthmosis II	M.	C.P. (R/L)	Fingers extended
Unknown	M.	Ext.	A.T.
Tuthmosis III	M.	C.P. (R/L)	R. fingers ext., L. fingers clenched

¹ I cannot be definite, but on the whole the radiographs suggest female sex.

² The two 'Graeco-Roman' mummies are not included in the table.

³ Cf. Basalt sarcophagus lid, B.M. 90.

⁴ In these two mummies the arms are extended, but it is not possible to give an accurate position of the hands.

Date	Sex	Arms	Hands
Dyn. 18 (<i>cont.</i>):			
Maherprē'	M.	Ext.	A.T.
Amenophis II	M.	Flexed at elbow	Forearms nearly parallel. Both hands clenched
Unknown	F.	R. arm ext., hand A.T.	L. arm flexed, hand over sternum, both hands clenched
Unknown	Boy	Ext.	P. R. fingers ext., L. fingers clenched
Unknown	F.	R. arm flexed at elbow, L. arm ext. hand on thigh	
Tut'ankhamūn	M.	Flexed at elbow.	Forearms nearly parallel
Yuia	M.	C.P. (R/L)	Finger ext. on shoulders
Thuiu	F.	Ext.	A.T.
Tuthmosis IV	M.	C.P. (R/L)	Fingers clenched
Amenophis III	M.	" "	Hands lost
Dyn. 19			
Sety I	M.	" (L/R)	Fingers ext. touching shoulders
Ramesses II	M.	" "	R. hand clenched. L. fingers ext. reaching base of sternum
Merneptah	M.	" (R/L)	L. hand reaching L. axilla, R. rather lower. Both hands clenched
Siptah	M.	" (R/L)	R. fingers clenched, L. hand lost
Sety II	M.	" (L/R)	R. hand lost, L. hand clenched
Unknown	F.	Ext.	O.T.
Dyn. 20			
Ram. III	M.	C.P. (R/L)	Fingers ext. reaching shoulders
Ram. IV	M.	" "	L. hand on right shoulder, R. hand on middle of left humerus
Ram. V	M.	" "	Fingers ext. on shoulders
Dyn. 21-2			
Nedjmet	F.	Ext.	O.T.
Makerē'	F.	"	A.T.
Henttoway	F.	"	A.T.
Neskhnos	F.	"	O.T.
Pinudjem II	M.	"	O.T.
Mesherti	M.	"	P.
Nestnebashier	F.	"	A.T.
Djedptahēfankh	M.	"	P.

N.B. All mummies I have seen with arms crossed upon breast (Position—C.P.) have the right arm uppermost. The only exceptions are Sety I and II and Ramesses II.

Other instances

6th Dyn. Female. Arms ext. Hands O.T. (*ASAE* 41, 242.)

11th Dyn. Male named Wah (found by Winlock). Arms folded over lower chest, rt. over lt., fingers extended.

Early M.K. Male named Karenen (found by Quibell). Arms C.P., fingers clenched.

Wife of above. Arms C.P. rt. over lt. Hands on shoulders, fingers extended.

5th Dyn. Found by Petrie at Deshasheh. Sex not stated. Left arm extended beneath body. Rt. arm flexed with hand upon lt. hip.

26th Dyn. Male named Amen-Tefnakht. (*ASAE* 41, 390). Lt. arm 'placed on the chest'. Rt. arm 'extended on the right thigh'.

Male named Hor. (*ASAE* 41, 392). 'Arms extended on the thighs'.

Uncertain date. Louvre no. 3 (not X-rayed). Presented in 1810 by Baron Dominique Jean Larrey.

Probably female. Right arm ext. and hand with ext. fingers cover genital area. Left arm flexed and hand fingers clenched and thumb ext. just below rt. shoulder.

Unknown woman found with Royal mummies and dated to 18th Dyn.

Rather similar to Louvre 3 and Amen-Tefnakht.

Rt. arm extended and hand A.T.

Lt. arm flexed and hand with clenched fingers over the sternum.

A rather unusual unwrapped mummy (female) is to be found in the Ägyptische Sammlung, University of Munich. The right arm is flexed at the elbow to 80° , and the fingers are extended; the left arm is flexed at the elbow to 110° , and the fingers are likewise extended. This is rather similar to the mummy of Tutankhamūn, in which the arms are flexed at the elbows, and the forearms are parallel over the upper abdomen. I came across this specimen after compiling the above lists.

ANOTHER HIERATIC MANUSCRIPT FROM THE
LIBRARY OF PWEREM SON OF K̄IKI
(PAP. B.M. 10288)

By RICARDO A. CAMINOS

TO DR. ROSALIND L. B. MOSS

In che i gravi labor li sono aggrati (Parad. xxiii. 6)

AMONG the multitude of Egyptian records preserved in the British Museum are to be found two hieratic papyri of late date and large proportions which bear texts of exceptional interest to the student of ancient religion, mythology, and magic, apart from being a quarry rich alike for the palaeographer, the lexicographer, and the grammarian. They must originally have been books belonging to a temple library, and in course of time, at an unascertainable date during the Ptolemaic period, they were appropriated by a certain Pwerem son of K̄iki who, probably hoping that they might be of practical use to him in the world to come, made them part of his funerary equipment. These two important, lengthy documents are Pap. B.M. 10081 and Pap. B.M. 10252; both of them have long been known to scholars.¹

Pap. B.M. 10288, which forms the subject of the present paper,² is a neglected poor relation of the two stately records mentioned above; it has never been published, and there seems to be only one passing reference to it in print.³ It is a small hieratic papyrus, sorely ravaged by time and modern hands, and holding the remnants of texts which are also of a magico-mythological nature. It, too, comes from what may be termed the tomb-library of the same Pwerem son of K̄iki, only that unlike Pap. B.M. 10081 and 10252, which he got second-hand and doctored for his own use, the papyrus now under study seems to have been from the start specially written for the post-mortem benefit of Pwerem himself and of a man called Pkherkhons, who was in all likelihood his brother, at least on the maternal side.

¹ Pap. B.M. 10081 was first brought to the attention of scholars in 1871 by Birch, *ZÄS* 9, 104, 117, who suggested calling it Papyrus Malcolm. Both Pap. B.M. 10081 and 10252 were briefly discussed in 1893 by Le Page Renouf, *Trans. Soc. Biblical Archaeology* 9, 295 ff., 301, reprinted in id., *The Life-Work of Sir Peter Le Page Renouf*, 1st Ser., II, 385 ff., 393; cf. Möller, *Ueber die in einem späthieratischen Pap. des Berliner Museums erhaltenen Pyramidentexte*, 2 f., with n. 1. See further Schott, *Urk.* VI, 2 ff.; id., *ZÄS* 65, 35 ff.; id., *Abhand. Mainz*, 1954, 147, 151 f.; id., *Mitteil. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 14, 181 ff.; Otto, *Chr. d'Égypte* 37, 249; Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, I, 71 n. 20; Goyon, *Kémi* 19, 26; Morenz in *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (Colloque de Strasbourg, 16-18 mai 1967), 78 with n. 4; Szczudłowska, *ZÄS* 98, 52 with n. 7 and pl. 10.

² Pap. B.M. 10288 is published here by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. Dr. I. E. S. Edwards and Mr. T. G. H. James did much to facilitate our study of this ancient record, and we are deeply grateful to them.

³ Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, I, 97 (1, c), n. 4.

In its present form Pap. B.M. 10288 consists of two oblong sheets firmly glued on to thin cardboard, each 24.5 cm. wide and 12.3 cm. high; they are reproduced on pls. XXXVI and XXXVII below. Only the untrained looking at them from a distance might possibly be deluded into thinking that the two sheets or frames are fairly complete. In reality they are clumsy *collages* of ill-matched fragments, some of which are even the wrong side up, with the addition of blank bits of papyrus thrown in as gap-fillers, plus a few dashes of black ink dabbed in here and there to help the *trompe-l'œil* effect. To rearrange the original papyrus would have been too costly an undertaking in terms of time and labour, and no attempt was therefore made in that direction; for the purpose of study it was found quite sufficient to cut up a photograph and reposition the fragments. The result was, however, unsuitable for reproduction, and for this reason the photographs printed herein show the papyrus exactly as we found it, and as it is still kept, in the British Museum. The photographs, we fear, are likely to cause some inconvenience to the student who may wish to check the hand-drawn transcriptions on pls. XL–XLI below. We can only apologize and hope that the diagrams on pls. XXXVIII–XXXIX may to some extent facilitate collation.

The script is hieratic written with a reed-brush in a rather heavy literary hand, neat, legible, and almost entirely without ligatures. There are a few rubrics, but no verse-points. The interlinear spacing is unusually narrow. The whole is unquestionably the handiwork of one and the same scribe, and there can be no doubt that the names of the two persons who were to benefit from the magic spells were written by him as he was writing the text proper: the names of Pwerem and Pkherkhons are not later insertions.¹

Palaeographically our papyrus agrees well with manuscripts which can be dated with certainty to the Greek period;² but it also contains many characters³ which closely resemble those found in earlier writings, and indeed, strictly from the calligraphic standpoint, it could justifiably be regarded as having been written as early as the Twenty-Second Dynasty (*c.* 945–730 B.C.). There is elsewhere good dated evidence, however, which shows that the floruit of Pwerem son of K̄īki may not be placed before *c.* 310 B.C.,⁴ and accordingly that year is the terminus *a quo* for the writing of the papyrus. As for a terminus *ad quem*, even an early Roman dating may be promptly and safely dismissed on palaeographic grounds. Our papyrus must then have been composed sometime under the Ptolemies, say between 310 and 30 B.C., a closer dating being unattainable with the evidence at our disposal.

The grammar is on the whole Middle Egyptian, though tinged, as expected, with

¹ This is the basis of our statement that Pap. B.M. 10288 was originally composed for the benefit of Pwerem and Pkherkhons.

² Particularly Pap. B.M. 10188 (Bremner–Rhind) and Pap. Berlin P. 3008 (Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys); for the date, cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, 9 f. (Einleitung), followed by Faulkner, *JEA* 22, 121; id. in *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 338.

³ We refer, of course, only to signs which are palaeographically significant for dating purposes, such as, for instance, ⲓ, ⲁ, ⲛ, ⲛ, ⲛ, and ⲛ.

⁴ The evidence consists in dated jottings in Pap. B.M. 10252; cf. Schott, *Urk.* VI, 2 f.; id., *Abhand. Mainz*, 1954, 151; id., *Mitteil. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 14, 181.

Late Egyptianisms, and the same holds true of the orthography. There are no fresh additions to our vocabulary except for two new proper nouns: the name of a serpent-demon and an obscure place-name.

The provenance of the papyrus and the date of its accession to the British Museum are unknown; there is some reason to think, however, that it formed part of the Salt collection, which was acquired by the museum in 1821.¹

The rearrangement of the two *collages* has yielded two incomplete columns of text, herein designated A and B, plus five unplaced fragments. The sequence in which the columns and fragments are presented and discussed in this article is purely arbitrary: we do not know the relative position of A, B, and any of the five unconnected little fragments in the original manuscript.

In the plates of transcriptions (below, pls. XL and XLI) rubrics are underlined. Words written in red ink in the papyrus are represented by words set in small italic capitals in the translations.

Column A

See diagram on pl. XXXIX and transcription on pl. XL. There are seventeen lines preserved, and of these only one (l. 11) is complete, which is due to the fact that this particular line was not full-length but stopped before reaching the left margin of the written column. The beginning of all seventeen lines is preserved, but the ends (except for that of l. 11) were all cut off in the process of trimming up the sheet when the *collage* was made. The trimming also affected much of l. 1, which may or may not have been the uppermost line of col. A when the papyrus was whole. On the other hand, it is certain that l. 17 was not the lowermost, for near the right end of the bottom edge, beneath $\leftarrow \text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$, are tiny traces of signs of another line. We should venture the guess, based on the study of analogous manuscripts of the Late Period and Graeco-Roman times, that at least seven or eight lines are now missing from col. A,² while the sense and continuity of the text itself suggest that several words (perhaps not less than 5 cm. of writing) may be wanting from the line ends: the original length of the lines may be estimated at 29 cm.

The contents of col. A fall into three different parts: (1) magical text, ll. 1-7; (2) mythological episode, ll. 7-11; and (3) more magic, ll. 12-17.

A. Part 1. Magical text, ll. 1-7

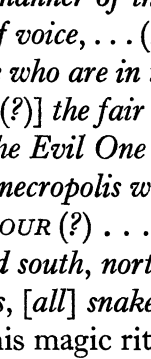
(1) *under the sandals . . . the god's father Pwerem, [true of voice, born of] Kiki, eternally. Driving away every evil matter . . . (2) every X-snake upon the desert, [and every noxious creature in] the river. As for the one that may come against the Osiris [Pkher]khons, true of voice, born of Kiki, true of voice, [she shall] be stabbed, [for he shall look at her] (3) after the manner of the Upper Egyptian serpent, [he shall look at her after the manner of the*

¹ Information kindly supplied by Mr. T. G. H. James.

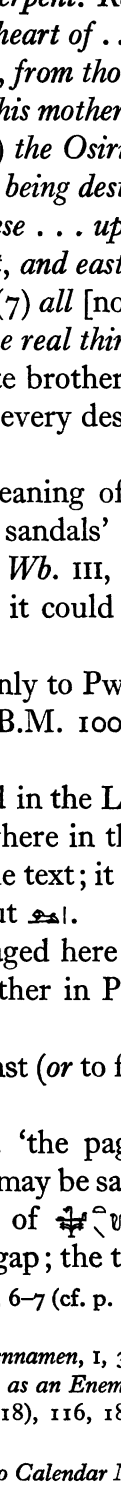
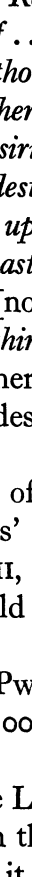
² One suspects that the general appearance of col. A in its original form was much the same as certain 'pages' or columns of the roughly contemporary Pap. Bremner-Rhind; see, for example, cols. 22-8, in which the written area proper, exclusive of margins, is from 24 to 30 cm. wide and 17.5 to 19 cm. high, with an average of twenty-five lines in the column; cf. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* [1st ser.], pls. 8-14.

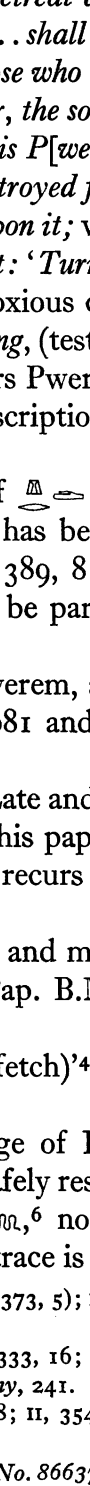
X-]serpent, he shall look at her after the manner of the serpent with the raised head, and [he] shall look [at her after the manner of the X-]serpent. Retreat and withdraw, any kind of venom, from Pwerem, true of voice, . . . (4) the heart of . . . shall be pleased for his sake. He shall be [guarded] from those who are in the sky, from those who are in the earth, from those who are in the water . . . [by (?)] the fair one of his mother, the son of Bast who wrapped up the king of Upper Egypt. The Evil One . . . (5) the Osiris P[werem], true of voice, born of Kiki, may he endure [in the necropolis without] being destroyed for ever. To be recited over a pellet of male clay, THE FOUR (?) . . . (6) these . . . upon it; varia lectio: . . . these four gods upon them, and dropped south, north, west, and east: 'Turn away, you turbulent one, together with all evil matters, [all] snakes . . . (7) all [noxious creatures] upon the water, and every evil disorder.' (This magic rite) is the real thing, (tested) a million times.

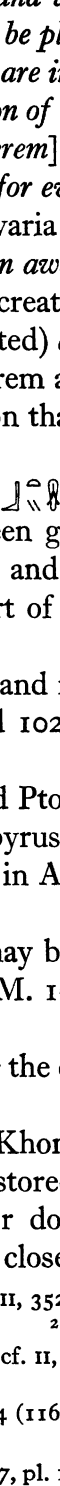
A magical spell designed to provide the late brothers Pwerem and Pkherkhons with perennial, over-all protection against evils of every description that might try to attack them in the beyond.

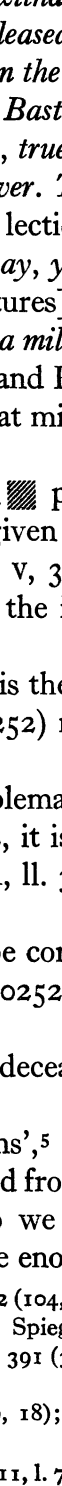
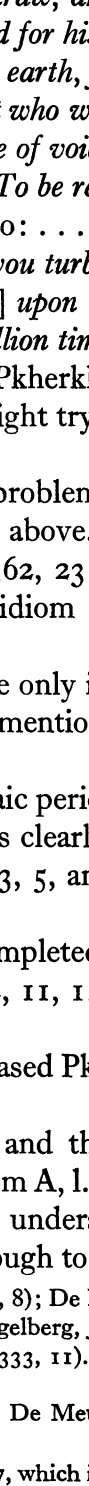
L. 1. Want of context makes the exact meaning of  problematic, and accordingly the literal rendering 'under the sandals' has been given above. It could hardly be the title 'sandal-bearer', of which *Wb.* III, 389, 8 and V, 362, 23 quote no instance after the Middle Kingdom, though it could be part of the idiom 'the place where one is' (*Wb.* V, 362, 15).

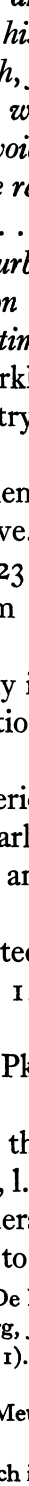
The title 'god's father' refers almost certainly to Pwerem, and is the only indication we have of his calling. Other records (Pap. B.M. 10081 and 10252) mention him by name merely.

The name  often found in the Late and Ptolemaic periods,¹ may well be a theophorous name.² Here, as elsewhere in this papyrus, it is clearly original and written simultaneously with the rest of the text; it recurs in A, ll. 3, 5, and 15, the last occurrence being defectively spelt without .

The mother's name, ,³ is damaged here and may be completed from A, l. 16; she is also mentioned as Pwerem's mother in Pap. B.M. 10252, II, 11; 18, 27; and 19, 22.

L. 2. , 'the one that may come against (or to fetch)'⁴ the deceased Pkherkhons is probably a she-demon.

The frequent name , lit. 'the page of Khons',⁵ and that of his mother  are much damaged; they may be safely restored from A, l. 17.

L. 3. We cannot quote another instance of ,⁶ nor do we understand the hieratic trace further on in the line, after the gap; the trace is close enough to the dam-

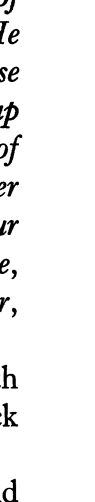
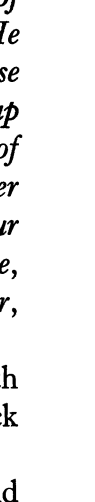
¹ Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 104, 8; 131, 6-7 (cf. p. 373, 5); II, 352 (104, 8); De Meulenaere, *Le Surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque*, 20 (65).

² Spiegelberg, *JEA* 15, 83.

³ Probably the same as Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 333, 16; cf. II, 391 (333, 11).

⁴ Cf. de Buck in *Griffith Studies*, 57 f.; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 241.

⁵ Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, xxii (116, 18), 116, 18; II, 354 (116, 18); De Meulenaere, *Le Surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque*, 9 (23).

⁶ Not to be confused with  in Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar No. 86637*, pl. 11, l. 7, which is certainly a corruption of , 'singing'; cf. the corresponding entry in the Sallier Calendar (Budge, *Facsimile of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 2nd ser., pl. 93, 5, the mutilated word to be completed after pl. 89, 1), and *Wb.* IV, 478, 9; note also Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, I, 63 n. 12.

PAPYRUS B.M. 10288. A MANUSCRIPT FROM THE LIBRARY OF PWEREM

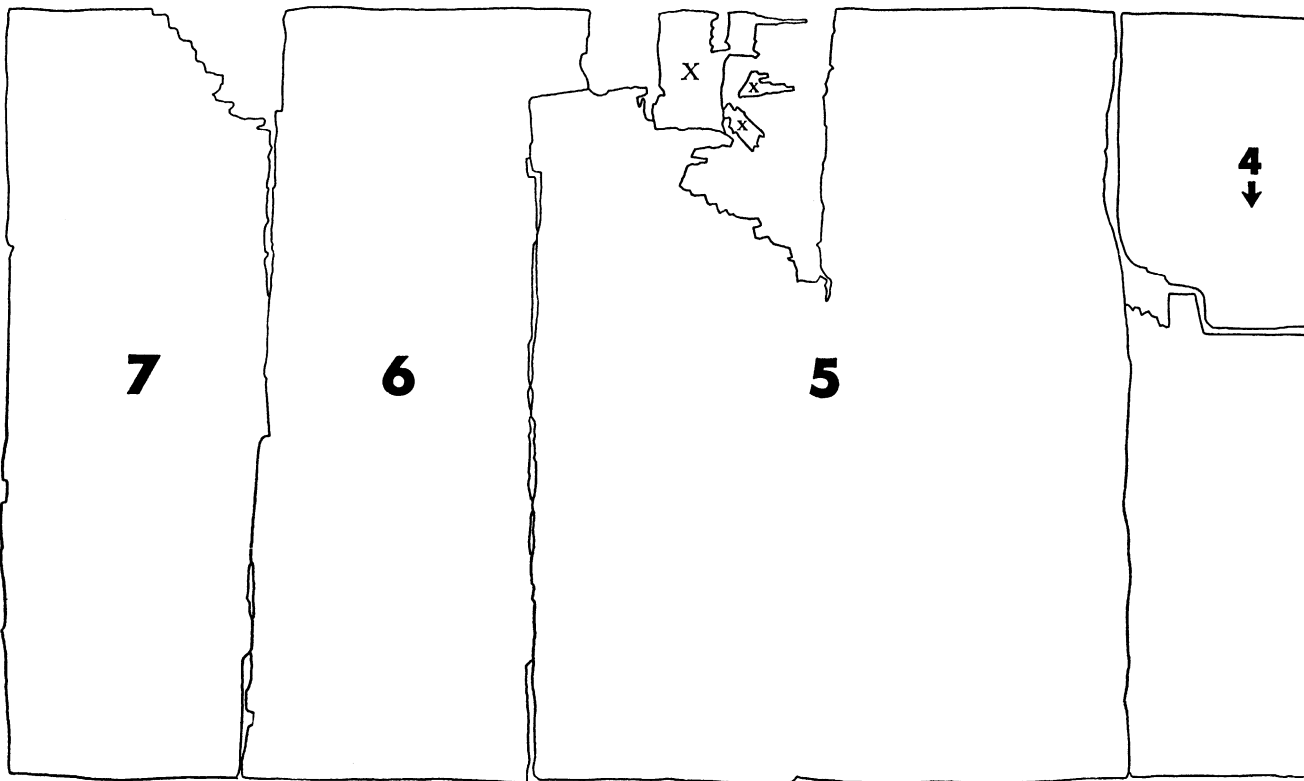


Sheet 1 (Natural size)

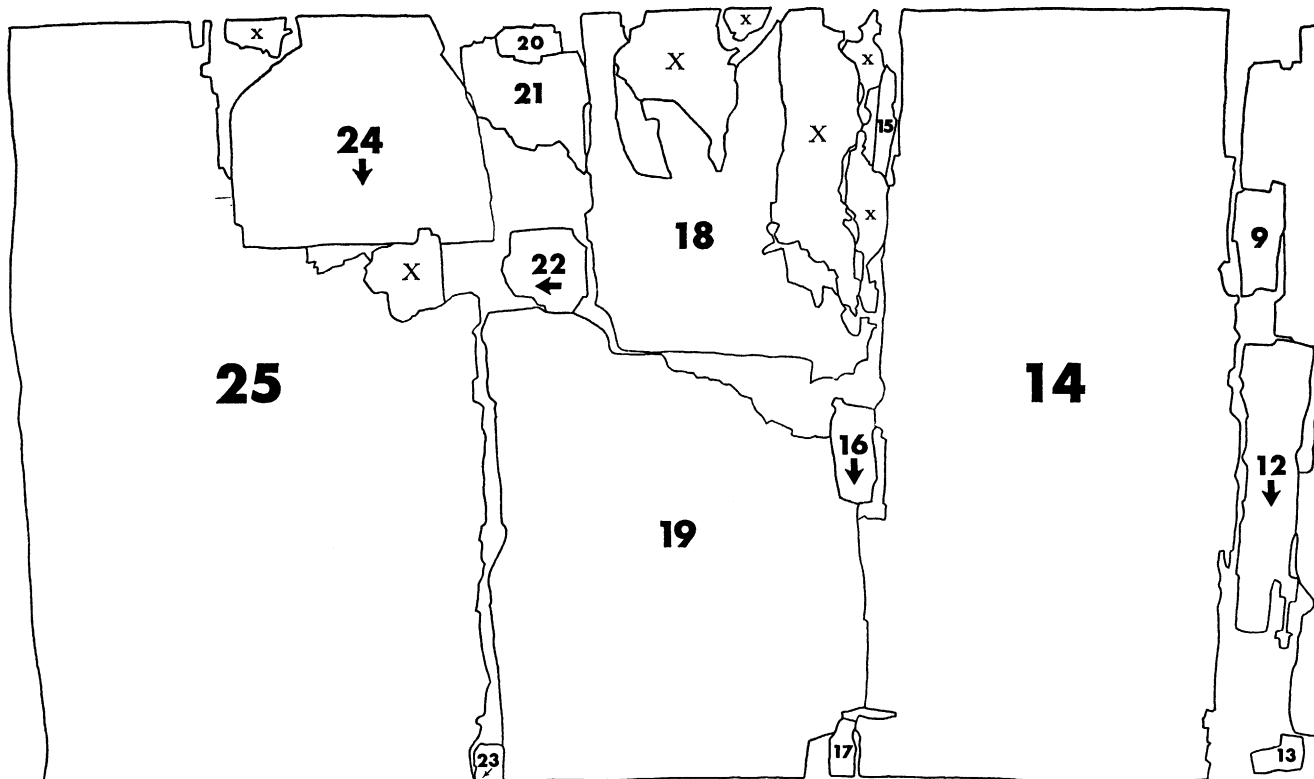
PAPYRUS B.M. 10288. A MANUSCRIPT FROM THE LIBRARY OF PWEREM



Sheet 2 (Natural size)

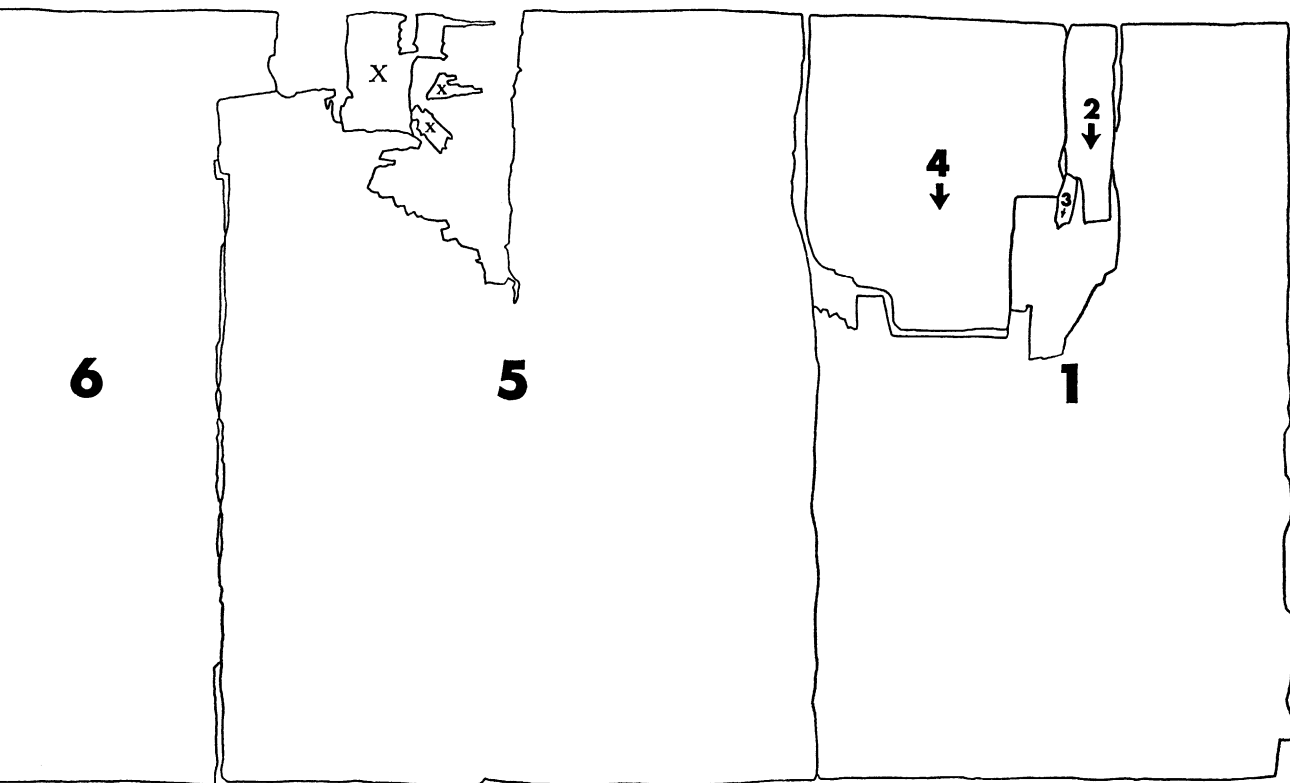


1. Diagram of the papyrus sheet shown on pl. XXXVI

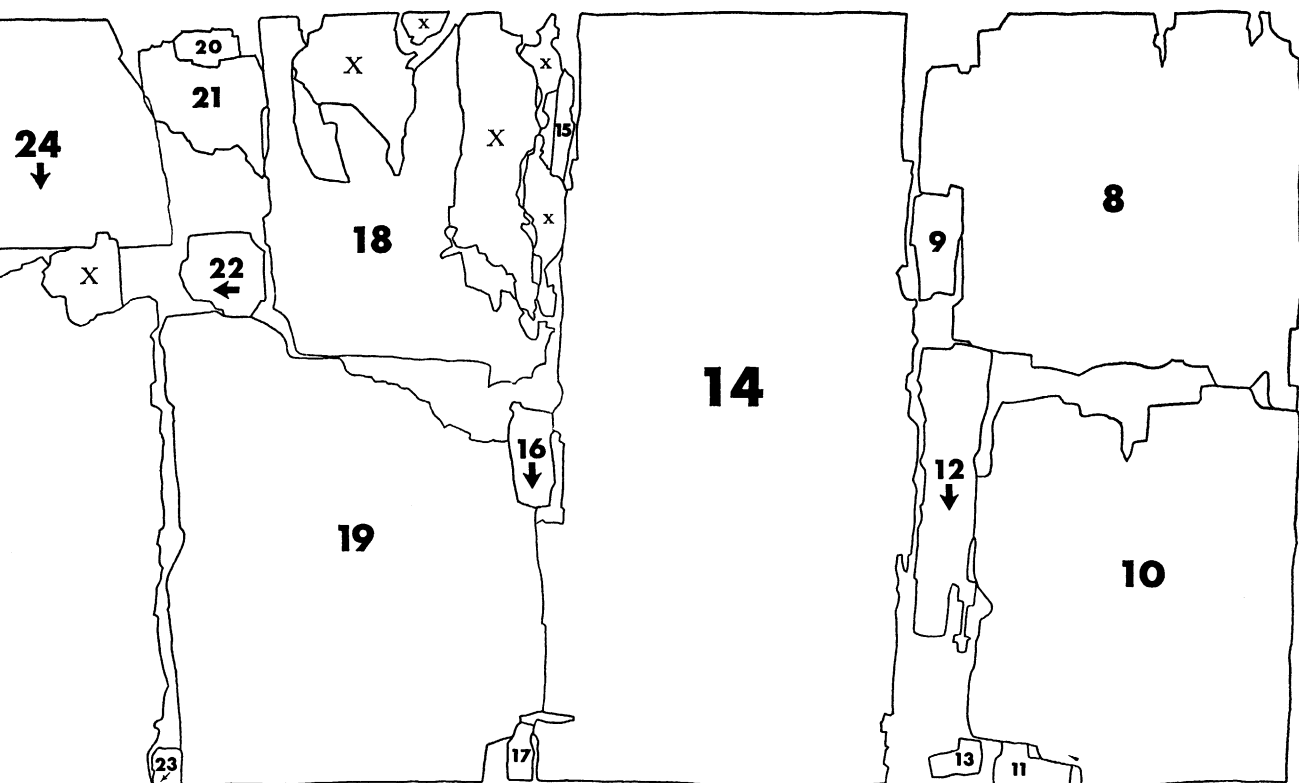


2. Diagram of the papyrus sheet shown on pl. XXXVII

The fragments as mounted on cardboards preserved in the British Museum. Arrows point to the correct upper edge of the fragments. frag. 22 is turned 90°, its top edge to the reader's left, while frag. 24 is upside down. Blank fragments used as gap-

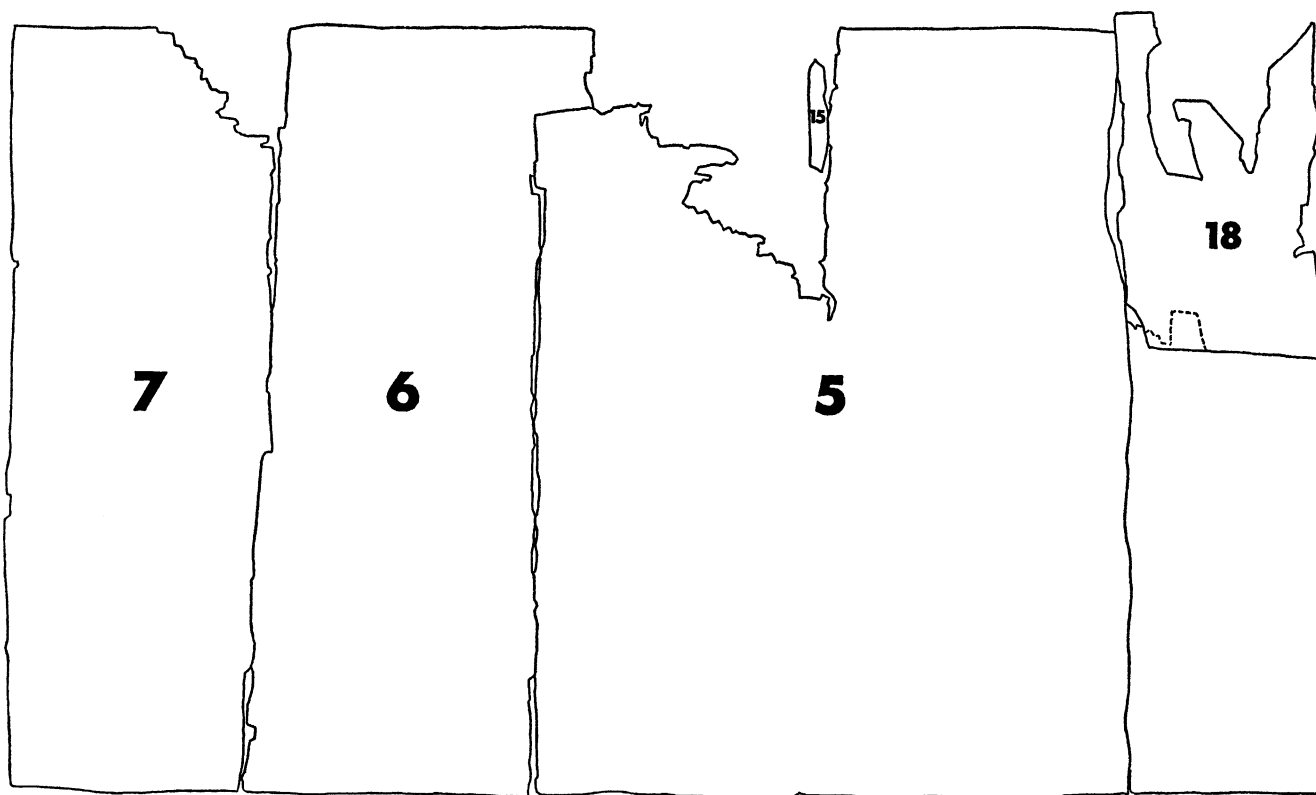


1. Diagram of the papyrus sheet shown on pl. XXXVI

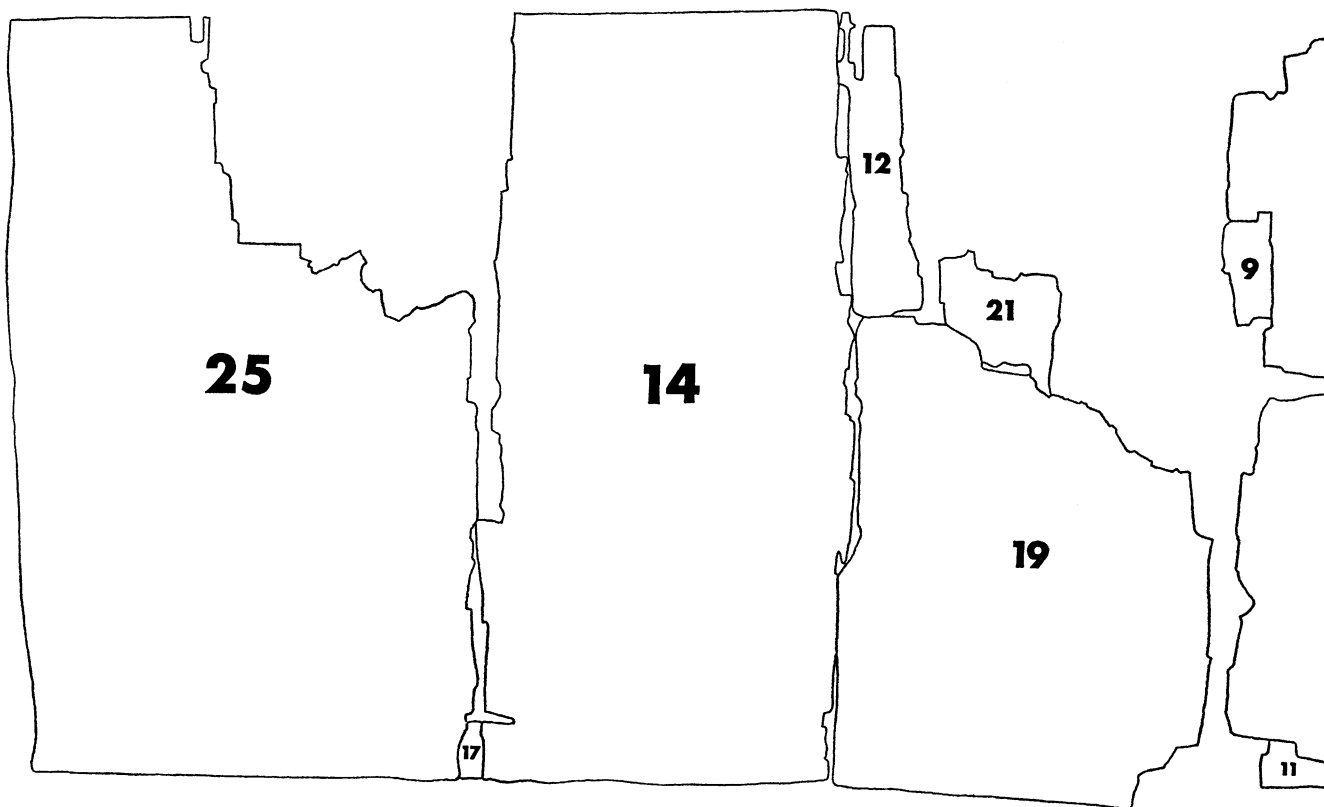


2. Diagram of the papyrus sheet shown on pl. XXXVII

cardboards preserved in the British Museum. Arrows point to the correct upper edge of the fragments in which they occur: thus 19, its top edge to the reader's left, while frag. 24 is upside down. Blank fragments used as gap-fillers are marked X



1. Diagram of the reconstructed Col. A, transcribed on pl. XL



A MANUSCRIPT FROM THE LIBRARY OF PWEREM

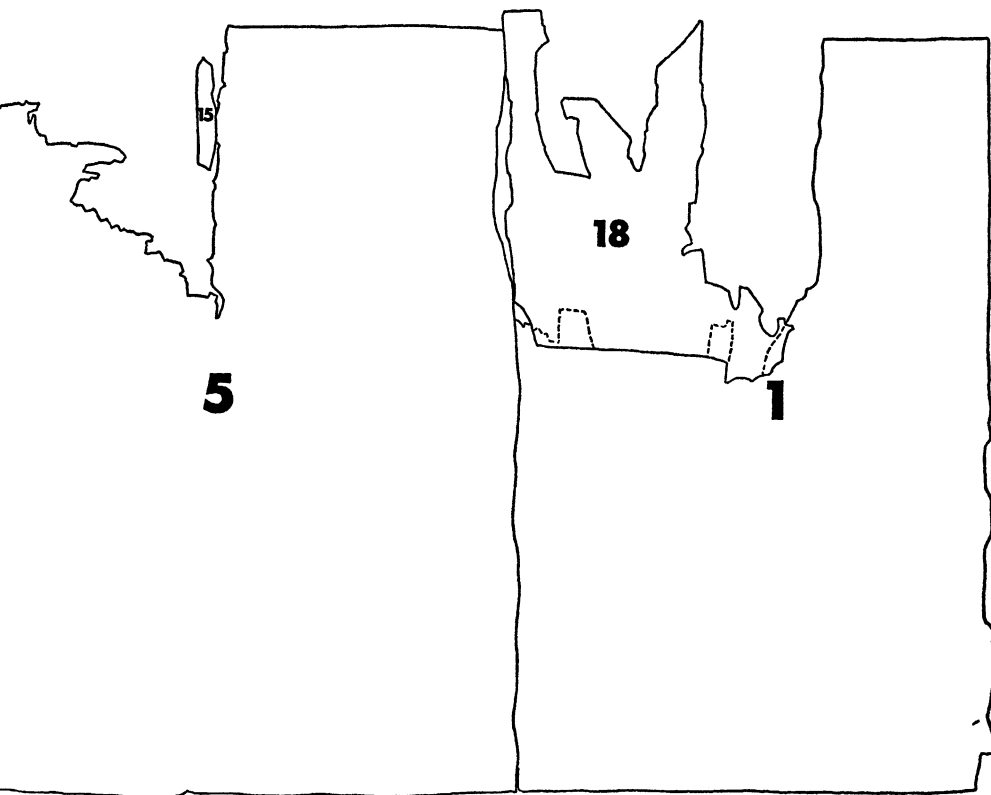
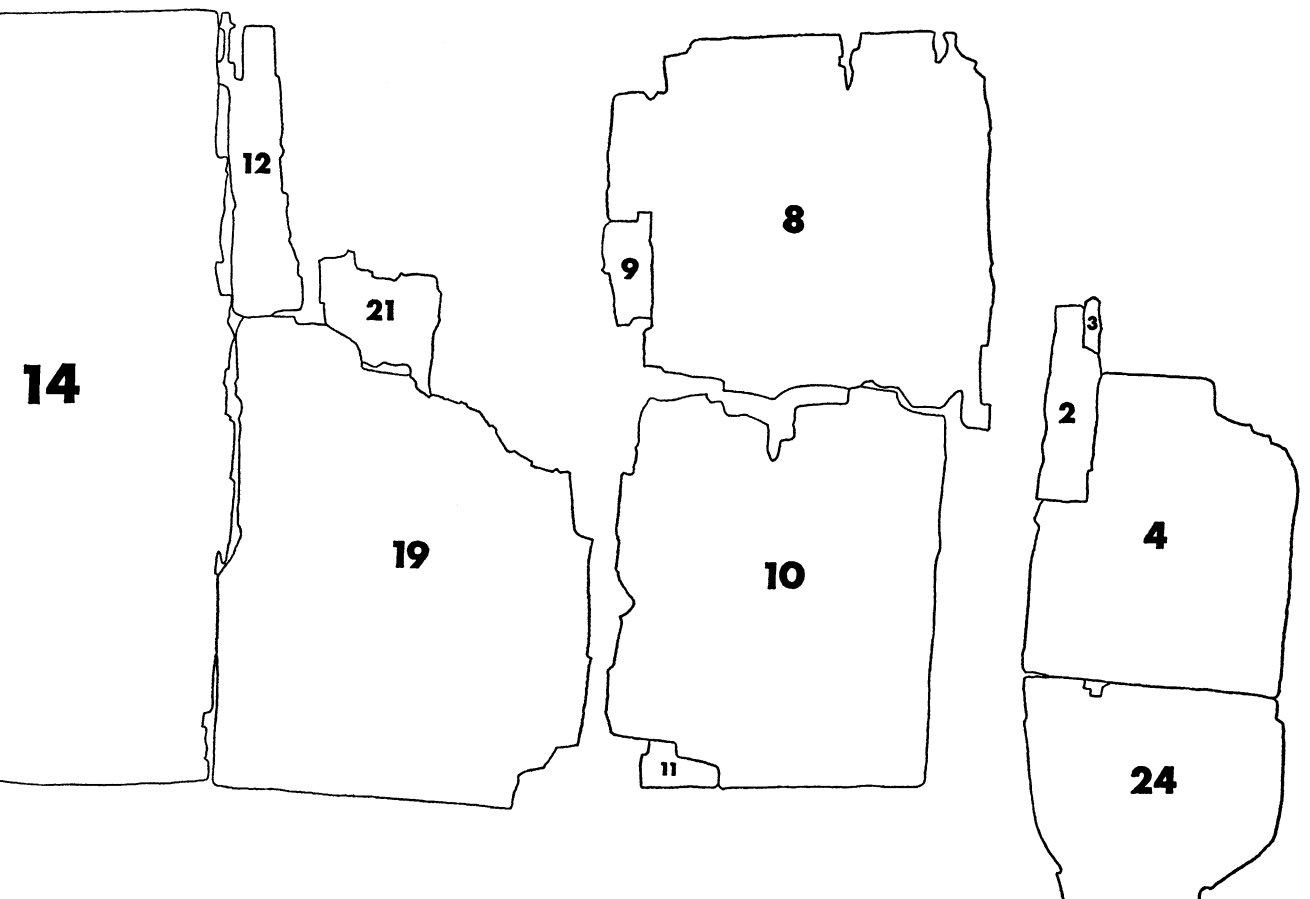
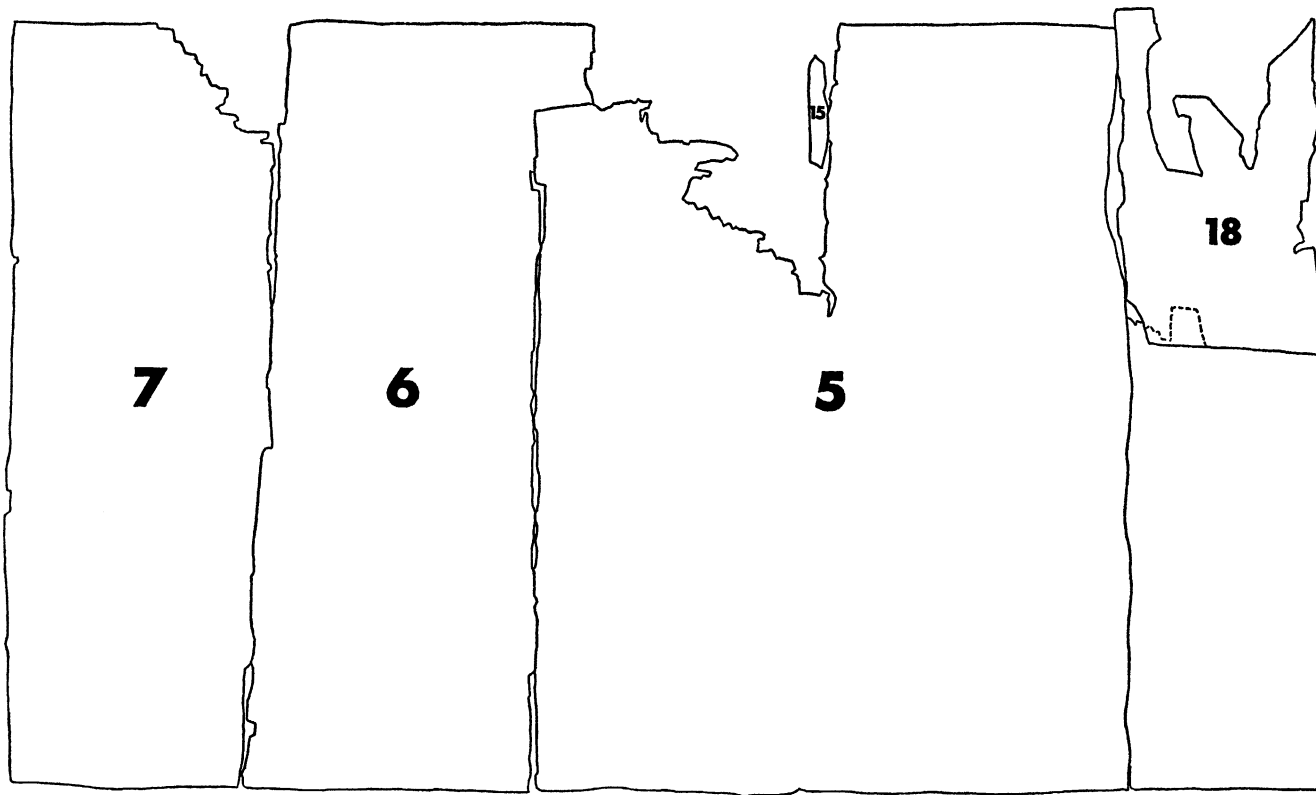
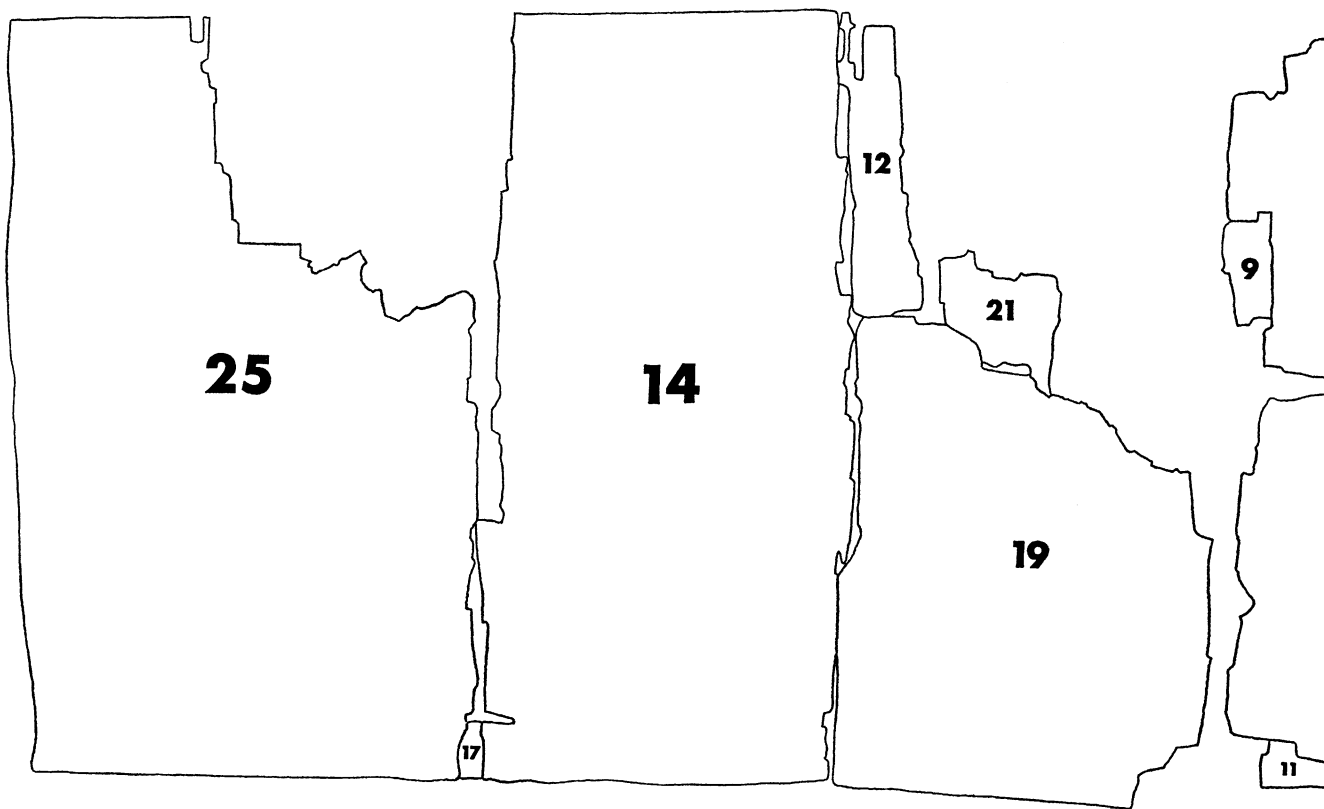


Diagram of the reconstructed Col. A, transcribed on pl. XL





1. Diagram of the reconstructed Col. A, transcribed on pl. XL



2. Diagram of the reconstructed Col. B, transcribed on pl. XLI, fig. *The fragments in their correct original position. Unplaced fragments 13, 16, 20, 22, and 23 excluded; they*

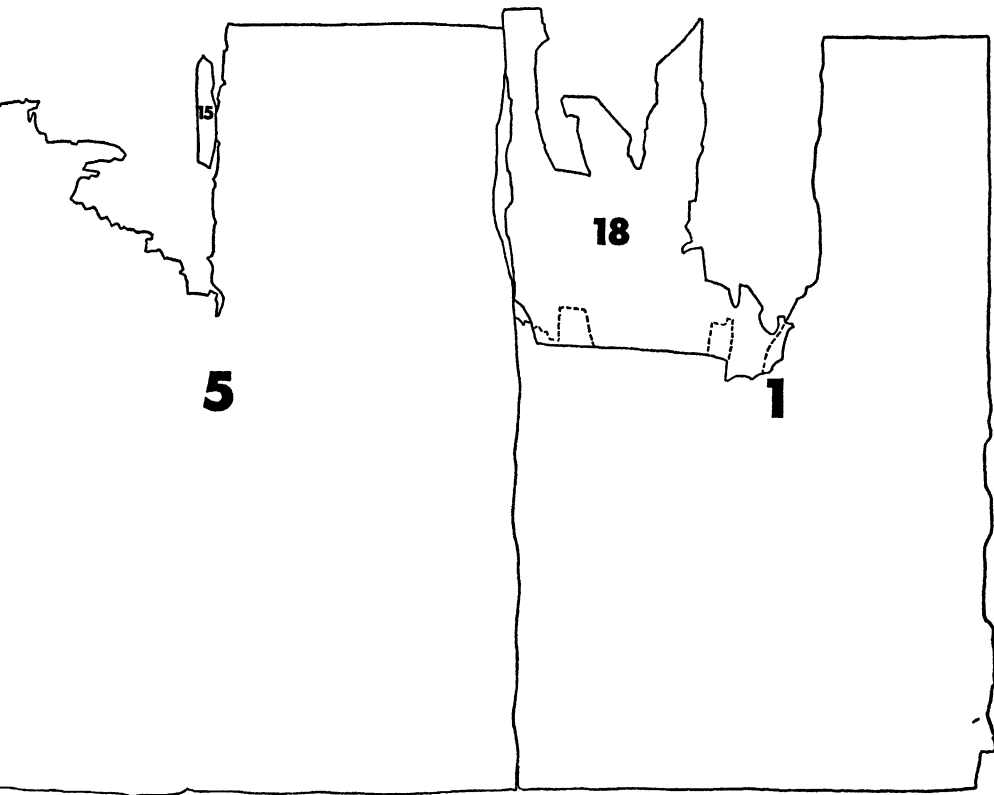


Diagram of the reconstructed Col. A, transcribed on pl. XL

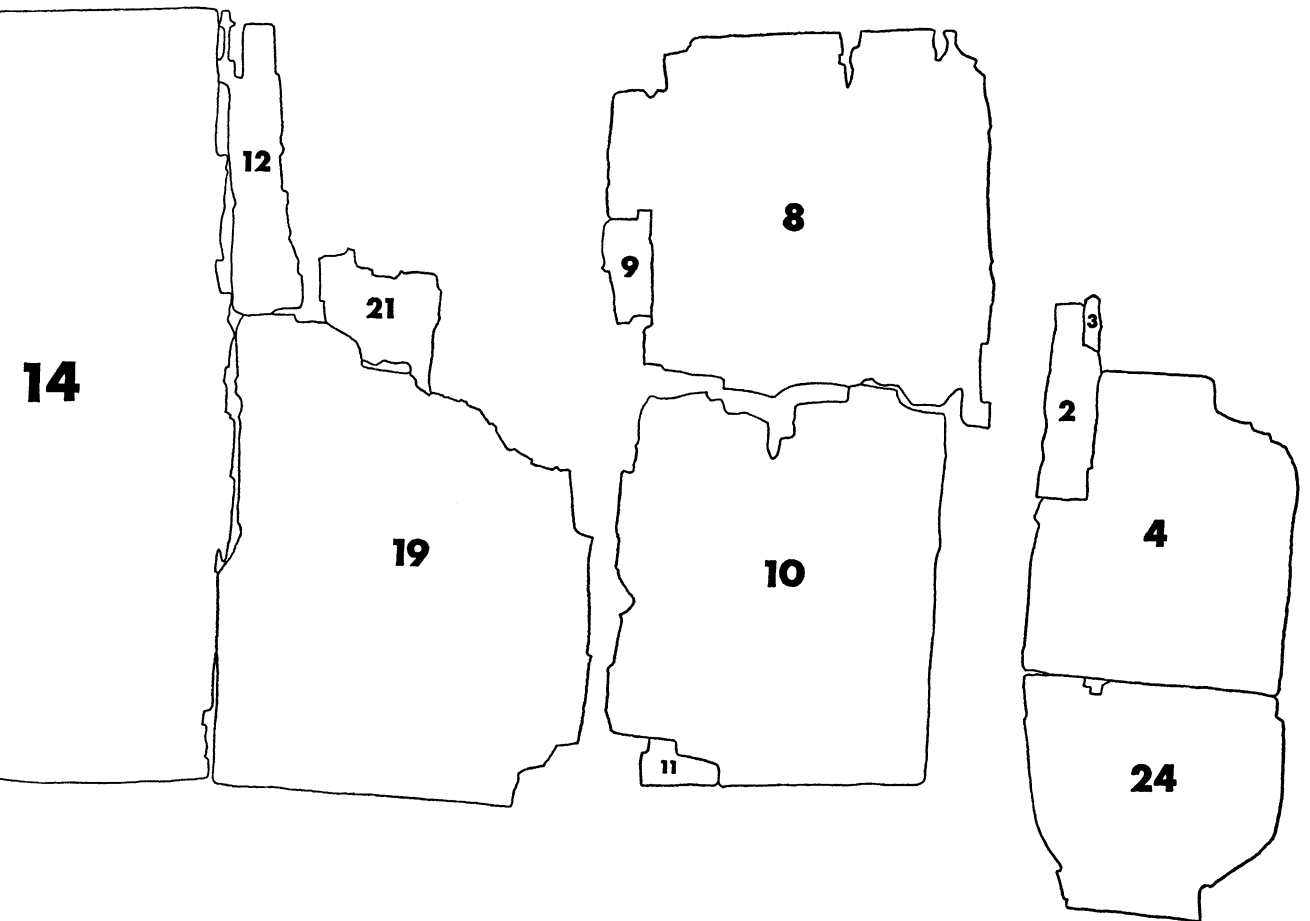


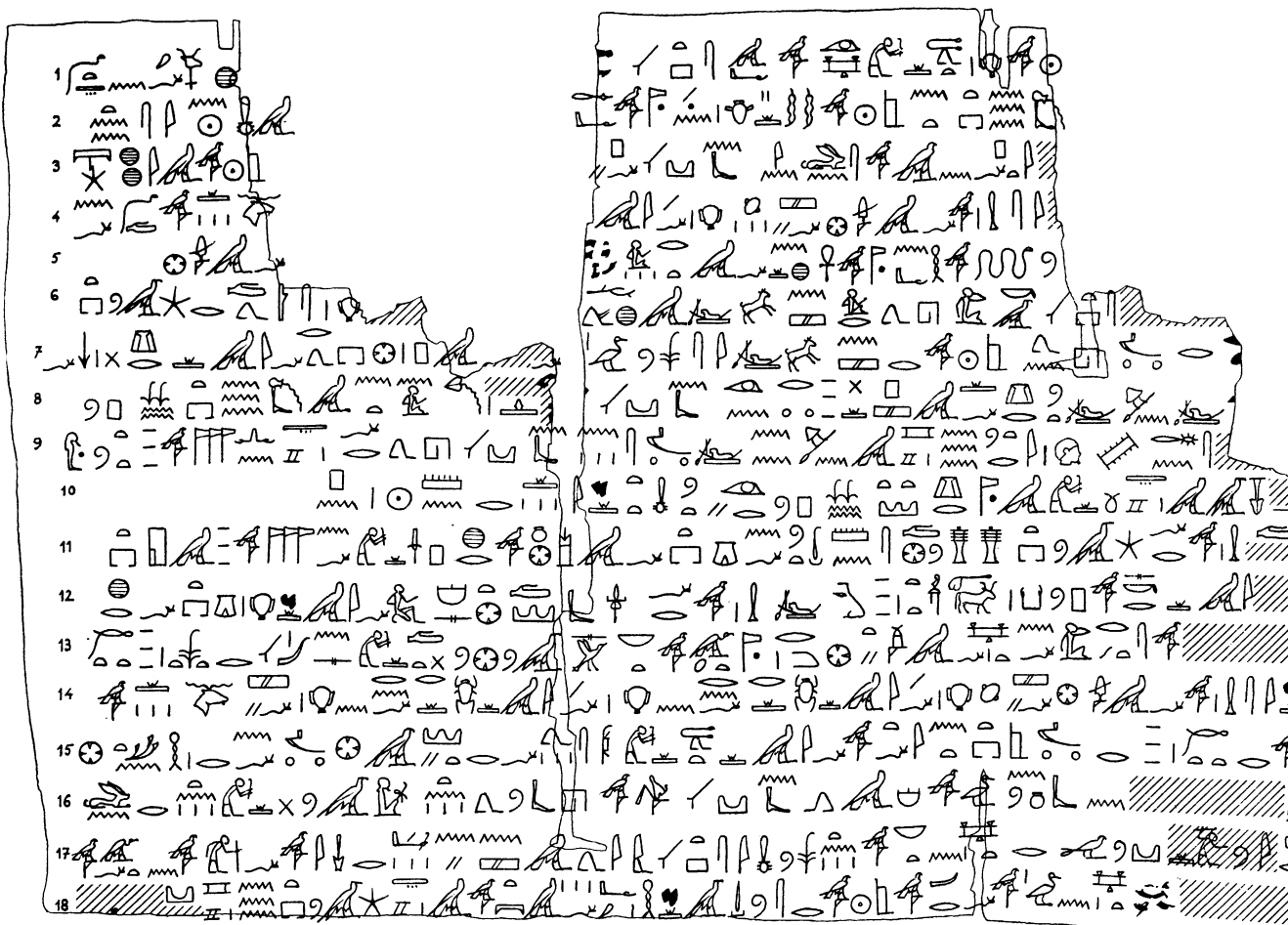
Diagram of the reconstructed Col. B, transcribed on pl. XLI, fig. 1
 position. Unplaced fragments 13, 16, 20, 22, and 23 excluded; they are transcribed on pl. XLI, figs. 2-6

PAPYRUS B.M. 10288. A MANUSCRIPT FROM THE LIBRARY OF PWEREM

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1. Column B. Transcription



2 Frag. 13



3. Frag. 16



4. Frag. 20

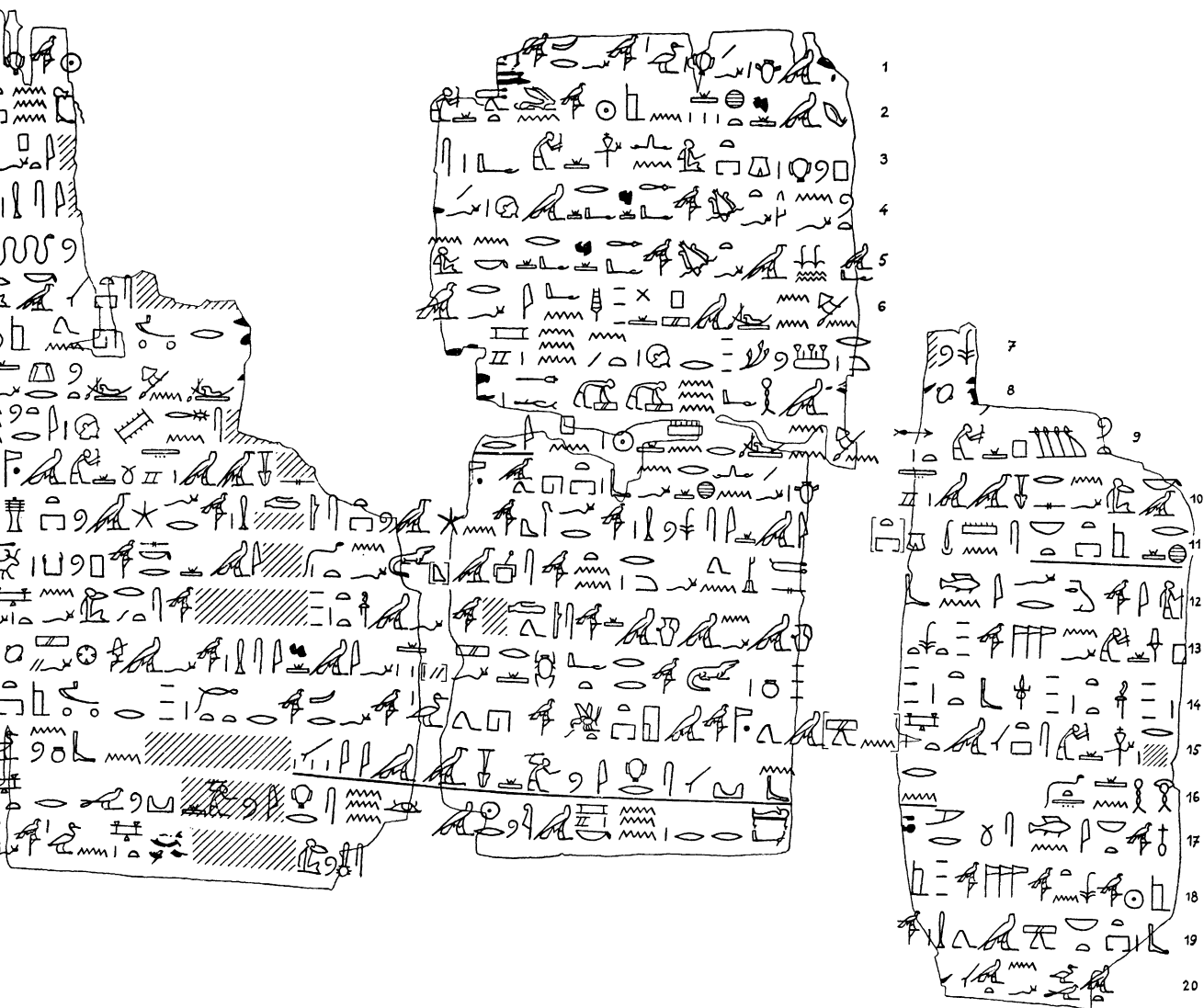


5. Frag. 22



6. Frag.

MANUSCRIPT FROM THE LIBRARY OF PWEREM



Column B. Transcription



Frag. 22



6. Frag. 23

aged \mathfrak{W} to make it highly probable that it was part of the second serpent's name. The next serpent to be mentioned, $\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}$, is known from other texts¹ and even iconographically.² Of the next and last serpent, which must have had a short name, only tail of the determinative \mathfrak{W} is preserved.

$\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}$, 'he shall look at her after the manner of (this or that serpent)', or 'he shall glare at her as (this or that serpent does)'. \mathfrak{W} refers to the deceased, and \mathfrak{W} to the she-demon that may come against him, while \mathfrak{W} is a preposition either of manner or of comparison (for *mi*).³ Strengthened by the magical spell, Pkherkhons's glare will stab and kill like a knife, and he will dispose of the she-demon by merely looking at her,⁴ as guardian serpents do.

L. 4. $\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}$: we submit that the mutilated word was a verb with the meaning 'to guard' or similar (e.g. *sw*), the suffix referring to the deceased, who was to be defended from (*n* for *m*) air-, earth-, and water-creatures. It is just possible that \mathfrak{W} stood in the lacuna, indicating that the guarding was to be done by 'the fair one of his mother, the son of Bast'.

The identity of the god referred to as $\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}$, 'son of Bast', is a puzzle, for several gods were so designated,⁵ and one looks in vain for a clue in the adjunct $\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}$, which we mechanically render 'who wrapped up or robbed the king of Upper Egypt', without grasping what is actually meant by it.⁶

$\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}$, 'the Evil One', a common designation of the fiend *par excellence*, either the serpent-dragon Apopis or the god Seth.⁷

L. 5. The mutilated name of the Osiris is $\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}$, 'Pwerem': the restored signs fit the gap exactly, and there is definitely no room for *P*:-[*hr-Hnsw*].

¹ Cf. *Wb.* v, 614, 18–19; Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours*, 36 (33, 1).

² Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch*, I, pl. 187, middle register, right; same vignette in Budge, *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt*, 28; id., *The Book of the Dead*, III (= Books on Egypt and Chaldaea, VIII), 547.

³ For \mathfrak{W} dependent pronoun 3rd sing. fem., and \mathfrak{W} for \mathfrak{W} cf. Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*,² § 91 and § 621 respectively. Note also *m* for *mi* of comparison in col. A, l. 14 of the present MS. (*m snm rrm*, 'like food of fish').

⁴ Cf. *Pyr.* § 228 (one of several magical spells against noxious creatures), and comments thereon by Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, I, 186.

⁵ For references see Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 82a, adding Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, I, 477, 484; Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 80, 15 (30, 24); Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I, pl. 91, 1 rt. 6; also the Calverley and Barguet references in footnote 6 on this page. We seize this opportunity to say that in our opinion the phrase 'son of Bast' was sometimes used figuratively and not meant to express actual sonhood or physical filiation, exactly like our 'son of Mars'.

⁶ A late version of the laying out of Osiris' remains appears to indicate that Anubis $\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{W}$ 'wrapped up or robbed the god's body in the clothing of Rennut' (Pap. Jumilhac, iv, upper, 7–8), and Anubis, the god of embalming, happens to be occasionally called 'the son of Bast'. But the Jumilhac passage is ambiguous, ours even more so, and any rapport between them remote and problematic to the last degree. The ambiguity of the quoted passage is pointed out by Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac*, 115, 151 (83). On Anubis son of Bast see Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, II, pl. 29, north side, bottom, col. 3; Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*, 6 (ii, 9). Note Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, 29 with n. 4, 83. On the parenthood of Anubis, cf. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 318, with references.

⁷ *Wb.* II, 247, 6–8; see also Goyon, *Le Papyrus du Louvre N. 3279*, 30 n. 6, with references. Valuable remarks by Kees, *ZÄS* 59, 69 f.; Blackman and Fairman in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 421 f. (106).

In the next gap a word for 'necropolis' or 'the west' must be restored immediately after the preposition 𓂏 ;¹ the lost word was followed by $[\text{𓂏}] \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$.

Judging from the genitival adjunct 𓂏 the substantive 𓂏 'pellet', is strictly sing. fem.;² we shall presently observe, however, that a plurality of pellets was required for the performance of the magical rite.

$\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *sin tyy*, 'male clay', is well attested, though just what it means is unknown.³ 𓂏 was followed by a numeral in red ink; two strokes are preserved on the very edge of the papyrus fragment, and the context makes it highly probable that the figure was $\text{𓂏}[\text{𓂏}]$.⁴

L. 6. The description of the magician's *modus operandi* is marred by lacunae; it would seem from what remains, however, that the gist of his trick was to pronounce an exorcism over four clay pellets on which were traced the names and/or the pictures of four different gods,⁵ the pellets then being cast one to each of the four cardinal points to ensure protection all around.⁶

In our opinion $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, 'upon it', means 'upon the pellet', 𓂏 being treated as sing. fem. (see above), while the variant reading $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, 'upon them', shows the realization that a plurality of inscribed pellets (strictly four of them) was required to avert dangers from all sides.

'Four' was one of the round or sacred numbers of the ancient Egyptians, and the phrase 'four gods' is commonplace in religious and magical writings from the Pyramid Texts onwards.⁷ The gods appear not to have been individually named in this particular context, and the use of the plural demonstrative *iptn* suggests either that they were too well known in charms of the kind to require individual identification, or, less likely, that they had already been named in some now lost portion of the papyrus shortly before A, l. 1.

L. 7. The gap near the beginning of the line is caused not by a hole in the papyrus but by the flaking away of the ink. The damaged word may be safely restored from B, l. 17 (pl. XLI): $\text{𓂏}[\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}]$; this fills the gap exactly.⁸

A. Part 2. Mythological episode, ll. 7–11

KNOWING THE SECRET FORM WHICH Isis ASSUMED for concealing the god in his hiding-place. 'O (you) who know the tamarisk-grove which is . . . (8) in Busiris. It is the colour

¹ Cf. Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes*, pl. 13, col. 8.

² For 'pellet' Egyptian uses either *bnn* (masc.) or *bmt* (fem.); cf. *Wb.* I, 460, 9–11.

³ See Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, I, 118 n. 3 with reference to II, pl. 66, rt. A, 8; von Deines and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, 290 (top), 425 f. For plain *sin* the translations 'special clay' or 'marl' have been proposed by Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, 204.

⁴ Cf. the rubricated 𓂏 's in Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours*, 50* f.

⁵ A common practice in magic; see, for example, Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, I, 51 and 76 with reference to II, pls. 28 (vs. 4, 7–9) and 48 (vs. 12, 11–13, 1) respectively; Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, 51 (15–19), 57 (15–16); Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner–Rhind*, 73, 8–12 (29, 13–14); Schott, *ZÄS* 65, 41 (Der Ritualvermerk); id., *Urk.* VI, 36 n. a; 37, 3–11; Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar No. 86637*, 55 (3) and pl. 46, l. 3.

⁶ Cf. Drioton, *Ann. Serv.* 39, 75, l. 12 of text; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, 181 with n. 66. The order in which the four points are mentioned is the traditional one; cf. Posener, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1965, 74 ff.

⁷ Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern*, 31 ff.; Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours*, 50* f.; De Wit, *Chr. d'Égypte* 32 (no. 63), 32 ff.

⁸ For exorcisms against *nšny*, 'disorder' or sim., cf. the examples quoted by *Wb.* II, 341, 5.

of asking him a straightforward question, they say elliptically, 'It is the colour of the skin (that matters, *or* that we want to know about)'. Because of its collocation $\square e$ could scarcely be the rare interrogative 'what?' (Gardiner, *Grammar*³, § 498); nor do we believe that 𓄏𓄏𓄏𓄏 is here the still rarer sportive writing of *in m* (𓄏𓄏𓄏).¹

𓄏𓄏𓄏𓄏 , *smꜣy*, as a designation of Seth's companions or accomplices occurs as early as the Middle Kingdom and is very often met with in texts of the Late and Graeco-Roman periods.²

𓄏𓄏𓄏 is well known as a designation of Hathor,³ though in our opinion the *ꜣht* here said to have been seen by Seth is actually the goddess Isis who has transformed herself into the Holy Cow.⁴

Ll. 8-9. 𓄏𓄏𓄏 , 'in order to protect', is to be read at the end of l. 8 and beginning of l. 9, the partial restoration being fully supported by the recurrence of these words at the head of l. 10.⁵ The entire l. 9 is obviously an extreme case of ditto-graphy:⁶ it repeats the preceding line verbatim, except that l. 8 reads 𓄏𓄏𓄏 , 'in search of', and l. 9 reads 𓄏𓄏𓄏 (here *iw* = *r*), 'seeking to'.

L. 10. 𓄏𓄏𓄏 either displays an unusual word-order or is a *lapsus calami*; we think the latter more likely and suggest to make a minor transposition and read 𓄏𓄏𓄏 .

𓄏𓄏𓄏 , 'so as to divulge, *or* in order to cause to know', with *hr* for *r* of purpose.⁷

𓄏𓄏𓄏 : the antecedent of the fem. suffix is the *ꜣht*-cow.

𓄏𓄏𓄏 : *wn*, lit. 'to open', is construed with *m* with the meaning 'to initiate into'.⁸ The infinitive *wn* is used after the genitival adjunct and is here best rendered by an English passive.⁹ The suffix *·s* refers again to the Holy Cow. The spell or incantation whereby one was admitted into the secret of her true identity had been guarded (*sꜣw*) and remained undiscovered or unfound (*nm gm*) until Seth got hold of it in some untold fashion.

L. 11. For the pun *is* ('go away!') var. *is r* ('a spell indeed') > *isrt* ('tamarisk-grove'), see above, p. 211 with n. 4.

On *iri*, 'to make', with the meaning 'to tend (plants and such)', see Blackman, *JEA* 91, 69 (16).

¹ Goedicke, *JEA* 47, 155, quoting only two examples from a Sinai inscription. His alleged example from a London stela is surely something else, cf. Schenkel, *JEA* 50, 11 (7).

² The earliest occurrence is pointed out by Gardiner, *The Ramesseum Papyri*, 13 n. 3. Note the interesting writing in Junker, *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä*, 63 (17) with n. 5. Seth's companions are already mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, though there they are called *imyꜣw-ꜣt*, 'followers'; cf. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth*, 8.

³ *Wb.* I, 17, 3-4; Junker, *ZÄS* 43, 114.

⁴ Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, 154, 202. For the cow as image of Isis see further Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 449 ff.

⁵ The writing of *mki*, 'to protect', with canal-determinative and plural strokes is by no means uncommon in the Late and Graeco-Roman periods, and is strangely overlooked by *Wb.* II, 160. See, for example, Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 11, 9 (6, 10) with note b; Goyon, *BIFAO* 65, 148 (l. 58 of text); Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchnesneferibre*, 41 (78), 68 (166-7); Schott, *Urk.* VI, 61, 19.

⁶ More striking still is the long passage repeated in error in *The Book of Overthrowing ꜣ Apeꜣ* pointed out by Faulkner, *JEA* 24, 47 (29, 1-2).

⁷ Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 43 (§ 59, g), 115 (§ 181, j); Ptolemaic texts quoted by Fairman, *ZÄS* 91, 8 (1-3); De Wit, *Les Inscriptions du temple d'Opet*, III, 127 (69).

⁸ Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, 66; II, 323.

⁹ Gardiner, *Grammar*¹, § 305; Lefebvre, *Grammaire*², § 402.

We think the gist of the story to be as follows. The better to hide Osiris' remains in Busiris the goddess Isis, who kept watch over them, must escape recognition and to that end transformed herself into a cow. There was something in the colour of the cow's skin, however, which held the clue to her identity and which only a well-guarded magical spell could reveal. Seth, who had gone after Osiris with ill designs, somehow procured the spell, and with it the secret of the colour, and the colour told him of the cow's real self. His companions got wind of his findings, and when he returned to them they questioned him about the colour and the spell. Seth either dismissed them with a peremptory 'Go away! (*is*)', or answered them evasively, 'A spell indeed! (*is r*)'; and his reply served to explain, punningly, the origin of a tamarisk-grove or *isrt* which grew by the grave of the Holy Cow and was still the object of solicitous care in the days when the tale was told.¹

A. Part 3. More magic, ll. 12-17

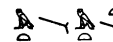


(12) *SPELL FOR driving away the accomplices of the Evil One together with the dead, not allowing them to enter among the blessed spirits. To be recited: 'Be you blind in your faces, O dead man, dead woman, etc. [You] shall not [do harm to, or mingle with] (13) the blessed spirits; the memory of you shall not be beside the floral offerings; you shall have no heart^{sic} to receive water; you shall have no kidneys to excrete urine. May you (truly) die and remain on the ground [... without] (14) your being given a burial, may the smell of your path be like that of fish food. You shall not take your stand at the shore, and your lips shall be cut out because of what issues forth from them. As long as you are against R̄er the sky shall not [abide (?)], (15) the crew of R̄er [shall not row (?)] for him, he shall grow weary and perturbed, and the Mysterious Lion shall not bring to shore the night-bark. Keep away from the Osiris Pwe<re>m, true of voice, born of K̄iki [and something or other will not act, or will cease to be directed] (16) against you, the torturing-stake(s) (which are) in front of you shall be removed, your bonds shall be unfastened, the sky of R̄er shall act properly for him, and the horizon of Atum (shall also act properly) for him, while the crew shall vigorously row [the night bark helped by (?)] (17) a fair wind. Keep away from the Osiris Pkherkhons, true of voice, born of K̄iki, with your effluvia which come forth from without! You shall not do harm (?) . . .*

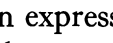
Like the previous charm in ll. 1-7 the present magical spell is for use in the other world and strictly for the benefit of the deceased Pwerem and Pkherkhons. In so far as the mutilated condition of the manuscript allows us to determine, it is oral exorcism pure and simple, and no passes or manipulations of any kind are prescribed.²



L. 12. There is abundant evidence that $\text{𓄀} \sim \text{𓄁}$, 'the dead', were considered harmful,

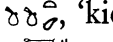
¹ Although based upon a careful study of the text our interpretation is offered, and must be taken, for what it is worth. We shall be happy if it elicits no harsher judgement than that expressed by the old saying, *se non è vero è ben trovato*.



² Gardiner's statement that apart from certain border-line cases such as prognostics and medical treatments the magical rite is always two-fold and comprises (a) an oral rite, and (b) a manual operation, may require some modification in the light of texts that have come to our knowledge since he made it about sixty years ago (see, e.g., the Geneva spells published by Massart, *Mitteil. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 15, 172 ff.). Gardiner's statement is in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, 264b, in the article 'Magic (Egyptian)'—a masterly article from his pen which still remains the best treatment of the topic to be found anywhere.



hostile beings,¹ and in fact they are unequivocally regarded as such by our magician and cursed accordingly: 'Be you blind in your faces,  O dead man, dead woman'. Hence our rendition 'Spell for driving away the accomplices of the Evil One  along with, or together with, the dead'. We can quote no other instance of  used as a preposition of concomitance, almost like *hnc*; but, as Dr. Griffiths aptly points out, this use is not surprising: *m-m* or *mm* is 'perhaps a simple reduplication of *m*',² and *m* = 'together with' is well attested.³

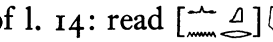
For the common expression , *hmt-r*, 'etc., and so on', the literal meaning 'skill of the mouth' has been suggested.⁴


L. 13. In view of the context , 'heart', is likely to be a scribal error for , 'stomach'. For the threat of preventing the dead from receiving water see, e.g., Pap. Ch. Beatty V, vs. 5, 5-6.⁵

, 'kidneys'; the meaning is now well established.⁶

, 'to excrete', is undoubtedly to be equated with  in a magico-medical text of the Middle Kingdom⁷—hardly a mistake for *wsš*, 'to urinate'.

Near the end of the line: for  read , the latter being the writing of the 2nd pl. suffix elsewhere in the papyrus.

End of l. 13 and beginning of l. 14: read .

L. 14. The spirits of evil are said to be  'against *Rēc*', which might be thought irrelevant in the present context, for the spell is explicitly for the protection not of the sun-god but of the blessed spirits, specifically the deceased Pwerem and Pkherkhons: surely there is here a blending of *Rēc* with Osiris, with whom the two late brothers were identified.⁸

Ll. 14-15. To threaten evil beings with cosmic disturbances should they persist in attacking or misbehaving is a practice not seldom resorted to in Egyptian magic, a practice closely connected with that of menacing the gods directly.⁹ Here the threat

¹ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 198 f.

² Thus Gardiner, *Grammar*³, § 178 (p. 132).

³ This meaning of *m* was pointed out at least as early as 1870, see Grébaut, *Rec. trav.* 1, 83 n. 6, quoted by Caminos, *JEA* 56, 129 n. 2.

⁴ Gardiner, *JEA* 38, 26 n. 2; see also id., *The Ramesseum Papyri*, 10 n. 4.

⁵ Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, I, 51; II, pl. 28 (vs. 5, 5-6).

⁶ Cf. *Wb.* v, 208, 7, cautiously defining *ggt* as 'ein doppelter innerer Körperteil'. But see now Fairman in Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, III, Text, 173 (13); Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 244* n. 1; Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, I, 21 n. 32 (43), 90 n. 29 (48).

⁷ Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, 25 (B. 2) with pl. 16 (B. 2). See also von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, I, 232.

⁸ On the fusion of *Rēc* and Osiris see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, II, 124, with literature; also Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, I, 34 f. with fig. 5; Zandee, *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle*, 23 f.; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, 101 ff., 110 f., 385 s.v. Re und Osiris; Grumach in Samuel (editor), *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, 170.

⁹ See, for instance, Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, I, 51; II, pls. 28 (vs. 5, 7-10), 29 (vs. 6, 1-3); Rossi and Pleyte, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. 137, ll. 1-4; Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus*, 30 (rt. 27, 1-4), 95 f.; id., *Mitteil. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 15, 175 f., 183 f.; Jacoby, *Archiv für Rel.* 16, 125 with n. 3; Gardiner in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, 265a; Lexa, *La Magie dans l'Égypte antique*, I, 50 f., 153; Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues*, 136 f.; Grapow, *ZÄS* 49, 48 ff.; Waddell, *Manetho*, 200 n. 3; Sauneron, *Bull. de la Société franç. d'Égyptologie* 8 (Nov. 1951), 11 ff.; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 551 with nn. 1-4. For the Iamblichus *locus classicus* see now Jamblique, *Les Mystères d'Égypte* (ed. Budé by É. des Places), 186 with n. 2, giving additional bibliography.

We take $\text{ⲟ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲛ}$ to be, in spite of det. ⲟ , the noun for ‘harm, evil’; cf. *Wb.* v, 248, 11: *iri twsw n*, ‘to do harm to’. Otherwise translate ‘you shall not form festering sores or swellings’.¹

Column B

See diagram on pl. XXXVIII and transcription on pl. XLI. The text is marred by large lacunae; there are twenty lines of writing, whereof none is intact, and ll. 19 and 20 are almost entirely gone. The original lines must have been about 29 cm. long. A narrow blank strip at the top spared by the restorer’s trimming-knife when the fragments were mounted shows that the present l. 1 was also the uppermost line of the original column. In a papyrus of the style and date of the one now under study the ‘page’ would normally have been large enough to allow twenty-four to twenty-five written lines in the column.

The contents are mythological and appear to form one long Osirian saga which admits of being divided into five parts as follows: (1) end of a story involving the Horus Eye, ll. 1–3; (2) on ill effects of the *atef*-crown resulting in the name Ḥarshef, ll. 4–5; (3) a tale of river-faring with aetiological aims, ll. 6–10; (4) catalogue of Osirian cult centres, ll. 11–14; and (5) spell for safeguarding Osiris against Seth and his accomplices, ll. 15–19 and perhaps also l. 20.

B. Part 1. End of a story involving the Horus Eye, ll. 1–3

(1) . . . *in his heart an account of his son Horus . . . taking away the Eye of Horus from Seth . . . his neck for ever.* (2) . . . *hearing the case of Osiris who took away (?) . . . the embalmment place of Osiris, and glad has been the heart of the great god . . . [until] today. Now Tenen* (3) . . . *upon my throne . . . shall not be opposed . . . those . . . to her Horus. Then that Evil One . . . Osiris in the dusk.*

Apparently a variation on the ‘perennial theme’ of Seth’s attack on the Eye of Horus.²

L. 1. Utterly obscure.³ Just who it was that our text represented as having wrested the Horus Eye from Seth is problematic. The preposition *hr* is preceded by $\text{ⲛ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲛ}$,⁴ which could stand for Rē^c , or for some compound name like Atum- Rē^c , or for $\text{Ⲓ} \text{ⲛ}$, ‘Osiris’; in any case the god mentioned here is not of necessity the subject of $\text{ⲛ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲛ}$.⁵

¹ *Wb.* v, 251, 3; von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, II, 938; Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, 26 (8).

² Cf. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth*, 176 s.v. Horus; id., *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride*, 508; with retrospective bibliography. Note also Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 46 ff.

³ Following the first rapid reading of this passage we imagined that there might have been sadness in Osiris’ heart because his son had lost his eye, that he (Osiris) wrested it from Seth, and then the Eye was hung from someone’s neck to be carried as a talisman for ever. Having searched in vain for a reference, however vague, to Osiris as the rescuer of the Horus Eye, we now view that first impression with marked scepticism. On the other hand, one must be prepared for departures from the known accounts of the legend: it is impossible to predict what fresh texts may bring in the way of variations on the traditional episodes, if not wholly new incidents, characters, and situations. A case in point is a recently (1970) published Turin papyrus in which one can discern, under the guise of a magical spell, hitherto unsuspected details belonging to the myth of the Horus Eye; see Roccati, *Papiro ieratico n. 54003*, 19 (top), 31 (viii).




⁴ The sun-disk ⲟ , though damaged, is certain.






⁵ The subject could be, for example, not Rē^c but *sn n Rr*, ‘the son of Rē^c ’; not Osiris but *sn n Wsir*, ‘the brother of Osiris’; and so on.





FOR . . . *disturbing the river with the rowing, they saw the Evil One fall to the ground. There were no gods who gathered up (10) him whom he had intended to bury. His heart [was troubled (?)], for he did not know the place where the god went down . . . be buried in holy ground. It is the like of these things which is done even to this day.*





A very obscure narrative which offers an explanation for the origin of certain rites or practices or ceremonies ('the seizing of the arrow', 'the rowing', and then what might be a funereal or interment rite), the exact nature of which we find it impossible to ascertain.








L. 6. On the spelling  see above, p. 215 with n. 4.







  , lit. 'in portions', recurs in l. 8 also in connection with *hmi*, 'to row, convey by water'. We are not sure that the meaning suggested above ('by stages') is right. This adverbial phrase might conceivably stand also for 'in pieces', i.e. 'dismembered', and denote, here and in l. 8, the conveyance by water of Osiris' torn body. It will be observed, however, that the text tells of Osiris going down to his bark, which does not quite square with his being dead, let alone dismembered.¹

 , 'nšmt-bark', same corrupt spelling in the next line. The scribe added a tail-like upward flourish to the *mt*-ligature, and the result was  instead of , though  was obviously what he meant to write.²

L. 7. Read  []  ; the tails of *f* and *m* are preserved; note *s:f Hr*, 'his son Horus', in l. 18 below.

 , 'mcb', 'lance, spear', often also transcribed  ,³ might likewise be rendered 'harpoon'; for this last weapon, however, the specific word used in texts of the Ptolemaic period is *hmt*, see *Wb.* III, 284, 13-14.⁴

L. 8. At the beginning of this line are a few hieratic traces which we cannot transcribe with any degree of certainty. The σ -sign is unmistakable, but  , 'to stink', seems out of the question. The trace immediately before  suits either  or . The text at this point is unintelligible to us, and we could not suggest an interpretation without indulging in fantasies. We shall merely say that there appears to be a reference to two swimmers or two persons floating or even drowned in the water, and then mention is made of a 'mace'.⁵ Traces that follow the word for 'mace' would suit  or .

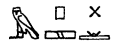
¹   (earlier *psšt*) could well be used of the 'portions' or 'pieces' of Osiris' dismembered body, for a late text, preserved in duplicate, tells of the drowning of Osiris and of     'all his limbs being partitioned or divided off', cf. Chassinat, *Rec. trav.* 14, 14, left, l. 7 of text with unnumbered pl., fig. B; Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis*, III, pl. 20, north wall, lower reg. right, and photograph on pl. 75, A. On Osiris' dismemberment see Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac*, 99 f.; Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 91 ff.




² Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, 12 no. 139, 65 no. ix.

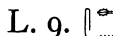
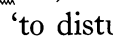

³ For the transcription adopted here see Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 94 (note on p. 43, l. 6); cf. Sauneron, *Rev. d'Ég.* 15, 60 with n. 1.

⁴ On Horus' traditional weapon see Schäfer, *ZÄS* 41, 68 ff.; Grenfell, *Rec. trav.* 32, 135; Müller in Gray (editor), *The Mythology of All Races*, XII, 397 (101). See further *Wb.* v, 560, 6 (*db*); Reymond, *JEA* 49, 140 ff.; 50, 133 ff.

⁵ One inevitably recalls the episode of Horus and Seth plunging into the waters of the Great Green, there to be hit in succession by the 'weapon of the water' cast by Isis; cf. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. 1, 19 f. and pls. 8-9 (rt. 8, 8-9, 7).


 has been discussed above (B, l. 6).

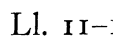
, 'the Evil One', here surely for Seth; cf. above, p. 209 with n. 7. We do not understand what follows. Could it possibly refer to a libation or water-pouring rite performed in the 'pure place'? No woman or goddess appears to be mentioned in the story so far, hence  could scarcely be 'to or for you (fem.)'; one thinks of the relative adjective *nt(y)*, or of a writing of *nt*, 'water', the pouring of which is suggested by .¹ But all this is doubtful to a degree.

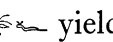

L. 9. , strictly 'to demolish' (*sšn*, *sšnn*, see *Wb.* iv, 293), we take to be an error for *shn(n)*, 'to disturb, agitate'.² What is disturbed by the rowing is , 'the river', rather perhaps than 'the top (the surface?) of the river'. The element  in the compound *tp-itrw* is a crux.³

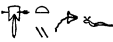
B. Part 4. Catalogue of Osirian cult centres, ll. 11–14




(11) *KNOWING EVERY PLACE in which the throne of His Majesty has been established. Indeed, His Majesty shall be the ruler of the netherworld, and His Majesty shall voyage to the netherworld <from> Busiris. His throne has been established for him in Heliopolis, and the gods (who are) in the Mansion of (12) the Magistrate provide for him. He has sailed upstream to the Walls, where [his bones] were assembled for him beside Tenen and [his] body was put together for him: he is Sokar, the bull of the west. His Majesty has sailed upstream to Abydos and sat there upon his throne, and (13) the gods of the south have provided for him . . . after he joined with Khnum. His [Majesty] has voyaged in the west . . . who showed to him his way in Aperet beside the god's mother, the lady of Saïs, who for her^{sic} benefit pushed away the Foe to the south, the north, (14) the west, and the east. . . of Sobek in order to allow his dignity of appearance to manifest itself there. Now His Majesty was in Nacret, and there his face grew tumid, (and that is how) his name came into being there because of his face; (thus) came into being his name of Harshef.*


The catalogue is presented in the form of an itinerary. It opens with what appears to be the proclamation of Osiris as king of the other world, and then follows a conspectus of his travels to the main centres of his worship in Upper and Lower Egypt. He is not mentioned by name but referred to as , 'His Majesty', throughout—the tour was literally a royal progress.

Ll. 11–12. , 'the Mansion of the Prince', is the name of a sanctuary in Heliopolis.⁴

L. 12.  yields good sense, yet it might be a slip of the brush for , 'his Majesty has sailed upstream', as further on in the same line.

¹ Cf. , 'he pours water for you upon the offering table', Goyon, *BIFAO* 65, 150 (73); similarly Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 34, 11 (36–7); 67, 10 (28, 9–10); also Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, 64 (c), quoting Phot. 338 and 369.

² Cf. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis*, III, pl. 31, middle reg. left, col. 26: 'He makes the sky rage (*sknt* = *sknd*),  he perturbs the sea'. Note  as a writing of , 'to disturb, be disturbed', in Pap. B.M. 10081, 21, 25 (unpublished).

³ 'There are grounds for thinking that  in some compounds has a generalizing force, though not one easy for our modern minds to grasp'—thus Gardiner, *JEA* 38, 31 (note also p. 21 n. 3).

⁴ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, iv, 127.

𓆎𓆏𓆑, of 𓆑 only the foot is preserved, but the sign is certain. The word is either *Inbw*, 'the Walls', or *Inb-hd*, 'the White Wall', since either Memphis or the Memphite nome is doubtlessly meant here.¹

𓆒𓆓, 'to raise', also 'to go up' (*Wb.* v, 405 ff.), is used here for 𓆒𓆔 or 𓆒𓆕, 'to tie up, assemble'; the confusion of these two verbs is understandable, not infrequent, and dates back to the Pyramid Texts (*Wb.* v, 396, 12). The latter is a *terminus technicus* for assembling the bones and limbs of the dead, and is now and again used in correlation with *sꜥk*, 'to put together'.²

𓆖𓆗, '(Ta-)tenen', the primeval chthonian god of Memphis, was in many ways and from early times connected with Osiris, but not until the New Kingdom did they actually coalesce, and that only occasionally.³ His role in the restoration of Osiris' dismembered body is mentioned in not-too-clear terms elsewhere.⁴

Read 𓆘[𓆙], 'his body'; flesh determinative and suffix are lost not in a hole but in a small area of the papyrus superficially affected by some scraping agent.

𓆚𓆛, 'Sokar', the Memphite god of the dead, was identified with Osiris from the earliest times;⁵ the epithet, 'bull of the west' is strictly an appellation of Osiris (*Wb.* v, 96, 6).

L. 13. 𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟: if the 𓆞 of *srt* is not meaningless, then the antecedent is a feminine noun: it was a goddess (whose name is lost in the lacuna) 'who showed to him his way'. The verb is *sr*, lit. 'to announce, foretell', used in the idiom *sr wst*, 'to show the way'.⁶

𓆠𓆡, 'Aperet', a locality in which Osiris and Sokar-Osiris were the object of cult. It is mentioned in the *Book of the Dead* (ch. 142) and other sources; the location is unknown.⁷

𓆢𓆣 is *Sꜥw*,⁸ 'Saïs', in the western Delta, where Neith was 'god's mother'.⁹

For 𓆤 read 𓆥, since it was clearly for Osiris' benefit that Neith drove away the Foe.¹⁰ 'To drive or push somebody away to the south, the north, the west, and the east' is possibly hyperbolic for 'to rout utterly', unless the Foe (*ꜥb*) denotes here a band or company of enemies which could then be dispersed to the four winds.

L. 14. An epitomized version of the aetiological anecdote told in B, ll. 4-5; see discussion on p. 217 above.

¹ Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 122*.

² *Wb.* v, 397, 15-19; Grapow, *Urk.* v, 182, 7-8; Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchmesneferibre*, 68 (167); Szczudłowska, *ZÄS* 96, 60 f. (Kd 17, 7-18, 1).

³ Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 770a.

⁴ Cf. Vandier in *Mélanges Mariette*, 117 with n. 2; id., *Le Papyrus Jumilhac*, 138 (vi, 4), 240 (965, 966).

⁵ Roeder in Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, IV, 1130 (I).

⁶ Cf. *Wb.* IV, 190, 11, quoting only two early-Roman instances; the idiom *sr wst* is, however, already attested in the Middle Kingdom: De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, I, 191 (45, e), 211 (47, a).

⁷ Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, 113, 1120 (ad. to p. 113).

⁸ 𓆢 for 𓆣, cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, 20, no. 216.

⁹ Mallet, *Le Culte de Neit à Saïs*, 134, 137 f.; Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, IV, 440 f.; Matthiae Scandone, *Oriens antiquus* 6, 165 (94), 167.

¹⁰ In the *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys*, 5, 6-8, Neith sings to Osiris: 'O my son, come to Saïs . . . you are at rest beside your mother (*r-gs mwt-k*) for ever; she protects your body and drives off him who rebels against you'; cf. Faulkner in *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 340 with pl. 3.

Unplaced fragments

Five insignificant fragments. They bear nos. 13, 16, 20, 22, and 23 on the diagram on pl. XXXVIII, fig. 2, and are all part of the *collage* whereof a photograph is given on pl. XXXVII. Transcriptions will be found on pl. XLI, figs. 2–6.

Frag. 13: about 7×6 mm.

Frag. 16: about 6×16 mm. Remains of two lines. The relatively large blank space after ϵ would seem to indicate the left end of a line of writing, though it could also be the end of a section; cf. the empty space after $\overline{\text{𓄀}}$ in col. B, near the beginning of l. 16.

Frag. 20: 10×6 mm. Part of a rubric; a possible place for this frag. is the large gap in col. B, l. 9.

Frag. 22: about 12×12 mm. Remains of two lines. For the kid-sign cf. col. B, ll. 6 and 7, where it is faultily written for $\overline{\text{𓄀}}$ in *nšmt*, the sacred bark of Osiris; see above, p. 219 with n. 2.

Frag. 23: about 4×5 mm. A possible place for this frag. is col. A, l. 16, next to the last preserved sign (*s*) at the left end of the line: $\overline{\text{𓄀}} \overline{\text{𓄀}}$, ‘night-bark’, used as object of *hni*; cf. p. 215 above.

Postscript

The divine personage called $\overline{\text{𓄀}} \overline{\text{𓄀}} \overline{\text{𓄀}} \overline{\text{𓄀}}$ in col. A, l. 15 might possibly be the sun-god $\overline{\text{Rē}}^c$. *Mš* (or *rw*?) *št*, ‘mysterious lion’, is undoubtedly a designation of the sun-god in Pap. Berlin P. 3055, vs. 25, 2; see Möller, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den könig. Museen zu Berlin*, I, pl. 25, l. 2 = Moret, *Le Rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, 147 (top). The same epithetic phrase also refers to the sun-god in Pap. de Luynes, litany, 16; cf. Ledrain, *Rec. trav.* 1, 92 with n. 4 and unnumbered plate, upper. See further Nagel, *BIFAO* 29, 92 with n. 10; Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350*, 42 with n. 6. It is not clear to us just what god is $\overline{\text{𓄀}} \overline{\text{𓄀}} \overline{\text{𓄀}} \overline{\text{𓄀}}$, ‘the mysterious lion who comes forth from the horizon’, mentioned on a Musée Guimet statue of the Saïte period, for which see the *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* IV, 244, 7, autographed section, p. 60;¹ the god so described is, however, unhesitatingly identified with $\overline{\text{Rē}}^c$ by De Wit, *Le Rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 142 (27).

¹ Through the kindness of Professor F. Hintze and Dr. W. F. Reineke we have been able to use the Berlin Dictionary copy of the entire text inscribed in the Musée Guimet statue.

LANDMARKS IN CUSHITE HISTORY

By B. G. HAYCOCK

My article in *JEA* 53 (1967), 107–20 treated a number of aspects of Later Meroitic civilization, and this was followed up in *Sudan Notes and Records (SNR)*, 49 (1968), 1–16, ‘Towards a Better Understanding of the Kingdom of Cush (Napata-Meroë)’ which briefly examined the alleged Indian influences on Meroë, and then went on to consider the links between the Napatan and Meroitic stages of Cush and in what sense the reigns of Anlamani and Aspelta can be regarded as showing the beginnings or revival of a local Cushite style of civilization. However, it is now justifiable and necessary to write further on Cushite history: a great deal of new information has become available owing to excavations at Musawwarât, Meroë (Bejrawiya), Sadenga, Argo, and in Lower Nubia at many sites, notably Meinarti, Arminna, Gebel Adda, and Qasr Ibrîm which are now published or one hopes in the course of publication. Some points suggested with great diffidence in *JEA* 53 are now confirmed; other questions need to be thoroughly re-examined, since, as new discoveries are made, some old problems no longer appear difficult or significant, but these are promptly replaced by new enigmas—usually of more complex character.

During the last few years ‘Sudanology’ has emerged from its tutelage to Egyptology as a developing subject in its own right, and institutions are being established in France, East Germany, and to some extent Khartoum (and one hopes ultimately elsewhere) specially to forward Meroitic research, but it would be undesirable if the traditional link with Egyptology should be unduly weakened, since because of physical proximity and communications through the Nile Valley, Egyptian influences continually modified Nubian civilization. Nevertheless, whilst recognizing foreign stimuli to cultural development, one should not ignore or underestimate local innovations and adaptations, or miss the crucial point that only when a Sudanese culture was already prosperous and stable could it afford to copy the luxurious customs of Egypt. Whereas particular items in the Kerma culture or Meroitic Nubia were obviously imported, the origin and basic dynamism of these cultures was indigenous, and they often reached their apex when the rulers of Egypt were too feeble to intervene in the south. There is a growing readiness amongst a wide range of scholars of many nationalities to accept Cushite artistic and cultural achievements as interesting and distinctive, and to recognize this civilization as local, literate, urban and in a general sense ‘African’ though profoundly influenced by Egypt, Alexandria, and the Mediterranean World (see, e.g., M. F. L. Macadam, ‘Queen Nawidemak’, *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, 23, 2 (Winter, 1966), Oberlin, Ohio, 44–5; F. Hintze, *Civilizations of the Old Sudan* (1967); P. L. Shinnie, *Meroë, a Civilization of the Sudan*, (1967), 169; and J. Leclant, ‘Le Necropole de l’Ouest a Sadeinga’, *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1970), Klincksieck,

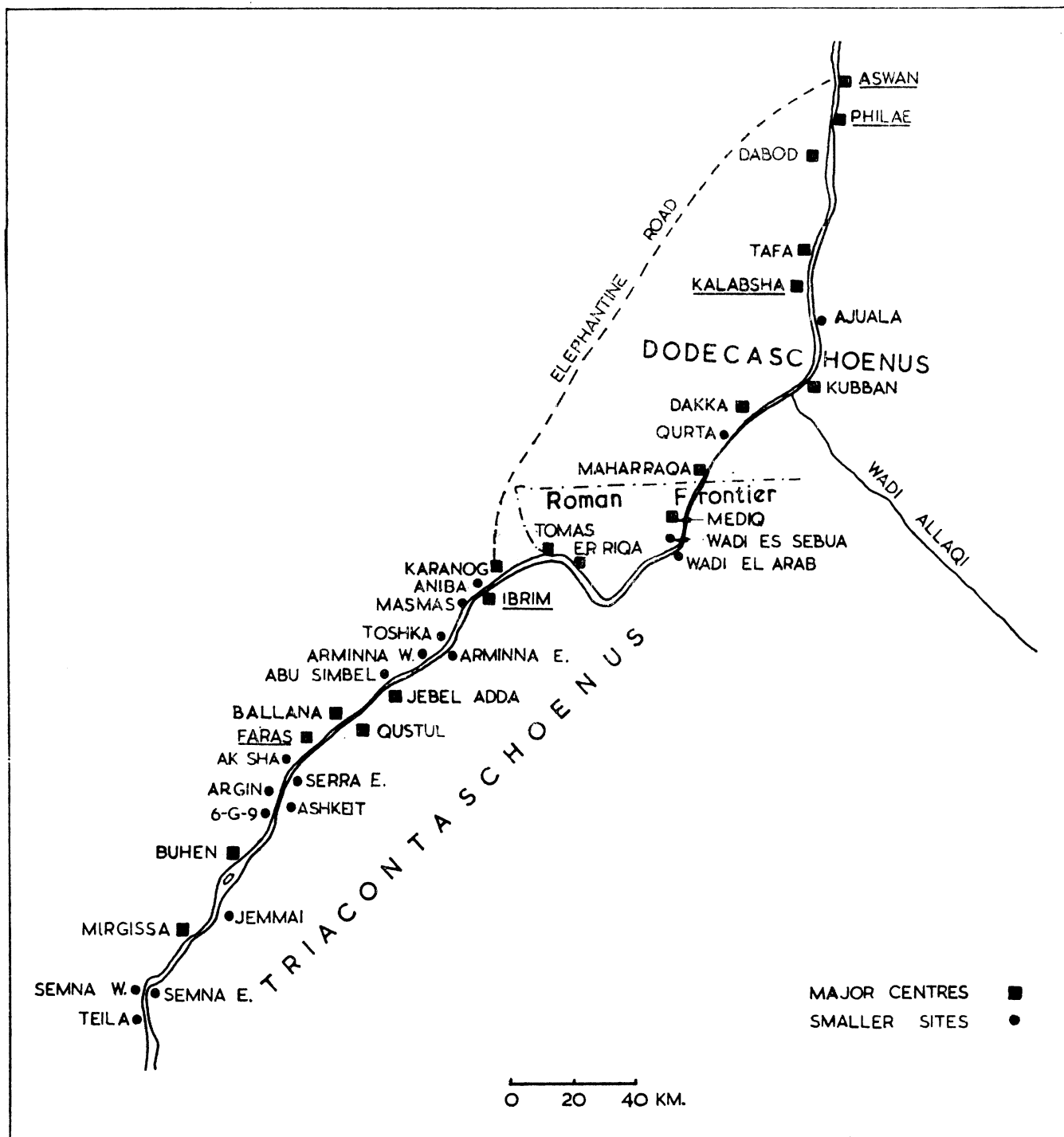


FIG. 1. Key map of Ptolemaic, Roman, and Meroitic Lower Nubia.

Paris, 276). N. B. Millet in an interesting paper presented to the Sudan Research Unit Conference in Khartoum in December, 1970, entitled 'Writing and Literacy in the Ancient Sudan' stresses the apparent growth of knowledge of writing even in minor villages of Nubia in late Meroitic times—though possibly does not emphasize enough that the evidence at present comes mainly from the very northern border of the Meroitic state. The inscriptions found by Garstang at Meroë and Hintze at Musawwarât suggest that literacy was quite widespread near the capital much earlier, and some early texts occur at Kawa, Napata, Sulb, Buhen, and Ibrîm. He is clearly correct in his main conclusion that the replacement of Egyptian hieroglyphic or demotic by the simple alphabetic Meroitic scripts led to a great spread of the ability to write; but it led also, one could suggest, to social changes leading to a decline in centralism based on the royal court.

Only Professor W. Y. Adams, whose views are always challenging, but prone to be different from the prevailingly fashionable approach, boldly asserted the individuality and cultural achievements of the Meroïtes in 1964 in *JEA* 50, 117–20, but since appears to have become increasingly struck by the manifold evidence of Egyptian influence and the economic dependence of northern Nubia on trade with Egypt (*Orientalia* 39, 2 [1970], 276–7), so that he sees Napatan civilization as 'pseudo-New-Kingdom' and Meroïtic as 'pseudo-Ptolemaic', and denies that Nubia has ever fully and finally become civilized, though on the threshold for five thousand years. He seems led to this conclusion by his general view of the ancient world (op. cit. 275): 'As in the ancient world generally, we can observe very little evolution in either the technical or social order during the Dynastic era—only a recurring cycle of conquest and decline, with a continual re-emergence of the same institutions.' Of course the main difficulty with all forms of historical or archaeological inquiry is that the researcher can see whatever he is looking for, but in my view this hypothesis of a static culture or cyclical development cannot be justified. The New-Kingdom civilization of Egypt was very different from that of the Old Kingdom, despite a taste for archaism, and the international relations of the Thirtieth Dynasty were very different from those of earlier periods. The army of Alexander the Great was a great improvement on that of the Persians; and the Roman army of Julius Caesar was again much more advanced. In Greece philosophical and scientific speculation abounded, and was transferred to Alexandria and Babylonia which already had advanced mathematical traditions. The Greeks and the Romans experimented with dictatorship (tyranny), oligarchy, constitutional monarchy, and democracy as alternatives to traditional kingship of the divinely chosen kind. Land hunger led to shipment of large quantities of corn from Egypt and the Black Sea to Greece, and to the establishment of distant colonies. Food plants were deliberately transplanted over great distances by the Persian and Hellenistic kings, and incense bushes seem to have been transplanted from Punt to Egypt as far back as the New Kingdom. Good roads made larger empires possible, but speeded their fall once weakness appeared. Unless the comparison is made with the last few centuries of extraordinarily rapid development, the ancient world does not appear so static or its institutions so uniform. Even though the Meroïtes escaped most of the upheaval of

Hellenistic times, their land was visited by Ptolemaic map-makers and geographers intent on working out the size of the earth, which *savants* in the third century B.C. assumed to be global. Also the Late Meroïtic development of northern Nubia was made possible by the introduction of the *saqiya* or animal-driven waterwheel, an uncomplicated but most important scientific discovery.

The most that can be said constructively from all this discussion is that Meroïtic culture belonged to a narrow,¹ winding river valley, to a poor not a rich country, where agricultural land was very scarce, and the settled people had to compete with desert tribes. As a result building activities were usually far from grandiose, and often inferior qualities of sandstone and building techniques were employed. In later times brick tended to replace stone because it was cheaper. Nevertheless, it seems unjustified to describe the Meroïtes as uncivilized—or even to consider the X-Group more barbarous than many of the other tribes who invaded the Roman empire. Any general pattern of foreign stimulus, acculturation to the Sudan, stagnation, collapse, and new foreign influence is just as much a product of modern preconceptions as if such a theory were applied to medieval England or any other area away from the cultural centres of the time. In reality foreign influences were arriving continuously, and complex local developments were always occurring which might either consolidate or undermine the existing politico-economic structure.

Moving on from this general examination of the theoretical framework of Early Sudanese history to more particular topics, it can now be stated that there is general agreement that the Meroïtic culture derives directly from the Napatan without any substantial break in continuity. This was accepted implicitly by nineteenth-century scholars after Lepsius, and G. A. Reisner convincingly demonstrated archaeologically that the pyramids of the South Cemetery at Bejrawia are a logical continuation of the latest at Nuri (*JEA* 9, 34–9). He also proved that the Late Napatan kings Ḥarsiotef and Nastaseñ ruled at Meroë rather than at Napata on inscriptional evidence (*SNR* 2, 61–3), which has since been confirmed by the still earlier Great Inscription of Amennēteyerike at Kawa (Kawa, IX). Adams cast some doubt (in *JEA* 50) on the validity of this evidence because in northern Nubia there is no continuity between objects from the time of Taharqa, Arqamani, and Adikhalamani, and the later Meroïtes of the A.D. period, but soon recognized ('The Nubian Campaign—Retrospect and Prospect', *Mélanges Michalowski* [Warsaw, 1966], 22) that this was because northern Nubia was almost uninhabited from the later New Kingdom to the second century B.C. Continuity from Napatan to Meroïtic times is now stratigraphically demonstrated by the recent excavations of P. L. Shinnie at Meroë for the University of Khartoum, which show virtually continuous occupation and a number of interlocking phases or rebuilding on the same site from quite early in Napatan times to the very end of the Meroïtic, or even

¹ This was the view of Strabo writing in the first century B.C., and it is clearly generally true. However, in the Dongola Reach from Tumbus to Kareima and the region from Meroë to Wad ban Naqa there are wide banks or islands capable of supporting quite considerable towns. Nevertheless, since the Dongola Reach had little intermediate land between good soil and pure desert, an expanding population has always had to be exported, which may explain the coming of the Napatans to Meroë, like the migration of many Shaiggiya and Dongolese to the northern Butana in recent centuries.

into the succeeding Sub-Meroïtic or local X-Group culture. Similar uninterrupted activity from Late Napatan times to the first century B.C. can be considered likely from the excavations of F. Hintze in the Great Enclosure at Musawwarât (personal communication). The University of Khartoum excavations have collected together a considerable number of blocks of a temple of Malēnaqēñ, showing his name and titles which were mentioned very cursorily in the Garstang Preliminary Reports as found in Building 293 in the 'royal city' behind the temple of Amūn, but were abandoned on the site or in his excavation house. As the present writer pointed out (Sudan Research Unit Conference, Khartoum, February, 1968, *The Sudan in Africa*. In Press) Middle and Late Napatan and Early Meroïtic activities were concentrated in the Butana and to a lesser extent at Napata and Kawa until the first century B.C., though Ḥarsiotef raided and perhaps temporarily occupied *ṣqnt*, the later Akiñ, as far as Aswan in the eleventh year of his reign in the early fourth century (Stela 92-6). Early Meroïtic kings tried sporadically to exert their power there when relations with Egypt were particularly close, but the border lands continued to be worth very little for their own sake.

From this one comes naturally to the position of the northern Cushites of Lower Nubia and Ptolemaic-Meroïtic relations which are now somewhat better understood than a few years ago. A. Vila, *Aksha*, II, (Paris, 1967), 380-2 gives an elaborate but unsubstantiated theory about the repopulation of Nubia. However, there seems general agreement that the Meroïtic resettlement, probably accompanied by Ptolemaic settlement of some areas, began after a long period of nomadism and virtual depopulation, which Griffith, who first studied it, called 'the pre-Meroïtic gap'. According to Herodotus, 2. 28-31 (who unfortunately could only go as far south as Elephantine), above the First Cataract there was a level plain where the river divided around an island Tachompo, half of which belonged to the Egyptians, half to the 'Ethiopians' (Cushites or other Nubian people). Beyond the island the river was so wide that it seemed like a great lake; the shores were inhabited by nomadic 'Ethiopians'. South of the lake there was a bad and rocky stretch of the Nile which stretched for forty days before one took another boat and came to the big city of Meroë after twelve more days. From the time of Alexander the Great Aswan was a small garrison town and a place of exile for political undesirables (Arrian, 3. 2. 7), as it had been throughout Pharaonic history, but according to Diodorus (1. 37. 5) no Greek went to Cush before the time of Ptolemy II because the inhabitants were too unfriendly. Thereafter the country was invaded¹ by a large Ptolemaic army, maybe led by Ptolemy II in person, most likely very early in his reign. This action may have been taken because of 'Ethiopian' attacks on the border garrisons (cf. E. Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 77). How far the main army penetrated into Nubia is not known, but evidently a group of emissaries, most likely headed² by Timosthenes, the 'admiral' of Ptolemy II, went as far as Meroë itself, which they reported took

¹ The evidence of Diodorus and Theocritus and the idea of H. Kortenbeutel and C. Préaux that Philo went to Meroë in the reign of Ptolemy I is well discussed by J. Desanges, *Actes du 92^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes*, Section d'Archéologie, 1967 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1970), 38 and 42-3.

² I would draw this inference because Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6. 185 cites Timosthenes as a main authority. Possibly Dalion, otherwise unknown, was one of the party who went on beyond Meroë, or he may have preceded the main party as an ambassador.

sixty days from Aswan. What degree of resistance the Meroïtes were able to offer to the invading army is not clear, but the outcome could not be in doubt against professional soldiers trained and armed in the warlike Hellenistic tradition. The army of Ptolemy II returned with a number of elephants which were evidently already trained before their capture since twenty-four drew wagons in the procession of triumph; there were also eight vehicles drawn by pairs of ostriches, 'Ethiopians' carrying six hundred tusks of ivory, and a mass of strange animals and birds. (This procession and its exact date have often been discussed; see most recently Desanges, *op. cit.* 42. The weight of scholarly opinion favours 279–278, for which viewpoint see W. W. Tarn, *Hermes* 65, 446 and A. M. Honeyman, *JEA* 26, 57–67. However, the date suggested by E. Bevan, 274 B.C., is possible.) Professor Desanges goes on to show that from this date until the rebellion of Upper Egypt (that is, roughly 280–207 B.C.) elephant-hunters from Egypt penetrated southwards along the Nile past Abu Simbel, where they left their graffiti, in search of ivory or live animals for use in war, though the sea route by elephant-carrier ships from Abyssinia or Somalia is much better known from literary sources (*op. cit.* 31 and 43–6). Possibly the king at the time in Cush was Arikakamani, since his tomb *Bejrawia* S. 6 yielded a number of objects of Graeco-Ptolemaic type, which may have been presents¹ to console him for a severe defeat in northern Nubia, and to win his acquiescence in opening up Cush to animal-hunters, map-makers, philosophers, and travellers, as well perhaps as traditional Egyptian temple-craftsmen. The two bronze pots, the silver strainer (21-1-48, 49, and 50) and the bronze-leaf ornament (a flame-shield for a lamp?; 21-2-580) found in *Bej.* S. 6 are of Ptolemaic style and almost certainly imported, as are the bronze strainer with bird-head handle (21-1-47) and the fluted silver bowl (21-1-51) from the subsidiary royal tomb S. 3 of this generation or the next reign of Amanislo. The occurrence of a bronze colander in tomb W. 263 (23-1-135) may suggest that such objects were popular and eagerly copied, like the many bronze basins which occur throughout the Meroïtic state. The fragmentary blue faience amulet (16-2-35) from Barkal 11 of the predecessor² of Arikakamani looks Graecized, but it is probably intrusive in this tomb like the certainly later fragment of a Meroïtic offering-table (16-2-13), and the *millefiori* glass inlay fragment (16-2-33). Of course occasional Greek objects are found much earlier in Nuri, Sanam, and the Napatan non-royal tombs of the *Bejrawia* South Cemetery, but early in the third century B.C. contact unmistakably becomes much closer and more sustained.

As Desanges points out (*op. cit.* 37–8 and 44), Ptolemaic interest in the Red Sea

¹ One could treat these as purely trade-goods, but under Ptolemy II trade and the Egyptian economy were so closely controlled by the king or his ministers that almost certainly diplomatic exchanges must have occurred before commercial links could become established.

² Unfortunately the name of the ruler buried in this large and fine tomb continues to be unknown. S. Wenig (*MIO* 13, 1, 13–14) suggests that he is a son of Nastaseñ, since Sakhmakh the wife of Nastaseñ was probably buried at Barkal in the first group, if we judge from her stela found reused in the Temple, and that he might be Aryamani, known from Kawa XIV, XV, and (?) LI, since this king appears to have enjoyed a long reign in which he could have built a large pyramid. The bad quality of his Egyptian, as appreciated by Macadam and Hintze, may suggest a later date for his reign, but certainly the 'pseudo-Ramesside' form of his cartouches in Kawa XIV favours the idea that he had slight connections with Egypt from Alexander the Great to Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II, when several kings called themselves *stp-n-Rc mri Imn* or *Wsr-kj-Rc mri Imn*.

route went on developing in the last years of Ptolemy II and throughout most of the reign of Ptolemy III. In my view the latter reign marks the zenith of Ptolemaic power generally, and this can be seen in the Sudan also. The dating of the Sudanese king Arnekhmani presents many difficulties, as I have already pointed out in *Kush* 13, 264–6, but the earliest form of his name *Ir-nh-Imn-mri-Imn* is of traditional Cushite and Egyptian form and could imply that he was contemporaneous with Ptolemy II; the next form associated with the building of the Lion-Temple at Musawwarât *Ir-nh-Imn nh dt mri-Imn* (all in the cartouche) seems definitely influenced by the form of the title of Ptolemy III, *nh dt mri Pth*, while the modified form of his cartouche on the Lion-Temple, *nh dt mri Ist*, is the same epithet as Ptolemy IV has. Therefore, Professor Hintze¹ concludes that (on the assumption that he himself, not some later king repaired the temple) he must have lived some years into the reign of Ptolemy IV and gives him the dates 235–218 B.C. He goes on to regard Arqamani, generally equated with Ergamenes, as his son, and gives him the dates 218–200 B.C.—which in turn makes impossible the statement of Diodorus (3. 6) that Ergamenes ruled at the same time as Ptolemy II. Wenig² follows Hintze, and rejects my doubts as ‘without foundation’ very brusquely and without discussion. It now seems to me that Macadam in ‘Queen Nawidemak’, 53, Note 29 points the way to the solution of this problem by showing that phonetically, since ‘n’ is a letter often left out in Meroitic, the names Arnekhmani and Arqamani are the same, and probably represent the same ruler. It can be shown that in Meroitic *q*, *h*, and *w* can interchange—and it is noteworthy that on his pyramid *Bej. N. 7* Arqamani is called *Ir-w-Imn*, so that the second group was very uncertain. Casual changing of royal names was very common in Napatan times, and Arqamani himself has a first cartouche at Dakka quite different from that on his pyramid (though this is probably a kind of translation of it into Meroitic; *Mk-l-tk*, ‘The living God’ could well equate with ‘Living Hand (or “image”) of Amün’). No doubt dispute will long continue, but I feel that a date of 250–210 B.C. is still defensible for Arnekhmani/Arqamani, and that the reliefs of the various temples of this composite king and of his pyramid show strong Ptolemaic influence, which of course was more dominant³ at Dakka and Philae near Egypt than at Musawwarât or Meroë, where local cultural traditions were much stronger. The processional scenes of the Lion-Temple of Musawwarât set it apart totally from the undecorated temples of the Great Enclosure, which represent the pure Meroitic tradition of that area, and Professor Hintze has traced many parallels between its inscriptions and those of Ptolemaic Egyptian temples or the Lower Nubian temples of Arqamani and Adikhalamani at Dakka and Debod

¹ *Die Inschriften des Löwentempels*, 14–15.

² S. Wenig, ‘Bemerkungen zur Chronologie des Reiches vom Meroë’, *Mitt. d. Inst. f. Orientforsch. d. deutsch. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin* 13, Pt. 1 (1967), 44 n. 1.

³ This touches on the troublesome question of how far the Cushite kings imported their workmen from Egypt. Without solid evidence I like to think that when building near Aswan they would hire whole teams of Egyptians, but in the Butana nearly all the craftsmen would be local from the royal workshops at Meroë. There are enough local touches in the scenes of the Musawwarât Lion-Temple e.g. lions, elephants, cattle with neck-bells, to justify believing that most of the stone-carvers were indigenous Meroites, and even the shapes of the hieroglyphic letters are un-Egyptian, though the texts themselves are similar in most cases to ones from northern Nubian or Ptolemaic temples.

(F. Hintze, *op. cit.* 21–47). The reliefs of the Lion-Temple (*op. cit.*, pls. 10 and 15, and *Kush* 10, pls. 52 and 55) show clear proof of the domestication of elephants—evidently for war. Hintze argues, following Arrian, that the Cushites knew how to tame elephants before they fell under Greek influence, and it is certain from the Great Enclosure that the elephant was virtually worshipped in that area. Desanges (*op. cit.* 33–6) argues persuasively that this knowledge came from Ptolemaic Egypt. This I cannot entirely accept, however, since the elephants Ptolemy II seized in 279–278 would appear to have been tame; wild ones would hardly have drawn carts through crowded streets. All modern attempts to train the African elephant have shown it is a very slow and laborious task, so it is unlikely the Ptolemies could have completed it in time for victory celebrations.

The expedition of Ptolemy II made travel to Cush reasonably safe and easy; Bion of Soloi and Simonides the Younger resided for quite long periods at Meroë, and wrote detailed accounts of which unfortunately hardly anything has survived. (I fully accept the view of Desanges (*BIFAO* 66, 91) that they visited Cush in the third century B.C., not in the early second. Conditions were never so favourable again, and Cush may generally have been a closed land except about 155–145 B.C.) Eratosthenes the Librarian of Alexandria (active 250–195 B.C.), the leading intellectual of the latter part of the reign of Ptolemy III and of Ptolemy IV, had observations made at Meroë (if he did not make them personally) which are mentioned many times by Strabo to determine the latitude of the town and the curvature of the earth. Presumably this followed the discovery of Archimedes of Syracuse (active 260–210 B.C.) (Chapter 1, theorem 2) that the surface of the sea at perfect rest is not flat, but ‘spheroidal, and has the same centre as the earth’, which made it conceivable how the world could be round. At about the same time Aristarchus of Samos even enunciated the theory that the earth like the planets rotated round the sun, but this idea found little favour, and had to wait till the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. for proof. Somewhat earlier, possibly even before the invasion of Ptolemy II, as seen above, Philo had travelled to Meroë to make observations of the sun, stars, and the angles of shadows (Strabo, 2. 1. 20), and Poseidonius (Strabo, 2. 2. 3) knew that the northern part of Nubia was very severe desert, but the people living further south had a more temperate climate and better-watered country. Diodorus Siculus, who describes Cush probably from unacknowledged third-century writers (in other places he mentions Agatharchides of Cnidos of the later second century B.C.), since in his description of the kingship (3. 6–8) he does not mention the Candaces who were so prominent from the second century B.C. onwards, and gives details of king Ergamenes, even knew something of the primitive negro tribes living south of Meroë, ‘who were savage not so much by their nature as by their way of life’. The story of Diodorus that Ergamenes had received a Greek education and studied philosophy, and so was nerved to break with superstition and the power of the priests and to rule as an absolute king, may be factual, since any of the philosopher/travellers who came to Cush would have been glad to serve as royal mentor. Diodorus certainly drew his ‘Library of History’ from a multitude of ancient sources, and like other Greek and Roman writers felt no obligation to give detailed acknowledgements. However,

the present writer considers, following C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily*, I (Heinemann, 1946), xvi–xvii, and E. Bevan, *op. cit.* 352, that his universal history was intended to be a serious and conscientious work, and that he makes use of the best sources available in a critical manner, though his attempt to treat Greek mythology as a sort of history led him to various odd conclusions, as similar attempts have misled many recent anthropologists.¹

However, for the earlier Ptolemies (I–V) expansion southwards was always of very secondary importance compared with their prolonged struggles for control of Syria-Palestine, Asia Minor, and part of Greece to guarantee a ready supply of Greek mercenaries, and their development projects in the Nile Valley centred on the Fayyum. As a result they made no attempt to annex or develop Lower Nubia, so far as one can judge from archaeological remains, except at the trading centres of Philae and Dakka, but were satisfied with forcing the Cushites to grant them access to the animal wealth of the central Sudan around and north of Meroë, where the elephant and rhinoceros grazed in ancient times. Nubia may also have provided a few slaves, but the Ptolemies consistently tried to prevent the development of the ‘European’ type of slavery in Egypt, preferring to rely on the traditional *fellahîn* serfdom. What slaves did arrive as domestic servants were mainly from the Black Sea area (E. Bevan, *op. cit.* 274). The occurrence of the cartouche of Amanislo² at Semna (Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts*, I, pl. 88 b) and his apparent removal of the Sulb lions to Napata implies that Meroitic control in the north became stronger, not weaker.

Griffith noted (*Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus*, I, 2–3) that ‘the appearance of Ergamenes and Adikhalamani in these parts (the temples of Philae, Dakka, and Dabod) may be explained in two ways—either as due to friendly help and co-operation with the early Ptolemies—or out of aggression in support of the Theban revolt of Harmachis which cut off the Ptolemies from Upper Egypt and Nubia for twenty years (207–186 B.C.)’. Neither of these explanations is altogether adequate in view of what we now know of Ptolemaic-Meroitic relations in the third century, but the dedication of the Dodecaschoenus to Isis by Arqamani at Dakka (G. Roeder, *Der Tempel von Dakka*, 250–I, § 557) is of extreme importance as showing that he still claimed to be sovereign all the way to the First Cataract, though Ptolemy IV took part in building this temple. However, one should note that the appearance of Meroitic influence in this border area was in the reign of Ptolemy IV (221–204) when Egypt was under a weak king, and plagued with foreign attacks and internal rebellions. The erection of temples in the sensitive region of the Dodecaschoenus by a king of an independent state of strong Pharaonic traditions must have strengthened the convictions of those Egyptians who believed Greek domination was drawing to its end, and

¹ Since writing this article I have met the remarks of Oswyn Murray on Diodorus in *JEA* 56, 141–71. His attitude appears much as mine—one of cautious approval. On p. 154 n. 4, he is inclined to accept the claim of Diodorus (3. 38. 1) to have based his account of Cush on travellers’ reports and Ptolemaic archival material as well as on earlier writers.

² His cartouche at Semna seems certainly correctly read, and should indicate that Amanislo did repairs to the Taharqa Temple at Semna. However, as Reisner cautiously stated (*SNR* 4, 65), one has no incontestable proof that he brought the lions from Sulb, since a large ‘hawk’-figure and other stone objects were transferred by Pi‘ankhy centuries earlier. However, at the very least, his name should imply significant architectural activities at Napata during his reign.

so encouraged the Theban revolt. Similarly, even if when Arqamani first became active in the Dodecaschoenus he had no aggressive intentions towards the Ptolemies, this easy success must have tempted him on to interfere in Thebes, always a centre of Egyptian nationalism as well as the original home of the worship of Amūn.

Despite the fact that the Cushites sympathized with the lengthy Theban rebellion and Nubian chiefs or officers took part¹ in the last resistance to Ptolemy V in 186 B.C., he does not appear to have retaliated strongly against them. The scanty remains of a temple he built at Kalabsha,² destroyed later by Augustus, show that he reoccupied the Dodecaschoenus as a frontier zone, but do not substantiate the view of Kortzenbeutell (op. cit. 42) that he was the Ptolemy who invaded Nubia with 500 cavalry mentioned by Agatharchides. This seems to me more likely to be Ptolemy VI who also became king as a minor, and is known to have carried out a great invasion, as will be seen below. He apparently came to Philae in 184 B.C. with his wife and child, but seems to have been content to reorganize the government of Upper Egypt by the creation of an *epistrategus* as military and civil governor of Upper Egypt to prevent native risings (suggested by E. Bevan, op. cit. 280–1). There is no sign that he even tried to restore the early Ptolemaic ascendancy in Cush. Instead, from 183–181 B.C. he spent his time plotting with Greeks dissatisfied with increasing Roman influence, but died or was murdered before his plans came to anything.

There seems little doubt from the form of his titles that Adikhalamani who built the Temple of Dabod was one of the immediate successors of Arqamani (Reisner, *JEA* 9, 75; Hintze, *Die Inschriften*, 15 *contra* Roeder, *ZÄS* 63, 126–42). There is, however, a persistent doubt whether he ruled between 207–186 B.C., or later after the death of Ptolemy V, when during the long minority and civil troubles of his son (180–163), Cushite power may again have reached Philae. I cannot see the reason for the supposition of Wenig (op. cit. 8) that Ptolemy VI carried out his extensions to the Adikhalamani temple in 175/4 the year of his marriage, and therefore the reign of Adikhalamani was earlier than this. The only temple repair known to have been carried out in Egypt during the regency of his mother was a wooden gate at Edfu done about 177/6 (Bevan, op. cit. 292–3), and after her death (174/3); there were so many palace intrigues, Seleucid attacks, Egyptian rebellions, quarrels between Ptolemy VI and his brother, later to be Ptolemy VIII, and finally Roman diplomatic interventions, that it appears most unlikely that any temples could have been built in distant Nubia before 163 B.C. Also probably his additions at Dabod were an aspect of his policy of conquering and settling Lower Nubia, like his temple building at Ajuala. This policy first seems to emerge in 158/7 when in his twenty-fourth year he dedicated the Dodecaschoenus to Isis (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, IV, pl. 27; Budge, *History of Egypt*, VIII, 38).

If Cushite power reappeared in northern Nubia and Adikhalamani built the Dabod temple between 175–165 B.C., this would explain why Ptolemy VI had to complete his father's work in the south by seizing for Isis eventually not only the Dodecaschoenus,

¹ M. Alliot, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 29 (1951), 435–8; P. W. Pestman, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 40 (1965), 168, and J. Desanges, op. cit. (1970), 39.

² H. Gauthier, *Temple de Kalabchah*, Blocks 216, 328, 329, and 343.

but the whole of Lower Nubia (the Triacostaschoenus). Roeder seems correct in arguing (*Der Tempel von Dakke*, 7–8) that Adikhalamani by rebuilding the temple of Dabod probably on the site of an older New-Kingdom temple, intended to provide Amūn his national god, already worshipped at Ibrīm further south, with a suitable residence to share with Isis the leading role amongst the deities of the Dodecaschoenus. However, Ptolemy VI, when he enlarged the building, was uncompromising in his Greek dedication text in attributing Dabod ‘to Isis and the associated gods’, at once recognizing her increasing dominance over the old gods of the cataracts and Osiris, and preventing the further spread of Meroitic Amūn-worship.

All writers on the Ptolemaic state (e.g. Bevan, *op. cit.* 293–5) and on Lower Nubia (e.g. Griffith, *Catalogue*, I, 3; Desanges, *op. cit.* (1970), 39–40) have recognized that the reign of Ptolemy VI marks the highest point of Ptolemaic interest and power in Nubia, but it is now possible to give more details. The first point to make, with Griffith, is that under the latter part of the reign of Ptolemy VI Egyptian military activity was no longer limited to the Dodecaschoenus, but extended throughout Lower Nubia, and included the whole of the much larger and rather mysterious region of the Triacostaschoenus. In Papyrus Strassburg 95 of 145 B.C. Boethus the *epistrategus* is called ‘the chief captain of the bodyguard’ (an honorary distinction); ‘the founder of the towns of Philometor (Ptolemy VI) and Cleopatra (II) in the Triacostaschoenus’; so conquest was accompanied by settlement.

Griffith long ago showed (*Liverpool Annals* II, 118) that one of these new towns lay at Buhen on the basis of near-by Cyrenean *graffiti* of this date, and considered that another might have been at Dakka. Maciver and Woolley, who excavated Buhen in 1909, noted that in Napatan times (reign of Taharqa) and under the Meroites the New-Kingdom temple continued in use; a few Meroitic houses stood round it (*Buhen* (text), *Eckley B. Coxe Exptn. to Nubia*, VII, 17). The main Meroitic site (*ibid.* 125–8) produced two Ptolemaic coins, one of Ptolemy II, one of the last Cleopatra. Much of the pottery was similar to the late Meroitic Karanog painted style (the term ‘Classic Meroitic’ of Adams is unsuitable, since this pottery is very rare in Kabushiyya, and very late) (*ibid.* 135), but the large quantity of black hand-made pottery with incised dotted lines (*Buhen* (Plates), VIII, pl. 69) seemed to them, doubtless rightly, of earlier date. The very early archaic Meroitic *graffito* in the temple, M.I. 86, shows that Buhen passed from the Ptolemies well before the end of the second century B.C. (? 140–130 B.C.). The discovery of Ptolemaic weapons and coins (made by J. Vercoutter, reported by Desanges, *op. cit.* 50) at Mirgissa commanding the Second Cataract confirms that for a while the Meroites were driven right out of Lower Nubia. In this context one should mention the Meroitic site 6–G–9 opposite Halfa, recognized by G. W. Hewes (*Kush* 12, 179) as Meroitic of the Ptolemaic period by pottery and carbon-dating, and discussed previously by myself in *JEA* 53, 109. The photographs of some of the pottery now available¹ establish that it belongs to an earlier phase of Meroitic development than

¹ F. C. Lister, *Ceramic Studies of the Historic Periods of Nubia*, University of Utah, Dept. of Anthropology. *Anthropological Papers*, 86 [Nubian Series, 2], (University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, March, 1967), pl. 23 a–d.

is commonly found in Lower Nubia and is closely similar to that of the middle levels at Kabushiyya (? Late Napatan to second century B.C.). Very probably this site, therefore, passed out of use before or because of the invasion of Philometor.

A number of texts in Philae published by H. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Vienna, 1958), tend to show that the new towns of Ptolemy VI were largely on the sites of the disused settlements of the New Kingdom. This was very wise, as they were well situated for defence against the warlike Beja tribes and to control the important goldmines of Wadi Allaqi which with others in Wadi Hammamat and the Eastern Desert were probably in use at this time. Doubtless they were on the usual cleruchy pattern long established in Egypt, and accepted in the Fayyum by Ptolemy II, though he only followed the existing practice and did not bring in a new idea (Diodorus, 1. 73. 7-9). Lower Nubia would have been an almost empty land of great developmental promise if the *saqiya*, which Diodorus (1. 34) says was invented by Archimedes, but which, according to B. G. Trigger, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*, 123 originated in Iraq, was becoming widely used in Egypt. Diodorus describes it as occurring everywhere in the Delta at the time of his visit in 60-59 B.C., but does not say when it became frequent, or that it was not used also in Upper Egypt. Slightly later than this Agatharchides, writing in the reign of Ptolemy VIII (quoted by Diodorus, 3. 12. 1-14), described with horrific detail the sufferings of the unfortunates, often political prisoners, sent to work in the Ptolemaic mines, some probably in Nubia.¹ Mr. A. J. Mills kindly informs me that the mines of the Second Cataract and the Batn-el-Hajjar were not reopened by the Ptolemies or Meroïtes; only New Kingdom pottery occurs there.

The first list (H. Junker, op. cit., figs. 151-2) shows Ptolemy VI giving *hh* to Osiris and Isis. Behind them come a file of town deities led by the antique 'Horus of Buhen, great god, hunter of the enemies of his father, lord of Biga, striker of all lands which fight against Egypt', then 'Horus of *Bg* (Kubbân), great god, lord of the East, who repels enemies coming from the eastern desert and protects his father', then 'Horus of Miam (Aniba), great god, lord of the mountain land who fights the foes coming in the mountain', then 'Horus of *Mhyt*, great god, lord of the . . . land, whose fear is in the heart of the foreign lands, watching over his father Osiris'. Finally comes Heḳat. 'The great one of Buhen' is also mentioned as a composite god (ibid., fig. 109) with the attributes of all the Nubian Horuses: '(Words said by) the great one of Buhen, whose temple is at Miam, whose throne is at Baki, whose divine image is at Bigeh (Senmet), whose "wife" is Satis of Elephantine.' The implication is that in typical Ptolemaic syncretistic fashion all the town Horuses were only aspects of the one god Horus of the Osirian triad as represented in the Edfu theology chasing the manifestations of Seth south out of Egypt. The second text definitely gives the impression that, as one would expect, Buhen, Aniba (doubtless including the key fortress of Ibrîm on the east bank), and Kubbân at the entrance to Wadi Allaqi were the most important centres in Lower Nubia as reconstituted by Ptolemy VI.

This, like so much in archaeology, is a matter of putting together scattered threads

¹ Mr. A. J. Mills, who is making a special study of ancient gold-mining, points out to me that the location of the mines mentioned by Agatharchides is not clearly specified.

of evidence of uneven value, but the written and archaeological evidence together show that Ptolemy VI intended the permanent acquisition and settlement of Lower Nubia. Probably this expansion southward occurred because fear of the Romans restrained him from turning north towards the Hellenistic world. Most likely he consolidated his frontier when he first visited Philae, and began the advance southwards from 158 B.C. (his second visit to Philae), when he may have sent five hundred horsemen against Cush, as seen above. However, in 148–145 he probably delegated the south to Boethus the *epistrategus* to invade Syria personally like his ancestors, when the compound troubles of the Romans with Carthaginians, Macedonia, and Corinth left him freer to take strong action.

Other Philae texts (*ibid.*, figs. 155–9) claim that the whole of Cush, including Napata and Meroë, was paying tribute for Ptolemy VI to Isis. Philometor and Cleopatra II his wife lead a long procession of personalized districts bringing gifts: (1) Bigga brings milk; (2) Buhen brings *smr*; (3) *Ta-Wadjet* brings malachite (the region of Batnel-Hajjar?); (4) P-nubs¹ (Tebo) in Argo Island brings green eye-paint (*s-w;d-tp*); (5) Missing (? Kawa); (6) Patanat brings *bqs*; ivory is brought by Ptolemy; (7) Napata brings gold (Ptolemy in the accompanying text also brings gold and makes the Nubians (*Nhsy*) bring baskets of gold—this evidently refers to the gold-bearing region upstream from Napata around the Fourth Cataract and Abu Hamed); (8) Meroë (*Miwst*) brings lapis-lazuli and many other precious stones; (9) *Ph-Knst* (literally ‘the backside of Nubia’) brings *ms-dmt*. On the east wall opposite various towns doubtless also running from north to south *Hwt-hntt* (? Ajuala, a temple on the east bank just south of Kalabsha, founded by Ptolemy VI), Kubbân, Aniba, or Ibrîm, *Mhyt*, *Nhr*, and *Itfyt* also bring similar gifts. The latter three towns are more obscure than those of the preceding list. They may have been on the east bank and soon perished from the hostility of the Beja tribes.

It is of course difficult to assess how far these texts are historically accurate, but, since one has now to accept that the conquest of Lower Nubia occurred, it is very probable that in the process the Meroïtes were heavily defeated and had to pay tribute for a few years. Such an incursion deep into the Sudan would provide a sensible explanation of the reappearance of elephants in the army of Ptolemy VI when he invaded Syria. It is difficult to accept that his elephants were survivors from the battle of Raphia seventy years before, as Desanges suggests (*op. cit.* 41–2). Not only were the African elephants too unhappy to breed in captivity, but also did not live long, as can be seen from the rapid decrease in the numbers available to Ptolemy IV, though his father and grandfather, and perhaps he himself, had imported great quantities (*cf.* Desanges, *op. cit.* 37 and 41–6). Some Ptolemaic activity continued in the Red Sea, but Desanges argues that the desert road to Coptos increasingly favoured instead of Berenice was not suitable for the slow (and hungry) columns of elephants.

The defeat by Ptolemy VI evidently resulted from the age-old difficulty of a kingdom

¹ The identification of *P-nubs* with Tebo advocated strongly by Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, 1, Introduction, xiv–xv, now seems confirmed by the recent excavations of Professor Maystre. See H. Jaquet-Gordon, *JEA* 55, 103–11.

centred far away in the Sudan having to resist a powerful enemy with short communication lines to Aswan. Small and remote frontier-garrisons would inevitably be annihilated, as happened in the time of Aspelta, and again when the Romans attacked in 23 B.C. However, Cush was vast, and there is no sign that Ptolemy VI lastingly weakened Meroitic power in its heartland or at Napata any more than Ptolemy II had done early in the third century B.C. Possibly indeed as the result of the attack the Meroïtes merely redoubled their efforts to dominate northern Nubia in the second half of the second century B.C. Wenig (op. cit. 23) notes, probably correctly, 'I think the building of pyramids at Jebel Barkal in the first century is to be associated with the observed active northern policy of Meroë, which culminated in the onslaught on Elephantine and Aswan' (of 25 B.C.). If one is looking for signs of instability in Cush as the result of the victories of Ptolemy V and VI, one may note that both N. 9 and N. 10, which may follow N. 7 of Arqamani are small. (The sequence N. 9, N. 10, N. 8 is enthusiastically argued by Wenig, op. cit. 4-5, though he does not altogether crush the argument of Reisner (*JEA* 9, 48) that this attractive site remained available until the first century A.D., because the position was occupied by a pre-Meroitic tomb, N. X-1.) The superstructure and burial-chambers of pyramid N. 9 were completed and the coffin-bench decorated, but the chapel was never decorated with the official processional scenes (probably the seated incomplete royal figure and the hawk on the opposite chapel wall were added unofficially). In N. 10 the chapel was decorated, but the pyramid and burial-chambers were hardly begun, and most of the stone of the building was stolen from older tombs (? on the same site or in the South Cemetery with texts in Egyptian semi-hieroglyphic). Such wholesale theft of stone does not seem to occur in other pyramids before West 3 and N. 17 and 18, which doubtless contributed to the idea of Reisner that this grave belongs to the first century A.D.

In any case this postulated period of weakness did not last long, and pyramids N. 8, 11, 12, and 13 were all of great size and lavish decoration, indicating unusual prosperity, as were many tombs in the West Cemetery belonging to non-reigning princes of the second and first centuries B.C., e.g. W. 17, 19, 18, and 5. This was the time also of the cultural emancipation of Cush, thanks to the introduction of the Meroitic writing systems which seem first to occur in unofficial *graffiti* at Musawwarât (unpublished), Kawa, Buhen (M.I. 86), and Sulb (M.I. 79), but were quite soon accepted for writing royal names, as at Temple F at Nagaa of Shanakdakhētē (Hintze, *Studien*, pls. 3 and 4). The funerary texts of W. 17, 19, and 18 belong by form between the middle of the second century B.C. and the reign of Tañyidamani, who in my view was probably buried in *Bej.* N. 12 or *Bej.* N. 13. N. 8 had good texts in Egyptian giving the name of the queen Nahirqa, though that of the king is unfortunately lost (Griffith, *Meroitic Inscriptions*, 1, 76). Wenig (op. cit. 8-9 and pl. 1 a-b) illustrates blocks he found recently in N. 16 showing parts of a complete five-fold Pharaonic titulary closely similar to that of Arqamani. The blocks came from the front of a chapel pylon, which Wenig feels must be N. 8, since N. 9, 10, and 11 have standing pylons. As Dr. Macadam kindly suggests to me, the blocks might well come from N. 7 which also has no pylon remaining, though the Horus name of Arqamani inside is different. Such variations, as seen

above, were very common in the Napatan period. Unfortunately, Wenig does not refer to the colour and cutting of the stone, which should provide decisive evidence for N. 7 or 8, since they appear quarried from different areas. The official texts of N. 11 were in residual Egyptian of a very poor quality, but there are unofficial *graffiti* (M.I. 51-4) roughly scrawled on and between a procession of sacred cattle in the second room of the funerary chapel and on the pylon (a large unpublished text) in archaic Meroitic. These were presumably made after her death, since the pylon was built on the stair-fill (Dunham, *R.C.K.* IV, 72), but the pottery fragments in the chambers (21-3-369) inscribed in Egyptian Demotic and Meroitic were evidently written before her burial. Thereafter Meroitic became general even for large inscriptions like that of Tañyidamani at Napata, though Akinidad and Amanirenas used pseudo-Egyptian on the door texts of the Sun-Temple, and there was a brief artificial revival of real Egyptian in the first century A.D. under Natakamani and Amanitēre.

However much one thinks of social and economic factors as the ultimate determinants of historical events, in the ancient oriental or Hellenistic monarchy the king formed the chief or even the sole focus¹ of national unity or energy, or a source of confusion and weakness. When there was a disputed succession, the state itself was enfeebled. The revival of Ptolemaic power in adverse conditions by Ptolemy VI between 163 and 145 B.C. was a tribute to his personal character and patient determination which compelled admiration even from Marcus Cato the Censor (Bevan, *op. cit.* 301), who was certainly the last man to be easily impressed by foreign kings. However, the tough old Greek historian Polybius, who doubtless knew him personally, was less sure (Book 39. 18), writing, 'a man who, according to some, deserved great praise and abiding remembrance, according to others the reverse. He never put any of his friends to death on any charge whatsoever.' Polybius thought him too soft for his demanding job, and unduly indolent after initial successes. By any reckoning, however, his brother Ptolemy VIII was much inferior, a despot cruel to his own family, unable to inspire loyalty in the Alexandrians or to win any respect from visiting Roman notables. When Ptolemy VI died in Syria his army disintegrated, and after Ptolemy VIII murdered his nephew to seize the throne, most of the generals fled abroad to plot against him. Eventually in 131-128 he became locked in civil war with his own sister (-wife) Cleopatra II. Only at the end of his life (about 118 B.C.) did he recognize the need for national forgiveness and unity.

Nevertheless, the government of Upper Egypt and the Dodecaschoenus by Boethus and Herodes went on uninterruptedly; the mines described by Agatharchides, which might have been in Nubia, continued to be worked. *OGIS* 130 shows that Herodes had been promoted in status by Ptolemy VIII who made additions to the temples of Dakka and Dabod, as well as extensive work at Philae (Bevan, *op. cit.* 324-5). A scene from the Great Pylon at Philae (Junker and Winter, *Das Geburtshaus der Isis*, photo 937) shows

¹ Of course most kings were very ordinary men carried along by events rather than influencing them, but one has only to look at the careers of Artaxerxes III, Philip of Macedon, and Alexander the Great, Antiochus III, IV, and VIII (Sidetes) and Ptolemy VI to see that a king who was in any way outstanding could produce surprising energy even from a moribund state.

him giving 'truth' to Thoth of P-nubs' (here Dakka). *OGIS* 137-9, dating to approximately 120-117 B.C., contain a petition and a subsequent exemption granted to the priests of Philae freeing them from the obligation to entertain royal officials or army officers going south (Bevan, *op. cit.* 322-3). On the other hand there is no further mention of Meroë or the Triacontaschoenus, so it is reasonable to believe that Ptolemaic suzerainty there ended with the death of Philometor. The unique victory scene of *Bej. N. 11* (Chapman and Dunham, *RCK* III, pl. 8 D) showing a line of prisoners long recognized as Ptolemaic Greeks and Egyptians is likely to commemorate the liberation struggle. The Buhen *graffito* (M.I. 86) shows clearly that Buhen (and therefore obviously Mirgissa) fell to them long before the end of the second century B.C., and very recent discoveries including archaic Meroitic *graffiti* and Ptolemaic coins, made by Professor J. M. Plumley excavating at Ibrîm for the Egypt Exploration Society (announced at a meeting of the Society in July, 1969) indicate that this major fortress controlling the southern entrance to the desert road from Elephantine to Tumas, and indeed the whole middle portion of Lower Nubia, had been taken over by Meroë and strengthened by 100 B.C., and its character as a major holy-place of Amanap¹ had been further developed. Faras does not appear on the lists of Ptolemy VI, but evidently quite early became the main administrative centre for the Meroïtes, and the seat² of the *pesates* or 'viceroys' from the late first century B.C. to the early second A.D. (as is rendered probable by Faras 43 and 21). Griffith is probably right in attributing the graves where many of the burials wear heavy anklets to the first stage of this settlement, since the royal chapel reliefs at Meroë show these were widely worn by ladies from the third to the early first century B.C. The Meroïtes and the Ptolemies were the first who had tried for centuries to establish a substantial settled population in Lower Nubia—and even during the Meroitic heyday in the early third century A.D. the number of people living in the far north was still quite small, but the basic pattern of settlement in fertile and strategic areas was already taking shape in the initial stage of the first century B.C.

Several later Ptolemaic texts after Euergetes II mention the gift of the Dodecaschoenus to Isis, and most of the kings up to Ptolemy XII Auletes (died 51 B.C.) continued to do minor works in the northernmost part of the region at Philae and Dabod, but very probably even Dakka and Kalabsha slipped from their hands by the end of the first reign of Soter II in Egypt (116-107 B.C.). His minor activity at Kalabsha is unlikely to belong to his second reign (89-80 B.C.), since at that time he was having the greatest difficulty in crushing an Egyptian rebellion at Thebes (cf. F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of*

¹ This attribution of the main temple of Ibrîm to Amanap is based on the many texts of Karanog which refer to the *belêlêke* of Amanap of Pedeme (? Ancient Egyptian *pꜣ dmi* = the town = Latin *Primis*) as the most senior priests of this region, comparable in dignity with the *belêlêke* of Amanap at Napata itself. There are also many other priests of Amanap or Amûn mentioned in the Karanog collection. Mr. A. J. Mills kindly informs me that when the temple was excavated it produced no evidence to show which deity was worshipped there.

² Karanog, Tumas, and the region of Ibrîm appear, according to the monuments, not to have become the main seat of civil and religious administration and the residence of the *peshtê* until the late 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D. when the Romano-Egyptian connection was increasingly taking over from the declining power of Meroë. For the important desert road between Tumas or Aniba and Elephantine see A. E. Weigall, *Travels in the U-E. Desert* (Blackwood, 1909), 183-4.

the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus, 1, 3 and Bevan, op. cit. 338). It is worth noting that Strabo, describing the war between the Romans and the Meroïtes of 25–21 B.C. (17. 1. 53) calls Dakka an 'Ethiopian' city, so evidently they had established their claim to rule in this area.

However, it would be incorrect to think of relations as being continually unfriendly between Alexandria and Meroë in the Late Ptolemaic period. Certainly there are likely to have been few battles, since both sides could seldom spare significant forces to operate at the extremities of their states. The later Ptolemies must clearly have felt far more threatened by the approach of Rome, which gained Libya in 96 B.C., conquered Syria and Palestine in 64–63 B.C., and annexed Cyprus in 58 B.C. By this time Ptolemy XII was no more than a puppet ruler, who needed to be restored by Roman arms in 54 B.C. As Reisner recognized (*MFAB* 21, 25 ff.), there are some finds from pyramids *Bej.* N. 12 and 13 (? 120–75 B.C.), from W. 20 (? 100 B.C.) and from N. 2 (? 75–40 B.C.) of Hellenistic or Ptolemaic-Egyptian origin, which might be diplomatic presents to the Meroïtes, indicating that relations fluctuated. The economic isolation of Cush was thus not as complete as one might infer from the rapid decay of knowledge of the Egyptian language after N. 8. This was rather a by-product of the development of the Meroïtic script. One could also point out that Greek-style amphorae, presumably imported from Egypt full of wine, do not occur in the earlier Bejrawia or Barkal tombs, but begin with N. 8. They are found in N. 8 (several types—long- and short-handled), N. 11 (one), N. 13 (several types), and N. 2 (one base). Barkal 3 (several types), 5, 6, and 9 also produced evidence of trade with Egypt, as well as possibly indicating the growth of a small Cushite wine industry. The royalties seem thus to have developed a strong taste for foreign wine which survived all the exigencies of war and politics.

Cleopatra VII (51–30 B.C.), the daughter of Ptolemy XII, learnt the art of politics in a very hard school and managed to postpone the fall of the dynasty by making herself available to the Roman generals Caesar and Marcus Antonius, but in the end Octavian ended her rule and took Egypt into the expanding Roman empire as his personal possession because of its great wealth and strategic significance. As Bevan noted (op. cit. 370–1), during this transitional period between Ptolemaic and Roman rule Callimachus, the *epistates* of the Theban region, showed an unexampled degree of independence of the court at Alexandria which was wholly preoccupied with the Roman situation, and Griffith pointed out (op. cit. 3) that the whole of Nubia as far as Aswan may have been controlled by the Meroïtes, since the name of Cleopatra is not found at Philae or in the Dodecaschoenus (though a coin of hers was found at Buhen, as seen above). Professor J. Leclant (*Kush* 5, 99) shows, following Alliott, and Sauneron and Yoyotte in *BIFAO* 50 (1952), 178 and 194, that there was a long-standing hostility to Cush reflected in the Ptolemaic mythology of Edfu (and one might add even more strongly in the Second Setem Story) where the southland was regarded as the refuge of the wicked god Seth. 'The menace of the south' may have been unusually threatening in the first century B.C. when the Ptolemaic Dynasty had lost all its old power and prestige.

The coming of the Romans to Egypt and Nubia will be a convenient point to terminate this study, since it marks a major cultural landmark. The Ptolemies based in

Egypt had maintained a certain degree of reality in the concept of Pharaonic monarchy, and had been conquered by Egyptian ideas as much as they had succeeded in Graecizing Egypt, but under the Romans the Greeks, long the ruling class, became secondary administrators, and the Egyptian priesthood, treated with deference by the Ptolemies, lost much of their wealth and political and cultural significance. As a result despite the great religious tolerance of the Romans and the preservation of Egypt as a special and separate political entity, Pharaonic civilization soon began to die, and Graeco-Roman and Asiatic ideas made considerable headway, preparing the way for the early Christianization of the country and the Coptic phase of Egyptian, written largely in Greek letters. In a way both in Europe and Egypt the reign of Augustus marks the beginning of the Middle Ages, though older tendencies such as Roman republicanism and Pharaonic 'divine' monarchy put up a long, and not altogether unsuccessful fight for survival.

Because of reasonably friendly relations with the Romans, after initial clashes had led to the creation of a fixed frontier at Maḥarraqa, and the decline of specifically Pharaonic influences, Meroë gradually became infected with a new style of Mediterranean ideas, and met new kinds of pottery, glass vessels and other facets of cosmopolitan Roman culture which filtered in mainly through Alexandria, as is very clear in such Late Meroitic sites as Karanog and Sadenga. J. Leclant comments on the latter (*CRAIBL* (1970), 276), that three phrases could be an affirmation of good and loyal services, affirming the devotion of the deceased towards 'his governor', 'the king', and 'the god'. He goes on, 'Such was the social and religious ideal of a dignitary of the third century A.D. in the capital, hitherto almost unknown, of a province of the Meroitic Empire, a little African principality reached by abundant influences from Egypt and Alexandria' (translated).

I hope one day to treat further the reasons for the decline of Meroë, which I have previously touched upon in *JEA* 53, although it is always very difficult to reach a consensus even in such well-documented cases as the fall of the Roman Empire. One might here comment briefly too that it is impossible to deny the general interpretation of Reisner, based on the Bejrawia North and West Cemeteries, that royal tombs declined quite rapidly in size and, more important, in materials and construction, from the mid second century A.D., and somewhat less quickly in the goods buried with the rulers. It also seems that after the building of the pseudo-Roman-Corinthian kiosk at Nagaa (? in the first half of the second century A.D.), Meroitic activity in the Butana almost ceased. The basic trouble may have been that the empire had altogether overstretched its limited resources and become so vast and unwieldy that destructive centrifugal tendencies were sure to appear. When the more remote provinces, especially Lower Nubia, became rich and developed their own cultural characteristics, most obviously their pottery styles very differently from that current at Meroë, the economic basis of the centre was bound to be undermined. It is noteworthy that throughout the long period of the prosperity and power of the kingdom of Dongola in the Middle Ages, Alwa apparently continued to be backward and insignificant, and only the ruin of the Dongolese in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries paved the way for the rise of the Funj as the most important Sudanese kings. The *peshtē*-viceroys were soon able to

become autonomous and semi-hereditary. Possibly at about the same time the Mediterranean market for the chief products of southern Cush, ivory, ebony, incense, and wild animals, fell off as the Romans found new sources of supply in Africa or India. It is impossible that the decline of Meroë can have been due, directly or indirectly, to the war with the Romans of 25–21 B.C., since the reigns of Amanishakhetē and Natakamani were still very prosperous and active, and the most economically developed part of Cush in Late Meroitic times was Lower Nubia around Ibrīm and Dakka which had suffered most from the Roman attack some centuries earlier.

Conclusions

Sometimes the Ptolemies are credited with doing much more than they really achieved in reviving 'the vital forces' of Egypt (e.g. by M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt*, 3–5). Basically it was already a strong, rich, and powerful monarchy under the Thirtieth Dynasty, which several times successfully repelled the entire might of the Persian Empire, as well as building on a magnificent scale. To some extent the attempt to exploit the land along greedily commercial¹ lines through Greek agents, though temporarily very successful, only laid the seeds of future trouble by tending to increase the habitual oppression of the native Egyptian agricultural population, despite the self-interested attempts of the kings to restrict unsupportable exploitation. The Cushites were more fortunate not to be colonized by an alien ruling class, so that their state which was already moderately prosperous under Ḥarsiotef and Nastaseñ, was able to absorb Greek and Ptolemaic-Egyptian ideas more slowly and comfortably. Foreign craftsmen doubtless played some part in the achievements of the third century B.C., but they appear to have been very few after the end of the reign of Arqamani, and even earlier apparently took little share in creating the highly impressive and original Great Enclosure at Musawwarât in the third century.

Cush under Aspelta and even more under the Later Napatans (cf. Haycock, *SNR* 49, 1–16) witnessed a curious compound of Pharaonic and local ideas and customs, but the emergence of the Meroitic language and style of dress on the monuments in Ptolemaic times in the third to second centuries B.C. gave their culture a more clear-cut identity, and a greater degree of self-respect. All this was achieved despite, or possibly because of, a periodic state of war with the Ptolemies from Ptolemy II, and especially from the last years of Ptolemy IV–Ptolemy X, and the major invasions of Ptolemy II and VI. The size and elaborate decoration of the pyramids from Arqamani to Amanishakhetē, and more particularly from N. 8 to N. 13, show this was the zenith of Meroitic power, as do the many buildings of this epoch in Meroë and its hinterland, including the Temple of Amūn at Meroë, the 'Augustus-head' temple, the 'Sun' Temple or

¹ Oswyn Murray, *JEA* 56, 141–71, discussing Hecataeus of Abdera, brings out well, especially on pp. 166–9, that at first Ptolemy I employed Egyptians in important positions and tried to follow authentic Egyptian traditions and to appear a genuine Pharaoh, just as Alexander had done. However, in the end (mainly under the less sagacious Ptolemy II in my view) the natives were pushed aside when the Greeks were firmly in control, and it seemed that new schemes for rural development could be implemented only by creating a large alien class of commercial *entrepreneurs*.

victory shrine of Amanirenas and Akinidad, and the Isis Temple of Meroë. The buildings at El Aleim, Basa, Umm Usuda, and the picture of king Shērekarēr at Jebel Jeili prove that the vast lands of the west Butana were under complete Meroitic control in the first century B.C. to A.D.¹

¹ I should like to thank Mr. A. J. Mills for kindly reading through the text and suggesting a number of additions and emendations.

[*Addendum.* Page 240 note 1 needs qualification in the light of J. M. Plumley, *JEA* 56, 14-16. This very late temple of Amani-yes-bēkhe seems dedicated to Apedemak. The Karanog texts mention no Apedemak priests, but Arminna stelae 1 b and 2 show that in the fourth century they outshone those of Amanap in Lower Nubia.]

EINE NEUE ELEFANTENGOTT-DARSTELLUNG AUS DEM SUDAN

Von INGE HOFMANN

WÄHREND meines Aufenthaltes im Sudan im Jahre 1970, der mir durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft ermöglicht wurde, sah ich an der östlichen Außenwand des Tempels 300 in Musawwarat es Sufra einen Graffito, dessen Publikation Herr Professor Dr. Fritz Hintze mir freundlichst gestattet. Er befindet sich an der Tempelwand 304-0/301 und trägt die Archivnummer 304/1.

Auf einem Würfelhocker sitzt ein dickbäuchiges Tier mit kurzem Unterkörper; mit den schwächtigen Beinen erreicht es nicht einmal die Standlinie des Hockers. Der Kopf mit dem langen Rüssel läßt mit Sicherheit auf einen Elefanten oder wenigstens doch auf ein Wesen mit einem Elefantenkopf schließen. Natürlich darf dieses von ungeübter Hand eingeritzte Sekundärbild nicht mit einer der von Künstlern geschaffenen Elefantendarstellungen aus Musawwarat es Sufra verglichen werden. So fehlen die sonst üblichen großen Ohren, die offensichtlich nur durch das kleine ausgebrochene Stück am Kopf angedeutet waren. Das Tier hat keine Stoßzähne, doch ist auch bei den Elefanten auf der Westwand des Löwentempels von Musawwarat nur ein Zahn vorhanden.¹ Vor dem Elefanten und anscheinend von ihm gehalten, befindet sich eine Tafel, die möglicherweise als Schreibgerät gedeutet werden kann. Gegenüber dem dickbäuchigen Tier hockt auf der Tafel ein kleines Tier mit spitzem Kopf, aufrecht stehenden Ohren und einem langen Schwanz, der den linken Arm des Elefanten schneidet und parallel zur Tafel herabhängt. Man könnte dieses kleine Tier als Maus interpretieren. Das wichtigste Merkmal der Darstellung ist eine Sonnenscheibe mit Uräusschlange auf dem Kopf des Elefanten, der dadurch, gemäß der ägyptischen und meroitischen religiösen Tradition, als Gott bezeichnet wird (Tafel XLII).

Ein Elefantengott fehlt in der ägyptischen und der meroitischen Staatsreligion. Nur die Elefantenstatuette aus Wad Ban Naga² läßt die Vermutung zu, daß dieses Tier in gewissen meroitischen Volkskreisen eine verehrungswürdige Rolle spielte. Andere Darstellungen wie im Löwentempel von Musawwarat es Sufra zeigen den Elefanten nur als Tragtier eines Gottes, ohne daß er selbst vergöttlicht wurde.

Am Tempel 300 ist nun ein Elefant mit aller Deutlichkeit als Gott dargestellt; mit ihm verbunden sind Dinge, die man als Schreibgerät und Maus identifizieren könnte. Noch eindeutiger als bei dem Fund aus Wad Ban Naga kann bei unserem Graffito eine Parallele zu dem indischen Elefantengott Gaṇeśa gezogen werden: Gaṇeśa wird als

¹ F. u. U. Hintze, *Alte Kulturen im Sudan* (München, 1967), Abb. 96.

² J. Vercoutter, 'Un Palais des "Candaces" contemporain d'Auguste (Fouilles à Wad-ban-Naga 1958-1960)', *Syria* 39 (1962), Fig. 14.

Gott der Weisheit mit einem Elefantenkopf dargestellt, weil der Elefant als das klügste Tier gilt. Infolge des beständigen Sitzens hat er einen Hängebauch; er ist zwerghaft klein. Er reitet auf einer Maus, was das Eindringen in das Verborgene bezeichnen soll. In Indien wird er mit nur einem Stoßzahn abgebildet, da er den anderen im Kampf mit Rama verlor. Als 'Herr der Hindernisse' angerufen, beseitigt er sie auch, wenn man ihn verehrt.¹ Bei der Darstellung in Musawwarat scheint die Weisheit des Gottes durch das Beifügen der Tafel wohl noch zusätzlich unterstrichen worden zu sein. Der Hängebauch, der zu kleine Unterkörper und auch die Maus bekräftigen die Annahme, daß der Gläubige Gaṇeśa zeichnen wollte.

Es stellt sich allerdings die Frage, ob der Graffito von einem Meroiten, der mit der indischen Mythologie vertraut war oder von einem Inder, dem ägyptische und meroitische Götterdarstellungen bekannt waren, in die Tempelwand eingekratzt wurde. Keine der beiden Möglichkeiten ist auszuschließen; mit ziemlicher Sicherheit aber war es ein Pilger,² der in Musawwarat seinen von ihm besonders verehrten Gott abbildete. Vielleicht war er in Schwierigkeiten geraten und suchte nun beim 'Herrn der Hindernisse' Hilfe.

Abschließend sei noch ein Wort zum Zeitpunkt der Anfertigung gesagt: Der Tempel 300 gehört nach der neuesten Untersuchung³ wohl in die Bauperiode 3, die wie die in einem früheren Bericht⁴ vermutete Periode 1 vorläufig wahrscheinlich in das 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datiert werden muß. Der Graffito an der Außenwand ist demnach jünger und wird wahrscheinlich nicht vor der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. angebracht worden sein. Erst seit dieser Zeit lassen sich indische Einflüsse im meroitischen Reich feststellen, wie an anderer Stelle darzulegen sein wird.

¹ H. Uhle, 'Vetala-Pantschavinsati. Die fünfundzwanzig Erzählungen eines Dämons'. Meisterwerke Orientalischer Literaturen, 9. Bd. (München, 1924), 13; vgl. auch die Anrufungen des Gaṇeśa zu Beginn der jeweiligen Erzählungen S. 37, 44, 74, 82, 100, 111, 126. Zu indischen Gaṇeśa-Darstellungen vgl. C. Sivaramamurti, 'Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography', *Ancient India* No. 6 (1950), 31, Abb. 15.

² Hintze hält Musawwarat für ein Pilgerzentrum, 'wo sich zu bestimmten Zeiten im Jahr viele Menschen versammelten, um ein heiliges Fest zu feiern und ihren Göttern zu opfern'. F. u. U. Hintze, 'Einige neue Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Instituts für Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in Musawwarat es Sufra', *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit* (Recklinghausen, 1970), 50.

³ Hintze, op. cit. 61.

⁴ F. Hintze, 'Musawwarat es Sufra. Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen des Instituts für Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 1963-1966 (vierte bis sechste Kampagne)', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*, Ges.-Sprachwiss. R. 17 (1968), 668 und 679.



GRAFFITO VOM TEMPEL T₃₀₀ IN MUSAWWARAT ES SUFRA

TWO INSCRIBED OBJECTS IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE

By JOHN RAY

THE two objects published here are part of the Egyptian Collections in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. During my visits to the Museum I benefited greatly from the generous and perceptive assistance of the Keeper of Antiquities, Mr. R. V. Nicholls. I am indebted also to Mr. N. C. Rayner and to Miss Christine Insley for their co-operation. The photograph of the decree-case shown in pl. XLIII is provided by courtesy of the Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Museum. I also owe much to the encouragement of my teachers, Prof. J. Martin Plumley, Mr. B. J. Kemp, and Prof. H. S. Smith.

A. A drawing-board with an extract from the Petubastis Cycle

Museum number: E. GA. 4695. 1943; height: 16.3 cm.; width: 11.8 cm.; thickness: 1.9 cm.; material: limestone.

The board was presented to the Museum by Major R. G. ('John') Gayer-Anderson in 1940. No other indication of provenance is given. In its original state the object was perhaps oblong, and was ruled horizontally with boldly incised lines into five approximately equal divisions. There are also traces of a less pronounced vertical line some 8 cm. from the left-hand margin. This may have been intended to divide the surface into something resembling the familiar squares. Whether the original board was ever used for an artist's design is hard to say; certainly an examination under ultra-violet light failed to detect anything of the kind. Across the left-hand edge two holes, about 0.8 cm. in diameter and 6.0 cm. apart, have been drilled into the stone to a depth of some 5.0 cm. These are presumably contemporary with the board's use, although it is difficult to see their purpose.

The main interest of our piece, however, lies in its demotic texts, nine incomplete lines on the recto, and three signs, apparently unconnected, on the verso. The hand is strongly suggestive of the first half of the Ptolemaic period. Over the whole board a varnish was later applied, but not before much of the writing had begun to fade. This may have been a dealer's stratagem, but it has not made the writing any easier to decipher. In the lower left-hand corner part of this varnish, together with the underlying ink, has been chipped away, thus obscuring the final word. Most of the board is lost: how much of the original text is lost with it is difficult to say, but the surviving text is doubtless less than a third of what the scribe wrote. Even this original was probably only an extract from a much longer composition.

Transliteration

A. Recto (see photograph, pl. XLIII, and accompanying facsimile)

1.] *r hpr^a*
2.] *n na Iwnw^b [n] p³ grh*
3. *hr*] *w^c gm:f p³ hpr*
4.] *šm^d iw hrw^e f hy dd in*
5.] *in wn ntr nty^e ky^f [r] p³ Rc*
6.] *. . .^g nb htp. in wn gl-šr*
7.] *it Wsir nsw^h Irt-[n]-Hr-rw in*
8.] *ir-k^j htr^k wn wct mrt (?)^l*
9. *H*] *r^m n Iwnw na T³-hwt (?)ⁿ*

Notes

(a) This line ends here; the faint marks beyond are merely smudges in the varnish.

(b) The reading seems clear, although the writings given in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 24, are not exactly parallel.

(c) Cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 279. The final sign, although resembling the 'animal determinative', could equally serve as a *t*. This use of the Greek *ἑοπτῆ* (cf. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, 84) is interesting in a hand datable to the first half of the Ptolemaic period.

(d) The sublinear stroke is a characteristic feature of this hand; cf. the writings of *nb*, *htp*, and *gl-šr* in line 6 below, and of *Wsir* in line 7. Such strokes are perhaps best interpreted as the individual promptings of the scribe, particularly of an apprentice, rather than as good evidence of locality or date.

(e) On close examination, *nty* seems more probable than *hpr* or the like. This writing of the word points to a rather early date; cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 231. Professor H. S. Smith has suggested the reading [*m-*] *kdt*, 'like', for the entire group which I have rendered *nty ky*, which is very plausible, although a suppression of the introductory *m-* would have to be assumed.

(f) An interesting nuance between the two words for 'high', *ky* here being used in the sense of 'elevated in rank', while *hy* in the line above is used to signify 'raised' (of the human voice).

(g) The determinative is that of the 'seated man' but too little remains to identify the word.

(h) Faint, but discernible.

(j) *Ink* is also possible, but there is no trace of the vertical stroke which normally begins this word (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 36).

(k) The determinative has been obscured by a scribal fingerprint. Although usual with *htr* 'twin' (ϩⲁⲧⲡⲉ), the writing is not unattested for *htr* 'horse' (ϩⲧⲠⲟ) (cf. Sethe-Partsch, *Bürgschaftsurkunden*, 4, 4, in the combination *rmt-htr*). Its use in the verb *htr*, 'compel', is less certain. I have chosen the translation which seems least awkward in the context, but in such a literary composition the others cannot be rejected out of hand.

(*l*) Again faint, and little more than a conjecture. The word can be spelt alphabetically without employing the syllable-sign *mr* (cf. Pap. Krall, xiv, 12), although the determinative is strange. A derivative from *dr* 'strong' is perhaps also possible.

(*m*) The reading *Hr*, 'Syria', is strongly suggested by the determinative. On careful examination it seems that the stroke joining the diagonal *r/l* is in fact merely the end of the preceding *h*, and not the tick which serves to distinguish *l* from *r*. The presence of *l* would furnish useful evidence both of dialect and date, but it is probably to be rejected.

(*n*) Very faint and partially obscured; the preceding word, if indeed it is the generic *na-*, would lead us to expect a place-name, but the reading *T;hwt* is suggested with all reserve. For a discussion of the name, and its identification with the *Naθō* of Herodotus (the modern Tell el-Yahudiyeh) see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 146* ff. The name is prominent in the Petubastis stories, cf. Pap. Krall x, 12; XII, 16, 23; XIV, 15, 25; XXII, 10-11. In the edition of E. Bresciani the word appears as 'Thmuis', which seems implausible: one suspects that the etymology of this last word is connected with *mꜣy* 'island'. Another mention of Natho (this time translated as 'Aphthis') occurs in Pap. Spiegelberg 4, 11, where as usual it is linked with Mendes, Tanis, and Sebennytos.

Translation

1.] about to happen.
2.] to the men of Heliopolis [in] the night
3. feast] He found what had happened
4.] went, his voice being raised, saying, 'Is
5. . . .] ? Is there a god who is higher [than] Prēc?
6.] every [] rest? Is there a warrior
7.] father Osiris King Inaros? Is
8.] you are compelled (?). There is a boat (?)
9. Syria] to Heliopolis [and] Natho (?)'

B. Verso (see facsimile, pl. XLIII A)

dd hpr nty (?)

(These words are written at a slight slope to the edge of the ostrakon, and probably represent scribal practice rather than connected text.)

Observations

Although the remains of this tale are scanty, its connection with the 'Petubastis Cycle' of epics is clear from the mention of 'Osiris King Inaros' in line 7. The speaker, who seems to be a son of King Inaros,¹ is present one night at a feast with the soldiers of Heliopolis. He discovers something surprising, and launches into a tirade of rhetorical questions (lines 4-7). The consequence, however, is elusive. For our detailed knowledge of the cycle we are dependent on texts from the Roman period, such as Papyrus

¹ Possibly Pemû, who generally plays the role of Inaros' son and heir; cf. Pap. Spiegelberg 5, 18; 12, 21; 14, 7, 11, 17; 17, 24, and Pap. Krall, *passim*.

Krall in Vienna, and the additional papyri, also largely in Vienna, which were edited by Spiegelberg.¹ Several other fragmentary tales have since come to light, and a list of these is given by E. Bresciani in her re-edition of the Krall Papyrus.² As far as can be seen, however, the Fitzwilliam drawing-board belongs to none of the published tales, although this does not prevent its sharing many of the characteristics of the rest of the cycle; the martial atmosphere, the place-names in the Eastern Delta (Heliopolis, and possibly Natho), the element of surprise, and the distinctly rhetorical style.

The importance of our text, however, lies not so much in its content, as in the date of its composition. The Papyrus Krall and Spiegelberg texts seem to date only from the end of the second century A.D.³ Even earlier texts, such as Berlin 13640,⁴ are probably little earlier than the first century B.C., which is the date of the Setne papyrus now in Cairo.⁵ The Fitzwilliam text would seem to date at least to the early second century B.C. It may even be slightly older; certainly it must precede the Roman hands by more than three centuries.

This leads us to speculate on the origins of the Petubastis epics. Spiegelberg, in his edition of the texts, was inclined to place their composition at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, and specifically to the reign of Philadelphus.⁶ This conclusion was followed by E. Bresciani in her discussion of themes and contents, where parallel incidents from Homeric sources are quoted.⁷ Both agree that the cycle as we have it is essentially an amalgamation of Greek and Egyptian ideas. An interesting confirmation of this is the large number of Petubastis texts which seem to come from the Fayûm. Papyrus Krall itself, the text in the Michaelides collection (which is a rival to the Fitzwilliam board for recognition as the earliest surviving),⁸ the Carlsberg and Florence Tebtunis Papyri,⁹ all show traces of a Fayûmic dialect.¹⁰ Certainly this part of Egypt, at about the turn of the fourth century, would have provided good conditions for such an epic cycle to be formed. Nevertheless, it is only in the later, Roman, texts that it is possible to detect Homeric influences, and even here such episodes are far outweighed by the non-Greek material. The setting, subject-matter, deities and human *dramatis personae*, even the very modes of expression, when not exotic and fictional, are resolutely Egyptian; and it may be that, confronted with a substantially complete text from an

¹ Cf. J. Krall, *Demotische Lesestücke* (Vienna, 1897), and W. Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis* (Leipzig, 1910), where the Spiegelberg and de Ricci fragments are also published.

² *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros* (Vienna, 1964), 9. The extract from the tale of Neneferkoskar and the Babylonians (Pap. Berlin 13640) is, however, published in *Griffith Studies*, 171, where it is said to have been acquired only in 1929.

³ E. Bresciani (op. cit. 6) confirms the impression that the manuscript of Krall is Roman, without being specific. Volten, *Ägypter und Amazonen* (Vienna, 1962), 3, gives A.D. 200 both for his Amazon texts and the Petubastis papyri with which they are connected.

⁴ Spiegelberg in *Griffith Studies*, 171.

⁵ Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 14.

⁶ *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 10.

⁷ *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 9-15.

⁸ E. Bresciani, *Testi demotici nella Collezione Michaelidis* (Rome, 1963), 4.

⁹ Unpublished. Cf. also the articles by Volten and Botti quoted in E. Bresciani, *Der Kampf um den Panzer*, 11-12.

¹⁰ It might almost be thought that the Fayûmic dialect had become a *sine qua non* for Petubastis stories; the Spiegelberg texts, however, show no trace of it, and were even supposed by their editor to have come from Thebes.

Khonsu in Thebes Neferhotpe is also the most popular instigator of amuletic decrees; cf. Pap. BM. 10251, 10320, Pap. Bibl. Nat. 238 (?), and Cairo 58035. He is also 'joint author' of Turin 1983 and 1985, Louvre 8083, and Pap. Bibl. Nat. 182.

ir·n·f: The use of a *sdm·n·f* here is extremely interesting. In Middle Egyptian (into which, broadly speaking, inscriptions of this type fall) an 'emphatic *sdm·n·f*' (e.g. Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses* §36) would be intended to throw stress on the adverbial adjunct [*n*] *Šꜥꜥ*, although the degree of emphasis would not be enough to justify translation by a *phrase coupée*.

Strict grammar would demand a translation into English as a preterite or present perfect tense. This is quite admissible here, implying as it does that the act of giving the oracle is now finished. Indeed, there seems little need ever to translate the *sdm·n·f* as anything other than a relative past tense. Even the familiar epithets attached to temple scenes, such as *di·n·i n·k tꜣw nbw* or the like, need not be translated as presents (as Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, Chapter VII, would maintain). They refer quite naturally to what has immediately taken place, i.e. the ritual is regarded as accomplished. I believe that the Akkadian perfect has similar uses; cf. Von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*, §80 d).¹

The phrase *ir sꜥ nfr* would seem a good description of the awarding of an amuletic decree by an oracle. Whether *sꜥ nfr* was the technical term for such a decree I do not know. *Sꜥ*, however, does bear the dual notion of 'amulet' and 'protection afforded by an amulet' (*Wb.* III, 414).

[*n*]: Omitted, as with increasing frequency in Late Egyptian and Demotic. The evidence of Coptic shows that it was largely maintained in the spoken language.

Šꜥꜥ: Not known to Ranke, *Personennamen* or Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*. The use of gold for his decree-case suggests that *Šꜥꜥ* was an important personage, perhaps even royal. His lack of a title would be explained if, as with so many of the recipients of these decrees, he was a child (Edwards, op. cit. xvi). Is the name an abbreviation of *Šꜥꜥꜥꜥ*? The use of the 'foreigner' determinative (𓆎) would then be explained. Perhaps *Šꜥꜥ* was a young prince in the family of the Twenty-Second Dynasty, but it is impossible to be more specific.

mꜣꜥ-hrw: Not exclusively applied to the dead; cf. *Wb.* II, 18 (New Kingdom) and for Middle Kingdom examples cf. Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, Stela 28 (p. 69); also Anthes, *JNES* 16, 182 (note *b*). On the original meaning of the term cf. Anthes in *JNES* 13, 21. Indeed, if *Šꜥꜥ* were dead at the time, it would be a rather bad advertisement for the oracle, and one would be driven to assume that he had taken it into the tomb in the hope of a better performance in the next world. The issue of a decree for a dead man, though perhaps conceivable, is not to my knowledge attested, and none of the subjects of the published decrees are qualified with the epithet *mꜣꜥ-hrw*. (Cf. also Edwards, op. cit. xix, and esp. note 2.) Since the word is occasionally used in wishes for a person's wellbeing (*Wb. Belegstellen*, II, 18, 11), the balance of probability is in favour of *Šꜥꜥ*'s being alive.

¹ I owe this observation to Miss Deirdre Bowden of the University of Cambridge.

Epigraphically, the most interesting features are the form of the sign (𓄿) *mdw*; the *nfr*-sign with forked top, the reversal of the two consonant-signs in *hṯp*, and the *š*-sign with four lotuses.

Conclusions

The case was made for the oracular amuletic decree of *Šḥk*. This name, and the known date of one other decree,¹ point to a date in the Twenty-second Dynasty. Contemporary gold-work, with the exception of the material from the royal tombs at Tanis, is scarce and not sufficient to allow more precise dating. The object was probably made at Thebes, which was the centre of the great oracles of the period. Such amulet-cases are rare. Edwards quotes only two examples in leather and one with the heads of Mut and Khonsu in wood.² He does, however, make the observation: 'Very probably the choice of material for the container depended on the financial means and the predilections of the purchaser, and may have included gold.'³ This is amply confirmed by the case from the Fitzwilliam.

¹ Pap. BM. 10730; Edwards, *op. cit.* xiii. The relief work of the early Twenty-second Dynasty has been somewhat overlooked, although it has considerable achievements to its credit; cf. the jewellery published in Montet, *La Nécropole royale de Tanis*, and the slightly later incised reliefs from the tomb of Sheshonq III published in volume III of the same work. Cf. also the delightful article of G. A. D. Tait, 'The Egyptian Relief Chalice' in *JEA* 49 (1963), 93.

² *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, xviii-xix. The 'charm cases' published in Petrie, *Amulets*, 29 and pl. XIX, are hardly similar.

³ *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, xviii.

TWO DEMOTIC MEMORANDA

By E. A. E. REYMOND

1. P. Fitzhugh D. 1 (7·8+20 cm): A farmer's memorandum

P. FITZHUGH D. 1 has preserved a part of a *mkmk*, 'memorandum', of Ptolemaic date which has been recorded, as such documents customarily are, on a narrow strip of papyrus, a *šd n dmr*, 'cutting of papyrus',¹ pale-brown in colour, with dense fibre-texture and coarse surface; its lower portion has been torn away. The remaining sixteen lines of text are written in a small and rounded type of Demotic record hand, traced with care and regularity by a skilled, and probably professional scribe. No traces of writing can be seen on the verso of this papyrus.

The provenance of the document is unknown, and the text scarcely discloses anything to help us in identifying the locality where it may have been written, or date it more closely. The palaeography of this writing shows certain similarity to the hand seen in P.B.M. 10405 (Revillout, *Corpus*, II, pl. 1) which was written about the middle of Ptolemaic times in the neighbourhood of Memphis. In contrast, there appear some features which remind us of the type of Demotic writing seen in the papyri from Siut (Thompson, *FAS*, P.B.M. 10598, 10599, 10600). On the other hand, it does not appear dissimilar from the hand of P. Loeb 7. 8. 15. 16. 21. 26, from Tehne. It follows that this document may have been written in any locality between Memphis and the neighbourhood of Siut about the middle of the Ptolemaic era.

The text is a statement by an Egyptian private individual, a farmer in a small locality, and is addressed to a fellow farmer to enlist his help and intervention in a minor incident which had occurred among farmers in that settlement.

The interest of this brief writing lies in the light it sheds on the procedures which preceded the establishment of a lawsuit. A farmer who is evidently a sub-lessee of another farmer reports to his fellow farmer on a theft which has happened in the fields of which he is in charge by virtue of a borrowing agreement. He invites his lessor to report on it, and to sue the guilty individuals for the theft of the fodder.

The situation here outlined shows what was the legal significance of Demotic documents designated as the *mkmk*: a written evidence which was to provide the background for a petition to be addressed to an authority in legal matters, here concerned with leased lands.²

The writer of this report is said to have been in charge of arable lands described as the *hryt nḥ hbw*, 'feeding-place of the ibises'. There appear in this short writing some points of interest for the administration of these feeding-places of ibises which are not

¹ See *Dem. Ryl.* III, 381; P. Ryl. 9, 1, 19; 2, 1; 3, 10; 4, 2. 4; I Kh. IV, 3-4; P. Loeb, p. xi, and xi n. 1; Erichsen, *Zwei Dem. Briefe*, 9, n. 4 and *Gloss.* 493.

² Cf. below, pp. 262 f. and 265.

infrequently referred to in Demotic contracts.¹ We know from classical sources² that lands were assigned to sanctuaries of sacred birds to provide means for the upkeep of the sanctuary, and the cult which was there performed. In the Demotic texts the feeding-places are always described as boundary parts of more important plots of arable lands which were sub-leased therefrom to be tilled for the benefit of a local shrine of ibises or falcons. The harvest rental due from these lands were contributions to the account of the treasury of these sanctuaries. The fodder which the farmer Orsenūphis in P. Fitzhugh I had to deliver, but was unlawfully carried away, was most probably his *šm*-rental due to the local sanctuary of the ibises.

Transliteration.

(1) *wr mkmk <n>-dt n Wrše-nfr s; Sty (?)* (2) *p; wyr n T;tbhy r dit-st* (3) *n Imn-iw s; S;-Inp p; wyr W;h-ky* (4) *t; hryt n; hbw 'a-ir-k šhn-ty-st n-i* (5) *hn n; ihw n hy* [?'a-ir-w] *šhn n-k* (6) *n p; rd <n> h;st-spt I7 wn n; rmtw* (7) *nty iw 'wd-w <r> iy [r]-hry* (8) *r dit-st nty tw-w t;y p; wre* (9) *r-bnr n h;ty-ty-w kns iw-ir-i* (10) *dit n-k p; mkmk iw-k dit ht-f* (11) *n slwh P;-tw s; Mwsgs* (12) *irm p; sp rmt hpr-f iw-ir-k r* (13) .^[?] *hr n; rmtw rn-w mtw-k dit* (14) *ir-w p; cš n hp (?) n rn-s tw-s* (15) *p; rn n; rmtw rn-w ibd 3 šmw* [. . . ? .] (16) *Kl [?] tr [? ?] trpw s; P;-wr [? . ?]*

The rest is lost.

(Translation)

(1) A reminder from Orsenūphis son of Sety (?), (2) the farmer of *T;-tbhy*, to be submitted (3) to Ameneus, son of Sianubis, the farmer <of> the 'Highland Settlement'. (4) (As to) the feeding-place of the ibises which you have leased to me (5) out of the low-lying fields (?) [which were] leased to you (6) for the 'growth-of-year' 17; there are the individuals (7) who have been [sent] <to> come down (8) to pay it, who have caused the *aracus* to be taken (9) away in their unlawful intent. To you I am to (10) present the reminder while you are to submit its contents (11) in order to convict Patēs son of Moskhos, (12) and the other individuals. If you will (13) .^[?] concerning the men in question, you will cause (14) that they make the summon by law (?) in respect of it. Lo, (there is) (15) the list of the men aforesaid: third month of inundation [. . .] (16) *Kl* [.] *tr* [. . .] *trpw* son of Pwêr [. . .]

The rest is lost.

Commentary

Line 1: wr mkmk n-dt n A r dit-st n B, 'a reminder from A to be given to B', is a customary introduction in Demotic writings addressed by ordinary Egyptian individuals or low-ranking officials to their superiors when seeking their intervention or support in troublesome matters; see for instance: P.B.M. 10599, 1;

¹ Cf. below, pp. 257 ff.

² Cf. Hdt., 2. 65 and Wiedemann, *HZB* 280; 293 f.; Strabo, 17. 811. 12; Diodor. 1. 83-90, and W. Otto, *P.T.* 1, 111; 269; also my *Djed-her-le-Sauveur*, lines 75-82, pp. 113-17.

10600, 1; P. Elephantine 2, 1; 3, 1; P. Cairo 30764, 6; 30976, 1; P. Loeb 53, 1; wooden tablet Zurich 1894, 1-2 (*Or. Suec.* 14, 45).

This designation has been interpreted in two different ways: (a) Spiegelberg, cf. *P. Elephantine*, p. 12, n. (II), took *wr* as the indefinite article, and translated it as 'a memorandum', cf. also *P. Loeb*, p. 85 and n. 2. This seems also to have been the view of Thompson, cf. *FAS*, p. 79.

(b) Sethe, on the other hand, referring to II Kh. 2, 29, and P. Ryl. D. 31, 1, pointed out in *DUB* 294 that *wr* is in this context a noun rather than the indefinite article, and is the technical designation of such a document, cf. the Coptic ⲟϣⲱ, meaning 'news', or 'report', cf. Crum, *CD* 474. This theory seems to be admissible if we recall the wording of the title in P. Ryl. D. 31, 1: *ht pꜣ wr n sh*, 'Copy of the report in writing'. P. Elephantine 1, 2, however, reads *wr bꜣk mꜣmkꜣ*, 'a document (for) considering, reminding', hence 'a memorandum' (ὑπόμνημα). This last wording hardly agrees with Sethe's view, for *bꜣk* is here the designation of the document in question. The occurrence of *mꜣmkꜣ* in line 10 of our text, and the general context, *di n-k pꜣ mꜣmkꜣ*, 'to submit to you the *mꜣmkꜣ*', supports the view that *mꜣmkꜣ* is the actual designation of such a writing, and that this is introduced in the title of the document by an indefinite article; for an analogous use of the indefinite article, see *wr bꜣk*, in P. Loeb, 5, 3, and 19, 54. It also confirms that Spiegelberg was right in equating the Demotic term with the Greek ὑπόμνημα, 'brief communication', 'memorandum', or 'petition'.

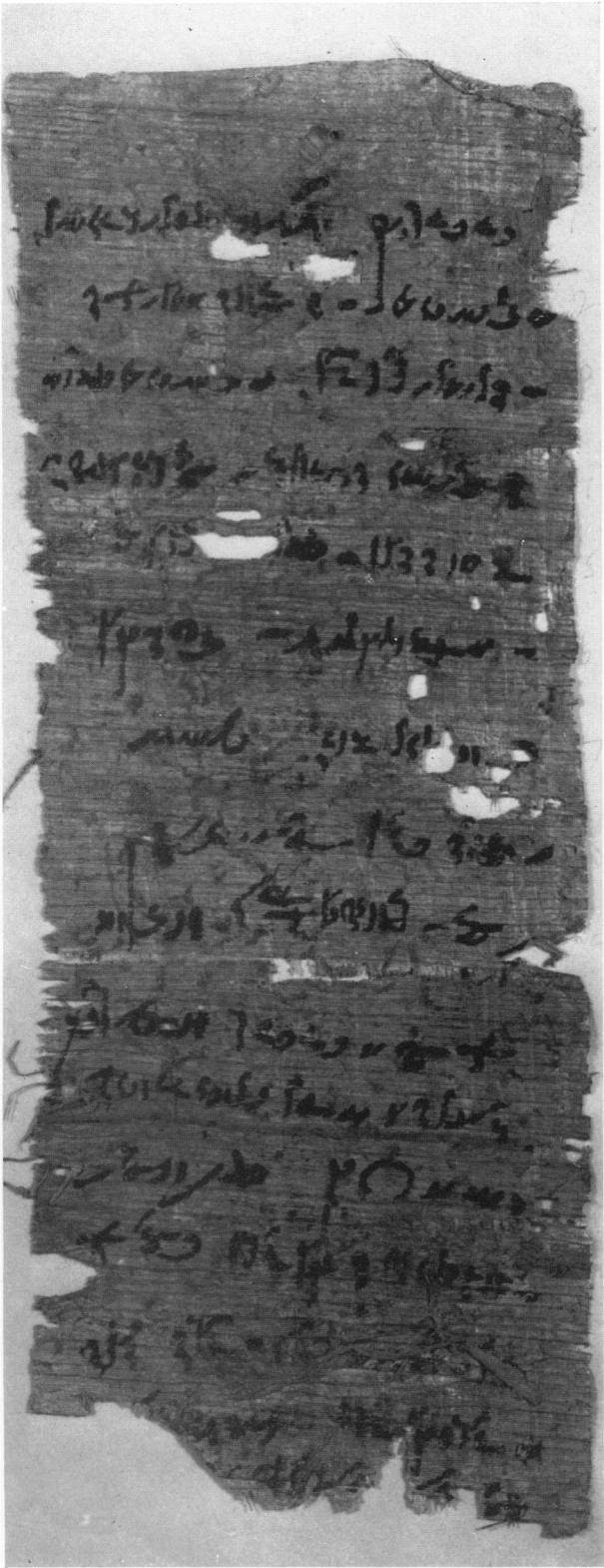
mꜣmkꜣ: for its basic meaning see *Dem. Ryl.* III, 357; Sethe, *DUB* 295; Crum, *CD* 162; the same spelling recurs in line 10 of this text, P. Fitzhugh, 2, 1; P. Ryl. 9, 24, 12 as an alternative of *mkmk* in P. Loeb 53, 1, also Erichsen, *Gloss.* 183, Thompson, *FAS* *Gloss.* 105, no. 146.

n-dt n: for its use in this context see Sethe, *DUB* 295, § 3; here the second part of the group was rubbed off, but the genitive *n* can be discerned.

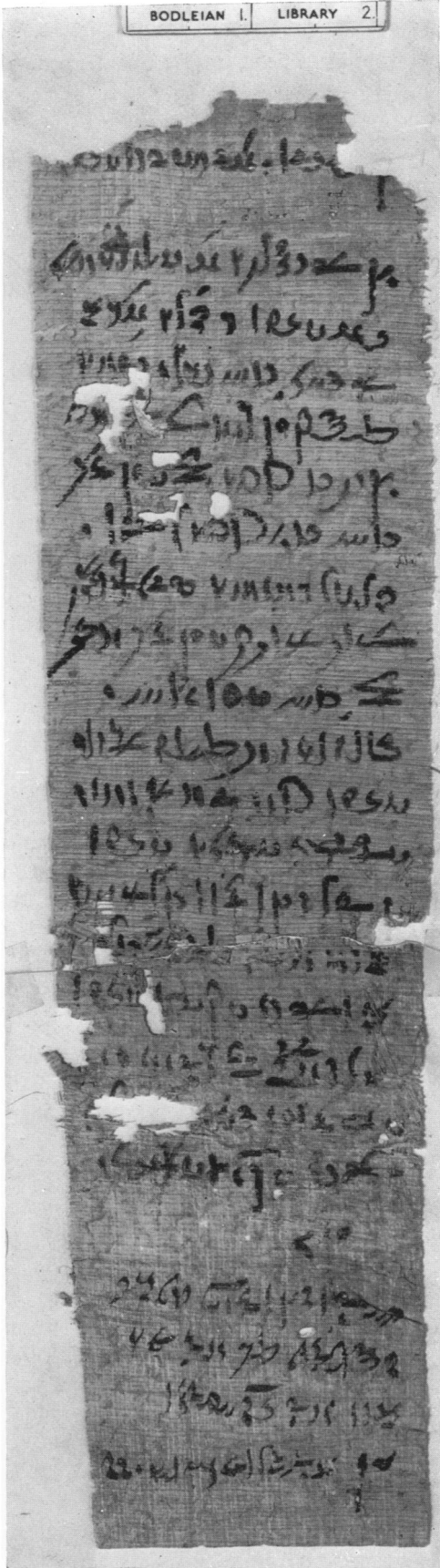
Wrše-nfr: Ὀρσενοῦφης, cf. Preisigke, *Nb.* 244, and the Coptic form ⲬⲉⲣⲈⲚⲟϣⲈ, cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 273 n. 9; 440; Mattha, *D.O.* 223, 2; -*Wrše*: the spelling is with *ʃ* = *e*: ⲟϣⲉⲣⲈ, cf. Crum, *CD* 491, Erichsen, *Gloss.* 95. The indistinct sign is Ⲙ rather than Ⲙ̄, standing here for Ⲙ - Ⲙ̄ in the early forms of writing of this word, cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 342.

Sty (?): we have not been able to identify exact parallels of this personal name. Theoretically, the name may be an unusual spelling of *sty*, meaning ⲥⲧⲟⲓ, 'perfume', or ⲥⲓⲧⲉ, 'pour out', or ⲥⲟⲧⲉ, 'arrow', cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 475. Unless there is a confusion in the form of the determinative, the sign of the 'evil' and that of the deity may favour the reading *Sty*, meaning the god Seth; cf. Erichsen, *ibid.* 472; Ⲙ̄ standing here for Ⲙ̄; -*y* seems to have been inserted between the two determinatives as it often occurs in texts of Ptolemaic date. An alternative reading *Pꜣy hny* may be suggested.

Line 2: wyc: for the farmer's designation see Sethe, *DUB* 7, § 5; Glanville, *Griffith Studies*, 158 n. 4; Spiegelberg, *P. Loeb*, p. 13 n. 8, and Hughes, *Saite Land Leases*, 46. In both instances the sign Ⲙ - Ⲙ̄ was retained in writing the determinative in contrast to the usual form in Ptolemaic texts: Ⲙ̄ ; Ⲙ̄ cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 79. Here only names



P. FITZHUGH D. 1



P. FITZHUGH D. 2

of some rather obscure localities follow the farmer's title, unlike the majority of instances in Ptolemaic texts; cf. Sethe, *DUB* 36, § 30.

𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓𐤏: the group is in this context a place-name, such as the name of a small farmer's settlement or the like but is unparalleled. There is some uncertainty about its interpretation. We may read *T*𐤓-*k*bey, cf. *k*bē (κὸβη), *Dem. Ryl.* III, 397, or *T*𐤓-*k*bhy, cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 535, meaning 'water areas'; as a place-name it occurs in Kufi, 5, 20; P. Heidelberg, 736, rto. 1. 3; *ZÄS* 53, 31, l. 3. The reading *T*𐤓-*t*bhy, however, cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 403-4, and Erichsen, *Gloss.* 624-5 (for the writing of the group *tb-*), is more likely than the reading *-k*b-, though the latter will suit the context better. The form of *-t-* in line 11, then the difference in writing *-k-* in line 1 are decisive in favour of the reading *-t-*. The group 𐤊 is for 𐤏𐤓, followed by the geographical determinative; cf. line 5 of the text for its form of writing in the word *ihw*, 'fields'.

r dit-st is here the infinitive followed by the suffix, cf. P. Ryl. D. 9, 8, 13, and 13, 6. 7; also *Dem. Ryl.* III, 231, n. 10; *dit*, lit. 'to give', following the designation of a legal document, seems to convey an idiomatic sense such as 'to hand over', 'to submit'; id. Zurich 1894, 2 (= *Or. Suec.* 14, 45); P. Cairo 30976, 1; P.B.M. 10242, and Sethe, *DUB* 431, 70; 432, 71; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 42, 49, and line 10 of this text.

Line 3: Imn-ihw: Ἀμνεῦς, cf. Preisigke, *Nb.* 23; *Dem. Ryl.* III, 438; P. Zenon 12, 3; 16, 3 and P. Loeb 3, 21.

Wsh-ky (?) or *Hr-ky* (?) is most likely the name of another farmer's settlement, but the locality cannot be identified. Two readings may be suggested for the first part of this group: (a) *hr* which is not uncommon as a formative of place-name to convey the meaning 'region', cf. Spiegelberg, *RT* 31, 98; 105 n. 29; Mattha, *D.O.* 81, 1; 269, 3; 270, 3; 271, 4; 275, 2, and Erichsen, *Gloss.* 318; (b) *wsh*, meaning a 'settlement', applying to a landed property containing a village, cf. Brugsch, *D.G.* v, 325; Spiegelberg, *RT* 26, 150; Thompson *D.O.* 32. Of some importance are quotations in the following Demotic papyri: P. Cairo 50065, rto. x+4: *ihw f iy r psh wsh n tpy smw crk*, 'he is to come to the **wah* (settlement) on the last day of the first month of summer'; this is stated in connection with the delivery (*f*iy) of certain *nktw*, 'matters', here most likely agricultural products; P. Strassburg 44, 5: *psh wsh rsy Hr-sm-tswi n ts ipt wyc*, 'the southern **wah* (settlement) of Harsomtus for the field work'; also the use of ⲟϣⲟϩ in Coptic, and ⲉⲁⲏ-ⲟϣⲟϩ, cf. Crum, *CD* 508 to mean 'dwelling-place', or 'halting-place'; in contrast P. Cairo 31079, 12: *stsh-ih nty hr psh hr mhty n pshy-k ih*, 'the arura of land which is on the northern side of your field'. In this context *wsh* seems to indicate a plot of arable land, perhaps a boundary plot of land or the like, where agricultural buildings may have been erected, also including resting-places of the farmers, and field workmen.

ky: for a similar way of writing see P. Zenon 26, 1; cf. also Erichsen, *Gloss.* 532, and the Coptic κὸρε, 'highland', cf. Crum, *CD* 92.

Line 4: ts hryt nshbw, 'the feeding-place of the ibises'; the Demotic word for τροφή, *hryt*, is written without the usual determinative of plant: 𐤓; the sign 𐤓 may be either *-y*, or the determinative: 𐤏𐤓. For τροφαὶ ἰβίων see P. Tebt. I, 42; Wilcken, *Ostraca*, I,


65–7; Spiegelberg, *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka*, 24–5; P. Reinach, 40, 4; p. 133 n. 4, and p. 188; Thompson, *FAS* Gloss. 225; P.B.M. 10575, 6 = p. 43 n. 15; B. VIII, 3; Vo. VI, 4, and *JEA* 23, 258; Mattha, *D.O.* 233. 3–4; D.O. Ash. 792 (= *Or. Suec.* 14, p. 35); P. Lille 33, 16. 17; P. Bologna 3172, 4; P. Cairo 50099, 3; 50100, 5 (*tꜣ hret nꜣ bikw*), line 7 (*tꜣ hret nꜣ hbw*). It appears from *FAS* B, VIII, 3 that the feeding-place of the ibises formed part of somewhat more important plots of land. The three last instances cited confirm it; the *hret*, ‘feeding-places’ are said to be the boundaries of leased arable lands, and this seems also to be the situation in our document. Here the ‘feeding-place’ was subleased by the addressee from lands leased to him for the period of one ‘agricultural year’. Orsenūphis, the writer of this report, therefore, was in charge of lands assigned for the upkeep of a cult-place of sacred ibises which is not named in this text. The agreement in Mattha, *D.O.* 223 and in D.O. Ash 792 confirm that it was a custom to sublease the plot of land designated as the ‘feeding-place’ to another individual who was responsible for the return of the harvest to the account of the shrine or the domain sacred to the ibises.

‘*a-ir-k shn·ty·st nꜣ hn nꜣ ihw n hy* [?, ‘which you have leased to me out of the low-lying fields’;—for the technical meaning of *shn*, first recognized by Spiegelberg, cf. P. Reinach, p. 178 n. 4, and see Sethe, *DUB* 163, 24; Thompson, *D.O.* 52; *FAS* 72 n. 2, and Hughes, *Saite Land Leases*, 24.

For the expression *shn hn*, ‘to lease out of’, cf. P. Heidelberg 723, 7–8; P. Cairo 30647, 7; 30660, 10; 30717, 8, and Sethe, *DUB* 13, 12.

For the nature of a sub-lease see Sethe, *DUB* 196–7, and Thompson, *D.O.* where he points out rightly that the sense implicit in *shn* is ‘a temporary assignment’; see also Griffith, *P. Adler*, p. 104, suggesting the interpretation ‘borrowing agreement’.

Line 5: nꜣ ihw n hy [?. . . : the writing is blotted, but the reading might be *hy* [?. . . . The word occurs without the article, and is unusual in this context. It does not seem to convey the same sense as the expression *hr tꜣ hyet rꜣst*, describing the position of fields in P. Cairo 30613, 10; 30615, 5.

hy- [?. . . may be (a) an adjective qualifying the fields, and an alternative spelling of *šw*, ‘dry’, cf. Crum, *CD* 601, or it may mean ‘high’, cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 349; (b) both of these interpretations seem to be less plausible in this context, and we would prefer to take *hy-*[. . . as the late spelling of , *hrw*, meaning ‘low-lying fields’, cf. Griffith, *PSBA* 12, 87. This interpretation seems to agree with the statement in line 7 of this text.

[*a-ir·w*]: this reconstruction is required by the context.

Line 6: pꜣ rd hꜣst-spt, lit. ‘the growth of the year’; for this idiomatic expression describing the period of the lease, i.e. the ‘agricultural year’, cf. Sethe, *DUB* 13–14, § 14; 165, § 31; 621; Hughes, *Saite Land Leases*, 10–11, 30–4, and 79 ff.

nꜣ rmtw, ‘the individuals’; nothing is said about the position of these persons though they seem to have been officials who may have been in charge of collecting the rental from the leased fields; the text in lines 7–8 seems to indicate that they were commissioned to collect dues for the account of the local shrine of the Sacred Ibis.

Line 7: the papyrus is damaged; the reading *wd*, 'send', 'dispatch', cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 103, seems to fit in with the remaining traces of the writing.

iy [r]-hry: εἰ εἶπαί; [r]-*hry* must be an adverb, cf. Crum, *CD* 73, 'to come down', 'to descend'. We may, therefore, imagine that the feeding-places of the ibises were in the low-lying field to which the commissioners were sent to collect the rental due to the sanctuary. This statement may favour the hypothesis that *hy[-. . .* in line 5 means 'low-lying fields', cf. above, p. 258.

Line 8: dit-st: for its technical meaning 'to pay' cf. Glanville, *Cat. B.M.* I, p. 18 n. (h), and also P. Cairo 50128, 15; 50129, 8, referring to the payment of the rental. We may assume that here the *šmw*, 'rental', from the feeding-place of the ibises is meant, which was paid in kind. Strangely enough the authority to whom this rental was paid is not named in the statement.

tw-w is here the causative *di*; *tšy r-bnr n hšty·ty·w kns: hšty·ty·w:* the suffix *-w* refers to the *rmtw*, 'individuals', named in line 6; unlike the idiomatic expression *ⲁ ⲛⲥⲟⲛⲉ*, 'to use violence', cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 542, Crum, *CD* 822, *kns* qualifies here only the word *hšty·ty·w*. This expression is unparalleled in other legal documents. There are two ways of interpreting it: (a) it may describe the action which the individuals did, or (b) it defines the people themselves, what they were. (a) We may take it adverbially with the sense 'in their unlawful intent'; on the other hand, the expression may be in apposition to *pš wre*, the word *hšty* meaning 'thoughts', cf. *Urk.* IV, 993, 7; hence, the second interpretation may be 'they caused the *aracus* to be carried away as their unlawful thoughts', i.e. 'their trespass'. (b) *hšty kns* may also be paralleled by *ⲉⲛⲧ ⲃⲟⲟⲛ*, 'evil-hearted', or *ⲉⲛⲧ ⲥⲁⲓⲛⲉ*, 'heart to be established', cf. Crum, *CD* 714; the sense here implicit may be 'violence-hearted', hence the 'violent-hearted ones', i.e. the 'criminals or trespassers'. We may surmise that the farmer Orsenūphis reports to his fellow farmer that the officials wronged him as criminals.

pš wre is the Demotic word for *ἄρακος*, 'aracus', cf. Sethe, *DUB* 47, 66, and Spiegelberg, *P. Loeb*, p. 84 n. 3; P. Cairo 30660, 10; 30689+30701+30753, 2; 30753, 4. In this context the 'aracus' seems to have been the rental (*šmw*) from the feeding-place due to the nameless sanctuary of the sacred bird as a contribution for its upkeep. See Mattha, *D.O.* 223 where the rental due to the sanctuary is said to be the wheat.

Line 9: iw-ir-i is the second present tense, cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 226 n. 19 and n. 20 (*ad fin.*).


Line 10: dit n-k pš mkmk: *lit.* 'to give the reminder'; in the same context the same expression recurs in P. Cairo 30764, 4; *FAS*, B, II, 3; III, 12. 14; IV, 22; V, 7; Vo. I, 4. 13; III, 2. 5; IV, 3. 15. 17a; P.B.M. 10598, 16; 599, 16 and 10600, 18. For *dit*, its derivative with a technical meaning, such as 'to hand over', 'to present', or 'to submit' a document, cf. above, p. 257.

mkmk, cf. above, p. 256; it is here employed as a noun, and this instance seems to solve the question of its meaning when occurring as a designation of a deed. The context makes it clear that by the *mkmk* the actual document is meant. It follows that *mkmk* is to be regarded as the designation of a kind of written evidence used as a background in drafting a memorandum to be addressed to authorities. This instance confirms that

the position of the *mkmk*-document was only intermediary in the establishment of a lawsuit. Cf. O. Zürich 1894 = *Or. Succ.* 14, p. 45.

ht·f: it may mean 'copy of a document', cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 274 n. 6, and *FAS*, B, III, 14; IV, 24; Erichsen, *Gloss.* 374. P. Torino 4, 2 makes it clear that the sense implicit in *ht* when employed with a suffix, is 'its contents': *ht pꜣ sh-n-dꜣbꜣ-hꜣd* (the date follows) *ht·f*, 'Copy of the deed of sale (date); its contents', here introducing the wording of the contract. The authority to whom the final statement was to be sent is not revealed in our context.

Line 11: n slwꜣh: the word is employed as an infinitive causative; this is an interesting and unparalleled example of the causative form of the word *lwꜣh*, 'to be guilty', mainly known as a noun, in particular in the farming agreements, cf. P. Heidelberg 723, 12; P. Berlin 9096, 12; Sethe, *DUB* 171; Erichsen, *Gloss.* 261, and Hughes, *Saite Land Leases*, 65; see also P. Loeb 6, 38–9; 9, 11, and *Act. Or.* 25, 261 n. 22. This context adequately illustrates the legal idiomatic meaning of *slwꜣh*: to envisage a procedure, to cause (someone) to be guilty, i.e. 'to prove guilty', hence 'to convict'. *Pꜣ-tꜣw sꜣ Mꜣwsgꜣ*: the name seems to be that of the leader of the individuals mentioned in line 6; it is strange that in this connection no titles of administrative officials are given.

Pꜣ-tꜣw: the form of writing  may be taken as an unusual spelling of *Pꜣ-dꜣw*, cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 262 n. 9 and 447.

Mꜣwsgꜣ: the determinative shows it to be foreign, but we have no further suggestions for its interpretation than to take it as the Demotic rendering of the Greek name *Μόσχος*, cf. Preisigke, *Nb.* 220.

Line 12: for this use of *hꜣpꜣ·f* in the style of legal documents see Sethe, *DUB* 423, § 38.

Line 13: the writing is damaged; the word *hb*, to mean 'to report', would suit the context, but does not seem to accord with the traces; we have no further suggestions for its reconstruction; *-hr* is employed with the meaning 'concerning', cf. Crum, *CD* 644.

Line 14: the ink is largely erased; the reading suggested is given in view of the general significance of this writing, but we have no parallels to confirm it; for *pꜣ* *ꜣš* meaning 'the summons by virtue of the law' cf. Crum, *CD* 533. The determinative of 'evil' is quite certain; perhaps read *n pꜣ hꜣp n mꜣwt*, (?) 'by virtue of the death penalty' (?); parallels are unknown to support this hypothesis.

Line 15: as in line 6 here also the officials in question are described as *nꜣ rmtꜣw* only.

Line 16: nothing can be offered to reconstruct the last line of the text, which preserves only some letters of the names of the guilty individuals.

2. P. Fitzhugh D. 2 (7·8 × 29 cm): a reminder to the overseer of fields

P. Fitzhugh D. 2 is another *mkmk*, 'memorandum', also written on a *šꜣd n dꜣmꜣ*, 'cutting of papyrus', of good quality, light brown in colour, and with strong horizontal fibres.

The text of this reminder was recorded in twenty lines in a large type of the Demotic record hand, of a generally good standard of technique; signs are rather bold, strokes

very thick, but traced with regularity by a trained scribe who does not appear to be a professional scribe of the local record office. Many signs reveal characteristics of a personal manner of writing rather than the usual features of a professional hand. This sheet of papyrus is damaged in its lower part, and this caused difficulties in an attempt to establish plausible readings and interpretations in every way. The text of the memorandum is followed by four lines of a text written by another hand of a somewhat better standard, and of greater skill. No writing is to be found on the verso of the sheet.

Neither the regnal year of the King nor the place in which this text was written is stated. There are difficulties in indicating the provenance of the papyrus, for the palaeographical evidence helps only a little in this respect. This bold and heavy type of Demotic writing is attested for the first part of the Ptolemaic age till the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator in several places of Upper and Middle Egypt, as well as in the Fayyûm. In some respects this writing recalls the hand of P. Leiden 381 of year 22 of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (Memphis), and a further similarity can be traced to the hand of P.B.M. 10242 (Revillout, *Corpus*, II, pl. 2; Memphis). No further evidence can be cited to confirm that this statement has been written in a locality in the neighbourhood of Memphis.

In its general contents this reminder to the overseer of fields is reminiscent of a great number of the Demotic report-letters preserved in the Loeb collection (see: Spiegelberg, *P. Loeb*). It is a statement addressed to the *mr-ih*, 'overseer of field(s)' by an Egyptian private individual seeking his favour and intervention in a troublesome affair concerned with a deed-of-endowment that was misappropriated.

The text refers to a situation which has arisen in a small unspecified locality as a consequence of a dispute over a *sh-n-snh*, 'deed-of-endowment', which was borrowed on agreement, but was subsequently misappropriated. The contents of this memorandum addressed to the overseer of fields is of some relevance for procedures followed in addressing complaints to local officials. It also contributes to clarify the position and authority of an official designated as the 'overseer of fields'. He is described as an authority who was empowered to settle disputes occurring among his subordinates, and is said to have been associated with two other officials, designated as the 'watchman', and the 'inspector'. The observation at the foot of the report indicates that these three officials formed a body which was entitled to decide in legal matters in which their subordinates were concerned.

Transliteration

(1) ^lwc mk^lmk n Hr-mne-Pe p₃ mr-[ih] (2) n-dt Nhty-nb.f Hr P₃-Iksy (3) nty hr p₃ mr-ih P₃y-Imn s₃ Hr-p₃y-Ist (4) gmc r-hr-i m-šs r-db₃ (5) hpr wn wc sh-⟨n⟩-s^lnh [a]-di-i st (6) n-dt.ty.f hr hn ph p₃ sh rn.f (7) ⟨r⟩-hr-i hr hn t₃y.w (?) (8) ⟨n⟩ haw P₃y-sy ³k h₃ty.f (9) di.f di.f n.f p₃ sh rn.f iw ir.f (10) ph r-hr-i p₃ hrw tw-i (11) t^lh n-im-s iw.f hpr is re (12) p₃ mr-ih hry p₃ tegy (?) (13) p₃ rs p₃ rd p₃ mr-ih (14) [r] dit in.w n₃ rmtw rn.w nty tw.w di.ty.w (?) (15) r₃ (?) iw-ir n₃ (?) [.] wsh.w (?) (16) ge nhty p₃ t₃ p₃ bnr p₃ mr-ih ⟨r?⟩ (17) sw (?) n₃y.n smne hr (18) p₃y.k cw^ly mtw.n [.] ? ? (19) nhty p₃ shn nfr st ir rh.s (20) sh> (21) my in.w n₃ rmtw rn.w ⟨r⟩-hr.n (22) t₃ wnw^lt hpr.f iw.tn sdm (23) ge iw.n ir n.w p₃ hp (24) sh Hr-ky (?) hst-spt I7 ibd 3 iht <ssw> 8

(Translation)

(1) A reminder to Ḥarmenēpe, the overseer [of field(s)] (2) from Nakht-nebef. Ḥor, the Nubian (3) who is under the authority of the overseer of field(s) Paimūn son of Ḥarpaēsê, (4) has wronged me exceedingly because of (5) the fact that there is a deed-of-endowment which I placed (6) in his possession on agreement. The deed aforesaid reached (7) me on agreement, (but) they took (?) (8) abundantly. Pasōs, perish his heart!, (9) he had caused that he gave to him the deed aforesaid. When it has (10) reached me to-day, I am making (11) it my request. If it should be, lo, (the) opinion of (12) the overseer of field(s), the chief of the plantation (?), (13) the watchman, the inspector: the overseer of field(s), (14) is to cause the persons aforesaid to be brought who have caused to give them (?) (15) (the ?) deposition (?) in the presence of the (?) [.] .??. (16) other authority on earth beyond (that of) the overseer of field(s) <to ?> (17) safe-guard (?) our agreements at (?) (18) your house, and we will [.] .??. (19) authority (As for) the fair command, may it be made known. (20) (It) has been recorded. (21) May they bring the persons aforesaid to us (22) at once. May it happen that you listen, (23) or we will punish them. (24) Ḥar-ky (?) has written. Year 17, third month of inundation, day 8.

Commentary

Line 1: wr mkmk: cf. P. Fitzhugh 1, l. 1, and *Comm.*, n. 1. This instance shows an alternative wording compared with the previous one; id. P.B.M. 10599, 1; 10600, 1: the name of the official addressed was placed first before the name and titles of the writer of the reminder.

Ḥr-mne-Pe: 'Horus abiding in Pe'; *-mne-Pe* was a not uncommon formative of personal names from the Saitic period onwards, cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 353. *Pe* includes a sign which may well be *ʿ = e*, followed by a determinative of a deity.

The half-preserved title may well be *mr-ih*, cf. line 3 of the text.

Line 2: No titles accompany the applicant's name. Two interpretations may be suggested for the following text: (a) the name may read *Ḥr-pʿ-Ṭksy*, cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 456, or (b) only *Ḥr* is the applicant's father's name.

Pʿ-iksy is here a spelling of *Pʿ-Ṭkš*, cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 45, and for further variants of the spelling of this name see Griffith, *Dodecs.* no. 564; it has survived in the Greek *Πεκῦσις*, cf. Preisigke, *Nb.* 259. *Pekūsis* may well be a personal name in this context, but it may also be the designation of the guilty man whose name may be that in the following line, who was a Nubian. In fact there are three ways in which to interpret the succession of personal names in this line: (a) Ḥor is the name of the applicant's father, and the guilty man is referred to as a Nubian; (b) Ḥor (son of) *Pekūsis* is the name of the guilty man; (c) the name of the applicant's father has not been revealed; Ḥor is then the name of the guilty man who was a Nubian by birth.

Line 3: nty hr: hr, meaning 'under the authority', cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 386, has been employed for the late *hr-dt-n*, ρατεη, cf. Spiegelberg, *DG* §§ 292, 366.

pʿ mr-ih: the same form of writing occurs in P. Loeb 4, l. 5. 7; the title 'overseer of

fields', cf. lines 13. 16 of this text, is not rare in the Demotic records of Ptolemaic date. Spiegelberg pointed out in *ZÄS* 64, p. 78 and in *P. Loeb*, p. 13 n. 5 that this 'overseer of fields' does not seem to have been a high official in Ptolemaic times. The report-letters from Tehne preserved in the Loeb Papyri show numerous instances of this title, and furnish evidence for the nature of the official's function. The *mr-ih* seems to have been attached to the administration of the *hṭp-ntr*, the 'endowed estate' of the temple, cf. *P. Loeb* 6, 7. 9. 28. 29. 33. 39. 49. 53, and acted as the subordinate of the *mr-šn*, 'lesônis', of the temple, cf. *P. Loeb* 5, 4. 28. 30. His duty seems to have been the survey of the actual conditions of lands pertaining to the *hṭp-ntr* of the temple, and the control over the tenants' rights to the lands leased from the endowed estate of the temple. We learn from *P. Loeb* 4, 5. 7. 17. 18; 12, 6-7; 18, 15; 22, 5. 15. 21; 24, 2. 8. 10. 19 that any complaint about disputes among tenants had to be reported to him in the first instance. He appears as an official who had to receive any document written in connection with the leased lands, and to arrange with the authorities if an intervention was sought by petitioners. We may, therefore, imagine him as a mediator between the authority of the temple and the lessors. The absence of this title in the tax-receipts concerned with leased lands and deliveries of grain suggests that he exercised control over arable lands, and acted as intermediary between the landlord and individuals engaged in field work. Our text seems to point to even more extended powers conferred upon this official, cf. below, p. 265. It is uncertain whether the name which follows is the official's or that of the accused individual.

Line 4: gmr r-hr =: 'to injure', 'to harm'; for the legal sense of the word see: *P. Elephantine* 1, 3; *Corpus*, II, 1; *P.B.M.* 10598, 3; 10599, 3; I Kh. 6, 14; Rosetta, 16; Raphia, 17. 20; also Sethe, *DUB* 314; Thompson, *FAS* 77 n. 3; Erichsen, *Gloss.* 580, and Coptic Ⲅⲱⲱⲁⲉ, cf. Crum, *CD* 818.

r-hr.i, also in line 7 of the text, has been written for εποι, cf. Griffith, *Stories*, 82, and *Dem. Ryl.* III, 220 n. 3.

m-šs: for this form of writing see Erichsen, *Gloss.* 521, *P. Loeb* 7, 20; 8, 6. 10; 11, 8, and *P.B.M.* 10242, 4 showing a palaeographically very close form of this group.

r-dḅ hpr: the writing is not clear but the reading *r-dḅ*, cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 621, is more likely than *m-s* as in *P.B.M.* 10242, 4-5; the explanation of the appeal is there introduced by the construction *m-s hpr tw-s*+non-verbal clause, cf. Sethe, *DUB* 410 ff. for its use in legal documents, and *P. Ryl.* 9, 18, 7.

Line 5: wꜥ sh-(n)-scnh: for the technical meaning of the term *scnh*, 'a revenue-producing property', hence 'endowment', cf. Thompson, *FAS* p. 12 n. (8). The Demotic *scnh*-deeds are of several categories; this text does not expressly specify which of these is meant, but in view of the general nature of the content of this document, and with reference to *P. Moscow* 123, l. 3, we may suggest that a title to the usufructory rights to an income from the fields is referred to, but the lack of parallel documents does not allow us to be certain.

Read [*ʔa*]-*di-i st*; the writing is damaged, but compare *P. Fitzhugh* 1, l. 2; this reading seems to fit the traces.

For the expression *di-st n-dt*, ⲛⲉⲣⲏ, lit. 'to give in the hand', hence 'to entrust', cf. Crum, *CD* 393; the suffix *-f* must refer to Pekūsis, the Nubian, who seems to have been granted a title to some benefit by the writer of this statement.

Line 6: hr hn, also line 7; for the legal idiomatic meaning of *hn*, 'settled matter', 'agreement' cf. *Wb.* II, 495; P. Berlin 3115, III, 13; 3118, 24; P. Loeb 45, 5; 62, 5. 12. 15; P. Adler 19, 2; P. Michigan 4200, and Erichsen, *Gloss.* 276; Spiegelberg, *P. Loeb*, p. 96 n. 1a, and Nims, *JEA* 24, 79 and 79 n. 1; also P. Kahun, 13, 14; in both instances the term is employed without the article; the expression *hr hn*, 'on agreement' may have been a local legal idiom rather than of general application and use in the standard language of the Demotic contracts.

Line 7: this second instance of *hn* seems to be followed by the determinative of 'saying': ⲛⲉⲧⲓⲩⲱⲧⲉ (?) : the writing is damaged; we were not able to find parallels to confirm our reading, which is conjectural, suggested in view of the general sense of this report; alternatively, the reading may be *stj*, 'to draw', or 'to draw out of', cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 390, Erichsen, *Gloss.* 474. The verb is used without object, and the sense to be conveyed may be 'to draw (profit)'.
 ⲛⲉⲧⲓⲩⲱⲧⲉ (?) : the writing is damaged; we were not able to find parallels to confirm our reading, which is conjectural, suggested in view of the general sense of this report; alternatively, the reading may be *stj*, 'to draw', or 'to draw out of', cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 390, Erichsen, *Gloss.* 474. The verb is used without object, and the sense to be conveyed may be 'to draw (profit)'.

Line 8: hw, 'greater part', cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 294, and ϩⲟϩⲟ, cf. Crum, *CD* 735; the word is used without the article, and may be an adverb; perhaps read ⟨*n*⟩ *hw*, ⲛⲉϩⲟϩⲟ, 'greatly', cf. Crum, *CD* 736; the sense may be 'they took greatly', i.e. 'abundantly'. There is much that is obscure, and more explicit texts are not available to ascertain the legal sense of *stj* ⟨*n*⟩ *hw*, as ⟨*r*⟩ *hw*, as 'to draw out at (a) profit'; cf. Coptic ⲉⲃⲏⲟϩⲟϩⲟ, 'at a profit', cf. *CD*, 735.

Pjy-sy is the Demotic rendering of the Greek name Πασῶς, cf. Preisigke, *Nb.* 284, and our *Embalmer's Archives from Hawara*, p. 75 n. 9.

jk hsty:f: for *jk* describing the condition of the heart see *Wb.* I, 21, (19). (21) and *P. Insinger*, *Gloss.* p. 16, no. 51. In this context the expression may be an exclamation, probably a curse addressed by the writer of the report to the man who wronged him. This instance is unparalleled in other legal documents, and we may regard it as a popular malediction which slipped from the pen of the writer of this report.

Line 9: di:f: the suffix *-f* must refer to *Pj-Iksy*, the Nubian, whereas the suffix in *n-f* refers to Pasōs.

Line 11: tbh n-im:s: a common formula of Demotic report-letters, cf. P. Elephantine I, 9; P.B.M. 10598, 11; 10599, 13; 10600, 13; *Rev. ég.* 2, 79; Spiegelberg, *P. Elephantine*, 13 (XII); Thompson, *D.O.*, 62; Sethe, *DUB* 308.

Two readings may be suggested: (a) *iw:s hse*: for this formula in Demotic letters see Spiegelberg, *P. Loeb*, 16 n. 7, in particular P. Loeb 58, 12, and Erichsen, *Gloss.* 329, Petubastis, H, 24; *Corpus*, I, pl. 4, l. 23, and P. Berlin 13565, 8.

(b) the group ⲉⲃⲓⲛⲉ may read *re*, meaning 'opinion', 'intent', cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III. 364, Erichsen, *Gloss.* 240; *iw:s* should then be for *is*, etc, cf. Crum, *CD* 85.

Line 12: uP the expression is curious; in view of the context we may suggest a tentative

Line 16: Two interpretations may be suggested: either (a) we understand Ⲅⲗⲓⲛ together as *ge*, 'evil', cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 570, Coptic Ⲅⲗⲓⲛ, see Crum, *CD* 466, or (b) *ge* is here for *ky*, 'other', and we take the signs Ⲅⲗ to read *nhty*, cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 363, and Erichsen, *Gloss.* 226, 'strength' in the sense of 'the power' with which the official was entrusted. Two external instances can be cited to support the derivative technical meaning of *nhty*; in P. Cairo 50099, 9 and 50102, 6 *nht* is used as a verb in the sense 'to empower', hence to 'authorize': *pꜣ nty iw-w tꜣy·ty·k kns n-īm·f rn·i rn nꜣ ihw nty hry mtw·i tm nhty·k n-īm·f*, 'That which you will take unlawfully therefrom in my name (or) in the name of the fields aforesaid, I shall not authorize you therewith'. There is a little doubt that our text reveals a hitherto unknown meaning of the word *nhty*: the authority of an official. This interpretation agrees with the instance of the word in line 19, and also with the following expression: *pꜣ bnr pꜣ mr-ih*, 'beyond the overseer of fields'; for the idiomatic sense of *pꜣ bnr*, *lit.* 'outside', cf. *BjRL* 49, p. 479. 480 n. 52.

Line 17: The writing is indistinct; Ⲅⲗⲓⲛ *sw* (?), cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.* 412; the reading given is a mere guess, and parallels are not available to clarify the sense of this statement. It is possible that the determinative of *sw* was omitted, and added above the possessive pronoun *nꜣy·n*.

smne: the word may be employed as a noun, cf. Coptic Ⲅⲗⲓⲛ, Crum, *CD* 339, but is not common in Demotic legal texts.

Line 18: *pꜣy·k cwꜣ*: this seems to describe the office of the overseer of fields, where the formal petition was perhaps to be drafted; much is obscure in this context, and we have not been able to identify further parallels to reconstruct the missing part of the text.

Line 19: *nhty*: possibly with the same meaning as previously. *shn nfr*: the expression occurs as the closing words in Demotic report-letters see: P. Loeb 26, 16–17, P. Strassburg 61, P. Cairo 30690, 12; 30691; Sethe, *DUB* 431, Erichsen, *Gloss.* 446. The earliest example seems to be in P. Cairo 50065, vso, 7–8 of the late Pharaonic times: *pꜣ shn nfr st ir rh·s iw-ir-hr pꜣ hm-ntr Ns-Hr di·i in-w pꜣ cnh n nꜣ wcbw rnpt iw-ir-hr pꜣ hm-ntr Ns-Hr*, '(As for) the fair command, may it be made known to the prophet Esoēris that I have made them bring the bouquet of the priests of the year for the prophet Esoēris'; see also P. Insinger 8, 7; 10, 19; Petubastis, 6, 1. 4; 10, 13. 16; *KDT* no. 216. 217. O. Berlin 12906, 4 in *Forsch. und Forsch.* 10, p. 146, and Hughes's remarks on the use of the expression on p. 148. The exact significance of the expression is still obscure, but we may postulate that the sense implicit in *shn* may be the expectation of a successful outcome of the procedure.

Line 20: The four last lines were written by another hand; possibly, it might be suggested, by the scribe attached to the 'house' of the overseer of fields, cf. line 18, where a decision seems to have been taken concerning this dispute. The text endorsed in three lines at the foot of this strip of papyrus has every appearance of being the decision of the officials listed in line 13 of this text, cf. above, p. 265, to whom the suffix *-n* here and in line 23 seems to refer, may represent the authority of the dwellers in the locality in question. No parallels of similar cases are available at present. The evidence

of this report-letter is doubtless of real interest and importance for the history of Egyptian private individuals in the Ptolemaic era, and also for the systems of administration, and the legal position of the native Egyptians who lived in small country settlements of those times.

Line 23: ir . . . pꜣ hp: hp is employed with the definite article; the sense may be the 'legal punishment', cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 223, n. 7.

Line 24: Hr-ky (?): the reading is conjectural; we were not able to identify further instances of this name.

TRIREMES AND THE SAÏTE NAVY

By ALAN B. LLOYD

IN Herodotus' discussion of the reign of Necho (610–595 B.C.) we read the following statement:¹

Παυσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκῶς ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηίας, καὶ τριήρεις αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορηίῃ θαλάσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὄλκοι εἰσι δῆλοι. καὶ ταύτησί τε ἐχρᾶτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι . . .

When he had desisted from the canal Necho turned his attention to military campaigns, and triremes were constructed, some for the Mediterranean and others in the Red Sea for operations in the Erythrian Ocean.² The slipways of the latter are still to be seen. And these ships he put to use when the need arose . . .

This passage creates a strong impression that the Saïtes were getting assistance from the Greeks in naval matters and that the copiously documented employment of Greek military expertise in their army was but one aspect of a more general dependence, but this conclusion has proved distinctly unpalatable in many quarters. De Meulenaere writes, 'On the basis of the word *τριήρεις* in Herodotus Drioton and Vandier take the view (*L'Égypte*, pp. 554–5) that the Saïte navy was of Greek origin and was probably for the most part manned by foreigners; this seems to us very doubtful' and 'By the *τριήρεις* mentioned by Herodotus we should doubtless understand *kbnt*-ships, a type encountered as early as the 6th Dynasty; they were large sea-going vessels which in the Saïte and Ptolemaic Periods were also used as warships'.³ M. M. Austin adopts a similarly sceptical attitude. 'From the fact that Herodotus (2. 159) speaks of Necho as having a fleet of "triremes", it is very often assumed that Greeks also helped to develop the Egyptian fleet. . . . But Greek sources never state this . . .'⁴ For these writers the word *τριήρεις* is a careless, anachronistic slip, the merest assumption like the *μηχαναί* and iron tools, which, according to Herodotus, the Egyptians had used in building the Great Pyramid.⁵ Despite this scepticism we believe that the obvious interpretation is correct. Since, however, many would presumably be perfectly prepared to accept that

¹ 2. 159. 1.

² Ἀράβιος κόλπος is used by Hdt. when he wishes to identify precisely what we call the Red Sea (cf. 2. 11. 4; 102. 2; 158. 3; 4. 39. 1; 42. 2; 43. 3). Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα is, in origin, a more general term, being identical with ἡ νοτιή θάλασσα, though it can be also used both of the Red Sea (2. 158. 2; 4. 39. 1; 42. 3) and the Persian Gulf (1. 180. 189; 3. 30. 3; 93. 2; 6. 20). Since there is a clear antithesis in this passage between ἡ βορηίη θάλασσα, i.e. the ocean of the northern part of the οἰκουμένη, and ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα, i.e. the ocean of the southern hemisphere, Ἐ. θ. must here be identical with ἡ νοτιή θάλασσα and we should, therefore, translate 'Erythrian' or 'Southern Ocean'.

³ *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie. Bibliothèque du Muséon*, 27 (Louvain, 1951), 60 with n. 49.

⁴ *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age. Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society. Suppl. 2* (1970), 55

⁵ 2. 125.

Greek warships were used in Necho's reign while baulking at the difficulties posed by the suggestion that they were triremes, it seems advisable, in our attempt to vindicate Herodotus, that we should approach the problem in two stages:

1. Did Necho get assistance in the construction of warships from Greece?
2. If so, what was the rating of the ships concerned?

1. *Greek assistance*

There are excellent reasons for believing that the Pharaohs of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty turned to Greece for help in building up a fleet:

- (a) It is clear that imitation of foreign ship design was by no means an impossibility for an Egyptian; for in the reliefs depicting the battle between the Egyptians and the Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu the two sides use ships which show striking similarities.¹ Certainly the hull designs are different, the Egyptian being clearly the traditional Nilotic type,² but the deck upper works are identical in both fleets as are the rigging and the fighting tops. Since the latter are totally un-Egyptian in style, we must surely assume that the Egyptians are imitating the example of their neighbours in the Eastern Mediterranean. This new style of rigging is, of course, both more economical and more efficient but its adoption may well have been prompted by specifically military considerations, since loose footed sails which could be brailed up to the top yard out of harm's way were much more handy³ than the traditional system whereby two yards were employed, a fixed lower and a movable upper, arranged in such a way that the sail was raised or lowered by hoisting the upper yard up or down. Such a scheme could have been a distinct embarrassment in the type of action depicted in the reliefs.
- (b) Since the Saïte Pharaohs were using Greek mercenaries on a large scale,⁴ it would be a natural step to employ Greek sailors and with them Greek ships.
- (c) The Saïtes, like many Egyptian rulers after the traumatic experience of the Hyksos occupation, were deeply conscious of the dangers of their Asiatic frontier, as is clearly demonstrated by the heavy concentrations of Greek mercenaries, the best troops they had, in the *Στρατόπεδα* and, later, Daphnae, in the north-eastern Delta. It was not, however, only the armies of the Assyrians, Chaldaeans, or Persians which constituted a threat. They had good reason to fear naval action also; for it would need little strategic acumen to realize that the Phoenician fleet would be at the disposal of any great power invading from Asia. Indeed, joint

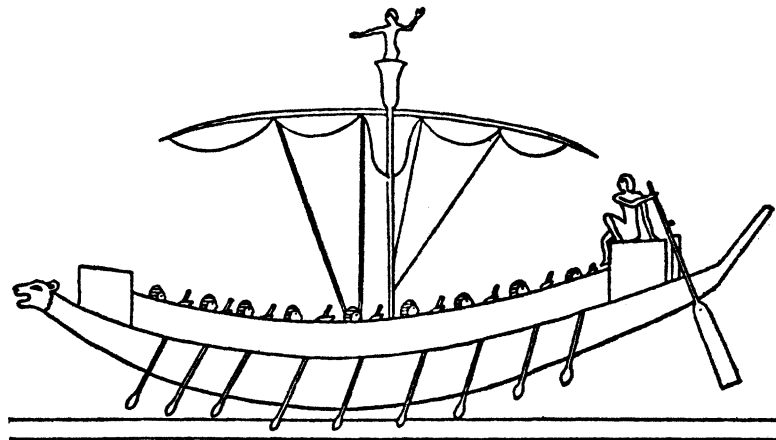
¹ Nelson *et al.*, *Medinet Habu* (Chicago, 1930), I, pl. 36-7. Cf. our fig. I.

² So tentatively but rightly Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs: 4000 Years of Egyptian Shipbuilding. Architectura Navalis, I* (London, 1970), 111. Faulkner ('Egyptian Seagoing Ships', *JEA* 26 (1940), 9) thought differently.

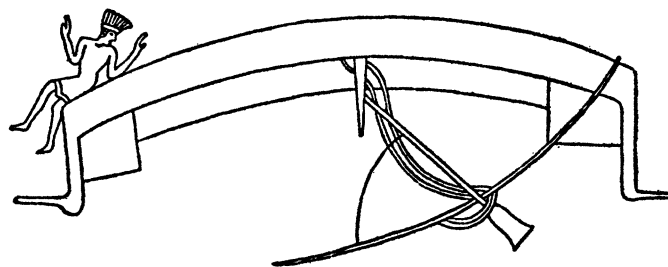
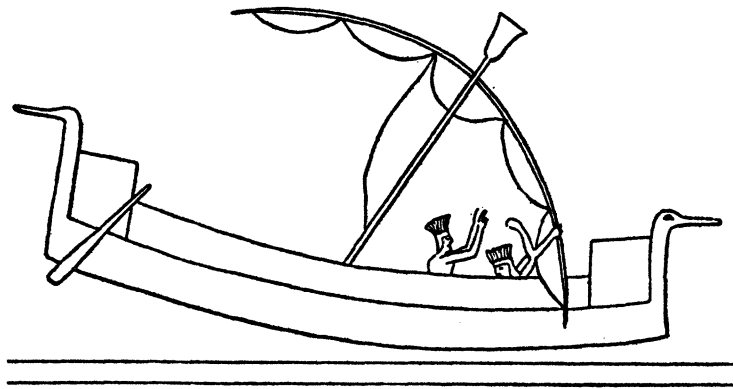
³ The position of the reefing/brailing ropes (Gk. *κάλοι*) is not clearly indicated but L. is surely correct in comparing Hdt. 2. 36 and in making them run down the inside of the sail supported in rings (Gk. *κρίκοι*). For Ptolemaic representations of this rig, perfectly substantiating Herodotus, see Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou* (Cairo, 1892-1934), XIII, pls. 470; 471; 508; 530.

⁴ Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers* (Oxford, 1933), 4 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7 bis zum 4 Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953), 35 ff.

naval and military operations were by no means unknown in earlier Egyptian history,¹ and were certainly conducted by the Saïtes, the Asiatic campaigns of



Egyptian Galley



Warships of the Sea Peoples

FIG. 1

Apries providing a classic case (*vide infra*, pp. 271 ff.). It could not have been lost on them that their enemies might do likewise. Indeed, such a circumstance did in fact arise during the Persian invasion of Egypt which led to the overthrow of the Saïte Dynasty in 525 when we find Phoenician warships operating from Acre

¹ *Urk.* I, 101 ff.; Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, (Paris, 1962), 435 ff.; Faulkner *CAH* (Cambridge, 1966), II, Ch. 23, 21 ff.

in support of Cambyses' army.¹ Now Phoenician warships, as early as *c.* 700 B.C., were two-deckers built for ramming² and by Necho's time this tactic had long been standard in naval warfare, quite superseding the old maritime land-battle such as is represented at Medinet Habu. The design of native Egyptian ships,

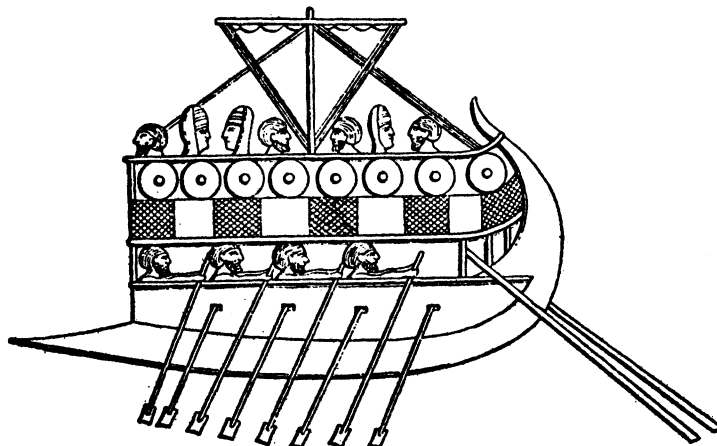


FIG. 2. Phoenician War Galley *c.* 700 B.C.

however, was quite unsuitable for fighting actions of this type. The hull profile was such that at *all periods* the forward overhang made a killing blow on the water line absolutely impossible (cf. figs. 1 and 3 and contrast 2). Furthermore, and even more important, they had no keel³ and without the longitudinal strength imparted by this feature ramming would have been suicidal. The attacker would simply have disintegrated—a fate which many a trireme came near to suffering despite its *τρόπις*.⁴ Greek warships, on the other hand, from a very early period had been fast, highly manœuvrable galleys expressly built for this style of fighting. It seems extremely unlikely that the Saïte kings would fail to obtain an antidote to the Phoenician navy when such an obvious remedy lay at hand—and plenty of Greeks likely to point it out!

- (d) There is another, closely related argument. Apries is known to have fought successful naval actions against the Phoenicians during the Syrian campaigns of

¹ Strabo, 16. 2. 25 (C. 758). That Acre was a *naval* base is certain: (a) *ὀρμητήριον* is exemplified in that sense both *ap.* Strabo and elsewhere (LSJ⁹, p. 1253 (b) s.v. *ὀρμητήριον*, II); (b) it is much too far north to act as a base of operations for the army. Joint naval and military campaigns were a Persian speciality, e.g. the counter-measures during the revolt of Inarus (D.S. 11. 77) and Xerxes' invasion of Greece.



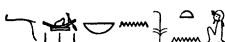
² Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh* (First Series, London, 1853), pl. 71; cf. our fig. 2; Morrison and Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* (Cambridge, 1968), pl. 22a; Basch, 'Phoenician Oared Ships', *The Mariner's Mirror* 55 (1969), 139 ff. See Postscript, p. 279.

³ Landström (*op. cit.* 107) states that a keel was employed in the N.K. but his only evidence consists of ship models found in the tombs of Amenophis II and Tut'ankhamūn. This is not enough:

(a) In Egyptology models cannot be taken as a guide for technical details of this sort.
 (b) If the keel were used, we should not expect a hogging truss on the Punt ships of Ḥatshepsut (fig. 3).
 (c) Evidence from the Pharaonic Period down to modern times indicates essential continuity in hull construction on the Nile—and in Nubia during the last century no keel was employed (Hornell, *Water Transport, Origins and Early Evolution* [Cambridge, 1946], 215 ff.).

⁴ Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments* (Cambridge, 1930), 144.

c. 589–573 B.C.¹ This proves that the Egyptian navy was able to meet the Phoenicians with ships at least as good as anything the latter possessed and that, in turn, surely, compels us to admit that Apries was using war galleys built for ramming.

- (e) Finally, we may turn to a philological point. In Egyptian texts of the Saïte and Persian Period we encounter several times the word  'kbnt-ship' in contexts which prove that it is a warship: (1) In the Stele of Year I of Amasis large numbers of kbnt-ships are mentioned in the same breath as Greek mercenaries (*H3w nbw*) as part of the forces of Apries.² (2) In the texts on the Naophorous Statue of Wadjhorresne which dates to the early Persian Period we meet the title  *imy-r kbnt nsw* 'Admiral of the Royal kbnt-ships', a title, indeed, which that worthy bore under Amasis and Psammetichus III,³ presumably to be relieved of it by the Persians in accordance with their policy of keeping the highest military commands in Persian and Median hands.⁴ There is good reason to believe that this word denotes Greek-style war galleys, since (1) the kbnt-ships of Apries are presumably the fleet with which he had previously defeated the Phoenicians, and that fleet, as we have shown, must have consisted of warships built for ramming. (2) The title *imy-r kbnt* does not occur before the Saïte Period. In the New Kingdom the expression for Admiral of the Fleet was  *imy-r hrw n nsw*.⁵ Why should such a consciously archaizing body of men as the Saïte rulers introduce or countenance such a novel term? The answer must be that something completely new had appeared which needed a novel expression to describe it. Now there are only three ways of solving the problem of naming a newly introduced object: (a) take over the foreign name, if one exists; (b) coin a new one; (c) employ one of the old words of the language to refer to it. In this case it is clearly the third alternative which has been employed. Now there is one essential precondition without which such a semantic development cannot take place, viz., that the new object or idea which requires a name must bear some general similarity to the object or idea whose appellation it is borrowing. Applied to the case in point this principle suggests that the novelty which we are trying to identify will bear some general resemblance to the old Egyptian *kbnt*, i.e. it must resemble what Säve-Söderbergh defines as a 'fast-running galley'.⁶ Would not Greek war galleys fill the bill admirably? (3) In the Persian Period we find that triremes were being employed on a large scale in the Egyptian navy. According to Herodotus the Egyptians sent a contingent of 200 ships of this class as their contribution to the Persian fleet which fought

¹ Herodotus, 2. 161. 2; D.S. I. 68. 1.

² Daressy, 'Stèle de l'An III d'Amasis', *RT* 22 (1900), I ff.; II. 3 and 12. Jelinkova-Reymond ('Quelques Recherches sur les Reformes d'Amasis', *A SAE* 54 (1957), 263 ff.) and Posener ('Les Douanes de la Méditerranée dans l'Égypte Saïte', *RdPh* 21 (1947), 129) show that the date is Year 1.

³ Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Égypte. Bibliothèque d'Étude, II*, (Cairo, 1936), 9.

⁴ Gray, *CAH* (1926), IV, 190 ff.; Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1959 [1948]), 237 ff.

⁵ Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty* (Uppsala, *Universitets Årsskrift*, 6, 1946, 88 ff.

⁶ On the *kbnt*-ship see Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.* 48 ff.

at Salamis (7. 89) and we are further told that they distinguished themselves mightily therewith at the Battle of Artemisium (8. 17). In the next century Achoris (393–380 B.C.) sent no fewer than fifty triremes to the assistance of Evagoras of Cyprus.¹ The Egyptians would require a name for these vessels and, as we have

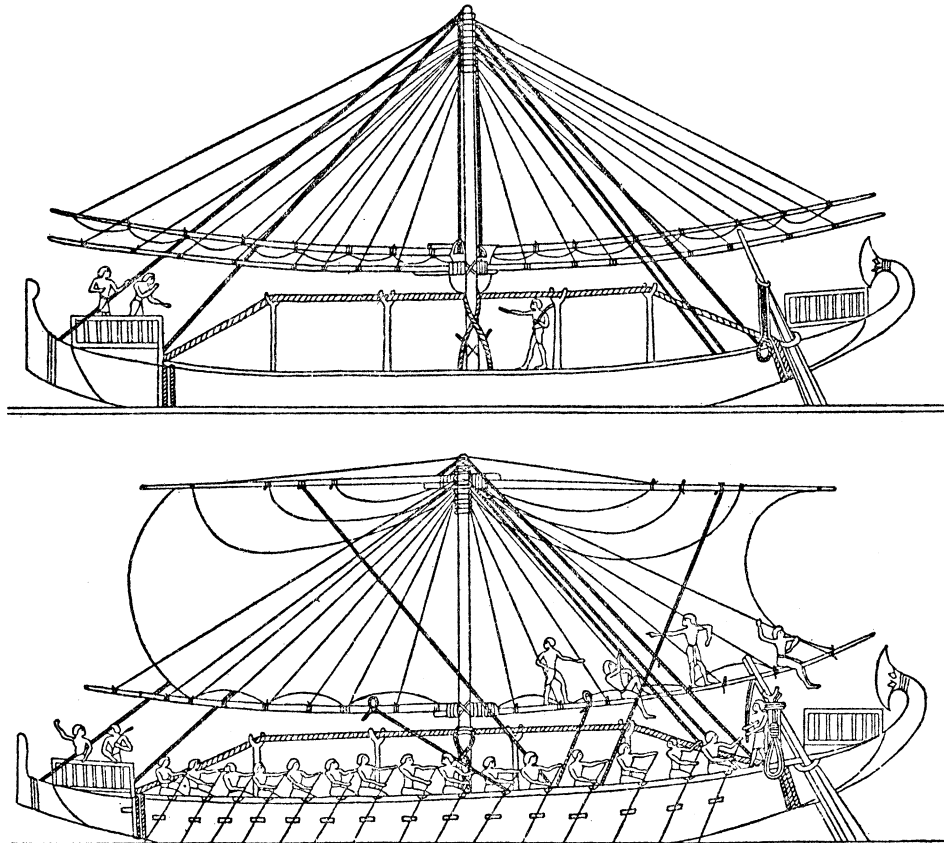
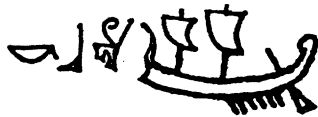


FIG. 3. Eighteenth-Dynasty *kbnt*-ships.

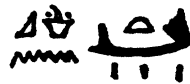
already shown, the obvious candidate is *kbnt*. Certainly, it is true that the word does not occur in the required context at this period, but that may simply be because the office and title *imy-r kbnt* were no longer held by an Egyptian (*vide supra*, p. 272) and, therefore, *kbnt*-ships do not figure on the monuments. (4) Although it has apparently never been noticed, the word *kbnt* is certainly used of Greek war galleys in the Ptolemaic Period. In an official document of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, dating from the 7th Year of Alexander II (311 B.C.) we read, amongst other things, the following passage referring in general terms to the victorious campaigns which he had waged against Laomedon, Antigonos, and Demetrius. The text concentrates on the military campaigns in Syria between 320 and

¹ Theopompus, *FgrH* 115, F. 103; D.S. 15. 2. 4. Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies and Administration, 663 to 323 B.C.* (*James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science* 41, Chapel Hill, 1959), 43 claims that Nephertites (399–393 B.C.) sent the Spartans 100 triremes. Justin says so (6. 2. 2) but D.S. states (14. 79. 4) that it was only *the equipment* (σκευή) for that number. The authority of D.S. is little enough, but that of Justin is still less on such a matter. We should, therefore, prefer the older writer.

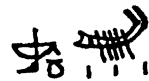
322 B.C. down to Actium. Indeed, since we find the Phoenicians building *ἐπιρήρεις* for Demetrius probably in 314 and since such warships were actually used at Salamis in 306,¹ the Ptolemaic navy clearly had to deal with even more formidable opponents than quinqueremes. This threat the Lagid fleet was not only able to face but to check quite effectively for several years, capturing Cyprus in 315 and dominating the Eastern Mediterranean until 306. It could not have been one jot inferior. These circumstances, taken together with the pride of place accorded to the *kbnt* in our text, create a very strong presumption that in the latter we are faced with nothing other than the Ptolemaic battle fleet of Greek war galleys. This conclusion is considerably reinforced by the second occurrence of the word. The *kbntwt* which were captured during these campaigns were certainly not Egyptian ships. The word has clearly been applied to a foreign type equivalent to Ptolemy's ships—surely elements of the fleet of his Macedonian rivals in Syria, i.e. probably quinqueremes, certainly war galleys.



II, 23. 9



II, 77. 15



II, 179. 7

FIG. 5.

These growing suspicions are transmuted into absolute certainty by writings of the word *kbnt* elsewhere in *Urkunden* II. The three determinatives cannot by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as representing an Egyptian ship. The hull design and ram of all three, the double mast on the first and the absence of a mast on the third (mast unshipped cleared for action?) all indicate unmistakably that the ships in question are Greek war galleys. There can, therefore, be no doubt whatsoever that in the late fourth century the old word *kbnt* was used to denote such vessels.

What, then, does this philological argument amount to? In the reign of Amasis the word *kbnt* is used of a fleet which, we have reason to believe, was composed of war galleys, built for ramming. Slightly later we encounter a new naval title, viz. *imy-r kbnt*, embodying the word *kbnt* which semantic considerations suggest must denote a novel type of war galley. Furthermore, we find the need for just such a word imperatively present in the Persian Period when the Egyptians were certainly using triremes. Finally, the word in question is *known* to apply to Greek galleys in the fourth century. The reasonable conclusion to draw from all this is that *kbnt* was not given this new meaning in the time of Ptolemy I but had acquired it as early as the Saïte Period and that *imy-r kbnt* may be translated, or rather paraphrased, 'Admiral of Greek-style War Galleys'.

¹ Tarn, *op. cit.* 122 ff., though his explanation of what triremes and quinqueremes actually were is quite unacceptable (cf. Morrison and Williams, *op. cit.* 154 ff.; 170 ff.; 289 ff.).

Let us now summarize the conclusions of the first phase of our argument: (1) it is clear that the Egyptians had the precedent, motive, and opportunity to make naval borrowings from the Greeks. (2) The naval history of the reign of Apries can only be explained if he employed warships of a totally un-Egyptian type built for ramming. (3) It is well-nigh certain that we have identified the word used by the Egyptians during the Saïte Period to denote Greek-style war galleys employed in their own fleet. In the light of such evidence we have no alternative but to accept that the Saïtes did make use of such vessels?¹

2. *Rating*

For the time of Necho we need discuss only two possibilities—pentaconters and triremes, both of which were built for ramming, a technique of naval warfare identifiable in Greece from the first half of the second millennium B.C.² and absolutely standard by the period in question. The pentaconter, rowed by fifty men, was the standard capital ship in the Greek world from the seventh century and retained this position well into the sixth until the time of Polycrates of Samos, when it was being relegated slowly but surely to the rank of the frigate in an eighteenth-century European navy, though it formed the backbone of second-rate navies such as those of Athens and Aegina down to the Persian Wars.³ Pentaconters, then, were clearly available to Necho but triremes are a different matter, for it is generally assumed that they had not been invented by Necho's reign. We believe this opinion to be mistaken. The evidence is as follows:

- (a) The earliest extant reference to a trireme occurs in Hipponax in the early second half of the sixth century.⁴
- (b) The earliest extant representation is found in the second half of the fifth century.⁵
- (c) Our passage implies that triremes were available in the reign of Necho (610–595 B.C.). It may be a guess and then again it may not. A decision on that question must depend on our other evidence.
- (d) Thucydides, 1. 13. 1–4. The interpretation of this passage has been bedevilled by scholars who, in the interests of their own preconceived ideas, have attempted to distort its obvious meaning. Two points need discussion:

(1) *καὶ τριήρεις ἐν Κορίνθῳ πρῶτον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ναυπηγηθῆναι*. Torr regarded this as entirely parenthetical. Having once thought of the naval innovation of Corinth, Thucydides naturally switches to another Corinthian first which has no chronological links with the surrounding passage.⁶ This idea is designed to remove all association of the passage with Ameinocles and the late eighth century B.C. and is based entirely on Torr's distaste for the idea of eighth-century triremes. Steup⁷ is obviously right that the trend of the passage, 'wenn man ihn unbefangen betrachtet' is opposed to such an interpretation. The *καὶ* and the infinitive construction join the clause too closely with what precedes for any other alternative to be possible.

¹ It would be gratifying if I could accept that the Louvre jewel boats (E 10687) represented Necho's Greek galleys, as is usually claimed. Unfortunately, they almost certainly do not (see my n. pp. 307 f.).

² Morrison and Williams, *op. cit.* 37 ff.

³ Thucydides, 1. 14. In general Morrison and Williams, *op. cit.* 128 ff.

⁴ Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* (3rd edn., Leipzig, 1952), Fasc. 3, 94, F. 45.

⁵ Morrison and Williams, *op. cit.* 169.

⁶ *Ancient Ships* (Chicago, 1964), 4 n. 8.

⁷ *ap. Classen, Thukydides* (Berlin, 1963), 1, 50, n. ad loc.

(2) φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίους Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς ναῦς ποίησας τέσσαρας. Morrison and Williams point out that Ameinocles is not stated to have built triremes for the Samians, simply ναῦς τέσσαρας.¹ That is true, but in the context the natural assumption is that Thucydides *means* triremes and were it not for the chronological difficulties we may legitimately doubt that anyone would ever have questioned it. We therefore paraphrase Thucydides' meaning as follows. With the rise of wealth in Greek states after the regal period tyrannies were established and in these circumstances the Greeks took more interest in naval affairs and seafaring. The Corinthians were the first to make naval arrangements similar to those of Thucydides' own time² and were the first people to build triremes in Greece. There was reason to believe that Ameinocles went to Samos and there built four of these vessels for the Samians, an event which took place about 300 years before the end of the Peloponnesian War. The difficulty here is clearly chronological. Thucydides first talks of the tyrannies and the considerable increase in revenues at that period, but then goes on to discuss Corinth and her naval innovations which must date at the latest,³ on his chronology, earlier than the known date of the Cypselid tyranny (second half of the seventh century B.C.).⁴ Something has obviously gone badly wrong somewhere, but it is possible to isolate the area in which the mistake must lie. Only two possibilities exist: either the association of the naval developments with tyranny is wrong, or the dates of Ameinocles and the ναυμαχία between Corinth and Corcyra are incorrect. The second is the obvious answer since (a) on general grounds, given the nature of the human mind, we may say that the association of two phenomena is more likely to be correctly transmitted than their date; (b) not only were the construction, maintenance, and manning of triremes extremely expensive, but the other naval reforms mentioned would require considerable resources, in finance, man-power, and technical skill, as well as the means to concentrate these resources for one particular task. A tyranny would provide the perfect conditions.

It is, then, evident that Thucydides firmly believed that the trireme was invented at Corinth in the time of the Cypselids, but was hopelessly confused on the question of their date. This is not as disturbing as it might seem at first sight when once we begin to inquire how Thucydides obtained these figures. For such an early period it is unlikely that he had any source other than genealogies.⁵ That such existed both for legendary and historical times is certain, and absolute dates could only have been obtained from them by relating one's own time to the genealogical scheme and then converting the genealogy into years on the basis of a fixed generation length. Now the length of the generation, like most things in Greece, was not a matter of common agreement. We know of 40 years, 30 years, and the Herodotean scheme of 3 γενεαί to 100 years, only the last two of which are, for a Greek context, statistically near the truth. Thus, whenever we have a year figure of this type for early Greek history we must accept that it is at best approximate and may be much too high if it is based on a 40-year

¹ Op. cit. 158. ² πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύτατα τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρίσαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς.

³ According to the view we take of τελευτῇ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. Is it the Peace of Nicias or 404? I believe the latter.

⁴ According to the Traditional (Apollodoran) Chronology the date was 657-584/3 B.C. (evidence Will, *Korinthiaka*, Paris, 1955, 363 ff.). The Low Chronology (c. 620-550 B.C.) championed by Will (op. cit. 366 ff.) *et al.* is surely placed out of court by epigraphic evidence (Meiggs and Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1969, p. 11).

⁵ Gomme, *Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford, 1945, repr. 1966), I, 122, n. ad loc., thinks along the same lines and considers that the figure was deduced like that in Herodotus, 2. 53. 2.

generation. If such figures are to be of any use, all we can do is to try to determine what the number of *γενεαί* behind them happened to be, i.e. what generation-length they were based upon. Now that this is a hazardous business we should readily admit, but worthwhile results can be obtained if we observe one elementary and oft-ignored principle. We should try, first of all, to obtain, on general grounds, a picture of the natural course of events and their interrelations and then deal empirically with the year-figures in an attempt to identify them with a chronological relationship which fits. Where this is impossible we have no basis for analysis and the figures must be left to their own devices.

In the present case, fortunately, we are not in such desperate straits. It has already been demonstrated that there is excellent reason to accept that the phenomenon in question was connected with the Cypselids who are known to date to the latter half of the seventh century. Now Thucydides gives us two figures. Ameinocles is dated *c.* 300 years *ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου* = $7\frac{1}{2}$ generations at 40 years per generation and the *ναυμαχία* is dated *c.* 250 years before the same point = $6\frac{1}{2}$ generations at the same rate, *exactly one generation later*.¹ If we take the *τελευτὴ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου* as 404 B.C. and convert at the rate of 3 generations per 100 years² we obtain as a date for Ameinocles *c.* $2\frac{1}{2} \times 100 + 404$ years = *c.* 654 B.C. and a date for the *ναυμαχία* one generation later. This fits what the general considerations mentioned above would lead us to suspect and harmonizes with two other considerations:

1. The period of the Cypselids saw the rise of Aegina as a threat to Corinthian commercial supremacy and was also a period of considerable overseas expansion, sometimes, as at Potidaea, at the expense of other Greek states.³ Such a situation might well have provided a marked stimulus to experimentation in naval matters at Corinth.
2. It is probable that hoplite tactics were invented some time in the middle of the seventh century B.C., though hoplite equipment had been available since the latter part of the eighth.⁴ The earliest certain representation of a phalanx occurs *c.* 650 B.C.⁵ though it is possible, if undemonstrable, that this tactical unit had been invented by Pheidon of Argos some decades before.⁶ Such an innovation constituted a revolution in Greek warfare, the passing of the individual champion, and the rise of the citizen army which functioned as a single, coherent body. In such an atmosphere of upheaval in military thinking it would be likely enough that some agile mind would turn its thoughts towards making corresponding innovations in naval techniques.⁷

¹ Forrest, 'Two Chronographic Notes', *CQ* 19 (1969), 100, interprets the figures in the same way though he uses them for a different purpose.

² This is the Herodotean scheme. It is statistically more or less right and we use it for that reason only.

³ Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (London, 1956), 49 ff.

⁴ Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (Edinburgh, 1964), 195 ff., has demolished the old view that the introduction of hoplite equipment and hoplite tactics must be contemporaneous. He demonstrates beyond all doubt that there is a considerable time lag between the two.

⁵ The Chigi Vase *c.* 650 B.C. (Lorimer, 'The Hoplite Phalanx', *BSA* 42 [1947], fig. 3; Snodgrass, *op. cit.* 197 ff.).

⁶ Andrewes, *op. cit.* 39.

⁷ If Andrewes is correct in believing that Pheidon was the inventor of hoplite tactics, the impact of the invention may have been particularly strong at Corinth because Pheidon was certainly active in Corinthian

We submit, therefore, that Thucydides, or his source, knew a tradition that an Ameinocles had built triremes at Samos¹ 7½ generations before 404 and that these ships had been invented in Corinth some time about the middle of the seventh century B.C.²

Let us now sum up. The evidence here presented suggests that triremes were invented in the latter part of the seventh century at Corinth and that Ameinocles was one of the first exponents of the art of building them. During the sixth century they spread slowly, for lack of builders, crews, and money, and doubtless also the innate conservatism of the military mind, until they were found, if sporadically, in the Eastern and Western Mediterranean. The rise of the tyrants in the west provided ideal conditions for the construction of large fleets about the turn of the sixth century and their example began to be followed in the homeland during the first half of the fifth century B.C.

Given this picture we have no reason to reject the possibility that triremes were built for Necho, especially since Egyptian relations with Corinth appear to have been close. Indeed, Periander's nephew was actually called Psammetichus.³ If Ameinocles could go to Samos in the seventh century it is perfectly possible that the wealth of Pharaoh would attract later shipwrights to Egypt in order to build this new type for him.

Conclusions

There is a strong case on historical and linguistic grounds in favour of the thesis that Greek war galleys were in use in Egypt during the Saïte Period. Furthermore, there is good reason to believe that triremes were available and that the Saïtes were in touch with the city responsible for their development. Even by itself the evidence presented amounts to the most compelling circumstantial case. If we add to it Herodotus' express statement, we should be guilty of the merest perversity if we denied that in the reign of Necho triremes were constructed for the Egyptian navy.

Postscript

When this article was already in proof there came to my attention an extremely interesting study by Lucien Basch entitled 'Phoenician Oared Ships' (*The Mariner's Mirror* 55 (1969), 139 ff., 227 ff.) in which it is argued that Necho's triremes were Phoenician, not Greek in origin. This view finds a willing champion in Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton, 1971, 81 n. 19. Exciting though this thesis may be, I find it unconvincing and hope to reply at a later date.

politics and, since he is said to have been killed there, this action may well have had a military character (cf. Forrest, *The Emergence of Greek Democracy* (London, 1966) 116 ff.).

¹ In the development of the trireme it was the *παρεξειρεσία*, 'outrigger', which was the crucial step (Köster, *Das antike Seewesen* [Berlin, 1923], 105 ff.). Presumably Ameinocles invented this device and then added a third bank to the biremes which had already been in existence for some time.

² Cf. Morrison and Williams, *op. cit.* 129.

³ Nic. Dam., *FgrH* 90, F. 59.

MAJOR MACDONALD, A VICTORIAN ROMANTIC

By JOHN D. COONEY

A FEW years ago, while working with the reserve collections of Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum, I stumbled across traces of a man, almost utterly unknown, who deserves a more prominent place in the annals of Egyptology than it has yet been his fate to achieve. The man is Major C. K. Macdonald, the first excavator of Serabit el-Khadim, Petrie's predecessor by almost six decades. His obscurity, though regrettable, is understandable for he appears to have published only one brief notice¹ and very little has been published about him. After diligent search I have found only six references to him in Egyptological literature, all of them relatively obscure.

The very little we know of Macdonald as a man was recorded chiefly by Heinrich Brugsch.² Indeed, outside the illiterate Bedouin who worked for him, Brugsch is our sole first-hand authority or at least the only one known to the writer. He records that Macdonald was born in the Hebrides. As he mentioned that at the time of his visit (before 1866) the Major appeared to be about forty-five, the date of his birth would have been around 1818 to 1820. He was a professional soldier, serving as major in the English cavalry. His military career could probably be reconstructed from records in Somerset House, but it is improbable that they would have any relation to his Egyptological activities.

His memory still lingered among the local Bedouin in Petrie's day, early in the present century. Petrie wrote sympathetically of the man and his work, but it is clear that Petrie had no knowledge of his excavations.³ Apparently no part of his collection in the British Museum was ever exhibited or published, and, thus, knowledge of the collection or of Macdonald's achievements would come to light only on consulting the early registers in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities. In his catalogue of the Alnwick Castle Collection, Birch does make passing mention of Macdonald and his excavations, but I imagine that is a work seldom consulted these days.⁴

Macdonald's first visit to Sinai took place in early April 1845, only a few days after the departure of the Lepsius expedition. At that time Sinai was invariably called Arabia and, indeed, both geographically and geologically it is an extension of the great Arabian land mass. Prior to going to Sinai his whereabouts are unclear, but as it is recorded

¹ Georg Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai* (Leipzig, 1872), 136 n. 90, where some brief notices are said to have appeared in the English periodical *Athenaeum*, May 1859. When this publication was available to me, my time was limited and a hasty search failed to locate the reference. Probably it is not of great importance.

² Heinrich Brugsch, *Wanderung nach den Türkis-Minen und der Sinai-Halbinsel* (Leipzig, 1866), 66-9. I owe both this reference and the above to the kind co-operation of Miss Eleanor Wedge, Librarian of the Wilbour Library of Egyptology of the Brooklyn Museum.

³ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (New York, 1906), 7, 20, and 53. See also fig. 63.

⁴ Samuel Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle* (London, 1880), 179.

(Brugsch) that he travelled with his wife in Egypt, it is probable that he went to Sinai from Egypt.

His penetration of the peninsula can be traced with considerable certainty thanks to the records made at the British Museum by Samuel Birch in 1849. His first stop seems to have been made at Moses' Well some twelve miles south of Suez. There he made a surface find of a fragment of a blue faience shawabti still preserving six lines of text. He then struck inland to Serabit el-Khadim in the south-central section of Sinai. One gathers this was his main objective, the land of the turquoise mines and the great Temple of Hathor, the Lady of the Turquoise. There he must have remained for a considerable time as he excavated over four hundred objects in the temple area. He had the time and leisure to make a very large collection of squeezes of the now famed inscriptions in the area, some of which no longer exist. At a rough estimate, his sojourn in the temple area would have occupied four to six months. His next objective was the well-known Wadi Maghara south-west of Serabit. There his interest was exploration, doubtless by camel with Bedouin guides. His finds from Maghara are just what one would expect, surface finds, chiefly spear-heads and other weapons, hand tools, and stone implements. Such objects are difficult to date but are of interest chiefly to pre-historians. One doubts that he remained long in this starkly desolate area. His next objective was Mt. Sinai south-east of Maghara, but whether his interest at that famed site was archaeological, geographical, or ecclesiastical, is no longer evident. Beyond the discovery of a single unimportant specimen, certainly a surface find, we have no information on his activities there. From Mt. Sinai Macdonald seems to have travelled almost due west to Tor at the coast. It is recorded, apparently on Macdonald's authority, that four objects, copper fragments, were found in a mountain range between Mt. Sinai and Tor. With this sketchy reference to Tor our knowledge of the Major's itinerary in Sinai ceases. He may well have visited other sites from which no antiquities were forthcoming, and so no record has come down to us. At one end or the other of this exploration the Major was at Saqqâra, for we do have a record of the antiquities he acquired at that famed site. They are not an impressive lot. The group includes only eight pieces. From the brief entry one gathers that Macdonald excavated them. They include a bronze statuette of an Apis bull, a bronze cat, a bronze ibis, a terracotta statuette of Isis holding Horus, and, dear to the Victorians, a jar holding corn—presumably ancient.

With this brief record our knowledge of Macdonald's archaeological activities almost ends. Presumably, he returned to England where he seems to have had a home. This return would have been in 1846 or 1847. At all events he next appears, briefly, in August 1849, when he presented all his Sinai finds and his important collection of squeezes to the British Museum. This was perhaps the first excavated group of material to enter the Department of Egyptian Antiquities. It was carefully recorded by the great Samuel Birch. His scholarship was so sound that even today, well over a century after he catalogued this material, it is only rarely that one can make a significant addition to an entry.

There follows a considerable gap in our knowledge of Macdonald's activities. Petrie records that the Major together with his wife returned to Maghara in 1854 to mine for

turquoise. The source of his information is not given, but I wonder if this date is correct. The reason I question it is that in April 1857, Macdonald put his art collection up for sale at Sotheby's in London.¹ A man of his temperament would part with his collection only under necessity. It seems to me that he took this step to finance his mining venture in Sinai and I suggest that he did not reach Sinai until later that year. The long title of the catalogue records that the collection was 'formed by Major Macdonald during his travels in Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Greece'. It was a very miscellaneous collection and, it must be admitted, a not very distinguished one. Clearly the Major was an eclectic and a romantic. A gold funerary wreath from Corcyra was one of the better items. There were medieval sculptures, armour, jades, Palissy ware, majolica, many ancient gems, Roman glass, some dubious medieval ivories, etc. There were also some Egyptian antiquities, apparently not from his excavations, of minor importance. A few of these were bid in by the British Museum. The sale netted £778. 10s. 6d. With this sum in hand and possibly other funds he departed for the desolate site of Wadi Maghara together with his wife. He was never to see England again.

On reaching his goal his first act was to build himself a house. Raised by Bedouin labour, the house was made from local stone, its beams being palm logs. Brugsch reports that Macdonald lived in it in fair comfort. In Petrie's time the building still stood. At all events the house so enchanted the local people by its novelty that they at once copied it and so formed a cluster of dependencies around the feudal centre.

In searching for turquoise Macdonald was, of course, following the trail of the Egyptians who mined there from a very early date to the late New Kingdom. Considering this prolonged and intensive exploitation of the turquoise deposits by the Egyptians it is curious how very rarely one finds any ancient object made of turquoise apart from jewellery inlays chiefly of Middle Kingdom date. In Macdonald's day, the reign of Victoria, the turquoise was very much in vogue. It later went out of fashion and was a drug on the market. In the last few years it has again become fashionable. Clearly had Macdonald succeeded in finding and mining this stone, his enterprise would have been profitable. But he was doomed to failure. He continued his venture until 1866 when he gave up. Curiously he did not return to England but migrated back to Serabit where he lived for another year. What did he do there? Probably he again excavated, but if so we have no information on the results. On leaving there he retired to Cairo—a strange choice for it was well before the existence of a sizeable English colony in that city. Not much of life was left to him, for Ebers² and others record that he died there in 1870 in poverty. A sad and frustrating story.

Although Macdonald was probably the first to attempt the reopening of an ancient mine, he certainly had successors later in the century. Several attempts were made at various gold sites to mine what the Egyptians had abandoned, and even an emerald

¹ *Sale Catalogue, Major Macdonald Collection* (Sotheby, London, April 20-2, 1857).

² *Op. cit.* 136. His exact phrase is 'on the brink of poverty'. E. A. Wallis Budge, *Cooke's Handbook for Egypt and the Sudan* (1905), 498, where he remarks of Macdonald that 'commercially his venture was a failure and he subsequently died in Egypt, a ruined man'. E. H. Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus, Journey on Foot in the Wilderness* (Cambridge, 1871), 167, 'where he (Macdonald) died a ruined and disappointed man'.

deposit (probably beryl) exploited anciently was unsuccessfully worked. All these ventures failed and for a very simple reason. The Egyptians were expert miners and quarrymen and apparently never gave up a site until they had exhausted its possibilities. In Sinai the Egyptians seem to have mined for turquoise from at least the Fourth Dynasty to the end of the New Kingdom, a very long stretch of time. Turquoise is not found in great masses, but as an inclusion or vein in other stones. In the vast majority of cases the deposits are much too thin and small to have any commercial uses. The larger and profitable veins would be conspicuous and readily detected by the ancients. Undoubtedly this depletion of the turquoise supply in Sinai explains why the site and the great Temple of Hathor, Lady of the Turquoise, were abandoned after the Twentieth Dynasty. The goddess could no longer live up to her epithet.

One would suppose that a long sojourn in this isolated area would have had a disastrous and neurotic effect on the Major. But Brugsch, who was his guest, paints a very different picture. The Major seems to have had a wonderful time. He loved animals, particularly cats and dogs, kept birds and several tamed specimens of the local fauna. In true desert tradition his house was open to any stranger and of his table Brugsch remarked that for the place it 'was Lucullan'. Clearly he commanded the respect and affection of his workers. Brugsch records that in addition to English, his mother tongue, Macdonald spoke French and Arabic 'as well as other languages'. As with so many other individuals of his time and today, he was tied to a task which did not greatly interest him, mining for turquoise, while his real passion was archaeology. Apparently he did pick up some knowledge of the ancient language. Again with Brugsch as our authority, his 'joy was to study archaeology. His work was to mine for turquoise.'

Ebers, who visited the site in 1871, spoke equally well of the ill-fated seeker of turquoise. He had probably read Brugsch's account, but he also had information from the locals who had worked with Macdonald. They confirmed that he had indeed died in poverty on his return to Cairo. Ebers generously records his regret that with his detailed geographical knowledge of the area and his considerable archaeological knowledge Macdonald had published almost nothing. He recounts the touching story of Blackie, the Major's cat, who continued to live in his master's house after his departure from the area.

Macdonald's adherence to sanity is comprehensible; he at least had the support of his work to fall back on, a staff to any man, but what of his wife, a shadow of a shadow to us? One can think of few more desolate regions for a well-bred English lady to dwell in than the Wadi Maghara. The boredom and loneliness on top of financial difficulties would cause madness or virtually insoluble psychiatric problems. But she remains a wraith. Even her maiden name is unknown. In a context far from clear Petrie seems to record that the Macdonalds had a son, William.

Clearly, Macdonald was one of the long line of British, male and female, who were intoxicated with the exotic civilizations of the East. Between them they produced the world's greatest travel literature for they were for the most part well born, well educated, and exceptionally able with the pen. Macdonald, while of them, was apart from them. He seems to have had no particular interest or ability in writing, but was more interested

in action. But surely as a good Victorian of presumably good background (as all officers were in those days) he must have kept a diary, a solid Victorian practice. Perhaps it is still in existence somewhere with his descendants—assuming that he did have a son, William.

So much for the man, though there is a chance that this article may attract additional information. Turning to the collections now in the British Museum, we note that they closely parallel those found by Petrie at a later date, but with one interesting exception. Petrie found not a scrap of glass in his Sinai excavations while Macdonald discovered about seventy pieces—all fragments of New Kingdom vessels which presumably had been presented to Hathor perhaps filled with scented ointments. The find includes a few fragments of Egyptian blue.¹

The date range of objects with royal inscriptions, chiefly of stone and faience, commences with Hatshepsut and ends with Ramesses IV, inscriptions dedicated to the latter being particularly frequent. Virtually every king between these two reigns is represented. Two fragments of tan limestone join (14382) and preserve part of an inscription, 'Lord of diadems, Merenptah, satisfied in truth, beloved of Hathor (mistress of . . .).' The fragment seems to be from the corner of a pedestal presumably for a statue of this king. Another fragment recorded as part of the pedestal just described is apparently from another pedestal dedicated to the same king, for one end of a cartouche preserves a ram. This inscription was inlaid with Egyptian blue when excavated, but only faint traces now remain. The earliest royal inscription found by Macdonald existed on the shaft of a faience votive *menat*, originally blue, now green (13207). When Birch recorded it, it bore the prenomen of Hatshepsut and stated that she was 'beloved (of Hathor)'.

Numerous faience fragments are inscribed for kings, chiefly of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. They include bracelets, amulets, strap handles, and sections of bowls. Fragments bearing the name of Ramesses III are particularly frequent. On the whole these faience objects are not of fine quality. An exception is a disc cover (13214) of a cylindrical jar or toilet box. It is made of a very compact, hard faience glazed in fine lavender blue, surely of the reign of Amenophis III. On the underside is a lip to keep the cover in place. On the top surface within a border of light green triangles was a register of antelopes, also in pale green, represented in the flying gallop and looking backwards. At the centre is a floral motif. The top surface has discoloured, but the under surface remains the fine original colour. This fragment is all that survives of what must have been a minor masterpiece of Egyptian ceramic art. See pl. XLV.

Of private monuments the earliest is probably a fragmentary seated sandstone statuette of a man (14367). He sits on a relatively high base, his feet folded under him. He wears a long skirt, an inscription on its lower edge with another directly below on the top of the base. Already in Birch's day both inscriptions were illegible. The interest of this sculpture is that the man's hands are represented with palms upward, a relatively rare detail studied by the late Professor Hermann Ranke some years ago. The date

¹ Published in detail in *Catalogue of Egyptian Glass in the British Museum* (or similar) by the writer. In manuscript.



Faience disc cover, c. 1400 B.C. (B.M. 13214)



Fragmentary statuette (B.M. 14367)

Courtesy of the British Museum

FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF MAJOR MACDONALD NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

must be Twelfth Dynasty. A small sandstone stela (8509) was probably a stock piece of the New Kingdom. A man wearing a short skirt stands at the right, his right arm extended towards a seated deity. Between them is an offering table piled with bread and lotus flowers, the latter only a distant memory from Egypt. There is no evidence that the stela was ever inscribed. A fragment (13357) of a grey steatite base inscribed for the 'King's scribe, the Overseer of works, the King's messenger . . .' was made in Egypt and sent to the shrine, possibly by this official who may well have been posted there. Fragments of stone, usually alabaster, vessels are numerous. Some have royal inscriptions. The only one calling for special comment is a fragment in alabaster apparently from a chalice-shaped cup with lotus petals in relief on the outer surface. Duplicates are known. Light blue faience figures of cats spotted black, all incomplete, are in the collection as are various amulets, some of them certainly of late date though it seems established that the Temple of Hathor in Sinai was not occupied after the New Kingdom. A 'copper mason's chisel' known to the writer only from the entry in the Register recalls the similar tool inscribed for Cheops found in the Nubian diorite quarry. This example is from Serabit el-Khadim. Another piece not seen by the writer was recorded by Palmer.¹ He wrote, 'I have since seen in the British Museum a beautifully executed female foot, carved in black stone which formed part of the collection of curiosities found by the late Major Macdonald in this very spot (i.e. Serabit el-Khadim).'

Such was Macdonald's contribution to Egyptology—a not inconsiderable achievement for an amateur. Had his finds been published before Petrie's work appeared early in this century, he would have been assured an honoured place in the annals of Egyptology. When we recall that his work in Sinai was well in advance of even Mariette's researches, his advocate could, with considerable justice, acclaim him as the first excavator in Egypt with any semblance of a scientific approach in his work.

¹ Op. cit. 193.

R. T. RUNDLE CLARK'S PAPERS ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF OSIRIS

By JOHN BAINES¹

R. T. RUNDLE CLARK's premature death in January 1970 was a great blow to all his many friends, and it saddened especially those among his academic colleagues who knew that he was working on an iconographic study of Osiris. His study would have been the first large-scale work of its type, and would have explored the character of the god through representational material, with the hope of relating representational forms to cult actions or stages in the myths; it would also have included a methodical typology of the representations.² But its author died before doing more than making extensive notes and drafting a few fragmentary introductory pages. It is my task here to describe these papers and their contents. First, some remarks should be made about his general approach to the study of Egyptian religion.³

Although he had been thinking about the problems of his research for a large part of the 1960s Rundle Clark did not begin collecting material actively until after 1965, and his studies were given their particular slant by a desire not to duplicate research, and also in reaction to the approaches of other scholars, in particular that of J. Gwyn Griffiths in his *The Origins of Osiris* (MÄS 9, 1966).⁴ His attitude was one with which a number of scholars today are in sympathy, and which Hornung⁵ has stated explicitly: that the search for origins should not necessarily be the chief part of a study, nor will it always reveal the more important traits of a figure, and that the best approach is to use the widest and most balanced range of sources, and to let the centre of gravity lie at a point determined by the availability of source material. In practice this means that many studies would best be concentrated on the Late Period, for which we have the most varied and abundant documentation. Of course, the fact that a particular piece of evidence is late does not prove that the information it gives us is relevant only to the

¹ Most of the material in this article is Rundle Clark's, but as he left no really coherent sketch of his work, the formulation is my own. For a brief appreciation of Rundle Clark see *JEA* 56 (1970), 3.

² In a letter of 19/1/65, asking for leave of absence from Birmingham University to work on the project, he said that he hoped to produce 'a book describing in detail the figures and symbolism of the god and the relations of these things to the rituals and temple layouts we know about'. Much of his work was on what 'we know about' as he defines it, so that the study broadened as it continued. His leave of absence was taken in 1967-8, and in 1969 he had come to the conclusion that the work would have to be much more extensive than that which he had originally planned. A secondary interest he named, Osiris in the Coffin Texts, was evidently relegated to the background: the one notebook with relevant material, begun in Oct. 1967, contains only about forty pages of notes.

³ A bibliography of his other Egyptological writings is to be found at the end of this article. The introductory sections of his *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (1959) contain relevant general remarks about his approach to the study of Egyptian religion.

⁴ In the letter mentioned (see note 2 above), he gives a list of topics in the study of Osiris, and excludes origins as being already treated by Gwyn Griffiths.



⁵ *Einführung in die Ägyptologie* (Darmstadt, 1967), 60.

Late Period, and the resultant picture may thus have a broader application than might at first appear. Some parallels can, for example, be demonstrated between early dynastic tablets and scenes only again common in the Late Period, and especially in the Osiris chapels at Denderah;¹ other cases of continuity are well known, and the Ramessid-Ptolemaic hymn published by Vandier may serve as a certain example.² Thus we cannot know what is the life-span of the phenomena we record, either within Egyptian history or reaching back beyond it, and the fact that our first unambiguous reference to Osiris dates to the Fifth Dynasty³ shows more what is legitimate speculation than what were the actual facts, few of which can ever be known, as our studies of large areas of Egyptian religion can never advance beyond hypotheses which we hope approximate increasingly to a description.⁴ Rundle Clark's concentration on late material was directly dictated by the available sources; this is clear as he originally intended to focus especially on the 'period between the Middle and early New Kingdoms'.

In approaching Egyptian religion Rundle Clark was aware of the deficiencies of much other writing on the subject, especially older German works. He considered that these deficiencies were of three main kinds: the widespread historicist tendencies, in other words the desire to trace the provenance and course of phenomena to the detriment of an analysis of the phenomena themselves and the way they relate to each other;⁵ the

¹ A parallel between early and late is between the ivory tablet of King 'Djer', illustrated, for example, in Schott, *Hieroglyphen*, pl. 7, no. 15, where there is a mummy-like figure lying on a lion bed, and a figure squatting (mourning?) at its base, and scenes found most typically at Denderah, though attested from the New Kingdom (e.g. in the cenotaph of Sethos I at Abydos). Part of the accompanying text on the tablet appears to read *ḥr ntrw*, but the meaning of the whole and its general character, whether funerary or not, cannot be understood with certainty. (It is worth noting that one of the scenes on the reverse shows the presentation of a mummiform figure with a falcon mask, a figure which later has the name Sokar-Osiris.) Nor is the relationship between these figures and the remainder of the group clear. Obvious parallels at Denderah are in Mariette, *Denderah*, 4, *passim*, and in Chassinat, *Dendara*, 2, key plates 127 and 135, with accompanying photographs. In the scenes where Isis and Nephthys are kneeling mourning (e.g. Chassinat, pl. 133) one would have to assume that Nephthys was secondary, probably added for reasons of symmetry, or in conformity with later versions of the myth. As can be seen, the identification is by no means certain, and I myself know of no Egyptian rite whose name begins *ḥr ntrw* . . ., but the similarities are suggestive. This identification was shown to me personally: I have not yet found it in Rundle Clark's notes.

² 'Quatre variantes ptolémaïques d'un hymne ramesside', *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 132-43.

³ He noted that this was more or less simultaneous with the change in determinatives for sun-temple from  to  (a loose note), but did not suggest why this should be. The obvious implication is that it accompanies a general ideological shift.

⁴ A further problem is our ability to comprehend intellectual and ritual elements in the religion relatively much better than social and psychological or personal ones, for which there is very little evidence, although a number of more recent works, like Morenz's *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), tend to concentrate on the latter at the expense of the former.

⁵ Morenz (*op. cit.*) is an attempt to approach the subject phenomenologically, but suffers from its premiss that Egyptian religion was more or less a new creation of the dynastic period, or so it would seem, since he believes that gods, myths, and persons are all conceptual creations of the early dynastic period. If this were so the Egyptians would indeed be almost unique in their mentality. Rundle Clark had already raised objections to such an approach in his *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, 11. A later typescript fragment states his objections to the Frankfort concept of 'mythopoeia'. His criticism seems to be of its over-intellectualistic character (in the sense of Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion* [Oxford, 1965]). A note on a card observes that L(évi-)S(trauss) (whose *Mythologiques* Rundle Clark was reading) is against the idea of a pre-logical mythopoeic phase, and that 'myths bridge emotive experience and intellectual thought'. The most recent discussion of these problems is Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt, 1971), 233-40.

tacit reliance on writers like Lévy-Bruhl and Ernst Cassirer and the assumption of ‘two mentalities’—or, as it sometimes seems, the more extreme view that the Egyptians were fundamentally different from the rest of humanity; and the ignoring of the possibility of using comparative data and interpretations of other, more accessible religions, together with the stimuli these latter might provide. Similarly, he was conscious that the idea that Egyptian iconography was entirely *sui generis* would not be very plausible. Unfortunately, ‘primitive’ art is less well studied than ‘primitive’ religion, so that there is very little adequate comparative material which might provide further clues; all the classic studies are of classical and later art. The closest parallel might well be found in Meso-American temple reliefs, but these of course resist interpretation harder than do Egyptian ones. Egyptian material itself might be best suited to achieving a real theoretical breakthrough, but perhaps that would be too much to hope for; on the other hand any ordered typology for representations is more than we have at present. Indeed Roeder’s promised typology of religious representations¹ was never produced, and the indexes to his *Naos* remain the only such collection apart from his works on bronzes. Clearly, immense difficulties stand in the way of any such undertaking. Apart from these general points about iconography and the desirability of a systematic collection, Rundle Clark was also aware of the problem of the ‘reality status’ of Egyptian pictures—the extent to which an Egyptian picture was conceived to have a life of its own, or in some way to be fully equivalent to what it represented, as has been frequently maintained. This could have had a considerable bearing on the study.

My knowledge of his views on theoretical matters of this sort comes largely from conversations, although he made a few notes on them in 1967–9; naturally I am chiefly aware of views he held on subjects in which I was also interested. A fairly large number of notes dating to the early 1960s relate to more general theoretical issues, and he was interested at this time—a period when he suffered considerably from ill health—in the possibility of doing a comparative study of creation legends, even producing a draft outline of his ideas on the subject. For this purpose he had studied other ancient material—Mesopotamian, Biblical, and the like—and social-anthropological and ethnographic (the reference that appears most frequently is to the work of Griaule and his collaborators on the Dogon). He was also conscious of the need to evaluate earlier views on Egyptian religion in full awareness of their intellectual background; this is particularly clear in a sketch called ‘A contribution to the study of Egyptian kingship’, which was delivered as a public lecture in the early 1960s. Curiously, he does not seem to have taken account in this context of post-Evans-Pritchard interpretations of customary regicide, which have in their turn been succeeded by a return to a more Frazerian approach.² This is surprising, as he was well read and always remarkably open to new ideas both within and outside his field.

The ordered series of notes for the book on the iconography of Osiris contain little such material, and are chiefly concerned with textual and representational evidence.

¹ *Naos* (CGMC, 1914), p. [v].

² Michael W. Young, ‘The divine kingship of the Jukun: a re-evaluation of some theories’, *Africa* 36 (1966), 135–52.

Only a few fragments of the book were written out, and none of these is in a sufficiently final form to be printed here; when they were written he was planning completion for a few years later. The various systematic notes will be described below. The latest stage of his planning is probably represented by a list of chapters, very sweeping in scope, which may, however, constitute more of an ideal than an actual programme, although scattered notes on almost every subject listed do occur in his notes, as well as some systematic lists of sub-topics. At the same time he had conceived the idea of producing a volume with translations of texts relating to Osiris, and this seems to have been in some ways the furthest advanced part of his work. The list of chapters is worth reproducing as a guide to the kind of material he was collecting: '1. The nature of the god—sources. 2. The iconography—fundamentals—developments. 3. Lessons of the iconography—origins—nature—development. 4. Osiris as funerary deity in the Pyramid Texts. 5. Osiris in the Coffin Texts. 6. Book of the Dead, elaborations in. 7. Osiris in visual [?] speculation. 8. The rites of Khoiak and New Year. 9. Abydos. 10. Osiris in Rosetau and Busiris. 11. Philae. 12. The Lamentations. 13. The attendant personae. 14. Relations with other cultures. Greece—Dionysos—Greek versions—Adonis—Tammuz—Christ. 15. Osiris and Heliopolis [?, this last word almost illegible].'

Attention should now be concentrated on the notes themselves. They fall into four groups, of which the main one is a series of bound quarto notebooks containing entries numbered in sequence, cross-referenced, and partially indexed. More or less belonging to these are a few notebooks in the same format which contain notes on the Book of the Dead, the Coffin Texts, and, most important, the iconographic forms of Osiris reduced to types, with drawings and references, which are unfortunately rather haphazard. The second group is a set of notebooks of the type used for shorthand, with detachable pages, on which more occasional notes were made, which are not all related to the book's subject, nor in a clear order. The third group consists of odd index cards, 5" × 3" in size (127 × 76 mm.), which are not grouped together in any logical sequence. Both the second and third groups evidently contain material of widely varying date, and the 'shorthand' books are interspersed with notes on entirely unrelated subjects, such as adult education. The fourth group consists of a series of four folders lettered A–D, the first two of which contain short studies of Egyptian texts relating to Osiris and one or two other small items, evidently intended for his volume of translations. The remaining folders contain less well classified notes on Osiris and Xerox copies and tracings of relevant scenes and inscriptions, some annotated. Finally, a number of other notes on Osiris are on scattered sheets of quarto paper, many of them tentative drafts for sections of the book, but in no order. I have tried in principle to exclude from consideration notes whose date is earlier than the mid 1960s, as they do not form part of the main project, and the content of many of the early ones is included in *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (1959). Again lists of Coffin Text MSS. and of Coffin Text–Book of the Dead correlations on cards have not been retained, as many of the relevant facts are published by Allen, *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts*, etc. (1950) and Barguet, *Le Livre des morts des anciens Égyptiens* (1967).

The main series of notes is in four books, and runs from number (1) to (988), and in

date from autumn 1967 to some time in 1969 (an interruption in 1968 due to illness cannot be traced in the notes). Numbers (888)–(905) are duplicated, as the third book was lost for a short time in April 1969 and replaced by a fourth. A card-index of these notes runs from (1) to (772), but is missing for many numbers, partly because some notes were evidently regarded as superseded or in some other way to be discarded. So the index is of some use in evaluating the notes. Throughout the series, references forward to later notes or back to earlier ones on the same subject are written in the margin or at the head of the note; the index entries summarize the content of each note in a word or two and also give cross-references. Apart from the structure imposed by the numbering sequence there is no particular order in the notes, but they are easy to use because of the numbers. Rundle Clark did not systematically extract the Osiris material in runs of journals or series of monographs, although he did search methodically for evidence on various separate problems like the colour of Osiris (a difficult question because so few publications are in colour).¹

The early notes are mostly short, but they increase gradually in length. The first book contains 561 notes, and the second only 326, including quite extended commentaries on articles, and translations of texts, some of these later reworked in the lettered folders.² It is difficult to give a brief description of the contents of these notes. The majority of them relate to texts, primarily late ones (separate notebooks were planned for the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead), but the accent throughout is on seeking elucidation for representations; and the variety of representations of Osiris is of course enormous, despite the overwhelming predominance of standard iconographies. As Rundle Clark remarked, if the texts did not say Osiris one would sometimes be disinclined to believe that he was really meant. Almost any facts about the god may be relevant, so Rundle Clark was not limiting his coverage to any particular area. On the other hand some textual data remain unilluminating even though they provide a superficial explanation of a few representations. An example is the rare epithet of Osiris as ‘perfect youth’ (*ḥwn nfr*), which, although it may explain the existence of pictures of the young Osiris,³ does not help to reveal what role such a concept played in myth or in ritual. One might suggest that Osiris’ rebirth was being identified with the emergence of the young sun-god or demiurge, typically as a boy, but extended research would be needed to provide solutions to such problems.⁴ Very few results of any such detailed research are visible

¹ He expressed verbally the opinion that Osiris’ flesh was always green or black; where this was not so there was invariably an explanation to be found in the context, and this could provide insights into the contexts. (See also Kees, ‘Farbensymbolik in ägyptischen religiösen Texten’ [*Nachr. Göttingen*, 1943, 11], 418 on Osiris’ blackness; and Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* [1970], 425–6). A fragmentary loose note of Rundle Clark states, ‘Osiris has a green face and hands—the rest of his body is covered—apparently swathed—in black’. Kees (op. cit.) does not mention Osiris in his discussion of green. Osiris’ body—as opposed to face and hands—is in fact usually white, cf. for example the tomb of Nefertari, of which Rundle Clark had colour slides; so he must have had some particular picture in mind. In the tomb of Nefertari Osiris’ face and hands are in all but one case green (Thausing and Goedicke, *Nofretari* [Graz, 1971]). The exception is no. 107, where Osiris’ epithet is *wmn-nfr*, unlike on the opposite pillar (ibid., p. 53). The composite Rē-Osiris figure (ibid., no. 41 is also green.

² E.g. n. (855). Some of these also go back to earlier notes in the ‘shorthand’ notebooks.

³ E.g. Mariette, *Denderah*, 4, pl. 68, 70, 72—if it is correct to think that the naked figure is youthful.

⁴ Cf. A. Eggebrecht, ‘Zur Bedeutung des Würfelhockers’, in *Festgabe für Dr. Walter Will* (Köln, 1966),

in the notes, because of their more descriptive nature; until Rundle Clark came to write chapters he probably meant to carry some of the conclusions in his head. Other conclusions, or rather approaches, he started setting down in typescript, and these fragments are preserved loose, with in many cases only one sheet out of several extant; these sheets also represent his views only half-way through his planned research. The value of the notebooks themselves lies in the wide range of material they cover, and in the insights which they from time to time provide. The more extended studies in the latter part may well be less useful to other people doing research on similar topics than the earlier, briefer ones.

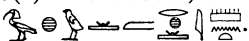
The notebook headed 'iconography of Osiris' has been mentioned above: it forms an essential complement to the numbered series. Additional relevant notes were in a loose-leaf folder, and have been added to the bound notebook.¹ The crucial relevant notes in the numbered series are (374)–(375), which are formalized in a short typescript fragment which I have now located at the appropriate point in the numbered notebook. Other relevant notes continue in almost uninterrupted succession in the numbered series to no. (410).² Rundle Clark used as his basis the classification given by Roeder³ and was intending to extend this considerably to include all the supine variants and the ones showing Osiris stirring to life on a bed. The more outlandish examples of Osiris would probably not have fitted into such a scheme.⁴ The later sections of the iconographic

143–63. Rundle Clark's n. (66) states that 'The "high hill" [primeval hill?] is the *Dst* of Osiris', citing Philae, photo 674 [from Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, 35], translating '(his is) the noble mummy in the Abaton [*ist wrbt*], whose *Dst* is made deep in the high hill'. No standard iconography of Osiris seems to reflect these conceptions, but a few pictures, on which Rundle Clark had made notes, suggest that Eggebrecht's interpretation of the *ist* idea needs extending, and that Osiris may here be identified with the sexually potent demiurge rising from, or on, or in the form of the primeval hill (cf. *Orientalia*, 39 [1970], 392–4). The association of the *Dst* with the *ist* and the primeval hill in this context may derive from the fact that Osiris is lord of the *Dst*. The pictures in question show an ithyphallic Osiris called *rsi-wdꜣ* (*Wb.* II. 451. 13), and in two cases the accompanying texts identify the *Dst* with the *ist*; these pictures occur in the context of the emergence of the sun from the horizon, another symbol of creation. (There are at least two instances, Lanzone, *Diz. mitol.* pl. 304 and p. 804, and Junker, op. cit. 52, fig. 15, where the tomb of Osiris is in a form similar to a *ist*; a text cited *ibid.*, cf. also pp. 74–5, shows that the tree at Osiris' tomb was given the name *ist*, perhaps as the result of a confusion.) In a third picture the ithyphallic Osiris has taken the place of Nut as the arc of the sky and has an ithyphallic Geb beneath him, and the setting sun (an old, ram-headed figure inside the sun-disk) between his legs. It is not possible to do justice to the problems raised by these pictures here. (The pictures are Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological papyri*, no. 2, L; Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 77 [for the accompanying cryptographic text see Piankoff, *ASAE* 49 (1949), 139; the translation is in need of revision]; a more remote parallel is Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., p. 25, fig. 6; the picture with Osiris in the role of Nut is P. B.M. 10018, Piankoff, *Egyptian Religion*, 3 [1935], 155, fig. 2). It is worth noting that where Amün is called *rsi-wdꜣ* (*Wb.* II. 451. 14) it is the ithyphallic Min-Amün, so that it is likely that *wꜣ* has a specifically sexual meaning in the epithet. In default of a more extensive study it is not possible to resolve problems like the fact that the ithyphallic Osiris is not normally called *rsi-wdꜣ* at Denderah.




¹ A tentative conclusion which could be of some importance is noted in the same folder. This states, after a brief discussion of the papyrus of Ani, that Sokar (i.e. a hawk [mummy] motif) appears on all the chief pictures of Osiris. It is not clear whether this is meant as a general conclusion or as one relevant only to the Ani papyrus.

² A number of observations about the *imiwt* object occur at the same point; Rundle Clark traced this to an early dynastic instance: Petrie, *Royal tombs*, II, pl. 10. 2; II. 3 (n. (400)).

³ *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, 133 ff., §§ 177–231.

⁴ One such, noted on a card, is the form in Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological papyri*, no. 19, which shows a type of garment (?) with necklace, head, and crown, and a lion-head near the bottom. The accompanying text names Osiris . The card is headed 'initiate', evidently in allusion to this epithet, which Piankoff translates (*ibid.*, p. 162) 'a spirit through his knowledge of the hidden'.

notebook are not formalized in the same way, but consist chiefly of photocopies of representations, with notes—some quite extended—on the scenes, partly classifying them. The concern of the notebook is exclusively iconographic, and the major part of the scenes commented on belongs to the Late Period; this notebook was probably the starting-point for the typology which was later to be elaborated in detail.

The 'shorthand' notebooks evidently served for day-to-day note-taking, without any of the notes being necessarily destined to be retained; for this reason their content is more heterogeneous than that of the numbered notes. Some at least of what occurs in them is also found again in the numbered notebooks. Quite a few odd ideas are jotted down in the 'shorthand' notebooks, perhaps more than reached the numbered series; Rundle Clark's mind was remarkably fertile on points of detail. One example from these notebooks, more elaborate than most, is a discussion, sadly incomplete, of the early determinatives of Osiris and interrelated facts about the *hṯp rdī niswt* formula. Rundle Clark had claimed to trace the representation of cult images (like the 'Sokar-Osiris' cited above, p. 287 n. 1) back to the First Dynasty, and believed that the early determinatives, and all the major types of representation of Osiris (which he listed at this juncture as five)¹ corresponded to cult images²—except, in the case of determinatives, when the image was the generic,  or . The conclusion towards which he may have been tending was that the type of Osiris with white crown and mummiform body, holding a long sceptre with both hands and standing on a , was derived from a cult image of *Hnti-imntiw*,³ as that was the early form of the determinative for *Hnti-imntiw*, and *Hnti-imntiw* appears to have had a shrine in the royal funerary complex from an early period. This explanation might simplify the problem of why Osiris wore a white crown.⁴ In notes like this one he was coming back, as it were despite himself, to the problem of the origins of Osiris. One factor he considered needed taking into account in any discussion of the problem was the argument of Fecht⁵ on the geographic origin of the name-form of Osiris.

Fourteen 'shorthand' notebooks contain material on Osiris, some of them as little as one or two pages. In bulk the majority of these notes are translations; Rundle Clark made a great many translations of Egyptian texts, frequently returning several times to the same text.

¹ Partially corresponding with the enumeration in the iconographic notebook.

² From the Denderah representations (above, p. 287 n. 1), which give material and size of the figures, this would seem to follow for a much wider variety of forms. However, it may be a question of whether all the pictures of Osiris in a given form are pictures of cult images, rather than whether cult images existed of any particular form also found in two-dimensional representations.

³ He did not mention here the normal explanation of Osiris' iconography as derived from that of *ꜥndti*. But it should be emphasized that this alternative hypothesis might only have covered one form of Osiris.

⁴ He also observed that the canonical Abydene form of Osiris was incapable of any movement, except when presenting its insignia to a private individual or to the Horus name of a king. He said he had four cases of this; I can find only three in his notes, all involving the royal Horus name. These are Cairo 20538, 20539 (twice on each, Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, 4 [CGMC], pl. 40-2) and Stockholm MM 32004 (B. J. Peterson, *Orientalia Suecana* 14-15 [1966], 4).

⁵ *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur* (ÅgFo 21, 1960), §§ 101-9, with 'Nachtrag', p. 223. I have not yet found any extensive notes on Westendorf's views on the origins of Osiris (*Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* [MÄS 10, 1966], Einleitung), although n. (400) contains some comments on this book.

The index cards contain odd ideas and references that he jotted down as he worked. He said himself that he doubted whether anybody else could understand them, and although this is an over-pessimistic assessment, there is no discernible order in them, and they span very varying dates, some of them going back to the 1950s. About 300 contain material relevant to Osiris, and some of these embody ideas not noted elsewhere.¹ The main subject is iconography, but the Coffin Texts are also a very important source, so much so that if a volume number is given without title this refers mostly to the Coffin Texts; Rundle Clark had been studying the Coffin Texts for twenty-five years, and his copy has annotations on almost every spell. The cards are evidently missing essential items, as some are obviously second or later in a series, and the first cannot now be found. There is also a study of *BD* 1 on cards, of which only a few are preserved; however, this was later transferred to typescript.

Folders A and B in the series A–D have lists of their contents written on them, and each item consists of a set of sheets pinned together, containing a typescript translation of a text with or without commentary, and in a few cases just a discussion of some particular problem. The state of completion of the typescripts varies, but they are mostly much further advanced and ordered than the many similar typescript fragments found loose among the remaining notes. Unlike the other loose notes, the two folders and folders C–D were found together among Rundle Clark's papers; the remainder were assembled from the contents of two filing cabinets. Folder A contains twenty-three items numbered 0.1, (0.2), 1–22. 0.2 is the same as B5 (in folder B), and sited at the latter point. The texts vary in length from a page or two to twenty-one pages on P. Bremner–Rhind (translation almost entirely without commentary) and seventeen pages on P. Louvre 3079. No. 3 is a discussion of the meaning of the word *imht*, which states that it has two connotations, 'one, a cave out of which the flood water came every year to give the land life and prosperity, the other—a cemetery or land of the dead. The two concepts meet in Osiris—the life spirit who lies dead in an underground place which is, in a way, his tomb, and from whose body or by whose revival the new waters of the inundation come in their due season.' It then lists cases in the Book of the Dead where it is a 'generalized word for underworld'. No. 9 is a discussion of Rosetau, slightly fragmentary, followed by translations of Coffin Texts Sp. 1073, 1079, 1080, 1084, 1086, with comments. The rest of the numbers are translations. The texts belong to all categories except for the Pyramid Texts; most of them are Coffin Texts/Book of the Dead, or come from late religious papyri. Folder B contains only translations of texts, numbered from B1 to B10, and a number of loose sheets at the end, which include a discussion of the epithet *db:-dmq* in the Litany of Rê and Book of the Dead 168, and translations of Coffin Texts Sp. 154–6, the spells for 'knowing the souls of the holy places' discussed by Sethe *et al.* in *ZAS* 57 (1922), 1–50. Two further typescript sheets cannot be precisely assigned. Folder C has no material in a fully worked-out state and no list of contents written on it. One or two fragments in it belong to the studies in folders A–B, and the other chief item is an unfinished schematic diagram of Coffin Texts Sp. 337–9 = Book of the Dead 18–20. The only contents of folder D are a few tracings of figures of Osiris.

No proper description of Rundle Clark's scattered papers on Osiris is possible within this article.

¹ One, on which 'put in book' was noted, is worth mentioning here. Rundle Clark observed that the motif of Horus as doctor, noted for the New Kingdom by Spiegelberg, 'Horus als Arzt', *ZAS* 57 (1922), 70–1, was present in the Coffin Texts, Sp. 1073. *CT* 7. 342–4 runs (the speaker is envisaged as Horus): '(the] soul threatens) Grow weary, O you crouching with hidden faces! who live by (virtue of) their throw-sticks. I am a confident one, with heavy power, who makes his way in the flame. I have treated Osiris (*srwh-n-i*), make way for me, let me pass! that I may succour Osiris.' (Rundle Clark's translation.)

In bulk they are probably almost equal to the classified notes, but their importance is relatively small. Many typescript sheets could be linked to the other short typescripts described, while a mass of other paper and loose cards contains yet more varied matter; all of it could conceivably be of interest to a specialist, but the work of ordering it alone would be considerable. One category stands out; there is a large number of photocopies of Osiris scenes—only a fraction of the photocopies Rundle Clark owned—many of which have annotations. One folder is of the reliefs in the temple of Hibis in Kharga oasis,¹ but most of the pictures of Osiris had been extracted from this and pasted into the iconographic notebook. The majority of the remainder are of Denderah, one folder containing photocopies of a number of scenes, with typescript translations of some of them, notably the processions of Nile gods from the crypts.² There is also a sequence of nome-figures treated in the same way. A few typescript pages in the same folder discuss Osiris in the temple of Opet at Karnak.³ Photocopies also exist of Edfu material, but not of Philae, which Rundle Clark must have intended to study in detail at a later date. Another coherent fragment is an incomplete study of the Old Kingdom writing-board published by Reisner,⁴ which contains what he considered to be the earliest preserved picture of Osiris.

The present description of Rundle Clark's papers should suffice for immediate purposes, both because it is more a description than a piece of research in its own right, and because more extensive use of the material should be left to others intending to work in the area in question. To such people it should be of considerable interest. I should emphasize, however, that I have no special competence on the subject of Osiris, and the significance of much of the material will no doubt have escaped me. But wherever possible I have tried to indicate at least one or two of the points of interest where the notes obviously had something to offer—or where I could remember an opinion of Rundle Clark's that was worth recording—in order to give an idea of the information and ideas contained in the notes. Data have been checked against the sources cited, so that the responsibility for errors is my own.

The main series of four notebooks, the index to these, the iconographic notebook and the notebook on Osiris in the Coffin Texts, the lettered folders A–B, and two further folders containing selected fragments of obvious relevance and coherence have been deposited with the Griffith Institute in Oxford, so that they will be accessible to scholars. The remaining papers have been excluded for reasons of space, and because their form is so intractable that they could be a burden to intending users: it might be possible to attempt a reconstruction of Rundle Clark's ideas from the entirety of the papers, but that is unlikely to be the chief concern of other writers. These remaining papers are being kept for the moment by Rundle Clark's widow.

This brief study has been written in memory of a man who was prevented by circumstance from completing the academic achievements of which he was capable. But circumstance never affected his personal qualities, which benefited and endeared him to all who knew him.

¹ N. de G. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis*, III (New York, 1953).

² Mariette, *Denderah*, 3, pls. 25–6; also in Chassinat, *Dendara*, 5, pl. 399, pp. 97–100.

³ De Wit, *Le temple d'Opet à Karnak* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 11–13).

⁴ 'A scribe's tablet found by the Hearst expedition at Giza', *ZAS* 48 (1911), 113–14.

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- 1970: Review of C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian festivals: enactments of religious renewal*. Studies in the History of Religion: Supplements to *Numen* 13. (Leiden: Brill, 1967.) *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. 21 (1970), 425-7.

Among Rundle Clark's papers were a number of studies of Egyptian texts, in particular the Coffin Texts, made for his students at Birmingham. He also published review articles in newspapers and some original poetry.

Erratum

The tablet mentioned as containing a falcon-mummy, p. 287 n. 1 above, is not the reverse of the one with the lion bed scene; an examination of the original object in the Cairo Museum (T 70114) also showed that the falcon mask is very unlikely, the head resembling a human head much more strongly. My remarks about Sokar are therefore without foundation.

Addendum to p. 292 n. 4 above.

Durham N. 1936 (Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle* [London, 1880], 270 pl. v) is of great interest in this context. It shows Osiris and Wepwawet presenting symbols to the royal cartouche; the figure of Wepwawet is clearly a cult image, so that the Osiris has every chance of being one too.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WALTER BRYAN EMERY (1903–1971)

By E. P. UPHILL

PROFESSOR Emery's sudden death in Egypt earlier this year not only deprived British Egyptology of its leading excavator but inevitably meant that an enormous mass of unpublished work was left by him. This is not the place to dwell upon his great contributions in the field, which has been very adequately done in Professor Smith's obituary of him, but one cannot present a list of published works to readers, however complete it may seem, without first bringing their attention to this vast corpus of unpublished material which pressure of other commitments forced him to leave behind. This is probably the greatest mass of data left by any Egyptologist since Mariette and Reisner, and there is no doubt that the list of major works would have to be doubled if Emery had lived long enough to see his detailed records through the press.

As much of it is nearly ready for publication, it is worth showing the great range of this work by having it summarized under six main headings:

1. Second Intermediate Period—New Kingdom tombs at Saqqâra. 1953–6.
2. Buhen Fortress. 1957–64. (a) Archaeological and architectural report, the latter already in the press. (b) Inscriptions, by H. S. Smith and others, nearly ready for publication.
3. Buhen, Old Kingdom Town. 1961–2. Full records exist, but projected publication has not commenced.
4. The Cemeteries of Qasr Ibrîm. 1961. With A. J. Mills. Publication was projected by W. B. E., but had not been commenced.
5. Current very large-scale excavations in the Sacred Animal Necropolis of Saqqâra. 1964–71.
6. Some minor tombs of the late First Dynasty, and tombs of the Second and Third Dynasties, mostly unpublished; but cf. no. 70 of this bibliography. Thus the sixth section may be classified as Saqqâra Archaic mastabas. 1934–9, 1945–7.

From all this it will be seen that several volumes might have been expected without counting specifically textual and inscriptional volumes on related projects such as the Hatshepsut temple at Buhen. With a total of something like 8,000 drawings and plans preserved, it can be seen that this bibliography of published works represents a mere *half* or perhaps even less of Emery's total work and output. Only when these works are published will his achievements in the field become fully apparent and some idea of his contribution to Egyptology be possible.

For this reason I judged it expedient, nay vital, to gather all possible preliminary reports and references to excavations, however small, as they obviously have a special

value and stand in the nature of advance reports and accounts of so much work, details of which are as yet unavailable.

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2. *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul*. With chapters by L. P. Kirwan. Mission archéologique de Nubie, 1929-1934. Service des Antiquités, Cairo. 1938. 2 vols. Text and plates. pp. vi, 407+ix, 118 pls., 118 text figs.
3. *Excavations at Saqqâra. The Tomb of Hemaka*. With the collaboration of Zaki Yusef Saad. Service des Antiquités, Cairo. 1938. pp. viii+64, 43 pls., 26 text figs.
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5. *Nubian Treasure: an account of the discoveries at Ballana and Qustul*. Methuen, London. 1948. pp. x+72, 49 pls., 10 text figs.
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14. 'Two Nubian Graves of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos.' *AAA* 10 (1923), 33-5.
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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

***Hmt* 'woman' as a feminine suffix**

It has been known since the very beginnings of Egyptian philology that beside $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ 'woman' there is a common synonym $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$, Coptic CQIAAE , with *hmt* appended as a suffix, but so far as I am aware it has not been generally noted that this suffix is used elsewhere to denote the female of the species, e.g. $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ 'she-ass', *Pyr.* 523; $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ 'wild cow', *Pyr.* 389; 1370 (translated by Sethe as 'Wildkuh und Frau'); $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ 'goddesses', *BD* 175, 11; $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ 'woman of Asia', *BD* 445, 14-15. It may well be that other examples of this apparently tautological usage remain to be recorded.

A rare use of the compound *st-hmt* itself to express gender occurs in *msw wrw st-hmt* 'female children of princes', *Urk.* IV, 1305, 7, instead of *mswt wrw*; here the intention is clearly to stress the contrast with the preceding *msw wrw* '(male) children of princes'. R. O. FAULKNER

The meaning of the group $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ in the inscription of *Hr-wr-rr* (Sinai, No. 90, 8)

THE reading of the group in question and, indeed, of the entire line of which it forms a part has long been problematic. Weill, *Recueil des inscriptions*, 175, understood it as *hd-t s imy-r iht*, but with unconvincing, if not impossible, meaning. Sethe, *Erläuterungen zu den ägyptischen Lesestücken*, ad 86, 8, followed by Blackman, *BIFAO* 30 (1930), 100, n. 10, read *hd-t mꜣꜣ i m rht* 'On the eve of my setting out from the *rht*', the former noting that *rht* is an 'Ortsbezeichnung sehr problematischen Aussehens', the latter suggesting its possible connection with *whrt* 'wharf', 'dock'. Loret, *Kêmi*, I (1928), 112, read $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$, and translating 'dès le lendemain de mon arrivée au lieu d'extrac-tion' noted that the obscurity of the phrase is due to the presence of 'un mot nouveau' combined, perhaps, with 'une erreur de gravure ou de copie'. Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 97, while reading the far more convincing *hd-t ts-i* for the first part of the line, followed Sethe in taking *rht* as a place-name, translating the whole 'On the morning of my rally at Rokhet . . .' More recently, Goedicke, *MDAIK* 18 (1962), 20, attaching *hd-t* to the end of the preceding line, proposed $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ (*i*) *m r iht* 'and a man there was longing for the tomb', understanding *ih* as 'the transfigurative designation for the "tomb" as "horizon"', but the phrase seems rather forced and, in any case, it is doubtful whether the reading $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ can be substantiated.

All the above renderings are based on the assumption that the signs in the group $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ are to be read in the order *s-h-t*. It is here suggested that the group be read *hst* (the signs being so arranged owing, perhaps, to graphic transposition), i.e. a phonetic rendering of $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ = $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ (*Wb.* III, 222, 5; cf. Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, II, pl. 25, 1, 3), a word which is probably to be equated with $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$, also written phonetically $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ 'hall', 'office' (*Wb.* III, 221, 18 etc.; the late variant $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ may or may not be significant), and that the preceding *r* is a writing of $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ 'door'. The phrase would then read *m r hst(y)* 'at the door of the office' (for an 'office' in a similarly outlandish spot (Uronarti) cf. *hꜣ n smit* 'office of reports', Barns, *Kush* 2 (1954), 24; also *hꜣ n ipwt* 'office of accounts', Sinai 142N4). This would suit perfectly the sense of Černý's *hd-t ts-i*, the whole line reading 'On the morning of my rally at the door of the office' or possibly '(my) office', and would not be impossible with Sethe's *hd-t mꜣꜣ i*, though in the latter case the *m* would probably be better taken as that of separation.

W. V. DAVIES

A Middle Egyptian word for 'measure'

THE Coffin Text Sp. 404 translated above, pp. 99 ff., contains the description of a door-keeper disguised as a corn-measurer. The word for the main implement of his trade merits a lengthier discussion than could be given there. (p. 118)

On his way to the Field of Reeds, the deceased has to pass a series of gates. At one gate, he finds the guardian standing there equipped as a corn-measurer (*hw*); 'his measure in his hand to measure out excrements to a man with it' (CT v, 185 a; B5C).

The reading of poses problems. Similar spellings occur elsewhere, and both *hw* or *hwt* and *hqt* have been discussed by different scholars.¹ A close parallel comes from one of Ḥekanakhte's letters, in which he claims to have ordered the bringing of 'the corn-measure with which it is to be measured, it being decked (ringed?) with black hide'.² Both texts write , and employ this word to designate a measuring (*hwt*) utensil of undetermined capacity. Under these circumstances, *hwt* would seem the obvious reading, but this is to some extent discredited by the spellings *ipt* and *ipyt* found in two of Ḥekanakhte's accounts.³

The evidence for the masculine form *hw* is even more tenuous. In a famous inscription from Asyut, the nomarch Khety claims to have been rich in grain, . The translation 'who sustained his city with *hw* and *hqt*' has been suggested,⁴ but Hellmut Brunner and Jacques Vandier have shown that *hw* is in all likelihood an active participle, not a new word for 'measure'.⁵

On the other hand, *hqt* as a grain measure holding 4 *ipt* is not always a suitable alternative. As H. Junker has pointed out, the Old Kingdom representations of corn-measuring invariably show rectangular receptacles quite unlike the barrel-shaped *hqt*. They are frequently depicted with three rings running around both ends and the middle part,⁶ and this would agree with Ḥekanakhte's statement that his measure was 'decked (ringed?) with black hide'. On the other hand, we have no reason to assume that such cooperage was limited to these measures and excluded the *hqt*.⁷

At least for CT v, 185 a, both alternatives are ruled out by the spelling found in B7C. No measure of this name is listed in the dictionaries, and one is tempted to think of *mdst*, a variant of *mdbt* 'scoop' or 'bailer'. However, the solitary instance of this use of *mdst* has been successfully contested by Hildegard von Deines,⁸ and must now be discarded. This leaves *mds*, according to *Wb.* II, 186, 15 a measure for dates attested from the New Kingdom onwards. In this connection,

¹ H. Junker, *Giza*, IX (Wien, 1950), 98 f.; T. G. H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi* (Archaeol. Survey 30, London, 1953), 44; id., *The Ḥekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (MMA Eg. Exp. Publ. 29, New York, 1962), 116.

² T. G. H. James, *Ḥekanakhte*, pl. 8, line 6; translation and commentary, pp. 46 ff.

³ Op. cit., pl. 13, line 12 and pl. 14, line 4, trans. pp. 65 and 68. For another early occurrence of this word see now T. G. H. James, 'An Early Middle Kingdom Account', *JEA* 54 (1968), 51-6 (line 2 of the Egyptian text).

⁴ J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I (Chicago, 1906), 408; sim. H. Kees, *Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens* (München, 1933), 40; W. Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben* (Äg. Abh. 12, Wiesbaden, 1965), 72. The text was first published by F. Ll. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh* (London, 1889), pl. 15, line 9.

⁵ H. Brunner, *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut* (Äg. Fo. 5, Glückstadt, 1937), 14; J. Vandier, *La Famine dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Le Caire, 1936), 102.

⁶ Examples in *LD* II, 51 and 103; Fr. W. v. Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, II (Berlin, 1911), pls. 9 and 12; *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, II (OIP 39, Chicago, 1938), pl. 116; *JEA* 6 (1920), pl. 19.

⁷ For this explanation see W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, III (Leipzig, 1936), 128 ('Die Maße haben alle je drei Reifen, die wohl auf Böttcherarbeit deuten'). The meaning of *rn* ('decked?' 'ringed?') is doubtful; see T. G. H. James, *Ḥekanakhte*, 49 n. 13.

⁸ *Wb. der medizinischen Texte*, I (Grundriß der Medizin der Alten Ägypter, VII, Berlin, 1961), 415 s.v.

Dr. William S. Ward (Beirut) has kindly drawn my attention to a brief communication by Sir Alan H. Gardiner entitled 'The word *mḏt* and its various uses' (*JEA* 26 [1941], 157–8). Gardiner there gave reasons to support the reading *mḏt*, and identified this word with Coptic $\mu\delta\alpha\tau\epsilon$ (Greek $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$), a capacity measure of one-twelfth of an *artabe* that was used for grain, fruit, and other commodities.¹ Despite the differences in spelling and gender, the $\overline{\text{𓄀}} \overline{\text{𓄁}} \overline{\text{𓄂}}$ of *CT* v, 185 *a* is in all likelihood the Middle Egyptian form of this Late Egyptian word, attested here for the first time.

It is tempting to consider this *m(r)ḏt* tentatively as a *nomen instrumenti* derived from *ḏt*, listed in *Wb.* v, 516, 1 as a verb connected with measuring. This entry was probably prompted by the spelling $\overline{\text{𓄀}} \overline{\text{𓄁}} \overline{\text{𓄂}}$ found once in the formula *iw ḏt·n(i) pr Imn m rnpwt qswt*.² Phrases like *iw ḥt·n(i) it šmr n sꜥnh n nīwt tn r-ḏr·s* 'I measured out nourishing Upper Egyptian barley to the entire village'³ might seem to support this interpretation, but the object of *ḏt* is *pr Imn*, not the grain. It is therefore better to delete this entry, and to treat the two occurrences of *ḏt* as metaphorical uses of the well-attested verb *ḏt* 'to extend': 'I maintained the temple of Amūn during the years of misery.'⁴ For the same reason, the suggested etymology of *m(r)ḏt* remains exceedingly doubtful.

Despite its uncertain origin, *m(r)ḏt* 'measure' is a welcome addition to our Middle Egyptian vocabulary, and may possibly furnish the correct reading for the above-quoted passage from Ḥeḳanakhte's letter and other instances where similar spellings occur. The presence of the determinative $\overline{\text{𓄃}}$ in both texts is certainly noteworthy, and further examples may eventually come to light, especially where the reference is to the receptacle rather than the unit of measurement.

DIETER MUELLER

The $\overline{\text{𓄀}} \overline{\text{𓄁}} \overline{\text{𓄂}}$ measure

THE quantity represented by the *mnṯ* measure has not been established till now,⁵ but it can be determined according to the known price of honey in Egypt in the time of Ramesses IX. The price of a *hnw* (c. $\frac{1}{2}$ litre) of honey was $\frac{1}{2}$ *ḳd·t* in gold, and the price of a *mnṯ* of honey was $1\frac{1}{2}$ *dbn* in gold.⁶ Hence the *mnṯ* ought to be equal to 30 *hnw* (c. 15 litres).

Honey, wine, oil, and frankincense were brought to Egypt in big jars with two handles, as they are described on wall-paintings from New Kingdom tombs.⁷ On some of these jars the word *mn* is written, thus showing their capacity. The size of such jars in relation to the men carrying them in some of the pictures⁸ accords well with the suggested capacity.

S. AḤITUV

¹ References in W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 194 s.v.; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 213 a; Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*⁹, 1084 s.v.

² W. Flinders Petrie and H. J. Walker, *Qurneh* (London, 1909), pl. x; published again by J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XI^{ème} Dyn.* (Bibl. Aeg. 10, Bruxelles, 1948), 5, no. 7 (the shape of the determinative differs slightly from the hieroglyphic type used in print; for the exact form compare the publications). This is the only example quoted by the *Wb.*, although an almost identical phrase occurs in another inscription of this period: H. Polotsky, 'The Stela of Ḥeḳa-Yeb', *JEA* 16 (1930), 196 n. 6.

³ J. Clère and J. Vandier, op. cit., 6, no. 9; H. G. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome* (Anal. Orient. 40, Rome, 1964), 67 f.; cf. *Urk.* 1, 254, 16. Other texts employ *sꜥnh* instead: J. M. A. Janssen, *De traditioneele Egyptische autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk*, 1 (Leiden, 1946), under II Dg.

⁴ R. O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 318 s.v. ('provide'); sim. J. M. A. Janssen, op. cit. II, 163 ('Ik voorzag den tempel van Amon van graan gedurende jaren van ellende'); W. Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben*, 30 and 59 ('Ich versorgte weiter das Gut des Amun in Notjahren'); J. Vandier, *La Famine*, 107 and 109 ('J'ai alimenté le temple d'Amon pendant les années de misère').

⁵ Cf., for example, A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, § 266, 1; R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 107.

⁶ W. Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I* (Straßburg, 1896), 89.

⁷ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē at Thebes*, II (New York, 1943), pl. 21.

⁸ Cf., for example, the picture from the tomb of Ken-Amūn; Norman de Garis Davies and R. O. Faulkner, 'A Syrian Trading Venture to Egypt', *JEA* 33 (1947), pl. 8.

The length of the reign of Sethos I

THE well-known Munich statue of the high priest of Amūn, Bakenchons I, gives his career as including: 4 years as a *nds ikr*, 11 years as a youth (*hwn*), *hry ih(w)-n-shpr n nsw M[n-m:ct-rc]*,¹ 4 years as a *wcb* of Amūn, 12 years as *it-ntr n Imn*, 15 years as *hm-ntr 3 n Imn*, 12 years as *hm-ntr 2 n Imn*, and 27 years as *hm-ntr tpy n Imn*.² The statue was dedicated while Bakenchons was still alive: he prays *d̄:f n-i h̄cw m nfr hr-s: rnpt IIO*, and so he might have continued in office for a year or two longer. The statue also bears the cartouches of the reigning pharaoh, *Wsr-m:ct-rc stp-n-rc* and *Rc-ms-sw mry-Imn*, i.e. Ramesses II. Bakenchons is independently attested in office in Year 46 of Ramesses II.³

However, the succeeding high priest Roma-Roy, who served under Merenptah and Sethos II, claims to have been inducted into office by Ramesses II, doubtless towards the end of his reign.⁴ It can at once be seen that not all of Bakenchons's 70 years' service as a priest can be fitted into the 67 years of Ramesses II unless one assumes pluralism of offices or a mistake in the inscription, either of which seems gratuitous. If one were to assume that the time which elapsed after the completion of this statue, encompassing the death of Bakenchons, the installation of Roma-Roy, and the death of Ramesses II, was of short duration—say, barely a year—then the statue might have been dedicated in Year 66 of Ramesses II. Bakenchons would have been, in descending order, high priest of Amūn from Year 40 to Year 66, second prophet from Year 28 to Year 39, third prophet from Year 13 to Year 27, and *it-ntr* from Year 1 to Year 12. His four years as *wcb* must have been spent under the previous pharaoh. Now Bakenchons prior to this had already served 11 years as a youth, *hry ih(w)-n-shpr n nsw Mn-m:ct-rc*, i.e. under Sethos I. The four years as *wcb* must also belong under Sethos I, and therefore Sethos I will have reigned at least 15 years. If it were found necessary to move the dates of the various stages of Bakenchons's career to earlier points in the reign of Ramesses II—which may well be likely—then the reign of Sethos I would have to be correspondingly increased in length over and above the 15 years already here ascertained.⁵

MORRIS L. BIERBRIER

Further remarks on statuettes of Atum⁶

A NUMBER of additions and corrections to my earlier article may be made here. I shall also enumerate several further classes of three-dimensional representation not mentioned there. For various reasons consideration of two-dimensional iconography and large-scale sculpture must be postponed to a later study.

I failed to notice that the 'old private collection in Cairo' was a true provenance for Ashmolean 1969.490, and that the piece is in fact illustrated and described in *Collection de feu Omar Pacha Sultan — catalogue descriptif* (Paris, 1929), vitrine 1, no. 46 with pl. 1 (only the top of the figure is

¹ The cartouche is broken, but as a corner of the *mn*-sign remains, the reading and restoration are not in doubt.

² Latest publication, Maria Plantikow-Münster, 'Die Inschrift des *Bk-n-hnsw* in München', *ZÄS* 95 (1969), 117–35, with antecedent literature.

³ In Papyrus Berlin P 3047, see W. Helck, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 65–73, pls. 9–12.

⁴ Karnak statue Cairo Cat. 42186, see G. Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romé-Roÿ et Amenhotep* (1929), 23–4, inscription III d.

⁵ Cf. the 14 or 15 years allowed for by E. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches* (1964), 40–1, 108; and the possibilities of either 15 or 19 years deduced by W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königslisten* (1956), 69–70, both basing themselves on calculations from versions of Manetho.

⁶ See 'A Bronze Statuette of Atum', *JEA* 56 (1970), 135–40. I am grateful to Dr. B. V. Bothmer for criticism of a typescript. Several of the additions are due to him.

visible; the description states wrongly that the figure is seated, presumably for this reason). Sadly this tells us nothing more about the ultimate provenance of the piece, about which speculation would for the present be idle.

On p. 138 of the article I draw a distinction between the presence of a ridge on the shoulder of mummiform Osiris and Ptaḥ, and its absence on the Ashmolean Atum. Historically, this ridge is the form of a garment attested from very early times as being worn by kings,¹ in particular at the *sed*-festival, and therefore presumably taken over by Osiris in his royal aspect.² However, such a meaning could not very well apply to a distinction between Osiris and Atum, whose double crown also indicated royalty, although the sense of this is not very clear; so it is possible that the Late Period reinterpreted the ridge as something peculiar to mummies, and the mummy form of Atum as partial. An alternative suggestion would be that the garment, being worn at ceremonies of renewal, was symbolic of a dead state as one stage in the process of regeneration;³ it could then indicate both royalty and mummy form—but primarily the latter. It is not possible to adduce concrete evidence for either of these hypotheses.

In dating the Ashmolean piece I omitted the possibility of its being an archaizing work of the Thirtieth Dynasty, whose external characteristics would be similar to those of a Saïte one—and since no precise forerunners to the piece are known (there is no immediate criterion for assigning a precise date to Cairo 38421), it would be more or less impossible to distinguish from a Saïte work. As examples of Thirtieth Dynasty bronzes, some of which have a similar appearance to Saïte pieces, one may cite the recent finds from Saqqâra (*JEA* 56 [1970], pls. 1, 5–9).

It is not true to say (p. 140 of my article) that only Atum is shown as old; the sun-god in his various names may be old. It is of course possible that other deities may be shown as old.⁴ Since the publication of my article Hornung has discussed the ageing of the sun-god and listed representations of him as aged.⁵ His pictures are all of the figure within the sun-disc, and have a rather diagrammatic character, being restricted to cosmological and astronomical contexts. Another picture that could be cited is in the Book of Gates,⁶ where Atum is shown leaning on a staff in a pose reminiscent of one found in Old Kingdom representations of nobles; but although this figure is more fully worked out than the others, it is still quite unlike the middle-aged type in Old Kingdom sculpture, or Amarna Period pictures of age.⁷ Thus the significance and distinctive character of the Ashmolean statuette is its indication of the age of the god more or less in the manner of a portrait; the face is given a pseudo-individual cast as opposed to age being expressed by conventional attitudes and gestures—though lines on the brow and cleft chin are conventional too, only in a different way. The age of

¹ In sculpture, for example, on B.M. 37996, an early dynastic ivory statuette of a king (*Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* [1964], 128, fig. 46), and on the famous statue of Djoser from the Step Pyramid enclosure (Lange and Hirmer, *Ägypten/Egypt*⁴, pls. 16–17).

² If this reasoning is adopted, the explanation of its presence on other mummiform deities will not be clear.

³ And its ridge could then be a stiffener. Kees (*Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, 165–6) raises objections to the interpretation of the garment as Osirian, some of which may apply to the view suggested here. J. R. Harris (personal communication) suggests that the absence of the royal uraeus in some *sed*-festival scenes may have a similar symbolic basis to that of the mantle.

⁴ Syncretistic figures of Bes, and the Bes face on stelae of Horus on the crocodiles, also incorporate the age of the sun-god, cf. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, 286; Bonnet, *Realexikon*, 105–6; Barb, 'Der Heilige und die Schlangen', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 82 (1953), 19–21. Age appears to be among the attributes held by figures of Bes, cf. B.M. 26267, a faience staff-top. Pantheistic Bes may also become a representation of time, or interpreted as such. The associated problems need more extended discussion than is possible here. De Wit's case of an aged Aker (cf. *RT* 6 [1885], 146, figure) should not be taken as such; the figure is bent because it is holding something.

⁵ *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt, 1971), 145–6 with nn. 31–2.

⁶ First division, e.g. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 38, 40.

⁷ E.g. Elizabeth Riefstahl, 'An Egyptian Portrait of an Old Man', *JNES* 10 (1951), 65–73.

Atum may be connected with the 'weary' demiurge,¹ or with the setting sun. I give reasons below for preferring the latter.

In this context it is worth making a suggestion as to the purpose of bronze statuettes of Atum, or rather as to the context in which they should be placed. First, it seems from the number of representations that Atum became more popular in the New Kingdom and Late Period than he had been hitherto, perhaps partly because of his relative prominence in the Book of the Dead. Among Late Period pictures a common class is that of painted wooden stelae. The iconography of the two statuettes, Cairo 38421 and Ashmolean 1969.490, is the same as one found quite frequently on the stelae, so that it is reasonable to deduce a connection between the concepts behind the dedication of stelae and statuettes. There are a number of bronzes of Horus/Harakhte which could be the complements necessary to produce, with an Atum, a precise parallel to the scenes on the stelae—although mummy-form figures are not normal. Bearing this in mind, it is possible to imagine that bronze groups were dedicated in temples—as must have happened with other complex groups²—which were similar in type and comparable in meaning to the two-dimensional scenes on tomb stelae.

The use of Horus as a parallel brings supporting evidence for the identification of two other statuettes mentioned in my previous article. Bronzes of Horus can be found which parallel closely Minneapolis MIA 35³ and Cairo 38423 (pp. 138, 139 of the article). For the Minneapolis figure one may cite Hildesheim 32,⁴ which differs in that the Horus figure is standing, a fairly marginal point, and in that the *wdj*-eye is absent. For Cairo 38423 the parallel is Cairo 38600,⁵ whose iconography is the same, with the addition of an obelisk at the back. The existence of these pieces considerably strengthens the case for identifying the former two figures as Atum. With the alternation of obelisk and dorsal pillar (Ashmolean) one might speculate as to whether there is any symbolic equivalence between the two in some instances, as dorsal pillars themselves can have semi-obelisk form, with the top of the pillar a forward-sloping triangle, giving the whole the appearance of one side of an obelisk.⁶ The obelisk has an obvious solar reference.


The pairing of Atum and Horus on late wooden stelae and my suggested association of statuettes are strongly in favour of Atum's having a solar rather than a demiurge aspect here. The sun-god is being worshipped, it seems, in two hypostases, the morning and the evening sun, so that the old triad of Khepri-Rē-Atum has been replaced by a simpler scheme.⁷ This pairing is sometimes shown within the sun-disc.⁸

¹ Either in his creation (*CT* 2, 33 *f*, 34 *h*) or at the end of his rule on earth (Book of the Divine Cow, Maystre, *BIFAO* 40 [1941], 59).

² The most extreme cases of groups are Kassel 243 (Roeder, *ZÄS* 76 [1940], 57–71) and Athens 132 (Bufidis and Roeder, *ZÄS* 77 [1941], 27–44). Groups may also be composed of separate figures, for example, libating Horus or Thoth, which require a figure of the other in order to complete the composition. (For Thoth see, for example, Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, pl. 59, Cairo 39249, 39250.)

³ Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, 29, § 47.

⁴ Id., *Ägyptische Bronzewecke*, 8, § 34, pl. 4 b.

⁵ Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, 157, pl. 34. Compare also the bronze pair in the Michaelides collection, Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, no. 1109, with Hildesheim 352 (Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzewecke*, pl. 20 a–b). I have no firmly based identification to offer for these. But for the rarity of three-dimensional figures in this form and the frequency of the counterpart one would be tempted to compare it with the hieroglyph for 'seated god' . There is another probable Atum in this form in the naophorous statue B.M. 1107 (Navelle, *Pithom*⁴, frontispiece) from Tell el-Maskhuṭa.

⁶ A statuette of this sort was found at Saqqâra in late 1968.

⁷ This general statement leaves many variant forms out of account. Thus Atum has been identified in one context as the god of the midday sun (E. Brunner-Traut, 'Atum als Bogenschütze', *MDAIK* 14 [1956], 21). On Bes in this role see above, p. 290 n. 4. On Bes as solar see Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 163–4 n. 98.

⁸ Typically at the entrance to Theban royal tombs, e.g. no. 18, Ramesses X, *PM* 1², 2, 545 (1); with the sun-god as old, Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, no. 20, extreme L; note that the ram-headed god is also occasionally called Atum (e.g. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, pl. 56, pp. 185–6; Chassinat, *Edfou*, III, 229, pl. 73, the twelfth hour of the day).

Some further types may be added to make a more complete repertoire of statuette forms for Atum. The first is represented by Hannover B 174,¹ which shows a snake-bodied figure presenting a sun-disc containing a *wḏt*-eye. This can be compared with the figure published by Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* [Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156], Wilbour Monographs, 3 (1970), figs. 2–3. The alternation of *wḏt*-eye and child in the sun-disc may be explained by the difference in media, as the picture of the child would look strange in three dimensions, so a more easily rendered alternative symbol would be sought. The character of the piece as an amuletic pendant fits well with the context of the figure in the Brooklyn papyrus. However, with figures of this sort there is always the possibility of their receiving different names in different places—and indeed the Metropolitan figure (below, n. 1) is published as Neḥebkau.

Emma Brunner-Traut has studied the type of statuette which shows a monkey with bow and arrow.² There are also unpublished cases in Birmingham and Durham.

Evidence exists for a type which is not preserved, in the form of the Philadelphia statuette of a prostrate king published by H. G. Fischer.³ The king's pose in this figure can be paralleled by the figures of the *rhyt* in the Anhai papyrus.⁴ For the appearance of the king in comparable scenes, see the same plate and Schäfer, *ZÄS* 71 (1935), 31 n. 2. The Anhai vignette shows a western scene, and Atum is the western form of the sun, so it is conceivable that the composite group of which the Philadelphia statuette formed part was a representation of the sunset as in the vignette (the appended text is of a sunrise), or of a sun-boat. Fischer (loc. cit.) quotes examples of comparable groups.

A sphinx form for Atum, which is also attested in two dimensions,⁵ is found in a picture of a statue group in Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, II, pl. 15. A pair of sphinxes is shown, both with a *k* sign and falcon wearing the double crown on their heads. The second sphinx is called Rēc-Ḥarakhte. The reason for Atum being shown as a sphinx is probably his parentage of Shu and Tefenet, who are identified as a pair of lions (De Wit, op. cit. 197).⁶

In the same general class as Cairo 30837⁷ is Hildesheim 2869, a small box with figures of two lizards on the top. According to Roeder⁸ this is dedicated to Atum, but he does not quote the actual text. A further Atum reliquary, this time with a snake on top, is Berlin 12392.⁹

So it is likely that Atum was represented in small statuettes alone as a man (in more than one form), as a sphinx, as an ichneumon,¹⁰ a snake, an eel,¹⁰ a monkey, and in three more complex forms (the Cairo reliquary 30837, the two-lizard group, and the group of which the Philadelphia statuette formed part). The variety within the small number of surviving pieces is striking indeed, and an indication of the complexity of problems of identification.

JOHN BAINES

¹ Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, 70, § 105 a, fig. 91. A similar figure in the form of a limestone pendant is MMA 30.8.308 (Hornemann, *Types*, no. 1545). The sun-disc on this figure contains a *bnw*-bird and a *wḏt*-eye, perhaps an allusion to the practice of placing two figures inside the sun-disc. Atum also occurs in two dimensions in pure snake form, Vandier, *La Tombe de Ner-Abou*, frontispiece. The mythological justification for snake form in a magical context may be the eschatological text in *BD* 175, which remained current until the Graeco-Roman period (E. Otto, *CdÉ* 37 [1962], 251–5).

² Op. cit. (above, p. 305 n. 7). Atum is already characterized explicitly as a destroyer of enemies in the Twentieth Dynasty (*Medinet Habu*, VI, pl. 428).

³ 'Prostrate Figures of Egyptian Kings', *University Museum Bulletin*, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 20.1 (1956), 27–42; 21.2 (1957), 35–40.

⁴ Budge, *The Book of the Dead, Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Ḳerāsher and Netchemet*, Anhai, pl. 1.

⁵ De Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (1951), 64. The es-Sebu'a sphinxes, half of which may represent Atum, will be discussed in my next article.

⁶ And are also attested as sphinxes, see Fecht, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 117; Ricke, *Nachr. Göttingen* 1965, 203 with pl. 4.

⁷ Masson and Yoyotte, *Objets pharaoniques à inscription carienne* (1956), 53, pls. 6–7.

⁸ *Ägyptische Bronzewecke*, 65, §§ 286–7.

⁹ *Ibid.* 389 §§ 518 f.

¹⁰ *JEA* 56 (1970), 135–6 n. 3.

The meaning of $\overline{\text{smny}}$ in Papyrus Harris 500, verso (= Joppa) 1, 5

COMMENTATORS on the story of Joppa have been unanimous in taking the word $\overline{\text{smny}}$ (I, 5 end) as a reduplicated form of the verb (3ae inf.) $\overline{\text{sm}}$ 'to pass by' (*Wb.* III, 454). Thus, for example, Peet, *JEA* 11 (1925), 226 translates the phrase $\overline{\text{smny}}$ as 'or let an Aper pass (?) . . .'; Lefebvre, *Romans et Contes*, 128 has 'ou bien qu'un Aper passe . . .'; and Wilson, *ANET*³, 22 renders 'or an apir may pass by . . .' (cf. also Blok, *De beide volksverhalen van Papyrus Harris 500 verso*, 13). These scholars apparently interpret *smny* as an infinitive after the auxiliary verb *iri*, no doubt assuming the phrase to be the *iri*+noun+*sdm* construction discussed by Gardiner in *JEA* 16 (1930), 220.

It is here suggested that *smny* in Joppa 1, 5 is not, in fact, a verb but a writing of the well-attested substantive $\overline{\text{smny}}$ meaning 'charioteer' (*Wb.* III, 459, 18), the lack of a seated-man determinative presenting no problem, since $\overline{\text{smny}}$ is a standard variant of $\overline{\text{smny}}$ (see *Wb.* III, 459). The translation of the phrase would now be 'or let an Aper act as charioteer . . .', the syntax whereof is as follows: *iri* (the *sdm-f* form of the verb used optatively—Eрман, *Neuäg. Gr.*², paragraph 297)+subject (*wc n cpr*)+predicative adjunct (*smny*). For the common meaning of the verb *iri* 'to act as, serve in the capacity of', see *Wb.* I, 109, 7 (note that the *m* of predication is never employed in this construction). Finally, it should be pointed out that the mention of a 'charioteer' seems rather appropriate in a context in which 'chariot-horses' (*htri*) are being discussed (see I, 6).

STEPHAN W. GRUEN

The so-called galleys of Necho

THE Egyptian collection of the Louvre contains two very curious golden *bouts de collier* (E 10687) which clearly represent Greek galleys (pl. XLVI). They were acquired from an Arab dealer by Bénédite in a job lot of jewellery dating from the Twelfth Dynasty to the Byzantine Period, which, 'according to the dealer, had been found at Dahshur (Bénédite, *CRAI* 4th ser., 25 (1897), 239; id., *Nouvelles acquisitions du Louvre*, *Chronique des arts* (1897), 247 ff.). Bénédite suggested that the boats should be dated to the Saïte Period on the basis of Herodotus' reference to the use of triremes in the reign of Necho (2. 159), arguing that, if the latter is right, Greek warships would at that time have been a novel experience well calculated to excite an artist's interest. This dating also appears, though tentatively, in Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs* (London, 1970), 141.

Caution is essential in any attempt to date these objects or to treat them as historical documents, since the artist has obviously allowed his taste for fantasy some liberty. In particular, the monstrous duck's-head ornament at the poop looks like a light-hearted parody of the swan's-head poop adornment common in Greek warships from the Archaic Period (Morrison and Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* [Cambridge, 1968], 90). The figure-head on the prow is also inspired by classical precedents; for, although it has no counterpart in pictures of Greek shipping known to me, there are literary references to *επισηματα* in the shape of rams' heads, bulls, lions, etc. which may well have taken this form (Torr, rev. Podlecki, *Ancient Ships* [Chicago, 1964], 65 ff.; Morrison and Williams, op. cit., 133 ff.), while figure-heads of various degrees of elaboration are sometimes shown on Roman ships (Torr, op. cit., pl. 6, 26, 29; pl. 8, 41; pl. i, a-c, e-f). Like the poop figure, however, it has obviously been grossly exaggerated. Despite this difficulty it is possible to get somewhere in establishing the period to which the galleys belong.

First, there can be no reasonable doubt that the dating of Bénédite is mistaken. The mixture of Greek and Egyptian elements is totally at variance with the conventions of Saïte art. Indeed, a close examination of the jewellery found in the late Saïte tomb of Zannehibu (Barsanti, 'Tombeau de Zannehibu', *ASAE* 1 [1900], 262 ff.) reveals not the slightest trace of anything un-Egyptian in

style. What is more, the completely frontal view of the cabin violates the standard Egyptian practice both in pictorial representations (Landström, *op. cit.*, *passim*) and in other jewel-boats (cf. Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries. CGC.* [Cairo, 1927], nos. 53310 and 53325 [both Saïte]), a fact which strongly militates against a Saïte date. On the contrary, the *Mischstil* as well as the precarious hold on Egyptian artistic convention point insistently to the Hellenistic Period, when Greek and Egyptian elements are often mixed in jewellery (Noshy, *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt* [London, 1937], 132 ff.); cf. the treasure of Amani-shachete (c. 41–12 B.C.), Schäfer, *Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten* (Berlin, 1910), 93 ff., as in many other spheres (Noshy, *op. cit.* 123 ff.; Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten* [Berlin, 1968], 79 ff.).

Such a dating immediately suggests a possible identification of the subject of the representation. Surely these ships are *θαλαμηγοί*, the luxurious state barges used by Ptolemaic kings and Roman governors which were built in the form of warships, but splendidly embellished and equipped with *θάλαμοι* which are known to have incorporated Egyptian stylistic elements (Athenaeus, 204D–206C; in general Torr, *op. cit.* 123 ff.). The hull design of our jewels, the distinction and elaboration of the prow adornment, and the Egyptianizing cabin would all suit perfectly what we know of these splendid follies. All in all, therefore, a Hellenistic or even Roman date seems preferable.

ALAN B. LLOYD

The *Gm* of Memphis

AMONG the many deities of the Serapeum area at Memphis during the Ptolemaic period was one known as the *Gm*. This creature was first discussed in 1933 by Reich in the first volume of his *Mizraim*. In Papyrus New York Historical Society 373 a,¹ a contract of sale dating from the fifth year of Ptolemy Epiphanes, the seller confirms his sale with the words:

2. *tw·i wy(·k) r·k n tzy·k dnūt pš n pꜣ* *wy-n-htp*
3. [*n pꜣ*] *Gm [nty n Pr-] Wsir-Ḥp hr pꜣ* *ꜣ-mhty n hft-hr n Wsir-Ḥp pꜣ ntr* *ꜣ*.

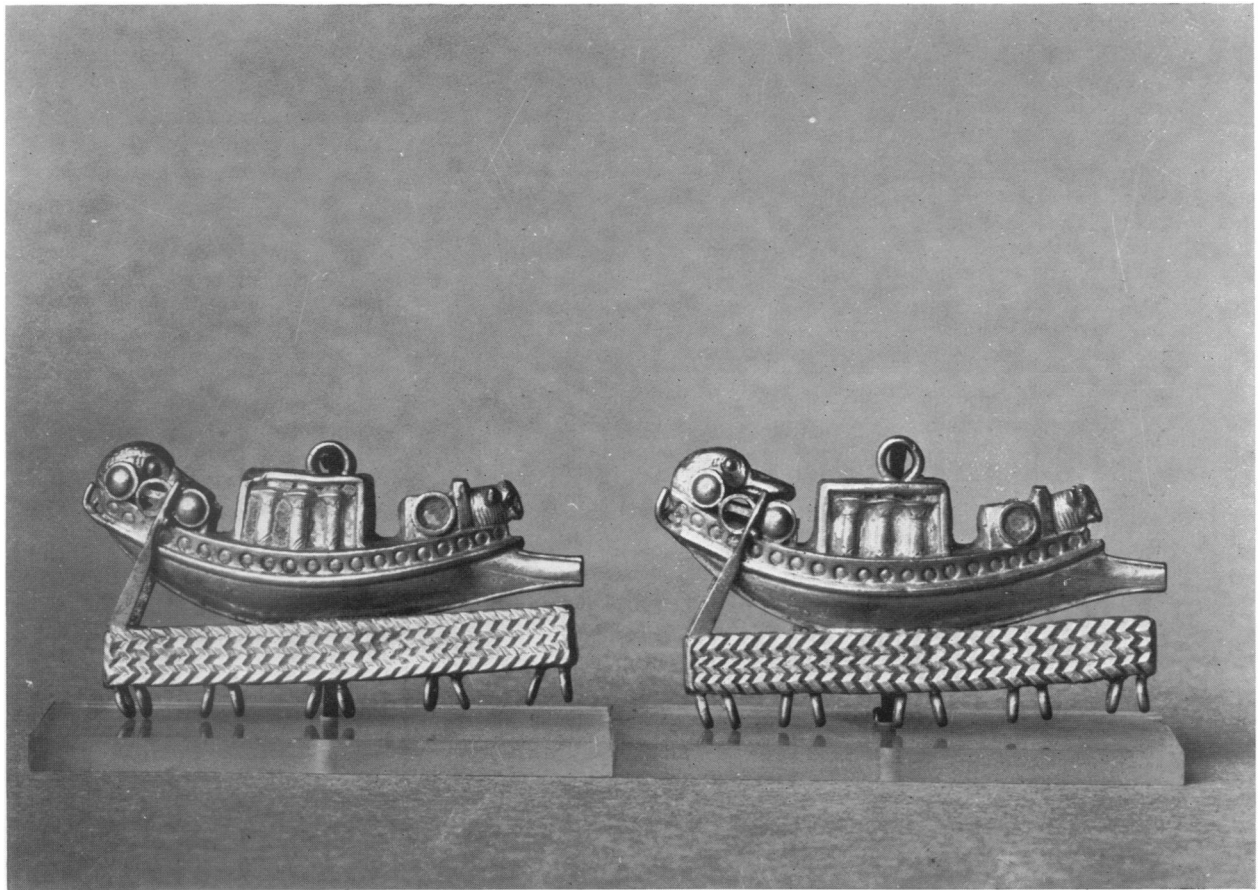
‘I cede to you your apportioned share of the resting-place of the $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ which is in the Serapeum to the north side of the *dromos* of Osorapis the great god.’

In the same papyrus we hear of ‘months of worship’ allotted to the $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, together with offerings (*inw*) and ‘watches’ (*wršw*) connected with its ‘resting-place’. Reich proposed for the group $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ the reading *gm*, which is here maintained, and after a long discussion, chose to transcribe it as $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$. Rightly rejecting any similarity with the glossy ibis, the *gm*-bird of the hieroglyphs, he concluded, on etymological grounds, that the *Gm* was a bull. The third sign of the word he took as the determinative for ‘silver’, and this led him to assume that the term referred to a silver image of a bull or cow which stood in the Serapeum. This sign, however, could equally well be the ‘animal determinative’ 𓆑 , and this would enable us to dispense with the image, and assume that the *Gm* of this papyrus is a divine bull of some kind.

Some confirmation of this occurs in two texts unpublished at the time when Reich wrote. Pap. Berlin 15831 (Pap. Cairo 50160) has recently been published by Zauzich.² In the first line of this, a sale document from Edfu dated to 364 B.C., we read of three beasts of burden described by the seller as *try·i iht s-hmt 2t hnc wꜣ gm kmy r ih* 3, ‘my two cows together with one black *gm*, making three [head of] cattle’. The word is here written $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, substantially the same as in the New York

¹ N. J. Reich, ‘New Documents from the Serapeum of Memphis’, *Mizraim* 1, 83.

² In *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 223 ff., and note on p. 226.



Courtesy of the Louvre

NECKLACE-PENDANTS IN THE LOUVRE REPRESENTING SHIPS (E 10687)

Papyrus, but without the divine determinative. The editor suggests that the word is connected with *km* (*Wb.* v, 38, 'Bezeichnung junger heiliger Rinder von bestimmter Farbe', attested from the New Kingdom onwards) and the Coptic Ⲅⲁⲗⲗⲉ (Crum, 815, b = *ταῦρος*: Lacau's suspicions of this word in *Rec. Trav.* 23, 124 are perhaps unfounded, the more so since the word can now be traced in demotic). The conclusions of Zauzich are that *gm* may well be the male counterpart (*iuvencus*) of *bhs(t)* 'heifer'. Hence *gm* is the word for a young bull or steer. This is confirmed in the second line of the Berlin papyrus, where mention is made of *Grg hnc pꜣyꜣ gm n ms n wct rnpt*, 'Grg with her one-year-old calf'.

This in turn sheds light on a fragment of a scholar's exercise in the Michaelides collection.¹ The first column of this runs as follows:

- (x) 1.] *hr pꜣyꜣ sr* (?)²
 2.] *hr pꜣyꜣ rꜣ*
 3.] *hr pꜣyꜣ gm* (γ 3, 2)
 4.] *hr pꜣyꜣ gml*
 5.] *hr pꜣyꜣ sr*
 6.] *hr pꜣyꜣ br[mpt]* (?)³ etc.
- (x) 1.] for⁴ his ram (?)
 2.] for his donkey
 3.] for his *gm*
 4.] for his camel
 5.] for his ram
 6.] for his goat (?) etc.

Dr. Bresciani tentatively proposed for *gm* a connection with *kymy* 'chicken', but this might be rather out of place among such rough companions. Glossy ibises, it must be admitted, would fare no better, but the translation 'steer' or 'calf' would fit the context well.

If we combine this evidence, a faint picture begins to emerge. The word *gm*, in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, is an ordinary term for a type of cattle, apparently a young steer of some kind. It is perhaps the precursor of the Coptic Ⲅⲁⲗⲗⲉ. It is more likely to be descended from the earlier *km*, which also seems to carry the connotation of a young animal, than from the *kmt* proposed by Reich.⁵ The *kmt* seem to be black cattle, as the etymology of the word would demand, and are associated with the sacred Apis and Mnevis bulls (*Wb.* v, 125). Yet the writer of Berlin 15831 clearly felt the need to qualify his *gm* as a black one, which suggests that, at least by the Thirtieth Dynasty, its name was no reflection of its colour.

A sacred *gm* was worshipped in the Memphite necropolis. It was situated in a 'resting-place' (*ꜣwy-n-htp*) which, on the analogy of other animal-cults, is likely to have been an underground gallery containing mummified examples of the species. Its cult was important enough to have its own festivals, which took place in the Ptolemaic period on the 29th and 30th Mekhir, 1st Pharmuthi, and in Payni, Epeiph, and Mesore.⁶

One interesting point in the New York papyri is that the agent is named as a priest of the 'Children of the Apis whose salvation has occurred', i.e. which are dead and enjoy the benefits of mummification. This priest holds a share in the 'resting-place of the *Gm*', and the most prominent feature of

¹ Bresciani, *Testi demotici nella Collezione Michaelidis*, text II c, p. 19 and pl. 8.

² *K*: 'bull' is perhaps possible.

³ Coptic Ⲅⲁⲗⲗⲉ, which suits the traces better than *bh* (?) or even the very appropriate *bhs(t)*. In view of the goat (?) and the camel, one would expect the text, if genuinely Ptolemaic, to date from the very end of this period. Any counterpart of the Coptic Ⲅⲁⲩⲟⲣ 'fox' is probably to be discounted.

⁴ Crum, 633, § d.

⁵ Reich, op. cit. 83 ff.

⁶ Pap. NYHS 373 a (Reich, op. cit. 50).

a *gm* is that it is a young animal. It would be rash to assume that the *Gm* and the 'Children of the Apis' are identical, but there may well be some connection between them. In this context one should perhaps note the bull(?)-headed image with Apis markings discovered by the late Professor Emery at North Saqqâra near the catacombs of the Mother of the Apis.¹ But it would be quite premature to attempt any conclusions before full excavation of the area has taken place.

In conclusion, reference should perhaps be made to Papyrus Elkan Adler 31.² A description of the necropolis of Djeme in September, 113 B.C., mentions *p mꜣr n nꜣ gmw* 'the place of the *gm*-calves'. This may be another sacred *Gm*-cemetery, for the use of *mꜣr* is conceivable in a funerary context, but the word *gmw* lacks the divine determinative, and the passage may not finally refer to any Theban counterpart of the Sacred Calf of Memphis.

JOHN RAY

¹ *JEA* 55 (1969), 33, and photograph on pl. 8, 1-4.

² Reich, *JAOs* 56 (1936), 258 ff. and note on p. 270. For the possible date of this papyrus, cf. the discussion on p. 265.

REVIEWS

Note. The Reviews Editor cannot undertake to return copies of unsolicited books received by him.

Petrie's Naqada Excavation, a Supplement. By ELISE J. BAUMGARTEL. 28 × 35 cm. Pp. 82, map and frontispiece. London, 1970. Price £6.50.

It would by now seem most unlikely that a predynastic cemetery even approaching the size and significance of that excavated by Petrie at Naqada remains to be discovered in Egypt. The considerable increase in our knowledge of this site which is contained in Dr. Baumgartel's book is thus of the utmost importance.

Naqada is one of the sites on which Petrie's reputation as a great archaeologist deservedly rests, for although at the time (1895) he failed spectacularly to see the true significance of the culture revealed in these cemeteries, dating it to the First Intermediate Period, he nevertheless made a most conscientious and detailed record of the objects found, the pottery in particular, and also, as the few surviving field notebooks now show, a careful record of the contents and layout of each grave. Unfortunately, this second aspect of the work, the grave record, was not included in the ensuing publication—one imagines for reasons of economy—so that the world was presented with a mass of data without the means of being able to analyse it further. One particularly tragic effect was to make it impossible to verify the accuracy or otherwise of Petrie's Sequence Dating system which was based very largely on the Naqada material. A recent revival of interest in this as a remarkably early piece of applied statistics (see, in particular, David G. Kendall, 'Some Problems and Methods in Statistical Archaeology', *World Archaeology*, 1 (1969), 68–76) has underlined the magnitude of the intuitive leap which Petrie took in devising it, as well as the enormous physical problem of handling so much data in a pre-computer age. That the system has fallen into discredit must to a great extent be blamed on Petrie's extraordinarily abbreviated presentation, which left his method almost unintelligible and the data on which his summary conclusions were based unavailable for checking by others. And whilst later discoveries, such as the predynastic cemetery at el-Girza, seemed to verify the general outline of Sequence Dating, any modification could only proceed on the basis of Petrie's results and not by going back to a re-examination of the original material. Furthermore, criticisms of certain detailed stages in Petrie's method, including some by Dr. Baumgartel herself, have helped to cast doubt on the viability of the scheme as a whole.

The publication of this *Supplement*, apart from making available some 1,300 grave groups, should enable at least a limited reappraisal to be carried out of the ordering of tombs which lies behind Sequence Dating. It should also, since Petrie took the trouble to make a map of the cemetery which is conveniently reproduced at the end of this book, enable distribution maps of classes of objects to be made as a further aid to grouping the Naqada material.

The format of the *Supplement* is designed to make analysis a straightforward procedure. The greater part consists of pages ruled into fourteen or fifteen vertical columns, one each for Petrie's classes of pottery, for stone vases, palettes, beads, miscellaneous objects, and finally for a summary of the information concerning the contents of a grave to be found in the few surviving field notebooks. Where it is known, the sex of the grave's occupant is given. Thus the contents of each grave are spread across these columns as a series of references to the illustrations in the original *Naqada and Ballas* report, together with museum numbers, where known. These latter amount to many hundreds of entries and in themselves make a most valuable contribution to disseminating information on museum holdings. Cemeteries B and T are included as well as the main Naqada cemetery, and at the end comes a separate tabulation of flints and sherds from the Naqada town site, the former arranged according to the system of classification employed by Dr. Baumgartel in her *Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, II (Oxford, 1960). A preliminary chapter briefly outlines the history of the compilation of the *Supplement*, which was marked at a very late stage by the discovery of some

of the original field notebooks. These record amongst other things that some of the graves in cemetery T, perhaps a royal cemetery, had brick burial chambers for multiple burials, one having a plan similar to the painted tomb at Hierakonpolis. One cannot but find it disturbing that information of such value relating to a period on which Petrie wrote many contributions should have remained hidden in notebooks which only fortuitously escaped the consequences of a decision, taken on Petrie's retirement from University College, London, to destroy all records of published excavations.

One fact which quickly becomes apparent when using the tables in the *Supplement* is how incomplete a picture they must give of the Naqada cemeteries as excavated. Dr. Baumgartel herself explains how there appears to be no way of discriminating between objects from Naqada and the simultaneously excavated site at Ballas when they bear simply a tomb number from 1 to 900, and when no additional record survives in the field notebooks. Objects in this ambiguous position are rightly omitted. Petrie, too, naturally brought back with him only a selection of the objects found. The consequent partial nature of the lists of located material can easily be seen by comparing them with the little summaries derived from the notebooks, though here again the record is incomplete, for the surviving notebooks cover only about a quarter of the graves which find an entry in the tables. These notebook entries often give only simple totals of the type '10 pots' or '4 flints', but they do at least give one some idea of the proportion of objects located by Dr. Baumgartel. On a generous estimate the tables must contain specific information on perhaps between a fifth and a tenth of all the original pottery, but a much larger share of the less common objects. What this means in practice is that when dealing with individual tomb groups, the effect is no different than if the tomb had been more extensively plundered, but that when it comes to checking Sequence Dating, some, perhaps many, of Petrie's pronouncements on the life-span of various types of object will for ever rest on irretrievable information.

It is only natural that when offered all this information one should regret that no fresh drawings of the objects have been included to supplement or replace the largely freehand illustrations of the original report. But, to the extent that this would have delayed, perhaps indefinitely, the appearance of the *Supplement*, it is an unfair criticism. The most daunting part of the task has been done and nothing can now deprive us of all the basic information on the whereabouts of Naqada material which Dr. Baumgartel has been collecting for so long with a perseverance which the reviewer, for one, greatly admires. Dr. Baumgartel appears to have made the most thorough approach that is now possible towards placing *Naqada and Ballas* on a par with excavation reports of the *Qau and Badari* type, with the added refinement of museum numbers.

In this last respect there lies a moral for all concerned with excavations. Today's standards of recording contain tomorrow's shortcomings, and it can scarcely be doubted that future generations will wish to re-examine the material from excavations currently in progress. If full distribution lists are not part of excavation reports, Dr. Baumgartel will have many successors. It is no reflection on her work to hope that this will not be so.

BARRY J. KEMP

Mirgissa I. By JEAN VERCOUTTER. Mission archéologique française au Soudan sous la direction de Jean Vercoutter — I. Pp. x+378, 198 text-figures and 39 plates. Paris, 1970. No price stated, but retailed at 210 francs, or £16.29.

The fortress of Mirgissa, situated at the lower end of the Second Cataract, in the frontier zone between Upper and Lower Nubia, has emerged, with the possible exception of Buhen, as the most important of the pharaonic sites investigated in the course of the recent campaign of salvage work in the area now flooded by the waters of the Aswân high dam. Its importance comes from its size, from the remarkable state of preservation of some of its parts, and from the wide variety of types of site encountered within the excavators' concession. The publication of this first volume of reports shows that its importance has been matched by an excavation programme of great skill and imagination. The fact that it was a rescue excavation on a large and complex site has not been used as a justification for employing methods which, in less pressing circumstances, might appear inadequate or incautious. Instead, Professor Vercoutter chose to employ outside specialists and advanced technical fieldwork aids. His success in so doing makes it no exaggeration to say that this volume represents the first major advance in field techniques applicable to pharaonic sites since the

work of Mond and Myers in the Armant area. It is also a complete vindication of the value and practicability of these methods for Nile valley archaeology.

The plan of publication is for a series of volumes containing the reports of separate areas of work, written by various members of Professor Vercoutter's team. This first volume is divided into two roughly equal parts, the first containing a series of introductory chapters on the natural setting and on some of the field methods employed, the second presenting the first group of the detailed excavation reports.

Part one begins with a general description of the site as a whole, relating it to its geographic and strategic position, and of the principal results of excavation, viz.: A, the upper fortress, known since the beginning of this century; B, the large fortified enclosure on the north which probably represents an earlier phase of Middle Kingdom occupation, in the reigns of Ammenemes II and Sesostris II, later superseded, perhaps under Sesostris III, by the upper fortress; C, the open town outside this enclosure near which the deposit of execration texts was found and which may have antedated even this earlier enclosure; D, various structures further to the north including a possible fortified outpost and a long slipway to circumvent the most dangerous of the Nile rapids; and E, the major cemetery west of the upper fort. The illustrations which accompany this chapter, and with which the whole volume is replete, provide a very clear picture of the site as a whole and of the range of discoveries. Indeed, the consistently high quality of illustration is very striking, and has been achieved by printing the entire book on heavy glossy art paper. The chapter concludes with a list of the M. designations used for the various parts of the concession. Two ensuing chapters deal with the geology and topography of the district around Mirgissa, the first of these, by H. Elhai, providing a useful, and again well-illustrated, summary of the processes which have shaped the appearance of the Nile valley.

But what makes this book of such great interest for field archaeology in the Nile valley is the long chapter by A. Hesse, 'Introduction géophysique et notes techniques'. Since time did not permit the total clearance of the site, or even of all the areas where ancient remains were known probably to have existed, in some places under deep drifts of soft sand, scientific prospecting techniques were employed to do three basic jobs: 1, to locate ancient sites not visible on the surface; 2, to gather data on known sites where excavation could not be completed; and 3, to trace the varying relationship between occupation remains and ancient Nile levels, a special aspect of 1 and 2. Two types of survey were tried out, resistivity and magnetic, the former on a limited scale only. The resistivity survey supplied indications of the depth, at chosen points, of the water-table and of bed-rock beneath the surface of the ground. These, incorporated into a series of sections, provide important bases for reconstructing the configuration of the riverbank in ancient times. These results are presented as part of a discussion on the ancient river levels. The evidence seems to point to an average flood level in the Middle Kingdom about four metres higher than the modern one, with at least one exceptional flood some ten metres higher which inundated and destroyed parts of the lower town and fortifications. Whilst this exceptional flood is presumably to be linked with the high levels at Semna and Askut of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, a purely local cause is tentatively identified for the earlier higher flood levels, namely a constriction of the channel opposite Mirgissa which was perhaps finally cleared by the exceptional flood. The subsequent slowing down of the current immediately beneath Mirgissa led to the growth of the riverbank which thus preserved lengths of the Middle-Kingdom waterfront, plans of which are included as Appendix A.

The really impressive success was scored by the magnetic survey, using a proton magnetometer. In view of the fact that the use of this instrument in Nile valley sites is something of a novelty, it was used not only to prospect for otherwise unidentified sites, but, for experimental and demonstration purposes, on known sites subsequently excavated. The results, with explanatory diagrams and 'before' and 'after' plans for comparison, provide a clear indication of the potential of this survey method. On single period sites built of brick or stone and buried in sand, it produces readings which can be interpreted to give remarkably clear indications of the general configuration and extent of buildings, and of the presence of burnt clay, such as ovens and kilns. A particularly ambitious project was the preparation of a map of the magnetic field of the whole of the unexcavated part of the upper fortress, of which parts are reproduced and discussed. In this case the site was stratified, though with one dominant building period of the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. The walls were thus buried in sand and much rubble and sherds. Furthermore, the surface of the ground had been disturbed from earlier digging. But still the lines of many walls could be picked out, and the results interpreted in the light of what is known of other Egyptian fortresses of the period. Part was

then excavated. The success rate of wall detection is estimated to have been 53 per cent, and with the added information derived from excavation a plausible reconstruction has proved possible for those areas left unexcavated.

The vindication of the value which these survey methods can have lies in the simple fact that our knowledge of Mirgissa would have been significantly less had they not been used. And whilst, as a rescue excavation, Mirgissa is a somewhat special case, archaeologists can scarcely afford to ignore the fact that resistivity and magnetic surveying can, if sensibly used, reduce costs by enabling the increasingly expensive process of excavation to be directed with greater foreknowledge. They could also help to reduce the untidy and potentially damaging process of 'sondaging'.

Hesse's chapter concludes with three technical appendices:

1. An examination of the mechanical advantage to be gained by building a wall intended to hold back drift sand on a serpentine plan, an architectural feature familiar from many ancient Egyptian sites. After calculations the cautious opinion is expressed that the 20 per cent additional outlay of bricks involved brings a gain of 100 per cent in strength against lateral pressure.

2. Brick sizes. Anyone who has ever measured the sizes of mud bricks will know that they can scarcely be regarded as precision-made, and may vary by several disconcerting centimetres in the same wall. Ancient brick sizes are thus commonly expressed by average dimensions. This may, however, be misleading since, as at Mirgissa itself, the number of bricks deviating appreciably from the average size may be quite large. The result is that a smaller sample, perhaps one taken from a smaller or badly destroyed building, could produce a significantly different average since it is to be presumed that variations in size are not evenly distributed through the masonry. At Mirgissa a large number of bricks have been carefully measured, and the results presented in various ways, including in the form of histograms which show, in a very obvious way, the range of variability in a given sample. These should underline the caution necessary in using brick sizes expressed as simple averages for dating purposes. The various diagrams are accompanied by an admirable discussion of the significance of the results in the light of what can be postulated about ancient brickmaking and building.

3. Archaeomagnetism. A further promising technique for dating concerns the way in which clays, when heated above a certain temperature, take on a magnetic strength and direction determined by that of the earth. Since the earth's magnetic field changes slowly, a correlation between the two, when the clay is still in its original firing position as in a kiln or oven, can provide a close indication of the date of firing. Unfortunately the changes in the earth's magnetic field can only be reconstructed by working from already dated sites, and nowhere has this reconstruction been achieved for periods earlier than the last 2,000 years. But the ancient Near East, with its abundance of sites datable by reference to a historical scheme of some detail and accuracy, constitutes an ideal area for pushing back this reconstruction into much earlier periods. At Mirgissa a start was made on a number of ovens and kilns, themselves not too closely dated, so that the rather inconclusive nature of the results is not unexpected. But serious note should be taken of the plea at the end of the section that archaeomagnetic data be collected as a matter of course on excavations, both to provide cumulative data for plotting the pattern of past magnetic change, and to record information which will eventually be of use on sites where dating is otherwise difficult.

This whole chapter should be prescribed reading for anyone seriously concerned with Nile valley excavation.

The remaining half of the book is occupied with straightforward presentation of excavation results. It has a preliminary chapter by Professor Vercoutter discussing in some detail various aspects of Mirgissa's history in pharaonic times, including the implications of its definite identification with the place called Iqen in inscriptions. The interesting point is made that the disparity in population between Egypt and Nubia in ancient times was probably far less marked than more recently, so that Nubia, as a military threat, must have loomed much larger in the eyes of the ancient Egyptians. From numerous allusions to results which will have their detailed publication in later volumes, it seems clear that Mirgissa is a key site for understanding more of what was taking place in Nubia during the period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties. Mirgissa seems to have been occupied by a mixed population of Nubians and Egyptians for some considerable period of time after the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, and eventually, when the upper fort had fallen into

an advanced state of disrepair, by people bearing Kerma culture. Professor Vercoutter discusses this history in terms of the textual references to the political growth of a Kingdom of Kush, centred at Kerma. One awaits with great interest the publication of the anthropological data and of the 'Pan grave' sherds from the upper fort for a clearer indication of the ethnic groups involved.

The excavation reports comprise:

1. Various sites lying on the northernmost part of the plain below Mirgissa: a small fortified outpost and a pair of sunken hut foundations (M IV and M XXIV B and C); the slipway (M XVIII) along which boats could be dragged to avoid the most dangerous and turbulent of the local rapids. Both here and in the previous preliminary chapter a discussion is given of this means of transport in ancient Egypt, which utilized the lubricous properties of mud; a small brick-field (M XVIII A); a group of huts (M XXIII); stone walls of uncertain date (M XVI); and a camp-site claimed to be C-group (M XVI A). In the case of this last site, in particular, one must hope that future volumes will publish details of the pottery found.
2. A detailed and superbly presented publication of a small but well-preserved Kerma cemetery not far from the open town on the plain (M III). Scarabs date it to the Hyksos period.
3. A small brick sanctuary of the New Kingdom in the upper fort, situated at right-angles and in front of the little temple planned by Lyons and Somers Clarke. The floor of the tiny sanctuary contained a mass of humble votive objects, especially beads, scarabs, and faience objects, also stelae dedicated to Hathor, Lady of Iqen. The votive objects are similar to those found in other small temples in Egypt's frontier regions, such as Faras, Serabit el-Khadem, and the recently excavated site of Timna near the Negev mountains.
4. A few late burials in the upper fort.

To have the final chance of examining a site before it is totally obliterated is a heavy responsibility. At Mirgissa Professor Vercoutter and his team have responded by turning a rescue excavation into an impressive demonstration of improved field methods.

BARRY J. KEMP

The Predynastic Cemetery N 7000. Naga-ed-Dêr, Part IV. By ALBERT M. LYTHGOE. Edited by Dows Dunham. University of California Publications, Egyptian Archaeology, VII. Pp. xvi+420, 12 pls. and many text-figures and plans. Berkeley and Los Angeles, Univ. of California Press; London, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1965 [1967]. Price \$25.00 (£10.00).

Dr. Dows Dunham has again put scholars deeply in his debt with the editing of yet another unpublished Egyptian site, and in *Naga-ed-Dêr IV* places before us material of the greatest importance for the study of the early predynastic period in the Nile valley. The cemetery was excavated as long ago as 1902-4, but a combination of circumstances, including the dispersal of the field records and the loss of a large part of the anatomical notes, has hitherto prevented the appearance of Lythgoe's report.

Graves 7001-7635 in Cemetery N 7000 are here published. The publication is essentially a catalogue, giving wherever possible the measurements of each grave, its axis, the number and sex of the burials, and a record of the grave-goods. The first thing to observe is the remarkable state of preservation of the human remains, providing unique material for the study of the anatomy and racial characteristics of the predynastic inhabitants of a particular region of the Nile valley, as well as the foods they ate, the garments and ornaments they wore, the objects they used in their everyday life (including in one instance an engraved cylinder-seal), and the mode in which they dressed their hair (the latter word does not occur in the Index; neither does the word 'Beard', the presence of which is attested on several bodies, e.g. in N 7006, 7448, 7456, and 7585). One imagines, though, that other sites would have revealed comparable material had they been as carefully excavated and recorded. There is, in such an assemblage, little to attract the ancient (or modern) plunderer. Nevertheless, many of the graves were disturbed or robbed.

There is plenty of matter here for the prehistorian and anthropologist. Garments, for example, have already been alluded to—if the animal skins, coarse textiles, and the pouches or sheaths worn by the males (of which an exceptional series was found) can be dignified under that heading. The latter items have recently been the subject of a specialist study (P. J. Ucko, 'The Curl Lecture', in *Proc. of the Royal Anthropol. Inst.*, 1969).

Dr. Dunham illustrates the most important of the burials with photographs, together with sketch-plans of the graves, showing the disposition of their contents. The less important are published in plan only. The photographs, in view of their age, occasionally leave something to be desired. A loose-leaf map of the cemetery is provided. The anatomical information derives from the work of Sir Grafton Elliot Smith. There is little doubt that had the bodies and the contents of their stomachs been available for study by the most up-to-date techniques, medical and dietary information of the highest importance would have been revealed. There is, too, abundant material from the cemetery for future Carbon 14 analysis.

However much one regrets that this unique site has not been published in the fullest possible detail, to single out individual aspects for carping criticism would be invidious in the extreme: Dr. Dunham alone was in a position to handle and understand the mass of notes and photographs of the excavation, and to comprehend the classificatory systems used by the excavators. It is certain that if he had not sifted the material, and selflessly prepared it for publication (and that at an age at which most scholars would claim a well-earned respite from such work), the report would not have appeared in our lifetimes, if at all. He has provided the groundwork: it is up to Egyptologists and anthropologists to explore and develop the material.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

The Cambridge Ancient History. 3rd edn. Edited by I. E. S. EDWARDS, the late C. J. GADD, N. G. L. HAMMOND. Vol. I. Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970-1. Part 1, pp. xxii+758, 17 maps, 7 tables, 45 text-figures. Price £6. Part 2, pp. xxiii+1,058, 16 maps, 3 tables, 22 text-figures. Price £8.

Readers of the *Journal* will be familiar with the individual fascicles of the revised edition of the *CAH*, some of which have been reviewed or noticed from time to time in these pages. Now we are delighted to welcome the bound (3rd) edition, which differs from the 2nd (the fascicles) only in the addition of maps, indexes, and chronological tables. The editors have also taken the opportunity of incorporating a number of minor additions and corrections.

Vol. I, pt. 1 (Prolegomena and prehistory) covers an immense time-span, from the remotest geological epochs to the end of the prehistoric period in Egypt, Western Asia, the Levant, and the Aegean. Naturally there are no written records to illustrate man's development during those periods, and deductions must necessarily be made from the often scanty material remains. Vol. I, pt. 2 covers the history of the Near East and the Aegean from the beginning of the historic period (c. 3000 B.C.) to 1750 B.C.

A long-standing grievance with the original edition of the *CAH* was the lack of citations of source-material in the body of the work. This is now remedied in one of the most valuable features of the new edition: a detailed bibliography is provided for each individual chapter. The bibliographies are here collected at the end of each volume and arranged in chapter order. Footnote references to the bibliography are given in the text in code form. An additional service to the reader would have been the provision of chapter numbers over the text, if necessarily in abbreviated form. Reference to the sources would thus be rendered much speedier.

The price, which in view of the bulk of the volumes is reasonable by today's standards, will probably deter most private individuals, who will in any case already have the separate fascicles covering their own fields of interest. By and large the 3rd edition is a library edition. As befits a work which will be standard probably for the next half century, it is impeccably printed and handsomely cased in the familiar red-brown binding. A similar edition of Vol. II is in preparation.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

The Large Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotep III. By C. BLANKENBERG-VAN DELDEN. *Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui*, XV. Pp. xi+198, pls. 35. Leiden, 1969. No price quoted.

The author here publishes an exhaustive corpus of the well-known series of commemorative scarabs issued under Amenophis III, and found not only in Egypt but also abroad at Tell ed-Duweir, 'Ain Shams, Ras Shamra, Buhén, and Soleb.

The publication of a corpus of material, whether inscribed or uninscribed, is always an event greatly to be welcomed, especially when, as here, the documentation is virtually complete. There is a need for a great

deal more work of this kind in all branches of Near Eastern studies. The importance of the present volume (177 commemorative scarabs are listed, including six forgeries included for comparative purposes) will be apparent when it is recollected that the inscriptions on these objects form a sizeable proportion of what passes for historical information on the reign of Amenophis III. An Appendix notes a few commemorative scarabs issued by Tuthmosis IV, Akhenaten, Ramesses II, Merenptah, Shabaka, and Necho II.

Though little in the way of new information could be expected from the corpus—the texts were already well known—Mrs. Blankenberg has cleared up one or two dubious readings. For instance, it is now certain that the place-name on the ‘Wild Bull-Hunt’ series is Shetep and not Sheta, a reading checked by the present writer in the case of B.M. 55585 (there certainly written $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}$ and $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}$). Little can usefully be added to the author’s detailed analysis of the scarabs or to her translation of the texts. One disappointing feature is the lack of illustration of the typological detail of the scarabs, which is merely described. As the series is dated absolutely, one would like to have known if the types changed significantly during the period covered by the scarabs. The quality of the photographic illustrations varies considerably, but this is understandable since it proved impossible to examine every example of the commemorative series, and the author has had to rely partly on photographs supplied by museums and private collectors. Most of them are reasonably legible. Some of the specimens have been examined petrographically by Dr. C. J. Overweel and others, with results that will be new to most Egyptologists: the material of some turns out to be ‘hypersthene’ (belonging to the mineral group ensthenite) rather than the generally accepted steatite.

The question arises as to the reason for issuing such scarabs. Evidently they were intended by Amenophis III as a permanent memento of certain events which took place in his reign. Probably they were originally mounted in a precious metal. Though mostly very large (on average 8 cm. long), they are all pierced longitudinally. It can hardly be true (cf. p. 4) that officials and others in remote localities received their first intimation of royal activity through the medium of the scarabs—royal dispatches in Egypt must always have been in the form of sealed papyrus documents, though such messages could have been given a more permanent form at a later date—the Coronation Decree of Tuthmosis I (*BAR* 2, §§ 54–60) is an example.

Doubtless other specimens of commemorative scarabs will be brought to light by the publication of the present corpus (a list of ‘Lost scarabs’ is included). For instance, there is in University College, London a plaster-cast and paper squeeze of a ‘Lion-Hunt’ scarab not featured in Mrs. Blankenberg’s book. Its present location is unknown, but it was in private hands in this country according to an accompanying letter dated 6 January 1949.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan. II. Abteilung. Die althieratischen Topfaufschriften. I. Band. Die Topfaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963 und 1965. 2. Teil (Fortsetzung). By ELMAR EDEL. 300 × 210 mm. Pp. xi + 9–144 (pages 1–8 are in the first part), pls. 7. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1970. Price DM 35. ISBN 3 447 00021 X.

This book contains the analyses of and commentaries upon the brief Sixth Dynasty hieratic inscriptions which were written upon pottery vessels used by donors to present food offerings in the tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa. The plates of facsimiles and transcriptions into hieroglyphs were published in 1967 and were reviewed in *JEA* 55 (1969).

These inscribed pots, 902 in number, were in over 90 per cent of cases of a type reminiscent of the beer-jug determinative (Gardiner’s Sign List no. W 22). These are referred to by Edel as *irr*-pots because 215 of them were found in one shaft inscribed as containing this item of food. The other pots were, with the exception of two specimens only, all with an egg-shaped instead of a flat base. These are shown by the texts upon them to have been called *nitt* (*ntt*) or *dnt*.

The inscriptions on the pots have the following elements: pot-name + name of contents + personal name (with or without titles and filiation) + clause descriptive of the place of origin of the contents. No one pot has all these elements, in fact well over half have only a statement of contents, while most of the remainder have either the contents and a personal name or a personal name only, of course with any filiation and titles that happen to be added to that name.

Such a rich material made up of such brief items invites detailed analysis by tabular and statistical methods. The text is, in fact, interspersed with a series of tables which constitute the backbone of the work. The main

tables are those of pot-types, of pot-inscription formulas, a catalogue of names of contents, a statistical survey of these items, a catalogue of personal names, a concordance of these with Ranke, a catalogue of titles, a table of the names of the donors, and finally a list of the unpublished pot inscriptions. In addition numerous supplementary tables abound, dealing with various points. The book, however, is far from being just a mass of tables, for they are set amidst an extensive text and form but steps in the progress of closely reasoned commentaries and deductions.

Twenty-one separate items occur as contents of these pots. These are dealt with collectively as well as individually. One always hopes in cases like this, where the actual contents of the pots are available for scientific examination, that a whole series of positive identifications of word-meanings will emerge. Unhappily in this we are disappointed, for the only major identification is that *wḥ* means not 'carob-beans' but the rhizome tubers of the edible papyrus (*Cyperus esculentus* L.). Amongst minor advances are the determination that *irc* and *šht* are forms of barley, that *pṛt* is a substance of granular form from which the *pṛt*-loaf was presumably made, and that *išd* and *išdt* are identical. The plausible supposition is made that the fruit *ṛmwṛt* must have grown in pairs or been in some other way duplicated, since, uniquely in these texts, some of the examples are determined with two round grains. *Dwḏw* (and possibly *ḏw*) is shown definitely to mean 'meal'. It is a misfortune that no further advance could be made in ascertaining the meaning of the elusive and puzzling grain designation *bšḏ*.

At the end of the book Edel devotes an appendix to the very few similarly inscribed vessels found elsewhere in Egypt. Here he suggests that if *ṛgwt* is 'parched grain', then the true reading should be *ṛ(w)gwt* from *ṛwg* 'to parch'. *Bḏ* (L. Eg. *bḏy*), he suggests, arguing from the verb *bḏi* 'to be wet', must be 'grain that has been moistened' and therefore 'malt'.

The statistical analysis of the frequency of the contents-names on these pots produces the interesting result that *irc*, *šht*, and *wḥ* account for 75 per cent of the total. Edel draws attention to the remarkable paucity of the date here, only 2 per cent! This is in line with the puzzling lack of good evidence for this fruit in the Old Kingdom generally, although some evidence does exist.

The study of the names of the contents accounts for only about one-quarter of this book. Far more extensive and important is the study of the personal names and their accompanying titles and filiations, and the setting out of all the facts that can be gleaned from this information. This part of the book is founded upon the catalogue of personal names, which sets forth the name in transcription and in hieroglyphs, with all variants, titles, filiations, tomb numbers, etc.

The personal names, like the names of contents, are the subject of a philological commentary. They are 73 in number and correspond to 63 persons (30 men, 23 women, 10 uncertain). Sixteen of these names are new to Ranke. The highlights of this commentary are the notes on names made up of a relative form and an excursus on pet-names ending in *-i* and *tī* (-ty).

Edel then sets out to extract all the facts he can about the individuals concerned and ends by producing three firm genealogies, one of three generations and two of four. A fourth genealogy also covers four generations, but it is uncertain in that two alternative solutions are possible.

The relative chronology of the donors of the pots is investigated basically by using the obvious fact that if a man donated a jar in the tomb of another man, he must of necessity have survived that man, and his own tomb, when known, must be more recent still. Using this sort of information and calling in such aids as the promotions in rank exhibited by individuals from one tomb to another, the age at death of named persons whose skeletons happen to be available, and of course the genealogies already worked out, it has been possible to build up chronological sequences for many of the tombs. The assessed ages of persons and the numbers of identical donors who appear in more than one tomb as well as the number of generations involved make it clear that all the tombs cannot lie very far apart in time. The tomb of Sabni shows that the time in question is that of Pepi II, and it is probable that all the tombs were constructed during the course of that long reign. There is no evidence at all that there is any overlap beyond the Sixth Dynasty.

The placing of tombs in chronological order relative to one another makes it possible to demonstrate that the office of Overseer of Upper Egypt (Southern Part) was superior to and exercised contemporaneously with that of Great Overlord of the Nome. As regards titles in general there is some comment, but the full commentary is reserved until the publication of the hieroglyphic inscriptions in the chapels.

C. H. S. SPAULL

The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9. Edited by T. G. H. JAMES. 337 × 212 mm. Pp. vi+71, pls. 51. Published by The Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1970. Price £7.00. SBN 7141 0913 4.

In 1912 the British Museum initiated a series of publications of hieroglyphic texts from stelae and other objects in their collection of Egyptian antiquities. By 1939 the eighth part in this series had been reached. In recent years Mr. James, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, has added a revised addition of the first part, and now continues the series with a ninth part.

The material now published belongs for the most part to the Nineteenth Dynasty, although a few items are as early as the time of Amenophis III. Forty-nine stelae form the main body of the work, but also included are hieroglyphic texts from 29 statues and a number of miscellaneous objects, amongst which are libation tables, columns, and slabs from tombs. The photographic plates illustrating each object are excellent. They are faced by corresponding plates in which the texts are reproduced in hand facsimiles, thus combining the advantages of the photograph and the naked eye.

The plates compose the latter half of the book. The first half is taken up with extensive descriptive matter. As in previous parts in this series, the texts are not translated; but we are given the date and provenance, the materials and dimensions, the names both in printed hieroglyphs and in transcription of all persons mentioned, the date of acquisition, and a bibliography. A very useful feature is that such information as can be found elsewhere about the individuals that occur, and their relationships, is touched upon. This is particularly valuable in the case of the stelae which originate, or are thought to originate, from Dêr el-Medîna, for these account for nearly half the stelae included in this book. A series of indexes covers royal names, private names, titles, and the museum numbers of the items concerned set out in numerical order with the plate numbers of this book in parallel.

This part is well produced and is a valuable addition to the series. It is to be hoped that it will be followed by further parts at not too wide intervals of time under the same able editorship. C. H. S. SPAULL

Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches (Teil VI). By WOLFGANG HELCK. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1969, Nr. 4. 240 × 170 mm. Pp. 77. Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden. Mainz, 1969. DM 12.40.

Helck's most useful book of data for the economic history of the New Kingdom is already well known. It appeared in five parts and covered landed property, both clerical and secular, and innumerable animal and vegetable products of daily life. To this a sixth part has now been added, the subject of which is the metals gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron, lead, and tin; precious stones and stones used for building and sculpture; and various minerals, such as ochre, galena, alum, gypsum, etc. It will at once be realized that much of this part is complementary to J. R. Harris's *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*. Harris's book is, in fact, referred to constantly and serves to expand and discuss the bare lists which form the major part of Helck's work: for this part is written, as were its predecessors, not so much as an investigation into Egyptian economic activity as a collection of the material on which such an investigation could be based. It is a compilation giving extracts from the texts, with references, for each item dealt with, grouped in accordance with sources of supply, issues of the material, use in buildings or objects (gates, flagstaffs, altars, vessels, etc.), and so on. All in all a very useful addition to the previous parts of this enterprise.

At the end there are a few pages of corrections and additions to parts one to five.

I feel that I should not close this review without mentioning the *Indices zu W. Helck, Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* by Inge Hofmann (Mainz, 1970). These indexes, an entirely separate publication, greatly enhance the value of Helck's collection of economic data by making every item readily accessible. All the parts are included in these indexes, even Part VI. C. H. S. SPAULL

Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical. By K. A. KITCHEN. Oxford, B. H. Blackwell Ltd. Vol. I, fasc. 1, 1969, pp. 1-32, £0.75. Vol. II, fasc. 2, 1970, pp. 65-128, £1.50. Vol. II, fasc. 3, 1970, pp. 129-92, £1.50. Vol. II, fasc. 5, 1971, pp. 225-8, £1.50. Vol. V, fasc. 1, 1970, pp. 1-64, £1.50. Vol. VI, fasc. 1, 1969, pp. 1-32, £0.75.

It is a pleasure to be able to draw attention to the progress of this very welcome publication. Since Vol. II, fasc. 1 and Vol. IV, fasc. 1 (the first two parts to appear) were reviewed in *JEA* 56 (1970), six more fascicles have been issued. Although what is now available is still only a fragment of the final work, already many important texts are easily and cheaply to hand as a perusal of the more detailed statements below will indicate.

Vol. I, fasc. 1 naturally opens with Ramesses I, the whole of whose reign is covered. From the time of Sethos I, with which the fascicle continues, we have so far two small stelae, two stelae from Beth-Shan, and a number of inscriptions and topographical lists from Karnak, the subjects of which are the campaigns in Syria in the first year and later campaigns against the Hittites, the Libyans, as well as Qadesh and Amurru.

With Vol. II we are in the time of Ramesses II. Fascicle 2 continues and completes the famous poem on the battle of Qadesh which was begun in fascicle 1. This is followed by the 'Bulletin' on this same battle and then by a series of diagrams showing how the battle-scenes are set out on the walls at Karnak, Luxor, the Ramesseum, Abydos, and Abu Simbel. In fascicle 3 we have the legends that accompany these scenes, and then the Syrian campaign of the Year 8, the Beth-Shan stela of the Year 18, and a number of texts, legends, and topographical lists from undated scenes of Syrian campaigns found at various places.

Vol. II, fasc. 4 has not yet been published, so that there is a gap before we come to fascicle 5. In this fascicle we find the treaty of the Year 21 between Ramesses II and the Hittite king Hattusil III, the first Hittite marriage stela in its full and its abbreviated versions, the second Hittite marriage stela, the Blessing of Ptaḥ upon Ramesses II and Ramesses III, the Bentresh stela, and the stela of the Era of 400 Years.

Vol. V, fasc. 1 contains such material as has survived from the reign of Setnakht, but is for the most part taken up with texts of the time of Ramesses III: the Nubian war, the first Libyan war, the campaigns of the Sea Peoples, and the second Libyan war.

Vol. VI, fasc. 1 deals with records from the time of Ramesses IV, quite a number of which come from the Wadi Hammamat. Perhaps the most interesting texts from this reign printed here are the Great Stela for Osiris and the Great Stela to Osiris and the Gods, both from Abydos.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson. September 12, 1969. By various authors. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation, no. 35. 240 × 170 mm. Pp. ix + 124, frontispiece, figs. 8. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1969. Library of Congress Card no. 76-81801. No price stated.

This book is made up of twelve articles, sometimes brilliant but always interesting, contributed in honour of the seventieth birthday of John A. Wilson by his students and colleagues of the Oriental Institute. This tribute must indeed make him feel proud and happy.

Any comment upon this book which mentioned some articles and not others would be invidious and would serve little purpose: accordingly I propose to list each article along with a brief and largely descriptive note.

'Die Präpositionen und Konjunktionen *m* und *ḏr*' by Rudolf Anthes.

This innocent title hides as important and helpful a guide to the understanding and translation of the class of word involved as I have seen. Its application is general and far transcends the two words selected for illustration, although even in this regard the choice of *ḏr* is most apposite, as it is a word which can be very difficult to render satisfactorily.

'Illusionism in Egyptian Architecture' by Alexander Badawy.

Badawy admits that for the Egyptian architect art for art's sake scarcely existed, and that the work done was in the main strictly functional. Nevertheless, he shows that symbolic illusionism was widespread, as, for example, the hypostyle hall intended to reproduce the Nile valley with borders of papyrus and lotus, paired pylons indicative of the two mountains between which the sun was held to rise.

'A Ritual Ball Game?' by Carl E. DeVries.

Although perhaps inclining a little too much to expecting in another civilization the ubiquitous interest in the use of the ball that exists in ours, DeVries has written an interesting inquiry into the significance of the scenes which apparently show the king throwing up a ball and striking it with a stick for attendant priests to catch. This activity is carried out in honour of various goddesses. It is mentioned as early as the Pyramid Texts and appears on temple walls, first in Ḥatshepsowe's temple at Dêr el-Baḥri and finally at Philae.

'Foreign Gods in Ancient Egypt' by Siegfried H. Horn.

This is a subject much to the fore of late, but Horn's article is not so much concerned with the subject in general as with the particular evidence evinced by the eight Aramaic letters found by Sami Gabra in 1944 in the Ibis galleries at Ashmûnên. He shows that in the vicinity of Aswân there must have been shrines to Nabu, Banit, Bethel, and a goddess referred to as 'The Queen of Heaven, as well as to the Jewish Yahu.

'The Cruel Father. A Demotic Papyrus in the Library of G. Michaelides' by George R. Hughes.

This little papyrus probably dates from the second century A.D. A plate is devoted to its reproduction in facsimile, and a transcription, translation, and full commentary are provided. It belongs to a class of documents which the author thinks must be related to the old letters to the dead. The contents are an appeal made to the Ibis, Falcon, and Baboon deities (perhaps of Saqqâra, but the provenance of the papyrus is unknown) by two children who have been cast out after the death of their mother and the remarriage of their father.

'Eunuchs in Ancient Egypt' by Gerald E. Kadish.

'In general,' says Kadish, '... there is no clear evidence for the existence of eunuchs in ancient Egypt.' The core of the article is the biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar, in which Potiphar and two other palace officials are described as eunuchs. A possible explanation is put forward for the unexpected description by starting from the very probable connection with the story of 'The Two Brothers', where Bata castrates himself to demonstrate his innocence, and suggesting that the Hebrew writers would feel that they could not have Joseph proving his innocence in this manner, and so transferring the eunuch state to Potiphar and by extension to his two colleagues.

'Three Philological Notes' by Miriam Lichtheim.

The first note deals with a quotation in the 'Installation of the Vizier' and which is said to come from 'The Book of Memphis. For this the attractive translation 'Gracious king, lawful vizier' is offered. The second discusses the apparent contradiction between *ḫm-ḥr* (veil the face) 'show indulgence' and *ḥbs-ḥr* (cover the face) 'be inaccessible to pleas'. The third offers a revised translation of the second and third stanzas of the Nile Hymn.

'Thutmosis III's Benefactions to Amon' by Charles F. Nims.

The subject of this article is a block originating from the Sanctuary of the Bark of Amûn as it was before its reconstruction by Philip Arrhidæus. This block contains a substantial portion of a hieroglyphic text, here reproduced in outline facsimile, detailing things constructed for Amûn. It is accompanied by a translation and a commentary.

'Once Again the Coregency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II' by Richard A. Parker.

Parker examines and rejects Hornung's arguments for a co-regency of $1\frac{1}{3}$ years and shows that the evidence put forward, correctly evaluated, gives further support to Redford's $2\frac{1}{3}$ years.

'Hathor at the Jubilee' by Edward F. Wenté.

In the southern portico of the tomb of Kheruef are scenes connected with the *Sed*-festival. After discussion of parallels extending from the Fifth Dynasty through the Middle Kingdom to Osorkon's Bubastite Hall, Wenté concludes that the subject of the entire wall is 'the marriage of Ḥathor to the king, identified with the sun-god'.

'Some Egyptianisms in the Old Testament' by Ronald J. Williams.

Williams deals with five instances in the Bible where a Hebrew expression, sometimes of so alien a nature that attempts have been made to emend it, can be shown to be of Egyptian origin.

'A Greco-Roman Funerary Stela' by Louis V. Žabkar.

This stela, dating in all probability from the second century A.D., is illustrated by a plate. It is a memorial to a thirteen-year-old girl called Isarous, who is shown in the so-called 'orans' position. This stela comes from a private collection in Chicago and is described and commented upon in very full linguistic and archaeological detail.

The book concludes with a bibliography of John A. Wilson compiled by Elizabeth B. Hauser.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Les Bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens. By RAPHAEL GIVEON. Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui, XVIII. Pp. xviii+278, pls. 19 on 29. Leiden, Brill, 1971. Price, Dutch florins 96.

The Shasu or Shosu are familiar to the student of Egyptian history in the New Kingdom as part of the population of Palestine encountered by the warrior pharaohs of that age. To these people, hitherto none too clearly defined, Dr. Giveon has devoted the present monograph, essaying a practically complete collection of data and a more precise appreciation of the role of the Shasu in time, place, and way of life.

The basic facts confirmed by, or emerging from, this study find expression in the Introduction. The Shasu are attested as foreigners in active relation to Egypt (foes, slave-troops, etc.) in the New Kingdom from Tuthmosis II to Ramesses III; thereafter, their name appears only as a traditional archaism or with changed meaning. The principal occurrences place them in W. Palestine, and over to the Egyptian East Delta, also in South Transjordan and in North Palestine and Syria. In Egyptian reliefs duly labelled, the Shasu are identifiable from their characteristic dress (tasselled kilt, types of headgear); they can then be further identified in representations without texts, both in Egypt and in Palestine. The question arises as to the real identity of the Shasu—the term is not known from Near Eastern records—and of the origin of the word Shasu (Egyptian or Semitic?). On these matters, Giveon outlines previous treatments and opinions from Haigh (1876) to Cazelles and Helck (1958/9, 1962).

Part I: Documents: provides virtually a corpus of occurrences of the Shasu. This includes 50 numbers for the pharaonic period (44, New Kingdom; 6, Late Period) and 7 from the Graeco-Roman age. Six doubtful items are eliminated (§ 19, *a-f*). From Palestine itself, a familiar Megiddo ivory and the notorious Balu'a stela illustrate Shasu.

The hieroglyphic texts are presented in hand-copy extracts with translation and brief comments for each; selected representations are gathered on the plates. The collection appears pretty complete. Under No. 44, the slave Ta-Shasu is also listed in the Turin Necropolis Journal for Year 17 of Ramesses IX, sect. A, vs. 3, 7 (Botti and Peet, *Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe* (1928), 40, pl. 45); curiously, Giveon cites Pap. B.M. 10053 only as Pap. Amherst (Harris A) after the old edition of Newberry, not from the standard edition of Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies* (1930), 108 and pl. 19, see 6, 9. I append here a few notes on the documentation. No. 15, pp. 69–70: it is known that the Luxor pylon of Ramesses II was erected by his third year from a dedication text of that date; cf. preliminary report of Mahmud Abd El-Razik, *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 68–70, pl. 26 (the Year 1, pl. 28, is R. IV), and text, Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, II/6 (1971), 345–7. No. 16, p. 71: the Year 1 text inside Abu Simbel, Great Temple, is that of Sethos II. P. 82, end: for 'salle hypostyle' read 'cour péristyle'. The extract from Document No. 31 is very welcome, as the 'Pithom Stela' of R. II has not previously been textually published before. No. 32, pp. 112 ff.: the text is the lower half of a stela, not a lintel; the relief of R. II before Atum is from the temple façade, and was once balanced by one with Seth. P. 133: for Egypt and Edom/Seir at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, cf. Moscow Literary Letter, V, 5 (Korostovtsev, *Ieraticeskii Papirus 127*, Moscow, 1961). Pp. 136–7: on Ramesses III in West Asia, cf. R. Stadelmann, *Saeculum* 19 (1968), 156–71, and differently Kitchen, 'Philistines', in D. J. Wiseman (ed.), *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, in press.

Part II: Critical Appreciation of Documents. Here, Giveon reviews the nature of the narratives, topographical lists, war scenes, etc., in which the Shasu occur, with emphasis on their function in Egyptian religious terms. For modern historical purposes, the reviewer would place more value on very specific records such as the stela of Amenophis II or explicit notes under Sethos I (cf. below), or the 'incidental' references of Papyrus Anastasi I, than on the merely formal witness of most of the topographical lists containing several undifferentiated categories of names.

Part III: Interpretation: divided under historical, geographical, and 'other' aspects. From Tuthmosis II onwards, the Shasu appear as repeatedly falling foul of Egypt's armies because of their threat to communications. After the New Kingdom, the term Shasu in the Late Period (when not merely an archaism) came to be used of 'Easterners'—Egypt's Arabian neighbours and the like. On geography, the lists of Amenophis III at Soleb and the related list of Ramesses II at Amarah West locate some Shasu in Transjordan—e.g. the name 'land of Shasu: Se'ir' (= Edom). Besides West Palestine generally, the Shasu can be found in Syria as far north as Qadesh ('*Bulletin*', 8). They also turn up along the north coast of the Sinai isthmus as far as the East Delta. Giveon takes ample note of Shasu in the Delta (e.g. those seeking pasture under Merenptah, Doc. 38), but very oddly denies them any serious connection with South Palestine, the Negeb, or Sinai (p. 236). However, those Shosu that entered the East Delta under Merenptah must have traversed at least the Gaza area and some path across the north side of the isthmus just to reach Egypt. And the war reliefs of Sethos I (G's Document 11) are quite explicit on the matter. On the north-east wall, bottom register, victory at Pa-Kana'an, the legend states clearly that it is over 'the fallen ones of Shasu from the fortress of Sile to Pa-Kana'an' (Giveon, p. 57, pl. v/h; my *Ram. Inscr.*, 1/1 [1969], 8). As Pa-Kana'an is, or is near, Gaza on general admission, and Sile likewise near modern Qantara, it is plain that Sethos I had had to clear the Shasu from the North Sinai route and its wells from the Delta edge up to the Gaza area of South Palestine, adjoining the Negeb. This is directly supported by the series of wells etc. on that selfsame route that significantly adorn the adjoining reliefs of this king in battle with the Shasu. On the other hand, it is true that we have no data to link the Shasu with Middle or South Sinai. P. 238, n. 4: on the location of Pi-Ramessē at Qantir, one should add J. van Seters, *The Hyksos* (Yale, 1966), who gives a full discussion.

Under various aspects of the Shasu (pp. 240 ff.), Giveon compactly summarizes the data on their mode of life as semi-nomadic and possibly having some understanding with the settled populace of Palestine. On dress, he is able to associate with them largely the kilt with tassels and practically exclusively a back-swept cap or coiffure and bobbed cap. The Shasu also wear a circular medallion. Their weapons offer nothing unusual. Their social structure is that of clans headed by tribal chiefs.

Part IV: the Name 'Shasu'. Both Egyptian and Semitic origins have been canvassed hitherto. For the former, Shasu has been compared with the verb *šš* 'travel, go'. Giveon notes that the Egyptians already had other terms for 'beduin' (*hryw-šc* etc.), and the legs-determinative of *šš* never occurs with Shasu as a name. One may add, conversely, that the *sw* sign of Shasu likewise never occurs in the verb. While difficulties are not absent, it is possible to hold that the Semitic verb *šs* or *šss* 'thieve, plunder' has passed into Egyptian as Shasu. This epithet, 'thieves', could have been applied to any bunch of semi-nomads by the settled population (cf. cuneiform SA.GAZ, *habbatu*, Amarna letters, etc.), and has passed into the usage of the Egyptian conquerors. Giveon notes the later evolution of Shasu and *š(i)s* into Coptic *šoos*.

Part V: Shasu and Biblical History. Giveon compares in outline the date, geographical area, and movements etc. of the Shasu of the New Kingdom, and the Hebrews of the Exodus. As both lots of people shared some of these general circumstances with yet other groups (the 'Apiru, for example), the reviewer would consider that little is to be gained from such general comparisons. In so far as Shasu is a general term for a congeries of semi-nomads in Syria-Palestine used to cover more specifically named peoples and places (cf. Soleb and Amarah West Shasu compound names), it could theoretically overlap with the biblical Hebrews (as does 'Apiru), but not provenly so at any one given point. The work ends with indexes and good-quality plates.

This monograph is a convenient and very useful summary of data on the Shasu; the price is excessive, but the book is well produced. It should doubtless well serve the wide circle of scholars envisaged as its readership.

K. A. KITCHEN

The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian. By SARAH ISRAELIT GROLL. Pp. xxii+260, extra tables on pp. 18A–18B, 37A–37B, 230A. Published for the Griffith Institute by the Oxford University Press, London/New York, 1970 (appeared 1971). Price £5. SBN 19 711635 3.

Professor Groll's new book marks another step towards a scientific description of Late Egyptian. It is to be hoped that she will both achieve this end and provide a suitable teaching instrument in her forthcoming edition of Černý's material on Late Egyptian grammar. Of course, many problems are still unsolved, and the work under review was written simultaneously with, but independently of, other major work on Late Egyptian which is not yet published; but, although present results are not definitive, a significant advance has been made in our understanding of this stage of the language. In some respects we now know more about the structure of Late Egyptian than we do about that of Middle Egyptian, and the benefits of this advance include new interpretations of a number of grammatical constructions, which will modify translation in many cases. In terms of the analysis of structure Professor Groll's work, like Polotsky's 'Coptic Conjugation System'¹ and *Egyptian Tenses*,² represents an emphatic shift away from the view whose major exemplar is Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*, in which each important feature is considered more or less in isolation—partly because of the didactic nature of Gardiner's work. Gilula's important review of Satzinger's *Die negativen Konstruktionen . . .*³ is another study which uses similar methods, and Schenkel's approach in his 'Beiträge zur mittelägyptischen Syntax'⁴ is also related.

Essentially, the book describes the Late Egyptian verbal system, but as the articulation of this system is clearer in the morphology of negative forms than in that of affirmative ones, the work is organized around the negative forms. These are classified according to the sentence patterns in which they occur, and not according to the negative words they use. The division of negative patterns is between Parallels, which differ from the corresponding affirmative patterns both morphologically and with regard to the action/state distinction, Counterparts, which differ morphologically from them but are identical in other respects, and Isomorphisms, in which affirmative and negative forms are morphologically and semantically identical. These three categories correspond to the three negative words in Late Egyptian *bwꜣw* (= Counterparts), *bw* (= Parallels), and *bn* (= Isomorphisms).⁵ Constructions with the negative verb *tm* also belong to the Isomorphisms group. So it is clear that the various negative words have distinct syntactic functions, although such a fact cannot be demonstrated without analysing the syntax first. However, the presentation of the results may obscure the picture a little, as, when one reads texts, the salient feature of negative constructions is the negative word employed.

The relationship between negative construction and negative word is stated by implication in the Introduction (pp. xx–xxi), but first pointed out explicitly on p. 97. If it had been announced in the chapter-headings there would probably have been a gain in immediate comprehension. The same applies to one or two other points which recur in the book. The term 'prosodic group', for example, is defined as a 'word group in which one syllable receives greater prominence through stress' on p. 184, although *prqsody* is an element in the discussion from p. 143 on (and to a lesser extent earlier). Professor Groll's use of terminology also draws extensively on Polotsky's 'Coptic Conjugation System', so that a reading of the latter facilitates the comprehension of the work under review.

The book is written in an extremely compressed style, which makes it difficult to give a brief survey of its contents. However, although no concessions are made to the uninitiated reader or to one who knows no Late Egyptian, every point is stated or illustrated by means of examples, so that the evidence for any statement is immediately to hand, even when the theoretical framework is less clearly presented; in comparison the findings of the author's article '*iwꜣf [hr]tm sꜣm* in Late Egyptian',⁶ where the citation is for reasons of economy much sparser, are considerably harder to verify. All examples are translated—another considerable aid to an understanding of the argument—although constant use of translation may result in unintentional contamination from the language of the book. The translations aim to give a rendering of the structure of the original, but this is frequently done—and has been done since Polotsky's discovery of the function of the Second Tenses—at the expense of a natural style. Egyptian emphatic forms are part of a living

¹ *Orientalia* 29 (1960), 392–422; reprinted in Polotsky, *Collected Papers* (Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1971), 238–68.

² Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, vol. II, no. 5; reprinted, *op. cit.* 71–96.

³ *JEA* 56 (1970), 205–14.

⁴ *ZÄS* 88 (1962), ff.

⁵ p. xxi.

⁶ *JEA* 55 (1969), 89–97.

language, whereas the 'it was to Jedda that he walked' construction in English is largely literary, and would mostly be replaced in speech by 'he walked to *Jedda*' or at least 'Jedda was where he walked to' etc., as the form of a nominal cleft sentence 'it was Fred who bought the butter' would be replaced by '*Fred* bought the butter'. Translation of emphatic forms and cleft sentences on this model tends to be unsuitable for connected versions of texts, and dulls one's sensitivity to the language itself. It may not seem to serve progress to observe that translations made before the recognition of the function of the Second Tenses may be closer to the originals precisely in this respect, but I believe it is probably true.

The introduction effectively summarizes the main results of the work, which are presented in three chapters, corresponding to the three types of relation between affirmative and negative patterns. Rather than repeat the broad outline of these conclusions, I shall indicate a few points where the book has interesting insights or approaches. Professor Groll draws a distinction between two 'modes of reporting', the 'discussion with' mode and a 'saying to' mode (esp. § 1). These affect the selection of verbal forms in some cases, some forms never occurring in dialogue (see also § 43). It might be doubted whether such an infrequent criterion, which is of a different order from most of the others which are commonly applied, is a valid one, especially as it seems to be defined rather closely in terms of the type of text material which we have in Late Egyptian—legal documents, letters, and the like. However, such an objection is probably illusory, as the special character of the texts results in our having linguistic material of a different sort from that available for Middle Egyptian, for example; and nuances of the spoken language, frequently dependent on their 'context of situation', are more complex, especially in the verbal system, than those of the written language (cf. for example the increase in the complexity of such aspects of the style of Henry James, which goes hand in hand with colloquialization). The 'mode of reporting' distinctions are similar to situational ones which are frequently drawn by the Firthian school of British linguists. Thus Halliday¹ distinguishes between three 'functions' of language, the 'ideational', the 'interpersonal', and the 'textual', and between various 'transitivity functions'. The 'mode of reporting' categories fall approximately within the subdivisions of the 'transitivity function'. These account for definite distinctions in the grammar.

The treatment of tense in the book² is different from that commonly found, and expressed in the normal designations of tenses, First Present etc. Normally verbal forms are either taken to be indefinite in time-reference (e.g. Middle Egyptian *stpf*) or else held to have more or less simple and definite time-indication (from Late Egyptian on). Here tense is analysed in sentence patterns and not from the starting-point of the verb forms, and First Present patterns are analysed into six subdivisions for time-reference (pp. 109 ff.) in the case of verbs of motion, and other groups are similarly treated.³ This is not as novel as it may seem, as two of the patterns (nos. 2–3) are only distinguished by the presence of the temporal adverb *ʕn*, and a further two (1 and 5) are fundamentally *twi hr stp* patterns. One might also compare, for proliferation of time distinctions, the four English future tenses 'I'm going', 'I'll go', 'I will go', 'I'll/I will be going' (which latter conveys two separate ideas)—and these are not all. For this comparison the remarks above about the type of text material we have are also relevant. The value of the restatements in these sections is in drawing attention to the integral time-reference in Late Egyptian, which is not chiefly expressed, as in romance languages, within the verb forms themselves. It might be that a more economical description would remove the temporal adverbs and the like, and group them on their own with rules as to their use, but this would be a restructuring of the description, not a new interpretation.

Apart from these points one might mention, more or less at random, the treatment of the various *stpf* forms (*passim*), the distinction of three *bn* morphemes (Chapter 3), the identification of *iw* with participial *wn* (§ 45), the treatment of the *iw* of the future (see also *JEA* 55 (1969)), the incorporation of modal distinctions ('can' etc.) within the verbal system (§ 16),⁴ the discussion of the place of the Emphatic Formation within the verbal and nominal constructions (esp. § 45), and a number of others. All of these are interesting and valuable; space forbids further discussion of them here. The material in the seven Excursuses (pp. 192–248), which relate with varying degrees of closeness to the book's subject, and one of which has the

¹ 'Language Structure and Language Function', in *New Horizons in Linguistics*, ed. J. Lyons (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1970), 140–65.

² And in '*iw sdm:f* in Late Egyptian', *JNES* 28 (1969), 184–91.


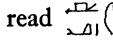
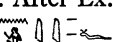

³ E. F. Wente, 'A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense', *JNES* 28 (1969), 1–14, works along similar lines.

⁴ Cf. also Gilula, *op. cit.* Common to his approach and Professor Groll's is the useful discussion of the distinction between negation of an element and of a nexus.

proportions of a substantial article (Exc. 2), cannot be commented on either. The statement of all these matters within the framework of a formal grammar will be awaited impatiently.

A word should be said about two aspects of presentation which represent an improvement upon Professor Groll's previous book.¹ Almost all the examples are transcribed, which produces an undoubted gain in immediate comprehension of the linguistic structure,² and the transcriptions are of a new type, designed to exhibit that structure as far as is reasonable. The system is not an ideal one, because of the well-known problems of transcription for Late Egyptian, but it does indicate graphically a number of factors that are necessary to an understanding of the language. It is at the opposite pole from Edel's 'objective' system, which does not indicate at all the way in which morphemes are bound. The other innovation is the use of *stp* as a paradigm verb (as in this review). Apart from the obvious gain in typographic simplicity, this eliminates a potential source of ambiguity, as *sdm*, as a verb of perception, is not entirely regular (e.g. it has no stative; cf. §§ 6 ff.). Regular verbs in the most limited sense are transitive verbs of action.

A criticism in respect of these last two points, and of the book as a whole, is that the author's desire for concision has led her to exclude much discussion of terminology, explanation of procedure, etc. which would be helpful to the reader, and which would allow one to trace the intellectual ancestry of the work. The lack of a subject index is also a serious defect from this point of view; if the book had had one it would have gone a considerable way towards making good the lack of discussion.

It may be useful to give here a few notes on points of detail, chiefly with regard to the citations. These are not exhaustive. The argument is seldom, if ever, affected by these corrections, some of which only rectify typing errors. P. 15: the use of 'dictionary meaning' is confusing—'lexical', as on p. 66 and elsewhere, would be preferable. P. 18B: no. *d* should read *iw m dyt šg-wr* ('don't let one tyrannize'). Ex. 48: a better translation would be 'he should not tax (my) people, for I have no people'. P. 23: in the quote from B.M. Ostr. 5624, 'he had no male heir' would be better. Ex. 55: the emphatic is presumably no. (3) of *JNES* 28, 189. Ex. 57: the interrogative translation is not given a justification. Wentz, *LRL*, 80, translates in the indicative. P. 28: 'complementary' appears to be used with the same meaning as 'Parallel'. Ex. 60: read *pꜣ* Ⓞ in text. P. 29, last line: the Pattern should be *n tw-i rh-kwi*. Ex. 72: read  in text. Ex. 73: read . Delete '...' in transcription. Ex. 110: *stnw = sw tww* is discussed on p. 157. Ex. 110 = Ex. 357. Ex. 116: perhaps translate 'with whom one communicates by means of hand signals'. P. 63: the *negative* of *siꜣ* means 'to ignore'. Ex. 132: the future in the last two sentences of the translation is curious. After Ex. 134 read 'former' for 'latter'. Ex. 135 is P. Salt 124 = *JEA* 15 (1929), 243–58. After *wꜣh* read . Ex. 136: *mi-kd pꜣy-k-iri* is missing from the end of the sentence. The causal nexus is plausible, but not necessary. Ex. 150: transcription should read *tw-k hr šm (r-)irt ih (n-)pꜣy-rmꜣ*. 'Going to do' sounds influenced by English; better 'go and do'. Ex. 156: for 'hands' read 'hearts'. P. 79: ref. (54) should be (57). P. 83, last line: the opposition between *hr wn-k irm-f* and *bwꜣw-i ptr-f* is not one of semantic equivalents, so that the introduction of *bn wn-i irm-f* is unjustified. Ex. 209–10: the translation is not natural English. Ex. 215: a stricter translation would be better, 'I shall be placed on the stake', i.e. 'be executed'. Ex. 217: the translation is vague. Perhaps render 'I will be subject to (a punishment of) a hundred strokes, and I will forfeit all the property I shall accumulate with her'. Ex. 222: translation should read 'is lying here with the citizeness A . . . today'. Ex. 225: *sic* is missing above  after *wꜣ-kwi*. Ex. 226: perhaps translate 'she is still being persecuted'. Ex. 237: Fecht's translation (*Literarische Zeugnisse*, 74–5) gives a better sense and articulation, and his time-reference is more plausible. The Pattern of § 31 is probably timeless, as is 'boys will be boys'. P. 111: no reason is given for the absence of negative Patterns 5–6. P. 114, no. 2: read 'immediately succeeding it'. Ex. 249: read 'P 6' in reference. The Erman reference is *Sitzungsberichte d. kgl. preuß. Ak. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.* 1910, no. 19, 330–47. P. 118–19: the distinctions between types of oaths

¹ *Non-verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (London, Oxford University Press for Griffith Institute, 1967), reviewed by W. Schenkel, *OLZ* 64 (1969), 23–5; E. F. Wentz, *BiOr* 25 (1968), 183–4; J. Vergote, *CdÉ* 45 (1970), 310–14.

² Erman's *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, § 43, and Černý's draft 'Late Egyptian Grammar' state reasons for not using transcriptions. Although the purist reasons they give are correct, their reticence involves a loss of practicality and of clarity in exposition. In discussing syntax modern linguistics makes use of standard orthography as a convenience, despite its inadequacies.

are well known from cuneiform. They can probably also be distinguished according to 'modes of reporting'. Ex. 269: read 'and her heart'. § 38: the *ŷEA* reference is 49, 175. Ex. 275: the translation should start '... and'. Pp. 131–3: it seems very unlikely that the *hr/r dd* before a quotation has any influence on its time-reference. Ex. 298: the second '(Third Future)' should probably read '(Prospective *stp:f*)'. P. 136, Summary: the meaning of 'personal notion of the Third Future' is puzzling. 'Mode of performance' is used for the first time here, but seems clear. Ex. 315, last line: read 'the *di-i* Pattern'. Ex. 317: 'You are how' is an unacceptable English sentence. Ex. 319: delete '...' in transcription and translation. Ex. 331: perhaps translate '... one of her houses, while she was entering ...'. P. 149, end: read 'Category 4' for 'Category 3'. Ex. 339: translate '... with anyone until I return', cf. Wentz, *LRL* 38 with n. *ad*. Ex. 343 (also *ŷEA* 55, 92–3): perhaps translate 'we bribed them because they had *heard* of it—they hadn't come with us'. P. 157, top: Vergote (*CdÉ* 45, 310) suggests the term 'projection'. The phenomenon can be described economically in terms of Chomskyan 'deep structure'. Pp. 158 ff.: it is worth noting that Groll's 'prosodic units' are similar to Fecht's 'Kola'. Ex. 372: might *m hm·n* mean 'in ignorance'? 'On our own' would normally be *m hm·k*. P. 165, end: the reference is to Ex. 364. P. 166, l. 4: refer to Ex. 368. P. 170: for 'complementary' see above to p. 28. P. 173: the usage stated for the conjunctive is the same as that of 'and'. Ex. 390: read *pt-ht-tzw*. P. 178: the Gardiner reference is *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, 25. Ex. 395: transcription and translation should have '6'. Ex. 400: read 'he should write you a letter'. P. 182, top: see also Introduction. The material in the Excursuses has not been verified by me. Bibliography: a number of items cited in the text are not in the bibliography. Janssen, 'Nine letters ...' is *OMRO* 41, 31–47. Index of citations: Berlin Pap. 10496: read 'P 6'; Ex. 385 is not from this papyrus. The references to Berlin Pap. 10497 are all to 10627. The Pap. Salt number is 124. Cross-references to the publications of pieces cited by museum number would have been useful.

Finally, I hope I have given some idea of the fertility of the book, which richly repays intensive study. Professor Groll's work has built on Polotsky's and Černý's studies of individual elements and integrated them and her own results into a coherent analysis; it constitutes the major reformulation of the subject since Erman.

JOHN BAINES

Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn. By SERGE SAUNERON. Brooklyn Museum 47. 218. 156, Wilbour Monographs III. Pp. ix+29, coloured frontispiece, 3 pls. and 5 double plates showing text and transcription. The Brooklyn Museum, 1970. No price stated.

During the eighties or nineties of the last century, Charles Ed. Wilbour bought in Egypt a number of papyri which were apparently part of a large ancient library. They were presented to the Brooklyn Museum, New York, by Miss Theodora Wilbour in 1947. The majority of the papyri are concerned with pure medicine. They include, however, also a number of magical papyri which seem to show that magic, too, was considered as a legitimate means of treating diseases.

The main purpose of this elegantly produced short book is the publication of two of the magical texts (part of one papyrus roll) in photograph, transliteration, and translation. It is of particular interest that two vignettes with 'pantheistic' Bes-figures served as part of the charm itself: each picture is to be copied on a new sheet of papyrus and to be put on the neck (or other part of the body) of the person to be protected, while the words of the charm are to be spoken over the picture.

In the Introduction Sauneron gives his reasons for dating the papyrus to the end of the Thirtieth Dynasty, or shortly afterwards. He also gives a sympathetic and convincing exposition of the actual magical process, including the enemy against whom the magic was employed, the nature of the god used by the magician, and the way the magician put the god into action against the forces of evil.

While the texts consist mainly of a description of the helping god and magical formulas against 'all kinds of ills that ever may be', the main interest lies in the excellent vignettes of the 'Pantheistic Bes' in his two forms of appearance as dwarf and as youth with the face of Bes, both times surrounded by a circle of flames and faced by a snake on human legs who holds the child Horus in a sun-disc and is called 'Atum, the Lord of Heliopolis, the Lord of the two countries, the Heliopolitan'.

The youthful Bes of the first vignette stands over a serpent with his tail in his mouth (*ouroboros*) encircling a number of dangerous animals. Sauneron, surprisingly, does not mention that an almost exact replica of this vignette is to be found on the back of the famous Metternich Stela (see Campbell Bonner, *Magical Amulets* (1950), pl. 24, fig. 6 and p. 158), but without the standing serpent and with the addition of two *wedjat*-eyes. As the Metternich Stela is dated to the reign of King Nakht-Hor-heb of the Thirtieth Dynasty, it could give a corroboration of the dating of the papyrus suggested by Sauneron. Its mythological text could also possibly help to give further meaning to the representations, for example to the name written over the picture of the dwarf-Bes on the second vignette. Sauneron states: 'Quant au nom que le papyrus donne à l'une des deux images, il reste énigmatique sous les trois signes qui le composent: soleil avec ses rayons, scarabée et homme âgé penché sur son bâton.' If, as it seems to me, the first sign is not the sun but rather the weeping eye, an explanation could possibly be found in the spell against the water animals which threaten to attack the body of Osiris, which in the translation of Roeder begins like this (Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des Alten Ägyptens* [1925], 87): 'O du Greis, der sich zu seiner Zeit verjüngt, . . . laß Thot auf meinen Ruf zu mir kommen, damit er mir das Krokodil "Wendegesicht" . . . verjage. Osiris schwimmt auf dem Wasser, und das Horus-Auge ist bei ihm; über ihm schwebt der große Sonnenkäfer . . . Wer sich dem Gott im Wasser naht, naht sich dem tränenden Horus-Auge . . .'

As the aged man, the scarab, and the weeping eye of Horus are all to be found in collaboration repelling the enemies of Osiris, the name on the second vignette of the Brooklyn papyrus might be a cryptogram alluding to all this. When the rest of the Wilbour papyri are published we may know whether Sauneron is right in his assumption that they once belonged to the sacred archive of ancient Heliopolis.

KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS

Two Hieratic Papyri of Nesmin, Part I. By FAYZA MOHAMED HAIKAL. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, XIV. Part I: Introduction, Transcriptions, and Plates. 90 pp., 4 pls. in autograph + 11 pls. in half-tone. Brussels, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1970. Price 480 FB.

In this latest edition to the invaluable series of texts published by the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Dr. Haikal has published two late hieratic papyri in the British Museum, nos. 10208 and 10209, which once belonged to the priest who owned the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus (B.M. 10188); Dr. Haikal makes the point that the so-called colophon added by Nesmin to no. 10188 includes more titles than nos. 10208-9, and therefore regards it as slightly later in date. Nothing is known as to the provenance of these documents, but since all three were collected in the first place by Rhind and bought by the British Museum from the Bremner collection, it is clear that they came from the same source and were found or acquired as one lot.

As regards the content of nos. 10208-9, the author calls attention to the fact that the former duplicates cols. 110-12 of P. Louvre 3079, while 10209 refers to the great Festival of Opē. The Introduction to this work begins with a discussion of the titles and affiliations of Nesmin, while the rest is devoted to a technical account of the documents, followed by transcriptions from the hieratic; in the case of 10208, which follows 10209 in this book, the relevant parallel text from P. Louvre 3079 is also given. These 66 pages of transcriptions are followed by four 'plates' in autograph which are outwardly indistinguishable from the preceding pages of transcription, and it would have been more in accord with customary usage if these had been numbered as pages rather than plates; they contain the titles of Nesmin from the three different sources set out in parallel, and palaeographical notes on sixteen signs or groups. There follow eleven half-tone plates of excellent quality of nos. 10209, 10208, and the relevant portion of Louvre 3079. Cols. 4 and 5 of 10209 are shorter than the others and have been reproduced to a larger scale; the author points out that in these two columns the quality of the writing is inferior to what precedes.

The fact that we possess no fewer than three well-preserved religious papyri belonging to a single individual indicates clearly that Nesmin was a person of importance, quite apart from his wealth of priestly titles. There is a tendency to underestimate the value of these late papyri, and Dr. Haikal's publication is especially welcome on this account. There are other such papyri buried in the archives of museums, and if an understanding of Egyptian religion is a desirable aim, it is necessary that these basic documents be made

available to students, even if only in the form of photographs. Meanwhile, let us hope that the author of this work will not delay too long before publishing the translation and commentary necessary to complete this study.

R. O. FAULKNER

The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos. By PAUL R. SWARNEY. American Studies in Papyrology, Vol. 8. Pp. vii + 140. A. M. Hakkert Ltd., Toronto, 1970. No price stated.

The last full-scale survey of the *idios logos* was by Plaumann in 1914 and it is welcome to have an up-to-date study of this important office. What Swarney has set out to do is to examine 'the bureaucratic history and structure of the *idios logos*', leaving out of consideration as far as possible the judicial aspects. His method is to treat first the minutiae for the relevant chronological period (key texts, significant expressions, etc.) before giving at the end a summary of his conclusions. Thus, to take the Ptolemaic period as an example, we get first a detailed examination of BGU 992, SB 9424, P. Amh. 32, and BGU 1772, then a discussion of ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ, τὰ ἀναληφθέντα, τὰ ἀδέσποτα, and τὸ πρόστιμον, followed by a summary. Such a method does not make for easy reading, nor is the reader's task made easier by some lack of clarity in the author's exposition, particularly as the subject is frequently a complicated one, abounding in fine distinctions and involved arguments.

Swarney's conclusions for the Ptolemaic period (incidentally, the best account of these comes on p. 71, in the section on the early Roman period) are that the *idios logos* began as a special account, distinct from the βασιλικόν, in which were recorded revenues from the sale of government property, whether confiscated to the king or classed as ἀδέσποτα. By the first century B.C. this had developed into a fully fledged bureau of the Ptolemaic administration under the direction of ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ. By this time it was also acting as a receiver for confiscated property, which the government intended to sell—in fact its chief activity had become the selling of such property—and it was thus intimately bound up with the growth of private property in Ptolemaic Egypt.

In the Roman period Swarney makes a distinction between the Julio-Claudian *idios logos* and the office under the Flavians and Antonines. Although he has no difficulty in showing that the early Roman office differed from that of the middle of the second century, the division of the description into two distinct phases is perhaps misleading. The evidence as he presents it seems to suggest rather that the change was a gradual one, with the period of the Flavians in particular being one of transition. Nor is it certain that the full development of the office had been attained before the third century.

On the Julio-Claudian *idios logos* Swarney concludes that by comparison with the office at the end of the Ptolemaic period, it had ceased to function as an account to which the revenues from the sale of property were credited, nor was it any longer the department to which property was confiscated from private owners. On the other hand there were several gains. The office was sales agent for ἀδέσποτα and γῆ ἐν ὑπολόγῳ. As well it sold hereditary temple offices and supervised the payment of the priestly εἰσκριτικόν (though the money raised went to the δημόσιον), possibly a task which arose out of its control of ἀδέσποτα. In general it was involved with all property confiscated by the government which was not to be retained by the government and leased, but which was to be sold. It was by now responsible for the management of such properties, and it had full powers as investigator and judge in cases affecting them, thus attaining a limited jurisdiction. A *gnomon* existed for the guidance of those charged with administering its affairs.

During the second century A.D.—Swarney thinks that the office had reached its fully developed form by the reign of Hadrian—we find its head at times referred to as the *idios logos*. It is in this period that the department's functions as administrator became separated from those as confiscator, and as investigator and judge; it was in the last of these capacities that it became most prominent. It extended its sphere of investigations to include *bona caduca*, questions of inheritance and defective wills, as well as to cases of ritual impropriety and infractions of the laws governing civil privileges, etc. As an administrator it continued to sell non-productive property which had been confiscated to the government, but in addition it now retained control of productive property, which it leased and for which it collected the rents. Also it became the government agent for confiscation in matters which had no connection with its other functions. As the author presents it, this is a gradual development with, on the whole, each step proceeding logically from what had gone before. The prime motive for these developments he sees as bureaucratic convenience.

There follow two short Appendices: the first lists known heads of the office, while the second treats P. Tebt. 874 and W. Chr. 72: Swarney argues persuasively that the reference in the former papyrus to *ἰδίου λόγος* [*sic*] has no connection with the technical *idios logos*, and, less convincingly, that the latter does not prove that the office was combined with that of high priest in the third century, much less the second. It is unsatisfactory that a text as important as W. Chr. 72 should be relegated to an appendix; not only could it be held that it shows the *idios logos* continuing to develop in the third century, it seems also to disprove Swarney's statement in the Preface that the office 'disappeared during the reign of Septimius Severus or shortly thereafter, perhaps continuing as a title'.

But the chief weakness here, and it is a weakness which recurs throughout the book, is that references to the writings of modern scholars are much too few. Yet Swarney is inevitably dealing with many controversial points, on which much has already been written; the reader has a right to expect to be told when the author is diverging from the accepted views and where to find such views, so that he may judge for himself the weight of the evidence and the arguments. The brief outline of modern views on pp. 3–5 is not a satisfactory substitute (and no mention is made here of the important discussion of the Ptolemaic *idios logos* by Larsen, *P. Haun.*, pp. 64–9). The other disappointing feature of the work is that the author leaves undiscussed or only inadequately dealt with several problems of importance. He deliberately excludes matters dealing purely with the department's judicial functions, but even within his terms of reference he fails to give proper consideration to a number of questions, at any rate in the Roman period. For example, what was the relation of the head of the office to the prefect, and especially to the *procurator usiacus*? Was the latter his subordinate? Did the members of his bureau include the *eclogistae*? And were the *κατήγοροι*, whom we know of from the edict of Ti. Julius Alexander, public prosecutors? If the head of the office was not always an equestrian procurator (pp. 120 f.), what was he before that? When and why did the *idios logos* drop out, and was its head replaced by the *magister rei privatae*? What in fact were the relations of the *idios logos* to the *res privata*?

Nevertheless, the book contains many good features, and in several ways it advances our knowledge of this important subject. It is sure to prove of value, especially perhaps as a stimulus to further research.

J. DAVID THOMAS

Il Cristianesimo in Egitto. Lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II–IV. By MARIO NALDINI. Studi e testi di papirologia, 3. Pp. xii+415. Florence, Le Monnier, 1968. Price L. 10,000.

Almost fifty years after the publication of Ghedini's *Lettere cristiane dai papiri greci del III e del IV secolo* (1923), another Italian scholar has produced a collection of papyrus texts selected on exactly the same basis. Naldini has assembled in one volume nearly all the Greek papyrus letters from Egypt earlier than the late Byzantine period, which were written, or seem likely to have been written, by Christians. There are no unpublished texts. The justification for the new selection is the amount of additional material which has come to light since the appearance of Ghedini's book; thus, whereas Ghedini included only forty-four letters, Naldini is able to include ninety-seven. The present selection, like the earlier, is limited to the first four centuries A.D., in practice almost entirely to the third and fourth centuries (1 = P. Mich. 482 is dated A.D. 133, but the case for its being Christian rests solely on biblical echoes; 2–3 are dated second/third century; and 89–97 fourth/fifth—overlapping therefore with O'Callaghan's *Cartas cristianas griegas del siglo V* (1963)). Within this chronological limit Naldini's aim is to be comprehensive, with the following exceptions: papyri from the Abinnaeus archive (although one example, 40 = P. Abinn. 32, is included) and the papyri of the Meletian schism and archive of Paphnuthios published by Bell in *P. Jews*.

The central problem facing an editor of a selection like the present one is to decide which texts to put in and which to leave out. Naldini discusses the criteria on which his selection is based on pp. 7–32, dealing in particular with the use of *θεός*, the initial greeting, various formulas (*ἐν κυρίῳ, σὺν θεῷ*, etc.), *ἀδελφός, ἀγάπη, πρεσβύτερος*, the prescript, *nomina sacra*, and the use of monograms. He shows himself well aware of the difficulties he is facing and his judgement is generally prudent. Some idea of his cautious approach may be gauged from the fact that he rejects as too doubtful four of the texts included by Ghedini. Nevertheless, Naldini has felt it right to include a good number of texts where there is some doubt, occasionally substantial, as to whether they were written by Christians; thus of the first fifty letters, which date no later than the

early fourth century, only about half can be said to have been written by people who were unquestionably Christian.

A further section of the Introduction, pp. 33–46, is devoted to a brief sketch of such features of Christian life as make their appearance in the letters. Naldini touches on most of the points of interest, although more might perhaps have been said on the occurrence of well-to-do Christians (e.g. a possible gymnasiarch in 4, an owner of domestic servants in 8, and holders of bouletic or liturgical posts in 13, 18, 86, and 97), and on the extent to which Christianity in Egypt penetrated at first the Egyptian-speaking rather than the Greek-speaking circles. The remainder of the Introduction is principally taken up (pp. 47–54) with an examination of the language used in the letters and especially its relationship to the Greek of the New Testament.

In preparing his edition Naldini has taken the trouble to re-examine the originals of certain of the papyri and to consult microfilms or photographs of others. As a result he is able to suggest several minor alterations (and one major improvement on p. 32 n. 1, of P. Med. 86, 6–7, which does not feature among the letters included in the selection). Each text is accompanied by a note on where it has been published or studied, an introduction in which stress is laid on possible Christian elements, a translation, critical and explanatory notes, of which the latter are especially strong on linguistic points and items of interest for the history of early Christianity. In many cases the *ed. pr.* included no translation, and as the letters are frequently in contorted Greek and full of obscure allusions, it was extremely difficult, especially for the non-specialist, to make use of their evidence. Not the least of Naldini's services, therefore, is to have made all the texts much more readily intelligible through the provision of a translation. One feature in the presentation of the texts is disturbing: collating them with earlier publications shows that there are numerous slight divergences (in the dotting of letters, use of brackets, etc.). Not all of these can be attributed to a fresh examination of the text or of a reproduction, and in several cases we must suppose a typographical error. Corrigenda include: 2, 8 read ἀνέβην; 17, 13 read μεχανῆ; 38 verso ἀδελφῶι omitted; 47 the verso is omitted; 78, 20 read Κοπιτισία; 80, 13 read νύμφη. Note also: 12 (= P. Princ. 73) has been republished as CPJ III 469 (which throws doubt on whether it is Christian); at 58, 4 the plate suggests to me the reading προτ[ορ]ύπως; Rea has pointed out, *CR* 16 (1966), 43, that despite the nominative Ἰωάννης in 85, 2, John is undoubtedly the recipient of this letter; no justification is offered for altering the reading of the *ed. pr.* at 89, 12.

There are no plates (although the dustjacket affords an excellent facsimile of 39 = PSI 311). The book is completed by a bibliography, a concordance, and comprehensive indexes. J. DAVID THOMAS

Isis in the Graeco-Roman World. By R. E. WITT. Aspects of Greek and Roman Life, ed. H. H. Scullard. Pp. 336, 32 pls., 3 figs. London, 1971. Price £3.75.

In view of the considerable literature which has lately been devoted to the cult of Isis, it was an act of distinct courage to attempt a comprehensive interpretation of the Graeco-Roman cult of the goddess, using the literary, epigraphic, papyrological, and archaeological sources. Dr. Witt reveals not only this initial courage, but also the qualities of enthusiasm and persistence which such a project demands. His first chapter is entitled 'The Ancient Goddess of the Nile'; his twentieth is called 'The Great Forerunner'—an index of his keen interest in the relation between the worship of Isis and Christianity; and in between he scarcely neglects any facet of the cult. He is well equipped to handle the classical sources, and he is also well read, on the whole, in the modern literature—much better than the 'Bibliography' on pp. 327–31 might suggest. Here we find odd things like the inclusion of Merkelbach's *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike*, but not of his much more relevant *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit: Daten und Riten*. The style of the book is popular, at times even lyrical. The 32 pages of plates (covering 72 items) are attractively produced, and although the material is not as extensive as that in Leipoldt and Grundmann, *Umwelt des Urchristentums*, vol. III² (Berlin, 1967), it is a useful collection. Incidentally, Dr. Witt cites only the first form of the latter work (Leipoldt's volume in the *Bilderatlas* series, Leipzig, 1926).

How far was Isis Hellenized in iconography and thought when her cult was taken over by the Greeks? This is a crucial question in any consideration of the theme. On p. 24 we are told that outside Egypt 'Isis

became first Greek and then Graeco-Roman', a statement supported by a quotation from Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 2: 'Isis belongs to Greece.' The Greek is 'Ἑλληνικὸν γὰρ ἡ Ἴσις ἐστίν', and the context makes it clear that Plutarch is there discussing etymology; the meaning, therefore, is 'For Isis is a Greek name'; cf. my edition and commentary ad loc., pp. 121 and 257. There is nothing misleading, however, in the detailed treatments of these matters. On pp. 55–8 iconography is dealt with and the preponderant Egyptian elements are fully recognized. The discussion of the aretalogies in ch. 8 also shows a commendable awareness of the contribution made by Egyptian theology, the basic type being well described as 'the hymn of praise composed in Egypt but intended for Greece'. The stylistic and spiritual features of the various 'praises' are instructively discussed, and one must agree that the Andros Hymn, for all its Alexandrian prettiness, betrays a 'shallowness of feeling'. In the discussion of the Hymns from Medinet Madi one misses a reference to Renenutet as the basic divine form. Medinet Madi, by the way, is hardly 'an ancient site just outside Memphis'; it is in the southern sector of the Fayûm.

The appeal of the Isis cult in the early centuries of our era is persuasively presented and documented. There are questionable statements, on the other hand, in the chapters dealing with the Ancient Egyptian background. The title of the first chapter suggests that Isis was primarily a goddess of the Nile; and we are told (p. 14) that the Nile was 'revived each year by Isis' and that the annual inundation was 'the resurrection ushered in by Isis shedding her tears and beating her wings to bring the Etesian winds' (p. 16). It is rightly pointed out on p. 15, with a reference to Maria Münster's study, that Isis was in early times associated with Sothis, a star suggestive of rebirth and inundation. But it is a secondary association. It is true that the allusion in Pausanias to the 'tears of Isis' has recently been ingeniously connected by Derchain with a possible attempt at paronomasia in Egyptian of the words *ꜥgb* 'inundation' and *ꜥkb* 'lament': see *Chronique d'Égypte*, 45 (1970), 282–4. Derchain begins by showing that the attempt by Danielle Bonneau in *La Crue du Nil*, 255 f. to connect the dictum of Pausanias with Egyptian texts fails because it rests on out-dated translations. His own attractive, albeit speculative, proposal involves an origin not earlier than the Graeco-Roman era, when the two words became homophonous. On p. 27 Dr. Witt stresses the fact that Isis is shown bearing the *ꜥankh*-sign; the sign is borne, however, by a host of other deities. A solitary allusion to Isis as 'Lady of the House of Life' is explained as implying that she is 'the source of all that lived'. The 'House of Life' is more specialized in its reference, since it denotes life after death as guaranteed by the Osirian ritual; cf. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, 54 ff. On p. 34 there is a misleading interpretation of the symbolism of the uraeus as used by Cleopatra; it is not Isis but Wedjoyet that is symbolized by this double-uraeus: see my 'Death of Cleopatra VII', *JEA* 47 (1961), 113–18.

Still, this is not the main business of the book, and in its chosen field it has much to offer. Particularly stimulating is the attempt to assess the impact of the Isis cult on Christianity. Here Dr. Witt is able to deploy his wide knowledge of the religion of the Byzantine era and its sequel in Greek Orthodoxy, and he is also able to correct the severe underestimation of the moral appeal of the Isis cult which has hitherto prevailed among historians of Christianity. The chapter on 'The Pauline View' succeeds in showing that Paul must have encountered the cult and that it made some impact on him. Caution is exercised, at the same time, in presenting possible parallels. Cenchreae, for instance, is mentioned (p. 260) as the scene of the first 'Pauline tonsure', and a note refers one to the Isiac tonsures. While this is only the gentlest of hints, it seems preferable to derive Paul's vow and tonsure from the Hebrew tradition. In the last chapter, after salutary remarks pleading for fresh and free thought on Christian origins, Dr. Witt makes the reasonable postulate that 'theological speculations have never arisen *in vacuo*'. He proceeds to propound the thesis that Isis was 'the forerunner of Catholicism's Mary, Mother of God', and adduces some striking parallels relating to the Panagia-Theotokos in Orthodox belief. It is wisely implied that traditions involving other deities may also have been subsumed, and Isis is herself shown to have been identified with many of these. On iconography it is good to see H. W. Müller's admirable 'Isis mit dem Horuskinde' cited; here the figure of Isis suckling Horus is established as an influence on the *Madonna lactans* evolved in an early phase of Christianity in Egypt, some of the representations compared being fairly close to one another in time. I am not convinced, however, that *hwnt*, as applied to Isis, ever means 'virgin'. In *CT* II, 217 *d* it clearly means 'junge Frau' rather than 'Jungfrau', since Isis is said in the context to be pregnant with the seed of Osiris. Nor is she credited elsewhere with parthenogenesis.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Die Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religion und Kunstelemente im römischen Deutschland. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain. Tome douzième. By GÜNTER GRIMM. Pp. x+303, pls. 78 and map. Leiden, 1971. Price 132 guilders.

Egyptologists have generally shown scant interest in the spread of what Lafaye called the cult of the Alexandrian divinities in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. During the past decade, however, useful work has been done in this field by such scholars as Dieter Müller, Gwyn Griffiths, Leclant, Merkelbach, Tran Tam Tinh, Vidman, and Wessetsky. To the list the name of Günter Grimm must now be added. In this finely produced, elaborate, and meticulously careful survey of artistic survivals within the confines of his own country from the Ptolemaic religion of Memphis and Alexandria, the author has gathered during his Teutonically thorough search a surprising wealth of material. He sifts it (his *Materialsichtung* covers thirty pages) in the determination to avoid an uncritical and romantic linkage of Egypt with Germany ('schwärmerische Romantik, die das Nilland mit Deutschland verbinden sollte', p. 3). The reader will have no cause to complain about Grimm's testing of all the evidence. Characteristically, the captions for plates 1-8 all have a question mark for provenance place-names, and those for 75-7 have the similar 'angeblich'.

The problem of estimating how widely and how deeply the 'Alexandrian cult' was practised in the area selected by G. is to be expected in other outlying provinces of the Roman world. *Kunstelemente*, even when the find-spot is known with absolute certainty, cannot tell us much about the cult's intensity in a particular locality: and this statement applies generally throughout the Empire. On the other hand, when as at Cologne a statuette to *Isis Invicta* is found built into the wall of a church (No. 14 of G.'s catalogue—cf. also 14A, the statuette of the Apis), and in another church (No. 16) is embedded a votive altar to *Isis Myrionymos*, all the circumstances, particularly the epigraphical support, lead to the conclusion that the Egyptian goddess, along with her *σύνναοι θεοί*, enjoyed particular favour in the capital of Germania Inferior during pre-Christian times. G. himself indeed recognizes the importance of the cult (*Zusammenfassung*, p. 101) in the four capital cities—Cologne, Mainz, Augsburg, and Trier.

The political shape of the Germany to which G. devotes his attention unfortunately excludes material which is certainly relevant to his subject. Thus for Noricum (p. 231) he has just one example, a bronze statue of Osiris. But, as may be seen from Vidman's *Sylloge* (647-50), there are at least four inscriptions from this province which mention Isis (conflated with the local Noric goddess). It is interesting to see on G.'s map, with all its clear differentiation of verified find-spots, find-spots with a query, and cult centres, that the northernmost site is one at Lübsow (in Polish Pomerania, not far from the Baltic coast, though this is not actually shown on the map). Whether we agree or not with G.'s view that the reference in Tacitus (*Germania* 9) to sacrifices by the Suebi to Isis implies a local Germanic goddess (p. 100), the existence of a verified find-spot for a glass cup with an Egyptianizing scene ('Aus Ägypten . . . wahrscheinlich', G., p. 41) so far north, together with the other evidence on the map, must raise the question why Egyptian religious ideas spread all this way. G. feels sure that the culmination of the success for Alexandrian religion in Germany was reached around 200 A.D. (p. 88). But this accords with the picture which we have of it in other parts of the Roman Empire, in which case it is a mistake for G. to suggest that the pace of development differed in different areas ('Die einzelnen Provinzen des Römischen Reichs zeigen natürlich keine einheitliche und geschlossene Entwicklung', p. 7). In other words, G.'s 'Germany' is not untypical, as we think of the widespread faith born on the banks of the Nile and of the claims made by its goddess far away from Egypt ('Die Epitheta "invicta" und "myrionymos" sprechen deutlich vom umfassenden Ausspruch der Göttin', p. 60). The faith manifested in Germany was, of course, ecumenical.

Chapter III provides a useful discussion of the monuments. It is subdivided into sections: 'Isis, Serapis und die θεοὶ σύνναοι', 'Stätten der Verehrung', 'Beginn und Dauer der Kulte', and 'Träger der Verehrung'. On p. 73 G. holds that it is a mistake to claim Stockstadt as a cult centre. But in his general conclusion on p. 101 he declares that the cult devotion to Serapis/Isis is attested for the same place: 'Die kultische Verehrung . . . ist . . . für . . . die Beneficiarierstation bei Stockstadt bezeugt.' This tacitly revised view is borne out by the fact that the dedicant of the altar there to Jupiter-Serapis, one Secionius Senilis, was of consular rank (cf. Vidman's *Sylloge*, 715: G., Catalogue 112 and pl. 36). G. points out that on the available evidence the gods Harpocrates, Anubis, and even Osiris and Apis are inconspicuous. Unlike Vidman, G. includes an inscription found at Cologne (Cat. 21, pl. 60) in which the name Horus appears theophorically,

being borne by an under-pilot of Alexandria. G. points out that Anubis is only once attested in Germany (p. 64), and in this connection the absence of Anubis in northern Greece at Thessalonica is perhaps worth mentioning as a parallel. The lid from Westheim on which Anubis appears carrying a palm-branch in company with Isis, Serapis, and Harpocrates is stated by G. (p. 81, following Castiglione) to be the only example of a type of scene outside Egypt. In it is depicted the sacred meal at which the gods recline. Here epigraphical references to the cult *κλήνη* can be cited from Delos: cf. Vidman's *Sylloge*, pp. 64 and 82, as well as his note to no. 120.

What G. says on pp. 71–2 about his predecessors, especially Lehner and Drexler, indicates the need for the strictest caution by archaeologists who deal with the oriental cults on European soil. Of twenty small objects which Lehner considered important, nine for G. are worthless. In the same way, numerous *ushebt*-figures cannot be assigned with certainty to given find-spots.

Perhaps G. himself is guilty of a certain rashness when he comes to the inevitable question of the relative standing of the 'Alexandrian cult' in the syncretistic religion of the Roman Empire. Its influence on the whole religious life of Roman Germany was extremely modest ('nur eine äusserst bescheidene Rolle', p. 97). It can be recognized from archaeological evidence that Mithras, Jupiter Dolichenus, and Cybele played a bigger part (p. 102). The attitude is almost that of someone compiling a championship table. The archaeologist, as G. himself so often stresses, must not strain the evidence to the point of saying: 'From my finds I can tell the relative positions of men's faiths of long ago.' In Germania, Inferior and Superior, as in the other provinces of the Roman Empire, men sought religious truth *eclectically* in the early centuries of our era. The ecumenical cult of Isis and her associated divinities had all the penetrating strength of the Christianity that followed and overcame it. As G. himself points out (p. 94), all kinds of people embraced it: women and children, slaves and freedmen, traders and soldiers of every rank, municipal officials, and members of the Imperial household. This list of his incidentally brings out the parallel with the Church, a parallel, however, which G. does not discuss. Nor does he raise the interesting question whether Christian hands, and not just *Tyche*, brought about the loss of many monuments belonging to a faith inconveniently similar to the worship of Jesus.

The astonishingly detailed documentation will make this book for years a standard work in its particular field. The plates add much to its value. Occasionally an object is photographed from two or three different angles to reveal the *minutiae*. Volume 12 of *ÉPRO* is in some ways the finest so far published in this excellent series.

R. E. WITT

Didymos der Blinde: Psalmenkommentar (Tura-Papyrus), Teil V. Edited by M. GRONEWALD. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, 12. Pp. 255. Bonn, 1970. *Didymos der Blinde: Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes (Tura-Papyrus)*, Teil III. Edited by J. KRAMER. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, 13. Pp. xix+103. Bonn, 1970. No prices given.

These two volumes continue the publication of the Tura papyri of Didymus' commentaries on Psalms and Ecclesiastes, earlier volumes of which were reviewed in *JEA* 57 (1971), 240–2. PTA 12, which runs on from PTA 6, contains pp. 290–338 of the codex, covering Psalms 40–4: 4; in an appendix the text of two further leaves, pp. 247 and 250, which have come to light since the publication of PTA 6, is published: these cover Psalm 36: 12–14, 19–20. PTA 13 provides Didymus' commentary on two further chapters (5–6) of Ecclesiastes, and this volume constitutes part 3 of the projected edition of the whole work, of which only part 6 (PTA 9) has so far appeared.

In format these volumes follow the pattern of the previous ones. Each has a brief foreword, short footnotes, indexes of biblical passages, and words commented on in the notes. The footnotes in PTA 13 are the fuller of the two, and this volume contains seven longer notes at the end. The notes in PTA 12 consist largely of simple cross-references to other passages in Didymus (and occasionally other writers). At times some amplification here might have been helpful, as, for example, at *C. Psalms* 313⁶ (also 321³), where Joshua son of Nun surprisingly turns up in the company of Daniel and Ezekiel in Babylonia. The explanation for this anachronism will be found if one of the cross-references (*C. Zach.* 358^{12f.}) given in the footnotes is consulted: in *C. Psalms* Didymus has carelessly confused Joshua son of Iosedek, the high priest, with the hero of the conquest.

As in the previous volumes, there is much of interest from a number of different points of view. Quotations from *Ep. Barnabas* (*C. Psalms* 300^{12 ff.}), Hermes Trismegistus (*C. Eccl.* 167^{15 ff.}; provided with a longer note at the end of the volume), and references to Apollinaris (*C. Eccl.* 154^{2 ff.}—also provided with a longer note) and Porphyry (*C. Psalms* 308¹³) deserve to be singled out for mention. Attention may also be drawn to the commentary on Psalm 41 which has an interesting section on the *ἐλαφος* (296^{29 ff.}), part of which has some coincidences with the *Physiologus* in the pseudo-Basilian, but not the earlier recensions. Of lexical interest is the occurrence of a number of rare words (listed PTA 13, p. xix), including *ἀμφίον*, on which compare the note by Grégoire and Goossens in *Byzantion* 13 (1938), 396–9. From an orthographical point of view, *κράβακτρον* (*C. Psalms* 291²¹, 292¹⁰) is worth noting, for this is the regular spelling in codex Sinaiticus of the Greek Bible (cf. *JEA* 57 (1971), 241 for another orthographical link between this codex and the Tura papyri).

Finally, a point of some interest for the textual history of the Septuagint is that Didymus occasionally preserves hexaplaric readings which are otherwise not, or only marginally, preserved in the Greek tradition (thus in his quotations of Psalms 41: 8 and 42: 1).

S. P. BROCK

Brief Guide to the Department of Ancient Art. Guide number 5 by BERNARD V. BOTHMER and JEAN L. KEITH.

Pp. vii+111, 49 pls. (4 col.), 1 chronological table, 3 maps. The Brooklyn Museum, N.Y., 1970. Price \$3.00.

This is not strictly speaking a normal guide or handbook for the visitor to the Brooklyn collections, but is intended for the interested layman who would carry away with him a picture of some of the star attractions of this museum. As a result its presentation is lavish and artistically of a very high order, but its aims are restricted in reality to the visitor who is mainly concerned with art.

A short introductory history of the collections is provided by the authors at the beginning of the text, an essential, and we would suggest indispensable, element in any museum guide, else how can the ordinary viewer with often little time at his disposal comprehend where and why so many diverse objects were gathered together? The collection occupies the third floor of the museum building and has important and varied Egyptian and Coptic assemblages, which, if not very large, are nevertheless, as the authors are at pains to stress, among the first in the world as regards quality. It is interesting to remember that nearly all this material has been acquired in only half a century.

The display, as one can vouch for after a visit some years ago, is exceptional, and the lighting and general arrangements both beautifully carried out and of above average quality. Interestingly enough for one associated with University College London, the first numbered Egyptian objects were purchased for the museum by none other than Petrie, as far back as 1902, and he apparently regularly made further acquisitions during the next decade. De Morgan, that other great Egyptian prehistorian, also excavated for the museum at this time and obtained some unique predynastic specimens for it. Later the Wilbour library and collection were added, but it was, of course, the long association of Cooney, from 1934 until 1963, that really marked the transformation of Brooklyn into a world-famous modern museum. Under his hand a great deal of systematic recording was done on the objects, and many fine pieces added to the growing collections.

The actual catalogue of exhibits is, as has been said, selective and the photographs used here are very good. The series begins with a so-called 'bird-deity' (although I must say that it looks more like a female figure with arms uplifted in a dance) from el-Ma'mariya, north of Hierakonpolis. It is Amratian, but no sequence date is given. Also shown is a most unusual tripod vessel in red burnished pottery with white design vegetable and matting decoration. Also from the predynastic period is a fine Gerzean jar with painted lizard (?) decoration and a magnificent flint knife with a carved ivory handle comparable only with the one in the Louvre.

The Old Kingdom is represented by an almost unique royal head in red granite, dated to the late Third Dynasty, and wearing the white crown. Less powerful but also striking is a diorite bearded 'Libyan' figure of the same period. A Sixth Dynasty official Methethy is used as the front cover of the booklet, but I find the little statuette of young King Pepi II on his mother's knee the most charming piece of sculpture in the whole collection.

Some good pieces of Middle Kingdom sculpture are also included, in particular the Eleventh Dynasty relief of Queen Neferu from Deir el-Bahri showing her having her hair done, and a female bust in black mottled granite may be cited. The most original and remarkable New Kingdom piece is undoubtedly the diorite head of Amenophis III, whose blue crown is swept backwards off the head with an almost Amarna-style flair, and whose Armenoid features are almost exaggeratedly pronounced. The form of spot-lighting used in the galleries at Brooklyn brings to this piece an almost metallic quality when seen from the rear.

One or two pleasant but in no way remarkable fragments of Eighteenth Dynasty tomb painting are featured, and some Amarna pieces very similar in style and general work to those at University College.

The Egyptian selection ends with some works of the Late Period, here rather curiously referred to as the 'Third Intermediate Period', of which the haematite head of Thoeris is the most striking. Also unusual is the papyrus depicting a procession with the figure of Amūn carried by priests at Karnak in the reign of Psamtek I, 651 B.C. A Persian period carving and Graeco-Roman sculptures precede a fine Roman-Coptic mummy portrait of a boy of the Isis cult, and some less familiar Coptic sculptures.

One may perhaps end with a request for a fuller guide in due course. This is in no sense a criticism of this excellently produced book, but there seems to be a general tendency among museums throughout the world to cut down on the information handed out in their guide-books. The public, and in particular the informed layman, is surely entitled to such a basic service from museum officials, with a fairly general if not complete listing of the monuments and objects to be seen as well as their numbers and, where necessary, a short description of them. It is not enough to rely on labels in or beside cases, if only for one reason, that the visitor is often not even certain what is on view at all. More complete details of what is in, as well as on view in, American museums would be very welcome on this side of the Atlantic and, of course, vice versa.

E. P. UPHILL

Le Voyage en Égypte de Pierre Belon du Mans 1547. First volume in the series *Collection des voyageurs occidentaux en Égypte* issued as 413 I.F.A.O. Présentation et notes de Serge Sauneron. Pp. xxxviii, 89b-139b, xxxix-lxv, with illustrations from the original publication of 1555. Cairo, 1970. No price stated.

Of recent years a considerable and increasing interest has been manifested by both Egyptologists and public alike in the accounts and journals of early travellers to Egypt. As one who has recently completed the fascinating but by no means easy documentation for a second edition of Egyptology's *Who Was Who*, I find this little book a welcome addition to the library of those early works dealing with Egypt. For here is an account now available to the general reader, subject, of course, to his knowing French, as well as to the specialist, who must perforce spend time burrowing in the British Museum Reading Room or else the Bibliothèque Nationale, where alone such accounts as these are usually to be found.

Born in 1518, Pierre Belon was by training an apothecary who became a considerable French naturalist of that period. In 1546, however, he made what may now be described as a historic journey through the Near East, visiting many places after starting at Constantinople, and arriving in Egypt the following year. On his return he established himself as a scholar, but was assassinated by thieves in the Bois de Boulogne in 1564, a rather dramatic end to a life that had been adventurous for those days, and to a career of considerable scholarship.

The editor gives a short account of Belon's life at the beginning of this selection of his work, the more valuable as so few facts seem to be known about him. He also includes a detailed list of the various editions of the work that have appeared since the first published account of 1553, the one used here being that of Paris 1555, while the italic typography of the original is here transposed to an easier-to-read format using ordinary characters.

The present work is only in fact a selection of those chapters dealing with Egypt, commencing with Chapter XV, the 'Voyage from Rhodes to Alexandria'. The original illustrations are retained and reproduced throughout the text, adding much to the atmosphere and charm of the work. Thus one can judge of them that his picture of the ichneumon is good, his crocodile looks distinctly odd, and his giraffe has what I can only call a decidedly 'Sethian' head. Turning to the actual text, while the description of the towns, both ancient and modern, the monuments, and the people is interesting, Belon's main importance for us today lies in his notes on the flora and fauna, and especially those relating to drugs and plants such as balsam.

Notes are provided by the obliging editor to help those whose sixteenth-century French is not all it might be; speaking for myself I prefer to do without them, save perhaps for the odd note on some place or obscure reference to something seen, for the great charm of the narrative lies in the uninterrupted flow of the archaic but really delightful language, which like Shakespearian English is so much more telling and to the point than anything more recent.

E. P. UPHILL

Other books received

1. *Jewels of the Pharaohs. Egyptian Jewellery of the Dynastic Period.* By CYRIL ALDRED. Special photography in Cairo by ALBERT SHOUCAIR. 255 × 190 mm. Pp. 256, colour pls. 100, monochrome pls. 56, text illustrations 37. London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1971. Price £4.95. ISBN 0 500 23138 9.
2. *Sun King. In Search of Akhenaton.* By JOY COLLIER. 236 × 166 mm. Pp. 256, illustrated. London, Ward Lock Ltd., 1970. Price £3.25. SBN 7063 10357.
3. *Conservation in Field Archaeology.* By ELIZABETH A. DOWMAN. 190 × 130 mm. Pp. ix + 170, figs. 9. London, Methuen & Co., 1970. Price £1.50. SBN 416 16330 0.
4. *Callicrates of Samos. A Contribution to the Study of the Ptolemaic Admiralty.* By HANS HAUBEN. With a Samian inscription published in appendix by GÜNTER DUNST. *Studia Hellenistica* 18. 240 × 160 mm. Pp. 88, pls. 1. Louvain, 1970. Price 225 FB.
5. *Les Noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique.* By PIERRE LACAU. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Extrait des mémoires de l'Académie, tome xlv). 283 × 227 mm. Pp. xii + 173. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1970.
6. *Greek Historical Documents. The Fifth Century B.C.* By NAPHTALI LEWIS. 221 × 144 mm. Pp. xiii + 125. Toronto, A. M. Hakkert Ltd., 1971. Price \$7.00 (cloth), \$2.25 (paper).
7. 'Along the line where columns are set'. *Book II, continuing Technological Studies in Ancient Metrology.* By EIVIND LORENZEN. Translated by JOHN R. B. GOSNEY. 300 × 235 mm. Pp. 159, figs. 53. Copenhagen, Nyt Nordisk Forlag, 1970. No price given.
8. *Kulturgeist und Kulturleib. Kulturpsychologie des Alten Ägypten.* By RIZQ MAKRAM. Second edition. 230 × 150 mm. Pp. xi + 191, figs. 22. Tübingen, Selbstverlag Rizq Makram, 1970. No price given.
9. *Solomonic State Officials. A Study of the Civil Government Officials of the Israelite Monarchy.* By TRYGGVE N. D. METTINGER. *Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Studies* 5. 230 × 150 mm. Pp. xiii + 186. Lund, CWK Gleerups Förlag, 1971. No price given.
10. *Egypt.* By ANNE MILLARD. With an Introduction by Professor W. B. EMERY. The Young Archaeologist Books. 222 × 156 mm. Pp. 112, illustrations 49. London, Rupert Hart-Davis Educational Publications, 1971. Price £1.00. ISBN 0 298 79121 8.
11. *Treasures of the Cairo Museum. From Predynastic to Roman Times.* By EDWARD L. B. TERRACE and HENRY G. FISCHER. 262 × 247 mm. Pp. 188, colour pls. 8, monochrome pls. 43, chronological table. London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1970. Price £4.20. ISBN 0 500 23132 X.
12. *Alexander and the Hellenistic World.* By C. BRADFORD WELLS. 222 × 146 mm. Pp. 10 + 265, illustrations 18, maps 3. Toronto, A. M. Hakkert Ltd., 1970. Price \$8.00 (cloth), \$2.95 (paper). SBN 88866-501-6 (cloth), 88866-502-4 (paper).

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY VIVIAN RIDLER, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY
AND PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
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