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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

DR. RAYMOND O. FAULKNER has recently celebrated his eightieth birthday, and it is with special pleasure that we dedicate this volume to him. He has made a distinguished contribution to Egyptology and is happily still pursuing his studies with vigour, having just published the first volume of his translation of *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Spells 1-354). Among his many services has been his editorship of this Journal for a period of ten years. Our opening article is an appreciation by Professor H. S. Smith, and Mr. Cyril Spaul then contributes a Bibliography.

The season at Saqqâra this year was rather different in character from the normal procedure. We are indebted to Professor H. S. Smith and Dr. Geoffrey T. Martin for the following brief report.

The Society's camp was opened at North Saqqâra on December 13, 1973 and closed on March 15, 1974. The season was devoted to study of the finds made over the past nine seasons in the Sacred Animal Necropolis and preparation for their publication. No excavation was undertaken. H. S. Smith, J. D. Ray, and W. J. Tait worked on demotic letters, literary, magical, and mythological papyri in preparation for two volumes of texts, while Ray also completed the edition of demotic ostraca for his forthcoming volume 'The Archive of Ḥor'. Mrs. H. F. Smith completed the programme of papyrus photography which has occupied her for eight seasons, and also photographed ostraca and other objects. A campaign of cleaning ostraca and preserving them with soluble nylon was set in hand. Professor J. B. Segal worked as a guest of the Society in the Cairo Museum on Aramaic papyri and ostraca from the site, and has since returned to Cairo to complete this study. Dr. G. T. Martin worked on the final excavation report upon the Southern Dependencies, which includes those parts of the site upon which he himself directed the excavations in 1971-3. He also completed the draft manuscript of the publication of the hieroglyphic inscriptions from the site, including the mastaba of Ḥetep-ka. Miss C. D. Insley recorded and drew the bronze temple furniture at Saqqâra and in the Cairo Museum, and prepared detailed drawings of the scenes on *situlae*. Miss A. Millard completed a corpus of drawings of the types of wrappings found on bird mummies, and prepared for a catalogue of mummified fauna. Miss J. D. Bourriau prepared a series of analytical corpuses of pottery from the site. All the work planned for the season was satisfactorily completed. For this successful result the Society's warm thanks are once more due to Dr. Gamal Mukhtar, President of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, and to his staff, whose courteous help makes the Society's work at Saqqâra possible. Dr. Sami Farag, Chief Antiquities Inspector of Saqqâra and Memphis gave constant administrative help to the Society. During the season the Society worked in close co-operation with the authorities of the Cairo Museum, and would like to record their special thanks to Dr. Henri Riad, Director General, to Dr. 'Abdul-Qader Selim, Chief Curator, and to their staff for their constant attention to the expedition's scientific needs.

At Qaşr Ibrim, on the other hand, there was a further season of excavation, directed by Professor J. Martin Plumley, who reports another highly successful campaign.

During the 1972 Expedition the remains of part of what appeared to be an extensive X-Group city were discovered. These remains were seen to be built over earlier occupation structures. Close by the Expedition also found a building which had been originally built as a Napatan temple incorporating New-Kingdom elements by the Pharaoh Taharqa in the seventh century B.C. The building was later used by the Meroitic people, then by the X-Group, and finally converted into a Christian church, possibly in the sixth century A.D. It was decided in the present season to continue the excavation of the areas surrounding the church, given the title of the Temple Church to distinguish it from the great cathedral and the small ninth-century church adjacent to it on the south side. The area excavated during 1974 extended from the south side of the great East Stairway leading up from the Podium as far as the wall of the fortress. The line of the dismantled Bosnian stable wall served as a convenient boundary on the west and to the east the eastern enclosure wall of the Bosnian house complex (nos. 289-94) formed the fourth demarcation.

On the Piazza area north of the Temple Church the remains of a Late Christian structure had been

left in 1972 for excavation in the present season. In the course of the excavation of this building some remarkable MSS finds were made. Under the floor of one of the rooms a number of Arabic MSS together with a few Old Nubian letters were discovered. They had originally been buried in a pot. This, however, had been broken to pieces during antiquity with the result that all of the MSS, though legible, were in an extremely fragile condition, falling to pieces very easily at a touch. Near at hand, against one of the walls of the same room lay a sealed pot. The mud sealing had so successfully prevented the entry of air that when it was opened the contents were found to be in excellent condition. The pot contained ten leather scrolls written in Old Nubian and covering the last half of the twelfth century. All except one are in excellent state of preservation and are clearly legible. The pot also contained twenty-five letters in Old Nubian on paper, one in Arabic on paper and a paper scroll written in Coptic. This last is a copy of a letter from the King of Nubia to the Patriarch of Alexandria requesting the appointment of a bishop. These documents are of the greatest importance for they give new information about the rulers and officials of Dotawo, which was one of the associated kingdoms of medieval Nubia.

The excavation of the area to the south of the Temple Church revealed that a succession of occupations had occurred here. The fact that each successive occupation had adapted earlier structures and destroyed parts of these in the course of new building made the task of disentangling the various periods of building extremely difficult. Present study of the problem indicates that between the period of the Bosnian occupation of the area in the sixteenth century and the Early Christian period little if any building took place here. The Early Christian buildings stand immediately on top of X-Group structures which in their turn are buildings over those of the Meroïtes. There is evidence of a prior occupation of this area in the Napatan period when Taharqa erected a temple in the seventh century B.C.

During the cleaning of the excavated areas of the Meroïtic Temple it was noted that an earlier pavement underlies that of the Meroïtic paved floor. This earlier pavement is circular in shape, an almost unknown form of floor in Nubia. It is possible that it may belong to a building with walls circular in their ground plan. It is just possible that the building may be Roman work and even to be associated with the brief occupation of Ibrîm by the Prefect of Egypt, Petronius, during his campaign against the Meroïtes in 23-22 B.C. It is perhaps significant that one of the stones of the pavement bears on its surface an incised letter which has the form of a Roman capital letter M or N. If further excavation is able to substantiate this possibility of Roman building, the Meroïtic temple may be dated to the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D. At a later date part of the Meroïtic pavement was covered with a hard mud floor. Embedded in the floor were over 100 coins. The earliest dates from the Ptolemaic period and the latest originate from the early fifth century A.D. At present it is not possible to say why so many coins, almost all of small value, were deposited in this area. They are in no sense a hoard, since they were so scattered. It is not impossible that they may have been some kind of offering thrown down by those who came to worship in the temple.

During the course of the excavations a number of interesting and important finds were made. These included some very fine pottery especially from the X-Group period. A number of metal objects were recovered. Most of these are in good condition since the peculiar physical conditions on Ibrîm tend towards the preservation of objects which in most sites decay or are subject to corrosion. Collections of wooden articles and textiles were also made. In addition to the Old Nubian documents already mentioned many fragments of writing on papyrus, parchment, paper, wood, and potsherds were found in the course of the excavation. Languages represented by the fragments are Meroïtic, Greek, Coptic, Old Nubian, and Arabic, and, most surprising, Latin.

The 1974 Season of excavation has demonstrated again the wealth of Qaşr Ibrîm in archaeological material of all periods from the Eighteenth Dynasty until the beginning of the nineteenth century when the fortress was finally abandoned after centuries of almost continuous occupation. It would be difficult to find another site of comparable interest and importance. Since Qaşr Ibrîm is the last major Nubian site still above the level of the lake and consequently the only place in which the answers to some of the still unsolved problems of the history of this part of the Nile Valley may be found, well-organized expeditions should continue to work here as often as conditions and funds allow. Certain difficulties in communications and in provisioning still remain. It is to be hoped that with the development of the lake in the future these difficulties will become less formidable.

The death of the Revd. Professor John Barns on January 23, 1974, was a sad and sudden blow to Egyptology at Oxford, where he conducted a flourishing school, and also to Egyptological scholarship

in the widest sense. How unexpected his passing was, is indicated by the fact that he has contributed a fascinating and learned study to our present number. We publish a tribute to his memory by one of his pupils, Mr. W. V. Davies, who is at present MacIver Student at The Queen's College, Oxford. John Barns also made a valuable contribution to Greek papyrology, and of this Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones writes as follows:

John Barns did notable service to Greek papyrology in Oxford. From 1953 to 1965 he was University Lecturer in the subject; he taught it with the enthusiasm and exactitude that marked all his teaching, and he published several notable contributions to that branch of scholarship. His handling of both literary texts and documents in the last two volumes of *Antinoopolis Papyri* (1960 and 1966) and in Part 31 of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* was of high quality. In publishing fragments of a new gnomology he threw light on the whole topic of ancient gnomonic anthologies (*Classical Quarterly*, 44 [1950], 126 ff. and N.S. 1 [1951], 1 ff.); he made a striking contribution to the discussion of the origins of the Greek romance (*Akten 8. Kongress der Papyrologie*, 1956, 29 ff.); and he collaborated with H. Lloyd-Jones in three articles about important fragments of Greek poetry (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 83 [1963] 75 ff.; *ibid.* 84 [1964], 21 ff.; *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, 35 [1965], 205 ff.). He was both an acute and a careful reader, always insisting on the importance of first making one's alphabet and willing to take any amount of pains to decipher the most difficult writing. His vast knowledge of Graeco-Roman Egypt was supported by a very considerable acquaintance with classical antiquity; perhaps he more than any man was competent to explore the crucial problem of native influences upon the Ptolemaic kingdom. What we have lost by his early death may be guessed at from the remarkable inaugural lecture 'Egyptians and Greeks', which he delivered late in 1966 but published, with notable additions, only last year.

An accident in Khartoum involving a bicycle and a car resulted in the premature death of Dr. Bryan Haycock. He was a graduate of the University of Durham, and his former teacher, Dr. M. F. Laming Macadam, contributes the following appreciation.

The news of the death of Dr. Bryan Haycock at the age of only thirty-six, after a car accident, will come as a sad shock to many. As a student at Durham Bryan was what was soon to become almost a rare thing, a pupil who respected his teachers' learning, accepted the world as it was, and yet managed to become president of the Students' Union. Afterwards through Durham University he went on to take both D.Phil. and M.Litt. degrees, in that order. At Khartoum, where he worked alternately in the History and Archaeology departments (whichever most needed his talents at the time), he dedicated himself to helping his pupils, organizing with them visits to remote archaeological sites, dispensing single-handed courses in surveying and archaeological technique, and inspiring interest and discussion on all points of Sudanese ancient and mediaeval history. His pupils respected and indeed loved him, and in return he kept them informed of the most up-to-date theories and discoveries, contributing much of his own. Not a few members of the Sudanese Antiquities Service and the University departments must consequently owe something to the teaching of 'Barayān'. Historically, he had a memory for facts and dates which many thought phenomenal, and although his active life in a hot climate might have restricted literary output, he was making valuable contributions to knowledge of the Napatan and Meroitic periods, as his last article to the *Journal* witnesses (*JEA* 58, 225 ff.). Those of us who went sometimes to Khartoum as visiting examiners will be sorry no longer to see Bryan's giant figure riding his bicycle on the sandy streets.

The international scene has also witnessed severe losses. Dr. Edward L. B. Terrace, who studied at Harvard and Oxford, had published many scholarly articles when he held a post at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and later his *Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom* demonstrated the high quality of his understanding of Egyptian art. As with Bryan Haycock, one regrets the early termination of so much promise. Professor Hans Bonnet, on the other hand, had reached old age after a career of rich and substantial contributions to Egyptology. A visit to him in Bonn a few years ago showed that he had achieved a certain serenity in spite of some troublous experiences; and it was good to hear his heartfelt expression of gratitude for the constant help of Professor and Frau Edel. Academic succession does not, unhappily, always produce such warm human solicitude. Professor Zbynek Žaba, of Prague, was well known for his studies of Egyptian astronomy and for his edition of the Maxims of Ptahhotep. His was an untimely death, whereas Professor Henry L. F.

Lutz of the University of California at Berkeley, had reached the age of eighty-seven. Among the latter's publications were *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones* (1927) and *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes* (1930), both relating to the University of California's Egyptian Collection. We are reminded by Professor L. H. Lesko that Lutz was very proud of his *Viticulture and Brewing in the Ancient Orient* (1921), which was written during the Prohibition Era in the United States. Professor Aladar Dobrovits of Budapest will be remembered for his work on Harpocrates (1937) and for stimulating studies in journals. Among his varied gifts was his racy charm as a *raconteur*. We have lost an outstanding figure in the death of Dr. Jacques Vandier, of the Louvre. His scholarly attainments were matched, as Professor Jean Leclant reminds us, by his 'exemplaire courage'. We are grateful to Dr. I. E. S. Edwards for the following brief tribute.

Jacques Vandier succeeded the late Charles Boreux in 1940 as Chief Curator of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre Museum and held the appointment until his death at the age of sixty-eight on 15 October 1973. His curatorship was marked by a most imaginative rearrangement of the Egyptian galleries and by many important additions to the collection, the most outstanding perhaps being the wall-paintings from the Fifth-Dynasty tomb of Metjetji and the upper part of one of the statues of Amenophis IV found at Karnak by Henri Chevrier, the latter being a gift from the Egyptian Government in recognition of the assistance given by France in saving the monuments of Nubia. In spite of his onerous official duties, Vandier found time to write many books and articles of lasting value on Egyptian history, archaeology, and religion and to edit a number of important texts. They constitute a remarkable monument and students of Egyptology will turn to them for trustworthy guidance and information for many years to come. What his writings cannot show are the personal qualities which endeared him to those who knew him and also the fortitude with which he endured the physical disabilities from which he suffered throughout much of his life and particularly the crippling paralysis which afflicted him for his last fifteen years. Even his courage and determination would, however, have been of little avail if it had not been for the constant support of his devoted wife, Joë. Their home in Paris was truly a Mecca for Egyptologists, where generous hospitality and stimulating conversation made every meeting seem much too short. His many contributions to scholarship were recognized by his election to the French Academy and to a Corresponding Fellowship of the British Academy.

In June 1974, when these notes are being written, Mr. Cyril A. Aldred retires from his post as Keeper of Art and Archaeology in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. Although his post has not been connected with Egyptology in a titular sense, he has sedulously built up the Egyptian collection at Edinburgh and has also made notable contributions to Egyptological scholarship and literature. We wish him well in his retirement, which begins at a comparatively early age, and look forward to many other scholarly works by him.

RAYMOND O. FAULKNER

AN APPRECIATION

By H. S. SMITH

ALL Egyptologists will join in expressing their hearty congratulations and best wishes to Dr. Raymond O. Faulkner on his eightieth birthday, which is celebrated in this number of the Journal, for this modest scholar has based his academic career on the principle of service to his colleagues and to the general reader. Students of Egyptology all over the world must bless his name for his succinct and reliable editions and translations of Egyptian texts, and for that daily companion of their studies, his *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*.¹ Perhaps no British Egyptologist in this century other than his great friend and mentor Sir Alan Gardiner has made comparable contributions to the welfare of the student of the Egyptian language.

After a country childhood in the Isle of Wight, Faulkner entered the Civil Service in 1912. In the First World War he served in His Majesty's Forces until he was invalided out after being severely wounded. He returned to the Civil Service in 1916, but among his many interests, which included astronomy, philately, riding, and sailing, Egyptology had become a passion. In 1918 he began to study hieroglyphs with Dr. Margaret Murray, who stimulated his life-long interest in Egyptian religion. But the turning-point in his career came in 1926 when he was invited by Sir Alan Gardiner to become his full-time Egyptological assistant. Then began that long and fruitful association to which Egyptology owes some of the finest works of Gardiner's middle career, perhaps the most remarkable of which are *The Wilbour Papyrus* and *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. Without Faulkner's enthusiastic and devoted assistance at every stage in the production of these works, his meticulous attention to scholarly detail, and his splendidly consistent autography, these books could hardly have been carried through in their present form. Faulkner always insists in his conversation on the great scholarly debt that he owes to Sir Alan, who indeed made his career possible; from him he received his real training in Egyptian philology, lexicography, and grammar, and throughout his published work he has always followed all that was best in Gardiner's principles. But Gardiner in turn always fully acknowledged how much he had benefited from Faulkner's critical acuity and practical assistance, and generously encouraged and supported his independent Egyptological publications. Few scholarly collaborations have had a happier history or more valuable results.

Faulkner married in 1937. He left London for Amersham in Buckinghamshire in 1939 and moved to Oxford in 1949. He continued to work for Gardiner until 1954, when he was appointed to a Lecturership in Egyptian Language at University College,

¹ Elsewhere in this Journal is a bibliography of Faulkner's publications compiled by his friend Mr. C. H. S. Spaul to whom I owe many valuable comments and criticisms.

London. In 1955 he and his wife moved to Woodbridge in Suffolk. At University College he gently inducted generations of students, many of whom were more of an archaeological than a philological bent, into the mysteries of Egyptian syntax. Though strict in his standards of accuracy, he endeared himself to all his students; for his patience with their errors and difficulties and his interest in their questions and suggestions were never-failing. Withal, his classes were conducted with a spontaneity and humour generated by Faulkner's own warm kindness; it was a common experience for the Edwards Library to be rocked by explosions of laughter emanating from the tiny windowless cell (known to him as the 'Rabbit Hutch') where perforce he conducted his classes. His experience of the difficulties of students scattered in distant lodgings with no dictionary to consult other than a single library copy of the Berlin *Wörterbuch* persuaded him to produce his *Concise Dictionary*. To do this he cheerfully postponed his long-projected translations of the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts, and the Book of the Dead. His academic distinction and his services to scholarship were recognized by his election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1950: University College London made him a Fellow in 1958, and he was awarded the degree of D.Lit. by London University in 1960. His life was saddened in the early 1960s by the protracted illness and death of his wife, who had been a constant support to him over the years at Amersham and later at Woodbridge in Suffolk. It is typical of his character, however, that after her death he settled himself to live alone in an ancient cottage in Woodbridge, and that the following years have been the most productive of his scholarly life. Since his retirement from his lectureship in 1967 he has published his complete translation of the Pyramid Texts, with a supplement of autographed texts not contained in Sethe's standard edition; a retranslation of the Book of the Dead printed for an American Book Society; and the first volume of a two-volume translation of the Coffin Texts, the completion of which is imminent. Thus for the first time in the history of Egyptology there will soon be in print a complete annotated translation of the three major collections of Egyptian funerary texts from the hand of a single scholar. In addition during this period he has contributed translations to a joint work on ancient Egyptian literature; he has completed, revised, and published the late Professor S. R. K. Glanville's catalogue of Egyptian boat models in the British Museum, and has contributed to the Cambridge Ancient History and to scientific journals. Few scholars in any discipline can have achieved so much after reaching three score years and ten.

Throughout his Egyptological career Faulkner has maintained his outside interests, as his friend Gardiner always insisted a scholar should; it is only three years since he last sailed his yacht single-handed on the estuary of the Deben. His varied experience and practical skills have illuminated much of his Egyptological work; in particular in his contributions to the history of Egyptian military tactics and of Egyptian shipping his mastery of technical detail has led to new insights. In his translations, though he displays much ingenuity, his outstanding quality is his insistence upon selecting the simplest, most straightforward, and most concrete interpretation compatible with our knowledge of Egyptian language and Egyptian culture. He would concede that

the most direct is not always the most correct, but would maintain that in general it is; and that in dealing with obscure ancient texts concerned with facts and beliefs only partially known to us, it is proper method to test the most straightforward solution first. A comparison of his translation of the Pyramid texts with Sethe's monumental work shows his scholastic bent best; where Sethe opts for complexity, Faulkner opts for simplicity, often to advantage. While Faulkner is a stickler for abiding by the ancient text, and avoids emendation wherever possible, he is no purist; he is willing to conflate texts or use late versions where he believes that they give better sense or help to elucidate the original meaning. In his translations he writes a clear unambiguous English prose, without biblical, classical, or modern overtones, so that the reader obtains as unprejudiced a view as possible of the Egyptian original. In accord with Gardiner's principle, he never compromises English idiom in order to present a literal rendering of the Egyptian; but within the limits imposed by this principle, his translations are in general remarkably faithful to the structure of Egyptian, and are helpful to students for this reason. He also follows Gardiner's rule that it is the translator's duty not merely to provide a form of words which renders the ancient text, but to explain in cases of difficulty how he has arrived at it and what he believes it to mean. Faulkner's notes always have this interpretative function; he avoids *scholia* for the sake of *scholia*. His works are thus not overburdened with small print, and are therefore more digestible and more cheaply available to a wider audience. This choice proceeds from his profound conviction that Egyptian philology can only advance by the constant discipline of re-editing and retranslating ancient texts; and that the more widely they are read the more ideas will be contributed towards the eventual interpretation. No one is more aware than Faulkner of the severe difficulties of understanding ancient Egyptian religious texts; no one has done more to present them in a form which makes it possible for scholars in a wide variety of disciplines to contribute to their interpretation.

Members of the Egypt Exploration Society and readers of this Journal owe a special debt to Faulkner, for it was he who took over its editorship in the difficult days immediately after the Second World War. For over ten years his scrupulous and discerning hand maintained the high editorial and scholastic standard set by Griffith, Gunn, and Gardiner, while he gave encouragement and quiet guidance to many new contributors. To his careful custodianship the Journal's present healthy state is in no small measure due.

In latter years Faulkner's residence at Woodbridge has meant that he is less widely known personally than some scholars, more particularly among his younger European and American colleagues. But his many old friends do not consider a stay in England complete without a visit to his cottage, where a warm welcome, a glass of dry sherry, and a lively interest in all Egyptological work are dispensed with a peculiarly English courtesy and joviality. For it is the warm kindness of his personality, his humour, and the quality of his friendship that endear Raymond Faulkner to all kinds and conditions of mankind. All join in wishing him years of health and happiness to pursue those studies to which his life has been so happily devoted.



Courtesy Bussano and Vandyk Studios

RAYMOND O. FAULKNER

This Volume is dedicated
to
DR. RAYMOND O. FAULKNER
with
admiration and gratitude

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EXCAVATIONS IN THE SACRED ANIMAL
NECROPOLIS AT NORTH SAQQÂRA, 1972-3:
PRELIMINARY REPORT

By GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

OUR work at Saqqâra this season was again divided into two parts, the first being directed by Professor H. S. Smith, who opened the camp on September 28, 1972, and the second by the writer.

Professor and Mrs. Smith were joined by Professor R. Holton Pierce (Bergen University, Norway), whose fare was generously paid by the Norwegian Research Council, and by Mr. W. J. Tait (Christ's College, Cambridge). The first month of the season was spent by Professors Smith and Pierce in preparing a preliminary transcription of the 168 demotic documents and four hieratic fragments, excavated by the present writer last season in Sector 7. A number of joins in these fragmentary papyri were made by Mr. Tait, and the archive was photographed by Mrs. Smith. Thereafter Professor Pierce worked on the demotic legal instruments and protocols from the site which he will edit as a volume for the Society. Professor Smith and Mr. Tait worked on the selection and revision of a series of demotic letters and literary texts which they hope to publish jointly in a volume which will contain approximately eighteen literary fragments, forty-five letters, and other miscellaneous texts. Mr. Tait also transcribed the late hieratic fragments so far found. Towards the end of the season the entire Saqqâra archive was re-examined, and further joins made by Mr. Tait.

In December the party was joined by Professor J. W. B. Barns (Oxford University), who recopied and collated the demotic and Greek material from the Baboon Galleries, which he had hoped to publish, before his lamented death in 1974, in collaboration with Mr. J. D. Ray. By the end of the season (March) the programme of glassing all the documents recovered during excavations in the Sacred Animal area, including those found this season, was successfully completed.

The archaeological team arrived at the site on December 15, 1972. The excavations, which occupied the second half of the season, opened on December 19, and continued without interruption until March 8, 1973. The work was directed by Dr. G. T. Martin (University College London), assisted by Miss Helen Ward (surveyor), Miss J. D. Bourriau, Miss C. D. Insley, Dr. A. B. Lloyd (University College of Swansea), Mr. W. V. Davies (Jesus College, Oxford), and Mr. A. J. Spencer (Liverpool University). This season we again had the pleasure of welcoming Dr. H. D. Schneider, representing the Leiden Museum of Antiquities in a second season of fruitful Anglo-Dutch co-operation in the field. We likewise acknowledge the friendly interest in our work and

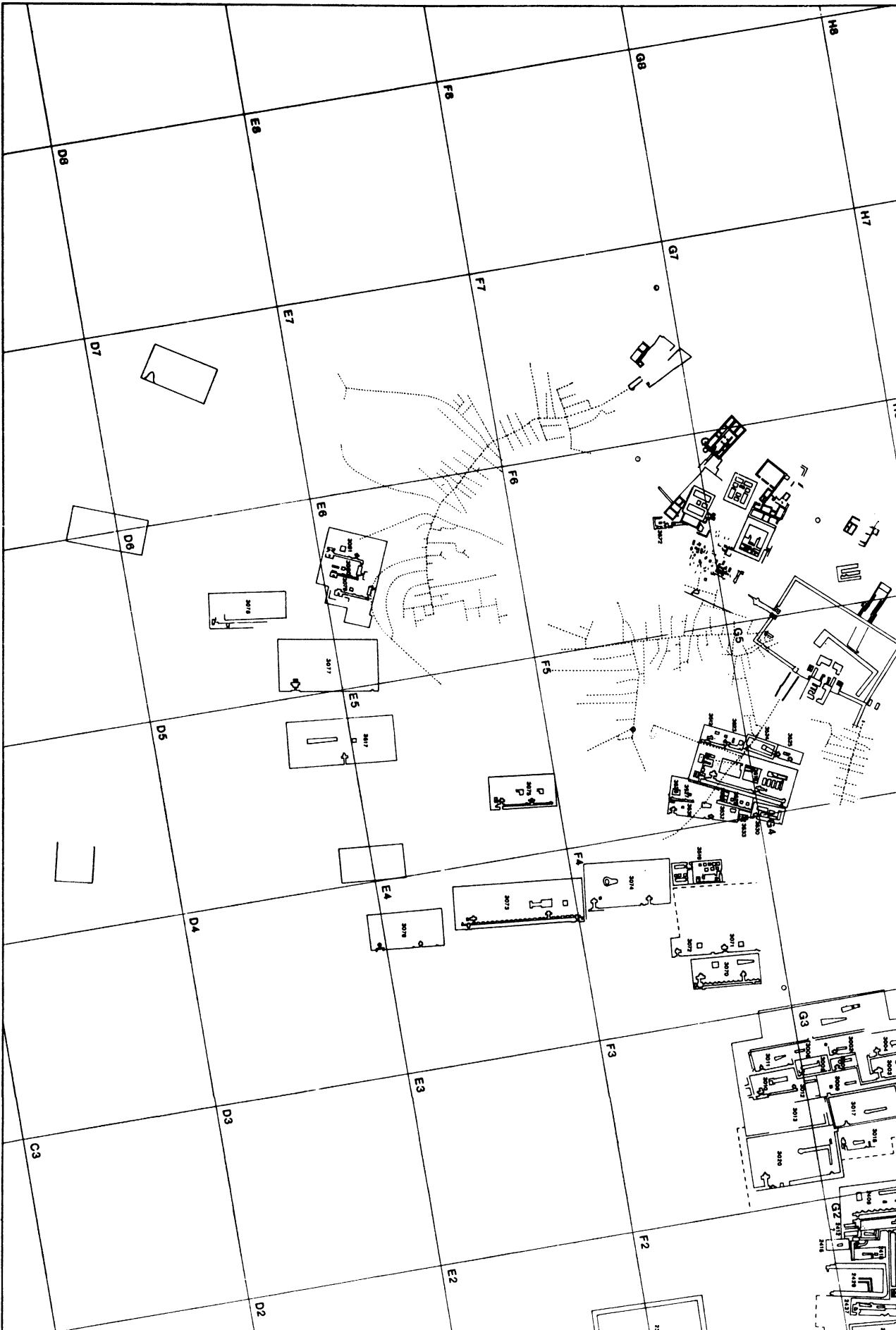
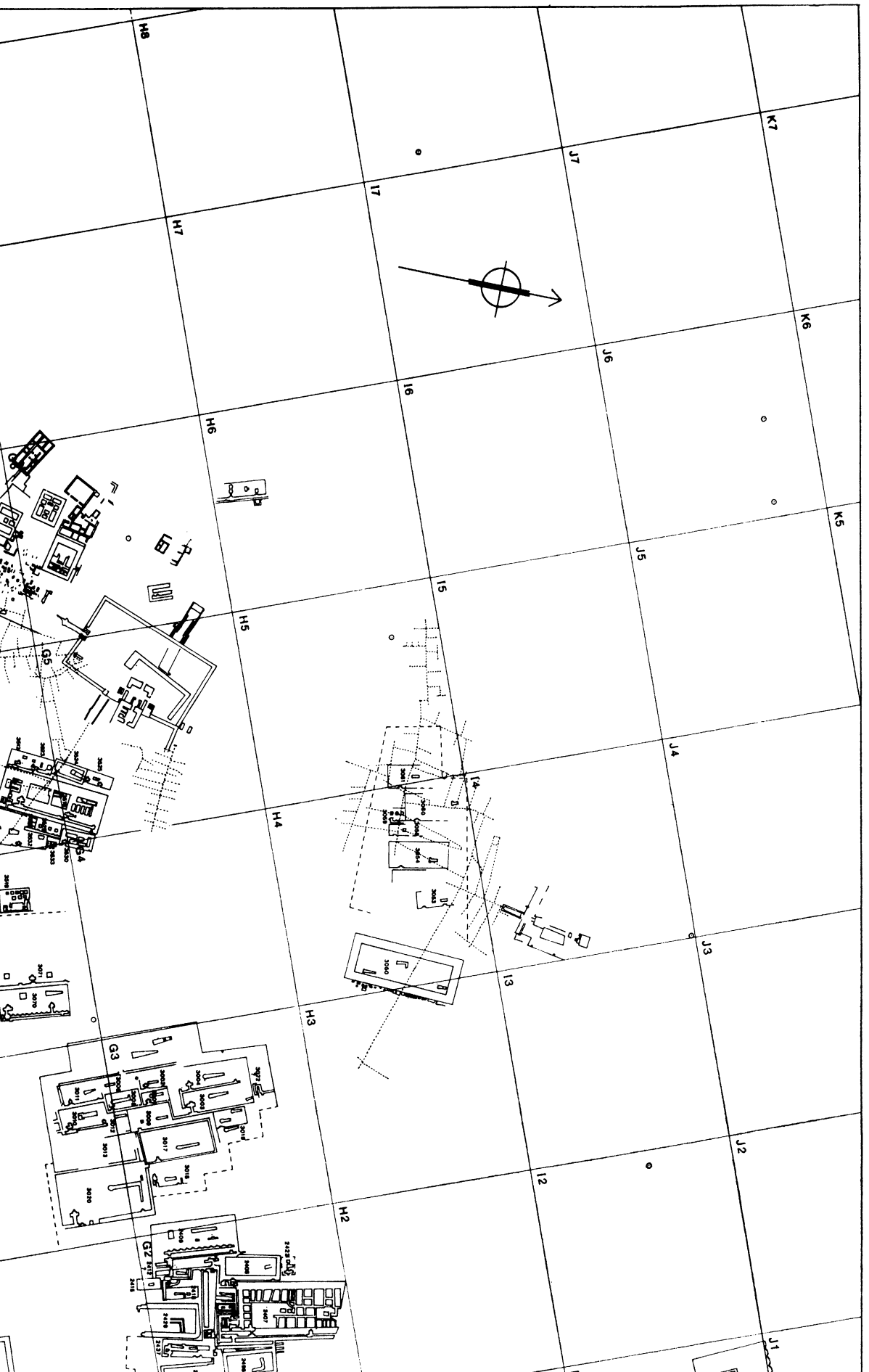
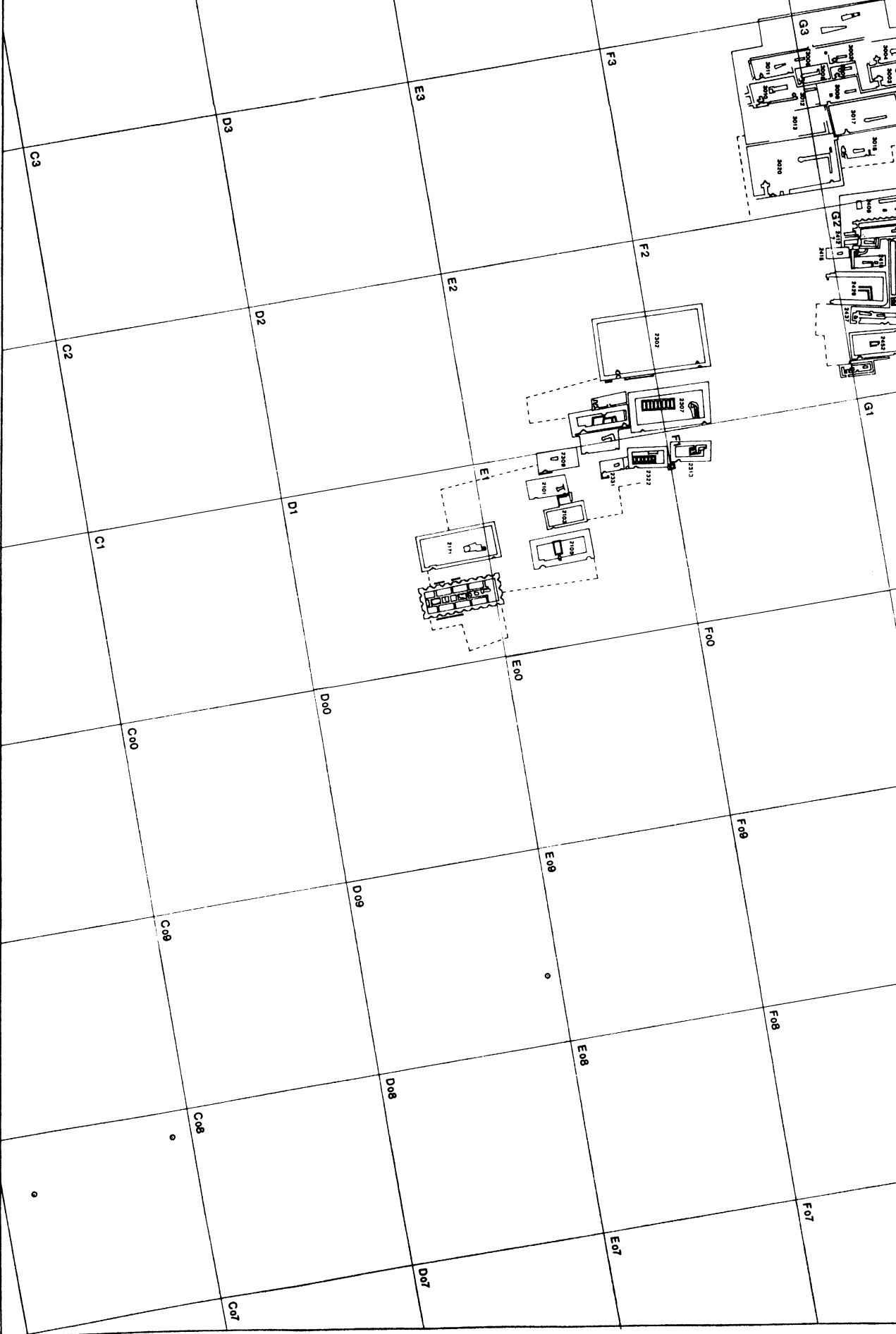


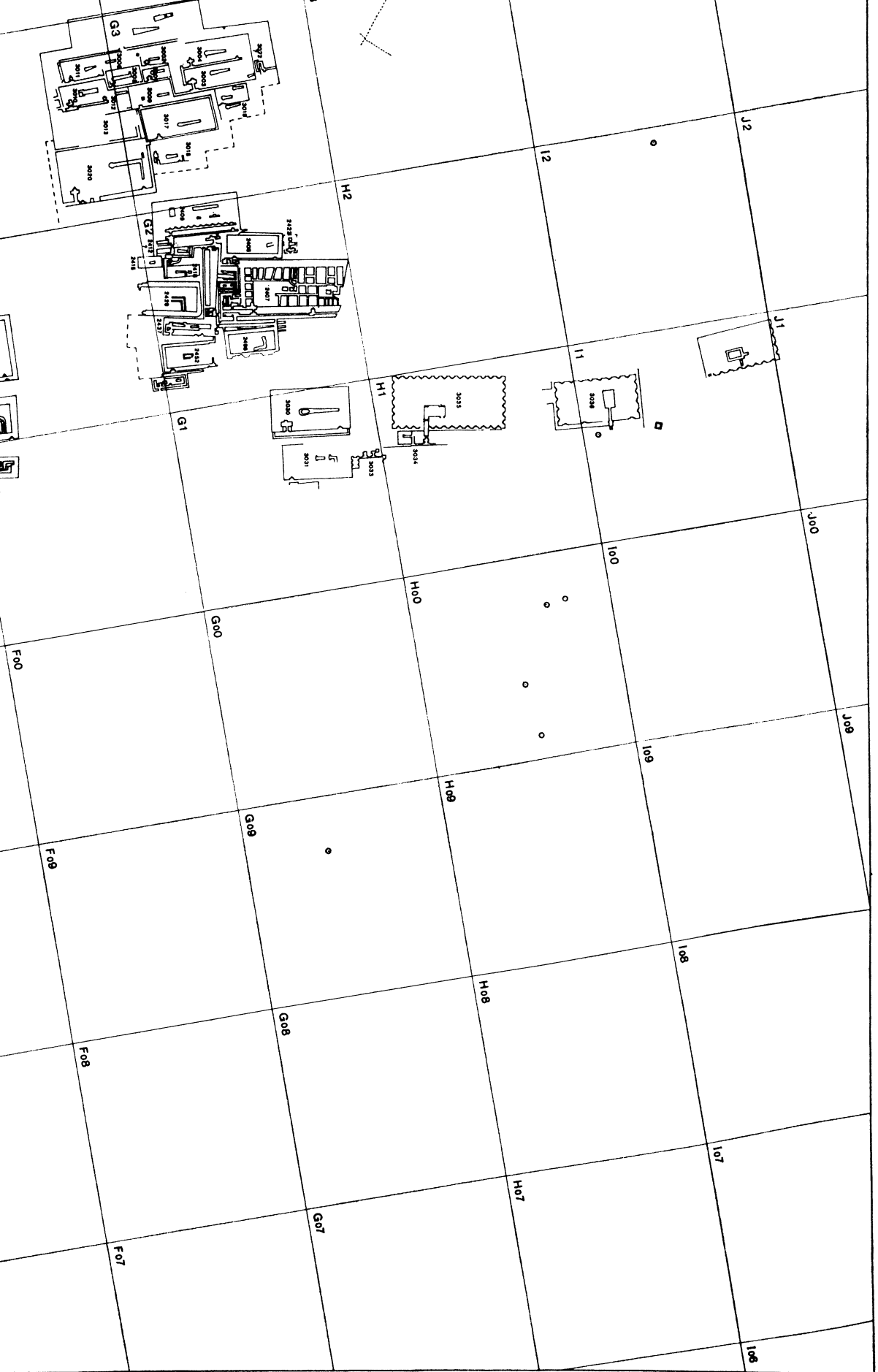
FIG. 1. General Plan showing the location of the Sacred Animal Necropolis (galleries d

ŞAQQÂRA NORTH



of the Sacred Animal Necropolis (galleries dotted). Redrawn by Miss Helen Ward, 1973





Scale 0 20 40 60 80 100 150 200 metres

the hospitality of Dr. W. F. G. J. Stoetzer, Director of the Netherlands Institute in Cairo. Professor E. G. Turner (University College London) joined us for nine days, and transcribed all the Greek papyri so far found, which he has undertaken to edit as a volume for the Society. Mr. Aly el-Khouly represented the Egyptian Antiquities Department, and rendered the expedition every assistance. Every facility for the Society's work was provided by H. E. Dr. Gamal Moukhtar and our friends and colleagues in the Antiquities Service. We record with gratitude the financial support of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, the British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and of other generous museums and private members of the Society.

Our work last season¹ lay in Sector 7 (figs. 1-2), an area bounded by the Ibis Galleries on the south and the main temple terrace on the north, and where buildings connected with the Sacred Animal cult were excavated, even though the exact nature of these structures eludes us at the moment. In the south-western part of the Sector a building, probably a small temple and foreign in character, was uncovered. This season we were able to establish that it was built over an earlier abandoned structure which is certainly domestic rather than religious in character.

The field-work this year has largely been one of clearing and consolidation, with a view to initiating the final site publications, and the following programme, in addition to the work in Sector 7, was planned:

1. To complete the excavation and recording of a large early Old-Kingdom mastaba (no. 3050), begun by W. B. Emery in 1971.²
2. To complete the excavation and planning of certain Old-Kingdom tombs on the east and west flanks of Tomb 3518,³ in the necropolis on the east side of the main temple terrace, wholly or partially dug by W. B. Emery between 1968-71.
3. Investigation and planning of a small group of buildings in Sector 4, situated due west of the main temple complex, and mostly excavated by W. B. Emery.⁴
4. To trace the westerly continuation of the approach road and ramp leading from the Serapeum-Abusîr highway to the main temple terrace.⁵

At the end of the 1971-2 season we began to uncover rooms containing domestic debris and papyrus fragments, on the south side of Sector 7, which led us to hope that the main administrative centre of the area was at hand.⁶ This has now proved not to be the case, for though the series of small rooms uncovered (figs. 2-3) are part of the cult area, they are obviously not extensive enough to be the main administrative centre of the animal necropolis, which must lie further to the west or south-west. Some small papyrus fragments were again found in the rooms this season, but our main deposit of

¹ Described in *JEA* 59 (1973), 5-15. In view of the extensive area covered in the 1971-3 seasons, only an outline of the work done is provided in this and in the present report. Work on the final site reports is planned to begin in the field in the winter of 1973.

² *JEA* 57 (1971), 2.

³ *JEA* 56 (1970), 10-11, with pls. 17-20.

⁴ In one of these rooms was found a painted effigy of a bull or calf, illustrated in *JEA* 55 (1969), pl. 8, 1-4; cf. pp. 33-4.

⁵ The area was previously partly covered by our own spoil heaps, bulldozed in the 1969-70 season.

⁶ *JEA* 59 (1973), 7, fig. 1A, bottom right.

SECTOR 7

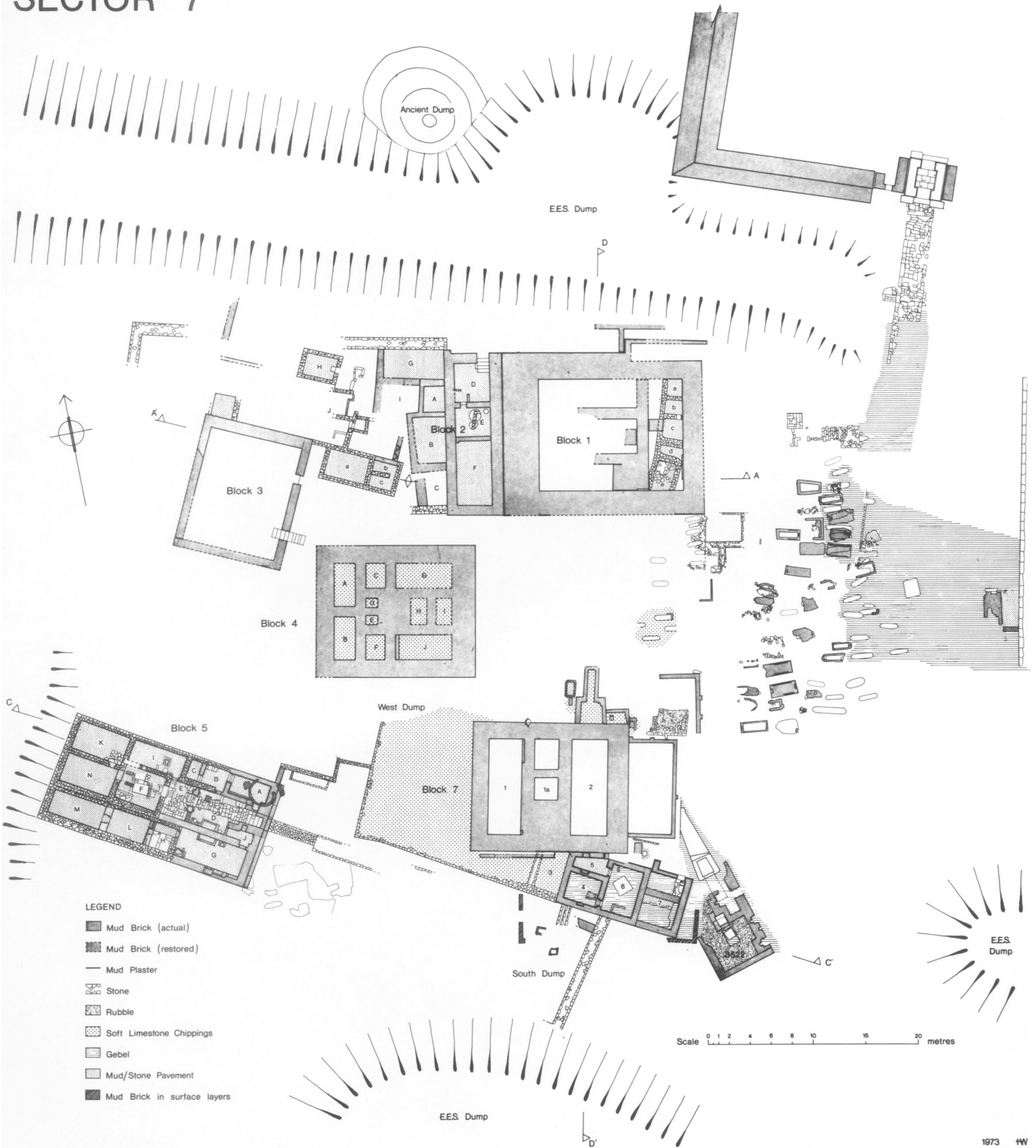


FIG. 2.

SECTOR 7 SECTION CC'

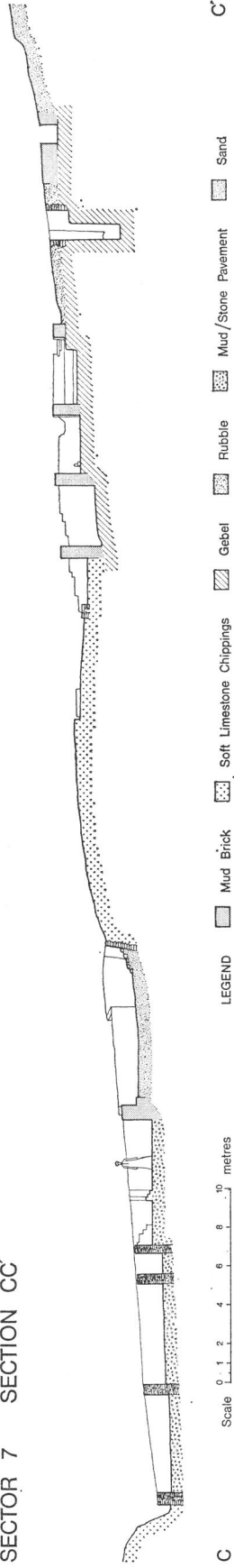


FIG. 3 a

SECTOR 7 SECTION DD'

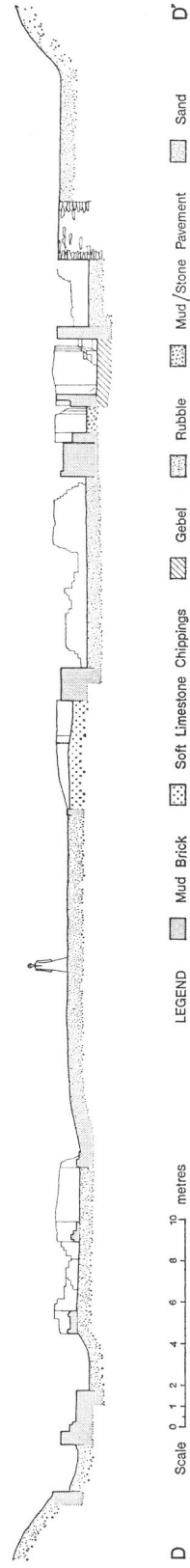


FIG. 3 b

papyri came from the 'South Dump' (figs. 2 and 4), adjacent to these rooms. Fifty-seven demotic documents were recovered from the dump, including several complete letters,⁷ in a thick deposit of domestic refuse and reeds, which had been thrown from the east over a stone-built wall which formed the boundary of the dump on that side. Seven Greek papyri and fragments were also found, including a complete document in a very bold hand, drawn up by or on behalf of a priest, which proves to be nothing less than a 'Keep Out' notice,^{7a} as well as a salt tax return of the Cynopolite Nome, the

SECTOR 7 SECTION THROUGH SOUTH DUMP

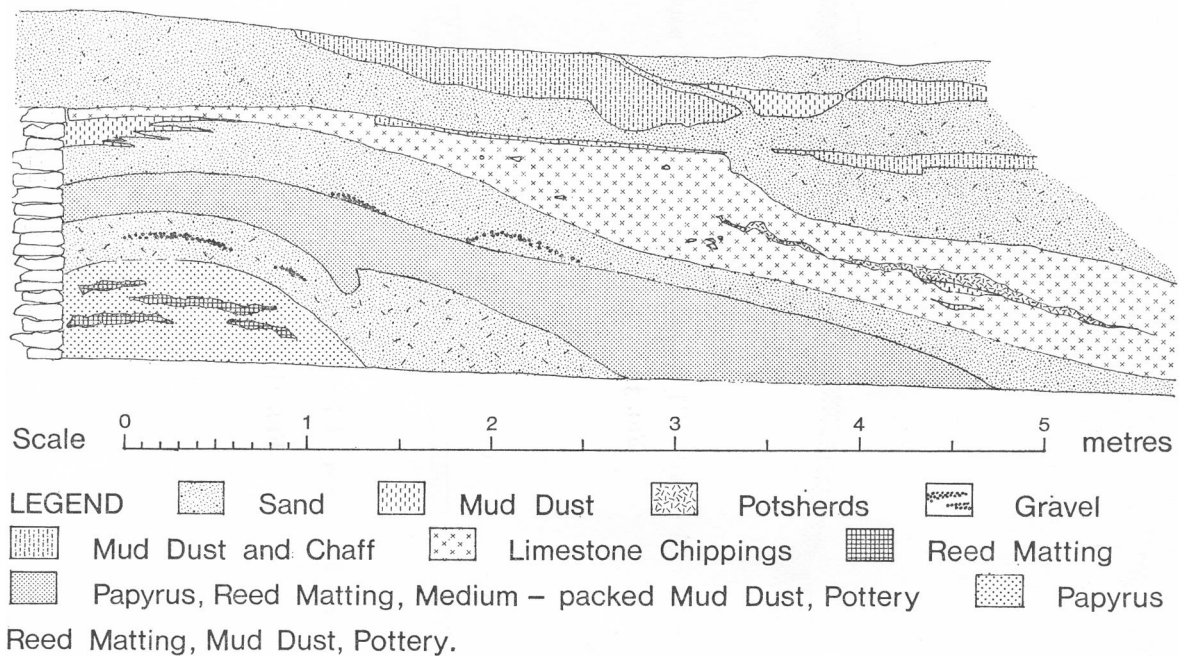


FIG. 4

former dating to the fourth century B.C. In the same stratum were recovered quantities of clay seal-impressions from documents, which together with dated papyri from the same location doubtless will provide useful chronological data after study and analysis. This season some evidence was obtained of the nature of the roofing materials used in the houses, consisting of bound reeds with a heavy surface covering of mud, doubtless originally laid over wooden beams (pl. III, 1).

Immediately adjacent to the refuse dump and rooms, on the north, we excavated another large mud-brick foundation platform with interior compartments (pls. II, 1 and 2), similar in character to those planned last year (fig. 2).⁸ Quantities of reed matting were laid at intervals in these walls, and samples were collected for Carbon 14

⁷ All this material has been relaxed and glassed for work next season.

^{7a} Published by Professor E. G. Turner below, pp. 239 ff.

⁸ *JEA* 59 (1973), 7, fig. 1 A.

analysis.⁹ As before, this building had been extensively robbed for mud bricks in the Coptic period. In the debris a number of small relief and architectural fragments of Thirtieth Dynasty and Ptolemaic date were found. These were either from peripteral shrines built on the platforms, or more probably are remnants of the decoration of the buildings in the main temple area (Sector 3) immediately to the north-east. In the same surface debris was found a curious limestone head of an animal (pls. III, 2-4), which was at first identified as a baboon, but which I now believe to be the stylized head of a lioness-goddess. It is certainly the work of a non-Egyptian craftsman. It may originally have come from the nearby 'foreign' temple, excavated last season. The eyes of the figure were originally inlaid with another material, and the forepart of the face was separately attached with a wooden dowel, and was probably itself of wood. The head-dress is in the form of the Egyptian tripartite wig, and was painted. The under-surface is cut away in an entirely non-Egyptian fashion.¹⁰

The ground to the east of this area was found to be denuded to bedrock, and revealed traces of the foundations of a small Third-Dynasty mastaba, cleared and recorded by us, and numbered 3522 (fig. 2). The northernmost shaft was filled with clean wind-blown sand, and was entirely robbed out.¹¹ The southern shaft contained fragments of a skull, which were examined on the spot by Mr. F. Filce Leek. The skull is that of a young girl, about twelve years of age.¹² It is highly probable, if not virtually certain, that there are streets of small tombs of the Third and later dynasties at the lowest levels over the entire site, which in antiquity were disturbed, the superstructures denuded by the weather, eventually being covered to a considerable depth by clean wind-blown sand. Over this sand deposit the shrines and other buildings of the Sacred Animal Necropolis were constructed.

As excavation proceeded systematically northwards in Sector 7 we began to uncover simple mud-brick tombs of the Coptic Period (pls. IV, 1-4), and it was soon apparent that we had found the cemetery (fig. 5) of the Christian community which, in the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D. had built a village over the remains of the main temple of Nectanebo II.¹³ The cemetery, as might be expected, was outside the confines of the village, in this instance on the south side. Although simple in the extreme, and reminiscent in form and structure of the modern graves in the nearby Muslim

⁹ All the Carbon 14 material collected by the writer from the Sacred Animal Necropolis is now being analysed through the courtesy of the British Museum Research Laboratory.

¹⁰ M. Jean Leclant made the ingenious and plausible suggestion that the head may have been a movable oracular image, mounted on a cross-bar. Our experiments along these lines proved to be unsatisfactory, for the figure is somewhat too heavy to balance, and would not have rocked back and forth in an oracular response to a request. For such a figure see 'The Nodding Falcon of the Guennol Collection at The Brooklyn Museum', *Brooklyn Mus. Annual* 9 (1967-8), 69-87, where related material is discussed.

¹¹ Fragments of a newspaper were found in the fill at a high level, *Neue Freie Presse*, Wien, Freitag, 21 Januar 1881.

¹² Mr. Leek reports: 'The external bones of the cranial vault, the frontal parietal, and the occipital, are almost undamaged, with widely opened sutures. The frontal bone exhibits no superciliary ridges. All the bones of the base of the cranium and the two temporal bones have suffered considerable post-mortem damage and are much fragmented. The maxilla is represented by two mutilated pieces, the mandible by the body, the ascending rami having been lost post-mortem.' A full report will be published in the final site publication.

¹³ *JEA* 55 (1969), 34, with pl. 11; 56 (1970), 5, with pl. 2. The dating is based on numismatic evidence.

SECTOR 7 Block 7 and Coptic Cemetery



1973 HW

FIG. 5

cemetery at Abusir, the cemetery may prove to be of some interest because of its comparatively early date. Some of the graves which lacked superstructures were covered with pottery fragments, including pieces of large red-ware storage vessels roughly inscribed in Coptic. A number of inscribed stelae were found *in situ* and in the surface debris (pls. V, 1-5).

The expedition was not equipped this season to deal expertly with skeletal material, so only a small cross-section of graves was opened; the remainder, plotted from the surviving superstructures and surface indications, await full excavation at a future date.

Originally there were at least seventy graves. The interments so far opened show that without exception the bodies, wrapped in coarse linen shrouds bound in criss-cross fashion with striped red and white cords, are laid with head to the west, feet to the east, and with the arms straight down by the sides. Most were laid and bound on to grave planks—lengths of wood taken from coffins of the Saïte and Greek periods—with a roughly worked head end. Others were wrapped in reed or wicker-work carriers. One reused plank was of some interest, depicting the goddess Nut, painted in green and black (fig. 6). Nut is often shown outstretched on the undersides of lids of Ancient Egyptian coffins, and this fragment shows her with an unusual striped head-dress. The other side bears the remains of a barbarously cut hieroglyphic inscription. The presence of such a fragment, with a representation of a pagan goddess, in an early Coptic grave throws an interesting sidelight on the burial customs of the Christians of that period, soon after the Edict of the Emperor Theodosius I was published, ordering the closing of all pagan temples and the destruction of images (A.D. 392). Its reuse doubtless testifies to the comparative poverty of the Saqqâra community. Most of the graves examined were without grave goods, though the funerary equipment of one female burial was richer than the others, and included, in addition to a many-layered shroud, richly embroidered but very badly preserved, bead necklaces, ivory bangles, a bronze torque with knopped ends, and leather slippers. The general state of the burials was rather poor, owing to the salty nature of the ground in the eastern part of Sector 7, where the Coptic cemetery is situated.

While the work was proceeding in Sector 7 a party of workmen was transferred to the vicinity of the North Ibis Galleries to begin the second part of our programme this season, viz. the systematic clearance and recording of tombs in the Old-Kingdom mastaba field partly investigated by W. B. Emery between 1968 and 1971.

We turned our attention first to Tomb 3050 (figs. 7-8), a great mastaba located in the northern part of the concession, on the north-western bluff looking towards the Abusîr pyramids. The northern shaft had perhaps been partly worked by C. M. Firth in the 1930s, and the approximate over-all dimensions were obtained by W. B.

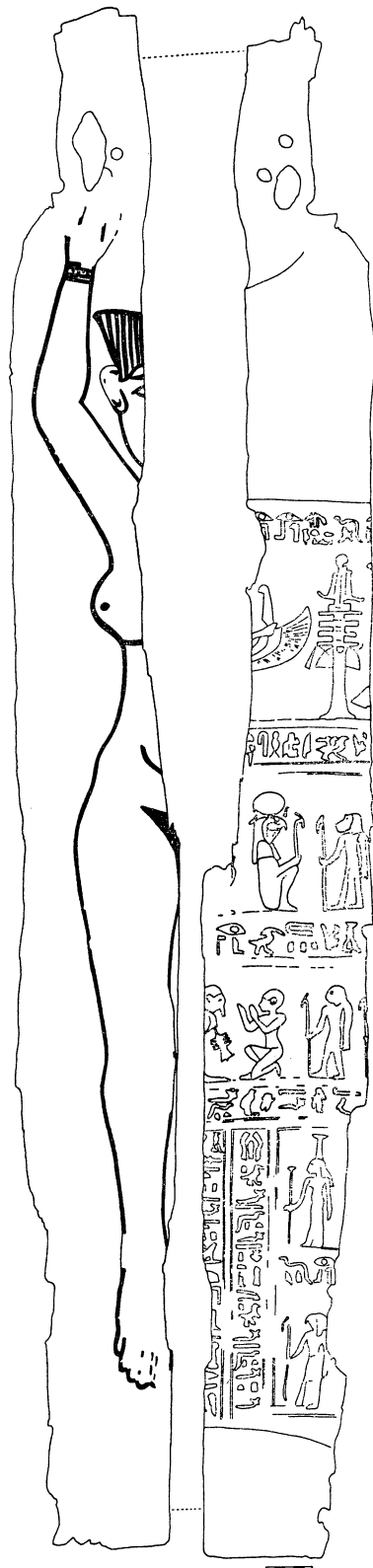
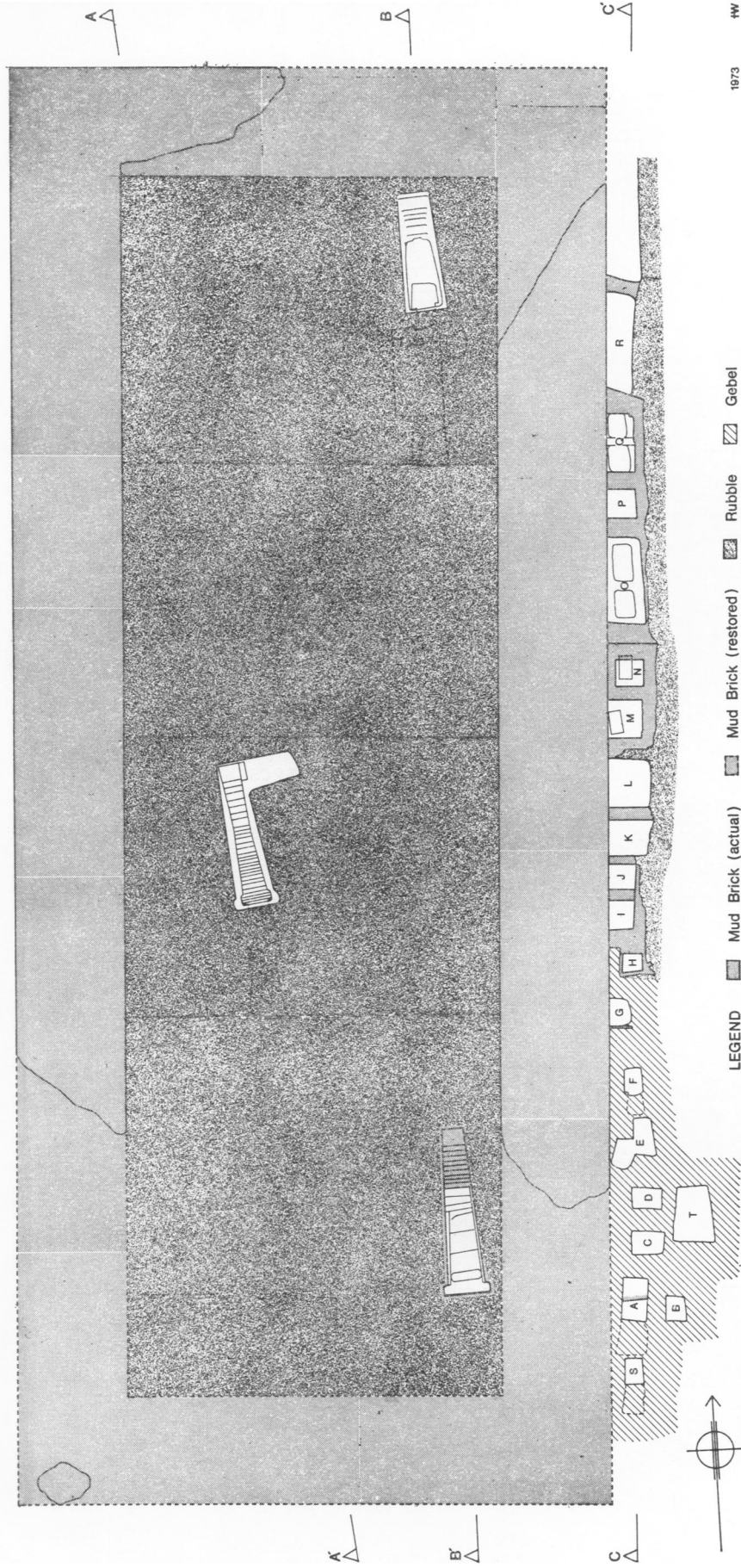


FIG. 6

TOMB 3050

Scale 0 1 2 4 6 8 10 metres



LEGEND
 Mud Brick (actual) Mud Brick (restored) Rubble Gebel

1973 HW

FIG. 7

Emery after surface clearance in 1971, so our task was to plan the surviving superstructure and to locate and excavate the shafts.¹⁴

The mud-brick casing walls of the mastaba were denuded almost to ground level, and the southern façade had disappeared entirely, exposing the bedrock. Systematic excavation from the south of the hard-packed rubble constituting the remains of the original fill of the mastaba revealed a shaft in the south-east corner, which proved to be abortive. After cutting down to a depth of 3.5 metres the ancient architect had observed that the rock was faulty, there being a large fissure in the wall of the shaft on the south side, and the project was abandoned. Curiously, however, the walls of the surviving shaft were plastered, and a miniature staircase leading into the shaft from the north was carefully completed in mud-brick.

The tomb-builder chose another position for the new main burial chamber, roughly in the centre of the tomb and well away from the faulty rock, towards the west side. A miniature ramp leads down into an extremely precipitous but well-cut stairway, descending through the bedrock for almost 9 metres to the entrance to the burial chamber. An emplacement or slot for a portcullis block to seal the entrance was cut in the south face of the shaft, but no trace of the block itself was found, and as in all the great mastabas of the Old Kingdom the chamber itself had been plundered, one large pottery vessel only remaining, bearing an incised hieroglyphic sign *yōdh*.

A disturbed area containing a pocket of clean sand was located in the fill on the east side of the superstructure, in which was found a well-preserved clay seal-impression from a document (pl. VI, 1).

Other seal-impressions from storage jars were found in one of a series of subsidiary shaft graves along the east façade of the tomb. These sealings proved to be the only inscribed material found, apart from a fragment of an Old-Kingdom statue-base of a certain $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, found on the surface in 1971.¹⁵ The document-sealing noted above may bear a personal name, though not necessarily that of the owner of the main tomb or those of the subsidiary graves, since seal-impressions are a somewhat hazardous means of assigning ownership to mastabas.

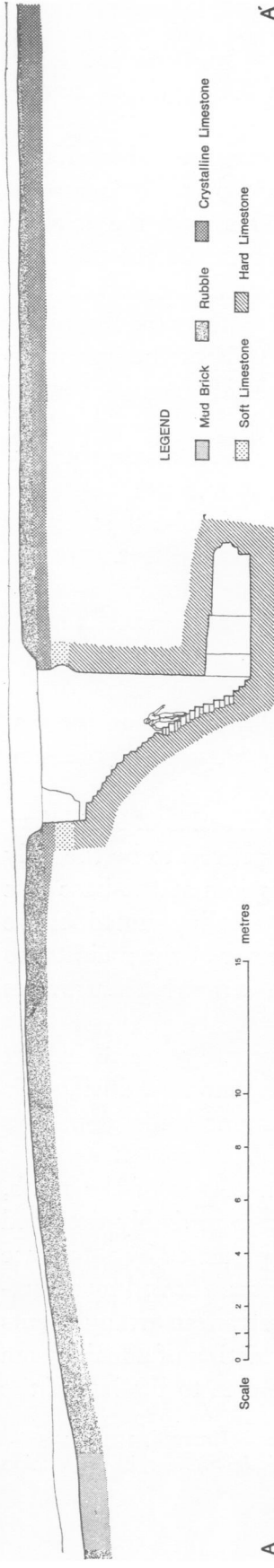
The removal of most of the remaining debris of the superstructure revealed in part the manner in which the fill of the mastaba was placed in position, and how during this process the rubble and sand were retained by very rough limestone walls, doubtless on the orders of the overseers, to facilitate accurate dumping.

The second completed shaft was found in the north-eastern corner of the tomb, and on the analogy of tombs of the Third Dynasty and later was probably designed for the burial of the tomb-owner's wife. The burial-chamber, approached by a staircase and pit, was revealed at a depth of 8 metres. It too had originally been sealed by a portcullis block sliding in a groove, but is now entirely lost. The subterranean arrangements were more elaborate than those in the other burial-chamber, consisting of a main room with a smaller recess beyond on the south, and a small storage area to the left of the

¹⁴ Tomb 3050 is briefly mentioned in Reisner, *Development of the Egyptian Tomb* (Harvard, 1936), 385-6.

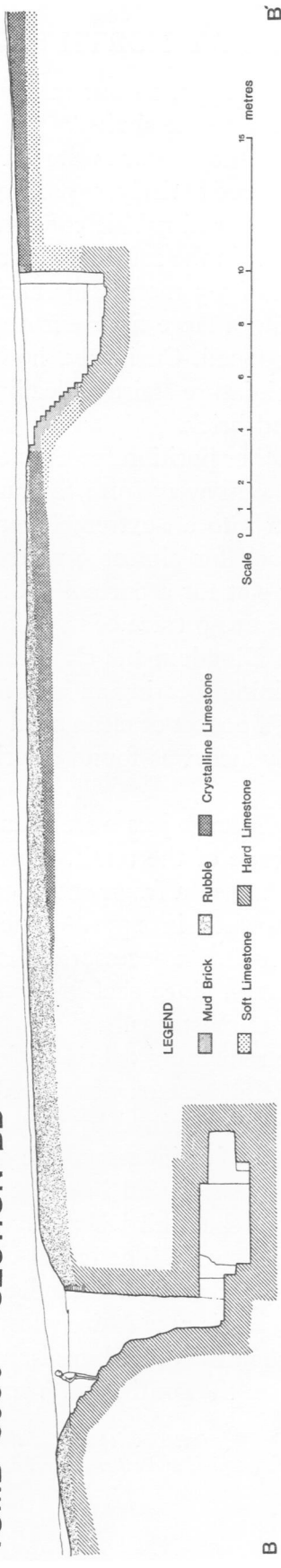
¹⁵ To be published in *The Tomb of Hetepka, and other Reliefs and Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, in preparation by the writer.

TOMB 3050 SECTION AA'



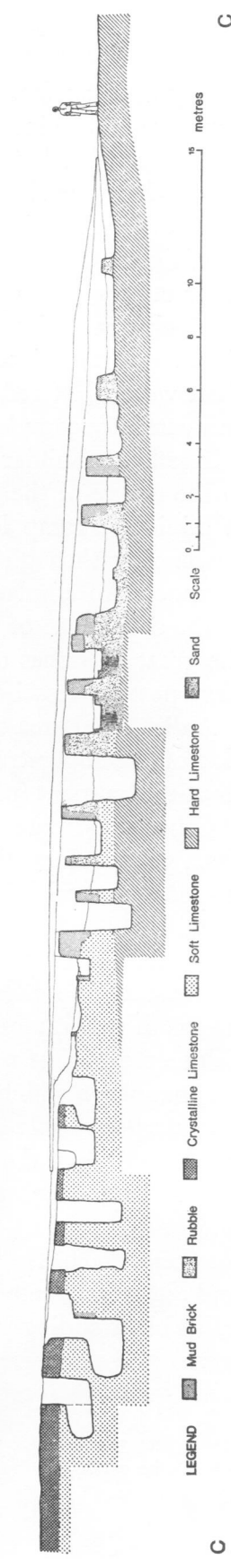
A

TOMB 3050 SECTION BB'



B

TOMB 3050 SECTION CC'



C

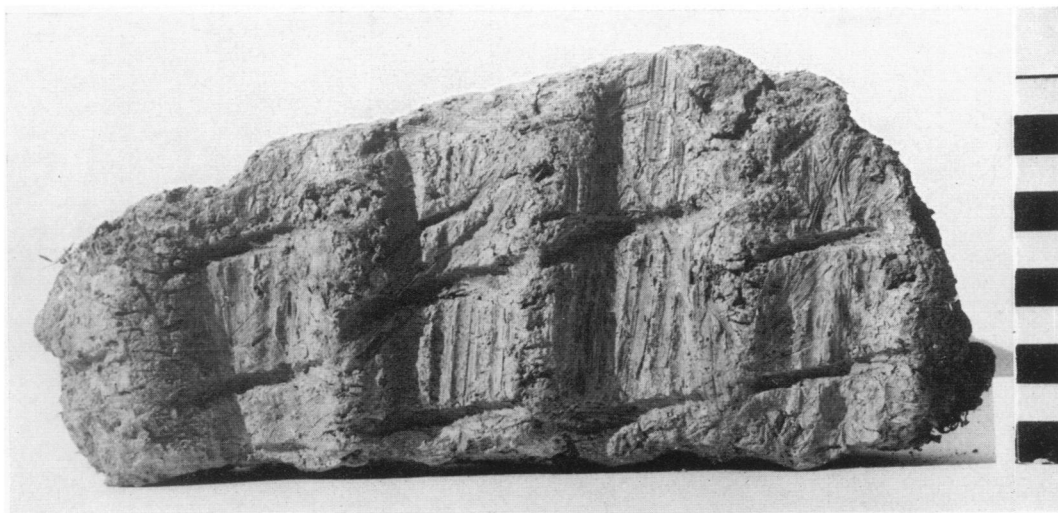
FIG. 8



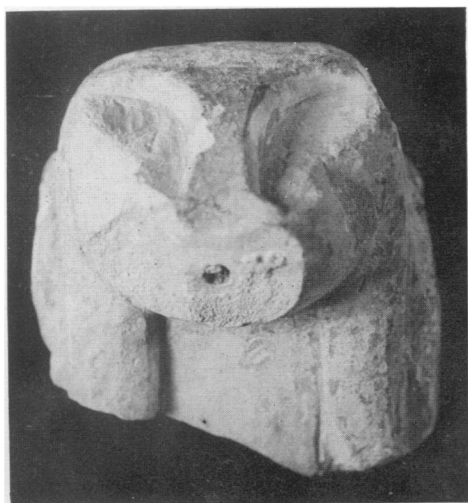
1. Block 7, detail of walls showing reed layers



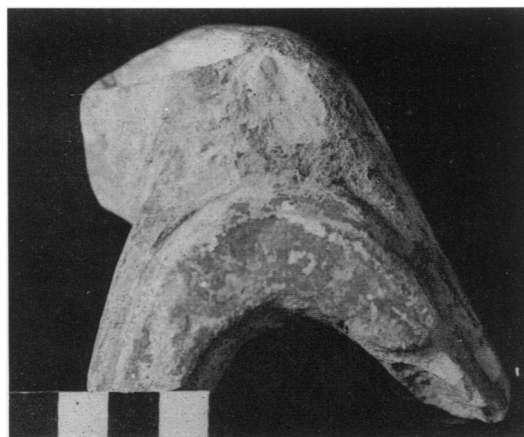
2. Block 7, detail of walls showing reed layers



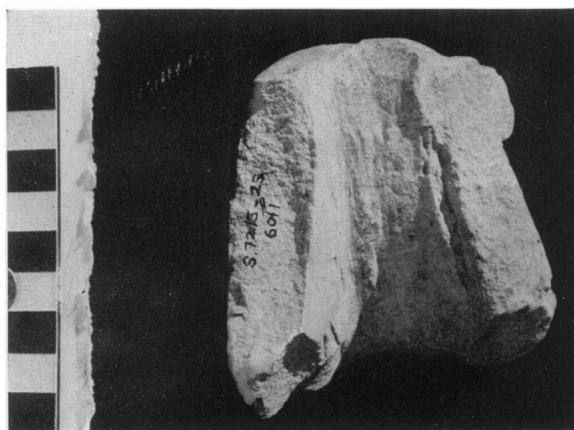
1. Roofing material, from a house in Block 7



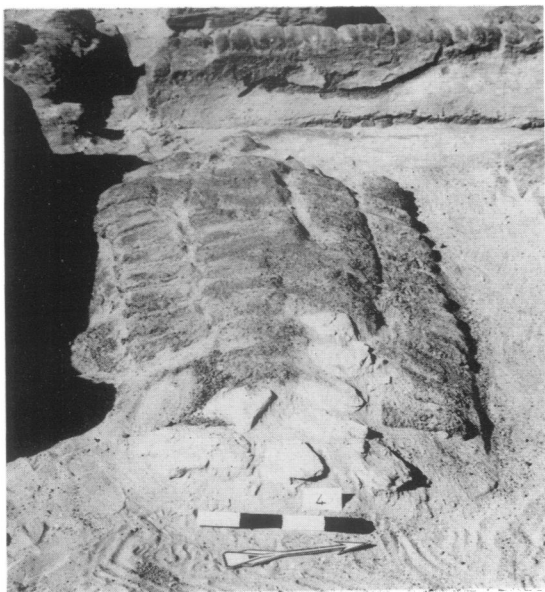
2. Head of a lioness (?) Goddess.
Height 9 cm.



3. The same, side view



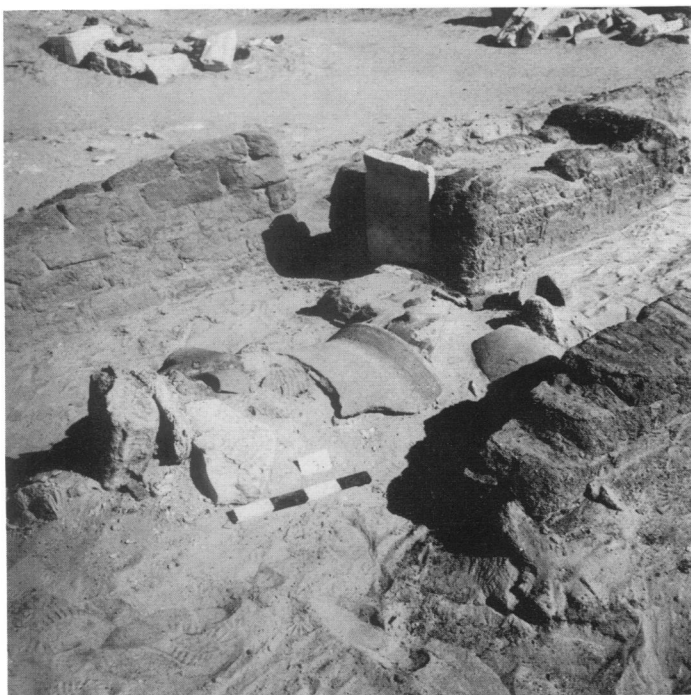
4. The same, showing under-surface



I



2



3

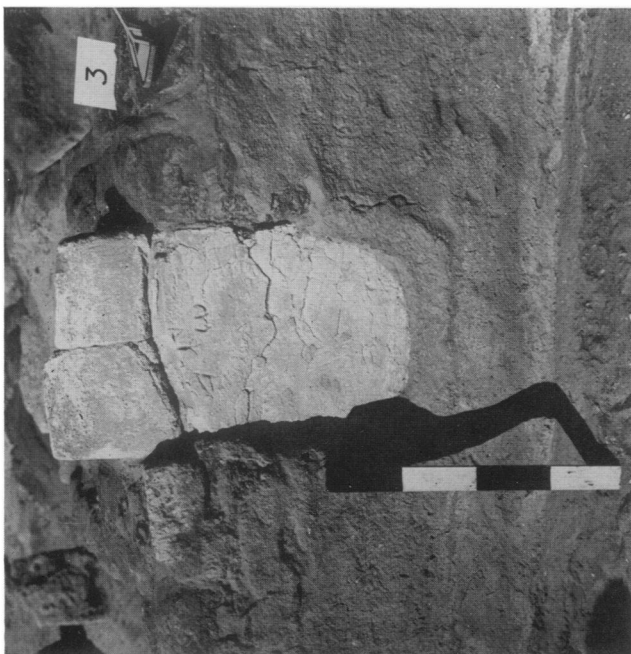


4

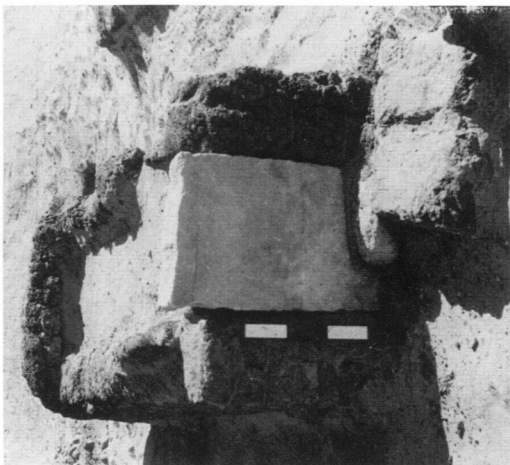
Graves in the Coptic Cemetery
EXCAVATIONS AT NORTH SAQQÂRA, 1972-3



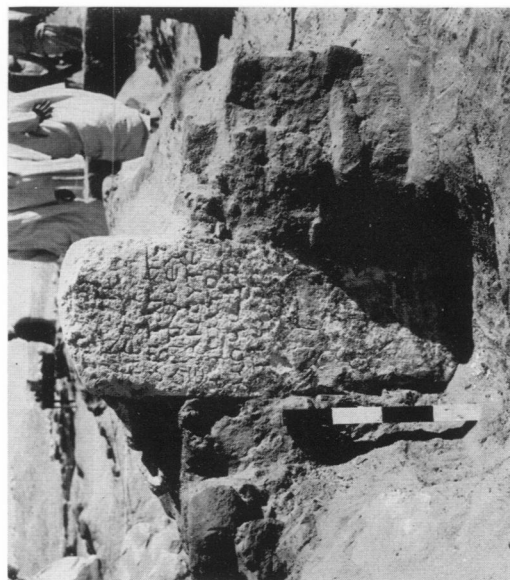
2



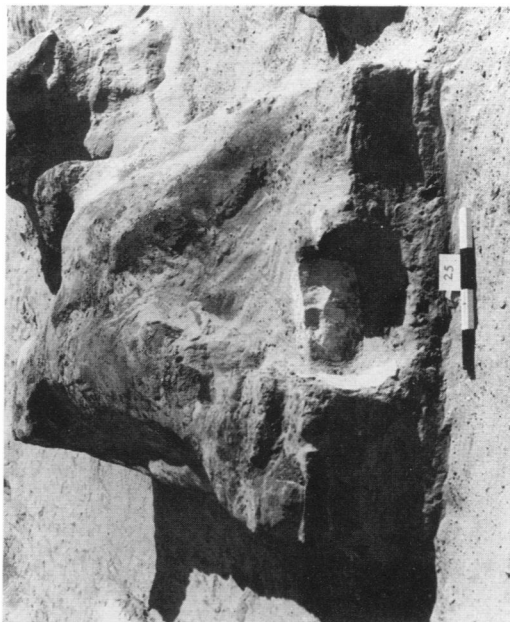
3



4



5



6

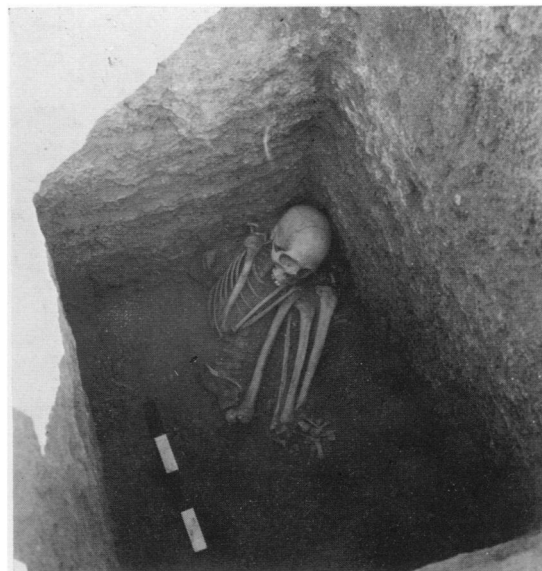
Stelae in position in the superstructures



1. Clay seal-impression from the surface fill, Tomb 3050. Length 4.5 cm.



2. Subsidiary burial, Tomb 3050



3. Subsidiary burial in seated position with knees drawn up



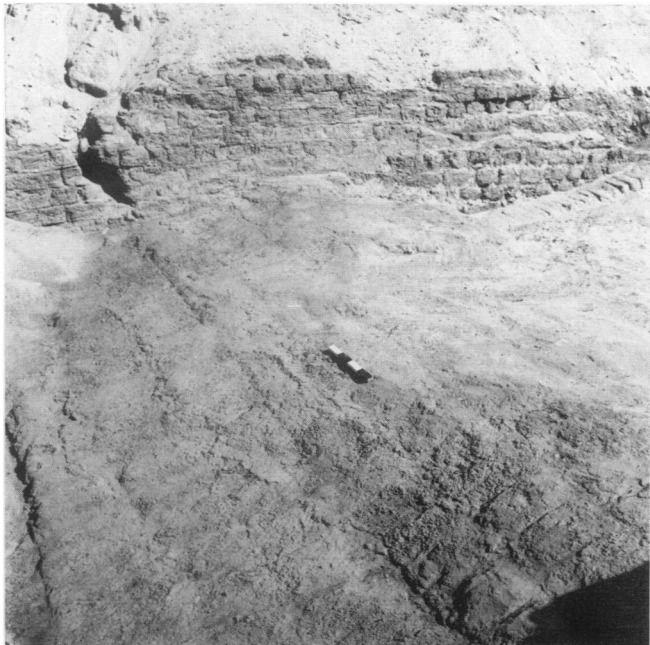
4. Subsidiary burial, Tomb 3050



1. Part of the ramp leading to Sector 3. The temporary 'Gateway' in mud-brick has been removed. The main temple platform is in the background



2. Inner wall of the ramp, from the south



3. Remains of the lower slope of the ramp



4. Stone pavement and ramp leading up to the main temple entrance

entrance. In the innermost recess we found heaped up a large number of dummy vases in limestone and alabaster, most bearing bands of red painted decoration. A count, including unassigned fragments, showed that 354 vessels had survived, i.e. practically one model food vessel for every day of the year. The main chamber was otherwise empty, in contrast to the subsidiary pits mentioned above, in which were found the remains of wooden sarcophagi of archaic type, and the crouched skeletons (pl. VI, 2-4) of some of the original occupants. In at least two instances an attempt had been made to place the bodies in an upright position, with the knees under the chin (pl. VI, 3). No trace of any chapel or offering niche was found in the denuded east façade of the main tomb. Numerous pottery fragments—including a type found in Tomb 3518, dated absolutely to the time of Djoser¹⁶—and some complete vessels, enable us to date Tomb 3050 to the early Third Dynasty. This is borne out by the architecture, the subterranean plan being intermediate between those of the late Second and later Third Dynasties. This large tomb and its subsidiaries having been planned by Miss Helen Ward for the final site publication, our present programme of work in the northern part of the concession is complete.

Our next task was to round off the work begun by W. B. Emery in the vicinity of Tomb 3518. In the season of 1969-70 some work was done in the streets of small mastabas east and west of this tomb, and caches of votive objects were found in the surface debris, placed as if to sanctify the area for the sacred animal cult. The complete clearance of this area during the present season was not particularly rewarding, and in addition there was the attendant danger of the imminent collapse of the fill of the Old-Kingdom tomb-shafts into the animal catacombs below. However, a complete plan (fig. 9) of this area of the necropolis was obtained, and another tomb, dug by W. B. Emery and planned in 1970-1 by Mr. K. J. Frazer has been incorporated in the plan of the area. This latter tomb has been assigned by us the number 3519. It is a stone-built double mastaba with mud-brick elements, and is entered unusually from the north and west. This has purely practical rather than religious reasons, the tomb having been built up against the west face of an existing mastaba, without an intervening street. It illustrates the shortage of space in this part of the necropolis which obtained by the early Old Kingdom.

Two fairly small tasks remained: one was to secure a plan of the houses found in Sector 4 by W. B. Emery in 1968, and this was speedily completed (fig. 10). The other was to trace the base of the ramp leading up on to the main temple terrace (Sector 3) from the west (pls. VII, 1-3). Though there were a number of indications that the structure attached to the west wall of the temple was a ramp, the manner in which access was gained to the surviving temple pavement was uncertain. The matter is now clinched, since the work this season has resulted in the location of the lower slope of the surface of the ramp, laid in mud-brick (figs. 11-12). The projection of the angle of ascent reaches approximately the level of the present temple platform, indicating that the whole of the area designated Sector 3 was an artificial platform built against the sloping *gebel*, designed to support a temple and courtyard. The large mud-brick

¹⁶ *JEA* 56 (1970), 10, with pl. 17, 1.

TOMB 3518 AND SURROUNDING MASTABAS

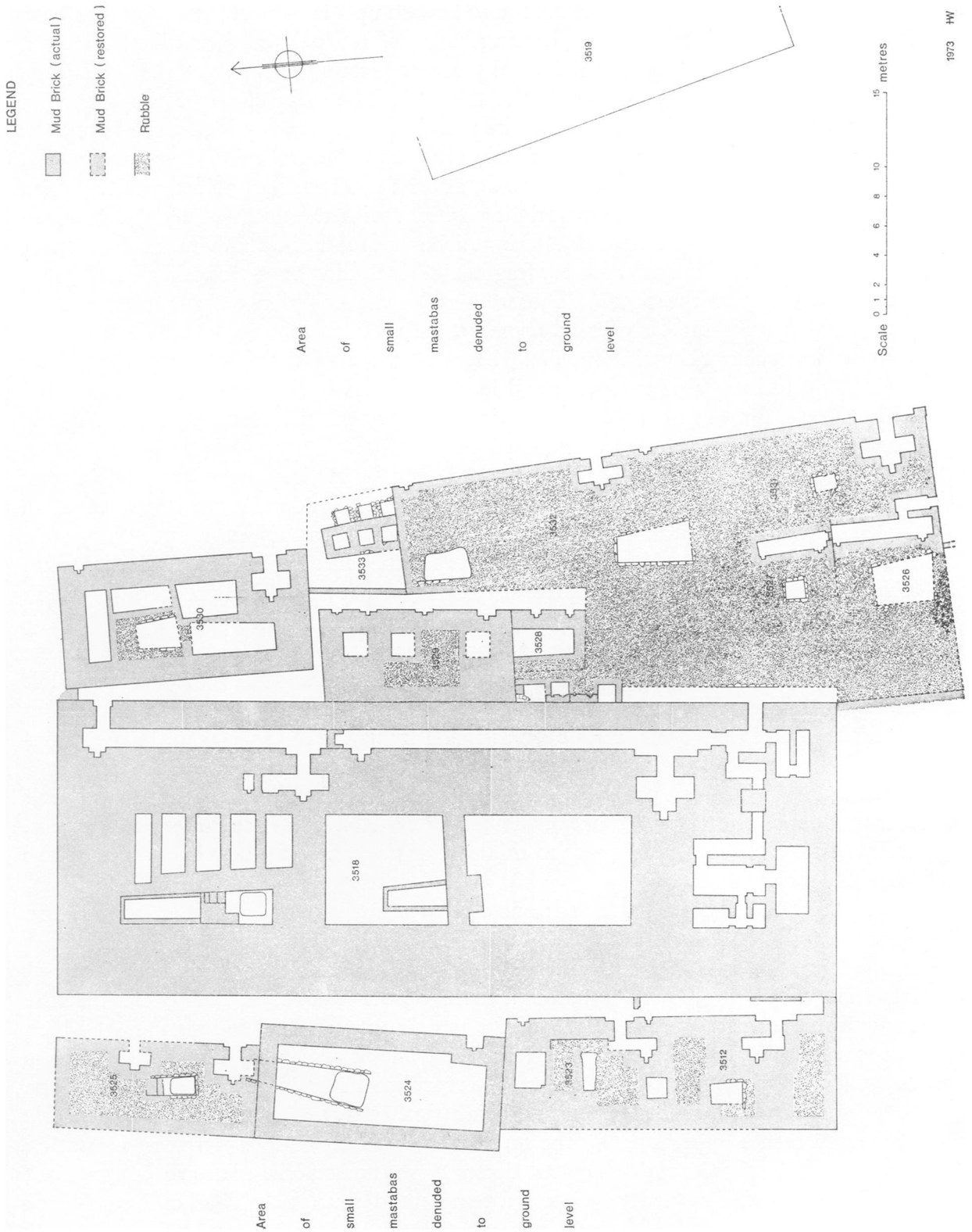


FIG. 9

SECTORS 4, 5 & 7

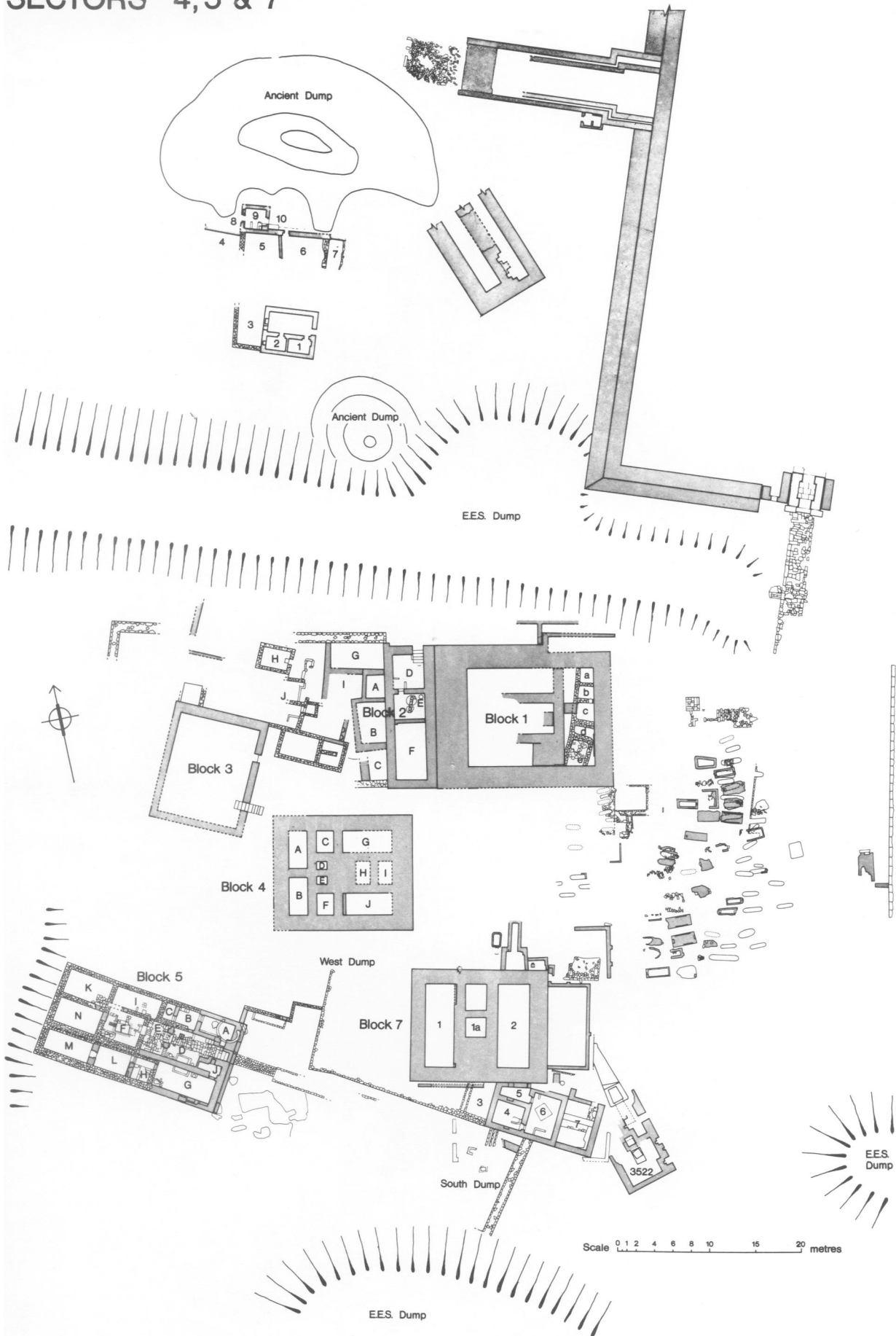


FIG. 10.

SECTORS 4 & 5

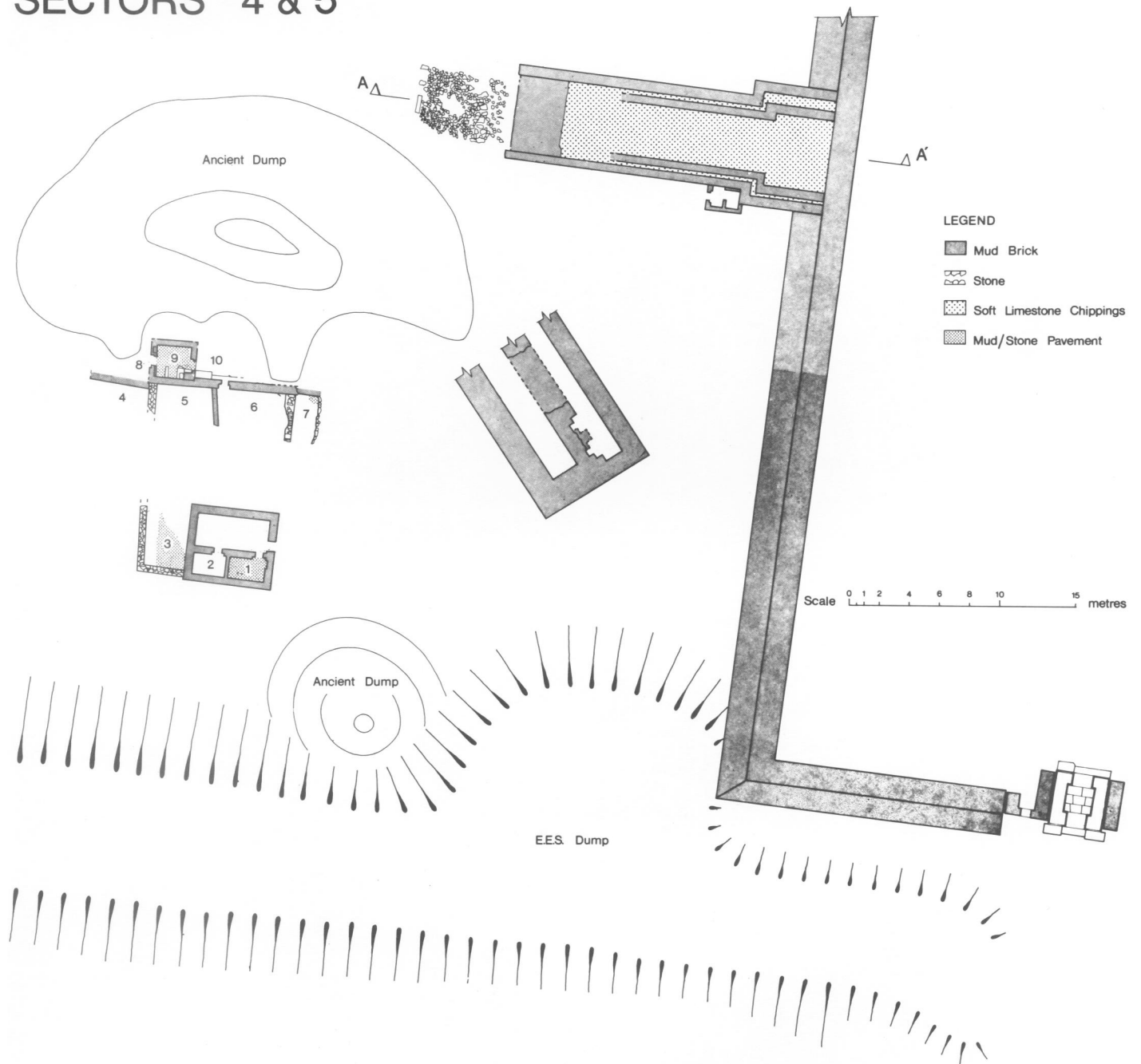


FIG. 11.

buttress¹⁷ attached to the south, west, and north walls of the platform was doubtless intended to counteract the thrust of the enormous weight of debris retained behind.

Immediately to the west of the bottom of the ramp the remains of a rough stone-flagged pavement were excavated (pl. VII, 4). Hopes that this might lead down to the Serapeum-Abusir highway were frustrated when it ended after a short distance. Trial pits were cut at intervals further west, but no trace was found, and evidently there was no ceremonial approach to the temple platform from below the ramp. The finished scheme, however, must have been impressive when seen from below at the level of the highway.

SECTOR 5 SECTION AA'

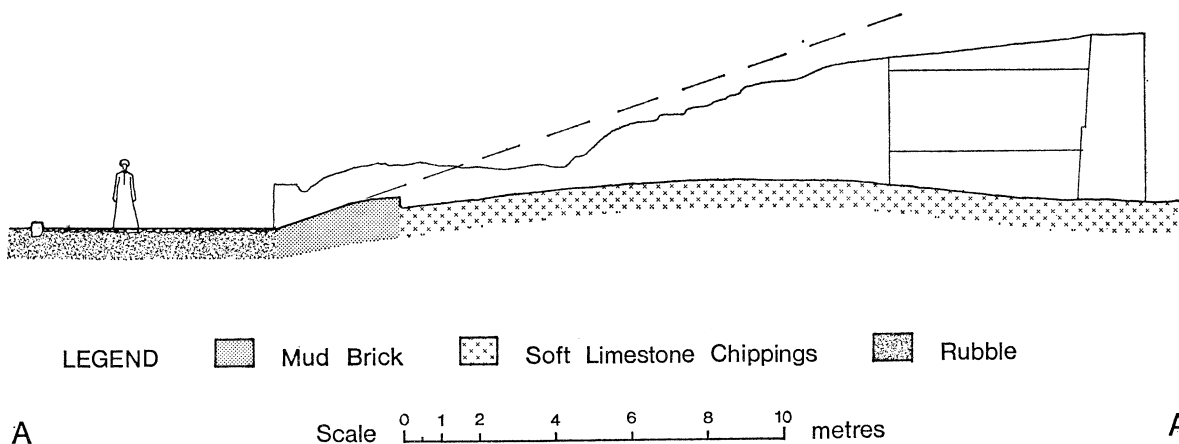


FIG. 12

A special effort has been made to deal with the mass of pottery fragments and vessels found in our extensive site over the past two seasons. In 1971-2 Dr. H. D. Schneider laid the foundations of the pottery corpus, and he and Miss J. D. Bourriau have largely completed the recording and analysis of the material during the present season. On the work Miss Bourriau and Dr. Schneider write as follows:

The pottery recorded during the past two seasons at North Saqqāra falls into two categories: a homogeneous group of funerary pottery from the Archaic Necropolis securely dated by its context to the Third Dynasty, and a large corpus of domestic and ritualistic pottery of the fifth century B.C. to the early fifth century A.D. from Sectors 4 and 7.

The appearance before excavation of these Sectors with reference to pottery was of a sloping terrain covered with sherds from torches and the containers of ibis and falcon mummies thrown out from the subterranean galleries, mixed with amphorae and ribbed and painted Coptic pottery. This impression reflects two salient characteristics of the pottery repertoire, which are that some of the most common types, because of their size or the friability of their fabric, are represented mainly by body sherds, and that with a few exceptions the pottery was found in loose sand and not in a closed or stratified context.

¹⁷ *JEA* 53 (1967), 145, fig. 2, and pl. 21, 3; 55 (1969), pl. 11.

As well as a corpus of shapes, therefore, it was necessary to identify the different wares in use in order to record the mass of pottery represented only by sherds, and to get some idea of the horizontal distribution of wares over the site. The criteria used for the different wares were fabric, surface treatment, and technique of manufacture. A series of fabric types was established by studying the section of a sherd at a fresh break, and by building up a description based on surface colour, colour in section, texture, hardness, and where possible the identity of the tempering material added to the clay. Eventually fifteen fabric classes of the Late Dynastic to Coptic Periods, and four of the Third Dynasty were differentiated. The resulting ware-classes formed the divisions for a daily count of sherds so that at least the quantity and type of sherds too incomplete to be included in the corpus of forms could be recorded before being discarded.

For the latest period on the site we have recovered the widest range of forms and wares, including pottery inscribed in red in cursive Greek, as well as docketts and texts in demotic and Coptic. Some further research into the distribution of these types will help to refine the dates attributed to them at the moment, and to contribute to the picture of the trade relations of the Coptic community. One of the most common amphora wares on the site originated in Alexandria, and examples of a Roman ware, related to Samian, also plentiful, are known from Ihnasya, Luxor and Kôm Aushîm. Unfortunately, the nearest comparable site, that of Apa Jeremias south of the Wenis Valley Temple at Saqqâra, provides few points of comparison because the pottery is published so summarily, but Coptic pottery from other sites such as Kellia and Esna will provide more reliable data.

The mud-brick architecture of the site was studied this season by Mr. A. J. Spencer, and his detailed report will be published in the final site publication. The interim summary of the brick sizes used is as follows:¹⁸

Nectanebo II temple shrines	41·0-42·0 × 20·0-21·0 × 11·5 cm. Some are smaller.
Nectanebo II temple enclosure wall	37·0 × 17·5 × 10·0 cm.
Sector 7, Block 1	largest 40·0-41·0 × 20·0-21·0 × 11·0 cm. Some are as Block 7.
Sector 7, Block 2	37·0-38·0 × 18·0 × 12·0 cm.
Sector 7, Block 3	29·0-30·0 × 15·0 × 14·0 cm.
Sector 7, Block 4	36·0-37·0 × 17·0-18·0 × 12·5 cm.
Sector 7, Block 5	30·0-31·0 × 15·0 × 13·0-14·0 cm.
Sector 7, Block 7	38·0 × 18·5 × 12·5 cm.
Sector 7, Coptic tombs	24·0 × 12·0 × 7·0 cm.
Tomb 3050	25·0 × 12·0 × 8·0 cm.
Tomb 3518	21·0-22·0 × 10·5-11·0 × 7·0 cm.

Finding ourselves with a short time to spare before the end of the season, we decided to break new ground in an area west of the expedition house, which did not appear to have been touched in modern times. This is a low-lying area bounded on the south by the extensive Old-Kingdom necropolis of Fourth- to Sixth-Dynasty tombs cleared mainly by Mariette and De Morgan, and on the north by the Archaic cemetery excavated by Quibell, Firth, and Emery and forming the present concession of the Society. Our object was merely to ascertain the nature and size of the tombs in the area. Four test squares 20·0 × 20·0 metres were laid down, and the structures in each of them, revealed immediately below the surface of the desert, were streets of small mastabas

¹⁸ The most common sizes only are quoted for each site. There are considerable variations which will be studied in detail in the site report.

of the Archaic Period, with cruciform niches and small shafts. Evidently this is an area of tombs of the minor officials or of dependants of the great nobles whose mastabas were built on higher ground to the north. It is probable that many of these small graves are undisturbed, and though inscriptions and important grave-goods are unlikely to be present, the skeletal material would provide valuable evidence from the point of view of physical anthropology.

The work this season completes the major part of the Society's excavations in the Sacred Animal Necropolis falling within the concession at North Saqqâra. Our primary concern in the immediate future must be the publication of the site and the objects and documents found. Editors have been found for the hieroglyphic and Carian material and for most of the papyri, ostraca, and graffiti, as well as for the votive bronze objects, statuary, temple furniture, and animal mummies. Work on the site publications will begin at Saqqâra in the winter of 1973.

THE PODIUM SITE AT QAŞR IBRÎM

By W. H. C. FREND

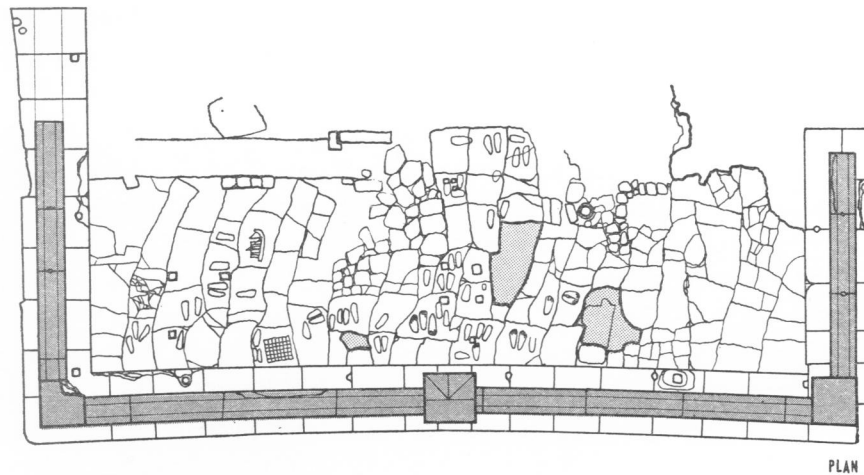
Note. The following Report results from work done at Qaşr Ibrîm in collaboration with Professor J. Martin Plumley, and some of the conclusions may need to be modified in the light of subsequent excavation.

THE second main task of the 1963-4 season was the excavation of the so-called Podium Site. Before excavation the podium could be seen from the southern approaches of Qaşr Ibrîm as an imposing façade of hewn masonry rising more than 4 m. above the *gebel* and contrasting with the rough walling of the later fortifications which flanked it on either side. Its solid foundations, however, had attracted many generations of builders whose successive structures had obscured its original purpose. Along the edge of the façade covering just over half the east side had been built a substantial wall of mud bricks, part of a late-Nubian watchtower, which survived to a height of more than 5 m., while a wall of rough stonework had been built up along its western edge (pls. VIII and XIII, 1, 3). Most of the surrounding area was covered with the debris of Bosnian buildings. In February 1963 Dr. Dales dug two trial trenches aimed at exploring the south-east corner of the structure, and besides establishing a valuable series of levels, showed that a stone parapet led northwards away from the edge of the terrace. Within the parapet was a well-laid pavement of sandstone blocks.

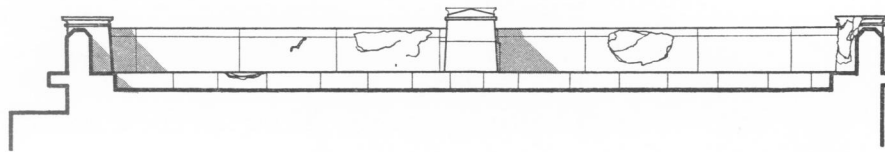
The 1963-4 excavations cleared the whole structure and opened up areas 15 m. square on the north side and 7 m. and 4 m. square on the east and west side respectively. The result was to confirm first impressions of the monumental and perhaps unique character of the building, and to indicate the probability that it had been designed as a temple forecourt, smaller but similar in construction to the quay which stood in front of the temple at Kalabsha built in the reign of Augustus.¹ It was noticeable, that the west wing of the podium had never been properly finished. The surface of the stone blocks there had not been smoothed, and the marks of chisels and adzes on the stonework were plainly visible. A gully cut 1 m. deep into the rock by the builders still contained sandstone chippings. All this prompted the question whether the structure had been the uncompleted work of a short occupation, such as that by the forces of Augustus' general, Publius Petronius, 23-21/20 B.C. before the withdrawal of the Roman frontier northward to the Hiera Sycamēnos.²

¹ If so, its purpose was purely ceremonial, for unlike the quay at Kalabsha which provided a means of access to the river and was connected to the temple pylon by a causeway, the Qaşr Ibrîm podium was sited nearly 80 metres above the level of the Nile.

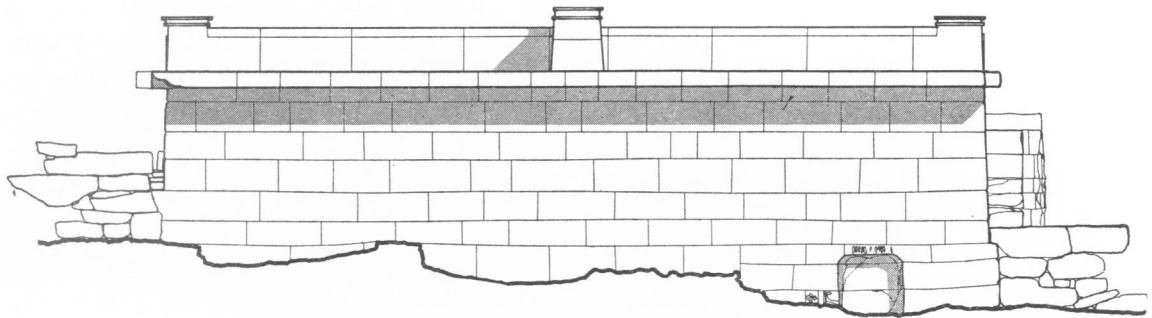
² See J. M. Plumley, 'Pre-Christian Nubia (23 B.C.-A.D. 535). Evidence from Q'asr Ibrim', *Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences*, Tome II, 8-24 and 16-19. A doubt arises in the mind of the excavator due to the lack of any identifiable objects on the site pointing to a Roman occupation, and the existence of graffiti cut in excellent Greek lettering on the rim of the central pier of the balustrade. The workmanship as a whole looks Hellenistic rather than Roman.



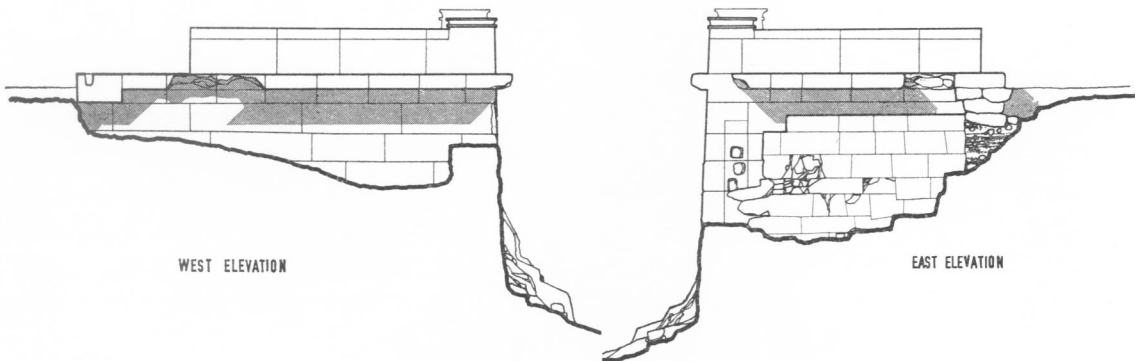
PLAN



NORTH ELEVATION



SOUTH ELEVATION



WEST ELEVATION

EAST ELEVATION

QASR IBRUM 1963-64: PODIUM SITE 5



FIG. 1

Delin. K. FRAZER

As excavated, the edge of the podium stood 4.73 m. above the *gebel* and, set midway between the east and west corner towers, must have been the dominating feature in the southern part of the fortress (fig. 1). It had been built of massive blocks of skilfully and exactly dressed orange sandstone and formed a paved courtyard, approximately rectangular in shape, open on the north side.³ The blocks appeared to have been cut for the purpose, with the exception of one carved Pharaonic block with a representation of a leg that had been used in the lowest course of the wall. The courtyard measured externally 14.16 × 7.26 m. and enclosed an area 12.70 × 6.40 m. (see fig. 1). On the remaining three sides it had been bounded by a stout stone parapet composed of four large blocks of dressed sandstone which stood 1.02 m. above the paving and measured approximately 1.45 m. long, 0.48 m. wide at the base, with a 0.12-cm. bevel at the top on each side. The paving forming the foundation of the balustrade had been fixed in position with iron butterfly clamps. There had been alterations during the structure's period of use, resulting in the removal of the furthest stone panel on each side. On the west side this may have been done because an entrance was needed at this point, indicated by a small round socket driven through the paving and another similar on the corner. On the east side the modification involving the removal of both stone panel and base followed the building of a narrow stairway, 1.90 m. wide, leading into the fort in Meroitic times (see below, p. 45). A well-worn step, 0.80 m. wide and 1.61 m. long, had been set slightly at an angle facing toward the north to lead in from the stairway at a point where the stone panel had been removed. At the south-east and south-west corners of the balustrade and in the centre of the south front the line of construction had been interrupted by square moulded piers, 0.77 m. at the base and standing 1.30 m. above the paved floor. The upper part of these piers had been carved in a rather crudely executed *cavetto* moulding (see fig. 1). Their upper surfaces were flat, with the exception of the middle pier where an attempt had been made to carve the inner face in the form of a shallow pediment. On the bevelled edge of this face had been carved in well-cut letters 2.9 cm. high in Greek . . . ΠΑΠΕΦΑΣ ΙΦΓ . . . ΚΝΕ(?)ΦΣΤΟΥ. The impressive effect of the south front of the building had been enhanced by its construction in a very shallow arc along the steep slope of the *gebel* so that the piers at the two corners were emphasized and full effect given to the height of the façade. A ledge 0.39 m. wide which ran round the whole length of the inner face of the balustrade had been built 0.25 m. above the podium floor, and on the outside there was a projecting ledge 0.28 m. wide at the corresponding height. Similar balustrades and ledges are a feature of the quay of the temple at Kalabsha, and these also seem to have been mainly ornamental.⁴

In 1963–4 the excavation was carried out in three stages. The first task was to clear the surviving façade of the complex of buildings that covered the whole podium area. When this had been done, the work was extended 15 m. square on the north side with the aim of discovering more about the purpose of the building. Finally, a limited area on the east and west flank was explored.

³ The normal dimensions of blocks were approx. 1.00 × 1.72 × 0.48 m., with the long side usually facing outwards.

⁴ See K. G. Siegler, *Kalabascha, Architektur und Baugeschichte des Tempels* (Berlin, 1970), ch. 6, p. 34 and pl. 87.

STAGE ONE

The latest buildings on the podium site consisted of two different types of structure:

- a. On the east side extending for 8 m. along the length of the balustrade were the ruins of a large and carefully constructed mud-brick tower, which from similar examples found at Meinarti,⁵ Sunnarti,⁶ and Kulubnarti Is.⁷ can be identified as a Late-Nubian watchtower, erected as a defence against pressure by the desert tribes.
- b. A dry-stone building occupying the west section which partly incorporated and preserved (a) in what must have been a considerable dwelling. This consisted of twelve identifiable rooms and two storeys, entered through a courtyard on the north-west corner. This structure was built throughout of dry-stone walling and may be assigned to the Bosnian period.

The Bosnian occupation

Level 26.60–22.92 m.^{7a}

The walls of this complex of rooms survived in places to a height of nearly 3 m. and higher on the edge of the podium. Square sockets surviving in some of the walls indicated the existence at one time of an upper storey. The floors were of beaten earth and lay 3–3½ m. (23.50–23.00 m.) above the surface of the podium. In one of the small rectangular rooms were found six large earthenware jars still standing upright where they had been left by their owner. These jars, 1.00–1.20 m. tall and 0.34–0.36 m. at base, were of the same hand-made straight-sided cylindrical type that were still in common use in Aniba at the time of the excavation. The scatter of pottery in the debris that had accumulated over the floors consisted also of hand-made and burnished wares painted in black with degenerate forms of traditional Nubian geometric designs. Stone querns were also found, and some fragments of paper with Arabic writing, including letters and accounts, some of which could be dated to the latter part of the eighteenth century. One object from this level was a base of a willow-pattern bowl inscribed with a Chinese character 井 (*ching* = well).

The Nubian watchtower and magazines

Level 28.60–22.74 m.

This building survived along the east edge of the podium to a height of 5½ m., commanding a wide view upstream. It had comprised originally two storeys at least, a line of upright mud bricks 4 m. above the top of the balustrade of the podium marking a ceiling level. A broad rectangular aperture in the upper storey facing upstream may have been constructed intentionally as a window. The original design seems to have been square, approximately 8 m. on each side; the walls were uniformly 0.50 m. thick except at the surviving east and west corners where the thickness

⁵ See W. Y. Adams, *Kush* 13 (1965), 159–61.

⁶ See P. Grossmann, 'Deutsche Nubien-Unternehmung, 1967', Vorbericht in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 4 (1968), 720–32, Abbildungen 4 and 5.

⁷ W. Y. Adams, 'The University of Kentucky Excavations at Kulubnarti, 1969', in (ed. E. Dinkler) *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit* (Recklinghausen, 1971), 141–54. Another example might be 'Turks Castle', Gamai, see T. Säve-Söderbergh, *ibid.*, p. 244, and pl. 202. Also at Kasamarti, see W. Y. Adams 'Sudan Antiquities Service Excavations in Nubia, 1962–63' (Fourth Season), *Kush* 12 (1964), 222 and pl. 49 b.

^{7a} The levels are relative to a bench-mark fixed by the surveyors in the 1963–4 expedition.

had been doubled (pl. IX, 1). The bottom foundation course consisted of mud bricks set on end.⁸ The builders of the east wall of the tower had used the balustrade of the podium as its foundation. It survived here to a height of 1.90 m., the top being covered by 0.40 m. of Bosnian occupation earth. The lower storey of the building had been divided into two rectangular rooms of approximately the same width (3.50 m.). The western room showed traces of barrel vaulting and rough white plaster laid on the mud walls on the inside. The north side of the building had been destroyed entirely by the builders of the Bosnian dwelling-house. No entrances or windows were found on the surviving parts of the lower floor.⁹ The west room was entirely clogged up with fallen mud-brick underlying a Bosnian deposit, suggesting a considerable original height for the building. In the east room the occupation deposits consisted of layers of straw debris separated by wind-blown sand indicating perhaps the continued use of this portion during the early part of the Bosnian period followed by abandonment and decay, perhaps after the collapse of the west section of the tower. There were no sealed deposits in any of the rooms, but the tower provides a fine example of the final period of Nubian construction, and this could be as late as the fifteenth century A.D.

Level 22.74–21.49 m.

Immediately below the tower there was another complex of mud-brick chambers on top of which the tower had been raised. This building probably formed part of the same complex as the tower but extended 3 m. further to the north. Indeed, the 1966 expedition established that it was the southernmost of a series of mud-brick buildings that overlay much of the area north of the podium in Late-Nubian times. The building shown on fig. 2 was rectangular in shape with a slight taper at the rearward or north end. Its dimensions were 11.40 m. long \times 8.10 m. wide, with the front resting on the edge of the balustrade. The walls were regular 0.50–0.55 m. wide and survived in places to a height of 1.35 m. They had been constructed precisely and, like the tower above, the foundations of this building had rested on a layer of mud bricks laid vertically and compacted together with stones and mud—the same method of laying foundations as that found in the X-Group houses on the south front of the Church. This building was divided into two separate parts. The northern part was occupied by three long rectangular rooms orientated north–south, and measuring 7 \times 2.05 m. wide. There appeared to be no communication between them. They were separated by the same type of substantial mud-brick walls as used in the exterior of the building. A similar wall extended across the breadth of the building to separate these rooms from the five smaller rooms which occupied the front. The purpose of these latter was storage. Among the soft vegetable debris that filled them to a depth of 1.00–1.20 m. was a considerable amount of maize and corn, and enormous quantities of rat droppings. We also found fragments of stone querns, the horns of sheep and oxen, part of a thorny whip, a fragment of a small wooden yoke, and a donkey's tether. Also there

⁸ For the method of building these high constructions compare the thirteenth–fourteenth-century monastery on the citadel of Faras; v. Michalowski, *Faras, Fouilles polonaises 1961* (Warsaw, 1962), p. 135 and pl. 62.

⁹ Compare the granary-watchtower at Kasamarti (dated A.D. 1200–50) excavated by Adams; see his 'Fourth Season', *Kush* 12 (1964), 219, item G on fig. 2. At Qasr Ibrim the tower seems to have succeeded the granary.

was found a dish of hard light-brown fabric with a deep-green patterned glaze interspersed with some fragments of Late-Nubian pottery (Adams, N. vii = A.D. 1350-1400). Similar fragments were recovered from the rubble fill of the south crypt of the Church.

The three rearward rooms may have been used at one period for human occupation, for successive rush floors were found below the rubble that covered the area at this point. In addition, a base of a large cooking-pot was found marked with a cross and the characters ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓ (Michael?), and a fragment of a letter on paper in Old-Nubian script, as well as what appeared to be a letter written in Arabic. A wooden key of Nubian type was also found, and a curious small bundle of cloth 4 cm. in diameter, containing a brown dye and an iron arrow (for tattooing?).

Separated from this storage magazine by a narrow passage 2.50 m. wide was another similar building, only part of the south and east side of which was excavated in 1964. In this instance there had been some interval between the disuse of the magazine and the construction of the Bosnian house above it, enough for a deposit 0.35 m. thick, of sand and rubble to accumulate over the walls. The Late-Nubian date of the magazines was confirmed during the 1966 expedition by the discovery of a pot containing Nubian leather scrolls hidden in a cache in the walls of yet another similar building lying further to the north.

To the west of these buildings there had been no magazines, but a number of hearths were found. Below the floor of the Bosnian structures was another level containing five large hand-made storage jars standing among the dusty rubble of what proved to be a two-storey Christian house. They were associated with Islamic glazed (mainly green) pottery without admixture of Nubian sherds, and may perhaps be assigned to a transitional post-Christian phase of occupation.

Level 21.49-21.24 m.

Below the foundations of the magazine walls was a layer of loose brown earth and vegetable refuse, associated with squatters' debris and animal droppings, varying from 0.25 to 0.57 m. deep. In this layer pottery was rare but included imported Islamic glazed wares (Aswân wares) as well as some fragments of burnished Late-Nubian wares. It also produced some pieces of rope, straw matting, and one fragment of sandstone carved with Christian designs.

Late Christian houses

Level 21.24-20.02 m.

This largely sterile deposit overlay the foundations of substantial structures, probably two houses of the later Christian period. These were the lowest row of dwellings which in Late-Nubian times formed a series of houses rising in tiers above each other until the foundations of those furthest away from the edge of the podium were as much as 6 m. above its floor. The terracing, however, was due entirely to the houses being constructed on accumulated deposits which had formed during the Late-Nubian period (see fig. 4). The pottery from these deposits indicated that none of the houses

over the podium can be much earlier than towards the second half of the Classic Christian period, *c.* A.D. 1000.

Two successive houses were built over the podium floor (Houses i and ii).

(a) A long narrow building 12 m. long and 2.35 m. wide divided into three rectangular rooms of unequal size,¹⁰ the largest which occupied the west half of the building being separated from the remaining two by a narrow threshold 1 m. wide marked by a palm beam. The walls were well constructed of dry-stone walling 0.42 m. wide exterior and 0.27 m. wide for the partitions, consolidated by mud-cement. The floors were roughly paved with flagstones. Evidence for an upper storey was provided by palm beams and shaped planks among the thick layer (1.00 m.) of debris.¹¹ The distance of 3.25 m. separating the north wall of the house from the balustrade of the podium was divided by a substantial dry-stone wall 0.50 m. wide. The area east of this wall had been used largely for storage purposes. Two large globular storage pots were found in corners near this wall and three well-constructed rectangular storage pits lined with mud bricks had been dug through the rough flagstones that paved the courtyard and through the more substantial paving that covered the podium floor. The storage pits were approximately 0.60 m. wide and 1.10 m. long and 1.50 deep.

The storage pits contained a considerable amount of straw debris, goat droppings, and palm kernels, but mixed up with these were three fine pieces of Coptic biblical parchment, part of a letter in Old Nubian, and part of a letter in Arabic. The Coptic manuscripts were illuminated New Testament texts, written in two columns, consisting of Mt. 11: 25 and 42, Mk. 11: 27 and Lk. 11: 42–8. An initial letter was finely illuminated in yellow. All these manuscripts were found well down¹² in the pit filling. The biblical manuscripts appear to date approximately to the eleventh century. The storage pot nearest the balustrade of the podium contained the burial of an infant, that nearest the house wall some leather, possibly from clothes, fragments of Old Nubian on paper, and one interesting piece with Arabic written on one side and Nubian on the other.

There was a similar small paved courtyard on the west side of the dividing wall, but no storage pits were found in it, although a semicircular bin lined with baked mud projected from the house wall.

The thick layer of debris above the house produced a considerable amount of pottery and some interesting manuscript fragments. The pottery (see Appendix III) included typical Classic Christian bowls of red fabric with zoomorphic and linear patterns in black or plum (*cf.* Adams, N. iv A), plates of similar fabric decorated internally with zoomorphic patterns, fragments of amphorae, imported Islamic ware of yellow, sandy fabric and white glaze interspersed with coloured blobs, and the base of a ring-footed bowl marked with a cross. The collection is consistent with a tenth–eleventh-century occupation.

The manuscript fragments included three pieces of Greek manuscripts, three Coptic biblical manuscripts, and a piece of paper with Old Nubian on one side and Arabic

¹⁰ Dimensions: 2.35 × 5.40 m., 2.35 × 3.00 m., 2.35 × 2.30 m.

¹¹ For two-storey Christian Nubian houses, see J. Knutsted 'Serra East and Dorjinti', *Kush* 14 (1966), 165–86 and pl. 19 b.

¹² 25, 45, and 49 cm. below the top of the pit respectively.

on the other, an indication perhaps of the use of all four languages at Qaşr Ibrım for different purposes at this period. Among the objects found was a wooden weaving-comb, two wooden keys, one marked with a cross on the handle, a small rectangular glass bottle, and a child's leather sandal (Appendix I, no. 39). Of particular interest is the fact that manuscripts of Coptic, Greek, Old Nubian, and Arabic were found together in the same setting. Among the debris were also found three small sandstone blocks with the remains of cartouche, bearing traces of the name of Taharqa.

(b) Immediately below this house was another, built on the same plan, which had obviously been burnt down. A layer of ashes and burnt debris 0·10 m. thick separated its floor level from that of the building below. In the burnt debris was found a small bronze patera with a ring-base and ring at the top of the handle, perhaps a measure (see Appendix I, no. 32). A partially burnt wooden Nubian key was also found.

Below these structures was a layer of dark-brown wind-blown earth of depth varying considerably from 0·40 m. in the west corner to 0·05 m. beneath the floor level of the burnt structure (Level 21 on fig. 3). It contained, however, two interesting finds, first an elaborately decorated bronze patera lying face downwards below the level of the house but a mere 3 cm. above the flagstones of the podium (see Appendix I, no. 45), and some fragments of a cup of light-brown ware, wheel-made, with bead rim and red slip, resembling X-Group pottery, but probably Early Christian. These objects preceded the first domestic dwellings on the podium, but were deposited after its pavement had ceased to be kept clear of silt.

The Podium Floor (see fig. 1)

Level 20·00–19·95 m.

The floor of the podium was found at between 19·97–19·95 m. datum. Lying directly on top of it, except where the surface had been broken by Christian storehouses, was a thin layer of hard compacted grey-green clay (Levels 20 and 22 on fig. 3). This layer was to extend northward as far as the paving could be traced and must have formed the surface for a long time after the end of the podium's probable primary use.

The podium had been paved with large and irregular but close-fitting sandstone blocks. On three sides the floor had ended with the low ledge that ran round the inside of the balustrade. This had been heavily worn, probably by providing a convenient seat for generations of the inhabitants. Two sets of shallow cup markings (approximately 4 cm. diameter) were found cut into the surface, perhaps for some game similar to draughts. Along the ledge bordering the south side of the podium had been cut six small square sockets set at intervals of roughly 2·50 m. There was also one each on both the east and west wings. No purpose can be assigned to these sockets, except perhaps to carry an awning on ceremonial occasions. On the pavement immediately in front of the centre pier were also four shallow square sockets (0·11 m. in diameter) enclosing an area of approximately 1 m. square. Another similar group was found to the west enclosing a slightly larger area. That they might have served a ritual purpose such as the bases for a movable altar, is suggested by the imposing array of shallow carvings which covered the west and centre part of the floor in the vicinity of the

sockets and extending northward to the edge of the paving in line with the centre pier. Most of these carvings represented feet either in pairs or singly. No less than thirty-six pairs and fourteen single feet were counted. There were also graffiti representing a Nile boat (two) and a chequer board. Some of these feet had the owner's name or a letter incised within them. Most of these were in Greek characters and were very worn, and in two cases the names ΜΟΥΜΟΣ and ΠΟΙΙΣ could be deciphered. One single sandalled foot was associated, however, with a five-line Meroitic inscription scratched into the surface of the floor (pl. X). One explanation would be that the feet graffiti represent the memorials of pilgrims. One stone at the centre of the north edge seemed to be particularly worn, and carried no less than ten feet symbols, the majority pointing north, as though the worshippers were facing some object of devotion in that direction. The next and subsequent stages of the excavation were aimed at the possible discovery of what that object was.

STAGE TWO

The excavation was continued on the same axis northwards for a further 15 m. A continually increased depth of human deposit was encountered amidst which there were structures of the Classical and Late Christian period—similar to those found above the paving of the podium.

The Bosnian dry-stone dwellings

Level 24.40 m.—23.20 m.

Two levels of mud-baked floors belonging to these structures were identified. On the upper level storage jars still stood where they had been left by the last inhabitants. The deposit produced a roughly made mirror with a wooden frame, an iron razor, and the carved sole of a leather shoe with a pointed toe. In one room fifty small lead bullets (1 cm. diameter) were found. There was also a considerable quantity of torn up paper with Arabic writing. There were in addition the usual round stone querns, grain-rubbing stones, and hand-made pottery mostly undecorated, but some burnished with geometric decoration on the body below the rim.

Late Nubian magazine

Level 22.60—21.70 m.

In the east sector of the excavation the remains of the northern of the two magazine buildings were found between 50 cm. and 1 m. below the Bosnian level, separated from this in this area also by an almost completely sterile level (Level 6 on fig. 4). The plan of the magazine differed slightly from that of its neighbour, in that the small front rooms had been built parallel to those at the rear and not at right angles to them. Some of the rooms also seem to have been used for habitation, as three layers of rush flooring were found in the front rooms (Level 9). There was an entrance on the west side of the magazine and immediately within the small room into which it led was an upturned base and lower part of the shaft of a granite column. The walls were well built, being 0.60 m. wide, and survived to a height of 1.30 m. on the west side and

1.00 m. on the east. They appeared to be a good deal more carefully constructed than those of the magazine over the podium floor and were almost certainly earlier, as in places they had been broken into by the dry-stone walling of a house which, from its plan and standard of building, would belong to the pre-Bosnian period. To the west, associated with the magazine, there had extended a paved courtyard which was followed for 6.00 m. until it had been destroyed by the foundations of a Bosnian house. A layer of wind-blown sand, 0.30–0.50 m. thick (Level 6), also separated the courtyard from the Bosnian layer above, indicating that some time had elapsed between the two occupations.

The rear rooms produced a variety of debris, pointing to their use for storage and sheltering animals. There were bones of sheep and goat, date kernels, fragments of round stone querns and of cylindrical clay storage pots. Two wrought-iron tools, a hoe, and an axe-head were found in a front room.

An interesting discovery was made while lowering the trench to the footings of the magazine walls. Amid the soft debris that underlay some palm-leaf matting was a small cache containing three complete pots. The cache had been dug just below the wall footings of one of the rearward rooms and had been protected by them. One pot, a fine Late-Nubian food vessel of brick-red fabric and ring base with internal geometric decoration, had been laid upside down. Next to it was a fine glazed Moslem vase with a short thick pedestal base, and a smaller similar vessel had been placed within this. These vases (see Appendix III, D and figs. 10 and 11) were probably imported Fayûmi and may date to the mid-twelfth century A.D. (Adams, *Imported Wares G. ii*). Nothing was found in them.

The Christian houses

Two separate levels of Christian houses were found. The first, which was by far the best-built example of Christian domestic architecture, post-dated the magazine in this area, since its entrance on the west side overlay the magazine foundations at this point (House iii, pl. IX, 2). It had well-built dry-stone walls and consisted of seven rectangular rooms of varying shape. A narrow entrance on the north-west corner led into a small lobby 1.70 m. long and 1.50 m. wide. The main room measured 4.00 m. wide and 5.86 m. long. Its floor was of beaten earth and there were traces of white plaster on the walls. Several layers of palm matting were found on the floor. Another large room extended to the east beyond the limit of the 1964 excavation. The south limit of the house was marked by a stout stone wall 0.53 m. wide, and half-way along this had been built a stout stone buttress, 0.70 × 0.85 m. In one room was found a letter folded into three small strips addressed on the outside in thick black ink, † *μασεναχρι* (. . . *ἐπαρχος*?). There was also a weaving comb and a complete small Late-Nubian beaker of red-orange fabric and panelled geometric decoration on its body, of the same type as that found behind the wall that blocked the north crypt of the church and could be dated to the fourteenth century (Adams, N. vi).

Two other discoveries also indicated its late occupation:

1. The removal of layers of rush matting from the central room revealed an upright stone which had been placed so as to mark the position of something lying beneath. This proved to be four

leaves of a finely illustrated Coptic manuscript of John Chrysostom's *Homily on the Four Living Beasts*. The pages had been burnt all round the edges, and it seems likely that they had been salvaged from a fire, perhaps connected with the dispersal of the cathedral library in 1173 (?) and reburied for safety. Nearby was found a small circular clay lamp and a fragment of Islamic green-glazed pottery. The stone marker was found 1.15 m. below the top of the room wall in a level which extended 1.00 m. below the footings of the wall of this house.

2. The same soft debris contained fragments of a leather scroll with Nubian writing on it.

Adjoining this dwelling, lower down the slope of the hill towards the podium was another well-constructed building (House iv). This underlay the foundations of the magazine. Its walls were substantial, of dry stone secured by mud cement, and 0.60 m. wide. In the rear was a large room 3.20 m. wide and 5.60 m. long. In front of this a small rectangular storage chamber had been built, length 2.50 m., width 1.80 m., and immediately to the east of this was a small mud-brick enclosure containing three large mud-lined bins approximately 1.20 m. deep.¹³ These produced an abundance of carob and date seeds, a great many worn fragments of Classic Christian pottery, and much burnt wood ash. The floor level of the large room produced two interesting finds:

- a. an apparently complete letter written in Old Nubian on paper addressed to $\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha$ $\Upsilon\eta\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\eta\mu\epsilon\tau$ perhaps a senior monk.
- b. Fragments of letters in Greek, Old Nubian, and Arabic.
- c. A small rectangular (L. 15 cm., W. 9 cm.) cloth folder which may have served as a wallet.

In addition, the iron haft of a knife and two fragments of Coptic biblical manuscripts were found.

Level 20.91 m.

The clearance of the small rectangular front room produced an unexpected discovery. The house, to judge from the amount of debris, had been a two-storey building (Level 15). One of the palm beams that had fallen lay across a small square niche¹⁴ which had been cut into the west wall of the room. On raising it, we found a large Late-Nubian pot decorated with linear Nubian designs and canted over on its side. It had been preserved by the beam lying directly over it. The mouth had been sealed with a conical clay stopper marked by a seal impress of chequer-board pattern, but as the neck was cracked it was deemed advisable to open it and examine the contents (pl. XI, 1). These consisted of nine leather scrolls, neatly rolled up and placed in it. They were made of gazelle skin, and evidence of stitch-marks round the edge suggested the possibility of their one-time use as garments. They were roughly rectangular in shape, 0.70 × 0.40 m., but with rounded edges. The inside face of each had been written upon in Old Nubian, the writing being in sharp black lettering. The documents were Christian and at the top left-hand corner of each was a cross. They appear to be legal documents,

¹³ Dimensions: (a) L. 0.95 m. oval in shape; contained burnt wood, a round pottery lamp, date and carob seeds; (b) consisted of a large storage pot set in a dry-stone surround, 0.65 m. diameter; contained a clay lamp of saucer pattern (latrine?); (c) L. 1.61 m. W. 0.92 m. contained wood ash, Late Christian pottery, and pieces of rush matting.

¹⁴ The actual level of the find was 20.91 m., 1.10 m. above the level of the quarried-out podium floor and 1.00 m. below the level of the rush floors of the magazine above, in Level 15. For a photograph of the pot *in situ* see *Acta VII. Congresso di archeologia cristiana* (Rome, 1967), p. cclxii, fig. 7.

and the last to be put into the pot, and which was still supple, included the royal name 'Joel', and a possible date according to the Era of the Martyrs of 1137 equivalent to A.D. 1421. This is a very late date indeed, but it is difficult to see to whom the pot belonged, if not to the owner of the house. If the dating is confirmed, it would extend the Nubian occupation of Qaşr Ibrîm into the middle or even late fifteenth century. The magazines had been built over the fallen rubble from this house, and their rush floors showed no sign of having been dug into in order to make a cache for this large storage pot which lay 1.10 m. above the level of the podium. The scrolls will be published separately.

Level 21.38-20.00 m.

This house was separated from its neighbour (House v) on the west side by a narrow alley-way 1.60 m. broad. At the north end of this was a small entrance 0.90 m. wide which served a room extending westwards. The walls were dry stone, and that on the south front was traced over a distance of 6 m. towards the west. The floor of this house was the smoothed *gebel* which formed the continuation of the podium at this point. In front of the south wall a large storage jar still stood upright. Two rooms could be traced, a south room in which there were traces of hearths and the bottom of the shaft of a granite column set curiously within 2 cm. of the south wall (pl. XIII, 2). Dividing this room on the north side was a partition of rough dry stone 0.25 m. wide, while a passage 1.20 m. wide bounded by a semicircular wall divided it from the street to the east. This house produced much Late-Nubian pottery but otherwise no significant discoveries.

The clearance of the east wall of this house confirmed the existence of a structure first revealed during the excavation of the podium enclosure. A substantial stone wall 0.81 m. wide, quite unlike the walls of the Nubian houses, had been found aligned on the centre pier of the parapet, running northwards not quite at right angles to the line of the parapet. The foundations had been dug into the surface of the podium at the south end and laid on it along the rest of its length. The four lowest courses were composed of weathered but dressed sandstone blocks. Thereafter the blocks had been replaced by smaller dressed stones built round a rubble core, and this part of the wall had been used later to provide part of the exterior wall of the Christian house (House iv) and serve as a firm foundation for the Nubian magazine walls above. One of the stones had been carefully hewn and decorated with a panelled decoration featuring crosses centred on a small equal-armed cross. One metre in front of the end of the wall an oblong cavity (1 × 0.75 m.) had been dug into the surface of the podium, and two others approximately 1 m. in diameter were found at the same distance from the west wall. One of these cavities, containing part of the shaft of a pink granite column, as noted, was found in the south room of House v. From their position these holes might have served as the foundations of a colonnade on this side. The wall continued 6.50 m. north until it was obliterated by the walls of House iii. On the east side, however, were the remains of a wide threshold (2 m. wide) which had been built up against it at a later period. It was separated from the paved floor of the podium below by a compacted layer 50 cm. thick of worn Early Christian pottery, pebbles, straw, and

windblown sand, a barnyard layer, such as was found below other Early Christian structures in the podium area (Level 18).

At this point the podium was no longer enclosed by the balustrade. The flooring of the area to the north was slightly different in character. It was 3–4 cm. higher, and the paving-stones were more irregular. Often the smoothed *gebel* had served as the floor. This became clear by the discovery of a sandalled foot dedication incised on the *gebel* near the substantial Early Christian wall in the centre of the podium area. Only on the west side could a clearly defined line of paving-stones be traced, and this may help eventually to determine the nature of the structure of which the podium formed part. At some time also, a thin mud-brick wall 0.20 m. wide had been built across the north edge of the area enclosed by the balustrade, but its purpose remains unknown. It was noticeable that the flagstones most marked by feet dedications lay on a line just to the south of this wall.

STAGE THREE

In 1963–4 this consisted of investigating relatively small areas on the east and west flanks of the podium. The clearance of the exterior face of the podium had revealed four sockets sited one above another at the south-east corner. These had been sited in line, one on the same level as the ledge, the others lower down; three were square, 22–4 cm. in diameter and bored 14, 22, and 22 cm. into the stonework respectively, the lowest, key-shaped and 22 cm. wide at its base, and bored 18 cm. into the wall. They had been carefully shaped and traces of shallow moulding round the edges survived. These holes had obviously been designed originally as the sockets of beams barring a monumental gateway, but it was noticeable even at this stage that they showed little signs of wear, and despite extensive work along the line of the adjacent wall, no corresponding gatehouse was found.

In Bosnian times the original fortress wall had been heightened by five courses of dry-stone walling topped by a single course of mud-brick and built up against the corner of the podium. Behind this was a 3-m.-deep deposit of Bosnian occupation debris, characterized by fragments of multi-coloured fabric and dated by torn fragments of paper on which Arabic had been written. Only a few pieces of hand-made pottery were found in this mainly sterile layer. The excavation along the line of the podium wall soon showed that the monumental style had been modified in Meroitic times. The socket holes had been hidden by a new wall built alongside the podium, though at an approximately three-degrees angle towards the east. This wall had been built of square or angular fitted grey sandstone blocks. The usual dimensions of the blocks were 36–8 × 48–50 cm. They were cut in irregular lines but fitted exactly with their neighbour. The gap between this wall and the original podium was filled with loose chippings. Its purpose had been to provide one side to a narrow stairway, 1.90 m. wide, leading into the fort, presumably from a path up the steep slope of the cliff. A wall similarly constructed was found on the other side of the stairway. The fort had been entered through a narrow door which had swivelled toward the right, leaving a 5-cm.-broad groove on a large sandstone slab that formed the threshold. The stairway proceeded

5 m. along the line of the podium before dividing. Two more shallow steps led into the podium, while another four turned sharply at right angles to the podium following the base of a substantial cross wall which had been built and led eastwards into the fort. Among the stones used in making this wall was a slab on which had been carved a finely cut limb from a Pharaonic monument.¹⁵ Leading north from the entrance to the podium on the east side was a substantial Christian wall 5.60 m. long and 0.40 m. wide, surviving to a height of 1.40 m. This seems to have been contemporary with the two stairways and ceremonial way north of the podium, described below. Its purpose, however, remains to be investigated.

The stairs were made of slabs of sandstone and had been heavily worn through persistent use. At some later date they had been repaired and supplemented by a small granite obelisk 1.62 m. long and 0.21 m. broad, originally honouring Queen Hatshepsut. Later still in the history of the fort this cliff-face entrance had been blocked and the fortress wall continued across it to the corner of the podium, and the stairway area was used for burning rubbish. The successive bonfires had caused the steps and the substantial blocks on the east side of the stairway to crack and blister. Some Late Christian pottery was found in the small area between the bottom of the steps and the exit down the slope of the cliff. The remainder of the fill, 3.10 m. deep, was Bosnian in which no less than fifty-five separate tip layers could be counted.

No similar gateway appears to have existed on the west side of the podium. A cutting along the west wall of the balustrade 4 m. square revealed a large Late-Christian store-house consisting of two rooms abutting on the fort wall to the south. Even where the rooms met the balustrade and fortress walls they had been lined with large mud bricks. They contained no less than seventeen hand-made cylindrical pots standing in position; but nothing other than date seeds and carobs were found in any of them. They were associated with typical Late-Nubian pottery (Adams, N. v and vi) bases of amphorae and some riveted and much prized glazed Islamic ware. This was yellow and white glaze was Aswân corresponding to Adams, G. ii, probably eleventh–twelfth century. This storehouse was built above the foundation trench for the west wall of the podium. There were no intermediate structures or levels. The occupation on this side coincided with the general domestic occupation of the podium site in Classical and Late Christian times. In this sector storage space rather than efficient fortification seems to have been the main concern of the inhabitants.

The 1972 excavations

The 1966 and 1969 campaigns had cleared a further extensive area north of the podium.¹⁶ The 4 m. deep occupation deposit in which the magazines and houses had been built was found to end with a perpendicular cliff-face scarped sheer by hand obviously with great care, into which had been cut the bishops' tombs discovered in 1966. The cliff extended from near the south-east corner of the cathedral across the site about 30 m. north of the edge of the podium and as far as the line of its west parapet.

¹⁵ Dimensions: L. 0.36 m., W. 0.74 m. and 0.13 m. thick.

¹⁶ Reported by J. Martin Plumley in *JEA* 52 (1966), 9–13 and *JEA* 56 (1970), 12–18.

It then turned at right angles in a northerly direction. Its purpose at time of writing is unknown. The floor, however, appears to have been featureless though worn to the smoothness of a billiard table. On the east side of the site the irregular quarrying continued some 20 m. north of the edge of the podium. The central area, however, had one time assumed some ceremonial importance. In 1966 two flights of well-built stone stairs were found, one leading from the west, the other from the north (geographical) into what may be termed a ceremonial way, 5.45 m. wide and 6.50 m. long. This had been sited almost due north but aligned at an angle slightly east of perpendicular from the front of the podium. On the east side the road had been bounded by a low wall, 0.90 m. high, roughly constructed with unmortared stone set in a herring-bone pattern. The wall stopped opposite the west stairway, perhaps to provide access to the South Church discovered during the 1972 excavations. On the opposite side a better built dry-stone wall, surviving to a height of 1.75 m., extended as far as the north stairway. The west stairway of eight steps was also well preserved, surviving to a height of 1.80 m. and was flanked by a substantial wall ending in upright masonry blocks on each side.

In 1969 the area behind the north stairway had been cleared and its six steps were found to give access to what has been suggested might be the Residence of the ruler of Ibrîm.¹⁷ The walls were of the same well-constructed dry stonework held together by mud-mortar as those of the flanks of the stairways. They had been erected on top of a finely constructed Meroïtic building, built with the same type of irregular grey sandstone blocks that characterized the second period of the podium. This feature had been connected with the north stairway by a rough stone wall on the west side set in a white mortar foundation but built over the fallen mud-brick remains of an earlier structure.

In 1972 the main object of the excavation was to try to date the 'ceremonial way' and relate it to other Christian-period buildings on the site. In the earlier seasons excavation trenches had been taken as far as the lowest step on both stairways. These, however, were found to have been built on a deposit averaging 0.45 m. above the *gebel*. Immediately below the foundation of the west stairway was a thin (0.15 m. deep) deposit of compacted pebbles, straw matting, and worn potsherds, precisely similar to Level 18 on the podium, and a similar deposit that underlay the Early Christian wall on the east side of the podium. It was a barnyard layer indicating a considerable period of accumulation, and the pottery, though mixed, was recognizably Early Christian with a predominance of Adams, N. ii and iii sherds (*c.* A.D. 500–800). The east side of the roadway opposite the stairs had also covered a layer 30 cm. thick of domestic rubbish which included a considerable amount of pottery. Among this were the remains of two imported cylindrical ribbed amphorae, probably from Aswân (Adams, A. ii U.2) dating between A.D. 500 and 750, while the domestic sherds were mainly Adams N. iii dating to A.D. 600–850. This material would indicate that the changes to the podium area here did not take place before *c.* 750–800.

Below the domestic rubbish was found a layer of hard light-brown loam which smelt strongly of horse manure and contained a quantity of straw but no pottery. This level

¹⁷ J. M. Plumley, 'Qaṣr Ibrîm 1969', *JEA* 56 (1970), 14–15.

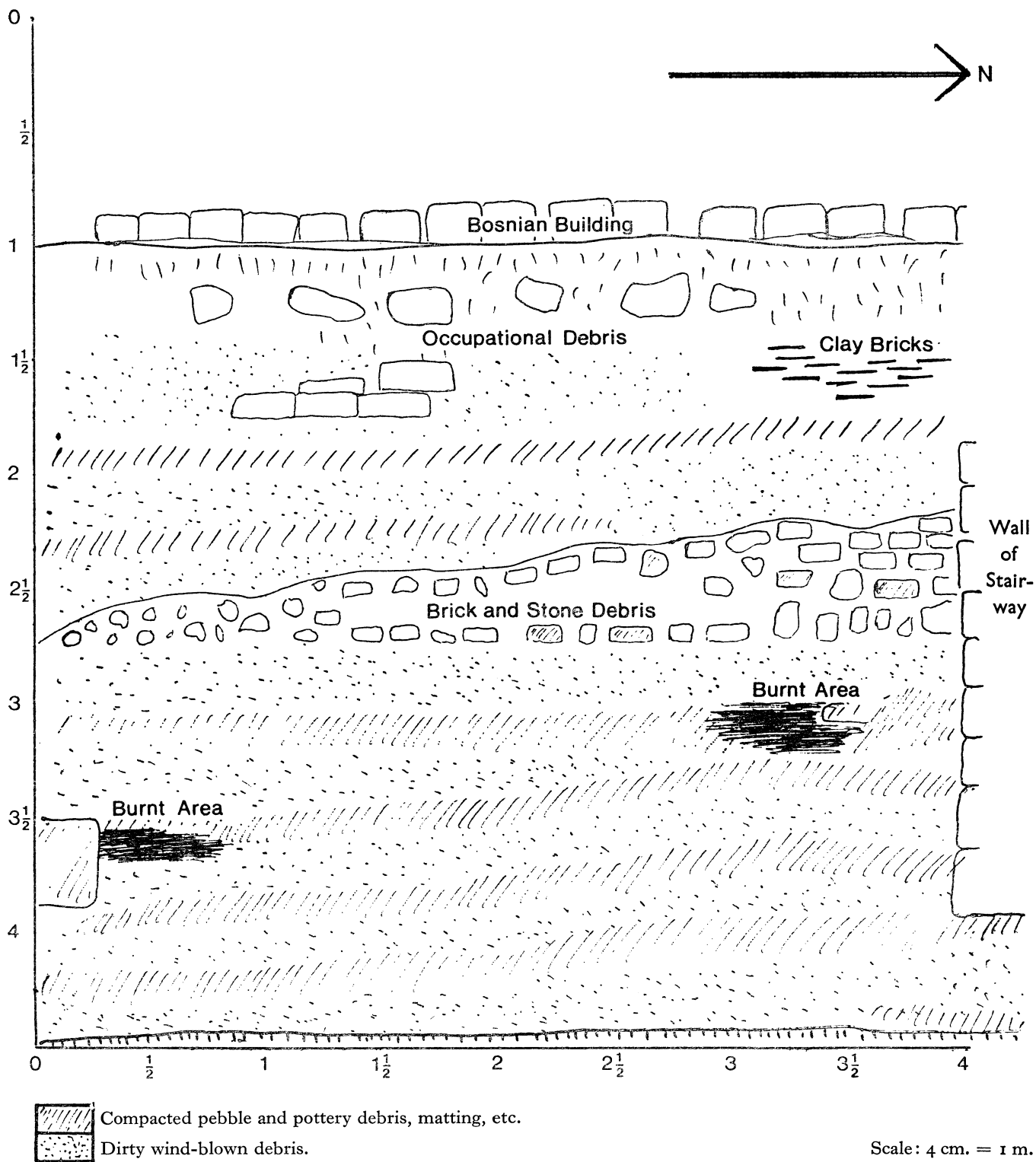


FIG. 4. West side of podium in section abutting early Christian wall.

The main features of this area were:

1. The alternation of compacted strips of occupational debris, separated by comparatively thick areas of dark wind-blown sand.
2. Occupation layer underlying the stairway wall on N. side of section.

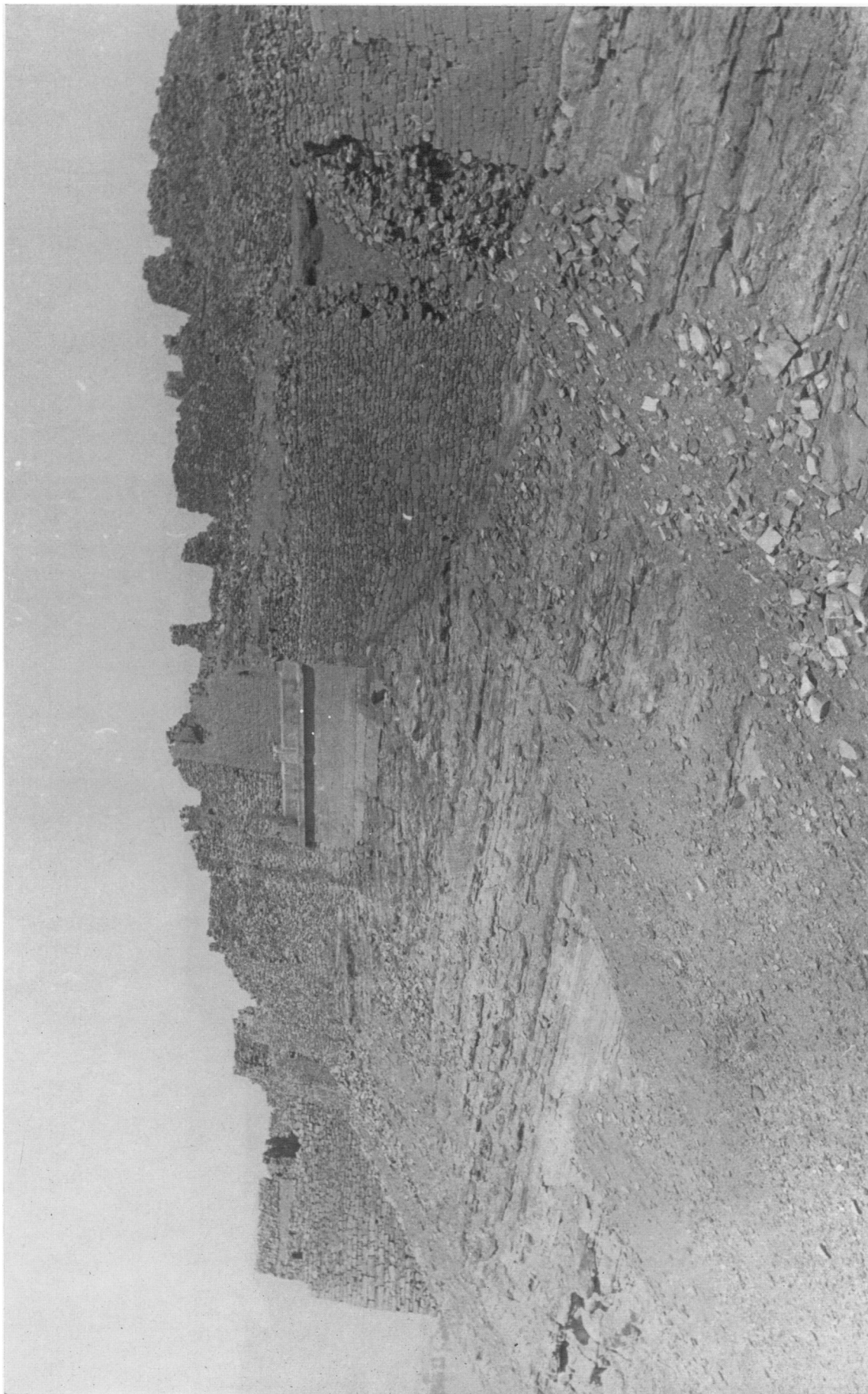
varied from 8 cm. on the east side where it had been cut into by the domestic occupation already noted, to 15 cm. on the west side where it disappeared beneath the foundations of the steps. Below this was the *gebel*, interspersed, however, with worn flat paving-stones which merged into those of the podium floor further to the south.

The next task was to clear thoroughly the area between the ceremonial way and the podium excavation as it had been left in 1964. This showed that that layer of hard green loam (Level 20 on fig. 3) had continued northwards as far as the line of the west stairway. It had seen much use, and in places the outlines of bare human feet and the paw marks of dogs had been preserved. In this layer was found a fragment (0.51 m. long and 0.04 m. thick) of the top right-hand corner of a latticed window made of gypsum (pl. XI, 2)¹⁸ similar to examples found at Faras. Nearby on the same level was found the base of an imported cylindrical amphora (Adams, U.2, A.D. 500–750). Among the domestic pottery on this level, Group N. iii, subdivisions R.5 and W.2, predominated, i.e. the same period as the remainder below the level of the stairways. The discovery of the window raises the question of the building whence it came. Distance precludes the cathedral and no other Early Christian building has been discovered on this part of the site. Below the greenish loam was found the continuation of the rough paving characteristic of the area north of the podium. In many places, however, the *gebel* itself had formed the floor and paving had been used only where necessary to form a continuous even surface. This appeared to peter out near the edge of the west stairway.

Finally, a narrow area was cleared along the line of the west parapet. Here the edge of the paving was sharply defined in places. Beyond it, as far as the west edge of the cutting, the surface of the *gebel* was flat and smooth enough to have provided an even foundation for any temple blocks that might have been laid on it. Further clearing of the deposit between 4 and 5 m. deep which overlies it will be needed before we know whether a ghost foundation survived here or anywhere else in the podium area. Low in the overlying deposit was found a richly decorated fragment of a small leather sheath probably of Early Christian period (Appendix I, no. 49 = pl. XI, 3).

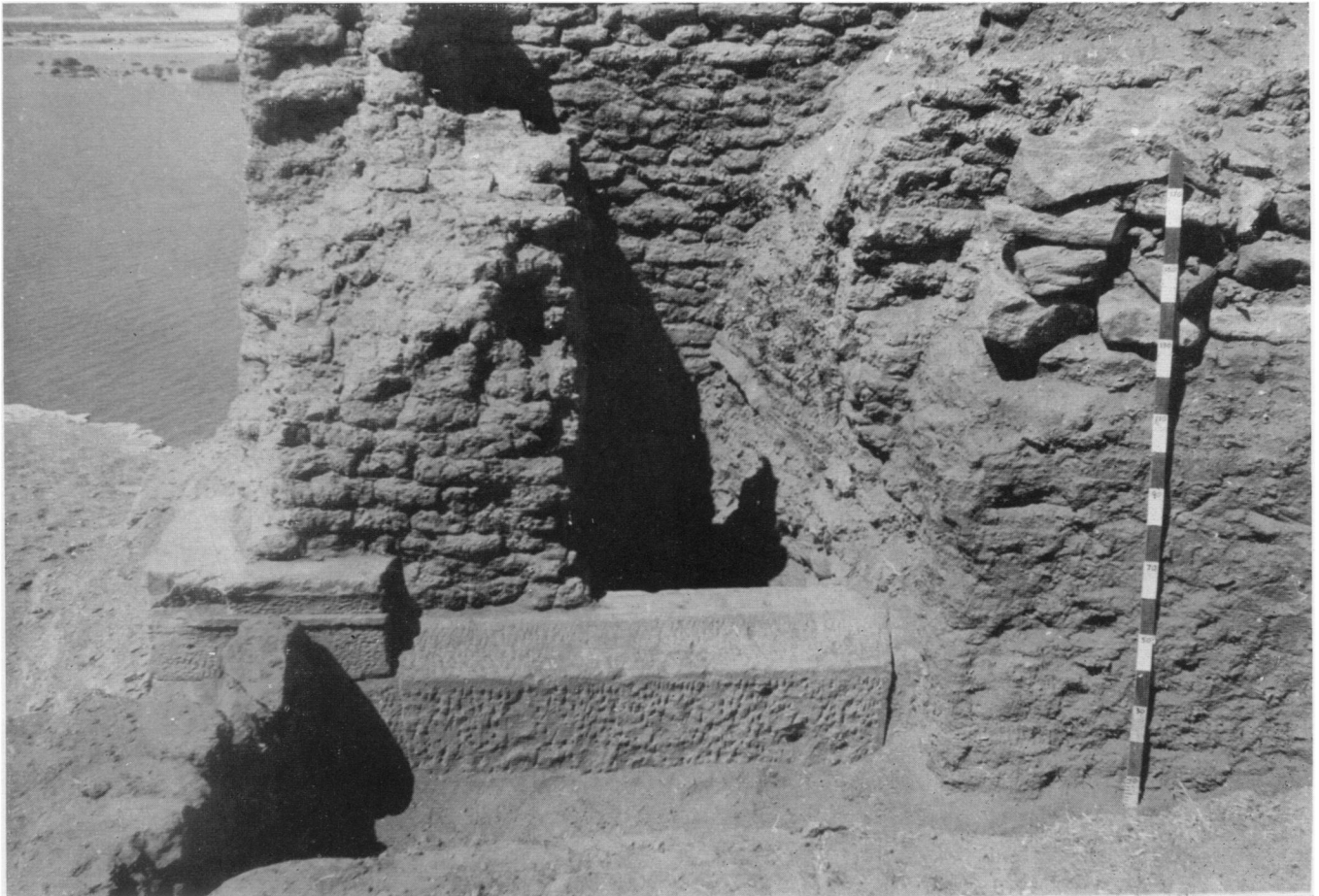
The evidence to date suggests that a major reconstruction of the podium area took place c. 750–800, involving the building of the two stairways and ceremonial way. How long did this feature remain in use? Probably for a relatively short time. A section drawn of the deposits (fig. 4), just to the south of the west stairway, showed a layer of broken-up red brick on a level near the top of the stairs. This must be an extension of the thick layer of brick which underlies the Funerary Chapel and therefore preceded it. It could not have extended across the line of the steps if these had still been in use. Moreover, the 'Residence' itself was presumably out of use when the small mud-built chamber in which the brass basins found in 1969 was being occupied. The stairways and ceremonial way, therefore, fall into a period of occupation, perhaps A.D. 750–1000, between the final cessation of the use of the podium area as an open space and the construction of houses on the site.

¹⁸ See W. Michalowski, *Faras* (Zürich, 1967), 17, for a similar example found in the wall of the cathedral at Faras.



The Podium viewed from the south-east before excavation

THE PODIUM SITE OF QAŞR IBRÎM



1. Foundations of Late Nubian watchtower overlying railing of Podium



2. Late storage pots from the north edge of the site

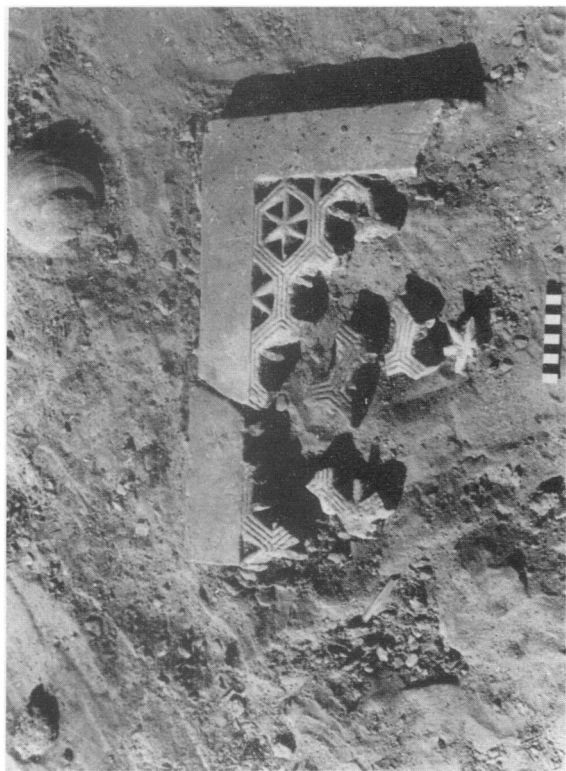


Podium floor: foot dedication with Meroitic script

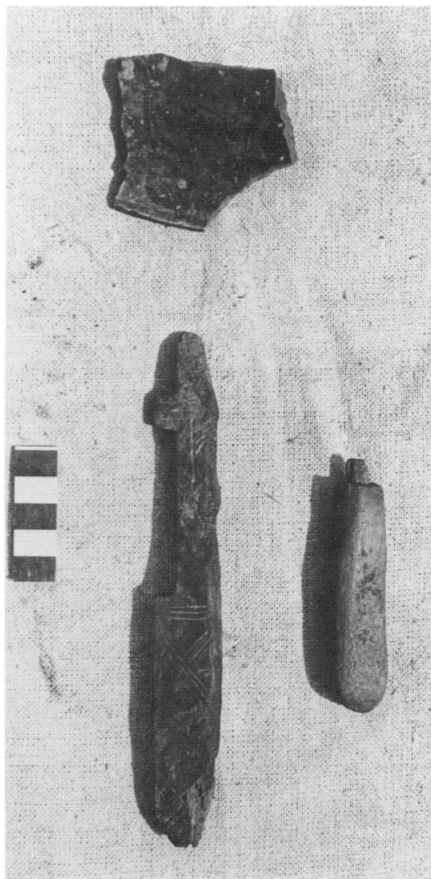
THE PODIUM SITE AT QASR IBRĪM



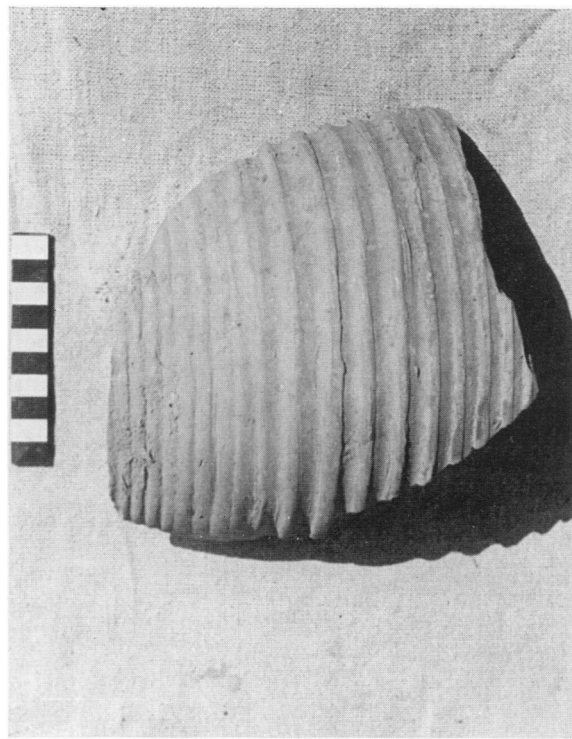
1. Late-Nubian pot. Examining the contents (Nubian scrolls were found)



2. Part of Meroitic latticed window made of gypsum (*in situ*; found Dec. 1972)

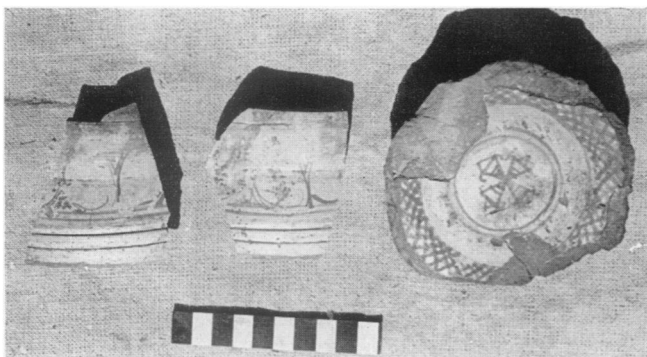


3. Fragment of leather sheath, Early Christian, with Maltese cross in centre



4. Fragment of heavily ribbed amphora (level of Nubian watchtower)

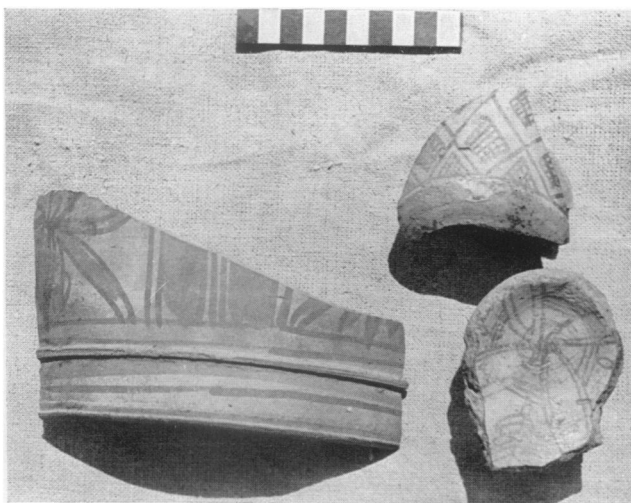
THE PODIUM SITE AT QASR IBRĪM



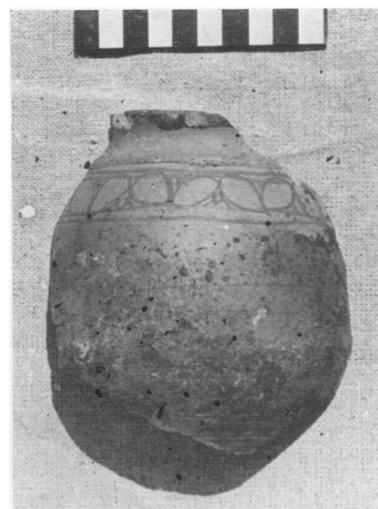
1. Whitish ware with Maltese cross (Late-Nubian, west of podium)



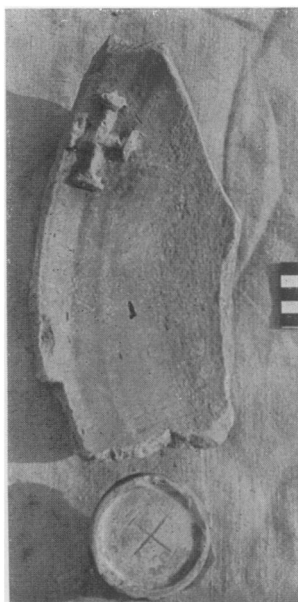
2. Fragments of three Moslem Fayûm bowls (Late-Nubian, west of podium)



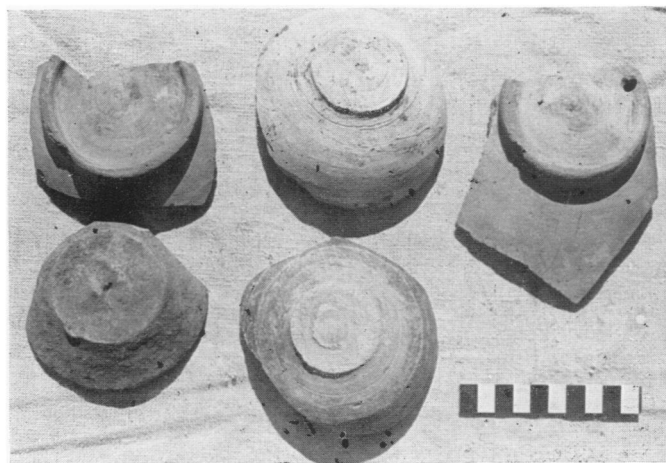
3. Bowl from a Christian house featuring a Maltese cross, olive-branch (?) and geometric designs



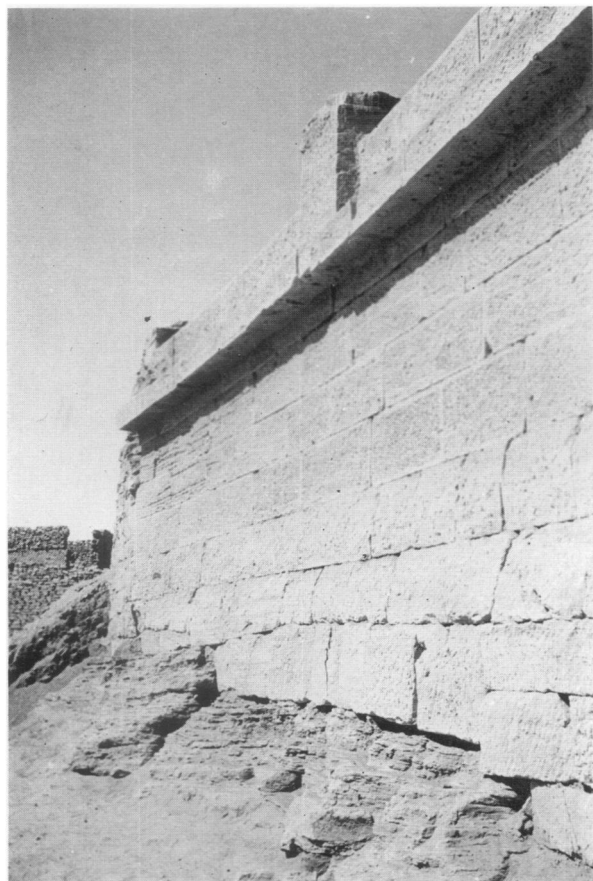
4. Cooking-pot from Christian house with decoration in dark brown on brick-red fabric



5. Fragments of *doka*, large vessel for making bread. Interior is stamped with Latin-type cross, and base has incised cross



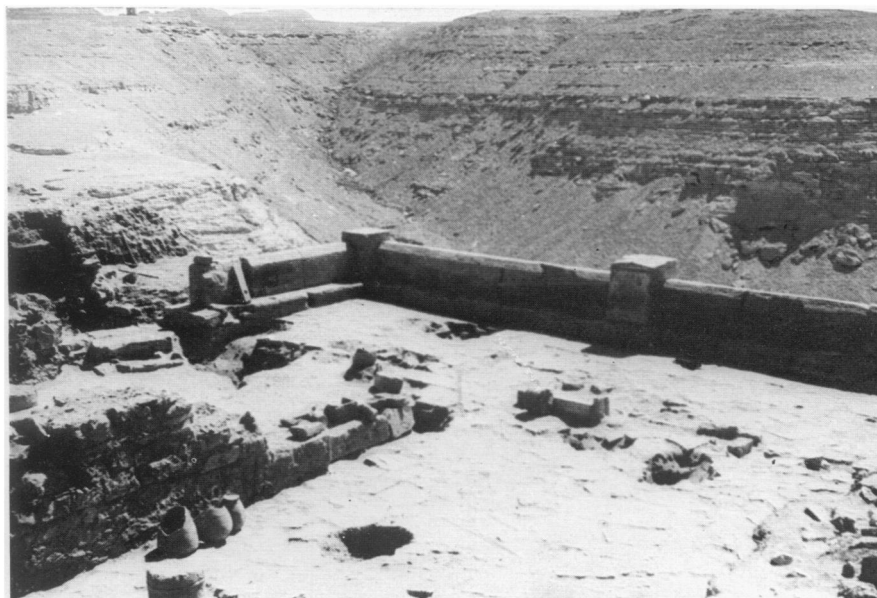
6. Cooking-pots with ring-footed base



1. Part of the podium, from below



2. South wall of a Christian house on earlier pavement



3. The podium from the north, showing the temple wall

THE PODIUM SITE AT QAŞR IBRÎM

The second task relating to the podium was the re-examination of the east flank with the object of finding out whether a monumental gateway had existed associated with the sockets in the south-east corner of the stonework. None was found. Worn paving-stones were discovered below the stairway and these may be contemporary with the first period of construction. Further light was also thrown on the later history of the area. The blocking of the Meroïtic period gateway had been accompanied by the construction of a small platform about 2.50 m. square paved with heavy stone blocks which bit into the line of the wall. The upper part of the stairway was demolished and replaced by a small rectangular room (1.80 m. across) facing the wall, perhaps a guard-house. Finally this too was abandoned and filled in with broken clay bricks and limestone chippings to the level of the platform. The space occupied by the stairway, however, along the line of the podium wall was still kept open, indicated by the traces of fires found on the steps associated with Late-Nubian pottery. Only in Bosnian times was this area given up to domestic use and gradually filled up by wind-blown silt punctuated by successive layers of Bosnian human and equine rubbish.

Many questions relating to the podium remain unanswered. The original date of construction itself is not yet certain, though for the reasons stated, Petronius' occupation in 23 B.C. seems a reasonable hypothesis. Nor can it be stated categorically that it provided the forecourt of a temple on the model of Kalabsha. The extension of the paving northwards at least 25 m. from the south balustrade of the podium and its clearly defined edge on the west side would seem, however, to rule out the likelihood of its being an isolated monumental structure. Since so much was destroyed by the quarrying on the east side, the main hope of additional information rests with the extension of the area excavated beyond the line of the west parapet and northwards to clear completely the large Meroïtic house and 'Residence' discovered in 1966. It would be curious, also, if the impressive and carefully hewn perpendicular escarpment that dominates the area south-east of the cathedral had no connection with a temple of which the podium formed part.

Meantime, the following periods of construction seem to be established:

- i: The original construction of the podium with massive blocks of finely hewn orange sandstone. First century B.C.(?).
- ii: The reconstruction associated with the stairway on the east side. This stonework is identical with that of the 'Ruler's Residence' and may be dated to the Meroïtic period.
- iii: A long period extending into Early Christian times when the site was no longer used as a place of pilgrimage but remained an open court. It became covered by a spread of varying thickness of hard greenish clay.
- iv: The large building at the north end of the paved area whose existence is known only through the single massive wall running northward from the site.
- v: The destruction of this building by quarrying operations over the whole of the east side of the podium, perhaps associated with the building of the cathedral, *c.* 700.
- vi: Another period of disuse in which much of the area was covered with barnyard refuse.
- vii: The construction probably *c.* 750-800, of the 'ceremonial way' and stairways leading to the 'Ruler's Residence'.

- viii: The first period of Classic Christian houses on the site of the podium, *c.* 1000–1100.
- ix: The second period of the same, *c.* 1150.
- x: The first desecration of the cathedral and hiding of surviving parts of the cathedral library among house ruins, *c.* 1173.
- xi: The Late-Nubian magazines, *c.* 1200–1350.
- xii: The Late-Nubian watchtower, *c.* 1350–1500. Final Nubian domestic occupation of the area.
- xiii: Bosnian occupation, 1528–1811. It was noticeable that some period elapsed marked by a sterile layer up to one metre thick between the end of the Nubian period and the coming of the Bosnians. No evidence for the wanton destruction of the Late-Nubian buildings was found, another indication perhaps that violent conquest was not the cause of the abandonment by the Christians of this important fortress site.

APPENDIX I

Small finds

This catalogue is arranged according to the main levels of occupation on the site, namely the Bosnian houses, the Late-Nubian magazines, the Christian houses, the podium floor, the stairway on the east side of the podium and the store-house on the west side. Nubian, Greek, and Coptic manuscript fragments are being published separately (see Appendix II).

a. The Bosnian houses

1. Carved sole of wooden shoe.
2. Round glass mirror set in a wooden frame. Diameter 13 cm. Glass roughly cut in the shape of a circle, 8 cm. in diameter.
3. Arabic (Quranic text).
4. String of blue composition beads.
5. Silver ring. Diameter 1.5 cm. Rim 0.3 cm.
6. Iron razor. L. 10 cm. W. 2.5 cm.
7. Iron sickle end with serrated edge. L. 13 cm. Blade 9.5 cm. W. 3 cm.
8. Arabic paper roll.
9. Base of porcelain willow-pattern cup with Chinese monogram on outside.
10. Small wrought iron object 8 cm. long belonging to firearm.
11. Numerous fragments of Arabic paper.

b. The magazines

12. Small circular bundle of cloth 4 cm. diameter containing brown dye (?) and an iron arrow head.
13. Iron hoe. L. 19 cm. W. 7 cm.
14. Iron axe-head. L. 12 cm. Blade 8 cm.
15. A thong whip.
16. Part of a small wooden yoke.
17. Tent-peg.
18. A pointed leather cap.
19. Round wicker baskets.

- 20. Wooden key.
- 21. Ostrakon: base of pot marked.

The Christian houses

Houses (Houses i and ii) above podium enclosure

- 22. Triangular-shaped pottery stamp with Maltese-type cross on base. Diameter at base 5 cm. Height, 4.5 cm.
- 23. Small rectangular glass bottle of greenish glass; nozzle slightly everted. Flat base L. 7.75 cm. Diameter 2 cm.
- 24. Blue glass bead.
- 25. Wooden key, 29 cm. long with three notches, top moulded. Piece of greenish cord still attached (found in fall level of house on west side of podium).
- 26. Wooden key with cross design on handle.
- 27. Another similar without cross.
- 28. Wrought iron pin. L. 14.1 cm. W. 0.3 cm. Linear decoration on stem.
- 29. Child's leather sandal.
- 30. Associated with infant burial, a string of three tiny beads and a white shell.
- 31. A pendant. Small triangular bronze pendant attached to ring with iron stud in centre. L. 14.5 cm. W. 1.7 cm.
- 32. A small bronze patera. L. 19.50 cm. W. of pan 11 cm. L. of handle 9 cm. W. 2 cm. Ring base and ring at top of handle (used as a measure?). For parallel, see L. P. Kirwan, *Firkas*, 31 and pl. VIII, 2, from 'A' Cemetery.
- 33. Wooden weaving-comb, with five prongs, 7 cm. long. Over-all L. 18.5 cm. W. 8.5 cm. Handle L. 7.5 cm. W. 5 cm.
- 34. Multicoloured bead. Blue base with orange/yellow and red thread pattern. Lozenge-shaped. L. 1.5 cm. W. 1.4 cm.
- 35. Christian brooch made of clay. Rounded at ends and divided in centre by horizontal groove. Grey base decorated with red and white painted blobs. Cross on reverse side. L. 6.50 cm. W. 6.00 cm.

House iii to rear of podium enclosure

- 36. Wooden comb, two-sided, with mesh closer on one side than other. Divide decorated by circle and dot impress. L. 5.00 cm. W. 8.5 cm.
- 37. Two small yellow glass beads.

House iv

- 38. Small cylindrical seal, L. 1.50 cm. W. 0.50 cm. Impress of cross flanked by dots.
- 39. Blade and iron handle of small knife, L. 7.3 cm. Blade triangular in shape.
- 40. Glass counter 2.4 cm. in diameter and 1.2 cm. thick. Perforated in middle; made of black and green glass composition.

House v

- 41. Stone stamp (bread stamp?). Rectangular in shape. L. 4.20 cm. W. 3.15 cm. On underside cross picked out in red dye.
- 42. Sandstone seal with cross motif on base. L. 6.5 m. W. 3 cm.
- 43. Clay saucer lamp, 8.2 cm. diameter.
- 44. Sandstone counter, or seal with cross on base, 2.1 cm. diameter.

Above podium floor

45. Bronze patera, L. 28 cm. W. 16 cm. Handle decorated with hemispherical blobs enclosing figure of god (Pan?). Compare W. B. Emery and L. B. Kirwan, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (Cairo, 1938), II, pl. 81, A-D.
- 45a. Fragment of top part of decorated Meroitic window frame cut from gypsum block, L. 31 cm. thickness 4 cm. (see pl. XI, 2).

Area west of podium

46. Overlying chippings in foundation trench of podium. Clay bread stamp, L. 6.5 cm. W. 4.2 cm.; 2.4 cm. thick. On flat surface three lines of letters 0.9 cm. high. $\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$

$\pi\rho\omega\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$
 $\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$

The owner's name was possibly Elias, but the meaning of the upper lines is obscure.

47. Same position. Wooden chisel, L. 23.5 cm. W. 2 cm. head 8 cm. \times 3.5 cm.
48. With storage pots, linen folder containing two letters in Nubian written on paper folded together.
49. Clearing area on line of west parapet, low down in loose deposit, fragment of the pointed end of a leather sheath. Early Christian. Richly decorated with linear decoration featuring a Maltese cross in centre (pl. XI, 3).

Stairway area on east side of podium

50. Some small fragments of Arabic paper in deep Bosnian deposit above stairway.

APPENDIX II

Graffiti

Apart from the foot symbols incised into the pavement of the podium, graffiti were found on the flat surface of the podium parapet and on the south face.

The balustrade

- a. A fish. L. 12.50 \times 5.50 cm. facing north-east.
- b. Hour glass. L. 7.50 cm. W. 3.50 cm.
- c. Two phallic symbols.
- d. A foot symbol. L. 18 cm. W. 8 cm. pointing north.
- e. Another similar.

On façade of podium

Two Nubian crosses surmounted by a penthouse roof.

On north face of central pier of parapet just below *cavetto* ridge (letters 2.9 cm. high, and clearly cut). ΠΑΠΕΦΑΣ ΙΦΓ . . ΚΝΕ(?)ΦΣΤΟΥ

On bevel of parapet facing into enclosure (letters 3.5 cm. high). ΠΛΟΦΑΣ

APPENDIX III

The pottery from the podium area

A considerable amount of pottery was found, in particular from the ruin of the Christian houses. This pottery dates to the classical period of medieval Christian Nubia c. A.D. 1000–1100, suggesting that the temple forecourt remained an open space until that

period. The hard compact layer of green clay which overlay the flagstones must have been the surface for much of the period between the temple's disuse and the construction of the first Christian houses on the site.

The description has been arranged from the topmost, Bosnian layers downwards. The basic reference works are W. Y. Adams 'An Introductory Classification of Christian Nubian Pottery', *Kush* 10 (1962), 245-88,¹⁹ and 'The Evolution of Christian Nubian Pottery', in (ed.) E. Dinkler, *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit* (Recklinghausen 1970), 111-23, supplemented for parallels by P. L. Shinnie and H. N. Chittick, 'Ghazali: A Monastery in Northern Sudan' (Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers 5, 1961), and the valuable pottery section in F. J. Presedo Velo, 'El Poblado cristiano de la isla de Abkanarti' (Comite espanol de la UNESCO para Nubia, Memorias de la Mision arqueologica VII, Madrid, 1965).

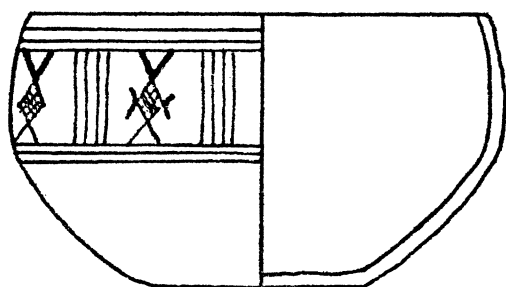


FIG. 5. Brown painted ware (Bosnian).

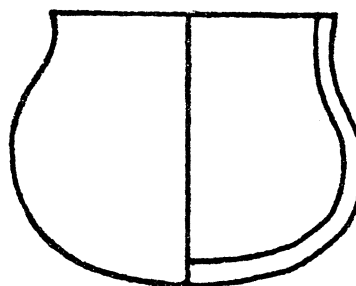


FIG. 6. Brown ware (Bosnian).

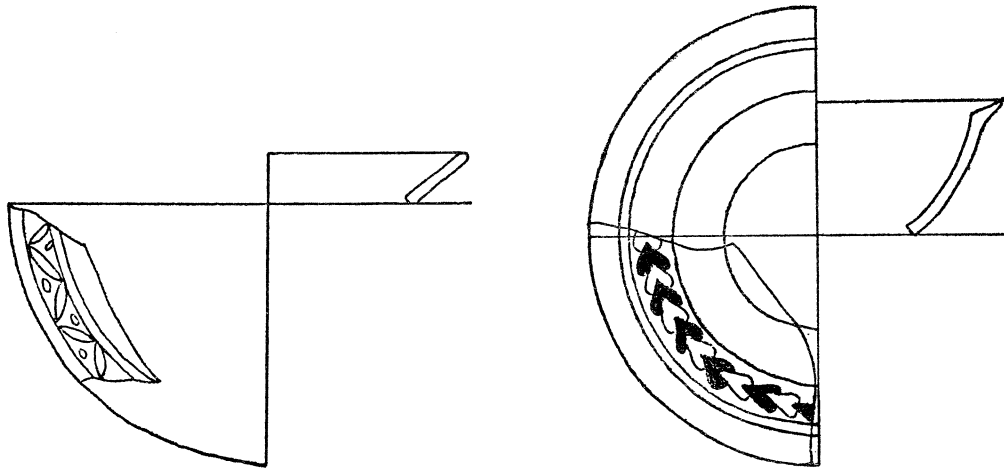
a. The floors of the Bosnian dwellings

- a. Six large hand-made earthenware pots and fragments of others, bulbous in shape with smallish mouth. Height 60-5 cm.; width, 30-5 cm. Associated with Arabic paper dated A.H. 1189 (= A.D. 1760). Probably in use at the time of the abandonment of the site. Similar pots were found in post-Christian occupation layers of the church (not illustrated).
 - b. Cylindrical storage pots of grey-green earthenware. H. 1.00-1.20 m. W. at base 34-6 cm., tapering to 23-5 cm. at top. Often with cordon decoration 5 to 7 cm. below rim. Pots of exactly similar type were found in a Late-Nubian storage deposit near the wall just to the west of the podium (see above, p. 46) and were in use in Aniba at the time of the 1963-4 expedition. They illustrate the cultural continuity between mediaeval and modern Nubia across the Christian and Moslem periods.
 - c. Bowl hand-made and straight-sided with carination towards flat base. Zone of linear geometric pattern below line of rim (fig. 5).
 - d. Cooking-pot, small straight-sided and bulbous pot. Hand-made with rounded base (fig. 6).
- Imported pottery included a fragment of a base of Chinese willow pattern (see above p. 33).

b. Floor of Nubian watchtower

- a. Fragment of bowl with flat, out-turned rim and hard orange fabric. Geometric designs incised on yellow glaze on outer face of rim. Moslem imported ware (fig. 7).

¹⁹ This valuable work has been consulted but Adams's terminology and classifications have not been followed in all cases.



FIGS. 7 and 8. Brown on yellow glazed ware (Late Nubian).

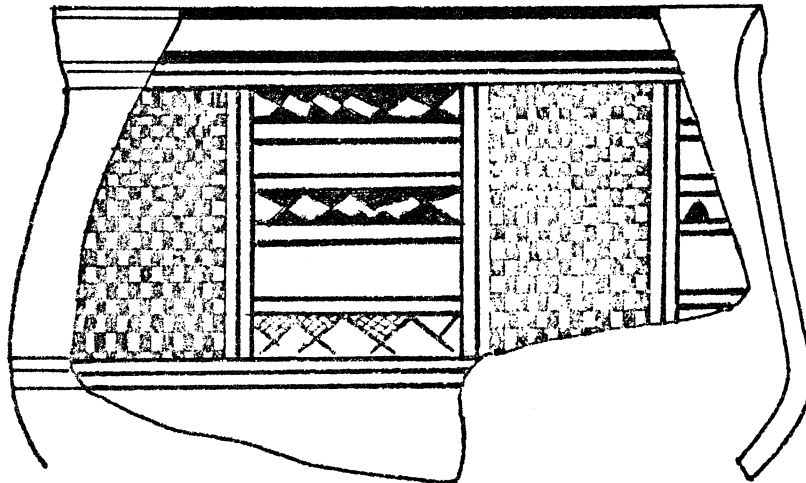


FIG. 9. Coarse, painted black on red.

- b.* Fragment of shallow Late-Nubian bowl of orange fabric and slip and elaborate design on outer face of rim. Similar type found in west crypt of Church (cf. Adams, Group A. ix) (fig. 8).
- c.* Top of large hand-made cooking-pot with slightly everted rim. Elaborate geometric decoration in panels of alternate linear and chequer-board motif in space below rim (fig. 9). (Cf. F. J. Presedo Velo, *Antiquedades cristianas de la isla de Kasar-Ico* (Madrid, 1963), 49, and fig. 9, no. 10.)
- d.* Group of wheel-turned shallow bowls of brick-red ware and dishes with internal painting of curvilinear designs executed in brown paint.
- e.* Vase of whitish fabric with pedestal base and straight-sided rim with filter at neck. (Cf. K. Michalowski, *Faras* (1961), 122, 167-8, and pls. 115 and 116, for similar vases from a late funerary chapel.)²⁰
- f.* Cooking-pot of hard, brown fabric, cordon below rim and twisted cable type handle.
- g.* Fragment of heavily rilled amphora of light-brown fabric (pl. XI, 4).

²⁰ For a date after Bishop Tamar (d. 1181) see K. Michalowski, 'Polish Excavations at Faras, 1962-63', *Kush* 12 (1964), 205-6.

c. Pottery from other Late-Nubian levels

This pottery came mainly from the level below the Bosnian house on the west side of the podium area.

- a. Straight-sided vase of whitish ware with shallow grooves round rim. Fine naturalistic design painted on body representing vines and grapes. On inside of base elaborate painted emblem of Maltese cross in circular frame and outer decorative zone of cross hatching. Compare similar vase from the Late-Nubian house (pl. XII, 1).
- b. Fragment of side of cooking-pot of orange fabric with heart-shaped ornamentation incised on exterior.
- c. Fragment of shallow bowl of hard red ware and red slip with representation of legs of man (?) painted in brown paint on base.
- d. Similar vessel with interlaced equal-armed cross in black paint base.
- e. Fragment of bowl with floral design painted below rim in brown paint on yellow slip.
- f. Fragment of bowl of dark-red ware and red slip with floral painted design below rim in brown paint.
- g. Small fragment of rim of bowl with geometric hatching painted in brown on buff slip.
- h. Group including fragments of three imported Moslem Fayûmi bowls (pl. XII, 2).
- i. Handled flagon with straight-sided rim and hard brown fabric. No decoration.
- j. Group of undecorated cooking-bowl of types similar to those found on domestic level of the site.
- k. Large cooking-pot of hard, black ware with slightly out-turned rim and pronounced bosses at shoulder. Flat undifferentiated base.
- l. Bowl straight sided, with curvilinear decoration in brown paint on inside.
- m. Saucer lamps, compare Michalowski, *Faras* (1961), pl. 110.

d. Pottery cache below foundations of magazine wall at north end of site

(See above p. 42 and pl. IX, 2)

- a. Fine *tazza*-shaped vase wheel-turned and with straight-sided rim and deep pedestal base, H. 13.5 cm., W. at top, 20 cm. Dark-green glaze internally, dull yellow glaze externally. Inscription in Arabic engraved in intricate designs on glazed surface inside the vase = Fayûmi imported ware c. A.D. 1150. (Corresponds to Adams, G. ii) (fig. 10).
- b. Similar smaller vase with dull yellow glaze internal and external.
- c. Shallow bowl of hard red ware with shallow pedestal base, H. 14.5 m., W. at top, 22 cm. Elaborate internal radial pattern decoration in red paint on orange slip featuring a four-pointed star crossed by equal-armed cross (fig. 11). Cf. G. S. Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, pl. 19c (from Faras).

e. From floor of magazine in north section of the excavation

- a. Small bulbous beaker, hard whitish fabric painted in parallel black lines enclosing zigzag decoration around neck. Black linear design on lower part of body. Cf. Adams, N. vi.
- b. Fragment of jar of hard red fabric and red slip; straight-sided rim cut by two parallel grooves below which is a painted geometric design in panels on body of pot.
- c. Small fragment of jar with geometric design in panels on body of pot, painted in black on red slip.
- d. Group of fragments of cooking-pots with geometric painted design on exterior.

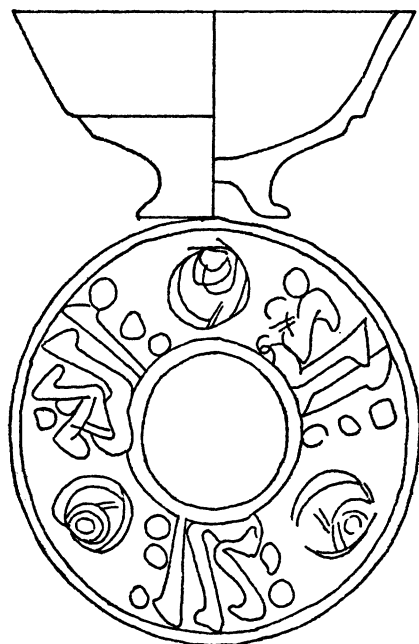


FIG. 10. Islamic glazed.

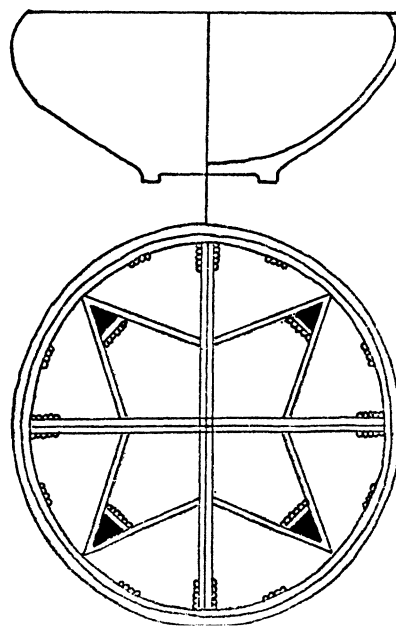


FIG. 11. Decoration in red paint on orange.

f. Christian house interrupting magazine walls on north side of site (House iii)

This represents the latest level of domestic occupation on the podium site.

- a.* Base of bowl of pinkish fabric and white slip. Elaborate painted decoration on inside of base featuring Maltese cross and stylized olive (?) branch; body with geometric designs (= pl. XII, 3, cf. pl. XII, 1).
- b.* Jar of same fabric with ridge below straight-sided rim. Exterior of body decorated with elaborate floral designs divided into panels. Cf. Shinnie and Chittick, *op. cit.*, 43, fig. 13. H. 2 and 3, and J. Presedo Velo, 'Abkanarti', figs. 53-4.
- c.* Cooking-pot of hard brick-red fabric with out-turned rim below which is a zone of curvilinear decoration painted in dark brown (pl. XII, 4).

g. Remains of earlier Christian houses on north section of site

Much worn Christian pottery was found similar to that found in the bins in front of the house wall.

Recorded fragments:

- a.* Fragment of cooking-pot of red embossed ware. Impressed designs represent Maltese cross and zoomorphic designs (cf. Shinnie and Chittick, *op. cit.*, 62, fig. 31).
- b.* Small fragment of rim of straight-sided dish of red fabric with red slip. Painted frieze of stylised petal design in black below rim on interior. Rivet hole for repair survives.
- c.* Handled jug of hard brick fabric and ring handle below out-turned rim. Traces of zone of painted decoration of geometric designs below rim.
- d.* Cooking-pot of type similar to that of pl. XII, 4 with additional painted curvilinear decoration on body.
- e.* Group of fragments of bowls and dishes.

h. Level between bottom of magazine walls and top of walls of main level of Christian house

Perhaps squatter occupation (above, p. 36).

- a. Fragment of dish of hard red ware with red slip on which had been painted a zoomorphic design (dolphin?) in black on interior.
- b. Fragment of side of bowl of brick-red fabric and red slip showing part of vertical floral (?) decoration in deep brown paint. Graffito X scratched nearby.
- c. Delicately shaped dish of orange-brown paste and slightly out-turned rim. Punch marks on side. Interior decorated with geometric design featuring diamond enclosing hatched symbol.

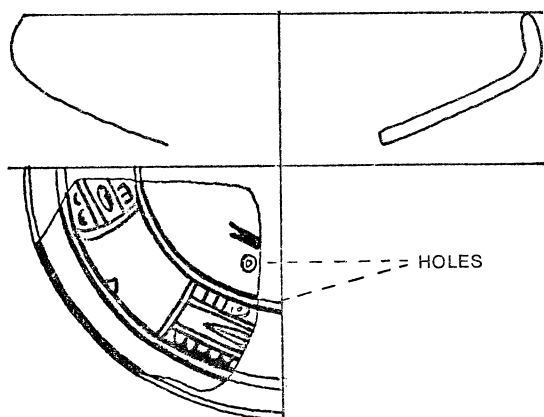


FIG. 12. Bowl with holes for rivets. Interior decoration is black and yellow on orange.

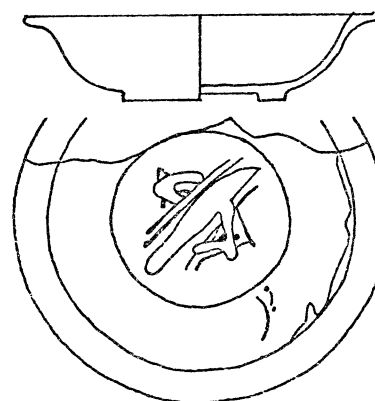


FIG. 13. Bowl in yellow slip with brown and orange emblem of stylized phoenix (?).

i. Ruin of houses over south section of podium

This represented the main area of domestic occupation on the site.

- a. Bowl of rose-orange ware with straight-sided rim and ring-footed base. Orange slip. Painted frieze on inside just below level of rim in black and red. Dot and zigzag decoration between parallel lines. Rosette (?) stamped on interior of base. Cf. J. Presedo Velo, 'Abkanarti', fig. 10/1.
- b. Bowl with straight-sided rim and strongly marked carination below rim (fig. 12). Interior richly decorated in black and orange stylized figures arranged in panels. Clearly a prized possession as repairs had been effected when in use by riveting. Cf. Shinnie and Chittick, *op. cit.*, Type c. 5, and J. Presedo Velo, 'Abkanarti', fig. 15. Other instances of cooking-pots being roughly riveted or held together by twine were found on the same level.
- c. Bowl with flat ledge type rim and ring foot, yellow slip with brown and orange emblem of stylized phoenix (?) on interior of base (fig. 13). Shinnie and Chittick, *op. cit.*, Type A. 2.
- d. Additional group of sherds of painted and stamped pottery.
- e. Further similar groups. Large undecorated cooking-bowl of hard brick-red fabric and ring-footed base.
- f. Another similar bowl with cordoned rim.
- g. Cooking-pot of light buff plain ware with smooth sides and straight rim and rounded base. Cf. F. J. Presedo Velo, 'Abkanarti', fig. 33. 1.

- h.* Fragments of *doka*, large coarse-grained vessel for making bread. Stamped on interior with elaborate Latin-type cross; and a cross has been incised on the base (pl. XII, 5).
- i.* Cooking-pot of hard brown ware, straight-sided rim with ribbing below rim level on exterior and flat thumb-impressed handle. Another of similar type.
- j.* Group of cooking-pot fragments; one showing curvilinear decoration in brown with white blobs on exterior.
- k.* Small straight-sided vase sharply carinated with ring base. Exterior ornamented with elaborate 'wood chip' incised decoration arranged in panels (fig. 14).

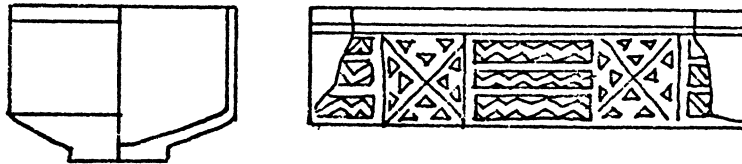


FIG. 14. Vase with incised decoration in panels.

- l.* Group of fragments of kitchen ware including strainers and flagons.
- m.* Group of fragments of imported Fayûmi ware dishes of sandy yellow fabric with heavy circular blotches on yellow glazed interior. Others with white glaze and green blotches. (Adams, G. 1, probably eleventh century.)
- n.* Fragment of bowl hard red ware with dark-brown painted decoration in parallel bands below the rim.
- o.* Fragments of cooking-pots of dark-red fabric and shallow ribbing on sides. Shallow bowl of hard red ware. Geometric design forming diamond in brown paint on interior.
- p.* Side of bowl of hard white fabric and flat moulded ledge rim with graffito of Coptic cross marked on the side. Base of similar bowl with similar graffito on exterior of base (not illustrated).
- q.* Fragments of amphorae of dark brick fabric showing rouletting on their sides.
- r.* Large platters of pinkish-white ware, decorated externally with incised heart-shaped ornamentation and scratched with the owner's (?) X.
- s.* Base of cooking-pot showing repair with twine through rivets.
- t.* Straight-sided dish with grooved rim. Vertical geometric designs in black paint on exterior.
- u.* Three small saucer lamps similar to examples found in eleventh-century settings at Faras, and one with a raised thumb pinched interior.

j. Round bins adjoining north-east corner of Christian house over the podium.

A considerable number of sherds, some in a very worn condition, were found in the remains of these storage bins. Many fragments of hard red fabric.

- a.* Base of flat dish with elaborate curvilinear design painted in interior of base in brown on red slip. Emblem takes the form of an equal-armed curved and pointed cross inscribed in a circle set in an ornamental border (fig. 15).
- b.* Similar flat dish to above with interlacing design representing emblem in form of curvilinear St. Andrew's cross.
- c.* Large bowl of pinkish-white fabric. Sides decorated elaborately with a bold profusion of curvilinear designs of green, orange, and red colouring arranged in vertical panels. Cf. Shinnie and Chittick, op. cit., fig. 30, and F. J. Presedo Velo, 'Abkarnarti', fig. 53/10.

- d.* Fragments of dishes of hard red fabric (Shinnie and Chittick, Type A8), cooking-pots with ring-footed base (pl. XII, 6).
e. Similar fragments.

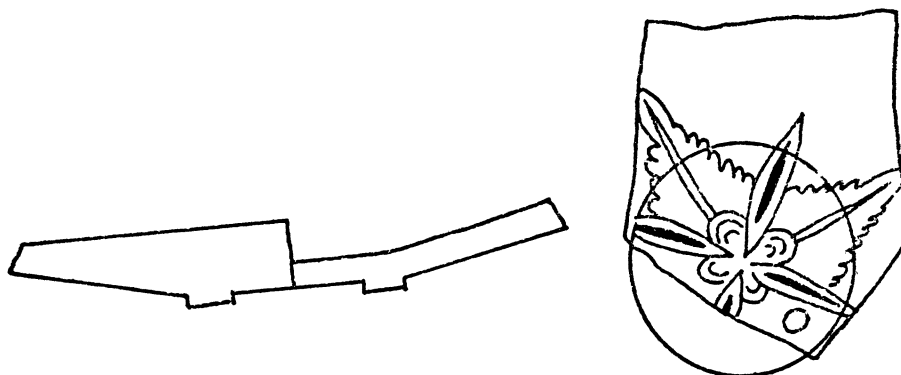


FIG. 15. Base of flat dish with emblem of curved and pointed cross.

k. From the hard green silt overlying floor of podium

- a.* Amphora fragment, side and nozzle dark-brown fabric, deeply corrugated.
b. Plates red ware with in-turned rims and red slip with geometric designs painted internally.
c. Fragment of straight-sided vase of pink fabric and whitish slip with elaborate curved alternate zigzag and egg-and-blob designs on exterior.
d. Fragments of dark-brown cooking-pot orange-brown fabric with out-turned rim and traces of incised and embossed decoration below rim including an equal-armed cross.
e. Dish with curved side, red fabric and lustre, no decoration.
f. Bowl, sharply carinated below rim. Black and red painted geometric design on orange slip.
g. Fragment of shallow plate, red fabric with geometric designs in black paint on ledge of rim.
h. Bottom half of imported Aswân ribbed amphora, orange-brown fabric (Adams, A. ii U.2).
 The collection indicates an Early Christian horizon.

Note

The pottery drawings, which are one-quarter of the original size, are by Dr. Violet McDermott.

THE PITS OF FUSTĀT: PROBLEMS OF CHRONOLOGY¹

By GEORGE T. SCANLON

THE great medieval entrepôt of Fustât has a history stretching from its establishment as Egypt's camp-capital in 641-2 to its supposed destruction and/or abandonment in 1168-9. There was some subsequent resettling under Ayyubid *aegis*, but certainly in a more restricted context, as witness the closer confining of Saladin's wall.² The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were times of still greater contraction and the vast stretches of the abandoned city, already scavenged for building materials throughout the decline, presented little but a dereliction of rubbish mounds and scattered squatters' dwellings.³

Archaeologically one may establish the life of the city as between *c.* 700 and the usually accepted date of its supposed destruction, 1168. It grew from the original

¹ Our archaeological endeavour at Fustât has been most generously supported by grants from the Foreign Currency Program of the Smithsonian Institution, administered through the American Research Center in Egypt. Hard currency subsidization has been provided by Princeton University Art Museum, Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan, and the Corning Museum of Glass. An anonymous donor provided support in the name of the Akron Institute of Art. None of these institutions is responsible for the opinions herein expressed.

The following abbreviations are used for ease of reference, *JARCE* being the *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*. Unless otherwise noted, the present author is responsible for the material:

- FEPR* '64 'Preliminary Report: Excavations at Fustat', *JARCE* 4 (1965), 7-30.
FEPR '65-I 'Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report 1965. Part I', *JARCE* 5 (1966), 83-112.
FEPR '65-II 'Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report 1965. Part II', *JARCE* 6 (1967), 65-86.
FEPR '66 (with Wladyslaw Kubiak) 'Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report 1966', submitted for *JARCE* 9 (1972).
'Ancillary' 'Ancillary Dating Materials from Fustat', *Ars Orientalis* 7 (1968), 1-17.
'Egypt-China' 'Egypt and China: Trade and Imitation', *Islam and the Trade of the East*, ed. D. S. Richards (Oxford and Philadelphia, 1970), 81-96.
'Fatimid Filters' 'Fatimid Filters: Archaeology and Olmer's Typology', *Annales Islamologiques* 9 (1970), 37-64.
Fouilles Aly Bahgat and Albert Gabriel, *Les Fouilles d'al Foustat* (Paris, 1921).
'Fustat-Arts' 'Fustat and the Arts of Egypt', *Archaeology*, 21 nr. 3 (June, 1968), 188-95.
Olmer Pierre Olmer, *Les Filtres des gargouillettes* (Cairo, 1932).
'Reconsiderations' 'Fustat: Archaeological Reconsiderations', *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on the History of Fustat* (Cairo, 1972), 415-28.
'Shard Count '68' 'The Fustat Mounds: A Shard Count 1968', *Archaeology*, 24 nr. 3 (June 1971), 220-33.

² *Fouilles* (Paris, 1921), figs. 2, 3, and 69; pl. XIV; pp. 13 ff. and 117 ff.

³ A short guide to the history of the site can be found in *FEPR* '64 7 ff., with necessary bibliography cited in n. 1 therein. The utility of the mounds in contributing to the history of Cairo subsequent to the contraction and abandonment of Fustât is analysed in 'Shard Count '68'.

khittahs assigned by the conqueror to his tribal cohorts, to become intertwined with the Abbasid quarter of al-Askar. Soon this agglomeration found itself writhing northward to join Ibn Ṭūlūn's sprawling quarter of al-Qata'i, whose far northern point may be taken as his cathedral mosque, established in 879. Finally in 969 the new conquerors founded the Fāṭimid royal quarter of al-Qahirah, a mile or so to the north of the now conjoined Fustāṭ *khittahs*—Abbasid al-Askar—Ṭūlūnid al-Qata'i. At the end of the eleventh century, when al-Qahirah was protected with its massively beautiful stone walls, the capital of Egypt ran along a populated north-south axis connecting the mosque of 'Amr with that of al-Ḥākim, of about five miles.

This teeming city was reared on an undulant shelf of sand-limestone *gebel* proceeding from the Muqaṭṭam hills to the eastern bank of the Nile. Two distinctions attended because of this: all foundations, whether original or reincorporated, rested on the *gebel*, and the surface of the *gebel* was but rarely smoothed to achieve even foundations. Hence in profile the city was one of 'wavy' heights, and all domestic and streetfills were of varying depth. Further, the hydraulic and sanitation systems depended on the manipulation of this *gebel*. Storage- and cess-pits, connecting canals and sumps, had to be hewn into and/or through the *gebel*, and their placement *vis-à-vis* the streets and the complex housing entities help us determine the ground-plan of the latter.

Another aspect of the ingenuity of the Fustāṭ builder was the uses to which he put the quarried stone exhumed from these depressions. They provided him with columns and piers for ornamental use and, when ensheathed within the brick masonry, to strengthen key points of walls to allow greater heights of buildings; dressed and undressed boulders for foundation courses; plaquing for flooring; steps and latrines; decorative insets and stamps (pl. XIV, 1-3); Coptic bread moulds (pl. XIV, 4); and coverings of the canals in the form of dressed plaques or half-colonettes.⁴ Sometimes the quarried rock was sculpted into figurines or toys (pl. XIV, 5) or into household utensils such as ewers (pl. XIV, 6) or the bases of *zirs* (pl. XIV, 7). Since nothing could be wasted, the entail from each pit or canal or 'gouging' was crushed and used as street fill or fill beneath paving (in both instances commonly referred to as *dakkah*).⁵ This method and utility obtained from the seventh through the eleventh century.

Because of the sheer size of the site and the exigencies of squatters, scavengers, and seekers of nitrogenous refuse (*sebakh*), it is well-nigh impossible to be clever in excavating Fustāṭ. But a careful cleaning and analysis of the undisturbed remains beneath the mounds does yield valuable data in drawing chronological conclusions. The stratigraphical analysis of streets, exposed differences of architectural methods, examination of the contents of pits and canals, and a random investigation of flooring fills, when *in situ* and undisturbed, have yielded reasonably secure dating both for architecture and

⁴ For the utility in the masonry of the building see: *Fouilles*, pls. IX, XV, and XVI; *FEPR* '64, pls. II-VII; *FEPR* '65-I, pls. XXIX-1 (for the undulance of the *gebel*), XXXII-13 and XXIII; id., *FEPR* '65-II, pls. I, III-b, VI-a, VII-b and c, VII-b and c, and X-d. The impressive size of these canal coverings can be seen in figs. 1 and 3 herein. These dressed spars cover a canal hewn 2.5 m. into the *gebel* from pit V to pit I to which pit U, to be discussed, is also *en système*; see fig. 2 herein.

⁵ Cf. *FEPR* '64, pl. III-6 and 7; *FEPR* '65-I, pl. XXXIV-16; *FEPR* '65-II, pl. VII; *FEPR* '66, section A-(1) 'Thoroughfares', *passim*, and pl. II-b and figs. 6 and 21.

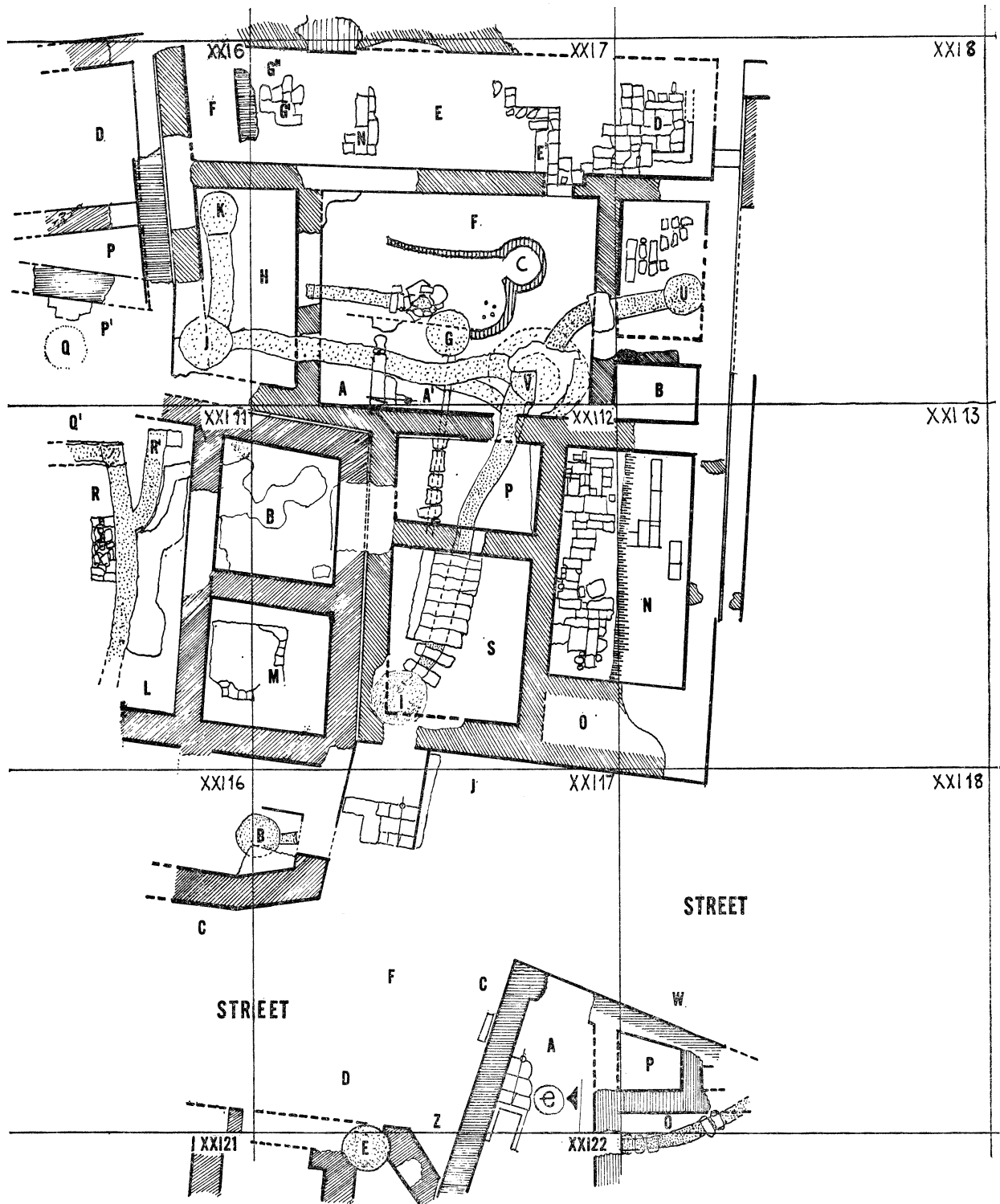


FIG. 1. Plan of remains of building containing Pits K (XXI-6) and U (XXI-8).

artifacts. Further, the cross-referencing of the fills of relatively comparable entities assists in assessing an all-over chronological reality for the site.⁶

The contents of the pits are particularly pertinent in illustrating and proving two phenomena of chronological significance: (a) the presence of a *kharab*, an abandoned or ruined area (which may or may not be a total domicile) and its approximate date; and (b) rebuilding on earlier foundations or the incorporation of older elements, an 'enthroning' process, in a newer, larger complex.⁷ The latter would involve the estoppage of pits and canals, or cleaning them entirely and restructuring somewhat the attendant canalization, which would put their later fill at chronological variance with the architectural evidence. Indeed the 'covering over' or reutilization of the sanitary and hydraulic systems are more often than not the architectural key to the enlargement or 'enthroning'.

It is no less desirable here to point out the purposes of these pits, and how complex this question can become. The following generalizations as adduced from recent excavations are put forward most tentatively:

- a. If the pit is brick-lined and/or plastered, and has neither canal nor gutter attendant, it can be considered a cache for drinking water. (Cf. *FEPR* '64, pl. IX-22; *FEPR* '65-II, pl. IV-b.)
- b. If the pit is unbricked and unplastered with neither canal nor gutter attendant, and if it is within the household and distinct from any thoroughfare, it is the water-hold related to the domestic necessities, cooking, cleaning, toilets, etc. (Pit in the centre of pl. XV, 1 which is G (XI-12) in figs. 4-5).
- c. If the pit is unlined, is attendant to a thoroughfare, but has neither gutter nor canal attendant, and does not service any flue from upper-storey latrines, then it is a general water-hold for the domicile serviced from the street. (Cf. *FEPR* '66, pl. III-c.)
- d. If the pit abuts a thoroughfare and has a gutter or canal attending it, or if it simply services a flue from above but is accessible for cleaning from the street, it is part of the sanitation system.
- e. If a pit and/or sump be provenly beneath paving, servicing flues from above, and *en système* through canalization with a pit periodically cleaned from the street, then all such pits, sumps, and canals are part of the sanitation system of the domicile. (Thus pit U and the systems K-J-G-V and U-V which together connected with pit I which was attendant to the street; see Figs. 1 and 2.)⁸

⁶ This approach is argued on significant but perforce adumbrated evidence in 'Reconsiderations'; Wladyslaw Kubiak, 'The Streets of Medieval Fustat', *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Town Planning*; and *FEPR* '66, sections A-(1) and (2). A most important intimation of this methodological relevance is to be found in *FEPR* '65-I, section II. It is both fair and wise to compare Bahgat's dating sequence, *Fouilles*, chap. VIII.

⁷ *Fouilles*, 24 f.; *FEPR* '64, 13-16 (particularly where Creswell's categorical statement, '... no case has been found of a house built on the debris of another . . .', is gainsaid, and has been in the five seasons of excavation by ARCE), and 20-3; *FEPR* '65-I, 87-100; *FEPR* '66, sections A-(3) and B; and 'Reconsiderations', *passim*.

⁸ Cf. George T. Scanlon, 'Housing and Sanitation: some aspects of Medieval Islamic public services', *The Islamic City*, eds. S. M. Stern and A. H. Hourani (Oxford, 1969), 185-94, particularly Plan II. These matters are inadequately considered by Bahgat and the drawings say nothing of the depth or contours of the pits, *Fouilles*, 94-103.

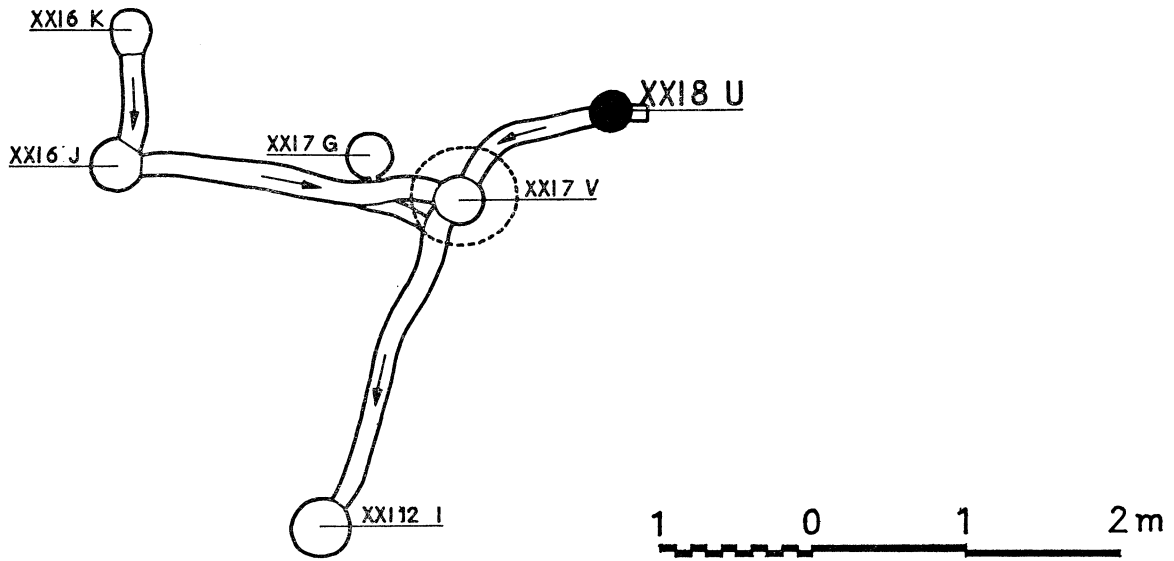


FIG. 2. Plan of the canalization system in Fig. 1.

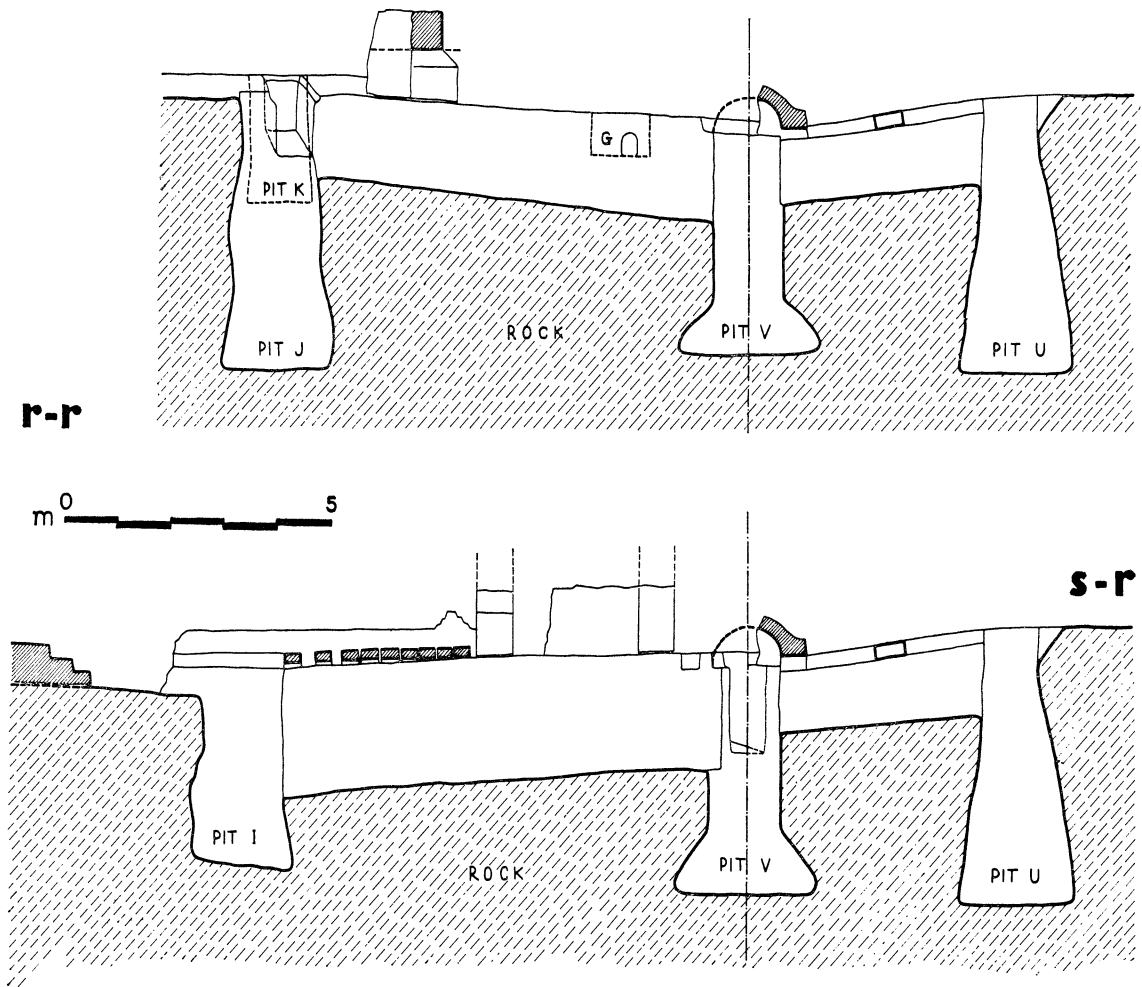


FIG. 3. Sections of canalization systems in Figs. 1 and 2.

It is our purpose here to analyse a series of pits excavated in 1968. However, in the preceding two seasons we were fortunate in the number of undisturbed pits which were high enough on the upward slant of the *gebel* to allow us to excavate to their full depths. (Cf. *FEPR* '64, *passim*, where the very low water table made such excavation impossible. No doubt this same situation obtained during Bahgat's excavations which were immediately to the south and east of the area worked by us in 1964.) The shapes of three of these pits have been published to date (those designated B (XVI'-5 *vice* XVI-1') (*FEPR* '65-I, 103-6 and *id.*, 'Fustat-Arts' 191); K (XVI-6) (*FEPR* '65-I, 98-100); and N (XI-24/XVI-4) (*FEPR* '65-II, 68 f.). The mid- to late-eighth-century utility of the first was corroborated by two pits excavated in 1966 (C in XI'-20 and A in XVI'-5), and attendant to the same street as B.⁹ The correlation of fills which permitted the cross-dating of fills of differently placed pits [through which the eleventh-century fill of pit K (noted above), including three glass weights, one of al-Ḥâkim (996-1020) and two of al-Mustanşir (1035-94), was used to date the undisturbed and similar fills of other pits¹⁰] was duplicated in 1966 when pit C, which contained a glass coin weight of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdi (775-85), was invoked to date three other undisturbed pits, one of which, F (XI'-12/17), is particularly pertinent to our consideration of the date of pit G in XI'-12, less than 5 m. distant (see pl. XV, 1 where it can be seen midway on the right edge of the photo, and fig. 4).

Pit U (XXI-8)

Fig. 1 is a plan of what lay beneath the very high mounds dividing the two parts of Fuṣṭât-B excavated in '65 and '66. Two features proved especially interesting and important: the street which now established the ensemble to north and south, and whose stratigraphical cuts proved its existence in the seventh-eighth century; and the very intricate and deeply hewn canalization system to be seen in figs. 2 and 3. The contents of the pits and the artifacts from associated areas demonstrate most tentatively how a chronological profile can be constructed for Fuṣṭât.

Pit K (XXI-6, see figs. 1-3) was app. 2.4 m. deep and its fill was entirely undisturbed and uniform. In the absence of coins or glass weights it is impossible to determine whether the fill straddles the late eighth and early ninth century, or is to be considered entirely of the latter century. The neck of a whitish buff-ware vessel with an incised design external (pl. XV, 2) is of the same clay as the one-handled water-jug (pl. XV, 3) and the neck of a vessel, whose handle has a finial and which is incised externally with two bands of pseudo-Kufic (fig. 6). The latter objects also have traces of filters, which have since been lost, but which were placed above the mid-point of the vessel: a combination of material, shape, and decoration which we have come to associate with the ninth century.¹¹

⁹ *FEPR* '66, section A-(1), *passim*.

¹⁰ *FEPR* '65-II, pp. 83 f.; and *id.* 'Fatimid Filters', 37-64.

¹¹ George T. Scanlon, 'Ancillary', 9-16. It is true that before 1968 we discovered no filter bottle with crowned handles, but this could be a means of deciding early- from late-ninth-century filters. As will be seen *infra*, the crowned handle was encountered quite often in 1968.

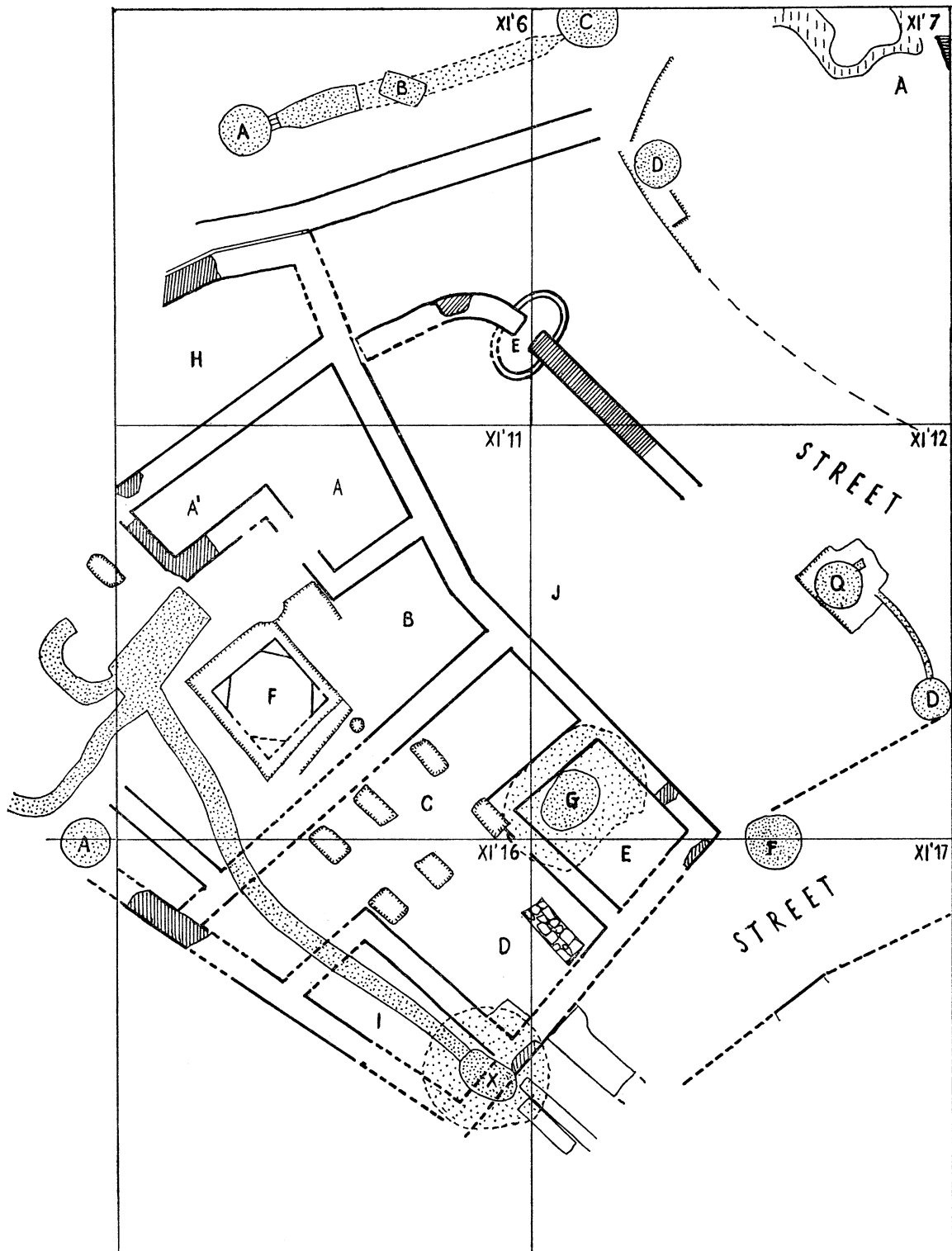


FIG. 4. Plan of building containing pit G (XI'-12).

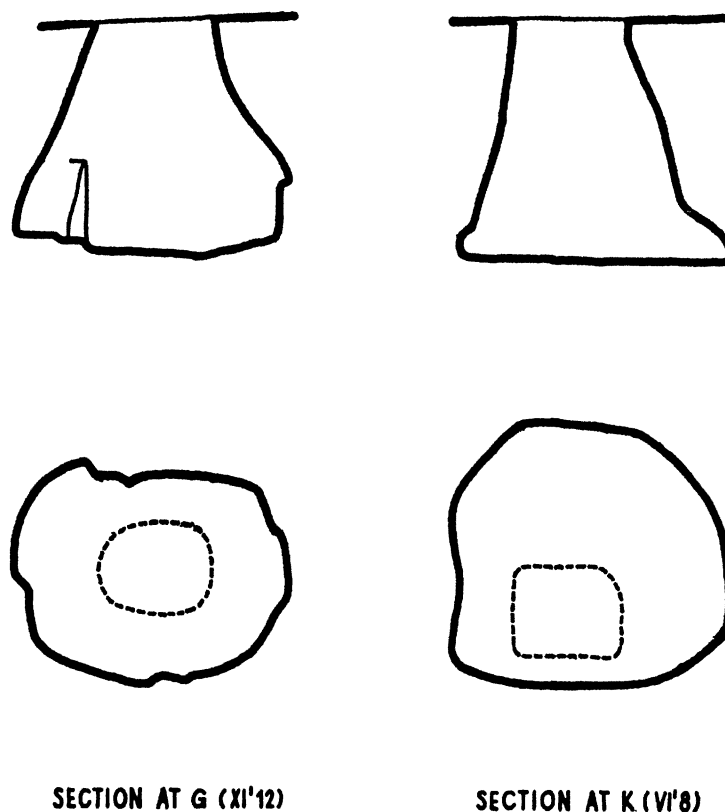


FIG. 5. Sections of pits G (XI'-12) and K (VI'-8).

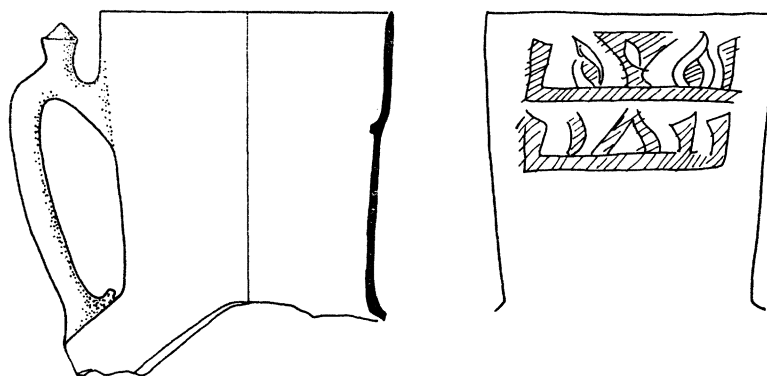


FIG. 6. Neck of buff-white ware water vessel; incised decoration external; traces filter *in situ*; from pit K (XXI-6). Scale 1 : 2.

However, the shape of the blue transparent glass vase (pl. XV, 4), with its bulging shoulder, short neck, outward foldover rim, and slightly dimpled bottom echoing as they do the characteristics of late Classical glassware,¹² seems more eighth century. The same would be true, too, of the very shallow light-red-ware food-bowl (pl. XV, 5)

¹² Cf. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser* (Berlin, 1929), II, Taf. 2-11.

and the very interesting filter bottle, with the simple strainer at the base of the neck (pl. XV, 6 and 7). Both were found intact, and the shape of the latter, with its wide flaring, lightly ribbed neck, broad shoulder, and tapering body is rarely encountered

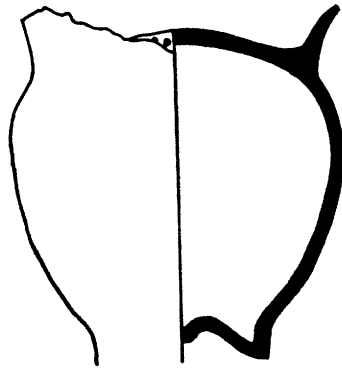
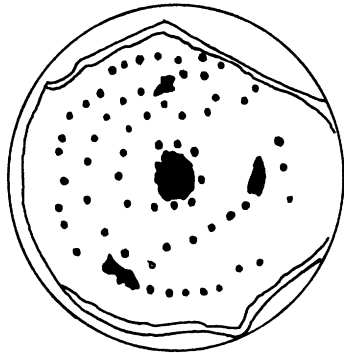


FIG. 7. Buff-brown ware water vessel, filter *in situ*; found in pit Q (XXI-6); see fig. 1.
Scale 1:2.

in Islamic Egypt after A.D. 800. Its clay, too, is distinct from that used in filter bottles after this date, in that it is of a light buff-brown ware and its light slip-wash turns brown-red. The clay and discoloration are exactly like those of the large filter found in pit B (XVI'-5) (*FEPR '65-I*, fig. 11 c) and hence can be dated relative to the contents of the latter.¹³

By appeal to pit Q in XXI-6 (see fig. 1) we can establish the same chronology and range of objects as we have for K. But this time the undisturbed fill contained two coins, both highly eroded but still decipherable: a 12-*noumia* Byzantine copper coin and one of the Mahfuz-Salih type (*c.* 802-3). It also contained a filter bottle of the same clay and discoloration as that of pl. XV, 6 and 7, with the sieve more randomly executed but still placed at the junction of shoulder and neck (see fig. 7); and matching fragments of a buff-white vessel with incised design about the neck and three handles, each with a double-crown finial (pl. XV, 9). Although this particular pit is not *en système* with pit K, it is sufficiently close (6 m.) to allow it a similar chronological context. Hence, together, these two pits would put the occupation of this particular area back to the late eighth century, if not before.

Pit J was partially disturbed and that part of the fill which by consistency did not appear so was made up of heterogenous red ware shards. The same held true for the canal connecting J and V. The latter was the central reality of the system, and had been vaulted, no doubt to provide a point of entrance from within the domicile, though there are not sufficient remains *in situ* to prove this (see pl. XVI, 1 and fig. 3). The upper two of its 4.5 m. depth appeared disturbed, but below the opposite was true. A typical tenth-eleventh-century red-ware jug, decorated at the shoulder with bands of black and white slip covering wavy incised striations, came out with its neck and handle missing, but narrow spout *in situ* (pl. XVI, 2). The missing parts can be seen in pl. XVI, 3, from an undeniably Fatimid context, pit K in VI'-8 (*infra* and figs. 5 and 11).

¹³ One must pause here to indicate how the evidence from pit B (XVI'-5) would put all of the contents of pit K (under discussion) in the late eighth century. Along with the large filter noted above, whose clay and discoloration are analogous to those of the filter bottle in pl. XV, 6 and 7, there were two ewers of exactly the same clay as encountered in the objects in pl. XXI, 3 and 4 and fig. 6, and both had an incised design about the neck and handles with crown finials. (One can be seen in pl. XV, 8, the other in *Fustat-Arts* 191.) Hence these two wares were made simultaneously in the eighth century, while only the latter seems to have continued as the *métier* for the better unglazed wares of the succeeding period.

Thus we have established the two termini of occupation: on the basis of pit K (and corroboration of pit Q), we posit a definite eighth–ninth-century dating; and, on the basis of the jug from the undisturbed parts of pit V, a tenth–eleventh-century utility. What of the period between? Most certain evidence came from the undisturbed fill of the canal between pits V and U (see pl. XVI, 1 and fig. 3), which contained four ninth–tenth-century filters; one, (fig. 8) with a design of highly stylized gazelle (?) within a field of hatching and slashes, being particularly significant in that it was placed along the length of the neck rather than in a convex position at the base as was the case with the other three.¹⁴

Pit U corroborated this entire dating range, from late eighth to the height of the eleventh century, which is something of an anomaly in the archaeology of the pits of Fustât. This can be seen first in the variety of filter fragments found in the first 3 m. (see pl. XVI, 4), but much more particularly from the range of materials found just below the 2·8-m. level, at which latter two glass weights, one of al-Ḥâkim and one of al-Mustansîr, were found.¹⁵

Between 2·8 and 4·2 m. a certain consistency in the fill was evident. Firstly there was a great amount of imitation porcelainous and tin-glazed Fayûmi wares, almost exactly analagous in shape and decoration to those found in the single-period fill of pit G (XI'–12, see figs. 4 and 5, pls. XVIII, 5–XIX, 6 and *infra*). In addition there came forth an excellent example of a 'Ṭûlûnid-transitional' filter (fig. 9), placed towards mid-way in the neck and with incised design external; fragments of the more typically Ṭûlûnid filters, and many buff-white fragments with incised decoration external; a large fragment of stucco decoration with typical Samarra-C abstract design (pl. XVI, 5); two fragments of Samarra lustre-ware; and a cut-glass molar kohl bottle (pl. XVI, 6), whose shape is reminiscent of examples of rock crystal. All of this material points to a ninth–tenth-century occupancy and/or utility.

But admixed with the above, at a level of app. 3·6 m., was an unglazed, stub-handled

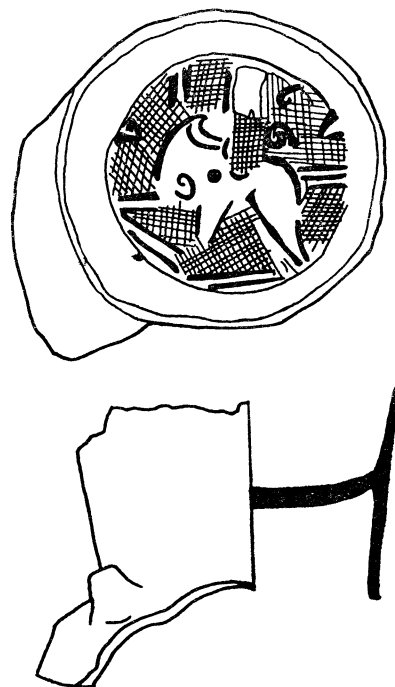


FIG. 8. Neck of buff-white ware water vessel; filter *in situ*; from canal between pits U and V; see fig. 3 and pl. XVI, 1. Scale 1:2.

¹⁴ All these filters are of buff-white ware, comparable to fig. 6 and pl. XV, 3 and 4. Fig. 8 herein is of the same type as pl. LVIII–E, in Olmer, except that in ours the head is missing; and the other three are comparable to Olmer's pl. LXXVIII–A and B. For a third example see *FEPR* '65–I, 97 f. and fig. 3 b, though here, unlike fig. 8 herein, the filter is placed at the bottom of the neck. The relevant dating techniques for these filters are described in 'Fatimid Filters', 39 f., and 'Ancillary', 9–16. By the terms of these techniques we may refer to fig. 8 as definitely Ṭûlûnid (ninth–tenth century) and the other three as 'continuing Ṭûlûnid' (tenth century).

¹⁵ The problem of the 'Coptic dolls' arises here once again (cf. 'Ancillary', 16 f.), since an example similar to fig. 3 d therein came out of this pit slightly *above* the glass weights, as did a bone toggle button. Another button was found at 3·7 m. and two more in the muddy bottom at 5·0 m. At 4·2 m. a very interesting carved bone chess-piece (see pl. XVI, 7) was found amid a plethora of imitation porcelain and Fayûmi shards.

lamp (XVI, 8) whose moulded decoration of naturalistic vine leaves is quite Coptic in feeling—an object whose shape and mode of decoration we have heretofore found associated with eighth–ninth-century reality.¹⁶ This lamp presaged the somewhat perplexing fill between 4.2 and the base of the pit. Here the excavation was particularly difficult since we encountered mud and muddy water, results of a rather high water table, which we had not encountered in the northern section of Fustât–B during 1965 and 1966, when, to be sure, we worked an area rather higher on the *gebel* shelf and excavated no pit deeper than 7 to 7.5 m. But, with a pulley-system, we managed to clean pit U to its 5.25 m. depth, and through successive sievings rescued whatever the depths contained.

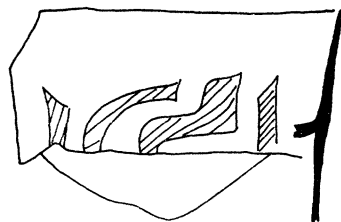


FIG. 9. Neck of buff-white ware water vessel; filter *in situ*, from pit U (XXI–8). Scale 1:2.

Generally the yields here were of the eighth–ninth century: footed red-ware chalices, schist, and small buff-grey ware crucibles for metallurgy;¹⁷ but, more to the point here, many fragments of early filter bottles with random punctures, made of the same clay and of the same shape as that found in pit K (XVI, 9). But that this type undergoes an interesting decorative development can be seen in pl. XVII, 1–3 where, in addition to the punctures, one sees a non-utilitarian design of pin-points. Thus these latter represent something of a thematic movement among the ‘classic’ eighth–ninth-century ordinary filters of the types seen in pls. XV, 6–7, XVII, 2, and fig. 7 herein, and *FEPR* ’66, fig. 13; a movement which parallels the development of more artistic designs, designs which constitute the filter, filters whose surfaces are slightly *etched*, to be seen in *FEPR* ’65–I, fig. 11 c and *FEPR* ’65–II, fig. 2 b. Both these movements culminate in the course of the ninth century in the more usual Ṭūlūnid filters, with their characteristic design and placement, and where the shape and clay of the bottle itself is so significantly different from those of the preceding period.¹⁸

From exactly the same context came a great deal of glass, particularly from the muddy sieve, some of whose metal, decoration, and shape would put them in the ninth–tenth century, hence later than the filters in pl. XVII, 1–3. Such certainly seems the case with the superb cup (fig. 10) with deep-cut and notched design;¹⁹ four additional fragments with relief-cut decoration; a flat-based kohl bottle with deep-cut geometric

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¹⁶ Cf. *FEPR* ’65–I, fig. 6 b and c; *FEPR* ’65–II, fig. 6 b; and *FEPR* ’66 figs. 2 and 23. For a differently argued and somewhat later chronology cf. Wladyslaw Kubiak, ‘Islamic Glazed Lamps from Fustat’, *Ars Orientalis*, 8 (1970), *passim*.

¹⁷ For the utility of the crucibles cf. *FEPR* ’65–II, 70 f. and pl. V a and c; for the chronological significance of schist cf. ‘Ancillary’, 5–9.

¹⁸ Again from the sieve from this level came another of the ubiquitous ‘Coptic dolls’.

¹⁹ This cup has been published in G. T. Scanlon, ‘A Note on Fatimid–Saljuq Trade’, *Islamic Civilization 950–1150*, ed. D. S. Richards (Oxford and Philadelphia, 1972). It is interesting to note that a very large bowl with the same mode of decoration and duplicating the ‘arrow-head’ motif of ours is in the British Museum and was purchased as coming from Persia, and dated ninth–tenth century.

design; fragments of a colourless shallow glass bowl with externally cut design of elliptical faceting on the shoulder and cruciform geometric motif on base; a deep bowl with mould-blown honeycomb decoration on shoulder and five-petalled rosette on base; fragments of a glass jar with cut design of six facets on neck, cut disc on flat bottom, single rib on shoulder and two around body (pl. XVII, 4); and fragments of a high, straight-shouldered glass beaker with an incised external design of loops and lacing

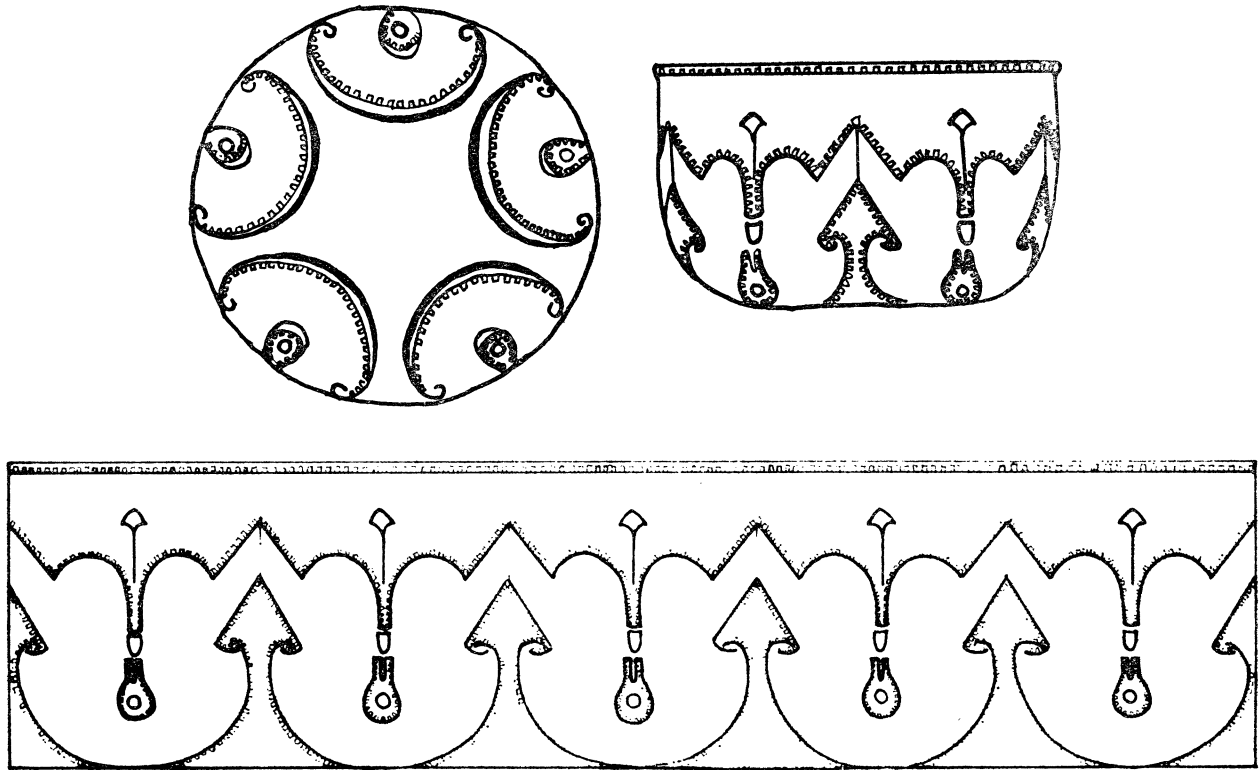


FIG. 10. Cut glass cup; from pit 11 (XXI-8).

triangles (pl. XVII, 5).²⁰ Yet, admixed with these were three almost complete and portions of four other shallow glass dishes of the same tint and shape as those found in pit B in 1965, wherein was found the lustre goblet and other dating addenda to allow a period from 750-88.²¹

This admixture in pit U is difficult to explain. Was the pit in continuous use from the late eighth century, and only partially cleaned and reused in the ninth-tenth? And what of the Fâtimid glass-weights? Do they point to continued utility and hence some

²⁰ All of the glass from this particular context will be studied and published in detail in a *Catalogue of Islamic Glass from Fustat*, being prepared by R. W. Pinder-Wilson and G. T. Scanlon. Further examples of the modes of decoration herein cited and suggested dating can be found in Prudence Oliver, 'Islamic Relief Cut Glass: A Suggested Chronology', *Journal of Glass Studies*, 3 (1961), 9-19; and C. J. Lamm, *op. cit.*, 8-15. It is to be noted that no fragment with tonged decoration, most frequently associated with Ṭulūnid find-spots, came forth from pit U.

²¹ Cf. *FEPR* '65-I, 104-6 and 'Fustat-Arts', 194, lower left photograph.

form of incorporation with the complex to the north?²² Or do they represent the debris scattered in the eleventh century amid the ruins of a domicile inhabited from the late eighth through the tenth century?²³ The terminal pit (I in XXI-12, see figs. 1-3) was entirely disturbed, filled as was no other pit or canal of the system with thirteenth-fifteenth-century artifacts, proof that it had been scavenged and refilled with the debris from the mounds.²⁴ However, the vast amount of red-ware found in the deep canal between V and I (see figs. 1 and 3) was all tenth-eleventh century, not a few of the type seen in pl. XVI, 2 and 3.

Notwithstanding the anomaly of the long life of pit U, the sanitation system as a whole in this area has helped to establish a firm chronology of habitation from the late eighth to some time in the eleventh century. This has been sustained by analysis of the flooring fills within the ensemble it served (see n. 23 *supra*), by architectural data, and finally by the stratigraphy of the street to the south, which was laid down early in the eighth century and was 'topped' with a layer of crushed brick and mortar sometime during the reign of al-Mustanşir.²⁵ It now remains to test the method under rather more favourable conditions and in other parts of the excavation.

Pit G (XI'-12)

In 1966 while attempting to ascertain the thoroughfares which converged on the *maydan* discovered that season, two pathways were discovered leading to the north-west and south-west. The mounds here were very low, generally less than a metre, which led one to believe that the entire area had been scavenged and whatever fill was available for analysis would have been disturbed. This was certainly the case with the very large pit X (XI'-16, see fig. 4), which was the terminus of a deeply hewn canal system. However, pit F (XI'-12/17) was entirely undisturbed and its fill was clearly eighth-ninth century (established both integrally and by analogy with the contents of another pit whose undisturbed fill contained a glass weight of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdi, 775-85).²⁶

When in 1968 the area between the streets was cleared, there proved to be very

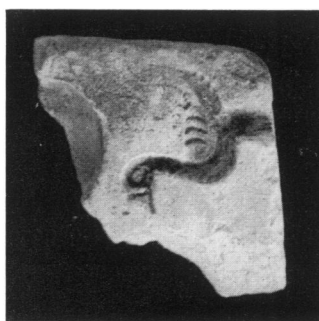
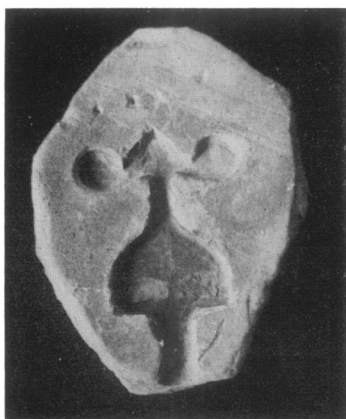
²² There is a break in orientation, which can be seen by comparing Plan I in *FEPR* '65-I with fig. 1 herein. The foundations of the latter display a definite N.-S. bias, whereas those to the north are planned on a SW.-NE. axis. The possibility of an incorporation in the Fâtimid period is discussed in 'Reconsiderations', *passim*.

²³ Proof of the early dating in addition to the contents of pits K and U was found during the analysis of the various floorings in the area of F (XXI-7, see fig. 1), when bits of early slip-painted pottery came from the fill beneath the earliest flooring, an example of which can be seen in pl. XVII, 6, which in shape and decoration is clearly related to the bowl fragment in *FEPR* '65-II, pl. IV-a. Likewise area E (XXI-7), part of a longitudinal portico, fronting three parallel rooms, the middle one of which was the 'sunken' flooring to be seen in *FEPR* '65-I, pl. XXXIV-17, the fill of which was entirely eighth century or before if the Byzantine copper coin found there be a certain guide, proved to have at least two periods of flooring. In the undisturbed *dakkah* fill above the second we found five matching shards of a shallow, flat-bottomed Chinese porcelain bowl, clearly pre-T'ing ware, and certainly of the tenth century. It has been published in 'Egypt-China', pl. VIII-d. Finally the glass bottle in pl. IX-a, loc. cit., was found in the undisturbed fill close to the *gebel* in R (XXI-11, see fig. 1 herein).

²⁴ Cf. 'Shard Count '68', 221 and 232

²⁵ Cf. *FEPR* '68 and an Interim Report on the 1971 season in the *Newsletter* of the American Research Center in Egypt, nr. 80, Jan. 1972.

²⁶ Cf. *FEPR* '66, *passim*, pl. VI-b and c and figs. 4 (where the area under consideration is between streets no. 6 and 7) and 14.



1-3. Sandstone decorative moulds or inlays



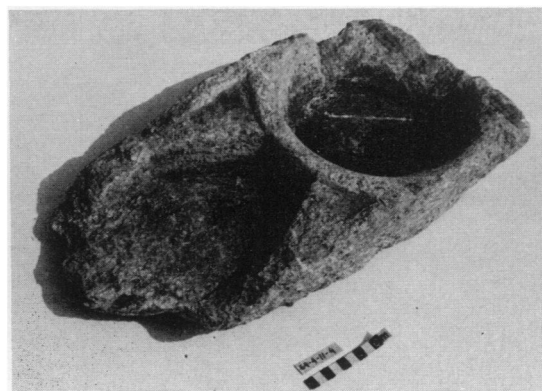
4. Fragment of Coptic bread mould, sandstone



5. Sandstone figurines or toys



6. Sandstone ewer

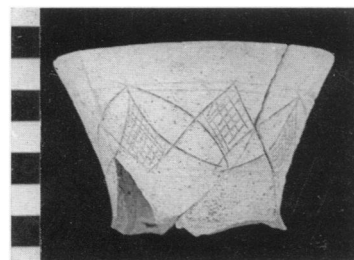


7. Sandstone base for large water-jar (*zir*)

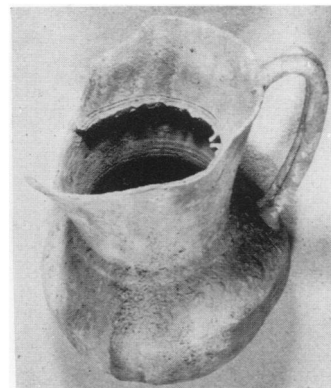
THE PITS OF FUSTĀṬ



1. Traces of building containing pit G (XI'-12)



2. Neck of buff-white ware vessel, incised design external; from pit K (XXI-6)



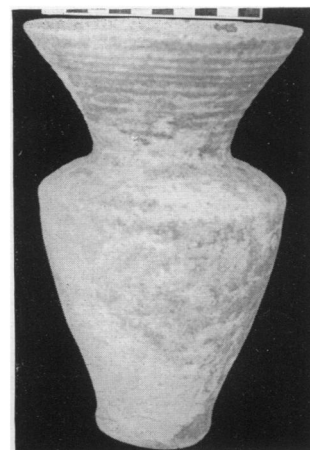
3. Neck and shoulder of buff-white ware water vessel, traces of filter *in situ*; from pit K (XXI-6)



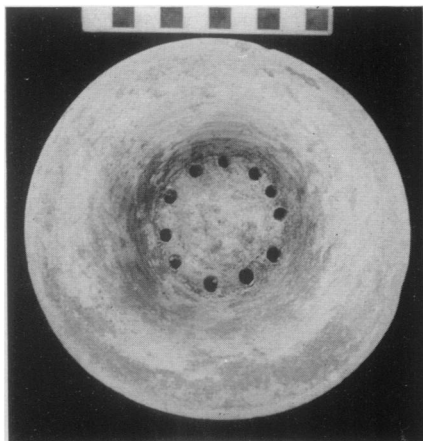
4. Blue glass vase; from pit K (XXI-6)



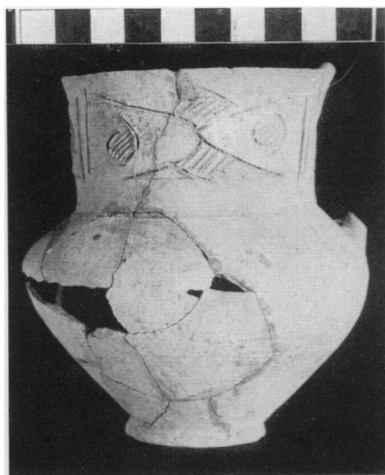
5. Shallow light red ware food bowl, intact; from pit K (XXI-6)



6. Buff-brown ware water vessel, ribbed neck, intact; from pit K (XXI-6)



7. Filter of Pl. XV, 6



8. Buff-white ware ewer, from pit excavated in 1965, late 8th century



9. Buff-white ware vessel, incised design about neck; from pit Q (XXI-6)



1. Remains of vaulting over pit V (XXI-7); deep canal *en route* from pit U (XXI-8); see Fig. 3



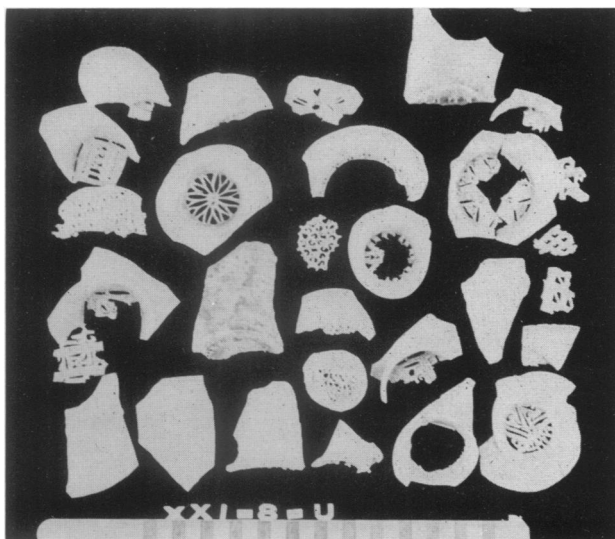
2. Red ware water vessel, slip and incised decoration; from pit V (XXI-7)



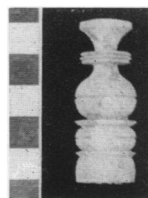
6. Cut glass molar kohl bottle; from pit U (XXI-8)



3. Neck and handle of red ware water vessel, filter of radial slits *in situ*; from pit K (VI-8)



4. Fragments of buff-white ware filters; from pit U (XXI-8)



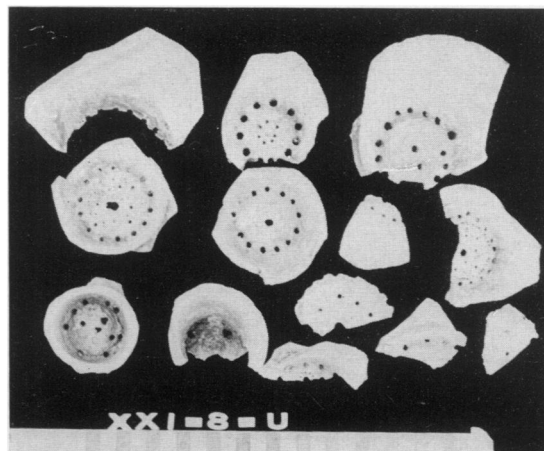
7. Carved bone chess piece; from pit U (XXI-8)



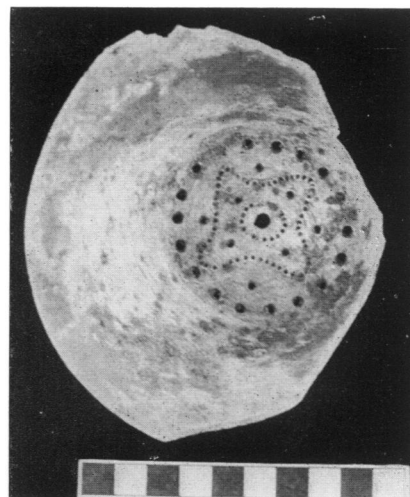
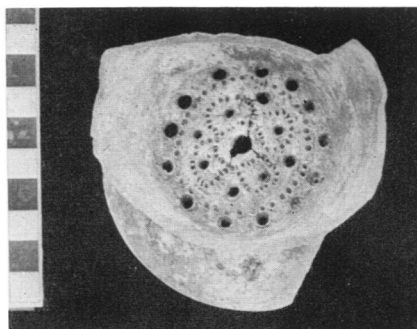
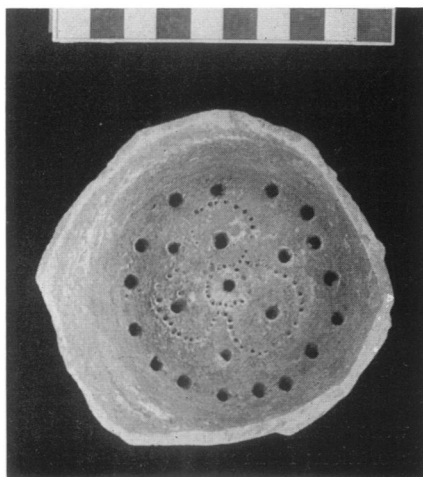
5. Fragment of stucco decoration; from pit U (XXI-8)



8. Unglazed lamp, moulded decoration; from pit U (XXI-8)



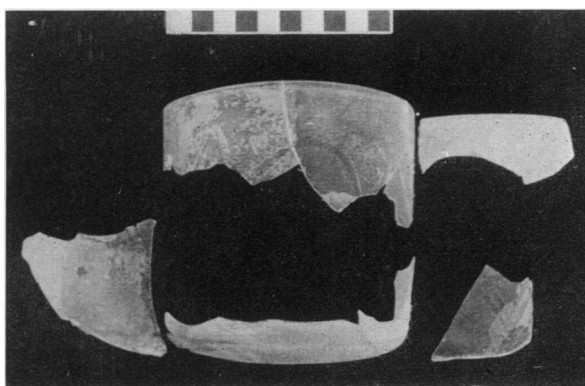
9. Fragments of buff-brown ware filters; from pit U (XXI-8)



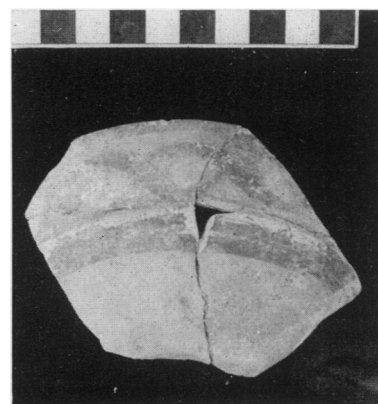
1-3. Buff-brown ware filters, pin-point decoration; from pit U (XXI-8)



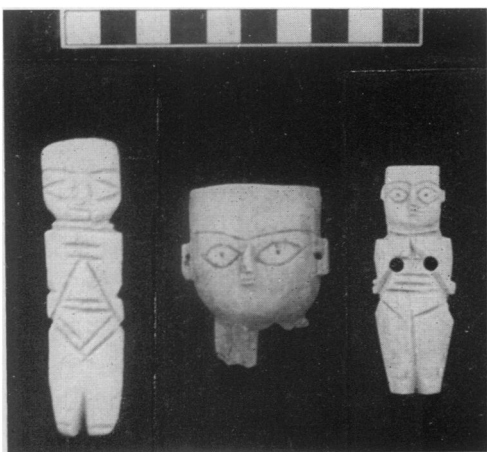
4. Fragments of cut glass jar, faceted neck; from pit U (XXI-8)



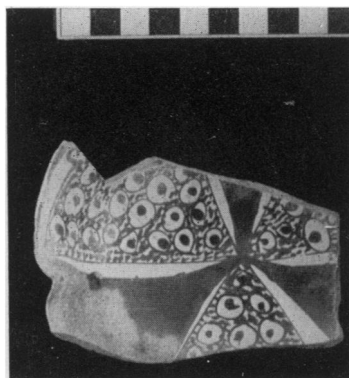
5. Fragments of cut glass beaker, incised decoration external; from pit U (XXI-8)



6. Fragment of unglazed pottery with slip painted decoration in black on light red; found in flooring of F in XXI-7; see Fig. 1



7. 'Coptic dolls'; from pit G (XI'-12)



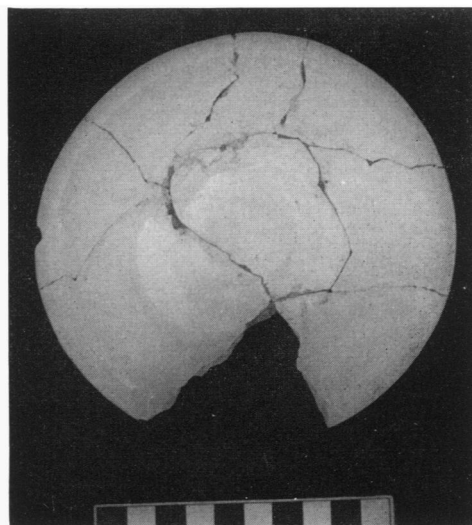
8. Major fragment of Samarra lustre bowl; from pit G (XI'-12)



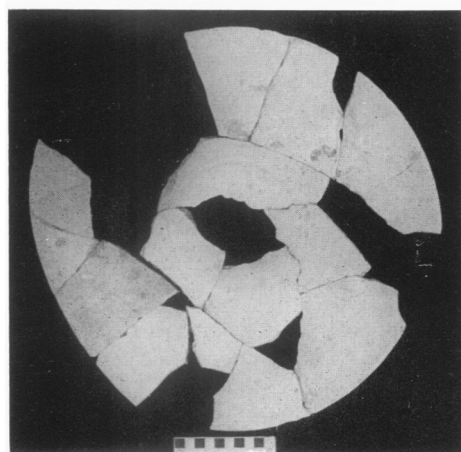
9. Imitation porcelain 'spitton'; from pit G (XI'-12)



1. Imitation porcelain crock; from pit G (XI'-12)



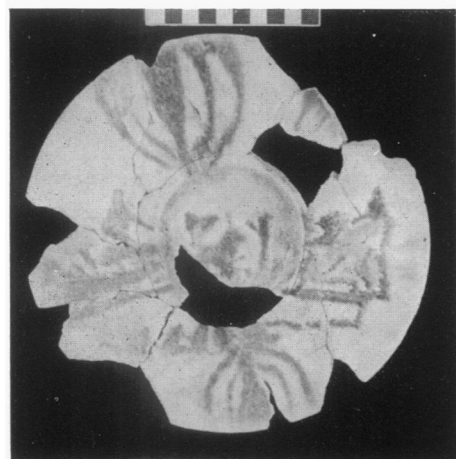
2. Imitation porcelain bowl; from pit G (XI'-12)



3. Imitation porcelain bowl; shape ascertainable; from pit G (XI'-12)



4

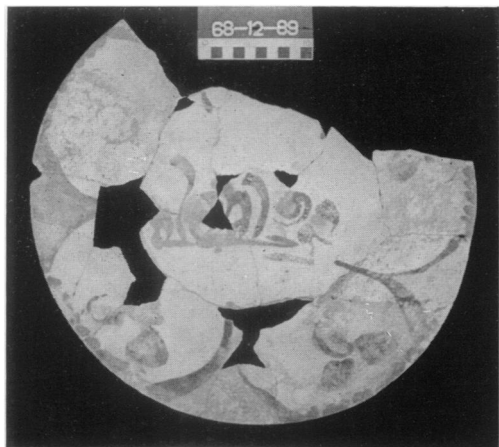


5

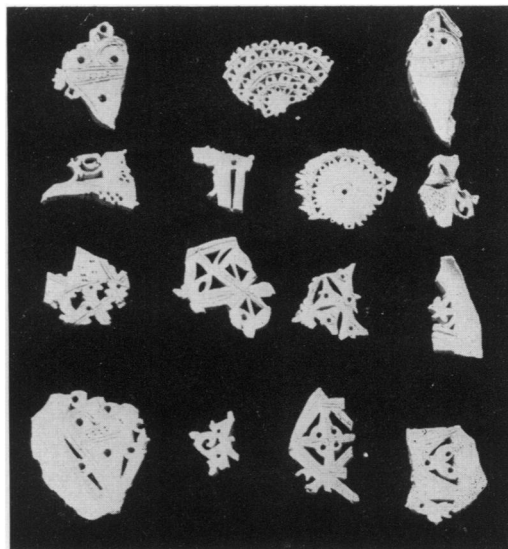


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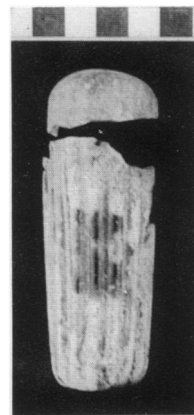
4-6. 'Fayûmi' ware bowls, underglaze slip painted; from pit G (XI'-12)



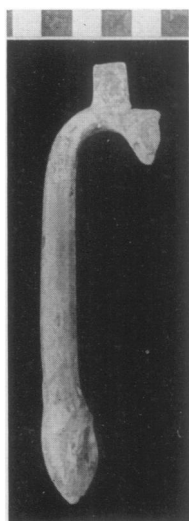
1. 'Fayūmi' ware bowl, underglaze slip painted; from pit G (XI'-12)



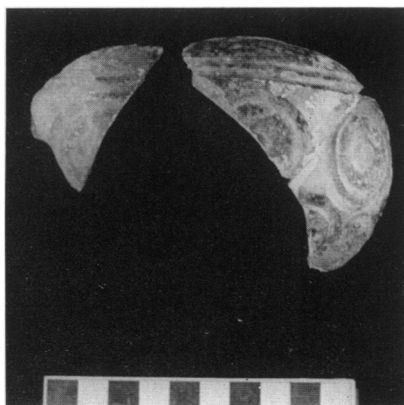
2. Buff-white filter fragments; from pit G (XI'-12)



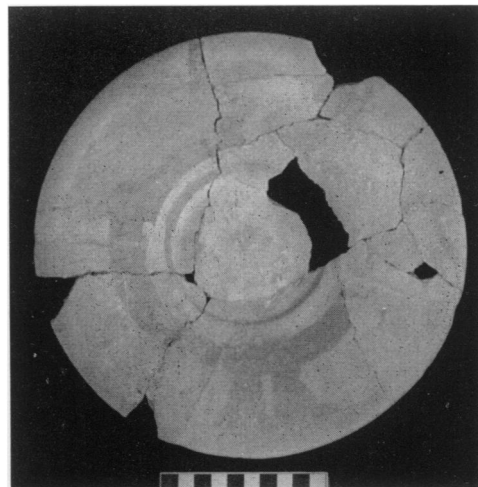
3. Mould blown fluted amber glass toilet flask; from pit G (XI'-12)



4. Cut glass handle with finial; from pit G (XI'-12)



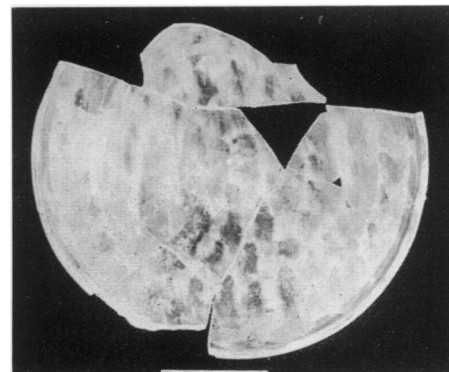
5. Fragments of yellowish cut glass bowl, raised discs; from pit G (XI'-12)



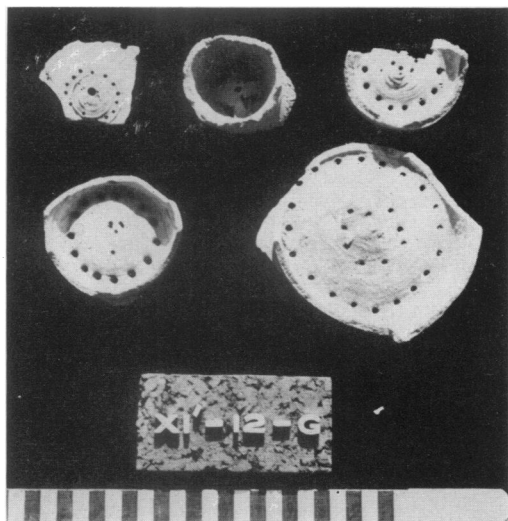
6. Yellow-brown glazed bowl with porcelainous 'sheen'; from pit G (XI'-12)



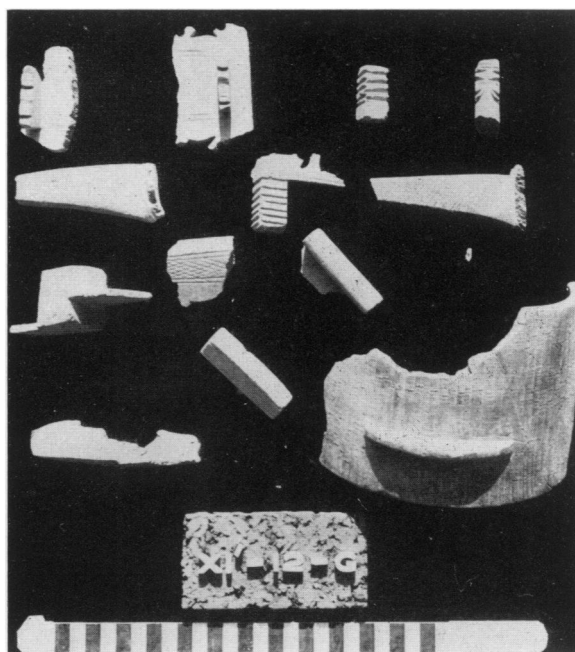
7. Fragments of flat-bottomed lead-glazed bowls; from pit G (XI'-12)



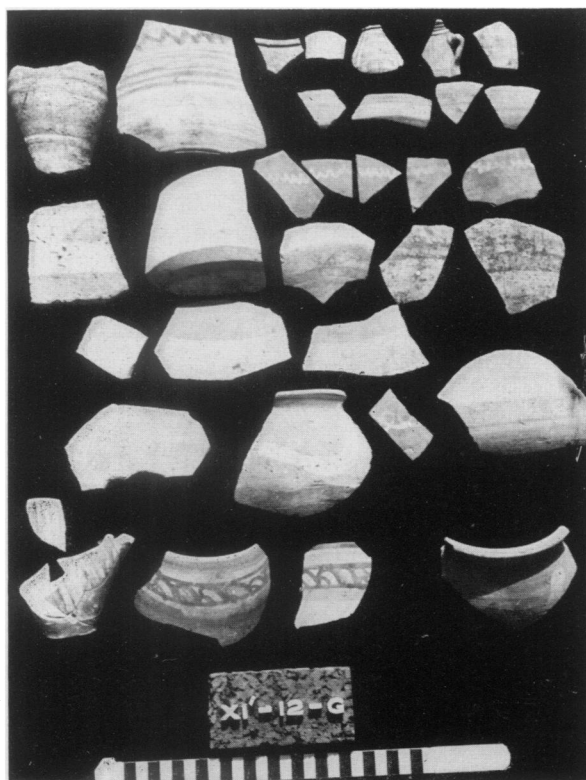
8. Lead glazed flat-bottomed bowl, decoration of radial daubs; from pit G (XI'-12)



1. Buff-brown ware filters; from pit G (XI'-12)



2. Fragments of schist vessels; from pit G (XI'-12)

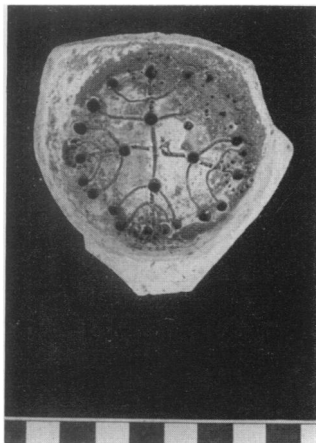


3. Fragments of unglazed slip painted wares; middle two in lowest row are Nubian imports; from pit G (XI'-12)



4. Fragments of red ware with white slip decoration; from pit G (XI'-12)

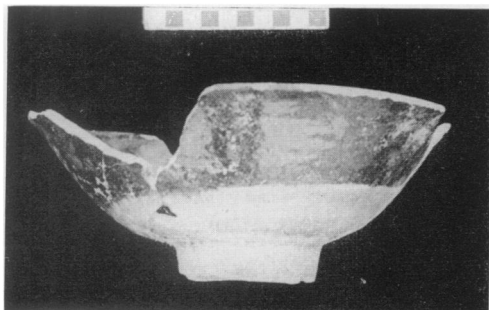
THE PITS OF FUSTÂṬ



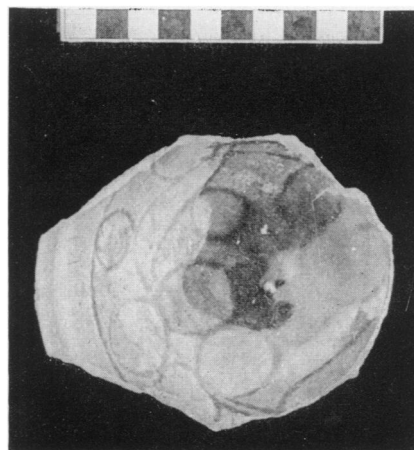
1. Buff-brown ware filter, pin-point decoration; from pit D (XI'-7); see Fig. 4



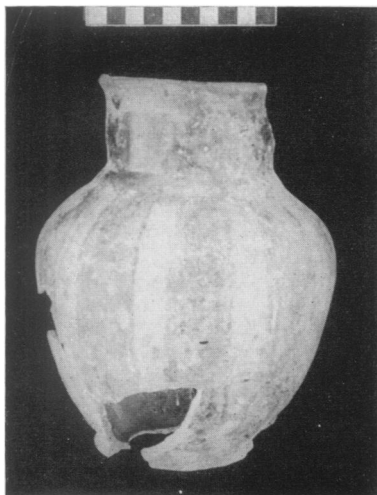
2. Green siliceous glazed bowl; from pit K (VI'-8)



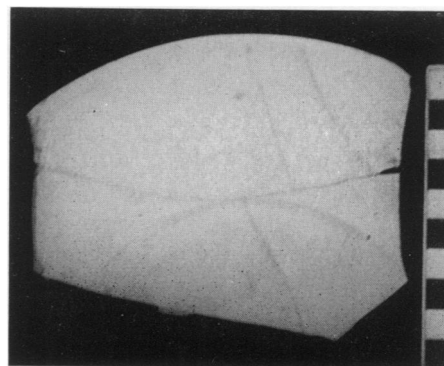
3. Aubergine siliceous glazed bowl; from pit K (VI'-8)



4. Fustât Fatimid Sgraffito bowl, green glaze; from pit K (VI'-8)



5. Siliceous glazed vase; blue and green striping; from pit K (VI'-8)



6. Matching fragments of Sung porcelain bowl; from pit K (VI'-8)

little masonry *in situ* (pl. XV, 1) but the traces on the *gebel* allowed one to reconstruct the plan in fig. 4.²⁷ What one sees is a typical T-shaped Samarra *bayt* (I–D–E–C in XI'–11/12/16/17 in fig. 4) fronting an open courtyard with a very simple asymmetrically placed basin (F in XI'–11). All the characteristics of a Ṭūlūnid period building are here present.²⁸ Quite fortunately pit G in room E, a storage-hold rather than a sanitation pit, proved to be undisturbed (see pl. XV, 1 and figs. 4 and 5). It was 3.2 m. deep and 3.5 m. at its widest, and yielded seventy-odd baskets of objects and fragments, without any particular distinction as to level, a situation more generally true here than in pit U but still analytically comparable.

These copious yields can be categorized as follows:

- A. 'Coptic dolls' (pl. XVII, 7) and carved bone splinters, probably of other dolls.
- B. Samarra lustre wares, particularly the major fragment of a small dish with a pinched scallop rim, glazed and lustred externally as well (pl. XVII, 8).
- C. Imitation porcelains with glazes of high sheen, duplicating Chinese shapes (pls. XVII, 9–XVIII, 3).²⁹
- D. Fragments of what appear to be very early T'ing porcelain.
- E. Early 'Fayūmi wares, which are essentially imitation porcelains, with designs painted in various freely modelled patterns, including inscriptions, with blue, green, and manganese slips under a clear or light-blue glaze (pls. XVIII, 4–XIX, 1).³⁰
- F. Fragments of splash-sgraffito wares comparable to those from a definite ninth-century context in the area excavated in 1966.³¹
- G. Ninth–tenth-century filter fragments (pl. XIX, 2) and typical white-buff wares with incised decoration external.
- H. Mould-blown fluted glass (the example in pl. XIX, 3 is especially interesting in that it is of amber glass, a rather rare metal for the period) and glass with various cut designs similar to those found in pit U (pl. XIX, 4 has the typical crown finial we have noticed on white-buff wares (fig. 6 and pl. XV, 8); and pl. XIX, 5 which is of yellowish glass with a band of raised discs).³²

²⁷ Nothing further to the west could be construed because the *gebel* broke off, having been fugitively quarried, probably in modern times.

²⁸ Cf. 'Reconsiderations' and *FEPR* '66, sections A–(3) and B.

²⁹ These wares and shapes have been discussed and published: 'Egypt–China', pls. IX–c and d, X–d, and XI–a. It is interesting to note that the slight inner-recessing of the base in the examples of pl. XVIII, 2 and 3 and their size are duplicated in the Chinese materials discovered at Samarra in 1936–9, cf. *Excavations at Samarra 1936–1939* (Baghdad, 1940), part II, pls. 99–102 and 'Egypt–China', fig. 1. All of the examples in pls. XVII, 9–XVIII, 3 can be duplicated in whole or in part from hundreds of fragments also found in the pit.

³⁰ This ware may be thought of as an Egyptian correspondence to Mesopotamian and Persian imitations of T'ang three- and four-colour wares; correspondence in that no fragment of the Chinese original has been found to date in Egypt. If Samarra lustre ware found its way to Fustāṭ in quantity, one can conjecture that the Mesopotamian imitations of T'ang wares did and thus inspired the local potters. Cf. 'Egypt–China', 84; F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra* (Berlin, 1925), pls. XXIX–XXXIII; Arthur Lane, *Early Islamic Pottery* (London, 1948), 10–16; and *Excavations at Samarra 1936–1939*, II, pls. LXI–LXIV.

Again, these bowls can be duplicated in whole or in part from hundreds of other fragments found in the pit. Further, copious shards of this ware and of the monochromatic imitation porcelain (category C) came from pit U (*supra*). The appellation 'Fayūmi' is retained for familiarity's sake, as wasters of the ware have been discovered at Fustāṭ. The bowls in pls. XVIII, 4 and XIX, 1 are flat-bottomed, the others on low-ring feet.

³¹ *FEPR* '66, figs. 15–18; *Die Keramik von Samarra*, 74 ff.; and *Excavations at Samarra 1936–1939*, II, pls. LXXVI–LXXXVI.

³² The glass from pit D will be fully published and analysed in the *Catalogue* cited in n. 19 *supra*.

- I. Monochromatic glazed wares, particularly in green, yellow-brown (pl. XIX, 6 and 'Egypt-China', pl. X-b, notice the slight recessing of the inner base, as in pl. XVIII, 2 and 3; and tawny brown ('Egypt-China', pl. X-a). These glazes attempt to duplicate the *sheen* of porcelains, and the genre as a whole seems to anticipate the Fustât Fâtimid Sgraffito wares of the eleventh century.
- J. Flat-bottomed lead-glazed bowls: monochromatic or with designs in wide-stripes or daubs (pl. XIX, 7 and 8, the latter being unglazed externally).³³
- K. Early filters with random punctures (XX, 1).
- L. Schist fragments (XX, 2).
- M. Slip-painted unglazed wares, including some Nubian imports (pls. XX, 3 and 4), which one seldom encounters in such quantity in any usual ninth-tenth-century context, by which time glazed wares will have displaced slip-painted wares in importance in the Egyptian markets.
- N. Pseudo-Samian fragments, amphorae, various undecorated red-wares.

Categories A-I point to a ninth-tenth-century utility, while those of J-N move us back into the eighth-ninth century. The contents of pit F (XI'-12/17, see fig. 3 and pl. XV, 1, where it is particularly visible on the right-hand centre; and *FEPR* '66) corroborate the earlier dating and the total absence of any eleventh-century material (such as we find exclusively in pit K (VI'-8), *infra*) allows chronological viability to the former. Hence, whereas in the case with the sanitation system shown in figs. 1-3, we could posit the same time-span but had to face the possibility of a Fâtimid incorporation, we face no such problems with the ensemble in fig. 4, which leads to the conclusion that it was unused and derelict in the eleventh century and constituted a true *kharab*, or ruin.

But we still face something of the anomaly we encountered with pit U, viz. the longevity of the utility of the pit, about 150 years, *c.* 800-950. It is not a deep pit and it is not a sanitation pit. There was no evidence to prove it was estopped. One could conjecture an earlier building with a pit which was incompletely cleaned out and used when the *bayt* was constructed. Earlier debris may have coalesced in the bottom, and been used to settle the water stored during the course of the ninth century, with other addenda thrown in to assist the settling. But certainly by the end of the period there would have been little room left for water when one considers those seventy baskets of artifacts. (I do not believe it was just an internal rubbish pit; most likely the dumping of water would have churned the contents to make for the chronologically varied fill.) Withal, at some point in the tenth century it was simply sealed off or abandoned; and, without any trace of flooring *in situ* throughout the *bayt*, it cannot be stated with any certainty, except the already noted chronological stretch, what obtained in this context.³⁴

³³ Practically all examples of this category found to date at Fustât have been in eighth-ninth-century contexts; the same holding true for lead-glazed wares with stamped or moulded decoration: cf. *FEPR* '65-I, figs. 6-c, 13-a and b; pl. XXXV-20; *FEPR* '65-II, fig. 3-a and pl. III-c; *FEPR* '66, figs. 9, 11 a-c; 'Egypt-China', pl. XI-b.

³⁴ Cf. *FEPR* '66, section A-(2) for a tentative hypothesis about the filling and utility of the various pits. It should be noted that this theory is based purely on sanitation pits and/or those with proof of estopping.

Though not part of the domicile under consideration, since it was on the opposite side of the delimiting street, pit D (XI'-7, see fig. 4) showed exactly the same range of materials as pit G, including the more usual

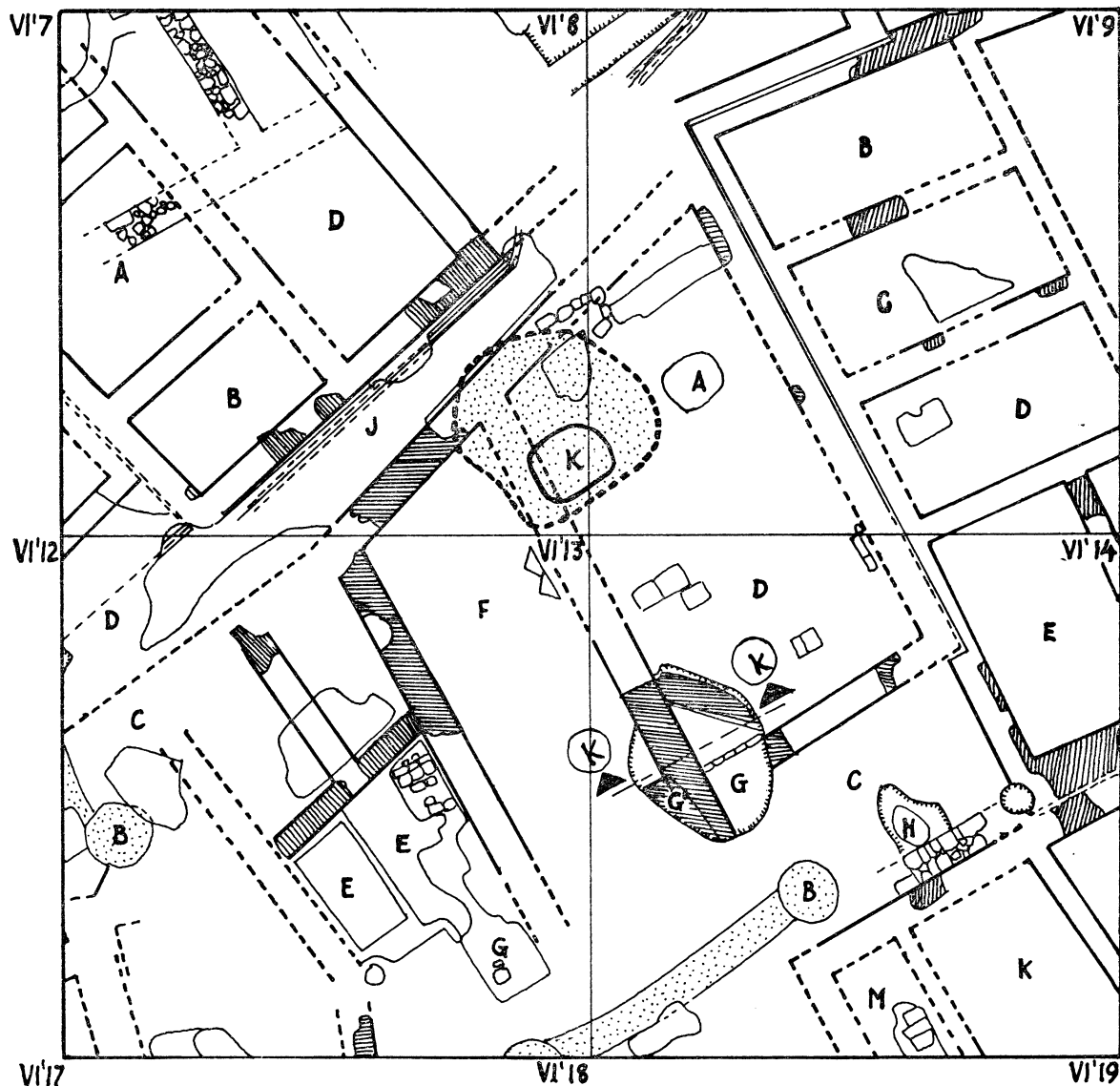


FIG. 11. Plan of part of complex containing pit K (VI-8).

Pit K (VI-8)

A pit similar to G in erratic shape, depth, width, and utility was uncovered in the tonged glass of the ninth-tenth century which was not found in either pits U or G. Its most telling piece was an early filter, this time with both 'pin-point' and incised decor (pl. XXI, 1), and it contained a 12-noumia Alexandrian copper of the Heraclius type.

On the other hand, pit A (XI'-15/20, see fig. 4) was within the domicile, and the evidence it contained should be noted. It was the deepest pit yet excavated in Fustât-B, 11.1 m. Down to app. 9.0 m. the fill was clearly thirteenth-fifteenth century, the range of which accords completely with the analysis of the mounds carried out in that season, cf. 'Shard Count '68', 226-7, where only the Mamluk sgraffito wares were unrepresented, and 229 where all the green slip-painted shards in the photograph could be duplicated in pit A. It was also very rich in Luang chuan celadons. The last metre was undisturbed and it contained a carved bone floral inlay (cf. *FEPR* '66, fig. b-d), typical of the eighth-ninth century, and two copper coins with the name of Mahfuz, governor in 802-3. No doubt the pit was scavenged and then filled from the mounds, but it does afford proof of an early ninth-century utility.

northern section of Fustât-B: pit K in VI'-8 (see figs. 5 and 11). However, its contents proved to be entirely Fatimid, since all of its filters (seven of which are shown in fig. 12 a-g) could by correlation to the pits excavated in 1965 be assigned to that date.³⁵ We have already seen how the neck and handle in pl. XVI, 3, found here in pit K, related to the spouted jug from pit V (pl. XVI, 2), a shape of particular appeal during the eleventh century.

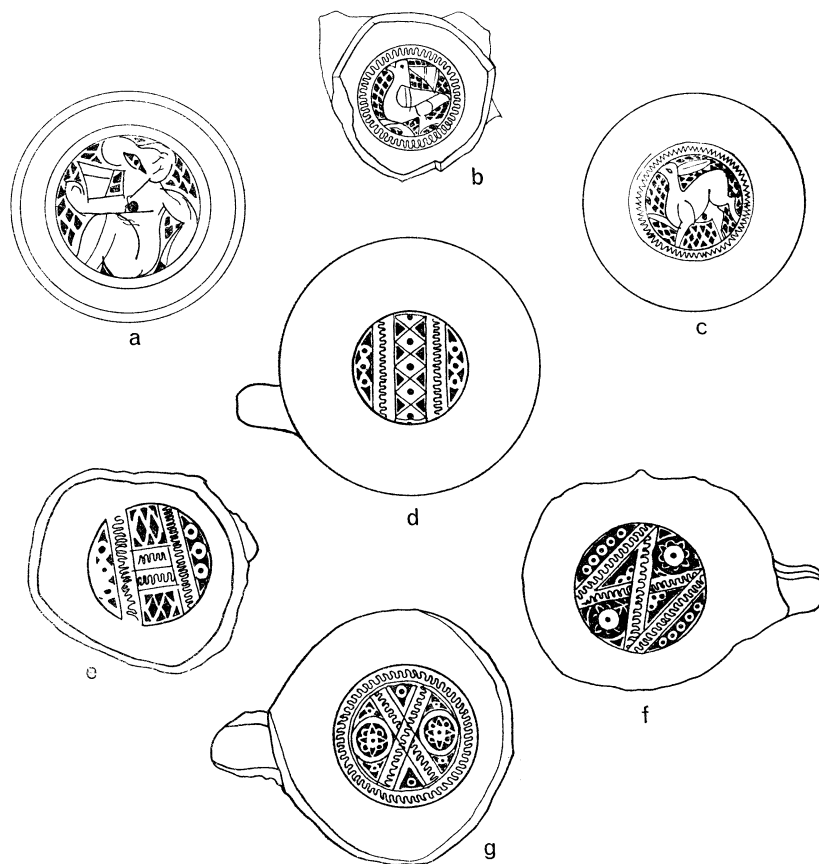


FIG. 12. Filters of buff-white ware, all at base of neck; from pit K (VI'-8). Scale 1:3.

Two siliceous glazed bowls, one (pl. XXI, 2) of green, the other (pl. XXI, 3) of a deep aubergine, have the sharp ring-bases which show the influence of Chinese imports, particularly the northern S'ung celadons, which provided the decorative inspiration for Fustât Fâtimid Sgraffito wares (a very pleasing example under a green glaze from this pit can be seen in pl. XXI, 4).³⁶ The same inspiration as to shape might be hazarded for the vase in pl. XXI, 5, though the decorative striping in blue and green glazes derives from the 'Fayûmi' genre (*supra*). Five matching shards of a porcelain

³⁵ Cf. *FEPR '65-I*, fig. 12 and p. 100, n. 15; *FEPR '65-II*, pp. 83-5; Olmer, *passim*; and 'Fatimid Filters', *passim*. The comparative material for the seven filters herein illustrated can be found as follows: (a) fig. 11 and Olmer, pl. LXIV; (b) Olmer, pls. LII-LIII; (c) Olmer, pl. LVIII-C and 'Fatimid Filters', figs. 6-e and f; (d) 'Fatimid Filters', fig. 9-a; (e) *ibid.*, fig. 9-d; (f) Olmer, pl. XVIII-A; and (g) Olmer, pl. XVIII-F.

³⁶ For the questions of Chinese inspiration and Fustât Fâtimid Sgraffito cf. *FEPR '65-II*, 83 f. and 'Egypt-China', 85-8 and fig. 2 and pl. XV.

bowl on a ring foot (pl. XXI, 6) found at the bottom of the pit confirm the presence and pertinence of the Chinese originals.

Perhaps most surprisingly, since the context is datable, the pit contained two examples of small-scale sandstone sculptures, unfortunately broken, made no doubt from the entails of this or some other quarrying. One (fig. 13) is sexually indeterminate and most

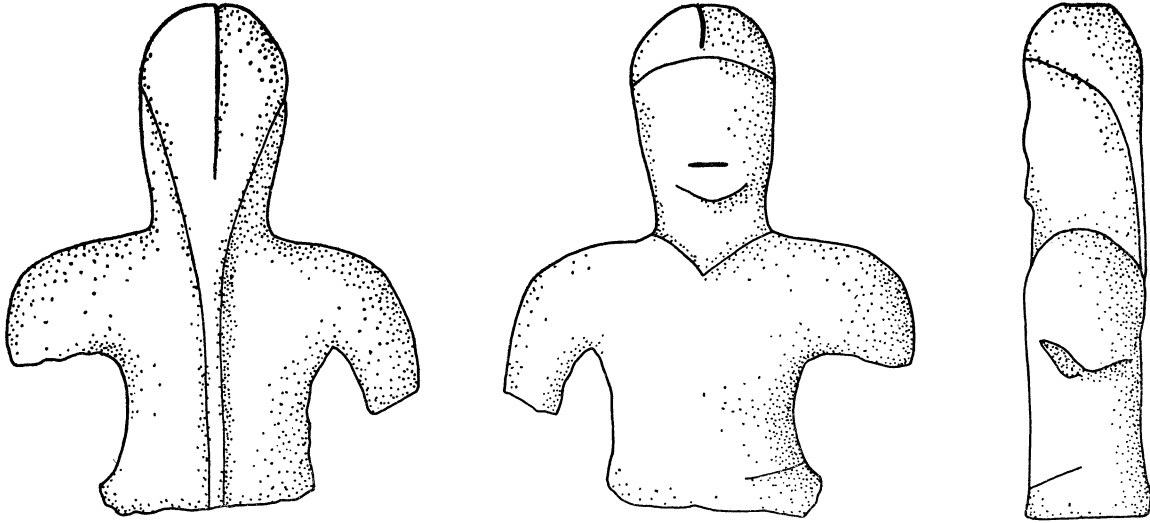


FIG. 13. Sandstone figurine or doll; from pit K (VI'-8). Scale 1:2.

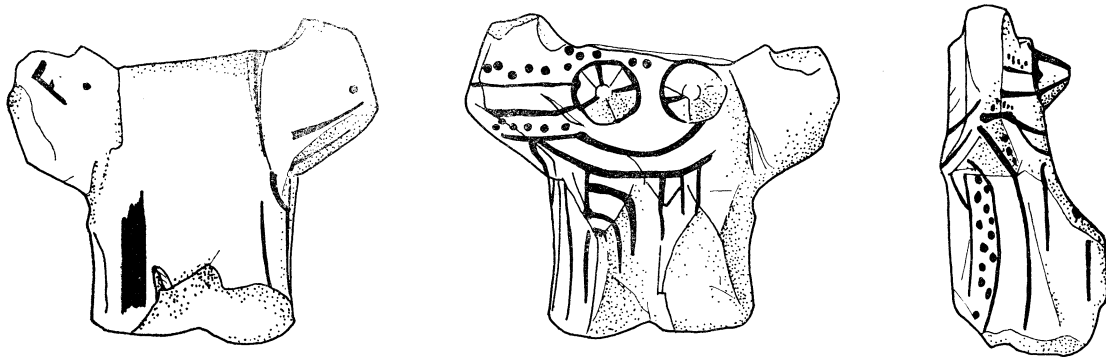


FIG. 14. Sandstone figurine or doll; from pit K (VI'-8). Scale 1:2.

of the facial features have eroded; but the rather long plait of hair hanging down the back would indicate a female, or a foreigner, since Egyptian males of the period would have had very short hair to accommodate head gear, particularly the skull-cap worn beneath the turban or helmet. The other (fig. 14) with the pronounced breasts is definitely of a female, with anatomical and decorative features such as to give the *feel* of a garment painted in black. Though it is less perfectly abstracted than that of fig. 13, and is generally malproportioned, it has a definite, unconscious verve.³⁷ One may speculate that both figurines were dolls.

³⁷ That the line-and-dot decoration might be an attempt at duplicating tattoo patterns cannot be dismissed; cf. D. S. Rice, 'A Drawing of the Fatimid Period', *Bull. School of Oriental Studies* 21 (1958), 31-9.

Pit K would seem to represent proof of reincorporation during the eleventh century of earlier remains, for pit B (VI'-13, see fig. 11) had been estopped by a flooring made of bricks, rubble, and mortar somewhat above its mid-point. Above the flooring the fill was late tenth through the eleventh century, as exemplified by a great number of Fustât Fâtimid Sgraffito shards;³⁸ while below, the fill was entirely of the ninth-tenth century.³⁹ Thus pit K is an entirely new pit sunk in a venue of older occupation, and, as such, is archaeologically distinct from either pit G (XI'-12) or pit U (XXI-8).

Hence, upon analysis, the three pits and elements associated with them provide four chronological phenomena which aid immeasurably in interpreting work done to date and subsequently:

- a. Continuing use, then abandonment, and proof of creation of *kharab*;
- b. Continuing use after incorporation and/or 'enthroning';
- c. Two-period reality through median estoppage; and
- d. Creation of new contexts within incorporated areas, all of the characteristics of the latter pointing to a different, generally earlier, construction and utility.

Such evidence, when collated against that provided by architecture, the analysis of flooring fills, and the stratigraphy of the thoroughfares, helps us to define the dating limits of the areas under excavation and provides both integrally and relatively a surer sequential dating for the objects uncovered. With the artifacts of an undisturbed or partially undisturbed pit in focus, the artistic and economic plenitude of life in Fustât from its beginning to the apogee of the Fâtimid period can be narrated in fairer and fuller detail.

Acknowledgement

The publication of this study has been aided by a grant from the Griffith Institute, Oxford.

Corrigenda

'Excavations at Kasr el-Wizz', *JEA* 58 (1972), 7-42.

p. 20, middle paragraph, line 13: for 'see pl. XII, 4' read 'see pl. III, 1'.

pl. XIX: interchange photographs 2 and 3 (but not the captions).

p. 32, line 3: for 'flat room' read 'flat roof'.

³⁸ See 'Egypt-China', fig. 2, for a typical green-glazed bowl recomposed from these shards.

³⁹ The contents of pit B are described in *FEPR* '66, section A-(2).

AN EARLY AMETHYST VASE (PLATE XXII)

By JOAN CROWFOOT PAYNE

A SMALL amethyst vase, the rim encased in gold foil, was bought in London in 1966.¹ The past history of the vase is only partly known; it is said to have been in the collection of the Comtesse de Béhagues, a collection which included a number of notable pieces;² after this, it is known to have been in the Joseph Brummer collection until about 1947-8.³

The vase measures 7.7 cm. in height, 5.4-5.5 cm. in diameter. In form it is typical of the shouldered vases of the Predynastic period, with two small tubular handles on the shoulders.⁴ Both body and base are slightly oval, and one handle is set a little lower than the other. Internally, marks of rotary grinding are clear. Outside, fine grinding marks, not completely polished out, can be seen under low magnification; on the shoulder these marks are horizontal, from the level of the handles down generally vertical. The handles are bored from both ends, making an hour-glass perforation, with clear marks of rotary grinding. All the details of form and manufacture, including the slight asymmetry, are typical of large numbers of Predynastic vases, many from excavated grave groups. The type appears at the beginning of the second Predynastic period, the Gerzean, and rare examples are found as late as the early dynasties.⁵

The amethyst of which the vase is made is somewhat uneven in colour, generally rather pale, with patches of clear quartz. During the later Predynastic period and the earliest dynasties there was a particularly lavish use of many different stones, mostly found locally, but some, such as lapis lazuli and obsidian, brought from distant sources. The use of amethyst during this period on such an extravagant scale, though sufficiently surprising to raise doubts as to the authenticity of the object, is not impossible. It is found locally; amethyst beads are common; and larger objects, though exceedingly rare, are not unknown. A pear-shaped mace-head of amethyst, now in Berlin, measures 3.5 cm. in height, 4.2 cm. in diameter.⁶ It is thought to have come from Hierakonpolis, and from its form should be dated to the later Predynastic or to the Protodynastic period. A bowl of amethystine quartz, measuring 7.5 cm. in height, 20 cm. in diameter, was found by Amélineau, in 1896-7, in the Tomb of Khasekhemwy at Abydos.⁷

¹ The vase is now in the possession of Mrs. Grace Gifford Medlicott, who has kindly given me permission to publish this note. I would also like to thank Dr. P. R. S. Moorey, who has shared and supported my interest in the vase since we first saw it.

² Information received on purchase.

³ Information very kindly given by John D. Cooney.

⁴ Cf. particularly W. M. F. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. 39, 91.

⁵ W. M. F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 48B, 125, from Tomb T at Abydos; W. B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, I, 136, from Saqqâra.

⁶ Berlin 15713. See A. Scharff, *Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens*, 83, no. 157, pl. 8.

⁷ Ashmolean Museum E. 135. See E. Amélineau, *Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos* 1896-7, 254, pl. 21, 12.

The bowl is much restored; the parts that remain are mainly quartz with heavy veins of amethyst. Most important, there is an unpublished fragment of an amethyst vase excavated by Petrie in 1899–1900 from the Tomb of Djer at Abydos.⁸ It measures only some 2 × 2.6 cm., but from the curvature of the outer face must be part of a small vase. There is thus unpublished proof that amethyst was used for at least one small vase at the period in question.

The mouth of the vase is covered in gold foil; the foil is turned over both edges of the mouth; inside it covers the upper 0.5 cm. of the neck, with a slight overhang round the edge; outside it is folded back under the rim for about 2–3 mm., and slightly crimped round the edge to make it fit closely. Other gold-mounted vases of this type have been published, and are listed below; doubtless, these vases being small, rare, and beautiful, there are more in private collections as well as in museums. Only the first three listed are from excavated contexts.

1. Vase of veined white marble, form *Prehistoric Egypt*, 23, height 4.1 cm., from the Mission Amélineau excavations at Abydos, 1895–6.⁹ The handles are encased in rectangular gold foil plaques, and a gold wire bent into a loop is passed through each handle.

2. Vase of veined white marble, form *Prehistoric Egypt*, 79, height 5.5 cm., from the Mission Amélineau excavations at Abydos, 1895–6.¹⁰ The handles are encased in rectangular gold-foil plaques, and two gold wires twisted together pass through each handle and join together above to form a suspension handle.

The above two vases were found together during excavations on the Umm el-Qa'ab, on Amélineau's 'first plateau', a low ridge lying between Amélineau's first *butte* (the Heqreshu hill) and Petrie's B tombs. This plateau was occupied by a cemetery, heavily plundered, with graves going back to the first Predynastic period.¹¹ It has been assumed that the two little gold-mounted vases, obviously the loot of earlier plunderers, came from one of the nearby royal tombs of the Thinite kings. It is equally possible that they came from one of the robbed Predynastic graves of the cemetery in which they were found. It has recently been suggested that this cemetery, so close to the tombs of the kings of the First Dynasty, may have been the burial place of their royal predecessors.¹²

3. Porphyry vase, form as *Prehistoric Egypt*, 10, height 14.5 cm., from Hamra Doum; Cairo 14341.¹³ The handles are covered with gold, and thick copper loops pass through the handles. This vase was found during excavations by the Service of Antiquities in 1896.¹⁴ According to the 'Cairo Journal d'entrée du Musée', the vessel was part of a large and interesting Gerzean tomb group, containing particularly a dagger and a knife-blade, both of silver.¹⁵

⁸ Ashmolean Museum E. 1593. Not published.

⁹ E. Amélineau, op. cit. 1895–6, 86, 175, pl. 8; *Amélineau Sale Catalogue* (Paris, 1904), no. 151.

¹⁰ E. Amélineau, op. cit. 1895–6, 86, 175, pl. 8; *Amélineau Sale Catalogue* (Paris, 1904), no. 152.

¹¹ E. Amélineau, op. cit. 1895–6, 75–88; T. E. Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, II, 14–16.

¹² B. J. Kemp, *JEA* 52 (1966), 19–22.

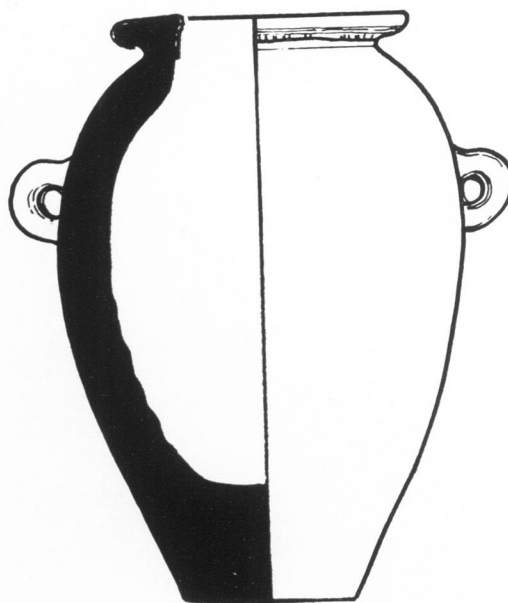
¹³ J. E. Quibell, *Archaic Objects*, 252, no. 14341, pl. 53.

¹⁴ J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte*, II, 35.

¹⁵ Information very kindly given by Dr. E. J. Baumgartel.



1



2
(actual size)



3



4

AN EARLY AMETHYST VASE

4. Vase of grey-veined marble, form *Prehistoric Egypt*, 52, height 17·1 cm., no provenance; University College 15614.¹⁶ The rim is covered in a sheath of gold foil made in three parts: a flat piece lies on the rim; a cylindrical piece covers the inside of the neck for about 1 cm., turning over the inner edge of the first piece; a third piece covers the outside of the neck, being turned over above to cover the outer edge of the first piece, and crimped in round the neck as if once held by a wire or cord.

5. Vase of grey- and white-veined marble, form *Prehistoric Egypt*, 79, height 6·9 cm., no provenance; University College 15630.¹⁷ The rim is sheathed in one piece of gold foil, covering the mouth, bent down inside the neck for about 2–3 mm., and turned over the outside of the rim and crimped round the edge to fit closely. The handles are covered with rectangular plaques of gold foil, the foil bent to fit closely over each handle, and covering the vase round the handle for about 5 mm.

6. Vase of yellow marble veined in black, form *Prehistoric Egypt*, 20, height 3·0 cm., from Abydos; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek A466 (ex-MacGregor collection).¹⁸ The handles are sheathed in gold foil, and a twisted gold wire for suspension is passed through the handles and joined in a coil above.

7. Vase of black and white diorite, form as *Prehistoric Egypt*, 3, height 5·7 cm., no provenance; in 1922 in the collection of the Earl of Carnarvon.¹⁹ The sharply projecting rim and the tubular handles are sheathed in gold.

8. Vase of red breccia, form cf. Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, S 64, but with rounded base; height 8·0 cm., no provenance; in 1922 in the collection of the Revd. Randolph Behrens.²⁰ Both lip and handles are sheathed in gold.

9. Diorite vase, form *Prehistoric Egypt*, 50, height 4·9 cm., no provenance; Berlin 13311.²¹ Two wires of gold are passed through the handles of the vase, and coiled together above to form a handle for suspension.

A porphyry vase, form *Prehistoric Egypt*, 106–7, height 7·9 cm., has the rim covered in silver foil, of which fragments only remain; Queen's College collection 1123, in the care of the Ashmolean Museum.

This little group of stone vases decorated with gold foil, generally not datable archaeologically but as a type certainly genuine, is closely comparable with the well-known, but equally small, group of serially flaked flint knives with ivory or gold-encased handles. Both stone vessels and flint knives are unequivocally Gerzean in type, and both groups are embellished in a style that is not used on the vessels and knives proper to the First Dynasty. Until there are good archaeological grounds for dating them otherwise, they should be accepted as some of the most splendid products of the Gerzean culture.

¹⁶ W. M. F. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. 38, 52.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 39, 79.

¹⁸ *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition Catalogue* (1922), 5, no. 19, pl. 24; *MacGregor Sale Catalogue* (Sotheby's, 1922), no. 1095; M. Mogensen, *La Glyptotèque ny Carlsberg—La Collection Égyptienne*, 205, no. A466, Album pl. 59.

¹⁹ *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition Catalogue* (1922), 6, no. 24.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 6, no. 28, pl. 24.

²¹ A. Scharff, *op. cit.*, 205–6, no. 575, pl. 20.

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TRIADS OF KING MYCERINUS

By WENDY WOOD

THE valley temple of Mycerinus at Giza, excavated by G. A. Reisner from 1908 to 1910, yielded a great quantity of sculpture which exhibits a wide range in materials, sizes, types, degrees of finish, and states of preservation.¹ Much of the sculpture was in fragmentary condition, but among the works recovered more or less intact was a series of five triads (pls. XXIII–XXV, 1), each with the king, the goddess Hathor, and the personification of a nome, four of them in what passes for mint condition among Old-Kingdom survivals. The relatively pristine state of the quartet is doubtless owing to their seclusion in the south-western corridor of the temple. The fifth triad, of which the heads, feet, and left side had been shattered, was found on the northern side of the court. Reisner identified various fragments as parts of more triads, indicating that the series was originally larger. A thieves' hole of the Moslem Period in the corridor where the four intact triads were found also contained, below the pair statue of the king and queen now in the Boston Museum, a small fragment of a sixth triad with a seated figure in the centre and a standing male on the left (pl. XXV, 2). Other fragments were found in the south-eastern quarter of the portico, around the southern wall, and scattered about the surface debris of the original structure. All of the triads, the pair statue, and the fragments are probably made of greywacke from the Wâdi Hammamât.² Reisner tentatively identified a number of small alabaster fragments as 'nome triads (?)', but then added that the identification was 'probably fallacious and the fragments represent only small *ka*-statuettes'.³

The accepted interpretation of the triads centres on the nome figures and their inscriptions, which announce that 'all offerings' have been brought to Mycerinus. The triads are regarded as thematic descendants of the reliefs of processions of food-bearing women, who personify the king's estates in nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt, which adorned the entrance corridor and apparently continued on the side walls of the pillared porch in the valley temple of the Bent Pyramid at Dahshûr.⁴ W. S. Smith⁵ has stated the general opinion on the purpose of the Mycerinus triads:

. . . it is not unlikely that there were originally statues representing all the Nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt. Through these the king would have been able to draw upon the whole country for nourishment after death.

¹ G. A. Reisner, *Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (1931), 34–54 and 108–15.

² According to Terrace, in Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum* (1970), 14, the stone cannot be identified with certainty, except by petrographic examination.

³ *Op. cit.* 110.

⁴ Ahmed Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, II (1961), 17–58.

⁵ *Ancient Egypt as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts* (6th edn., 1960), 46.

The interpretation has two weaknesses. First, in every intact triad the king wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt. How odd that not one of the many postulated Lower-Egyptian triads survives! One could argue, however, that the series was never completed. Reisner suggested that the shattered alabaster 'nome triads (?)' might have been those of Lower Egypt, the change in material serving as an iconographic distinction, but we have already observed that he doubted the identification himself. He also denied the efficacy of the difference in materials, which he had suggested, because he assumed on the basis of a few traces of paint that all the sculpture was completely painted. For the iconographic distinction to be meaningful we would expect the material for Lower-Egyptian statues to be limestone, the only stone of Lower Egypt which could be called 'characteristic'. However, there was an alabaster quarry in the Wâdi Gerrawi near Helwân that was worked in the Old Kingdom.

The second weakness in the accepted interpretation of the triads is more important. It is extremely difficult to place over thirty triads, each almost a metre high, within the valley temple (fig. 1) in any meaningful relationship to the architecture—impossible if we grant the Egyptian artist of the Fourth Dynasty his sensitivity to the measured disposition of forms. Although the plan of the original stone temple begun by Mycerinus cannot be determined with absolute certainty because it was never finished, Reisner believed that no major changes in plan were made when the temple was subsequently completed in mud-brick during the reign of Shepseskaf. The only area which could possibly hold a large sculptural series is the open court, which is 19.4 m. east–west and 41 m. north–south. The only known precedents for exposed temple sculpture are the seated figures of Chephren carved in the round and apparently placed against piers between openings to a corridor around the court of his pyramid temple. Because the recesses in the court of the Mycerinus valley temple are a feature of brick architecture that would not have been part of the temple as it was originally planned in stone, Herbert Ricke has reconstructed the court with a piered portico.⁶ The court was probably never meant to be articulated, however, for formal analysis of the temple plan shows that it is more closely related to the valley temple of Sneferu at Dahshûr than to the plans of the temples of Cheops and Chephren.

Behind the court of the valley temple of Mycerinus the deep offering chamber flanked by magazines is closer in design to the great sanctuary hall of the Chephren valley temple than to the series of niches at the back of the Sneferu valley temple. But instead of the elaborate entrance halls found in the temples of Cheops and Chephren, the architect of Mycerinus's funerary complex returned to the portico of chapels. The tripartite ordering of space which governs the design is also a feature shared by the valley temples of Sneferu and Mycerinus but not found in the monuments of Cheops and Chephren.

All the Old-Kingdom sculpture of the Sneferu valley temple could not be placed with certainty, but it was predominantly located in roofed areas. There was nothing suggestive of a sculptural programme in the court. On the basis of the architectural

⁶ 'Bemerkung zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs, II', *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde* 5 (1950), 58. Hans Wolfgang Müller was kind enough to call this reference to my attention.

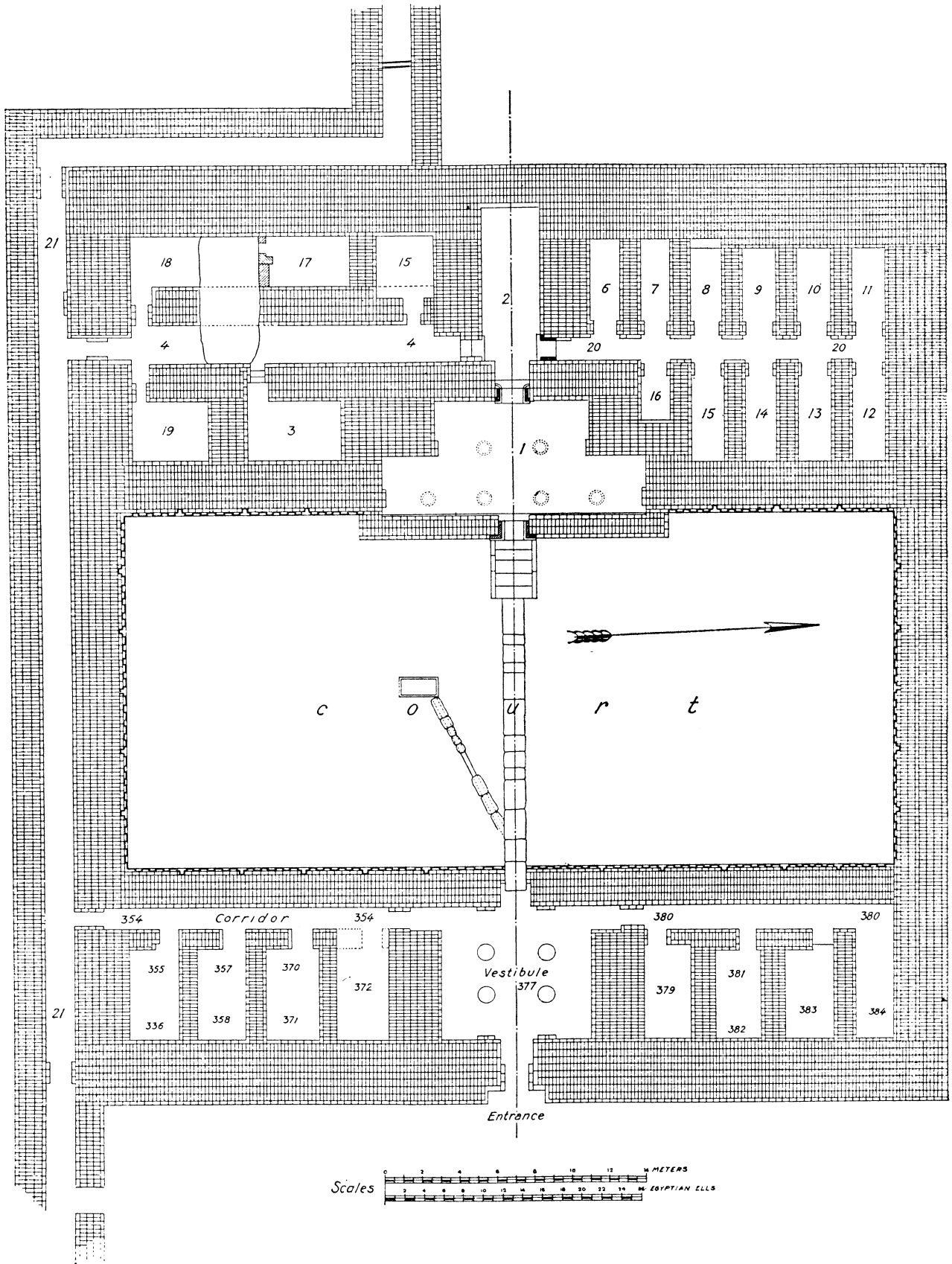


FIG. 1. The Valley Temple (Plan). After Reisner, *Mycerinus* (Harvard U.P.)

analogy between the valley temples of Sneferu and Mycerinus we can assume that the triads of Mycerinus were housed under cover. It is difficult to imagine more than thirty triads thus disposed without the loss of compositional and iconographic coherency.

The triads were clearly not intended for the ante-room to the sanctuary hall, for it contained seated alabaster statues of Mycerinus. Four such statues were found *in situ*, their placement in the rebuilt ante-room of the Fourth Dynasty being an approximation of their location in the original structure. The magazines on the north side of the sanctuary hall were, on the evidence of an assortment of ritual objects found in them, storage space for temple equipment.

The magazines and the corridor on the south side of the sanctuary hall contained a wide variety of sculpture—the intact triads, the small fragment of a triad, the pair statue of the king and queen now in the Boston Museum, and a large assortment of statuettes, both royal and private. Although the triads might have been in the southwestern corridor before the restorations of the Sixth Dynasty, which apparently did not greatly disturb the placement of statuary, it does not follow that either the magazines or the corridor was their original destination. The variety of types of statues and their compression in the south-western quarter of the temple is not indicative of a balanced programme and we must assume that some threat, whether from architectural decay or looting, forced their removal to the position in which they were found.

In only one area of the temple, the eight portico chapels, can the series of triads be placed in harmony with the architecture. We can draw a parallel in the placement of the subject-matter with the representation of nome estates in the Sneferu valley temple portico, and note that the threshold is an appropriate place, given the hierarchical strictures of royal funerary decoration, for such terrestrial subject-matter as the provinces of Egypt.

I would reduce the triads from over thirty to only eight in number, one for each portico chapel. The total is much less impressive, but I hope to demonstrate that what the series loses in sheer numbers is more than recompensed by the richness of the conception and the level of artistry it attests.

Reducing the number of triads from over thirty to eight requires a new iconographic interpretation. I therefore offer an alternative which, in my opinion, is more plausible than Reisner's theory because it is based upon the triads as they have survived, without postulating a large missing series of which no trace has been found or violating the Egyptian sensitivity to the complementary relationship of architecture and sculpture.

In the literature the intact triads are generally designated by a major city or the insignia of the nome. The three intact triads in the Cairo Museum are the Cynopolis, Diospolis Parva, and Theban nomes. The Hermopolis nome triad, also intact, is in the Boston Museum, together with the large fragment found in the courtyard. The location of the small fragment is unknown. The names are mnemonic but they unfortunately tend to focus one's attention on the nomes at the expense of the goddess Hathor, who plays merely a supplementary role in the accepted interpretation as the king's providing divinity in after-life. Yet she is the more important figure for in the Hermopolis

triad she assumes the central position that is occupied by the king in the other intact triads and the Boston fragment, whereas the nome figures are always in auxiliary positions. The king is linked to the goddess as to an equal by an inscription which appears on each triad. He is *beloved of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine*. The epithet of the goddess expresses her identification with a tree spirit who had a sanctuary near the great pyramids of Giza. On the Cynopolis, Diospolis Parva, and Theban triads the epithet in full is *Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine, in all her seats*. On the Hermopolis triad the phrase *in all her seats* is omitted, presumably to allow space for the advanced feet of the seated goddess. When the phrase is considered in conjunction with the nomes, the possibility emerges that the triads are not representative of all the nomes but only those in which the cult of Hathor had been established with the support of royal patronage.

According to H. G. Fischer,⁷ Hathor Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine and Hathor Mistress of Dendera are to be regarded as different divinities. His conclusion is directly opposed to the evidence he presents, in my opinion, and to the fundamental principle by which the Egyptian religion developed throughout dynastic history—namely, syncretism. A local god or goddess whose adherents gained political power tended to absorb or be identified with comparable divinities in other localities. Schafik Allam⁸ is therefore probably correct in interpreting an inscription in a rock-cut tomb at Giza of the early Fifth Dynasty which gives Hathor the epithets consecutively, *Hathor Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine, Mistress of Dendera*, as an indication that there was only one Hathor. Two other inscriptions of the Fifth Dynasty, one in a rock-cut tomb at Giza and one in a tomb at Hemamiya repeat the name of the goddess before each of these epithets, which in Fischer's⁹ view is evidence that the cults were separate. The Hemamiya inscription adds, however, *Hathor in all places*, which I interpret as a summary reference to cult centres of less importance than those of Memphis and Dendera. The epithets thus designate the realms of the goddess, not different goddesses. Fischer¹⁰ has stated:

At least three priests or overseers of priests and six priestesses of Hathor of Dendera are known from the Residence, ranging in date from Dyns. IV–VI. The number is not approached by any other Upper Egyptian cult in the Old Kingdom, and raises the question whether there might have existed a special connection between the priesthood of Dendera and the crown. I think the explanation is not to be sought in such a connection, but in the importance of Dendera's cult, first of all, and in its Heliopolitan associations.

But in the Egypt of the Fourth Dynasty, when the centralization of political and religious power in the person of the king reached its zenith, any cult of importance can be assumed to have derived its prominence from a royal connection. In the case of the Dendera cult this supposition is supported by the strength of its presence in the Memphite area. The Heliopolitan associations of the Dendera cult, upon which Fischer has dwelt, merely confirm my argument that the Dendera Hathor and the Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine are one and the same. On the triads the Mistress of the Sycamore

⁷ *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (1968), 23 n. 97.

⁸ *Beiträge zum Hathorkult* (MÄS 4, 1963), 21–2.

⁹ *Op. cit.* 24–5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 23.

Shrine wears the disc of Re^c between the horns of her head-dress, which did not become standardized until the Fifth Dynasty.¹¹ On the Cynopolis triad, moreover, Hathor carries a *shen* sign in her right hand and the nome carries one in her left hand. If both the Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine and the Mistress of Dendera have Heliopolitan associations, is it not all the more probable that they are one and the same?

As Mistress of Dendera, Hathor's influence throughout Upper Egypt during the Old Kingdom is indicated by inscriptions ranging from Thebes to Memphis.¹² If she is identified with the Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine, the crown of Upper Egypt worn by the king in the intact triads, the recurrent use of the phrase *in all her seats*, and the use of greywacke from the Wâdi Hammamât, a material which might well have been associated with Dendera owing to its geographical proximity, take on a new dimension of meaning. The interpretation of the triads as provision for the king's after-life is not obviated, but it must be viewed as subsidiary to the celebration of the joint rule of the divine sovereigns, Hathor and Mycerinus.

My reconstruction of the series in the portico of the valley temple is based on the assumption that the order of the series was determined by the geographical alignment of the nomes from north to south within eight chapels which run north-south, opening on the west. The reliefs of personified estates in the entrance corridor and the side walls of the pillared porch of the Sneferu valley temple are proof that the geographical orientation of sculpture had already been practised. The estates are grouped according to nomes, and the nomes of Lower Egypt are numbered from south to north in accordance with their actual progression. The nomes of Upper Egypt are numbered from north to south, the reverse of their actual designation, but even this alignment can be interpreted as dictated by geography in a scheme aimed at extending the extremities of Egypt into the pillared porch of the temple in celebration of the geographical extent to which kingship was acknowledged.

Using the abbreviations G for the goddess Hathor, K for King Mycerinus, and M or F for male or female nome figures, we can reconstruct the order of the intact triads as follows:

Nome:	Nome 18, U.E. Cynopolis	Nome 15, U.E. Hermopolis	Nome 7, U.E. Diospolis Parva	Nome 4, U.E. Thebes
Order of figures:	GKF	FGK	GKF	GKM
Line of heads:	Straight	Diagonal (ascending left-right)	Straight	(Diagonal ascending right-left)
Pose:	Standing	Seated (centre figure only)	Standing	Standing

There are also the two fragments to consider. The nome emblem on the Boston fragment is lost but the figures are, from left to right, Hathor, Mycerinus, and a male nome, all standing. The composition is thus comparable to the Theban triad in the order of the figures. The Boston fragment must also have had the diagonally aligned

¹¹ Ibid. 33 n. 140.

¹² Ibid. 23-35 and 40.

heads, for although Hathor's shoulder is almost level with the point where Mycerinus's shoulder would have been and the joints of their elbows are almost even, there is a drop in level between the king and the nome that is most obvious in the placement of the belts. Assuming that all variants upon the order of figures within a patterned group of eight triads are visible in the four intact examples and the Boston fragment, the seated figure in the centre of the small fragment must be Hathor. The standing male on the left cannot be the king for in other examples Mycerinus always appears on the goddess's left side. We thus have the following fragments to take into account in the reconstruction:

Nome:	Unknown	Unknown
Order of figures:	GKM	MGK
Line of heads:	Diagonal (ascending right-left)	Unknown
Pose:	Standing	Seated (centre figure only)

The eight portico chapels are divided into two sets of four by a central vestibule. We can designate the chapels as follows:

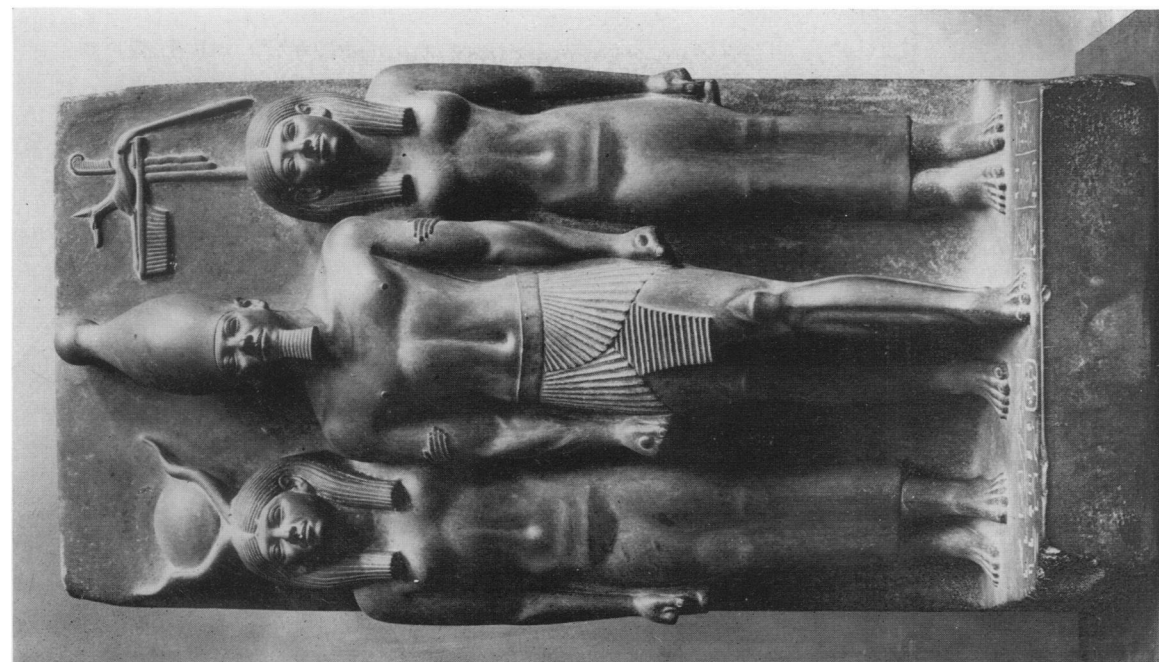
Chapel	Chapel	Chapel	Chapel	Chapel	Chapel	Chapel	Chapel
D-north	C-north	B-north	A-north	A-south	B-south	C-south	D-south

The wide numerical gap between the triads of nomes 15 and 7 suggests that the triads of nomes 18 and 15 were in the north chapels while the triads of nomes 7 and 4 were in the south chapels.

A further clue is provided by the range in quality among the triads.¹³ The fact that we are dealing with an iconographically and formally unified programme implies that the over-all design was the work of one master, but it is not to be supposed that he carved all the triads. Royal sculpture was made in workshops and may be the product of many hands. Presumably the master sculptor who headed the shop executed or at least supervised all the critical stages of important pieces. We can assume that the master's hand will be most apparent in the centrally located chapels A-north and A-south, which were apt to receive the greatest number of visitors.

On the basis of quality we can place the Boston triad of nome 15 in chapel A-north. It is the best of the intact triads, combining a subtle richness in the anatomical modelling with smoothly curving surfaces, which are played against the flat planes of the base, seat, and back slab, and accented by the crisp ridges of the kilt and the striations of wigs and the king's beard. The ascending diagonals created by the heads, the overlapping shoulders, and Hathor's right arm are particularly remarkable for their subtlety because their combined directional force gives vitality to the composition without disturbing the frontality of the group. The fusion of Hathor and Mycerinus into a pair within the equilibrium of the triad by means of Hathor's embrace and the support her seat provides for the king's mace, also bears witness to the hand of a master sculptor. The portraiture is very fine, offering the most delicately modelled and idealized Hathor and

¹³ My judgements on quality had to be made on the basis of photographs, but John D. Cooney, who is familiar at first hand with all the works in the series, except the lost fragment, confirmed my opinions. I am grateful to him for this help and for his encouragement. Pl. 23, 2, it may be noted, does not adequately represent the fine quality of that triad.



1. Hathor, Mycerinus, and the nome-goddess of Cynopolis
(Cairo Museum)

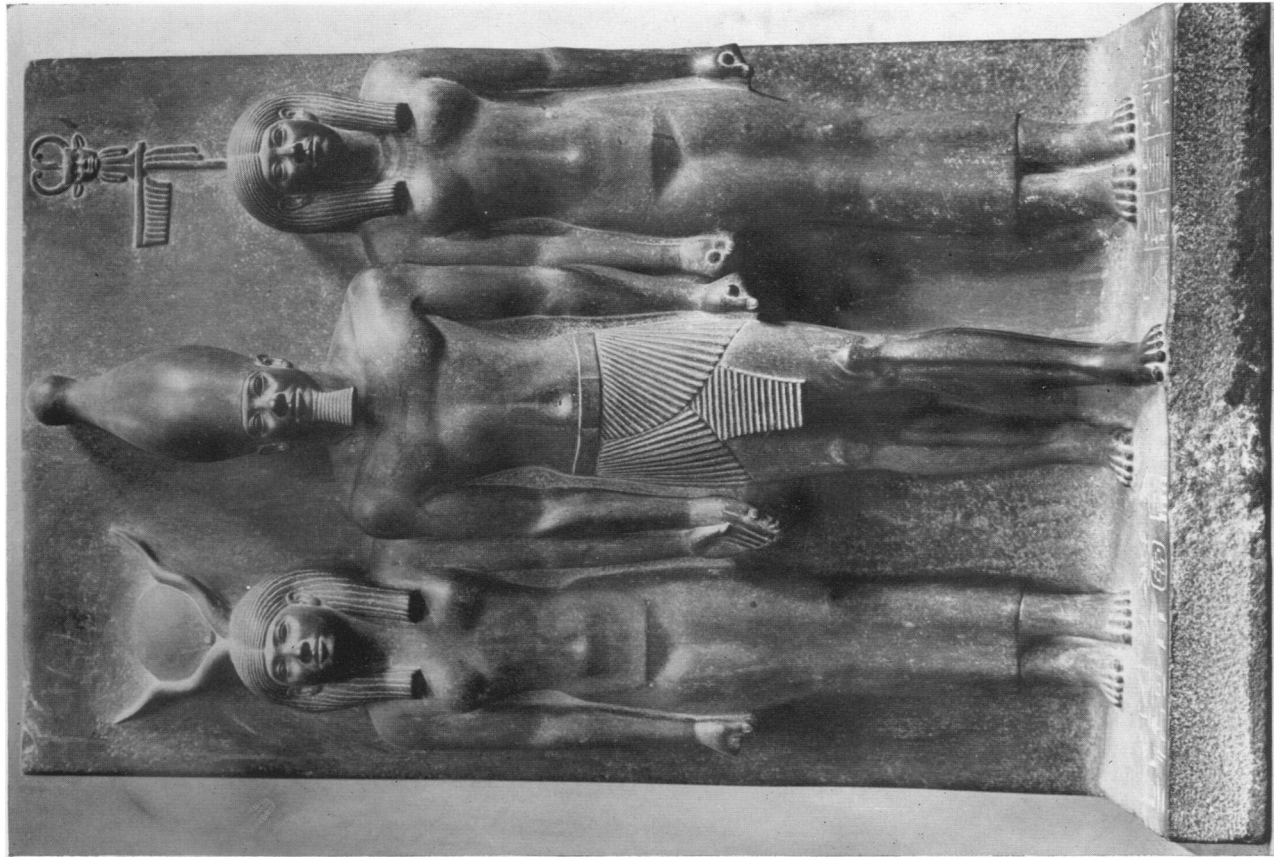
Courtesy Hirmer, Munich



2. The nome-goddess of Hermopolis, Hathor, and Mycerinus

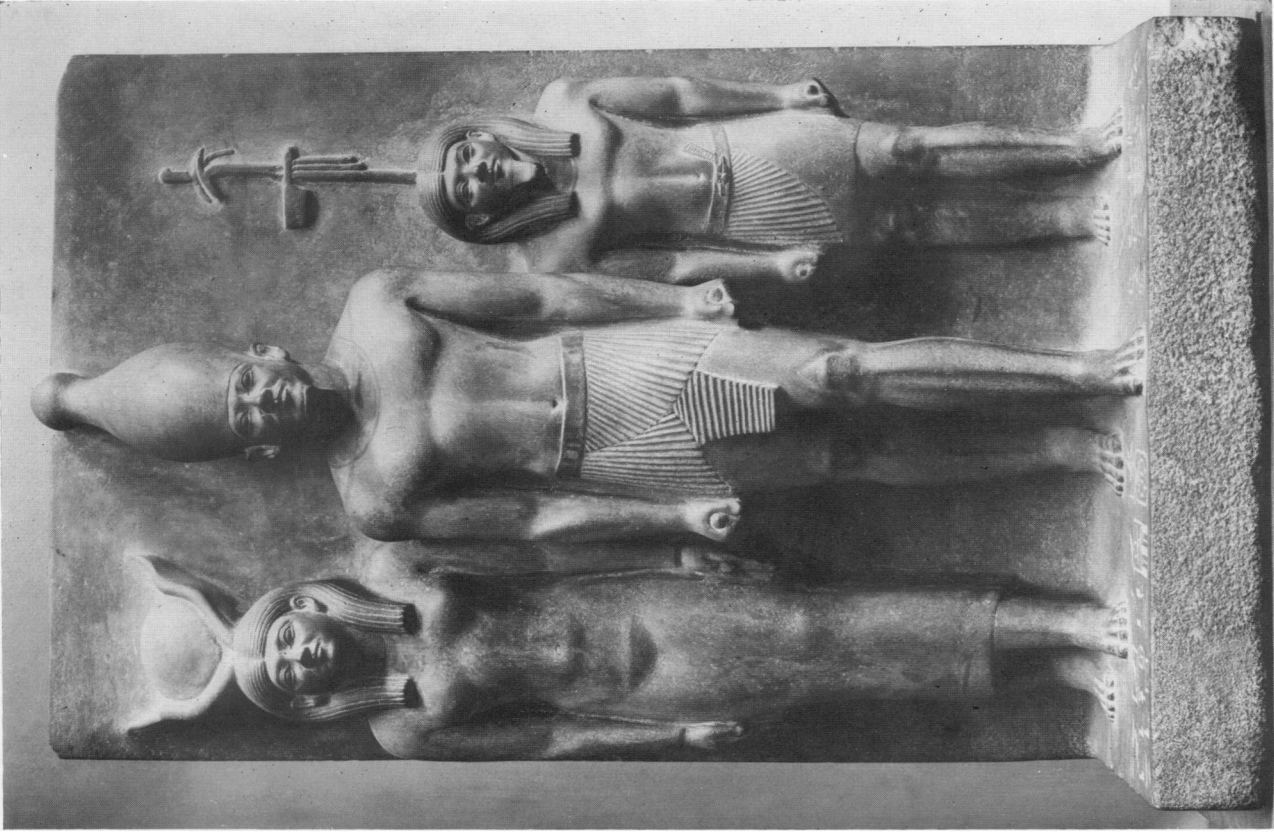
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

THE TRIADS OF MYCERINUS



1. Hathor, Mycerinus, and the nome-goddess of Diospolis Parva
(Cairo Museum)

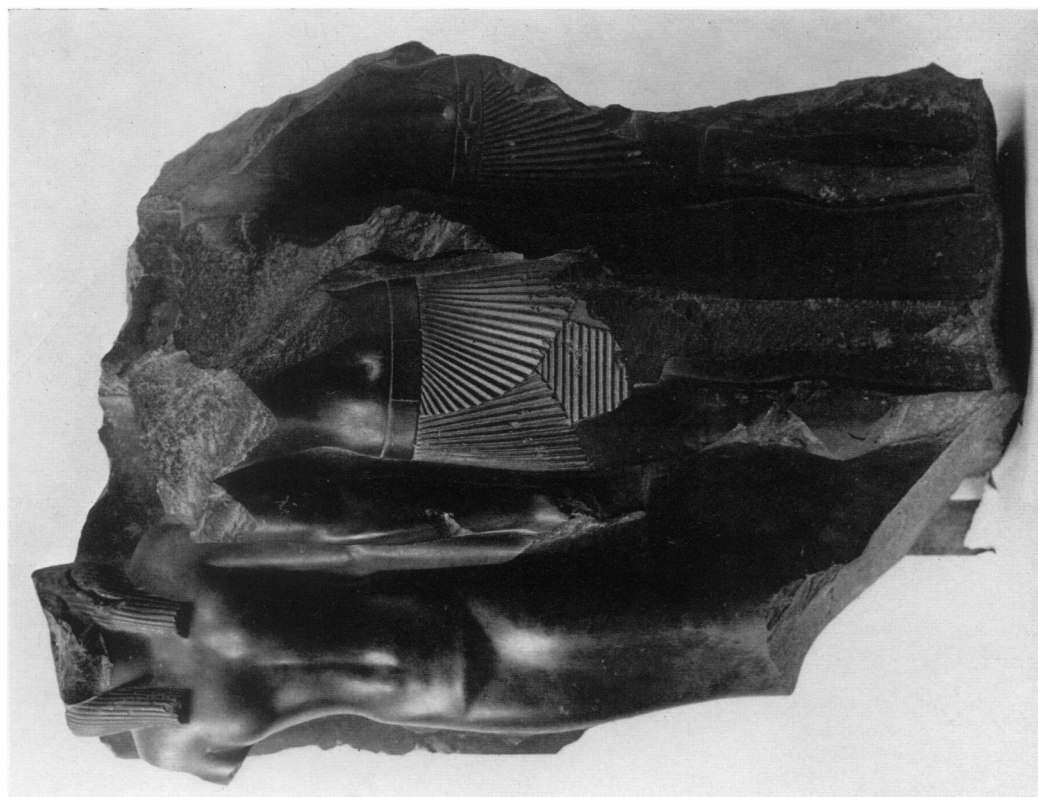
Courtesy Hirmer, Munich



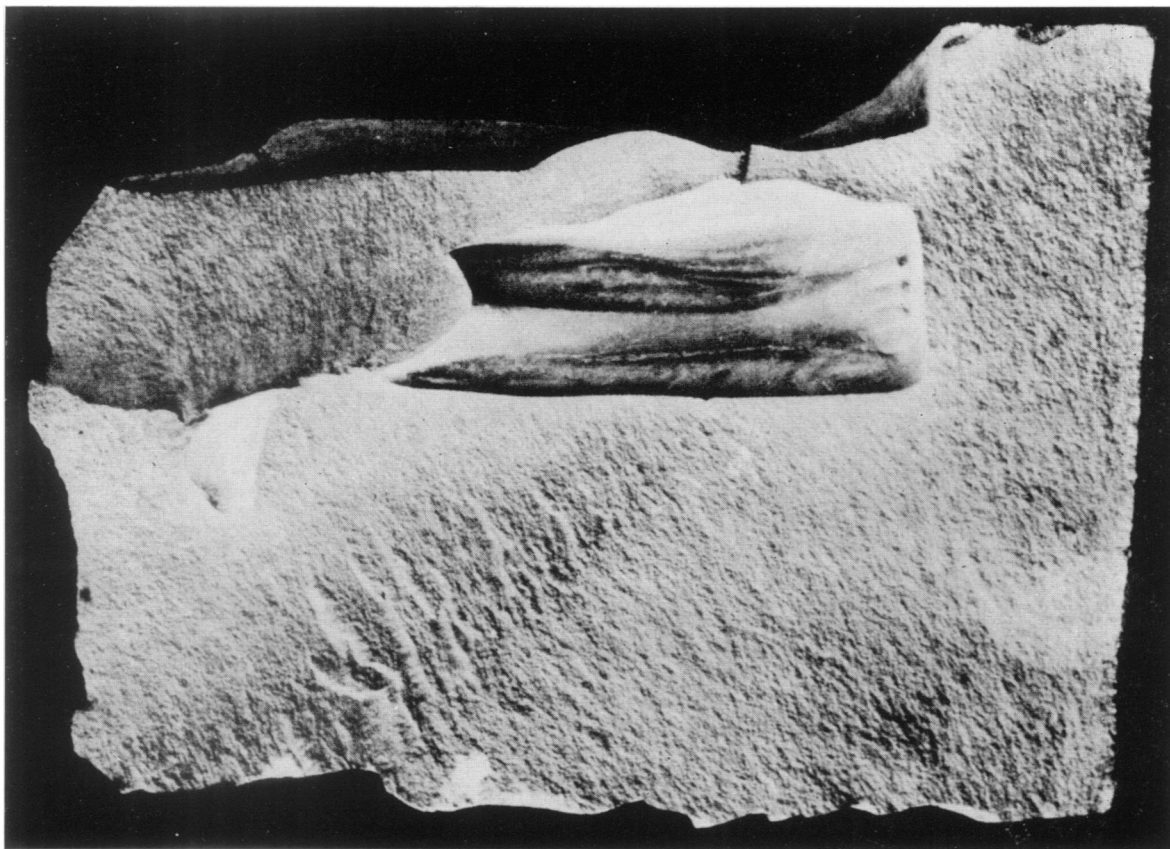
2. Hathor, Mycerinus, and the Theban nome-god (Cairo Museum)

Courtesy Hirmer, Munich

THE TRIADS OF MYCERINUS



1. Fragmentary triad found on the northern side of the court
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



2. Fragment of triad with a seated figure in the centre and a standing male on the left

From Reisner, Mycerinus (Harvard U.P.)

THE TRIADS OF MYCERINUS

the most individualized study of Mycerinus. The masculine character of the king is enhanced by his broad-shouldered physique and juxtaposed to the feminine curves and fine facial features of the goddess. Even the hieroglyphs on the base are superior in drawing and alignment.

At the other end of the spectrum is the Theban triad of nome 4. The absence of subtlety in the composition is evident in the harsh alignment of the heads where there is too great a drop in level between the king and the male nome figure, who consequently appears squat. The complexities introduced by multiple diagonals are missing, and the union of Hathor and Mycerinus is effected only by the scale they share. No effect of portraiture or beauty is conveyed by the faces, which are generalized and relatively coarse. Since the Theban triad is the poorest in quality we can assume that it stood in chapel D-south at the end of the portico in a less important position. We should note that the south-eastern doorway which connects the portico with the causeway was not the main entrance.

The Cynopolis and Diospolis Parva triads fall between the two extremes. The latter has a slight edge in that nothing disturbs the vertical rhythm as the disembodied hands of the Cynopolis triad do. Moreover, the portraiture of the Diospolis Parva triad is finer. The differences, however, are not sufficient to justify placing the triads on the basis of quality alone, particularly since the importance of Dendera might have been a factor in the effort expended on the Diospolis Parva triad. We can merely observe that they belong somewhere between the centre and the end chapels.

This analysis of the triads is illuminating in its implications for the larger stylistic problem of royal sculpture of the Fourth Dynasty, and for Reisner's¹⁴ theory of two workshops at Giza headed by sculptor A and sculptor B during the reigns of Chephren and Mycerinus. Basing his stylistic distinction on two facial types, one lean and the other full, Reisner's attributions to sculptor A included the three triads in Cairo, while the Boston intact triad was among the works assigned to sculptor B. In the case of the triads the distinction is not between masters, however, but between shop work and a masterpiece. We can therefore translate the attribution of the large Boston fragment to sculptor B made by E. L. B. Terrace,¹⁵ who broadened the basis for stylistic analysis to a consideration of the whole work, into an attribution to the master who planned the series and executed the intact Boston triad, for the two works are superior to the rest of the series. On the basis of quality the Boston fragment can be placed in chapel A-south (fig. 2).

We now have the key to reconstructing the entire series if we assume that the basic principles governing the formal pattern are contained within the central works executed by the master. When the two triads are considered jointly it is clear that their correspondence is in terms of images which are generically the same but specifically opposed. Thus the female nome of the Boston intact triad corresponds to the male nome of the Boston fragment, the goddess to the king, the king to the goddess. The basic motive underlying the correspondence is the pairing of equivalent male and

¹⁴ Op. cit. 127-9.

¹⁵ 'A Fragmentary Triad of King Mycerinus', *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 59 (1961), 40-9.

female figures. The alignment of heads also corresponds and contrasts—the diagonal in the north ascends from left to right, and that in the south ascends from right to left.

We can proceed on the assumption that each north chapel corresponds to a south chapel in a progression that begins in the centre of the portico and moves out from it. Thus A-north corresponds to A-south, B-north to B-south, etc. Similarly each triad will have its opposite member in the corresponding chapel.

← NORTH									
CHAPEL D-NORTH	CHAPEL C-NORTH	CHAPEL B-NORTH	CHAPEL A-NORTH		CHAPEL A-SOUTH	CHAPEL B-SOUTH	CHAPEL C-SOUTH	CHAPEL D-SOUTH	
			NOME 15	VESTIBULE	NOME ?			NOME 4	
			HERMOPOLIS						THEBES
			FGK			G KM			GKM
			DIAGONAL			DIAGONAL			DIAGONAL
			SEATED			STANDING			STANDING

FIG. 2

That standing and seated centre figures, male and female nomes, and the king and the goddess cannot simply alternate is clear from the fact that chapels A-south and D-south contain triads which duplicate each other. To perceive the entire scheme we must take what we know of the subsidiary triads into account.

We now have three triads—the Boston fragment, the Diospolis Parva triad, and the Theban triad—on the south, and two triads—those of Hermopolis and Cynopolis—on the north. The standing king occupies the centre of all three southern triads, but since he also appears in the centre of one triad on the north we can assume that the missing triad on the south had Hathor seated in the centre. To carry through the principle of corresponding opposites, the north side must have had three triads in which the seated goddess was in the centre and one, the Cynopolis triad, in which the king is in the centre. The north side of the portico is predominantly female, the south side is predominantly male, but each side has one exception to reinforce the bond between the halves. The scheme is in keeping with the best of classical Egyptian art, which places a premium on equilibrium but avoids the monotony of perfect symmetry.

The missing southern triad probably stood in chapel B-south because the numerical gap in nome numbers is much greater, even with the Boston fragment in chapel A-south, between nomes 7 and 15 than between nomes 7 and 4. The Diospolis Parva triad therefore stood in chapel C-south.

The triad of chapel B-south must have had a male on the left for the pattern of the nomes to correspond to the king-goddess pattern. But the group would not have had

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TRIADS OF KING MYCERINUS 91

a diagonal alignment because that would have placed the head of the nome higher than the heads of Hathor and Mycerinus. Since the diagonals, moreover, are not used consistently throughout the series and do not alternate with straight alignments, they are meaningful only in relation to the architecture. In the outermost chapels they set up a directional line that invites the viewer to move toward the centre. The centre diagonals establish the impetus needed to span the vestibule, and they elevate Hathor

← NORTH

CHAPEL D-NORTH	CHAPEL C-NORTH	CHAPEL B-NORTH	CHAPEL A-NORTH		CHAPEL A-SOUTH	CHAPEL B-SOUTH	CHAPEL C-SOUTH	CHAPEL D-SOUTH
			NOME 15	VESTIBULE	NOME ?	NOME ?	NOME 7	NOME 4
			HERMOPOLIS				DIOSPOLIS PARVA	THEBES
			FGK		GKM	MGK	GKF	GKM
			DIAGONAL		DIAGONAL	STRAIGHT	STRAIGHT	DIAGONAL
			SEATED		STANDING	SEATED	STANDING	STANDING

FIG. 3

← NORTH

CHAPEL D-NORTH	CHAPEL C-NORTH	CHAPEL B-NORTH	CHAPEL A-NORTH		CHAPEL A-SOUTH	CHAPEL B-SOUTH	CHAPEL C-SOUTH	CHAPEL D-SOUTH
NOME 1	NOME 20	NOME 18	NOME 15	VESTIBULE	NOME 12	NOME 9	NOME 7	NOME 4
FGK	MGK	GKF	FGK		GKM	MGK	GKF	GKM
DIAGONAL	STRAIGHT	STRAIGHT	DIAGONAL		DIAGONAL	STRAIGHT	STRAIGHT	DIAGONAL
SEATED	SEATED	STANDING	SEATED		STANDING	SEATED	STANDING	STANDING


FIG. 4

and Mycerinus to the compositional peaks that flank the central axis of the temple (fig. 3).

We can now restore the northern chapels completely as the counterparts of the southern chapels. The Cynopolis triad belongs in chapel B-north. The triad in chapel C-north was like that in chapel B-south, and the small fragment found in the thieves' hole therefore came from one of these two rooms. The triad in chapel D-north was like that in chapel A-north (fig. 4).

The fact that numerical intervals of three appear twice in the series, between nomes 4 and 7 and nomes 15 and 18, suggests that the progression was based on such intervals in keeping with the triad format. There cannot, however, have been nine intervals between nomes 7 and 15. This is to be anticipated, for if the numerical series corresponds in pattern to the sculptural one we can expect an irregularity in chapels B-south and C-north. Since the irregularity must be a contraction we can assume the interval is reduced to two in harmony with the pair theme. We now have in the southern chapels, from the exterior to the centre, the Upper Egyptian nomes 4, 7, 9, and 12. The northern chapels must continue in a corresponding progression: nomes 15, 18, 20, and nome 1 of Lower Egypt (fig. 4).

The assumption that the triads of highest quality have survived is justified by other considerations which support the reconstruction. The inscriptional evidence of Hathor worship extends, as we have observed, from the Memphite area to Thebes, corresponding to the geographical range of the triads. Although the governing principle is the correspondence of northern and southern elements which are the opposite members of pairs, north and south are not equated with Lower and Upper Egypt, for three of the Upper-Egyptian nomes, 15, 18, and 20, were in the northern chapels. The division is not unnatural, however, if we recall that the Old-Kingdom Egyptians thought of the Upper-Egyptian nomes as tripartite, probably in accordance with political units.¹⁶ Nomes 1 through 9 were probably the 'Southern Region' and nomes 10 through 15 were probably the 'Middle Nomes'. If the northern group had a similar geographical term of reference, it is unknown. During the Fourth Dynasty provincial administrators had more than one nome under their jurisdiction.¹⁷ Nomes 5, 6, and 7 of Upper Egypt, for example, made up one political unit. Since the southern extremity of Upper Egypt was probably more sparsely populated, nomes 1 through 4 were probably also under one administrator. The northernmost nomes of Upper Egypt might have been under the direct administration of Memphis, blurring the boundary between Upper and Lower Egypt. Although only eight nomes were actually represented in the triads, all of Upper Egypt and at least the Heliopolitan area of Lower Egypt were implied.

The Delta might well have been implied, too, by the northernmost of the triads where the king presumably wore the Red Crown of Lower Egypt that is also worn by Neith. By the Fourth Dynasty Neith, like Hathor, had Heliopolitan associations as a daughter of Rē^c, and the close relationship of the goddesses at Giza as early as the reign of Chephren has been noted by Siegfried Schott.¹⁸ The divine sisters are also linked in a number of Old-Kingdom tomb inscriptions. A Fourth Dynasty inscription from Dahshûr in the Louvre, for example, gives the titles of the wife of Sneferu's eldest son as *priestess of Hathor Mistress of the Sycamore; priestess of the Opener of Ways, Neith North of the Wall; priestess of the Mistress of* , *in all (her) places.*¹⁹ Fischer

¹⁶ Fischer, op. cit. 65.

¹⁷ Ibid. 12.

¹⁸ 'Ein Kult der Göttin Neith', *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Userkaf*, II (Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, 8, 1969), 127. Dieter Mueller was kind enough to call this reference to my attention.

¹⁹ Fischer, op. cit. 31.

has shown that the final epithet is probably deliberately ambiguous, referring to both Heliopolis and Dendera, because the Old-Kingdom Egyptians probably 'played upon the similarity of the names *Iwnw* and *Iwnt* . . . rendered meaningful by Hathor's solar associations'.²⁰ *North of the Wall* might also be a geographical epithet, referring to the area north of Memphis, the great walled capital city of Egypt. The sequence of epithets thus both individuates and unites the realms of the daughters of Rē throughout all of Egypt—the Memphite area, the Delta, Heliopolis, and Upper Egypt.

It might be objected that the emphasis on Upper Egypt in the reconstruction still appears disproportionate. We must remember, however, that the alabaster from which many of the statues in the funerary complex were carved might have been associated with Heliopolis, owing to proximity to the Wādi Gerrawi, as greywacke might have denoted Dendera. The inscription on the only finished figure among the four seated alabaster statues of the king found in the ante-room to the sanctuary describes Mycerinus as *Hor(us Kay-Khet)*, *shining brighter than any other good god*.²¹ The alabaster works could thus be said to give iconographic equilibrium to the programme as a whole.

Where shall we place the pair statue of Mycerinus and his queen? If we put it in the central chamber beyond the court, we can postulate a tidy progression from the greywacke triads, in which both seated and standing poses are found, to the seated alabaster figures of the king, to the standing greywacke pair, to the seated alabaster colossus in the pyramid temple. We would then have an alternation of poses and iconographic materials and a diminishing pattern of numbers that is very satisfying. But simple alternation is not the pattern of the sculptural programme, as it was not the pattern of the triads. To mention only the most interesting complication, the wooden fragments found by Reisner in the western half of the valley temple suggest the probability of sycamore statues dedicated to the Mistress of the Sycamore Shrine. The wooden statues were probably from a royal workshop, rather than private offerings from various sources, for the eyes, which were all that survived from a statue and three statuettes, are uniformly of an unusual technique.²² The wooden statues were probably part of the original programme and must be accounted for in any reconstruction of the whole. The triads, which are simple in their over-all scheme but enriched by internal intricacies of pattern, attest the sophistication of the Old-Kingdom artist and warn against oversimplification. The location of the pair statue and the role of the wooden figures are part of the unsolved riddle of the sculptural programme to which the triads are only the prelude.

²⁰ Ibid. 34–5.

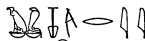

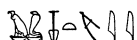
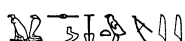
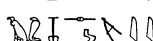





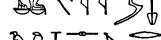
²¹ Reisner, *op. cit.* III.

²² A. E. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th edn., 1962, rev. J. R. Harris), 121.









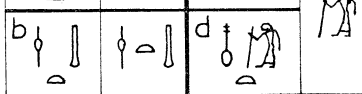
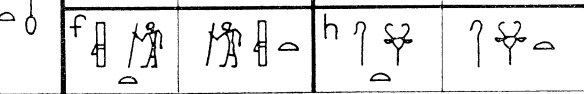
NBTY IN OLD-KINGDOM TITULARIES AND NAMES

By HENRY G. FISCHER

ONE of the recurrent elements in the titularies of Old-Kingdom queens shows the following variations:

- A.  De Rougé, *Inscriptions*, I, pl. 62.¹
 Borchardt, *Grabd. Kgs. Ne-user-re*, 109, fig. 88.
 Sarcophagus, Cairo J. 54935 (*Mr.s-ḥnh* III).
 Tomb chapel of *Mr.s-ḥnh* III.²
 False door of Queen *Nbt* (fig. 1).³
- B.  Statue, Boston MFA 30.1456 (*Htp-ḥr.s* II).⁴
- C.  Tomb chapel of *Mr.s-ḥnh* III.⁵
 Mariette, *Mastabas*, 183.
- D.  Mariette, *Mastabas*, 225.
- E.  Jéquier, *Pyr. des reines*, pl. 16.
- F.  False door of Queen *Nbt* (fig. 1).

¹ Similar examples of graphic metathesis are presented in the following tabulation which shows the feminine \ominus centred below a pair of signs; some cases also involve the graphic transposition of a tall narrow sign (d-f) or honorific transposition (g), and the feminine \ominus may belong to the first of the two signs above it (as in the present case, and a-c, e-g) or to the second sign (d, h).

a 	b 	c 	d 	e 	f 	g 	h 
							

The references are as follows: a-b: Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, IV, p. 23; c: Hassan, *Giza*, II, 163, fig. 193; d: Reisner, *Hist Giza Necrop.* I, pl. 65 (b) and *CG* 1414 (for the normal writing of *iwrt(i) nfr*, see Hassan, *Giza*, III, 196, fig. 158; VI, pt. 3, 64, fig. 46; *CG* 1506); e: Hassan, *Giza*, IV, 193, fig. 141; f: Murray, *Saq. Mast.* I, pl. 20; g: Hassan, *Giza*, III, 32, fig. 31; IV, 131, fig. 74 and 140, fig. 81; Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necrop.* I, pl. 57 (b); h: Hassan, *Giza*, II, 109, fig. 116 and III, fig. 118.

² On the north wall of room C (loc. 25); for this information I am indebted to Dows Dunham and Wm. K. Simpson, who are preparing a final publication of the tomb.

³ Presumably the wife of King Wenis, near whose pyramid her mastaba is located; cf. Zaki Saad, *ASAE* 40 (1941), 683-4, where the title under consideration is not mentioned; my copy (not a facsimile) derives from a photograph taken by Bernard V. Bothmer in 1958, and I am obliged to him for the use of it.

⁴ *BMFA* 34 (1936), 5.

⁵ Reisner, *BMFA* 25 (1927), fig. 5, p. 67; another example, on the west wall of the same principal room, is almost identical, only lacking \ominus (*Illus. London News*, July 9, 1927, p. 69 [3]).

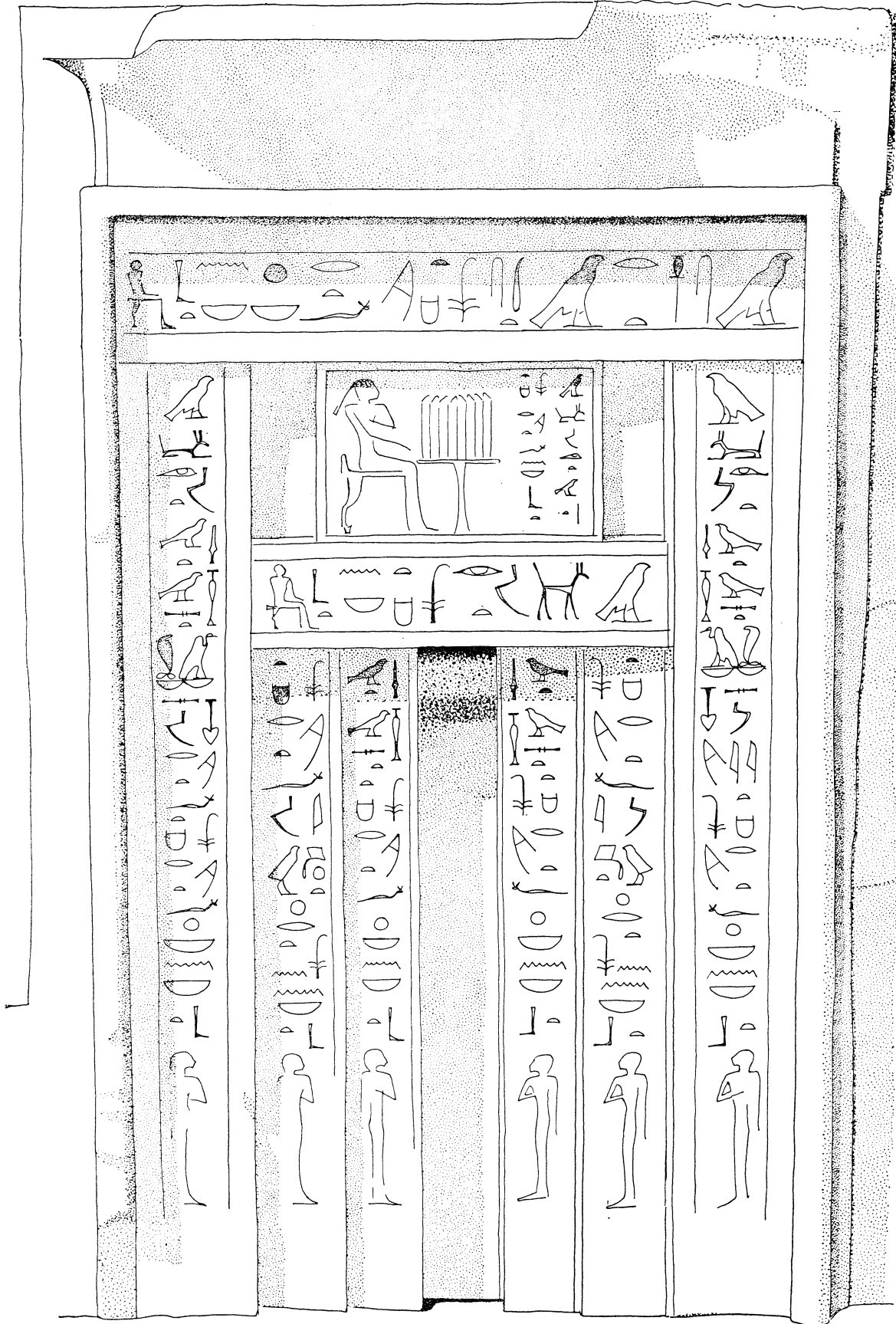


FIG. 1. False Door of Queen Nebet.

In his article 'La titulature des reines des dynasties memphites', *ASAE* 24 (1924), 207-8, Gauthier, like Erman and Naville before him, takes 𓂏𓂏𓂏 to mean 'beloved', and this translation is certainly applicable to the later examples which they quote, dating to the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties:

𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏	}	Nofret, queen of Sesostri II: <i>CG</i> 382.
𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏		
𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏		
		Hatshepsut: Naville, <i>Deir el Bahari</i> , II, pl. 48. ⁶

The feminine ending of *mryt* does not appear in any of the Old-Kingdom examples, however, and this omission is the more remarkable because the feminine *t* generally does appear in 𓂏𓂏 (var. 𓂏𓂏𓂏 , 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏). If the reading were *mryt*, the absence of the feminine ending would seem particularly remarkable in the majority of cases where the passive participle is written in full as 𓂏𓂏𓂏 or 𓂏𓂏𓂏 .⁷ Moreover, one would expect this adjunct, if it originally had such a meaning, to take the form 𓂏𓂏 , as it does in *Mr.s-nh's* titulary, following the titles 𓂏𓂏 and 𓂏𓂏𓂏 .⁸ An exceptional example of *smꜣ(wt) Nbty mrt-f* (F) does in fact occur at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, on the false door of Queen *Nbt*, whereas the opposite side of the same monument shows the normal form *smꜣ(wt) mry Nbty* (fig. 1); the most probable explanation is that, on the left side, this title has been assimilated to the following one, *hmt-nswt mrt-f*. If *mrt-f* were a legitimate variant of 𓂏𓂏𓂏 , and identical in meaning to the latter, one might conversely expect 𓂏𓂏𓂏 to appear as a variant in some writings of the titles that normally show *mrt-f*. The Middle-Kingdom example of 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 probably represents a reinterpretation of the older form, which permitted the replacement of *Nbty* by the king's name in the Middle Kingdom and the similar replacement of *Nbty* by *Hr* in the Eighteenth Dynasty, along with the addition of the suffix pronoun to *mryt*.

The variable sequence of words also raises some objections to Gauthier's interpretation. It does not seem likely that variant D ends with the epithet 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 'aimée du roi', as he assumes, without the usual honorific transposition; nor does his interpretation of 𓂏𓂏𓂏 fit variant E, in which one would expect *smꜣwt mryt* rather than *mryt smꜣwt*. The one solution that most comfortably suits all the Old-Kingdom writings is to take 𓂏𓂏𓂏 as a masculine participle referring to the king, in which case the translation is 'consort (lit. she who joins) him who is beloved of the Two Ladies' (or less probably) 'consort of the beloved (masc.) Two Ladies'. In the case of variant D one must then append '(scilicet) the king'.⁹ The variations in the sequence of *smꜣwt mry Nbty* may be summarized as follows, with honorific transposition indicated by parentheses and brackets:

- A. (*Nbty*) *smꜣwt mry*
- B. *smꜣwt Nbty*

⁶ Also to be found in Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 225, 2; and cf. 216, 11.


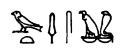

⁷ As, for example, in 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 , Junker, *Giza*, IV, 42, fig. 11.

⁸ E.g. Reisner, loc. cit. and (with *smrt Hr*), pp. 76-7, figs. 17-18.


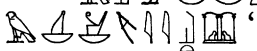
⁹ For this addition cf. the epithet of a Fourth-Dynasty prince: *imꜣh hr it-f nswt*, 'revered with his father, the king' (Hassan, *Giza*, IV, 119, fig. 64).

- C. *smꜣwt* (*Nbty*) *mry*
- D. same + *nswt*
- E. (*Nbty* [*mry*]) *smꜣwt*


The omission of *mry* in one example (B) is probably not to be regarded as an error, but rather as an admissible variation in which *Nbty* is the equivalent of *mry Nbty*, representing the king himself.¹⁰ Another queenly title, *wrt ḥts* occasionally shows variations with the addition of *Nbwy* or *Nbty*:

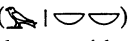

-  entrance of chapel of *Mr.s-ḥnh*¹¹
-  west wall, main chamber, of same¹²
-  Hassan, *Giza*, III, 185, fig. 147, and pl. 55.¹³



Although the precise meaning of *ḥts* remains uncertain, it seems likely that a reference to the king is again to be recognized in these cases.¹⁴


The interpretation that has been proposed for the Old-Kingdom examples of *mry Nbty* is borne out by some Middle-Kingdom evidence that is somewhat earlier than the Middle-Kingdom titles quoted earlier. The name of the shrine of Sesostri I at Karnak sometimes appears in the form  'Seat (*wꜣst*) of Horus, the son of the two crowns'¹⁵ and sometimes  'Seat of Horus, beloved of the two crowns'.¹⁶





Irrespective of the foregoing considerations, it is clear that *Nbwy* and *Nbty* sometimes literally refer to the 'Two Lords' and 'Two Ladies' who represent an entity that is independent of the king (notably in *Pyr.* 34), while at other times this designation represents the king himself. Particularly in the case of *Nbty*, it might be

¹⁰ Cf. the group , which occurs frequently in archaic inscriptions. Kaplony (*Inschriften der äg Frühzeit*, 612–14) lists the occurrences and concludes, following Helck, that this represents a personal name; on p. 438 he compares other names compounded with *nbwy* (rather than *nbty*).

¹¹ Grdseloff, *ASAE* 42 (1943), 112, finds a parallel for this in Emery, *Hemaka*, 35 and pl. 18 a () and takes *wrt ḥts* to mean 'la grande des princesses (nubiles)' (pp. 114–15). *Wr/wrt* may indeed mean 'the greatest of (a group of persons)', but since *ḥts* may represent a quality ('perfection'?), the first word might also be translated 'great in respect to' (cf. n. 14 below). Grdseloff's further interpretation of *wrt ḥts* as 'educatrice' (p. 118) is difficult to follow despite his ingenious interpretation of  as the determinative of *ts-mdḥ* in *Pyr.* 1214b (p. 120; cf. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur äg. Tracht* 27, n. 3).

¹² Two examples, loc. 12 and 13; the writing  occurs in the vertical inscriptions of this chapel, while the more usual writing  occurs in the horizontal ones.

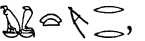
¹³ Although this example is not intact, it does not seem to be ; furthermore *wrt ḥts* occurs repeatedly in the inscriptions of the same person, while *smꜣwt nbty* is absent.



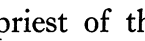
¹⁴ One might also compare two examples which append the name of a specific king: ,  (De Rougé, *Inscriptions*, I, pl. 62). It should be noted, however, that another of *Mr.s-ḥnh*'s titles shows a variant that appends the name of the god Thoth:  (followed by ) *wrt-ḥst Dḥwty* lit. 'great-of-praise(s) of Thoth' or possibly 'greatest of those whom Thoth praises'. This occurs above the entrance (*BMFA* 25 [1927], 77, fig. 18).

¹⁵ Lacau and Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sesostri I^{er}*, pls. 10–11.


¹⁶ Op. cit. pls. 18, 34; cf. Kees, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 194–5.


considered whether a nisbe-form is involved, the writing of which would be indistinguishable from the feminine dual on which it is based.¹⁷

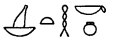

In the case of Old-Kingdom feminine names which are compounded with *Nbty*, the use of this term is ambiguous. If it refers to the female divinities as such, it also alludes to the relationship between these divinities and the king; if it refers to the king, this mode of reference is certainly adopted because it involves a pair of divinities that are female. Probably the second interpretation is more appropriate as a rule,¹⁸ but the first is attested by at least two examples, both of which refer to *Nbty* as an entity other than the king. One is , which Ranke translates: 'es glänzt der, den *nb·tj* (d.i. der König) liebt' (*PN* I, 264 [10]). Since *mrr* is masculine, 'he whom the Two Ladies love' must refer to the king or an unidentified god, either of which might appropriately be the subject of *hri*. In neither case can *Nbty* represent the king, and in this particular context the first alternative is much more likely; indeed, the relative form *mrr Nbty* might be compared with the participial *mry Nbty* in the title mentioned earlier.




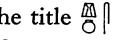

The second name,  (*PN* I, 423 [23]), evidently means 'The Two Ladies are upon her father', and *nbty* must then allude to the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, as in  'his crown is upon him' (*Pyr.* 2018*b*, 2019*b*, and cf. 753*b*, 2196*a*).¹⁹ According to the *Wörterbuch*, *Nbty* is not otherwise known to refer to the double crown prior to the New Kingdom.²⁰ It seems more than coincidental, however, that two Fifth-Dynasty 'keepers of the headdress' (*iry nfr-hst*) are, at the same time, 'priest of Nekhebet, priest of Wedjoyet'. In one example the three titles are presented in series, ending with another closely related title—'director of hairdressers' (fig. 2).²¹ The double priesthood evidently has much the same meaning as the Twelfth-Dynasty title  'priest of the white and red crown of Upper and Lower Egypt' (Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.*, pl. 82).²²

Nfr-hst recalls a term for the crown, *nfr-hdt*, as attested in a title of princesses and queens dating from the Twelfth Dynasty down to the first half of the Eighteenth:


¹⁷ This question is also raised by the occurrence of  among the epithets of the Twelfth-Dynasty official *Wb-htp* (Blackman and Apted, *Meir*, VI, pl. 13); this has been translated 'Two Ladies, or He of the Two Ladies' (*ibid.* 9, 26).

¹⁸ For the numerous cases in which *Nbty* may refer to the king, see Ranke, *PN* I, 180 (12, 21), 189 (25, 26), 190 (1, 2), 259 (1), 423 (22), 425 (30); II, 297 (24), 302 (24) and  Brooklyn 64. 148. 2.

¹⁹ The white crown alone is mentioned in the Old-Kingdom personal name  (*PN* I, 257 [4], Hassan, *Giza*; IV, 117); this is paralleled by the name  (*PN* I, 190 [1]), but that does not mean, of course, that *Nbty* necessarily refers to the two crowns in the latter case.

²⁰ *Wb.* II, 233, 9–10; cf. Faulkner, *Concise Dict.* 129 and quotations given by Naville, *ZÄS* 36 (1898), 134. Middle-Kingdom texts sometimes use *Wsdty* (det.  CG 20518, 20683; Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 281; Blackman, *Meir*, III, 2;  BM 839, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, II, pl. 7); cf.  'the white crown serpent (*hdt-wtt*) which is in El Kab' (*Pyr.* 900*b*); also the title  which Gunn translates 'Carrier of the *nws*-diadem (?) of Uto' (Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 134); this recurs (as  alone) in the Middle Kingdom (Weill, *Rev. d'Ég.* 7 [1950], 185–6); and the *nws*-diadem is also mentioned in Jéquier, *Pys. des Reines*, pl. 8 (Neit, 43) and *CT* VI, 208*d*.

²¹ From Hassan, *Giza*, II, 85, fig. 89; the other titles are held by *Rr-wr*: *op. cit.* I, 23, fig. 16, and pp. 6, 16, 29.

²² This point favours the interpretation of  as 'support of the red (crown)' on the false door of a 'keeper of the royal headdress' who is apparently somewhat later than Dyn. VI (*ZÄS* 90 [1963], 39–40 and pl. 5).

𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓 'she who joins the white crown'.²³ The frequent use of this title in the Middle and early New Kingdom suggests that it may, by an assimilation of meaning, have caused the old title *smꜣwt mry Nbtj* to be reinterpreted as *smꜣwt mryt Nbtj* so that it now meant 'beloved one who joins the two crowns', although eventually *Nbtj* was taken to embody the king: 'she who joins the *Nbtj*, his beloved'.

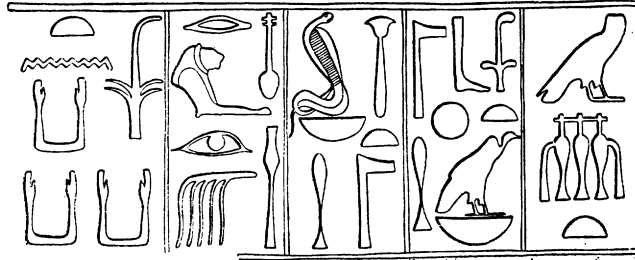


FIG. 2

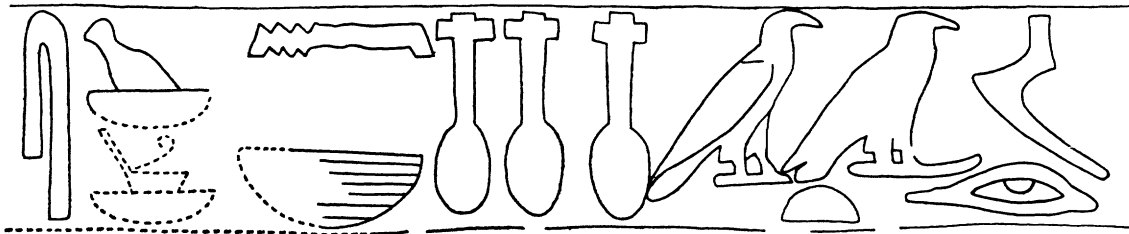


FIG. 3

If this last point is admitted, however, it fails to explain why *mry* should have been added to the title *smꜣwt Nbtj* in the first place, for this addition can hardly have been intended to eliminate an interpretation that was reinstated by changing *mry* to *mryt*. No conclusive answer can be given, but it seems possible that the circumlocution was introduced because *smꜣwt Nbtj*, 'she who joins the Two Ladies', created an ambiguous or misleading impression, requiring an exceptional distinction to be made between *Nbtj* and the king. But it should be emphasized that no such distinction was normally made between the king and the dual entity represented by the two crowns and by the two goddesses associated with them. This point is strikingly illustrated by the epithet shown in fig. 3, which is clearly to be restored as indicated by the dotted lines.²⁴ Here the two crowns apparently serve as determinative for *nb·s* in the epithet of a Fifth-Dynasty woman who was in charge of the harim and of the diversions which it afforded the king: 'One who beholds the beauty of her (double-crowned) lord.'²⁵

²³ Examples are assembled and discussed by Brunton, *ASAE* 49 (1949), 99-110.

²⁴ Hassan, *Giza*, II, fig. 228, facing p. 206; the second crown is mistakenly omitted on p. 204, and by myself in *ZAS* 90 (1963), 39. The restoration of this sign explains why the height of the white crown is so compressed, and its restoration explains a gap that ill suits the spacing of the surrounding inscriptions.

²⁵ The pair of crowns also assume this form on at least three cylinder seals of the Old Kingdom, in each case followed by 𓆎𓆑: Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. A (9), with name of Chephren; Walters Art Gallery 57.1748, with name of Saḥurē'; Petrie, *Scarabs*, pl. 9 (5.8, 1), name of Rē'-neferef (not Djedkarē'). The meaning may be 'the two crowns, adornment of the forehead'. In any case it does not seem possible to equate *hkr* and *shkr* as Junker proposes in *Giza*, x, 80.

POLYGAMY IN EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM?

By WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON

The intent of this discussion is neither to affirm nor deny the existence of polygamy among the officials of the Middle Kingdom who have left us evidence on this subject.

Often the anthropologist or sociologist poses the question of the existence of a social phenomenon in Egypt, and despite the wealth of our documentation our answers must be dishearteningly equivocal. On the subject of polygamy in ancient Egypt perhaps the most accurate statement is that in a recent article: 'Das Problem läßt sich nach dem Quellenstande nicht eindeutig lösen.'¹ Through recent prosopographical studies in the Middle Kingdom, I believe there is sufficient reason to restate the question by listing some pertinent examples known to me, several of which do not seem to have been noticed in this context before.² Other cases can doubtless be found in the extensive material available.

It is important to treat the subject in terms of specific periods and social classes. In general, the king usually had a plurality of wives and the commoner, however exalted his station, was monogamous. The cases considered are restricted to the Middle Kingdom, and their bearing on the subject will be reviewed. To anticipate our conclusions, it may be stated that a plurality of wives is occasionally attested, but that the nature of the documentation is such that each of the officials may have been widowed or divorced and subsequently remarried.

1. Mery-ʿaa of Hagarseh.³ *c.* Ninth Dynasty.⁴ The earliest of our cases is in many ways the most interesting, although strictly speaking it belongs to the First Intermediate Period and not the Middle Kingdom proper. On the north wall of the tomb of Mery-ʿaa at Hagarseh, a site near Sohag north of Abydos identified as the Upper Egyptian Athribis, the owner is represented with six wives and children of five of them. In the top register on the left Mery-ʿaa is followed by his wife Isi. Petrie seems to have assumed that she was his chief wife, childless, and then the other five added.⁵

¹ Rolf Tanner, 'Untersuchungen zur Ehe- und erbrechtlichen Stellung der Frau in pharaonischen Ägypten', *Klio* 49 (1967), 5-37, cited on p. 21.

² Among the standard treatments of the subject, many cited in the article by Tanner, are: A. Erman (rev. Hermann Ranke), *Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum* (1923), 177; Pierre Montet, *Everyday Life in Egypt in the Days of Ramesses the Great* (1958), 54-5; W. Max Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter* (1899), 5-6; T. Eric Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, 1, Text (1930), 156-7: 'I am one of four wives, two being dead and another still alive.' M. S. Shaw, *Family Life in Ancient Egypt* (Manchester, 1933); W. M. F. Petrie, in Herbert Spencer (ed.), *Descriptive Sociology . . .*, No. 11: *Ancient Egyptians* (1925), 3, col. 9; P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (1961), 3, 62; E. Seidl, *Einführung in die ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte bis zum Ende des neuen Reiches: I: Juristische Teil* (Ägyptologische Forschungen 10, 1951), 55; Petrie, *Social Life in Ancient Egypt* (1923), 112-13.

³ W. M. F. Petrie, *Athribis*, 3-4, pls. 6-9.

⁴ For the date, see H. G. Fischer, *Dendera*, 130 n. 574.

⁵ Petrie, in *Descriptive Sociology*, 3.

Contrariwise, she may have been the most recent and not as yet mother of a child. In the second register are five standing women, each identified as *hmt·f*, 'his wife', and named *Hsyt*, *Nfr-tntt*, *Tp-pw* (or *Tpw*), *Nhi*, and *Wntši*. In the first register are three like-named sons, designated as 'his sons', and born respectively to *Nfr-tntt*, *Nhi*, and *Wntši*, as well as his daughter born to *Tp-pw*. Preceding the row of five wives in the second register is a seated couple with names missing (evidently Mery-⁶aa and Isi) faced by six women. The first is his eldest daughter born to *Hsyt* and the second her sister. The third is a daughter of his born to *Nfr-tntt* and the fourth her sister. The fifth is a daughter of his born to *Nhi* and the sixth her sister. Thus there are three pairs of daughters respectively born to the first, second, and fourth of the five child-bearing wives, while the order of the three sons corresponds to the order of their respective mothers as the second, fourth, and fifth of the wives. Apart from the childless Isi, the descendants seem to be arranged in an order corresponding to the order of the five wives. Note that the eldest daughter is the child of the first of these five. It is not unlikely, given the Egyptian consciousness of rank, that the representations are carefully arranged with the wives in a specific order.

Now it is not inconceivable that Mery-⁶aa is shown with his wife Isi and five former wives, or that he was widowed or divorced and then in each case remarried. On the west wall of the tomb he is shown twice with his wife Isi; on the east wall his eldest son is cited in a fragmentary biographical inscription. He is presumably the son of the second of the five wives.

How is the case of Mery-⁶aa to be analysed? The evidence is 'monumental'; that is, it is a statement on a tomb wall. Papyrus documents or other details would doubtless be useful in determining the exact nature of this multiple marriage, but they are lacking. Mery-⁶aa bears the title of *h⁶ty-⁶*, sometimes taken as 'mayor' or 'commander', but here perhaps equivalent to 'nomarch'. It seems clear from the statement of the tomb relief that he was indeed married on six occasions, five of which produced offspring. It is unlikely that each subsequent marriage after the first resulted from a divorce: it is doubtful that he would have wished to honour the divorced wives by representing them on the tomb wall, or that his surviving family would be similarly inclined to do so.

The question of polygamy is thus open (marriage to more than one wife at one time), but it is possible that he was widowed five times. The reader will have to form his own conclusions.

2. Intef son of Ka. Stela British Museum 1203 (*Hieroglyphic Texts*, 1, pl. 53), Dynasty 11. The owner of the stela is followed by three named wives, Mery, Iutu, and Iru, each designated separately as *hmt·f mrt·f*. Tanner notes that they are not designated as *nbt pr*.⁶

3. Stela Louvre C 15, 'stela of the cryptographic text', Eleventh Dynasty. The official 'Ab-kau is represented seated on the right with his wife, *hmt·f mrt·(f) hkr⁶t w⁶tt nsw* Imu. On the other side of the offering table and false door are two standing ladies, the first designated as *iwntt(?)·f mrt·(f) Twtw*, and the second as *hmt·f mrt·(f)*

⁶ Tanner, op. cit. 22.

hkrt w'tt nsw 'Ab-kau. In this case two ladies are designated as *hmt:f*. The second bears the same name as her husband.

4. Djefai-Ḥapy (Ḥepdjefa) of Siut, Twelfth Dynasty, reign of Sesostri I.⁷ In one scene the seated tomb owner faces four standing women.⁸ The first and second are his mother and daughter. The third and fourth are wives designated as *hmt:f* and *nbt pr*, but the third has the epithet *nbt imḥ* and the fourth the epithet *mḥ't-hrw*, perhaps thereby distinguishing the third as his present and the fourth as his deceased wife.

5. Intef, steward, son of Sit-Amun and Neb-ḥu. Stela Louvre C 167 (R. L. B. Moss, *Griffith Studies*, 310–11, pl. 47), Sesostri I, Year 25. The steward Intef is shown on a chair with two wives seated with him: *hmt:f mrt:(f) Sḥt-Ḥwt-Ḥr*, *mḥ't-hrw* and *hmt:f Mryt mḥ't-hrw*. On two other stelae of the same official only the first of these wives is cited (CCG 20542 and 20561).

6. Imsu, scribe of the mat (*tmḥ*). Stela Leiden V, 3, Sesostri I, Year 33 (Boeser, *Beschreibung . . .* II, pl. II). Imsu is similarly seated on the same chair with two wives: *hmt:f mrt:f Mrrt* and *hmt:f mrt:f Mwtw*.

7. Ameny son of Ḳebu, chief overseer of the work-force (*imy-r mḥ' wr*). Twelfth Dynasty. In stela Louvre C 35 Ameny is followed by his wife It: *hmt:f mrt:f nt st ib:f It mḥ't-hrw nbt imḥ irt:n Sḥt-Im*. In stela CCG 20546 his wife is designated: *hmt:f mrt:f irt ḥsst:f hmt-ntr Ḥwt-Ḥr Rn:f-ḥnh mst n ḥnt-rn*. In stela British Museum 162, which forms a pair with stela CCG 20546, his wife is designated: *hmt:f mrt:f irt ḥsst:f r nb hmt-ntr Ḥwt-Ḥr Mdḥw mst n Imny mḥ't-hrw*. Possibly the same *imy-r mḥ' wr* Ameny, without filiation, is represented in stela Copenhagen National Museum Inv. Aad 13 with a daughter born to a Senebtisi. Hence three wives and possibly a fourth are attested. Only in the last, doubtful, case is there a descendant attested.

8. Khnum-ḥotpe, son of Neheri, nomarch of the Oryx Nome, Beni Hasan Tomb No. 3, reign of Sesostri II (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, 39–72, pls. 24–38). As pointed out by Newberry, Khnum-ḥotpe is shown with two wives. The more prominent, Khety, bears the designation *hmt:f mryt:f* as well as the title *nbt pr*, and was the mother of four sons and three daughters. The second, *Tḥt*, lacks the first designation but bears the title *nbt pr* as well as *ḥtmḥt (sdḥwtyt)* and *iry ḥt nb:s*. She was the mother of two sons, of whom one was the owner of the unfinished tomb No. 4, and one daughter (*Beni Hasan*, I, 43–4). In the fowling scene the first wife sits in front of her husband's feet and the second wife is shown sitting behind him on a slightly smaller scale (*Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 32). On the south wall of the main chamber the first wife occupies a prominent place at her own offering table while the second wife occupies the position of fourth among five ladies to her rear, the three first ladies being daughters of the first wife (*Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 35). In this instance there is a clear differentiation in status. The first wife was the daughter of a nomarch of the Jackal Nome, and the second may have been from the Oryx Nome. Possibly *Tḥt* was an earlier wife who died before her husband's marriage to the hereditary princess of the neighbouring nome; in the procession her name has the epithet *mḥ't-hrw*. If such were the case it is perhaps unusual

⁷ References in Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl. IV: Lower and Middle Egypt*, 259–62.

⁸ Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 1.

that she does not bear the designation *hmt:f* in the fowling scene or in the shrine; the absence of such a title would be meaningless if a former wife is represented but significant if the two ladies are to be distinguished in status.

9. Ukh-hotpe, nomarch of Cusae, Meir Tomb C 1, reign of Sesostris II or III. In the tomb Ukh-hotpe is shown with four wives (*nbt pr*). Careful attention seems to have been paid to indicate their equal status, for they alternate in the representations. The central niche on the west wall is the clearest case. On the southern wall of the niche the *nbt pr* Khenemyt-wer stands behind her husband. On the northern wall the *nbt pr* Nebet-meht similarly stands behind her husband, and on the rear (western) wall are kneeling figures facing each other of Khnumu-hotpe and Nub-kau, both with the title *nbt pr*.⁹ As pointed out by Vandier¹⁰ these last two wives reappear in the group statue CCG 459 flanking their husband in the same relative position and with the added title *hmt: hmt:f mryt:f nbt pr Hnmw-htp mst n Imw* and *hmt:f mryt:f nt st ib:f nbt pr Nbw-kzw mst n Twnt*. Not hitherto recognized as such is a similar group statue of the same persons, also with the same daughter as in the Cairo statue, in the Walters Art Gallery (acc. no. 22. 170), in which the wives are similarly placed: *hmt:f mryt:f nt st ib:f nbt pr Hnmw-htp ms n Imw* and *hmt:f mryt:f nt st ib:f nbt pr Nbw-kzw mst n Twnt*.¹¹ In discussing the Cairo statue, Fischer has noted: 'Polygamy is rare in ancient Egypt, and this exception is doubtless to be considered an imitation of royal custom that was intended to guarantee an heir to the throne, for there are several usurpations of royal iconography in Ukh-hotpe's chapel.'¹²

10. The chief of the tens of Upper Egypt Ameny. In stela CCG 20455 the owner is seated before a table of offerings with twenty-four compartments below for the names of members of his family, beginning with his father and mother. Possibly this is the same Ameny with this title known from stela British Museum 852 of Year 8 of Sesostris III, although the combination of a common name and common title hardly assures identity. No. 10 in the list is *hmt:f Nbt-sht-R' m' t-hrw* and No. 11 is *hmt:f Hnt m' t-hrw*. Among the other individuals are children of these wives. Erman, who apparently first noted this case of polygamy, suggests that both wives lived at the same time in the household and even named their children after the other wife.¹³

11. The hereditary prince Iri. Erman also notes the instance of stela CCG 20750 in which the wife represented is named Intef, the mother of his eldest son, but in which two other sons are designated as sons of Meny, thereby implying a second mother. This is not, strictly speaking, an instance of the representation of two wives. Cases of this sort are probably not infrequent. The second two sons may have been born out of wedlock.

⁹ A. M. Blackman and M. R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, VI, pl. 15 (south wall of recess), pl. 17 (north wall of recess), pl. 16 (west wall of recess).

¹⁰ *RdE* 13 (1961), 110-11. The statue is published or discussed in Borchardt, *Statuen*, II, 51-2; H. Fischer, *Kush* 9 (1961), 55 n. 17; Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III, 244-5, 249, 254, 257, 270, 274, 588, pl. 85, 2; Fischer in H. G. Fischer and E. L. B. Terrace, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum*, 81-4.

¹¹ G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, pl. 12, no. 50. Steindorff has not read the names correctly. Vandier, *Manuel . . .*, III, 244, 258, 579, pl. 84, 1.

¹² Fischer in Terrace and Fischer, op. cit. 81.

¹³ *Aegypten*, 177; *ASAE* 29 (1929), 5-14.

12. Ḥa-ʿankhef of Edfu. Stela Cairo J.d'E. 52456. Dynasty 13 (?). In a stela published by Gunn reference is made to *kt(i) ḥmt*, '(my) other wife', and Gunn discusses the implications of this phrase.¹³

In considering these cases as a group, it is evident that there is no compelling reason to reject the possibility that the husband in each case may have been widowed and then married again, or else divorced from one wife before entering into a subsequent union. Yet the nature of the evidence is such as to suggest real polygamy. In the cases of Imsu and Intef the group of three seated individuals on the same seat, a husband followed by two wives, is hard to explain otherwise, as is the case of the two statue groups of Ukh-ḥotpe with two wives shown equally. It may be possible to obtain a clearer picture from such legal documents as are preserved on papyrus.¹⁴ Isolated cases of non-royal polygamy are attested in the later New Kingdom, particularly in the tomb robbery papyri, as well as a clear-cut indication of prior marriages. The latter is instanced in a stela of late Dynasty 19 (Mariette, *Catalogue d' Abydos*, 1161) in which the wife is indicated by the label *ḥmt-f nbt pr*, and two previous wives by the label *ḥmt-f hr-ḥst*. Certainly such a distinction could have been spelled out in similar fashion, if desired, by the individuals of the Middle Kingdom. Such a case is indeed indicated in the tomb of Djefai-ḥapy of the reign of Sesostris I at Siut. For the above reasons it is likely that we should recognize the limited existence of polygamy in the official classes of the Middle Kingdom. The feature is relatively rare, but its public acknowledgement in stelae, statuary, and tomb relief suggests that it was not proscribed.

The subject merits a fuller treatment, which should take into consideration such cases as no. 11 above, the papyri, and the instruction literature. Other periods should be examined and in each case the social status of the individuals taken into consideration.

One might note in conclusion two doubtful cases of polyandry! The lady Menkhet is shown with her husband Ḥor and son Mery in stela Louvre C 3 of Year 9 of Sesostris I. Possibly the same lady Menkhet is shown with another husband, Nesu-Montu, in the roughly contemporary stela Louvre C 1. In stela British Museum 571 (*Hieroglyphic Texts*, II, pl. 16), probably of the early Twelfth Dynasty, a lady Khu is seated behind her husband Si-Ḥathor and in a lower register behind her husband Si-Amun. Although the editor (Hall) describes the stela as of 'the Lady Khu and her husbands, Sa-Hathor and Sa-Amen', it seems more likely that two officials had similarly named wives, or that the lady Khu was married successively to the officials.

Addendum

The nature of a listing of occurrences of phenomena is such that no sooner does one complete the list but new examples come to light.

13. Nui, overseer of the work force of Dendera. Dynasty 11. To our examples of stelae with the owner shown with two wives should be added Cairo Journal d'Entrée

¹³ *ASAE* 29 (1929) 5-14.

¹⁴ Edgerton has noted: 'No Egyptian marriage contract directly suggests the existence of polygamy or concubinage', *ZAS* 64 (1927), 62.

45600, CCG 20805, apparently unpublished, from Dendera: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Field No. D 1542, of the *imy-r mšꜥ Nwi*. A photograph of the stela came to my attention in the files of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo. Grammatical, iconographic, and other elements of the stela and its text have been discussed by H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.*, nn. 291, 371, 408, 643; p. 133 (3, fig. 23), n. 643, p. 160, where the stela is dated in early Eleventh Dynasty. In connection with our present inquiry the matter of the wives can be described as follows. The owner stands facing a large tray of offerings: behind him are two ladies, the second shorter and on a higher level. This last circumstance is probably to be explained by the missing corner of the block; each wife stands on a low platform. The first is designated as *hmt·f mrt·f Hwi* and the second as *hmt·f mrt·f Bbi*. Aside from their position, one behind the other, and their relative size, the latter probably to be attributed to the missing corner just mentioned, they are not differentiated; neither has the epithet *mšꜥt-hrw*. Hence we have another case of a man with two wives without indication of whether they were successive or contemporary, or living or dead, at the time the stela was carved. A daughter in front of the owner does not have the identification of the mother. The stela warrants a full publication in view of its text and iconographic features.

A CONTEMPORARY OF KING SEWAḤ-EN-RĒ^c

By OLEG BERLEV

King Sewaḥ-en-rē^c

VERY little is known of King Sewaḥ-en-rē^c of the Second Intermediate Period. His name has survived only on a few small objects and fragments which all were already catalogued in 1910 by Gauthier. Since then not a single bit of information has come to light, as may be seen from a new catalogue of the Late Middle Kingdom kings compiled by J. von Beckerath.¹ All the more interesting is it for us to call attention to a tomb dating either directly from the king's reign or from that of one of his immediate successors. The tomb was discovered at Thebes almost a century ago, but the important find has somehow passed unnoticed by the historians of the Late Middle Kingdom Egypt.

To a considerable extent this is due to a mistake which had somehow or other crept into the catalogue of the sarcophagi of the Cairo Museum published by Lacau. In the chronological list of the sarcophagi the great French scholar signalled out the sarcophagus CM 28030 as the one with which, according to Golénischeff, a staff had been found inscribed with the name of Sewaḥ-en-rē^c.² This important statement made by Lacau had not been overlooked by Gauthier,³ and von Beckerath, following him, added the staff to a small group of objects bearing this king's name.⁴ To the same group one would also venture to assign CM 28030 itself (according to the museum sources, found at Deir el-Baḥari, but the dealer who still owned, in 1906, the lid of the sarcophagus was sure it had come from Gebelên), but that would only have been true if the above statement by Lacau had been correct.

As part of Golénischeff's collection the staff must have entered, in 1911, the Moscow Fine Arts Museum (since 1937 named after A. S. Pushkin). However, interesting as this object is, it has never been mentioned in numerous guides to the Egyptian Department of the museum, including the most detailed and complete one compiled by Turayeff. Turayeff assigns to the reign of Sewaḥ-en-rē^c two magnificent canopic boxes.⁵ Since the inscriptions on these boxes furnish neither royal names nor any other indication by which they might be dated to that reign, we are forced to conclude that Turayeff founded his dating on some other objects of the Golénischeff collection, and we shall hardly be mistaken if we assume the staff signalled out by Lacau to be such an object.

¹ Cf. H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte*, II, 53-4; J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, Belegliste, XIII, 41.

² Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, II, 150 n. 2.

³ Op. cit. 54, II.

⁴ Op. cit. XIII, 41 (5).

⁵ Музей изящных искусств имени имп. Александра III в Москве. Краткий иллюстрированный путеводитель. Часть I (Москва, 1916), 15.

But it must be remembered that the names of the owners of the boxes are different from that of the possessor of CM 28030, so that this sarcophagus and the Moscow boxes could not have come from the same tomb. It can thus be readily seen that Lacau made a mistake one way or another.

As a matter of fact, there are better candidates, in his catalogue, to the honour of being our king's contemporary than the owner of his 28030. Indeed, two sarcophagi (found in one tomb) immediately preceding it in the Catalogue, CM 28028 and 28029, belong to the very persons⁶ who owned the Moscow boxes. Not only are the titles and names on each sarcophagus and box the same, but the photograph of CM 28029 reproduced by Lacau,⁷ when compared with our pl. XXVII, leaves no doubt but that the sarcophagus and one of the boxes were decorated by the same artist, and a very skilful one into the bargain. More than that, the woman who owned the other of the two boxes and CM 28028 perpetuated, both on the sarcophagus and the box, together with her title and first name, another one, evidently her second. The ornamentation of this sarcophagus and box is also the work of one artist, less resourceful and accurate than the first.⁸

Going by all these facts, we are justified in concluding that the information supplied by Golénischeff concerns CM 28029 (together with 28028) and not 28030.

The tomb of a contemporary of Sewaḥ-en-rēꜥ

If this conclusion could be proved, we should recover a number of data bearing on a tomb of the days of Sewaḥ-en-rēꜥ, or one of his successors which, when found, must have been intact, for one of the boxes still contained the viscera of the dead.⁹

Fortunately, the correctness of our assumption is beyond all doubt. To begin with, the names of the owner of the staff and that of the sarcophagus 28029 and one of the boxes are identical. Moreover, a note from Golénischeff's files states concerning the staff: 'Bois. Deux fragments d'un seul bâton trouvé avec les deux boîtes funéraires nos. 4004 et 4005. Le fragment no. 1801, a porte au bout supérieur le nom du pharaon . . . Acheté à Qourna.'¹⁰ The purchase of the boxes and staves found in one tomb is also mentioned in Golénischeff's report on his trip to Egypt in the winter 1888-9.¹¹

Thus, combining stray objects which came from that find, we get the following data concerning the tomb in question.

⁶ Inscriptions on both the sarcophagi were published by Daressy, *Rec. trav.* 14 (1893), 34-8. He gives 'cette année' as the date of their accession to the Cairo (than Gizeh) Museum.

⁷ Lacau, *op. cit.* I, pl. 15; Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I, 2 (1964), 823.

⁸ Canopic boxes are regularly made after the fashion of the sarcophagi they accompany. Cf. Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*, 36, 52. For the sarcophagus CM 28028 see von Bissing, *Ägyptische Kunstgeschichte von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Eroberung durch die Araber* (Berlin-Charlottenburg, 1934), I, 128 and pl. 68; II, 78, 177; Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I, 2 (1964), 823.

⁹ The bottom of the other box having rotted away, its contents perished. However, a piece of linen was found in this box.

¹⁰ I owe this information to the kindness of the Head of the Ancient East Department of the Pushkin Museum, Dr. S. I. Hodjash, who most generously permitted me to publish the boxes and the staff and helped me in my work on these objects.

¹¹ В. С. Голенищев, *Записки Восточного Отделения Императорского Русского Археологического Общества*, т. 5 (1890), Санкт-Петербург, 1891, 18-19 (henceforth cited as *ЗВОРАО*).

It was discovered at Qurna in (or prior to) 1888–9. Its exact location is unknown. As a matter of fact the tomb, when found, must have been a mere grave, its superstructure almost certainly having been destroyed either during the tempest which must have demolished the bulk of the Middle-Kingdom necropolis at Thebes in the days of Aḥmose I,¹² or by any one of the numerous spoliators of ancient cemeteries. The tomb had, in all probability, not been plundered, and so both the sarcophagi, when discovered, must have contained the remains of the owners of the tomb, a man and a woman.

The contents of the tomb

1. Sarcophagus, CM 28028.
2. Sarcophagus, CM 28059.
3. Canopic box, Moscow I 1 a 5358.
4. Canopic box, Moscow I 1 a 5359.
5. Viscera, Moscow I 1 a 5359, a, b. Golénischeff had them put in glass boxes which in 1944 were given over to the Biochemical Department of the Moscow First Medical Institute. One might expect the viscera to have been preserved in canopic jars, but no evidence concerning such jars in the tomb in question is forthcoming.
6. Inscribed staff, Moscow I 1 a 1801, a, b.
7. Uninscribed staff, Moscow I 1 a 1802, a, b.
8. Piece of linen, Moscow I 1 a 5358, a.

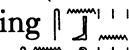


The owners of the tomb

Two persons, a man and woman, were buried in this tomb. Two sets of the burial outfit, each consisting of a sarcophagus and a canopic box, are so very dissimilar that both are certain to have been decorated by different artists, so that a certain space of time must have intervened between the two burials. However, texts on both the sarcophagi and both the boxes respectively are identical, which fact precludes a possibility of an intrusion of a later burial upon the earlier one. The tomb was calculated to take two persons, and so the man and the woman who owned it should have been related to each other, most likely being husband and wife. In this case the tomb under discussion will be what one might term a 'conjugal' tomb. With the existence of such tombs during the Middle Kingdom we are acquainted through P. Kah. XII, 12; cf. Kamal, *ASAE* 12, 98–101; Dunham, *Bull. Mus. Fine Arts* 19 (1921), no. 114, 43–6. Naturally we cannot exclude other possibilities (mother and son, father and daughter, and so on), though they seem less probable.

A. *The man's name.* The reading of this name presents certain difficulties. On CM 28029 this name, as can be seen from the photograph reproduced by Lacau, is written $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$. Beside this spelling Lacau and Daressy signalled out a variant $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$. The same variation is found on Moscow I 1 a 5359: $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ (4 times), $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ (once). The staff has $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$.

Ranke's suggestion *Snb-rhw* . . . (PN I, 313, 16) for the name is clearly wrong.

¹² On this tempest, see Cl. Vandersleyen, *RdÉ* 19, 122–59; 20, 127–34.

The variant on the staff is the well-known *Snb-n·i* (Sonb-nay) ‘Health to me’ (*PN* I, 313, 5). The same meaning can be got just as well from the commonest spelling  if we take the plural strokes for a determinative of abstract nouns. But variants  and  (the latter seems preferable), can only be explained as *Snb·i-n·i*. Evidently the name has its full and abbreviated forms.¹³

B. *The woman’s name.* Both on CM 28028 and on Moscow I 1 a 5358 two names of the woman are perpetuated: *Hnsw* (Khons) (*PN* I, 270, 16) and *Mri-s* (ibid. 158, 5). There are no grounds for suspecting the two names as belonging to different persons, the original proprietor and the usurper.¹⁴



The owners’ ranks and offices

A. Sonb-nay. His titles are: (1) *sdꜣwty bity*, (2) *iry-ḥi nṣwt*, (3) *imy-rꜣ shtyw*. The staff has nos. 1 and 3, whereas, on CM 28029 and Moscow I 1 a 5359, no. 2 is used to the exclusion of the other two. No. 1 is an honorary title, and so is, more often than not, no. 2. Still the latter is also used for a certain office or offices connected with the royal palace, and so there is no saying whether Sonb-nay had all three at the same time or held nos. 2 and 3 in succession, either in the order no. 2–no. 3 or vice versa.

Since only no. 2 is used in the inscriptions on the tomb outfit, we are justified in assuming it to have been the name of the office he held when he himself, while alive, or his relatives, after his death (i.e. he died holding this office), ordered this outfit to be made for him. But once again we are confronted with an alternative: if this outfit was made after his death or shortly before it, no. 2 is the last office he occupied, his official career being no. 3–no. 2. If on the other hand, he himself in good time prepared for his death, there is a possibility that he was promoted to the office no. 3 from no. 2.

sdꜣwty bity. In the Middle Kingdom this title was no longer connected with any actual office but served to denote a certain grade, a high rank bestowed upon officials, namely that of ‘overseer’ (*imy-rꜣ*), since it is with the titles construed with *imy-rꜣ* that *sdꜣwty bity* is usually coupled. Sometimes the name of the grade replaces names of the actual offices it is connected with. For example, the great Abydos inscription of Ramesses II states that the king gave orders to two persons of the rank of *sdꜣwty bity* in his retinue (*Inscr. dédic.* 33), thereby implying that they were ‘overseers’ of some kind or other.

The reading (still questionable) of the word traditionally transliterated as *sdꜣwty* was recently touched upon by Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, 126–9.

iry-ḥ(i) nṣwt. This reading of the much discussed title is proved by the stela *Leiden*, 8, which contains a unique spelling of the title where the phonetic sign  is replaced by the ideogram . Thus we have, in this title, the word *ḥ(i)* ‘child’ attested, according to the authors of the *Wörterbuch*, only for the late periods,¹⁵ but in actual fact existing as early as the end of the Old Kingdom.¹⁶

¹³ The reading of this name, so far having no parallels, should be regarded as provisional.

¹⁴ The same practice is noticeable on the canopic box of *Snb-ti-si* (Mace and Winlock, op. cit.).

¹⁵ *Wb.* III, 217, 1–9.


¹⁶ Cf. the name of the god  (Kamal, *ASAE* 3, 258; Blackman, *JEA* 3, 243) which was discussed

During the Middle Kingdom¹⁷ it was used in two ways: either as a denomination of the rank or grade of high officials and courtiers (usually with additional epithets: 'real, his [i.e. the King's] favourite', and so on) or as a name for a certain office to be performed at the royal palace. The holder of such an office will always write only this title on all the objects of his burial outfit as well as naturally in all the documents and inscriptions unconnected with his funerary cult for no other reason than that he has no more titles than this one.¹⁸ This seems to be the case with Sonb-nay, but we cannot regard this conclusion as final.

imy-rꜣ shtyw. This title belongs to the overseer of those who earned their living by exploiting the *sht* 'field' (i.e. space beyond cities, towns, villages, hamlets), above all, fishers and fowlers (for references, see Caminos, *LEM* 142 and *Literary Fragments*, Index, s.v.),¹⁹ and it was while holding this office that Sonb-nay has been honoured by the king, having been presented, on the king's behalf, with a staff (or rather two staves, the other one from Sonb-nay's tomb being uninscribed). So he must have been in the king's close surrounding, in all probability, presiding over the delivery of fish and fowl and other products of the *sht* to the palace.

B. *Khons*. Both on the sarcophagus and the box Khons has only one title—*hkrt nṣwt* 'King's Ornament',²⁰ an honorary title implying a fictitious appurtenance to the royal *gynaecēum*. Apart from the shortened form of the title, there is an extended one, *hkrt nṣwt w'tt* 'King's Unique Ornament', which may be regarded as higher grade than *hkrt nṣwt*. Since, however, the former predominates in the inscriptions of the First, and the latter in those of the Second Intermediate Period, we are probably justified in taking them both for mere variants of one.

Epigraphic peculiarities

Apart from the spelling of Osiris' name characteristic of the Thirteenth and subsequent dynasties and peculiar forms of a number of signs (e.g. O 42 in Gardiner's Sign-List as  on the lid of I 1 a 5358), only one peculiarity deserves to be mentioned: all the signs representing birds and snakes are maimed in such a way as to hinder their (birds' and snakes') movements. The birds have their legs (and the snakes the end of their tails) cut off.²¹ Signs representing fishes are intact, as well as those representing men.

by Kees, *ZÄS* 64, 101–2. To his material now add a cylinder-seal of Phiops I (Fr. Cailliaud, *Voyage à l'oasis de Thèbes*, II [Paris, 1862], pl. 37, 18) and a statue in Buffalo (Roeder, *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, 3 [Bruxelles, 1935], 398–402, pl. 8, which must have belonged to the owner of the celebrated stela CM 20539 and the statues CM 42037, 42044, 42045. The god's name on the Buffalo statue reads *hrw h(i) h(i)t*, as if two children of both sexes were meant. Clearly a misinterpretation of the ancient name, since the children wear the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. Cf. also *ASAE* 43, 500.

¹⁷ For an interesting discussion of the Old-Kingdom title, see Lopez, *RdÉ* 19, 51 ff.

¹⁸ Thus, a certain *Rḥw- nḥw* who flourished under Neferhotep I and Sebekhotep IV is referred to by this title in six inscriptions: Berlin 7311; CM 20104, 20147, 20614; *El Hudi* (Fakhry, *The Inscriptions from the Amethyst Quarries at Wadi el Hudi*), 24; Wien 69 (= Lieblein, *Dict. des noms hiéroglyphiques*, 353). In *El Hudi*, 24, his wife is called 'the wife of this *iry-h(i) nṣwt*'.

¹⁹ The combination of the titles *iry-h(i) nṣwt* (rank) and *imy-rꜣ shtyw* (office) is attested only once: Habachi, *WZKM* 54, 67, 69, pl. III.

²⁰ Sometimes mistaken for the non-existing *hmt nṣwt* 'King's slave-girl', cf. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*, p. 91.

²¹ Cf. Lacau, *ZÄS* 51, 1–64.

On the other hand, on the staff which was not designed to serve part of the burial equipment the birds are also intact.

The staves

Two staves were put into Sonb-nay's tomb: one is inscribed the other is not. The uninscribed staff (Moscow I 1 a 1802, a, b = Golénischeff's Inventory, 1802, a, b) consists of two wooden pieces 107+14.5 cm. long. It is slightly bent at the top. The inscribed one (Moscow I 1 a 1801, a, b = Golénischeff's Inventory, 1801, a, b) bears close resemblance to the former and also consists of two wooden pieces 22.43+69.2 cm. long. On the top (pl. XXVIII) there is an inscription reading: *The beautiful*²² [i.e. young, beauty being the natural apantage of youth; as contrasted to the 'big (i.e. old) god', the celestial sun; the Pharaoh is thus the young, terrestrial sun] *god Sewaḥ-en-rēꜥ, given life*. It is continued on the staff in a vertical line (pl. XXVIII): *given as a favour from the King to the treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, overseer of shtyw* [fishers, fowlers and the like], *Sonb-nay*.

Thus, the staff or probably the staves had been presented to Sonb-nay by King Sewaḥ-en-rēꜥ and after the former's death were put by his relatives into his tomb.

The range of things the Middle-Kingdom kings used to present their liegemen with was rather wide. It included statues and statuettes (too numerous to be cited), which portrayed the favoured ones, tombs (*Urk.* VII, 2, 9), stelae,²³ scribe's palettes,²⁴ canopic boxes.²⁵ Staves as a royal present are attested here for the first time.

The fact that, in our case, the person honoured by the king was responsible for the delivery of fish and fowl to the palace is well worth noting, although a conclusion that this king had a particular liking for fish and fowl would seem rather far-fetched.

Literature: Lacau, *Sarcophages*, II, 150, n. 2; Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois*, II, 54, II; J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*, Belegliste, XIII, 41 (5); Голенищев, *ЗВОРАО* 5, 18-19.

The Canopic Box of Sonb-nay

The canopic box Moscow I 1 a 5359 (= Golénischeff's Inventory, 4005) measures 50.5 × 57 × 80 cm. See pl. XXVII. It is covered with a rounded lid flanked by massive rectangular pieces. On the crown of the lid begins an inscription which continues in a line beneath and ends on the other side of the lid in the third line where all the signs are upside-down in relation to those in the first two. This peculiarity allows one to distinguish between the front and back of the lid.

The ground colour of the lid is black. The hieroglyphs are green on the yellow background of the lines. The border of the lines consists of green and yellow rectangles. All the edges on the lid and the box are bordered with a thin yellow strip. The lid

²² Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* 75; and *Misc. Acad. Berol.* II/2 (Berlin, 1950), 50; H. Stock, *Ntr nfr = der gute Gott?* (Vorträge Marburg, Hildesheim, 1951).

²³ Lacau, *Une stèle juridique de Karnak* (Supplément aux *ASAE*, 13), 2-4; Toulouse 645 a = Palanque, *Rec. trav.* 25, 134.

²⁴ Berlin 7798 = *Berl. Aeg. Inschr.* 1, 264.

²⁵ Berlin 1175 = *Berl. Aeg. Inschr.* 1, 254.

is fastened on the box by two pegs, one at each side, which fill two grooves on the box. Across its bottom run two slats from front to back. The ends measure 57×56.8 cm., the sides 50.5×56.8 cm. The decoration of all the four faces consists of the representation of a magnificent palace whose walls are blank on the sides, but have doors on each end, both the doors being bolted as if we saw them from within (Borchardt, *ZÄS* 35, 118).

To find out which of the two ends is the front one, two criteria will help: (1) the lid, which, however, could be reversed; (2) the direction of signs in the inscriptions on the sides of the box, the signs there facing towards the front.

Above the wall of the palace, on all the faces, is painted a golden Anubis-jackal who in actual fact resides in the palace, behind the wall, but is nevertheless seen from four sides. Beneath the god's image there are two symbols: 'cloth' and 'plants'. Each jackal (*inp(w)*) is accompanied by one of the four epithets of Anubis: (1) *hnty zh ntr*, 'He who is in front of the divine-booth' (front); (2) *tpy mni:f* (cf. Lacau, *Rec. trav.* 35, 228 and Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*, Sign-List N 26), 'He who is upon his hill' (left side); (3) *nbw t: dsr*, 'The lord of the Holy Land' (back); (4) *imy wt*, 'He who is in the place of embalming'. The order of the epithets is arbitrary and corresponds neither to that which we have on Moscow I 1 a 5358 nor to those attested on the other boxes of the same period.

Colours. The background is black, the border of the lines is formed by red, green, and white rectangles. Hieroglyphs are green on yellow. The wall of the palace is yellow with white and red projections and niches. The outline of the wall is red (on yellow and white) and black (on red). The door is yellow with red planks and black bolts. The jackal and the epithets of Anubis are golden, the cloth yellow, the plants green.

The inside of the box is not decorated. The cross-partitions measuring 44.5×31.5 and 37×15.5 cm. divide the box into four compartments, in which Somb-nay's viscera were preserved (now in the Moscow First Medical Institute).

Literature: Голенищев, *ЗВОРАО* 5, 18–19. *Музей изящных искусств*, 15. On canopic boxes in the Middle-Kingdom tombs, see Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Licht*, 52–3; Petrie, *The Funeral Furniture of Egypt*; Mlle Rogouline, *Évolution des réceptacles à canopes*, *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 237–54.

The Box of Khons

The canopic box Moscow I 1 a 5358 (= Golénischeff's Inventory, 4004) measures $50 \times 57 \times 80$ cm. and is similar in technique to I 1 a 5359. See pl. XXVI. The ornamentation of this box is much simpler. There is no wall of the palace here, nothing but the Anubis-jackal above the symbols 'cloth' and 'plants' on each face. The colouring here is very simple: the general colour is black, whereas all the hieroglyphs, representations and borders of the lines of the inscriptions are ochreous.

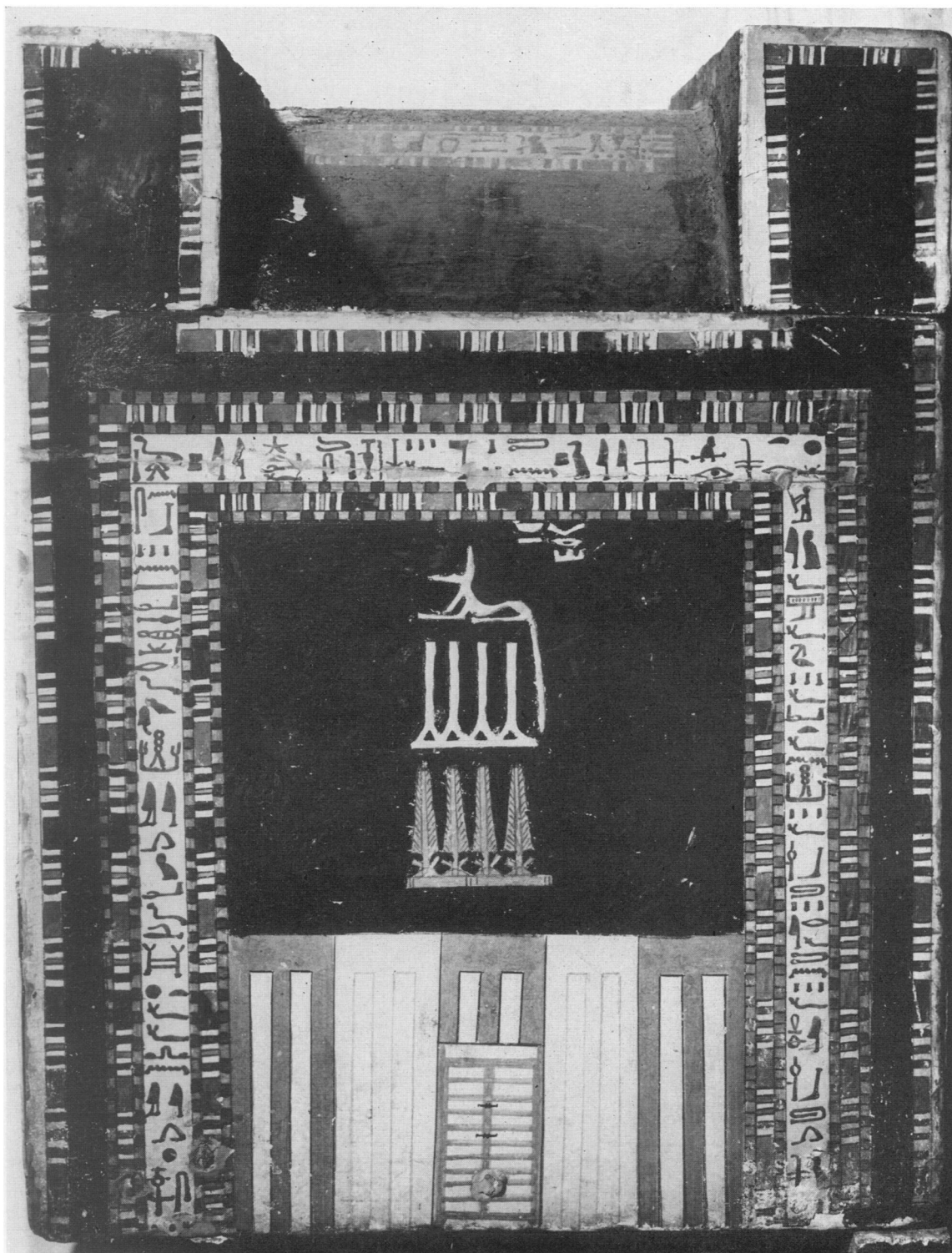
The order of the epithets is as follows: (1) *hnty zh ntr*; (2) *nbw t: dsr*; (3) *tpy mni:f*; (4) *imy-wt*.

The bottom of the box and, with it, the viscera there preserved disappeared. Nevertheless, the box still contained a piece of linen (Moscow I 1 a 5358, a) when found.



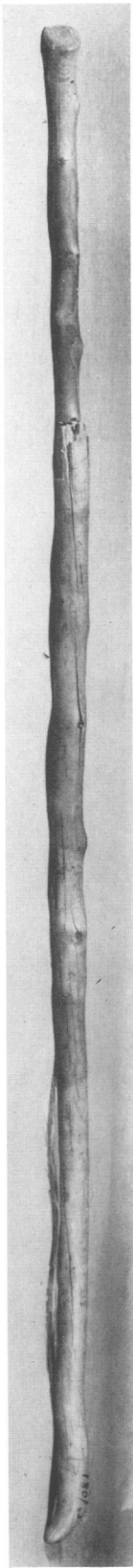
Box Moscow I ra 5358 (front)

A CONTEMPORARY OF KING SEWAḤ-EN-RĒ



Box Moscow I ra 5359 (back)

A CONTEMPORARY OF KING SEWAH-EN-RÉ



1



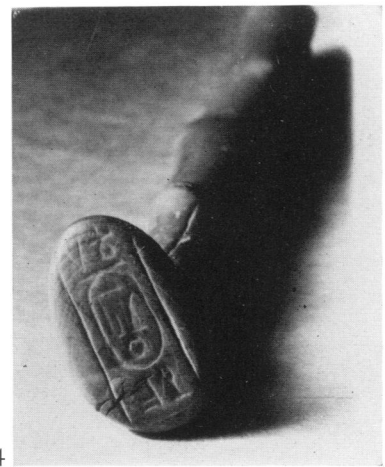
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3



5



4

Staff Moscow I 1a 1801, a, b

A CONTEMPORARY OF KING SEWAḤ-EN-RĒ'

Inscriptions

Both the boxes are inscribed with the same text (or texts). It begins on the lid (Section I) and continues on four faces of the boxes (Sections II–V). All five sections are shorter on the box I 1 a 5358 so that the text on this box seems to be copied from Sonbnay's, and so Khons' burial equipment seems to be later in date than that of Sonbnay who definitely served under King Sewaḥ-en-rēꜥ.

The order of Sections II–V seems to be of no importance, and here the two boxes are very dissimilar. Moreover, we know of at least two more canopic boxes inscribed with parts of the same text. On one of them (Cairo) only one section of the Moscow text is divided into four parts, one for each face. On the other (Berlin) there are two sections of this text, the other two being new.

The Moscow text has long been known in parts preserved by the Berlin box 1175 which was made for King Thoth (*Dḥwtj*) but was later presented to his queen.²⁶ Still, it has not been studied by any one as yet. Indeed, Sethe discussed and interpreted the texts written on canopic boxes but, his attention having been caught by another compilation which is older and much more used than ours, he did not think the texts on the celebrated Berlin box to be worth mentioning.²⁷

The Cairo box 4732 has a duplicate of Section III. It belongs to a 'great majordomo Khons-mose', elsewhere unknown,²⁸ and should, without any doubt, be dated to the Second Intermediate Period. Quite probably this box was also made in the second half of this period, as were the other three inscribed with the same text, which thus seems to be quite a criterion for dating, as far as canopic boxes are concerned.

Sections II–V are invocations to the four Sons of Horus watching over the viscera of the dead. Section II incorporated Spell 369 of the Pyramid Texts (Pyr. 643*b–c*),²⁹ but, on the whole, the composition seems to be original. The text of the Spell 369 is presented in such a way that it leaves little doubt but that the text of all the invocations is misinterpreted and so full of blunders as to make the translation impossible, unless one were content with an arbitrary rendering based on guesses. The reconstruction of the original text will require a special investigation.

²⁶ All the references in Winlock, *JEA* 10, 269.

²⁷ Sethe, *Sitzb. Berlin* 1934, 224–36; 1–16.

²⁸ G. A. Reisner, *Canopics (Catalogue Général du Caire, nos. 4001–740; 4977–5033)*. The book could not be consulted by me, but the part with description and texts of 4731–3 has most kindly been xeroxed for me by Professor Dr. M. Heerma van Voss.

²⁹ Allen, *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts* (SAOC 27), 80, knows no parallels for this spell attested in the pyramids of Othoēs (Teti) and Phiops II.

AN INSCRIBED AXE BELONGING TO THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD*

By W. V. DAVIES

THERE is in the Egyptian collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, a full-size axe-head (Ash. Mus. 1927. 4623), which bears, on both sides, an inscription, consisting of a king's *prenomen* and *nomen*, each enclosed in a cartouche, with accompanying titles and epithet. It was presented to the museum in December 1927 by Sir Arthur Evans; previously it formed part of the collection of his father, Sir John Evans (1823–1908).¹ Beyond this, no firm indication of provenance is available.²

It was first noted by Budge, as long ago as 1892, as one of two axes which were 'inscribed with the name of Ka-mes'³—a misattribution that has persisted ever since⁴—and which, furthermore, were 'probably two of those that were found in the coffin of

* I am grateful to Dr. P. R. S. Moorey, of the Ashmolean Museum, for permission to publish this axe and for his assistance; also to my supervisor, Dr. J. Málek, for his advice on several points. Reference to typology follows that established by E. Kühnert-Eggebrecht, *Die Axt als Waffe und Werkzeug im alten Ägypten*, MÄS 15, Berlin, 1969, hereinafter abbreviated as *K-Eg*.

¹ The Museum received, at the same time, two other pieces from this collection—the well-known 'spear-head' (actually a sword, cf. Winlock, *JEA* 10 (1924), 263 n. 7) bearing the name of Kamose (Ash. Mus. 1927. 4622), and a bronze tweezers (Ash. Mus. 1927. 4624).

² An entry in the Accession Register of the museum notes that according to Miss Joan Evans, the daughter of Sir John Evans, the axe, together with the 'spear-head' and tweezers (see n. 1), was obtained from an Edinburgh dealer, who got them at the dispersal of the collection of Prince Bonaparte, to whom they were presented with other antiquities on his visit to Egypt. However, this is only partially consistent with the known facts. The 'spear-head' and tweezers were, indeed, obtained from an Edinburgh dealer, but at the sale, by auction, of the collection of the Sturrock Museum, cf. *Catalogue of the unique Collection . . . John Sturrock, sold by Dowell, Edinburgh, Oct. 29th. 1889*, 13 (B21) and 14 (B26), where both the objects in question, together with a bronze pin, are said to have been found in the same place. No further information is given. Nor is there any mention of the axe in this same catalogue. As for the alleged connection with Prince Napoléon, it is known that the latter, the cousin of Napoléon III, having intended a visit to Egypt, never, in fact, undertook it, but was presented by the Khedive Saïd Pâshâ with the objects found in the coffin of Kamose, recently discovered by Mariette in Dec. 1857. There is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that the 'spear-head', axe, or tweezers, came from Kamose's coffin, or that they were among the objects presented, as a gift, to the prince. (For a comprehensive account, with references to earlier literature, of the discovery and contents of the coffins of Kamose and Ahhotpe, see Winlock, *op. cit.* 251–62.)

³ *Archaeologia* 53 (1892), 85–7. Budge (p. 87) did, in fact, express doubt as to whether one of the names on one side should be attributed to Kamose or to Amosis. The other axe in question is B.M. 36772 (formerly 5421a), which does, indeed, bear the name of Kamose, cf. *op. cit.* 86–7, pl. 2, fig. 1; *K-Eg*. 133 (Kat. P 10), pl. 18, 1 (see n. 15 and 17).

⁴ Cf. *The Art of Ancient Egypt—A Series of Photographic Plates representing objects from the exhibition of the art of Ancient Egypt at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in the Summer of 1895*, 20, no. 55; Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, II, 12–13 and *Tools and Weapons*, pl. 2, 84; von Bissing, *Ein Thebanischer Grabfund aus dem Anfang des Neuen Reiches*, pl. 12, 8/9, col. 24; Budge, *A History of Egypt*, III, 178; Winlock, *op. cit.* 263–4; Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 1², 602; von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, 191 n. 5 and 298 (19); *K-Eg*. 58 and 132 (Kat. P 8).

Aah-ḥetep', discovered by Mariette's workmen in January, 1859.⁵ In this, he was followed by Petrie⁶ (who later published an approximate line-drawing of the axe),⁷ and, also, von Bissing, who actually included it (with photograph, in its former, heavily corroded, state) in his publication of the Queen's treasure.⁸ Winlock rightly saw no justification for such an assumption and postulated as a more probable place of origin 'the grave of one of the courtiers of King Kamose'⁹—a view, reiterated more recently by Kühnert-Eggebrecht.¹⁰

In general form, the axe is of the type with lugs at the rear and straight or concave sides, Type G,¹¹ which was prevalent in Egypt from, at least, the Second Intermediate Period until the Late Period.¹² More specifically, it belongs to the variant category G VII¹³ (see pls. XXIX and XXX). It has a relatively long and narrow blade with almost symmetrically concave sides and a moderately convex cutting-edge. The haft-edge is slightly inclined, giving the blade an asymmetrical shape (one side being longer than the other), and was, originally, elongated to form two projections or lugs (one is now all but disappeared) for the purposes of attachment to a shaft.¹⁴ The blade has recently

⁵ Budge, *Archaeologia* 53 (1892), 85. Four full-size axes, now in the Cairo Museum, are known with certainty to have come from the coffin of Ahhotpe. One bears the name of Amosis, two that of Kamose; cf. von Bissing, op. cit. cols. 1-3, pls. 1 and 3 (1, 2, and 4); Vernier, *Bijoux et Orfèvreries*, I, 205-8, II, pls. 42-4.

⁶ *A History of Egypt*, II, 12-13.

⁷ *Tools and Weapons*, pl. 2, 84—wrongly quoted in *K-Eg.* 132 (Kat. P 9) as referring to an axe from the Ahhotpe find bearing the name of Kamose (CG 52648). Petrie's line-drawing clearly refers to the Ashmolean axe, as the broken lug indicates. CG 52648 is intact; cf. von Bissing, op. cit. pl. 3, 2; Vernier, op. cit. pl. 44.

⁸ Op. cit. pl. 12, 8/9.

⁹ Op. cit. 263.

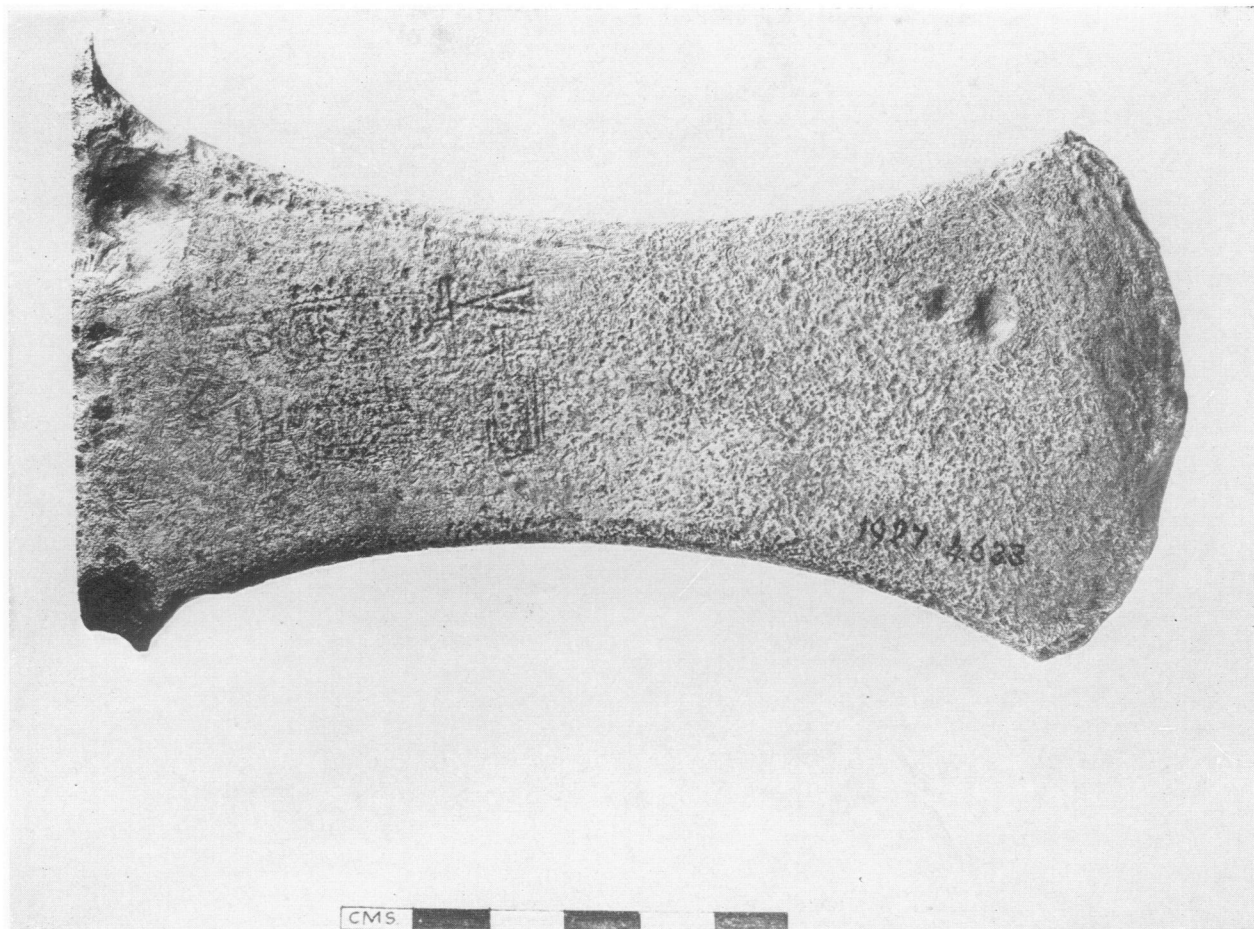
¹⁰ Op. cit. 58; cf. von Beckerath, op. cit. 191 n. 5.

¹¹ Cf. *K-Eg.* 29-44, pl. 4, 1-12. It is thought that the distinction between tool and weapon in this type is likely to have been mainly one of weight, the former generally being heavier than the latter; cf. op. cit. 35; Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 9.

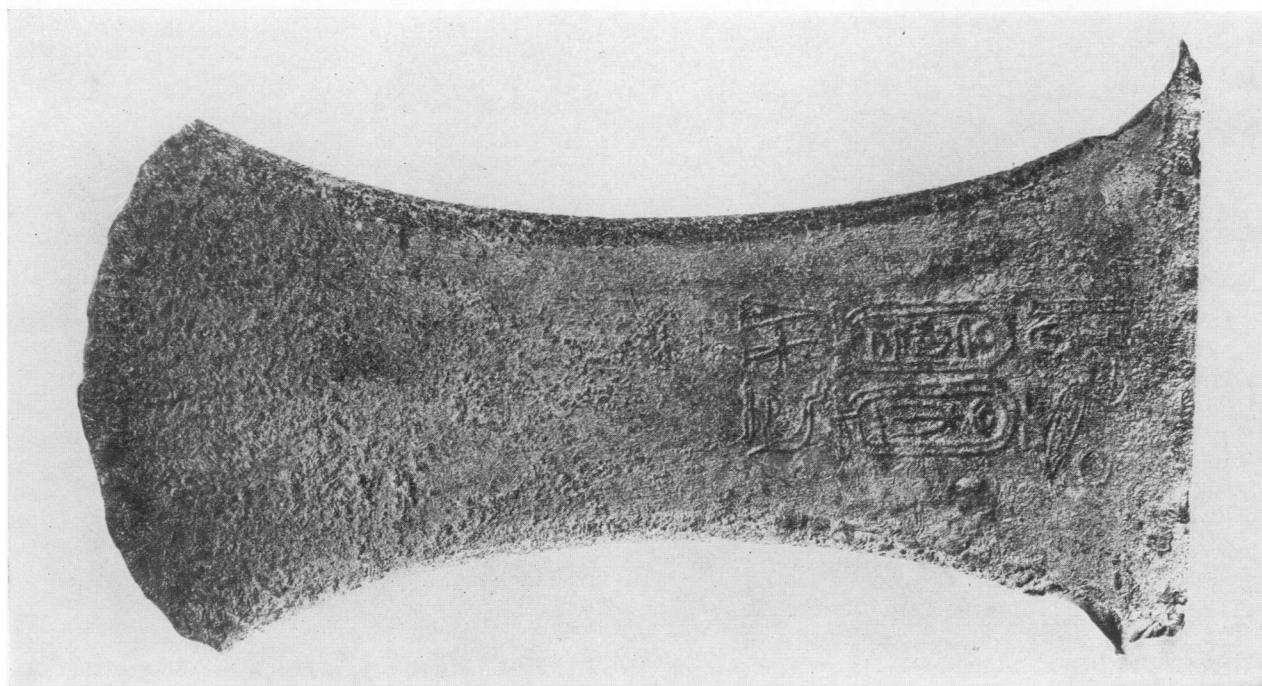
¹² Kühnert-Eggebrecht (pp. 33-6) would see Type G as an introduction from the south, brought into Upper Egypt by the pan-grave people during the 17th Dynasty. She shows, convincingly, that extant specimens previously taken as of the 12th Dynasty are, in fact, of later, or else uncertain date, but fails to explain away adequately the representation of a curious axe-like object, taken by Wolff (*Bewaffnung*, 37 n. 2) and Bonnet (*Waffen*, 35 n. 46) as of Type G, from the 12th Dynasty tomb of *Dḥwtj-ḥtp* at Deir el-Bersheh (B.M. 1147; cf. Newberry, *El-Bersheh*, I, 38, pl. 29). She argues (pp. 30-1) that the said object is not an axe at all, her main and apparently most cogent point being that the manner in which it is held finds no parallel among representations of men bearing axes in similar contexts. This, however, is open to serious doubt. Indeed, the pose or stance in question seems actually to be a characteristic of men carrying axes in parallel scenes in the very same tomb—cf. Newberry, op. cit., pl. 11 (left), where the man is also dressed in exactly similar fashion; pl. 12 (left = pl. 13), 3rd reg., an almost identical context, where the axe-bearer accompanies a sedan-chair; and pl. 12, 4th reg., where again the man wears a similar cape. The manner in which the object is held, then, becomes, if anything, an argument for, not against, taking it as an axe. Furthermore, the 17th Dynasty dating for the appearance of Type G in Egypt may be seriously called into question by the evidence of a hitherto unnoted axe of this type in the British Museum (no. 67505, originally from the Grenfell Collection) which bears the name, enclosed in a cartouche, of *Dd-ṛnh-Rc*, a king of the 13th Dynasty (cf. von Beckerath, op. cit. 65, 222 (32 H), and 256).

¹³ *K-Eg.* 38, pl. 4, 7.

¹⁴ The rear of the blade was inserted into a slit in the shaft and then normally fastened by leather binding round the lugs. According to Kühnert-Eggebrecht (p. 41), 'die kürzere Seite der Klingen nach oben zeigt', though it would appear to be otherwise with two of the shafted examples from the Ahhotpe find, CG 52645 and 52647 (cf. von Bissing, op. cit., pl. 1 and 3, 4; Vernier, op. cit., pls. 42 and 44), where the longer side, which forms a larger angle with the shaft when hafted, seems to be on top. (The sloping haft-edge may well



I



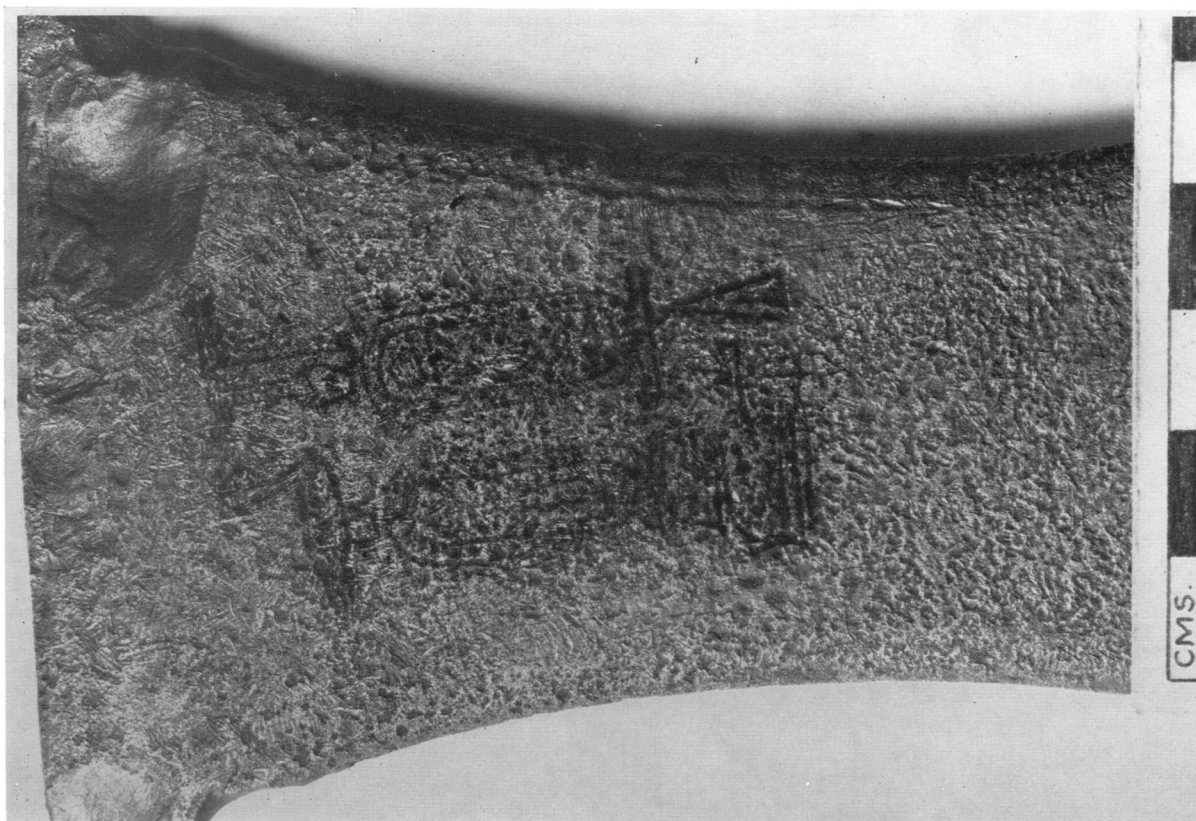
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AN INSCRIBED AXE BELONGING TO THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

Courtesy Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



2



AN INSCRIBED AXE BELONGING TO THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

Courtesy Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

The names of the king are perfectly clear on one side (pl. XXX, 2), though much effaced on the other (pl. XXX, 1), where, however, they are, unmistakably, those of Amosis. The form of the *prenomen* is that most normally found during his reign,²⁰ though the placing of the last two elements, the one above the other, is slightly unusual in a vertical writing of the name.²¹ One epigraphic point of particular interest is the form of the hieroglyph of the moon, *Ich*, in Amosis's *nomen*. Vandersleyen has recently shown that this ideogrammatic writing of *ich*, as used in proper names, occurs only in the Seventeenth Dynasty and during Amosis's reign up to some point after Year 17 and before Year 22 (when a new form is in use).²² We may conclude, therefore, that our axe was inscribed at some time during the course, but prior to Year 22, of the reign of Amosis, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Such a dating for an axe of this type is entirely consistent with the evidence of parallel examples, of which nine, in all, have been noted by Kühnert-Eggebrecht.²³ For three of these—Ash. Mus. 1937. 288;²⁴ Berkeley, UCLMA, 6-7546 and 6-8236—no independent criterion of dating is given.²⁵ The remaining six, however, can be firmly assigned by definite provenance, inscription, or both. These are: an axe-head found in the necropolis of Ḥu in a grave of the late (?) Seventeenth Dynasty;²⁶ B.M. 36772, of unknown provenance, but bearing the name of Kamose, the last king of the Seventeenth Dynasty;²⁷ and, finally, the four in the Cairo Museum, CG 52645-8, from the coffin of Aḥḥotpe,²⁸ the mother of Kamose and Amosis, and inscribed, in the case of the first, with the name of Amosis, and of the last two, with that of Kamose.²⁹ On the basis, then, of the evidence as it stands, Type G VII would seem to have been in vogue during the turbulent times at the end of the Second Intermediate Period and beginning of the New Kingdom.³⁰ This may well be significant. It has been

²⁰ Cf. Gauthier, *Livre de Rois*, II, 175 ff.; Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis*, 227.

²¹ I know of only one other published instance, and then not in a cartouche proper, on a bracelet from the Aḥḥotpe hoard, CG 52070 (cf. von Bissing, op. cit., col. 8, pl. 5, 4; Vernier, op. cit. I, 36).

²² Op. cit., 205 ff.

²³ *K-Eg.* 111 (G VII, 1-4); 132-3 (Kat. P. 2, 7, 9, and 10); 135 (Kat. P 53).

²⁴ See n. 15.

²⁵ Op. cit. 38 and 111 (G VII, 2-4).

²⁶ Cf. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, 52, pl. 32, 23; *K-Eg.* 111 (Kat. G VII/1), where it is quoted as 'Wahrscheinl. Boston, MFA, 99822'. It may, however, be the specimen in the MMA, New York, (apparently not noted by Kühnert-Eggebrecht) mentioned by Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II, 29, as a 'heavy bronze axe-head from Hu showing the slender waisted shape characteristic of the late 17th Dynasty and seen in the well-known axe of King Kamose'.

²⁷ See nn. 3 and 15.

²⁸ See n. 5. There has been a certain amount of confusion about the provenance of the axe-head, CG 52648. Vernier, op.cit. 208, whilst including it among the other weapons from the Aḥḥotpe trove, states that it was found at Qurna in January, 1921, a quite impossible circumstance. It had already been published twenty years before this by von Bissing, op. cit., pl. 3, 2. Similarly, Kühnert-Eggebrecht (p. 38) includes it (her Kat. P 9) among the axes which belong 'mit Sicherheit' to the said trove, but later (p. 58) among those of uncertain provenance. There seems to be no valid reason for this uncertainty. Its *Journal d'Entrée* number, 4677 (cf. Vernier, op. cit. 208), shows it to have been entered as an integral part of the Aḥḥotpe find in the year of the latter's discovery, 1859 (cf. Bothmer, *American Research Centre, Newsletter* 23 (1956), 15).

²⁹ von Beckerath, op. cit. 191 n. 3, seems to be aware of only one axe so inscribed from this source—'ein Prunkbeil (von Biss. t. III, 2)' i.e. 52648. He overlooks CG 52647 (cf. von Bissing op. cit., col. 3 (4); Vernier, op. cit. 208).

³⁰ There is also one piece of representational evidence from the early 18th Dynasty; cf. *K-Eg.* 128 (Kat.

suggested that the G VII form represents the first distinctive stage in the development of the type as a whole, incorporating the essential characteristics of the earlier and partly contemporary forms, whilst, at the same time, forming a definite transition to those of the Eighteenth Dynasty and later.³¹ The impetus for such an important development might justifiably be sought in the rather unsettled and warlike nature of the times, such conditions, perhaps, as in earlier periods,³² providing a strong stimulus for improvement in weapon technique.

Finally, we may return briefly to the question of provenance. Could the inscribed Ashmolean axe have come from the Aḥḥotpe find? Certainty on this point is impossible, but the answer is probably not. The objects bearing the name of Amosis (including the axe and dagger) from the queen's coffin are of a highly embellished and ornamental nature,³³ whereas the Ashmolean axe was clearly designed for, and, indeed, bears signs of, usage (see above). Nor is there anything in the early accounts and reports of the discovery to suggest that the find, as we know it, is not essentially intact.³⁴ Its ultimate source, is, therefore, more probably, to be sought elsewhere, perhaps, as suggested by previous writers,³⁵ in the grave of a courtier or official (though now, of course, of Amosis, not Kamose). Certainly, weapons, including axes, bearing king's names have been found in non-royal graves.³⁶ It is interesting to note that specimens, so inscribed, are placed by Kühnert-Eggebrecht in the category of 'Prunkwaffen' as opposed to 'Gebrauchswaffen'³⁷—a distinction, however, which in the case, at least of the Ashmolean axe, may well be untenable.

R 59). It may, also, be worth pointing out that if Sethe's transcription of the relevant determinatives is exact, then the axes (*ḥḥw*, cf. *Wb.* 1, 22, 1) of gold and silver given to Aḥmose-Pennekheh by Tuthmosis I and II may well have been of Type G VII, cf. *Urk.* IV, 39, 1 and 3; also, Maspero, *ZAS* 21 (1883), 78.

³¹ *K-Eg.* 38.

³² *Op. cit.* 22 and 27.

³³ Cf. von Bissing, *op. cit.*, pls. 1–6. It is, of course, true that the Aḥḥotpe group bearing Amosis's name (cf. Vandersleyen, *op. cit.* 210) and the Ashmolean axe were, according to the form of the moon sign, both inscribed before Year 22, but, clearly, this is not in itself indicative of a common provenance.

³⁴ Cf. Winlock, *op. cit.* 254. It is, however, worth noting that Vernier, *op. cit.* 209, in giving the *ŷ. d'E.* number for *CG* 52648, remarks that '*le Journal dit deux*'—which may or may not be significant.

³⁵ Cf. *op. cit.* 263; *K-Eg.* 58.

³⁶ Cf. *op. cit.* 58.

³⁷ *Op. cit.* 55 and 58. To the list of 'Prunkdolche' (p. 55), may be added B.M. 66062, bearing the name of King *Bbi-ḥnh* (cf. Budge, *op. cit.* 93; Gauthier, *op. cit.* II, 170); and the dagger inscribed with the name of Amosis from Abydos, now in Toronto (cf. Needler, *Archaeology* 15 [1962], 173 ff.).

TUTHMOSIS I AND THE BIBÂN EL-MOLÛK: SOME PROBLEMS OF ATTRIBUTION

By JOHN ROMER

MANY authorities have expressed surprise at the meagre nature of the tomb in the Bibân el-Molûk ascribed to Tuthmosis I,¹ and considering the extensive building activity of the reign and the other royal tombs of that period, such a modest and poorly made tomb is rather unexpected.² Yet the patches of mud plaster still upon the walls of the tomb would suggest that progress was not stopped whilst it was still under excavation, and even if it was, and hurriedly plastered over, the relative displacement of the rooms in the tomb's plan would not allow any great enlargement of their over-all sizes.³

Ever since its discovery by Loret in March 1899,⁴ KV 38 has been identified as belonging to, and, therefore, excavated upon the orders of, Tuthmosis I,⁵ and following this identification, it would seem generally agreed that it is the tomb that Ineny refers to upon his tomb stela.⁶ The attribution was presumably based initially upon the inscribed finds, though Hayes⁷ later convincingly demonstrated that the most impressive of these, the sarcophagus found in the tomb⁸ was manufactured on the orders of Tuthmosis III for Tuthmosis I. This suggested to Hayes that this sarcophagus was made for a reburial of Tuthmosis I's mummy,⁹ a likely place of previous interment, if only for a short space of time, being the sarcophagus especially altered for that king by Hatshepsut, and placed in KV 20.¹⁰ This reinterpretation of the origins of the KV 38 sarcophagus, and the subsequent amalgamation of this new information with Winlock's earlier account of the vicissitudes of Tuthmosis I's mummy and coffins¹¹ still did not question the original attribution of KV 38 to the reign of Tuthmosis I,

¹ KV 38. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 1, part 2, (2nd edn. Oxford, 1964), 557 and 559.

² Thus Weigall, *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt* (London, 1910) (*WUE*), 223, calls it 'insignificant'. Carter, *Notebooks (GI)* 1. A. 227, says 'were it not for the system of plan one would hardly recognise it as a royal tomb, especially belonging to that great period . . .'. I am indebted to the Griffith Institute, and Miss Helen Murray, for making these notebooks available to me.

³ Noted by Carter, *GI* 1. A. 227, and observed by the writer (1969) upon the stairway, in the burial chamber and the ill-shaped side chamber running off it.

⁴ Bénédite, *Égypte* (Paris, 1900), 537.

⁵ This attribution, and other matters relating to the tomb, are discussed primarily by Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 'Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I' (*W.JEA*), Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* (Princeton, 1935) (*RS*), and Thomas, *The Royal Necropolis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966) (*RN*).

⁶ Theban Tomb 81. *Urk.* iv, 57.

⁷ *RS* 52-4; 104-10.

⁸ Cairo, 52344, see *RS*, where it is described.

⁹ *RS* 52-4.

¹⁰ T. Davis, Naville, and Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû* (London, 1906) (*DNC*), chapter iv; and *RS*, 157-61.

¹¹ *W.JEA* 66-7 and *RS* chap. iv.

even though the sole remaining inscriptional evidence for this early date was a single vase fragment which conceivably could have been introduced into the tomb at the time of the reburial. Given that Tuthmosis I's mummy was reburied in KV 38 by Tuthmosis III, it would be reasonable to expect that the articles that were found in the tomb were as likely to have been deposited on this occasion as any other. Therefore, special proof of the tomb excavation or of the date of the depositing of objects in the tomb is surely to be required to ascribe it positively to a period before the reburial by Tuthmosis III. It would now seem appropriate to re-examine the objects from KV 38, and the design of the tomb itself, to see if such evidence is forthcoming.

Neither the plan of KV 38 nor its contents were published by Loret, although a short list of objects from the tomb, that did not include the sarcophagus or its accompanying canopic chest,¹² was published by Daressy¹³. This list will now be discussed along with objects that still remain in the tomb.

Daressy 24975/Cairo J. d'E. 33862. A canopic lid, uninscribed, with a uraeus upon it. Daressy published no photographs of this object, and none, to my knowledge, has been published subsequently.

Daressy 24976/Cairo J. d'E. 33864. An alabaster vase fragment (previously mentioned above) which may be compared with other alabaster vase fragments with similar inscriptions from KV 20,¹⁴ and which may have been introduced into KV 38 at the time of the reburial.

Daressy 24981/Cairo J. d'E. 38869. Two small blue glass vase fragments, apparently from different vases and decorated with lines of white and yellow glass. No similar fragments are recorded as coming from KV 20. It is interesting to note that, in the opinion of one authority,¹⁵ glass-making of this refined variety was only manufactured in Egypt after knowledge had been gained of Asiatic techniques following the conquests of Tuthmosis III. Certainly I am unable to trace any other example of this type of glass ware prior to that reign, and it would therefore seem probable that these vessels were introduced into the tomb during the reburial.

Daressy 24990/Cairo J. d'E. 33863. Two small fragments of the book of Amduat which, in Carter's opinion, were similar to fifteen similarly inscribed blocks which he recovered from KV 20.¹⁶ As the KV 20 blocks have not been published, any real comparison with the KV 38 fragments is impossible, but it would not seem unreasonable to suggest that the two pieces were brought from KV 20 along with other objects during the reburial, their small size, the largest measuring only 0.27 × 0.27 m., allowing easy transportation.

As well as Daressy's published list, there remain in the tomb many fragments of large, whitened, typically early Eighteenth-Dynasty storage jars, piled in the small side room off the burial chamber. Around the floor of the burial chamber, with one piece leaning at an angle against the rear wall, are five yellow quartzite blocks, which are not plastered or painted, but are finely cut. Though Thomas¹⁷ describes them as

¹² *RS* 13.

¹³ Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois, 1898-1899* (Cairo, 1902), 300-4.

¹⁴ *DNC* 108.

¹⁵ Harris in *The Legacy of Egypt* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1971), 96; see also Lucas, rev. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th edn., London, 1962), 181-4.

¹⁶ *DNC* 80, and more specifically in his notebooks, *GI* 1. A. 258, where he compares the two sets of blocks. Carter also drew another comparison between these blocks and a third group of uninscribed blocks, also of limestone, in Hatshepsut's cliff tomb, see Carter, *JEA* 4 (1917) (114 f. 'A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut').

¹⁷ *RN* 72.

limestone, and suggests affinities with the inscribed blocks discussed above, Weigall¹⁸ correctly identified them as 'quartzite-sandstone', also stating that they were fragments of the sarcophagus base. A comparison of the measurements of these blocks and others identical in type that are still *in situ* by the sarcophagus base in KV 34 (Tuthmosis III)¹⁹ would indicate the correctness of Weigall's explanation, and would also complement Hayes's²⁰ attribution of the alabaster base taken from KV 38 as being contemporary with the sarcophagus from the tomb.

The concordance of the measurements and appearance of both these sets of blocks would not only suggest a similarity of function, but also that the KV 38 blocks were another part of Tuthmosis III's arrangements for the reburial of Tuthmosis I. Indeed, one of the blocks may still be in its original position, lying across the chamber in approximately the same position as indicated for the sarcophagus,²¹ the depression which is in the hard yellow mud by the side of it²² presumably being the result of removing the alabaster block on which the sarcophagus rested, and which is now in Cairo.

An uninscribed foundation deposit ascribed to Tuthmosis I by Carter, its discoverer,²³ would seem to owe its attribution to Carter's belief that the original excavation of KV 38 was undertaken at the order of Tuthmosis I. Thus, from the inscriptional and archaeological evidence available, there was nothing in KV 38 that could positively date its excavation earlier than the reign of Tuthmosis III; some of the objects, in common with the sarcophagus and its accompanying chest, appear to have been manufactured in that reign, whilst other pieces have such strong affinities with similar ones from KV 20 that, like Tuthmosis I's mummy, they may well have come from that tomb at the time of reburial.

However, despite this extremely slender evidence, KV 38 is usually placed first in lists of the royal tombs in the Bibân el-Molûk, and so the other methods of attribution which have indicated the possibility of this early date must now be examined.

Many writers²⁴ have considered KV 38 to be the earliest example of a developmental sequence of royal tomb design which culminated in WV 22 (Amenophis III),²⁵ but once the inscriptional and archaeological evidence from KV 38 has been shown to be inconclusive in determining the reign of the tomb's inception, the first part of this sequence must be most critically re-examined, for it is upon that alone that the attribution of KV 38 to the reign of Tuthmosis I must now rest. The basic elements of design in this sequence have been summarized many times;²⁶ briefly they are: an entrance stairwell leading first to a sloping passage, then to a rectangular antechamber, from

¹⁸ *WUE* 223.

¹⁹ See *RS* pl. 10, the stone at the bottom left of the photograph. These blocks lie around the edge of the alabaster blocks on which the sarcophagus rests. See Appendix I.

²⁰ *RS* 141.

²¹ *RS* 6, fig. 1.

²² This mud must also cover the traces of the base of the single column, which is not visible at all at present.

²³ *GI* 1. A. 233, and *RN* 72, where it is described.

²⁴ For example, *RS* 7, *RN* 71-2.

²⁵ See *RN* 85, fig. 9, where the whole series is conveniently grouped together.

²⁶ Lately by Hayes *CAH*³ 11, chap. ix, part 2, pp. 401 f., from which my list is paraphrased.

which a second stair and corridor descend into a pillared hall which has storerooms leading off it. KV 38, 34, and 42 share all these features and, moreover, are alone in possessing 'cartouche'-shaped burial chambers. These three tombs also apparently had a *hkr*-frieze, common to the later tombs of the series, drawn around the top of the wall of the burial chamber, and had yellow-tinted plaster upon the walls, though this is very fragmentary in KV 38, and the remaining paint is very faint. KV 42 is completely inaccessible.²⁷

Although these three tombs share all the basic elements of the design sequence described, with the exception of the 'well' in KV 34 (the first time that this feature occurs in a Bibân el-Molûk tomb), they add nothing new to it. The differences of design between these three tombs are those concerning room size and orientation, and the duplication of some of the elements such as pillars and storechambers; factors that, though they may alter the plans of the tombs cannot be said to determine a true typological progression, i.e. the development of an architectural design by the gradual addition of new units or motifs, or the refinement of existing ones. If, for example, the plan of KV 34 was carried out on a scale similar to the size of KV 38, many of the former refinements would be rendered meaningless by the reduced size of the whole; in this instance it is apparent that the difference between the plan of these two tombs could well be partly that arising from the interpretation of the same basic design scheme at different sizes. Differences would also arise from other considerations, such as the varying times allotted for each work, and the unreliable nature of the rock. It was hardly the Eighteenth Dynasty that witnessed either the establishment of basic excavation techniques or a period of developing economic resources that would suggest that a smaller and rougher work would necessarily precede a more finished and lavish one; thus a simple ordering of these tombs in terms of size and finish cannot be a guide to their relative ages. With the sole exception of the 'well' in KV 34, it would seem that a construction of a sequence in time concerning these three tombs based upon any kind of typological progression is not possible.

It may be observed, therefore, that neither the contents of KV 38 nor its design can demonstrate that the tomb was excavated before the reign of Tuthmosis III. As other writers before her, Thomas²⁸ has questioned the identification of KV 42 as a regal tomb, suggesting that it may have been excavated for Tuthmosis III's queen, Merytrē Hatshepsut or another member of that family, and it would seem quite possible that all three 'cartouche'-shaped tombs may date from Tuthmosis III's reign, KV 38 being excavated at that time to house the reburial of Tuthmosis I's mummy in the new sarcophagus that had been prepared for it.²⁹ The excavation of such a modest tomb as KV 38 for the reburial of an illustrious predecessor is hardly an extravagant idea, and would also provide a less fragile explanation of the date of the tomb than that currently

²⁷ But see *Ann. Serv.* 2 (1901), pl. I, p. 289 (where it is described as the tomb of Sen-nefer) for the frieze, and *WUE* 224 for a description of the wall colour.

²⁸ *RN* 79–80.

²⁹ That such sarcophagi were extremely costly to manufacture and transport is certain; cf. *RS* 31: (quartzite was) 'the hardest stone ever used on a large scale by any ancient people', and would doubtless require far greater efforts than the excavation of KV 38.

accepted. But if we deny that KV 38 is the tomb that Ineny conceived and excavated for Tuthmosis I, then we must look elsewhere in the Bibân el-Molûk for other likely claimants. Obviously, KV 20, with its many close connections with Tuthmosis I will demand close attention.

When Carter discovered the foundation deposits of H̄atshepsut by the entrance of KV 20, he was already searching for the tomb of that queen which he believed to be in the vicinity following the discovery of an inscribed scarab and saucer during the clearing of the nearby KV 43 (Tuthmosis IV).³⁰ Thus during the subsequent clearance of KV 20 it was not felt necessary to look to the material from the tomb to provide further evidence of the tomb's age. Yet there are good reasons why this initial attribution should not be entirely accepted.

KV 20³¹ is the longest, deepest, and, apart from some later non-royal tombs, the most singular monument in the Bibân el-Molûk. It cuts through the limestone of the *gebel* to the loose, grey shale beneath in a long deep passage divided by three galleries.³² The last of these galleries (called here gallery III, following Carter's designation) is very much larger than the other two and has, in its far right-hand corner, a small stairway which provides access to a pillared burial chamber in which Carter found the two sarcophagi. Most of the tomb was cut in such loose rock that any smoothing and finishing of the excavated walls would have been impossible, and there is no evidence of plastering.³³ During my visits to the tomb, in 1967 and 1968, it appeared that the original roof of the burial chamber had fallen away following Carter's clearance, and access to the three small side chambers was restricted as their doorways were almost covered by the fallen rubble, which also irregularly covered the floor of the entire chamber.

The burial chamber of KV 20 is unusual in being preceded by another room which is larger in size: in every other royal tomb in the Bibân el-Molûk the burial chamber is the largest room in the tomb.

Gallery III $9.0 \times 10.0 = 90.0$ sq.m. (floor) $\times 4.40$ high = 396.0 cubic m.

Burial Chamber $5.5 \times 11.0 = 60.5$ sq.m. (floor) $\times 3.00$ high = 181.5 cubic m.

Measurements from Carter.³⁴

It may be seen from the table above that gallery III has a floor area considerably larger than that of the burial chamber, and a cubic capacity over twice as large. Even if one would claim that this unique size of a gallery preliminary to a burial chamber was due to a simple oversight or miscalculation, such a huge difference in cubic capacity could hardly slip by unnoticed during the course of excavation, when the chippings would have to be removed nearly 700 feet to the surface.

These measurements can yield further information:

Gallery III, plan 9.0×10.0 m = 17.21×19.12 cubits

Burial Chamber, plan 5.5×11.0 m = 10.51×21.1 cubits

(Cubit taken as 0.523 m.).

³⁰ *DNC* 77.

³¹ *PM* 546-7.

³² See map, *DNC* 76, pl. 8.

³³ See *DNC* chap. III, checked by the writer for traces of plaster.

³⁴ *DNC* 78-9. That these measurements represent the full extent of the intended plan is indicated by the positions of the three side chambers.

The burial chamber plan, it can be seen, is almost two squares, with the side of the square measuring 10·5 cubits. This 10·5 cubit module is $\frac{1}{8}$ ($\frac{1}{3}$ of a $\frac{1}{3}$) of the size of the module square used in the design of the Montuhotep temple at Deir el-Bahari, and subsequently employed in the Hatshepsut temple at that location as well.³⁵ This interesting concurrence, apart from demonstrating the practicality of proportional studies, would suggest a direct link between the architecture of the burial chamber of KV 20 and the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari. None of the other chambers in KV 20 show such a relationship; indeed, they do not yield easily to any kind of mathematical analysis; in this respect the burial chamber is alone.

Further comparisons between the architecture of the burial chamber and the rest of the tomb also demonstrate significant differences of design. Although gallery III is by far the largest chamber in the tomb it has no pillars to support the roof: the burial chamber has three. The stairway that connects these two rooms differs from those of the rest of the tomb; 'it is much smaller than the other passages, and only 12 m long',³⁶ whilst the risers and treaders are far larger than those in the rest of the tomb, though precise comparison is difficult, owing to the extremely friable nature of the rock.³⁷ The location of the descending stairway in gallery III is quite different from that in the two preceding chambers, which have the stair running down through the centre of their floors.

These differences would seem to suggest that the burial chamber and the stair leading to it from gallery III may well have been added to the tomb after the originally conceived design had been executed, possibly with gallery III, previously the last chamber in the tomb, as the burial chamber. After Hatshepsut, the principal name associated with KV 20 is Tuthmosis I, and such a happy connection, it is suggested, may provide an explanation of the whereabouts of the original tomb of that much travelled mummy. Certainly, this interpretation of the history of KV 20 would be quite in keeping with Hatshepsut's general policy towards Tuthmosis I, and the often expressed belief that the relatively close proximity of KV 20 to Deir el-Bahari was intentional (a possibility strengthened by the position of another tomb of the period, the second tomb of Senmut, which was certainly orientated towards Hatshepsut's great temple) would equally well supply the queen with a further motive for the extending of KV 20 and using it for a joint reburial. However, a further examination of the material found in an around KV 20 is now necessary as, at first sight, some of it may appear to be a major stumbling block in this reinterpretation.

The pit in front of the entrance of KV 20 which contained Hatshepsut's foundation deposit was cut from the solid limestone valley floor, its location being discovered by the 'hollow sound' that the ground yielded.³⁸ Carter gives the size of the pit as 'about 50 centimetres deep and 40 centimetres in diameter', and describes the contents as being placed between layers of sand and under 'limestone rubbish'.³⁹ The entrance to

³⁵ That is 94·5 cubits; see Badawy, *Ancient Egyptian Architectural Design* (California, 1965), 102-5.

³⁶ *DNC* 79.

³⁷ See map, *DNC* 76, pl. 8 and noted by the writer upon two separate occasions.

³⁸ *DNC* xii.

³⁹ *DNC* 105.

KV 20 is awkwardly small and difficult of access, which is surprising when one considers the very large amounts of excavated material that must have passed through it, some of it, it would appear by the large amounts of grey shale which still surround the tomb's entrance, to be dumped immediately outside.⁴⁰ The position of the deposit must have put it under the feet of almost every basket-carrier that emerged from the tomb,⁴¹ yet despite the hole being so wide and shallow, and so flimsily covered, all the objects placed in it seemed to have escaped damage from the pressure from above, even most of the pottery emerging intact.⁴² At a later date it would seem that a flow of water had dislodged a part of the deposit, and sent it into the first corridor of the tomb⁴³ and so it must seem even more surprising that the continual activity of excavation did not earlier erode the 'limestone rubbish' that covered the deposit, and expose the contents of the pit. In fact, the simplest explanation must be that the deposit was placed at the entrance to the tomb after the bulk of the work upon it had been completed.

The use of lavish foundation deposits during the reign of Ḥatshepsut is well attested,⁴⁴ and her Bibân el-Molûk cache is the largest yet found in that location, though modest in comparison with others of that queen. It has close affinities with the much larger Deir el-Baḥari deposits,⁴⁵ especially in the choice and design of the model tools, which in the case of the carpenters' and masons' tools would seem identical in type.⁴⁶ Ḥatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Baḥari replaced an earlier monument of the dynasty on that site, though there are no known foundation deposits from the previous structure. Thus the placing of Ḥatshepsut's foundation deposits do not necessarily indicate a previously untouched location, and as the probability of the depositing of the Bibân el-Molûk cache at a time after the bulk of the excavation has been accomplished has already been indicated, it would seem that, at least in this instance, it is not possible to assert that the date of the foundation deposit necessarily indicates the date of the commencement of work on a particular site.⁴⁷

With the exception of some alabaster vases which Carter assumed to have been washed from the foundation deposit into the tomb, all the objects found in the excavation were recovered from the burial chamber, or the stairway that leads to it. However, not all the galleries before the burial chamber seem to have been fully cleared⁴⁸ and,

⁴⁰ It would seem most unlikely that the mounds outside the tomb represent the entire results of the excavation. Perhaps this grey shale, which must have come from the lower parts of the excavation, is only from the excavation of the burial chamber?

⁴¹ *DNC* 76, pl. 8.

⁴² *DNC* 104-5.

⁴³ *DNC* 78.

⁴⁴ For example, see Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, II (New York, 1959), 84-8.

⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.* 85, fig. 47 with *DNC* 106, pl. 15 or Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, VI (London, 1908), pl. 168, also drawn by Carter.

⁴⁶ This would strengthen the connection between these two monuments. Another, that of the employment of the same design module, is noted above.

⁴⁷ It may be of interest to note that in 1904, whilst clearing ground prior to the excavation of KV 20, Carter found a wooden cartouche to Tuthmosis I 'in the rubbish of the Valley' (*GI*). The approximate location of this find—between KV 34 and KV 20—may indicate that it came from a disturbed foundation deposit of the king relating to KV 20.

⁴⁸ Despite Carter's statement that gallery III was completely excavated (*DNC* 80), it still appears to contain areas of undisturbed filling(?).

especially in gallery III, one might well expect to find further fragments of funerary equipment. The range of the inscriptions on the stone jars, which name Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II, and Aḥmes Nefertiri as well as Ḥatshepsut,⁴⁹ are reminiscent of the contents of a Dra Abu'l Nega tomb discovered by Lord Carnarvon in 1914.⁵⁰ In common with some of the Seventeenth-Dynasty royal burials, it would appear that the contents of the early Eighteenth-Dynasty royal tombs often included a high percentage of articles bearing the names of members of the royal family; also they frequently seem to have been used for more than one major burial, a practice apparently intended by Ḥatshepsut, but discarded by Tuthmosis III, who, nevertheless, still has a reference to his immediate family inscribed upon a pillar of his tomb.⁵¹

At this point it may be of some interest to speculate upon the precise nature of the 'ancient filling' which Carter found as the bottom stratum of the fill that was in gallery III.⁵² As Thomas notes,⁵³ Carter does not elaborate upon this rather vague description, but as he differentiates between it and both the water-borne deposits and the ceiling debris, it might be supposed that, by a process of elimination, the only substance that might reasonably be expected would be limestone chippings from the excavation of the tomb. These we may infer from Carter's description to be present in the burial chamber as well,⁵⁴ and would indicate that work upon the end of the tomb, specifically the burial chamber, was not properly finished, as the condition of the three side chambers would confirm. Similar debris was also found in the unfinished KV 57 (Ḥoremḥeb).⁵⁵ Carter does not indicate that this fill lay right through the corridor of the tomb, but if it did, it would have certainly impeded work in the tomb as the main stair is not very large. If, as has been suggested, the burial chamber was excavated at a later date than the rest of the tomb, this fill, presumably coming from the last stages of working in the tomb, would indicate, as did the situation of the two sarcophagi,⁵⁶ that the excavation of the new burial chamber of the tomb was hurriedly done, possibly late in Ḥatshepsut's reign.

In a passage in his notebooks⁵⁷ which contradicts the publication,⁵⁸ Carter states

⁴⁹ *DNC* 106–11.

⁵⁰ Carter, *JEA* 3 (1916), 147 ff., 'Report on the Tomb of Zeser-ka-ra Amenhetep I'.

⁵¹ Loret, *Bull. Inst. Eg.* 3 ser., no. 9, pl. 6. Until the reign of Amenophis III, the subsidiary burials in the post-Ḥatshepsut royal tombs appear to have been of princes who had predeceased the king. No especial architectural provision was made for them.

⁵² *DNC* 78–9.

⁵³ *RN* 76.

⁵⁴ Described as 'rubbish' in *DNC* 80.

⁵⁵ See T. Davis *et. al.*, *The Tombs of Harmahbi and Touatankhamanou* (London, 1912), plates.

⁵⁶ See *DNC* pl. 9, and below. The rude tailoring of Ḥatshepsut's sarcophagus to take Tuthmosis I's mummy would complement these general indications of haste which surround the activities of the queen's workmen in KV 20. Is it possible that some of the wooden fragments found by Carter, *DNC* 80, may have come from the original sarcophagus of Tuthmosis I, which, in common with the other known royal sarcophagi of the period, would probably have been of wood? For example, see the restoration in Winlock, *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun at Thebes* (MMA 6, New York, 1932) 16–24. (This tomb is now generally acknowledged to be earlier than the original attribution, see Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, II, 53–4.) It would seem that it was Ḥatshepsut who initiated the use of quartzite for the royal Eighteenth-Dynasty sarcophagi, and her first example imitates a wooden prototype, as Hayes, *RS* 39, observed.

⁵⁷ *GI* I. A. 257–8.

⁵⁸ *DNC* 79, noted by Thomas, *RN* 76.

that he believed the two sarcophagi found in the burial chamber of KV 20 to be 'more or less in their intended positions'. He adds that 'it would be difficult to find how to place them otherwise', and upon studying the plan⁵⁹ one must surely agree. This would suggest that the burial chamber was planned for a dual burial from its inception, the disposition of the columns not allowing either sarcophagus to be placed in a dominant position. Hayes⁶⁰ has observed that the positions of the lids of both the sarcophagi indicate that they were handled with a care not normally associated with tomb-robbers and, at least with the sarcophagus altered for Tuthmosis I, it may be assumed that the careful placing of the lid against the wall some 3 m. from the box was done by Tuthmosis III's workmen whilst engaged in moving Tuthmosis I's mummy to KV 38. Interestingly, there are further indications that the other royal tombs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty were opened later in that dynasty, possibly in the reign of Tuthmosis III or his successor.⁶¹

In the light of this reassessment of the histories of KV 20 and KV 38 we may now tentatively suggest a different and slightly less complex course of events concerning the burial and reburials of Tuthmosis I than that given in previous accounts.⁶²

The tomb originally excavated in the Bibān el-Molūk for Tuthmosis I is KV 20, in which the present gallery III was the original burial chamber. Subsequently, Ḥatshepsut had this tomb reopened and hastily excavated another chamber, the present burial chamber. Here she intended to inter the mummy of Tuthmosis I in an altered quartzite sarcophagus which had originally been inscribed for her own use. Another sarcophagus, for the queen herself, was also placed in this burial chamber, but there are indications that this projected joint burial never took place.⁶³ Subsequently Ḥatshepsut's co-regent and successor, Tuthmosis III, had KV 20 reopened and Tuthmosis I's mummy, along with some pieces from the previous burials, was removed to an especially prepared tomb, KV 38, where the king was laid in a new quartzite sarcophagus, and provided with further funerary equipment.

APPENDIX I

The Quartzite Blocks in KV 34 and KV 38. Measurements in ems.

KV 34	KV 38
24.75 × 16.0 × 135.0	34.0 × 16.0 × 158
25.5 × 16.5 × 88.0	36.0 × 16.0 × B
25.0 × 16.0 × 83.0	28B × 16.0 × 158
25.5 × 16.0 × (50)	34.0 × 16.0 × 120
24.75 × 16.0 × (71)	36.0 × 16.0 × B
31.5 × 16.0 × (58)	36.0 × 16.0 × 120B
32.0 × 16.0 × (39)	
25.0 × 16.0 × (33)	

⁵⁹ DNC 76, pl. 8.

⁶⁰ RS 12.

⁶¹ RN 172-3. (Even if Hayes's dating of the royal portrait head, *Scepter of Egypt*, II, 123, is to be treated with some reserve, certainly the coiffure of another fragment [see *JEA* 3, pl. 18] is later than the date of the tomb from which it came.)

⁶² See *W.JEA* 66-7, subsequently amended by Hayes, *RS*, chap. IV.

⁶³ RS 12.

Bracketed measurements are the greatest length of broken blocks; the letter B indicates that the block is buried. Though carefully cut, some blocks show discrepancies of 1 to 2 mm., and a mean has then been taken. It is possible that some of the broken pieces have been measured at both ends of an originally whole block, but no obvious joins were noticed.

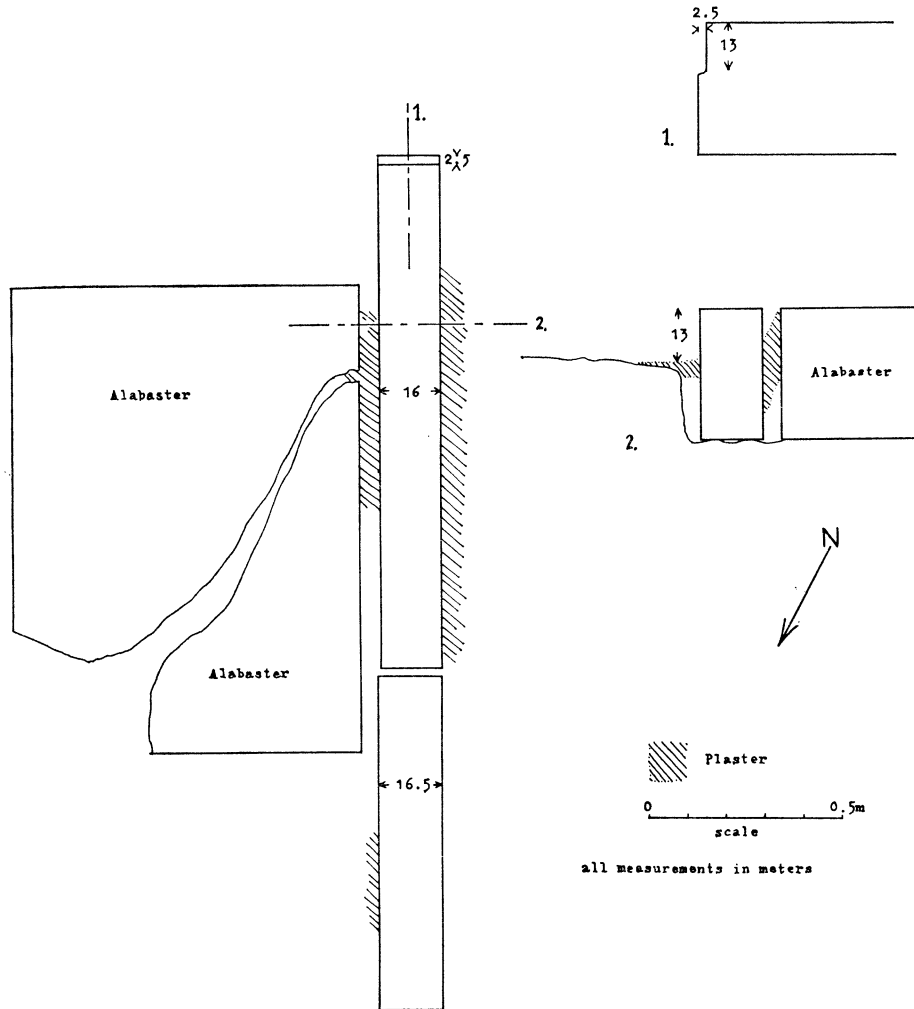


FIG. 1. Sketch plan showing the *in-situ* blocks of the sarcophagus base of Tutmosis III (KV 34).

In KV 34 two blocks, the first two in the list above, are still in their original positions, lying down the full length of one of the sides of the sarcophagus.⁶⁴ These blocks are fixed by gritty lime plaster to the floor of the burial chamber and to the alabaster blocks of the sarcophagus base. They show that the measurement 16 mm. was originally that of the width of the frame, and the measurements 24.75 to 31.5 that of the depth. Details of these two blocks (see fig. 1) also show that both they and the alabaster base were designed to stand approximately 13 mm. above the floor of the chamber, although owing to the surprisingly irregular nature of the floor, this measurement must have varied

⁶⁴ That is, the south-western side, *RS* pl. 8, where the end of the southernmost stone, with the ledge cut in its end, is visible, sticking out from under the displaced sarcophagus.

in different places. Presumably the overriding consideration was to place the sarcophagus upon a level base, $\frac{1}{4}$ cubit above floor level.

It may be of interest to note that at least two other tombs in the Bibân el-Molûk contain blocks of similar measurements. The blocking of the chamber that contained the cache in the tomb of Amenophis II (KV 35)⁶⁵ is made of fourteen miscellaneous sized blocks, four of which closely correspond in size to the blocks discussed above. Judging from the seals upon others of these blocks (see Appendix II) some were originally employed as door-sealing materials. The builders of this later blocking obviously employed what was near at hand for their materials. The sarcophagus now stands upon two alabaster blocks that lie in the middle of an empty, irregularly shaped shallow pit. Untypically, these reused blocks are of limestone, though they were cut with the same care as their quartzite counterparts in the earlier tombs.

In the side chamber *PM O* in the tomb of Sethos I (KV 17)⁶⁶ are six quartzite blocks of similar measurements, and more might be uncovered if this room was cleared. It would seem most unlikely that such carefully made blocks, of such hard stone and distinctive measurements, were intended merely to serve as blocking material for one of the chambers of the tomb, and so it must therefore be probable that these blocks were originally a part of the architectural arrangements of the sarcophagus of Sethos I.

KV 35	KV 17
30.0 × 15.5 × 41.5	31.5 × 16.0 × (83)
31.0 × 16.0 × 63.0	31.5 × 15.5 × 73.5
31.0 × 16.0 × 47.0	31.5 × 15.0 × B
31.0 × 16.0 × 58.0	43.0 × 15.0 × 75 approx.
	47.0 × 15.0 × 40 "
	47.0 × 15.0 × 40 "

APPENDIX II

By CHARLES CORNELL VAN SICLEN, III

In the winter of 1973, John Romer noticed some groups of hieratic signs upon certain blocks which he was examining in the tomb of Amenophis II (KV 35).⁶⁷ Since I was interested in the texts from this tomb, I volunteered to examine the hieratic. Upon preliminary examination of the signs and a cursory investigation, it became evident that they formed part of a text which Loret had mentioned in his original remarks upon the clearance of the tomb,⁶⁸ but whose final publication he never completed. Indeed, the very location of the stones bearing this text had been in doubt.⁶⁹ In addition to the traces of this text, I noticed upon certain of the stones traces of seal impressions and upon the doorway, a related graffito.

The blocks bearing the groups of hieratic had been used to close the entrance of the small chamber in which the cache of royal mummies had been placed, to the south-west of the burial chamber in the tomb of Amenophis II. An examination of the doorway (fig. 1) now reveals a stone blocking partly fixed into place by plaster, resting in front of traces of the original Eighteenth-Dynasty

⁶⁵ *PM* plan p. 552 (35).

⁶⁶ *PM* plan p. 528 (17).

⁶⁷ I would like to thank John and Beth Romer for their able assistance in preparing the illustrations for this appendix.

⁶⁸ V. Loret, 'Le Tombeau d'Aménophis II et la Cachette royale de Biban-el-Molouk', *BIE*, 3rd ser., no. 9 (1898), 109.

⁶⁹ *RN* 251.

closing of the room.⁷⁰ This blocking is the same as that discovered by Loret when he opened the tomb in 1898, lacking only the top four courses of stone. Loret remarked that he removed five courses in order to withdraw the cache,⁷¹ and it is possible that the present top course (blocks 1 and 2) has been restored to its original position. (Loret's photograph of the undisturbed doorway indicates that a total of seven blocks are now missing; they are not evident in the accessible part of the tomb, but they may lie within the sealed chamber to the north of the room of the cache.⁷² Certain of the stones bear signs of use prior to their present one. Blocks 1, 2, 8, 9, 10, and 11 bear the hieratic groups, while the reverse sides of blocks 1 and 11 also have remains of seal impressions in plaster affixed to the blocks. Above the blocking on the soffit of the doorway is a small hieratic graffito.

The six blocks bearing the hieratic signs provide a total of seven groups (fig. 2). Of these, only three (on blocks 8, 10, and 11) form complete words or phrases. Two more (on blocks 1 [left] and 2) are identifiable signs, while the remaining two (on blocks 1 [right] and 9) cannot be identified with certainty, due in part to a lack of context. The shape of the signs conforms to the palaeography at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

Block 1 (right)⁷³: Uncertain, possibly a writing for *hm*, 'servant'.

Block 1 (left): 'Man with hand to mouth', Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II (Leipzig, 1927), no. 35.

Block 2: 'Adorned eye', Möller, *ibid.* II, no. 83.

Block 8: *H:t-sp* 13, 'year 13'.

Block 9: Uncertain, perhaps inverted; possibly including the number 11.

Block 10: *Pn*, 'this'.

Block 11: *Hrw*, 'day'.

As the blocks presently sit in the doorway, the groups of hieratic do not form a connected text. It is certain that additional elements are missing, either being inaccessible inside the masonry of the extant blocking or having been misplaced. At some point, all the blocks must have been so arranged that the signs upon them formed a continuous text with each hieratic group written horizontally and placed one below the other on the several blocking stones of the doorway. Such an arrangement must have formed a column of text along the right edge of the blocking, in line with a ledge which projects under the right half of the doorway and provides access to the room. Judging from the two groups placed upon block 1, the text continued into a second, shorter column further to the left on the face of the blocking.

Some improvement can be made to the translation given by Loret, 'En l'an XIII, tel mois, tel jour, ce jour là . . .',⁷⁴ although the specific date remains lost. The main advance is the recovery of the sign on block 2: the adorned eye. This is most probably the determinative for a word such as *spty*, 'inspection'.⁷⁵ Following the sequence of blocks: 8, gap, 11, 10, gap, 2, the text reads: 'Year 13 . . . This day . . . [the inspection] . . .'. Since blocks 8, 10, and 11 occur in close proximity in both the original and present orders, it is possible that their companion, block 8, bears the missing

⁷⁰ When the tomb was originally occupied, this room probably served as a storage chamber.

⁷¹ Loret, *op. cit.* 109.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pl. 15. Some fragments of similar blocks are to be found in the room directly across the burial chamber from that of the cache.

⁷³ The relative position of the two groups of hieratic on block 1 can be seen in Paul Bucher, *Les Textes des Tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II* (Cairo, 1932), pl. 29, right.

⁷⁴ Loret, *op. cit.* 109.

⁷⁵ *Spty* occurs in a quite similar context to this text on a docket from the mummy of Queen Meryet-Amün: 'Year 19, Month 3 of Prôt, Day 26. This day the inspection of the King's Wife Merye[t]-Amün.' H. E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amün at Thebes* (New York, 1932), 51, pl. 41B.

month and day, but I can ascertain no acceptable reading. The only certain fact is that in year 13, possibly of the Tanite king Smendes,⁷⁶ the royal cache in the tomb of Amenophis II was inspected and sealed. This closing was not the final closing of the cache, however, as the blocks and their inscriptions were subsequently dismantled and rearranged.⁷⁷

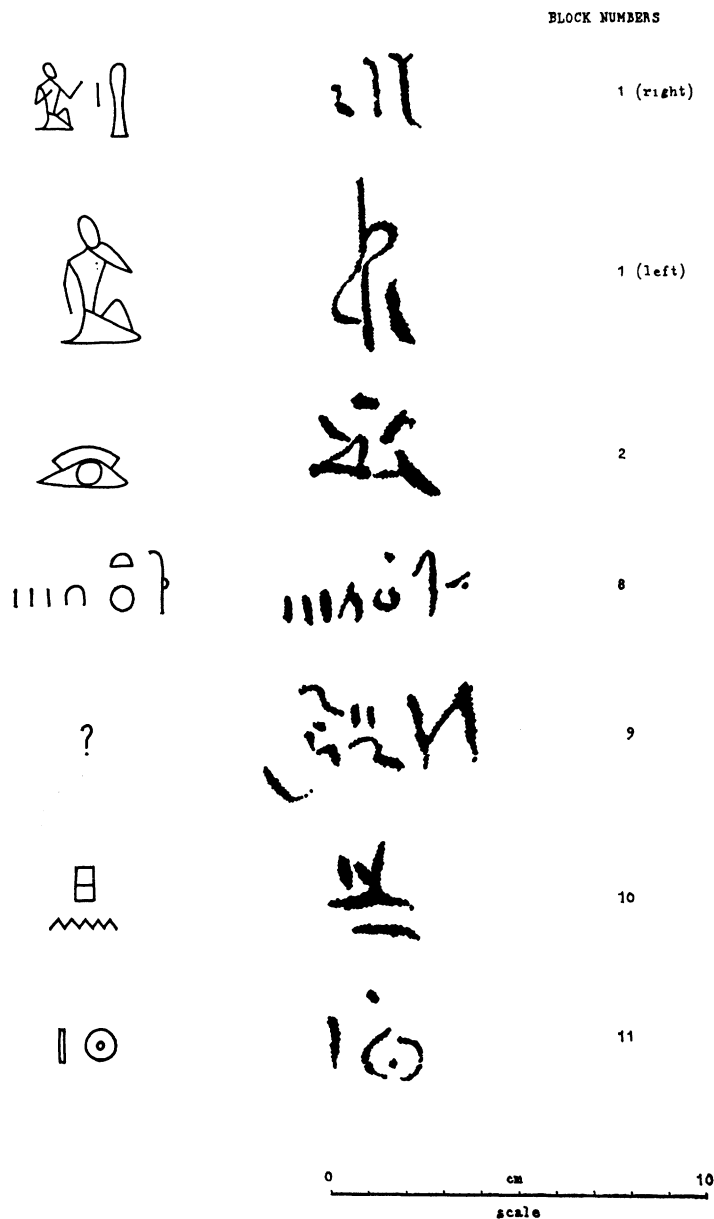


FIG. 2. Facsimiles of the hieratic groups.

The fragmentary seal impressions, three on block 1 and one on block 11, are indistinct, but enough remains to make certain their identity as the necropolis seal: a jackal over nine bound captives,

⁷⁶ Edward F. Wente, in a review of *Ikhnaton: Legend and History* by Frederick J. Giles, *JNES* 31 (1972), 139.

⁷⁷ Wente, loc. cit., seems to have considered the date as applying to the final closing of the cache.

facing left in an oval. The impressions themselves are approximately 8 cm. wide, and the maximum preserved length is 11 cm. They were made in a white plaster which was affixed to the sides of several of the blocks, and they still retain most of the blue paint with which they were filled. Information from the Valley of the Kings is quite incomplete, but excepting new evidence to the contrary,

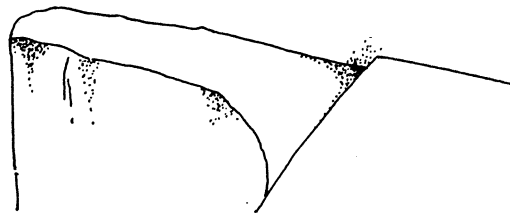
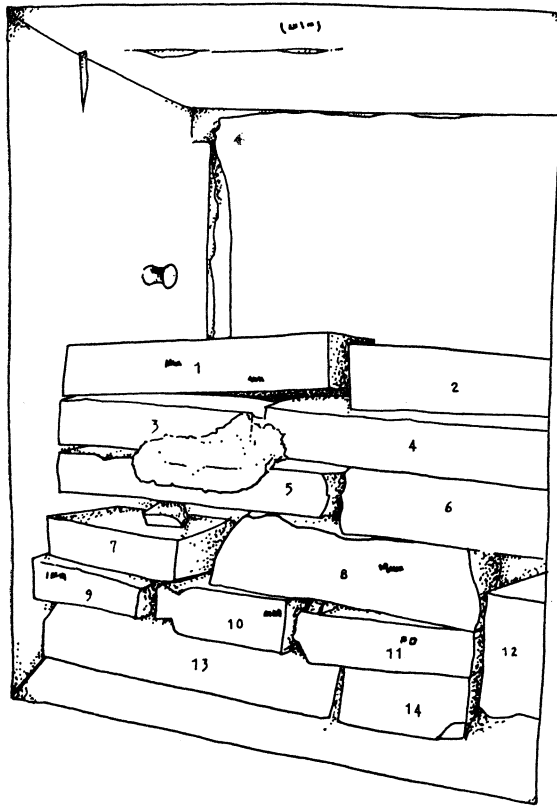


FIG. 3. Sketch showing position of blocks, and their numbers.

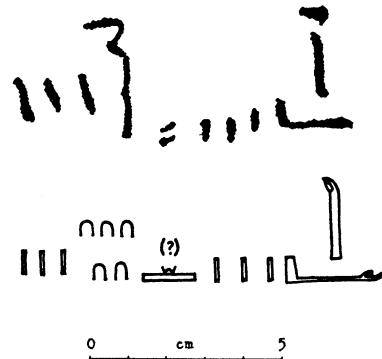


FIG. 4. Text of hieratic graffito.

the use of the necropolis seal in closing burials can be limited to four tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty: KV 43 (Tuthmosis IV),⁷⁸ KV 46 (Yuia and Thuiu),⁷⁹ KV 55,⁸⁰ and KV 62 (Tut'ankhamūn).⁸¹ Of more significance is the practice of filling the impression with blue paint. This can only

⁷⁸ Percy E. Newberry in Mr. Theodore M. Davis's *Excavations: Bibân el Molûk, The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV* (Westminster, 1904), p. xxx.

⁷⁹ J. E. Quibell, *Tomb of Yuia and Thuiu* (Cairo, 1908), p. ii.

⁸⁰ Edward Ayrton in Theodore M. Davis's *Excavations: Bibân el Molûk, The Tomb of Queen Tîyi* (London, 1910), 8.

⁸¹ Howard Carter and A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, 1 (London, 1923), 92, pl. 14. In the tomb

be paralleled in the original closing of the burial chamber in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV,⁸² within a decade of the original burial of Amenophis II. That the seal was in use at least as early as the reign of Amenophis II is clearly established by the presence of two large faience stamps of the necropolis seal among the objects recovered from the burial of that king.⁸³ It is most likely that the seal impressions and the stones that bear them derive from the closing of some doorway in the tomb of Amenophis II, probably that of the burial chamber itself.⁸⁴ Since the tomb had been plundered before its use as a cache, the stones bearing the seal impressions were available for reuse and provided part of the material used to close the cache.

A hieratic graffito can be found written upon the soffit of the doorway, outside the plaster traces of the closing of the cache (figs. 1 and 3). The text (fig. 4) reads *dbc* 53, '53 digits', about 99 cm.⁸⁵ The figure corresponds exactly with the depth of the doorway: 99 cm. To my knowledge, this is a unique example of a large measurement given solely in 'digits' rather than in the more conventional 'cubits, palms, and digits'. Since the measurement occurs only at this doorway in the tomb, and in view of its position just outside the secondary closing, it is likely that it was taken in connection with the cache. Perhaps it was done to indicate the depth of material which might have to be removed in order to re-enter the cache.

Corrigendum

Fig. 1, p. 128: The alabaster blocks on this plan should have been represented as 114.5 cm. wide, not 90 cm. as drawn. The break in the alabaster block on the left has also been represented inaccurately.—JOHN ROMER.

of Tut'ankhamūn, two distinctive types of the necropolis seal were employed. The seal which was used in the original closing of the tomb had a cartouche of Tut'ankhamūn added above the figure of the jackal; the other seal, used to reclose the burial, lacked this added element.

⁸² RN 81.

⁸³ CG 24109-10. G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois* (Cairo, 1902), 65, pl. 18. The dimensions of 24109 are 11 × 5.2 cm.; 24110 is broken, but seems to have been somewhat larger.

⁸⁴ It seems that in the tomb only the door leading out of the well and the one entering the burial chamber were sealed with masonry. As the former was likely to have been decorated to match the (incomplete) decoration of the well, the latter position becomes the most probable site for the original placement of the seal impressions.

⁸⁵ 1 digit = 1.86321 cm.; Howard Carter, *JEA* 3 (1916), 150 n. 1.

UN SCARABÉE INÉDIT D'HATSHEPSOUT

SCARABÉES À LÉGENDE ARCHITECTURALE

By ROBERT HARI

DANS un récent article du *JEA*¹ consacré à quelques scarabées de Ramsès II, Mostafa El-Alfi réserve un chapitre aux 'grandes statues royales' légendées sur des scarabées. Notre propos n'est pas de revenir sur les scarabées commémorant quelque statue en la désignant par son nom — encore que les 'légendes courtes' de l'auteur (à l'opposé des légendes 'explicites' qui comportent l'indication sans équivoque *pꜣ twt n N*) puissent laisser planer quelque doute: dans l'exemple cité du scarabée du Caire (Jd'E 74478), l'épithète *ḥr(w) m ntrw* désigne-t-elle vraiment une statue, ou n'est-elle, parmi tant d'autres, qu'un qualificatif du roi qu'on retrouverait aussi bien sur un scarabée que sur une statue, voire sur d'autres monuments?

En revanche, il nous paraît intéressant d'étendre la recherche aux scarabées qui comportent la mention *explicite*² de l'édification d'un ou de plusieurs monuments, ceci à propos d'un remarquable scarabée, inédit, d'Hatshepsout, dont il sera question plus loin.

Ces scarabées 'monumentaux' sont relativement assez peu nombreux, et, sauf une exception,³ ils appartiennent tous à la XVIII^e Dynastie. Cette rareté est curieuse, car on sait avec quelle constance les rois de la XVIII^e Dynastie ont attesté, épigraphiquement, l'œuvre architecturale ou en ronde-bosse qu'ils avaient réalisée (ou qu'ils s'attribuaient parfois par usurpation). C'est par centaines qu'on peut citer sur des stèles, sur les murs des temples, sur des statues la formule classique *ir·n·f m mnw·f* ou encore *ir·n·f m mnw·f n it·f N: il [l'] a réalisé comme son monument* et *il [l'] a réalisé comme un sien monument pour son père N*.⁴

Comme dans d'autres domaines où elle a fait la preuve de ses pouvoirs créateurs,

¹ *JEA* 58 (1972), 176-81: 'Recherches sur quelques scarabées de Ramsès II'.

² Nous laissons de côté les scarabées représentant, sans légende, un monument. Ainsi nous écartons de cette étude ceux où C. Desroches Noblecourt ('À propos de l'obélisque de Saint-Jean-de-Latran, etc. — Nouveaux exemples de scarabées commémoratifs de la XVIII^e Dynastie', *ASAE* 50 (1950), 257-67) a cru pouvoir reconnaître une commémoration de l'obélisque unique' édifié par Thoutmès IV pour Thoutmès III (ou commencé par Thoutmès III et achevé par Thoutmès IV), dont le socle a été retrouvé dans le Temple K du Grand Temple de Karnak (B.M. 16800, 38614, 39926 et 98716, soit Hall nos. 1463, 1464, 1467 et 1559; Louvre AF 1631, 1650 et E 17177; Petrie, *Scarabs*, xxvi, 12). Ces scarabées représentent Thoutmès III adorant un obélisque. Notre recherche est basée sur les scarabées publiés — c'est à dire incomplète: depuis les publications de Fraser, Ward, Newberry, Petrie, Hall et Rowe, musées et collections particulières se sont enrichis de nombreux scarabées royaux inédits. Le *Corpus des scarabées royaux* de S. Matouk (1971) se borne, en dehors de la collection de l'auteur, à la compilation des ouvrages cités.

³ B.M. 42936, avec légende *mn mnw [m] pr Imn*, de Ramsès II.

⁴ Cf. Gun Björkman, *Kings at Karnak—A Study of the Treatment of the Monuments of Royal Predecessors in the Early New Kingdom* (Uppsala, 1971), 22 s.

c'est la reine Hatshepsout qui paraît avoir 'inventé' le scarabée à légende architecturale.⁵ Le plus ancien, en effet, est probablement celui du University College 18.5.⁶ libellé: *Mꜣt- Kꜣ-Rꜣ mn mnw: Maat-Ka Ré durable en (ses) monuments.*⁷ Sur un autre scarabée

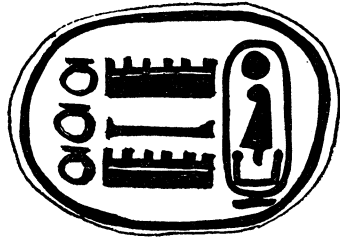


FIG. 1. Petrie, *Scarabs*, pl. xxv
U.C. 18.5.7.



FIG. 2. Petrie, *Buttons*, pl. xxiv
U.C. 18.5.2a.

de la même collection (U.C. 18.5.2a),⁸ elle emploie une formule qu'on ne retrouvera pas par la suite, d'une graphie au demeurant curieuse: *ḥꜣ-s [m] mnw m pr Imn: elle apparaît (en?) ses monuments dans le Temple d'Amon.*

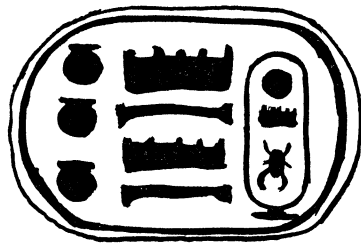


FIG. 3. Petrie, *Scarabs*, pl. xxv
U.C. 18.6.19.

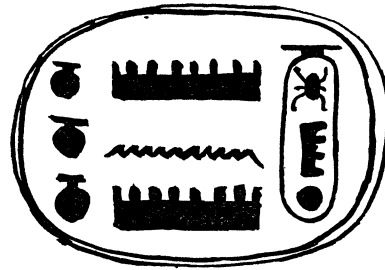


FIG. 4. Petrie, *Scarabs*, pl. xxvi
U.C. 18.6.20.

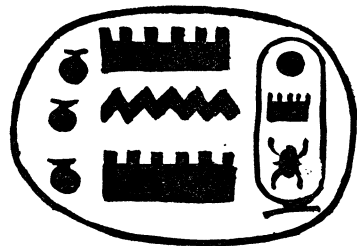


FIG. 5. Hall, *Cat. of Egyptian Scarabs*, 675. B.M. 37751

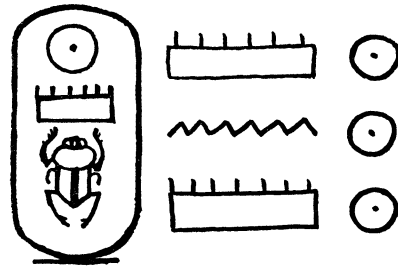


FIG. 6. Hall, *op. cit.* 677. B.M. 3893

⁵ Elle est également la première à utiliser la formule, banale par la suite, *tît n Imn: incarnation d'Amon*. Keimer ('Un scarabée commémoratif de Mineptah', *ASAE* 39 (1939), 105-20) qui a dressé la liste des 'scarabées commémoratives' d'Hatshepsout à Aménophis IV, voit en elle l'initiatrice de l'émission de tels scarabées.

⁶ Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders* (London, 1917), pl. 25. Un même scarabée figure à l'Oriental Institute de Chicago (No. 1289).

⁷ La plupart des auteurs traduisent la formule par: *dont les monuments sont durables*. Faire de *mn* une forme verbale relative ne va cependant pas sans difficulté. D'autre part, nous conservons à *mnw* son sens traditionnel de *monuments* tout en sachant que le terme égyptien recouvre des réalités assez diverses. Cf. Björkman, *op. cit.* 22 s. et en particulier, p. 27.

⁸ Petrie, *Buttons* (London, 1925), pl. 24.

La première formule est reprise sans changement par Thoutmès III sur cinq scarabées.⁹ Un sixième¹⁰ comporte une formule originale: *wšh mnw m pr Imn: celui qui institue des monuments dans le Temple d'Amon*; un septième¹¹ le décrit comme *le dieu bon, maître des monuments dans le Temple d'Amon-Ré: ntr nfr nb mnw m pr Imn-Rc* (on remarquera en passant la 'solarisation' d'Amon, qu'on peut, peut-être, relier à l'érection de l' 'obélisque unique').¹²

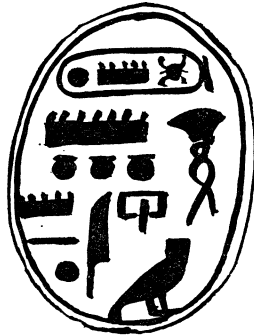


FIG. 7. Petrie, *Scarabs*, pl. xxvi U.C. 18.6.17.

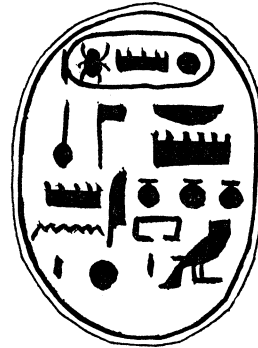


FIG. 8. Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. xxviii, 25.

Aménophis III en revient à la formule initiale d'Hatshepsout (*mn mnw*) sur un scaraboïde biface de la collection Ward.¹³ Enfin, Horemheb, lui aussi grand constructeur à Karnak, émet un scarabée commémoratif stipulant: *ir mnw m Ipt-Swt: celui qui crée des monuments à Karnak*.¹⁴

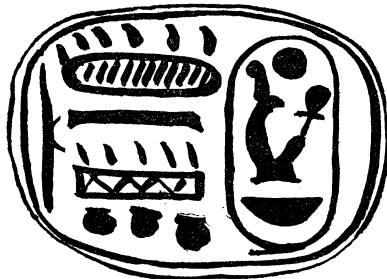



FIG. 9. Ward, *The Sacred Beetle*, 173.



FIG. 10. Hall, *Cat. of Egyptian Scarabs*, 1979. B.M. 38573.

⁹ U.C. 18.6.19 et 18.6.20 (Petrie, *Scarabs*, pl. 26); B.M. 37751 et 3893 (Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc.* (London, 1913), nos. 675 et 677); Newberry, *Scarab-shaped Seals* (London, 1907), pl. 2. no. 36104. Hall cite (no. 676) un scarabée qui nous paraît douteux: à côté du cartouche de Thoutmès III figurent les signes: 

¹⁰ U.C. 18.6.17 (Petrie, op. cit., pl. 26).

¹¹ Musée du Caire (Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. 28, 25). Keimer (op. cit. 115) cite deux autres scarabées (Newberry, op. cit., pl. 28, 14, et Musée du Louvre no. 3408), portant respectivement les légendes *swcb, pr Rc dt* (ornant — traduit Keimer — *le Temple de Ré à jamais*) et *m pt mi v̄h p̄ h̄c̄py m shn-fwn-f t̄ph-f r rd̄t c̄nh n t̄-m̄r̄i*: (*Men-kheper-Ré est au ciel, comme la lune; le Nil est à son service; il ouvre sa chasse pour donner la vie à l'Égypte*: il y voit deux scarabées commémoratifs, en relevant qu'on ne sait pas très bien quel événement ils visent.

¹² Cf. G. Lefebvre, 'Sur l'obélisque du Latran', in *Revue archéologique*, 1949, pp. 586-93.

¹³ Ward, *The Sacred Beetle* (London, 1902), pl. 4, no. 173.

¹⁴ B.M. 38573 (Hall, op. cit., no. 1979).

Plus significatifs et plus précis sont les scarabées commémorant l'érection d'un monument défini et identifiable — en l'occurrence un ou des obélisques de Karnak.

Le premier¹⁵ appartient à Hatshepsout; c'est une plaque biface, en stéatite vernissée, portant à l'avert le prénom de la reine (Maat-Ka-Ré) entre deux plumes *msrt*, et, au revers, le même cartouche encadré de deux obélisques — indubitablement ceux que la reine se fit ériger dans le Temple d'Amon à Karnak, entre les quatrième et cinquième pylônes,¹⁶ et dont l'un est resté debout.

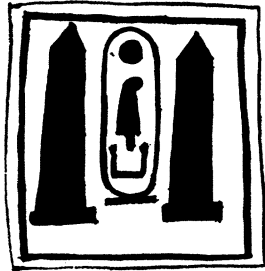


FIG. 11. Hall, *Cat. of Egyptian Scarabs*, 502.

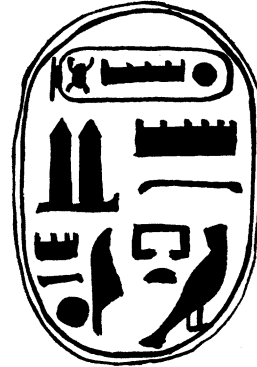


FIG. 12. Petrie, *Scarabs*, pl. xxvi. U.C. 18.6.18

Nous possédons un document analogue de Thoutmès III, authentique érecteur d'obélisques lui aussi; sur ce scarabée,¹⁷ il se qualifie de: *durable en [ses] deux obélisques dans le Temple d'Amon: mn thnwy m pr Imn*. Il semblerait que Thoutmès III se soit fait construire à Karnak cinq obélisques (deux paires, et un 'obélisque unique'), dont deux seulement ont survécu: celui du Latran, et celui d'Istamboul.¹⁸

Nous avons aussi un scarabée d'Aménophis II explicite:¹⁹ *mn thnwy m pr Imn: durable en [ses] deux obélisques dans le Temple d'Amon*. Ce document pose un problème, car Aménophis II, modeste constructeur au demeurant, ne semble pas avoir édifié d'obélisques à Karnak.²⁰ Faudrait-il dès lors comprendre que, selon le schème du 'renouvellement' de royauté,²¹ ce roi aurait simplement restauré (ou usurpé, ou

¹⁵ B.M. 41977 (Hall, op. cit., no. 502).

¹⁶ En citant ce scaraboïde, nous faisons exception à la règle que nous nous sommes fixée, puisqu'il n'est pas légendé. Mais il ne s'agit pas non plus d'une scène figurée, représentant la reine en adoration, et toute autre interprétation qu'une commémoration de deux obélisques (par exemple quelque adoration rituelle) paraît exclue.

¹⁷ U.C. 18.6.18. (Petrie, op. cit., pl. 26). Trois autres scarabées semblables sont connus: Berlin 3530 (*Ausf. Verz. der aeg. Altertümer*, Berlin, 1899, p. 417); New York, (*Bull. M.M.A.* 10, 1915, 46-7); Palestine Arch. Museum (Rowe, *Cat. of Eg. Scarabs, etc.*, 1936, no. 343091).

¹⁸ À part l'emplacement de l' 'obélisque unique', identifié par Barguet (*ASAE* 50 (1950), 269 s.) avec le 'Temple K' dans l'enceinte du Grand Temple de Karnak, la localisation de ces quatre autres obélisques est discutée ou inconnue. Cf. Breasted, 'The Obelisks of Thutmose III and his Building Season in Egypt' in *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 55 s.

¹⁹ B.M. 41875 (Hall, op. cit., no. 1634).

²⁰ À moins de lui attribuer les deux obélisques dont les bases ont été retrouvées dans les fondations du III^e Pylône, et qui avaient été dressés devant les deux obélisques de Thoutmès I^{er}; cf. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Ré à Karnak* (Caire, 1962), 79 et 105. Pour sa part, Vandier hésite, en les attribuant une fois à Thoutmès III (*Manuel*, II, 2, 883), une fois à Aménophis II (*ibid.* 910 n. 6).

²¹ Cf. Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest* (1966), 26 s., et Björkman, op. cit. 33.

complété) les obélisques d'un prédécesseur — voire terminé des obélisques de Thoutmès III pendant la courte corégence de ces deux rois?

La même question doit se poser pour Horemheb dont un scarabée²² porte la légende: *mn thnwy [m] pr Imm*. Or ce souverain, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, n'a pas construit de tels monuments — du moins pas d'obélisques monumentaux: le Musée du Caire possède les fragments de deux petits obélisques.²³ Leur relative modestie — ils ne devaient pas mesurer plus de 2 m. 50 à 3 m. — pousse à se demander s'ils auraient justifié l'émission d'un scarabée commémoratif.

Le scarabée inédit de la reine Hatshepsout²⁴ qui justifie les propos qui précèdent relève du même principe de 'légende architecturale' que les scarabées qui viennent d'être évoqués. C'est un petit scarabée, ne mesurant que 1.28 cm. de longueur, en

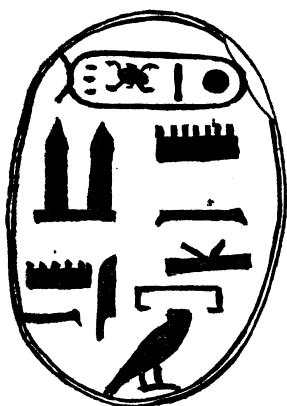


FIG. 13. Hall, *Cat. of Egyptian Scarabs*, 1634. B.M. 41875

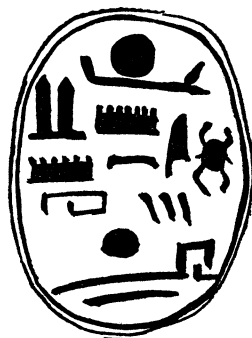


FIG. 14. Petrie, *Scarabs*, pl. xxxviii U.C. 18.14.1.

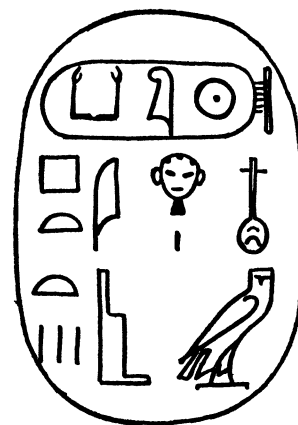


FIG. 15. Scarabée inédit de la reine Hatshepsout.

stéatite blanc-jaunâtre. Des traces d'émail bleu-vert sont encore visibles dans la gravure la plus profonde du dos. Il correspond au type A-3 de la classification de Hall. Le plat comporte un texte tout à fait original: à notre connaissance, on ne le trouve sur aucun autre scarabée connu: en dessous du cartouche de Maat-Ka-Ré (le signe *msr* étant écrit, comme c'est le plus souvent le cas sur les scarabées, avec le signe H 6 de la plume), on peut lire la légende suivante: *nfr hr m Ipt-Swt: la Belle de visage à Karnak*.

Il paraît difficile d'hésiter sur le sens de cette description: la reine s'était fait dresser une ou plusieurs statues dans le Temple d'Amon. On peut même pousser plus loin l'interprétation de ce modeste document: elle avait probablement pris les traits ou les attributs de la déesse Hathor, dont, on le sait, une des épithètes caractéristiques est précisément *nfr hr: la Belle-de-Visage*.²⁵ La ferveur particulière de la reine pour cette

²² U.C. 18.14.1 (Petrie, op. cit., pl. 38, 1).

²³ Kuentz, *Obélisques (Cat. Caire)*, 17017 et 17018, fragments auxquels il convient d'ajouter l'acquisition ultérieure d'autres fragments (Jd'E 64932), et plus récemment, des fragments de remploi trouvés à Karnak (Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950), 127-35).

²⁴ Coll. de l'auteur; acquis à Louxor, provenance inconnue.

²⁵ Épithète qui est aussi celle de Ptah.



UN SCARABÉE INÉDIT D'HATSHEPSOUT

déesse, concrétisée à Deir el-Bahari par la grande chapelle à Hathor, rend cette supposition parfaitement plausible.

Il est amusant de penser que la revanche iconoclaste de Thoutmès III envers une tante abusive qui l'avait tenu vingt-deux ans écarté du trône (et qui s'est traduite, notamment, par la destruction de toutes ses statues)²⁶ n'aura pas atteint son but dans le cas particulier de la ou des statues d'Hatshepsout à Karnak.²⁷ Un scarabée subsiste qui, dans sa modestie, n'en atteste pas moins la mémoire de la reine, et le souvenir de son œuvre en ronde-bosse dans le Grand Temple de Karnak.

²⁶ Les nombreux fragments, attestant à Deir el Bahari cette rage destructrice, ont néanmoins permis des reconstitutions remarquables, témoin l'admirable statue du Metropolitan Museum (29.3.2).

²⁷ Où aucun fragment, à notre connaissance, n'a été retrouvé.

A COMMEMORATIVE SCARAB OF AMENOPHIS III
OF THE IRRIGATION BASIN/LAKE SERIES FROM
THE LEVANT IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS,
BOSTON, AND REMARKS ON TWO OTHER
COMMEMORATIVE SCARABS

By WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON

1. In her recent monograph C. Blankenberg-van Delden lists ten known scarabs of the lake series (E 1-10).¹ In 1972 the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acquired its first example (see pl. XXXII, 1). Boston, MFA no. 1972. 873, Seth K. Sweetser Fund. **Description:** steatite; green glaze abraded and faded to yellow; well cut; no cartouches on the sides; ten lines of text; the spacing of the text, which differs considerably in the known examples, makes it certain that the almost completely missing first line contained the date, as in E 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. **Dimensions** as preserved: $6 \times 4 \times 2.6$ cm. **Type:** two lines between wing-cases, two lines dividing the wing cases and prothorax. **Preservation:** front part of head, front left leg missing, and, on inscribed surface, the top, upper right, and left edges broken away. **Provenance:** purchased in Europe in 1972 and previously offered by a dealer in Beirut. There is good reason to assume that the scarab was found in the Levant. **Bibliography:** Matouk, *Corpus*, I, 552 c, 89, 215.

2. In 1971 the Boston Museum was kindly lent a marriage scarab by Dr. Ronald Paret of New York. Loan no. 50. 1971. With his kind permission I include an illustration (see pl. XXXII, 2) and the following description in the form used by Blankenberg-van Delden. New York, Private collection of Dr. Ronald Paret. **Description:** steatite, green glaze abraded and slightly faded; well cut; no cartouches on sides; ten lines of text. **Dimensions** as preserved: $7 \times 5.2 \times 3.2$ cm. **Type:** single line between wing cases, single line dividing the wing cases and prothorax, with triangular notches below the lower line at the outer corners. **Preservation** good, slightly chipped. **Provenance:** unknown, purchased at auction in New York, Parke-Bernet 84. **Bibliography:** none.

3. In 1973 the museum acquired a ceremonial scarab of Amenophis IV with the titulary of the king and his queen, Nefertiti. Boston, MFA no. 1973. 108, Helen and Alice Colburn Fund (see pl. XXXIII, 1-3). **Description:** steatite; green-blue glaze faded and abraded except in small areas; well cut; cartouches intact on sides, on scarab's right side: *Nfr-hprw-Rc wr-n-Rc*, on left *Imn-htp ntr hkꜣ wꜣst*; text of seven lines, titulary. **Dimensions:** $6 \times 4.4 \times 3$ cm. **Type:** single line between wing cases, single line dividing the wing cases and prothorax, with single line triangular notches

¹ C. Blankenberg-van Delden, *The Large Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotep III* (Leiden, 1969), 134-45.



I. A Lake Scarab of Amenophis III. Boston, MFA No. 1972. 873
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



2. A Marriage Scarab. Boston, MFA, Loan no. 50, 1971
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

A COMMEMORATIVE SCARAB OF AMENOPHIS III



2
Ceremonial scarab of Amenophis IV. Boston, MFA No. 1973, 108
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

A COMMEMORATIVE SCARAB OF AMENOPHIS III

below the line at the outer corners. **Preservation:** virtually intact except for intentional erasure of king's second cartouche on flat surface, although the same cartouche is undamaged on side. **Provenance:** purchased from a private collector in Athens. The scarab is neither of the two unlocated examples of this reign cited by Blankenberg-van Delden; note other ceremonial scarabs of this reign in Berlin (Inv. 13290), the British Museum (51084), and Cairo (no. not known).² **Bibliography:** none.

All three scarabs are pierced longitudinally.

² Ibid. 166-7.

THE DEDICATORY AND BUILDING TEXTS OF RAMESSES II IN LUXOR TEMPLE

I: THE TEXTS

By MAHMUD ABD EL-RAZIK

FOLLOWING a previous paper on the court of Ramesses II in Luxor temple,¹ this study is the fruit of preparatory work for a study of the statues of Ramesses II which are a distinctive feature of his court in this temple. Consideration of the materials of the statues gave me occasion to study all the building-texts of the great forecourt which also mention materials; and so, for the first time, all these texts—old and new—are gathered here for unified treatment.²

For general convenience, this study is to appear in two parts, the texts themselves being given here while the translations and commentary are to follow in the next volume of the *Journal*. As nearly all of these inscriptions are here reproduced sideways to avoid breaking them up into innumerable fragments,³ it is preferable to have the texts and the annotated translations in two separate volumes of the *Journal*, so that readers may the more easily consult the two together.

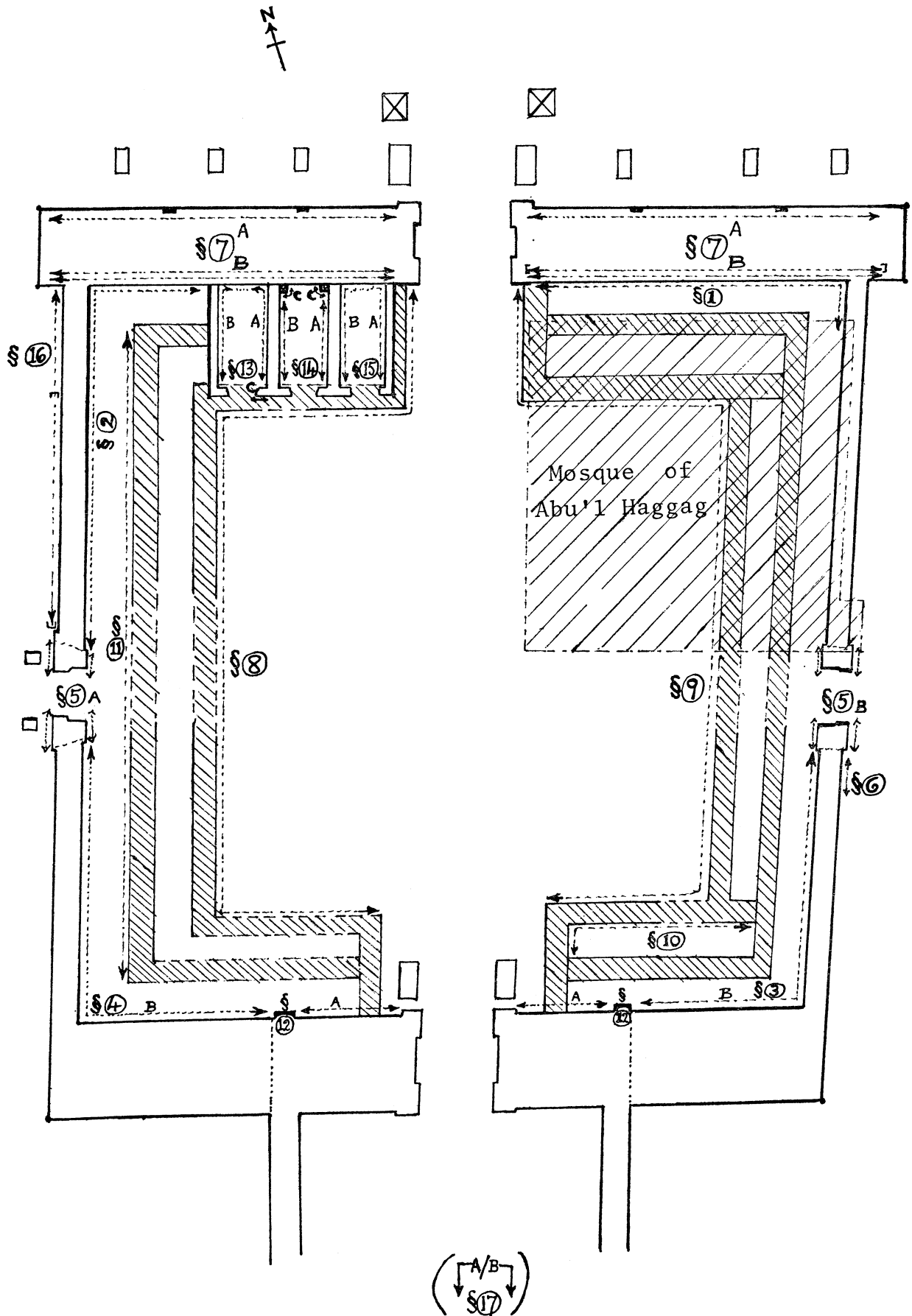
Until recently, the text given as § 1 was unknown⁴ and parts of §§ 4, 7, 9, 12 and 13–15, 17, had been published, but in scattered and very incomplete form. Considerable parts of these texts had not been published before; and previously §§ 2, 3, 4A, 5A/B, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, and 16 were almost totally unpublished. It is hoped, therefore, that the present edition will be a step forward in making available the varied information preserved in Luxor temple.

¹ Cf. M. Abd El-Razik, *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 68–70, pls. 25–8 (name of court of Ramesses II), also *MDAIK* (forthcoming; adjoining palace of Ramesses II).

² For inscriptions on architraves, doorways, and chapels of this court in the older literature see Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* II (1929), 101–2 (2nd edn. [1972], pp. 306–12).

³ The hieroglyphic copies printed here, I owe to the pen of Mr. K. A. Kitchen who has kindly embodied in these the closely concordant results from the copies and collations made by each of us separately; for this and helpful comments, I would express to him my thanks.

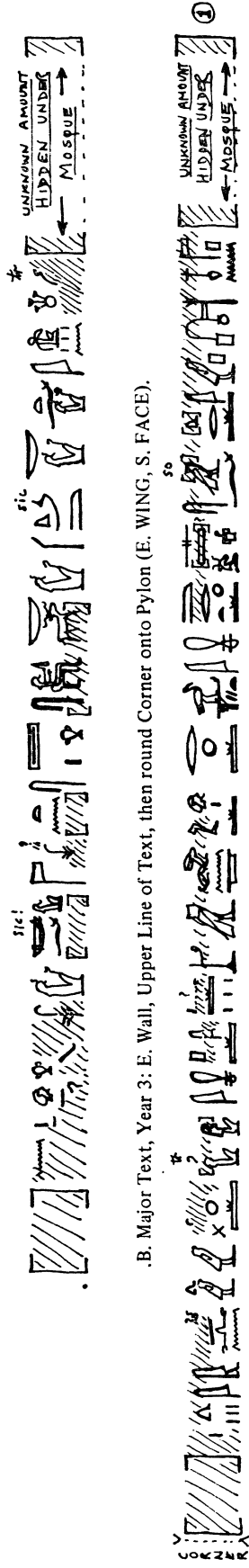
⁴ References to the recent treatments of this text, etc., are given in Part II of this study (*JEA* 61 [1975], in press).



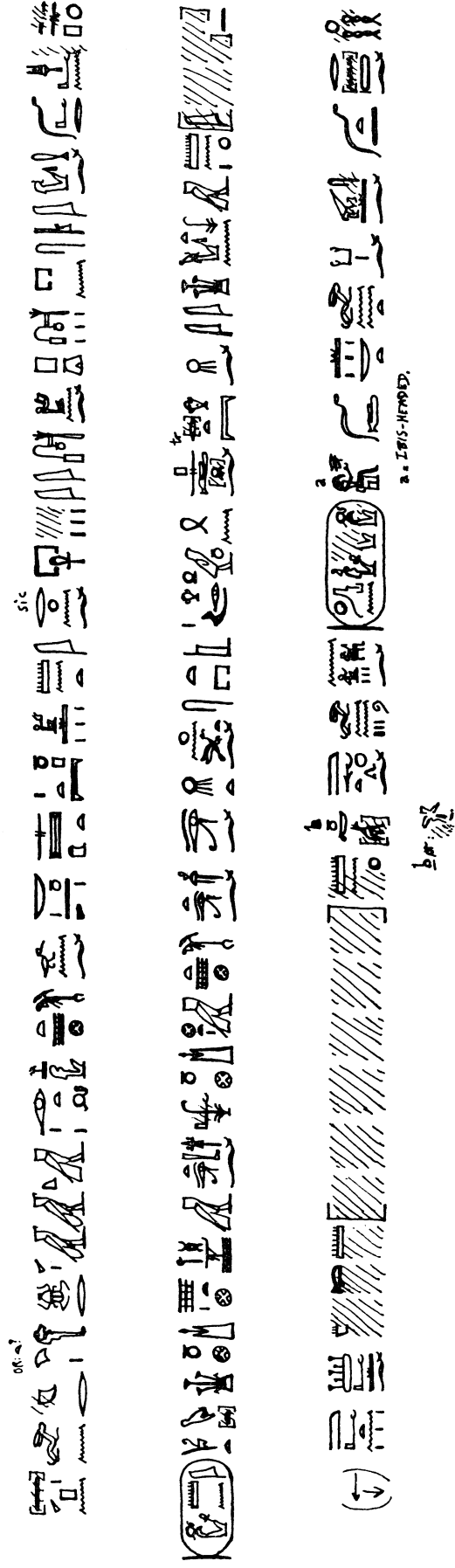
Luxor Temple, Forecourt of Ramesses II

§1. Minor and Major Texts, Year 3: Interior, E. Wall^(N) and Pylon (E. Wing).

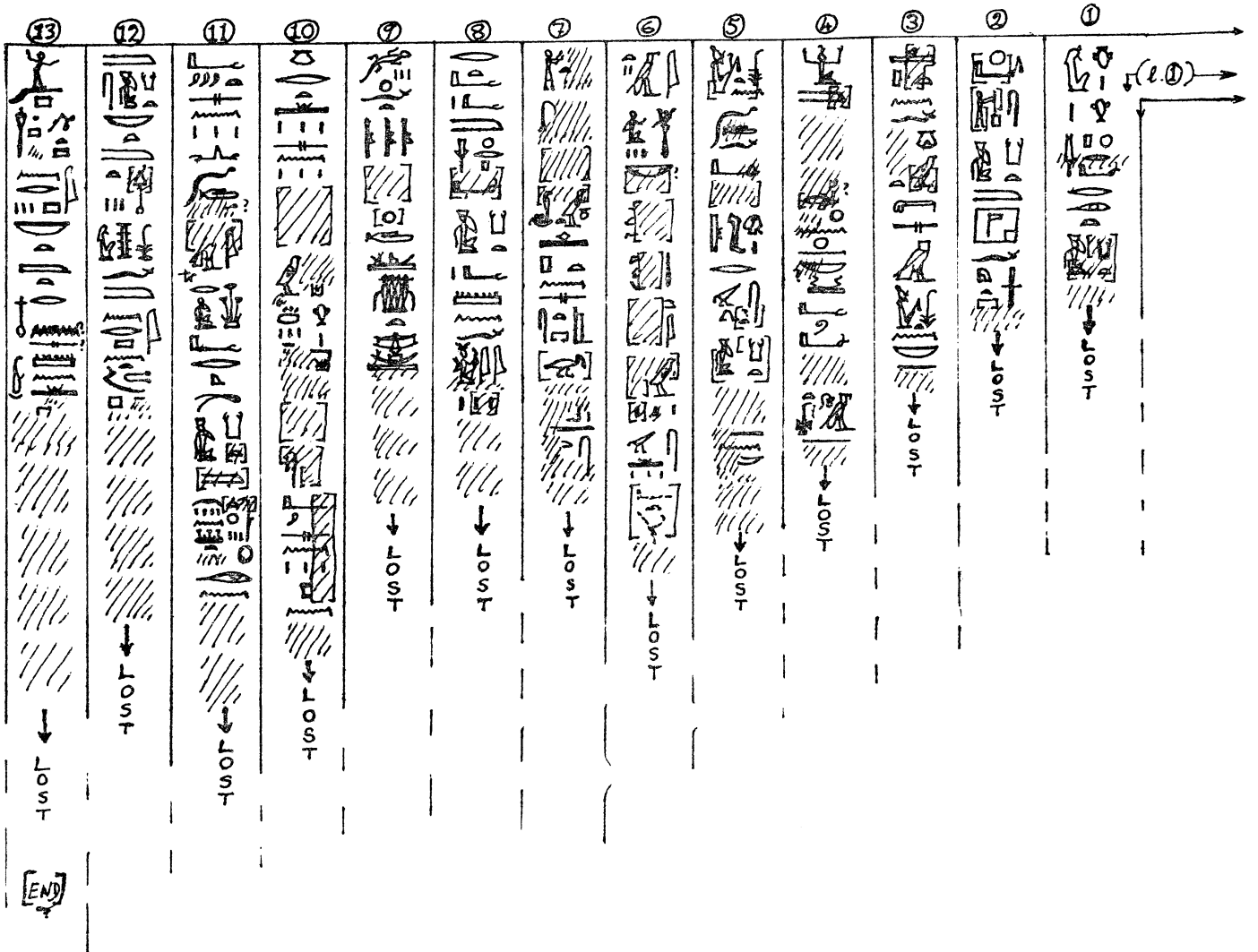
.A. Minor Text: E. Wall, Lower Line of Text



.B. Major Text, Year 3: E. Wall, Upper Line of Text, then round Corner onto Pylon (E. WING, S. FACE).



§1. Last Lines of Year 3 Text.



§2. Dedicatory Text, S. Face of Pylon (W. Wing) onto West Wall (Interior), N. 1/2

--: (ii) WEST WALL (N 1/2)

--: (i) NORTH WALL (or Pylon)

✓

§3. Minor and Major Bandeau-Texts: Interior, S. Wall (E. ½), E. Wall (S. ½).

A. Minor Text: S. Wall (Am. III), from Doorway to Buttress—E. Side of Doorway.

Hieroglyphic text consisting of several lines of characters, including a large cartouche in the middle.

B. Major Text: S. Wall (R. II), [Buttress] to Corner, E. Wall, Corner to Door (S. Side).

Hieroglyphic text starting with a hatched rectangular area. A small box at the top right contains the text "BEGINNING OF TEXT IS LOST".

—: S. Wall

—: E. Wall

Hieroglyphic text consisting of several lines of characters.

Hieroglyphic text consisting of several lines of characters.

Hieroglyphic text consisting of several lines of characters.

—

§4. Minor and Major Bandeau-Texts: Interior, S. Wall (W. ½), W. Wall (S. ½).

A. Minor Text: S. Wall (Am. III), from Doorway to Buttress—W. Side of Doorway.

B. Major Text (Opet Festival): S. Wall (R. II), Buttress to Corner, W. Wall, Corner to Door (S. Side).

Rest of Text is Lost

§5. Names of West and East Lateral Doorways of Court.

.A. West Doorway

EXTERIOR (W. Face).

NORTH JAMB | SOUTH JAMB

INTERIOR (E. Face).

L S T

 SOUTH JAMB | NORTH JAMB

.B. East Doorway

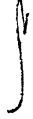
EXTERIOR (E. Face).

NORTH JAMB | SOUTH JAMB



INTERIOR (W. Face).

NORTH JAMB | SOUTH JAMB

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§6. Dedicatory Text S. of E. Side—Door (EXTERIOR)

<p>②</p> 	<p>S C E N E S</p>	<p>①</p> 
---	--	---

R
o
o
D

§ 7. Dedicatory Bandeau-Texts on Pylon (Upper Parts of Both Wings).

A. NORTH FAÇADES

(i) WEST WING:—

—: (ii) E. WING (Lower line)

[Upper Line: mainly lost]

B. SOUTH FAÇADES

(i) W. WING (Upper Line)

§7. Dedicatory-Texts on Pylon (Contd.)

B. SOUTH FAÇADES (Contd.).

(ii) W. WING (Lower Line).

(iii) E. WING (Upper Line).

(iv) E. WING (Lower line).

§8. Dedicatory Text, Main Architrave, W. Half of Court.

(i) SOUTH SIDE:-

a L O S T F

(ii) LONG SIDE (S. to N.):-

a L O S T F

(iii) N. SIDE:-

VERY RARE LOSS

(iv) N. END (to PYLON):-

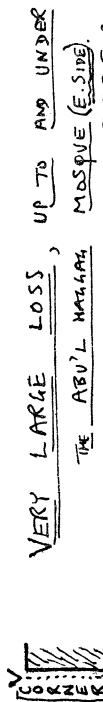
(v) 2-2. Restone with 59 as:-

[at = 7 groups?]

§9. Cryptographic Dedicatory Text, Main Architrave, E. Half of Court.

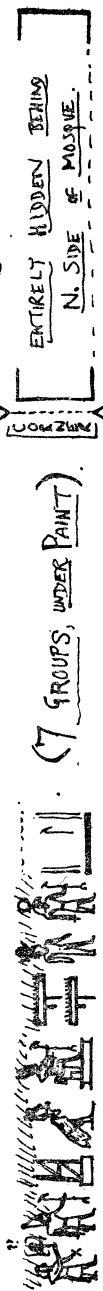
--: (iii) LONG SIDE (S-N).

--: (i) SOUTH SIDE.



--: (iv) N. END (TO PYLON).

--: (iii) NORTH SIDE.



a — a: Restored from Abu Simbel (ASAE 40 (1940), 315, fig 44, pl. 1-3.

b: The two figures partly overlap the preceding figure.

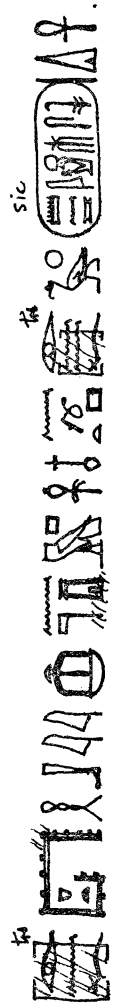
c: LDI, II, 78--



§10. Dedicatory Text, S. End of Court (E. ½): N. Architrave (S. or INNER FACE).

(i) N-S. Cross Beam, near Temple Axis (E. or Inner Face)

Then, (ii) W.-E. S. Face.



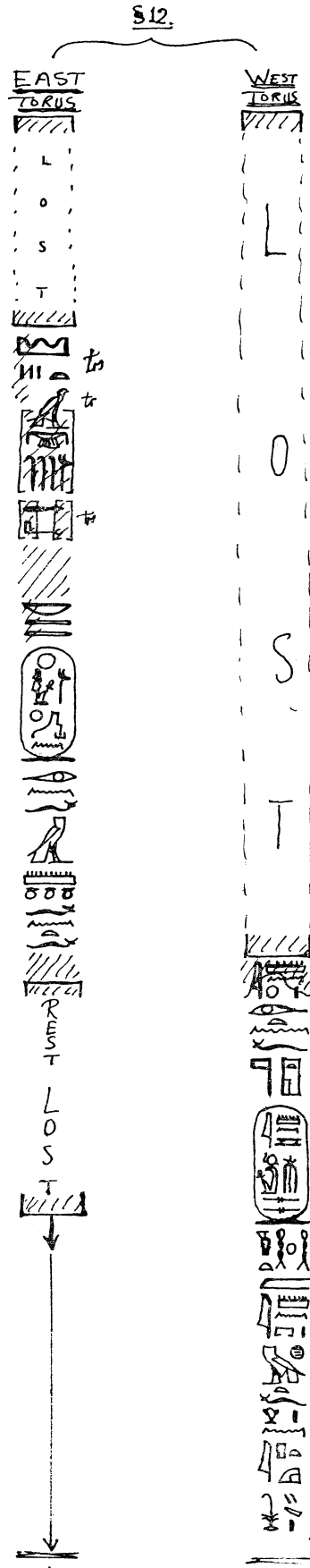
(Imitating the cartouches on abaci of columns).



§11. Royal Epithets, W. Architrave, W. Face.



§12. Vertical Dedicatory Texts on Unfinished Torus-Rolls of Amenophis III. (S. Side of Court).



§13. Triple Shrine: Dedicatory Texts of Chapel of Mut.

.A. Along East Wall.

.C. EXTERIOR, E. JAMB.

.B. Along West Wall.

Rear Wall:

§14. Triple Shrine: Dedicatory Texts of Chapel of Amūn.


.A. Along East Wall

.B. Along West Wall

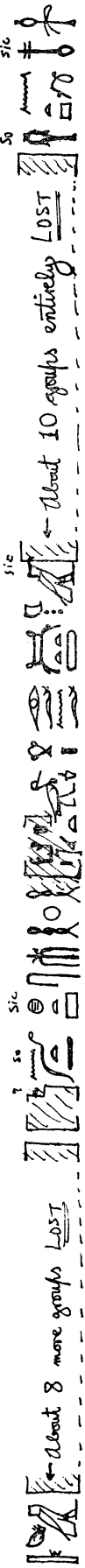
.C. Rear (N) Wall, E.-W. Corners, Ram-headed Djed Pillars: Dedications.

§15. Triple Shrine: Dedicatory Texts of Chapel of Khonsu.

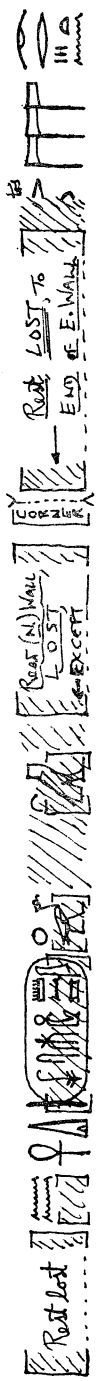
A. Along East Wall.




^{sic} ← About 8 more groups LOST



^{sic} ← About 10 groups entirely LOST

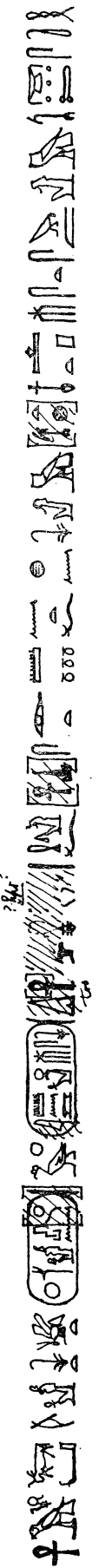


 Rest lost

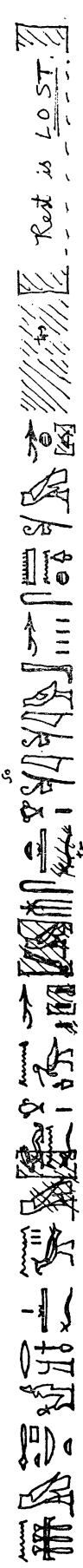


 Rest LOST, to END OF E. WALL

B. Along West Wall.



^{sic}



 Rest is LOST

§16. R.II. Forecourt, W. Wall: EXTERIOR, Bandeau Text.

MUCH IS LOST
IN BEATINGS.

8 9 1 9 A P P A

§17. Vestibule of Amenophis III: Side-Chapels: Dedications by Ramesses II.

.A. Chapel of Khonsu

E. JAMES (Face) :-

:- W. JAMES (Face)

.B. Chapel of Mut

E. JAMES (Face) :-

:- W. JAMES (Face)

[EDGES OF SIDE CHAPELS LAST, EXCEPT TO OF GARDENES]

TWO MONUMENTS OF THE TIAS

By JAROMÍR MÁLEK

THE Overseer of the Treasury Tia and his wife of the same name have for some time belonged to the better known contemporaries of Ramesses II. Helck was the first to compile a list of the five monuments of the man¹ to which Habachi, chiefly interested in the wife, was able to add another four.² He also suggested, on the basis of the title *snt špst nsw* and the scene on the Toronto block, that the wife Tia was a sister of Ramesses II and a daughter of Sethos I and Queen Tui. I am adding two as yet unrecognized monuments relating to the family, the stela of Amenemḥab Pekhoir³ at present in the Gulbenkian Museum in Durham, and the pyramidion of the man Tia⁴ brought back from Egypt by William Lethieullier two and a half centuries ago, the present location of which is not known. Another two monuments from the tomb of the Tias will be published in due course⁵ and a further two reliefs which have been on the art market for some time also come from the same tomb.⁶ The present list of the monuments thus contains fifteen entries.

¹ *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (1958), 516 [19], cf. 408, numbered a-e: (a) Stela, in Florence Mus. 2532, Bosticco, *Le Stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno*, 61-2 figs. 54, 54a-c, with bibl.; Habachi in *Revue d'Égyptologie* 21 (1969), 43-4 [2], fig. 14; (b) Stela, in Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, B 5 (AA. d. 22), Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de Musée National de Copenhague*, 22-4 pl. 15 [21], with bibl.; names, Lieblein, *Dict. de noms hiéroglyphiques*, Supplément, No. 2184; see *Guide. Oriental and Classical Antiquity* (1950), 24 [24B]; (c) Brick, found in the area of the destroyed temple of Ramesses IV at Thebes, PM 11², 424. (d) Ushabti, at one time in the Lewis collection, Philadelphia, Müller (W. Max) in *Rec. de trav.* 26 (1904), 33 [5]; (e) Block, in Toronto, Royal Ontario Mus. 955. 79. 2, Habachi, op. cit. 42-3 [1], fig. 13, with bibl.

² In *Revue d'Égyptologie* 21 (1969), 41-7, numbered f-i here in continuation of Helck's list: (f) Sarcophagus-fragment, granite, in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glypt. Æ. I. N. 48, id. ib. 44 [3], fig. 15, with bibl.; Schmidt, *Choix de Monuments Égyptiens* (1910), 26 [E. 117] pl. 10 [21]; name and title, Koefoed-Petersen, *Recueil des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, 86 [48]; see Schmidt, *Den Ægyptiske Samling* (1908), 188-9 [E. 117]; (g) Free-standing stela, in Cairo Mus. Ent. 89624, Zayed in *Revue d'Égyptologie* 16 (1964), 193-201 pls. 7, 8; (h) Stela, schist, formerly in the Rogers collection, now in Louvre, E. 7717, Habachi, op. cit. 45 [7], pl. 3 [a], with bibl.; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, fig. on p. 744 [lower] (reversed); see Boreux, *Guide-catalogue sommaire*, ii, 483; Vandier, *Guide sommaire* (1948), 51; (1952), 52; (i) Block, in Chicago, Or. Inst. 10507, Habachi, op. cit. 45-6 [8], pl. 3 [b].

³ Monument j.

⁴ Monument k.

⁵ One of them is a block seen at Orient-Occident, 5 rue des Saints Pères, Paris. The text was copied in July 1973 and made available to me by John Ruffle. Erhart Graefe tells me that this and another monument (l and m) are to be published by Madame Zivie.

⁶ On one block (monument n), formerly in the Eid collection 4260 (Zayed, *Egyptian Antiquities*, 13-14 fig. 16; *Sotheby Sale Cat.* July 1, 1969, no. 62 with pl.) the end of the name of the wife can be read. The other block (monument o) was also formerly in the Eid collection 4216 (Zayed, op. cit. 6-7 fig. 5; *Sotheby Sale Cat.* July 1, 1969, no. 61 with pl.; *Christie Sale Cat.* July 11, 1973, no. 137 with pl.). Although without the name, iconographically and stylistically it belongs to the former and to the other monuments of the Tias. These two blocks were pointed out to me by Erhart Graefe.

The Stela (pl. XXXIV).

This is in the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art and Archaeology, University of Durham⁷ and it comes from the Duke of Northumberland's collection in Alnwick Castle. It was described, and the texts freely translated, by Birch⁸ and the copy of the texts on the jambs and lintel is among unpublished papers of Wilkinson.⁹ Although the texts are commonplace the stela merits more complete publication on account of its prosopographical value; the bad erosion of the surface with the exception of the parts copied by Wilkinson renders some interest to an otherwise rather tedious exercise.¹⁰

The monument¹¹ is a rectangular niche-shaped tomb-stela characteristic of the New Kingdom mastaba tombs built in the Memphite area from the reign of Amenophis III. Little is known about the architecture of these mastabas because few of them have been found in controlled excavations and our knowledge is therefore often derived from unprovenanced objects in museums. The rare examples of tombs found *in situ* where the plan can be established¹² or tombs capable of reconstruction¹³ indicate that a niche-shaped stela in the back room on the central axis of the tomb performed the role of the main offering-place. Other stelae might have been placed on either side of the approach in the front room. The plan retains the basic arrangement of the New-Kingdom private rock-cut tomb of the Theban area with certain features modified to suit the built mastaba. The niche-shaped stela is found at other Egyptian sites in the New Kingdom but as a tomb-stela it was mainly used in the Memphite area or more precisely at Saqqâra where almost all Memphite New-Kingdom tombs were located.¹⁴

The jambs and lintel of the stela are inscribed with the usual offering-texts invoking the gods Osiris, Anubis, Rē-Ḥarakhty, Atum and Hathor on behalf of Amenemḥab on the left jamb and Pekhoir on the right jamb. The title Head of the retainers¹⁵ is in both cases the same and it is logical to assume that the deceased Amenemḥab was also known as Pekhoir, 'the Syrian', probably in order to distinguish him from other holders of the popular name Amenemḥab. The Goddess Hathor is called Lady of the

⁷ N. 1965. Limestone. Maximum height, 81 cm., width at base, 60 cm., thickness, 19 cm. Only roughly smoothed at the back. The front right upper corner and the back left upper corner are broken away.

⁸ *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle* (1880), 304-7.

⁹ Wilkinson MSS. xx. C. 12 [lower left]; xxv. 12 verso (on loan to the Griffith Institute).

¹⁰ It is quite likely that some deterioration of the surface of the stela has taken place in the last ninety years, but all the same one has to admire Birch's reading.

¹¹ I am most grateful to the Curator of the Museum, Mr. P. S. Rawson, for enabling me to study the monument in Durham and for permission to publish the photographs. John R. Baines and V. Anthony Donohue did much to facilitate the task.

¹² Both at Saqqâra near the Pyramid of Teti. (a) Ipuia, late Dyn. XVIII (Quibell and Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, pls. 2, 8-13, pp. 10-11), with the niche-shaped stela in Cairo Mus. Temp. No. 27.3.25.17. (b) Ḥori, Ramesside, found by Firth but unpublished (Gunn MSS. xix. 3, at the Griffith Institute, see PM III², Part 2, in preparation).

¹³ The Saqqâra tomb of Patenemḥab, Dyn. XVIII, in Leiden Mus. Inv. AMT. 1-35, AP. 52 (Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung*, iv, Taf. 1-12, cf. plan on fig. 1).

¹⁴ I am preparing a detailed study of these Memphite stelae.

¹⁵ For the explanation of the title *šmsw* in the New Kingdom see Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, 317 with note 3.

Southern Sycamore in the offering-text and this epithet is also applied to Isis-Hathor¹⁶ in the upper register of the niche. This is the Hathor of Memphis¹⁷ and the mention of this divinity indicates that the tomb of Amenemhab Pekhoir was situated in the Memphite area, most probably at Saqqâra.

On the cornice of the stela two baboons are represented adoring the rising sun. Birch¹⁸ saw the hieroglyphic sign ✱ before them but this is no longer distinguishable.

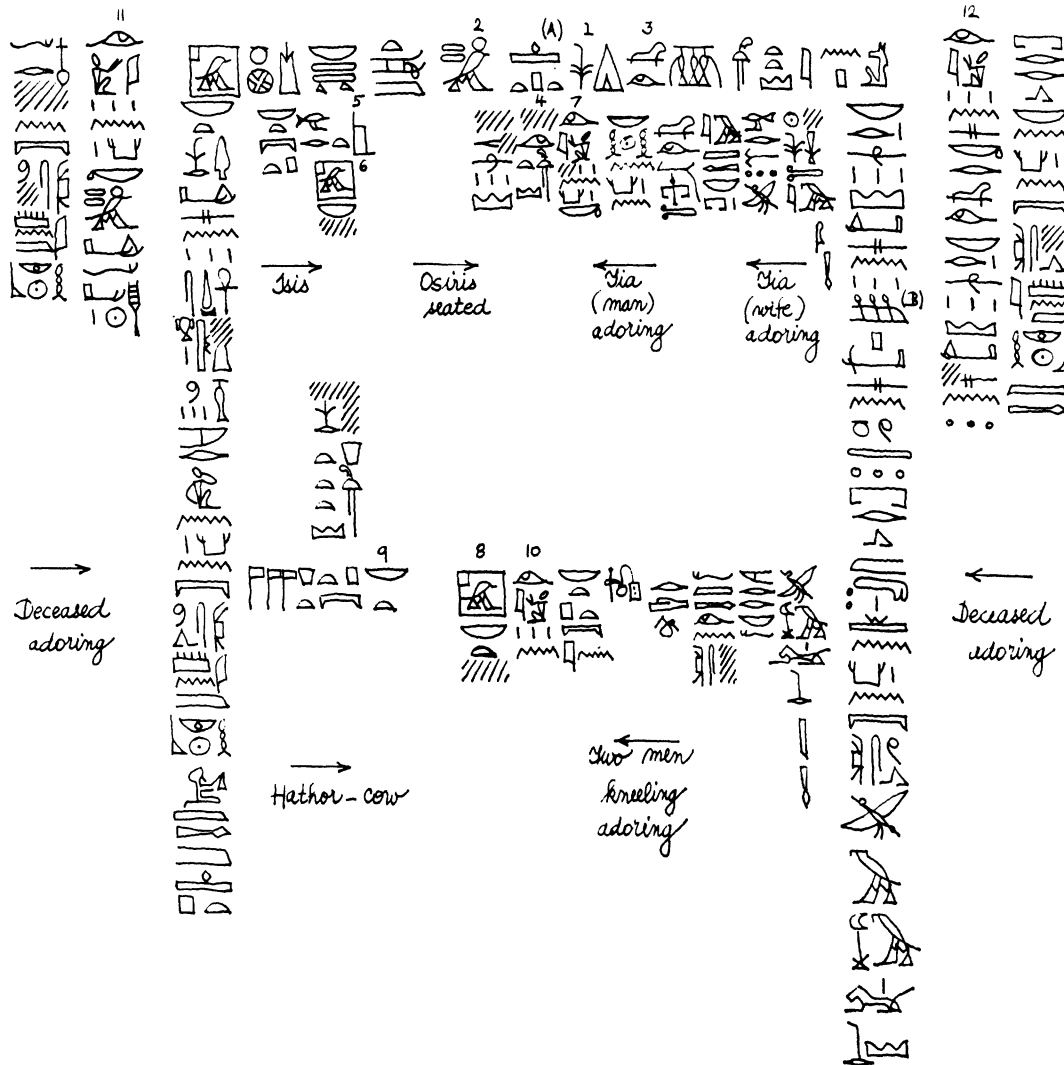


FIG. 1

The niche itself is divided into two registers:

The upper scene shows Tia and his wife adoring Osiris seated, with Isis-Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycamore, standing behind him. This is an almost obligatory subject found in the upper register of the Memphite stela-niche. Our representation is very conventional and only the long *cwt* sceptre of Osiris and the lotus-bud on the

¹⁶ Isis and Hathor often share the same iconography and epithets in the New Kingdom. Examples like the one on the Durham stela indicate that both of them were regarded as aspects of the same goddess.

¹⁷ Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)*, 3-20.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* 304.

head of the wife are worth pointing out. The texts of the stela do not explain the relationship between the Tias and the owner of the stela but the likeliest seems to be professional attachment of the Head of the retainers to the Overseer of the Treasury. Amenemḥab Pekhoir was thus a contemporary of Tia and lived in the reign of Ramesses II.

In the lower register two kneeling men adore the image of the Hathor-cow placed on a pedestal. The men are named as the Scribe Rudef and his father Pekhoir (given the more modest title of the Retainer in this case), the former perhaps being the dedicator of the stela. The Hathor-cow wears the characteristic solar disc with two plumes on the head and the collar with the *menat*. Although common at Thebes I have only been able to find two other examples of Memphite stelae of the New Kingdom on which Hathor is represented in this form.¹⁹ Hathor Lady of the Southern Sycamore as a cow was, however, represented on the walls of the Saqqâra New-Kingdom tombs.²⁰

On either side of the stela the deceased is shown adoring, with offering-texts above.

Notes on the text (see fig. 1):

(A) To indicate that *ḥtp* belongs to the texts on the left as well as the right, similarly, e.g. Dyn. XVIII stela of Patenemḥab, in Leiden Mus. Inv. Ap. 52, and Dyn. XIX niches of Pagarara, in Copenhagen, Thorwaldsen Mus. 349, and Leiden Mus. V 80-3. (B) The *šsp*-sign facing this way is quite usual in the New Kingdom, e.g. Cairo Mus. Temp. No. 27.3.25.17 (Quibell and Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, pl. 11 [lower], pp. 10-11, 35), and Berlin (East) Mus. 7320 (*Aeg. Inschr.* ii. 107).

Translation:

(1) Offering which the King gives (2) to Rē^c-Ḥarakhty-Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, and Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycamore, so that they grant life, prosperity, health, alertness, praise, and love, to the *ka* of the Head of the retainers, Amenemḥab, true of voice, in peace, (3) to Osiris, foremost of the West, and Anubis, Lord of Rosetau, so that they grant that offerings which have come forth^A to the *ka* of the Head of the retainers Pekhoir are received.^B (4) Osiris, the Westerner, [Lord] of Rosetau. (5) Isis, the Great One, Lady of Heaven. (6) Hathor, Lady of the Southern [Sycamore], Mistress of the West. (7) Making adoration to your *ka*, Lord of Eternity, and to the *ka* of the Osiris, Overseer of the Treasury, Tia, true of voice, and of the Lady of the House, the Chief of the *harīm* of Rē^c, King's sister, Tia, true of voice. (8) Hathor, Lady . . . (9) Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the gods. (10) Making adoration to the Lady of Heaven by the Scribe Rudef, true of voice, made by the Retainer, Beloved of his Lord, Pekhoir, true of voice. (11) Making adoration to your *ka*, Rē^c-Ḥarakhty, so that it^C gives a good lifetime . . . to the

¹⁹ Amenḥotep Huy, quartzite, temp. Amenophis III, from Saqqâra (Quibell, *Saqqara 1908-1910*, 146 pl. 84; Bagnani in *Aegyptus*, 14 (1934), 45-8, figs. 8, 9; titles, Helck, *Urk.* iv, 1810 [652 (A)], cf. *Übersetzung* (1961) 267), and Seba, Dyn. XIX, in Florence Mus. 2541 (Bosticco, *Le Stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno*, 59-61, fig. 53, with bibl.).

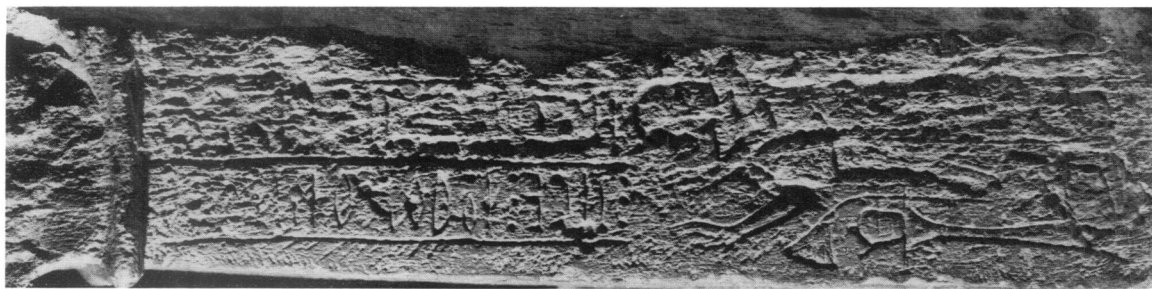
²⁰ In the tomb of Maya, temp. Haremḥab, blocks in Cairo Mus. Ent. 43274 (Quibell, op. cit. pls. 65, 66 A, with pl. 66, p. 143) and Temp. No. 29.6.24.13 (ibid. pl. 81 [1]), and though unspecified, certainly also in the tomb of Haremḥab, temp. Ramesses II, block in Cairo Mus. Temp. No. 14.6.24.25 (ibid. pl. 80 [1], with *verso*, pl. 73 [8], pp. 144, 145). The similarity of the scene on the block formerly in the Eid collection 4216 (monument o, see *supra*, p. 161 n. 6) is striking. The man and wife are adoring before the shrine with the cow-image of Hathor Lady of the West, Mistress of Rosetau. The offering-text below mentions Hathor Lady of the Southern Sycamore. Habachi's suggestion that at least part of Tia's career took place in the north might thus be carried one step further. The tomb of Tia was situated at Saqqâra.



1



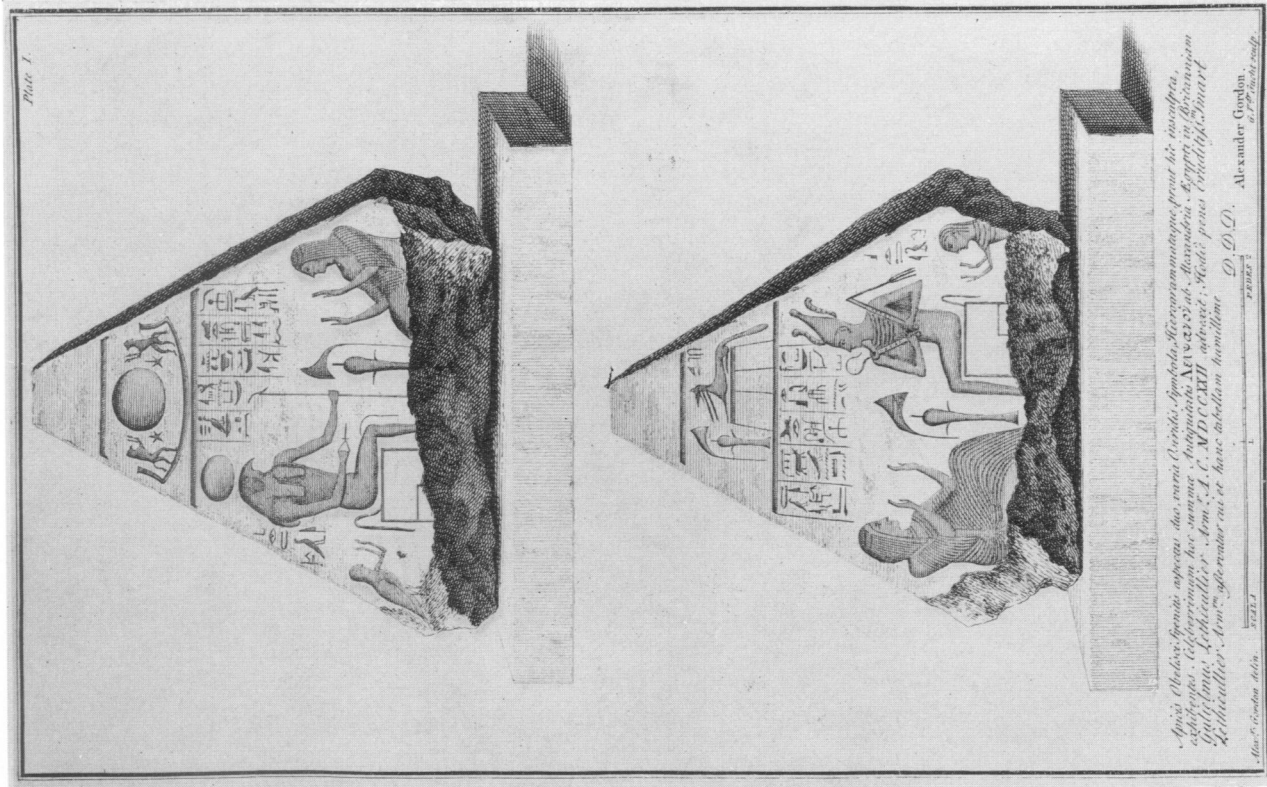
2



3

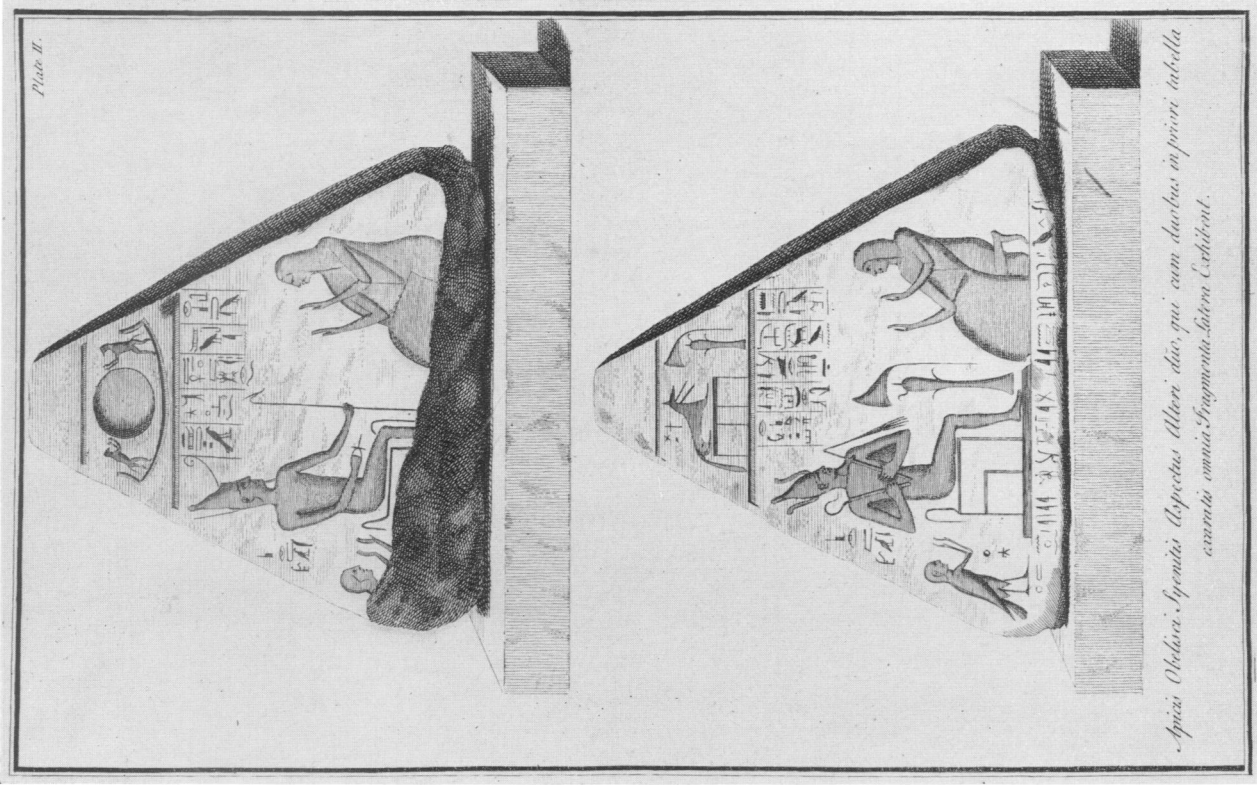
Stela N. 1965 of the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art and Archaeology, University of Durham

TWO MONUMENTS OF THE TIAS



I

The Pyramidion of the Overseer of the Treasury, Tia (from twenty-five plates without letterpress published by Alexander Gordon in 1737-9)



2

TWO MONUMENTS OF THE TIAS

Head of the Retainers, Amenemḥab. (12) Making adoration to Sokar and Osiris, Lord of Rosetau, so that they grant all that comes^D to the *ka* of the Head of the retainers, Amenemḥab, true of voice.

^A Part. perf. act. ^B Passive *sḏm.f.* ^C Literally 'he', i.e. the *ka*. ^D Part. imperf. act.

When we try to find out more about the owner of the stela, the rather obscure figure of the father of the famous Scribe in the Place of Truth Raḥmose²¹ immediately comes to mind. Raḥmose's father, Amenemḥab, was a Retainer but unlike his son was not associated with the work on the royal tomb. The fact that on two of his monuments found at Deir el-Medīna Raḥmose is unexpectedly shown adoring Hathor Lady of the Southern Sycamore²² is very remarkable. Bruyère suggested that the explanation of the epithet might be sought in the similarity of the geographical position of Deir el-Medīna and Wīse to that of the popular sanctuary of Hathor in the Memphite area and Memphis itself.²³ Strangely enough I am not able to find any other example of this epithet on the many Theban private monuments on which Hathor is depicted²⁴ and so it is tempting to explain these two monuments dedicated to the Memphite Hathor as a result of Raḥmose's special link with Memphis. Both the owner of the stela and Raḥmose's father lived in the reign of Ramesses II. It might be suggested that they were one and the same person.

One of the titles of the wife Tia is the Chief of the harīm of Rē^c (*wrt hrnt pꜣ rc*). This type of New Kingdom female title is fairly common.²⁵ Its local character provides further evidence of the connections of the Tias with the Memphite region. This title can now also be completed on the Florence stela²⁶ and the block seen at the dealer's in Paris.²⁷

The Pyramidion (pl. XXXV).

The pyramidion of the Overseer of the Treasury Tia was one of the earliest Egyptian antiquities which reached this country. I cannot improve on the resumé of its history as given by John R. Harris in the note²⁸ accompanying two loose plates of unknown origin²⁹ in the library of the Griffith Institute and so I quote its most relevant parts:

²¹ Theban tombs 7, 212 and 250 (PM 1², 15-16, 309, 336). See Černý, *op. cit.* 317-27.

²² As Hathor-cow, block in Cairo Mus. Ent. 72017 (PM 1², 697); as a seated woman, stela in Louvre, E. 16345 (PM 1², 697).

²³ *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médīneh (1935-1940)*, II, 67 n. 2.

²⁴ Hathor at Thebes in the New Kingdom is generally called *hrwt-tp wꜣst* with a variety of names characteristic of her position as the goddess of the Necropolis (*hrwt-tp/nbt/hnwt imntt*, *nbt/hnwt ḏsrt/tꜣ ḏsr*). Her role as the goddess of the Necropolis became generally recognized in the New Kingdom, as e.g. indicated by her epithet *hnwt imntt* on the Durham stela. Examples specifying her place of worship at Thebes are rare. Other epithets often met with are not confined to Hathor and the Theban area, for instance *nbt pt hnwt ntrw nbw*, *nbt pt hnwt twy*, etc.

²⁵ The title is known to be connected with various gods as well as goddesses, e.g. Amūn, Khons, Min, Mont, Mut, Nekhbet, Osiris, Sebek, Thoth, etc. I retain the traditional translation though the 'harīm' in this case means the community of women attached to the cult of the divinity.

²⁶ . . . *rc n iwn*.

²⁷ . . . *t n pꜣ rc n iwn*. I do not know the text of the monument m (see *supra*, p. 161 n. 5).

²⁸ Dated 28 January, 1959.

²⁹ These two plates, probably dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century, were presented by Mr. P. Young of Bristol. The only means of identification is the name of the engraver, R. Parr. The copy is generally less accurate than that of Gordon. I owe this reference to John R. Harris.

'The pyramidion was brought to England from Alexandria in 1722 by one William Lethieullier³⁰ and was still in the possession of his son Smart Lethieullier some fifteen years later, when it was seen and copied by Alexander Gordon³¹ . . . A description of the pyramidion is given by Zoega (*De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum* etc. [1797], p. 88) from whose account it is clear that by 1792 it had passed into the possession of James Tylney Long, Bt., and was standing in his garden at Wanstead. Zoega calls it the pyramidion of an obelisk and says that it was about 2.5 ft. high and about 3 ft. broad, 'e syenite lapide pallidiori'. He quotes a letter (dated June 22, 1792) from one Thomas Ford Hill, who had examined the pyramidion and found that its corners were more broken and crumbled than appeared on Gordon's plates, of which he sent Zoega a corrected copy. . . . Of later writers on obelisks Gorringer (*Egyptian Obelisks* [1885], p. 139) alone refers to the pyramidion. Two faces only, side by side and on a much reduced scale, are shown in *Fraser's Magazine* (November 1837, no. 95, p. 629).'

Each of the two opposite faces of the pyramidion are almost symmetrically decorated and inscribed, combining the solar and Osirian themes. The face, as is often the case with the New Kingdom pyramidion, is divided into two scenes, each surmounted by a \equiv sign. The smaller scene near the apex shows two baboons in the bark adoring the sun on two faces while the Anubis-jackal on a naos-shaped pedestal is represented on the other two. In the main scene the deceased is kneeling adoring a god (the sun-god on the east and west faces and Osiris on the remaining two) with the *ba*-bird beyond. The rather rare representation of Osiris³² is worth noticing.

The texts are mostly without problems and the interpretation of some of the signs is obvious from the translation. Two parts only require more attention.

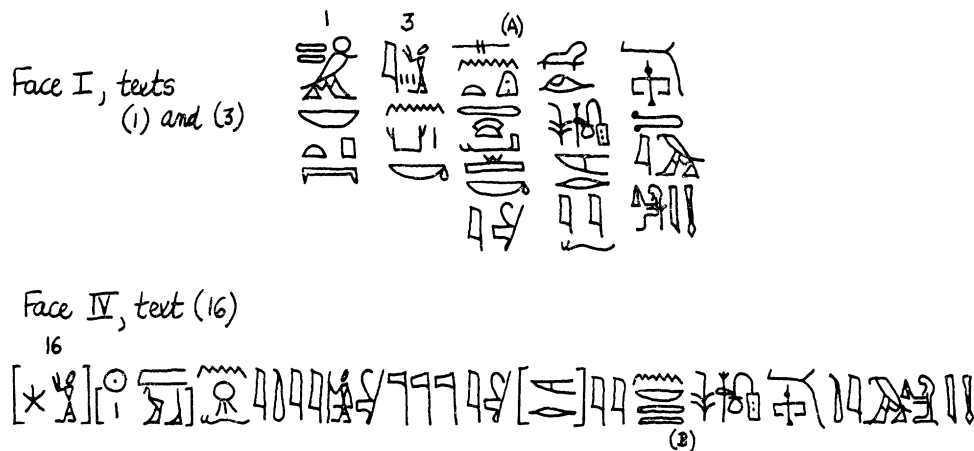


FIG. 2

(A) Not clear but *sn-tj* fits best. (B) Rather than *nb.f*.

³⁰ Dawson and Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (1972), 175-6. The date of Lethieullier's visit to Egypt as given there was 1721.

³¹ Plates I and II of the twenty-five plates without letterpress published by Alexander Gordon in 1737-9. These plates are sometimes found accompanying *An Essay Towards Explaining the Hieroglyphical Figures on the Coffin of the Ancient Mummy belonging to Capt. William Lethieullier* (London, 1737) and *An Essay Towards Explaining the Antient Hieroglyphical figures on the Egyptian Mummy in the Museum of Doctor Mead, Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty* (London, 1737), both by Gordon.

³² See Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, II, 522. The same applies to the pyramidia of the Late Period, see De Meulenaere in *JÉOL* 20 (1967-8), 17-18.

Translation:

Face I (pl. XXXV, 1 [upper left] = Gordon, pl. 1 [upper]).

(1) Rē^c-Ḥarakhty, Lord of Heaven. (2) The Osiris Tia. (3) Praising your *ka* and kissing the ground when you rise by the Osiris, Royal scribe, His beloved, Overseer of the Treasury, Tia, true of voice.

Face II (pl. XXXV [lower left] = Gordon, pl. 1 [lower]).

(4) Foremost of the Divine Booth. (5) The Osiris, Royal scribe, Overseer of the Treasury, Great overseer of the cattle of Amūn, Tia, true of voice. (6) Osiris, Foremost of the West, Lord of the Necropolis (*tr dsr*). (7) The Osiris Tia.

Face III (pl. XXXV [upper right] = Gordon, pl. 11 [upper]).

(8) Atum-Rē^c-Ḥarakhty. (9) The Osiris Tia. (10) Adoration of Rē^c when he sets in life in his form of Atum by the Osiris Tia, true of voice.

Face IV (pl. XXXV [lower right] = Gordon, pl. 11 [lower]).

(11) The Enshrouded One. (12) Osiris, Foremost of the West. (13) The Osiris Tia. (14) Adoration of Rē^c. (15) Praising your *ka*, Osiris, by the Osiris, Real royal scribe, Overseer of the Treasury, Great overseer of the cattle of Amūn, Tia, true of voice. (16) Adoration of Rē^c when he shines, Sovereign of the Gods, by the Osiris, Beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands, Royal scribe, Overseer of the Treasury, Tia, true of voice.

By far the majority of the known pyramidia of the New Kingdom come from the Theban area, though there are, as far as I can ascertain, at least six which are certainly of Memphite origin.³³ Rather surprisingly, four of these are made of granite, like the pyramidion of Tia. If, as I believe, the tomb of Tia was situated at Saqqâra,³⁴ his pyramidion fits among them rather well.³⁵

³³ (a) Ra'ya, limestone, late Dyn. XVIII, in Vienna Mus. Inv. 5908, text, Bergmann in *Rec. trav.* 9 (1887), 50 [26]; see *Uebersicht der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen* (1895), 39 [xviii]; (b) Ptahmose, granite, temp. Amenophis III, in Berlin (East) Mus. 2276, PM III, 191; Anthes in *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 61 [iii, 4d] Taf. III [4d], face A, Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients* (1930 and 1942), 416 [1]; Steindorff, *Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs* (1900), Abb. 71; Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion* (1905), fig. 89; (1909), fig. 89 on p. 162; id. *Die Religion der Ägypter* (1934), fig. 108; Rühlmann, *Die Nadeln des Pharao*, Taf. 12; face B, Schrade, *Der verborgene Gott*, Abb. 43; (c) and (d) Amenhotep Huy, granite, temp. Amenophis III, (c) in Leiden Mus. Inv. AM. 6, see Hayes in *JEA* 24 (1938), 11 [L] with bibl.; titles, Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1811–12 [655], cf. *Übersetzung* (1961), 268; see Boeser, *Catalogus* [etc.] (1907), 58 [36]; (d) in Florence Mus. 2610, Schiaparelli, *Il significato simbolico delle Piramidi Egiziane in Reale Accad. dei Lincei, Atti, Classe di Scienze Morali* [etc.], *Memorie* 12 (1884), 126 [top] pl. [2]; text, id. *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Antichità Egizie*, 420 [1675]; Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1810–11 [653], cf. *Übersetzung* (1961), 268; see Migliarini, *Indication succincte des monuments égyptiens* (1859), 70; (e) Amenhotep Huy, probably granite, Ramesside, photographs among the Grdseloff papers in the Griffith Institute; (f) Limestone, New Kingdom, in Cairo Mus. Ent. 41665, see Maspero, *Guide du visiteur an Musée du Caire* (1915), 193–4 [758]. For all these, see PM III², Part 2, in preparation. For others, presumably also from the Memphite area, see Hayes, *JEA* 24 (1938), 17 n. 4.

³⁴ See supra, p. 164 n. 20.

³⁵ I am grateful to Mrs. Vivien Raisman and Miss Helen Murray for reading through the text of this article.

NAKHT-THUTY—SERVITOR OF SACRED BARQUES AND GOLDEN PORTALS

By K. A. KITCHEN

OVER a number of years, the writer has had occasion to record or collate various texts in Theban tombs for inclusion in the *Ramesside Inscriptions*. Sometimes the nature or condition of a text makes desirable the publication of a modest *editio princeps* in advance of the *KRI* version, to cover aspects or details not readily fitted into that series.¹ Hence the initial publication here of two inscriptions from a minor Theban tomb-chapel prior to their eventual appearance in *KRI* III.

Description of the Texts

The great outer court of the Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb of Kheruef (no. 192) became a favoured site for lesser Ramesside functionaries who excavated their chapels in the side-walls of the court. The Superintendent of Carpenters and Chief of Goldworkers, Nakht-Thuty, excavated a two-roomed chapel (no. 189) in the east side, with an additional double chamber at the north-east corner (no. 189, 'annexe').²

The first inscription (fig. 1) begins on the rear (east) wall, north half, of the outer hall (at '6' in P-M) and continues leftward round the corner on the (north) side-wall, east end, of the hall (at '5' in P-M). Of lines 1-8, only the top third or quarter survive today. The hieroglyphs are incised and filled-in with blue paint upon red-painted ground, with dividing-lines barely visible. Then, about ten lines (9-18) are lost without trace before we reach line 19 close to the corner. On the adjoining north wall, three lines (20-2) survive for most of their vertical extent (part lost at bottom); an entirely-lost 23rd and final line may be indicated by traces of colour on the wall. On this wall the three remaining lines have incised blue-filled signs upon a whitish ground, between brown-red dividing lines. In the inscription as presented in fig. 1, therefore, we probably possess barely one-quarter to one-third of the original, a situation perhaps slightly compensated by the repetitious form of much of this text and by comparison with the second inscription.

The latter consists in fact of four registers with label-texts, not of one continuous text (fig. 2A, B). These are engraved on the outside wall of the main chapel, south (right) half of the façade, at '2' in P-M. The bottom two registers (I, II) depict two series of temple-doorways, each originally painted yellow to indicate gold. In some cases (esp. at right end of II), fire has turned this paint red. The bottom register

¹ As in the case of the interesting but badly worn stela Medamūd Inv. no. 5413 (presented in *BIFAO* 73 [1973], 193-200), to facilitate study of its epigraphy in advance of its inclusion in *KRI* v.

² Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.*³ 1. 1 (1960) 295-7 with plans, p. 296. The 'annexe' concerns us no further here, as our two inscriptions belong to the main chapel (at 5-6 and at 2, respectively on the P-M plan).

preserves traces of about thirteen doorways; in II, all but four at the right-hand end are destroyed. Some hieroglyphs over the upper series of doors in II still show blue paint, as does the 'heaven' sign over the lower row (I).

The two upper registers (III, IV) correspondingly show two series of portable sacred barques on stands, with obscure traces of further cult-apparatus (?) above both rows at the right. On the lower row, two barques survive to the right and one towards the left with room for eight in between—i.e. about a dozen originally. The upper register (IV) will not have had any less, but is very destroyed. Curiously, the texts in III name people, not barques.

Thus, the entire scene when complete probably depicted about twenty-six doorways, and at least the same number of barques³—which probably fits in with the first inscription (cf. General Comments, below). The texts presented in figs. 1 and 2 derive from hand-copies of the originals, collated against and confirmed by colour-transparencies for lines 1–8, 20–3 of the first inscription, and for the right-hand half of the scene. The sketches on fig. 2A, B are not to scale. They show the characteristic forms of the doorways as visible on the wall, but are purely diagrammatic for the poorly preserved sacred barques.

Inscription A: Translation

(1) [*For*]the ka of the Osiris, waʿab- priest and Lector of (?) Amūn [. . . more than $\frac{3}{4}$ line lost . . .] (2) [. . .]. They shall come in order to walk about [. . . as line 1; I was appointed?] (3) as Superintendent of Carpenters and Chief of Goldworkers [because ?] I had understanding, (being) a man of dexterity. No craftsman (?) was ignorant in regard to my speech (?) [. . . about $\frac{3}{4}$ line lost . . .] (4) of gold, great doors in the [. . . of/in?] Karnak, barque[s . . . as l. 3 . . .] (5) executing the fine craftsmanship of one devoted to his skills (?), [. . .]; he prospered me on earth, one favoured [. . . as ll. 3–4 . . .] (6) of his lord. I was skilled in (my) craft without (anyone needing) to give (me) instructions. [I]directed [. . . as ll. 1–2; I adorned?] (7) them with gold, silver, real lapis-lazuli, turquoise, [. . . as ll. 1–2, 6]. (8) [I] obeyed the call to the portable barque of Isis [. . . as ll. 1–2, 6–7 . . .].
[lines 9 to 18, totally lost]

(19) [I obeyed the call to the portable] barque [of] . . . ? . . . [. . . A]by[dos? . . .] West [. . . more than $\frac{1}{2}$ line lost]. (20) I obeyed the call to [the] portable barque of Khnum in Esna in Regnal Year 55. I obeyed the call to the [portable barque] of Neb.[t]-U [. . . c. 6 or 7 groups lost?]. (21) [I obey]ed the c[all to] the portable barque of Sutekh [. . .] in Upper Egypt (?) in Regnal Year 58. I obeyed [the call to the] portable barque of Geb(?) [. . .] (22) [. . .] I obeyed the call to the portable barqu[e of . . .]. I obeyed the call to the portable barque of Horus (?) of Maraty [. . .]. (23) [. . . lost . . .].

Notes

L. 1. The initial titles *wcb*, *hry-hbt n* (?) [I]mn are problematic, as neither Nakht-Thuty nor his principal son Khonsemḥab bear sacerdotal titles elsewhere in his tomb

³ Plus whatever may have been depicted above the barques as mentioned.

so far as I know. However, another son Amenemwia was a priest of Mut;⁴ perhaps he or another is intended here. However this may be, the relation of line 1 to the rest of this text remains inexplicable for the present.

L. 3. Probably read here *wḥr·k(wi)*, *spd*. For *wḥr* 'understand', cf. *Wb.* I, 348: 14 with refs. *Spd* may be a participle; its 'skill' can apply to hands as well as to speech, etc. (refs. cf. Faulkner, *Concise Dict.*, 224 top). At end, probably read *n ḥmt ḥmꜣꜣw r rꜣi*; my translation supposes that Nakht-Thuty gave clear directions to his assistants.

L. 4. *Tryw*, 'doors', shows well the Late-Eg. plural in *y*; this word is probably a loan from West-Semitic *dl*. Here, it may refer to the door-leaves themselves, though door-frames are also so termed (cf. L. Christophe, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 4 [1961], 23, III, b).

L. 5. After *ḥmꜣꜣt nfr n*, I tentatively suggest *iry-ḥnt:f*, 'one related to his craft' in line with many other *iry* compounds (cf. *Wb.* I, 103-4); cf. also *nb-ḥnt*, 'craftsmen' (Faulkner, *Dict.* 171) and *ḥr ḥnt:f* (*Wb.* III, 102, 7).

L. 6. Note the unusual orthography of *nn*, and a strictly superfluous *ḥr*.

L. 8. From here onward, Nakht-Thuty's narrative is reduced to one basic refrain, 'I obeyed the summons (*sḏm* ḥš) to (work on) the portable barque (*sšm-ḥw*) of this or that deity'. The deity's name is followed by the geographical location and in at least two cases by a regnal year.

L. 19. The deity here appears to be a goddess, probably in Abydos. This in turn would suggest Isis. If so, then perhaps the Isis of l. 8 was located elsewhere than Abydos. In l. 19 the sign following Abydos (?) are obscure except for 'West'.

L. 20. The first *t* in *'Iwnyt* is superfluous. As there can be no doubt that tomb no. 189 is a chapel of Ramesside date,⁵ Year 55 here and Year 58 in l. 21 must be assigned to Ramesses II. *Nb-W* is doubtless for *Nbt-W*, a goddess at home with Khnum in Esna, Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. Onomastica*, II, 10* under 323, cf. Sauneron, *Esna* v (1962), *passim* (e.g. pp. III, 58 ff., 203 ff., etc.).

L. 22. The bird before *mꜣty* is not absolutely certain, but is probably *Ḥr*. *Maꜣaty* is attested as a cult-place of Sokar (Gaballa and Kitchen, *Orientalia* 38 [1969], 5, 14-16). For a Horus *pa-maꜣaty* in the 10th Upper-Egyptian nome in the Graeco-Roman period, cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.* II, 66*, under 365 end.

Inscription B : Translation

I, Lower Doors, Bandeau:

(1) *Door of Gold of the workshops of [? the Estate of] Amün*; (2) [lost]; (3) [lost]; (4) [*Door . . .*] of [*. . .*]; (5) *Door [. . .] of the House of Gold of [? the Estate of] Amün*; (6) [*Door . . . of] Amen-rē'*; (7) [lost]; (8) *Second [Door . . .]*; (9) [lost]; (10) *First (??) Door of ? . ? . . .*; (11) *Second door of Gold of the Forecourt of Amün*; (12) *Third (?) Door of Gold of the Forecourt of Amün*; (13) *Great Door [of . . .]*.

⁴ Porter and Moss *op. cit.* 295 end.

⁵ The use of blue-filled hieroglyphs on a red ground is otherwise attested in Theban tomb-chapels of the later Nineteenth Dynasty—so, for example, in the long hall of no. 23 of Tjay under Merenptah. The style and dress of figures in the reliefs of No. 189 are typically Ramesside. Thus, the years 55, 58, cannot pertain to Psammetichus I for example.

II, *Upper Doors, Bandeau.*

(*x* epigraphs lost); (*x*+1) *Great Door of Gold of the Man[sion of. . .]*; (*y* epigraphs lost); (*y*+1) [*Door . . . of*] *Khons-in-Thebes, Neferhotep*; (*y*+2) *Double Portal of Gold, of Mut*; (*y*+3) *Door of Gold, of Mut*; (*y*+4) *Door of Gold, of Mut*.

III, *Lower Barques, Epigraphs.*

(1) [. . .], *her son, the Sculptor Neb-waḥ*; (*x* epigraphs lost); (*x*+1) *for the ka of the waḥab-priest of Khons, Shed-su-Khons*; (*x*+2) *the Draughtsman of the Estate of Amūn, Suti of Thebes, justified*; (*x*+3, vertical) *the waḥab-priest and Draughtsman in the Mansions of Gold, Amen- [. . .; rest lost]*.

IV, *Upper Barques, Epigraphs:*

(1) [. . .?] (*of*) *victory (?)*; (rest lost).

Notes

Doors: It is noteworthy that the workshops and the treasury (*pr-n-nbw*) of Amūn as well as his forecourt had gold-decorated doors. The 'Mansion' may have been the Ramesseum. The 'Double Portal' of the goddess Mut is depicted as a pylon with twin doors.

Barques: Neb-waḥ (Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 184. 4), Shed-su-Khons (ibid. I, 331. 11) and Suti (ibid. I, 321. 17) are all well-attested names in the New Kingdom, when the form Shed-su-X first took hold.⁶ The relation of these people to Nakht-Thuty is not clear—relatives or colleagues? The (. . .] *nḥtw(?)* of IV, 1 is presumably part of the name of the barque that it adjoins.

General Comments

From these fragmentary texts and representations, it is clear that, as a chief craftsman in Amūn's Estate, Nakht-Thuty found much employment in the closing decades of Rameses II's long reign, renewing sacred woodwork and goldwork. Perhaps the first phase of his activity was the gold decoration of major gateways and door-leaves in the Karnak precinct of Amūn, and in other Theban temples—of Khons, Mut,⁷ and just possibly the Ramesseum. It is hard to suggest identifications for the three (?) golden doors of the 'forecourt' of Amūn at this period, unless these opened off the old 'forecourt' between the present Pylons III and IV, as we have no Ramesside doorways before Pylon II.

Subsequently, Nakht-Thuty's skills led him on to the refurbishing of the portable barques for the images of a whole series of deities in Upper Egypt, well beyond Thebes. The 'gold, silver, lapis-lazuli and turquoise' of his line 7 perhaps refer in general terms to the mode of decoration applied to these various portable shrines.⁸

⁶ Other New Kingdom examples, Ranke, op. cit. I, 331. 4, 5. 7.

⁷ The 'double portal' and two doors of Mut are not readily identifiable; for the former, one might think of a predecessor to the 'pylon of Sethos II', or possibly the main door next south from it.

⁸ If one compares the account of Ikhnofret's activities in the Middle Kingdom (Sethe, *Äg. Lesestücke*, 70-1). The results of Nakht-Thuty's labours probably had the opulent effect of such pictures of richly adorned boat-shrines as that shown in colour in *Medinet Habu IV* (1940), pl. 193 (frontispiece).

There is a strong probability that both the main text (A) and the representations (B) agreed in each naming and showing 26 or more portable barque-shrines worked on by Nakht-Thuty. Lines 20–2 are sufficiently preserved to indicate mention of 6 barques in 3 lines, i.e. two per line.⁹ On this basis, the 15 lines from 8 to 22 inclusive could have comfortably contained mention of 26 barques or more, with varying amounts of minor detail (divine epithets, etc.). It is a matter for the greatest regret that Nakht-Thuty's inscription and scene did not survive more completely—we would have had an invaluable summary of Upper-Egyptian cults in the last years of Ramesses II, as is illustrated by the surviving references to such less-known deities as Nebtu, Ḥor-maꜣaty, and (cultically) Geb and Sutekh.

Thus, Nakht-Thuty's tomb-chapel offers one more of those refreshing touches of originality that are less rare in the Ramesside period than is sometimes supposed. In the New Kingdom, his only known rival as purveyor of sacred ships to temples is Inna of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty who, on his stela,¹⁰ could boast of constructing some fourteen vessels for deities as far apart geographically as Atum of Heliopolis and Montu of Armant. These, of course, were not portable shrines like Nakht-Thuty's productions, but were full-sized river barges.¹¹ It is hoped that the scholar in whose honour this issue of the *Journal* is dedicated may find pleasure in this fleeting Ramesside sidelight on the servicing of Egyptian processional religion.

⁹ In fact strictly, just less than two to a line by a word or two.

¹⁰ British Museum 1332; Glanville, *ZÄS* 68 (1932), 39–41 and pl. 2; Edwards, *Hieroglyphic Texts . . . British Museum*, VIII (1939), pl. 33; Helck, *Urkunden IV* Heft 19 (1957), 1630–2.

¹¹ Nakht-Thuty was included in the 'Gallery of the Famous' in a tomb at Saqqâra (Simpson, Faulkner, Wente, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, (Yale, 1972), fig. 6 at end, right edge centre-line, H. G. Fischer photograph). He thus attained some pre-eminence in or soon after the last years of Ramesses II.

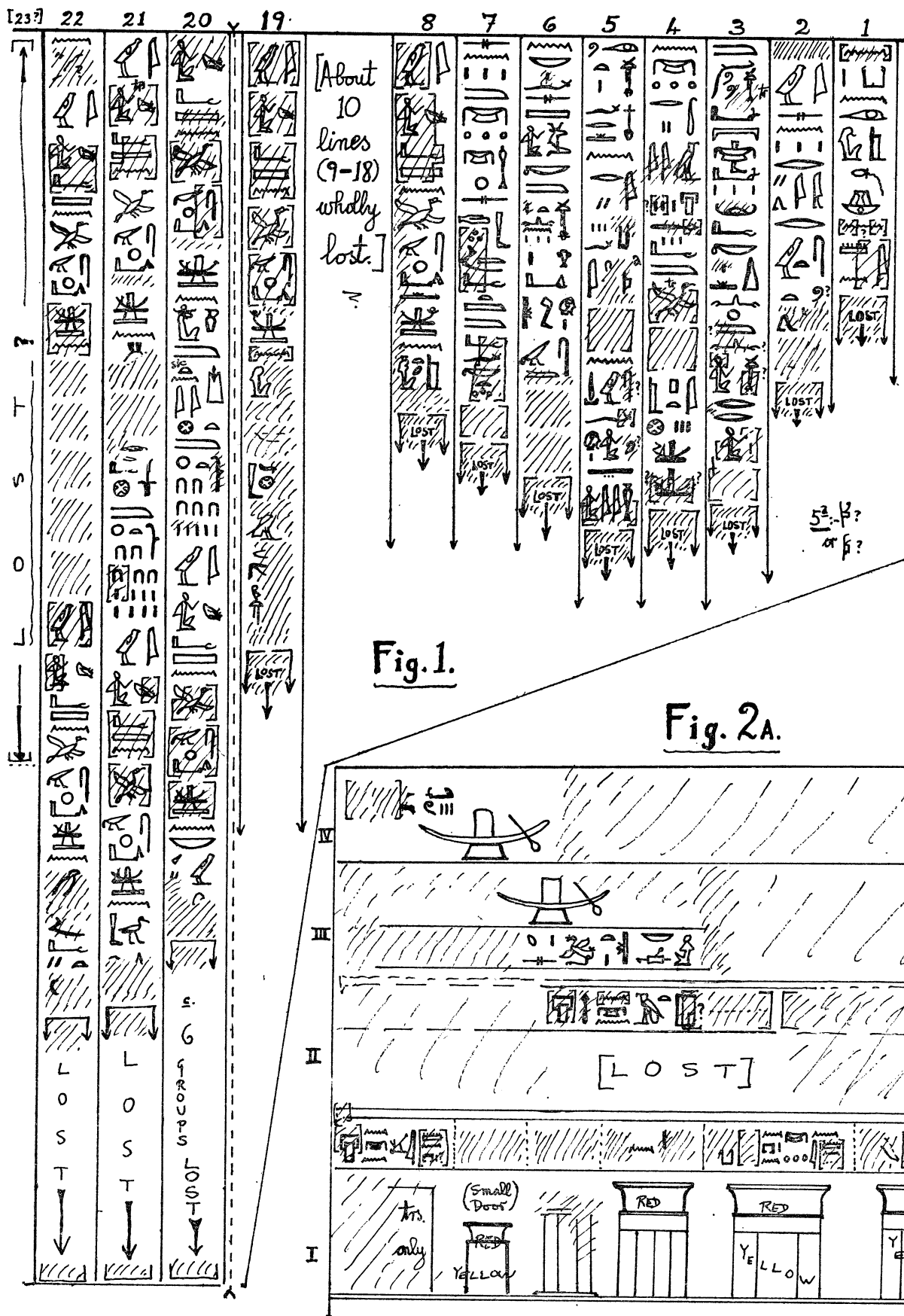
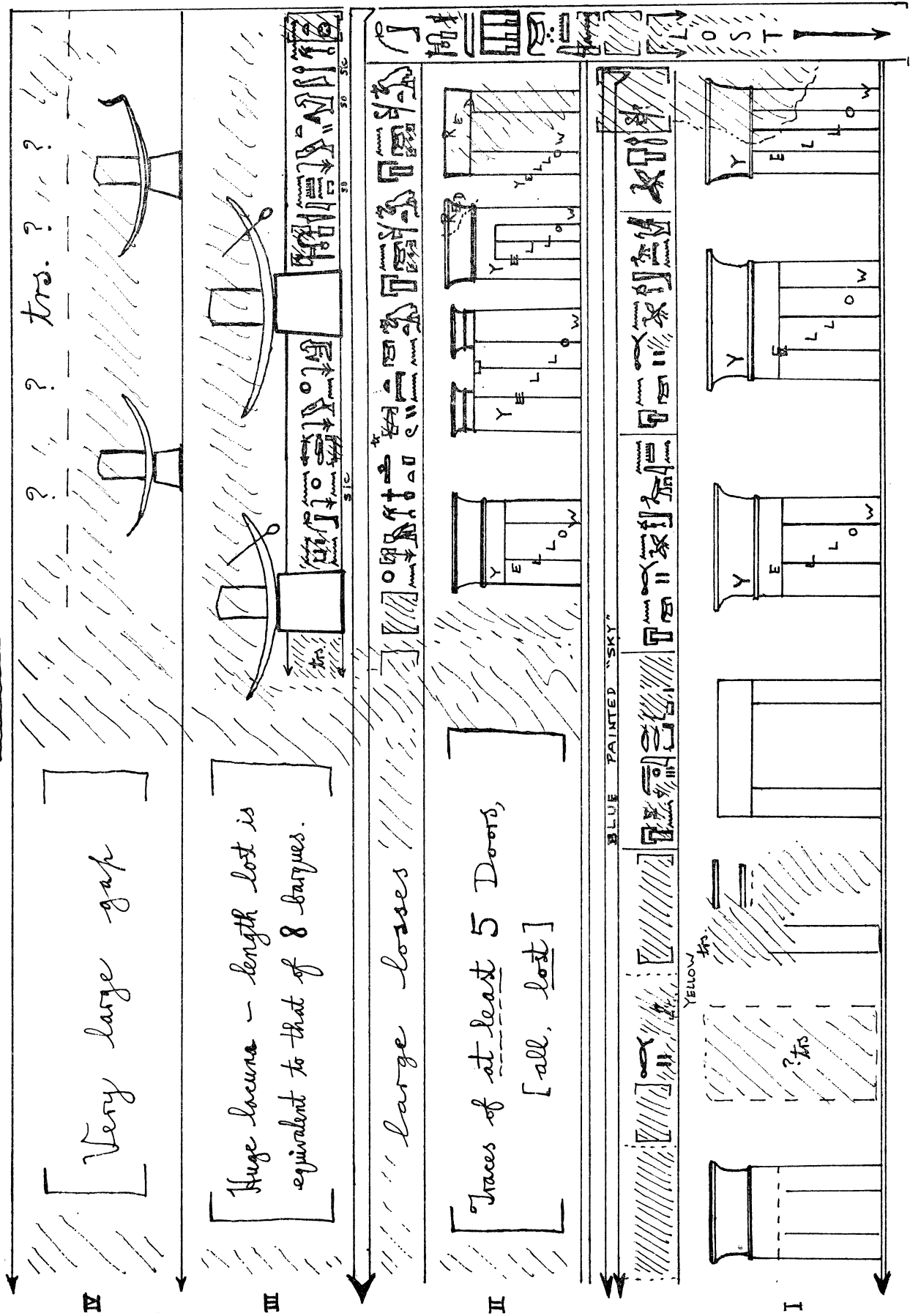


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2A.

Fig. 2B.



Tomb 189

FIG. 2B

THE CHRYSAPHA RELIEF AND ITS CONNECTIONS WITH EGYPTIAN ART

By ELEANOR GURALNICK

THE purpose of this paper is to investigate the connection between the archaic Greek 'Chrysapha Relief'¹ and the art of ancient Egypt. A comparative method will be used to investigate specific decorative motifs which occur on the relief. The 'Chrysapha Relief' was found in 1877, south of Chrysapha in Laconia, in the south of Greece. The stone is of blue-grey marble, of a type which is found locally in Laconia, and it is 0.87 m. high, 0.65-0.55 m. wide, 0.10-0.13 m. thick. The height of the relief is 0.07 m. It is almost undamaged, with only a small piece missing from the upper right-hand corner. The lower end of the relief is unworked and probably all of it under the horizontal base line was meant to be embedded in the earth or a base and therefore was not visible. See pl. XXXVI. The reverse side was also left unworked.

It is generally assumed that the relief represents two heroized dead (man and woman or husband and wife) enthroned and confronted by two small standing worshippers (male and female) bringing votive offerings. There are a number of details which are frequently associated with funerary themes, such as the snake, the veil of mourning, the cup, the pomegranate, the lotus flower, the hen and the egg. Probably at Sparta both grave and similar votive reliefs evolved from a common source. Many writers, most recently Ulrich Hausman,² suggest that a local cult in Sparta worshipped the 'Deified Dead Hero' and for this purpose created this particular kind of votive relief. Through the contrast in the size of the figures the contrast between the godly world of the heroically deified pair and the human world of the human worshippers of a diminutive size is symbolized. Since the Chrysapha relief was erected on a tumulus-like heap (a grave?), and a nearby unworked stone was inscribed *HEPMANOΣ*, the god who acted as a guide who led souls to their last home, it is within reason to assume that it functioned as both votive and funeral relief.

This relief is one of a series³ of ten now known, having common decorative and compositional elements, all of local Laconian stone, all found in Laconia, all probably made by local artists, working, perhaps, in a local manner. Stylistically their dates would seem to range from archaic to Hellenistic times. A recently discovered relief⁴ belonging to the series is of special interest as it is inscribed, in retrograde, with the name *XI[A]ON* (Chilon). This is thought to be a reference to Chilon, the Sage of Sparta

¹ Carl Blümel, *Griechische Sculpturen*, Erster Teil; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Katalog der Sammlung Antiker Sculpturen*, II, 1 (Berlin, 1940), pl. 22, p. 12.

² *Griechische Weihreliefs* (Berlin, 1960), 25.

³ M. M. Tod and A. J. B. Wace, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* (Oxford, 1906) and C. Friedrich, *Die Gipsabgüsse Antiker Bildwerke* (1885), 30-1, figs. 58-65.

⁴ A. J. B. Wace, 'A Spartan Hero Relief'. *AJA* 43 (1940), fig. 39; *AE* (1937), 217 f.

credited with the constitutional reforms in Sparta in 556 B.C. Wace suggests that this relief type may have originated during the ascendancy of Chilon, which lasted from about 556 to c. 530–520 B.C. These dates seem to be a reasonably fixed point of departure on which to base a chronological and stylistic study of archaic Laconian reliefs. So noted an authority as Richter has dated the Chrysapha Relief at one time to c. 550–525 B.C.⁵ and at another to c. 560–550 B.C.⁶ The internal evidence of the relief itself is contradictory. It is likely that the arguments for an earlier date, c. 560 B.C., are somewhat sounder.

Since its initial publication many authors have noted that the Chrysapha Relief reflects the influence of Egyptian art, but none of them has defined methodically those aspects of this relief which are related to that non-Greek art.⁷ Before considering how these impressions might be demonstrated, it would be well to inquire into the general historical situation to determine the degree to which contact between Sparta and Egypt actually existed. In the first place, there are numerous ancient literary sources speaking of the inter-relationships of Greek and Egyptian cultures during the sixth century B.C. and mentioning specifically contacts between Laconia (Sparta) and Egypt. According to Herodotus (4. 153–7) Cyrene in Libya was colonized by the island of Thera, c. 630 B.C., and that island in turn had been colonized by Sparta. A Spartan, Chiones, went with Battus of Thera to found Cyrene, according to Pausanias (3. 14. 3). Legends of Cyrene show that the colonists of that city felt a relationship to Sparta.⁸ According to Herodotus (4. 161. 3) when Demonax of Mantinea went to Cyrene, c. 560 B.C., in order to settle a civil dispute, he divided the population into three parts, one of which was Peloponnesian and Cretan. In Sparta itself, Pausanias (3. 18. 1–2) relates, 'going farther on, you come to a sanctuary of Ammon (near Alpion, near Sparta, on the road to Amyclae). From the earliest times the Libyan oracle is known to have been consulted by the Lacedaemonians more frequently than by the rest of the Greeks. . . . So Lysander raised the siege and induced the Lacedaemonians to revere the god more than ever. . . .' Also, in Gythium in Laconia but independent of Spartan rule, 'In another part of the town is . . . a sanctuary of Ammon' (Pausanias 3. 21. 6–7).

Lycurgus, a sixth-century B.C. Spartan, imposed an exile on himself and travelled to Crete, Ionia, and Egypt.⁹ Rhoecus and Theodorus of Samos, both sixth-century artists who worked in Sparta, are said to have lived for some time in Egypt and to have practised sculpture using the Egyptian system of proportions.¹⁰ In this early period the arts flourished at Sparta.¹¹ The city was a most important Greek state and the

⁵ G. M. A. Richter, *Archaic Greek Art* (New York, 1949), 117, fig. 185.

⁶ Id. *Handbook of Greek Art* (Greenwich, Conn., 1963), 403.

⁷ *PW* series II, vol. VI, col. 1526, lines 30 f; John Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (Penguin Books, 1964); 166 and *The Cretan Collection in Oxford* (Oxford, 1961), 152; Irwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (New York, 1964), 20; Blümel, op. cit. 12.

⁸ G. L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 64.

⁹ Ibid. 66.

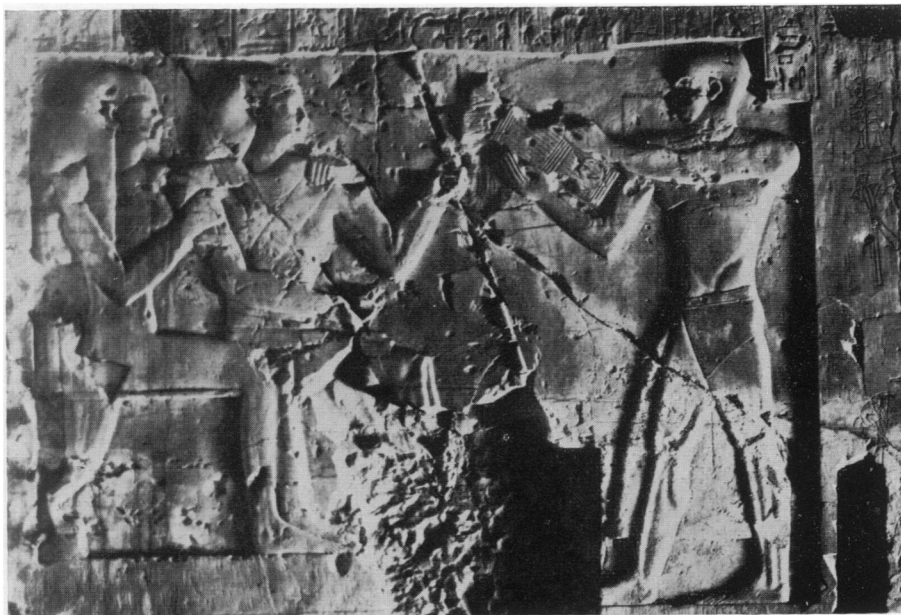
¹⁰ *Diodorus of Sicily*, English translation by C. H. Oldfather (Loeb, 1933), 1. 98. 5–6.

¹¹ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, translated by J. G. Frazer, 1. 3. 17. 2; 3. 18. 8; 3. 12. 10; 3. 18. 9; 5. 17. 2; 5. 17. 1; 6. 19. 14 (New York, 1965).



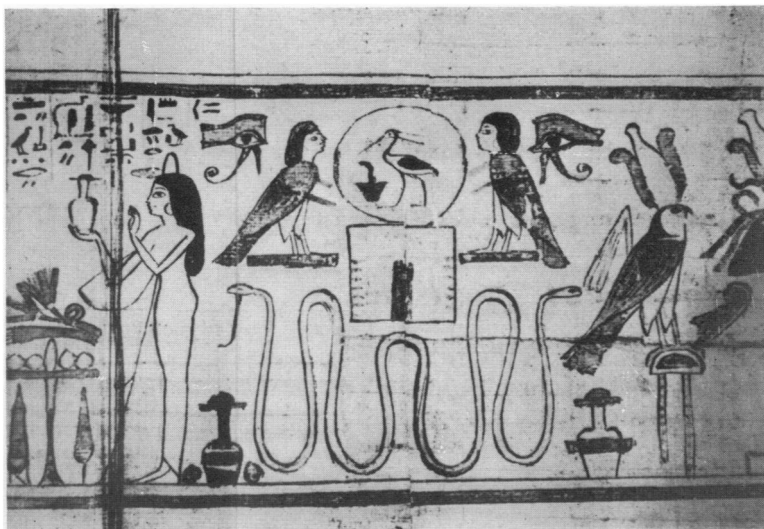
The Chrysapha Relief, Laconia, c. 560 B.C. Staatliche Museen, Berlin

THE CHRYSAPHA RELIEF

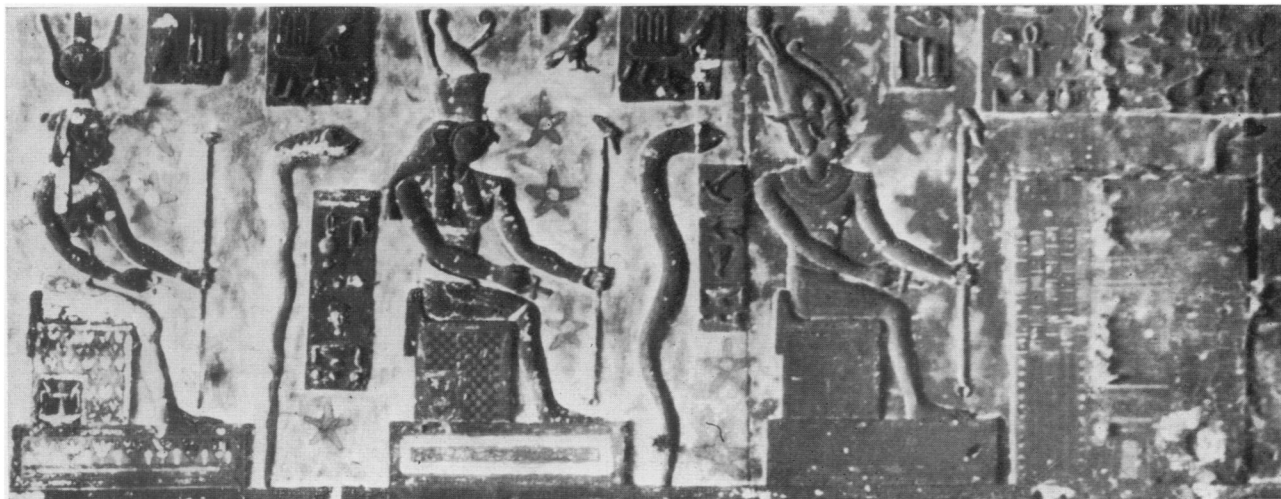


1. Ibi and his mother receiving offerings. Tomb of Ibi, el-Asasif, Egypt. Dynasty 26.
Psammetichus I (664-610 B.C.)

Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



2. The snake as protector of the soul. The bearded and the unbearded shown as two aspects of the same protector. Papyrus of Dirpu, Cairo Museum. Late Period



3. The snake as protector of gods. Astronomical scene, Temple of Hathor, Dendera. Late Period

Courtesy Oriental Institute, Chicago

acknowledged leader of the Peloponnese. Surely Sparta was an ideal centre for the intermingling of artistic ideas, motifs, and influences from both east and south brought by travelling artists.

Archaeological evidence for trade between Sparta and Egypt exists in substantial quantities. At the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta were found a number of objects which must be dated to the seventh and eighth centuries B.C.¹² There were figurines in the round in vitreous paste of a type which 'seems to be a Naucratic or Rhodian imitation of Egyptian work'.¹³ One is a female figurine, another is a small Horus, another is a bearded head, and another is a headless torso. There was also a 'finely carved ram in the round, a Naucratic imitation of Egyptian work';¹⁴ the head of a bird; a bull's head; a small figure of a boar; a pendant . . . hedgehog; and a . . . finely-drawn horse's head. There were also faience vases with both animal friezes and geometric decoration. These objects were also Naucratic or Rhodian imitations of Egyptian work.¹⁵ During the first half of the sixth century B.C. Sparta exported large quantities of black-figure Laconian III pottery to Cyrene, Carthage, Naucratis, and Rhodes as well as to other sites in North Africa and to the east and west. This trade with neighbours to the south has been confirmed by archaeological finds at each of the above-named sites. Indirectly this is supported by Herodotus (3. 39-47) in his discussion of the Samian pirates, their war with Egypt and Spartan involvement as an ally to Egypt, and the gift of an embroidered girdle from the Egyptian king to the Spartans.

There is further evidence of an intimate trade relationship with North Africa from the internal evidence of the subjects on the Laconian III cups found at these sites. Indeed, the subjects reflect Egyptian ideas so much that at one time it was supposed that their place of origin was Cyrene. First among the recognized Egyptianizing vases is the Arcesilas Cup,¹⁶ depicting King Arcesilas of Cyrene in an exotic setting, supervising the weighing and loading of Silphium, a local product, in a scene which is comparable to Egyptian representations of an overseer and the weighing and stacking of goods. There are two cups with an eagle and Zeus, seated, wrapped mummiform in his garment. One cup is from Cyrene,¹⁷ the other is from Sparta.¹⁸ They may be compared to a nearly contemporary Egyptian relief showing the dead returning from Abydos, seated, mummiform, c. 664-610 B.C.¹⁹ Such a figure is a conventional Egyptian representation of Osiris, God of the dead, whose home was thought to be at Abydos.

In Greek art it was uncommon for an artist to represent a naturalistic setting. In Laconian vase-painting of the first half of the sixth century B.C., animals, birds,

¹² R. M. Dawkins, ed. *Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia* (London, 1929), 385.

¹³ *Ibid.* 381, fig. 145.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 206, 13 and pl. 206, 4, 5, 13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 385-6, pl. 207, 1, 2, 3 and pl. 206, 14.

¹⁶ Boardman, *Greeks Overseas*, pl. 10b.

¹⁷ O. Puchstein, 'Kyrenäische Vasen', *AZ* (1881). Tafel 14.

¹⁸ Arthur Lane, 'Laconian Vase Painting', *BSA* 34 (1933-4), pl. 37.

¹⁹ Brooklyn Museum, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art, 1951-1956* (Cat. of Exhibition 1956-7, New York, 1956), 35A, pl. 57.

flowers, and trees²⁰ are often used as filling ornament or to form a setting which is reminiscent of naturalistic settings in Egyptian tomb sculpture and painting.²¹ A Laconian sherd from Naucratis depicts a head in profile wearing a head-dress which may have been intended to represent the uraeus head-dress of Egyptian kings.²² Finally, graffiti on Egyptian monuments testify to Herodotus' statement that King Psammetichus II (595-589 B.C.) sent an expedition to Nubia. Foreign mercenaries, Greeks and Carians, left inscriptions far up the Nile, some even at Abu Simbel.²³

Having established reasonable grounds for considering a connection between the Laconians and Egyptians, we come to the problems of direct comparison of our relief to Egyptian monuments. It would be desirable to use for comparison only those Egyptian objects which are known to be contemporary with this relief and preferably only objects found in Laconia; or, failing this, to consider objects which Greek artists could have seen being made in Egyptian workshops. But no directly comparable Egyptian objects have been found in Laconia in sixth-century B.C. contexts and only a few relief sculptures of the Saïte Dynasty from Egypt itself have been published. But it has been demonstrated that Saïte artists copied from older reliefs of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms,²⁴ and Greek visitors could have seen the monuments of the earlier periods themselves. Thus it is legitimate for us to seek comparative material from monuments earlier than the Saïte period.

The Saïte Tomb of Pedemenope²⁵ once contained a complete representation of the mythological Book of Aker; the subjects from the mythological papyri became increasingly popular as tomb and sarcophagus decoration through Bubastic and Saïte times. Many of these papyri have been published. In these too, then, we may search for comparative material.

The discussion of motifs will follow a pattern of comparisons for each motif investigated. First, its history and associations in Greece; secondly, its history and associations in Egypt; thirdly, its historic associations in other civilizations where such discussion seems pertinent; and lastly, an evaluation of the significance of these connections for our problem.

In Greece, the custom of using a stone slab as a grave-marker has a long history. Stelae from the shaft graves at Mycenae were decorated with hunting and battle scenes in low relief.²⁶ In Geometric times stelae had an image of the dead painted or engraved

²⁰ Wm. M. Flinders Petrie *et al.*, *Naucratis* (London, 1887-8), pl. 7. Lane, *op. cit.*, pls. 45a, b; 46a; 38a; 41a; 48a; A. H. Smith, 'Four Archaic Vases from Rhodes', *JHS* 5 (1884), pls. 40-3.

²¹ Panofsky, *op. cit.*, fig. 11.

²² D. G. Hogarth, H. L. Lorimer, and C. C. Edgar, 'Naucratis: 1903' *JHS* 25 (1905), pl. 6, 1.

²³ Boardman, *Greeks Overseas*, 132.

²⁴ Brooklyn Museum, *Five Years of Collecting*, pl. 57; F. von Bissing, 'Saitische Kopien nach Reliefs des Alten Reiches', *AOF* 9 (1933-4), 35 ff.; John D. Cooney, 'Three Early Saïte Tomb Reliefs', *JNES* 9 (1950), 193-203; S. A. Wanderlich, 'Group of Egyptian Reliefs of the Saïte Period', *Cleveland Museum of Art, Bulletin*, 39 (March 1952), 41, 44-50; A. Erman, 'Saitische Copien aus Der el Bahri', *ZÄS* 52 (1915), 90-5; Wm. S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1960).

²⁵ A. Piankoff, 'Les grandes compositions religieuses dans la tombe de Pédéménopé', *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 73-92.

²⁶ Athens National Museum, nos. 1427-30; Emily Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age* (Chicago, 1964), 90-4, figs. 17-18.

on a flat surface.²⁷ Later the funerary monuments consisted merely of a roughly shaped shaft without sculptural decoration. Such stones were found at Athens, Eleusis, Thera, and Neandria in Troas.²⁸ In the archaic period gravestones were more elaborately decorated and shaped. In Ionia there was a type of unfigured stele with a plain vertical shaft surmounted by a floral Anthemion.²⁹ There were no sculptured relief stelae in Ionia till early in the fifth century B.C. and they were then probably a result of Attic or mainland influence.

There are, however, no direct parallels to the Laconian relief, either in subject or motives, among other archaic Greek stelae. The earliest group are the nine stelae from Prinias, c. mid seventh century B.C. The coarsely worked stones have roughly engraved women with distaff and spindle and warriors in armour.³⁰ There is a *poros* stele from Lemnos of about the same time incised with the figure of a warrior, profile left, holding shield and lance.³¹ Also there is an incised limestone relief from Abusîr which blends both Egyptian and Archaic Greek elements in its *prothesis* scene. The four mourning figures are arranged around the deceased lying on a couch, all surmounted by a sun-disc and uraei.³²

During the sixth century B.C. several standard types of grave stelae evolved, picturing respectively: a standing male, a man and a horse, standing female, man seated on a stool, group with two men, man seated on chair with footstool, horseman with servant and dog, and one with Potnia Therôn, girl holding a flower, in addition to the Laconian Relief type. This contemporaneous appearance of distinctly different sculptured stelae in Laconia, Boeotia, Calchedon, Tegea, the islands, and Near East prove that there was no single source for sculptured grave-stones in the Greek world.³³

Egyptians used grave stelae which had a sculptured relief or a painted offering-scene from the earliest times through the late period. Generally the scene has some identifying information in hieroglyphics and is often surmounted by the sun-disc and uraei. The subject is always either the deceased, with or without spouse, bearing offerings to a god or gods, or the deceased, most often seated, with or without spouse, receiving offerings from his relatives. The offerings are the good foods of this world so the deceased might not go hungry in the next world. Except for the few examples of a stele shaped like a false door, the stele is invariably shaped like an upright rectangle topped with a semicircle, with the offering-scene occupying a band across the top of the rectangle, the explanatory material and prayers carved below and the sun-disc above in the curved space.

²⁷ Carl Watzinger, *Die Griechische Grabstele und der Orient* (Stuttgart, 1929), 142.

²⁸ K. Kübler, *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, IV (Berlin, 1943), 3, pl. 2; D. Philiou, 'Anaskaphai Archaion Taphon en Eleusini', *AE* (1889), 175, 179, 184; A. Skias, 'Panarchaica Eleusiniake, Necropolis', *AE* (1898), 86; W. Dörpfeld, *et al.*, *Thera*, II (Berlin, 1903), 108 f.; Robert Koldewey, *Neandria* (Berlin, 1891), 16 f.

²⁹ Watzinger, *op. cit.*, 142.

³⁰ Luigi Pernier, 'Di una città ellenica arcaica scoperta a Creta dalla missione Italiana', *Bd' A* 2 (1908), 447, figs. 5-6.

³¹ G. Karo, 'Die Tyrsenische Stele von Lemmons', *AM* 33 (1908), 65 f., pl. 5.

³² Boardman, *Greeks Overseas*, 152, pl. 9a.

³³ Elizabeth T. Wakely, *Archaic Figured Grave Stelai from Outside Attica* (unpublished Master's Diss., Univ. Pennsylvania, 1966), 115.

Clearly there is no connection between the shape of the Egyptian stelae and the Laconian stelae but we will compare this offering scene with the offering scene on the Chrysapha Relief and to near-eastern scenes with seated figures.

Geometric vases from the Dipylon Cemetery in Athens have figures seated at the foot of the bier of the deceased.³⁴ An interesting early representation of a seated person approached by another carrying a flower (?) is on the Hubbard Amphora from Platani in Cyprus of the late eighth century or early seventh century B.C.³⁵ An ivory comb from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia shows Paris seated in profile to the right, with apple in hand, offering it to one of the three standing goddesses before him.³⁶ A painted terracotta metope from Thermon depicts three goddesses seated facing right.³⁷ An early Corinthian amphoriskos depicts a woman seated on a backless chair with a footstool, holding a child in her lap, a rare subject.³⁸ It is not until the beginning of the sixth century B.C. that seated figures are shown as a regular and frequent part of the repertory of motifs. A fragment from a late Corinthian cup, after 600 B.C., has a figure seated on a throne with lion foot and footstool. The subject is not clear but it may be the introduction of Heracles.³⁹ There is a sherd from Clazomenae from c. 595–565 B.C., which shows two figures seated in profile facing left, approached by a man looking back over his shoulder at two horses.⁴⁰

More specifically pertinent is an inscribed funeral stele from Calchedon, dated c. 550 or c. 580 B.C., which has a woman seated facing left with two figures standing before her and two standing behind. It may be a *prothesis* scene or a death scene.⁴¹ A relief from Tegea shows a woman enthroned facing right with a lotus in her right hand, holding out her veil in her left hand. There is a man standing in profile to the right, in front of her, and in front of him is the foot of a banquet couch and table. The throne has animal legs and a winged bust as a stretcher. This may illustrate a connecting link between the Hero and the Funeral Banquet relief types.⁴² An archaic relief from Aegina depicts an enthroned woman holding a pomegranate and holding the hand of a standing figure. It is thought to be a scene of affectionate farewell.⁴³

There is finally a large group of Laconian objects from the first half of the sixth century B.C. with seated figures. A kylix tondo attributed to the Arkesilas painter, c. 580 B.C. (Metropolitan Museum, New York 50.11.7) depicts the introduction of Heracles to Zeus, in profile to the left, seated on a thronos (with animal legs).⁴⁴ A kylix tondo fragment from Naucratis, depicts a man in profile to the left, seated on a thronos

³⁴ P. Demargne, *Birth of Greek Art* (New York, 1964), fig. 337.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 448.

³⁶ Dawkins, *op. cit.*, 127.

³⁷ G. M. A. Richter, *Greek Furniture* (London, 1961), 22, fig. 58.

³⁸ T. J. Dunbabin, *Perachora*, II (Oxford, 1962), pl. 173, 2216.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 107, 2552 (a).

⁴⁰ Robert Zahn, 'Vasenscherben aus Klazomenai', *AM* 23 (1898), pl. 6.

⁴¹ L. H. Jeffrey, 'Some Archaic Greek Inscriptions', *BSA* 50 (1955), 81–3, pl. 10.

⁴² Arthur Milchhoefer, 'Relief aus Ibrahim—Effendi (Tegea)', *AM* 4 (1879), 161–8, pl. 7.

⁴³ A. Furtwaengler, 'Archaic Relief aus Aegina', *AM* 8 (1883), 373–81, pl. 17.

⁴⁴ B. B. Shefton, 'Three Laconian Vase Painters', *BSA* 49 (1954), pl. 50.

⁴⁵ Lane, *op. cit.*, pl. 36c.

(with animal legs) approached by a figure holding out a large pomegranate.⁴⁵ Another kylix tondo from Cyrene depicts a man and a woman seated on separate chairs facing each other. The man's chair, in profile to the left, has exaggerated, large animal legs. A griffin lion is a stretcher between the chair legs. The woman's chair, in profile to the right, has one animal leg and one turned leg, and a palmette finial.⁴⁶ Yet another cup from Rhodes shows the introduction of Heracles to Zeus seated on an exotic thronos (with animal legs), a snake finial and an enormous lotus hand-rest.⁴⁷ King Arcesilas is seated on a cross-legged, animal-footed stool in the cup, dated *c.* 565 B.C., which bears his name.⁴⁸ A last example in Laconian IV pottery, *c.* 550 B.C., is Zeus on an animal-leg thronos approached by Hermes.⁴⁹

Two groups of terracotta reliefs have been found in Laconia. One within the inner wall of Sparta along with associated finds indicating a shrine, perhaps a Heroon, had fragments of about one hundred reliefs.⁵⁰ At Angelona on the plain of Kollyri, another relief was found with associated finds indicating a shrine.⁵¹ All these reliefs are moulded roughly with no detail, depicting columnar figures of archaic appearance seated on animal-leg chairs, face front, body in profile, holding up a kantharos. They were accepted by Wace and Hasluck as mid sixth century B.C. in date and as votive hero reliefs. Other terracotta plaques of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. have been found in Greece, but their subject is generally a *prothesis* scene.⁵²

From this summary it can be seen that there are no Greek precedents in sculpture or vase-painting, ivory, or metalwork before *c.* 600 B.C. for the subject presented in the Chrysapha Relief. After the beginning of the sixth century B.C. there are no Greek examples of this subject outside Laconia.⁵³ The Laconian terracotta votive reliefs are the only examples which closely compare with the Chrysapha Relief and the subsequent series of Hero reliefs.

In Egyptian art there are countless examples of the scene of presentation of offerings to the seated deceased.⁵⁴ This scene is represented with only the slightest variations

⁴⁶ Puchstein, *op. cit.*, pl. 4.

⁴⁷ A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. 41.

⁴⁸ *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: France*, VII, pl. 20.

⁴⁹ Lane, *op. cit.*, pl. 46*b*.

⁵⁰ A. J. B. Wace, 'Laconia: Sparta: The Heroön', *BSA* 12 (1905-6), fig. 3.

⁵¹ Wace and Hasluck, 'Laconia', *BSA* 11 (1904-5), 86, fig. 7.

⁵² John Boardman, 'Painted Votive Plaques', *BSA* 49 (1954), 183 ff., and 'Painted Funerary Plaques', *BSA* 50 (1955), 51 ff., pls. 1-8; G. Karo, *An Attic Cemetery* (Phila., Pa., 1943), 17, pls. 10-13; G. Hirschfeld, 'Athenische Pinakes im Berlinger Museum', *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* (Leipzig, 1893), 1 ff.; G. Hirschfeld, 'Attische Thontafeln', *Antike Denkmäler*, II (Berlin, 1908), 4 ff., pls. 9-11; University of Pennsylvania, 'Locrian Terra Cotta Plaques', *Museum Bulletin*, 7-8 (1937-40; March-May 1940), 12; W. Zschietzschmann, 'Prothesis in der Griechischen Kunst', *AM* 58 (1933), Beilage, VIII-XVIII, 17 ff.; K. Kübler, *AA* (1933), col. 263, fig. 1.

⁵³ Wakely, p. 5.

⁵⁴ T. G. Allen, *Egyptian Stelae in Field Museum of Natural History* (Chicago, 1936); K. Dyroff and B. Portner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Süddeutschen Sammlungen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1904); Wm. Berend, *Principaux Monuments du Musée égyptien de Florence . . . Première partie. Steles, bas-reliefs et fresques* (Paris, 1882); E. Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: Steles de la XII^e Dynastie*, 1^{re} Livraison (Paris, 1886); Adolf Erman, *Denksteine aus der Thebanischen Gräberstadt* (Sitzb. Berlin, 1911); Koefoed-Peterson, *Les Stèles égyptiennes*, (Copenhagen, 1948); B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und denksteine aus Athens und Konstantinople* (Strassburg, 1908).

on gravestones from the very earliest dynastic times down through Graeco-Roman times, a period of over three thousand years. Such a scene also occurs very frequently in tomb-sculpture and painting, again with only the smallest variations throughout the span of Egyptian history. Because of the problems in dating specific gravestones it is hard to say that a Greek artist could have seen some one specific example being made in a contemporary workshop, but if specific examples of Egyptian offering-scenes as prototypes for a Greek one cannot be established, it can be established that such scenes were made in Egypt from the earliest times and that Egyptian artists of the Saitic period, c. 663–525 B.C., opened Old-, Middle-, and New-Kingdom tombs and precisely copied scenes in them for use in their tombs.

The specific and typical elements of the offering-scene are the deceased with his seated spouse usually on a chair with lion legs, often holding something in his hand, most often a flower or a vase for libations. In front of the figures is usually an offering-table piled with offerings of food. However, many examples are known without an offering-table to separate the deceased and the offering-bearers.⁵⁵ Facing the deceased and approaching him are offering-bearers in one or more registers, with offerings in their outstretched arms. When more than one register of bearers is shown there is no concern for showing their size relative to the seated deceased realistically; instead, their size is related to the number of bearers to be compressed into the available space and to the height of the registers. All the figures are shown in profile with the exception of the shoulders and torso, which are shown full front, in accordance with Egyptian aesthetic theory. See pl. XXXVII, I.

In the Near East there are a number of stelae showing a seated person. The subject is frequently the king receiving tribute, as on the Balawat Gates, the king dining, as at Nineveh, the king issuing a decree, as on the stele of Nabuapaliddina, the king and a courtier, as on the stele of Barrekub from Zinjirli, and another with the king dining, on a relief orthostate from Karatepe.⁵⁶ All of these reliefs depict a king enjoying his worldly prerogatives. The Hittites of Syria and Asia Minor had funeral stelae showing the dead man at a funeral meal, the finest example being the grave stele of a king of Zinjirli.⁵⁷ The closest comparison should be sought in both organization of detail and stylistic execution.

The Egyptian offering-scene and the Chrysapha Relief share several common elements. Both show the deceased and spouse, seated side by side, in profile, on animal-leg chairs, approached by offering-bearers carrying offerings, the bearers of a size related to the height of the available space or register. The Greek relief has no offering-table to separate the confronting groups and there is a decided difference in

⁵⁵ Allen, *op. cit.*, pls. 6 and 17; Berend, *op. cit.*, pl. 6; *Archaeologico di Firenze. Le Stele Egiziane del Nuovo Regno*, vol. I, no. 13; vol. II, nos. 14, 22, 31, 39, 47; Koefoed-Petersen, *op. cit.*, nos. 21 and 33; Pörtner, *op. cit.*, pls. 2 and 6; Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire (CCG)*, vols. 45, 81, 104, pls. 13, 32, 33, 36, 42, 43, 44, 49, 51, 52, 54, 56. Lange and Schaefer, *Grab-und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs (CCG)*, vol. VII, pls. 1, 5, 11, 14, 16, 33, 39, 47, 49, 54–7; J. Ruffle, 'Four Egyptian Pieces in Birmingham City Museum', *JEA* 53 (1967), pl. 6.

⁵⁶ Henri Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Penguin Books, 1956), pls. 93a, 114, 121, 162, 165b.

⁵⁷ Watzinger, *op. cit.*, 166–7.

the nature of the offerings proffered to the dead. In the Greek relief the bearers offer the cock, lotus, seed, and egg, all chthonic symbols. Egyptian bearers offer bread, geese, haunches of beef, all foods of this world intended to supply their needs in the next. When the bearers offer a flower, often a lotus, it seems to represent one more of the good things of this world. The deceased occasionally carry a libation bowl or pouring vase, or a flower. There is no consensus of opinion regarding the function of the Hero's kantharos, but the Heroine's pomegranate is also a chthonic symbol.

There is nothing in the Greek relief to lead one to the conclusion that it represents an exact copy of an Egyptian prototype. However, like the Egyptian stelae, the Chrysa-pha Relief is a funerary monument, and regardless of the substitution of the objects carried, the arrangement of the figures in it has more points of similarity to Egyptian offering-scenes than it has to Near-Eastern scenes with seated people; and it is the first scene of its kind in the Greek world.

It has been shown that there are similarities in the general arrangement and relationships of the figures to each other and in their stance or posture. But there are differences in the specifics of cultic attributes. In addition to those already noted, and most important, is the bearded snake.

In Greece from the earliest times, the snake was a chthonic symbol. During the Geometric era relief and plastic snake décor was used to decorate terracotta vases used as grave-markers. This usage developed out of the oldest Greek ideas about the soul and death cults, and the bottomless vase provided a road or channel to the dead. The dead one came out of the ground to the cup, in the form of a snake, to enjoy the offerings brought to him.⁵⁸ The snake motive was used on Clazomenian sarcophagi,⁵⁹ as protomes for cauldrons, both plastic and engraved on armour and in vase-painting during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.⁶⁰ and also on a votive plaque from Athens.⁶¹

There are, however, very few examples of bearded snakes. Among the very earliest representations of the bearded snake is one painted on a sherd of Laconian II pottery dating c. 625–600 B.C.⁶² Its earliest appearance in monumental relief sculpture is on the belt and hair of the Gorgon from the pediment of the Artemis Temple at Corfu, generally dated to c. 600 B.C.⁶³ A fragmentary bearded snake, carved in the round, was found on the Athenian Acropolis among the early *poros* sculpture of the first half of the sixth century B.C.⁶⁴

There are a number of examples of this motive on Laconian III pottery, c. 600–550 B.C. There is a sherd at Sparta,⁶⁵ a bowl with two upright bearded snakes in its tondo from Cyrene,⁶⁶ another tondo from Cyrene with the bearded snake hovering over the

⁵⁸ E. Kuster, *Die Schlange in der Griechischen Kunst und Religion* (Giessen, 1913), 40–1, fig. 31.

⁵⁹ Berlin Staatliche Museen, *Die Wandgemälde der verschiedenen Räume* (Berlin, 1870), 46–7.

⁶⁰ Kuster, *op. cit.*, 49–50.

⁶¹ American School of Classical Studies at Athens, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. VIII, *Late Geometric and Proto-attic Pottery* (Princeton, 1962), 87, no. 493, pl. 30.

⁶² Lane, *op. cit.*, pl. 32a.

⁶³ G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art* (Greenwich, Conn., 1963), fig. 59.

⁶⁴ R. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosculptur* (Wien, 1919), 63, fig. 40.

⁶⁵ Lane, *op. cit.*, pl. 34b.

⁶⁶ Puchstein, *op. cit.*, pl. 12.

heads of a file of men,⁶⁷ and a tondo with a Medusa whose hair is composed entirely of bearded snakes.⁶⁸

By c. 550 B.C. Athenian black-figure vase-painters were regularly using this motif,⁶⁹ and it continued to be frequently used in a large variety of contexts till the end of the sixth century B.C. About that time the simple snake reasserted itself (it had never been completely avoided) and again became the dominant representation. But occasionally, in archaizing contexts, as on Panathenaic amphorae, the bearded snake continued to be portrayed to the end of the fifth century B.C.

In Egypt the bearded snake had a long history in religious and mythological contexts in association with the protection and resurrection of Osiris and the deceased, and the protection of the deceased during his travels in the next world. The beard is the symbol of his divinity and he functions as a protector of the dead from the dangers of the underworld and in association with resurrection. It is not commonly found on grave-stone offering-scenes in Egypt. A single Saïte period relief shows an offering-scene with something which may be a snake standing vertically behind the recipient's chair.⁷⁰ But the snake, vertical behind the chair, does appear in offering-scenes with gods as recipients⁷¹ in tomb sculpture and painting and on papyri. See our pl. XXXVII, 3.

The earliest literary reference to the divine, magical, and protective bearded snake is in an Old-Kingdom narrative, the *Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, in which the sailor saw that '... it was a serpent that drew nigh. He was thirty cubits long, and his beard—it was longer than two cubits . . .'.⁷²

During the Late Period the Egyptians became increasingly concerned about the terrors of the underworld and increasingly sought magical protection for the dead. This resulted in changes in the relief sculpture and wall-paintings within tombs and in painted decoration of mummy cases so that they increasingly included the spells from the *Book of the Dead* and similar magical works as well as mythological protective scenes illustrating these spells and the safe journey through the underworld. In the Saïtic Tomb of Pedemenopet there is a complete version of the Aker Papyrus, a magical illumination of the safe journey.⁷³ In the mythological papyri we see the Cosmic Serpent, bearded or not,⁷⁴ standing on his tail, either in front of or behind the transformed soul. Nehebkau, a regenerative underworld deity, was generally shown as a snake-headed god and in his divine protective function he was often shown bearded.⁷⁵ Papyrus collections are a major source of scenes including the bearded snake. In the

⁶⁷ *CVA*—France, VII, pl. 23, 5.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 23, 1.

⁶⁹ Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 31.11.11, column crater attributed to Lydos.

⁷⁰ Heinrich Schäfer, 'Das Schlangensärgehen Nr. 7232 der Berliner ägyptischen Sammlung', *ZÄS*, 62 (1927), 42, Abb. 4.

⁷¹ Berlin Staatliche Museen, *Die Wandgemälde der verschiedenen Räume*, pl. 13.

⁷² A. Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1927), 31.

⁷³ Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* (Bollingen Series, 15, 3; New York, 1957), Part I, p. 28; G. Steindorff, *Thebanischer Gräberwelt* (Hamburg, 1936), Tomb no. 33.

⁷⁴ R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1959), 230–40, figs. 13, 9, 18.

⁷⁵ Metropolitan Museum of Art, Coffin no. M6C 328. University Museum of University of Pennsylvania, Coffin no. L55–16. Berlin Staatliche Museen, op. cit., pl. 37.

volume of *Mythological Papyri* of the Twenty-First Dynasty, c. 1113–949 B.C., there are eight separate papyri showing bearded snakes standing on their tails either in front of or behind the deceased or reborn soul.⁷⁶ In some cases otherwise identical scenes will differ only in whether or not the snake wears the false beard. Apparently this one feature could be added or not at the discretion of the artist or the patron for whom the papyrus was painted. Compare our pl. XXXVII, 2.

The upright or vertical snake also appears in Egyptian art in conjunction with a seated person. On the coffin of Pen-sen-her of the Twenty-Second Dynasty, the main scene shows an upright snake in front of the seated deceased woman.⁷⁷ On another coffin of the same period the dead woman is shown twice, with mirror images, each grasping an upright snake in her hands.⁷⁸ A temple relief sculpture at Dakké has the same motif.⁷⁹ Such representations are chiefly found on sarcophagi.⁸⁰ A papyrus at Cairo has a scene from the *Book of the Dead* with an upright snake in front of a seated god and offering-bearers approaching them both.⁸¹ In the Papyrus of Djehuti-mes there is a file of seven seated goddesses of the underworld. A snake rears up behind each of them with his head bent to hover over each one.⁸² In the Papyrus of Teye, a snake rears up behind a seated goddess with the life symbol, the *ankh*, between them.⁸³ There are other examples of bearded snakes, snake-headed goddesses, and protective snakes behind and over seated goddesses.⁸⁴ Budge illustrates the motif of the snake curled under the chair of the seated figure from the 'Eleventh Hour of the Night' of the *Book of the Dead*.⁸⁵

In conclusion, Greece and Egypt each had a separate and distinct tradition involving the representation of the snake as a chthonic entity. In Egypt it was often a deified or divine protector of the dead in the underworld, and as such it was often distinguished by the wearing of a beard, the sign of deification. Such representations were especially common during the Late Period after the New Kingdom through Saitic times. They are seen on numerous papyri, coffins, mummy-cases, and in tomb-sculpture and painting.

In Greece the snake motif was used in funerary contexts and as a decorative motif, but only during the sixth century B.C. did it wear a beard. The bearded snake of the Chrysapha Relief is upright behind the chair of the Hero and Heroine. Its head is bent over the finial of the chair and its tail is curled under the chair. For all these details parallels can be found on late Egyptian Mythological Papyri, an easily transportable

⁷⁶ Piankoff, op. cit., Part II: no. 8, P. of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tauri; no. 9, P. of Nasi-pa-ka-Shuty; no. 11, P. of Khonsu-Renys; no. 20, P. of Bak-en-mut; no. 21, P. of Djehuti-mes; no. 22, P. of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh II; no. 23, P. of Teye; no. 25, P. of Pa-Neb-en Kemet-Kekht.

⁷⁷ British Museum, Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, *A Handbook to the Egyptian Mummies and Coffins exhibited in the British Museum* (London, 1938), Coffin no. 24906, p. 47, pl. 15.

⁷⁸ University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Coffin no. L55-16.

⁷⁹ J. F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, V. I (Paris, 1835-45), pl. 55.

⁸⁰ Berlin Staatliche Museen, op. cit., 16.

⁸¹ A. Lhote, *Les chefs-d'œuvre de la peinture Égyptienne* (Paris, 1954), fig. 168.

⁸² Piankoff, op. cit., P. no. 21.

⁸³ Ibid., P. no. 23.

⁸⁴ Lanzzone, *Diz. Mit.*, pls. 208-11, 225, 252, 310.

⁸⁵ E. A. W. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians* (London, 1904), I, 199.

but not very durable mode of communicating motifs. Each of these details existed on other materials, less transportable from Egypt, but perhaps more impressive for the travelling artist, merchant, or visitor to see.

The thronos on the Chrysapha Relief has legs shaped like an animal's. The front leg of the thronos is comparable to the whole front leg and paw of a lion. The rear leg is comparable to the whole rear leg and paw of a lion.

In Greece there are a wide variety of chair-leg types, many of which seem to be indigenous. The earliest example of the animal-leg chair is on a mid-seventeenth-century orientalizing ivory from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta. Paris sits on such a chair while giving the apple to one of the three goddesses before him.⁸⁶ We have already discussed the several examples of animal-leg thronos occurring on Laconian vase-painting.⁸⁷ The terracotta votive plaques from Laconia all have the animal-leg thronos.⁸⁸ A survey of furniture by types shown on a grave stela outside Attica in the archaic period shows that every representation of an animal-leg thronos was from Laconia, a total of nine, six from c. 600–525 B.C. and three from c. 525–500 B.C.⁸⁹ This may be evidence for the thriving industry of distinctive furniture mentioned in Plutarch's *Life of Lysurgus*.⁹⁰

The Egyptians preferred to use chairs and couches whose legs were modelled to resemble the whole leg of an animal through the whole time span of their civilization. The front legs of the chairs represented the front legs of the animal and the rear legs were comparable to the animal's rear legs. The paws were lifted off the ground by truncated cone-shaped lifts. At different periods the preference tended to shift between bulls' legs and lions' legs, but the latter tended to predominate most of the time, particularly in the Late Period. There are countless numbers of such chairs represented on wall-paintings and relief-sculptures from tombs and from funeral stelae both painted and relief. An outstanding example of such a chair is the gold throne from King Tutankhamun's tomb, with a representation on its back-rest of the king seated on another such chair.⁹¹ There are several examples on published Saite period reliefs from Thebes and from Buto in the Delta region.⁹² The lion-legged couch is invariably used as the bier for the scene of the resurrection of Osiris or of the deceased.⁹³

In the Near East chair-legs were supported by animal paws. In Assyria and later in Persia the animal paw was supported by a decorative lift and was surmounted by a lathe-turned leg.⁹⁴ In Urartu the animal paw rested directly on the ground. Only the toes of the paw were modelled at all and the heel and ankle were squarely shaped in

⁸⁶ Dawkins, *op. cit.*, pl. 127.

⁸⁷ Dunbabin, *op. cit.*, pl. 73, no. 2216; pl. 107, no. 2552 (a); Zahn, *op. cit.*, pl. 6; Jeffrey, *op. cit.*, pl. 10; Milchhoeffer, *op. cit.*, pl. 7; Furtwaengler, *op. cit.*, pl. 17.

⁸⁸ Shefton, *op. cit.*, pl. 50; Lane, *op. cit.*, pl. 36c.

⁸⁹ Wakely, *op. cit.*, Appendix II.

⁹⁰ Ch. 9.

⁹¹ E. H. Gombrich, *Story of Art* (London, 1960), 19, 39.

⁹² Brooklyn Museum, *Five Years of Collecting*, pl. 57; W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens* (Stuttgart, 1957), figs. 682, 687.

⁹³ Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri*, Part I, Text, figs. 34, 35, 42, 43.

⁹⁴ R. D. Barnett, 'Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van'. *Iraq* 12 (1950), pl. 4.

accord with their particular metalwork aesthetic.⁹⁵ There are also Urartian tables and cauldron-stands with rod-like legs to which are affixed separate base cuffs shaped like paws. They are always affixed to point outward from the centre of the stand.⁹⁶

In Sparta, as in Egypt, the whole chair-leg is modelled to resemble the animal's entire leg. The distinction between them is that in Greek examples the paw rests directly on the ground with no intervening lift.

The arm-rest and its support resemble the furniture parts seen most emphatically in Assyrian relief such as the relief with king dining from Nineveh.⁹⁷ The use of a finial also seems to be a more Near-Eastern trait, and in the choice of the palmette the Near-Eastern origin of this aspect of the chair is further hinted at. Thus the chair on the Chrysapha Relief is eclectic, borrowing from both the Near East and Egypt. But its most notable feature is its legs, which are distinctive within the Greek world, and decidedly of Egyptian origin.

Only in the Chrysapha Relief and those other Laconian Hero reliefs most like it from Geraki (Geronthrae) do we find the exaggerated disparity in size between the offering-bearers and the recipients, or between figures in a single composition. There is nothing in this relief to point to an interpretation of the approaching figures as children. If they are to be considered as adults, why are they not as large as the seated figures? Nowhere else in Greek art do we see such a contrast in size. But in Egypt the custom was to make the dominant figure, whether a god, a king, or the deceased, truly dominant. Often he towers two, three, four, or more times as big as the subsidiary figures. Two purposes operate. First is the desire for hierarchical scaling and second is the desire to incorporate into a register pattern the myriad activities overseen by the dominating personality. So, the size of the subsidiary figures is determined not only by his relative rank on a hierarchical scale, but also by the height of his register which is in turn controlled by the amount of activity to be shown in a given area, or by how many registers the artist decides to use within the given area.

In Mesopotamia the gods are always shown a trifle larger than the king and he in turn is always shown a trifle larger than his subjects. The determinative seems to be a desire to show a descending order of importance.

There is an example of the use of registers on a stone relief from Marash in North Syria of the ninth century B.C. in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. It shows a seated figure in profile to the right, facing a table. On the right side are two registers. Above is one offering-bearer and below is a man holding a spear and a horse. This type of representation is not indigenous to the area and this is an isolated example. It probably owes its existence ultimately to the influence of Egypt through either Hittite contacts in war and conquest or Syrian or Phoenician trade.

The arbitrary differentiation of size of the figures on the Chrysapha Relief seems less related to the Mesopotamian determinative, an order of importance, and more related to the Egyptian's disregard for real size and their arbitrary fitting of figures into a

⁹⁵ Ibid. pl. 3.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 30, fig. 19.

⁹⁷ Ibid. pl. 4; Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pl. 114.

register of preselected size. It seems less likely that Laconians would look to isolated examples of small stelae in North Syria as a prototype for figure size in an offering-scene than to the multitude of such scenes in Egypt.

There are specific elements in the Chrysapha Relief which make it different from contemporary and earlier Greek work but which recall Egyptian material. They are the offering-scene with seated figures, the bearded snake, the animal-leg furniture and the size differential of the human figures. The possibility of Spartan contact with Egyptian culture by reference to historical sources and archaeological finds has been shown. We may therefore infer that the Chrysapha Relief was indeed influenced by Egyptian art in certain specific ways.

The Chrysapha Relief is not simply an imitation of Egyptian work in these respects. The offering-scene is modified in that the table is eliminated and the food offerings become votive offerings. The animal-leg chair has additions of finial and turned arms. Some of the modifications may relate to the requirements of local Greek cult, but other modifications may be due to Greek aesthetic preferences.

Thus we may conclude that the Chrysapha Relief is a monument documenting Egyptian influence in early Greek sculpture, revealing at once particular ways in which the Greek artist was imitative, and particular ways in which he imposed his own taste and originality on the borrowed elements.

FRAGMENT OF A TEMPLE ACCOUNT ROLL

By E. A. E. REYMOND

P. FITZHUGH D. 3 + D. 4

(23.5 × 20.5 cm)

THE document here published belongs to a small mixed collection of papyri in the possession of the family of Dr. William M. Fitzhugh Jr. of Monterey, California. It is a fragment of the upper part of a papyrus roll originally of great proportions, made up of strong fibres, light brown in colour, and with a coarse surface. Its provenance and history are uncertain. On both sides of this fragment of papyrus accounts were written in Demotic hands distinctly different in date. The recto-text, P. Fitzhugh D. 3, comprises two columns of entries written in a large and rounded type of Demotic hand of good standard of technique, most likely by a well-trained professional scribe. The date and name of the place where this document may have been written, do not occur in the preserved part of the text. Palaeographical consideration suggests the time between the Persian era and the end of the Thirtieth Dynasty as a probable date of this account. The verso-text, P. Fitzhugh D. 4, of which two columns of entries are preserved, was written in a crude and irregular type of the Demotic record hand in the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

The name of the temple at Meidum occurs in the verso-text; this is of some importance, for at the present stage of our knowledge this is the only evidence to be found in Demotic papyri in general. Our text points to a direct connection between this temple and Memphis, the town and its adjacent districts, as it may have existed during early Ptolemaic times. It would not, however, be safe to generalize this information, and suggest that Meidum is the place of provenance of this papyrus, and that, consequently, the original text is concerned with the situation in the Meidum temple in late Pharaonic times. No authority can be cited to confirm that this papyrus is to be regarded as one of the administrative records from the archives of the temple in question. In view of the lapse of time between the recto- and verso-texts it seems unlikely that the latter may have been a direct continuation of the account roll from Pharaonic times. We incline to the opinion that the verso of the papyrus was reused at some later time for establishing drafts of official records.

In their general contents both the recto- and verso-texts refer to topics which are familiar to us from account rolls having a direct bearing on the administration of temples, and the organization of their priesthood. P. Fitzhugh D. 3 is concerned with the allotment of priestly shares (*tit*) for various functions to be performed in the temple. The Egyptian custom according to which priests were given shares of the endowment-revenues of the temple (the *htp-ntr*) is well documented by texts of various dates. The interest of the entries in P. Fitzhugh D. 3 is in that they disclose a very detailed schedule

of priestly shares assigned from the temple yearly income for functions itemized as follows: *crš*, 'cult-service' in the sanctuary; *shd*, 'illumination' of the sanctuary; *rsy*, 'vigil'; *wrš*, 'night vigil'. These designations of temple functions are well known, but in this sequence they are unparalleled in other Demotic account documents.

Another special feature of this list is that it has every appearance of dealing with an individual case. The entries do not refer to a body of priests specifying their shares and other benefits they were granted from the temple income as we find it in the greater number of instances. In the preserved part of our account text we read personal names of two individuals only. They are not qualified by titles; they are said to be holders of the *tît wrb*, 'share of the *wrb*-priest'. They may have been so either as acting priests or as mere beneficiaries who inherited the rights of benefit to these shares. In the ensuing entries we find, apart from the title of *wrb nty ck*, 'priest who enters (in the presence of the god)' (cf. recto I, 5, and below p. 194), designations of officials of lesser rank such as the *sdm-crš*, 'attendant', *hck*, 'cobbling tailor', and *f; y-mw*, 'water-carrier'. Since no name occurs in this context, we may conclude that these titles indicate the subsidiary sources of income of the holders of the priestly shares.

This evidence of the proportional shares assigned to different functions does not seem to agree in all details with the system followed in the division of the temple endowment revenues (the *h̄tp-ntr*). We recall at this point the records from the temple of Sebek at Ilahûn of the Twelfth Dynasty, published by Borchardt in *ZÄS* 37, 92 ff., and in *ZÄS* 40, 113 ff., and the information we have from the narrative of Peteése in P. Ryl. 9, in particular col. XIII, 6-9 (= *Dem. Ryl.* III, p. 90). It is said that the *h̄tp-ntr*, 'endowment revenues', were divided into 100 stipends (*h̄tp*) of which one-fifth fell to each of the four priestly orders. Four *h̄tp*-stipends are said to form the *tît*-share of the *hm-ntr*, 'prophet'. The term *h̄tp*, 'stipend' does not occur in our list. We may imagine that the fractions endorsed in each entry of this account mean the proportion of one *h̄tp*, 'stipend', which was assigned for the function described. This, however, is uncertain, and textual evidence to prove it is lacking. Perhaps the system of assignment of priestly shares recorded in P. Ryl. 9 concerns only the income of high priestly officials, like that of the *hm-ntr*, 'prophet', and the management of the share of priests of lesser rank was based on other principles. We may compare a papyrus of somewhat later date, P. Elephantine 8 (= Spiegelberg, *P. Elephantine*, 21-2, pl. VI = Sethe, *DUB* 304-5) since the heading of our account mentions the *rnpt*, 'year', presumably 'the year of the temple' (see below, p. 192). P. Elephantine 8 is concerned with the *tîtw nty mte n; wrbw*, 'shares which belong to the *wrb*-priests'. These are itemized as the *rnpt*, 'year' of the temple. Of some importance seems to be the entry in l. 10 referring to the *tît hm-ntr*, 'share of the prophet'. The following entry tells us of his *1/3 n wrt rnpt n h̄wt-ntr*, '1/3 (share) of one year of the temple'. This may be taken as evidence to support the hypothesis that there existed two parallel systems in the assignment of the priestly shares to temple officials. On the ground of P. Elephantine 8 the conclusion may be that the list in P. Fitzhugh D. 3 specifies the shares which altogether formed the priest's income of the 'year of the temple', and shows the amount of the separate shares assigned for various functions in the temple.

A further hint of this parallel system in the priest's income may be seen in the contracts of conveyance of priestly functions. We refer to P. Ryl. 1 of year 29 of Psammetichus I (= *Dem. Ryl.* III, 201 ff.). The clauses of the contract itemize three functions with their *htp* and *iht* revenues. To these are added some additional revenues from the temple, meadow, and town with rations of vestment (*mnh*), incense (*sntr*), oil (*nhh*), bread (*ckw*), ox- and bird meat, wine, beer, lamps, herbs, and milk. It is possible that these were originally merely additional revenues which came in the course of time to form the priest's income defined in texts of later date as the 'year of the temple'.

The second account, of Ptolemaic date, P. Fitzhugh D. 4 records taxes in corn due to the temple at Meidum by localities in the Memphite region. It illustrates the well-known practice of collecting the grain taxes (cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, 31 ff. and below, p. 196). The interest of this endorsement lies in the context in which it is placed, and in the connection between the Temple at Meidum and Memphis itself. From this point of view it is undoubtedly of historical significance. We have here a list of localities including Memphis itself, the southern, northern, and eastern localities of the province of Memphis (*tš n Mn-nfr*), the necropolis area, the central area, and some places in Lower Egypt. Sacred domains and temples are not included in this list. The localities named have every appearance of being dealt with as administrative units. Each entry includes the personal name of an individual who may well have been an official, but nothing is said of his rank and qualification. We may imagine these individuals as tax collectors or inspectors, perhaps something similar as the *rmt nty mšd p; tš* we meet in P. Cairo 50061, recto 1, 11. 15 (= *CCG* III, pl. 23).

This brief account suggests that localities in the Memphite region, and further places in Lower Egypt were liable to contributions to the account of the treasury of the temple at Meidum. This case is unparalleled in other Demotic texts from Memphis which are known to us. In an attempt to explain this situation we may refer to the policy introduced by Ptolemy II Philadelphus. It is known from Greek sources (see the discussion by Claire Préaux in *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, 49) that Ptolemy II promoted the statute according to which taxes paid by regional departments were assigned to the account of the temples. This provision is also recorded in the text of the Pithom stela, ll. 26-7 (= *Urk.* II, 104). It tempts one to suggest that P. Fitzhugh D. 4 gives evidence of this royal ordinance, and lets us know the position which existed in the Memphite region: a portion of taxes exacted in the regional departments of Memphis and some regions in Lower Egypt had to be paid to the treasury of the Temple at Meidum.

This short list is also of some relevance for the organization of the province of Memphis in Ptolemaic times. We have here positive evidence that in Ptolemaic times Memphis seems to have been regarded as an independent administrative unit. We imagine that in the old town with its ancient sacred places, the main residential areas were considered as something like the 'City of Memphis', or the 'Greater Memphis'. The territory of its province was divided into four regional departments according to

the compass points. It is interesting that our text names the southern, northern, and eastern localities, but instead of the western one we find here the name of Rostaw. Hence the necropolis of Memphis is to be regarded as an administratively independent unit within the nome. This evidence is of vital importance, and is unparalleled in other Memphite texts. We cannot say when this division of the nome took origin, for our text reflects the state of facts existing in the early Ptolemaic period. It is apposite to mention that the term *tš*, 'province', has disappeared from the topographical designations of localities in the contracts of later Ptolemaic date, and was replaced by the statement *nty hr nš šnw Mn-nfr*, 'which is under the jurisdiction of the authorities of Memphis' (cf. *JEA* 45, 65 n. 9 ff.). Further textual evidence having a direct bearing on the organization of the Memphite nome has emerged in the study of other texts from Memphis, and it will be dealt with on another occasion.

P. Fitzhugh D. 3 (pl. XXXVIII)

RECTO-TEXT: FRAGMENT OF AN ACCOUNT DOCUMENT OF PHARAONIC DATE

Col. $\alpha+1$

1. *čkw(?) wcbw n rnpt: Priests' income of (the) year (of the temple).*

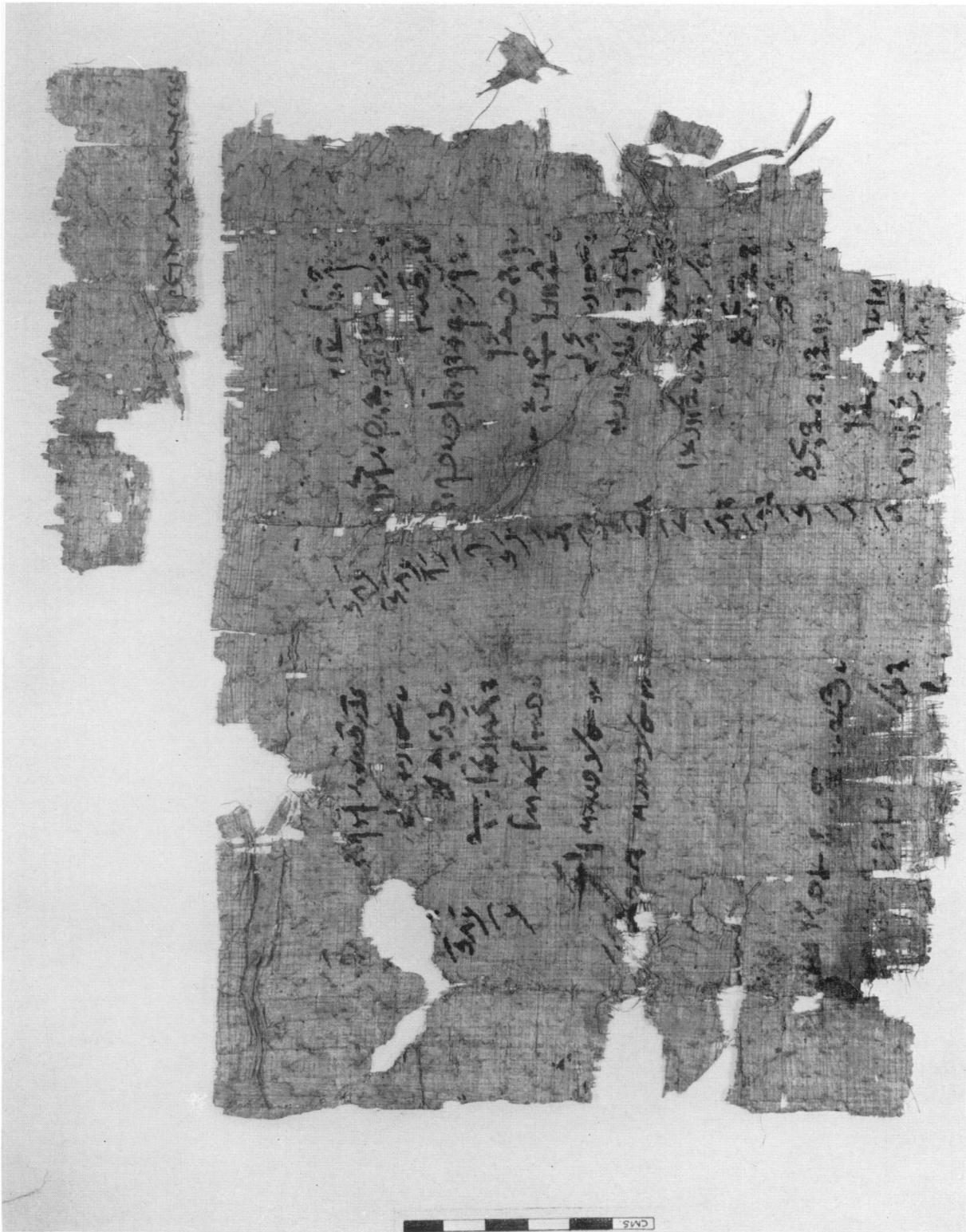
The writing is faded at the beginning of the line. There are difficulties in the interpretation of this entry since exact parallels can scarcely be cited from other Demotic papyri of any date. The traces of the first group in the line resemble the sign \ast in P. Cairo 50061, rt. II, l. 10. 11 (= *CCG* III, pl. 23) designating the 'income', in particular the 'income of the year' (*hwt-spt*), for which the reading *čkw* was theoretically established; cf. P. Louvre 2432, 4; 9294, 2; P. Ryl 9, 21, 8 and *Dem. Ryl.* III, 247 n. 5; 411-12; P. Cairo 31080, IV, 16 (from Tebtunis, of Ptolemaic date, cf. *CCG* II, pls. 103-4): *nš čkw hč n nš wcbw*, 'the festival income of the priests'; see also *Wb.* I, 232, 16-17, and a Middle-Kingdom record from the archives of the Sebek Temple at Illahūn (= *ZAS* 40, 113 ff.), preserving a list of the *čkw*, income of a body of minor priests of the temple, which shows some features in common with our document. The sense *čkw*, 'income' seems to agree with the contents of the ensuing entries in our document; they specify priests' shares assigned for various functions in the temple service.

\mathfrak{B} : we have to consider an alternative reading for this group: (a) *wcb*, 'priest', cf. P. Ryl. 9, 2, 6; 18, 14, and *Gloss.* 82; this instance, however, shows a form different from that of the group *wcb* in l. 2. 4. 5 and II, 1, and this may suggest the reading (b): *5-hrw n rnpt*, 'the five epagomenal days of the year'. We have no further instances of this group of the same date as our papyrus, and only few are known from texts of Ptolemaic date: P. Cairo 31179, 5 (= *CCG* II, pl. 118-19), and P. Abbott 373a, 6 (= *Mizraim*, I, pl. VI):

\mathfrak{B} . The way in which the determinative of festivity is written in col. II, 4 of this papyrus \mathfrak{B} supports the first reading *wcb*.

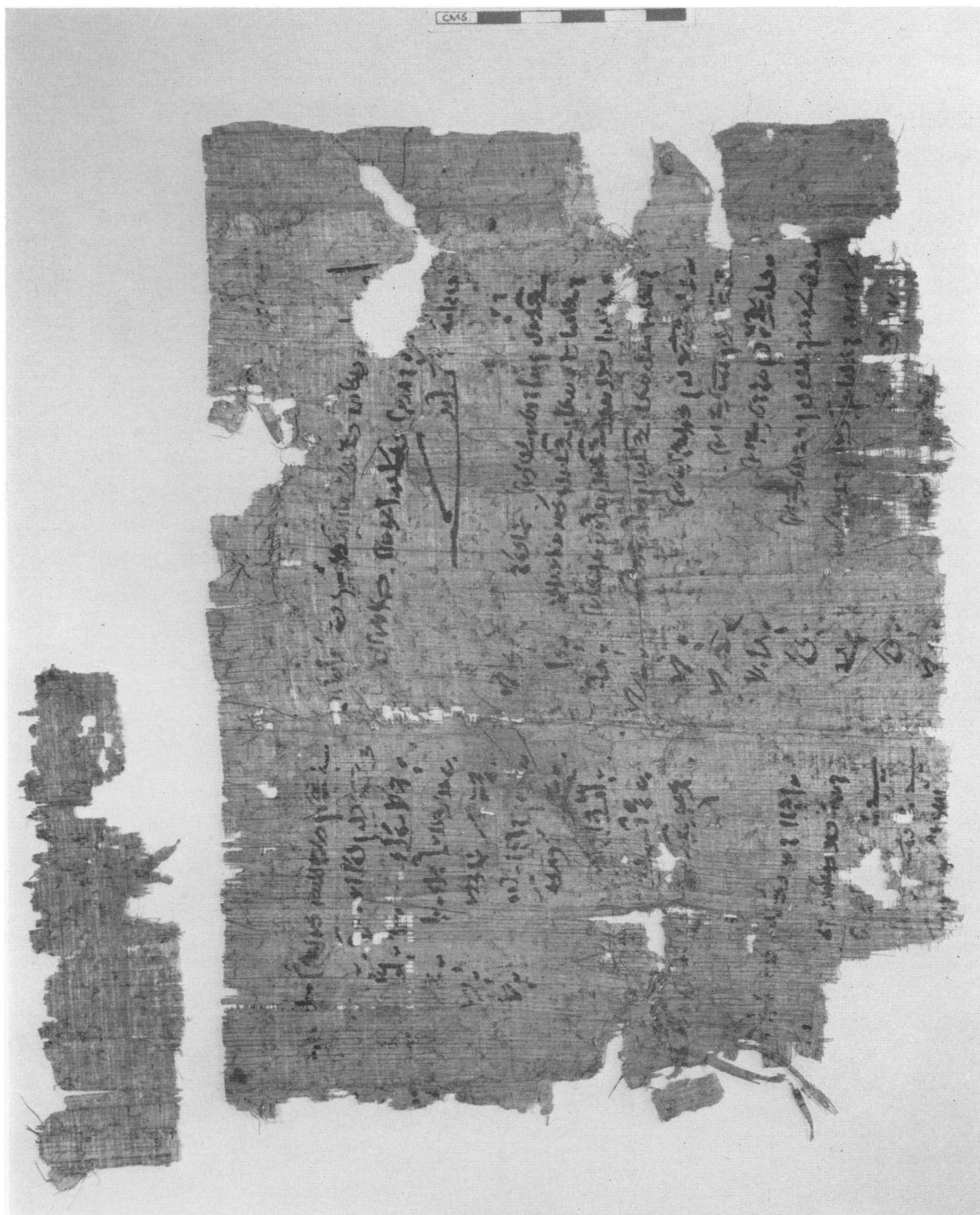
wcb is employed without an article, and should be taken as the qualifying genitive.

n rnpt: rnpt, 'year' seems to convey the technical meaning as attested by the expression *rnpt n tš hwt-ntr*, 'year of the temple'; this term is parallel with the expression *hrw n hwt-ntr*, 'day of the temple', and *ibd n hwt-ntr*, 'month of the temple', cf. Otto, *PT* II, 29 n. 4; 32 n. 2; and recently my *Embalmer's Archives from Hawara*, 123 n. 11. It primarily indicates the length of the actual service due from the priest in the temple; and by extension the income assigned to the priest for this period of service, cf. P. Elephantine 8, l. 3, *rnpt I ½ n hwt-ntr Db*, 'one-and-a-half years of the temple



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FRAGMENT OF A TEMPLE ACCOUNT ROLL



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FRAGMENT OF A TEMPLE ACCOUNT ROLL

of Edfu'; l. 11: *py:f 1/3 n wct rnpt n hwt-ntr Db*, 'his one-third of one year of the temple of Edfu', cf. Spiegelberg, *P. Elephantine*, 21, Sethe, *DUB* 351 n. 1, and P. Tebt. 298.

2. *Py-he s; n Wd-Hr-m-hb* *ty:f tit wcb 1/4 1/10 1/20*
*Païos son of *Wedjahoremheb* *his share as priest: 1/4 1/10 1/20.*

Py-he is the late spelling of *Py-hr*, cf. Ranke, *PN* 110, and my *Hawara*, 104 n. 7; it was a popular name in Ptolemaic times; cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 446: the instances cited do not antedate the time of Ptolemy VII Philometor. It is interesting to see that the Ptolemaic spelling of the name is already attested in late Pharaonic times.

s; n, 'son of'; the papyrus is damaged but the parentage is written in full.

Wd-Hr-m-hb: This compound name does not seem to occur elsewhere; *hb*: this instance shows an unusual form of writing: 𓆎 , cf. col. II, l. 4.

𓆎 is the usual form of the determinative of personal names and titles in Saïto-Persian Demotic, cf. P. Louvre 7833, 2; 7850, 1.

ty:f tit wcb, 'his share as priest'; the reading *wcb* is confirmed by the entry in rt. II, 1; for *tit* meaning the priests' share of the temple revenues, the *hpt-ntr*, see: *Amenope*, 6, 4 (*Wb.* v, 466, 2); *Hawara*, 48-9 n. 8; P. Ryl, 1 = *Dem. Ryl.* III, 45 n. 3; 65 n. 4; 402; Erichsen, *Gloss.* 638; Sethe, *DUB* 368, § 43; *Petubastis*, *Gloss.* 443 a: *ty tit n hm-ntr* in 7, 1; 8, 9. 17; 10, 16; P. Ryl. 17, 5; P. Cairo 30607, 4; 30616, 2; P. Elephantine 6, 21; 8, 2-3; *n; titw nty mte n; wcbw Hr Bhdty rn(w) sh hry n hwt-ntr Db*, 'the shares which belong to the priests of Horus the Beḥdetite whose names are written below, in the temple of Edfu'; l. 10: *ty tit hm-ntr Hwt-Hr*, 'share of the priest of Hathor'. In this statement on the allocation of the shares to the priests for the year of the temple we read in the last entry *A p; mr-šn mn mtw-f nkt*, 'A, the *lesônis*, he has no fees'; see also Spiegelberg, *P. Elephantine*, 21-2; P. Tor. 3, 4: *ty-w tit n hm-ntr n p; rpy Hwt-Hr*, 'their share as prophets in the temple of Hathor'. We read in P. Ryl, 9, 3, 14; 8, 1. 2. 3; 9, 12; 13, 6-8; 14, 12-13; 15, 6 that these shares were primarily assigned for the service in the cult designated as *crš*; cf. *Hawara*, 118.

3. *Hr s; n Dd-hr 1/4 1/10 1/20: Horos son of Teos 1/4 1/10 1/20.*

The words *ty:f tit wcb* have not been repeated. See rt. II, 1; it is possible that the same person is meant in both of these entries. It is of some importance that personal names do not occur in the ensuing entries. We may surmise that entries which follow specify the shares derived from other functions performed by these two individuals, and involved additional income to their shares as priests (*wcb*).

4. *p; shd n-dt n; wcbw nty p; nty wcb 1/4 1/5: the illumination by the priests of the Holy of Holies 1/4 1/5.*

shd: the word, employed without determinative, is rare in this context, and is unlikely as a title. Since the preposition *n-dt* is included in the entry, it is clear that the term describes a function, being the 'lighting of fire' to illuminate the temple; cf. *Wb.* IV, 225, 25; 227, and in particular *Phil.* 417, 6: *nhe r p; shd n Ist*, 'oil for the illumination of Isis'. In this context it is stated that the function was performed by priests of special rank: those who had free access to the adyton.

n; wcbw nty p; nty wcb: 'the priests of the adyton'; *nty* is written instead of the usual *nty ip r*, 'who belong to', cf. P. Loeb, 7, 18-19; Cairo 31099, 13; *Canop.* *Gloss.* 17. *p; nty-wcb*: $\alpha\delta\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$, cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 339; P. Loeb, 7, 18; P. Cairo 30966, III, 5. 9; 31075, II. 12. 21, corresponding to *bw-dsr* in the hieroglyphic texts of late date, cf. *Canop.* *Gloss.* 75; Cairo 31099, 12; *p; nty wcb n n; rpyw Mn-nfr*, 'the Holy of Holies of the temples of Memphis'; *ibid.* l. 13: *p; nty wcb n hwt-ntr n P; smn-M; ct*, 'the Holy of Holies of the temple of Him-who-establisheth the Truth'; P. Cairo 31075, II, 12: *p; nty wcb Pr-Hp*, 'the Holy of Holies of the Domain of Apis'.

5. *pꜣ wꜣb nty ꜥꜥ I/5: the priest who enters [in the presence of the god] I/5.*

ꜥꜥ is written with the determinative $\text{𓆎} = \text{𓆎}$ instead of the usual Δ , and as a technical term has no object. For its idiomatic sense 'to have access in the presence of the god' cf. *Wb.* I, 230, 6–7; *Urk.* IV, 50, 9; Lefebvre, *Grands Prêtres*, 14–16; *Bucheum*, I, 161–2; P. Adler, 17, docket; P. Cairo 30965, vs. x+8; x+12; 31080, IV, 3. The sequence of the entries in this account seems to indicate that there was a distinction of rank between the two classes of the priests designated as *nty ip r pꜣ nty wꜣb* on the one hand, and priests qualified as *pꜣ wꜣb nty ꜥꜥ* on the other hand. The latter seems to have been of higher rank, and seems to have been the only one who was authorized to enter in the presence of the god. This last designation, however, does not seem to designate the same priestly rank as the title of *hm ntr*, 'prophet'.

6. *pꜣ šdy [n] rse n(?)^[?] I/4 I/20: the emolument of the vigil of (?)^[?] I/4 I/20.*

pꜣ šdy: 'emolument' of the priests; a common technical term to designate the emoluments of the priests, cf. *Hawara*, 49 n. 11; here, as usually in the instances of Ptolemaic date, the word is written with the determinative 𓆎 for 𓆎 .

rse: its determinative shows a form close to that in the Saito-Persian writing, cf. *Gloss.* 253, and is another evidence to support the theory of an earlier date of this document. The word is employed without article, and seems to convey the abstract sense of *rse* 'temple vigil', cf. *Wb.* II, 451 (18), *Urk.* IV. 656, 9; 661, 7, and P. Cairo 30801, x+2, rather than the meaning 'watchman' or 'guardian'; *n* is a certain reading but the following word is illegible.

7. *pꜣ sdm-ꜥš I/30: the attendant I/30.*

8. *pꜣ šhn^(?) dīmy I/20: the supplier^(?) of papyrus roll(s)^(?) I/20.*

This designation is unparalleled, and the interpretation suggested is conjectural. For the reading *šhn* cf. *Gloss.* 447; *dīmy* may be an unusual spelling of *dmc*, cf. *ibid.* 679, with the meaning 'papyrus roll'.

9. *pꜣ ky I/10 I/8: the other one I/10 I/8.*

Perhaps the same title is meant as in l. 8.

10. *pꜣ ꜥꜥ n pꜣ rpy I/8: the cult service in the sanctuary I/8.*

For *ꜥꜥ* cf. *Dem. Ryl.* III, 336. 319; *ZÄS* 49, 40, and *Hawara*, 118. P. Louvre 7843, 7 of year 35 of Amasis seems to disclose the earliest instance of this technical term. See also P. Ryl. 9, 14, 7–8, 11: *iwf ir ꜥꜥ n Imn mtw-w dī n-f pꜣ I/5 n pꜣ htp-ntr n Imn*, 'he is to perform the cult-service for Amūn, and they will grant him the fifth part of the endowment-revenues of Amūn'. For the use of the term *rpy*, 'temple' cf. *Canop.* *Gloss.* 38; P. Elephantine 5, 8 = 6, 12 = 7, 6. The word is here employed in the singular and shows the determinative 𓆎 for 𓆎 cf. *Gloss.* 245. It seems likely that it describes a shrine or a sanctuary included in the *hwt-ntr*, temple.

11. *tꜣ mnht I/2 I/10: the vestment I/2 I/10.*

For *mnht*, the vestment of the priests or that of the gods see *Wb.* II, 87, 13; *Gloss.* 164; *Canop.* *Gloss.* 142; *Dodecash.*, *Gloss.* 137, and P. Vatican D. 2037, B, 1: *tꜣ mnht n Imn*, 'the vestment of Amūn', cf. *MDAIK* 16, 3 n. 10.

12. *pꜣ htn^(?) I/2 I/10: the ... I/2 I/10.*

The writing is faded, and no successful interpretation of this entry can be given.

13. *pꜣ] fꜣy mw n tꜣ mnht I/20: the water-carrier of the vestment I/20.*

fꜣy is most likely a professional title, cf. *Gloss.* 144, and *Hawara*, 83–4, but is unparalleled in this context.

14. pꜣ] *ḥꜣw pꜣ wꜣb nty ḥꜣ I/IO: the] income of the priest who enters [in the presence of the god] I/IO.*

The reading is suggested with reference to l. 5.

15.] nꜣ *pr-ḥꜣw n tꜣ ḥby I/IO:]. the storehouses of the offering I/IO*

The entry is incomplete, and certainly begins with a title which we cannot reconstruct; for *ḥby* cf. Rosetta, 29, and *Gloss.* 58.

16

Vague traces of some signs can still be seen. The rest of this entry is lost.

RECTO: COL. II

1. *Hr sꜣ n Dd-ḥr tꜣyꜣ tit wꜣb I/5: Horos son of Teos, his share as priest I/5.*

For *tit wꜣb*, 'share as priest' see above, p. 193; presumably we meet here the same priest as previously.

2. *pꜣ sdm-ḥꜣ [. . .]: the attendant [. . .]*

3. *pꜣ ḥꜣḥꜣ [. . .]: the cobbling tailor [. . .]*

For *ḥꜣḥꜣ*, determined with *ḥ·ḥ* cf. *Gloss.* 378, *ḥḥ* in Coptic, cf. *CD* 661, and also *ZÄS* 51, 92-3; P. Berlin, 3116, II, 11; 3096, 6; P. Brussels, 5, II, 10.

4. *nꜣ wršw n ibd I/4 I/IO I/20: the night-vigils of the month I/4 I/IO I/20.*

With reference to the *ḥꜣ* in rt. 1, 10 we take the word with the meaning 'night-vigils', cf. *Wb.* I, 336; P. Cairo 50058, 3; 30801, x+9. 10. 13; P. Abbott 373, a, 6; 388, 6.

5. *pꜣ he ḥwt-ntꜣ I/4: the day of the temple I/4.*

In view of the determinative *ḥ*, the meaning *he*, 'expenditure' is improbable. We prefer to take it as the late spelling of *hw*, cf. *Gloss.* 265, here designating the priestly benefit, the *hrw n ḥwt-ntꜣ*, 'day-of-the-temple', cf. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 49, 37-41, and *Hawara*, p. 123 n. 11; it describes here the temple emoluments of the priest named in l. 1.

6. *pꜣyꜣw klmy 2 I/4: their garment (?) 2 I/4.*

For *klmy* meaning 'bandage', 'raiment' cf. L. L. Mag. vs. 6, 7. The word is rare, and unparalleled in this context.

7. *pꜣyꜣw klmy 80 n pꜣ [.: their garment (?) 80 of the [.*

The end of the line is illegible.

8. *pꜣ wn n pꜣ kꜣy dnf 300 [.: The inventory of the linen material [in (?)] value: 300 [.*

It seems likely that with this entry another part of the temple account roll begins. *kꜣy*: 'linen material', cf. *Wb.* v. 104, 13; the word is unparalleled in other Demotic texts. *dnf* conveys the sense 'value' or 'assessment', cf. *Gloss.* 681; P. Loeb 10, 2, Spiegelberg, *P. Loeb*, p. 34 n. 1, *Canop.* *Gloss.* 413; P. Ins. 4, 15; *P. Hauswald*, p. 16; Erichsen *APAW* 1939, 8 n. 6; Wängstedt, *Zürich Ostraka*, 28; *Phil.* 416, 9: *r-ḥt pꜣ dnf n nbw*, 'according to the value in gold (pieces)'; perhaps the number indicates the total value of the material.

9. *tꜣ hꜣre* [*pꜣ wꜣb nt*] *pꜣ-nty-wꜣb . . . ?* : the sustenance [of the priest of] the Holy of Holies

tꜣ hꜣre: 'sustenance', cf. *Gloss.* 389 and P. Cairo 30801, x+8. 14. 16. 18. The priestly title is reconstructed according to rt. I, 1. 4.

10. ?

Vague traces of the first word can be discerned. The rest is lost.

P. Fitzhugh D. 4 (pl. XXXIX)

VERSO-TEXT: FRAGMENT OF AN ACCOUNT DOCUMENT OF PTOLEMAIC DATE

Col. I

1. *hꜣt-spt* [.] *Pr-ꜣꜣ Ptyrwmeꜣws sꜣ n P[ty]lwꜣmꜣws*: Regnal year [.] of the King Ptolemy son of P[*to*]lemy.

Nothing can be cited from the text to enable us to restore the date of the account. The end of the royal name shows an unusual form which may be a rather special way of tracing the second part of the cartouche followed by *ꜣ. w. s.* and ligated with the form of *sꜣ n* 'son of', cf. P. Ryl. 11, 1; 14, 1 and specially 15, 1.

2. [.] *n* [*nꜣ*] *hꜣꜣw nꜣ prtꜣw nt rꜣ* [*n*] *hꜣwt-ntr n Mr-tm* 3. *nty iw-w tꜣi sp* 100 (+) 10.000 *hꜣ* (?): [.] of grain-taxes of the treasury of the Temple in Meidum which are received: remainder: 100 (+) 10.000 in silver (?).

The title of this account is lost. *nꜣ hꜣꜣw nꜣ prtꜣw*, lit. 'the taxes and the corns'; for this kind of grain-taxes see: P. Leiden 376, 13. 15; P. Heidelberg, 13, 30; P. Cairo 31012+30688, 11; P. Ryl. 21, 27; P. Strassburg 9, 15; P. Cairo 30702, 3; Sethe, *DUB* 193. 216. 229. 234; P. Elephantine 6, 14; Mattha, *DO* no. 82; 232; 239; 244; 255; 256; 259; 260; 275; and p. 50, n. 24; Lichtheim, *MHO* 98; 99; 100; Wilcken, *GO* I, p. 221 and Otto., *PT* II, 85; Rosetta, 8: *nꜣ hꜣꜣw nꜣ prtꜣw nty iw-w dit-st n sntꜣsꜣy n nꜣyw irꜣꜣyw hr rnꜣpt*, 'the taxes (and) the corn which will be paid as the syntaxis to the temples yearly'. For the usufruct of these taxes see *Bucheum*, I, 155 ff.

For *hꜣ* conveying the meaning 'tax' cf. Mattha, *DO* 214; *Gloss.* 336, and *Hawara*, 60 n. 30.

The writing is indistinct in the following but the reading *nt rꜣ*, 'of the treasury', fits in with the context. For *rꜣ* cf. *Gloss.* 240, and Mattha, *DO*, 181, 2; 245, 1; 256, 3; 276, 9. *rꜣ*, 'treasury' as well as *hꜣwt-ntr*, 'temple', are here employed without the article.

hꜣwt-ntr n Mr-tm, 'Temple of Meidum': *hꜣwt-ntr* shows an earlier form of writing, cf. *Gloss.* 285. The name of the deity to whom this temple was sacred is not said; this is a common feature of Demotic legal texts of Ptolemaic date, that temples are described according to the places where they were built rather than according to the names of their divine occupiers.

Mr-tm: cf. Gauthier, *DG* III, 48; Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis*, VI, 27, pl. 15, *Urk.* III, 5, 25 = Pi'ankey, l. 4; 81; *Petubastis*: P. Krall, col. K. M. Q. 31; R. 11; Gardiner, *P. Wilbour*, Comm. 49. 164, 173. 195. This reference is of some importance, for it is to our knowledge the only Demotic legal text to name the Temple of Meidum. There is no authority to enable us to state that the account of Pharaonic date refers to the same temple and that it introduces us to a priestly body existing toward the end of the native dynasties.

nty iw-w tꜣi: tꜣi, lit. 'to take', 'to receive', may convey a technical sense such as 'to collect taxes', cf. Mattha, *DO* 111; Sethe, *DUB* 272; *Gloss.* 664.

We were not able to identify the following group; the reading [*n*] *hꜣ*, 'in silver' is conjectural.

3. *n3 ḥdꜣw: The taxes.*

For the use of the term *ḥd* in this context see Sethe, *DUB* 86; 116–17; 172; 241; 261; 309; 489.

4. *Mn-nfr P3-šri-t3-iḥt n-m-ḥr r3 26 I/2 ḥd 24:*

Memphis Psenaehe son of Anemhō at the rate of 26 I/2 silver 24.

Mn-nfr: in view of the parallelism with the *tš Mn-nfr*, the name is to be taken as that of the city itself. All the geographical names in this text show a characteristic form of the determinative:]^J =]^J.

r3: for the meaning see *Canop.* Gloss. 262; *Gloss.* 202, and *CD* 289. It indicates the proportion of the corn supply but there is much that is obscure in this system of taxation.

5. *n3 rwyꜣw rsy p3 tš Mn-nfr Dd-ḥr P3-nfr-ḥr ḥd 21: the southern localities of the province of Memphis Teos son of Pnepherōs silver 21.*

n3 rwyꜣw: cf. also ll. 7 and 8; *rwy* is frequently attested in legal documents of Ptolemaic date in designating divisions of a nome, and corresponds to the Greek τόποι, 'localities' cf. Revillout, *Mélanges*, 147; *PSBA* 1901, 295; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 37, 28; *RT* 31, 103, n. (XII); Sethe, *DUB* 106; 131; 264–5; Thompson, *DO* 24, and *Hawara*, 103–4. A piece of historically important information can be drawn from the entries of this account, to supplement statements found in Demotic contracts from this region, cf. *JEA* 45, 65 n. 9. See also P. Cairo 30871, II, 2: *iw Pr-ꜣ n Pr-mḥty Mn-nfr*, 'the King being in the Northern District of Memphis'. None of the personal names in this account is accompanied with titles. They may have been tax collectors, but it is unusual that the designation of their rank is not included in the entries.

6. *n3 rwyꜣw mḥty p3 tš Mn-nfr P3-sn P3-di-Iy-m-ḥtp ḥd 15: the northern localities of the province of Memphis Psōn son of Petimūthis silver 15.*7. *n3 rwyꜣw iḥty p3 tš Mn-nfr P3-sn P3-sn ḥd 7 ḥd 4: the eastern localities of the province of Memphis Psōn son of Psōn silver 7 kite 4.*8. *p3 tš [R3]s[t3w]^(?) Gm-Ḥp s3 n T3i-n-īm-w ḥd 4: the province of the [Necro]po[lis]^(?) Kamoapis son of Samous silver 4.*

The papyrus is damaged, and the reading *R3-st3w* is rather theoretical, established according to yet unpublished texts from Memphis.

9. *[p3]t[š^(?)] Sh[m^(?)] Twt s3 n Iy-m-ḥtp ḥd 8 ḥd 4: [the] pro[vince of] Leto[polis^(?)] Tuot son of Imḥotep silver 8 kite 4.*

The reading *shm* is conjectural; the papyrus is very damaged. The connection between Memphis and Letopolis, however, is well known from many other texts.

10. *p3 ḥr-ib P3-šri-t3-iḥt s3 n Iy-m-ḥtp ḥd 11 ḥd 2: The Central Area Psenaehe son of Imḥotep silver 11 kite 2.*

It is difficult to determine whether this geographical name applies to a part of the Memphite nome or to another part of Egypt.

11. *p3 tš Ḥwt-Snfr P3-y-mne s3 n Iy-m-ḥtp ḥd 26: the province of the Mansion of Snofru Pamon son of Imḥotep silver 26.*

For *Ḥwt-Snfr* see Gauthier, *DG* IV, 126; *PSBA* 34, 297; Gardiner, *AEO* II, 14; 12–13.

12. ?].-ph^(?). . iḥty n3 tšw p3 t3 mḥty N3-nfr s3n Ry ḥd 19:] . . eastern of the provinces of Lower Egypt Nepheros son of Rey silver 19.

13.] *ibty W[?]n-ḥm ḥḏ 26: eastern Wenkhem silver 26.*

For the locality *Wn-ḥm* cf. P. Louvre 3268, 6, P. Cairo 31075, II, 8. They do not seem to accord with Spiegelberg's view in *Dem. Chron.*, Gloss. 142-3. According to the instances in the Memphite Demotic papyri *Wn-ḥm* seems to have been a part of the 'City of Memphis'.

14.] *Mn-nfr* [.] *ḥḏ 24: . . .* *Memphis* [. . . *silver 24.*

VERSO: COL. II

1. *tꜣi kꜣsw Hrie Gm-Ḥp*.?: *Collecting compulsory payments (by?) Erius son of Kamoapis*,?

tꜣi is most likely employed with the same derivative meaning as that pointed out above, p. 196; for *kꜣs* meaning 'fines' and sim. cf. *Gloss.* 542. For the variants in the spelling of the name *Hrie* cf. *BjRL* 49, 471 n. 5. The end of the entry is illegible.

2. . . .? . . . *mḥty nty tw*·[*w*] *st ḥḏ n pꜣ I/5 n ḥḏ*(?) : . . .? . . . *northern which [they] pay for the I/5 (part) in silver* (?)

The first word in the line must be a geographical name but its first part is illegible; *Wn-ḥm* is an unlikely reading here. The text in this entry must continue from the first line of which the end is lost, since the relative pronoun *nty* is employed.

dit-st ḥḏ, lit. 'to give money', was commonly used to convey the sense 'to pay', cf. *Hawara*, 96.

pꜣ I/5; 'the fifth (part)', perhaps the fifth part of the revenues of the temple in question is here meant; cf. above, p. 190.

3. *ḥḏ 33 'a-ti·w st r^(?) pꜣ tit ḥḏ 300: silver 33 which was paid to the account of the fee silver 300.*

For *tit* meaning 'fee' cf. *Hawara*, 54. It is not clear in this context whose fees are meant. These entries may refer to statements written in the part of the papyrus which is now lost.

4. *nꜣy·w drpty*·[*w*] *r-ḥt kḏ 20 ḥḏ I ḥḏ: their drpty fees at the rate of 30 kite 20 one silver (deben?) silver 30.*

drpty is a rare word, and of obscure meaning; cf. Sethe, *DUB* no. 13, 10; *Gloss.* 684. This context suggests that the term may designate a tax of which the proportion regarding one *deben* of silver is here indicated.

5. *pꜣ I/6 . . .? . . . kḏ 24 ḥḏ 4: the sixth (part) . . .? . . . kite 24 silver 4.*

6. *pꜣ* [. . . .] *sh nꜣ shnw n* . . .? *ḥḏ 3: the* [. . . .] *scribe of the ordinances of* . . .? . . . *silver 3.*

The first word in the line is illegible. An alternative interpretation may be: 'the [. . . .] for (?) the recording of the ordinances'.

7. *pꜣ ḥḏ* . . .⁶⁹ . . . *ḥḏ I/3 I/10 I/26: the tax* . . .⁶⁹ *silver I/3 I/10 I/26.*

8. *ḥḏ 300 (+) 7I. ḥw*: *silver 300 (+) 7I. profit*

9. *pꜣy·w I/6 nꜣ* ? *s^(?)* [.: *their I/6 (part) of the* [.

10. *pꜣ tš n rnpt* [.]: *the yearly instalment* [.]

For the technical meaning of *tš* cf. P. Elephantine 2 = 3, 1. 5. 7. 9, and Sethe, *DUB* 315–6; Wängstedt, *Or. Suec.* 14, 16, l. 2: *in r hwt-ntr hr pꜣ tš*, ‘to deliver to the account of the temple respecting the instalment’; P. Golénischeff in *Rev. ég.* 3, pl. 1; P.B.M. 10597, 9 = *FAS* 76 n. 9; P. Hauswald 16, 4; P. Lille 29, 6.

11. *pꜣ ipe nꜣ bdtw nty ir n hꜣt-sꜣt I + x* ? *hr*^(?) . . . ? . . . : *the account of the emmer which was made in year I + x* ?

12. *nꜣ bdtw* [. . .] *nty iw Pr-cꜣ dit* [. . . ? . . .] : *the [taxes? of] emmer* [. . .] *which the King gives*: [. . . ? . . .]

13. *p inw n pꜣ* [.] *det. pr-hꜣd*^(?) : *the delivery to the* [. . .] *of the treasury*^(?)

14. *pꜣ inw m-bꜣh* [. . .] ? : *the delivery for* [.]

15. *Pꜣ-nhtꜣ sꜣn* ? *m-bꜣh* : *Pe-nakhtꜣ son of* ? *for*

The text in the five last entries is too damaged to attempt an interpretation.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF PHARAONIC EGYPT

By NIAL CHARLTON

I WOULD like to share some thoughts with those who read this Journal.

My qualification for having any thoughts at all on Pharaonic history is that nearly forty years ago I was lucky enough to enjoy a close friendship with Alfred Lucas. Lucas, the retired head of the Chemistry Department of the Egyptian Government, had joined Carter immediately after the discovery of the tomb of Tut^{ankhamūn}, and had worked with Carter for the next ten years at Luxor. After that he had continued working at the Cairo Museum as honorary Chemist, and when I first knew him had spent fourteen years handling and studying every article from the Tomb. Because of my friendship with Lucas, I can fairly say that for four years, on and off, I lived with Tut^{ankhamūn} and his Treasure. Such an experience lives on in the mind.

I have read Madame Desroches-Noblecourt's book on Tut^{ankhamūn}. I think that it is brilliant: and I also think that she gets everything slightly wrong. And the reason, I believe, is that she has read all the evidence and not looked at the faces.

The Amarna age is unique in Egypt in that suddenly we are looking at real people. I admit that much of Egyptian Art is portraiture, highly skilled portraiture—I worked with two Coptic brothers, and a statue in the Museum was an obvious third brother—but the people are not quite real and living. They are looking past us, over our shoulders, into the next world. And then in the blackness of thousands of years there is a sudden string of lightning flashes, and we suddenly see the faces of real people frozen in the flash. And that is why the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty has a truly unique fascination. For a few seconds in all the long ages of Pharaonic history, we are looking at real people.

I had two sudden insights last year. Sir Peter Allen was in Berlin and sent me a full frontal picture of the Berlin Nefertiti. He had been shocked by the disfigurement of the left eye,¹ of which he had had no warning. I do not think that I had grasped it myself. Is it normally concealed and minimized in the photographs and copies? I think so. It is not that I did not know that there was something badly wrong with the family. The stone Colossi of Amenophis IV in Cairo are a portrayal of a repulsive deformity and all the sketches of his children emphasize the misshapen head, and the misshapen hips. The insight that came to me was that these deformities were the thing that mattered: the key fact was that the Eighteenth Dynasty had run out into something physically rotten. And of equal significance there was no attempt to hide the fact. Is

¹ A widely held view is that the missing eye is due to the fact that the piece is incomplete, deriving from a sculptor's workshop. Cf. R. Anthes, *Die Büste der Königin Nofretete* (Berlin, 1954), 5.—ED.

it not fair to say that the mark of all other Egyptian portraiture is the dignity of the God King, of his priests and nobles, and of his servants. With one or two exceptions only, the people portrayed are handsome, good specimens of men and women. By the standards of the rest of the three thousand years of Pharaonic life, the willingness of the Amarna Age to portray physical deformity reveals a mental deformity; or so I think.

The next insight came at the British Museum at the Tut'ankhamūn Exhibition. I had remarked that the really odd thing was that so much treasure had been lavished on a nonentity. 'But', said my wife, 'he has a nice face.' The second thing, therefore, that matters is that Tut'ankhamūn was a handsome boy.

I went back to Egypt last December for the first time for thirty years, and deliberately chose the long trip up the Nile from Cairo, because I wanted to go to El-Amarna, a place normally difficult to visit. One reason was that I wanted to give a secret personal salute to Pendlebury, but chiefly I wanted to see the place. It is isolated, isn't it? An enclosed bit of desert, shut in by a ring of cliffs. A good site for a concentration camp.

And so I offer my view of what happened at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The family had bred out into something horrible, and the Egyptians had a God King on their hands who was a monster. Did they drive him from Karnak? Or did he go of his own wish because he could not bear the contrast between his splendid ancestors and his own miserable condition? El-Amarna was a lonely place, remote from any previous centre of Pharaonic life, and therefore suitable for the equivalent of a leper colony in which he could hide. This is a concept of Amarna very different from those usually current in the last seventy years. The normally presented picture is of a rather attractive rebel Pharaoh breaking clear from the prejudices of his age towards a purer monotheism, and a higher concept of this and that and so on. I had never been able to reconcile this romantic view of Akhenaten with the strong impression I had formed of a self-indulgent hedonism at El-Amarna. (This is a wholly personal reaction to what has survived.) I cannot read hieroglyphics, but I have also often suspected that some translations of the Aten Hymn owe more to Browning than to the original text.

The explanation that I am putting forward in a most tentative fashion would explain the hatred of Amenophis IV that does seem to have existed. (But what is the real evidence for it?) That he worshipped the Sun Disc has always seemed to me to be an inadequate explanation. So had lots of people before him, and Pharaonic Egypt was truly polytheistic.

Tut'ankhamūn's return to Thebes is then also completely explicable. One of the family was physically alright, a handsome smiling boy. There would be immense relief that the God King family had recovered from the physical deviation, and that a normal life at Thebes could be resumed. But was it? There are two still-born children in the tomb. Did somebody come to the conclusion that the handsome boy was tainted too? And does the mummy in fact show signs of a blow on the head? These are questions that can be asked and there will be no answer in the documentary evidence. But I do suggest that somebody was very fond of the handsome boy and lavished every care when it came to burying him. That is the real evidence of the Treasure, of the affection for Tut'ankhamūn.

There are many points of detail over which I am still puzzled. First, some of the statues in the Treasure show clear signs of dual sex—for instance the statue on the back of a leopard. These unpleasant portraits could have been done at El-Amarna before the return to Thebes.

Second, when did the head of the mummy become detached from the body? I cannot find any reference to this in the Carter three-volume account (written mostly with collaboration by Lucas). Did the head come off the body in the awful tussle to get the body out of the glue in the gold coffin bottom? I mention this as perhaps an example of what can get tactfully left out of the most meticulous recording. Lucas never referred to this point, but the responsibility of handling the mummy was largely that of other people.

Finally, how does Nefertiti's damaged eye fit into the story?

I offer these thoughts on the Amarna Age more as stimulants to other people than as a personal attempt to reconstruct the whole story. It would be interesting to re-assess the limited amount of hard evidence this way round. I am sure that Madame Desroches-Noblecourt would agree that any inscriptional evidence is totally irrelevant.

The Letter to the Hittite King

There is one word which every historian and pre-historian should repeat to himself three and four times a day. It is 'Pitdown'. We now know that there is always the possibility of planted evidence—planted for whatever motive, even the near highest.

There is one bit of the Amarna story that I now find too good to be true—it is too romantic. It is the letter to the Hittite King from the widow of Tut'ankhamūn, asking for his son in marriage and promising to make him Pharaoh. And so I just ask whether the validity of this letter has been re-checked in recent years. The sort of point that worries me is that Tut'ankhamūn died, presumably, at Luxor. His widow would presumably be with him. Why and how then was his widow writing letters at El-Amarna, some two hundred miles away? And is the translation beyond suspicion?

Gold

The profusion of gold in the Tut'ankhamūn Treasure has never had the quiet appraisal that it deserves. I suggest that it may be in the same class of organizational achievement as the construction of a pyramid. In the first place we do not know the total weight of gold in the tomb. The innermost coffin weighs 110 kg. but this is only a part of the total gold. The total has never even been assessed. The quality of the craftsmanship is the best evidence possible that there was a large community of goldsmiths in steady work. The early death of the King means that they would not have a great deal of time to complete the articles that were especially commissioned for the funeral. The quantity of these articles produced in a limited time is corroborative evidence that there was a large community of goldsmiths. A large community of goldsmiths working on the type of article that can be seen in the tomb needs a large quantity of gold on which to work.

What was the source of this gold? Some of it had clearly been 'recycled' from earlier tombs, but while the Eighteenth Dynasty was in power, not more, I suggest, than a small proportion. Loot from successful wars in Asia? There had not been much of these for a while. There only remains, therefore, the third source, mines in the Eastern Desert. These, it is known, existed, and some sites have been identified. In an arid desert, such as the Eastern Desert, there is no possibility of washing for gold, and any obvious nuggets in the wâdi beds would have been picked up in the previous two thousand years. There is no other solution apparently than that the gold-bearing rock was mined, crushed to dust, and the gold separated by fanning, and all this in an arid desert. It is irrelevant to say that this work was done by slave labour. Slaves, their women and children, and the soldiers with them and their women and children have to eat and even more to drink. Bringing water up to the vast throng at the mine would be in itself a major task. The gold in Tut'ankhamûn's tomb must have cost appreciably more than any gold mined today. There is no gold in fact now being mined in the Eastern Desert in spite of the fact that modern skills can go deeper and handle situations that the Bronze Age Egyptian could not.

My purpose at this point is to emphasize that the profusion of gold in Tut'ankhamûn's tomb cost more, much more, in human effort than its modern equivalent, which is perhaps obvious and that it was more 'valuable' which is perhaps not so obvious: and that the effort in total could well have been of the same order that produced a pyramid. The quantity of gold from the tomb of H̄etepheres is negligible in comparison. This reinforces the argument set out above that nobody would have done so much for a young boy Pharaoh, unless that boy had aroused great affection.

I would now like to pass on to some other topics which have also engaged my thoughts over the years.

The Link with the Lebanon

Towards the end of August 1939 I drove Lucas out to visit Bryan Emery at Saqqâra. Emery had discovered an interesting burial—the body was lying on its side, in the foetal position, in the usual predynastic style, but the body was wholly wrapped in linen bands: fingers, toes, every part wrapped distinctly, an excellent piece of work.

When, therefore, did the Osiris religion enter Egypt, and with it the Osirid position of the mummy? And why is there the curious link with Byblos, with the Lebanon? Anyone who has lived in Egypt knows that even today the Egyptians are excusably an inward-looking nation. They live in a big island, cut off from the rest of the world by deserts, and in Pharaonic times the north was a swamp (was it not?) as indeed was most of the Delta, making access to the sea difficult.² Today's Gayassas go along the canals, not the river branches in the Delta. The Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom were apparently totally enclosed worlds shut off from contact with the outside world, and yet their basic religion, the cult of Osiris, had this reference to people going to and coming

² For Pharaonic towns and harbours in the Delta see H. Kees, *Ancient Egypt* (ed. T. G. H. James, London, 1961), 183 ff.—ED.

from the Lebanon. Again I would like to see set out the hard detailed evidence for the link with Byblos in the Osiris legend.³

It would be relatively easy to show that the Osiris link with Byblos is a nonsense, by showing that it was quite impossible to get out of the early Old Kingdom. It would be as easy as it is to show that it was impossible to build the pyramids, and that, therefore, they do not exist. But the pyramids do exist, and alongside one of them is the Solar Boat. The Solar Boat is built with cedar of Lebanon, wood that can only have come from Lebanon. We know that the Lebanese were supplying timber to Jerusalem two thousand years after the pyramids were built, but it is difficult to see how they were delivering timber to Cairo in the pyramid age. They could obviously not get up to Cairo when the flood was on, to float it ashore at Giza, and during the rest of the year when the north edge of the Delta was a swamp there would not be enough water, it is easy to think, to sail rafts of timber up the main channels of the river. The steady north winds blow during the flood, and in summer when the river is very low.

The provocative question is, does the Osiris legend spring from the intelligence and personality of a timber merchant? Doubt comes on a visit to Byblos itself where the work of the remains is very crude by Egyptian standards.

The Pharaonic Irrigation System

The problem of how Lebanese timber was floated up the Nile, and there can be no disputing that it was so floated, reveals how little we know of the geography of Pharaonic Egypt and more particularly of the irrigation system. It is possible to buy four hundred pages on the Egyptian religion, with the suspicion that some modern European scholars could out-point any Pharaonic priest on the subject, but we know practically nothing about the Nile in those days. Was there basin irrigation? If there was no basin irrigation at that period, when was it introduced? The argument is sometimes advanced (by those who possibly do not understand Nile control) that the unified control by the Pharaoh of the two kingdoms was inevitable because unified control of the two kingdoms was necessary to run and control the irrigation system. This is probably nonsense. What do we know about the Pharaonic irrigation system? I suggest remarkably little. The one man writing in English on this subject was John Ball, and I would dearly like to see some of the Society's publication effort going on a reproduction of Ball's writings on the geography of Egypt. To me they are more important to an understanding of Egyptian history than most else.

Egyptian Place-names

Geography gives a transition to place-names and place-names to language.

It struck me as odd last winter that the language of Pharaonic Egypt collapsed so completely. In our own country pre-Anglo Saxon words survive in place-names, and even in America some Indian words also survive as place-names. But in Egypt everything appears to have gone. The capital of the ancient world for thousands of years is

³ Cf. Siegfried Herrmann, *ZAS* 82 (1958), 48 ff. and my *Origins of Osiris* (Berlin, 1966), 17 ff.—Ed.

Badr Shein or El-Qahira, the Arabic names. (It would give me much pleasure to be proved wrong on this.) One explanation is that the literate class, the scribes, were small in number and indeed that they survive as the Coptic minority, and their language nearly surviving. Because the scribes were few in number, the language shift was easy. This overlooks the fact that the vast mass of the people, the farmers, had their spoken language, and that they were there in their millions, one of the worlds densest and most conservative communities. And yet under the influence of Islam they changed their language fairly completely, and as far as we know, fairly fast.

Now that Arabic studies are somewhat divorced from religion, and now that there is some possibility of recognizing that there is a spoken language in Egypt, would it not be a splendid work of human archaeology or linguistics, to discover how much of the language of Pharaonic Egypt survives in the spoken language of Egypt? There must for example, be place-names that have survived, and of which I do not know.

A TEXT OF THE *BENEDICITE* IN GREEK AND OLD NUBIAN FROM KASR EL-WIZZ

By JOHN BARNES

IN his article 'Excavations at Kasr el-Wizz: a Preliminary Report, I', in this *Journal* 56 (1970), 29-57, Professor G. T. Scanlon mentions (p. 33) a text inscribed in the baptistry tank of the Church, on its south and west walls respectively; a photograph of the part on the former was shown *ibid.* pl. xxxviii, 2. The same photograph, together with one of that on the other wall, is reproduced here on a larger scale (pl. XL, 1-2). The writing, a graffito in ink, in a clear, though rough and irregular hand, which suggests a tenth-century date, has suffered little damage; it gives the greater part of the *Benedicite* (according to the Septuagint numeration = Daniel 3. 57-81) minus one verse (see below), alternately in Greek and Nubian.¹ Each verse is given a separate line, and all but three of these end with a double diagonal stroke (cf. the text of the *Benedicite* in Crum, *Coptic Manuscripts from the Fayyum*, 14 ff.), here presumably indicating the refrain *ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, which is nowhere written out. The beginning of the text on each wall is preceded by a cross with a long vertical tail; that on the south wall is divided by horizontal lines into groups of six verses each. The spelling of the Greek verses is about as barbarous and uncomprehending as most examples of Greek from Nubia. Their text (and, so far as can be determined, that underlying the Nubian) tends as a whole to agree with the *θ'* group of MSS., although there are some correspondences with the *ο'* group which may be significant; see the edition of Daniel by J. Ziegler, *Septuaginta*, vol. xvi, part 2 (Göttingen, 1954), 127-30, which has been used as the basis of my textual observations.

The fact that verses 80 and 81 are here found in inverted order might be accounted for as an expedient necessitated by the simple omission of a previous verse (79), which threw the alternation of Greek and Nubian verses in an already existing bilingual text into disorder. This explanation, however, would be unsatisfactory, for two reasons: (1) it would postulate an original with an odd number of verses; (2) analysis of l. 22 (see commentary *ad loc.*) suggests that the text here has been confused by the similarity of two consecutive verses, 3. 78 and 79 *after the translation of both into Nubian*. I would suggest, therefore, that the confusion took place *before* the alternating bilingual arrangement was framed, by someone working from an already corrupt Nubian text. This does not mean that the original Nubian version was itself inaccurate. Though our copy of it contains some evident blunders by the present scribe, when these are corrected it shows its original translator to have had a competent understanding of the Greek; in at least one place (see commentary on l. 12) it seems indicated that the latter was translated direct, and that the Nubian was not influenced by a Coptic version;

¹ Professor Scanlon assures me that there are no traces of a continuation of it on the other walls.

though the writing on the west wall is accompanied by a remark, presumably by the actual scribe of this text, which shows his familiarity with the latter language: $\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\kappa\omicron\rho\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\rho\alpha\psi\alpha$, 'I, Petrokori,² wrote(it)'. The fact that these verses mention weather phenomena virtually unknown in Nubia has taxed the ingenuity of the translator, who does not resort as readily as a Copt would to the easy course of adopting Greek words. It might be asked why a passage necessarily so obscure to a local congregation should have been inscribed in the baptistry tank of a church in torrid Nubia. The Revd. Professor G. D. Kilpatrick suggests that this may be due to the widespread use in the early Church of this canticle, together with others, in the week before, and including, the vigil of Easter, a traditional season for baptism; see H. Schneider, *Die altlateinischen biblischen Cantica (Texte u. Arbeiten, 1, 29-30, 1938)*, 28 f.; 61; 65 ff.; 143; T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation in Spain, c. 300-1100 (1967)*, 168 ff. This impression is supported by the Revd. Dr. G. G. Willis, who writes: 'In various parts of the Church in early times . . . *Benedicite* was used after the twelfth lesson of the twelve-lesson scheme at the vigils of Easter and Epiphany. These were in many places occasions on which baptism was administered, so the connection with baptism would be close. It occurs with the Jacobites and Maronites in Syria, with the Copts in Egypt, and in one or two other places, including Spain.' He cites for the use of the *Benedicite* at these seasons A. Baumstark (revised Botte, tr. F. L. Cross), *Comparative Liturgy* 28; 35 ff.; 110. Dr. Herman Bell further points out the appropriateness of the *Benedicite* in a Nubian context, in view of the popularity of the Three Holy Children as a pictorial theme in the ecclesiastical art of this region; see (e.g.) K. Michałowski, *Faras: Fouilles polonaises 1961-1962*, 104.

Since my acquaintance with the Nubian language, both Old and Modern—especially the latter—is slight, I am grateful for the advice of Dr. M. F. Laming Macadam and Professor P. L. Shinnie on many matters of vocabulary and grammar. I am also indebted to Dr. Herman Bell for some useful references. In my commentary the following works are quoted, in abbreviated form:

- C. H. Armbruster, *Dongolese Nubian: a Grammar* (Cambridge, 1960) (= Arm. Gr.).
 — *Dongolese Nubian: a Lexicon* (Cambridge, 1965) (= Arm. Lex.).
 F. Ll. Griffith, *The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period* (Abh. Berlin, 1913) (= Griff. NTCP).
 — *Christian Documents from Nubia (Proc. Br. Acad. 14, 1928)* (= Griff. CDN).
 R. Lepsius, *Nubische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1880) (= Leps. NGr.).
 G. von Massenbach, *Nubische Texte im Dialekt der Kunūzi und der Dongolawi* (Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, 34, Wiesbaden, 1962) (= v. Mass. NT).
 K. V. Zetterstéen, 'Arcangelo Carradori's *Ditionario della lingua Italiana e Nubiana*', *Monde oriental* 5 (1911), 42-79; 137-67; 8 (1914), 203-36; 9 (1915), 17-55; 13 (1919), 185-204; 24 (1930), 74-9; 205-82 (= MO).
 C. Zyhlarz, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik im christlichen Frühmittelalter* (Abh. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, 18, Leipzig, 1928) (= Z. GNGr.).

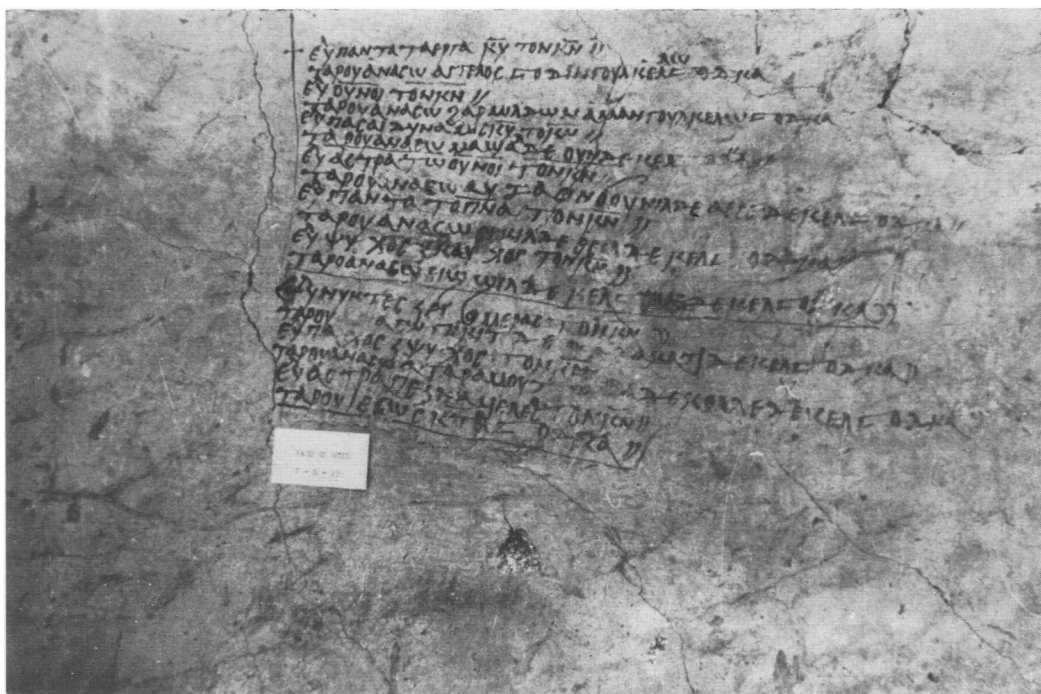
For the Coptic texts of the *Benedicite*, see Ziegler, op. cit. 37 ff.; Yassā 'Abd al-Masīh, *Bull. Soc. d'Arch. Copte* 12 (1946-7), 1 ff. (= BSAC).

² So, apparently, and not $\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$.

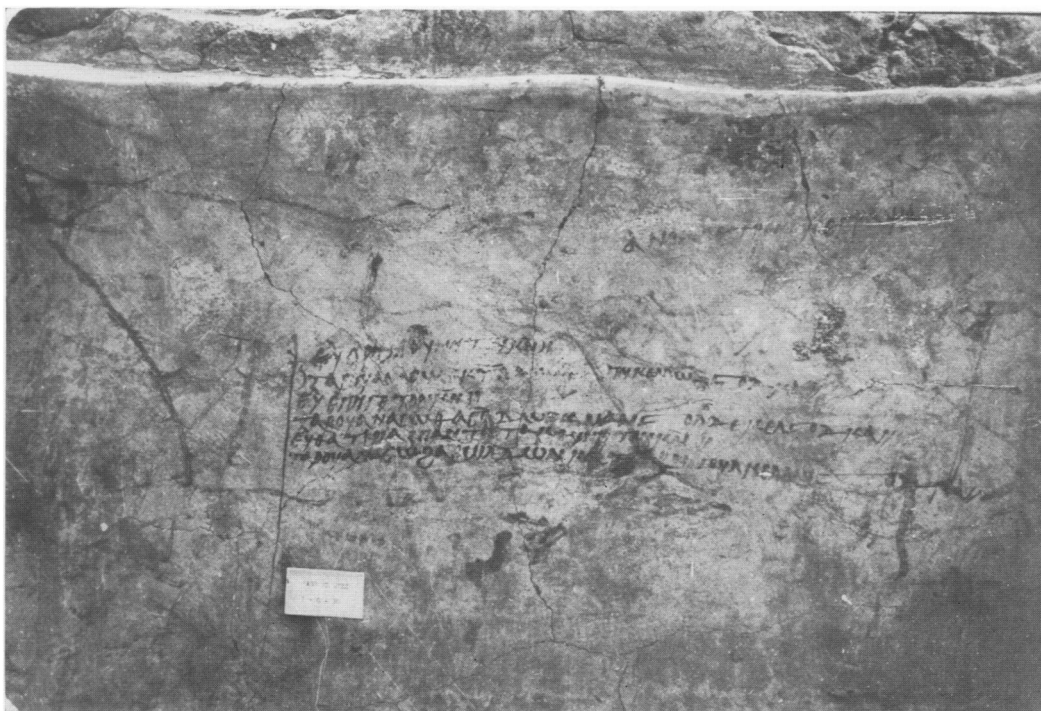
(South wall)

† ^λεῦπανταταερτα ^κν̄ τ^οπ̄ ^κν̄
 ταρογανασω ^ααπελος ^ωφο²ινπογ^λκε^λφο²να
^λεῦ ^ογ^οι ^το^πν̄
 ταρογανασω ^ραρειλ^ωπ̄ ^αα^αινπογ^λκε^λω^φο²να
 5 ^λεῦ^ασαι ^αγ^αμ^εις ^κν̄ τ^οπ̄
 ταρογανασω ^αμα^αδε ^ογ^ακε^λφο²α^κ
^λεῦ^αστ^ρα^τω^ογ^οι ^το^πν̄
 ταρογανασω ^αγ^ασι^πσο^γη^λδε ^ασε^εκε^λφο²να
^λεῦ^απαν^τα^το^πνα ^το^πν̄
 10 ταρογανασω ^ει^νι^λδε ^εσε^λδε ^κε^λφο²[[·]]να
^λεῦ^ψγ^υ ^χο^ς ^ζνα^γ ^χο^ς ^το^πν̄
ταρογανασω ^ει^ψη^λδε^κε^λφ[[····]]δε^κε^λφο²να
^λεῦ^πυ^κτε^ς ^ζει ^με^ρα^στο^πν̄
 ταρογανασω^πι^κι^τ ^{δε} ^ογ^ρα^ανα^τι^{δε}κε^λφο²να
 15 ^λεῦ^αχ^ος ^ζψ^γχ^ος ^το^πν̄
 ταρογανασω^ατα^ρα^μο^υτ^α ^αα^ενο^λλε^{δε}κε^λφο²να
^λεῦ^αστ^ρα^πε^ζνα^ελε^ς ^το^πν̄
ταρογ ^εσω^ςη^τλ^{φο}2να
 (West wall)
 † ^λεῦο^ρη^ζβο^υη^το^πν̄
 20 ταρογανασω^ςη^τλ^ωπ^ελ^{το}υ ^κε^λλω[[α]]φο²να
^λεῦ ^επ^ητε ^το^πν̄
 ταρογανασω^θα^ςα^ωα^α ^αα^αιν^{πο}λ^{δε}κε^λφο²να
^λεῦ^θα^τι^ρια ^ζπαν^τα^τα^ντ^υνη ^το^πν̄
 ταρογανασω^ρα^ρε^ιλ^ωη^κα^α[[α]]ρ^τι^{πο}γ^λκε^λλω^φο²να

1. Tail of † extends to l. 12. 2. -κελλω :λω added above. 6. λ added above after μααα, and κ after φο²- 7. No superlineations, the writer having left no space between the line under l. 6 and the next line of writing. 8. The Coptic form σ, and not the Nubian Ⲫ, used here and elsewhere in this text. 10. After φο²-, letter apparently cancelled. 11. ζ = κατ'. Space (un-



1. Inscription in Greek and Nubian in baptistry tank



2. Related text on another wall

THE *BENEDICITE* IN GREEK AND OLD NUBIAN

accountable) after $\kappa\alpha\gamma$. 12. After $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\varphi$, evident alteration; perhaps $\sigma\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ written on top of $\sigma\lambda\kappa\alpha$; see commentary. 13. Long space after $\epsilon\iota$, partly accountable by the fact that the second ϖ of $\epsilon\iota\varpi\varpi\iota\lambda$ in the previous line has a long tail with a flourish, which extends into this line. 16. Next letter after $\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\tau$ could well be another τ ; see commentary. 18. Upper horizontal of φ long. 19. Tail of \dagger extends well below end of text. 20. Next letter after $\zeta\kappa\tau\lambda$ apparently λ rather than α . 22. After $\theta\alpha\varsigma$, apparently α (rather than λ), superlineated. Above α , apparently π' added. After α , a letter apparently inserted; probably ϵ . Above $\varphi\sigma\lambda$, a letter added, probably κ . φ again with long upper horizontal. 24. Upper horizontal of φ very long.

COMMENTS

1. = Dan. 3. 57: $\kappa(\nu\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron)\nu$, without $\tau\omicron\upsilon$: so θ' MSS.

2 f. This is the order found in the σ' group, whereas the majority of θ' MSS. reverse it; but some as here; see Ziegler, 127.

2. = 58: $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\omicron\acute{\iota}$?) $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$. Some versions, including some Coptic MSS. have 'all' here; see *BSAC* 12. 9. In general it would appear that the definite article after plural words in this text is found where the Greek has $\pi\acute{\alpha}(\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma)$.

$\tau\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma\alpha\eta\alpha\varsigma\omega$: plural of imperative, see *Z. GNGr.*, § 172. For $-\omega$, *ibid.* § 279. Note that when the sentence has a single plural subject we find the scheme A $\tau\omicron\gamma(\lambda)\kappa\epsilon(\lambda)\lambda\omega$, but when there are two, whether singular or plural, A $(\lambda)\alpha\epsilon$ B $\alpha\epsilon$ $\kappa\epsilon\lambda$. . .³

On $\varphi\sigma\lambda$, 'lord', Shinnie notes: 'M(ahas) *nor*, acc. *norka*; Old Nubian α quite often r in M. Was it the same sound as Meroitic d , which from *Bedawi/Medawi* gave the Greek form *Μερόη*?'

3. = 59.

4. = 60: $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ $\upsilon\delta\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ $\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$. Shinnie notes that $\varrho\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota$ is not found in M.

5. = 61. Sc. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\langle\alpha\acute{\iota}\rangle$; $\tau\acute{\omicron}\langle\nu\rangle$.

6. = 62: $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\eta\eta\eta$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$.

For $\omicron\gamma\eta$, see Griff. *CDN* 11. Shinnie notes that in M *unetti* = 'moon', *un* = 'new moon'. See also *MO* 9, 45; 55.

7. = 63: 1. $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon$ ($\rho\alpha$) $\nu\omicron\upsilon$,

8. = 64: $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\delta\mu\beta\rho\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$.

$\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\varsigma\iota$: cf. *aii*, Leps. *NGr.* 274. $-\alpha\varsigma\iota$: see Griff. *NTCP* 88; Leps. *NGr.* 297 f. Shinnie notes: 'M *aii* (*awi*) = "rain", *aiwinasi* = "light shower of rain". For $-\omicron\gamma\eta$, see *Z. GNGr.*, § 230. The usual word for "water" in the M(ahas) dialect is *aman*, whereas K(unūzi) and D(ongolawi) use *essi* (var. *assi*, see *v. Mass.*, *NT* 173); but M uses the latter in some compounds. $\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\epsilon$ must be the same word; whether the variation in

³ Macadam remarks that he cannot explain the use of $\kappa\epsilon\lambda(\lambda)\omega$ in this text. He notes: ' $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$ is frequently "likewise" (*Z. GNGr.* §§ 236–8), so one might think to translate 1. 2 "and likewise let the angels of God", etc. But in this case, why omit it when the construction requires $\alpha\epsilon$. . . $\alpha\epsilon$ $\kappa\epsilon\lambda$? Another fruitful line of thought seemed to be that $\kappa\epsilon$ is the apostrophizing (plural) $\kappa\epsilon$ of *Z. GNGr.* § 280; this seemed likely because there is no $\kappa\epsilon$ in the one case (l. 18) where there is just one singular thing apostrophized. But then we cannot admit its existence in the $\alpha\epsilon$. . . $\alpha\epsilon$ $\kappa\epsilon\lambda$ sentences, as we should have to, since there are plenty of instances of the latter in other texts where no "apostrophizing" is involved. Have we here an unconscious confusion between $\kappa\epsilon$, "O ye . . .", and a root $\sqrt{\kappa\epsilon\lambda}$ indicating "sameness"?'

spelling here is of any significance I cannot say. *MO* 9, 23, gives *essi* as = “dew” in K.’

9. = 65: l. τὰ πν(εύμ)ατα

10. = 66: εὐλογεῖτε πῦρ καὶ καῦμα τὸν κύριον.

εἰκιλ: M. *ig*, ‘fire’; see Leps. *NGr.* 329; Arm. *Lex.* 104; v. Mass. *NT* 197; *MO* 8 224; 235. εεελ: see Arm. *Lex.* 66; v. Mass. *NT* 185; Shinnie notes: ‘not in M’.

11. = 67. ζ = καί. l. καύσων; καγχοc is presumably due to the influence of the preceding ψῦχος.

12–17. = 68–73: for the order of verses in other versions, see Ziegler, 128; *BSAC* 12, 9 f.

12. = 68: εὐλογεῖτε δρόσοι καὶ νιφετοὶ τὸν κύριον. l. ταρογακασω. Macadam notes: ‘The plural seems to be replaced by the singular; so perhaps also in l. 22.’ (The same observation seems to apply to l. 16.)

ειψψιλ: I cannot find such a word in Old or Modern Nubian. Griffith, *NTCP* 72, states that ψ ḥ is ‘rare and chiefly in words borrowed from Coptic’. Macadam remarks that this is an over-statement; a number of words listed by Z. in *GNGr.* which contain ψ could be indigenous; so perhaps ψεγαι, ‘partnership (?)’ (see Till in *Griff. Studies* 188 f.). If, however, the word here is Coptic, could it be ιψ(ε), Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 88? It is there rendered ‘urine’ (Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* 31, derives it from *wsš*), and this is evidently what is meant in most of the passages cited by Crum, but not in all; in Ryl. *Copt. MSS.* 106, 56 it seems to be simply ‘fluid’; this might be its basic meaning, rather than the more specific one mentioned above, for which it might have been used, like *moog*, as a euphemism. If so, ‘moisture’ here.

What follows εἰψψιλ δε is puzzling; there has evidently been some alteration. I would suggest the following explanation: the writer first wrote κελφοκα, anticipating the end of the line, instead of κολλαε, the word which translates χιόνες in l. 16, below. He then wrote ολλαε over οκα, but omitted to cancel κελφ before it. With κολλαε, cf. v. Mass. *NT* 209: *koll-* ‘ankleben’; here and below as a verbal noun, ‘congealment’? Our reading would be not without significance for the textual tradition of the Nubian version; Saʿidic texts (see *BSAC* 12, 9) have *niq* (نق), ‘winds’, which is represented in the Bohairic by *θιογ*. *niq* was perhaps influenced by the similarity of the Greek word *νιφετός*. The Nubian translation thus appears to have been made direct from the Greek, and not by way of a Coptic version.

Shinnie suggests an alternative explanation of κελ after εἰψψιλ δε; he observes ‘*M kel* has a sense of “cloudiness” or lack of clearness in the air; e.g., *unetti keladafi*, “the moon is not clear/hazy/cloudy”.’

13. = 71: l. ἡμέρας.

14. = 72: εὐλογεῖτε φῶς καὶ σκότος τὸν κύριον.

πικιτ: see Z. *GNGr.* 182. Shinnie notes that it is not found in M.

ογρρεακατι: ‘becoming dark’? For ογρρεα-, see Leps. *NGr.* 406; cf. *urum* (M ‘dark’, ‘black’), p. 407; Arm. *Lex.* 212; v. Mass. *NT* 239; cf. *MO* 13, 198? For -κατι, see Arm. *Gr.*, § 2534 (citing Z. *GNGr.* § 45); but cf. *ibid.*, § 4598.

15. = 69: l. πάγος.

16. = 70: εὐλογεῖτε πάχναι καὶ χιόνες τὸν κύριον.

The Nubian equivalent of *πάχναι* (hoar-frosts) here might be read as *αταραεογτ-ταρα*, which I would analyse (tentatively) as follows: *ατ-* = *od*, 'cold' (in K, D), Leps. *NGr.* 374; Arm. *Lex.* 159; v. Mass. *NT* 222; *MO* 8, p. 26; 36; *-αραε-* = *orom*, 'cold' (in M) Leps. *NGr.* 377; *-ογτ-* (*ud-*), 'lay', Z. *GNGr.* 181; *-ταρ-α*, Z. *GNGr.*, § 216; the whole expression being, literally, 'that which comes from the deposit of chilly cold'. For *κολλε*, see above, on l. 12.

17. = 73: l. *ἀστραπαὶ καὶ νεφέλαι*. Confusion between *ϕ* and *ϗ* is unusual in Coptic, but cf. n. on l. 12, above.

18. = 74: *εὐλογεῖτω ἡ γῆ τὸν κύριον*.

For *ταρογεω* (sing.), see Z. *GNGr.*, § 172. *ϗϕ*: see Z. *GNGr.* 176.

19. = 75: l. *βουνοί*.

20. = 76: *εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ φυόμενα ἐν τῇ γῇ* (so probably, with *θ'*, rather than *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, with *ο'*; see below) *τὸν κύριον*. The reading seems to be *-λω* rather than *-αω*, which is supported by Coptic (Boh.), see *BSAC* 12, 10. For *πελ-*, see Z. *GNGr.* 182.

21. = 77. Our text follows the *ο'* tradition in placing this line here; *θ'* reverses 77 and 78. l. *αἱ πηγαί*.

22. It might at first sight appear that this line represents 78: *εὐλογεῖτε θάλασσα καὶ ποταμοὶ τὸν κύριον*, rather than 79: *εὐλογεῖτε κήτη καὶ πάντα τὰ κινούμενα ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν τὸν κύριον*. To take the latter part of it first: *αεαηφο'κ'λ* might be taken as 'the moving water(s)', = *ποταμοί*; Shinnie compares *aman nogafi* M, 'running water'. The former part, however, presents serious difficulties. We might expect *θαλασσα(τογ)αε*; instead we seem to have *θαεαω^{κ(?)}αε*—apparently a bungled writing of *θαλασσαλαωπ* (or, better, *-αω*?) *αε*⁴—'that which is in (?) (things in (?) the sea'. This might be a translation of *κήτη* of 79—a word adopted by Coptic, but too unfamiliar to a Nubian to be left untranslated. If this is so, we might ascribe the reading here to a confused recollection by the writer of 79, *in Nubian*—a confusion which, given the rendering of *κήτη* suggested above, would be very likely; all the more so if the Nubian version of 79 continued with *αεαηφοκ'λ* ('that which moves (those things which move) in the waters'). Indeed it seems possible that *αεαηφοκ'λ* may be taken to mean this without alteration—'water-going'; so Macadam, who would define it as 'a defined imperfective modal participle with subjective case-ending (Z. *GNGr.* § 142)'. These two verses, in fact, which are so dissimilar in Greek, might in a Nubian translation be so alike that their confusion would be almost inevitable. If we assume their confusion (or conflation) to have taken place at this stage, and for these reasons, the present liturgical arrangement of the text (in four groups of six alternate lines of Greek and Nubian) would appear to have been of local and comparatively late origin.

23. = 81: l. *τὰ θηρία: κτήνη*.

24. = 80: *εὐλογεῖτε πάντα* (so *θ'*; cf. Copt. *τηρογ*) *τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν κύριον*.

καα[α]ρτι: see Leps. *NGr.* 340; v. Mass *NT* 205; *MO* 24, 252; 275; *kawarti* M, 'bird'.

⁴ Macadam observes that *αω* (*αο*), 'in/on/at' would make better sense here, since *αωπ* generally conveys the meaning 'from', or 'down from'. The same objection, however, might apply to its use in *γαρμιλαωπ* in l. 4, above, and l. 24, below.

QASR IBRÎM, 1972

By J. MARTIN PLUMLEY and W. Y. ADAMS

THE 1972 Season of excavations at Qasr Ibrîm began on October 9, and ended on December 4. The staff under the direction of Professor J. Martin Plumley included Mrs. G. A. Plumley, Dr. V. MacDermott, Dr. C. Walters, Professor W. Y. Adams of the University of Kentucky, and three members of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo, Dr. M. Marciniak, Dr. S. Jacobielski, and Mr. P. Gartiewicz. The Antiquities Service was represented during the first week of the excavations by Mr. Gawdat Gabra and later by Mr. Lutfy Farid. Professor W. H. C. Frend visited the site during the last week to complete some final notes on the work of previous seasons on the Podium. Forty workmen from Quft were under the command of Reis Bashir Mahmoud. The staff were accommodated on the houseboat *Gerf Hussein*.

The Society is grateful to the Officials of the Antiquities Service for much help and in particular to Dr. Gamal Mukhtar and Dr. Adry for their assistance in putting the houseboat at the disposal of the expedition. The members of the staff would also wish to express their appreciation of the help and advice of Mr. Gawdat Gabra and Mr. Lutfy Farid on the site and the assistance afforded them by Mr. Abdin Sian in Aswân. Thanks are also due to the representatives of Thos. Cook & Son Ltd. in Cairo and Aswân for their assistance to the expedition.

Consequent upon the enlargement of the area of Lake Nasser conditions in Nubia have continued to change. The climate has become increasingly humid and in the extremes of heat experienced during the early part of the season conditions of work were oppressive. Communications and supply remain difficult so that the most complete and detailed equipping in England of the expedition's every need was a necessary prelude for a successful season in Nubia. The members of the staff would therefore wish to express their appreciation of the careful preparatory work undertaken by Mrs. Plumley in this respect.

The Director must also express his appreciation of the work carried out by the members of the staff of the expedition. Even if the season had not provided a succession of remarkable finds it would have been a notable demonstration of international co-operation in the field at its best. If the Director may be permitted to mention two special contributions to the work, he would like to put on record those made by Professor Adams and Mr. Gartkiewicz. In addition to supervising much of the actual work of excavation, Professor Adams carried out a careful and laborious analysis and statistical count of all the pottery fragments found. An invaluable aid to all future work on Ibrîm has been created through his efforts. Mr. Gartkiewicz was responsible for the surveying and for the drawing of plans and elevations. His contribution to the work must be considered as most valuable.

For a number of reasons work in Nubia will always be more expensive than in Egypt. The Society is grateful for the financial help given by a number of learned bodies who contributed generous grants. The Society wish to record their thanks to the British Academy, the Trustees of the Crowther Benyon Fund at Cambridge, the Polish Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo, The Dutch Centre in Cairo, and the Smithsonian Institution in the United States.

The excavations of 1972 were carried out chiefly in a single contiguous area to the south and south-west of the Qaşr Ibrîm cathedral. Their main objective was to enlarge, particularly in a southward direction, the area investigated in the two preceding seasons. There was in addition some further work within the areas first investigated in 1966 and 1969, in order to complete the excavation of certain structures and to discover what lay beneath them.

A considerable part of the area investigated in 1972 was unencumbered by buildings at the surface. Apparently in Bosnian times this was a large open piazza. That it was used at least in part for the stabling of horses is suggested by the finding of droppings in the uppermost refuse layers; they would seem to confirm the statement of the Turkish writer Evliya Chelebi, who journeyed through Nubia in 1672, that horses were stabled within the fortress of Qaşr Ibrîm.¹ Socket holes high in the wall which enclosed the piazza on the west side may have been for a projecting canopy to protect the animals from the midday sun (pl. XLI, 1).

Excavation beneath the Bosnian refuse layers disclosed that the southern end of the piazza had been occupied, until the end of the Christian period, by an extraordinary church built within the walls of an older temple. This building and its history will be discussed in later pages. Apart from the church, most of the piazza proved to have been as free from constructions in Christian times as it was in Bosnian times. Successive layers of Late Christian, Classic Christian, and Early Christian refuse were removed before any structural remains were encountered. During most of the Christian period it appears that the area between the newly discovered temple-church and the churches to the north of it (pl. XLI, 2) was kept deliberately clear of buildings, although a great many storage pits were dug here at different times.

Within the Early Christian refuse layers there began to appear the tops of sturdily built stone walls. As excavation progressed it became clear that these belonged to a contiguous cluster of houses extending over much of the area which later became the piazza. Apparently built in the very late Meroitic or X-Group period, they had been occupied until the Early Christian period and then had been abandoned and filled with rubbish. We excavated all or part of four of these houses, and our clearance of the adjoining surface areas disclosed the presence of at least half a dozen more.

In the following pages the excavations of 1972 and their results are described in greater detail. The excavations are most conveniently discussed in terms of three parts: (1) further work in the Cathedral and adjoining 'South Church' (designated here as Church 2); (2) the X-group remains, and (3) the Temple-Church.

¹ Evliya Chelebi, *Seyahatname*, 10 (Istanbul, 1946), 841 ff.

Further Work in the Cathedral and Church 2

In an attempt to discover what lay beneath the Christian churches, a number of trenches were dug in the area extending from the south wall of the Cathedral (Church 1) through the eastern part of the adjoining 'South Church' (Church 2). In addition sub-floor examinations were made at a number of points within the Cathedral (pl. XLII, 1). These investigations disclosed that a large part of the area beneath and around the churches had earlier been occupied by stoutly built houses similar in construction to the X-Group houses which were found and excavated further to the south. Although not enough was uncovered to permit an accurate dating of the walls which underlie the churches, the associated refuse (which contains abundant potsherds and is therefore readily datable) belongs almost exclusively to the X-Group period. However, the eastern end of Church 2 (which is of Adams's Type 3b and should date from the ninth century)² overlies a much denuded wall of an earlier Christian building, which itself overlies the much more deeply buried X-Group structures.

Subsequent to its building, Church 2 had been restored on a number of occasions. The Altar had been rebuilt at least once, for the foundations of the original Altar were found beneath the later mud-brick structure.

In the course of the investigation of Church 2 a trial trench, dug a little to the southwest of the Altar, exposed a small cache of manuscript fragments (pl. XLII, 2). The pit had been dug and the manuscripts deposited in it before the building of the Church. The fragments, papyrus, and parchment contain writings in Greek and Coptic. Four pieces of fine parchment written in a splendid uncial hand of the sixth century contain parts of the Gospel of Mark in Greek (pl. XLIII, 1). Also on parchment, written in Sahidic Coptic, are three folio pages containing part of Isaiah. Smaller parchment pieces contain passages from Genesis and Jeremiah and part of what appears to be a homily. A similar work in the same language is represented on a number of papyrus fragments. Finally on papyrus are the remains of letters, one of which bears on the verso the beginnings of some lines written in a large early Arabic hand. Apart from the Greek Gospel the character of the handwriting of the fragments suggest an eighth-century date which would support the view that Church 2 was built a century later.

The X-Group Remains

An important activity of the 1972 season at Qasr Ibrim was the excavation of a group of large and stoutly built stone houses, in the area between the Cathedral and the newly discovered Temple-Church. These buildings were given the designations X-4, X-5, X-6, and X-7, according to a uniform system of house numbering which was adopted in 1972.³ Although there is some evidence that the earliest of the houses goes back to

² W. Y. Adams, *JARCE* 4 (1965), 112-14.

³ According to this system, those houses which remained in use after the X-group period were given additional designations with the prefixes EC 1 (for first Early Christian period), EC 2 (second Early Christian period), CC 1 (first Classic Christian period), and so on. Thus X-4 became EC 1-1, X-6 became EC 1-7, and X-7

late Meroïtic times (see below), the nature of their contents leaves no doubt that their main occupation belongs to that post-Meroïtic period which is usually if unfortunately designated as 'X-Group'. They are by far the most elaborate X-Group houses ever found, and their character as well as the nature of their contents sheds a wholly new light upon this supposedly retrograde era in Nubian history. More will be said on this subject after the houses and their contents have been more fully described.

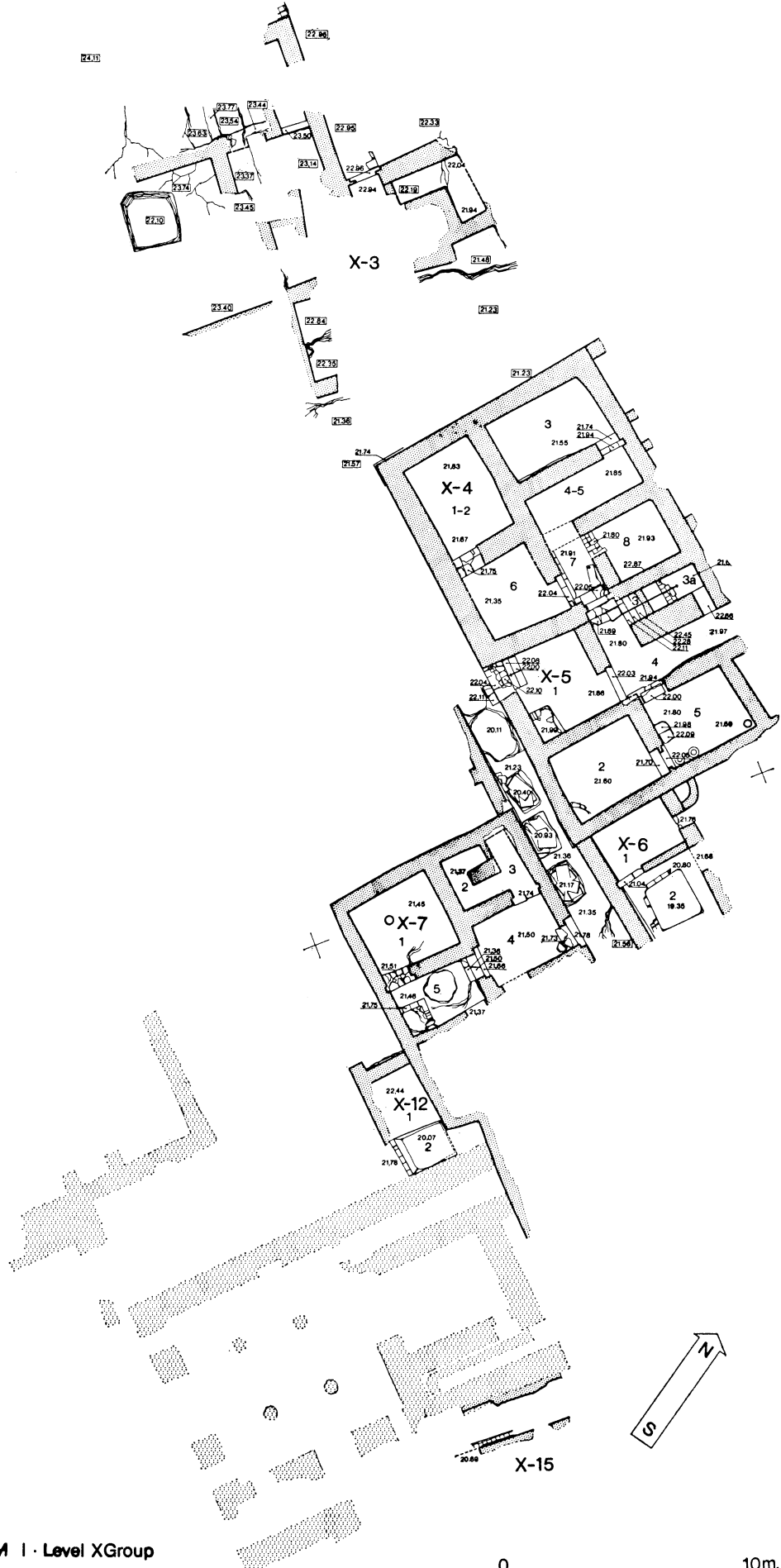
The houses excavated in 1972 are arranged in contiguous rows along either side of a narrow, nearly straight street (fig. 1), designated by us as 'Tavern Street'. Three houses (X-4, X-5, and X-6) lay along the east side of the street, and one (X-7) on the west side.⁴ We cleared enough of the surrounding surface area to reveal the presence of at least half a dozen additional houses adjoining these four (fig. 1); they will hopefully be the subject of investigation in future seasons.

Although no two of them are identical in plan, the four X-Group houses excavated in 1972 have a good many features of layout and construction in common. They seem to represent a single basic type, which we expect to find reproduced in other X-Group houses to be excavated in future campaigns. Each is roughly square, measuring from 8-10 m. on a side, and each comprises from five to eight rooms entered through a single doorway from the outside. The walls are between 60 and 80 cm. thick and are made of roughly dressed stone blocks of small to medium size, laid up in mud mortar. All of the interior surfaces are smoothly plastered and whitewashed, and in at least one house (X-7) there are faint traces of blue painted decoration. The wall foundations are extraordinarily deep, extending down as much as 2 m. below the lowest floor levels. This feature, which is very atypical of Nubian houses, became understandable when we discovered that many X-Group rooms had been equipped with deep sub-floor storage crypts as part of their original design. The floors are of smooth, hard-packed mud, and apart from the crypts are without features. Both interior and exterior doorways are unusually wide, averaging about 1 m., and are fitted in many cases with carefully dressed sandstone jambs and sills. In a few other places wooden jambs and sills are preserved. Exterior as well as some interior doorways were closed by pivoting wooden doors. Although no trace of roofing has survived, the size and shape of the rooms make it apparent that the X-Group houses had flat roofs supported on timbers. One house (X-5) had a stairway leading presumably to an upper floor, and there are reasons for believing that some and perhaps all of the other houses were also originally two storeys high.

The deposits within and surrounding the X-Group houses tell the usual complex story of successive occupations and modifications. At Qasr Ibrîm, as at many Nubian

became EC 1-4 (cf. figs. 1 and 2). For convenience in this description, however, the original X- designations will be retained throughout.

⁴ Topographic description of Qasr Ibrîm is always difficult because the orientation of the major buildings varies by about 45 degrees from the cardinal points of the compass. The directional orientations which are employed for convenience in this report (and in earlier reports since 1966) are the 'ecclesiastical directions' defined by the Qasr Ibrîm churches, in which the sanctuary end (actually oriented north-east) is taken as designating east. Our 'north' should therefore be read as equivalent to NWmag., 'east' as NEmag., 'south' as SEmag., and 'west' as SWmag.



QASR IBRIM | Level XGroup
1972

0 10m.

FIG. 1. X-Group Level

sites,⁵ the X-Group era was one of the most 'rubbishy' periods in history; before its termination most houses were buried in from 50 cm. to 1 m. or more of man-made litter.⁶ Rooms were refloored two, three, and even four times, each successive surface being established on top of the accumulated litter overlying the earlier floors. (Fortunately the refuse deposits yielded an abundance of potsherds, and the systematic collection and study of these made possible a fairly precise dating of most of the deposits and floors.) Some rooms became entirely filled with debris and were simply sealed off, thereby reducing the functional size of the houses. Meanwhile refuse collected even faster outside the walls; by early Christian times some houses (notably X-6 and X-7) were in effect semi-subterranean dwellings, entered by descending stairways from much higher outside ground surfaces.

In Early Christian times the houses (except X-4) fell one by one into disuse. The last remaining rooms were filled with rubbish, and those parts of the walls which still projected above the debris were systematically dismantled. The area between and around the churches then became, and for several centuries remained, an open piazza devoid of buildings. This programme of abandonment and demolition may have been due in part to the fact that the houses had become uninhabitable; probably, however, it reflects also a fundamental change in the nature of the site. From being a major commercial and storage centre in X-Group times, Qaşr Ibrîm in the Christian period became primarily a religious and administrative centre, dominated by its great churches and their dependent buildings. The area between and around the churches was apparently kept clear, possibly to serve as a gathering-place for worshippers and pilgrims. Not until the Late Christian period (after A.D. 1100)⁷ was there any further building in this area, and many parts of the piazza were not overbuilt until the Bosnian occupation. We thus have the anomaly, in some parts of the site, of Bosnian houses resting directly on the filled-up remains of X-Group houses, without any intervening structures from the Christian period.

While a certain common pattern of building, occupation, and abandonment can be traced in all of the X-Group houses, each had in some respects a unique history of its own, different from that of all of its neighbours. Because so little is otherwise known about everyday life in X-Group times, it seems worthwhile here to summarize briefly the history of each of the four houses excavated in 1972.

House X-4 was actually discovered and partly excavated in 1969; at that time it was very tentatively identified as a Governor's Residence.⁸ We completed the excavation of the building in 1972, and were able to learn many additional details of its construction and history. On the basis of our current knowledge some modification of the original

⁵ e.g. Meinarti; see Adams in *Kush* 13 (1965), 153-5, 173.

⁶ Because of the elevated situation of Qaşr Ibrîm, the wind normally blows sand off rather than on to the site. Hence, nearly all accumulated deposit is the result of man's activities. This is in marked contrast to the situation in most Nubian settlements.

⁷ The dates given here and elsewhere are the conventional dates which have been assigned to the main Nubian cultural periods, based chiefly on the study of pottery (see especially Adams in *Kush* 15, in press). They are approximate only, and in some cases may be in error by as much as a century.

⁸ Plumley in *JEA* 56 (1970), 14.

interpretation of the building seems indicated. House X-4 was built earlier than any of the other structures investigated in 1974, and in the beginning probably had no adjoining houses to the north, west, or south. As originally constituted it was made up of six interconnected rooms entered by a doorway in the middle of the south wall. There is some evidence of a staircase in the south-eastern corner room, leading presumably to an upper floor; this feature, however, was later removed. House X-4 is unique among all the buildings at Qaşr Ibrîm in that its north and west walls (i.e. those which are not adjoined by contiguous buildings) are faced on the outside with large, carefully fitted blocks of pink sandstone (pl. XLIII, 2). These are laid up in nearly uniform courses, without mortar, and exhibit the kind of margin dressing which is usually associated with Meroïtic architecture.⁹ For this reason, and because Meroïtic sherds were found at the lowest levels, we believe that the construction of House X-4 was begun (though not necessarily finished) before the end of Meroïtic times. The earliest well-defined floors, however, yielded predominantly X-Group sherds.

The margin-dressed stone construction of the north and west walls terminates uniformly at a line about 1.5 m. above the base of the walls.¹⁰ From this point upward the surviving walls are formed of much cruder stone construction which is, however, demonstrably an addition of the Christian period (Early Christian sherds were employed in great numbers as chinking between the stones). We believe that in the original design the upper walls were formed of brick and were fitted with elaborately carved stone window-grilles. At any rate masses of dismantled, whitewashed mud brick were found in the street immediately alongside the building, as were the fragments of at least four window-grilles.¹¹

In the X-Group period, and particularly after the building of the adjacent House X-5, House X-4 underwent certain modifications. The stairway in the south-east corner room (if indeed it ever existed) was removed, presumably because it was replaced by the newly built stairway in House X-5 (see below). Somewhat higher floor levels were established in most of the rooms, and in one place an interior partition was relocated (cf. figs. 1 and 2). In other respects, however, there seems to have been comparatively little change in the building until the beginning of the Christian period. We have no reason to suppose that the dismantling and subsequent rebuilding of the upper walls took place before Christian times, when there was a general change in the architectural character and layout of the site.

The original outside walls of House X-4 are adorned with two small designs in carved relief, one representing bunches of grapes hanging from a vine and the other an amphora in an upright stand (pl. XLIV, 1). These features caused some mystification when the building was first discovered, but the excavations of 1972 have very probably furnished the explanation for them. The lower refuse deposits in the house—and even more conspicuously those in the adjoining House X-5—contained thousands of fragments of broken wine amphorae and goblets. (House X-5 alone yielded over 15,000 sherds, of which probably 85 per cent came from amphorae and drinking-vessels.)

⁹ Ibid. pl. 22, 2.

¹¹ Ibid. 16 and pl. 23, 4.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹² Cf. *ibid.* 15.

This evidence leaves little doubt that House X-4 was originally designed, and for several centuries served, as a tavern: a type of establishment which is well attested in a number of other Nubian sites of this period.¹³ We therefore felt justified in designating the building, in its Meroitic and X-Group phase, as 'The Tavern', and in naming the adjoining street 'Tavern Street'.

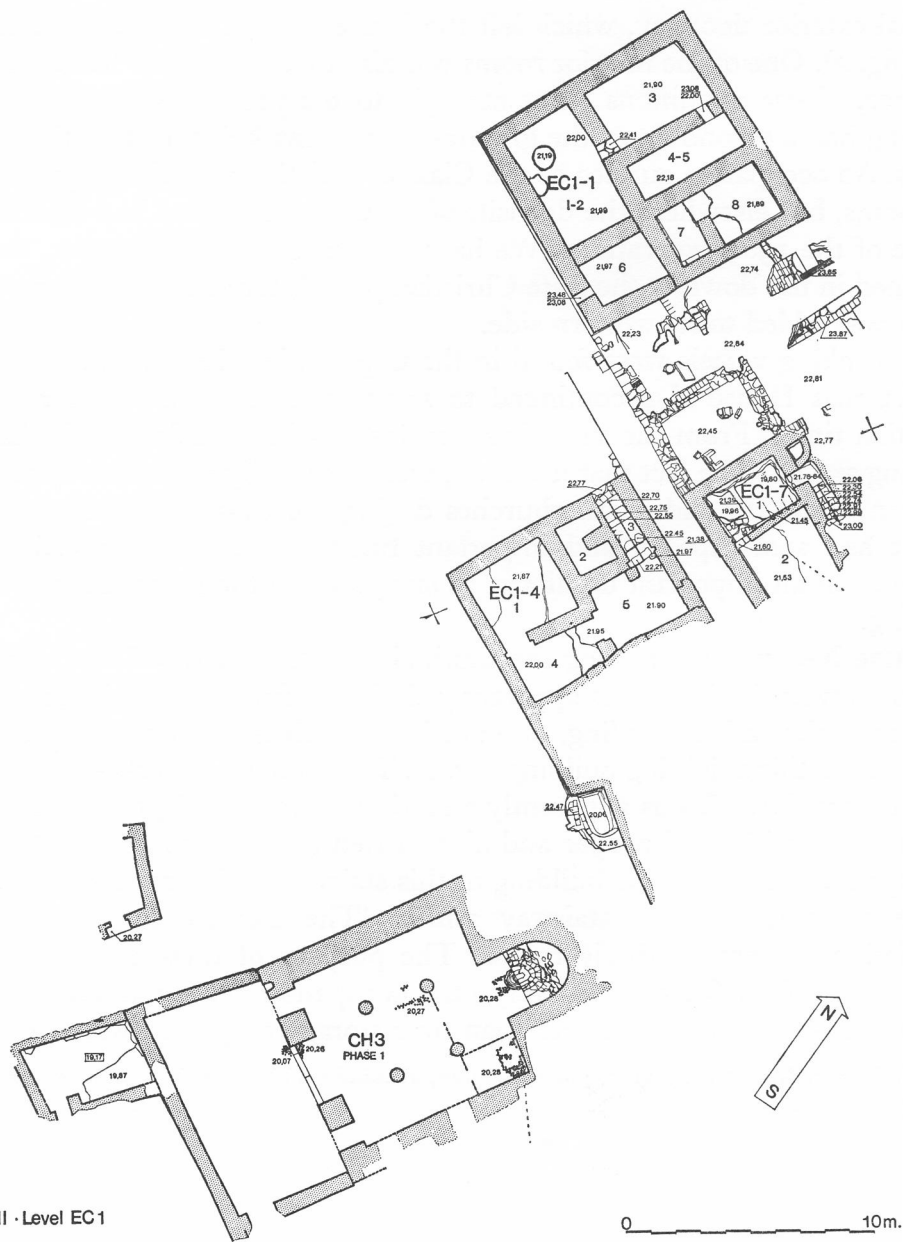
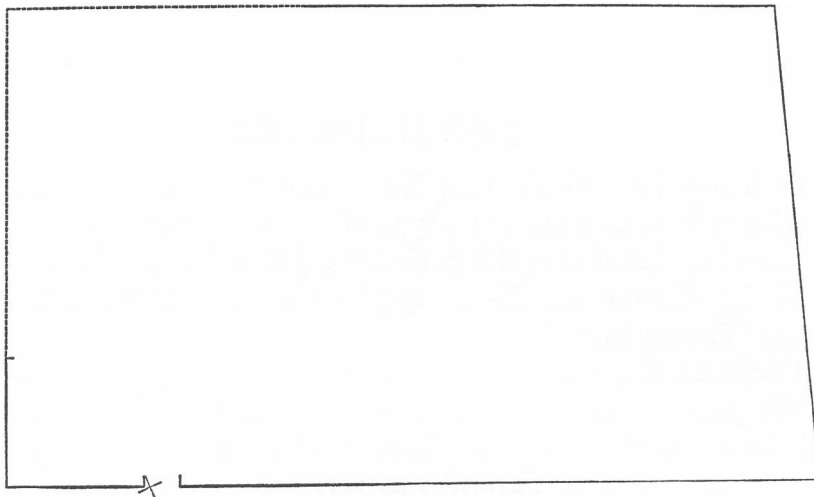
In Early Christian times House X-4, like most of its neighbours, was partially dismantled. We presume that it was at this time that the brick upper walls and their decorated window-grilles were thrown down into the adjoining street. Unlike other X-Group houses, however, 'The Tavern' was very soon rebuilt. The upper walls were now reconstructed in rather coarse stone masonry. Most of the interior partitions were retained, but there was some rearrangement of the interior plan of the building through the blocking up of old doorways and the cutting through of at least one new one. A noteworthy feature of the Christian reconstruction was the solid blocking of the original exterior doorway, which left the house without any entrance at ground-floor level (fig. 2). One of the interior rooms was also blocked off and left without any lateral entrance. These conditions point strongly to the probability that the reconstructed building had a second floor, the ground-floor rooms being in fact the store-rooms or cellars. An occupation surface of the Classic Christian period was preserved in one of the rooms, but elsewhere the deposits of the Christian period had been removed in the course of the 1969 excavations. We have reason to believe, however, that House X-4 remained in use down to the Late Christian period, for at that time a row of additional rooms was added to its western side.

No drinking vessels were found in the upper refuse levels, and there is nothing to suggest that House X-4 continued to serve as a tavern after its reconstruction in Christian times. From the surviving remains it is impossible to tell what purpose the building served. The fact that it was apparently the only house left standing in the area between the north and south churches during the Classic Christian period suggests that it had some special and important function. It might indeed have been the residence of an important dignitary, as suggested in the original interpretation of the building.

House X-5 was built along the south side of 'The Tavern' at a slightly later date than the tavern itself. It was apparently designed from the beginning as a functional addition to the earlier building, for once it was built the only entrance to 'The Tavern' was through this adjoining building (fig. 1). The room at its north-west corner, opening into 'Tavern Street', was apparently a kind of entrance hall; the room behind it gave access to 'The Tavern' proper and also carried a stairway leading to an upper floor. We suppose that it was the building of this stairway which made possible the removal of the older (presumed) stairway within 'The Tavern' proper. House X-5 also included two more southerly rooms. The purpose of these is not clear, since they contained no floor features and very little occupation deposit as such.

House X-5 included no fewer than four storage crypts, of which three were sunk

¹³ Cf. Adams, *Kush* 13 (1965), 165 and Kromer, *Römische Weinstuben in Sayala, Unternubien* (Denkschr, Wien, 95 [1967]).



QASR IBRIM II - Level EC1
1972

FIG. 2. Early Christian Level

below the room floors (pl. XLIV, 2). There is some possibility that the sub-floor crypts belonged originally to an older Meroitic house (M-5) which was largely dismantled before House X-5 was built, but at least one of the crypts definitely remained in use as a feature of the X-Group house. It measured 150 cm. long by 90 cm. wide, and extended downward for 1 m. below the room floor. The chamber was lined with whitewashed brick and was roofed over with timbers, brush, and several layers of woven matting. It was entered from above by means of a small square hatchway which could be closed by a tightly fitting wooden cover (pl. XLV, 1). Both the matting and the hatch cover were left *in situ*, and were so snugly intact that during the centuries very little earth fill sifted through into the storage cavity; it remained as a kind of 'air chamber' which was eventually buried more than 3 m. below the ground surface. Two other sub-floor crypts were similarly constructed, but had had their coverings partly removed in antiquity. Both were filled with a mixture of Meroitic and X-Group refuse.

A fourth storage crypt was situated beneath the stairs in the north-east corner room of House X-5. This crypt can only date from the X-Group period, when the stairway itself was built. It is oblong in shape and, like the sub-floor crypts, is neatly plastered and whitewashed on the sides and bottom. Its ceiling, rising in level from west to east, is comprised of shaped wooden timbers whose upper surfaces are the treads of the overlying stairs. Access to the crypt was by means of a small opening in the stair retaining wall along its south side. The chamber was filled before the end of the X-Group period with a dense accumulation of refuse similar to that which was found in the adjoining rooms.

The more northerly rooms of House X-5 (i.e. those which directly adjoined 'The Tavern') remained in use until Early Christian times, and exhibited the same history of gradually accumulating refuse and successively higher floors as did 'The Tavern' itself. Altogether five floor levels attributable to the X-Group and Early Christian periods were found in these rooms. On the other hand, the two more southerly rooms contained only one and two floor levels respectively, and gave very little evidence of occupation. Early in their history these two rooms seem to have been relegated to use as a refuse dump for 'The Tavern', and they were soon filled to roof level with an extraordinary concentration of broken amphorae, goblets, and other rubbish. Although the accumulated refuse reached a height of more than 1.5 m., no occupation surface was found more than 10 cm. above the original floors. The total absence of Christian sherds shows, too, that the filling of these rooms took place entirely within the X-Group period, although the neighbouring rooms were still in use in Early Christian times. The deposit showed evidence of intense burning at more than one level, as though the dumps had been periodically fired. At this time the roofs must of course have been removed.

In the last period of occupation (Early Christian) the roofs were probably removed from the more northerly rooms as well. The north-west corner room, formerly an entrance hall, now became a latrine for the patrons of 'The Tavern', as evidenced by an accumulation of faecal matter and other typical latrine refuse along its northern wall. This function necessarily ended when the doorway to 'The Tavern' was blocked

altogether in the course of its rebuilding; thereafter House X-5 was finally abandoned, and its remaining walls dismantled.

House X-6 adjoined the south wall of House X-5, and was built after the completion of its neighbour. Although only two rooms of this house were excavated in 1972, they told in some ways the most complex and interesting story of any X-Group structure. Parts of the house had remained in use until the Classic Christian period, and one of the excavated rooms exhibited no fewer than eight occupation surfaces: four from the X-Group period, one from early Christian times, and three from the Classic Christian period. More than 3 m. of deposit intervened between the lowermost and the uppermost floor levels.

Our excavations were not sufficient to establish the original dimensions of the house. We can only be certain that the two rooms we excavated (at the north-west corner of the house) were adjoined by others to the east, and possibly to the south as well. The original outside doorway to the house was not located.

The more southerly excavated room (Room 2) had contained, when originally built, the largest sub-floor storage crypt found anywhere at Qaşr Ibrîm. The chamber measured approximately 175×200 m., and was sunk down to bedrock at a level 1.5 m. below the original house floor. As in other sub-floor crypts the sides and bottom were smoothly plastered and whitewashed. The crypt occupied the whole middle of the room, the floor above it being confined to a kind of 'cat-walk' around the base of the walls (cf. fig. 1 and pl. XLV, 2). Whether or not the crypt was ever roofed over is problematical; no trace of any roofing is now preserved. If there was a covering to the crypt it was soon removed, and before the end of the X-Group period the whole chamber was filled with refuse. New floor levels, without storage crypts, were then established at successively higher levels in the X-Group, Early Christian, and Classic Christian Periods.

The more northerly excavated room in House X-6 (Room 1) seems to have undergone a transformation nearly opposite to that of its neighbour. We have no way of knowing what its original features were, but there is no reason to suppose that it contained a storage crypt in X-Group times. Early in the Christian period, however, the entire floor of the room was dug out, down to bedrock, thus creating a single large storage chamber (later divided in two by a cross-partition) beneath the floor. That this excavation was carried out after the completion of the house, and not as an original feature of its construction, is indicated by the fact that the sides of the crypt (unlike those of any other crypt) are notably sloping and irregular, and the bottom is rounded. The chamber is only very roughly plastered and is not whitewashed. The total absence of X-Group sherds in the refuse fill suggests that the digging of the crypt in Room 1 belongs to the Early Christian and not to the X-Group period.

After it had been dug the storage crypt in Room 1 was divided in two by a brick partition (fig. 2). The larger and more easterly part of the chamber was evidently roofed over with timbers, for their sockets can still be seen at floor level in the north and south walls of Room 1. Whether or not the smaller crypt was also roofed is less certain. In due course, at all events, the crypt roofs were taken off again, and the

chambers, like the earlier crypt in Room 2, were entirely filled with rubbish. The latest floor levels in the house were then established on top of the fill in Room 1.

Although we did not excavate any other rooms, our clearance of the adjoining surface areas disclosed that the room to the east of Room 1 had originally included, in one corner, a kind of chimney-like structure of stone which extended as high as the walls themselves (figs. 1 and 2). The small area enclosed within it proved to be entirely filled with faecal matter and other latrine refuse. Evidently this was the drop-pit for a toilet, which can only have been located on an upper floor. Until further excavations are undertaken we will not know how extensive was this second storey, or how it was reached.

The two rooms excavated in 1972 clearly comprised, in the beginning, part of a larger structure. They seem, however, to have been the only part of House X-6 which remained in use in the Christian period. The adjoining rooms to the east had apparently been entirely filled with rubbish, and the doorway connecting them with Rooms 1 and 2 was then solidly blocked. Thereafter the two surviving rooms were entered from the much higher ground level outside by means of a descending stairway leading to a small opening in the east wall of Room 1 (fig. 2).

Although the upper three floor levels in House X-6 are attributable to the Classic Christian period, no sherds of later Classic type, and no imported glazes, were found anywhere in the building or the surrounding area. The final abandonment of the house can therefore be fixed no later than the tenth century.¹⁴ It may be noted in passing that the refuse fill in the storage crypts of Room 1 yielded a large number of fragmentary texts in Coptic, apparently representing legal documents. A close study of these may some day permit a considerably more precise dating of the associated deposits (and perhaps even of the beginning of the Classic Christian period) than is now possible.¹⁵

House X-7 stood on the west side of 'Tavern Street' directly opposite House X-6 (fig. 1). The house as originally constituted probably included seven or more rooms, but the most southerly rooms (which were not excavated by us) were very soon filled with rubbish and were sealed off from the rest of the house. Thereafter House X-7 comprised five rooms, which were entered from 'Tavern Street' through a doorway in the north wall. One room at the north-east corner may have carried a stairway to an upper floor; this is not entirely clear because of subsequent modifications. House X-7 was the only X-Group building which did not at one time or another contain a sub-floor crypt. However, an enormous storage jar, more than a metre tall and 40 cm. in diameter, was buried upright beneath one of the floors, and this undoubtedly served the same purpose as a crypt.

The occupation history of House X-7 was much the same as that of the houses across 'Tavern Street'. The rooms had three (and in one case four) occupation levels separated by a thick layers of refuse. The even deeper accumulation of debris outside

¹⁴ Scanlon believes that glazed pottery had already appeared in Nubia in the tenth century; see *JEA* 56 (1970), 43 n. 2. However, the evidence from Qasr Ibrîm and other sites familiar to us does not support this contention.

¹⁵ See n. 7 above.

the house eventually made it necessary to block the original doorway from 'Tavern Street'; a new doorway was then opened at a much higher level in the north wall. From this entrance descending steps (apparently part of the original stairway to an upper floor) led down into the house (fig. 2). The outside ground surface with which the new doorway communicated was actually the filled-up remains of another X-Group house (X-8) which had already been abandoned and filled up.

The uppermost floors in House X-7 belong to the Early Christian period, and the final abandonment of the house can probably be assigned to the eighth or ninth century. Thereafter the upper parts of the walls, like those of many neighbouring houses, were systematically dismantled.

Other X-Group remains. The houses which we excavated in 1972 clearly form part of a much larger complex, the greater part of which has yet to be uncovered. There is clear evidence of adjoining buildings of the same general type to the east, west, and south of those we excavated. Test excavations in 1972 and earlier years also disclosed evidence of stoutly built X-Group houses in the areas beneath and surrounding the northern churches (Cathedral and Church 2),¹⁶ and there are traces of them elsewhere as well. On the basis of current indications we should not be surprised to find that a very large part of the fortress area at Qaṣr Ibrîm had at one time been occupied by X-Group houses and streets of the kind revealed by our 1972 excavations. Only a great deal more work, and the removal of many overlying structures and levels, can establish whether this is indeed the case.

While we cannot yet be certain that Qaṣr Ibrîm in X-Group times was a full-fledged planned city, it is already apparent that we are dealing with a settlement and a society far different in type from anything previously known from this supposedly backward and parochial era. The X-Group houses at Qaṣr Ibrîm exhibit a sophistication of design and a nicety of finish equal to the best constructions of earlier and later times; they seem in particular to be notably better built than the Meroïtic houses which preceded them (see below). Clearly, in the light of this and other evidence, we must substantially alter our notions as to the barbarian character of X-Group society.

A remarkable feature of the X-Group houses at Ibrîm is the absence of living arrangements, of fire hearths, and above all of food remains. The great quantities of X-Group refuse contain very little charcoal and almost no animal bone, though these are usually abundant in Nubian occupation refuse. These conditions suggest strongly that the houses at Ibrîm were designed not so much for living as for storage. Here, protected by a massive girdle wall and an elevated situation, food surpluses and other valued goods could be preserved not only from human enemies but from the action of moisture and white ants. (It is this latter condition which accounts for the truly extraordinary preservation of all kinds of organic matter at Qaṣr Ibrîm.) It may be that families from many different villages in the area maintained storehouses at Ibrîm, while passing the majority of their time in more conveniently located dwellings closer to the fields and the waters of the Nile. The town in X-Group times may thus have been first and foremost a storage, and perhaps also a commercial, emporium. That a good deal

¹⁶ Cf. Plumley in *JEA* 50 (1964), 4.



1. Open courtyard with stone wall showing line of socket holes



2. Area between northern churches and newly discovered church

QAŞR İBRÎM, 1972



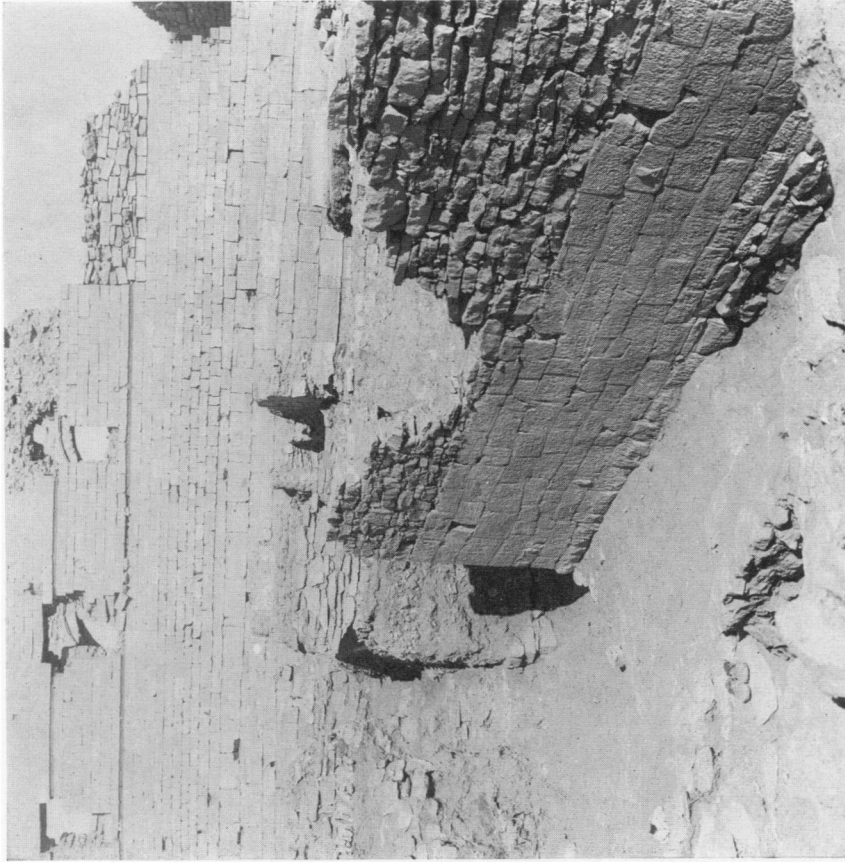
1. Early stone walls under the floor of the Cathedral



2. Cache of MSS fragments under the South Church



1. Parchment fragments of St. Mark's Gospel in Greek



2. South face of the 'Tavern' showing lower part of worked stone surmounted by later rough stonework

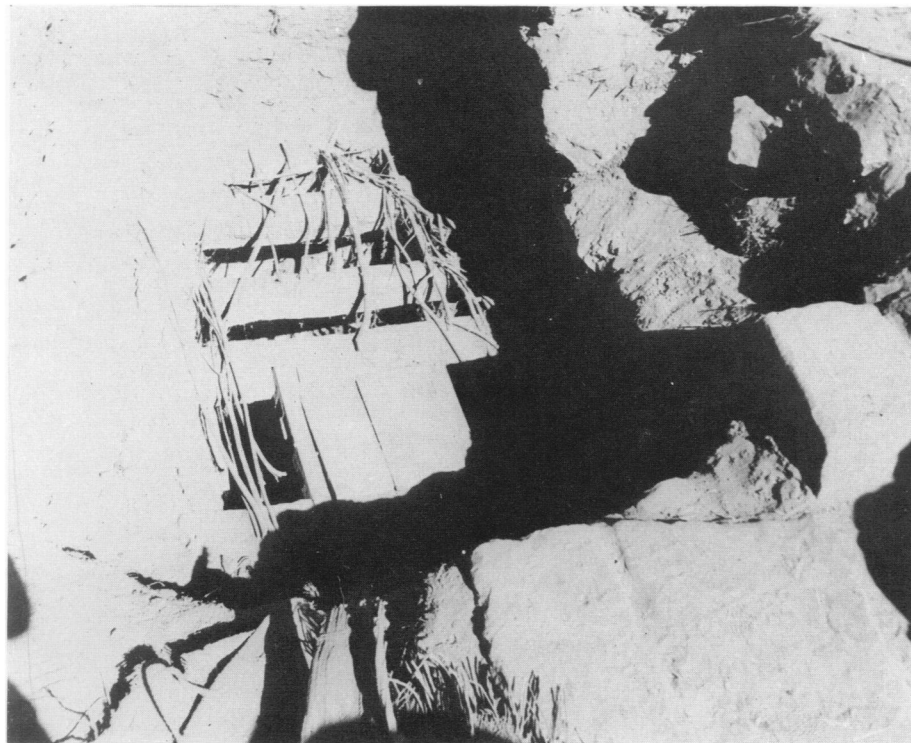
QAŞR İBRÎM, 1972



1. Amphora Symbol on 'Tavern' wall



2. Cist in the floor of an X-Group house



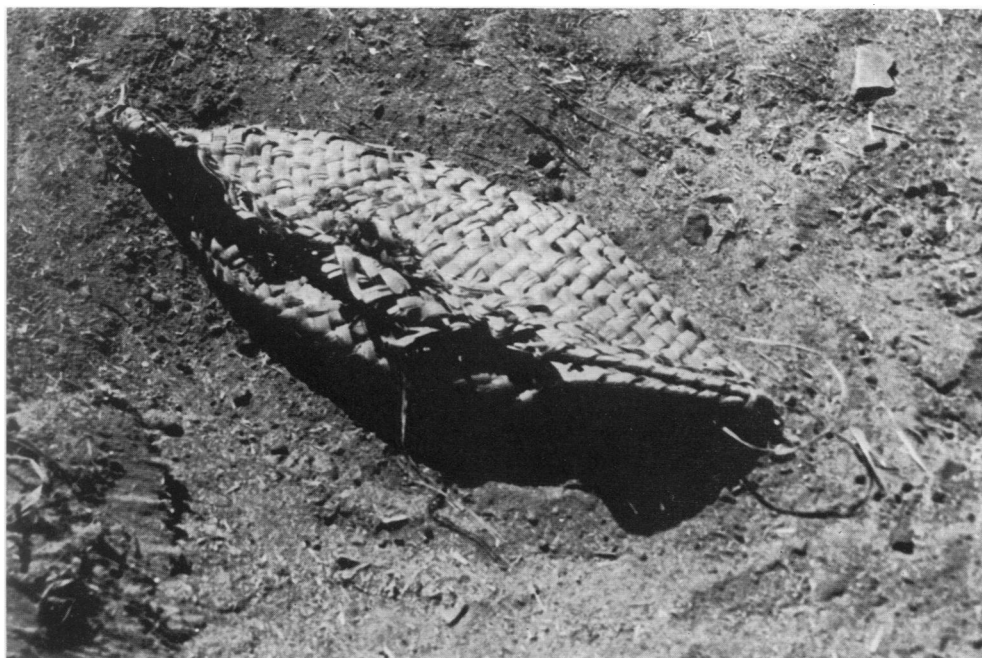
1. Cist in the floor of an X-Group house with wooden trap-door



2. Cist in House X-6 Room 2 showing part of the surrounding cat-walk



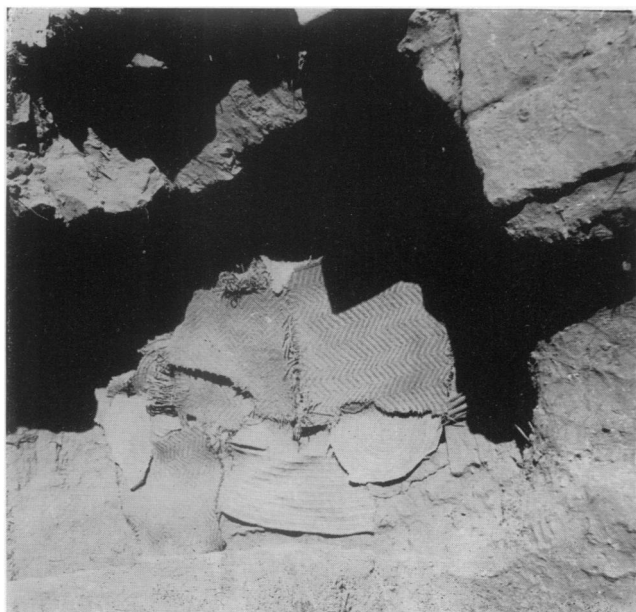
1. View southwards across X-Group houses with storage pits in the Piazza in the distance



2. Basket of *durra*



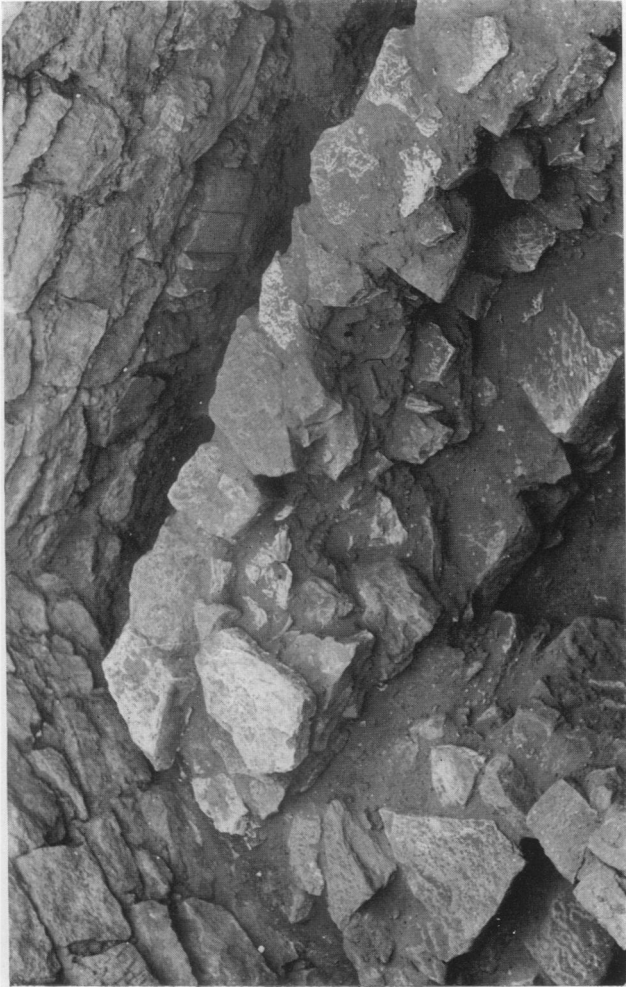
1. Weaving implements



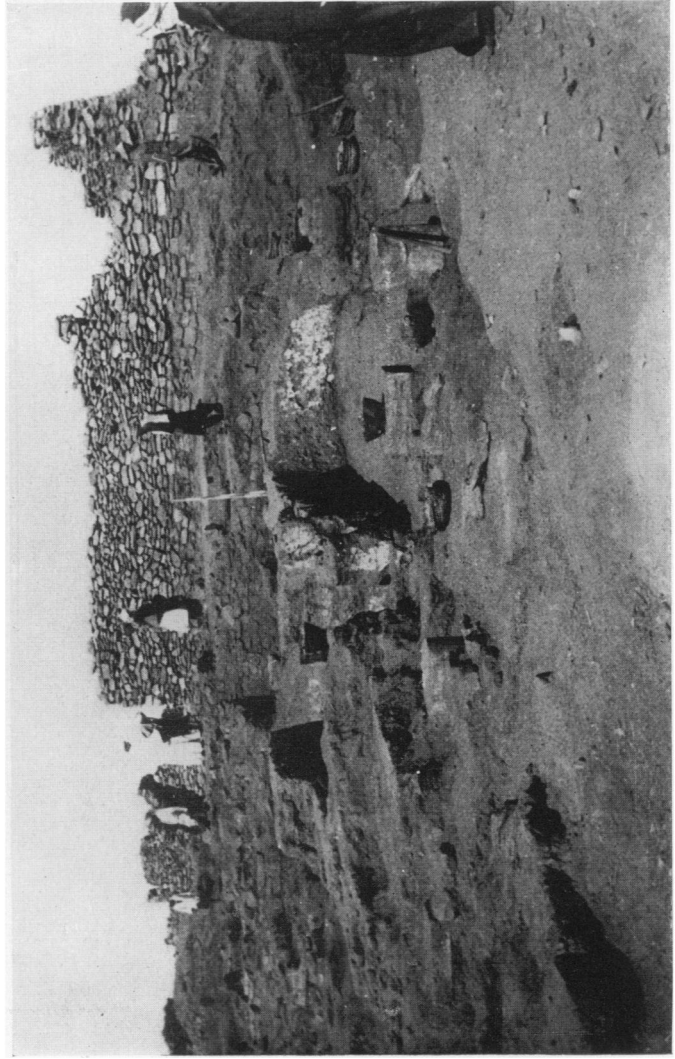
2. Matting covers over pits in 'Tavern Street'



3. Bronze drinking-vessel



1. Earlier wall beneath an X-Group house



2. Early stage in the excavation of the Temple Church showing top of semicircular apse
QAŞR IBRÎM, 1972



3. Line of hieroglyphs on one of the columns in the Temple Church

of day-to-day living did nevertheless take place on the site is suggested by the quantities of broken pottery at every level.

The importance of Qaşr Ibrîm as a storage centre did not end with the X-Group period. Although no more buildings of the X-Group type were afterwards constructed, the open areas of the site in Christian times were honeycombed with deep storage pits sunk into the accumulated refuse of earlier eras. Scores of these pits were uncovered in the 1972 excavations (pl. XLVI, 1) and in earlier years. They have disturbed the refuse fill in nearly every house, and many have been cut into and through the buried walls as well. The pits are generally from 50 to 100 cm. in diameter and from 2 to 3 m. deep. A few of the largest pits are rudely lined with stones, and nearly all have a lining of basketry and/or matting in the bottom. Some of these pits date back to X-Group times; in fact, the excavated portion of 'Tavern Street' contained a nearly unbroken succession of them along its entire length (fig. 1). Obviously the pits must have been filled in with earth except when goods were actually being put in or taken out; otherwise 'Tavern Street' would have been quite impassable as a thoroughfare. Other pits were dug apparently throughout the Christian period, and probably in post-Christian times as well. The unique value of Qaşr Ibrîm as a place for safe and dry storage was evidently recognized in all ages, and may help to account for the continuing importance of the site down to modern times. (It is perhaps worth pointing out too that storage pits of the type found at Qaşr Ibrîm could be made at no other Nubian site, because of the large sand component which is normally present in the fill. Only at Ibrîm is the occupation deposit so compacted that vertical excavations can be made without danger of slumpage or cave-in. This unique feature too was evidently appreciated by the occupants of the site.)

Two storage pits of the Christian period were found to contain caches of *durra* seed (in one case tightly sewn up in a basket) (pl. XLVI, 2); another yielded a number of weaving shuttles and other implements (pl. XLVII, 1). For the most part, however, the storage pits at Ibrîm were found quite empty except for the ubiquitous matting lining the bottoms. In the Christian period this consisted mostly of broken carrying baskets of various kinds, but X-Group pits were often lined with quite elaborate woven matting (pl. XLVII, 2), some of which had evidently served originally as *angareeb* webbing. Incidentally, the material collected from the various storage pits at Qaşr Ibrîm—several hundred fragments in all—comprises an invaluable corpus of material for a future study of Nubian basketwork.

As remarkable as the X-Group houses themselves is the quantity and quality of their material contents. As already remarked, the accumulations of potsherds in the X-Group levels are truly prodigious, yet even more surprising is the number of whole and nearly whole vessels which were seemingly carelessly discarded among with their broken fellows. No fewer than fifty whole and nearly whole goblets and other vessels were recovered from House X-5 alone; the majority of these lay scattered anyhow and in all positions among the refuse beds. Along with humbler pottery vessels was one beautiful bronze goblet with an effigy handle in the form of a leopard (pl. XLVII, 3). Although in perfect condition it too had been carelessly discarded in a dump. Conditions of the

same kind have been observed in other Nubian sites of the X-Group period;¹⁷ they suggest that this was a 'throw-away' age like our own, which took its material affluence very much for granted.

In addition to pottery, many other manufactured goods were common in the X-Group levels at Qaşr Ibrîm. Numerous textile fragments were recovered, some of them exhibiting elaborate and colourful decoration. Even such humble utilitarian objects as spindlewhorls, shuttles, and combs were not only abundant but were made with a technical finesse and ornamentation quite unnecessary for their intended functions. In short, the material remains of X-Group times display much the same abundance and luxury as we associate with Meroïtic Nubia. Given the obvious cultural continuities between the two periods, it is difficult to believe that we are witnessing anything other than a continuation or revival of the prosperity of Meroïtic times.

In closing, special mention must be made of the textual finds from the X-Group levels at Qaşr Ibrîm. Although few and fragmentary, they represent an unprecedented find in Nubian archaeology and are of potentially revolutionary importance for our understanding of the X-Group period. Two major finds were made:

In the refuse deposits of House X-5 we found a great many small fragments of papyrus bearing unmistakable Meroïtic texts. Among them were also found a number of small clay letter-seals, all bearing the signet impression of a sacred bull and sun disc. The X-Group context of these finds is incontrovertible. The largest collection of fragments was found in the refuse fill a short distance above the original floor in Room 2; other fragments were found higher up in the fill of the same room, and a few were also found deep in the fill of Room 1 (cf. fig. 1). In none of these deposits were any Meroïtic sherds present. While it is too much to hope that any meaning can be extracted from the bits of text which have survived, their finding alone is enough to demonstrate that the use of Meroïtic writing was still current, and perhaps even that the authority of the Meroïtic state was still extant, at a time when X-Group pottery had wholly supplanted what we usually think of as Meroïtic pottery. This could mean either that X-Group pottery goes back earlier than we think or that Meroïtic writing survived later;¹⁸ only further excavations at Qaşr Ibrîm can ever throw more light on the question.

Of only slightly lesser importance is the finding of a fragment of Coptic papyrus in the refuse fill within one of the deep storage crypts in House X-6. Here too the X-Group context is beyond dispute: not only did the crypt contain exclusively X-Group refuse, but the next three floor levels above it all pre-date the appearance of recognizably Christian pottery. We thus have by far the earliest known example of Coptic writing from Nubia, and the only instance of its use prior to the introduction of Christianity. Taken in conjunction with the previously known examples of Greek (e.g. the inscription of Silko), we now have evidence that three different written languages were used and understood by at least some members of the X-Group community. In the light of these

¹⁷ e.g. Meinarti; see Adams, *op. cit.* 173.

¹⁸ Millet has long argued for the continued use of the Meroïtic language in X-Group times; cf. his article in Fernea, Ed., *Contemporary Egyptian Nubia* (New Haven, 1966), I, 64-5.

findings the X-Group appears more than ever as an orderly transitional phase between Meroïtic and Christian Nubia, and not as a grotesque and barbarian intrusion.

It is probably safe to predict that a full and proper investigation of the X-Group levels at Qaşr Ibrîm will increase very greatly our knowledge of this pivotal but still very poorly understood era in Nubian history. Obviously such investigation is in its earliest infancy, but it should be accorded a high priority in future excavations at Qaşr Ibrîm. Meanwhile, if it is perhaps premature to revive the old suggestion that Ibrîm was the X-Group 'capital', we can at least be certain that so important a community would have been closely watched and regularly visited by the Ballana kings. If temples and/or palaces to match the great Ballana tombs are ever going to be found, it will be at Qaşr Ibrîm.

The Meroïtic substratum. For all their distinctive character and arrangement, the X-Group houses at Qaşr Ibrîm do not represent a wholly new building episode. Excavation beneath the X-Group floors has revealed that many of the houses stand upon the remains of still older structures which are often remarkably similar in plan (pl. XLVIII, 1). It is usually agreed, too, that the girdle wall enclosing the community is of Meroïtic rather than of X-Group origin. The X-Group town may therefore represent a community-wide 'urban renewal' conforming to a town plan (and in some cases to individual house plans) which had already been developed. What is conspicuous and surprising, however, is that the X-Group houses seem to be consistently better built and more carefully finished than the buildings which preceded them.

Most of the remains underlying the X-Group houses can be presumed to date from the Meroïtic period. Nevertheless, sherds of typical Meroïtic decorated pottery are extremely scarce among the buildings excavated in 1972. Most of the pottery found below the X-Group floors consists of undecorated utility wares which look more Egyptian than Nubian. This has been found to be true also of earlier Meroïtic settlements in Upper Nubia (Meroë, Musawwarat) which are believed to antedate the development of the elaborate Meroïtic wares.¹⁹ It may be, therefore, that the pre-X-Group remains at Qaşr Ibrîm date from an earlier period than do most other Meroïtic remains in Lower Nubia. The possibility that they are Napatan, or even earlier, cannot be entirely ruled out in view of our discoveries in the Temple-Church. In any such case there would of course have been a very long hiatus between the abandonment of the older houses and their rebuilding in X-Group times.

The Meroïtic remains investigated in 1972 were encountered at depths 3–5 m. below the site surface. It goes without saying that these structures were excavated where they could be exposed beneath the X-Group floors, and without dismantling the massive X-Group walls. Our sample of the Meroïtic level is therefore a very incomplete and fragmentary one. In no case is it possible yet to recognize the complete plan of a house, let alone the relationship between one house and another. Although the delineation of the Meroïtic settlement pattern should obviously be a major focus of future investigations at Qaşr Ibrîm, it will probably have to be carried out in areas of the site where the mass of overburden is not so great as it is in the area excavated in 1972.

¹⁹ For discussion on this subject see now Hintze, Ed., *Sudan im Altertum (Meroitica 1, 1973)*, 221–30.

The Temple-Church Area

A test trench put down in 1969 at the south-east end of the Bosnian courtyard had revealed a length of wall, the top of which lay about 50 cm. below the surface. Since the courtyard sloped downwards to the south it was reasonable to suppose that other structures, perhaps of greater height, might lie beneath the higher parts of the slope. Excavation of this part of the courtyard revealed the top of a rectangular building with massive mud-brick walls. At one end of the building the discovery of a semicircular stone wall suggested that we had encountered the apse of a church (pl. XLVIII, 2). Further excavation confirmed this hypothesis by disclosing the nave and side aisles. Most unexpected were the standing remains of four Pharaonic sandstone columns which had been used to divide the nave from the aisles and to support a roof. Present indications are that the columns, composed of individual drums with the conventional papyriform bases and inscribed on their inner sides with a single vertical line of hieroglyphs, are in their original positions. They are part of a temple which originally had walls of massive sandstone blocks, short sections of which were found on two sides of the church. These walls did not remain in use in the Christian period. It is not possible on the present evidence to state who was the builder of the temple, for since the upper parts of the columns are missing there is no trace of the cartouche which once preceded the surviving hieroglyphs. The longest line of hieroglyphs which has survived is that cut on the column of the north aisle nearest to the altar. It would seem that all the columns bore identical inscriptions (pl. XLVIII, 3). The character of the signs suggests a New-Kingdom dating. Inscribed material bearing the names and titles of Amenophis I, Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III, and Ramesses IV have been found on Ibrîm in previous seasons. Whether one or other of these New-Kingdom rulers might have been the builder in question is a matter for speculation at present, but the presence of a temple at Ibrîm may explain why the New-Kingdom shrines were cut in the west face of the headland upon which the fortress stands.²⁰

It appears, in sum, that we have discovered the remains of a New-Kingdom stone temple which was subsequently restored and modified in the Napatan and Meroitic periods, and was finally converted to use as a church in Christian times. The building must therefore have a history spanning nearly three thousand years—longer than that of any other known structure in Nubia. In the 1972 season there was time only for a full investigation of that part of the building which had served as a church. Much further work will be needed to determine the extent and the history of the underlying temple, as well as of the buildings which had adjoined the church itself.

Our trial excavations to the north and south of the church made it plain that the Qaṣr Ibrîm temple had originally been enclosed by massive walls of sandstone. Very little can yet be said about these walls, which are preserved to a height of only one or two courses. It appears that their demolition took place at a fairly early date, for by Napatan times they had already been replaced by stout walls of mud brick, more than a metre in thickness. The bricks were laid in regular and uniform courses, with occasional layers of straw packing between the courses. Both interior and exterior

²⁰ R. A. Caminos, *The Shrines and Rock Inscriptions of Ibrim* (London, 1968), 6–8.

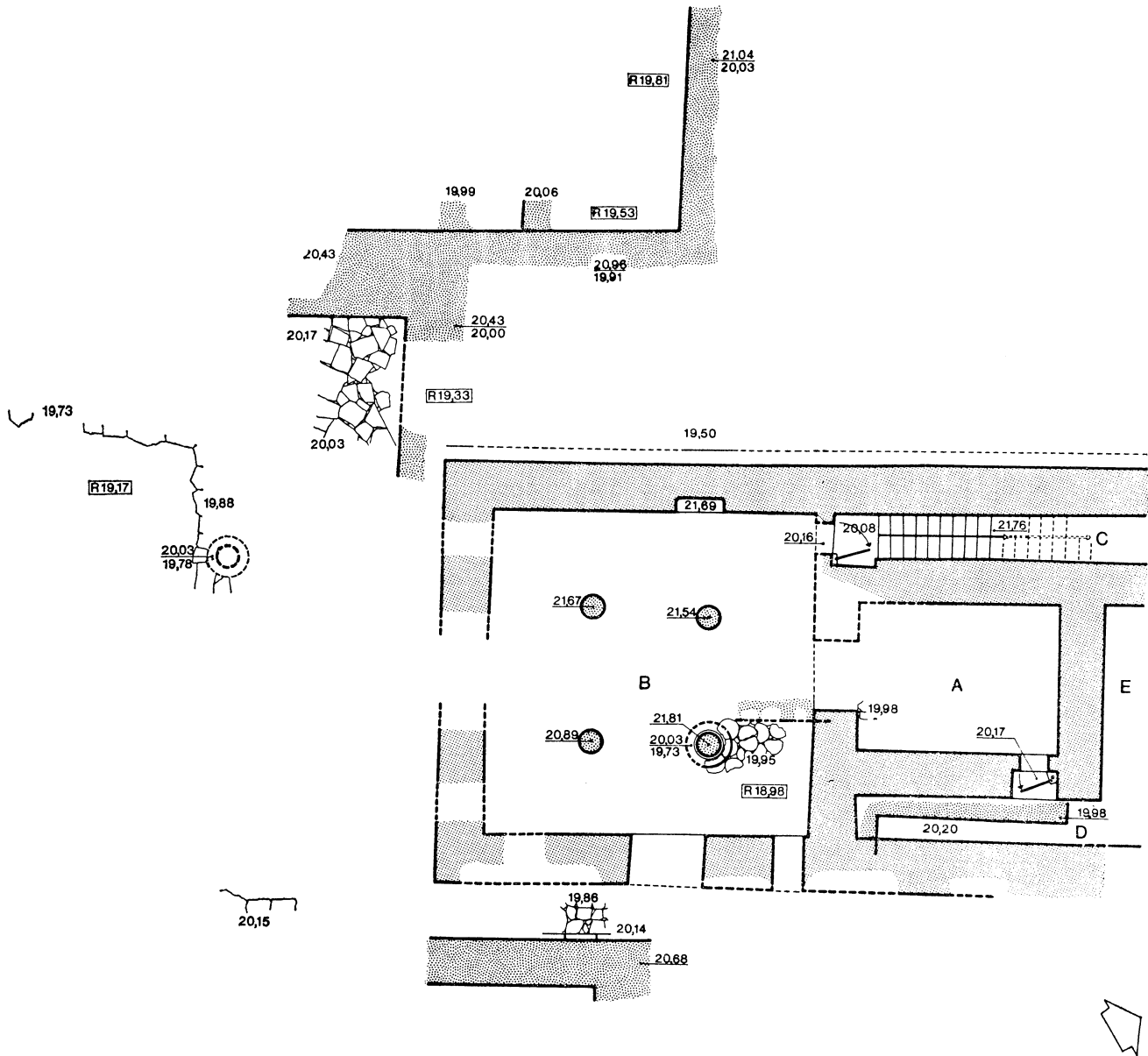
faces were smoothly plastered. The new walls were not built directly on top of their stone predecessors but alongside and within them, thus somewhat reducing the area of the temple enclosure. Four sandstone columns from the New-Kingdom temple remained in use as central roof supports in the rebuilt temple of mud brick. There is some evidence that additional columns of the original temple were demolished at the time of the rebuilding.

The western portion of the mud-brick structure was converted to use as a church at the beginning of the Christian period, and many details of its original plan and construction were preserved in the church. The eastern part of the building, however, had already been partially dismantled and overbuilt in X-Group times (specifically by House X-13), and this end was not restored to use as part of the church. Until the overlying Bosnian and X-Group structures have been removed it will not be possible to determine the full eastward extent or the architectural details of the mud-brick building. Fig. 3 shows those more westerly parts of the temple which had been incorporated into Church 3, and which were investigated in the 1972 season.

At the time when it was converted to a Christian place of worship, one of the eastern rooms was made into an apse by the insertion of a semicircular wall of masonry into what had formerly been a rectangular chamber (fig. 4). The area between the apsidal wall and the original east wall of the room was then deliberately filled with refuse. Removal of a portion of this filling disclosed important and unexpected evidence as to the original date of the mud-brick structure.

The room which later became the apse of the church had, in its pre-Christian form, a smooth coating of white plaster, upon which were the unmistakable traces of a brightly coloured fresco. Though very damaged and faded, enough of the scene remains to show a Pharaoh making an offering to a deity (pl. XLIX, 1). More of the area remains to be cleared before it can be stated which god or goddess is receiving the king's offering. To the left of the figure of the Pharaoh are the remains of two vertical lines of hieroglyphs which contain the mutilated remains of a cartouche. Enough has survived to show that this is the prenomen of the Pharaoh Taharqa (689-663 B.C.). In previous seasons over a dozen examples of Taharqa's names and titles have been found. The discovery of the fresco, the only one of its period to be found in Lower Nubia, confirms that the mud-brick structure belongs to the Napatan Period and like the fresco is unique in this part of the Nile Valley. Fragments of brightly coloured plaster bearing Egyptian motifs were also found in the fill of the adjoining rooms. It may be reasonably assumed that much of the interior of the Napatan building was once adorned with painted frescoes.

Two graffiti in cursive Meroitic script scratched deeply into the plaster of the wall flanking the fresco would indicate that part of the building at least remained open and in use during the Meroitic Period. Whether or not it remained in use, and for what purpose, during the X-Group occupation is not clear. Further excavation in the areas adjacent to the building may provide the answers. We have already noted that at least the east end of the structure seems to have been dismantled and overbuilt with ordinary houses in the X-Group period.



QASR IBRIM-TAHARQA TEMPLE
1972 & ADJOINING STRUCTURES

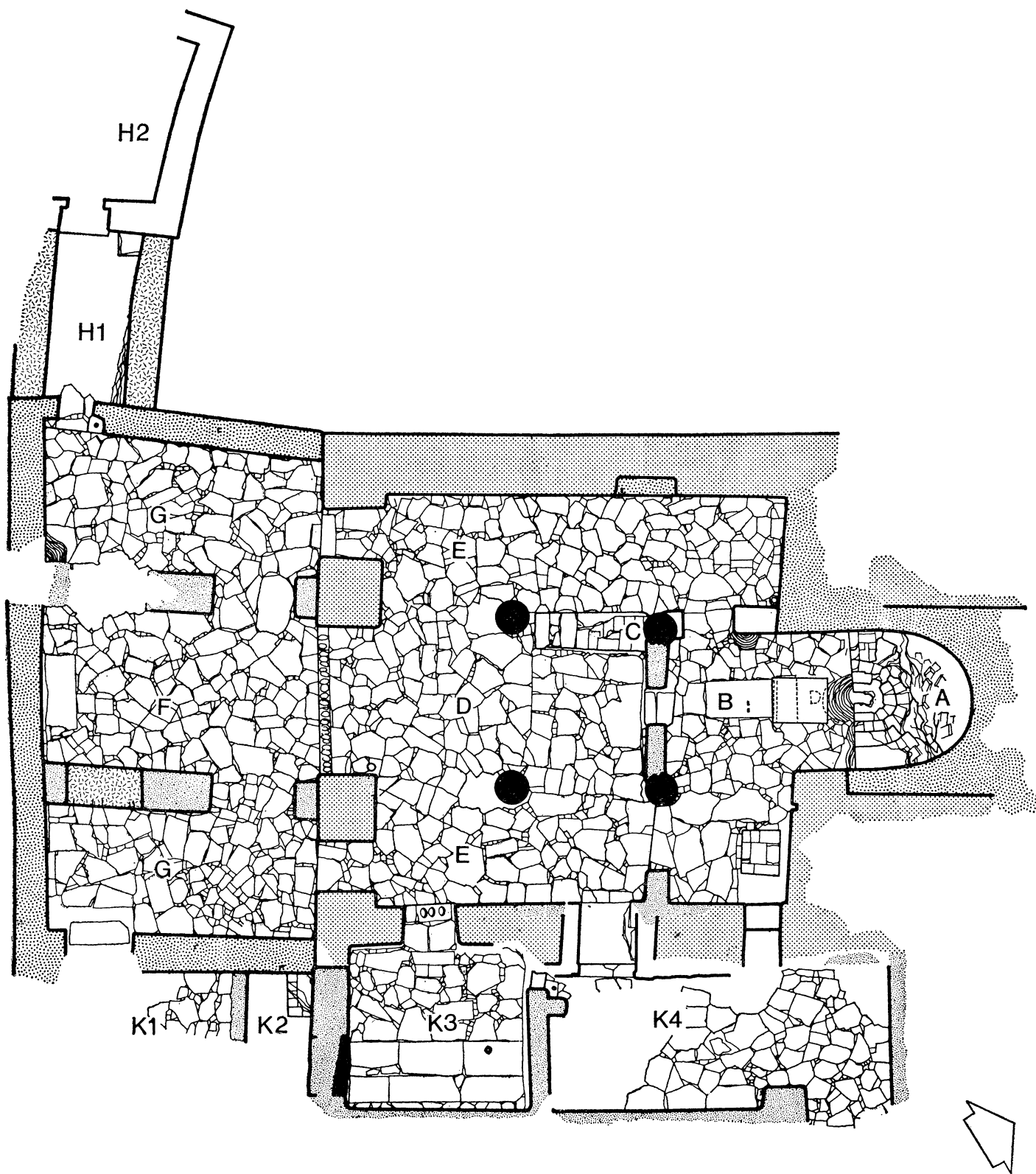
FIG. 3. Taharqa Temple

The narrow chamber to the north of the apse room had originally been designed as an internal staircase leading to an upper storey or possibly to the roof of the Napatan building (pl. XLIX, 2). The blocking of the staircase door at its lower level and the filling in of the chamber appear to have been carried out during the Meroitic Period, for the sherds contained in the fill were almost exclusively Meroitic. The fill had preserved the greater part of the staircase, the upper part alone having disappeared. The stairs which occupy the full width of the chamber are uniformly constructed. The treads are 25 cm. in width and each rises 15 cm. The outer edge of each step is formed by a carefully squared wooden beam, the ends being socketed into the side walls of the chamber. The stairs are in a remarkable state of preservation, the wooden treads showing little trace of wear. This architectural feature must be accounted a unique discovery in Nubia.

As has already been stated the exact use of the building in Meroitic and X-Group times is not yet clear. It is possible that it may have ceased to serve as a place of worship and have been adapted for secular use during the X-Group occupation. But whatever its history it is evident that enough of the original structure remained in a reasonable condition for it to be used by the early Christian builders when they constructed the church.

Conversion of the building into a place of Christian worship involved three main modifications: the building of an apse within one of the eastern rooms (already described), the blocking and filling of the older rooms behind and on either side of the apse, and the addition of a narthex at the western end of the building, which was subsequently divided by cross-partitions into three rooms (fig. 4). That these modifications were carried out at the very beginning of the Christian period is indicated by the fact that the refuse fill inserted behind the apsidal wall at the east end of the church (which could not have been *in situ* when the wall was built) contained almost entirely sherds of X-Group pottery wares. It may be presumed therefore that the Temple-Church at Qaşr Ibrîm was one of the very earliest churches to be built in Nubia when the Christian faith was first introduced (pl. XLIX, 3).

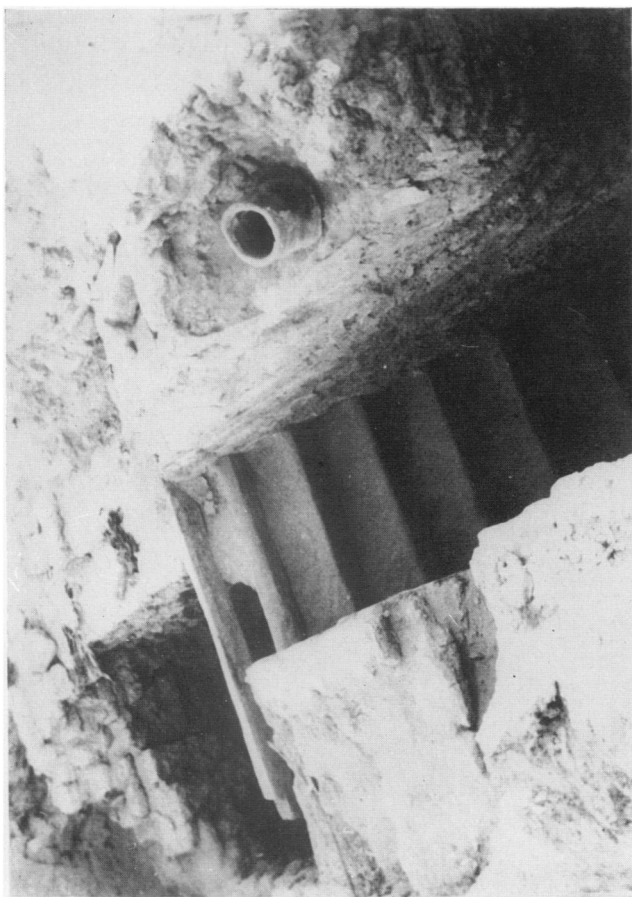
Christian architectural additions are clearly distinguishable from the older walls of the temple, being in most cases rather thin walls of stone masonry with mud plastering. They are generally about 50 cm. thick and are notably more irregular than the older brick walls (cf. fig. 3). The four original sandstone columns of the temple continued to support the roof of the church; those at the east end were now adjoined by the brick screen wall of the *higab* (*ikonostasis*). A well-laid floor of irregular flagstones, floated upon a foundation of large pebbles set in mud, appears to be an original feature of the church and is continuous throughout the whole of the interior. At the entrance to the nave there is a threshold of small blocks of stone, each bearing hollows in its upper surface. The purpose of these hollows is obscure. It is possible that they may have been made by generations of laity who scooped out particles of the stone as sacred relics possessing certain advantageous virtues. If the hollows had been intended as receptacles for oil in which burning wicks could be inserted, no evidence of oil staining or burning was observed. At the line of the threshold the level of paved floor of the narthex drops down about 10 cm.



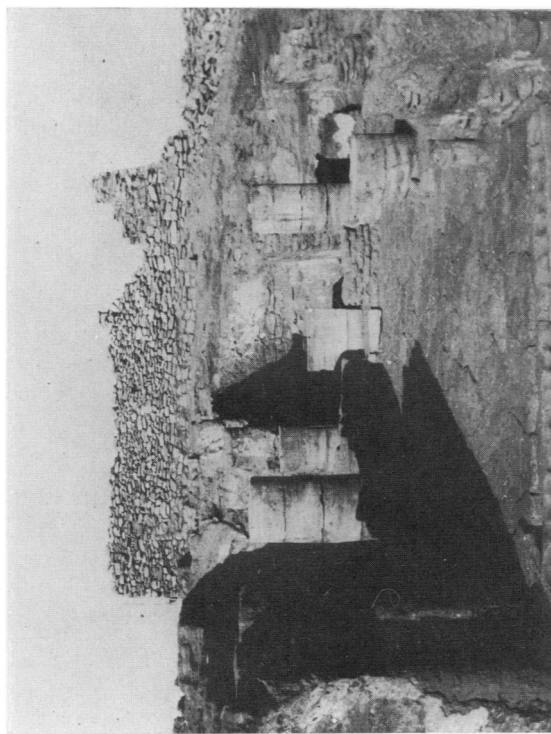
QASR IBRIM · TEMPLE CHURCH (CH3)
 1972 · Composed Plan:

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
|  pharaonic (N.K.) stonework |  napatan (Taharqa) mudbrick |  age uncertain |
|  early christian additions |  later christian additions |  latest christian additions |

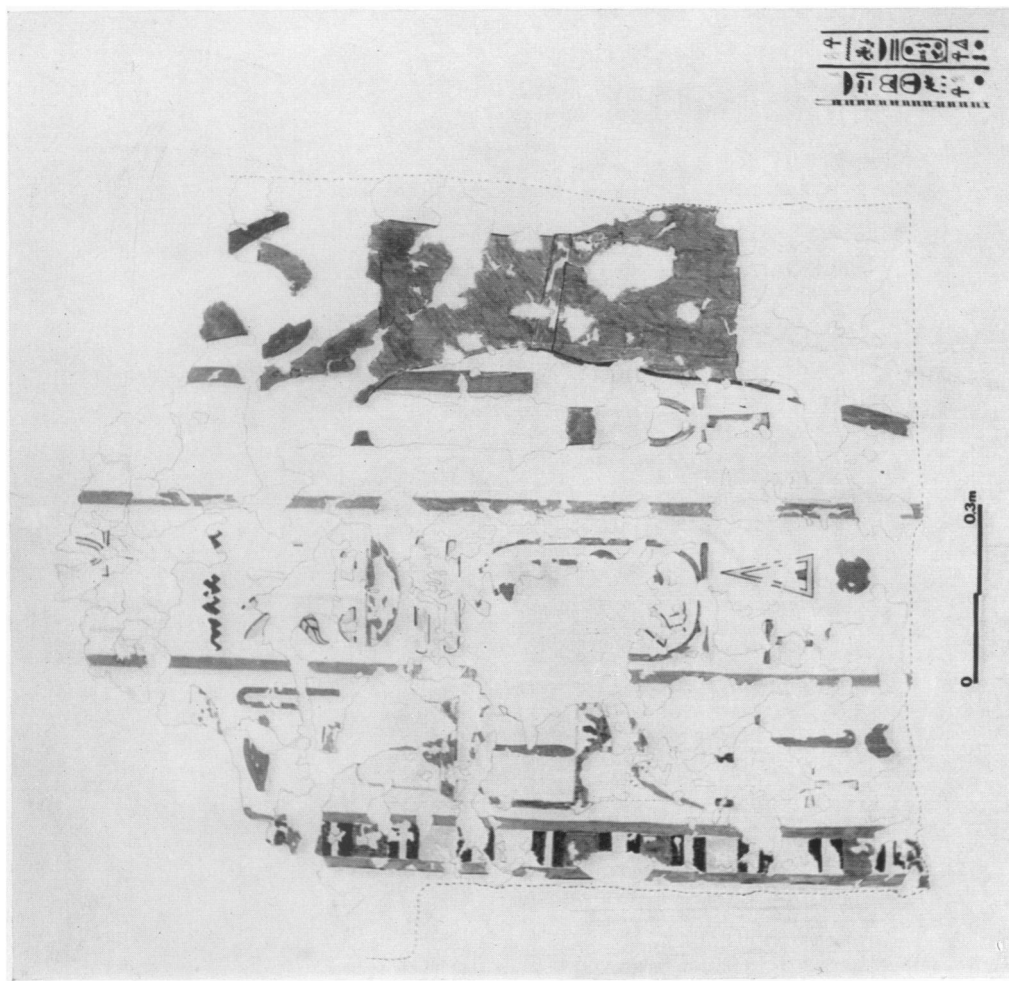
FIG. 4. Composite plan of the Temple Church



2. Wooden stairway in the Temple Church



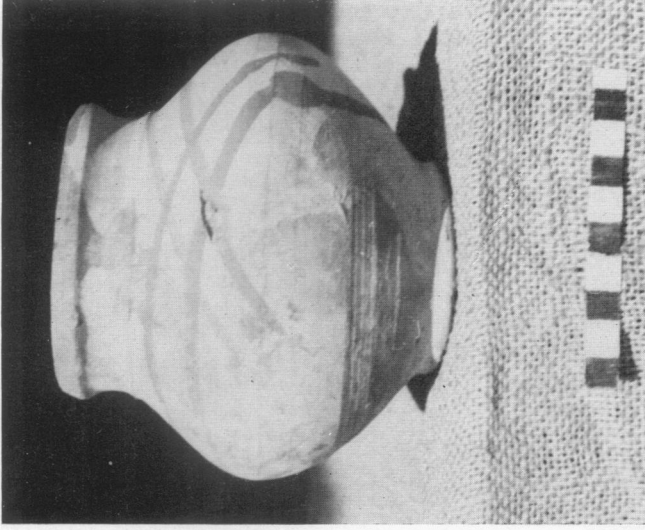
3. Temple Church interior. In the foreground is the line of hollows at the entrance to the nave



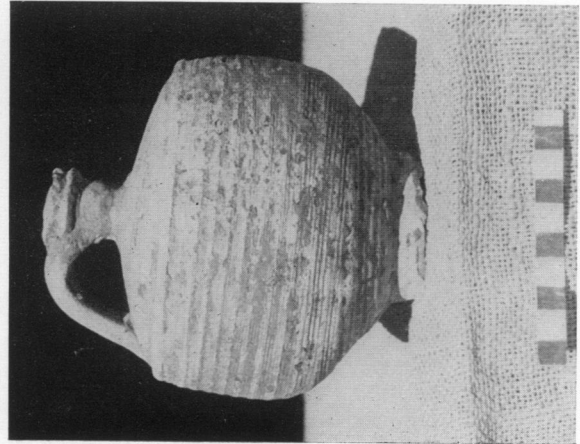
1. Tracing of the Taharqa fresco in the Temple Church



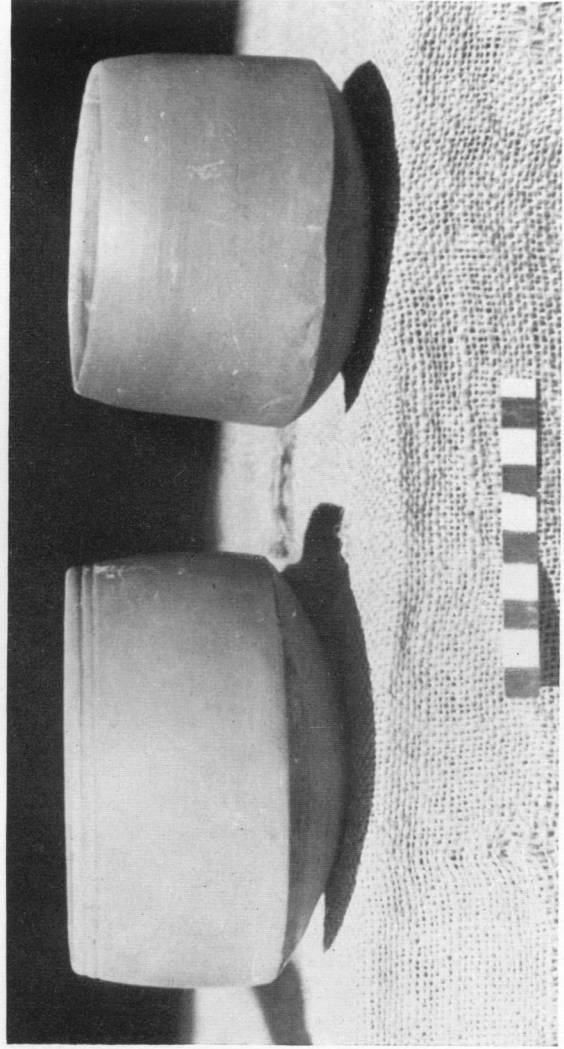
1. The Altar in the Temple Church, the upper slab forming the top of the Altar having been removed



2



3



4

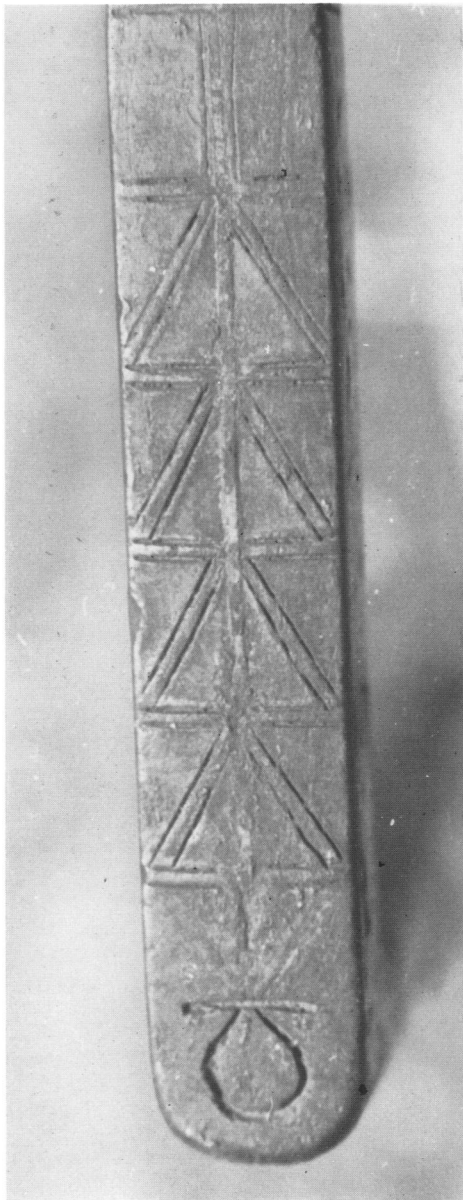
2-4. Early Christian pottery found outside the west end of the Temple Church

QAŞR IBRÎM, 1972

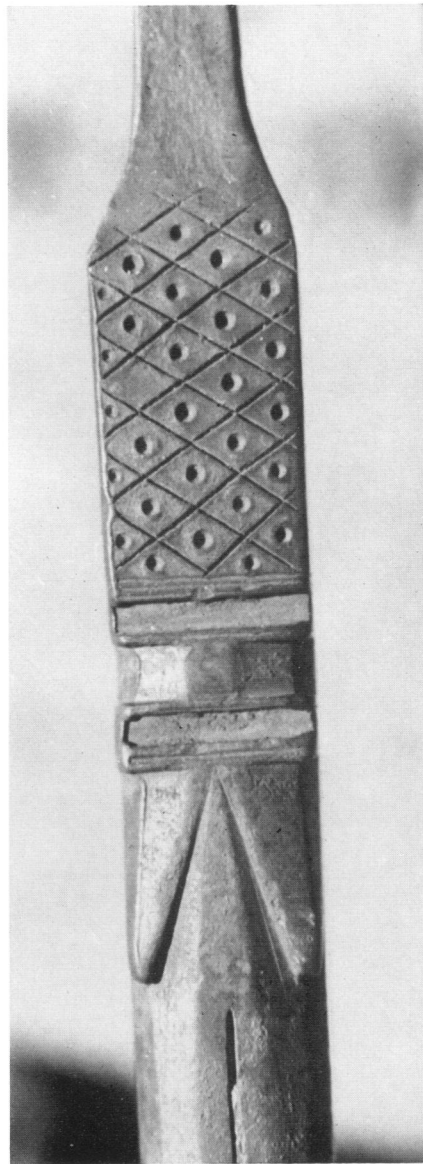


Graffiti on the hill to the east of Qaşr İbrîm

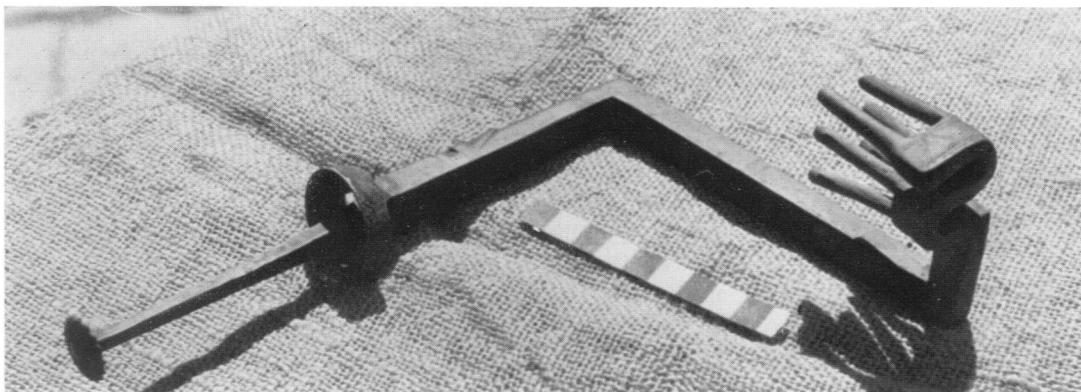
QAŞR İBRÎM, 1972



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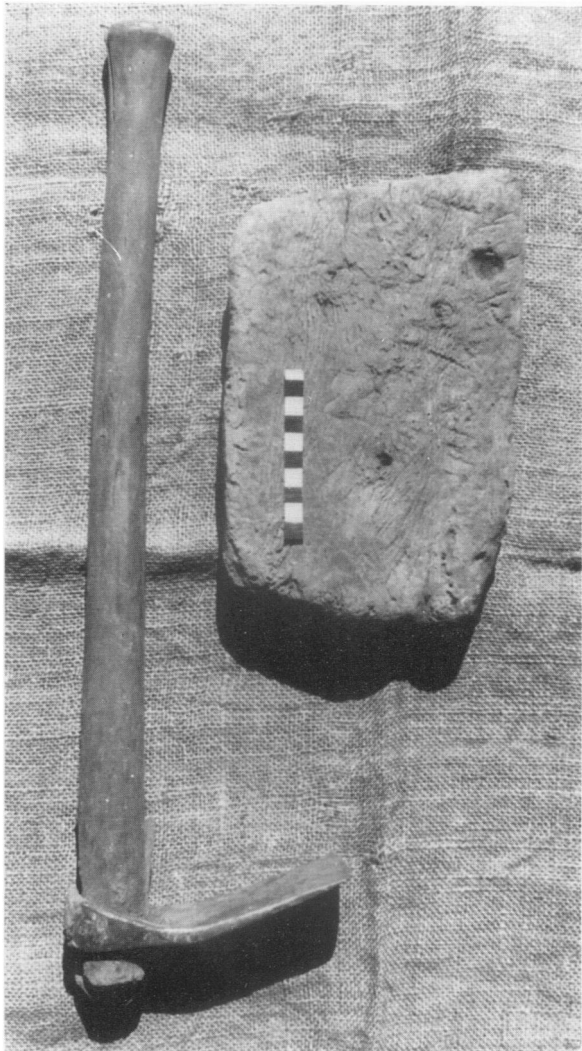
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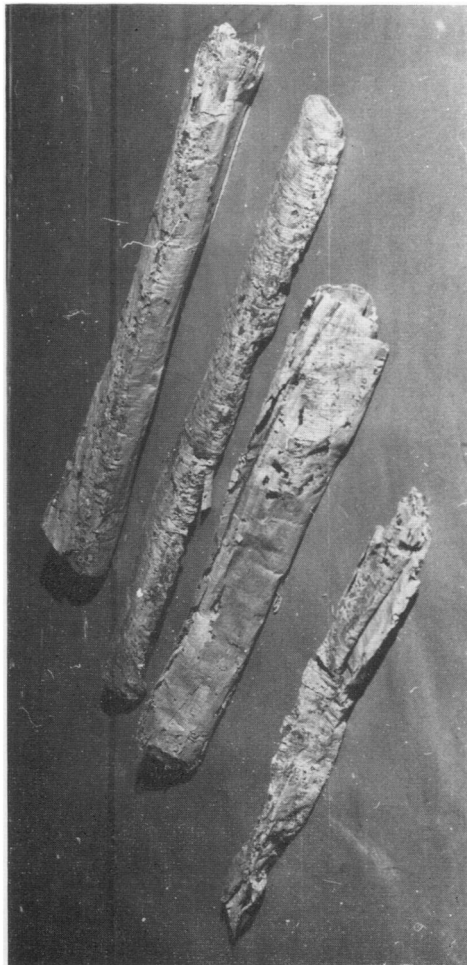
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Iron key and details of engraving

QAŞR IBRÎM, 1972



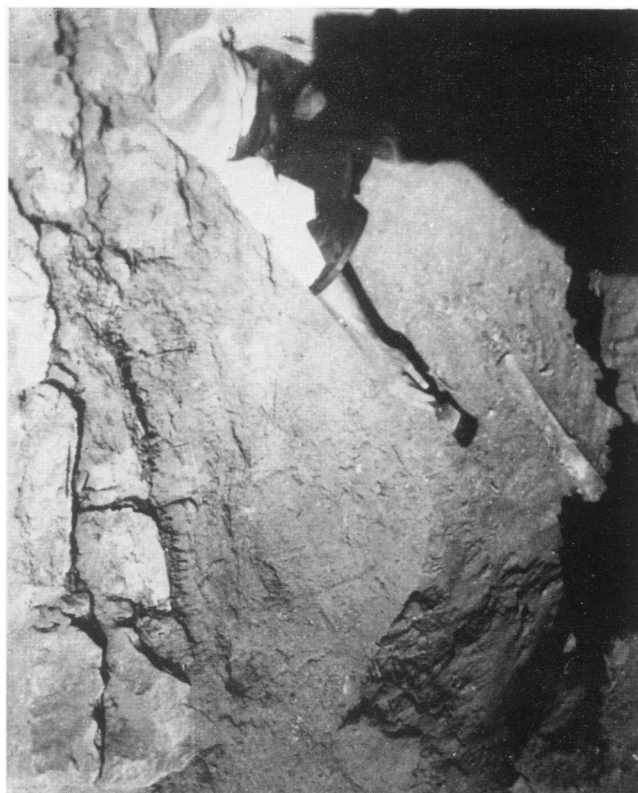
2. *Turiya* and wooden chopping-block



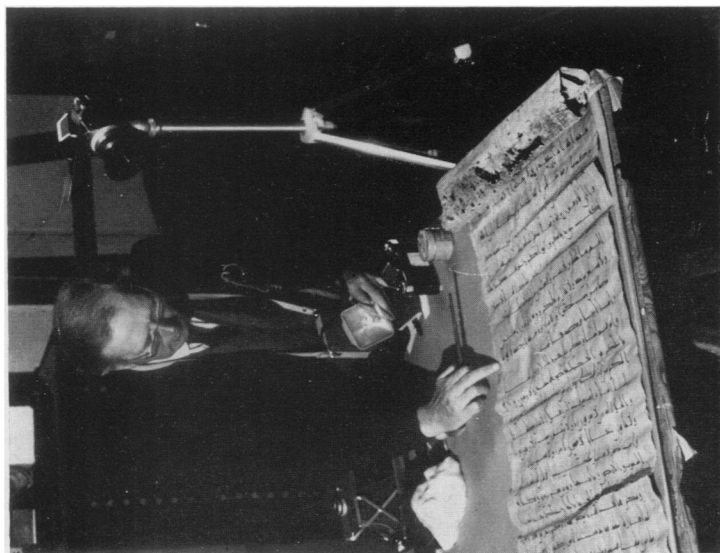
4. Scrolls before unrolling



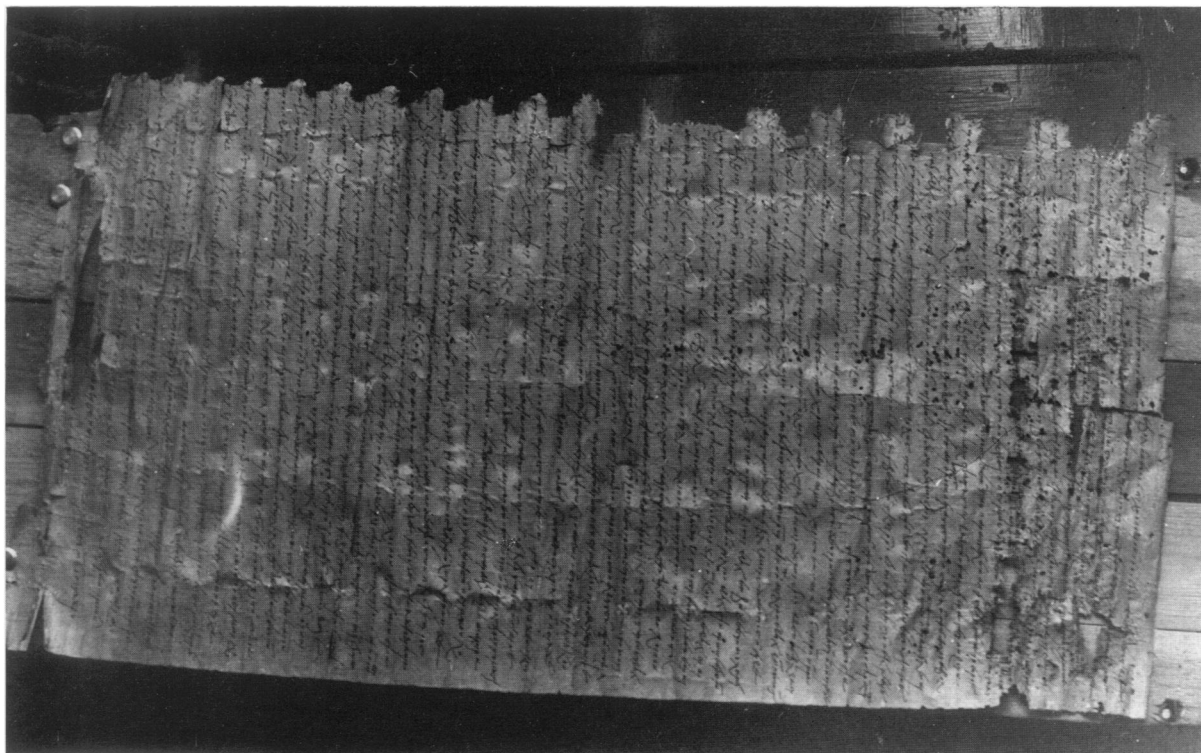
1. Padlock and chain



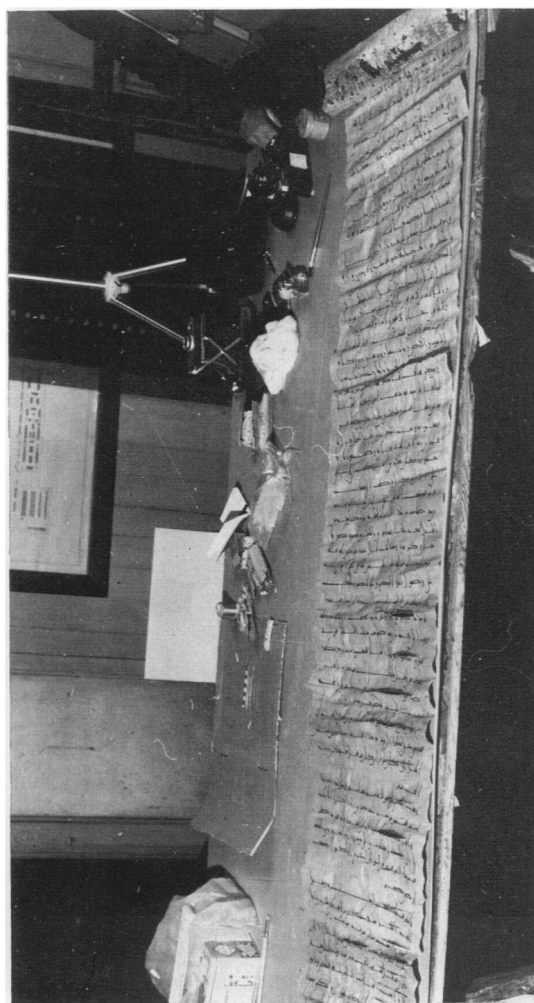
3. Finding of scrolls



1. Unrolling of the Arabic scroll in the Egyptian Museum



3. Coptic scroll after unrolling at Qaşr Ibrim



2. Detail of the Arabic scroll

QAŞR IBRİM, 1972

It may be supposed that during its use as a church the entire building was covered by a flat timber roof. It is difficult to see how the four comparatively slender pharaonic columns in the nave could have supported a heavy brick vault or dome. If either of these types of roof had existed, the remains of stout buttresses would have been expected. No evidence for the existence of such was found nor was there any material in the fill which could be identified as originating from a mud-brick roof construction.

The sanctuary, comprising the semicircular apse and the most easterly portion of the nave, shows a number of significant features. The greater part of the apse is occupied by the remains of a typical stepped tribune of mud brick. Much of this had been broken away and removed when the church was abandoned. Examination of the plaster on the apse wall and the tribune revealed that the tribune is an original feature of the Temple-Church and not, as is the case with most early Nubian Churches, a later addition.²¹ The earliest decoration on the white plaster facing of tribune was a pattern of dark- and light-blue lines. This particular form of decoration, thought to be an attempt to represent marble, is very early, probably sixth century,²² At a later period the decoration was renovated and red and yellow colours used.

The altar which stands immediately in front of the tribune is quite unlike any known elsewhere in Nubia. It was constructed out of two slabs of red Aswân granite, cut into the shape of shallow pylons. There is no mistaking their pre-Christian origin and it can hardly be doubted that they once stood in a shrine or temple on Ibrîm. One slab had been inverted and then set upright with its tapered end buried to a depth of 37 cm. below the level of the flagstones of the sanctuary floor. The inverted slab served as the front support for a second slab which had been placed in a horizontal position on top with its base towards the west. The resulting overhang of the upper slab towards the tribune was supported by a wooden post set beneath. Because of the taper of the upper slab the surface which served as the top of the altar sloped perceptibly to the east (pl. L, 1 and fig. 5). A third slab, almost identical to the others, had been let into the floor of the sanctuary to provide a thrusting support against the front of the altar and to form part of the floor. The result of the combination of two large slabs was to create an altar whose top was no less than 125 cm. above the floor of the sanctuary. This is considerably higher than any other known Nubian altar. It can only be supposed that some kind of platform was placed around the base to allow the priest to celebrate the liturgy. The construction of this altar is so extraordinary that the question might be asked if it symbolized in some way the triumph of Christianity over the older pagan creeds of Ibrîm.

A much smaller mud-brick altar stood in the east end of the south aisle. This area was also a part of the sanctuary, for the remains of a dividing wall were found running from the most easterly of the Pharaonic columns in the south aisle to the south wall of the church. The more southerly altar, like most Nubian altars, is a simple rectangular

²¹ Cf. Adams, *op. cit.* 98.

²² Dr. Stefan Jacobielski in a personal communication has pointed out that a baptismal basin bearing similar decoration was found at Dongola during the Polish Mission in 1971. Associated with the basin was pottery which can be dated to A.D. 550-600.

mass of mud brick covered in white plaster. It is separated from the east wall of the aisle by a few centimetres only, so that it would have been impossible for the celebrant to proceed around the altar as is normal in the liturgy. This altar might have been used only for the performance of those parts of the liturgy which could legitimately be done without circumambulation; its relatively lower height would have made it much more convenient than the very tall altar before the tribune.

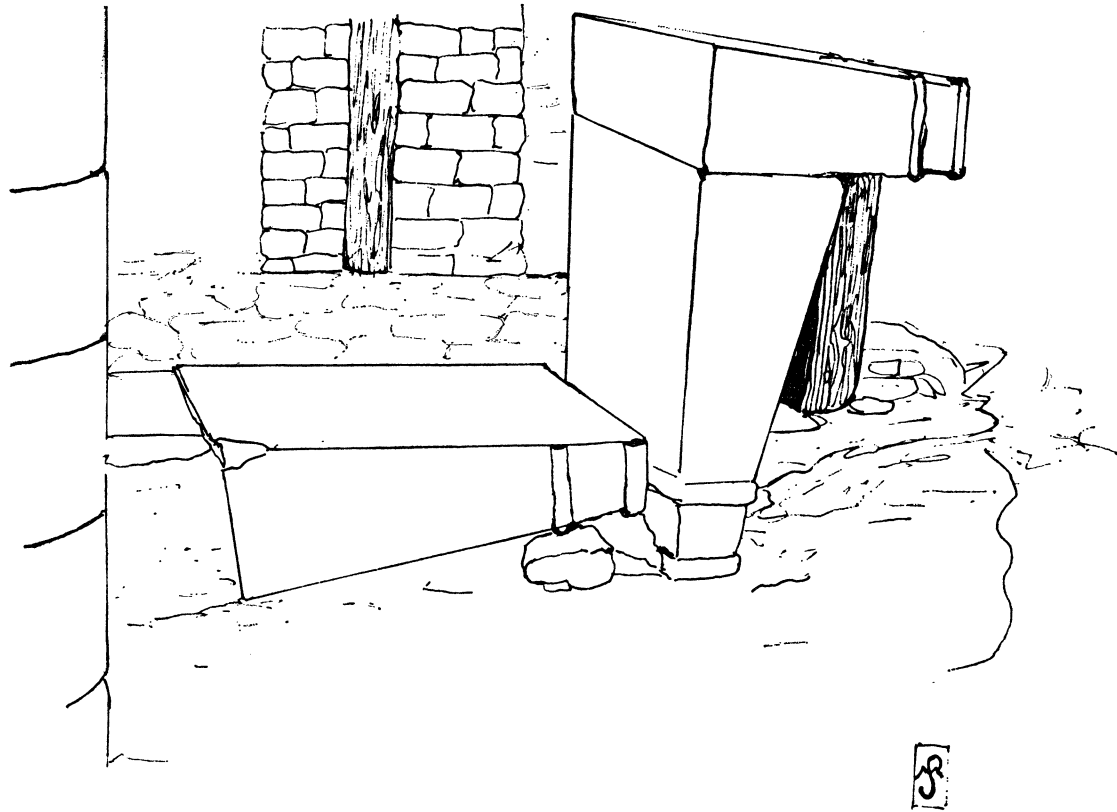


FIG. 5

The sanctuary had been separated from the nave by a mud-brick *higab*. This seems to have been a later addition, for there is evidence that a wooden screen had earlier stood here. In the Cathedral such a wooden screen had also once existed; the lower parts of two of its wooden posts were found during the 1964 season. A pulpit of mud brick, with steps constructed of thin stone slabs, had been built against the west face of the north-eastern stone column, separating the north aisle from the nave. It is possible that, as in the case of the *higab*, this structure of brick replaced an earlier pulpit of wood.

Fragments of plaster decorated with dark- and light-blue lines, similar to the decoration of the apse and tribune, were found in various parts of the church. They were well preserved only where later partition walls or buttresses had been built against them. However, the west wall of the narthex, which stands to a height of just over a metre, exhibits the remains of a large mural painting showing a standing figure.

Though very faded the lower parts of a white tunic and a violet mantle and the ends of wings executed in yellow and red can still be distinguished. The figure is clearly that of an angel and most probably that of the Archangel Michael. The style of this painting indicates that it is much later in date than the simpler decoration of the apse and tribune.

Outside the west end of the Church an annex had been built against the wall. Time did not allow for the complete excavation of this structure, but on the hard-packed mud floor of that part which was excavated more than a dozen whole or nearly whole pottery vessels of very early Christian date were found (pl. L, 2-4). Several of the vessels cannot be later than A.D. 650. Some were found standing upright, some lying on their sides, and some inverted. All were empty. The finding of these vessels dates the annex and therefore the western extension of the Church to the first century of Christianity in Nubia, confirming the very early date suggested by the fill behind the apse.

Though the excavation of the Temple-Church interior has been completed, the areas immediately contingent to the main walls have yet to be investigated. So far as the history of the Church is concerned the areas to the south and west need to be excavated to confirm or disprove what for the present seems a probable supposition, that the Temple-Church was the centre of a monastery.

It can be assumed that the Bishops of Ibrîm, themselves appointed from monastic communities, would have been attended by monks. Some of the smaller funerary stelae found on the fortress may belong to monks, and some of the burials found in earlier seasons may also be those of one-time members of a monastic community, for a number wore plaited leather crosses beneath their grave clothes. Confirmation of the presence of ordained churchmen in considerable numbers during the tenth and eleventh centuries at Ibrîm has been afforded by the discovery of many Christian graffiti cut on the rocky summit and in a small grotto of a hill in the desert about a mile and a half to the east of the fortress and overlooking an ancient caravan road (pl. LI). Written in an odd mixture of Coptic and Greek, and sometimes using a few words of Old Nubian, these graffiti, often most ungrammatical and ill-carved, give the names of bishops, priests, and deacons who ministered at Phrîm, as Ibrîm was then called. One of the tenth-century graffiti mentions Colluthos (known from the Polish excavations at Faras) as being Metropolitan Bishop of Pachoras.²³ Just over 130 graffiti have been copied by hand and about a third of that number photographed. Once there were more of these graffiti on the hill top, but some of the rocks on which they were incised were broken up—in fairly recent times it would appear—to build a cairn on the summit.

Future excavations near the Temple-Church may uncover a monastic complex. In the event of such happening Ibrîm may add new and important evidence for the study of monastic life and practice in Nubia, a subject about which very little is known.

The Temple-Church apparently remained in use for nearly a thousand years. The evidence of the fill suggests that the roof was not removed until the Terminal Christian Period, and possibly late in the fifteenth century. Thereafter the interior of the Church filled up with wind-borne dust and the deposit left by intermittent squatter occupation. When the Bosnians arrived in A.D. 1528 the lower parts of the walls had been covered

²³ Cf. Michalowski, *Faras 1961-1962*, 164-6.

and the higher portions had begun to disintegrate. It may be supposed that in order to create an open courtyard and to provide satisfactory stabling for their horses they demolished the exposed standing walls and levelled the whole area, thus creating the sloping courtyard. Finally they enclosed the courtyard with a great wall along its south-western side.

Finds from the 1972 excavations

Excavations at Ibrîm in previous seasons have produced large numbers of finds which, by reason of their perishable nature, have not been found in such quantities or in such excellent condition anywhere else in Nubia. The remarkable preservation qualities of this elevated situation seem to have been recognized in ancient times, for Ibrîm was evidently an important storehouse for essential but perishable materials. This natural preservative factor has served to protect not only manuscript materials but even delicate textiles. During the 1972 season a representative collection of textile fragments from all periods was made; it represents by far the largest existing corpus of Nubian textile materials from Meroitic to modern times.

Metals found on Ibrîm are often in an excellent state of preservation, rust and corrosion in many cases being entirely absent or minimal. Among the metal objects found in 1972 mention has already been made of a very fine bronze drinking-vessel with a handle in the shape of a leopard (pl. XLVII, 3), from the X-Group period. A magnificent wrought-iron key, finely engraved and the largest of its kind ever found in Nubia (pl. LII, 1-3), is probably also of X-Group date. Among the smaller metal objects were keys for caskets, rings, kohl sticks, coins (including one of the Emperor Vespasian), and a remarkable padlock and chain (pl. LIII, 1). A most interesting find was a complete adze (*turiya*), the wooden handle of which was in sound condition and the wrought-iron head unmarked by rust (pl. LIII, 2). Though slightly smaller than the *turiyas* used in Egypt today, its preservation is such that anyone unaware of the circumstances of its discovery might be excused in thinking that it is not ancient but of modern manufacture. In fact, it was found in an X-Group deposit.

Reference has already been made to the find of manuscript fragments under the South Church. It was to prove but the first of many manuscript discoveries. In the course of excavation written materials in Meroitic, Greek, Coptic, Old Nubian, and Arabic were recovered. As might be expected, most of the Greek and the Coptic fragments are parts of literary and liturgical works. The Old Nubian and the Arabic fragments, and probably also the Meroitic, are for the most part letters. A number of the Old Nubian letters are addressed by name to various Eparchs whom we presume resided at Ibrîm.

The most sensational manuscript find was made during the last few days of the season. With a view to possible future work on the site a small area on the edge of the west face of the fortress was examined. Here are standing the walls of a well-built house, the stonework of which is similar to that in the upper walls of the Cathedral. Possibly the building was erected for a person of some importance; future excavations may in fact disclose that it is the residence of the Eparchs or the Bishops of Phrîm.

While examining the south-west end of the house a small cist was found in the floor, filled with an accumulation of debris containing papyrus scrolls (pl. LIII, 3). Some of the scrolls had disintegrated into fragments, so that it is not possible to say how many scrolls were originally placed in the cist. Two scrolls, tightly rolled, appeared to be complete. Two others were obviously very much damaged (pl. LIII, 4). The complete scrolls had been tied around the middle with a thin cord and sealed with mud seals, which were preserved though much damaged. The smaller of the sealed scrolls was unrolled successfully at Ibrîm by Professor Plumley, and the larger was unrolled by him in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (pl. LIV, 1). So far as was possible all the scrolls and their associated fragments have been photographed either at Ibrîm or in Cairo. though the absence of electric light in the Egyptian Museum at that time made successful photography difficult. Until all the fragments have been examined and related to one another—a long task—it will not be possible to assess fully the importance of the discovery. The following preliminary report is therefore based on available photographs and such collation of the originals as was possible during a short visit to Cairo by Professor Plumley in March 1973.

The largest and finest of the scrolls, 255 cm. long and 53.5 cm. wide, is written in a large and beautiful Arabic hand (pl. LIV, 2). The papyrus is of the finest quality. By a happy chance Dr. Martin Hinds of the University of Cambridge was in Cairo when this scroll was unrolled. With the collaboration of Professor Hamdi Sakkut of the American University in Cairo he was able to transcribe the whole of the text and to provide a first translation. Dated November A.D. 758, it is a letter of complaint from Musa K'ab Ibn Uyayna the Governor of Egypt to the King of Nubia. As the first two lines are damaged in places, it is not possible to read the name of the King of Nubia, if in fact it was ever written. The purport of the letter of 69 lines was to remind the Nubian king that the terms of the *Baqt* or treaty, agreed over a century before between the Arab conquerors of Egypt and the ruler of Nubia, were not being observed by the Nubians.²⁴ Not only had the agreement on the part of the Nubians to send annually a stipulated number of able-bodied slaves to Egypt been nullified by the substitution of useless, one-eyed, lame, weak, and under-age individuals, but Muslim merchants were being hindered in their business. Some had been robbed and some had even been maltreated. In addition the Nubians had been giving refuge to runaway slaves from Egypt. If these matters were not set to right the Governor threatened appropriate action against the King of Nubia.

This Arabic letter, the largest and finest early example of its kind ever found, is a source of the first importance for a hitherto little-known period of Nubian history and especially for what it has to tell about relations between Egypt and Nubia at that time. It is also important in that it bears certain witness to the *Baqt*, the existence of which has been questioned on the grounds that previous references to the treaty have occurred only in the works of later historians.

The other scrolls found with the Arabic letter are written in Sa'idic Coptic. The handwriting is a typical eighth century ligatured script. So far as can be judged from

²⁴ For the terms of the *baqt* see Burchardt, *Travels in Nubia* (London, 1817), 511 f.

the photographs of the texts at least three scribes wrote them. The largest scroll, complete except for the loss of about 4 centimetres of the left margin, is 95 cm. long and 49 cm. wide. It contains 61 lines of writing and, if the reading of some ligatured numbers at the end is correct, it is dated to the year A.D. 759. The two remaining scrolls are very damaged, but from what can be gathered of their contents they are similar to the large Coptic scroll. All are letters, though, so far as can be seen, there is no trace of the name of a sender or a recipient on their respective versos. It is possible that all are drafts or perhaps copies of letters which had been despatched. From their contents it seems that their intended recipient was the King of Nubia. A preliminary assessment of the contents of the Arabic and Coptic texts suggests that when the King of Nubia received the letter of the Governor of Egypt, he sent it to his deputy the Eparch at Ibrîm whose sphere of authority reached to the southern boundary of Egypt, and who would have been more directly concerned with the matters raised in the Governor's letter. The largest Coptic scroll, it would appear, seeks to reassure the King of Nubia in respect of some of the Governor's complaints, but without much apparent conviction. Reference is made to both the Governor of Egypt and the Emir of Aswân in patently obsequious terms. There is mention of various officials of the Governor and the Emir. The fact of the presence of runaway slaves in Nubian territory is acknowledged. Various incursions by marauding bands of Blemmyes are reported. The question of the *Baqt*, however, is passed over in silence. It is quite obvious that the Eparch, if he was the author of the largest Coptic letter, bore a healthy respect for the power of the Emir of Aswân, who, he states, had threatened to put him in prison if certain demands upon him were not met.

Two important facts emerge from a study of the scrolls. In the first place, related passages in the Arabic and Coptic texts confirm beyond doubt what has long been suspected, that the Beja and the Blemmyes are one and the same people. Secondly, we now know that in the eighth century official correspondence in Nubia was already being conducted through the medium of Coptic and not, as might have been expected, in Greek.

The 1972 excavations at Qaşr Ibrîm have once more demonstrated both the richness and the importance of the site. Not only is it the last surviving site in Lower Nubia on which archaeological work can still be carried out, but our excavations over several seasons have made it clear that this was one of the most important centres in Lower Nubia both in Christian and in earlier times. Qaşr Ibrîm may even have been the residence of the mysterious Ballana kings. The excavations of 1972 have also revealed more of the Meroïtic occupation levels than had previously come to light, and have revealed for the first time a Napatan presence on the site. Still earlier, we now know that a New-Kingdom temple stood at Qaşr Ibrîm. As to the character and length of these respective occupations only further excavation can provide the answers. It is no exaggeration to state that few other sites anywhere in the Nile Valley offer such unique opportunities for archaeological research, covering more than 3,500 years of recorded history. Large and promising areas at Qaşr Ibrîm still remain to be dug, and their contribution to the known history of Nubia could be immense.

A COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S ORDER FROM SAQQÂRA

By E. G. TURNER

THE Greek papyrus text published here was found by the Egypt Exploration Society under the direction of Dr. G. T. Martin during the 1972/3 season of work at North Saqqâra (inv. 1972 G.P. 3).¹ Three reasons justify its publication in advance of the volume in which the Greek papyri from this site are to be published. Firstly, it is a 'notice', that is an order, pinned or posted up, and as such is almost² unique in papyrological literature. Secondly, if the interpretation here outlined is accepted, it can be connected with a historical personage of the time of Alexander the Great and is therefore valuable for the fourth-century history of the sacred animal necropolis of Saqqâra. Thirdly, it is the oldest surviving Greek document on papyrus.

The find spot was in the 'South Dump', in sector 7 of the 1972-3 excavation plan. Dr. G. T. Martin wrote in a preliminary report dated 8 February 1973: 'this area proves not to be the administrative centre of the Sacred Animal Necropolis but an adjunct to the main temple complex [that is, the temple of Nektanebo II, Nakht-ḥaremḥeb]. There are some domestic buildings of XXXth Dynasty date on the far South side of this area, and it was in a dump excavated in this part that we recovered some demotic papyrus fragments . . . also a papyrus with extremely boldly written Greek letters.' By a lucky chance I myself was able to visit Saqqâra during the following fortnight, and to work on the original. The accompanying photograph is my own (pl. LV; reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$ the actual size).

The papyrus is a broad strip cut from a roll about 36 cm. high. The material has been turned through ninety degrees so that the letters are 'written' across the fibres. 'Breadth' and 'height' being understood as used in relation to the writing, the piece is 35.8 cm. wide, 13.4 cm. high. In the three lines of writing the letters have not been made with a pen, but drawn with a rush, which has in places left ragged edges (e.g. the *a* of $\mu\eta|\delta\epsilon\nu\alpha$, line 3). A series of four holes running from the top centre to top right may be holes through which pins were passed to fix the notice, but there is no balancing hole at the top left. On the back is only a single long oblique stroke.

The letters in the first line are broader and taller (κ is 4.1 cm. high) than in the two following lines. But even in that line there are unevennesses of size between letters, and they are irregularly placed in relation to each other. Indeed, the same letter varies in size. The first ϵ is 2.0 cm. high, the second 2.6 cm. $\eta \mu \pi$ are usually broad and shallow, $\alpha \delta \epsilon \iota \kappa \rho \upsilon$ are tall. *E* is rectangular, Σ has four movements (epigraphists

¹ I should like to thank the Society, Professor H. S. Smith, and Dr. G. T. Martin for permission to publish this text in advance. For the discovery compare Dr. Martin's remarks above, p. 18.

² P. Oxy. XLI, 2950, a dedication to Diocletian, may be another example.

would call it '4-barred'), Ω is epigraphic; the cross-bar of A is sometimes straight, sometimes formed of two strokes angled in relation to each other; the two obliques of both α and δ are produced vertically after uniting; \odot is round with a central dot, Υ a shallow angle above a long vertical; the two obliques of κ are short in relation to the very high vertical to the centre of which they cling. These palaeographical features suggest a date in the 4th century B.C. Three Greek texts in particular are to be used for comparison: (1) the Berlin Timotheos (plate M. Norsa, *La Scrittura letteraria greca*, Tav. I, 1), undated, but found in an archaeological context that hardly allows it to be brought down later than c. 330 B.C.; (2) The 'Curse of Artemisia', Vienna Pap. Gr. I, 494 (plate in Norsa, op. cit. tav. I, 2), also undated but acceptably assigned to the same period on grounds of content and letter-forms;³ (3) P. Elephantine 1, a marriage contract dated to 311 B.C. (plate in W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, no. 2).

It might be contended that in a notice intended for quick reading the shapes of the letters would tend to be the same as those used in inscriptions, and therefore in this case morphological analysis was even less trustworthy than usual. Certainly some of the letters (especially E , \odot , Σ , Ω) are like those found in fourth-century inscriptions. Such forms may be seen, for instance, in an inscription from Samos dated to 346/5 B.C. (O. Kern, *Inscriptiones graecae*, no. 26) or a document from the Piraeus of 323/2 B.C. (J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscr. Atticarum*, taf. 30, no. 64). There is, therefore, something in this contention.⁴ Fortunately, the doubts, as I hope to show, can be removed by a decisive internal indication based on the text.

- 1 [[μ]] *πευκεστου*
 2 *μη παραπορευεσθαιμη*
 3 *δεναιερειωστοοικημα*

2. Of final η traces of ink of both left and right hand verticals.

Πευκέστου· μὴ παραπορεύεσθαι μηδένα· ἱερείως τὸ οἶκημα may be literally translated: 'Of Peukestes (or, Peukestas). No one is to pass. The chamber is that of a priest'. The implications behind these words need discussion. But first a few linguistic notes.

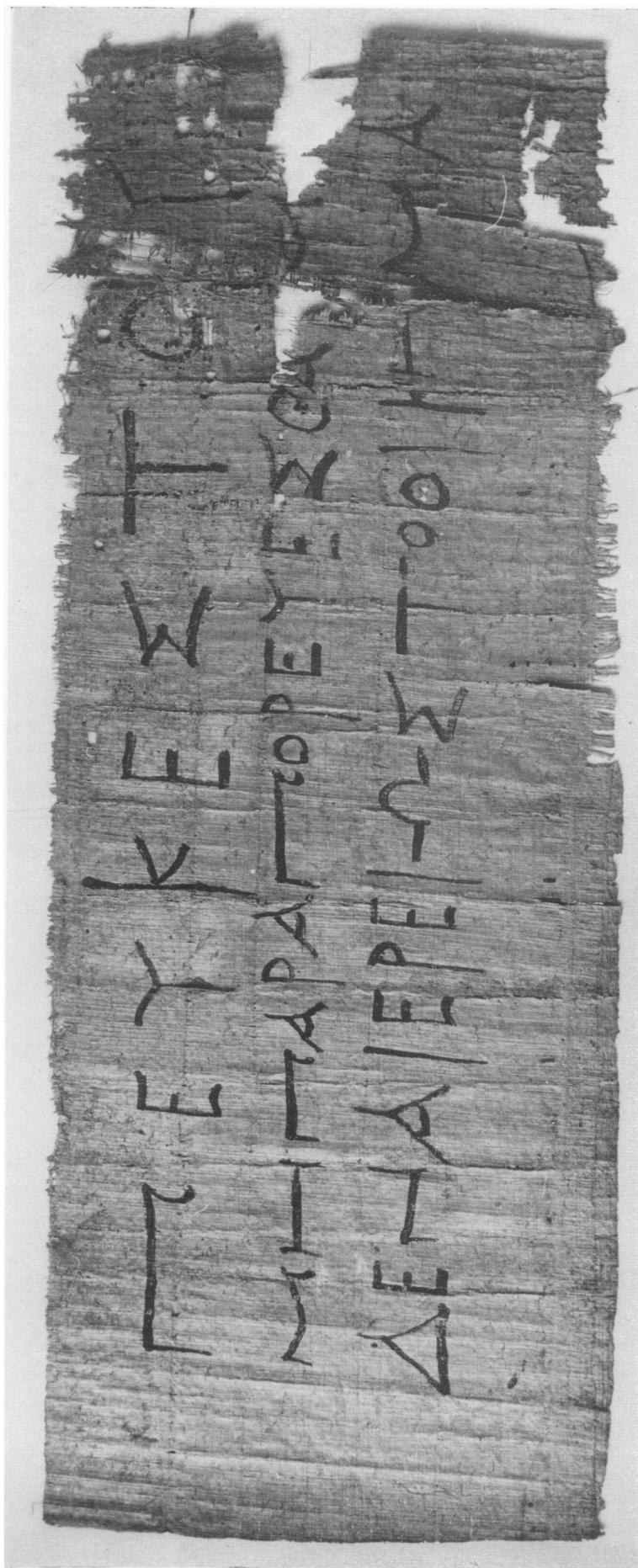
1. The scribe began to write the negative $\mu\eta$, that is, he omitted the name Peukestes.

2. *παραπορεύεσθαι* 'to go past'. Commonly of going past without stopping (e.g. omitting to call on a friend): P. Petrie II, 13, 5, 3 = III, 42 b (2) 3 (257 B.C.); P.S.I. IV, 354, 13 (third century B.C.); P. Sorbonne 33, 3 (third century B.C.), where the note is inexact; P. Ent. 70, 7 and 79, 3 (third century B.C.); P. Beatty Panop. 2, 104 τὰ παραπορε[υόμενα πλοῖα, A.D. 298. Here simply of 'going beyond a certain point'.

3. *ἱερείως*: the spelling of the genitive with $\epsilon\iota$ instead of ϵ is found in Attic inscriptions from about 340 B.C. onwards (K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*², 36), and is common throughout the Ptolemaic period (E. Maysner, *Gramm. d. ptole. Papyri* I, 1, 43).

³ See the masterly analysis of U. Wilcken, *UPZ* I, 97 ff.

⁴ It might be further noted that the α with angled cross-bar of the papyrus, if judged by epigraphic parallels, might be considered to be of third-century shape or even later. (A similarly written α is found in a letter from the Zenon archive dated to 257 B.C., P. Cairo Zenon v, 59816.) On the other hand, the tall κ with tiny obliques is well paralleled in early papyri, and (I believe) not at all in inscriptions.



A COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S ORDER FROM SAQQÁRA

(Reduced 2 : 3)

οἴκημα: 'chamber', either a free-standing building or a room in a larger complex. Index to *S.I.G.* offers numerous cases of its use for a room to contain ritual objects.

The nominative form of the genitive *Πευκέστου* may be either Peukestes (so P. Teb. I, p. 78 and P. Teb. I, 94, 26, both *c.* second century B.C.)⁵ or Peukestas. The second form is Macedonian, and it was a name borne by at least three historical personages⁶ in the late fourth century. My attention was first drawn to them by Professor A. Swiderek of the University of Warsaw. She suggested that the person involved here might be that Peukestas who took part in Alexander the Great's Indian campaign, saved his life at the storming of the city of the Malli, and who was afterwards satrap of Persia. This suggestion cannot be taken further, and is improbable in that there is no mention of this individual in connection with Egypt. But another contemporary seems to be just the man needed. According to Arrian 3. 5. 5, on leaving Egypt in 331 B.C., Alexander divided the command of the troops there between Balakros son of Amyntas and Peukestas son of Makartatos.⁷ I suggest that this joint C.-in-C. is the person who authorized the present notice.

It cannot of course be demonstrated that the *Πευκέστου* of our text is this person and not an unknown namesake. But a consideration of case usage will make my suggestion all but irresistible. When in Greek a name is put in the genitive case at the head of a document, list, or notice,⁸ the effect of that case may be (*a*) possessive ('belonging to P.', 'attached to P. '); (*b*) more vaguely, expressing a relationship 'concerning P.' (e.g. 'about P. '); or (*c*) it may denote authorship. In book titles a Greek author's name is regularly put in the genitive case, whether or not the name of the work is also given. A number of Ptolemaic documents⁹ begin with an official's name in the genitive, with which one mentally supplies a noun such as 'letter', 'memorandum', 'petition'. In our papyrus, sense (*b*) offers no meaning that we can comprehend out of the notice itself. Sense (*a*) 'this belongs to P.' is conceivable. The chamber might be that of P.—he might in fact be the priest. But in the Sacred Animal Necropolis at Saqqāra such a priest must surely be an Egyptian. Why should a priest there put up a prohibition in the Greek language to catch the attention of casual Greek intruders (sightseers ?), who seem expected to be able to read and obey the notice? With sense (*c*), however, all the elements fall into place. We understand as noun, e.g. *κέλευσις* or *πρόσταγμα*, 'order' or 'proclamation'. The following translation now brings out the implications: 'By order of the C.-in-C. Peukestas. Out of bounds to troops. Ritual area.' The first line is written larger to catch the eye and give authority. This interpretation satisfactorily combines the palaeographical, linguistic, and psychological implications of a notice of this kind, and gives it a firm historical context that fits and also illuminates the local conditions.

At the time of Alexander's departure from Memphis in 331 B.C. for Asia there were

⁵ These are the only examples cited in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. None are mentioned in Foraboschi's *Onomasticon*. The ethnical affinity of the name in P. Teb. I cannot be determined.

⁶ See *PW* s.v., articles by H. Berve and P. Schach.

⁷ *στρατηγὸς δὲ τῆ στρατιᾷ κατέστησεν ἦντινα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπελείπετο Πευκέσταν τε τὸν Μακαρτάτου καὶ Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου.*

⁸ Long discussion and many examples in E. Mayser, *Gramm. d. ptole. Papyri*, II, II, §72.

⁹ Mayser, *op. cit.* 133 ff.

certainly Greek troops in that town. Arrian¹⁰ speaks explicitly of Pantaleon garrison-commander (phrourarch) of the *ἐταῖροι* at Memphis, who will have been subordinate to the two C.'s-in-C. Peukestas and Balakros. It is possible that some of their Greek troops were stationed in the Saqqâra necropolis. They will certainly have been eager visitors to shrines already famous. But whether our notice is simply a matter of routine (that is, of preventive discipline) to maintain good relations between Greeks and Egyptians, or may have been provoked by some incident we cannot tell.

To have established its date brings other reassurances. It offers confirmation of the palaeographical correctness of the accepted dates for the Timotheos and Artemisia papyri (both, incidentally, also found in the Saqqâra necropolis, as Wilcken has cogently demonstrated).¹¹ And it offers valuable support for the dates beginning to be proposed for the as yet unpublished documents associated with this find, whether the latter are in Demotic Egyptian, Aramaic, or in Greek.¹²

¹⁰ Arrian, 3, 5, 3.

¹¹ *UPZ* I, 2, 98 and 538.

¹² Of the thirty-three papyrus texts in Greek from Saqqâra I had myself already assigned five with some confidence to the fourth century B.C., and an additional four or five are early third century, if not late fourth. Most of these texts are less well preserved than the notice here discussed, and some are mere scraps.

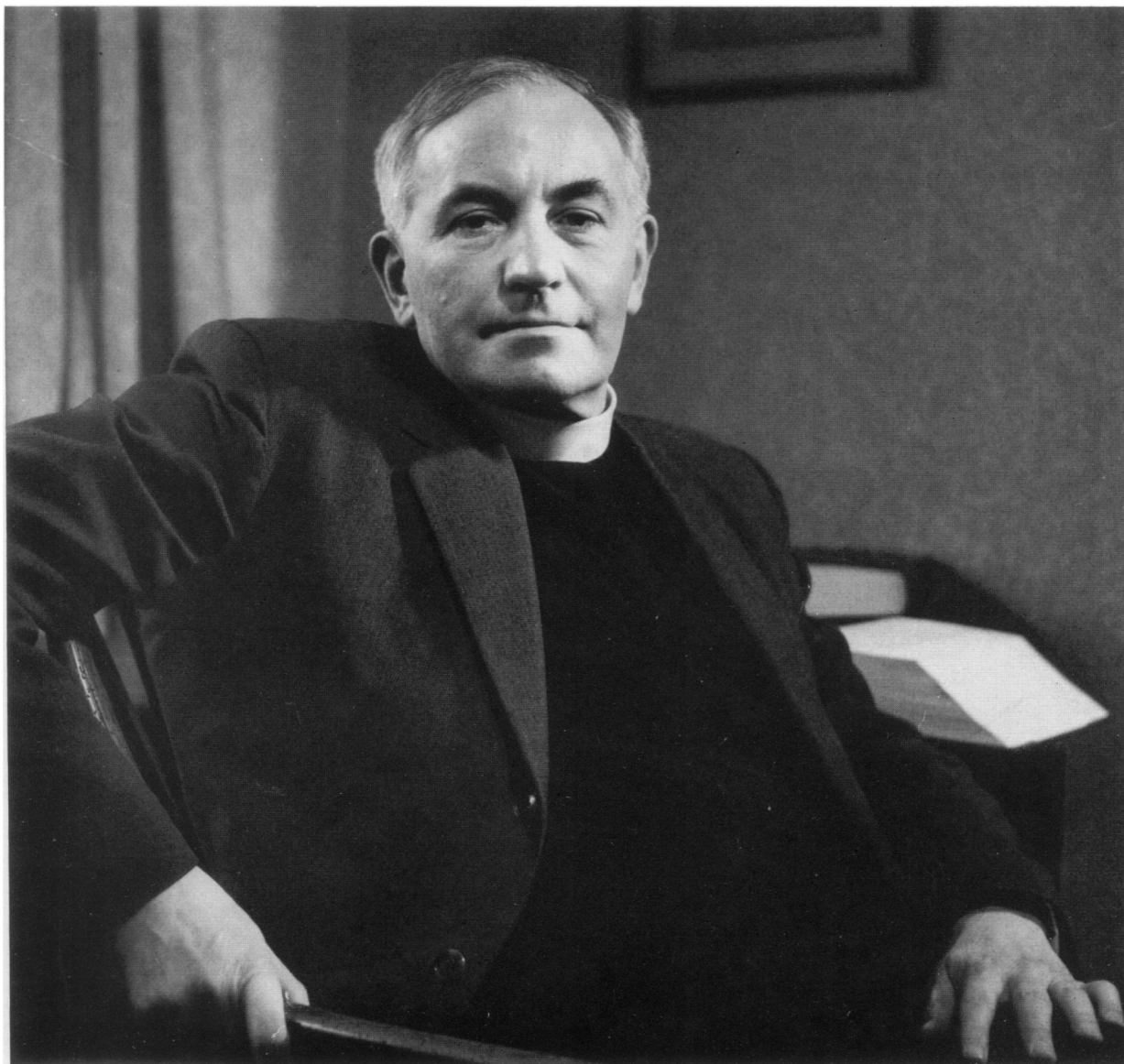
JOHN WINTOUR BALDWIN BARNS

By W. V. DAVIES

THE sudden death on 23 January, 1974 of the Revd. Professor J. W. B. Barns was a grievous blow to Oxford and British Egyptology. He will be missed by those who knew him well as a loyal and most dear friend, and by his pupils as a teacher of tireless energy and dedication.

John Wintour Baldwin Barns was born in Bristol on 12 May, 1912, the son of William Henry Barns and Helen Baldwin. He was a studious child, with an unusually strong interest in archaeological subjects—tendencies that were encouraged, rather than weakened, by the effects of polio which afflicted him at the age of nine. His enthusiasms were first channelled specifically towards Ancient Egypt by the news of the discovery in 1922 of the tomb of Tut‘ankhamūn. This so fired his imagination that he determined, there and then, to devote himself to Egyptology. Fortunately, he was given every possible encouragement in this by his father, who advised as a logical first step a training in classics. In the following year, he won a scholarship to Fairfield School, Bristol. Here, the disappointing absence of Greek from the curriculum was to prove no obstacle to the young enthusiast. He quickly set about learning it by himself at home in the evenings. His success can be gauged by the fact of his acceptance, at the age of only seventeen, to read classics at the University of Bristol. Three years later, in 1932, he went up to Oxford where he was elected to a scholarship in his college, Corpus Christi, and obtained a First Class in Honour Moderations. Greats, on the other hand, was not to his taste. Impatiently, he decided to change to Egyptological studies, and with this in mind approached the recently appointed Professor of Egyptology, Battiscombe Gunn. The latter, however, with characteristic caution, discouraged him from pursuing too early a subject which he felt had no prospects. Nothing daunted, Barns turned, after Greats, to what he considered to be the next best thing, the related science of Greek Papyrology, and embarked upon a study for a D.Phil. thesis, under Mr. C. H. Roberts, entitled ‘The Character and Use of Anthologies among the Greek Literary Papyri, together with an edition of some unpublished papyri’. This was an important step; for his papyrological training, coupled with his classical background, was greatly influential in determining the areas of Egyptology—the cursive scripts and later stages of the language—which were to be of greatest interest to him.

During the Second World War, which he spent in intelligence work, Barns kept in close contact with Oxford and brought his thesis to a successful conclusion. (Though it was never published as such, several of the papyri formed the subject of subsequent articles and the bulk appeared later in Rees, Bell, and Barns, *A Descriptive Catalogue*



JOHN W. B. BARNES

Courtesy David Peters, Witney

of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, II (1959).) It was at this time that he met the brilliant young Oxford Egyptologist, Paul Smither. They began reading Egyptian texts together and soon became close friends. Smither's premature death in 1943 was a dispiriting blow to Barns, but their shared enthusiasms had once more whetted his appetite for serious Egyptological study. He approached Gunn again and this time with success. As a result, he returned to Oxford in 1945 as the Lady Wallis Budge Research Fellow in Egyptology at University College and for the next five years, until Gunn's death in 1950, enjoyed the tuition and friendship of that great scholar and teacher. He was much influenced by Gunn and had enormous admiration for his standards of exact scholarship and his devotion to teaching. It is no coincidence that these were the very ideals which he himself most aspired to in his own career.

The ten years or so after the war were perhaps among his most fruitful. His broad philological interests found expression in a steady stream of scholarly articles on texts of diverse nature and content, ranging from hieroglyphic stelae of the Second Intermediate Period to Coptic and Greek papyri. Most importantly, the far-sighted generosity of Sir Alan Gardiner afforded him the opportunity for work on a substantial body of original material in the hieratic script. Taking full advantage of this, Barns produced, as a direct result, his two major Egyptological publications, *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe* (1952), and *Five Ramesseum Papyri* (1956). These books, like all his work, were the product of careful and thorough research conducted with infinite patience and minute attention to detail. They showed him to be a palaeographer of remarkable skill and an editor of meticulous accuracy and high critical acumen. The former, apart from making a substantial contribution to a greater understanding of the classic *par excellence* of Egyptian literature, is justly considered to be an ideal text-book for students of Egyptian textual criticism, exemplary in its presentation and methodology, while the latter stands as a monument to his innovative expertise in assembling papyrus fragments by the use of a little-known tool of technical papyrology, that of the comparison of fibre patterns with the aid of a light-box. This technique he was to publicize further in a paper presented to the Ninth Congress of Papyrologists in Oslo in 1958 and utilize with great effect many more times, and with particularly brilliant results in the case of the Samaria papyri in the early sixties.

These same years saw two important developments of a more personal nature. In 1954, Barns had the good fortune to meet Eileen Sturges and they were married after a brief courtship. They were a devoted couple. His marriage brought an added stability to his life, which allowed him to pursue his career with greater self-confidence. Two years later, his deeply held Christian beliefs and strong interest in theology led him to take Holy Orders and he was ordained as a priest in the Church of England. Unswervingly orthodox in his beliefs, he was a vigorous and interesting preacher and, despite heavy commitments, always ready to give his services to the Church.

In 1953, Barns had been elected Senior Lecturer in Papyrology at Oxford, having been once again obliged to forgo full-time Egyptological work owing to lack of a


suitable post, and he held office at the same rank until his professorial appointment in 1965. During this period he gave the same unselfish attention and encouragement to his several pupils as earned him the gratitude later of his many Egyptological students. His scholarly output included contributions to *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xxiv (1957) and xxxi (1966), and, most notably, to *Antinoopolis Papyri*, II (1960) and III (1967), where he did all the work on the theological and literary texts and most of the work on the documents. His unique command of knowledge in the two fields of Egyptology and papyrology enabled him to see the Greek material in its real setting and to assess the social and literary interaction of the two races. This special insight was clearly revealed in papers such as 'Egypt and the Greek Romance', *Actes Wien* (1956), 'Shenoute as a Historical Source', *Actes Varsovie* (1964), and, above all, in his inaugural lecture, *Egyptians and Greeks*, delivered in 1966. Ironically, the somewhat controversial views expressed in the lecture were borne out by important new demotic evidence, the subject of his most recent research, on which he was to give a paper to the Fourteenth Congress of Papyrologists held at Oxford in July of this year. Since he was the most modest of men, Barnes was always ready to consult and collaborate with other experts. Hence, his work on Greek literary texts, especially the articles with H. Lloyd-Jones in *SIFC* 35 (1963) and the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 84 (1964), advance much further than either of the two individuals could have gone on their own—an ideal co-operation between palaeographical skill and literary knowledge. He kept up his interest in Greek papyrology after his appointment to the Professorship of Egyptology, serving on the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Committee and the Organizing Committee for the above-mentioned Oxford Congress of Papyrologists, and indeed only a few hours before his death he had been doing valuable work in its service.











After his election to the Queen's Chair of Egyptology in 1965, Barnes devoted himself wholeheartedly to teaching. Like Gunn, he felt that as a University tutor his chief duty was to his pupils. For their benefit and for that of his subject, he gave unstintingly of his time and energy. His application and stamina were astonishing. He held far more classes per week than was the normal quota, as well as supervising several post-graduate theses. Nor was he ever known to turn away an enthusiastic amateur, once convinced of his or her sincerity. It was characteristic of him that he should abhor his administrative responsibilities as a tiresome intrusion into his already over-full timetable, while never being too busy to give help and encouragement to those in need. Incredibly, he still found time for his own research, producing several articles in this and other learned journals besides pursuing other larger projects. Under his guidance, the Department of Egyptology grew to a new flourishing peak, with more students at all levels than ever before. The Oxford syllabus with its strong emphasis on a thorough training in language suited perfectly his versatile philological talents. His pupils enjoyed the enormous benefits of a tutor with the rare ability to teach with equal facility every stage of the Egyptian language (not to mention Greek and Old Nubian). Fittingly, his greatest strength lay in Coptic—the stage where his Egyptological and theological interests found common ground. His deep sympathy for the Coptic Church and people combined with an intuitive grasp of

their language made him an outstanding teacher and interpreter of Coptic texts. It is particularly sad, therefore, that these abilities were given comparatively little expression in published work, though, fortunately, his volume *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices*, produced in collaboration with Dr. E. A. E. Reymond, appeared towards the end of last year and his contribution to the series of *Nag Hammadi Codices* had, at the time of his death, reached an advanced stage of preparation.

Throughout his life and career, Barns displayed a relentless determination and extraordinary tenacity of purpose in both the pursuit and practice of his chosen field of study. But despite this commitment and dedication, he was far removed from the conventional image of the aloof and austere scholar. Modesty, humility, a thorough lack of pretension, a warm and friendly presence—these were the qualities which characterized him in all his dealings. Among his students he both inspired and radiated affection. His spontaneous understanding of young people and his humane approach to difficulties made him the complete tutor, concerned and careful for their entire, not merely academic, well-being. Being a shy man, he found difficulty in easily establishing a personal relationship, but his friendship, once gained, remained sincere and constant. Though he shunned publicity and ostentation, he was very much an individualist and could on occasion be bluntly outspoken. His friends valued him for his honesty, shrewd judgement, underlying strength of character, and, on the lighter side, for his wonderfully mischievous sense of humour and penchant for deliciously pointed asides. He had strong interests outside the academic sphere. He was a devotee of Renaissance music, a keen philatelist, and an enthusiastic lover of animals, especially cats. Of these and many other things he delighted to talk with students or friends over a cup of coffee or pint of beer. For he loved good company, and no-one could have wished for better company than his. His gifts as a scholar and teacher and as a friend and family man were each of a piece, and in each he left little to be desired.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The ideographic use of  in a group of Old-Kingdom names

THE name  appears in a cursive caption, identifying the figure of a worker, in Moussa and Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1971) pl. 4, and on p. 21 of the same publication it is read Kay-en-nebef, with a reference in n. 85 to Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 340, 7 () and II, 392. In the second case Ranke compares  (PN I, 430, 6),¹ and, like Moussa and Altenmüller, he takes  as the suffix pronoun *i* in this example, but, unlike them, suggests that  may simply represent *nb* in the other case.² Putting aside the last point for the moment, I find it most extraordinary that the writing of the first person singular suffix as , a phenomenon that is scarcely known in inscriptions prior to the end of the Sixth Dynasty,³ should appear in two Fifth-Dynasty names of so similar a pattern, one from Saqqâra and the other from Giza. The coincidence becomes altogether unbelievable when it is perceived that a third example, transcribed as  by Hassan, *Giza* v, 316, is actually , as shown by his pl. 70(E); this is paralleled by  in the unpublished tomb of  at Giza, excavated by Abu Bakr. In all four cases the reading and translation presumably should be *Ki-z-nb-f* 'The *k* of a man is his lord.'⁴

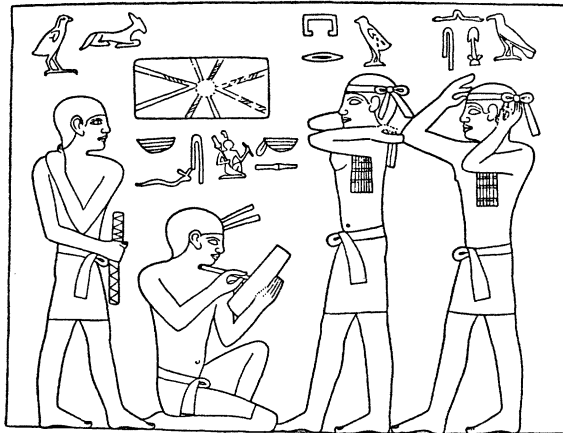












FIG. 1








¹ Subsequently published in H. Kayser, *Die Mastaba von Uhemka* (Hanover, 1964), 33 and 73; Kayser also gives a second, identical example from the same tomb (p. 44), but the drawing (p. 25, upper right) shows only .







² And again, more explicitly, in PN II, 210.

³ Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* § 160, cites Eighth-Dynasty examples from the pyramid texts of *Ṭbi*, as well as the repeated use of  for *n-i* in the long inscription of *Ḥnw* beside the Wenis Causeway at Saqqâra. Although *Ḥnw* has the epithet *imḥw hr Wn̄is*, this does not necessarily mean that he lived in the reign of that king, but may refer to his function as a funerary priest of the king's pyramid temple. The gesture , which appears in the representations of *Ḥnw*, suggests a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom, if not later: cf. L. Klebs, *Reliefs u. Malereien des mittleren Reiches*, 177; C. N. Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs at Naga ed-Dêr*, 100 n. 2; H. Goedicke, *ASAE* 55 (1959), 48-9.

⁴ For the use of ideographic  for *s* 'man' in personal names, cf. the two examples cited in *JEA* 59 (1973), 46 (the first example to be corrected to ); also probably  (Épron *et al. Ti*, pl. 16).

Moreover a fifth name, from the Sixth-Dynasty mastaba of *Snb* at Giza, shows a remarkable resemblance to the other four, and in this case the suffix pronoun is definitely excluded. According to Junker, *Giza* v, 21 and Fig. 8, p. 45 (a detail of which is shown in fig. 1), it is written  and is to be read *Ks-s(w)-nb-f*.¹ But the word  is, as he observes, a *hapax legomenon*, and a re-examination of the original has revealed that the supposed determinative  is actually .² The correct interpretation is therefore *Ks-s-s(w)-nb-f* 'The *ks* of a man, it is his lord'.






A sixth name of closely related meaning is , in which Ranke (*PN* II, 321, 10) again regards  as the first-person suffix pronoun. At any rate he is certainly right in taking this sign as a constituent part of the name, rather than as a determinative referring to the whole of it. Although the name appears at the very end of two architraves that lack any other sort of terminal representation,³ no name-determinative is necessarily to be expected in such a case, and if it did appear, one would more readily expect  than . The remaining alternatives are to take  as a determinative belonging to *nb*⁴ or to interpret it once more as the ideograph meaning 'man'. In the latter case the name would be only slightly different from those considered thus far: 'The *ka* is the lord of a man.' The other alternative seems somewhat less likely, since  is not otherwise known to occur as a determinative of *nb* in personal names, but it yields an interpretation which is more clearly attested in ,⁵ and the resultant meaning—'my *ka* is my lord'—parallels that of the other names, even if it is not identical.

In the last example the writing  leaves no doubt that the reading is *nb* rather than *ny nb*, and the same is probably true of all the writings considered thus far,⁶ although the meaning is scarcely affected if  is translated 'the *ka* of a man belongs to his lord' (or 'the *ka* of a man is one which belongs to his lord').⁷ But in the case of , which derives from an archaic vessel stored beneath the Step Pyramid, and the variant writing , from a late Sixth-Dynasty tomb at Giza,⁸ the reappearance of  strongly suggests that it represents *ny nb*. The transliteration *Ks-(i)-ny-nb-f* yields the meaning 'My *ka* belongs to its lord' or 'My *ka* is one that belongs to its lord'. A still later variation from Saqqâra shows the writing ,⁹ which Gunn reads *Ks-nb-f-wi*








¹ So also Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* § 942; Ranke, *PN* II, 323, 1.


² I am obliged to Marianne Eaton for verifying the form of the hieroglyph in the Cairo Museum. This is not the only case where Junker's draughtsmen have erred in copying an inscription; cf. *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 62.

³ Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux à l'est de la Grande Pyramide de Guizeh*, 26, 27, figs. 17, 18.

⁴ Evidently such a determinative is to be recognized in the statement  'May Hathor grant life to *Ipti*, my lord (*LD* II, 103 [a]), repeated in the next register above, with the omission of );' another example of this kind is  'Ye are beside your lord' (*LD* II, 104 [b]). Probably  (Hassan, *Giza* III, 16 fig. 15) is to be interpreted in the same manner, as well as  in *Urk.* I, 225, 18. Further examples are to be found in BM 527A (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, pl. 15 [1]), and Blackman-Apted, *Meir* v, pl. 26. For this and other determinatives of *nb* see also Fischer, *Dendera*, 143 n. 628.



⁵ BM 1186: James, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, pl. 12.

⁶ It should also be noted that the *n* is absent in  *ks-it-s* (*PN* II, 321, 18) as opposed to  *ks-(i)-n-it-(i)* (Detroit 71.292, from Reisner's G 1301. Indisputable Old-Kingdom examples of  for *nb* are to be found in the epithet *imshw hr nb-f*: e.g. *LD* II, pls. 8, 10, 86b, 91b; Hasson, *Giza* I, 98 fig. 168; III, 151, fig. 127; 208 fig. 173; VI, Pt. 3, 69, fig. 51 () 168, fig. 161; VII, 38, fig. 27 (); Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, pls. 29, 30; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 73 (1), 74 (2). There are also a few examples of  meaning 'all': *LD* II, Pl. 10a; Hasson, *Giza* I, 82, fig. 142. In the last case the aforementioned epithet shows , which is, in general, the more common writing.

⁷ For these variations in meaning cf. Junker's interpretation of , *Giza* II, 158-9.

⁸ Ranke, *PN* II, 392, referring to Vol. I, 340, 7: Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, pl. 91 (3); Junker, *Giza* VII, 72; Abu Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 95A provides another example of the first writing.

⁹ Ranke, loc. cit.: Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 74 (1), 76 (4) and p. 186.

(with a query) and translates 'I am the *ka* of his lord'. If  is interpreted as in the case of *Kj-(i)-ny-nb-f*, this becomes 'I am a *ka* which belongs to his lord'. But it is not certain that the terminal  does not belong to a full writing of *nbw*,¹ in which case the variation is simply a matter of orthography.

HENRY G. FISCHER






A *tm·n·f·sdm* sentence?

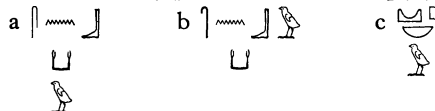
IN discussing the 'emphatic' *sdm·n·f*. H. J. Polotsky² had noted that:

a comparatively simple proof [of the existence of an 'emphatic' *sdm·n·f*—M. G.] is available if the view is accepted that all forms of the suffix conjugation which are negated by *tm* are by this very fact shown to be 'emphatic' (*Études*, 90–1). The mere occurrence of *tm·n·f·sdm* would then suffice to prove the existence of an 'emphatic' *sdm·n·f*. Unfortunately no more than one single example of *tm·n·f·sdm* seems to be on record, and that a New Kingdom one (o.c. 87, bottom).³

The existence of the 'emphatic' *sdm·n·f* has since been conclusively proven by the existence of the negative *n sdm·n·f is*,⁴ but the occurrence of *tm·n·f·sdm* is still very welcome since it will complete the chain of evidences in favour of the Second Tenses and will supply the last missing piece in the jigsaw puzzle of the negative structure of the Second Tenses. A possible good Middle-Egyptian (or should I say Old-Egyptian?) example of *tm·n·f·sdm* is yielded by the Coffin Texts—that treasure-trove of rare and important grammatical forms and syntactic patterns:

CT VI, 414j (T6C),⁵ *Wsr N mꜣꜣt hrw tm·n·t hꜣꜣꜣ n·t m rn·t n it ntrw šm·n·t iwt·t*, 'Osiris N justified, it is into your name of "Father of the Gods" that you did not change.⁶ It is in order to come back that you have departed.' *iwt·t* is a prospective *sdm·f* and is the predicate of *šm·n·t* which is an 'emphatic' *sdm·n·f* of a verb of motion. *šm·n·t iwt·t* is only part of the sentence in *414k* (and *414k* does appear to be a sentence by itself) which, as a whole, presents some difficulties. Taken as it is T6C should be read *šm·n·t iwt·t r sꜣꜣꜣ n·t rs·n·t* and translated 'it is so that you will return to lie down after you shall have woken that you have departed', and I leave to students of Egyptian religion the explanation of this sentence. T10C has a *sdm·f (sꜣꜣꜣ·k)* instead of the infinitive (*r sꜣꜣꜣ n·t*). This *sdm·f* can be explained either as a prospective *sdm·f* in parallel to *r sꜣꜣꜣ n·t* and with the

¹ Edell, *Altäg. Gr.* § 106, compares Coptic $\pi\eta\eta$ and cites  (*Urk.* 1, 180.3); in addition cf. the name  (*PN* 11, 297, 3, citing Hassan, *Giza* 11, pl. 76). It should be noted that, in the name under consideration,  retains the same terminal position not only in a horizontal inscription, as quoted, but also in each of four adjacent vertical columns, where the arrangement of the signs provides less reason for transposing  and . Cf., however, the following writings of *Snbwy-kꜣi* in (a) Hassan, *Giza* VI, Pt. 3, 62, fig. 44, and (b) 56, fig. 40, (also written normally in 69, fig. 51), and of *Dw-pw-nb(i)* in (c) *ibid.* 62, fig. 44; 63, fig. 45. In the last case, of course, it is theoretically possible to read *Dw-p(w)-nbw(i)*:



² *Rev. d'ég.* 11 (1957), 109–17. Now conveniently assembled together with most of Polotsky's publications in *Collected Papers* by J. H. Polotsky (Jerusalem, 1971). See pp. 43–51.

³ *Rev. d'ég.* 11, 109 n. 3. See also p. 117 for a 'pseudo-archaism' *ir·n·f tm sdm* from the Nauri Decree, 107 (19th Dynasty).

⁴ Cf. H. Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen*, (Berlin, 1968), § 46; *Orientalia* 38 (1969), 471 bottom; *JEA* 56 (1970), 209; *Göttinger Miszellen* 2 (1972), 56–9.

⁵ This is a woman's coffin. The only other version (T10C) appears to be corrupted in the beginning and made to look like the negative *tm* in the opening of spells, i.e. the negation of the infinitive.

⁶ This is the grammatically correct translation. Cf. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte*, 31, B. (p. 87). The idea is that the deceased did not turn to be Osiris, i.e. she did not actually die but will eventually join the living again.

same meaning, or as an 'emphatic' *sdm:f* which will yield two different translations: the first essentially the same as the preceding one 'it is in order to come back that you have gone; it is after being awake that you will sleep', while the other will give a theologically more 'desirable' meaning 'scarcely will you have gone when you return; no sooner shall you lie down than you shall have woken'. On the whole T6C appears to be the better version.

But, welcome as it would be, the *tm:n:f sdm* here is doubtful, since *tm:n:t* can equally well be translated here as the full verb *tm* (and not the negative verb) and *hpr* can be a *sdm:n:f* form:¹ 'it is in your name of "Father of the Gods" that you ceased to exist and came into being' or even better 'no sooner have you ceased than you will have come into being in your name of "Father of the Gods"'. The decision between the two possibilities is left to the reader, who should note that whatever be the case, the *tm:n:t* is a Second Tense.²

MORDECHAI GILULA

Was there a coregency of Aḥmose with Amenophis I?

IN his excellent studies on *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (Toronto, 1967), when dealing with the coregencies of the early New Kingdom, D. Redford states that 'for a coregency of Aḥmose with Amenhotpe I there is scarcely any evidence', and continues: 'Their cartouches are occasionally found juxtaposed,³ but no double-dated inscriptions occur, and the biographies of men who lived through the two reigns do not even hint at a coregency' (p. 51).

This is certainly true, and if we had no other evidence, we indeed ought to disregard the possibility of a coregency, as the mere existence of juxtaposed cartouches is not too valid and must be considered with due caution.⁴ I wish, however, to draw attention to a monument which may induce a revision of the current opinion, namely the stela of the chief treasurer Neferrenpet commemorating the inauguration of new limestone quarries at Tura in the twenty-second year of King Aḥmose.⁵ The inscription of this stela mentions the Great King's Consort of Aḥmose, Queen Aḥmose Nefertari, giving her also the title 'King's Mother'.⁶ As it is evident that her husband was still alive at that time, one might well be amazed at the occurrence of the title 'King's Mother'. Sethe,⁷ in his translation of the text, gives an explanation of this strange fact: according to him, the title designates the Queen 'wie oft als Mutter eines thronberechtigten Prinzen'. I must confess that I have been unable to detect the testimonies which could support this assertion. It is a matter of debate whether the inscription in question alludes to the Crown Prince when speaking of the King's Mother, but it seems to me to be a very misleading error to postulate that such a use of this title occurs often. The solution of the problem depends on the question whether or not the title spoken of implies only the conception that the son of the Royal Consort is destined to succession to the throne, i.e. in other words, whether or not the title is conferred on the Queen already before the accession of the Crown Prince. If this were so, we could never know with absolute certainty if he became king—unless we knew it from other evidence, together with his parentage—since various reasons might have kept him from kingship. This interpretation is apparently that of Sethe in his above-cited commentary on the passage, but fortunately the true meaning of the title 'King's Mother' can be inferred from its occurrences in the documents: it denotes, in fact,

¹ This has been indicated to me by Polotsky who prefers the second reading because of the parallelism, and I am indebted to him for strengthening my doubts.

² Being a bare initial *sdm:n:f* at the beginning of direct speech. See Polotsky 'Egyptian Tenses', *The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, II, No. 5 (1965), 16–19, §§ 35–40 (= *Collected Papers*, 86–9).

³ Reference cited by Redford: G. Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire* (Geneva, 1908), Nos. 15 and 17 (an amulet from Abydos and the fragment of a stela from Gebelein, both containing the Rēc-names of the two kings).

⁴ Cf. Redford in *JEA* 51 (1965), 116 f.

⁶ *Ibid.* 25, lines 4 and 5.

⁵ *Urk.* IV, 24 f. (two identical texts).

⁷ *Urk. der 18. Dynastie*, 13 n. 5.

the mother of the actually reigning, not of the future king; and this seems logical also to us.¹ Such a use of the title was without doubt that generally assumed by most scholars who utilized it in genealogical investigations,² taking its significance as self-evident. In order to obtain sufficient certainty about this title I have collected the relevant materials which, together with the results of my studies, I hope to publish elsewhere.

Accepting this interpretation of the title 'King's Mother', one should apply it also to the inscription under discussion. Accordingly, we must concede that the son of both Aḥmose and Aḥmose-Nefertari, Amenophis I, had already acceded to the throne in the year 22 of Aḥmose, ruling then together with his father. This conclusion is strongly supported by the date of the stela, representing the highest known regnal year of Aḥmose, who is generally credited with having ruled for a period of *c.* twenty-five years.³ It allows us to assume a minimal duration of coregency, thus explaining the scantiness of positive evidence suggesting a coregency between the two rulers.

In the light of this important testimony, which has not yet been given due consideration—rather strangely, it seems to me—the occurrences of juxtaposition (see above and note 1) also gain in argumentative force. Likewise, we need not fear an overlapping of regnal dates of Amenophis I with those of his senior partner⁴ and predecessor. The former obviously numbered his years beginning from his father's death.⁵

Other monuments that designate Queen Aḥmose Nefertari with the title 'King's Mother' are to be dated to the period of the coregency of Aḥmose and Amenophis I, or to that of the latter's sole rule.⁶

I do not claim to offer here a complete study of matters relating to a coregency of the two kings; it is merely my intention to show—as far as I can see, for the first time—the strong probability of such a coregency.

GÜNTHER VITTMANN

The collapse of the Meidum pyramid

IN the last volume of this Journal,⁷ Dr. Mendelssohn put forward the theory that the collapse of the outer layers of the Meidum pyramid 'occurred in the final building stage . . . when the outer stone mantle, giving the building its pyramidal shape, was being completed'. Although he repeats this assertion in his Conclusions, adducing as the reason that 'its structure had a number of inherent weaknesses', he makes it clear in the course of his article that he does not mean to exclude the possibility that it did not happen all at once, or, more specifically, that 'for some time parts of the masonry remained in a precarious position at higher levels only to crash down eventually'. He is well aware of the difficulty in reconciling the existence of the New-Kingdom and other graffiti on the walls of the small mortuary temple attached to the east side of the pyramid with his theory that the collapse took place at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, and he conjectures that the temple may have been dug out 'either immediately after the disaster or during the First Intermediate Period when tomb robbers may have entered the pyramid'.

¹ I am aware of the problem offered by the circumstance that Queen Aḥḥotpe II, wife of Amenophis I, bears the title under discussion, there being, however, no son of hers to whom it could apparently refer; cf. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (1959), 52. Whatever may be the truth in this case, I do not believe that it really diminishes the validity of conclusions based on the occurrence of the title 'King's Mother' in the present inscription, especially since the other testimonies do not seem to contradict our conception of this title as expressed above.

² I have done so myself in a study on the Queen Khedeb-Neith-iret-binet of the Saïte Period (to be published shortly).

³ Cf. Redford, *JNES* 25 (1966), 114.

⁴ For the terminology cf. the article of Simpson in *JNES* 15 (1956), 214 ff.

⁵ This seems to be the case in other possible coregencies of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, see Redford, *History and Chronology*, 54.

⁶ Cf. the statement of Hayes, *op. cit.* 44, and fig. 21.

⁷ *JEA* 59 (1973), 60–71.

Petrie's¹ account of his excavation in 1891–2 leaves little room for doubt that the temple had remained completely covered by masonry from the time of the collapse of the east face of the pyramid. He describes the problems which he encountered in moving the overlying 'large blocks of casing and other stones from the pyramid', and he certainly found no evidence which suggested to him that it had ever been cleared in antiquity and been reburied. Still, the theoretical possibility cannot be denied that the casing of the east face, or the part of it above the temple, remained *in situ* until a time after the Eighteenth Dynasty, the date of the latest graffiti. But it seems to be forcing the evidence to fit the theory.

The main question at issue is not whether Dr. Mendelssohn is right in his contention that the collapse was a result of structural weakness, which seems probable, but when it occurred. What appears to be a clue for determining the *terminus a quo* is offered by the graffiti of the scribe May, who came to see 'the very great pyramid'² in the 30th year of king Amenophis III (*c.* 1387 B.C.). It is very hard to believe that he would have described the pyramid as 'very great' if it was already in a state of partial disintegration when he visited it. The ancient Egyptians were quite capable of recording that their monuments were in a ruined condition, though their purpose in doing so was generally to claim credit for restoring them.

Until further excavation has revealed what lies beneath the sand and fallen masonry at both the Meidum pyramid and the northern pyramid at Dahshûr, the tracing of the building sequence of these monuments and their relationship to the Bent Pyramid are bound to remain speculative. If the outer layers of the Meidum pyramid did not collapse in the final building phase (*c.* 2590 B.C.), but even a few years later (to say nothing of more than a thousand years later), the builders of the two other pyramids could not have been influenced by 'the disaster'. Dr. Mendelssohn believes that much of the structure was destroyed 'within a few minutes', perhaps 'triggered off by a heavy rainfall' which washed away the sand beneath the foot of the outer mantle. The present writer is more inclined to think that the cause of the collapse was an earth-tremor (an infrequent occurrence in Egypt, but one which has been responsible for the destruction of other monuments), and that it happened in the New Kingdom, after the time of Amenophis III. I. E. S. EDWARDS

A further re-appraisal of the terms: *Nhh* and *Dt*³

WHEN in 1953 I communicated to the *JEA* observations on the possible connotations of the two terms: *nhh* and *dt*,⁴ I did not ever imagine that they would still be a subject of controversy.⁵

My remarks were, in fact, written with a definite object in view. Ultimately, this object was an endeavour to offer a definition of these terms based on the setting and destiny of the life-span of individuals, permanently identified with an unchangeable cycle of days and nights, as well as on what each person had to face during his lifetime. This also happened to be intrinsically governed

¹ *Medum*, 3.

² F. Ll. Griffith, in Petrie, *op. cit.* 41 and pl. 36 (No. 17).

³ I wish to point out that this reappraisal was prompted by the fact that I am in the process of editing the Calendar in P. Sallier IV in parallel with the text of P. Cairo Calendar no. 86637, already published in 1966. This new edition will, I hope, incorporate the commentary on the mythological entries in the calendar, as well as a revision and sifting of the notes already published.

⁴ See *JEA* 39 (1953), 110; also consult references in Žabkar's review cited in the next footnote.

⁵ In this connection I am deeply indebted to Professor L. Žabkar's review of T. G. Allen's edition of the *Book of the Dead* in *JNES* 24 (1965), 75–87, as it was through his review that I became inspired to reconsider my original remarks published in 1953 (see note 2 above). To his numerous references I may add: E. Hornung, 'Zum ägyptischen Ewigkeitsbegriff', in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 39 (1965), 334–6.

by certain mythological events.¹ The predestined events of a person's life were predicted at the time of his 'birth', that is the *hst* of his life.²

As the calendar is intended to be authentic in every detail,³ and no less permanently applicable since it is compiled by the gods in the presence of the god of the universe,⁴ it is quite natural for me to regard the 'Now' or life-span of the individual, together with the events regulating the nature of a particular cycle of days and nights, as disclosing a conception of 'infinity'. 'Limited time', I feel, is nothing but an arbitrary concept, never admitted by the Egyptians in our calendar in any case.

It is universally accepted that the Egyptians regarded life as 'everlasting', and death as only a phenomenon bringing about another phase of life, static in nature. This stress on 'immortality' is clearly attested by such a reference as that to the death of King Wenis: 'You did not die, you departed alive.'⁵ Thus, the 'future' also implies the conception of 'infinity' or 'everlastingness'.

Concerning the 'past' which is, in fact, in continuity with the lapse of time, it is only considered to be such, when the 'Now' is changed into 'future'. Indeed, there is no 'past', there is 'eternity' and 'infinity' throughout. There are no demarcation lines between the divisions of our so-called time. It appears to me, in accordance with the Egyptian conception, that it is a continually and infinitely repetitive existence—a flowing astronomical rotation, as well as recurring biological changes, human or otherwise.

As to the 'beginning', *hst*, it is to be observed that a biological birth is the fundamental basis of the conception of the 'beginning of life', and the continuous daily recurrence of this phenomenon would constitute the idea of an 'eternal' beginning.⁶ It matters little whether it is astral, human, or animal birth. So, the annual phenomenon of the inundation of the Nile was also a reminder of the 'beginning' of things—indeed, in the sense of the emergence of the flooded land, as the Nile returned to its land each year, it was a re-creation of the world,⁷ and the *hst* and *nhh* are thus inextricably interwoven. They are also associated with the emergence of the sun from Nun, although at what moment in time this occurred, Egyptian texts do not tell us.⁸ No wonder then that the term *nhh* has the sun disc as determinative, which clearly points to this conception of 'light' and 'time'.⁹ It may furthermore cover the 'life span' of the person.¹⁰

Whereas *hst* 'beginning' precedes *nhh*, *phwy*, '(literally) two ends', introduces *dt*. In the context of the calendar, one comes to the realization that the moment one is born, one begins to journey inexorably from one end of one's life, or, as the Egyptians express it, to *šsp*, 'receive', it (i.e. one end of *dt*).¹¹ This act of receiving could thus solve the apparent difficulty of the interchangeable usage of both terms, *nhh* and *dt*, when referring to the person's life-span. It is, as well, very likely that since life is but a phenomenon of an eternal cycle of days and nights, *dt* may refer to the nocturnal part of it. This is quite clear from the Egyptian explanation of Spell 17 of the

¹ Cf. such clichés: *Msw nb m hrw pn mwt-f n* etc. . . . (see my *Cairo Calendar*, the list on p. 125).

² 'Birth' is to be paralleled with the *mswt* 'birth' (or even the creation of the cosmos) of the sun on the first day of the calendar (*rt* iii, 3 ff.). Indeed, it is the 'beginning' of the calendar.

³ Cf. *rt*. i, 1: *hrw pn m tr:f gmyt r šš isw* 'today, in its fixed time (i.e. in its destined time); what has been found in the writings of ancient times'.

⁴ Cf. *rt*. iii, 1 ff.

⁵ *Pyr.* 134a.

⁶ Cf. S. G. F. Brandon, *Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1963), 4.

⁷ Cf. Brandon, *op. cit.* 68.

⁸ Cf. *Cairo Calendar*, *rt*. iii, 3 ff.; also *rt*. vi for the Legend of the Creation.

⁹ Spell 17 of the *Book of the Dead* explains that '*Nhh* means day, and *dt* means night', cited again below, p. 254 n. 1.

¹⁰ Cf. Žabkar's review, 81 n. 46: *Tw hcrw-k nhh* 'Your life span is *nhh*'—Bergmann, *Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit*, lines 75, 76.

¹¹ For more references to similar implications I refer the reader to 78 n. 2 of Žabkar's review.

Book of the Dead,¹ particularly as *dt* is frequently identified with the netherworld and its permanent darkness,² the 'other end' of *dt*. Furthermore, the land determinative of *dt* may bear more upon the 'physical or corporeal span'³ as represented by the stretch of land itself, just as the idea suggested by the similar determinative of *ḥrw* indicates the 'time-span'.⁴

From the above evidence, such a passage as *spr-kwi r niwt nt nhḥs* (though *niwt nt nhḥ* refers to the 'city of the dead') may be explained, in the light of Egyptian beliefs about death, as the 'city of the other phase of life which is eternal, namely death, and which is characterized by daily resurrection with the rising of the sun'. *cnḥ dt r nhḥ*, though a stereotyped phrase, may be translated by 'living everlastingly', in a general sense. *Dt*, in this case, may possibly indicate, *in extenso*, the darkness of the netherworld while *nhḥ* very likely points to 'going forth into day' (i.e. the daily resurrection)—also an eternal cycle.⁶ Along similar lines, the passage *Iw ḥrw-k nhḥ nsyt-k dt ḥnty-k pw ḥm-sk iw-k rnpw r nhḥ dt* which occurs in the book of *Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit*, lines 75–7, and is thus mainly associated with the deceased in the netherworld, could convey this general meaning:⁷ 'your life-span is an eternal coming into light (with reference to the daily resurrection of the dead), your kingship (as "Osiris") is the eternal darkness (of the underworld), that is to say,⁸ indestructible are (both) your ends (of life-span), while you are keeping young throughout (lit. until) day and darkness (i.e. eternal cycle or every day).' I believe that these interpretations agree with the Egyptian beliefs about life after death.

To sum up, *nhḥ* and *dt* imply 'infinity' and 'everlastingness' respectively. They are sometimes interchangeable in usage, for the simple reason that the Egyptians believed in immortality displayed by an eternal cycle of light and darkness, regardless of the cessation of one's activities through death. It should also be borne in mind that 'infinity' is identified with the creation of the cosmos and the 'birth' or 'beginning' of existence, while *dt* 'everlastingness' is not in any case concerned with the creation of the world, and that 'dynamic life' is associated with an everlasting rotation of 'days' and 'nights'. After all, *nhḥ* and *dt* in some cases refer to 'day' and 'night', and therefore, suggest the perpetual cycle, i.e. eternity.⁹ Time is also limitless; nevertheless, it is characterized by two eternally recurring individual phenomena, namely: 'birth' or 'coming to light' and 'death' or 'darkness with the end of physical activity'. As for the use of *ⲉⲛⲉⲓ* in the Coptic era to express 'eternity', it seems that the Egyptians laid more stress on the abstract conception of limitless time than on the eternal cycle of day and darkness.

Assuming that the definitions suggested above for *nhḥ* and *dt* are plausible and justifiable, it is to be hoped that these suggestions provide convincing answers to the apparent divergencies in their usages in all the examples cited by L. Žabkar in his review of Allen's *Book of the Dead*.

ABD-EL-MOHSEN BAKIR

¹ See above, p. 253 n. 9; cf. Žabkar's review, p. 78.

² Cf. Žabkar's review, 81 n. 48, also pp. 79 ff.

³ This connotation is based on the original meaning of *dt* 'body' or 'corporeal existence'.

⁴ Cf. *Wb.* III, 106 where it cites the '*ḥnty* of *nhḥ*' and the '*ḥnty* of *dt*' in addition to the well known *phwy dt*; also cf. *ḥrw* with land determinative in R. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of M. Egyptian*, 48.

⁵ *Urk.* IV, 1453.

⁶ Indeed 'every day' (i.e. 'eternal cycle') in the Ptolemaic Period is sometimes expressed by the ideograms of the sun and the moon (*Wb.* II, 402, 5).

⁷ My explanation is to be compared with that in Žabkar's review, p. 81 and n. 46.

⁸ This is one of the usages of *pw*.

⁹ Žabkar thinks that this idea of 'eternity' has probably an un-Egyptian origin—see p. 83 of his review. The Cairo Calendar, however, seems to repudiate it since it was compiled for the Egyptians long before the Imperial Period; cf. my introduction to the Calendar, also *rt.* iii.

Pharaoh Nechepso

NEVER in its long history did Ancient Egypt exert more influence over its neighbours than at its end, in the last centuries before Christ, when the old Pharaonic civilisation captured the receptive mind of the Greek world and laid down the foundations of our own. Of the many examples of Egyptian learning, or pseudo-learning, embraced by the Greeks and Romans one achieved particular importance. The fragments of the celebrated astrological manual of Nechepso and Petosiris, translated into Greek, were collected long ago by Riess (Sixth Supplement to *Philologia*, [1891-3], 327-94; see now the observations of P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* [Oxford, 1972], II, 630 n. 489). Of Petosiris nothing is known, save that the name corresponds to the Egyptian *Pṣ-(i)di-Wsir*. Nechepso, however, is more interesting. He is said in several passages to be a king, with whom Petosiris was in correspondence. In spite of this, there are strong reasons for dating the compilation of this astrology to the second century B.C., more particularly to the reign of Philometor (Fraser, op. cit. I, 437), and it is therefore clear that Nechepso must be a figure taken from tradition. Now a Pharaoh *Nεχεψώς* is indeed known from the pages of Manetho (Waddell, fr. 68-9), as a king of Saïs who preceded Psammetichus I, but it is not easy to equate him with his namesake, and Fraser understandably concludes that 'he seems to be a product of misunderstanding or fantasy' (op. cit. II, 631 n. 492). From the position of Manetho's Nechepso in the lists, Petrie sought to identify him with a Nekau or Nekau-ba known to him from the counterpoise of a *menat* (*History of Egypt*, III, 317-18); this identification has been followed elsewhere, notably in Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, III, 414, von Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrer*, 56, and recently by Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 146, § 117). This equation is interesting, for it looks as if Nekau-ba, written with the hieroglyph for ram, has been interpreted at some stage as *N(y)-kꜣw pꜣ sr* 'Necho the Ram'. This may well appear in Greek as *Nεχεψώ* or **Nεχεψοῦ*. Whether this is the original reading of the name, or only a later misinterpretation, is probably not a question of crucial importance. More interesting is the place of Necho 'the Ram' in Egyptian history. He appears to be the predecessor of the first Necho, father of Psammetichus I: Kitchen, (op. cit. 468 [Table 4]), gives him a revised reign of [1]6 years, which he assesses at c. 688-672 B.C. If this is correct, it will follow that Nechepso of Saïs lived in the same city as, and within a generation of, the renowned Bocchoris (c. 720-715 in the above scheme). The Greeks clearly had access to a large number of legends and traditions concerning this latter king (cf. among others, Moret, *De Bocchori Rege* [1903], J. M. A. Janssen, *Over farao Bocchoris*, in *Varia Historica . . . A. W. Byvanck* (1954), and Yoyotte *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 4 (1961), § 58 ff.). Notable among these fables is the statement of Manetho that 'in his time a lamb spoke'. More utterances of this inspired but gloomy animal are recorded for us in a Vienna fragment dated to the thirty-fourth year of Augustus (Krall, *Vom König Bokchoris in Festgabe zu Ehren Max Büdinger's* (1898), 1 ff.; cf. the remarks of E. Meyer, *ZÄS* 46 (1909), 135-6. I owe these references to Mr. A. F. Shore of the British Museum). The said lamb, of monstrous appearance, seems to have predicted the deportation of Egypt's gods to Nineveh, and then to have expired. Now from lamb to ram is not a great step, except perhaps for the sheepish, but it would obviously be rash to identify our prophetic lamb with Pharaoh Nechepso. The safer conclusion would be that a consistent tradition survived into Greek times connecting the early Saïte princelings and the oracles of sacred rams, a tradition which produced both the legends of Bocchoris, and the reputation of Nechepso as a just king concerned with prophecy, upon whom works of astrology could be fathered (Firmicus Maternus 4. 22, 2: Fraser, op. cit., II, 645 n. 549).

The persistence of such a tradition itself raises questions. Bocchoris and Nechepso were doubtless obscure figures, certainly in comparison with the major Pharaohs of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty; yet we know more about Bocchoris, even if much coloured by legend, than we do of Psammetichus II or even Apries. Why should this be? There is now an increasing body of evidence, textual,

technical, and architectural, that the Egypt of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, divided into its many principalities, was a period not of stale archaism, but of great originality and creative force. One of the major innovations of the Late Period was the invention of demotic. On this subject the views of Griffith in his Introduction to the brilliant *Rylands* catalogue are well known: that the demotic script was a deliberate adaptation from the hieratic of Lower Egypt, while the forms of Upper Egypt gave rise to the so-called 'abnormal hieratic' of the Thebaid, and that from a home in the Delta the new script spread southwards to Middle Egypt, where it is encountered at el-Hibeh in the early years of Psammetichus I. Would it be too far fetched, therefore, to see in this original Delta home the Saïs of Bocchoris and Necho 'the Ram'? Against this, of course, it may be urged that demotic, at the time of its invention, would have been the medium only for book-keeping and commerce, not for the sort of material which gathered around the personalities of Pharaohs; but not long would have elapsed before the possibilities of the new script were developed, and once this had happened there would have been at Saïs a substantial body of such material, in a readable form, freely available. The growing power of a Saïte Dynasty after 640 would have helped to spread these traditions of its early kings to Memphis, and finally to the whole of Egypt.

We have come some way from Nechepso and Petosiris and their book of astrology, and of course it is impossible to be sure that any portion of the work was truly written by an early king of Saïs, any more than we can verify the tradition that ascribed an important medical work to Athothis ('Aḥa or Djer) of Dynasty I. It is equally impossible for us to know what, if anything, king Nechepso wrote; astrology in the strict sense was apparently unknown in Egypt before the Achaemenid period (cf. Parker, *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse- and Lunar Omina, passim*). The original work of Nechepso may indeed have been an omen-text of some kind, but the details are lost, and will remain so until the day that the decimated papyri of Egypt are restored to us. J. D. RAY

The archives of the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra. A progress report

IN the Preliminary Reports of the Society's excavations at North Saqqâra since 1964 and in notes included in Editorials to volumes of this Journal, brief accounts have appeared of the documents in Egyptian, Aramaic, Carian, Greek, Coptic and Latin discovered in various parts of the necropolis.¹ In this note a summary is given of the present state of the material, and of the plans so far made by the Society for its publication. These plans are naturally subject to revision.

Papyri

All the papyrus fragments found are now glassed and temporarily bound and are at present stored in a sealed magazine at North Saqqâra, while their study is being completed.

Hieratic. Eighteen hieratic fragments (two joined) have been registered; all come from religious, funerary, or magical works of the Late Period. All are small. They will be published by Mr. W. J. Tait, Lady Wallis Budge Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge.

Demotic. 762 demotic fragments have been registered; these are reduced to a total of 732 by thirty joins. About thirty of these are complete or nearly complete documents, mostly short letters. The following volumes are so far planned:

- Mr. G. R. Biggs (Queen's College, Cambridge): Letters, Legal and Miscellaneous Documents (44 papyri).
- Prof. R. H. Pierce (Bergen University, Norway): Legal Instruments and Protocols (approx. 142 papyri).
- Prof. H. S. Smith, Mr. W. J. Tait, and Mr. J. D. Ray (Birmingham University): Literary Papyri, Letters and Texts of mythological and religious interest (approx. 80 papyri).

¹ See especially *JEA* 52, 3-5; 53, 143-4; 54, 2; 55, 34-5; 56, 7-8; 57, 5-6, 11-12.

Though quantitatively the material at present being prepared for publication is not much over a third of the whole, it comprises most of the more valuable material with the exception of the accounts. Fully dated documents, which are few, range from the reign of Darius I to Alexander (either III or IV); the date range of the whole archive may of course be wider.

Aramaic. 205 fragments of papyrus bearing Aramaic script of the fifth to fourth centuries B.C. have been registered, but the majority of these are very small pieces indeed; only a few yield connected text of value. They are being edited for the Society by Prof. J. B. Segal of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Greek. Thirty-three fragments of papyrus inscribed in Greek have been registered. They belong in two chronological groups; documents of c. fifth to fourth century B.C. date belonging to the period when the shrines and burial places of the sacred animals were in use, and documents of the Byzantine period when the site was occupied by a Christian community. They are to be published under the editorship of Professor E. G. Turner.

Arabic. Fragments of one administrative document have so far been found and registered. It belongs to the time of the early Muslim occupation of Egypt.

Stelae and inscriptions from the catacombs

The Baboon Galleries. One incised Greek inscription (re-used), six limestone blocking panels from burial niches, one demotic stela, and a large number of incised and ink graffiti in hieroglyphic and demotic have been recorded. They are all undated and] perhaps range from the fourth to the first century B.C. They are to be published by the late Prof. J. W. B. Barns of Oxford University and Mr. J. D. Ray.

Mother of Apis Gallery. Approximately 130 stelae or inscriptions from the masonry blockings of the vaults in which the cows were buried have been recovered; about half of these are tolerably complete, but the texts, the great majority of which are written in ink in demotic, are often rubbed or faded. Dated inscriptions range from the time of Darius I (with a mention of an event in the reign of Amosis II) to that of Cleopatra VII. The inscriptions, including the few hieratic and hieroglyphic exemplars, are to be published by Prof. H. S. Smith and Miss C. A. R. Andrews of the British Museum.¹

Falcon Galleries. One demotic stela inscribed in ink dated to the first century B.C. and fourteen ink graffiti in demotic were discovered. It is hoped that they will be included with the Baboon inscriptions to be published by Mr. Ray.

Ibis Galleries. No inscribed monuments were found in either the North or South Ibis Catacombs. In the environs of the temple outside the entrance to the South Ibis Galleries, however, there were found in 1965–6 some twenty-five ostraca inscribed in ink in demotic and twenty-eight in Greek concerned with the affairs of a scribe called Ḥor from the Sebennyte nome; they were complemented by some further twenty ostraca discovered in the same area in 1971–2. The ostraca date from the first half of the second century B.C. The Greek texts have been published by Prof. E. G. Turner and Mr. T. C. Skeat;² the demotic archive will be published by Mr. J. D. Ray, with certain other related texts or ostraca from the site.

Hieroglyphic inscriptions

Stelae, etc. Stelae and stone monuments from the site bearing hieroglyphic Egyptian inscriptions will be published integrally by Dr. G. T. Martin, University College London in a volume entitled

¹ A list of the dated Mother-of-Apis stelae with a brief commentary is published in the volume of the *Revue d'Égyptologie* dedicated to Prof. M. Malinine, Vol. 24 (1972), 176 ff.

² T. C. Skeat and E. G. Turner, 'An Oracle of Hermes Trismegistos at Saqqâra', *JEA* 54, 199 ff.

The tomb of Hetep-ka and other Reliefs and Inscriptions from North Saqqâra, 1964-72. They comprise: (i) the Fifth-Dynasty mastaba of Hetep-ka; (ii) relief fragments, lintels, jambs, false-door stelae, offering-tables and other inscribed blocks from Old-Kingdom mastabas; (iii) blocks from a temple of the Ramesside period; (iv) stelae, lintels, jambs, offering-tables and miscellaneous inscribed stonework of the Saïte, Persian, and Ptolemaic Period; (v) inscriptions on statuary.

Inscriptions on Bronze Figurines. These will be published in a catalogue of bronzes from the Society's excavations at North Saqqâra to be prepared by Mr. J. R. Baines of Durham University.

Carian stelae

A total of fifty-eight whole or broken Carian stelae were recovered from the Baboon catacomb and the area of the temple shrines in 1968-70. These are being published by Prof. O. Masson of the University of Paris, with a contribution on the Egyptian inscriptions on certain of them by Dr. G. T. Martin.

Coptic texts

A small number of Coptic texts from the Christian village in Sector 3, dating to the early centuries of the Christian era in Egypt, will be published in Dr. Martin's volume *The Tomb of Hetep-ka*, etc. by Dr. A. B. Lloyd of the University College of Swansea. Coptic grave stelae from the cemetery in Sector 7 South of the Temple Platform will be published by Dr. Lloyd in Dr. Martin's site report on that area.

Latin inscription

A Latin inscription found on the Temple Terrace has been edited by Dr. J. Wilkes of Birmingham University, and will be published in Dr. Martin's volume *The Tomb of Hetep-ka*, etc.

Ostraca

Eleven Aramaic ostraca recovered from the site will be published by Prof. J. B. Segal with the Aramaic papyri.

A very large number of ostraca with demotic ink inscriptions, mostly brief dedications or jottings, have been recovered from the site. Apart from those belonging to the Archive of the scribe Hor of the Sebennyte nome being published by Mr. Ray, these have not yet been studied in detail. Some of those bearing dedications to deities worshipped at the site may be included with the publications of inscriptions from the relevant catacombs.

Ostraca with Greek cursive inscriptions in red ink of the Byzantine period form a special category, which has not yet been studied.

Other Inscribed Objects. A wide variety of objects recovered from the site bear demotic and hieroglyphic Egyptian inscriptions; instances are temple furniture, offering tables, stone and faience vessels and objects of daily use. In general these inscriptions will be published with the objects in the object catalogues.

H. S. SMITH

An additional note on 'Cylindrical Amulet Cases'

SINCE the publication of the writer's brief note on Egyptian amulet cases in the previous issue of this journal¹ an important article on related amulet cases has appeared in print which it seems worthwhile to call attention to here. Brigitte Quillard writing about 'Les Étuis Porte-Amulettes Carthagois'² describes and illustrates many examples of amulet cases from Carthage, Spain, and the

¹ *JEA* 59 (1973), 231-3.

² *Karthago* 16 (1973), 5-32.

Western Mediterranean in general. Many of these are clearly of Egyptian form bearing representations of such deities as Sakhmet, Bastet, Horus, and Amen-Rē. Presumably they owe their presence to Phoenician influence.

Some of these cases contain thin metal ribbons and the representations on these are also of great interest as they show the somewhat debased and, to Egyptological eyes, weird forms of Egyptianizing art and religion to be found in the Phoenician colonies. The strange processions of deities are reminiscent of the later 'gnostic' art such as intaglios, and indeed bring to mind the thought that the thin gold strip from Malta illustrated by Montfaucon¹ and, on account of its mock-Egyptian character, thought to be an early example (early eighteenth century) of the forger's work, might in reality be such a ribbon from an amulet case. Even so a purist might still consider it a forgery if, as Ménant, he believed that Phoenician art 'is a permanent forgery'.²

Coming back to Quillard's article, I can say that although she does not discuss the Egyptian examples of amulet cases in any detail, she does deal with closely related examples that must have a bearing on our study of the all too few specimens of such cases that have come from Egyptian soil. Slowly we may be able to piece together the development and diffusion of amulet cases and have a clearer idea of their use and place in ancient societies in Western Asia and around the Mediterranean.

J. M. OGDEN

A Note on P. Lond. 854

PROFESSOR JACQUES SCHWARTZ has placed all papyrologists in his debt by his publication *Les Archives de Sarapion et de ses fils* (IFAO, Bibliothèque d'Étude, t. 29, 1961), in which he has re-assembled in masterly fashion a group of papyri dispersed among many different collections. As no. 101 he re-edits, with bibliography, the well known P. Lond. 854, in which the writer, Nearchos, refers to the practice, common to tourists throughout the ages, of carving inscriptions on the monuments he had visited. Since the document is so brief, it will be convenient to print the entire text as given by Schwartz:³

Νέαρχος . . [
 πολλῶν τοῦ κα . [
 καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πλεῖ . ρ . [
 μένων ἵνα τὰς χει[ρ]οποιή[τους τέ-
 5 χνας ἱστορήσωσι, ἐγὼ παρεπ[ουισ]ά-
 μην καὶ ἀράμενος ἀνάπλο[υν π]αρ[α-
 γενόμ[ην] εἰς τε Σοήγας καὶ ὄθεν τυ[γ]χά-
 νει Νεῖλος ῥέων καὶ εἰς Λιβύην ὅπου
 Ἀμμων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις χρησιμωδεῖ
 10 [. .] . ντομα . ἱστορήσα καὶ τῶν φίλων
 ἐμ[ῶν] τὰ ὀνόματα ἐνεχάραξα τοῖς ἰε-
 ροῖς ἀειμνάτως, τὸ προσκύνημα

(traces of two effaced lines)

Verso: 'Ἡλιοδώρω

The purpose of this note is not to offer yet another edition of the papyrus, but only to propound a solution of the *crux* at the beginning of l. 10, which has baffled every editor from Kenyon in

¹ B. de Montfaucon *Antiquité expliquée* (1719), Vol. 2/2 pl. 136. For its recent condemnation see for example O. Kurz, *Fakes* (London, 1948).

² A. Ménant, *AJA* 11 (1887), 31.

³ I have substituted dots for the underlines used by Schwartz to indicate imperfectly preserved letters.

1907 to the present day. Kenyon, it may be recalled (P. Lond. iii, p. 206) printed [...] *εῦτομα*, which he suggested might be a mistake for *ευ(σ)τομα*, and later commentators have generally accepted this suggestion in preference to trying to extract some appropriate meaning from *εὔτομα*: Leclant, for instance, who acknowledges receiving assistance from Guéraud, translates *εὔστομα ἱστορήσα* 'J'y ai reçu des révélations (secrètes)', Deissmann '(Ich) habe Ansprechendes erfahren,' and so on, though Schwartz prudently leaves a blank at this point. Whether these translations are acceptable or not is, however, beside the point, since inspection of the papyrus has convinced me that in any case *εῦτομα* cannot be read; instead, the traces strongly suggest *αυτομα*.

At first sight *αυτομα* seems even more intractable than *εῦτομα*. Let us, however, consider what is the likely object of *ἱστορήσα*. Clearly it must include places such as temples (*τοῖς ἱεροῖς*, l. 11), on the stonework of which Nearchos could inscribe the names of his friends, and similar monuments. Now if we turn over the pages of M. Baillet's magnificent corpus of visitors' inscriptions in the Tombs of the Kings (*Inscriptions grecques et latines des Tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes à Thèbes*, MIFAO, 42, 1920-6) we find again and again the expressions *ἐθαύμασα*, *ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασα*, *ἱστορήσας ἐθαύμασα* and the like. The prime attraction of such places for the tourist was in fact the sense of wonder which they inspired: they were *θαύματα*, *mirabilia*. I feel certain therefore that what Nearchos intended to write at the beginning of l. 10 was *τὰ θαύματα*, though in doing so he inadvertently transposed *μ* and *τ* (the well-attested phenomenon called *telemetathesis*), and also substituted *ο* for an unstressed *α*. I accordingly propose to read [*τὰ θ*] *αὔτομα*, to be corrected to *τὰ θαύματα*. I would add, although the space available for *τ* may appear somewhat insufficient, it is possible that, as commonly, the *hasta* of the *τ* was aligned with the left-hand edge of the column of writing; if so, the restoration fits the space exactly.

I may add a few remarks on the remainder of the text. Professor Schwartz does not mention the very lengthy discussion, running to some sixteen pages, which Wilhelm Crönert devoted to the papyrus in *Raccolta Lumbroso*, 1925, pp. 481-96, and does not therefore consider Crönert's convincing suggestion of *παρεπο[ρευσ]άμην* instead of *παρεπο[ιησ]άμην* in ll. 5-6. This is important because it affects one's whole conception of the letter. Thus Schwartz, translating *ἐγὼ παρεποησάμην* as 'Moi, j'ai imaginé une fiction', regards the whole letter as 'une plaisanterie agrémentée(?) de pastiches', while Crönert, who emphasises the singularity of the letter (*miram epistulam!* he exclaims on p. 482) and the literary character of its phraseology, concluded that it was the draft for an inscribed *προσκύνημα*, and that the Heliodoros to whom it was addressed may have been the person entrusted with the cutting of the inscription! However justified these attitudes may be—and in any case the literary flavour of the letter is not quite so surprising in the context of other correspondence in the Sarapion archive—the papyrus throws an important light on the meaning of the term *προσκύνημα*; cf. Giovanni Geraci, 'Ricerche sul proskynema', *Aegyptus* 51 (1971), 19-20.

As regards the conclusion, or rather non-conclusion, of the letter, all editors have noted that after l. 12 there are traces of two washed-out lines. It has also been suggested that *προσκύνημα* in l. 12 must have been followed by a governing participle, such as *ποιῶν* or *ποιήσας*. In fact, the letters *ποι* are clearly visible at the beginning of l. 13, and should be printed in any future edition. Professor Schwartz has pointed out that if the address on the verso occupied its normal position, only about one half of the letter has survived. This observation gives the clue to the deletion of ll. 13-14: it was not, as Crönert suggested (p. 496) the work of Nearchos himself, but of the native finders of the papyrus, in an attempt to make it look (at least to the inexperienced eye) like a complete document.

A few minor points may be noted in conclusion. In l. 3 *πλεῖν* is a certain reading. In l. 7 *τε* in the interlineation is clearly visible, despite Schwartz's denial. The trace of an additional letter which Schwartz thought could be seen between *τομα* and *ἱστορήσα* in l. 10 does not exist. And in l. 12 *ἀειμνήτως*, on which see Crönert, pp. 482-3, is again a certain reading.

T. C. SKEAT

Current research for higher degrees in Egyptology, Coptic, and related studies in the United Kingdom

THE following list of doctoral and other dissertations currently (1973) in preparation in universities in Great Britain is published in the hope that it will be of use to colleagues here and abroad who have responsibility for directing research projects.¹ The list will be kept up to date (in this or another journal), and theses which have a direct bearing on Ancient Egypt in allied subjects, such as Anthropology, will be included if they are brought to the attention of the undersigned.

The information is ordered in the following manner: name of candidate, title of thesis, year when research was initiated, degree for which research is being undertaken,² name and address of supervisor. The address of the candidate is also given if it differs from that of the Faculty.

BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY. Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT.

1. Milward, Miss A. 'Decorated faience bowls of the Middle and New Kingdoms.' 1970. Ph.D. Mr. J. D. Ray (Birmingham).

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. Faculty of Oriental Studies, Sidgwick Ave., Cambridge.

1. El-Bushra, A. 'Historical and archaeological problems of the Christian kingdoms of Nubia in the Middle Ages, with special reference to Arabic sources.' 1967. Ph.D. Prof. J. M. Plumley (Cambridge).
2. Leahy, M. A. 'A study of the Eighth Nome of Upper Egypt.' 1973. M.Litt./Ph.D. Mr. B. J. Kemp (Cambridge).
3. Ray, J. D. (Dept. of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT). 'Demotic dream-interpretation, with special reference to ostraca from North Saqqâra.' 1968. Ph.D. Prof. H. S. Smith (University College London).

DURHAM UNIVERSITY. School of Oriental Studies, Elvet Hill, Durham.

1. Cooper, Miss M. C. 'Egyptian poetic vocabulary.' 1970. Ph.D. Prof. T. W. Thacker (Durham).
2. Donohue, V. A. 'Ancient Egyptian conceptions of history.' 1967. M.Litt. Dr. M. F. L. Macadam (Yew Tree Cottage, Chilson, Charlbury, Oxon. OX7 3HU).

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY. School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool, P.O. Box 147, Liverpool.

1. Bierbrier, M. 'Genealogy and chronology in the Late New Kingdom, c. 1200-664 B.C.' 1970. Ph.D. Mr. K. A. Kitchen (Liverpool).
2. Gilmer, Mrs. V. M. 'Studies in the grammar of the Ramesside historical inscriptions.' 1970. Ph.D. Prof. H. W. Fairman (Liverpool).
3. Gohari, Mrs. J. 'Reconstruction and commentary on the Jubilee Hall of the Temple of the Aten at Karnak.' 1971. Ph.D. Prof. H. W. Fairman.
4. Gohari, S. 'A social and economic commentary on the Late-Egyptian Miscellanies.' 1971. Ph.D. Mr. K. A. Kitchen.
5. Spencer, A. J. 'Brick architecture in Ancient Egypt.' 1972. Ph.D. Prof. H. W. Fairman.
6. Watterson, Mrs. B. Texts on the exterior of the Naos of the Temple of Edfu [title not yet decided]. 1971. Ph.D. Prof. H. W. Fairman.

¹ The compilers wish to thank colleagues who provided some of the material for this list.

² A dagger (†) indicates that the dissertation is a partial fulfilment only for the requirements of the degree.

LONDON UNIVERSITY. Department of Egyptology, University College London, Gower St., London, W.C.1.

1. Andrews, Miss C. A. R. 'Prosopography of the officials of the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra in the Late Period and Ptolemaic Period.' 1970. Ph.D. Prof. H. S. Smith (University College London).
2. Bailey, Mrs. M. 'Foreigners in Egypt during the Persian Period, as illustrated by the terracottas in the Petrie Collection, University College London.' 1973. M.Phil.† Dr. D. M. Dixon (University College London).
3. Biggs, G. R. 'A decipherment of a selection of unpublished demotic papyri from North Saqqâra, with a comparative palaeographical and orthographical study.' 1967. Ph.D. Prof. H. S. Smith.
4. Bourriau, Miss J. D. 'The comparative dating of Egyptian tomb groups of the Second Intermediate Period.' 1966. Ph.D. Prof. H. S. Smith.
5. Bufton, Miss C. 'The camel in Egypt.' 1970. M.Phil.* Dr. D. M. Dixon.
6. Clayton, P. A. 'Egyptian royal ushabti figures.' 1968. Ph.D. Prof. H. S. Smith.
7. Hall, Miss R. M. 'Head-rests in Ancient Egypt.' 1973. M.Phil. Dr. D. M. Dixon.
8. Hope, C. 'Decorated pottery of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty.' 1973. M.Phil./Ph.D. Dr. G. T. Martin (University College London).
9. Johnson, P. V. 'The Instruction genre in Ancient Egyptian literature.' 1971. Ph.D. Prof. H. S. Smith.
10. El-Khouly, A. A.-R. 'Egyptian stone vessels of the Archaic Period and Third Dynasty: typology and dating.' 1971. Ph.D. Dr. G. T. Martin.
11. Millard, Miss A. 'The position of women in society and in the family in Ancient Egypt, with special reference to the Middle Kingdom.' 1968. Ph.D. Prof. H. S. Smith.
12. Smith, Miss A. J. L. 'The administration of Nubia in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, with special reference to the Second Cataract forts.' 1973. Ph.D. Prof. H. S. Smith.
13. South, Miss A. K. 'Private sculpture in the round of the Ramesside Period: stylistic development.' 1971. Ph.D. Prof. H. S. Smith.
14. Thomas, Mrs. A. P. 'Daily life in a New-Kingdom town (Gurob), as illustrated by objects in the Petrie Collection, University College London.' 1972. M.Phil.† Dr. D. M. Dixon.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY. The Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

1. Baines, J. R. (School of Oriental Studies, Elvet Hill, Durham). 'Egyptian religious personifications: a study of representational evidence.' 1967. D.Phil. Prof. J. R. Harris (Ægyptologisk Institut, Kejsergade 2, 1155 København K, Denmark).
2. Davies, W. V. 'Lexicographical studies in Ancient Egyptian weapons and military equipment.' 1971. D.Phil. Dr. J. Málek (Griffith Institute, Oxford).
3. Dubois, J. 'Studies in the Apocryphon of Zechariah and in the traditions about the death of Zechariah.' 1971. D.Phil. Rev. Prof. G. D. Kilpatrick (The Queen's College, Oxford).
4. Eyre, C. J. 'The system of employment and labour in the late New Kingdom in Egypt.' 1973. B.Litt./D.Phil. Prof. S. Groll (Dept. of Egyptology, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel).
5. Gorton, Mrs. A. 'Egyptianizing scarabs from Punic sites.' 1973. B.Litt./D.Phil. Mr. J. Boardman (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).
6. Gruen, S. W. 'A critical edition of some unpublished demotic papyri from the Fayûm, with translations, commentaries, and an introductory essay.' 1972. D.Phil. Prof. H. S. Smith (University College London), and Dr. W. J. Tait (Christ's College, Cambridge).

7. Jones, Mrs. F. 'Women in the Coptic Church.' 1972. D.Phil. Dr. C. C. Walters (University College, Oxford).

8. Kipgen, K. 'Gnosticism in early Christianity: a study of the Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha, with particular reference to the concept of salvation.' 1968. D.Phil. Rev. Prof. G. C. Stead (Divinity School, St. John's St., Cambridge).

9. Maher, E. 'The phonetics of the Bohairic dialect of Coptic, and the survival of Coptic and Greek words in the colloquial and classical Arabic of Egypt (with a chapter on the influence of Coptic on the morphology and syntax of Egyptian Arabic).' 1972. D.Phil. Prof. T. M. Johnstone (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Malet St., London, W.C.1).

10. Shearman, A. D. 'An edition, with translations and commentaries, of a group of unpublished Egyptian hieratic papyri belonging to the Ashmolean Museum. D.Phil 1972. Prof. A. M. Bakîr (Christ's College, Cambridge).

11. Whitehouse, H. V. 'Nilotic landscapes in Roman art.' 1971. D.Phil. Prof. C. M. Robertson (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN
W. V. DAVIES

REVIEWS

Note. The Reviews Editor cannot undertake to return copies of unsolicited books received by him.

Lexikon der Ägyptologie. Edited by WOLFGANG HELCK and EBERHARD OTTO with the collaboration of ERIKA FEUCHT. Vol. I, fasc. 1-5; pp. xxvii+800 cols. Wiesbaden, 1972-3. Price DM 190.

The collaboration of Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, in Hamburg and Heidelberg, has already produced the very useful *Kleines Wörterbuch der Aegyptologie*, the second edition of which was printed in 1970. Their experience there has apparently encouraged them to undertake the far more onerous and ambitious task of editing a *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* which is to depict the culture and history of Pharaonic Egypt on a broader basis. Not only will it be a collection of known facts, but it will treat concepts derived from ancient Egyptian thinking in a way which has not been attempted before. For the non-Egyptologist it should provide reliable means of information, while experts in Egyptology should find facts for orientation and stimuli for further research. It is consciously different from the *Realkatalog der Ägyptologie* collected at Basle, which is compiling documents of history and language as basic raw material for research work.

The first five fascicles reach from 'A-gruppe' to 'Bildhauer und Bildhauerei' and treat, among others, problems like 'Abstraktionsvermögen' (Eberhard Otto); 'Alltagswelt und Heilige Welt' (Hellmut Brunner); 'Altersversorgung' (Wolfgang Helck); 'Bestattungsritual' (Hartwig Altenmüller); 'Architekturdarstellung' (Alexander M. Badawy); 'Aspekte' (Emma Brunner-Traut). And these are only a few examples proving the freshness of the approach and the eminence of the authors.

There is a restriction of the field of research in time to the practical exclusion of the Hellenistic and early Christian periods. This is regrettable as much new and necessary research is in progress in those fields. A fortuitous example where facts concerning the Hellenistic and Roman period nevertheless had been included in an article on 'Armant' (by Arne Eggebrecht) brought this home to me. According to this article the mothers of the Buchis bulls were buried, since the end of the Thirtieth Dynasty, at a place near Armant which was called Baqari by the excavators, while the worship of the Buchis bull continued throughout the Roman period until the reign of Diocletian. This bit of information actually helped me quickly to identify and date pottery from Baqari which had come to Swansea as part of the Wellcome Collection. The Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods in Egypt are, of course, of special interest to non-Egyptologists.

Although illustrations have occasionally been added to some of the articles, there does not seem to be any general policy concerning their inclusion or exclusion. In the first fascicule pictures (apart from plans and graphs) are added only to the articles on 'Abydos' (Altenmüller) and the 'Abydos Fetisch' (Otto); there are no illustrations in the second fascicule. The third fascicule contains a number of useful line-drawings in the article 'Architekturdarstellung' (Badawy) and two photographs in the article on 'Asiaten' (Raphael Giveon). In the fourth fascicule the article on 'Aspekte' (Emma Brunner-Traut) is illustrated by three plates with seventeen line-drawings; there are also pictures illustrating the articles s.v. 'Aton' (Jan Assmann), 'Atonheiligtum' (Jan Assmann), 'Auszeichnung durch graphische Mittel' (Peter Munro), 'Barke' (K. A. Kitchen), and 'Bat' (H. G. Fischer). After this rich harvest the fifth fascicule returns to the leaner years, containing only three pictures: s.v. 'Baum, heiliger' (Ingrid Gamer-Wallert) a small picture of the tree-goddess; s.v. 'Baupläne' (W. Kelly Simpson) a photograph of the drawing relating to the tomb of Ramesses IV in the Turin Papyrus, which had been shown already in outline-drawing in the article on 'Architekturdarstellung' (Badawy); and s.v. 'Bes' (H. Altenmüller) a rather late picture of a Bes-Pantheos in the Kestner-Museum, Hannover, an original photograph. Here, an additional simple Bes-figure of the Eighteenth Dynasty could have helped to rectify the impression concerning the true nature of the godling. On the whole, it seems, a few pictures have occasionally been added, as available, and were not systematically searched for.

Another rather small possible improvement I should like to suggest concerns the initials of the authors at the end of the articles. Would it really make so much difference for the printers if the names were added in full? It would certainly save much page-thumbing and precious minutes for the reader.

Although the key-words are in German, it should be noted that there are contributions in English and French, and that the Arabic writing is supplied with place-names.

The thorough information on sources will be of much help to put new research on a safe basis. One must congratulate the editors on their enterprise, which stimulates so many eminent scholars, and also many younger Egyptologists, to make their research available to a wider public. Dr. Erika Feucht also deserves a thankful acknowledgement for her patient work of co-ordination.

KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS

Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, *Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten*. Herausgegeben von B. SPULER. Erster Band. *Ägyptologie*. Zweiter Abschnitt, *Literatur*. Zweite, verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage. Mit Beiträgen von HARTWIG ALTENMÜLLER, HELLMUT BRUNNER, GERHARD FECHT, HERMAN GRAPOW (†), HERMANN KEES (†), SIEGFRIED MORENZ (†), EBERHARD OTTO, SIEGFRIED SCHOTT, JOACHIM SPIEGEL, WOLFHART WESTENDORF. Pp. vi+269. Leiden/Cologne, 1970. Price 84 guilders.

This excellent group of studies on Egyptian literature is divided into six main sections comprising twenty-four numbered essays by ten separate authors, of whom the late Hermann Kees contributed the most, that is no less than five. The first opening sections, nos. 17/18, constitute an introduction in the form of a general discussion of Egyptian literature. This is followed by a discussion on stylistic art which, being of perhaps greater interest than any other section of the work, will be discussed here in more detail than the other essays. Indeed space forbids a more than cursory look at much of this interesting and voluminous mass of material.

In the first section Kees deals with the form of the literary tradition, the origin and foundation of such things as handwriting, discusses the many papyrus finds throughout Egypt, such as those of Deir el-Medineh and Aswân—an enormous inventory from very numerous sites, with comments on the dating of the handwriting and the different periods of Egyptian literature and their divisions.

The study on 'Stylistic Art', no. 19, is probably the most interesting item in the whole of this very varied collection. It is again subdivided into preliminary notes and two main subsections entitled 'Metric' and 'Stylistic Art Form', with many further subdivisions, showing the great scope of this ancient metric art. The whole essay, as indeed a number of others, takes on a clinical aspect and the author pursues his discussion with the inexorable logic of a pathologist examining a body, ordering his material into rigid sections, and allowing nothing to escape; thus we are treated to a number of strict classifications. The present state of the question, the existing publications, the characteristics of this metric system, its general form, history, and application are all discussed, regimented and analysed with examples from such texts as 'Sinuhe' and the 'Shipwrecked Sailor' as illustrations. Interesting connections with the literature of other adjacent cultures are cited; thus, for example, the Hebrew Psalms 1 and 137 are treated to a similar breakdown!

More technical and detailed are the discussions of the second subsection which deals with matters relating to comparison and metaphor under the general title 'Phänomene der Mehrschichtigkeit'. This is very specialized material and not intended for either the first-year student or general reader. The section ends with a discussion of rhythm, always a difficult subject owing to the problem of dealing with the unstressed syllables here called 'Senkungen' as opposed to the stressed 'Hebungen'. Thus the whole matter is rendered doubtful and rather problematic, but attempts are made here to show the stresses and general effect of passages from the great Amarna hymn. The transliteration used is perhaps unfamiliar to those used to the normal system employed in England, but the effect is nevertheless very interesting.

Each section is given a short bibliography at the end which is both compact and concise, but also very full and relevant to the preceding text. Quite copious footnotes are also appended throughout the whole work.

Section no. 20 deals with funerary literature with shorter sections on the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and Book of the Dead (very compressed); as well as books and guides dealing with the hereafter. The form and contents of the Pyramid and Coffin Texts are analysed as well as their dating.

Under 'Dogmatic and Didactic Literature,' no. 23, come divine teaching and hymns, while no. 24 covers the older myths about the gods. An important section, no. 25, follows, dealing with festival plays, ritual and temple texts. The section on temple inscriptions is rather short and seems inadequate for such a vast subject. Magic literature constitutes section no. 26, and nos. 27/28 are devoted to the important subject of 'Wisdom or Instruction Books', with accounts of the works of Kagemni, Ptahhotep, and the other later standard texts. A rather portentous heading suggesting books on world affairs and political writings, in fact contains such books as Neferti, and again includes Wisdom books such as Merikarē and the Teaching of King Amenemhet. A mixed selection is covered in nos. 30/31, stories about gods, tales, fairy-tales, fables—again another enormous field that has had to be greatly reduced for the purposes of this book.

Historical literature brings the reader into totally new horizons; here no. 32 deals with annals from the time of the Palermo Stone onwards, king's stories such as the famous decree of Sesostri I building the Atum temple in Heliopolis, and also embraces such things as the Israel stela. Section 33 is devoted to biographies, discussing their form for different periods. But no. 34 which is on 'Poetry and Satire', although it quotes some examples, is again another instance of a section that could well have been expanded with advantage. It is concerned with a very little-discussed subject and one of the least understood parts of Egyptian literary output. Fortunately Spiegel attacks the subject as an art form and not as a mere grammarian's field study.

Scientific literature seems oddly out of place here, and one feels that it should really have been treated as a separate volume, the subject being far too complex as well as extensive to be relegated to a mere chapter or section of a work of the type under consideration. Thus nos. 35 and 36 dealing with astronomy, mathematics and medicine, can only grant a mere 6½, 5, and 7 pages to these subjects respectively, an absurd situation when seen in perspective. In fact, the writer can do little more than list the main sources for these studies, having to omit many pieces of original material. It is ridiculous to give a description of the Decan calendar in a work dedicated to Egyptian literature, while such texts can hardly be discussed for their style. Mathematics is even worse served; the papyrus Rhind alone constitutes a subject large enough to occupy the entire section. One again questions the validity of discussing the Egyptian numerical system, as well as their counting methods, fractions, and calculations in such a context. The section on medicine wisely lists the main papyri and merely discusses the form used in them for diagnosis and the setting out of treatment.

Less frustrating is the next section, no. 37, covering dictionaries, onomastica, school exercises, and the like. It introduces the important geographical lists, and astronomical calendar lists, which last should surely have appeared in the previous section. The penultimate section takes the form of a general conclusion, seeing Egyptian literature in the surrounding world context, comparisons being made with Near-Eastern literature in general, especially Mesopotamian and Hebrew-Aramaic sources, and with contrasts drawn to a lesser extent with later Classical examples.

A final section, no. 39, is devoted to Coptic literature and some reference made to Gnostic and Manichaean thought. The book ends with a discussion of Egyptian books and library organization from the earliest times, with remarks on the 'House of Life' and the assembling of the actual manuscripts, together with book catalogues and book titles.

In conclusion, it remains to say that the book is well produced and printed, well indexed under two headings, without overdoing this aid, and in this makes for straightforward reading and understanding. Unfortunately an otherwise excellent production seems, to this reviewer at least, to have been spoilt by trying to include far too much material and by striving to be much too comprehensive. A two-volume work, or else one with a strictly literary textual content only would have been far more satisfactory, and certain sections could have been expanded with more adequate illustration included. E. P. UPHILL

Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum. II. Wooden Model Boats. By S. R. K. GLANVILLE, revised and completed by R. O. FAULKNER. Drawings by GRACE HUXTABLE. Pp. 75, 13 pls. (1 col.), 66 figs. London, 1972. Price £9.

An attractively produced corpus in quarto size dealing with what must be one of the more popular classes of objects to be found in Egyptian collections, this is the second in the series of comprehensive catalogues

covering Egyptian antiquities that are classified as outside written documents. All the descriptions of boats, excepting nos. 4, 5, and 26, were written by the late Professor S. R. K. Glanville when he was an Assistant Keeper in the Department, 1924–33, but at his death in 1956 no line drawings or photographs existed. Later the task of preparing this volume was undertaken by Dr. R. O. Faulkner who had expert Egyptological and nautical knowledge, and he has also provided the catalogue entries of certain fragments as well as updating the earlier entries. Mrs. Grace Huxtable was responsible for the fine set of line drawings and Mr. A. F. Shore investigated the history of the models.

As only the first plate is in colour, a handy 'colour-key' is provided for all drawings used in the text, thus black hatching denotes black, dots red, and so forth. Each boat is listed under its accession number and classed under the various types categorized by Reisner in his standard publication. In all thirty-one models are described with date (by dynasty), provenance, dimensions in both inches and centimetres, and the date of acquisition. Scales are provided with each line drawing, but a minor criticism might be made of the fact that these are omitted in all the photographs, where they could have helped the reader to gauge the size much better. Technical description, i.e. of hulls, masts, rigging, and fittings is very satisfactory and it should meet the requirements of even the most exacting professional.

Equally fascinating for the general reader will be the descriptions and drawings of the little figures of the crews. One final and most useful item is included, namely the state of preservation, a feature that is often left out of such descriptions. The period covered is from the Sixth Dynasty and First Intermediate Period until the late Eighteenth Dynasty, with the main concentration in the Middle Kingdom especially under the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties.

The catalogue ends with a Glossary of the main nautical terms used in the text and a concordance of collection and catalogue numbers. One other slight criticism of an otherwise excellent work is the lack of an index. For any reader intending to visit the museum boat collections a study of this book should make the whole examination much more interesting and enlightening.

E. P. UPHILL

Amarna, City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Key Pieces from the Petrie Collection. By JULIA SAMSON, with an Introduction by Professor H. S. Smith. Pp. x+110, 3 maps, 1 diag., many illus., some col. London, 1972. Price £8.

The author, who worked with J. D. S. Pendlebury at El-'Amarna in 1936, and published part of the University College collection as an Appendix to *City of Akhenaten*, III, now publishes in greater detail certain objects from the Petrie collection of prime interest and importance to students of 'Amarna history and art. Mrs. Samson has been Honorary Research Associate in the Department of Egyptology at University College London since 1966.

The book is prefaced by an historical Introduction of thirteen pages by Professor Smith, and the author follows with a four-page summary of the significance of the 'Amarna collection, most of which derives from Petrie's excavations in the Central City, especially the Great Palace and the main Aten Temple, and further south in 1891–2. Subsequently Petrie purchased more 'Amarna objects, and others were added to the collection as gifts from the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations in the town-site, 1921–37, and from the Trustees of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in 1964, part of which came from the same source. Thus most of the material is provenanced, and covers the whole of the reign of Akhenaten from the time when he was called Amenhotep at Thebes until his supposed co-regency with Smenkhkarē.

On the whole the catalogue deals with the choice objects in the collection, which form only a tithe of the fragments brought back to University College by Petrie. There is a wealth of 'Amarna material of all kinds in the college collection—mostly fragmentary—which would amply repay study from the historical, artistic, and technological points of view. Some of it was published by Petrie in *Tell el Amarna* (1892), a volume which is still essential reading for the 'Amarna specialist. It may be remarked in passing that the large collection of Mycenaean sherds in the college, found at El-'Amarna and instantly recognized by Petrie as being of paramount importance for Aegean archaeology, is now being worked on.¹

¹ By Mrs. V. Hankey. The existence of Petrie's original watercolours of the sherds, subsequently illustrated in *Tell el Amarna*, pls. 26–30, may here be mentioned. These are bound into a volume entitled *Sketches of Pieces of Patterned Aegean Ware, from the Waste Heaps of the Palace of Khuenaten, Tell el Amarna*, presented

The material covered includes statues and statuettes, reliefs, inlays, glass, faience and moulds, and inscriptions. A number of famous pieces are illustrated, including the 'Amarna 'Princess' torso (U.C. 002), here identified as Nefertiti, an inlay of a royal head (*COA* III, pl. lix, 6-8), and the 'Coregency Stela' of Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē, the latter including some newly related fragments. Comparable material in other museums is cited and sometimes illustrated in the text. In addition there are published, many for the first time, a number of less familiar objects, of which the following selection may be noted: an unfinished royal triad (pl. 5*a*), a Memphite relief of Nefertiti (pp. 45-6), a red jasper heel and ankle from a life-sized composite statue (pp. 34, 64), a block of Sitamūn from Thebes (pl. 22), a masterly sketch of a baboon (pl. 37), a series of monkey statuettes, and a large group of small objects of faience and glass. Especially from the latter categories one can gauge the richness of the mural decoration of the palaces and temples, the magnificence of certain composite statues and inlays of the royal family, carried out in a variety of contrasting stones, and the sumptuousness of the furnishings of the State apartments. Mrs. Samson correctly recognizes the importance of these small fragments, individually often of no great significance, but illuminating in the extreme when examined as a collection.

In many ways one of the most important historical documents dealt with in the present publication is the incomplete stela called by Mrs. Samson the 'Coregency Stela' (U.C. 410), of which seven fragments were found by Petrie, and another by Pendlebury in 1934. These are now studied together for the first time. The stela was made for a private person, who is depicted on one face. The name does not survive, unless it is *Iry* (cf. *PN* I, 41, 23), which Mrs. Samson suggests may be part of the title *iry-ḳ*. The signs preceding this word are part of a title, [] *c n nb tswy*.

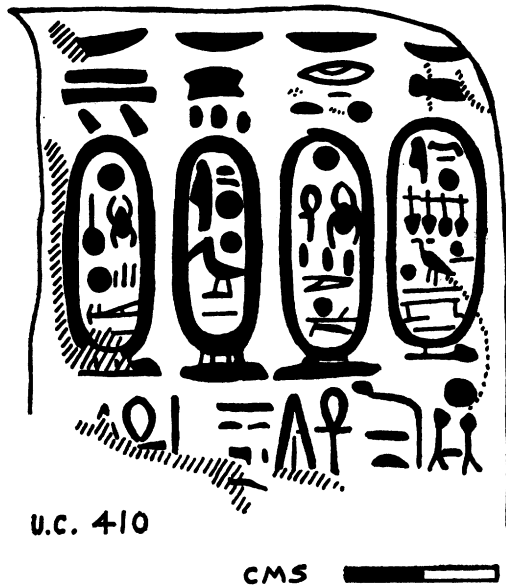


FIG. 1

The main interest lies in the juxtaposed cartouches of Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē on the other side of the stela. Since no facsimiles of these are provided in the book (a photograph appears on p. 104), and in view of their importance, I take the liberty of publishing here my own copies. The final cartouche (cf. Munro, *ZAS* 95 (1969), 110) is very similar to one on a blue faience bracelet (620-42) from the tomb of Tutankhamūn, as pointed out to me by Professor Harris.

Two other important fragments (U.C. 098, 351) republished in the volume bear the rare intermediate form of the didactic name of the Aten, in which the *Hr*-element of the divine name *Ḥarakhty* is written phonetically (cf. Fairman in *COA* III, 183).

The author's descriptions of all the pieces are full, and little can usefully be added by a reviewer. It should, however, be pointed out that the photograph of the Louvre dyad on p. 23, fig. 5*b* is reversed,¹ so that Akhenaten erroneously appears on the right. This is important, because all 'Amarna dyads' have the Queen on the right, in contrast to the traditional arrangement.

Museum curators and other scholars accustomed to referring to objects by Museum numbers may regret the absence of a concordance. The individual objects are not given separate numeration in the catalogue, but are referred to by Petrie Museum accession numbers and by plate numbers.

It is a pleasure to welcome the appearance of this book, more especially as it contains new material, and it is the first in a series of Egyptological monographs to be issued by a new publisher (Aris & Phillips). Moreover, it is not merely a bald catalogue of objects. Mrs. Samson relates the objects to their context, and remarks on their significance for the history of 'Amarna art and culture. GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

by Petrie in September 1893 to the Library of the British School of Archaeology at Athens. Their fidelity to the originals is quite astonishing.

¹ I am obliged to Professor J. R. Harris for bringing this to my attention.

Les Antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb: catalogue raisonné des antiquités égyptiennes conservées au Musée Archéologique de Zagreb en Yougoslavie. By JANINE MONNET SALEH. Pp. 206. Many illus. and line-drawings. Paris and The Hague, 1970 [1972]. 154 fr.

The Egyptological collection in Zagreb until now has been almost an unknown entity. A brief notice of some objects was published in 1889 by Sime Ljubić in *Popis arkeološkičkoga odjela Narodnog Zemaljskog Muzeja u Zagrebu*, 1, and certain inscriptions were utilized and indexed, not always accurately, in works by Wiedemann, Lieblein, and Ranke. Thanks now to the work of Mme Monnet Saleh, here under review, Egyptologists have at their disposal an excellent catalogue of the objects in Zagreb. These derive from two collectors, Franz Baron von Koller (1767–1826) and Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815–1905), Bishop of Djakovo.

Each category of objects is dealt with separately, the items within each class being arranged chronologically. An analysis of the material reveals the scope of the collection: stelae (M.K.–L.P.), probably originally from Abydos and Thebes, 24; other inscriptions on stone (N.K. and XXV–XXVIth Dynasties), 2; funerary cones (N.K.), 2; royal and private statues (M.K.–L.P.), 17; statues of gods in various materials, mostly bronze (L.P. and Ptol.), 87; scarabs and allied material, mostly not dated by the author, 264; heart scarabs and related material, undated, 85; canopic jars and lids (M.K.–L.P.), 57; stone vases (Late O.K.(?)–L.P.), 44; shabtis (M.K.–Ptol.), 298; hieratic and demotic papyri, mostly funerary (N.K.–Ptol.), 8; hypoccephali (L.P.), 3; mummy cartonnage and masks (L.P.), 5; coffins and mummies (L.P. and Ptol.), 5; sandals and fragments, undated, 2; scribal palette, undated, 1; toilet objects (N.K.), 8; shrine-shaped pectorals (N.K. (?)–L.P.), 4; situlae (L.P.), 4, amulets 987; various, 30.

Full descriptive details are provided for each object, with photographs in addition where their importance merits them. All inscribed objects are illustrated with photographs and line-drawings (very often facsimiles) as an additional aid to the reader. This is the ideal method of publishing inscriptions and reliefs. Only very minor details are omitted in the line-drawings, usually the subtler details of the faces, e.g., in nos. 2–5, 14–16, and 18, but generally they are perfectly adequate. Column numbers, assigned by the author, have occasionally become almost illegible in the reduction, which is a slight cause of annoyance. The translations of the texts will not find universal acceptance, and it may be pointed out that line 7 in no. 4 has been omitted in the commentary (read *imy-r w n hrtyw-ntr*). Scholars interested in scarabs will regret that the bases only and not the vital backs and sides are photographed and drawn. These latter very often provide the essential clues for dating.

Mme Monnet Saleh herself singles out (pp. 191–2) the *pièces de résistance* of the collection from the historical point of view, including a stela bearing a hymn to Min of Akhmim (no. 7), not dealt with by Gauthier in his fundamental studies of that deity. Full Indexes of titles and epithets, names of gods, places, and persons are provided. We heartily congratulate the author on the publication of this important catalogue, and hope that her work will be emulated by other scholars and curators of collections.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

The Cambridge Ancient History. 3rd edn. Edited by I. E. S. EDWARDS, the late C. J. GADD, N. G. L. HAMMOND, E. SOLLBERGER. Vol. II. Part 1, pp. xxiii+868, 7 maps, 4 tables, 23 text-figures. Cambridge, 1973. Price £8.

With the present volume the editors publish the penultimate volume of the revised (Third) edition of the *CAH*.

The present part, some of the individual fascicles of which, as in the two previous volumes, have been reviewed over the years in these pages, is concerned with the history of the Middle East and the Aegean Region, c. 1800–1380 B.C. This half-millennium includes the great Hammurabi, the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations, and the Hyksos and Eighteenth dynasties in Egypt. Apart from corrections in the body of the text, new features which did not appear in the fascicles are sketch-maps, text-figures for chapters III and XI, plans of palaces in chapter XII, and in chapter XV a genealogical chart of the kingly descendants of the Hittite monarch Tudkhaliash II.

The chapters which will be the immediate concern of most readers of this *Journal* are those by the late Dr. Hayes, dealing with the events between the death of Ammenemes III to Seqenenrē, and between

Tuthmosis I and the death of Amenophis III, Mr. James on the expulsion of the Hyksos to the time of Amenophis I, and Miss Drower on Syria, c. 1550–1400. Not that the history of Egypt can be intelligently studied in isolation: the great merit of the *CAH* is that it brings together the pertinent facts on the other regions of the Near East, with most of the references to the source material and secondary literature.

This new edition of the *CAH*, the fruit of international scholarship, must surely rank as one of the major achievements of our time in Ancient Near-eastern studies, and we look forward to the appearance of the final volume, scheduled for 1974, and the volume of plates which will round off the work.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

The Woman in Egyptian Art. By STEFFEN WENIG; translated from German into English by B. FISCHER. Pp. 59, pls. 112. Leipzig, 1969; Price £6.61.

In the Introduction the author, Dr. Wenig of Bode Museum in D.D.R. (East Berlin), presents the sources of information and shows how Egyptian art was influenced by religion and how the two cannot be separated from each other. In his first chapter on 'The Social and Legal Situation of Woman' he speaks of the duties and rights of the woman in Ancient Egypt; she could own servants, slaves, and land, make adoptions, inherit from her parents or from her husband, or through gifts. Had she the right of receiving education? Could she hold public offices? These questions are put by the author to clarify the situation, and in answering them he quotes the clear example of the teacher of Ḥatshepsut's daughter Neferu-Rē, the well-known Senenmut, the architect of the temple of Deir el-Bahari. On p. 15, of this English translation Dr. Wenig has pointed out some of 'the functions' fulfilled by a woman in Ancient Egypt: she could be 'a manageress of a dining hall', 'headmistress of a wigs-workshop', 'a headmistress of singers of the royal harem', 'headmistress of a house of weavers', or 'a priestess'. Then on p. 16 he speaks of the rights of foreign women, who had penetrated into the royal harīm in the New Kingdom.

In the second chapter he deals with 'Love, Marriage and Motherhood' (pp. 17–28) where he raises an interesting question: could a young man marry a girl of his choice, or did his parents select his future wife (a custom which is still prevalent in some Oriental countries)? He replies with some quotations from the maxims of Ptahhotep, 72, Any, 19, the 'Harpist song', and an example dating from the time of Ptolemy XI to prove that it was the father who was responsible for arranging the marriage of his daughter. On p. 20 he deals with Syrian influence on Egypt, and on p. 21 he points out that adultery, rape, concubinage, or polygamy were frequent in the artisan settlement in western Thebes. He discusses the age of marriage, brother-and-sister marriage in royal houses, daughter-marriage as in the cases of Amenophis III with his daughter Isis (cf. van de Walle, *CdÉ* 43 [1968], 36–54), Akhenaten, and Ramesses II. He refers to dowry, marriage-witnesses, and divorce clauses (p. 23), and speaks of the 'wet-nurses generally employed in high classes', quoting examples in Egyptian art of the motif of 'nursing-woman' statues (cf. pl. 16).

In his third chapter he cites some prominent queens who were involved in the affairs of the royal harīm (pp. 30–9) such as Khentkaus, Tetisheri, Iâhhotep, and Ḥatshepsut, and on pp. 38–9 he deals with 'conspiracies' prepared in the royal harīm. The last chapter speaks of 'Clothing and Beauty Culture' (pp. 40–3) where he discusses the female dress of the high-classes and the Syrian influence on clothes, jewellery, cosmetics, and on remedies for the care of skin and beauty. In the reviewer's opinion, the book is attractively produced and provides a handy outline of the main problems relating to its theme.

MOSTAFA EL-ALFI

Kings at Karnak: a Study of the Treatment of the Monuments of Royal Predecessors in the Early New Kingdom. By GUN BJÖRKMAN. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Boreas: Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations. Pp. 155+2 plans. Uppsala, 1971. Price £4.50.

This Uppsala doctoral thesis is published in a new series which evidently aims to bring a cool appraisal to the disordered relics of ancient Near Eastern culture. The author, already known for her excellent article on examples of the use of literary texts as historical sources,¹ has chosen to limit her investigation to the reuse and modification of earlier identifiable building material by kings from Kamose to Amenophis III.

¹ 'Egyptology and Historical Method'. *Orientalia Suecana* 13 (1964 [1965]), 9–33.

This has the advantage of leaving aside the involved problems of the *talatat*, still very much *sub judice*, and producing a reasonably compact topic—whose conclusions, as the author herself remarks, cannot be extended to other sites or periods without further research. There is, therefore, as much of the architectural history of Karnak in the book as of the kings and their attitudes.

The treatment is divided into a consideration of textual evidence for ideological attitudes of relevance to the treatment of earlier monuments (pp. 16–54), and a study of the monuments themselves, culminating in the structures assembled by Amenophis III in the foundations of the third pylon (pp. 56–117). There is a summary and a catalogue of reused material with partial bibliography.

The author's conclusion is sober and un-startling: that 'the act of transforming existing structures was, in itself, probably not at all coloured by contempt, but was neutral in respect of individual predecessors' (p. 122), and that dismantling and remodelling 'are not to be interpreted as acts of impiety towards the ancestors'. In the context of Eighteenth-Dynasty history it seems surprising in retrospect that the reverse should ever have been considered.¹ When expanding the temple any new builder was clearly obliged in the course of work to remove existing material which conflicted with his scheme—omelettes are not made without breaking eggs. Faced with dismantled earlier structures it is more worthy of note that kings put off reusing them wholesale until Amenophis III. This curious fact might have been considered by the author more than she does, for it implies that virtual quarries of stone must have been lying around unused at Karnak for two generations or more; and it produces a limited distinction between dismantlers and reusers (the first attested large-scale dismantling is under Tuthmosis III). Various explanations could be advanced for this, none of them likely to be confirmed by hard evidence: for example, the structures could have been left aside out of piety, or they could just conceivably have been temporarily re-erected on different sites. It may one day also be necessary to reckon with a constant stock-pile of dismantled architecture, for the only standing structures in Karnak to have been more or less completely investigated for their re-used blocks are the third and ninth pylons (the latter irrelevant in this context). Clearly, excavation in the inner areas, if ever undertaken, would be likely to produce further examples of reuse, especially of Middle-Kingdom materials. As the evidence stands there would seem to be a fairly sharp distinction between Amenophis III and his predecessors: all dismantled earlier structures, but only he reused the stone to a significant extent (Kamose's reasons for reuse might obviously have been strictly economic; Amenophis III's could even have been a desire to clear up the site). This appearance may be illusory, but it is reinforced by the general impression of the second half of the book, which deals largely in the initial stages with 'surface' remodelling and latterly with the placing in the ground of earlier structures.

One distinction should be emphasized here, since the author has not brought it out specifically: that of function. The general function of serving the god was constant in Karnak as a whole, so that any replacement of earlier structures should have been with ones that were in some way comparable—unless there was a major shift in cult practice. On the other hand, peripheral buildings such as the 'white chapel' of Sesostri I, although they may have stood for a very long time, were ultimately dispensable, since they related primarily to one king only, and had no successors unless a second king required a building of the same type (in the case in point the copy by Amenophis I is an obvious example of this). In this respect they resembled private monuments (cf. below n. 1) more than temples, and might perhaps have been considered fairer game for providing building stone than structures related directly to the god. This distinction does not, however, have very much bearing on the material covered in the book, since a simpler explanation covers most of the material studied: buildings in the way of new work were dismantled and their stone later reused; others were left standing. It should none the less be borne in mind in considering the functional relation, if any, between earlier and later structures on the same site.

¹ The situation is less clear with the treatment of earlier funerary monuments. We know from *Merikarēr* that it was an impiety deliberately to desecrate them. But what of modifications made by mortuary priests (as at most Old-Kingdom mortuary temples)? And how much did ideal and practical attitudes change when cults lapsed? Clearly there are also many questions to be asked about the treatment of other people's monuments by Old-Kingdom kings, both private ones and those of kings, frequently their almost immediate predecessors. The great difference between these cases and Dr. Björkman's Karnak is, of course, that all these monuments were personal—private or royal—not divine. The same is not true of New-Kingdom 'mortuary temples'.

The discussion of textual material is less satisfactory than that of the monuments—although the conclusions are unexceptionable—because of the imprecision of the translations. In some cases, as with the phrase *m mwt*, this is crucial, in others it is of minor importance. The conclusion to draw from the examples of *m mwt* listed on pp. 28, 33, and 97 would seem to be that the phrase may mean that a brand new building has been built or that an earlier one has been refurbished (the parts of a temple which were most used may have needed fairly frequent attention). In either case the final state, to which the phrase presumably refers, would be one of newness, simply because it was different from what was there before; it would be 'like new' (just as in English we can say we have bought a new car irrespective of whether it has just been made or not).

In more general terms the author has not always related the more theoretical textual section closely to the study of the monuments. This is almost inevitable in view of the disparate nature of the evidence, but one issue of importance seems to have lost some focus in the process. This is whether one can distinguish sharply between wanton and 'normal' destruction. On the Karnak evidence this may not be possible, as the only more or less clear case of wanton destruction produced is the defacement of some of Ḥatshepsut's monuments (the degree to which such defacement was accepted by later rulers would clearly be similar to the degree of similarity between their ideology and the defacer's; defacement seems to have been a legitimate weapon in context). Because this was part of a rebuilding programme the issue is not stated very plainly. It does, on the other hand, seem clear that, down to and including the reign of Amenophis III, Tuthmosis III was the only Eighteenth-Dynasty king who acted in this way. The different character of this reuse from all the rest confirms by implication that the rest was 'value-free'. So Tuthmosis III's reaction to Ḥatshepsut might have come in for Merikarē's tutor's censure, and is marginal to the architectural history of Karnak.

The book bears considerable marks of carelessness in final preparation, some of which make it unnecessarily hard to use. It is, for example, never explained that the small figures on fig. 1 are the bracketed reference numbers of PM 2¹. Misprints are unacceptably common. The following items noted by me are missing from the Bibliography (*AEB* numbers are given where possible for brevity): Derchain 1970 = *CdÉ* 45, 25-7; Giorgini 1958 = *AEB* 58252; Giorgini 1959 = *AEB* 59245; Giorgini 1964 = *AEB* 64436; Hölscher 1934 = H. H. Nelson-U. Hölscher, *Work in western Thebes 1931-33*, OIC 18, Chicago; Lacau 1926 = *ASAE* 26, 131-8; Lacau 1952: references in text and Bibliography should be changed to 1954; Lacau 1955: references in text should read 1956 = *ASAE* 53, 221-50; Lawrence 1965 = *AEB* 65302; Legrain 1929 = *Les Temples de Karnak*, Brussels; Muhammad 1968 = *AEB* 68425, correct title to 'Preliminary Report . . .'; Petrie 1902 = *Abydos* 1, MEEF 22. There are also numerous inaccurate citations, e.g.: p. 31, the Helck reference should be 1961b; p. 61, Pillet 1963 is wrong; p. 64, for Lacau 1943 read probably 1951, for Chevrier 1953 read 1956; p. 75, for Barguet 1951 read 1953; p. 85, for Otto 1955 read Otto 1952; p. 112, Chevrier 1954 is wrong; p. 113, Ricke and Schott 1965 should be Ricke 1965.

These blemishes disfigure what is otherwise a very useful survey, well organized and researched (if not quite up to date) and containing a number of interesting observations, sometimes rather disjointedly put together. The book is a striking example of how a very large amount of material needs to be studied to provide evidence—not necessarily conclusive—for a relatively minor issue, and of the work involved. Yet, without such studies the accepted views on these subjects, even if correct, would remain speculative. It is worth noting that the author finds no evidence within her period for the 'creative' or symbolic reuse of earlier material.

JOHN BAINES

Arrest and Movement: an Essay on Space and Time in the Representational Art of the Ancient Near East.

By H. A. GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT. Pp. xxiv+222, 47 figs., 94 plates. New York, 1972 (photolithographic reprint of original edition, London, 1951). Price \$25.00.

This book received widespread attention on its first publication, and has continued to be cited as making an important contribution to the study of pre-Greek art (cf., e.g., W. S. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* [New Haven-London, 1965], 168). Almost all of this notice was favourable (for a list of reviews cf. *AEB, Indexes* 1947-56 [1960], 147), only the reviews by A. [i.e. Nina] M. D<avies> in *Antiquity* 26 (1952), 52-5, and W. K. Simpson in *AJA* 59 (1955), 325-7 taking issue with the work. As it

was only briefly noted in this journal (*JEA* 38 [1952], 134), and as more than twenty years have passed since then, it is perhaps worth devoting a little space to re-examining the author's arguments.¹ My remarks will be largely restricted to Egyptian art, and will deal with only a very small proportion of the points meriting discussion. It should be borne in mind that the discussion will be more or less from the point of view of 1973, and will therefore inevitably pass over much of the book's undoubted novelty—especially for an English-reading public—at the time of publication.

The book opens with an exposition of some of the basic concepts with which the author works later on. These relate to the spatial and temporal implications of individual figures, and of groups of figures and actions, in two-dimensional art. Methods of grouping figures (or of relating the parts of a figure to each other) give much more varying opportunities for emotional tension or expression than the simple representation of a single figure. At the same time they may have implications which can be seen to go beyond the figures or groups themselves—especially in complex groups. These implications refer to the area separating or surrounding figures rather than to the figures themselves, and run in more or less continuous gradation from the purely conceptual to the purely visual, or true perspective—in so far as that exists.² It is not clearly stated that these two categories should be understood as poles rather than as normal categories; one extreme is found only in the art of young children, and the other in some sorts of photography or in *trompe-l'œil* perspective (cf. M. H. Pirenne, *Optics, Painting and Photography* [Cambridge, 1970]). In between some kind of compromise will have to be found. In interpreting the nature of these compromises the scholar is seldom able to find conclusive evidence. However, although she is aware of the problem, Mrs. Frankfort is still confident that her views in this section are correct and sufficiently objective. In later parts of the book she is equally confident in assigning emotional values to poses and relationships of figures.³ Yet it is possible, even at this early stage, to question the examples she cites: the vase from Susa is highly subjectively described; the man on the Rhodian vase is shown by a method very near to the Egyptian, and his outline is not (for me) 'singularly close . . . to an actual shadow projection of a running figure'; the famous 'back view'⁴ girl in the tomb of Rekhmirê is not in a three-quarter view, nor does her figure have the 'proportions of a perfect functional rendering'⁵ (as is clear from Mrs Frankfort's plate, though not from earlier copies). She also suggests that in pre-Greek art certain parts of the human figure are 'twisted', an interpretation questioned by Schäfer more than fifty years ago. Immediately afterwards she talks of 'violent contortions' 'to bring limbs and torso into one plane', a method she characterizes as 'wilful'. Again, Schäfer

¹ The only later study which ventures on to broadly comparable ground is Emma Brunner-Traut's epilogue 'Die Aspekte' to the fourth edition of Schäfer's *Von ägyptischer Kunst* (Wiesbaden, 1963, Engl. edn. *Principles of Egyptian Art*, Oxford, 1974); this does not take issue with or indeed mention Mrs. Frankfort's work.

² The most obvious case of an apparent tendency to the latter is the banquet of Rekhmirê (pl. 33). There are numerous ambiguities in the spatial relationships between the serving girls and the pairs of ladies to whom they are attending; most of the perspective impression in this comes, however, from the loose layering of the pairs of ladies, and the continuation of this tendency in the tomb of Ramose is completely devoid of spatial implications, which would seem to suggest that open layering is a feature which develops for non-perspective reasons (cf. also Schäfer, *VäK/Principles*, 184–96/Ch. 2.3.8–9). The ambiguity which Mrs. Frankfort discusses at the top right of the picture is also the one which least suggests depth, as the artist has not related the cups offered at all closely with the hands held out to receive them; the fact that there is a coincidence in form between perspective and normal Egyptian methods in layered groups facing one another should not be cited in argument in this context.

³ It is interesting to note that an earlier controversy over the emotional content of works of art turned on the 'Amarna period, also crucial to Mrs. Frankfort; Schäfer argued that the stylistic changes were intended (by linear rather than spatial means) to convey a heightened emotional expression, Frankfort that they aimed largely at a more precise (visual) rendering of nature: cf. *ZÄS* 70 (1934), 19–24, with refs. cited.

⁴ It is not accurate to call this a back view, as Schäfer does (*VäK/Principles*, 266–7/Ch. 5.1.8). It is a strict reversal of the normal form for a human figure which is, of course, not a single 'view' at all. This can be seen especially in the treatment of the hair. The positioning of the feet reverses the normal one, with the result that the nearer one is further forward, but then places the back foot in front of it in order to make its full length and toe visible—and, perhaps, to accommodate to the normal mode of representation, in which comparable 'illogicalities' also occur.

⁵ She claims that her term '(non)functional' is, unlike 'conceptual', etc., value-free, although here it seems to carry undertones of approval.

showed that such a procedure does not distort, and is not wilful but a necessary concomitant of the Egyptian method of rendering nature—although the conceptual artist's choice is inherently more arbitrary than that of a perspective artist.¹ Where there is an alternative solution it must tend towards the use of foreshortening or perspective.

These latter examples show how the author's approach describes in negative terms the norms of ancient representation. They are, indeed, consistently given deprecatory epithets—'mere' is the favourite—and, significantly, positive evaluations (of which there are remarkably few) are mainly accorded either to works with a pronounced emotional content (the ibex in the tomb of Qenamūn, or the mourning scene from the tomb of Nebamūn and Ipuky) or those with considerable natural three-dimensionality, that is, figures in abnormally high relief. This reaches its culmination in the brief discussion of three-dimensional art, which Mrs. Frankfort considers to possess the 'monumentality' largely lacking in relief and painting. Here too, however, one finds judgements with which it is possible to differ: the typical Egyptian royal statue is said to join 'with a superb *naïveté* . . . an individual head' to a 'massive, changeless [body]'. Although this is a natural initial reaction I doubt if it is correct. It is scarcely distinctive, of course, since heads have more individuality than bodies in many works of art and much of humanity. With Egyptian art her remarks are certainly more appropriate to the figure of Ammenemes III she illustrates than to Fourth-Dynasty royal sculpture, for example, and it is possible to suggest—and has frequently been suggested—with Sesostri III and Ammenemes III that the strongly characterized features, which seem to jar so much with the youthful bodies, express the idea of the suffering king found in the *Instruction for Merikarēc* and the *Instruction of Ammenemes*, and are thus 'iconographic' rather than directly realistic. This is not to deny that the features of individual kings may have influenced the artists.

In particular areas the book's judgements and insights are often of great interest. Thus the suggestion that the baboon of Naḥmer may represent the king himself has recently been taken up by Helck (*MDAIK* 28 [1972], 97), and the discussion of the purpose of Old-Kingdom reliefs in private tombs—a problem to which there is unlikely to be a definite solution—has been much cited, and needs no further comment here. However, when the scenes from royal temples are considered, the attempt at sympathetic understanding ceases. First, the author states the old untruth that knowledge of the outcome of an action makes it undramatic—if it were true, tragedy would be a non-form. The fact that the king inevitably triumphs in trampling scenes or in hunting removes nothing from the power of the scenes—assuming one finds them powerful. Equally, there are ways of evaluating positively the decorative schemes of these works, for example, as expressions of the articulation of the cosmos and its maintenance, or as a demonstration of how human and divine society focus on and are mediated by the king.² To dismiss an art, which is contemporary with and in the same style as another more positively assessed, as 'senile at birth' is not helpful; nor is the view that the art of the Late Period, contemporary with sculpture which arouses universal admiration, is 'fatuous'. The possibility that the art conveys much of its meaning by symbolic and iconographic means is ignored, as is almost inevitable when formalism is the main influence.

I have indicated above (p. 273 n. 2) problems in the interpretation of one of Mrs. Frankfort's New-Kingdom examples. Although most of this art arouses much more of her sympathy than that of earlier

¹ Pirenne (*Optics*, 175–80) demonstrates that many Egyptian representations conform to one theorem of linear perspective, in which an object or part of an object is rendered in central projection in a plane parallel to that in which it lies (this will not apply, for example, to the human eye, whose generally exaggerated size in Egyptian art seems most easily explained on the assumption that its articulation in depth was disregarded and its full extent spread out flat on the picture surface). The point is also mentioned by Schäfer (*VäK/Principles*, ch. 8), who remarks on its correctness, but secondary importance in explaining the relationship between two- and three-dimensional art. Pirenne does not indeed show that the geometrical fact is of more than coincidental relevance to an understanding of Egyptian art, and, just as objects whose chief surface is curved are hardest to fit into the practice of central perspective, in Egyptian art they may prove difficult to reconcile with his theorem. Egyptian artists may have arrived at methods which accord with the theorem 'empirically', in the same way as Pirenne believes Giotto and Van Eyck probably arrived at their perspective empirically. On the face of it, it seems very unlikely that Egyptian artists employed any of the procedures which would be involved in demonstrating the theorem.

² The judgements here are also distorted by an over-insistence on the king's divinity, inevitable at the time when the book was written.

periods there is one fundamental danger in interpretation which she has not avoided, and which comes to the fore especially in her analysis of late Assyrian relief. This is the temptation to read pictures in a perspective manner—a reading which, as already stated, carries her approval. At a time when the rendering of foreshortening was excessively rare this temptation would have been absent, and anybody who has accustomed his eyes to the non-perspective reading of such works will find it very hard to accept these interpretations (many points are discussed by Schäfer, *VäK/Principles, passim*). Any examples where there is no perspective reduction or foreshortening cannot approach 'recession' in more than a diagrammatic fashion, that is by making the picture surface serve as ground and background; this may perhaps be found from the book's fig. 25 on, and is emphatically present in some of the Assyrian examples. But it is well known that the consequences of perspective for landscape were elaborated consistently only long after they had been applied to individual bodies and to groups; no such phenomenon is found in Assyrian art.¹ One specific example will suffice. In pl. 78 the 'road' is said to 'widen . . . toward the spectator', and the figures to be 'marching toward the spectator' (author's italics). The road is in fact widest at the figure holding up a mace-head, and narrows subsequently. It goes from left to right and the figures go *past* the spectator (the back figure is also the largest, which does not help the illusion of perspective). The picture seems to me to convey the containment of the figures within the road, and to take the line of the road, in virtually the only way possible, from in front of the town walls down to the base line of the scene (the town is raised because it is on a hill). The use of the base line shows that in this case even a 'diagrammatic' reconstruction of the scene is impossible: it is too conceptual.

Any over-all appraisal of this book must fall into two parts, as the author attempts to do two different things, which she does not explicitly distinguish: to provide an analysis of the spatial and temporal implications of ancient Near-Eastern art, and to evaluate it aesthetically on this basis. Logically, the one does not follow from the other, and the insistent use of evaluative words in the discussion tends to obscure this point. As will be clear, my own assessment of the descriptive part is that it is largely subjective, and open to a considerable amount of modification, subjective and objective (the book is by no means wholly reliable on points of fact, and is of course dated by now). Many of my objections do no more than restate Schäfer's discoveries, but if these have been ignored there may be some use in doing so. Two quite separate points should be made about the evaluative side. Firstly, and obviously, any search for objective criteria for the aesthetic evaluation of works of art is vain: taste is largely a social phenomenon, with all the relativity this implies. The only judgement for which a reasonable consensus can be obtained is one which takes as its yardstick the quality of workmanship in a piece; and it is generally agreed that this is not the same as an aesthetic evaluation. Secondly, if any such attempt to evaluate, which has the character of art criticism rather than art scholarship, is to be made, its aim should be to illuminate major areas of the art in question, ideally by demonstrating its specific character, methods of conveying meaning, and points of contact with and deviation from an area which is closer to hand. By choosing 'monumentality' Mrs. Frankfort has selected a criterion largely inappropriate to Egyptian art in particular, and to ancient Near-Eastern art in general. The enterprise of finding 'a dramatic character and a timeless significance' in specific events (p. 23) is in many ways foreign to ancient ideas of history, so that the author's concept is largely alien to the culture.² In this respect the analysis is wayward in the same manner as Berenson's of Cimabue and early

¹ The new treatment of the torso found from the reign of Shalmaneser III on is called a 'pure profile' rendering by Mrs. Frankfort. As a description this is unacceptable, since no human figure looks like these in profile, and many parts of the body and poses are still conceptual. The effect of the rendering is to emphasize chest and paunch, perhaps in order to give a feeling of strength. In relief it also undeniably gives a greater impression of depth—something Mesopotamian artists were already aiming at in the second millennium. It is interesting to observe that the same treatment is found in archaic Greek art, and it is possible to speculate that eastern influence could have been at work, and/or that the pose might contain the germ of later foreshortening. For a highly conceptual Etruscan example compare J. Boardman, *Pre-classical* (Harmondsworth, 1967), 159, fig. 92. An Egyptian example of the same treatment—relatively uncommon—is to be seen in the Eighteenth-Dynasty figure in W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1958), pl. 104A.

² Equally, the use of 'significant form' in the discussion of Cretan art (p. 205) has definite connotations of a superimposed concept, derived from the aestheticism of Roger Fry and Clive Bell. Interestingly, comparable negative judgements of Egyptian art occur in Roger Fry's *Last Lectures* (Cambridge, 1939) and in Mrs. Frankfort's work.

Sienese painting (in *The Italian Painters of the Renaissance*), with its abortive attempt to find 'tactile values', values which are almost by definition absent from the works, since the concept is derived from perspective art in general, and perhaps specifically from Leonardo's *Trattato di pittura*. Such normative approaches, although of relevance to Leonardo in his profession and as a critic of his contemporaries, are peculiarly inappropriate in treating a culture as alien as the Egyptian. This basic methodological false premiss is doubly unfortunate, as the book contains a number of unusual and interesting insights.

The reprint, though sturdy—and customarily expensive—is technically poor, and the already indifferent illustrations have deteriorated seriously in quality, especially the photographs, for which the publishers have not gone to the extra expense of using art paper. Both the copies I received were defective.

JOHN BAINES

Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan. II. Abteilung. Die althieratischen Topfaufschriften. 2. Band. Die Topfaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1968, 1969 und 1970. 1. Teil. Zeichnungen und hieroglyphische Umschriften. By ELMAR EDEL. 300×210 mm. Pp. iv, pls. 182. Wiesbaden, 1971. ISBN 3 447 01322 2. Price DM 30.

The first volume of early hieratic pot inscriptions from Qubbet el-Hawa covering the excavations of the years 1960 to 1965 was issued in two parts, the first in 1967, the second in 1970. Now we have the plate part of a second volume covering the years 1968 to 1970. It contains 182 plates with 214 new examples of a similar nature to those in the first volume. The method of presentation is still on the lavish side but has been reduced by 50 per cent. by combining the facsimiles of the inscriptions, the outlines of the pots, and the transcriptions altogether on the same plates.

The inscriptions in this second volume are much the same as those published previously, and for the most part concern the same persons with the same titles. However, nearly a dozen new names do occur and there are some variations in the titles attached to the names already known. The items mentioned as being contained in the pots are almost all identical with those listed in the first volume. In fact, the only new item is *ikrt* (nos. 520, 524, 567, 568, 580), while variations are found in that the common item, *nbs*, appears in nos. 552 and 553 as *prt nbs*; the item *prt*, which in volume I was, with one exception, always accompanied by the word *dwdw* 'meal', here occurs by itself in every instance. It is interesting that the pair of items, *bs/bmr*, which occur together in the Mathematical Papyri and elsewhere and have never been satisfactorily explained, appear together on nos. 483, 486, 496, 497. In the previous volume these items, although present, always appeared singly. The item *sh*, either alone or in various combinations, is very common. In one instance (no. 662) it is written *sšt* with *š* for *h*. No one of the vessels included in this second volume is inscribed with the name of the type of pot, although many instances are to be found in the first volume (see volume I, part 2, p. 22).

C. H. S. SPAULL

Collected Papers. By H. J. POLOTSKY. 245×180 mm. Pp. xi+724. Jerusalem and London, 1971. Price £10.25.

In the past it was not uncommon for a scholar's complete works to be gathered together and reprinted in a volume, or even a series of volumes, so that they became readily available in a handy form. Amongst Egyptologists one thinks of Chabas, Devéria, Maspero. Today's costs have made such enterprises a rare event, so that the pleasure with which one welcomes the publication of the collected papers of so profound a scholar as H. J. Polotsky is so much the greater.

These papers have been brought together from some twenty-seven different sources, mainly periodicals, but also some books. They include reviews as well as articles, and are reproduced by mechanical means so that they appear exactly as originally printed, with all the variation in page layout and type-face thus involved. Nevertheless, the book is of excellent appearance, clear and legible; just a few of the reviews only being in a type so small as to be a little trying to the eyes. The book is provided with useful word and subject Indexes, a welcome bonus to this enterprise.

The subject matter of the papers falls into four categories: Coptic, Egyptian, Ethiopic, and Miscellaneous. The Coptic papers are by far the most numerous and occupy one-half of the book. They include the famous

'Études de syntaxe copte'; the valuable essays entitled 'The Coptic Conjugation System', 'Zur koptischen Lautlehre', 'Zur koptischen Wortstellung', 'Nominalsatz und Cleft Sentence im Koptischen'; and a dozen or so reviews of books such as Till's various grammars. A number of studies of Manicheism, in a sense, also fall into the Coptic group. The most important of these are 'Manichäische Studien', 'Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten', and the article 'Manichäismus' reprinted from Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*. Naturally a number of the papers on Coptic subjects include much material that belongs to the earlier stages of the language of Ancient Egypt. In addition to these, however, there are the papers dealing directly with Ancient Egyptian, which take up quite a proportion of the remainder of the book. A general article entitled 'Egyptian', reprinted from *The World History of the Jewish People*, is most interesting. Then there is the invaluable series of grammatical papers made up of 'Une règle concernant l'emploi des formes verbales dans la phrase interrogative en néo-égyptien', the review of Sander-Hansen's *Über die Bildung der Modi im Altägyptischen*, 'The "Emphatic" sdm-n-f form', 'Ägyptische Verbalformen und ihre Vokalisation', and most important of all, 'Egyptian Tenses'. Ethiopic studies fill nearly a quarter of the book, being second only to Coptic in extent. The main emphasis is on Gurage, the other languages, Ge'ez, Amharic, Tigrinya, and Gafat being represented only by reviews. The papers on Gurage, however, are extensive and comprise 'Études de grammaire gouragué', 'L labialisé en gouragué mouher', and 'Notes on Gurage Grammar'.

No Egyptologist needs to be reminded of the contributions to the study of both Egyptian and Coptic made by H. J. Polotsky during the last forty years, but I hope that the above notice will serve to call to mind the treasures which exist and which are so conveniently bound under one cover in this very welcome book.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten. By KAROLA ZIBELIUS.

Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, herausgegeben im Auftrage des Sonderforschungsbereiches, 19 (Orientalistik) von Wolfgang Röllig. Reihe (Geisteswissenschaften) Nr. 1. 240 × 170 mm. Pp. xxi + 204, pls. 1. Wiesbaden, 1972. ISBN 3 920153 18 9. Price DM 60.

An atlas of the Near East giving both historical and scientific information, and covering the period from prehistoric times to the present day, is being prepared by the University of Tübingen. Before the actual maps can be made much research is needed. It is intended to make the results of this research available in a series of monographs which will serve to add to the utility of the maps and to form a basis for further work, it being impossible that the initial results could always be conclusive. Especially is this so in the present case, dealing as it does with the names of peoples and places in Africa outside Egypt, which have been culled from ancient Egyptian inscriptions and writings surviving from the whole range of the Pharaonic period, later material not being included.

The first part of the book is devoted to a list of the sources, which are set down in an order primarily chronological and secondarily typological. In each case a statement is made of the nature of the source, of its original and present location, and of its date. This is followed by the Porter-Moss reference, if any, and by other appropriate references, while the whole is concluded by a description relevant to the African material present. These sources are also each provided with a code number consisting of a Roman numeral indicating the date, a capital letter indicating the type, a lower-case letter indicating whether it is royal or private, and a running number. Thus III D b 70 means Middle Kingdom—stela—private—source no. 70. For the most part the running numbers go in steps of ten leaving room for the insertion of new material without disturbing the sequence. These code numbers constitute a terse and easily comprehensible system for labelling the source of each item given in the catalogue of the names of peoples and places, which follows upon the list of sources.

This catalogue is, of course, the main body of the book. The names are set down in transliteration under the known or deduced basic form. This enables a name to be dealt with as a whole in one place, while adequate cross-referencing ensures that it is quickly found if it should happen to be looked up initially under a variant form. A transliteration of the actual spelling of all examples then follows: e.g. *brwt*: *b3-rw-w3-t*, *b3-r3-w3-t*, *b-rw-w3-t*. Within the body of each entry the name and all its variants are written out in hieroglyphs with the sources indicated by the code numbers described above. The Gauthier reference is

given as well as a bibliography and a critical account, often quite extensive, concerning the basic form of the name, and the identifications with classical or modern designations that have been proposed. This catalogue is excellently conceived, tersely yet fully documented and discussed, and is indeed a most useful compendium of the names of peoples and places in Africa outside Egypt left to us by the ancient monuments and documents. The positive identifications are, however, through no fault of the author, very few; so that useful as the book is to Egyptologists, one cannot but wonder what sort of a map can be produced with its aid.

The names catalogued in this book concern Africa outside Egypt, which comes down in effect to Libya, the Horn of Africa, and the Sudan. Inevitably, however, the great majority of the names will have been Sudanese. They come from a period of time extending over nearly three thousand years and may well originate from many, perhaps widely disparate, languages. Nevertheless, the experiment has been made of lumping them all together, analysing their phonetic constitution, and setting the results down in an Appendix. The justification of this action lies in the fact that the operation has not been without results: certain suffixes appear and also a number of groups of consonants. This may be due to the fact that most of the names stem from the limited period of roughly 1500 to 1200 B.C., and so could conceivably go back to one language. That it was not Egyptian is clearly shown by the frequency table of initial consonants, but this is not a matter mentioned by the author who uses the information wherever practicable in the main catalogue to produce a possible analysis of the name in question. Thus in the case of the *brwt* quoted above *^ebr-^w-^t* is proposed.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Afroasiatic. A Survey. Edited by CARLETON T. HODGE. *Janua Linguarum. Studia memoriae Nicolai van Wijk* dedicata, edenda curat C. H. VAN SCHOONEVELD. Indiana University. Series Practica, 163. 260 × 185 mm. Pp. 130. Lib. of Congress Card No. 78-181828. The Hague and Paris, 1971. Price £3.15.

Seven articles, reprinted (with some additions in the case of Cushitic) from volumes six and seven of 'Current Trends in Linguistics', go to make up this book. These articles are; 'Afroasiatic. An Overview', by Carleton T. Hodge; 'Comparative Semitics', by Edward Ullendorff; 'Egyptian', by J. Vergote; 'Coptic', by H. J. Polotsky; 'Cushitic', by F. R. Palmer; 'The Berber Languages', by Joseph R. Applegate; and 'Chadic', by Robert R. Terry. In each case there is a bibliography, or a set of references or footnotes amounting to a bibliography, which adds considerably to the value of the book.

This collection of articles performs the useful function of serving as a general introduction to the subject of the relationships of the speech of Ancient Egypt with other languages. The period reviewed being in the main work published between 1945 and 1970, it is thoroughly up to date; and, since 'Current Trends in Linguistics' is a very expensive publication indeed, a debt of gratitude is owed to Professor Hodge for making available to Egyptologists what is apposite to them.

The term 'Afroasiatic', used to designate the phylum of which Egyptian is undoubtedly a member, may well be unfamiliar to many of the readers of this journal, so that it will not be inappropriate to quote from the Preface a statement of what is intended thereby:

- (1) a group of languages illustrative of, and amenable to, the procedures of 'classical' comparative linguistics, most with long histories—SEMITIC.
- (2) a single language, having the longest recorded history of any known, yet demonstrably related to others in the group—EGYPTIAN.
- (3) a group of closely related languages with sporadic attestation from earlier periods—BERBER.
- (4) two groups of languages, both the membership and the internal relationships of which are still in dispute—CUSHITIC and CHADIC.

The capitals are mine. It is thus a name for a linguistic continuum stretching from the Atlantic to the western borders of Iran, roughly in a broad band bounded northwards by the Mediterranean and Asia Minor and southwards by Equatorial Africa and the Indian Ocean. Egypt stands at the geographical, but most improbably the linguistic, centre of this continuum.

Semitic is the best known of these five groups, although even here much work remains to be done and some of the individual languages in such places as Ethiopia and Southern Arabia are far from being adequately recorded. Ullendorff sketches the history of the development of Comparative Semitics and also the

location and relationship of the individual languages both ancient and modern. No one language is described, but there is a brief discussion as to what may be said to be the characteristics of a Semitic language in which it is pointed out that neither triconsonality nor the use of vowel patterns to modify consonantal roots are unique to this group.

Egyptian is represented by two articles, one on Egyptian itself, the other on its final stage, Coptic. Both are excellent and may serve to supplement the standard grammars in that they outline the work that has been done and the ideas that have been put forward in recent years. That on Egyptian is particularly long and full. The current position as to phonology, syllabic structure, morphology, and syntax is treated with some detail. Especially is this so in the case of the verb. Here the proposals of Polotsky, Sander-Hansen, Thacker, Vergote, and Westerdorf are summarized and then rounded off by an exposition on the part of Vergote of his latest conclusions, in which he says, 'If these new conceptions of the functions of the *sdm.f* are adopted, the following rules would result', and then sets them out by reference to the negative forms in both main and subordinate clauses. However, such is the pace of work on Egyptian these days that even since this article there have appeared: *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen*, by H. Satzinger, as well as Mordechai Gilula's review of it in *JEA* 56 (1970); *The Negative Verbal System in Late Egyptian*, by Sarah Israelit Groll; and *Grammaire du néo-égyptien*, by M. Korostovtsev.

The third group, Berber, is the subject of a clear and comprehensive article which describes the development of the study of these North African languages and their phonology, morphology, and syntax. In conclusion there is a summary of the general characteristics of the Berber languages which is most interesting and stimulating.

The last two groups, Cushitic and Chadic, are languages of the Horn of Africa, parts of the Sudan, and the region of Lake Chad. They are far less known than the languages of the first three groups, and their classification even is not yet satisfactorily settled. Indeed, in the case of Chadic, out of well over 100 languages only Hausa is adequately documented, and of the remainder, six alone are known in any detail. Of particular interest to Egyptologists is the statement that the close relationship which has been postulated between Bedaue and Egyptian cannot be sustained, and that Meroitic can scarcely be a Cushitic language.

All in all this is a very important book with which everyone interested in the Egyptian language should be acquainted. As has been said, it constitutes an introduction to the subject of the relationships of Egyptian and it can serve as a supplement to the standard grammars. Beyond this, however, is the basis of the book, the concept of Afroasiatic itself, described in the first article by Professor Hodge. This study is in its earliest infancy. At the moment it is the morphology, as for instance in the case of the pronouns, that unites the family; comparisons of vocabulary have made little progress as yet. It is possible to hope, however, that the techniques of linguistic investigation which have been developed in recent decades for the comparison of unwritten languages, will be able to be applied to Afroasiatic languages and thus enable the proto-languages of Berber, Cushitic, and Chadic to be worked out. This work, if successful, would undoubtedly shed light on the prehistoric stages of Egyptian.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Rameside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical. By K. A. KITCHEN. Oxford, Vol. I, fasc. 2, 1971, pp. 33-64, £0.75. Vol. II, fasc. 6, 1971, pp. 289-352, £1.50. Vol. V, fasc. 2, 1972, pp. 65-128, £0.75. Vol. V, fasc. 3, 1972, pp. 129-92, £1.50.

Since the last batch of fascicles of Kitchen's most useful and welcome publication of the historical and biographical inscriptions of Rameside times was reviewed in *JEA* 58 (1972) another four have appeared as listed above.

The fascicle from volume I completes the inscriptions of the time of Sethos I which are concerned with war, with the topographical lists from Qurneh, Kanaïs, and the granite sphinx from the palace of Diocletian at Split in Yugoslavia. Then under the heading of 'Works of Peace' come a number of stelae, temple and rock inscriptions, and wine-jar docketts. These texts include the Great Dedicatory Inscription of the Speos Artemidos and the Nauri Decree, which by themselves suffice to make this fascicle an essential possession for every Egyptologist.

Volume II is now almost complete since we have fascicles 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 to hand. Fascicle 6 is concerned entirely with matter from the time of Ramesses II. It contains over thirty stelae, called 'Rhetorical' by Kitchen, as well as a further group of stelae and other texts. The most important single item is undoubtedly the Great Dedicatory Inscription of the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos.

Fascicle 2 of volume V deals with the second Libyan war and with the campaigns in Syria of Ramesses III as well as with the texts that accompany the various triumphal scenes depicted at Medinet Habu and Karnak, thus completing the foreign wars of that Pharaoh begun in the previous fascicle. A small number of texts found with scenes of horses, hunting, and games are given, and finally comes the Introduction and the first six offering lists of the Medinet Habu Calendar. The remainder of this Calendar takes up all but nine pages of fascicle 3 of volume V, so that a convenient working copy of this document is now available. These nine pages contain texts accompanying the Festival of Opet scenes in the Amūn-temple of Ramesses III at Karnak.

I think that it is not inappropriate to point out that the Medinet Habu texts dealing with the wars of Ramesses III, which form so large a part of the contents of fascicles 1 and 2 of volume V, are to be found translated with notes in *Historical Records of Ramses III* by John A. Wilson, Chicago, 1936.

C. H. S. SPAULL

The Human Remains from the Tomb of Tutankhamūn, by F. FILCE LEEK, Tutankhamūn's Tomb Series, fasc. V, Pp. ix+29, 24 plates. Oxford, 1972. Price £2.50.

In contrast to his meticulous notes on the objects found in the tomb of Tutankhamūn, Howard Carter made very few notes on the human remains, leaving this side of the work to D. E. Derry. In his account of the king's mummy, which appeared as an Appendix in Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, II (London, 1927), 143-61, Derry was at pains to comply with the excavator's request that the report should be comprehensible to the layman. Derry himself never published the full results of his work, but fortunately his manuscripts and notes (now in University College London) passed into the possession of the late Professor W. B. Emery who, a year or so before his death, placed them at the disposal of Mr. Leek.

The most important of the manuscripts is that containing Derry's and Saleh Bey Hamdi's 'Anatomical Report on the Mummy of King TutAnkhAmon'. This gives the fullest extant account of the examination and contains technical details not hitherto published. It is reproduced here in full (pp. 11-16) followed by an illuminating commentary by Mr. Leek based on his own observations of the mummy, made during a reinvestigation of the Pharaoh's remains carried out in 1968.

All that is known of the two human foetuses discovered derives from Derry's report which is included in Carter's card catalogue in the Griffith Institute. Notwithstanding Mr. Leek's persistent inquiries and assiduous efforts, including a fruitless and frustrating search in the basement of Qasr el-Ainy hospital, it proved impossible to ascertain their present location or indeed to determine whether they are still in existence. In his book *One Hour of Justice*, p. 211, A. Cecil Alport, formerly Professor of Clinical Medicine at Fouad I Hospital University of Cairo, states: 'some years ago I exhibited at a medical meeting given for the benefit of the British Army, the two babies found in the tomb of Tutankhamen . . .'. Since the Preface of this book is dated March 1946, this meeting probably took place in the mid- or late thirties, i.e. some time after Derry had finished with the foetuses, which may have been kept at the University Hospital. However, in all probability, we possess as much information on these foetuses as we are ever likely to have.

Two Appendices (dealing with the length and position of the abdominal incision, and the approximate ages at which the epiphyseal ends of bones become fully calcified) and 'Notes to the Plates' complete the fascicule. Text and plates alike conform to the usual high standard of the Oxford University Press.

DAVID M. DIXON

The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry. New Edition, edited with an Introduction by WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON, with translations by R. O. FAULKNER, EDWARD F. WENTE, Jr. and WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON. Pp. 350, 6 illustrations. New Haven and London, 1973. Price £1.25 paper, £4 cloth.

The first edition of this work was welcomed in *JEA* 59 (1973), 255 f. It is gratifying, but by no means

surprising, that a new edition has been called for so speedily. A fifth part has now been added, entitled 'The Scribal Tradition and Several Incomplete Instructions'; here we find 'The Satire on the Trades', 'The Instructions of a Man for His Son', 'The Instruction of Hardedef', 'The Instruction of Amunnakhte', and 'The Scribal Traditions in the Schools'. These compositions have all been dealt with by Professor Simpson. On p. 114 n. 12 there is a slight error in the reference to *JEA* 58 (1972), 3; there is also a complimentary misprint which alludes to our 'Editorial Forward'.
J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches. By MOHAMED I. MOURSI. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, 26. Pp. 186, pls. 16. Munich and Berlin, 1972. Price DM 29.

Intent initially on a study of the role of Heliopolis in a general sense, the author tells us that the scarcity of the archaeological evidence led him to concentrate on philological material which itself pointed to the significance of the High Priest of Heliopolis. His work is primarily, therefore, a compilation of the occurrences of the titles during the period indicated. Some 146 pages are devoted to this instructive assemblage of data, and helpfully included are the New-Kingdom instances where the title is borne also by persons at Thebes, Tell el-'Amarna, and This or Thinis. There is a section comprising occurrences of the title where the name of the bearer is not supplied, and another on the use of the title as a personal name; here sources from the Late Period and the Ptolemaic Era are also adduced. The first part of the volume ends with a conspectus of the named bearers of the title to the end of the New Kingdom, followed by a similar conspectus, but with a brief indication of sources, relating to the subsequent era up to the end of the Late Period. In the case of the first conspectus, of course, the full sources have been already cited.

An evaluation of the sources is presented in the second part. The treatment is sober and lucid, and commendable attention is given to problems which have in some cases been treated by various scholars. The meaning of the title is discussed, and then the priest's costume and function, the political and religious functions being dealt with separately. Most problematic among these matters is the original meaning of the title. For the Middle Kingdom and thereafter the reading *wr mꜣw* is proposed, with the meaning 'Greatest of the Seers'; this has already been widely accepted, save that *wr mꜣꜣw*, with the double aleph, is the form usually assumed. Dr. Moursi (p. 150) believes that the early occurrences point to a reading *mꜣꜣ Wr*, and in this he supports Junker's well-known view, though he then indicates a preference for the perfective participle *mꜣ*. One must agree here with the reported comment of W. Barta, that abbreviated writings are common in titles, and that the imperfective participle is probably intended, as also with *wr mꜣꜣw*. When *wr* is written first, Dr. Moursi justly explains it, in the early instances, as honorific transposition. He differs from Junker in his interpretation of 'He who beholds the Great One', rejecting a reference to an early supreme god; he is attracted rather to Helck's view that *Wr* here alluded originally to the King, and that only later, though still in the Old Kingdom, was the title transferred to Heliopolis with a resultant allusion to a local god of that city such as Atum. Unlike Helck, Dr. Moursi sees Imḥotep as the first High Priest of Heliopolis to be attested.

Yet the early radical change in the reference to *Wr* is hard to accept. It is true that the queen's title, 'She who beholds Horus (and Seth)', seems to provide a parallel since the divine names there refer to the King and since a prince appears to be involved in several instances of *mꜣꜣ Wr*. If the reference is to the King, however, one might expect the same locution to occur. The fact that *Wr* is an early designation of Atum is here duly noted, and a priestly title at Heliopolis is likely from the first to allude to the god without any modification of a previous meaning; *mꜣꜣ* will refer to the ritual beholding of his statue, a privilege accorded to the priest.
J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Egyptian Religion. By SIEGFRIED MORENZ. Translated by ANN E. KEEP. Pp. 379. London, 1973. Price £7.50.

The importance of this work, which the late Siegfried Morenz published in 1960, was indicated in *JEA* 47 (1961), 156 f. In an introductory note to the English version we are told that 'in transcribing Egyptian

words the translator has not adhered to the form used by the author, but used the form now most generally accepted'. This note seems to ignore the slight variations of convention which obtain in German, as opposed to English, methods of transliteration. Certainly aleph and 'ayin are here dealt with more efficiently than the printers of the original German managed to do. Forms of proper names, on the other hand, do not show familiarity with current English conventions (e.g. 'Amon', 'Ramses', and the god 'Apophis').

The addition of subtitles was a good idea, but there are sad signs of carelessness. On p. 191 a son is said to address his dead father thus: '. . . raise thyself upon your left side, and support thyself upon your right side.' The pronominal vacillation is sheer sloppiness. More serious is the fact that the translation is not always reliable. Two examples may be quoted:

1. P. 149, where Junker's theory of an early monotheism is discussed: 'We should not accept it simply because it has won the support of another expert in the field.' (Morenz, p. 157: 'Wir dürfen uns nun freilich nicht damit begnügen festzustellen, daß die Deutung von einem gleichfalls hervorragenden Sachkenner bestritten worden ist.')
2. P. 350 n. 117, where Morenz admits that he had previously exaggerated Egyptian survivals in Coptic literature: 'This admission does not imply that one cannot reckon with such survivals, but one should not seek them out.' (Morenz, p. 270 n. 116: 'Dies Eingeständnis bedeutet nicht, man habe mit solchen Survivals nicht zu rechnen und solle sie nicht aufsuchen.')

In the first instance the totally wrong translation makes Kees a supporter, instead of an opponent, of Junker's theory; in the second the error is in the last clause, and it produces an attitude quite unlike that of Morenz: he is actually approving the quest for Egyptian survivals, while the translation conveys the opposite meaning.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Hathor and Thoth. Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion. By C. J. BLEEKER. Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to *Numen*), 26. Pp. 171, pls. 4. Leiden, 1973. Price 42 g.

Professor Bleeker begins his study with an Introduction in which he explains his use of the 'phenomenological method'. He identifies it with Eliade's aim of 'herméneutique totale', and proceeds to make useful remarks on the application of the method to the data which concern Egyptian religion. On p. 9 he observes that this religion was a 'folk religion', and he notes the fact that 'the bearer of the supreme worldly authority, the pharaoh, was also the high priest in whose name all offers were made'. 'Offers' here is probably a misprint for 'offerings'; and in normal usage 'national religion' would be the term applied to the phenomenon described, since 'folk' delimits a part of the society.

Some of the principles laid down are not always consistently followed. An attempt is made (p. 9) to balance the emphasis on 'the autonomy of religion' with the 'problems arising from the close-knit relationship between the religion and the profane life of the community'. Among the facts relating to the second category the most prominent is the identification of the living Pharaoh with the god Horus, and it should be fully taken into account in any discussion of the roles of Hathor and Thoth, particularly in the case of Hathor, whose very name makes her the mother of Horus. One feels that this basic factor has been neglected in parts of the present study in favour of 'the autonomy of religion'. Nevertheless, many aspects of the two cults are instructively treated.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Hathor Quadrifrons. Recherches sur la syntaxe d'un mythe égyptien. By PHILIPPE DERCHAIN. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 28. Pp. 55, pls. 8. Istanbul, 1972. Price 42,50 fl.

This study has originated with the author's publication of an inscription in the subterranean chapel of a Ptolemaic sanctuary in El-Kâb, where reference is made, as in other texts of the Ptolemaic and Roman eras, to the Heliopolitan goddess Temet as one who appears like 'Hathor with the four faces'. In the west, east, north, and south Temet is identified respectively with the goddesses of Saïs, Bubastis, Pe-and-Dep, and Nekheb. (Derchain oddly writes 'El Kab' in the last instance, aligning one modern name with the

ancient ones.) When Temet is equated with Nekhbet, she is said to appear in the barque of Rē^c and that of Khepri. In a text from Edfu (p. 10) Hathor herself is described as 'the mistress in the barque of millions'.

After a section in which the textual evidence is assembled there are chapters on iconography, on Denderah, on the goddess Temet, on Hathor in the solar barque; and the last chapter is entitled 'Du mythe à la philosophie'. The antiquity of the four Hathor-faces is rightly urged (p. 12, where Allam's study is followed) in the light of the Narmer palette. It is shown that Capart had realized some implications of the iconographical evidence (see also Bonnet, *Realexikon*, 278), but Derchain effectively exploits the information provided by the texts, which elucidate in particular the connection of the goddess with the uraeus. Less convincing are the four nude female figures which adorn the handle of an Eighteenth-Dynasty mirror (p. 12); they are not specifically Hathorian, even if mirrors can be generally associated with the goddess. It is not only with Hathor that quadruplication occurs; see p. 14 n. 20. Nor are the four cardinal points involved in her case only. Gods representing these points are implicated in the censuring and purification of the Pharaoh, a fact first pointed out by E. Otto in *Orientalia* 7 (1938), 69 ff.; cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 36 (1950), 3-13 and my *Conflict of Horus and Seth* (1960), 122-4. Gardiner, op. cit. 12, opined that 'the rite was intended to transfer to the Pharaoh a goodly portion of the divinities who presided over the four quarters of the globe'. Such a cosmic extension is not suggested by the texts; it is Egypt rather that is primarily involved, and the same is usually true of Hathor, for the texts refer to goddesses in the four regions of Egypt. Derchain (p. 8 and elsewhere) also wants to give a universal application to the concept, but the texts scarcely support this apart from a celestial application; cf. the phrase 'mistress of Egypt', used of Sothis as a possessor of four faces (*Dendara*, IV. 252, 9, here p. 7). A celestial application is certainly found in *Dendara*, IV. 38, 6 in the phrase 'Great one of the four corners of heaven' (pp. 20 and 22), which doubtless refers also to Hathor's nature as *quadrifrons*. As for *nbt r dr*, that need not be taken too seriously.

Other cosmic qualities are assigned to the goddess, especially through her affinities with the sun-god and the winds, but they are not clearly linked with her role as *quadrifrons*, save perhaps in a relief at Denderah where four sistra joined to a *menat* are accompanied by a solar barque (here pl. 7c). This is explained (p. 46) as indicating the way in which the universal feminine principle guides the movement of the solar barque which is itself the centre of the world's government. Both *menat* and sistrum, it should be added, are given sexual interpretations, and in this way the feminine principle is seen to be writ large on the Denderah relief, and there is a phallic element too. In this connection Derchain cites the discussion by Daumas in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 22 (1970), 68 f. and the viewpoint there expressed is in some ways more convincing: in the main it is Hathor as a goddess of sexual love that gives these objects their aura; the solar barque on the relief in question is connected with Hathor because she represents, as the celestial cow, the heaven in which the sun-god voyages, while the four sistra may symbolize the four supports of heaven. Yet Derchain can quote texts where Bat, the deity immanent in the sistrum, seems to be connected with the goddess of the four faces.

The last chapter contains one or two extravagances and they recall the genuflection in the beginning to Claude Lévi-Strauss, that remarkable scholar who plays such subtly entertaining games with myths. In the title of the chapter the word 'philosophie' is itself disturbing, but what emerges is that the true object of discussion is the philosophy which is claimed to be inherent in the symbolism. Indeed on p. 47 there is a quite cautious formulation which states that in the fourth century B.C. the Egyptians, as shown by passages in P. Bremner-Rhind, were capable of difficult speculations on the nature of being; these, it is maintained, reveal that they were conscious of certain philosophical and psychological notions for which their language had neither the words nor the syntax. On the other hand, the main interpretation here advanced by Derchain is a bold one. We are asked to believe that the theologians of the Ptolemaic era, dissatisfied as they were with the traditional doctrine of the solitary demiurge who created by masturbation, insisted on the importance of the feminine principle which is represented by Hathor in the solar barque; she is not the creative mother, however; she is still identified with Atum's hand. To Late-Egyptian thought, it is therefore argued, creation can then be defined as 'l'inversion du Néant en Etre sous l'action de son propre Désir' (p. 48).

In fact, the passages in P. Bremner-Rhind, while they show a concern with the problem of initial creation, appear to offer only an elaboration of earlier doctrine. As for the role of Hathor in the solar barque, this is not directly connected with her 'four faces', and here again there is abundant earlier evidence for its

importance, as indeed ch. VI shows. A problem of methodology arises from time to time: Egyptian texts often contain a series of epithets relating to a deity, and it seems doubtful whether one should assume a meaningful sequence or conceptual cohesion.

A possible reaction of scepticism is anticipated by Derchain in his preface. If this is in fact one reviewer's feeling about the last chapter, the study has in other ways a number of fresh insights to offer, and one's pleasure in reading it echoes the author's professed delectation in the writing of it.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis. By VERA FREDERIKA VANDERLIP. American Studies in Papyrology, 12. Pp. xvi+108, pls. 15. Toronto, 1972. Price c. £12.

The hymns of Isidorus were inscribed on columns in a Ptolemaic temple at Medinet Mâdi in the Fayûm. At present the stones are in Alexandria, and one would have thought that any serious student of these important texts would have tackled, first of all, the task of studying them there at first-hand. The author of this book tells us that she has studied at Yale under C. Bradford Welles and also at Cologne under R. Merkelbach. It is a pity she did not go to Alexandria as well. Perhaps she was deterred by the statement of L. Koenen of Cologne, who saw the stones in Alexandria in 1963, and sadly reported that 'the inscriptions are now largely illegible because of the continuous deterioration of the pillars' surface'. At the same time there is, of course, in Alexandria a wealth of material which is concerned with relevant themes. The photographs of the inscriptions published here are those made by the Italian archaeologists who discovered the material in 1935.

Miss Vanderlip presents valuable discussions of readings and of linguistic matters. At I, 18 where Hondius (*SEG* 8, 548) prints σε Σύροι κλήζουσιν Ἀναίαν she prefers κλήζουσι Ναναίαν, comparing *P. Oxy.* 1380, 105-6, ἐν Σούσοις Ναναίαν. This hardly suits Syria, whereas the goddess 'Anat admirably does, so that the earlier reading seems preferable; in fact, pl. 6 shows a slight break above the iota which may have deleted the top of a *tau*, thus giving Ἀνάταν. In any case 'Anat is clearly closer to Anaia than is Nanaia, contrary to the suggestion on p. 29. At II, 8, σῆς ζωῆς ἔτυχον, the possessive pronoun gives a strange emphasis, and A. Wilhelm's proposal to emend to ἦς should have been discussed. At II, 17 κατὰ [κ]αι[ρόν] is printed (Vandoni's proposal), but the lemma in the Commentary gives the rejected κατὰ [ῶρας], which is ascribed to Hondius; the latter does indeed adopt the second group, but appears to ascribe it to Wilhelm. Vandoni's proposal seems preferable. The interesting suggestion is made at III, 12, where the stone reads φίλτατον ἔσκε, that *Il.* 24. 67, φίλτατος ἔσκε, is being echoed, so that 'Isidorus may be thinking that the King of Egypt is as beloved of Isis as Hector was of Zeus'. The syntax, however, is quite different, and the correction ἔσ<χ>ε is wisely followed, thus eliminating the Homeric parallel. An Appendix on the language of the hymns shows that whereas there are some epic affinities, it belongs in the main to the Koinê of its day. There is some inconsistency in the presentation of the final formulation here; thus on p. 6 we are told that features of language 'are not strongly influenced by the Koine of that era' (cf. p. 86), but on p. 97 that the language of Isidorus 'belongs to the Fayum society of his day'; on p. 101 it is 'more epic-poetic than Koine'.

Instructive comparisons are drawn with the parallel compositions in Greek, and there are careful notes on metrical matters. The book is marred, unhappily by a host of minor errors. Thus *ibidem* is often used for *idem*; a study by A. Alföldi is cited (p. xi) as 'Isiskult und umsturzbeziehung im letztem Jahrhundert der römischer Republic', where there are four errors; transliterations of Egyptian phrases are often inaccurate; and allusions are made to the Egyptologists 'W. H. Fairman' and 'A. G. Gardiner'. At times there is an unsure handling of themes derived from Egyptian religion. At I, 26 ff. Isis is acclaimed as one who saves men in trouble, including those 'assigned to death' (29, ἐμ μοίραις θανάτου); on p. 33 this is connected with the power of Isis 'as Tyche Agathe' over Fate, with the resulting ability to prolong life; but the simpler and more basic attribute of endowing the dead with immortality seems a more likely interpretation. At least it should have been considered. On p. 14 it is held that a dating of the Hymns to not much later than the eighties of the first century B.C. 'is proved by the reference to Isis as Queen of the World'. The reference is not cited; perhaps it is παντοκράτειρα in I, 2 or the general cosmic power ascribed to her. The argument is in any case quite wrong-headed, for the concept is an ancient one; see D. Müller, *Ägypten*

und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien, 19 ff. and J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 149 ff. (a work not cited in the present book). In this light it is absurd to say that 'surely after the savage destruction of cult-life on Delos in 88 . . . it would be clear to all that Isis was no Queen of the Aegean World.' At IV, 32, the King is said to have received a 'fair name, "(Son of) the Radiant Sun"', and by foolishly translating the name as 'Son of the Golden Sun', the editor (p. 71) involves herself in a needless discussion of whether the 'Horus of Gold' is implied, and she ends by saying that 'the expression may refer to "Horus as Victor over Seth", as well as meaning "Son of Re".' The King as son of Rē is obviously meant; and indeed, if gold had been involved (which is not the case), Rē would have been an equally good candidate. Nor is it correct, by the way, to refer to Horus (p. 68) *tout court* as 'the sun-god'.

The book has manifest merit, in spite of this, but two comments need to be added. It is a pity, especially in view of the valuable linguistic discussions, that there is no index to the Greek. Secondly, the deployment of modern literature is inadequate. One is surprised, for instance, that Étienne Bernard's *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1969) is not mentioned on p. xvi, since he devotes pp. 631-52 to these Hymns (with a translation and commentary). The most unfortunate omission concerns Chapter III, 'The Spread of the Cult of Isis under the Early Ptolemies'. By and large it is the old 'imperial' theory that is presented here, and no mention is made of P. M. Fraser's 'Two Studies in the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World', *Opusc. Athen.* 3 (1960), 1-54, where that theory was effectively demolished.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Religious Ritual at Abydos (c. 1300 BC). By A. ROSALIE DAVID. Modern Egyptology Series. Pp. vi+353, 7 pls., 57 Plans. Warminster, 1973. Price £4.95.

Egyptian temple ritual is a subject of unending fascination which has exercised the industry and ingenuity of Egyptologists for generations. Since the material is relatively plentiful much progress has been possible in understanding the origin, theory, and sequence of the cult but wide divergences on many points still prevail, particularly on the question of the order of episodes in the Daily Ritual enacted within the shrine itself. The difficulties are many and various. There is an almost irresistible temptation—which has claimed several victims—to force the evidence to fit *a priori* assumptions on the nature and affinities of the rites instead of letting the evidence speak for itself. Furthermore, it is often impossible to be certain of the order in which the temple reliefs depicting these rites ought to be read. Not infrequently the detailed correlation of different sources of information is by no means obvious. In the case of the subject of Dr. David's book, the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, there are still further sources of trouble. The temple is at once a mortuary temple and a divine temple. Therefore, Sethos sometimes functions as the dead king, i.e. as Osiris, and on other occasions as the living king celebrating the cult of the god, i.e. as Horus, and his patent oscillation between these two aspects does not make interpretation of the texts any easier. Yet a further difficulty is the fact that the temple was begun by Sethos I and finished by Ramesses II who inevitably adopts at times a different stance from his father. Dr. David has, therefore, undertaken no easy task and must be strongly commended both for her initiative and her courage.

The author's method is to provide a general introduction on the role of the Egyptian temple and then to proceed to a description of each of the parts of the Abydos example, providing detailed plans and translations of the texts. It is such descriptions which take up the bulk of her study. At the end of each section she provides a brief attempt to interpret the material previously discussed. The work is completed by a four-page conclusion, twenty-nine pages of notes (chiefly references), a bibliography, and several indexes.

Shortage of space forbids a detailed analysis but there is no doubt that this work shows immense industry and considerable acumen. What is more, the descriptive sections provide an extremely handy and welcome guide to the monument in view of the general inaccessibility of the major reports of the temple. In addition, the discussion of the rituals conducted in the shrines and the sequence of episodes in the Daily Ritual (pp. 88 ff.) exhibits an admirable sanity and indubitably constitutes a real advance on what we already possess on the subject. In view of such conspicuous merits it would be gratifying if the reviewer could launch into a paean of praise for this work but regrettably it is sadly marred by obvious blemishes. Errors of spelling and punctuation abound. The more continuous discursive passages are often characterized by

irritating stylistic infelicities and an eccentric use of paragraphing. On more than one occasion, moreover, these discussions are singularly flaccid, unincisive, and inadequately integrated with the theme of the book (e.g. the entire section on Osiris and the Osirian Cult, pp. 242 ff.). Furthermore, where the physical disposition of the material does not of itself impose an obvious order on the subject-matter, coherence can be sadly lacking. The introductory section, for instance, should have contained some comparison of Sethos' Abydos monument with those of earlier rulers in the area and a determined effort should have been made to determine what precisely its function was. It is, in fact, quite obvious that it and the 'Osireion' form a complex which must be interpreted in the same light as the Cenotaphs of Sesostris III, Tetisheri, and Ahmose and the many private memorials of lesser mortals erected on the site to associate their owners, royal or otherwise, with the alleged burial place of Osiris at Umm el-Qa'ab. The king built the Osireion as a dummy tomb and supplied it with a mortuary temple to act as a centre for his cult as the dead king, i.e. Osiris. This cenotaph has a very general similarity to those of Sesostris and Ahmose though it is unique in that it forms an elaborate stone representation of an *Osirisgrab*. Since, however, the king on his death became Osiris, this architectural formula, however unusual, is theologically impeccable and indeed quite natural to the Egyptian mind as is shown by the tale told to Herodotus about the structure of the subterranean chambers within the Great Pyramid (*vide infra*). The temple does, however, show a fundamental ambiguity in that, in typical N.K. fashion, it associates the cults of the major gods of Egypt with the king's mortuary service. These points, indispensable to an understanding of the site, receive in the preamble nought but a brace of indecisive paragraphs (p. 13) which make no effort to come to terms with the problem and we have then to wait until the very last sentences of the conclusion (p. 292) for the obvious answer.

There is more. It is very disturbing to find that both the introduction and the analyses ignore some of the key concepts operative in Egyptian cult, e.g. the ultimate purpose of most, if not all, religious activity was to maintain *Mṣrt* 'universal order, the physical and moral structure of the universe'. The champion of *Mṣrt* was Horus = Pharaoh and all his activities were interpreted in the light of this concept. Hence the representations of Pharaoh the Warrior (*vide* pp. 17 ff.) and Pharaoh the Priest which both occur on temple walls are simply two aspects of one coherent world view. In the former case he is physically destroying or subduing the foes of Order, in the latter he is supporting its major elements. When, therefore, Pharaoh offers the god *Mṣrt* (pp. 22, 24, 39, 44), he is doing considerably more than, as Dr. David puts it, offering 'truth' (p. 39) or 'food' (p. 44). He is affirming his role as the champion of the cosmic order. Therein his activities as support of the gods are certainly the most important single manifestation but far from the only one. *Mṣrt* in such cases is, therefore, not simply 'offerings, truth, justice'. It symbolizes everything which maintained the cosmic order and everything which reflects it (cf. p. 24 where the relationship between the scene of Pharaoh offering *Mṣrt* and the words which he is uttering makes this point quite explicitly). In Hebrew terms such reliefs symbolize the ברית or covenant between Horus = Pharaoh and the gods. One badly misses some consciousness of such seminal points.

Finally, it should be pointed out that Dr. David can make problems where none exist, e.g. she reverts on several occasions to Strabo's account of the Sethos temple (xvii. i. 42 (C813)) and searches insistently within the walls of the temple itself for the site of his 'well' (pp. 10, 12, 258, 268). It is surely quite obvious and has long been recognized (cf., e.g., H. Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, London, 1961, pp. 247 ff.) that Strabo is in fact talking about the *Osirisgrab* in the Osireion of which his *κρήνη ἐν βάθει κειμένη ὥστε καταβαίνειν ἐς αὐτὴν διὰ κατακαμφθεισῶν ψαλίδων μονολίθων ὑπερβαλλουσῶν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ* is, as far as it goes, an almost perfect description. Admittedly there is no *διῶρυξ ἄγουσα ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ* but that could be in origin (whether by Strabo of his source), a false deduction, an error of observation, or contamination from Herodotus' description of the alleged *Osirisgrab* within the Great Pyramid (. . . *τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποίητο θήκας ἐσωτῶ ἐν νήσῳ, διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών* 2. 124. 4).

To conclude. This book provides a useful key to the inscriptions and reliefs of Sethos I's mortuary temple at Abydos and the best interpretation of the sequence of rituals in the daily cult which we have yet seen and will undoubtedly be of value to all subsequent researchers in this field. It has, however, many failings which greater care, longer meditation, and a more rigorous approach could very easily have remedied.

ALAN B. LLOYD

Diodorus Siculus Book I. A Commentary. By ANNE BURTON. Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain, 29. Pp. xxvi+301, frontispiece, Leiden, 1972. Price 72 Guilders.

Essentially there are two ways of writing a commentary. Either one may grapple with the problems posed by a particular text and attempt to provide a solution for them or one may rest content simply with summarizing the views of others. Dr. Burton's approach falls unequivocally into the second category but, since this is the first commentary to be written on Diodorus Siculus I and since she is not a professed Egyptologist, discretion has probably in this case erred on the right side of valour. Certainly it cannot be said that her book shows much originality in thought or treatment but at the same time none could deny that it is a pioneering work in a field where English scholars have long been conspicuous by their absence and *ipso facto* constitutes a welcome addition to the very small corpus of literature which deals with the Greek tradition on Egypt.

The book begins with an 18-page bibliography which provides an extremely useful corpus of material for the study not only of Diodorus Siculus I but also for all the other classical accounts of Egypt. The main body of the book which follows is divided into two sections—a discussion of the sources (pp. 1–34) and a Commentary (pp. 35–290). The treatment of the sources falls into three sections: (a) an attack on the thesis that Hecataeus of Abdera is the main source of Book I; (b) a detailed analysis based on Jacoby's fourfold division of the book; (c) a general concluding section on the case for Hecataeus and the degree of Diodorus' autonomy.

(a) While accepting Hecataeus' presence in some passages (47–9 and possibly as far back as 43; 70. 11; 80. 6) Dr. Burton is cautious about his role elsewhere. Her doubts are based on three considerations which are presented with varying degrees of confidence:

- (1) '... it is too rash to ascribe to Hecataeus the entire sections in which each fragment occurs, on the tenuous and possibly coincidental evidence of a single sentence' (p. 8).
- (2) Diodorus would have named Hecataeus elsewhere in the book 'if he is excerpting him as assiduously as is generally believed, particularly when one considers, for example, the many references to Ctesias in Book II' (pp. 8 ff.).
- (3) There are passages which may derive from other authors from the sixth to the second centuries—Hellanicus (13. 3; 15. 8; 94. 2), Hippys (10. 1), Aristotle (82. 3), Plato (28), Agroitas (19. 1), and Manetho (12–13. 2; 26).

The first of these observations is unquestionably valid but (3), as the author clearly recognized, amounts to nothing like a refutation of the Hecataean hypothesis since the vast majority, if not all of these authors, could have been available to Hecataeus and could have found their way into Diodorus *via* him. To the second argument there are several objections, the most obvious being that, since D.S.'s treatment of his sources varies from section to section (e.g. 3. 2–10 is stated to derive from Agatharchides and Artemidorus whereas 3. 12–48, though certainly Agatharchides,¹ is never ascribed to him), such an inconsistency between Book I and II would be perfectly feasible.

(b) The detailed analysis of Book I leads to the following conclusions:

11–29. *Theologoumena*. On the basis of Spoerri's researches 11–13 are attributed to the first century, Posidonius being plausibly suggested as a possible source. Some sections (e.g. 15. 6–8 and 17–20. 5) are claimed to derive from a *Dionysosroman*.

30–41. Geography of Egypt. Here Dr. Burton concludes that Agatharchides *via* Artemidorus was probably the main source of 37–41 and Artemidorus alone a possible source of 30–6. This involves a modification of Leopoldi's opinion that 32–41 derived immediately from Agatharchides.

43–68 is stated to be based ultimately on Herodotus. This is beyond question but some of the argument is of doubtful validity. Dr. Burton writes, 'Clearly Diodorus must be using an account which is based on that of Herodotus, or else he is himself correlating two or more sources, one of which is Herodotus' (pp. 27 ff.). There is a third alternative, viz. that he is using two or more accounts, *all* of which are based on Herodotus. She also argues in favour of the first hypothesis that 'in the light of Diodorus' obvious disparagement of Herodotus, the latter seems unlikely', though in fact such anomalies have been identified

¹ E. Schwartz, *PW* v, 673.

more than once in classical literature.² Although, however, the argument is flawed I incline to agree with the conclusion simply because it seems to me that Diodorus Siculus was not the man to take more trouble than he had to. If there were available to him one source covering this ground—and there were in fact several—he would have contented himself largely, if not completely, with that. The suggestion that this source was Hecataeus of Abdera has much to recommend it. The objection that ‘. . . it is generally assumed that Hecataeus intended his work to displace Herodotus, and if this is so, it is difficult to understand why he should have made such extensive use of Herodotus’ account’ (p. 28) is no refutation. Unlikely though it may seem to us, such a position is perfectly possible, as is shown by the relationship between Hecataeus of Miletus and Herodotus.³

69–95. *Nomoi*. This section has usually been ascribed to Hecataeus of Abdera and this position Dr. Burton generally accepts, though she ranges herself firmly on the side of Meyer in evaluating its historical accuracy—a position which is likely to be near the truth. Two passages she suggests may, however, belong elsewhere. The discussion of the embalming ritual in 91 is tentatively ascribed to Manetho, whilst 95. 5–6 is at least denied to Hecataeus even though no alternative source can be suggested.

(c) Dr. Burton concludes her analysis by resuming two themes already broached in section (a):

(1) She argues that the knowledge of Egyptian shown in Book I tends to support the claims of Hecataeus and Manetho but finds some difficulty in explaining why, if this were so, the historical section stopped with Amasis. The answer to that must surely be that, despised though he was by later and far inferior men, Herodotus did establish a framework of *τόποι* for the study of Egypt which later Greek writers almost always followed. Diodorus stops at the end of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty for no better reason than that this had become, under Herodotus’ influence, the canonical place to stop. Such a situation is, indeed, nothing more than one would expect; for Greek writers, even those in ideal positions to conduct research, were markedly inclined to shirk the task and much preferred to quarry the writings of others for their material. Once a comprehensive study like Herodotus’ *Αἰγύπτιος λόγος* had come into being it would, therefore, inevitably form the basis of most, if not all, later work on the subject.

(2) On the other hand Diodorus’ autonomy is claimed to be greater than is generally admitted. He is himself certainly the source for some material, though the number of passages which can be ascribed to him with some degree of likelihood is small—44; 50. 6; 69. 2; 77. 1; 83. 8. Dr. Burton also points out that Book I gives the impression of being built up of four sections for which the material has been collected separately and argues that this would support the view that Diodorus’ sources were more multifarious than we admit. It is admitted that this framework could have been the work of Hecataeus himself, but she counters this and at the same time concludes her discussion with the following critique:

It is too easy to attribute to an author, the major part of whose work has been lost, passages for which an alternative source is not immediately apparent. Moreover, it cannot be ignored that certain passages may well have had their origins in authors considerably later than Hecataeus, and that Diodorus is himself responsible for others. It is safer then to conclude that in Book I Diodorus drew upon Agatharchides or Artemidorus for chs. 37–41 and possibly for part of chs. 30–36; while for the rest of the book he undoubtedly made some use of Hecataeus of Abdera, at the same time incorporating material from other widely different authors into the framework of his own construction.

The point of view which emerges from this discussion is eminently sane but it must be admitted that the argument—which I have followed closely in the foregoing description—is by no means always as lucid or as well organized as it might be. The reason for this is not far to seek. It rests in the method of attack. Far too much time is devoted to the description and discussion of earlier opinions and not nearly enough to isolating and analysing the evidence. Even at the end of this study the reader is left with no very clear notion of what *exactly* the data are and what *precisely* their implications may be said to be. *Quellenforschung* is an intricate business and its practitioners are well advised not to confuse the issue by paying such lavish attention to the opinions of their predecessors, however eminent they may have been.

The Commentary which occupies pp. 35–290 shows much the same characteristics as the Introduction in that it provides a thoroughly useful primer to the many problems raised while rarely making more than the most tentative effort to solve them. Given the tenuous nature of the evidence for many of the issues

² Cf. F. Jacoby, *PW* VII, 2676 ff.

³ *Ibid.*

involved it is inevitable that one should, at times, take issue with Dr. Burton's views, e.g. 23. 2 ff. 'Cadmus had no connection whatever with Egypt but was a Phoenician' and 'It is difficult therefore to imagine the source of Diodorus' information.' Herodotus speaks (2. 49) of Melampus the ἐξηγητής of Dionysus as having obtained elements of the cult from that of Osiris and states that he had acquired this information from Cadmus of Tyre καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην χώραν, i.e. Cadmus had contact with the Egyptian Osirian cult. This point, together with the identity of name between the Egyptian Thebes and Boeotian Thebes with which Cadmus was so intimately acquainted, provides ample basis for the version of the Cadmus legend occurring in 23. 2.

28. 2. 'It was long thought that Danaus had some connection with the Hyksos rulers of Egypt, and with the discovery of the shaft graves at Mycenae this theory has been given a certain amount of substance.' In fact Dr. Burton goes a long way towards accepting this view. It seems to me, however, that it is, in the highest degree, unlikely. The Danaus Legend, which first appears in the fragments of Hesiod⁴ and must have formed the basis of the Hesiodic *Danais*,⁵ is dominated by eponyms and looks very much like a learned fabrication of the Hesiodic School designed to combine the various parts of the known world into a coherent unit by means of genealogical relationships. Within this context Danaus' connection with Egypt is probably the result of his family connection with Io and Epaphus. If it reflects any historical event, it is probably the contacts between Greece and Egypt in the Orientalizing-Archaic Period rather than relations between the two areas during the Late Bronze Age. The various Hyksos hypotheses which have been put forward by Persson⁶ and others go far beyond the evidence and are in any case quite superfluous. Such Egyptian and Egyptianizing elements as occur in Late Bronze Age Greece are easily explained as the result of trade and the influence of Egyptianizing Minoan art.

33. 9. The claim of Aristotle (*Met.* 352^b26), Strabo (17. 1. 25 (804)), and Pliny (*HN* 6. 165) that Sesostris first cut a 'Suez' Canal is surely nothing more than one of many fabulous elements in the Sesostris Romance originating either in priestly nationalist propaganda or Greek imagination and stimulated by the work of Darius and the Ptolemies on a canal between the Pelusiac Branch and the Gulf of Suez. There is no good reason to believe that any such waterway existed before the time of Necho—and his διῶρυξ was left unfinished.

55. 4. It is possible that the Greek claim that the Colchi were Egyptians arose from the close similarity between the mode of life in the Egyptian Delta and that of the inhabitants of the marshes of the R. Phasis (on which see Hippocrates, *De Aer.* 15).

62. 1. Merneptah has some claim to be the Egyptian king lurking behind the classical Proteus since a temple of his stood in approximately the position of the τέμενος of Proteus mentioned by Herodotus (2 112. 1-2).⁷

63. 2. 'The name Chemmis must be derived by metathesis from *Hnmw*-(*Hwfw*).'⁸ This statement is not particularly clear but presumably means metathesis of *m* and *n*. The evolution of the name is probably more complicated. The divine name *Hnmw* is rendered 𐤇𐤍𐤍 in Aramaic, *Xnoûbis*, *Xnoûm* in Greek. With the addition of the Greek ending *-is* to the latter we obtain the forms *Xnoûbis* and *Xnoûmus* which, by metathesis of *ov* and *v* would yield *Xoûmbis** and *Xoûmmus**. At this point assimilation to the well-known place name *Xémmus*/*Xém̄bis*⁸ probably took effect to give the form which occurs in Diodorus.

Even when difference of opinion is not involved one sometimes regrets that Dr. Burton has not devoted more space to some of the issues raised, e.g.:

43. 5. It is a pity that the Menes problem gets such short shrift. At the very least a fuller bibliography is required. Amongst other important discussions one misses Grdseloff, *ASAE* 44 (1944), 279 ff.; Vikentiev, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 665 ff.; Brunner, *ZDMG* 103 (1953), 22 ff.; Helck, *ibid.* 103 (1953), 354 ff.; Kaiser, *ZAS* 84 (1959), 119 ff.; Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴ (Paris, 1962), pp. 161 ff.; Arkell, *Antiquity* 37

⁴ R. Merkelbach and M. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford, 1967), frags. 127-8.

⁵ J. Bethe, *PW* IV, 2091 ff.; M. Kaiser ap. S. Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten*, Berlin, 1968, pp. 220 ff.

⁶ *New Tombs at Dendra near Midea* (Lund, 1942), 195 ff.

⁷ W. M. F. Petrie, *Memphis*, I (London, 1909), pl. 1.

⁸ Alan B. Lloyd, 'Perseus and Chemmis (Herodotus II, 91)', *JHS* 89 (1969), 79 n. 3.

(1963), 31 ff.; Derchain, *RdE* 18 (1966), 31 ff. While this book was in press there also appeared Morenz, *ZAS* 99 (1972), x ff.

63. 2. 'Diodorus makes the same mistake as Herodotus in placing the pyramid-builders of the IVth Dyn. after Ramesses II of the XIXth Dyn.'—a point which is also raised *ad* 65. It is a pity that no attempt is made to discuss the reasons for this infelicity. The point is discussed at length by Wallinga, *Mnemosyne* 12 (1959), 204 ff. with copious bibliographical references, though in his acceptance of Petrie's explanation that Herodotus has simply got the rolls of manuscript mixed up⁹ he will find few followers. Much the most plausible solution is that of Erbse, *Rh. Mus.* 98 (1955), 109 ff.

In conclusion let it be said that differences of opinion on matter and manner should not blind the reader to the solid merit of this book. Works of this kind make quite exceptional demands of their authors—demands indeed which very few have the courage to accept. The writer is required to perform with equal facility in such diverse spheres as Greek and Egyptian astronomy, history, botany, zoology, philosophy, and philology, each of which is a lifetime's study in itself. In view of the inherent difficulties of the task anyone who has worked in this field will recognize Dr. Burton's study as a very real achievement.

ALAN B. LLOYD

Ptolemaic Alexandria. By P. M. FRASER. Vol. I: Text pp. xvi+812, 1 map, 3 half-tone plates. Vol. II: Notes pp. xiv+1116. Vol. III: Indexes pp. 158. Oxford, 1972, Price £25 the three.

Scholars have been aware for a number of years that Mr. Peter Fraser was engaged on a large-scale study of Alexandria, and looked forward to its appearance. As epigrapher, historian, and resident of Alexandria he has a special competence for his chosen task. Under the title *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, the work has at last appeared, bearing a dedication to the author's Alexandrian friends. In spite of its high price and the chronological restriction to the first three centuries of Alexandria's existence, it has been worth waiting for. Alexandria formed a link of first importance in the chain of transmission between classical Greece and Rome, and thus to our own day; it was open to influences from Egypt and the East; it had its own brilliant civilization; the monuments of the city and the stories attached to them (the Museum and Library, the first lighthouse, the gold tomb of Alexander, the mystic image of Arsinoë magnetically suspended in its shrine) have fascinated later ages right down to E. M. Forster. All of these themes required a fresh critical treatment which should take account of the enormous bulk of discovery since Susemihl, Bouché-Leclercq, and Thiersch. Moreover, the written sources are fragmentary and disparate, scattered through a wide literature, often focused on details. They require critical consideration at every turn. The result of combinatory method—and above all a survey of the whole material by a single mind—is more than usually fruitful. It must be said at once that Mr. Fraser's book succeeds brilliantly. This cardinal virtue is not to be dimmed by any of the grumbles or cavils which follow.

The book forms a corpus of three volumes—the first offering a continuously readable narrative, the second and longest holding the notes to that text, the third containing indexes. The latest material (embodied in 'Some Addenda' and 'Addenda Ultima' to Vol. II) dates to 1971. The *Quellenforscher* will detect a number of indications that substantial portions of the manuscript were ready eight or ten years ago—it could hardly be otherwise in a book that aims to include everything relevant. Its subject does in fact present certain awkwardnesses. The author does not aim at a political history of Alexandria; and since the city's very title 'Alexandria ad Aegyptum' declares its independence from Egypt, still less does he intend to write a history of Egypt in the Ptolemaic period. Yet a great deal of the background of both must be discussed if details are to be understood. The difficulty is felt even more strongly in regard to literature—for the 'Alexandrian age' in literature is not coextensive with authors resident in that city. These difficulties are met empirically. In the first part of his work (foundation, topography, population, constitution, trades, cults) the author does not define his canon of relevance too strictly. Rightly, in my opinion. Comparative material, institutional, linguistic (e.g. the explanation of ἀμφούριον from Rhodian ἀμφουριασμός, I, p. 111) is used freely for illumination. In his notes he pounces on every scholarly paper that may have something to contribute; if it is less than adequate he says so no less than if it is erroneous. These continuous *ex cathedra*

⁹ 'The Structure of Herodotus, Book II', *JHS* 28 (1908), 275 ff.

judgements are part of the author's achievement. He has taken to heart Epicharmus' motto 'Keep sober and be sceptical', and sobriety marks his judgement. If a problem is not solved, the scholar has a starting-point for further research. In the second half of the work, an assessment of the value of Alexandrian work in science, philosophy, scholarship, and literature, the author is already feeling the enormous scale of his undertaking, and searching to reduce its bulk. He defines his canon of relevance more strictly (Herodas, Theocritus, and the bucolic get short shrift because they are not Alexandrian in the strict sense), is more selective in his bibliography and inevitably more subjective in his views. The range of subject-matter (which I can only admire from afar) makes him more dependent on the judgement of others.

Readers of this journal will give a special welcome to Chapter I 'Foundation and Topography'. The author argues that the city was founded by Alexander the Great in person, and that commercial considerations were uppermost in his mind. He then progresses from point to point in the city, analysing the statements of ancient authors about landmarks and buildings, and the results of modern finds. The latter are meagre beyond expectation. It is not only that modern building covers the area, but the coast line has changed and between Pharos island and Kom ed-Dik subsidence has taken the ancient ground level below the sea, or at least below the modern fresh-water table, and rendered excavation fruitless. It is a hopeless task to identify landmarks round the Great Harbour, the sites of the palaces, the main theatre, and the Museum itself. But the Caesareum, the great Serapeum (re-excavated in the 40s) can be located, and the course of the Ptolemaic walls can be plotted fairly accurately, both from geographical constants and from the position of the eastern and western extramural cemeteries. In discussing ancient descriptions the author dismisses the picturesque account of the Canopic street and Gates of the Sun and Moon given by Achilles Tatius on the ground that he was a contemporary of Ammianus Marcellinus, who records the abandonment of the town's central area after the devastation under Aurelian (I, p. 10; II, nn. 48 and 85). The dismissal cannot stand. A text of Achilles Tatius copied on papyrus at the end of the second century (Pack² 3, Vilbèrg Achilles T., p. xvi) dates this author to the age of the Antonines, well before the destruction mentioned. Mr. Fraser traces in detail in his notes the growth of the mythical element about the city's monuments: the founder's tomb popularly long supposed to lie in the crypt of the mosque of Nebi Daniel, the mirrors on the Pharos, the obelisks (one of which is now Cleopatra's Needle on the Thames embankment), Pompey's Pillar, the mysterious Paneion. His scepticism extends to a refusal to Sostratus of Cnidus of the title of architect of the Pharos (I, p. 19) on grounds that hardly seem decisive enough for a rejection of the tradition (in the early third century a successful engineer might make a particularly acceptable ambassador). One or two minor points: p. 18 the Bull's Horn' of Poseidippus's epigram is described as a 'noted rock at the entrance to the channel of the Great Harbour'. But clearly Poseidippus means the channel itself, as does Pliny *HN* 5. 128. The guess (p. 22) that the names of the channels 'presumably derive from rocks' darkens counsel, and in this case is against Greek usage (the 'Golden Horn' at Constantinople; and cf. Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, n. on 3108). I, p. 20: a colossal statue of Isis recovered from the sea is stated to be 30 feet tall; at II, p. 55 n. 126 it is 30 metres. This chapter is hard going for the reader, and his path could have been made easier if the accompanying map contained a few more place-names (e.g. Lochias itself, or 'the area of Ramleh station'). I found it helpful to procure a plan from elsewhere.

Chapter two offers a clear description of the system of tribes, demes, and phratries, together with a collection and analysis of the evidence (add to the list of demotics p. 46 *Κρατεραιεύς*, P. Merton ii. 59, 5 also derived from a historical figure). Mr. Fraser effectively deploys Cyrenaic and Rhodian evidence in arguing for a rigid distinction between those persons who give an Alexandrian demotic and those who use the ethnic *Ἀλεξανδρεὺς*. The latter (p. 48) have 'a status in some way different from and inevitably inferior to that of the demesmen'. It is, in fact, the gradual growth of this petite bourgeoisie that is one mark of the gradual decline of Alexandria as an intellectual centre. A second is the observation that native-born Alexandrians were rarely the equal in creativity and criticism of the original immigrants (a factor that Mr. Fraser regards as important in the disagreement between Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes). Other marks are the vicious temper of the monarchs from Euergetes II onwards, and the emergence of mob rule. After the third century Alexandria ceased to be an attractive place in which to live, and the 'brain drain' went into reverse. The author does not believe that admission to the citizenship of other than children of full citizens by means of the ephebate began before the time of Augustus. The origins of racial groups and the total population figures are discussed. This leads into Chapter Three—the constitutional and juridical

status of the city, and the relationship to it of the king. Mr. Fraser supposes the city council remained in being throughout the Ptolemaic period and was abolished by Augustus; the popular assembly he regards as suppressed by Euergetes II. Of the exegetes (found as early as the second century B.C.) it is remarked 'the notion of a "first magistrate" . . . is very remote from the conception of democratic magistracies' (p. 97). But Strabo does not call the exegetes 'the first magistrate', he simply mentions him first. If the city council (and *a fortiori* the prytanes) had been abolished, he is the natural starting-point for Strabo's lists.

I omit comment on two excellent chapters, Four on industry and trade, Five on The Cults of Alexandria, and move to Part Two 'The Achievement'. It begins with a survey of the disappointingly little that is known of the Museum, the Library (including the Serapeum library), and then examines their success in science, scholarship, and literature. A good deal of this ground has recently been worked by Rudolf Pfeiffer in his remarkable *History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. i (Oxford, 1968). Fraser and Pfeiffer supplement each other usefully. Pfeiffer's work penetrates to the dynamic behind the scholarly upsurge, the desire to revivify masterpieces of the past; Fraser's examination extends to areas untouched by Pfeiffer, an account of Alexandrian science, mathematics, medicine, philosophy, and then (in detail) literature. I note a few points in Mr. Fraser's account of Alexandrian scholarship at which my eyebrows were raised. I, p. 451: both Pfeiffer and Fraser adduce the annotation ζη' preceding a variant in Pindar papyri (*P. Oxy.* 841, 2440, 2442) as evidence for an edition of Pindar by Zenodotus. Pfeiffer does at least quote Mr. Lobel's rejection of this view; Fraser should do so too, for on these matters Mr. Lobel's authority is very great, and in all other passages ζη' certainly stands for 'Query' (some part of ζηρεῖν). II, p. 664 n. 105: *pace* B. Laum, the Aristotelian παρασήματα do not have to be marginal marks (see my *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, p. 12 n. 1). Pp. 459-60, the account of Aristophanes of Byzantium does not do him justice. Some notice should be taken of Aristophanes' splendid series of prose hypotheses of tragedy and comedy (the only reference is the passing one p. 665 n. 107 to the supposed metrical hypothesis of Aristophanes to Menander's *Dyskolos*, which few scholars would accept as his). Again the severely compressed sentence mentioning it does not adequately display both the originality and fruitfulness of Aristophanes' colometric system for choral lyrics.

This is perhaps not the place to deal at length with the final two chapters on literature. They are enjoyable to read and instructive. Mr. Fraser has clearly been fascinated by the donnish, imaginative, yet quirky personality of Callimachus. He rightly regards him as embodying and giving expression to what was of lasting value in Alexandrian society and thought at its flowering, and devotes what is in effect a continuous commentary to his verses. It is a commentary which, while full, refuses (thank heaven) to be exhaustive, and is often content with provisional solutions. One function of a commentary is to focus issues and to provoke disagreement, and I expect this to succeed on both counts.

It is a pity the book contains so many misprints—many more than are listed in the five pages of corrigenda. No doubt proof reading more than two thousand close-packed pages is a daunting task, and many of the errors are merely irritating. But one is left reluctant to trust without verification the Greek texts quoted as testimonia (e.g. at II, p. 165 n. 324 l. 3, the right reading is πάντας, not πάντες; but the latter unfortunately construes). There are many wrong references. I mention two: II, p. 99 n. 228 third last line read *P. Oxy.* 2339, 27 (first century A.D.). II, pp. 173, 178, 387 offer different distortions of *P. Oxy.* 2465. Another minor irritant is the difficulty of referring from Vol. I to Vol. II. In the former running headings give only chapter-title, in the latter only chapter-number. A wise reader will copy out the contents table for himself on a separate sheet.

E. G. TURNER

Papyri from Karanis, 3rd series (Michigan Papyri Vol. IX; Amer. Philol. Assoc., Philological Monographs, 29). Edited by ELINOR M. HUSSELMAN. Pp. x+152, 11 pls. Ann Arbor, 1971. Price, \$12.

The editor is interested in these papyri particularly for the material that they provide for the history of Karanis and for the light they may shed on the individual spots where they were found inside the village. She has therefore followed the practice of P. Mich. VI and VIII in giving references to the excavation labels by means of which the items can be tracked down in the records of the University of Michigan's expeditions to Karanis, and has provided a short general introduction (pp. 1-9), which explains some of the archaeological facts. It will take the future historian of Karanis to evaluate these data, but they are the most unusual

feature of the book and should be specially welcomed in view of the prevailing lack of archaeological information about the majority of papyrus texts.

The general introduction also identifies texts which belong to known groups of documents and sets them in their archival context, viz. 545, 550, 555–6, 557 (Satabous, son of Pnepheros), 549, 562, 571, 572 (Julius Sabinus), 573 (and 547–8?; Aurelius Isidorus).

There follow fifty-five miscellaneous texts ranging from the first to the early fourth century A.D., furnished with brief introductions, notes, and translations, with the customary word indexes at the end, and concordances of inventory and excavation label numbers. Much of the content is routine—petitions, declarations, receipts, sales, leases, loans, and other contracts. There are a few prosopographical novelties—a new *archidicastes* (528), a new *strategus* (523, cf. now also P. Vindob. Worp 1?).

It is perhaps unfortunate that the few texts which promise a wider interest are left with the bare minimum of restoration and commentary, especially 522, a prefect's edict apparently about anonymous informers, and 529 verso, responses of Severus and Caracalla mostly about the exaction of debts to the state from persons not strictly liable, but connected with the true debtor. It is always a delicate matter to decide how much restoration is useful, and the results in these cases may eventually be satisfactory, if the texts attract the attention of experts in the fields, but at the moment the editions are practically incomprehensible and the problems simply hang in the air.

Users of the texts should, as always, be prepared to criticize them. I append a few notes of corrections and additions.

524. 5–6. For ἀπό κώμης Καρανίδος τῆς Ἡ[ρα]κ(λείδου). ἕξτ[μ]έν δι[α]δεδωκότες, etc., read ἀ. κ. Καρανίδος. τυγχά- ἔγομεν ἀπ[ο]δεδωκότες.

11 For διὸ ἀξιοῦμεν {ἀξιοῦμεν} read δ. α. {διὸ ἀξιοῦμεν}. (Mr. P. J. Parsons very kindly lent me a photograph.)

525 introd. For the dates of the prefect Haterius Nepos see the correction of *P. Oxy.* xx, 2265 given in *CdÉ* 43 (1968), 367–8.

526 introd. It is intrinsically unlikely that the Antinoite C. Valerius Maximus of this text could be the *epistrategus Heptanomia* mentioned in *BGU* II, 462 = *W. Chrest.* 376, and it is very likely that the nomen of the epistrategus should be corrected from *O[ύ]αλ[ε]ρ[ί]ωι* to *Σ[τ]ατ[ε]ρ[ί]ωι*, as suggested by M. Vandoni, *Epistrategi*, 26–7, cf. 28, 29.

527 introd. The date is given as A.D. 186–8. However, the predecessor of the strategus here was in office after 28 August, A.D. 186 (P. Petaus 56, see G. Bastianini, *Strateghi*, 44), his successor is first known in office on 25 May, A.D. 199 (P. Strasb. 313, Bastianini loc. cit.), and this papyrus falls between 20 and 26 March (lines 5–7). The years available are therefore A.D. 187, 188, and 189.

25–6. The date is restored with a formula appropriate to Antoninus Pius, under whose name it appears in the index (p. 132). Commodus was the emperor, if the name of the strategus is rightly read, as seems likely.

528. 1. The archidicastes Alexander may be the same as the one called Ti. Claudius Alexander(?) in *BGU* XI, 2062. 1. In that document Trajan is referred to as *divus*.

529. 3–19. A revised text and commentary by Professor N. Lewis has appeared in *BASP* 9 (1972), 33–6.

530 introd. This is assigned to the late third or early fourth century. The fact that it is dated to 'year 3' indicates that it does not belong to the early fourth, when the plurality of emperors made the regnal year numbers very complicated. The latest year possible, the month being Pachon, is 3 Probus, which was A.D. 277/8. Note that this would put the petitioner Heron into the generation of Aurelius Isidorus' father Ptolemaeus, so that, if indeed there is any connection with that archive, this Heron is less likely to be the brother of Isidorus than Heron the soldier, who might have been the brother of Ptolemaeus, see P. Cair. Isid. p. 3 and No. 83. 3 n.

531. This document needs extensive revision, which is to be supplied by Mr. P. J. Parsons in a forthcoming issue of *Chronique d'Égypte*. It concerns Ulpius Serenianus, chief priest of Egypt.

532. A reconstruction of this interesting document on the education of orphans is offered by Mr. Parsons in his review in *Classical Reviews*, forthcoming.

536. For more about the preparations for the visit of the prefect Longaeus Rufus mentioned in the introduction see now P. Petaus 45–7 and introd.

539. 7–8. For οὐσιακοῦ γεωργοῦ τῆς [οὐ-] ὀσίας} Καμηλιανῆς οὐσίας read (pl. VI) οὐσιακοῦ γεωργοῦ καὶ ἀπολυσίμου ὀσίμου Κ. οὐσίας. Cf. P. Lond. III, 445. 4–7 γεωργοῦ τινων ἐδαφῶν Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς . . . καὶ ἀπολυσίμου τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας with P. Mich. x, 582 introd. and P. Oxy. XXXVIII, 2837.9 n.

542. 3 [παρ]ὰ Τύρου. This dubious name appears only once elsewhere in the papyri, PSI VI, 687. 2, where it is expanded from an abbreviation which might represent Τυρ(άννου) *vel sim.* In W. Pape, *Gr. Eigennamen*, it occurs only as the name of the eponymous hero of Tyre. Here read probably Σ]ατύρου, and assume either that παρά was abbreviated to π', as it often is, or that it was set out into the left margin.

543. 2. For Φαήσιος read (pl. VII) Φαήσεως.

9. It appears from the plate that this line was added after 10 had been written and this gives the clue to the sum that seems to have gone wrong in 6–7. The original total of camels was 55, clearly written out in words and left uncorrected. To this number the 4 in line 9 were added later. In line 7 the camel total in figures, νξ = 55, was altered to νθ = 59. The total number of colts is clearly not ις = 16, as given, but ιγ = 13. The sum total of camels and colts was originally, therefore, ξη = 68, which was corrected to ρβ = 72.

546. 12. For Παμ]πυλξίαν read Παφλά]γαιναν. (Mr. Parsons kindly lent me a photograph.) For this feminine form, not previously attested as far as I see, cf. Kühner-Blass II, § 329. 11 (p. 268), on Λάκων, Λάκαινα, etc. That the slave is Paphlagonian suits the fact that she was sold 'in Pompeiopolis, metropolis of Paphlagonia' (7–8).

562. 11. For ε[ι]ς ἔτη read (pl. X) ἐφ' ἔτη (= ἐπὶ ἔτη). The wrong aspiration is common, see e.g. 570. 8.

570. 15. For δαπάναις ἐπισκευῆς ἥ καὶ ἀπ. . . read probably δ. ε. ἥ καὶ ἀγοι-¹⁶[κοδομῆς . . .], i.e. 'expenses for repair and/or construction'. See P. Mich. XI, 605. 14 δαπάνην ἐπισκευῆς ἥ ἀνοικοδομῆς, with note. For ἥ καὶ = 'and/or' see P. Petaus 25. 8 and n.

573. 25. It is worth noting here that Mrs. Husselman restores the first consul's nomen as Καικινίου and translates it by Caecinius, although the form given in A. Degrassi, *Fasti*, 78 (A.D. 316), and *PLRE* I, 793 (no. 12) is Caecina. Caecina rests on an entry in the *Fasti Heracliani* in Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* III, 397, lines 23–4, Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κινασαβήνου, which Mommsen interpreted plausibly as a corruption of Ἀντωνίου Καικίνα Σαβίνου, cf. p. 388. However, in all the relevant papyri the form found in this man's nomen is indeed Καικινίου (references in *WB* III, 74, Suppl. p. 355; add P. Cair. Isid. 59. 7, 17), whereas the prefect of Egypt Caecina Tuscus appears as Κοκίνα (P. Mich. III, 179. 8) and Καικίνα (P. Ryl. II, 119. 14), both genitives. Caecinius, moreover, does exist in Latin, see W. Schulze, *Gesch. lat. Eigenn.* 75. In my opinion evidence favours this form for the nomen of the consul of A.D. 316.

576. 3 For [. . .]ον (e.g. [ἰμάτι]ον n.) ἐνεσχι[σ]μέν[ο]ν articulate probably [ἰμάτι]ον ἔν, ἐσχι[σ]μέν[ο]ν, 'one cloak(?), worn'. The note observes that ἐνσχίζω has not appeared in the papyri. J. R. REA

Papyri from the Michigan Collection (Michigan Papyri Vol. XI; American Studies in Papyrology Vol. 9) 1971. Edited by JOHN C. SHELTON. Pp. xvi+132, 9 pls. Toronto, 1971. Price £11.

This book derives from a doctoral thesis. The twenty-three papyri, covering most of the Roman and Byzantine periods, with the usual preponderance of second- and third-century items, and coming from eight or more different sites, were clearly chosen to offer as wide a range of experience as possible. Since the only feature they all have in common is a very high standard of editing, it seems best to describe each of them with special emphasis on some of the numerous individual points of interest that they offer and to supplement the list with a very few addenda and corrigenda.

No. 603 is a contract for the hire of nine scribes to compile records of various types for the secretaries of the metropolis of Arsinoë, very probably in order to incorporate the results of the census of A.D. 131/2. It is interesting particularly for the technical descriptions of the types of records.

No. 604 is the work contract of a secretary to the grain collectors (*sitologi*) of an Oxyrhynchite village. As well as defining his duties it offers valuable confirmatory evidence for Oxyrhynchite tribal cycles; see also below.

No. 605 is a loan of money with interest paid in the form of the right to occupy a dwelling belonging to the debtors in common with the lender. It fits into an archive of nine other Michigan papyri, including No. 625 in this volume.

No. 606 is a routine interest-free loan of A.D. 224, but 607, a loan of A.D. 569, is unusual in that the principal is expressed as gold but the interest as talents of silver money. The editor's discussion of the value of the *solidus* in silver (22-3 n.) clears away much confusion and presents a clear basis for further progress.

No. 608 is a sale in advance of wine, grain, and vegetable-seed; sixth-century again.

There follow three land leases of various types and dates (Nos. 609-11) and a house lease of A.D. 514, in which the lessor is the son of a dead deacon and the house last belonged to the chief Christian church of Oxyrhynchus (612).

No. 613, a contract for the purchase and delivery of radish oil, is a good deal more interesting than its description promises, because the oil is to be acquired by compulsory purchase from the people of the Arsinoite nome and is destined for the provisioning of Alexandria. It also names a new *praeses Arcadiae*, see below.

There follow five petitions. No. 614 is an application to a new strategus of Oxyrhynchus to have notice of execution served upon a debtor, and 615 is a lesser fragment of a similar text. No. 616 is from a liturgist who was being pressed for payment of the liabilities of a partner. Its points of interest are a new *ousia* and two new procurators, probably *dioecetae*, Claudius Calvinus, in office c. A.D. 181, and Septimius Serenus, in office probably in A.D. 174. No. 617 is to a *strategus* about the defective water supply of a productive marsh, the same one whose troubles are known from P. Wisc. 1, 34 and 35. There is some puzzling terminology relating to the fertilizing power of the Nile flood, 14 n. In 618 a priest asks the *epistrategus* to exempt him from public work on the irrigation system on the grounds of weak eyesight.

No. 619 is a private account of daily expenditure, mostly on food, which occupies the margins of 617. There are a few unusual words or forms and it also has a certain value for economic history.

No. 620 is the monthly account of the administrator of an estate belonging to an ex-prefect of the *vigiles*, Valerius Titianianus, see below.

No. 621 is a fragment about the registration of some catocic land, which is related to and helps to improve P. Mich. v, 326 and 353.

No. 622 is a letter to a *strategus* with a mention of an *ὀρεοφύλαξ*, a title known from the papyri only once before.

No. 623 is a letter passing between municipal officials and concerning payments for bulls supplied for an *agon*, perhaps the *agon Capitolinus*. It has a new *strategus* of an uncertain name and a new *dioecetes*, an Ummidius, whose cognomen is uncertain.

No. 624 is a business letter full of the titles of civil and military officials of the sixth century, but offering little concrete information.

No. 625 is a tax-receipt relating to the contract in 605, with something to offer on the legal function of the *τέλος ἀνανεώσεως*, see esp. 4 n.

Here follow random notes on points that specially caught my attention.

603. 16-18 *ἐπὶ τῶ λαβόντας ὑμᾶς . . . τὰ ἀντίγραφα . . . [πρ]ὸς μηδὲν ἀπλῶς κατασχεῖν σε ἔτι*. In view of *ὑμᾶς* so close before, *σε* seems an unlikely error. The plate (I) suggests *κατασχεθῆσθ[α]*. If that is right, the error probably consists in an inadvertent change of construction, arising because the scribe thought he had written *λαβόντων ὑμῶν*. The clause should mean, 'on condition that, once you receive the copies, we shall not be detained further for any purpose whatsoever'.

604. 5 and n. See now *P. Oxy.* XLIII, 3095-8 and introd., where new evidence on Oxyrhynchite tribal cycles and a discussion are given. Dr. Shelton's calculation of the numbers of the tribe and cycle referred to in *P. Oxy.* VIII, 1119 is upset by new evidence of a change in the system, but there are no grave consequences.

607. 4-5 n. Pl. II suggests that *δευτερ(ᾶς)* was crowded into 4 because it had been originally omitted in 5

and there is an oblique stroke below line 5 between *παρούσης* and *ἰνδικ* (*τίονος*) which probably represents a *caret* mark indicating the correct place for its insertion.

31 *καμίσιον* (= *-ιον*) *ὑποδειλικόν*. Instead of the unexplained *ὑποδειλικόν* it appears possible to read *ὑποδεικτικόν*. This, if it were certain, could be taken as the phonetic equivalent of *ὑποδυτικόν*, from a new adjective *ὑποδυτικός* cognate with *ὑποδύτης*, which means an undergarment.

610. 42–7 and n. This is interesting as the first attestation of the eighth year of Probus, which must have been very short. The last sentence of the note runs, ‘The text published by Rémondon, if rightly dated, ignores Probus’s short eighth year’. This is perfectly correct, but some readers may wonder if there is a grave doubt of the date of that document, now *SB* vi, 9614. No explanation is given. The papyrus has money totals for Egyptian regnal years, apparently consecutive, numbered 6, 7, and 1. It would be perfectly natural that A.D. 282/3 should be referred to as 1 (sc. Carus and colleagues) even though it began with a short period originally described as 8 Probus. But one other possibility does exist, namely that the years are 6 and 7 Valerian and Gallienus and 1 Macrianus and Quietus (A.D. 258/9, 259/60, 260/1). Various peripheral arguments could be raised, but that possibility cannot be discounted.

613. 3. The name of a new *praeses Arcadiae* is given as *Φλαουίου Ὠριγένους*. It seems to me from Pl. III that after *φλ* there is a sign of abbreviation (‘) rising to touch the top of the next letter which can only be λ. Tentatively I should read his name as *Φλ(αουίου) Λαύσου Ὠριγένους*, i.e. Flavius Lausus Horigenes. This type of double name will cause no surprise when compared with those of some other known governors of Arcadia, Fl. Demetrianus Maximus (A.D. 427: *P. Oxy.* xvi, 1880, 1881), Fl. Anthemius Isidorus Theofilus (A.D. 434: *P. Oxy.* xvi, 1879; *SPP* xiv, 12a), Fl. Apio Theodosius Johannes (A.D. 489: *P. Oxy.* xvi, 1877, 1888), Fl.(?) Munatius(?) Cyricus (sixth century: *P. Oxy.* xvi, 1942. 1). For the name Lausus—rare, but suitable for the period—see *PW* xii, 1041, Suppl. vii, 365–6; W. Pape, *Gr. Eigenn.*; *PLRE* i, 497.

3–4 ἀπό τοῦ ἐλιμονικοῦ ⁴[λόγου . . .] Ἀλεξανδρίας εἰς <σ>υνωνήν ἐλαίου ῥαφανίνου, ‘out of the account for the provisioning of Alexandria for the purchase of radish oil’. Instead of *ἐλιμονικοῦ*, supposed to be derived from Latin *alimonium*, Pl. III justifies reading *ἐλαιωνικοῦ*. The word *ἐλαιωνικός* is cited in LSJ and WB only from *SB* i, 5126. 13. If *ἐλ[εον]κοῖς* is correctly restored in that lease it must be derived from *ἐλαιών*, whereas I should take it here as a new cognate of *ἐλαιωνέω* and link it with the *συνωνή ἐλαίου ῥαφανίνου*.

619. ii 9 *σποιδ(ῆς)*. On Pl. V the superscript trace does not appear to be δ. It might be just a horizontal mark of abbreviation, in which case *σπου(δῆς)* remains a possibility, but it might be a γ, in which case the item records the purchase of a sponge, *σπόνγ(ου) vel sim*.

12 *λεκανικ(ῶν)*. The doubtful letter appears to be υ and there is a blob on the raised right foot of λ which could well represent ρ. Read perhaps *λορικανικ(ῶν)*, ‘sausages’, cf. LSJ Suppl. s.v. and Lewis & Short, *Latin Dict.*, s.v. *Lucanicus*. The sense and derivation given for the word in WB appear not to be well founded.

620. 2–3 n. Following E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 86, Dr. Shelton is sceptical of ‘non-scholar’ members of the Museum. It should be added that Valerius Titianus in particular had a good claim to be a scholar in his own right, since we know that he once held the post of *ab epistulis Graecis* to Caracalla, see *Αἴ* 1966, no. 474 = G. E. Bean, *The Inscriptions of Side*, no. 110, cf. *JRS* 61 (1971), 147. On the literary qualifications of the *ab epistulis Graecis* see F. G. B. Millar in *JRS* 57 (1967), 15–16. On the career of Titianus see now J. F. Gilliam in *Mélanges W. Seston*, 217–26.

623 introd. A strong, though not conclusive, argument is put forward for identifying the games mentioned in 13–14 with the *agon Capitolinus*, quinquennial games founded by Domitian in A.D. 86. On this basis the text is assigned to a date shortly after their 54th celebration, which might be calculated as falling in A.D. 298. However, there are indications that the series did not run smoothly on the expected pattern, see C. R. Whittaker, *Herodian* (ed. Loeb), vol. 1, p. xliii.

The only clue offered that there is a text on the back of this one is in the inventory number 290 v(erso). Professor Youtie very kindly sent me excellent photographs of both sides and the unpublished one has something to offer both for the dating and for the provenance of the papyrus, neither conclusively, unfortunately. It is a column of a register divided into four sections by regnal year numbers, which run in reverse order from 11 to 8 and so probably indicate that the sums of money in talents and drachmas are arrears. If the text is, as claimed, late third or early fourth century, the years can only be those of Gallienus, viz. A.D. 260/1–263/4. The letter must, of course, be later than the register.

In one of the spaces between the entries there is an annotation: Σαραπίων Ἰμμωνίου ἰμμητροῦς Κλεοδ() —then, right margin, in second hand, πολίτης or -εὐόμενος?)—Ἰμμητροῦς Παι() ἰμμητροῦς. The man is a citizen, or possibly a councillor, living in the street of Pa . . . , in the Gooseherd Quarter. The street is unknown to me; the district might be Ἰμμητροῦς in Oxyrhynchus or Ἰμμητροῦς/Ἰμμητροῦς in Arsinoë, which was divided into Πρώτων and Ἐτέρων. An Aurelius Herodes son of Apion occurs in *P. Oxy.* x, 1274. assigned to the third century; he may be, but is not necessarily, the same as Herodes son of Apion in line 3.

However, I think we ought to be sceptical about the date of 623. The absence of the name Aurelius may indicate that it is earlier than the *constitutio Antoniniana* and the scripts do not rule out the possibility of so early a dating.

1-2 Διοσκο[υρ]ῆος ἑναρχ[χος πρύτα]νις(?) . . . [. . .] ἰμμητροῦς (καὶ) ἰμμητροῦς [χρ(ηματίζω)] ἑξήγητ[ῆς . . .] The only objection I have to the letters read for certain here is to the ω of ἰμμητροῦς; it looks like φ or ε. I suggest, instead of ἰμμητροῦς [χρ(ηματίζω)], ἑξήγητ[ῆς] (καὶ) ἑξήγητ[ῆς]. Since there should be at least two people here, see ἡμεῖν (5, 18), the pattern was probably Δ. ἑναρχ(ος?) + magistrate's title καὶ name ending in -ων ἑξήγητ[ῆς] followed by the name of the city. Either τῆς Ὀξ(υρυχίτων) πόλ(εως) or τῆς Ἀρσινοῦς πόλ(εως) would fit the space, though I cannot confirm either from the photograph. The inserted (καὶ) is certainly wrong and -ων, before which there may be another letter, is unlikely to be part of the place-name, see 4 n.

8 Οὐμμίδι[. . .] πίου. We must assume that the letters following Οὐμμίδι- ought to be -ου, written as elsewhere in the hand. If so, there is hardly room in the narrow rubbed space for [ο]. The next visible trace might be part of its right-hand side. After that the photograph seems to show (1) traces of a thin upright such as ι (2) a short upright attached at the top to an unusually thick crossbar (3) the foot and right arm of a virtually certain υ, after which πίου seems certain. Since neither Οὐμμίδιον nor Οὐμμίδι[ο]υ seems to fit the traces and no obvious possibility, such as Ἰμμίδιον, seems to suit the virtually certain -πιου, I suggest, very tentatively indeed, that there may have been a cancellation and that Οὐμμίδι[ο]υ Πίου is a possibility that we should envisage. No Ummidius Pius is known and at the moment no reliance can be placed on this interpretation of the remains.

9 τῶν. The photograph seems to justify τῶν i.e. στρατηγ(οῖς) τῶν ἰνομῶν ἐν οἷς τούτου, 'written to the governors of certain nomes among whom (was the governor) of this one'. I have failed to read the 3-4 letters after τούτου with any confidence but it looks as if it were τῶν repeated in error and struck out. If so, the grammar of the draft was seriously defective.

Since this is the first complete book of editions by Dr. Shelton, it seems appropriate to say what a very welcome newcomer he is. His texts are competently read and meticulously presented. Because the introductions and notes are brief but at the same time clear and comprehensive, his editions even of routine texts will be of value to papyrologists and non-specialists alike.

J. R. REA

Three Demotic Papyri in the Brooklyn Museum. A Contribution to the Study of Contracts and their Instruments in Ptolemaic Egypt. By RICHARD HOLTON PIERCE. Symbolae Osloenses Fasc. Supplet. XXIV. 240 × 160 mm. Pp. 232 + 6 plates. Oslo, 1972. Price £8. ISBN 82 00 08786 7.

This book is an adaptation of Pierce's doctoral dissertation of 1963 at Brown University, which had been available on microfilm or in photocopied form since 1964. (The work in this form was discussed by Seidl in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* 67 (1965), 241-4; and this is to date the only substantial review.) The bibliography of the work as now published includes items up to 1969.

Rather less than half of the book consists of an edition, comprising descriptions, transcriptions, translations, and commentaries, of three closely related demotic papyri in the Brooklyn Museum (now numbered Demotic Papyrus Brooklyn 37.1796E, 37.1802E, and 37.1803E.) Their existence has been known to demotists since Revillout first expounded them in 1883. Nearly all the numerous topics dealt with at any length in Pierce's work are problems that have been debated continually by students of either demotic or Greek papyri. Pierce offers here the first satisfactory publication of the Brooklyn texts, but the most valuable feature of his handling of juristic (and other) topics is his equal familiarity with Greek and Egyptian material.

The Brooklyn papyri, together with demotic papyrus number 22 of the Bibliotheca Apostolica del Vaticano, form a small 'archive', and were presumably discovered together at Saqqâra before 1852. There do not seem to be any other papyri from the Memphite area that are connected with these four, and parallel documents have so far come to light only among Greek papyri. The texts are sales with deferred delivery. They document four purchases of specified quantities of wheat by one and the same merchant (*šwty*) near Memphis, all within a space of two days in mid February 108 B.C. Pierce suggests that they probably represent speculative purchases on the grain market, made roughly in the middle of the growing season. The delivery is required in due course during the summer, after the harvest and the payment of taxes.

The commentaries are extensive and explore every aspect of the texts, although there is no retailing of well-known information, and Pierce is prepared briefly to cite the literature where he has nothing substantial to add. The most important discussions in the notes are those of the juristic significance of a number of terms that occur in the Brooklyn texts. For example, there is a long note on *rc-whj* (pp. 44 ff.) in which Pierce justifies his translation of (*n*) *rc-whj* 'subject to claim'—literally 'as a claim'. (A cross-reference from p. 48 n. 7 to pp. 116 ff., and perhaps vice versa would have been helpful.)

In Chapter 4 Pierce discusses the nature and context of the Brooklyn papyri. He reviews the large number of Greek sales with deferred delivery, and concurs with those who reject the theory, first put forward by Preisigke, that the apparent sale in the documents is a fiction and that the whole purpose of the instruments is to substitute a payment of, for example, wheat for an outstanding debt—that the texts record a kind of *datio in solutum*. Naturally, Pierce proceeds also to reject such an interpretation of the demotic texts. At the end of the chapter Pierce offers some more general ideas on the relation between Egyptian and Greek law. Throughout the work there are frequent remarks on native and foreign law in Egypt—discussions of the problems of the origin of the legal terms, juristic concepts, and the form of instruments found in demotic, and of whether or not the concepts involved in demotic documents belong to a coherent system of legal thought. These ideas are nowhere brought together, although this is only reasonable in a work that professes to be an edition of three papyri. If one is searching for omissions Pierce includes no general discussion of the differences between the texts of the four documents that belong to the 'archive'. (Three of them were drawn up by the same notary.)

Chapters 5–11 are separate essays, discussing the juristic significance of various clauses or sections of demotic instruments. These are well organized, and where appropriate the sections or chapters have at the end a brief summary of the problems discussed: I shall not attempt to list their contents here. Chapter 5 ('Receipts') includes a discussion of the distinction between the use of *εἶλω* and *ἀπέλω* in Greek receipts, a distinction that is nicely paralleled in demotic. In Chapter 7 ('The Executive Clause'), Pierce has to establish the meaning as well as the force of the phrase *n htr (n) iwty mn* ('necessarily and without delay'). In Chapter 10 ('Mulct'), he seems justified in the cautious conclusions he draws from earlier epigraphic evidence from Greece. Chapter 11 is a brief and useful summary of our limited knowledge of Greek archival dockets found on demotic documents.

The bibliography that Pierce has collected for every topic is large and invaluable. The various indexes are an essential help. The six plates at the end of the volume are at roughly three-fifths natural size (only the first two have scales). They are good enough to be useful, but do not allow every damaged trace to be checked. Pierce's practice of quoting complete clauses of parallel texts accompanied by translations is strongly to be recommended with demotic texts. The book contains a fair number of trivial misprints. (The reference to the discussion of the reading of *nht* on p. 63 and on p. 156 should be Spiegelberg, 1925: 3, pp. 24–30.)

We have to thank Pierce for his publication of the Brooklyn papyri, for his painstaking handling of old problems, and for his new insights into juristic questions. W. J. TAIT

The Town Councils of Roman Egypt. By ALAN K. BOWMAN. American Studies in Papyrology, Vol. 11. Pp. xvi+192. Toronto, 1971. Price £15.

It is sixty years since Jouguet published his fundamental study of the administrative history of Roman Egypt, and the mass of new and important material which has come to light since then, though occasionally studied piecemeal (notably by Jouguet himself, Wegener, and A. H. M. Jones), has never been treated

systematically. This comprehensive examination of the town councils in the Egyptian metropoleis is therefore timely and welcome. The sources, virtually all papyrological, are frequently enigmatic and tantalizingly fragmentary, and often enough of uncertain date. (A disproportionately high percentage comes from Oxyrhynchus, but, as the author stresses, there is no reason to suppose that conditions were different in the other metropoleis.) Bowman shows not only a thorough knowledge of this material, but great competence in the difficult task of handling it judiciously. Nor is he overwhelmed by the mass of detail but is able to offer important suggestions for interpreting the larger issues raised, and throughout the book is well argued and expressed with clarity.

The first chapter discusses the *boulé* in Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt, the foundation of councils by Severus (probably in A.D. 199/200), and examines briefly, too briefly perhaps, the antecedents. The second chapter deals with the composition and working of the councils. There was a fixed number of councillors, kept up by co-optation, and members served for life; an entrance fee was payable. *βουλευταί* and *ἄρχοντες* were overlapping but not identical groups, and the bouletic class, from which holders of bouletic liturgies were drawn, was wider than membership of the council. Meetings were held regularly, probably on the thirtieth of each month, and non-*bouleutai* could attend. Bowman stresses that we have no evidence for probouletic functions and very little to suggest that the demos of the metropoleis ever met as a body. Officials discussed include the *σκριβας*, the *ταμίας βουλευτικῶν χρημάτων* and *ταμίας πολιτικῶν χρημάτων* (an important new reading in P. Oxy. 1104 attests his existence in A.D. 306), the *ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων*, whose character is quite uncertain, and the *σύνδικος*, both as a third-century bouletic official and in his later capacity as *defensor*.

The third chapter is devoted to the *prytanis*, who became in the third century the president and chief executive officer of the council. It is established that his appointment was for one year from 1 Thoth but that appointment could be renewed. In the next chapter Bowman discusses the business of the council, first in respect of taxation and impositions for military supplies, where the council acted as the agent of the central government with a certain responsibility for activities throughout the nome (here one might have wished for a more detailed consideration of relations between the *strategos* and the *boulé*; cf. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*², 330 f.). Secondly he deals with public works and finance and demonstrates 'that the boule enjoyed relative autonomy in business pertaining to the internal government of the metropolis in the third century . . . it normally had a free hand in the administration of public works, the organisation of finances in the metropolis and the appointment of officials for duties in the metropolis' (p. 118). The chapter concludes with a penetrating examination of electoral procedure—*ὄνομασία* (usually the first step only, after which objections could be made), *προβολή*, and election proper. Petitions against performance of liturgies could be sent to the council, which was responsible for the good behaviour of the officials elected.

In his conclusion (123–7) the author is principally concerned with the change in the position of the council which came about in the fourth century. The opposition of fourth-century to third-century conditions recurs throughout the book and is perhaps somewhat misleading. It is true that the introduction of the *logistes* (by A.D. 304) brought changes, but other fundamental changes did not, I believe, fully operate until after the *strategos* had been deposed from his dominant position in the nome, a change I suspect did not finally take place before A.D. 307/8. This is not a mere quibble: a high proportion of evidence comes from the first few years of the fourth century and thus may reflect the earlier, third-century situation. What Bowman contends is that the fourth century, far from representing an increase in the council's powers, shows the central government forced to introduce, in the *logistes*, etc., centrally appointed officials to take charge of finances and other aspects of the administration in which the amateur councils had proved incompetent. Thus while certain officials, notably the *prytanis*, gained in authority, the council itself lost much of its autonomy. 'The boulai were unable to fulfil their responsibilities and the result was that power was again centralised in the hands of a small number of officials with direct responsibility to the central government' (p. 126). This conclusion is new and important, and in the main, it seems to me, right.

There are four appendices: I, a list of *prytaneis* and *bouleutai* of Oxyrhynchus; II, on the tribal cycles, arguing for a change to twelve tribes at Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 245/6 and for dating P. Oxy. 1413–14 to A.D. 271/2; III, a convincing demonstration that *προπολιτευόμενος* is not a synonym for *prytanis/proedros* and may represent the Latin *principalis*; IV, a list of documents illustrating the functioning of the council.

I offer a selection of detailed comments (references are to pages).

7. On the *boulé* at Athens see now P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (1972).

13. PSI 1160 very probably belongs to the reign of Claudius not Augustus, cf. H. J. Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 84 ff. On Ptolemaic *prytaneis* at Alexandria there is important evidence in P.Oxy. 2465 (Satyrus).

14. On the Antinoöpolite *boulé* reference should be made to Braunert's important article, *Jnl. Jurist. Pap.* 14 (1962), 73–88.

16 ff. One would not gather from Bowman's discussion that the *κοινὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων*, as distinct from the *κοινά* of the individual magistracies, is only attested once (P. Oxy. 54) and that in A.D. 201, i.e. during the transitional period when the newly created councils were being set up.

17 n. 43. The *prytaneis* and magistrates in P. Lond. 604 surely belong to a Greek city or the nome metropolis.

23. Could one be compelled to become a councillor? The question to the oracle in P. Oxy. 1477. 17 seems to imply this, cf. Safrai, *Jnl. Jewish Stud.* 14 (1963), 67–70.

26. Illiteracy among councillors is questionable, cf. Youtie, *Harvard Stud. Class. Phil.* 75 (1971), 175.

28 ff. I suspect there was always a distinction in theory between the *ἄρχαι*, which were technically *honores*, and liturgies (cf. e.g. P. Oxy. 1119. 16), which is obscured in Bowman's discussion.

42. Add the *ἀρθογρά(φος) βουλ(ῆς)* in SB 9902 A/III/8.

44. On the *ταμίας* reference should be made to Wegener, P. Oxford, pp. 6–11, and to the *ἀργυροταμίας* in P. Oxy. 2127.

59. For the date of SB 9902 see now *ZPE* 6 (1970), 177–80, and 7 (1971), 170–1.

60. Panopolis is not the only place at which *πρόεδροι* are recorded before A.D. 300: CPHerm. 119 verso IV. 5 is evidence for the title at Hermopolis in A.D. 266/7.

72 f. The argument seems confused. *πόλις* surely means the metropolis only and is thus a smaller entity than the nome; the *πόλις* is probably contributing 6½ talents, while the rest of the nome has to find the balance, i.e. 7½ talents; this suits the reference in the text (P. Oxy. 1413. 6) to the small number of villages in the nome.

76. PSI 684 seems to refer to a law passed in A.D. 386 (*C. Th.* XII. 6. 20); if so it must be after this date.

83. On the corn-dole see now P. Oxy. XL, edited Rea.

86. On athletes' status see Amelotti, *Stud. Doc. Hist. Iuris* 21 (1955), 123–56.

92 f. For interest accruing to the *πολιτικός λόγος* note the evidence of CPHerm. 98–9.

96. It is implied that P. Oxy. 2127–8 are to be dated after the institution of the councils. Hunt placed them in the second century, but a later date is suggested by Jones, op. cit. 333.

107. It is perhaps possible to distinguish between bouletic liturgies in the metropolis and the nome, to which the council appointed (*φροντισταί, ἐπιμεληταί*, etc.), and metropolitan liturgies which were appointed from the tribes by the *amphodogrammateus* and his successor the phylarch (cf. Jones, op. cit. 332). The council had no part in the latter: note that councillors are excluded from the post of phylarch in P. Oxy. 2664. 15.

114. The text relating to exemption for old age is P. Oxy. 889.

118. The reference to a man appointed to supply information on oil for the gymnasium is CPHerm. 57–64.

124. The evidence for a changed situation reflected in P. Cair. Isidor. 1 cannot be dismissed simply because the council had responsibilities in the nome before A.D. 297. This text is also a case of 'the dog that did not bark', i.e. the startling omission in it of any reference to the *strategos*.

125 f. The argument that it was certain magistrates and not the council which saw their authority enhanced in the fourth century can be supported by SB 9558. 12 (325) with its noteworthy reference to *οἱ ἄρχοντες* and not the *βουλή*.

126. If the picture of a handful of officials usurping the council's authority is convincing for the earlier fourth century, it is perhaps less true later on; cf. the suggestion that the *logistes*, at first an appointment from outside the *civitas*, was later elected by the council from its own number (Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 726).

157 f. In the fourth century the terminology presents no problem, since by then *πόλις* = *civitas* = nome, cf. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*², 336.

In general my differences from the author are on minor points and such as are inevitable when one is dealing with controversial matters on which the evidence permits no firm conclusion. Where I differ I do so with some qualms, for his sound cautious approach and balanced judgement are apparent throughout and he has undoubtedly advanced our knowledge a great deal. For example, it will not be possible for anyone in the future to use the important texts P. Oxy. 1412-19 and SB 7696 without first consulting what Bowman has to say. The above remarks will have shown that on many of the questions raised in this book the last word has not yet been written, but this is not a claim which the author would make. What he would claim—and rightly so—is to have produced a synthesis of all the available material which will form an indispensable basis for future research, and in so doing he has written one of the most important books to have appeared in recent years on the administration of Roman Egypt. J. DAVID THOMAS

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