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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

EXCAVATIONS this year at Saqqâra were a joint venture undertaken by the Society and the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden. The very successful season is thus summarized by Dr. Geoffrey T. Martin, who directed the expedition.

The aim this season was to establish the nature of the area south of the Causeway of Unas at Saqqâra, and to locate, with the aid of the map in Lepsius' *Denkmaeler*, the few known tombs of the New Kingdom in that area. The tomb of Maya (no. 27), only partly cleared when it was seen by Lepsius, was chosen this year. The indications furnished by the map brought us, however, exactly over the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, though there were no indications of its existence on the surface. The exact location of the tomb has been a matter of speculation ever since blocks from it found their way into museum collections in the nineteenth century. From circumstantial evidence I myself believed it to be at Saqqâra.

The tomb is free-standing on the surface of the desert. We have cleared part of the Forecourt and all of the great open Courtyard of the tomb, as well as the Antechapel. Two vaulted storerooms flanking the latter await excavation next season. They have been re-used for late, possibly Coptic, burials. The Courtyard is colonnaded, each column originally being decorated with panels showing Horemheb adoring various deities. It is clear that the dismantling of the reliefs from the tomb must have begun in antiquity, since the uppermost register is lacking both in the tomb and in the museum collections.

Several interesting blocks were found by us this season, both *in situ* and loose in the sand fill of the Forecourt and Courtyard. The most important of these is a large relief, found in two pieces in different parts of the court, showing Horemheb loaded with collars of honour. A large figure to the right is presumably the king, in this instance Tutankhamun or Ay. The figure of Horemheb is clearly a portrait of a man well advanced in years, and was perhaps carved just before his accession to the throne. Other blocks include three similar in character to reliefs in Bologna. They show details of daily life: anointing with unguent cones and feasting. One block seems to portray scenes in an encampment. An interesting feature here is the rendering of the sinuous landscape. Part of another block *in situ* shows the balcony of the royal palace, and a cushion resting on the Window of Appearings. This is not part of the famous scene in Leiden. We also have scenes showing offering-bearers, in position against the west wall of the court. The decoration of the eastern end of the south wall of the court is unfinished, the outlines of the draughtsman only remaining. A shrine, a procession of foreigners and attendants, and other details survive. Below is a remarkable drawing of a horse.

At the entrance to the Antechapel is a large and very fine block showing Horemheb seated before an offering-table, with the Opening of the Mouth text above. Below is a vivid representation of offering-bringers and heaps of produce. Behind Horemheb's chair of state is carved a figure of a man named as his Army Scribe, Ramose. The west doorjambs of the Antechapel bear well-preserved lists of Horemheb's titles and epithets, seen and recorded by Mariette. The Antechapel has emplacements for statues of Horemheb, in one of which was a papyrus, dated on palaeographical grounds to the Nineteenth Dynasty, containing part of the text of the *Wisdom of Ani*. Two carved and painted bases for Anubis statues are cemented in position at the west end of the

antechapel. These bear the names and titles of Horemḥeb's lector-priests and their families, and seem to indicate that the tomb was sacrosanct after its abandonment by Horemḥeb. One of the personal names is *Hr-m-ḥb-m-ntr*. A number of inscribed blocks and doorjambs and many smaller fragments were found in the debris of the tomb.

The work next season will involve the complete clearance of the Forecourt and the tomb-shaft and burial chamber, the latter located in the north-west corner of the great Courtyard, as well as the excavation of the chapel at the west end of the tomb.

The retirement of Professor H. W. Fairman from the Brunner Chair of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool has ended an outstandingly successful period of tenure. He was appointed to the chair in 1948. His scholarship is internationally recognized; and his excellence as a teacher of both undergraduates and graduates is reflected in the number of posts now occupied by worthy ex-students of his. One may be confident that his successor, Professor A. F. Shore, will maintain this tradition. While his special interests lie in the areas of Demotic and Coptic, there is no part of the Egyptological field where he is not at ease; and in addition he is no mean classical scholar. Another pleasing development at Liverpool is the richly merited promotion of Dr. Kenneth A. Kitchen to a Readership in Egyptology.

Changes have occurred also at the British Museum. Dr. I. E. S. Edwards has retired from the Keepership of Egyptian Antiquities. He entered the department in 1934, and was appointed Keeper in 1955. Such a post makes varied demands, and no one will deny that Dr. Edwards was able to meet them all with an unusual degree of success. In particular, his flair for public relations culminated in the memorable Tutankhamūn Exhibition. At the same time he completed, during these busy years, enduring works of scholarship. The appointment of Mr. T. G. H. James as his successor comes as no surprise. He joined the department in 1951, and his long experience has endowed him with a seasoned expertise; he has to his credit withal an imposing list of contributions to Egyptology, the latest of which is his admirable *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, I (Brooklyn, 1974). Another appointment in the same department is that of Mr. W. V. Davies, MacIver Student at The Queen's College, Oxford, to an Assistant Keepership.

A retirement which vitally affects the work of the Society is that of Mr. Cyril Spaul as Honorary Librarian and as Reviews Editor of this journal. It was in 1951 that he first undertook the double responsibility, and throughout the subsequent years he has been indefatigable in promoting the well-being of the Library and of the journal. He faced a difficult situation in 1968, when the Library had to be moved from Hinde Street to Doughty Mews. It was characteristic of him that he not only arranged a smoothly effective transfer but also seized the opportunity to reorganize the Library to the great advantage of all concerned. His work for this journal has been equally capable and careful, and we owe him an immense debt of gratitude. We are fortunate, at the same time, in having swiftly found a successor in Mr. W. V. Davies, to whom we extend our best wishes.

The Congress of Papyrologists held in Oxford in 1974 proved pleasant and profitable in every sense, and we are indebted to Dr. Revel Coles for the following brief account.

The Fourteenth International Congress of Papyrologists was held in Oxford from July 24 to July 31, 1974, under the presidency of Professor E. G. Turner, and was attended by nearly three hundred persons from the United Kingdom and abroad. Some came from as far afield as Australia and Japan, and there were delegations from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. The programme included approximately one hundred papers. The majority related to Greek literary and documentary papyrology, but a number concerned Coptic and Demotic, and there was a session on papyri from Herculaneum.

The opening paper, in full session, was by Professor Eric Handley and concerned a new text of New Comedy from Oxyrhynchus. A similar full session closed the academic proceedings with a paper by Professor Herbert Youtie on the extent of and attitude taken towards illegitimacy in Roman Egypt. Among the other papers, special mention might be made of Professor Theodore Brunner's talk on the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* project, which was followed by an evening discussion; of an illustrated talk on the biology of papyrus by Dr. Keith Thompson of Exeter University, held in the University Playhouse; and of another illustrated talk by Mr. Richard Wright of the University of Durham on the newly discovered Latin writing-tablets from Vindolanda, south of Hadrian's Wall. An evening meeting discussed problems relating to the codex. There was great interest in a session on conservation, which was principally occupied by a talk on the separation of papyrus cartonnage, followed by a film and a practical demonstration, by Dr. Øystein Wendelbo and his colleagues from the University of Bergen. During one day spent by the participants in London, there was a special session in University College of reports on the papyri found in the Society's recent excavations at Saqqâra. This meeting (chaired by Dr. G. T. Martin) offered the first general conspectus of all the papyri and ostraca (Demotic, Hieratic, Aramaic and Greek) found since 1967 to date, and made a great impression.

On the social side, the participants were welcomed by the Vice-Chancellor at a University Reception in the Ashmolean Museum on July 24. On July 27 they were entertained to a garden party in The Queen's College, and to a concert by the Oxford Camerata in the Holywell Music Rooms that evening. During the London visit on July 29, lunch was held in University College and there was a reception in the British Museum to mark the opening of a specially mounted exhibition of papyri 'The Written Word on Papyrus'. There was a reception on the final evening in the Upper Library in Christ Church. Small receptions were given by the British Academy and by the Lord Mayor of Oxford. Besides the exhibition in the British Museum, there were exhibitions in the Bodleian Library, the Ashmolean and in the John Rylands Library in Manchester; this last was visited by a number of participants after the Congress. Most of the academic sessions were held in Rhodes House, by courtesy of the Warden.

The closing session was combined with the general meeting of the Association Internationale des Papyrologues. This included the reading of a commemoration note on F. Zucker, R. Rémondon, H. Musurillo (killed in a motor accident in May 1974), J. Barns, and I. Cazzaniga, news of whose untimely death had been received during the actual course of the Congress.

Publication of the *Proceedings* of the Congress is being undertaken by the Society; the printing is being done by the Oxford University Press. For speed and economy, printing is direct from camera-ready copy received from authors by the editors by the end of October 1974. It is hoped that the *Proceedings* will be available by the time this number of the *Journal* is in the hands of readers.

The President of the Congress, Professor E. G. Turner, was recently made a C.B.E. for his services to scholarship. We congratulate him, and also Professor Jean Leclant, who has been elected to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Again, we greet Professor H. J. Polotsky, who has celebrated his seventieth birthday.

It is good to note that the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography* published in Leiden has recently covered 1970. During a visit to colleagues in Holland we were assured by the Editor, Dr. Jac J. Janssen, that the prospects are now brighter. At the Theological Institute of the University of Amsterdam Professor M. Heerma van Voss is engaged in a promising research project relating to the development of the *Book of the Dead* in the Twenty-first Dynasty. Mr. H. Milde is collaborating in the project. Professor M. J. Vermaseren continues his editorial work on the massive series which is concerned with the oriental religions in the Roman Empire, a series to which he himself has made important contributions.

The death of Professor Eberhard Otto, of Heidelberg, on October 11, 1974, at the age of sixty-one, has removed a major figure from the Egyptological scene. His first ambitious work was his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Aegypten* (1938). Among subsequent numerous writings there stand out *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (1954), *Gott und Mensch* (1964), and his masterly edition in 1960 of the texts concerned with the 'Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth'. He was a pupil of that fine scholar, Hermann Kees, and naturally exhibited many of his teacher's virtues. In one respect he excelled him: this was in his gift of lucid exposition. On November 22, 1974, occurred the death, at an advanced age, of Monsignor Patrick Boylan. He had held distinguished academic and ecclesiastical posts in Ireland, mainly in Maynooth and Dublin, and will be remembered in our science as the author of *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt* (1922). We also regret the passing, on September 4, 1974, of Dr. Ramadan Saad, who did valuable work at Karnak. The Department of Egyptology at University College London has suffered a loss in the death of Miss Joyce Townend, who since 1965 had worked on the Flinders Petrie Collection. In a tribute to her Professor H. S. Smith writes thus:

Until a few months before her death in 1974, she worked systematically through cupboard after cupboard of material, learning from the publications as she went. First she registered and arranged Petrie's considerable collection of ancient Egyptian glass and faience. Then she started on the complex task of finding, identifying and disentangling the great range of material from the famous Middle Kingdom sites excavated by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt. Two long ranges of cases down the middle of the Petrie Museum testify to the success of her work, and her patient and scholarly attention to detail.

Quiet and reticent, she possessed a courtesy, a calm cheerfulness, and an ability to help others allied with complete selflessness and lack of vanity, which earned her the respect and affection of all who knew her.

In 1969 she also acted as cataloguer for the late Professor Emery's excavations at Saqqâra.

Recent volumes of this journal have displayed a generous, not to say lavish, scope in respect of space and illustrations. Financial considerations no longer warrant such a scale of publication, and drastic economies will now be necessary. Clearly it would not be amiss if contributors (including reviewers) planned their work in a less expansive mode.

QASR IBRÎM, 1974

By J. MARTIN PLUMLEY

THE Season of work began on January 25 and ended on March 15. The Staff under the direction of Professor J. Martin Plumley (University of Cambridge) included Mrs. G. A. Plumley, Dr. W. Landells (St. George's Hospital, London), Mr. N. F. M. Plumley (University of Sheffield), Mr. Roger Allen (University of Kentucky), Mrs. E. Trapman-Labouchere (University of Leiden), and three members of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo: Dr. S. Jacobielski, Dr. M. Marciniak, and Mr. R. Sobolewski. Professor W. Y. Adams (University of Kentucky) was able to assist the work of excavation for the first three weeks of the season before returning to the United States. Dr. V. MacDermot joined the expedition at the end of February to help with the considerable programme of photography. Professor W. H. C. Frend visited the site during the last two weeks of the work and at the request of the Director carried out an examination of the outer fortifications. The Antiquities Service was represented by Mr. Osiris Ghabriel, Chief Inspector of Aswân. Forty workmen from Quft were under the command of Reis Bashir Mahmoud.

As a consequence of the hostilities in October 1973 the arrangements for the transport of the Expedition's equipment and stores by sea had to be changed. The equipment and stores were repacked in Cambridge into lighter containers to minimize the considerable increase in cost of transport by air: the Society is grateful to the officials of the Antiquities Service who gave valuable assistance in clearing the equipment and stores through the Customs and who helped in a number of ways to facilitate the Expedition's work in Nubia. In particular the thanks of the Society are due to Dr. Gamal Mukhtar and Dr. Adry for much help and for putting the houseboat *Gerf Hussein* at the disposal of the Staff and for arranging for the barge *Medhat* to be available at Ibrîm to accommodate the workmen during the whole of the period of work. Mr. Abdin Sian afforded much help to the Expedition at Aswân in the preparations for the travel to the site. As usual the Expedition was indebted to the representatives of Thos. Cook Ltd. both in Cairo and in Aswân for valuable assistance.

During the season the Expedition welcomed Dr. Gamal Mukhtar and Dr. Adry to the site for a short visit to see the work in progress. Mr. Abdin Sian accompanied by Professor and Mrs. Säve-Söderbergh were also able to make a short visit to Ibrîm.

On behalf of the Staff the Director would wish to place on record their warm appreciation of the services of their colleague, Mr. Osiris Ghabriel, whose willing assistance and valued advice were generously given at all times.

The cost of the work at Ibrîm has continued to rise. The Society is grateful for a number of additions to the financial provision set aside from its own funds for the Expedition. Generous help was received in Egypt from the Polish Centre

for Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo, the Dutch Centre in Cairo, and the Smithsonian Institute in the United States. The Society is grateful to these bodies for their financial assistance.

Owing to the great difficulty in obtaining suitable containers in Aswân the finds were deposited temporarily in the Museum there. It is hoped that a division of the finds will be made at a later time when satisfactory arrangements can be made for their safe transport. Important finds were made during the 1974 Season. In the following pages reference is made to some, but by no means all, of these finds. Large areas still remain to be excavated on Ibrîm and it is likely that further discoveries of archaeological material of all kinds will be discovered in future seasons. Indeed, it is hoped that another season of excavation at Ibrîm will be organized in January 1976.

The main areas chosen for excavation in the 1974 season at Qaşr Ibrîm were: the North, East, and South areas contingent with the Temple Church, discovered in 1972; limited excavations of the lower exterior parts of the walls of the south-western fortifications from the South Gate as far as the great bastion tower: and the area behind the East Gate of the fortress. The 1972 excavations had demonstrated that in the area to the north of the Temple Church the earlier X-Group structures had been filled in during the Early Christian period to form a level piazza which remained open until the Late Christian period, when some building took place. During the work of the 1972 season the Christian buildings and the later Bosnian over-buildings were dismantled with the exception of one structure. This, a Late Christian house (L.C. 1-6), lay on the north edge of the piazza alongside the great East Stairway. To the east of the Temple Church the walls of a large Bosnian house covered the area selected for excavation. The dismantling and excavation of both house L.C. 1-6 and the Bosnian complex (289-94) were therefore the first tasks of the 1974 season.

Area I (a). The North Piazza. Cf. Fig. 2.

On the north edge of the piazza were the remains of L.C. 1-6, roughly rectangular in shape (12 × 7 m.) and containing seven rooms. The walls, standing to a height of 1.25 m. in several places, were constructed of relatively small rough-dressed stones set in thick mortar and averaging 65 cm. in thickness. The clearing of the sub-floor deposit and the dismantling of the walls resulted in a number of discoveries. Room 1 contained near its north-east corner three large storage jars, two being wheel-made ware (U₅) and the third hand-made (H₄). All had been buried to the rims beneath the original floor. The stone cover of one jar was in place and intact, but the vessel itself was empty. The other two jars had become filled with the refuse which underlay the floor. A short way below the floor in the centre of the room lay a very large bottle-shaped storage basket, full of durra heads (pl. I, 1). Since the packed floor deposit was intact over the basket, it is not clear if it was buried under the floor when the house was in use or before it was built. The sub-floor deposit contained a number of folded papers written in Old Nubian.

In room 2 a later floor had supported a stone flagged mastaba along the base of the

south wall. When this had been dismantled the remains of a large number of manuscripts on paper were found. The majority are in Arabic, the rest in Old Nubian. It would appear that they had originally been enclosed in a large storage pot which had subsequently been crushed. Because the air had penetrated to the documents, all were in a very brittle condition. After removal the manuscripts were photographed at Ibrîm and some of the fragments were pieced together successfully for recording.

At the base of the west wall of room 2, 185 cm. from the south-west corner and immediately below the surface of the original floor, a sealed jar was found. The jar itself, 39 cm. high, is of unusual shape, cylindrical in form with a wide mouth and a short neck (pl. I, 2). The ware, which is imported, has not yet been identified. The mud seal, which was intact, showed the indentations of the fingers of the person who had closed the jar and who had obviously rotated the jar on its rounded base in order to inscribe the surface of the seal. At the apex of the seal is the well-known cryptogram $\chi\pi\theta$ —for the name of the Archangel Michael. Running around the base of the seal is an inscription $\dagger\epsilon\epsilon\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda\ \overline{\rho\eta\epsilon}$. The last three letters are a cryptogram, which it is suggested read $\epsilon\epsilon\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$. The numerical values of the letters, $40 + 1 + 100 + 10 + 1 = 152$, i.e. $\overline{\rho\eta\epsilon}$.

The jar was filled with documents, including nine leather scrolls in Old Nubian in perfect condition; the fragmentary remains of a tenth leather scroll in Old Nubian but in very bad condition; twenty-five letters on paper in Old Nubian; one paper in Arabic; and a paper scroll written in Sahidic Coptic. The state of preservation of the documents was so excellent that their recording by photography and by hand-copying at Ibrîm presented few problems (pl. II, 1).

The importance of this find cannot be overestimated. The dates in some of the documents show that they fall into the second half of the twelfth century. This fact itself is a valuable confirmation of the dating proposed for the Late Christian pottery, examples of which were found in L.C. 1-6 in association with the documents. Of special significance is the fact that the leather scrolls reveal that the kingdom of Dotawo was already in existence. The names of the kings are recorded as well as the names of their officials and the offices held by them. Though not all of the scrolls bear year dating it will be possible to work out by a process of cross-reference the probable chronological order of the documents and so to fill in one of the gaps in the history of Christian Nubia (pl. II, 2). The Coptic scroll is a letter, or rather the copy or draft of a letter from the rulers of Nubia to Mark, Patriarch of Alexandria, requesting the consecration of a named person to a bishopric in Nubia. The name and titles of the senders and of the intended recipient of the letters are in Greek. Mention is made of the territories under the rule of the kings of Nubia and under the spiritual care of the Patriarch: Nobadia, Makuria, Alodia, Dalmatias (*sic*), and Ethiopia.

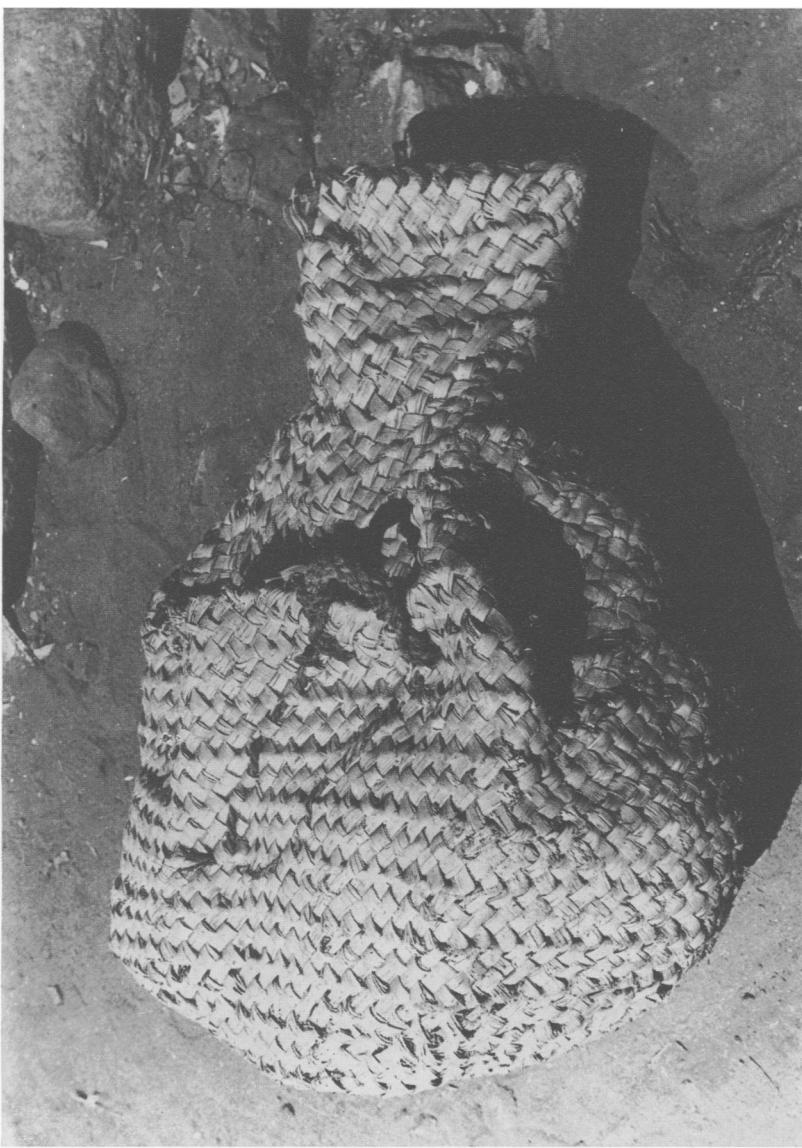
Below the floor of L.C. 1-6 lay successive layers of piazza deposit, which in some places continued down to the *gebel* and in others to the tops of Early Christian and X-Group house walls. In 1974 an area from the north wall of L.C. 1-6 was excavated southwards as far as an area adjacent to the north wall of the Temple Church, which had been opened up in 1972.

During the 1972 season some of the X-Group structures underlying the Early Christian piazza had been partially excavated. The present season allowed for further work on these buildings and adjacent structures (X-8, 9, 10, and 20). The eastern boundary of the excavation was conveniently determined by the line of 'Tavern Street', on to which the walls of the X-Group houses abutted. The western limit of the piazza is not yet clear. Whether or not it extended as far as the line of the fortifications of the site can only be established by further excavation. The development of the area to its final form is complex and until its final limits are established this must remain not completely understood. Present indications, however, are that the piazza is to be dated to the Early Christian period, but that the upper levels—there are at least ten occupation levels containing large quantities of sherds above the *gebel*—are Classic and Late Christian. The most recent work in this area would also seem to suggest that the piazza during part of its history may have been constructed to form two levels, for a stairway, located at the corner formed by the north wall of X-10, room 2, and the west wall of X-9, room 2, ascends to the top of the wall of X-9. But since the highest step of the stair is lower than the top of the wall and there is no evidence of a threshold, it may be inferred that the stairway did not lead into a walled structure but merely to a higher level of the piazza. It was further observed that the stairway, which consists of three stone steps, is built over 15 cm. of bedded piazza deposit. If there were formerly two levels to the piazza, the lower part would have covered the area to the west of houses X-8, 9, 10, and 20.

X-8 was apparently used in the Early Christian period, as an occupation level of loose fill and a few small areas of mud floor indicated. The general shallowness of the deposit and the paucity of Early Christian material suggests that the occupation was short-term and that it terminated relatively early when the walls of the house were reduced in height to provide for the construction of the piazza. X-8 is a typical X-Group structure. Approximately square in plan, its walls, averaging 60 cm. in thickness, were built of rough stones set in thick mortar. The interior dividing walls which form the rooms were of rough stone or mud-brick. In the floor of room 5 a very large circular storage crypt had been constructed. It seems that this may not have been an original feature of the room, though definitely built in the X-Group period as the presence of distinctive pottery of the period on the lower levels of the crypt clearly shows. The small rectangular entrance (55 × 45 cm.) was raised some 35 cm. above the top of the crypt (pl. III, 1). The roof of the crypt had been constructed of thick wooden logs, over which palm-leaf ribs and matting had been placed. Over all was a thick mud floor. The crypt itself is 1.50 m. in diameter and 1.35 m. from the floor to the roof. The top 80 cm. had been dug down through occupation deposit. The lower part was cut down to a depth of 55 cm. into the *gebel*. The sides of the crypt were mud plastered and whitewashed.

The fill in X-8 was typical X-Group material, containing large numbers of R1-ware vessels which the excavators on Ibrim have come to accept as usual in buildings of this period of apparent affluence. Among the finds in room 5 were a wooden mallet, part of a metal lock, and, most remarkable of all, a curious pottery lamp (pl. III, 2). Made in

1. Bottle-shaped basket (Late Christian)

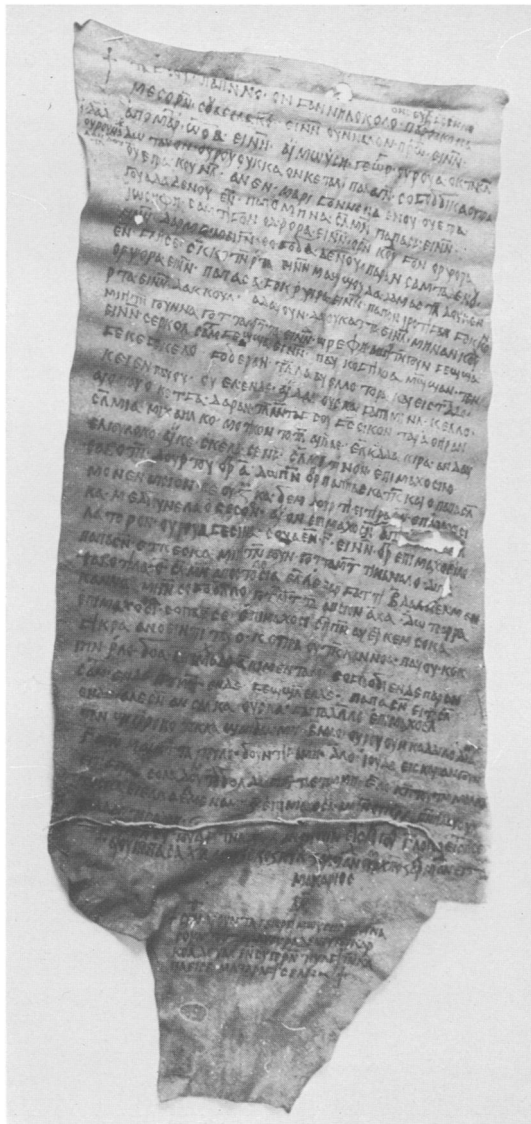


2. Manuscript jar *in situ*

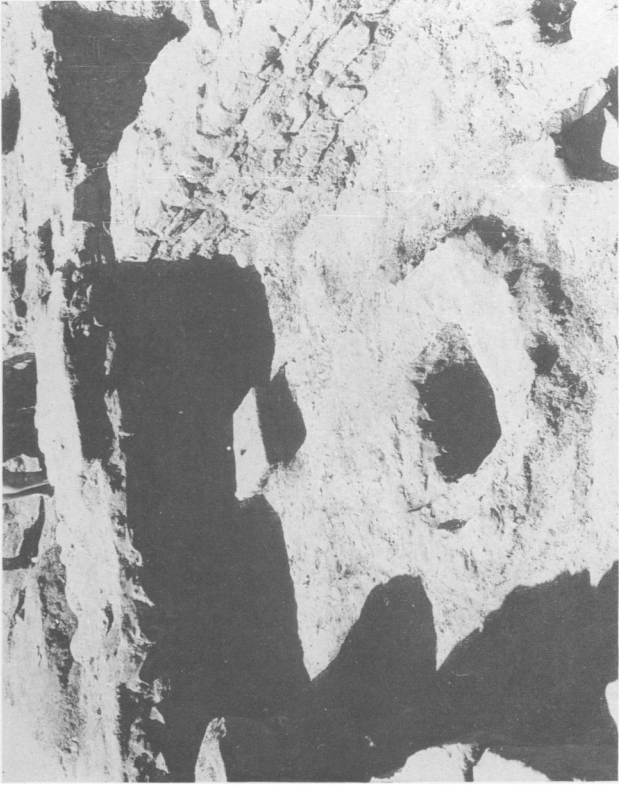




1. Jar and manuscript contents



2. Leather scroll written in Old Nubian, dated 881 after the Martyrs, i.e. A.D. 1165



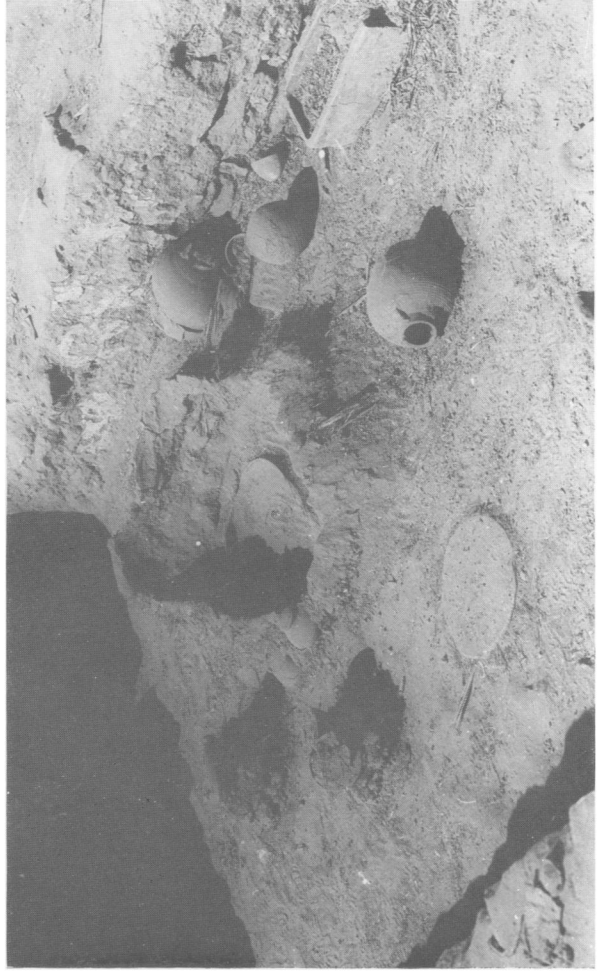
1. Crypt entrance in X-group house



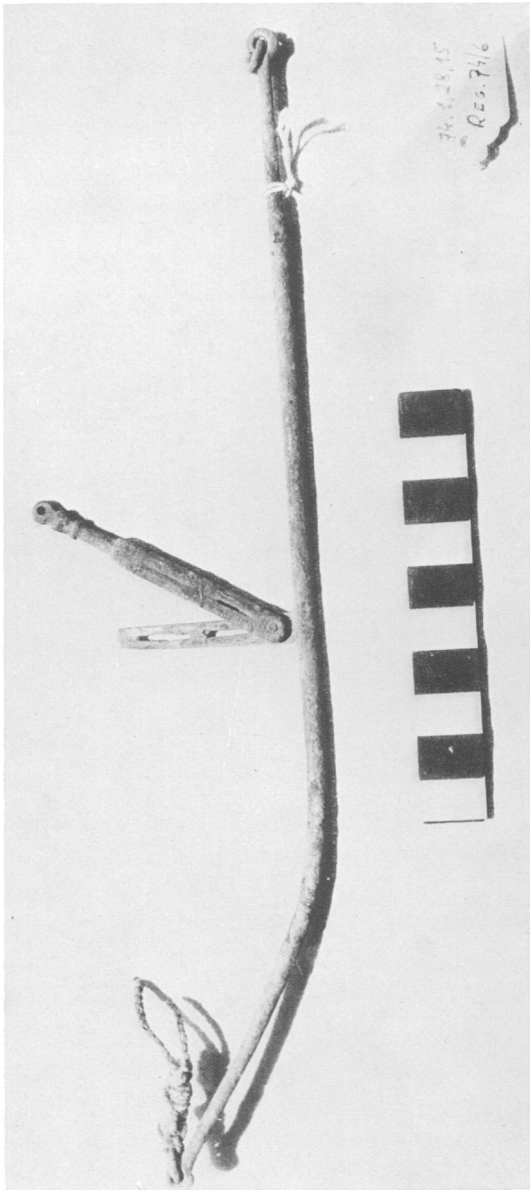
2. Lamp in form of a sandalled foot



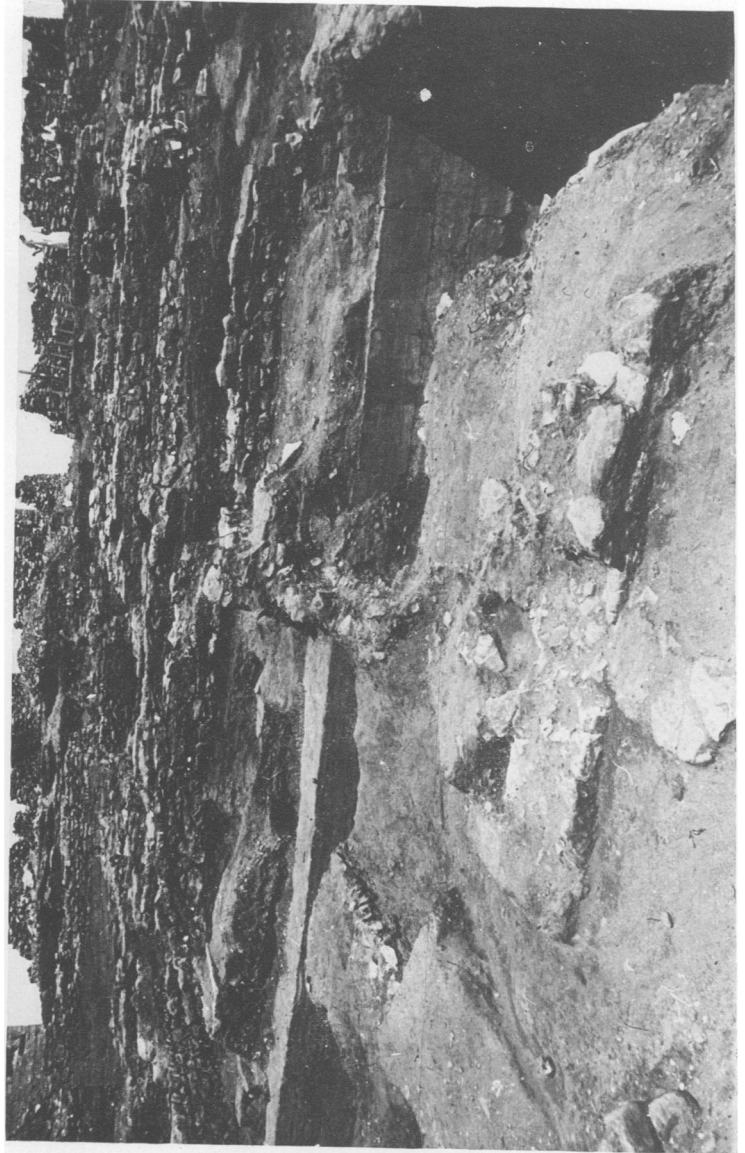
4. Stone and mud-lined crypt



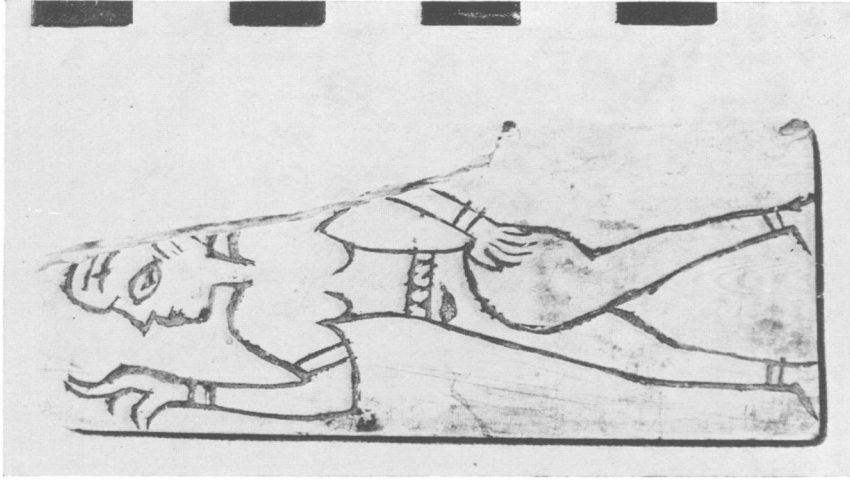
2. Stable area attached to X-group house



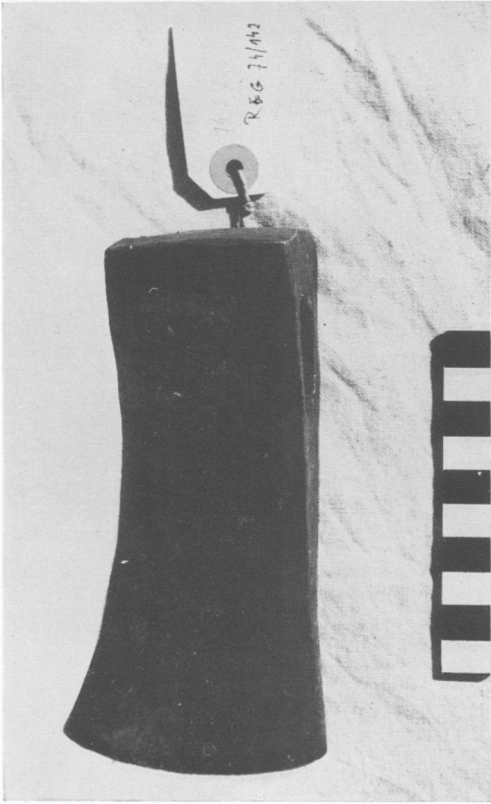
1. Bronze balance



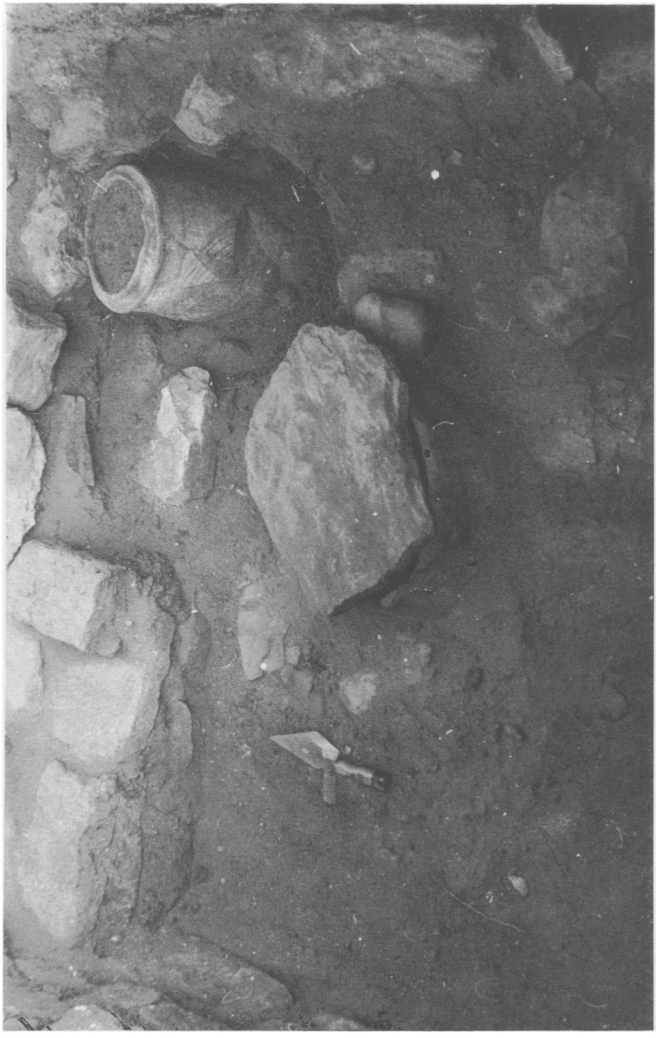
2. Meroitic wall west of North Piazza



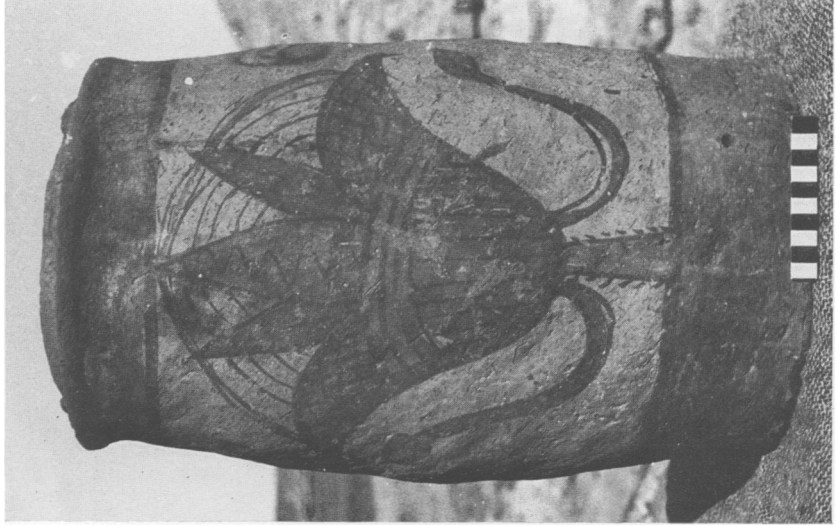
3. Ivory plaque (X-group)

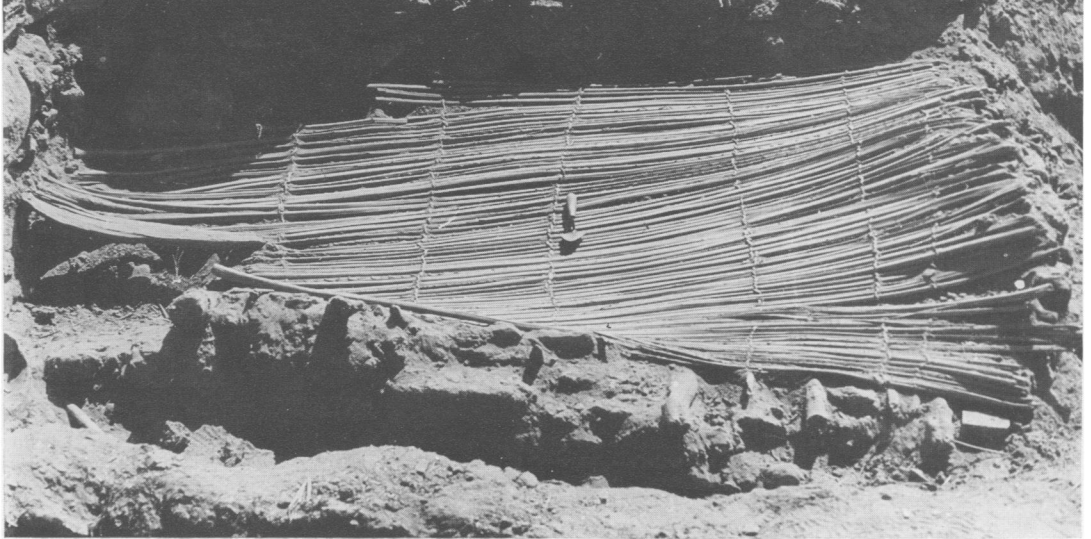


1. Wrought iron axe-head (X-group)

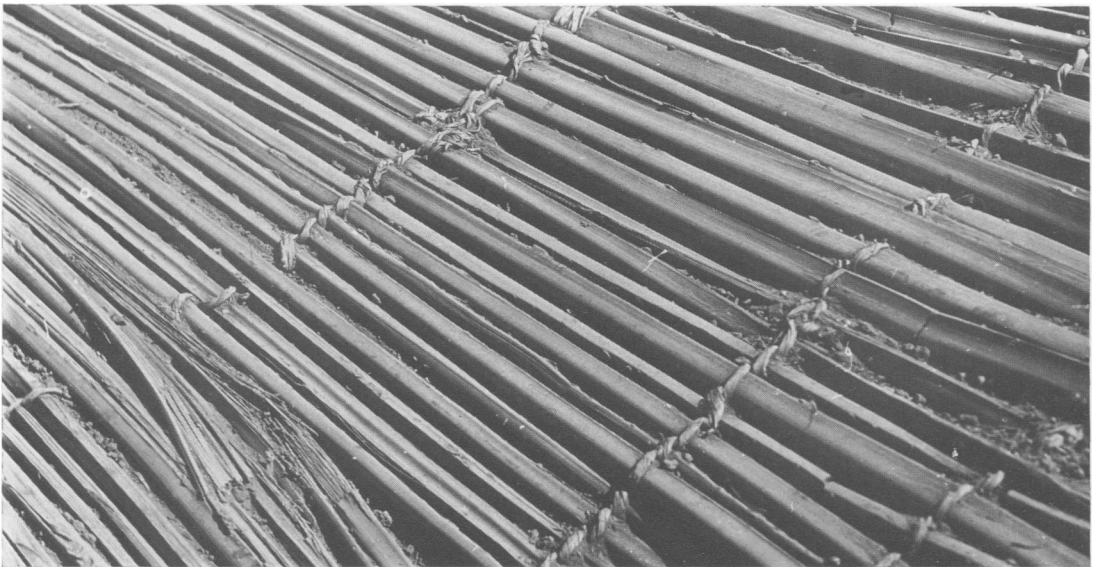


2. Storage jars in X-7. Terminal Meroitic. Room 12

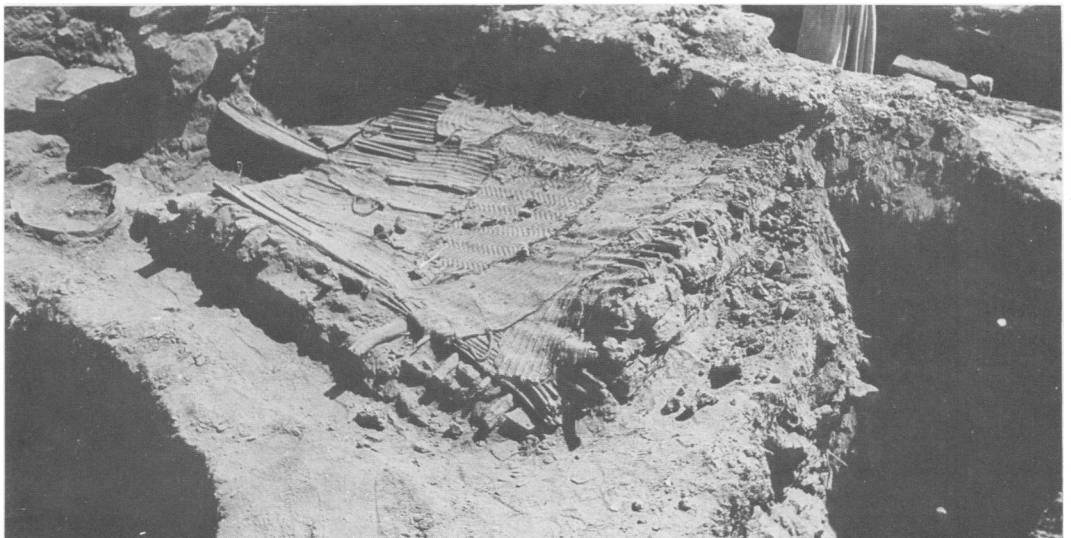




1. Palm-leaf rib covering of roof. X-13



2. Detail of method of tying palm-leaf ribs together. X-13



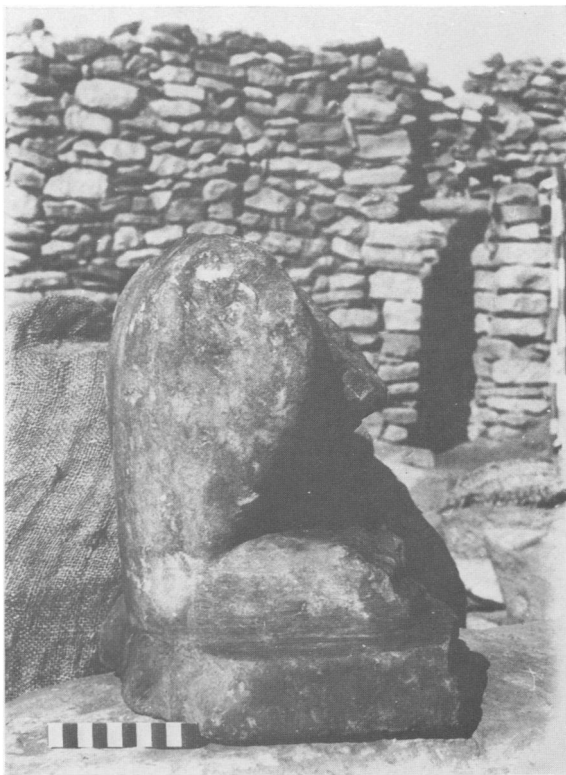
3. Matting in place over crypt roof



1. Large jar with serpent-motif. X-13, Room 2



2. Meroitic gate to south-east of Temple Church



3. Lower part of sejant lion statue. Meroitic



4. Door jamb bearing titles of Amenophis III



1. Storage pits dug down into the area east of the Meroitic gateway



3. Large yellow jar. X-group



2. Raised paved area south of Temple Church

the form of a human foot wearing a sandal, it may perhaps represent the shod foot of a Roman soldier, for the sole of the sandal bears the representations of metal studs. The big toe is slightly extended into a tube to form the orifice for the wick. A north Mediterranean origin for this curiosity seems likely. It is not impossible that it may have come from Italy, but whether by trade or as a piece of booty taken in some raid it is not possible to say.

X-9 is a two-roomed building abutting X-8 on the north side. Room 1 was excavated in 1972. Rectangular in over-all plan, the construction of the house is essentially the same as the other adjacent X-Group buildings. Room 2, excavated in 1974, is the larger of the two rooms. Rectangular in shape, it opens into room 1 by a door at the north end of the east wall. It apparently functioned as a stable for there was a deep fill of straw and animal dung. Along the north wall lay a hand-made pottery feeding-trough, rectangular in shape (pl. III, 3). Notwithstanding its use for stabling the room produced a large quantity of X-Group pottery, either whole or reconstructable from the broken pieces. In addition two small wooden tablets inscribed in cursive Meroitic were found in this room.

X-10 and 20. These two houses with the less definable remains of X-11 flank the south edge of the piazza and were probably purposefully dismantled and covered at the same time as X-8 and X-9. The walls, though made of rough stone set in mortar, are thinner and less well built than the adjacent X-Group structures to the east. There is some evidence that all three were built later than X-8 and 9, for the north wall of X-10 abutted directly on to the west walls of X-7 and 8. It would appear that originally the whole area was a large courtyard defined by the west wall of X-10 and the east walls of X-10 and 11. A very large circular storage crypt, built partly of mud-brick and partly of stone, was located in the floor of X-10, room 2 (pl. III, 4). No remains of the roofing of the crypt were found, but it may be assumed that when it existed, its construction was similar to that discovered in X-8, room 5. Room 1 yielded an abundance of typical X-Group potsherds and a number of other finds including a complete bronze balance (pl. IV, 1).

In 1972 sections of a large wall of mason-squared sandstone were uncovered in this area while clearing away the deposits to the north of the Temple Church (pl. IV, 2). Further sections of the wall were cleared in 1974, and apart from a small baulk of deposit left for future investigation of deposit levels, the whole of the wall has now been exposed. The wall stands 8 m. from the north wall of the Temple Church and starting from a point opposite the west end of the Church it runs for a distance of 10.5 m. parallel with its north wall. It then turns at a right angle to continue for a distance of 22 m. in a northerly direction. The wall is almost certainly Meroitic. There is reason to think that it formed part of the enclosing wall of a courtyard in front of another Meroitic building which was discovered to the immediate south and which is described later in the Report. In various places symbols had been incised on the inner surface of the wall. The most interesting and the most recognizable is that of a boat propelled both by oars and a sail. Examination of the wall revealed no discernible inscriptions. In later times the wall provided the foundations for subsequent buildings and house X-20 in particular.

Area I (b). East of the Temple Church. Cf. Fig. 2.

This area is an extension of the buildings to the west of 'Tavern Street' and to the east of the Temple Church. The northern end was determined by the north wall of X-7 and the southern limit formed by part of the courtyard wall of the Bosnian complex (289-94). The north section of X-7 had been opened up in 1972. The south section lay under a pile of spoil from previous excavations and the aforementioned Bosnian complex. The removal of the spoil heap was a speedy routine business, the dismantling of the Bosnian buildings a much longer task.

The complex (289-94), which originally included a small walled structure (322), was a good example of a Bosnian house with a surrounding courtyard on three sides of the living quarters. Two of the walled structures inside the courtyard were probably intended for the stabling of livestock. Rooms 289-93, on the other hand, were intended for human habitation and were at a higher level than the courtyard. Access to all but one of these rooms was by way of a crudely built stone stairway. The stoutly built stone walls of the rooms stood to a height of nearly three metres in some places. Nothing remained of the roofing, but almost certainly it was flat and constructed of wooden beams supporting palm-leaf ribs and matting. The fire risk inherent in this kind of roof was great, especially in the climatic conditions prevailing on Ibrîm. Chelebi, the eighteenth-century Turkish geographer and writer who passed through Nubia on his way to the Sudan and may have visited Ibrîm, comments on the frequency of roof fires in the district. The same conditions almost certainly existed in earlier periods on the site. The occurrence of fire traces other than those clearly associated with baking or brewing activities in the older buildings may not therefore in many instances be the result of enemy action but the consequence of chance accident.

The clearing of the floors of the Bosnian buildings and the dismantling of the walls produced very little in the way of finds. The only find of note was a small bundle of papers wrapped in a piece of rag, discovered in level 1 of 293. These are nine small documents written in Arabic and dated between 1736 and 1740. They are receipts for payments made to members of the resident garrison. Potsherds found in the rooms were not numerous and in the main were from crude hand-made vessels. Mixed with the deposit were numerous pieces of textile. In contrast to the rich living deposits of the earlier occupations on Ibrîm the Bosnian period was one of squalor and near-poverty.

The foundations of the Bosnian house rested directly on the stout walls of the southern half of X-7 which stand nearly 1.5 m. in some places and thus account for the high level of the later buildings above them. X-7, when excavated, proved to be the largest X-Group house so far found on Ibrîm, comprising no less than twelve rooms. The exterior walls are made of substantial rough stones set in thick mortar, whereas the interior dividing walls are both of stone and mud-brick constructions. The fill in the rooms was generally loose and contained a large percentage of organic matter. Much pottery, mostly R1 goblets and bowls, together with U2 and U4 amphorae, was found in the fill lying on one or other of the successive mud floors. Room 9 produced a repaired copper bowl and in room 7 a number of interesting objects of leather or metal

were discovered. From the same room came a small ivory plaque incised with the figure of a naked woman (pl. IV, 3). The plaque is very similar in style to the insets on the large chest found by Professor Emery at Ballana. An iron axe-head in almost perfect condition was found in room 10 (pl. V, 1).

Several of the rooms in X-7 seem to have been storerooms, but part of this building may have been intended for habitation. Room 10 may have been the kitchen, for the presence of very large quantities of charcoal and the heavy blacking of the wall by fire smoke indicate that baking and cooking may have been carried out here over a long period of time. A mud-brick structure in room 11 may have been an oven. Room 12 to the west of room 11 contained a mastaba-like structure along its south wall. This was faced with stone slabs and its interior filled or, at least, floored with sand, packed very hard. In the middle of room 12 an enormous storage vessel had been sunk down into the floor and covered with a stone slab (pl. V, 2). The vessel is no less than 1.06 m. in height: it is almost certainly the largest vessel of its kind to have been found in Nubia. Its insertion into the floor in ancient times must have been a considerable undertaking. Apart from some pieces of stone and the fill which had penetrated in from above the vessel was empty. In the north-east corner of the room a second storage vessel was found (pl. V, 3). While this was not so large as the first, being but 47.5 cm. in height and 26.5 cm. in diameter, in contrast it was decorated in colour with a design of large lotus flowers on each side. Its Meroitic origin cannot be doubted, though it was found in an X-group context. The lower levels of room 12 also produced some additional Meroitic pottery together with three small wooden tablets and an ostrakon inscribed in cursive Meroitic. The indications are that X-7 was built directly over earlier Meroitic structures and that the storage vessels may have been reused.

A large storage crypt of mud-brick walls (2.5 m. long, 1.65 m. wide, and 1.20 m. deep) had been constructed against the south wall of X-13. The roofing, which was largely intact, had been effected by means of six thick branches of trees laid across the tops of the north and south walls (pl. V, 4). Over these palm-leaf ribs had been placed in an east to west direction. The ribs had been tied together carefully with cords (pls. VI, 1-2). Finally the whole construction had been covered with pieces of palm-fibre matting and parts of baskets (pl. VI, 3). In the north-east corner of the room a square aperture had been left to provide an entrance to the crypt below. The crypt itself had become so completely filled with debris that at first sight it appeared that the roofing had been laid directly on top of the fill. However, the fact that the ends of the supporting tree branches are set securely in the tops of the north and south wall demonstrates clearly that the structure was intended as a roof and not as a floor, though it may have been so used at a later time. It was noted that the fill of the crypt contained practically no occupation material, but was for the most part soft wind-blown dust. The penetration of this dust fill must have taken some time to silt up the crypt so completely and it is therefore likely that X-13 was not in use for a long period. The finding of an almost intact roof of the X-Group period—if indeed it is not somewhat earlier in date—is a welcome addition to what is already known about architectural construction in pre-Christian Nubia.

At the north end of room 2 and near the east wall of the Temple Church the shattered remains of another large storage vessel were found. Though broken, enough of the fragments remained to allow of its partial assembling for photographic recording. It is a hand-made vessel, 71 cm. in height and 37 cm. in diameter, and decorated on one side with an incised design showing two intertwined snakes (pl. VII, 1). The Meroitic origin of the vessel is almost certain. It is interesting that a very similar design has been found on a Late Christian pilgrim bottle. Evidently certain traditional designs carried on for many centuries in Nubia. To the south of X-13 lies X-15, a long narrow room running half-way along the south exterior wall of the Temple Church. Though properly X-15 is part of Area II, it is convenient to consider it with X-17 which is to the east of it. At some period X-15 seems to have been little more than a corridor alongside the Temple Church with an entrance by way of a well-built gateway at its eastern end (pl. VII, 2). The top of the gateway was found directly under the Bosnian complex (289-93) and had served as a foundation for the later building. The finely dressed stone and the method used in laying the courses show clearly that the gate is Meroitic work. The gate stands to a height of 1.20 m. and is flanked on both sides by the remains of stone walls. Two thresholds of stone are still in position, one in the entrance and the other 50 cm. to the west. In front of the gate to the east is a well-constructed mud floor which extends for 100 cm. to what may have been another threshold or retaining wall. Just outside the gateway a short distance to the north there is another doorway which gave access to a narrow passageway later covered by X-13, room 2. The wooden threshold and the lower parts of the wood jambs were still *in situ*. At some time in the X-Group period the approach to the Meroitic gateway was extended eastwards by the building of two sections of rough stone walling. Later this passage was blocked by a semicircular wall of rough stones. Included in the material used for the blocking was the lower half of a lion statue sitting erect (pl. VII, 3). The statue is similar to the lion statue bearing the name of the Meroitic king Ameniyeshbehe which was found on Ibrim in 1966. It is possible, but by no means certain, that the lion statue found in 1974 once adorned the top of the gateway.

Approximately 1 m. to the east and on the south side of the gateway stands the sandstone jamb from an earlier gate. Measuring 2.25 m. in height and 40 cm. in width (pl. VII, 4, fig. 1), it bears the titles of the pharaoh Amenophis II. The top of the jamb had been broken away by battering. The fact that the jamb was stabilized by the piling of stones at its base suggests that the battering may have occurred in attempting to force the lower end of the jamb into the ground. Further excavation in this area will be needed to establish whether or not the jamb is in its original position. This latest discovery in conjunction with Eighteenth-Dynasty finds already made in previous expeditions strengthens the probability that a New-Kingdom temple once stood on Ibrim.

The area to the south of X-17 was only partially excavated, since this would have entailed the dismantling of more Bosnian walls of considerable size. In the area which was excavated it was noteworthy that a large number of large X-Group storage pits had been dug down deep into the fill. In some instances it was necessary to dig down as

much as 4 m. to clear the floor of the pits (pl. VIII, 1). Further excavation will be needed to confirm what for the moment is no more than a possibility: that at some time a street ran eastwards from the Meroïtic gate to join with a south extension of 'Tavern Street' and that the whole of the layout of this part of the site was established in the Meroïtic period if not earlier.

Area II. The South Piazza

This comprised an area south of the Temple Church as far as the great outer fortifications of the site. Its eastern limit was determined by a line running along the west side of 'Tavern Street' as far as the outer fortifications. The western limit of the area was defined by a line a few metres to the west of the Temple Church southwards and skirting the walls of the Bosnian structures 146, 149, 151, 168, 169, and 175.

A small part of the area adjacent to the south wall of the Temple Church had been excavated in 1972 and a test trench put down in 1969 in the south-west section had revealed the presence of large stone foundations under the debris. Preliminary work in 1974 was the excavation and dismantling of a number of Bosnian structures (157-67). This work revealed that the Bosnian buildings had been constructed directly on top of an open piazza similar to that found to the north of the Temple Church, for the fill was a bedded deposit containing large numbers of small eroded sherds, mostly of the Early Christian period. Evidence for occupation in this area after the Early Christian period is scanty in the extreme.

The walls of the Bosnian houses were in a varying state of preservation. Some were almost completely destroyed. Others remained in some places to a height of over 2 m. In the course of dismantling the walls several pieces of worked and carved stone were found. These include a complete Coptic stele of fourteen lines, part of a stele with nine lines of cursive Meroïtic, and several fragments of ornamental stonework from Christian, Meroïtic, and pharaonic times. The deposit in the rooms was generally shallow. The fact that only one or two floors were found suggests that the buildings were not occupied over a prolonged period. In structure 147 the uneven floor had been surfaced with crushed white limestone, but for what purpose this imported stone was intended is not clear.

From the Bosnian structures many small fragments of paper written in Arabic were recovered. In comparison other material remains were few. Two wooden spoons, an iron sickle, a needle, a leather pouch containing a round bullet, two small lamps, one or two pieces of pottery, a Late Christian bowl, and a number of sherds, mostly

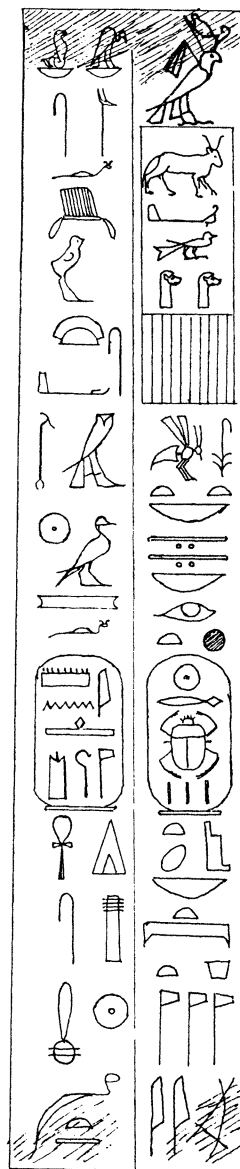


FIG. 1

of hand-made ware, were the sum total of the finds in the post-fifteenth-century levels.

Christian burials were found beneath the floors of houses 158 and 166. In fact six burials in all were found in Area II. They ranged from infants to adults. All had been buried when the area was apparently still an open piazza. The evidence to date suggests that between the Bosnian occupation of the fortress in the sixteenth century and the Early Christian period little building, if any, was undertaken in this area. Such Early Christian building as can be attested now stood directly over the X-group structures which in their turn overlay earlier buildings. The fact that each successive occupation had either made major adaptations to earlier buildings or had destroyed them almost completely has made the task of reconstructing the building history of Area II extremely difficult and only a tentative outline can be offered at present.

The work in Area II can be described in two parts: (a) the eastern, and (b) the western half. In point of fact there is no real historical division between the two halves, but it is here adopted for convenience in reporting.

Area II (a). Cf. Fig. 2.

Two adjacent stone pavements were uncovered at the western half of the south wall of the Temple Church and to the south of the narthex. The most easterly pavement is a metre higher than the other (pl. VIII, 2). This upper pavement is bounded on the north by the south wall of the Temple Church, on the east by the wall of an adjoining room (K2), on the south by the top of an earlier wall, and on the west by a retaining wall which divides it from the lower pavement. The upper pavement is approximately on a level with the south piazza and is of the same construction as the remnants of other pavements associated with the south piazza. The lower of the two pavements slopes slightly downwards to the south wall of the Temple Church and appears to have been constructed as an approach to the South door. Since the higher parts of this pavement were destroyed by ancient pit-digging, it is not possible to determine how far it once extended to the south.

Further to the east, adjacent to the south wall of the Temple Church and just below the surface of the piazza, were four rooms, represented by the badly preserved remains of the lower parts of walls, which are nowhere more than 20 cm. in height. The extent of the destruction was so great that it was difficult to obtain any precise definition of the buildings. The indications are that the walls were purposely torn down when the piazza was constructed, for the fill is essentially the same as that of the piazza, being compact soil containing large quantities of small eroded sherds. The floors of the rooms were compact occupation levels rather than purposefully constructed surfaces.

Three storage vessels were found along the east wall of room 1. Two of these were wheel-made Meroïtic ware. Possibly they were re-used for all the material in the room deposits was Early Christian. The third vessel was a very large hand-made vessel, 93 cm. in height and 36 cm. in diameter, the surface painted yellow and decorated on two sides with a vertical band of X's painted in crimson colour (pl. VIII, 3). The dating of this vessel is not certain; it could be late Meroïtic or it could be later.

About 3 m. to the south-east of the four rooms were the remains of an Early Christian single-room structure, EC 1-13. The only floor in it had been almost completely destroyed by later pit-digging. The walls were of rough stone similar to X-Group construction. A door at the south end of the east wall still retained its threshold, a block of Aswân granite robbed from an earlier construction.

A further complex of four rooms to the south were in use in both the X-Group and the Early Christian periods, but the indications are that they are earlier structures. The dividing walls are mostly of stout mud-brick, though in one instance the dividing wall between rooms 2 and 3 is of two courses of finely dressed large stone blocks (pl. IX, 1). The bricks in the mud walls are very like those in the Taharqa building which was later adapted to become the Temple Church. There are grounds for thinking that earlier Napatan structures were adapted by the Meroïtes before their later use by the X-Group and then for a time by the Early Christians. It is possible that this complex of rooms continued in use for some time after the piazza was constructed for a sequence of four or five mud floors were interspersed with levels of piazza-like deposit. The probability is that for a time this area was a number of enclosed open spaces rather than a piazza. The fact that the walls were standing above floor level suggests this. Storage pits had been dug through the floors in a number of places. In room 2 a number of metal objects in a good state of preservation were found. Included among these were several parts of locks. An appropriate find here on Shrove Tuesday was an iron frying-pan (pl. IX, 2).

The whole of Area II (a) appears to have been in continuous use throughout the X-Group period, for material clearly of the period and a succession of associated mud floors which had escaped destruction by later pit-digging were found. The excavation of the area also revealed that other occupation periods had preceded those of the X-Group. As has been noted some of these are to be associated with the Napatan period of the Taharqa temple building and some with a period of monumental building to be described in the next section of the Report. It is possible that further examination of the area will find evidence of building earlier than the Napatan period.

Area II (b). Cf. Figs. 2 and 4.

In 1969 a test trench was dug in an open courtyard which lay about 10 m. to the south of the west end of the Temple Church. What appeared to be the foundation blocks of a large gateway were discovered and it was tentatively suggested that they might form part of a temple. It was observed that quantities of mason's chippings lay near the blocks and it was assumed that these might have been laid down to form foundations. The recent excavations in 1974 opened up a large area around the trench and confirmed the suggestion that a large building had in fact once stood on this part of the site. More large blocks of stone were discovered and it became evident that they were the remains of a structure of considerable size which had been systematically robbed of stone to provide for the building of some other structure. A very large pit had been dug down to remove suitable sized blocks and it was noticeable that even those blocks which remained had been moved slightly out of their original position (pl. IX, 3). The fill in this area is characterized by large quantities of stone chippings mixed

with sherds, mostly X-Group but with a considerable number of Early Christian sherds in the upper levels of the fill. Also in this fill were found a large number of as yet unidentified sherds which seem likely to be pre-Meroitic.

Fortunately some parts of the building had escaped the attentions of the ancient quarriers, for at ground level not only were the lower parts of some walls still standing but large stretches of the original pavements were still intact enabling the excavators to construct a tentative ground plan of a Meroitic temple. The date of the building is post-Napatan for a block with the cartouche of Taharqa was found built into the foundations (pl. IX, 4), and in the fill near by fragments of painted plaster which had covered the walls bore unmistakable Meroitic designs. Deep down in the fill of the pit dug by the ancient quarriers lay a headless stone statue of a male figure, three-quarters life size, wearing a short knee-length garment gathered at the waist with a section of the dress thrown over the left shoulder in the manner of a toga (pl. X, 1). The general style of treatment points to a Meroitic origin for the statue. Close by was an almost complete grey granite naos of New Kingdom date, inscribed with the name of an official, Amenemhet (pl. X, 2). Here also was discovered the lower half of a small granite seated figure bearing the cartouches of Ramesses III (pl. X, 3). This is the first certain attestation of this pharaoh at Ibrim. The circumstances of the finding of the statues point clearly to their having been thrown down into the fill of the pit when the temple was quarried for stone.

A most surprising discovery was the finding of the remains of a circular pavement, 4 m. in diameter, directly below the stone pavement of the temple (pl. XI, 1). Further examination of this area may determine whether or not the circular pavement was surrounded by a wall. Even without walling this form of structure is so alien to the usual architectural forms in the Nile Valley that it may be asked if it is foreign work and is to be connected with the Roman occupation of Ibrim in 23–22 B.C. by the Prefect of Egypt, Petronius. It may, perhaps, be significant that on the upper face of part of the exposed pavement what appears to be a capital letter M or N has been carved. Accepting the possibility—and it is no more than a possibility at present—that the circular pavement is Roman work and of the time of Petronius, the date of the Meroitic temple may perhaps be placed in the first century A.D.

Further evidence for the dating of the temple was provided by the discovery of many coins which were found embedded in a mud floor 10 cm. thick overlying the stone floor of the temple a short distance to the east of the quarried area. There were over 150 bronze coins, mostly of small denominations and ranging from the early second century A.D. to the early fifth century A.D. An earlier coin of Ptolemy Soter was also found here, but its presence may be fortuitous in view of the later dates of all the other coins. A number of other small metal objects, including a copper silhouette of a bull, were found with the coins. The coins were in no sense a hoard. Scattered widely and at different levels in the mud floor their presence can hardly be seen as the result of a single event. A possible explanation for their presence at differing levels is that they were small offerings made by various individuals over many years. The fact that they were found at varying levels in the mud floor may be accounted for by their being

thrown down on to the dust on the pavement and a libation being poured over the floor at the same time, thus forming a mud floor which increased in thickness over the years and which was hardened by the passage of the feet of the worshippers in the temple. It is significant that all the coins were found in an area 5 m. × 3.5 m. near a wall from which projects a small plinth which might have supported the statue of some deity associated with the temple. Since the latest of the coins is dated to the early fifth century and allowing for a circulation of fifty years, it can perhaps be assumed that the practice of making votive offerings of money ceased some time in the second half of the fifth century and further that the temple was ceasing to be used for worship. It may be too facile an explanation to see in the cessation of what appears to have been a form of religious devotion the advent of Christianity on the site. However, the adaptation of the Taharqa building to serve as a very early Church suggests that Christianity may have been established at Ibrīm well in advance of the Imperial Missions of Justinian and Theodora in the middle of the sixth century. At that time the quarrying of the Meroitic Temple may have occurred in order to provide the stone for the great Cathedral. The massive foundation stones of the Cathedral may well have come from the Meroitic temple area. The monumental character of the Cathedral, unlike all other Nubian churches in being constructed entirely of stone, poses the question whether its builders might have been masons imported possibly from Syria, and whether its construction was undertaken at the behest and with the financial support of either Justinian or Theodora.

The temple can be divided into two areas: (i) the temple itself, characterized by well-dressed stone walls and flooring, and (ii) a number of mud-brick structures to the east which properly fall into the southern half of Area II (a).

The faces of the stone walls of the temple show no traces of carving, decoration having been achieved by the application of a thick plaster subsequently painted with various motifs, floral and human. The positions of two column bases, one no more than a negative, were located, one in the west wall of the Temple Church, the other to the south just outside the Church. If, as seems likely, the Meroitic wall found in the western half of the North Piazza belongs to the temple complex, it is possible to reconstruct a tentative ground plan. However, only further excavation of the area adjacent to the South Gate and as far as the south side of the Podium will substantiate what for the moment must remain a conjectured plan (fig. 2).

Area II to the east of the temple contains the remains of five massive mud-brick structures, most of which had been damaged to a greater or lesser degree by later pit-digging. While some sections remain to a height of about 1 m., others have been removed completely down to their foundations. The programme of work in 1974 did not allow for the complete excavation of all these structures. One, however, was thoroughly examined. This was a rectangular room, 4 m. long and 1.75 m. wide, built within one of the large structures, which still retained a third of its original vaulted mud roof, in a good state of preservation (pl. XI, 2). Where the north end of the vaulting had collapsed, three large rough planks of wood had been laid down to cover the entrance to the room. On the floor of the room lay a number of large sherds,



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-  X-GROUP
-  EARLY CHRISTIAN I
-  EARLY CHRISTIAN II
-  MUD FLOOR
-  STONE TILES
-  STORAGE PITS

FIG. 2

representing at least four or five large storage vessels and amphorae. One of the broken vessels was Meroitic; the others have not yet been identified but may be earlier. All were broken when the vault collapsed, for the fill above the floor was not occupation debris but fine wind-blown dust which had penetrated into the room.

The adjoining structures associated with the vaulted room had been badly destroyed by later pit-digging, mostly, it seems, in the X-Group period. Only small sections of the floors remain. The lower levels of the buildings were formed by foundations of large roughly worked stones similar to those found in the construction of the Meroitic temple. It is possible that the vaulted structures to the east of the temple were intended as storerooms and their building was contemporary with that of the temple. Nevertheless the possibility that they are even earlier buildings cannot be ruled out. As has been noted, the whole area had been so greatly disturbed by later pit-digging that it is difficult in many instances to define the various stages of building. Some of the underlying remains would appear to be associated with the time of Taharqa. Even earlier buildings may have existed in the area before the Napatan period, for sections of wall of mud-brick with two courses of projecting stones were exposed in the western half of Area II (pl. XI, 3). Two parallel walls, separated from one another by a space of 2.5 m., run diagonally across the area. That is to say, they are not in alignment with any other building. Perhaps they were constructed as some kind of early retaining wall. Equally uncertain is their date. Lying directly upon the *gebel*, it is not impossible that they may be the work of New-Kingdom builders.

Among the finds in this area was a small collection of objects from room 1. This included the base of a small faience standing figure, a fragment of a Bes figurine, a bronze ring, a small bronze spoon, some small bits of jewellery, some fragments of papyri and an ostrakon inscribed in cursive Meroitic, and four bronze coins. Three of the coins were in such poor condition that they could not be identified. The fourth was dated to the fourteenth year of the Emperor Trajan. Since this coin was found so close to the Meroitic temple and in a building which may be associated with the temple, it provides further grounds for thinking that the temple may be dated to the first century A.D.

The Taharqa Temple. Cf. Fig. 4.

The excavation of the area to the south of the Temple Church, which was an Early Christian adaptation of the Napatan structure built in the reign of Taharqa, revealed that several sections of walls appeared to be associated with Taharqa's building. Unfortunately later digging had reduced the sections so considerably that it was nowhere possible to trace their original ground plan. The interior of the building had been thoroughly excavated in 1972 with the exception of a baulk of earth which had been left in the east room into which the later apse had been built. The baulk had been left as it seemed there was some danger that its removal would cause the collapse of the back wall of the apse. In 1974 it was decided to remove as much of the baulk as was possible without damaging the apse wall so that all three walls of the Napatan wall could be examined. The fill which was removed was almost entirely X-Group in

content, thereby further confirming the opinion that the Church was built very early in the Early Christian period.

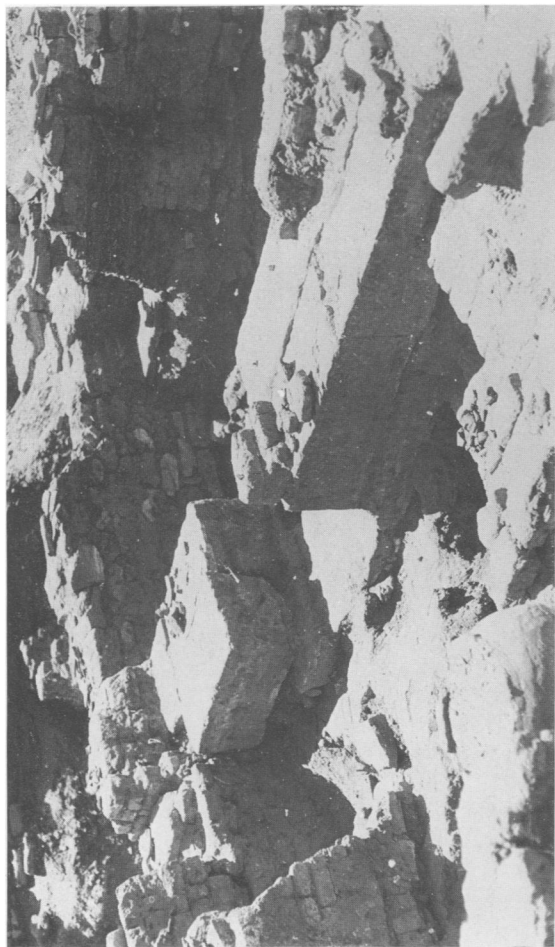
The south wall of the apse-room was found to be in a very bad condition, practically nothing being left of the plaster. It is to be supposed that the plaster on this wall was destroyed when the arched doorway in the south wall was cut through. The remaining part of the east wall which had been concealed by the baulk was cleaned and the covering of whitewash carefully removed. This section of the wall was found to be in a poor condition and little was added to the information afforded by the section of fresco found and recorded in 1972, except to establish the fact that the divine being to whom the pharaoh Taharqa is making an offering is a god and not a goddess. There is not enough detail in the remaining stretches of fresco to show which god is depicted. The north wall of the apse-room had been covered with whitewash at some time after the Napatan period. Incised into the surface of the whitewash were two graffiti in cursive Meroitic. Beneath the whitewash are the remains of another Napatan fresco showing a scene very similar to that on the east wall (pl. XII). The fresco has preserved the head of the pharaoh and part of the crown upon his head. Only the torso and part of the arm of the god whom the king is worshipping have survived, so that it is again not possible to know which deity is represented. A damaged line of hieroglyphs includes in a cartouche the *nomen* of the pharaoh. Examination of the floor of the room revealed two Meroitic surfaces above the original Napatan floor.

Area II (c). The West Fortifications

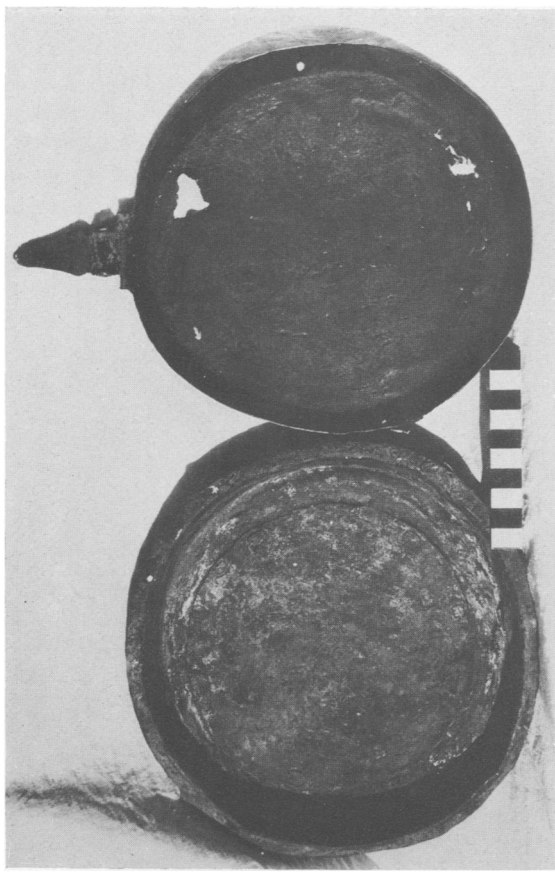
Future work on Ibrim should accept as a priority task the clearing and excavation of the area between the South Gate and the Podium, for only then will it be possible to trace the extent of the Meroitic temple and to gain a more exact knowledge of the history of its buildings and its relationship to the Podium. In anticipation of such work two preliminary tasks were carried out at the end of the 1974 season. The first of these was the recording of all the Bosnian structures standing in the area. All the loose and fallen stones inside and around the houses were removed and a record was made of each structure, its ground plan, measurements of the heights of standing walls, and various features such as doorways, windows, cupboard niches, plaster on walls, etc.

The second task was the recording of the exterior fortifications of the site and in particular the stretch of walling from the South Gate to the projecting tower to the north of the Podium (pl. XIII, 1). In addition to recording the details of the wall some excavation along the footage of the wall was undertaken, since any future work in Area II would mean the depositing of excavation spoil over the fortifications and the burial of the lower parts of the walls.

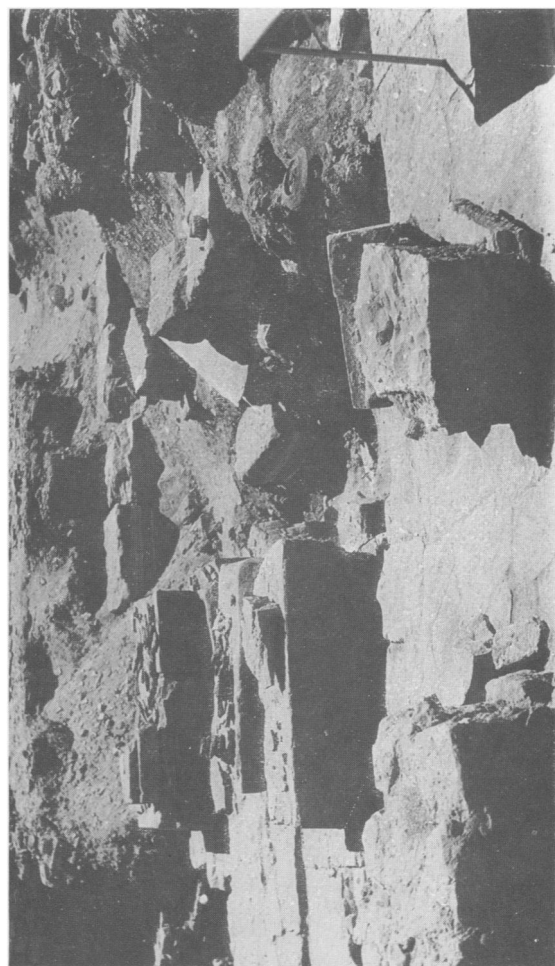
At a distance of 17 m. from the flanking wall of the South Gate a section of the fortifications had collapsed in the past. Examination of the lower part of the fall disclosed the corner of a wall (pl. XIII, 2). At first sight this might seem to be the side of a gateway which was blocked when the South Gate was built. An objection to this possibility is that the *gebel* falls away very steeply at this point and consequently access to a gateway, if one formerly stood here, would have been difficult. An alternative possibility is



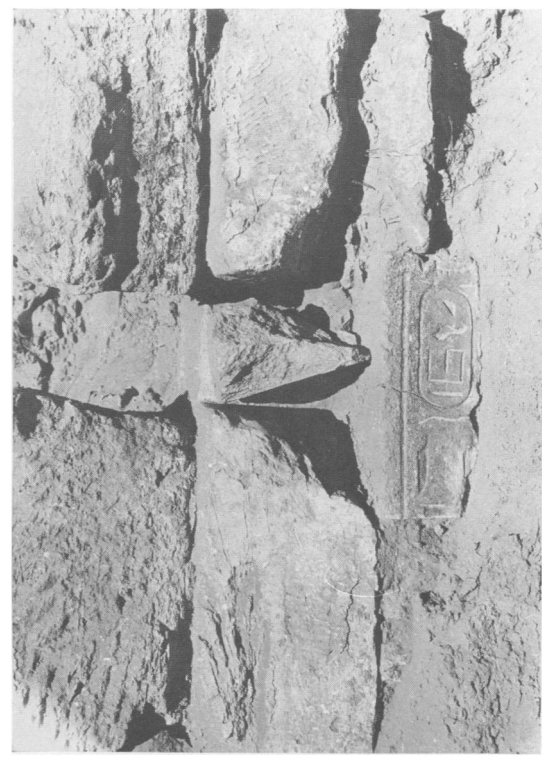
1. Stone dividing walls in area of South Piazza



2. Dish and frying-pan of iron. X-group



3. Quarry area in Meroitic Temple



4. Cartouche of Taharqa built into the foundations of the Meroitic Temple

QAŞR İBRİM, 1974



1. Statue (Meroitic) from Quarry area



2. Naos of an official, Amenemhet (New Kingdom)
from Quarry area

QAŞR IBRÎM, 1974



3. Plinth of seated statue, bearing titles of
Ramesses III, from Quarry area



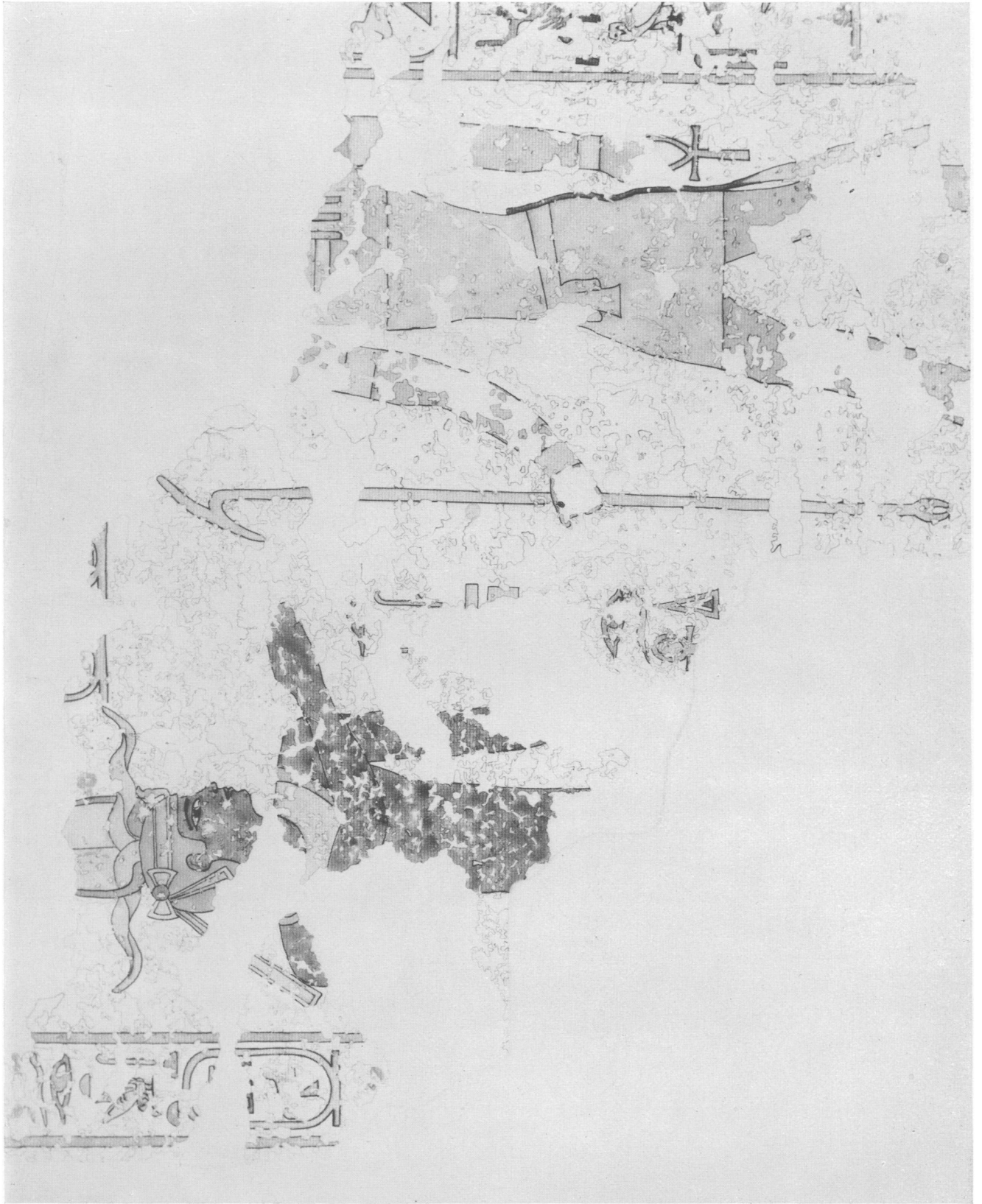
1. Circular pavement under floor of Meroitic Temple



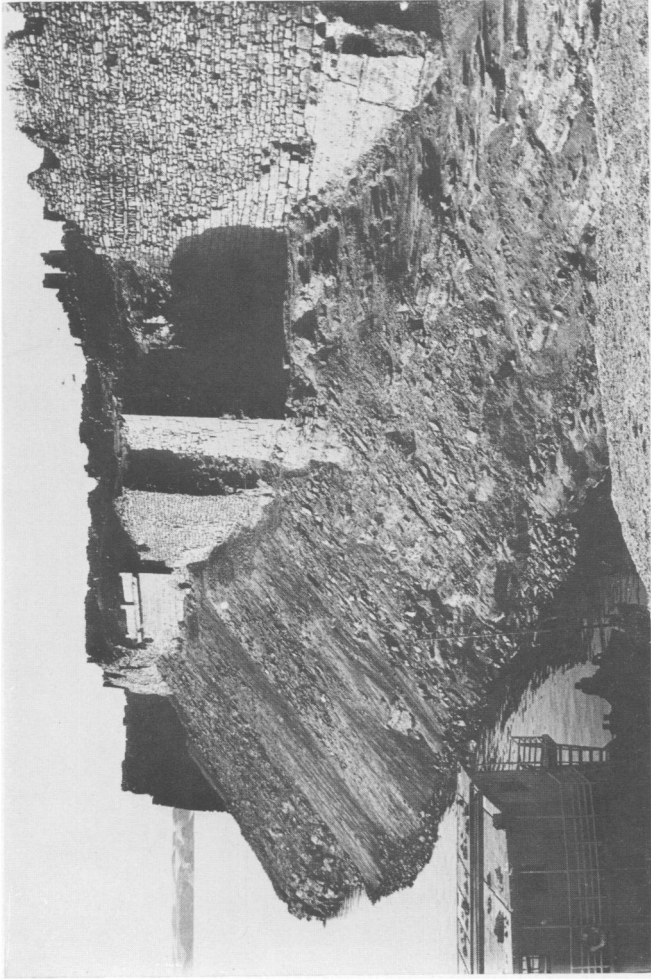
2. Mud-brick storehouses to south of Temple Church



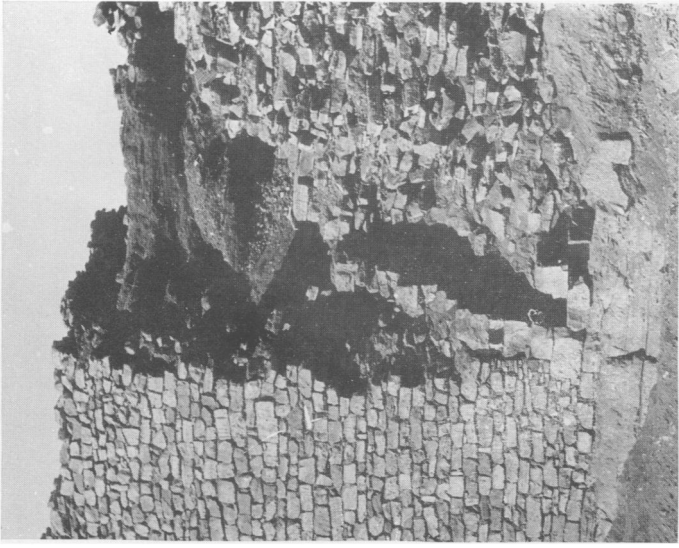
3. Centre foreground: mud-brick diagonal pre-Napatan walls containing two courses of stones



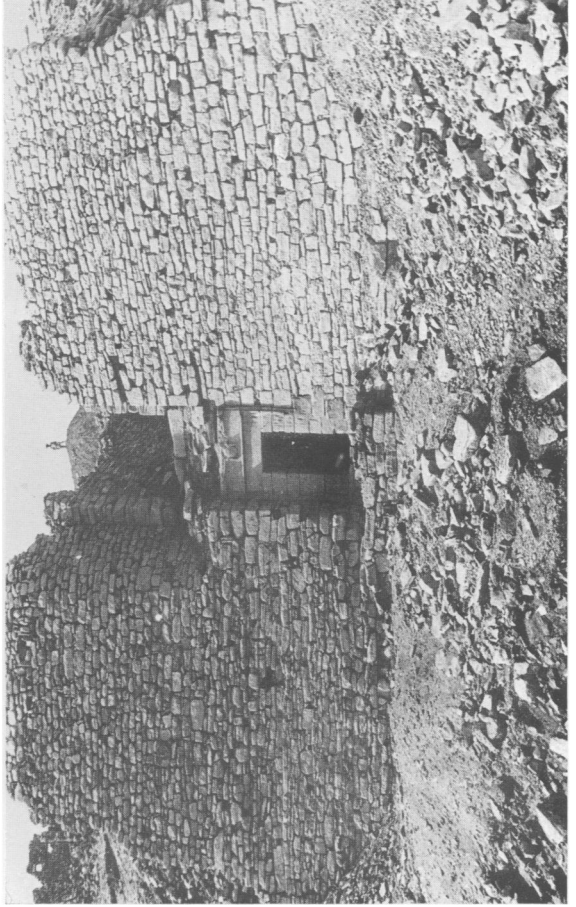
Taharqa fresco from north wall of Apse Room in Temple Church (from a copy by Dr. S. Jacobielski)



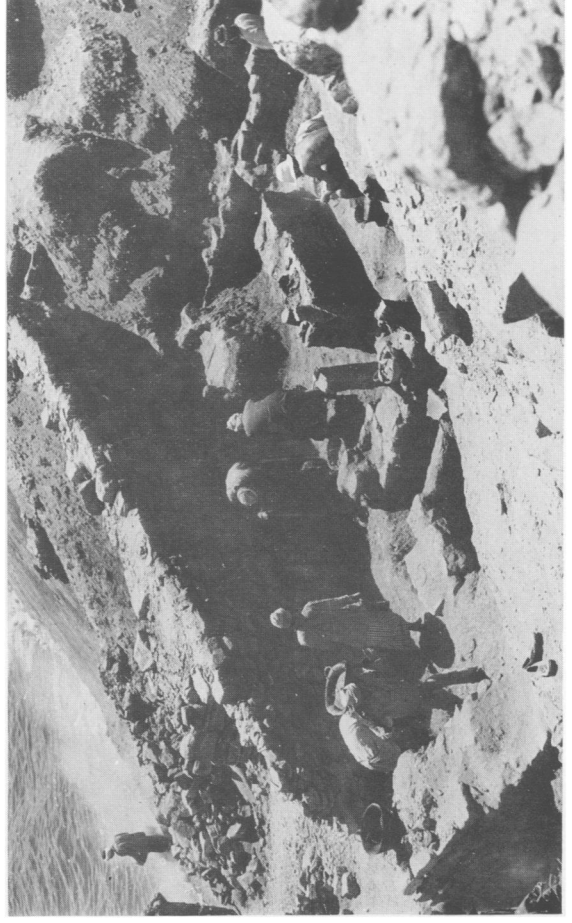
1. Line of the west fortifications



2. Break in the wall of the west fortifications



3. The Great East Gate before its destruction in 1970



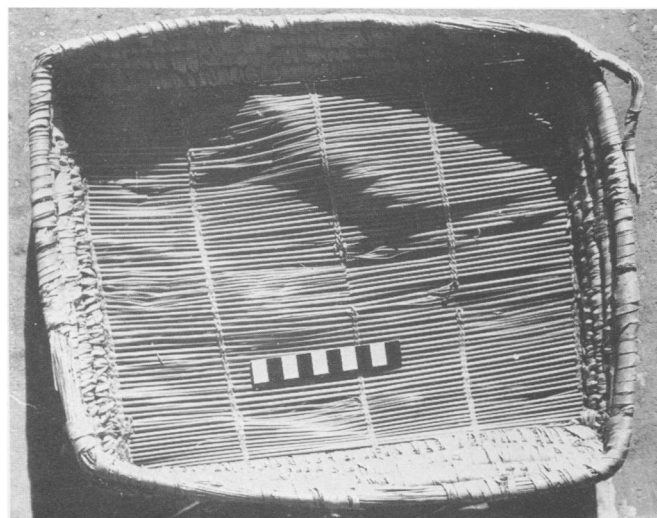
4. Area behind the Great East Gate



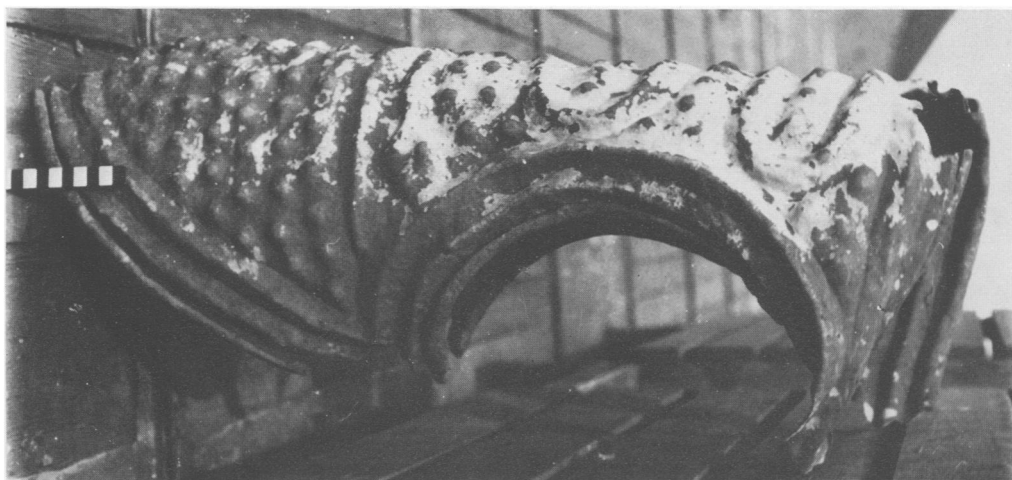
Pottery and gourds. East Gate



2. Base of bronze lamp stand. East Gate



4. Palm-fibre winnowing-basket. X-group



3. Moulded hide body armour. East Gate

that the corner exposed belongs to an earlier wall and that the South Gate complex was built later to abut hard on to the earlier wall without any attempt at proper bonding, at least in the lower courses of the walls. However, until the area between the South Gate and the Podium is excavated, no explanation for the existence of the corner can be advanced with any degree of certainty.

As a small section only of the stretch of walls between the Podium and the north-west tower had been affected by the dumping of excavation spoil from previous work on Ibrîm, a small-scale excavation of an area near to the tower was carried out, and this revealed that five main levels could be distinguished in the undisturbed deposit. The uppermost level was a loose fill, mostly of wind-borne dust, containing sherds of the terminal Christian period. Level 2 was likewise loose fill, but contained sherds of the Late Christian period, much palm-fibre matting, a few wooden objects, pieces of textiles, and several paper fragments written in Arabic and Old Nubian. The two levels beneath, one mostly of burnt ash containing some sherds and fragments of papers in Arabic and Old Nubian, and the other, almost entirely of stone chippings, had effectively sealed the lowest level of all. This, level 5, was a dry deposit about 40 cm. thick, containing in addition to sherds, palm fronds, straw, bones, feathers, and pieces of textiles. Between 5.50 m. and 6.50 m. from the south-west corner of the tower at a depth of about 2 m. below the foundation level of the flanking wall a number of fragments of papyrus were uncovered. These are inscribed in Greek. A few fragments bear a few words of Latin. The Latin and most of the Greek fragments appear to be parts of letters. Some of the Greek fragments, however, contain passages from the Second Book of the *Odyssey* written in a fine book-hand. Most of the fragments were copied by hand and photographed on the site. Based on the photographs a provisional date between 50 B.C. and A.D. 50 has been assigned to the fragments. These dates are outside limits, so that it is not impossible that the documents, from which the fragments come, could have been brought to Ibrîm at the time of the Roman occupation in 23–21 B.C.

Area III. The East Gate. Cf. Fig. 3.

Before the rise of the waters of Lake Nasser one of the most striking monuments of the fortress of Qaşr Ibrîm was the great East Gate, which for many centuries before the final abandonment of the site in 1812 was the only means of access to the fortress (pl. XIII, 3). In 1969 the whole of the gate was surveyed and recorded by Mr. Kenneth Frazer as it seemed that the rapid rise of the lake might eventually engulf the greater part of it. In the event the decision was right for after 1969 the water-level rose appreciably with the result that the entrance to the gate, the flanking walls, and the lower flight of interior stairs were undermined and collapsed into the lake. In 1972 only the upper part of the gate remained standing. Since the level of the lake is still unpredictable it was decided that some excavation around the upper part of the gate should be attempted in 1974. The back wall of the structure of the gate was still standing in a very good state of preservation. It was therefore decided to excavate between this and the line of the *gebel* behind it.

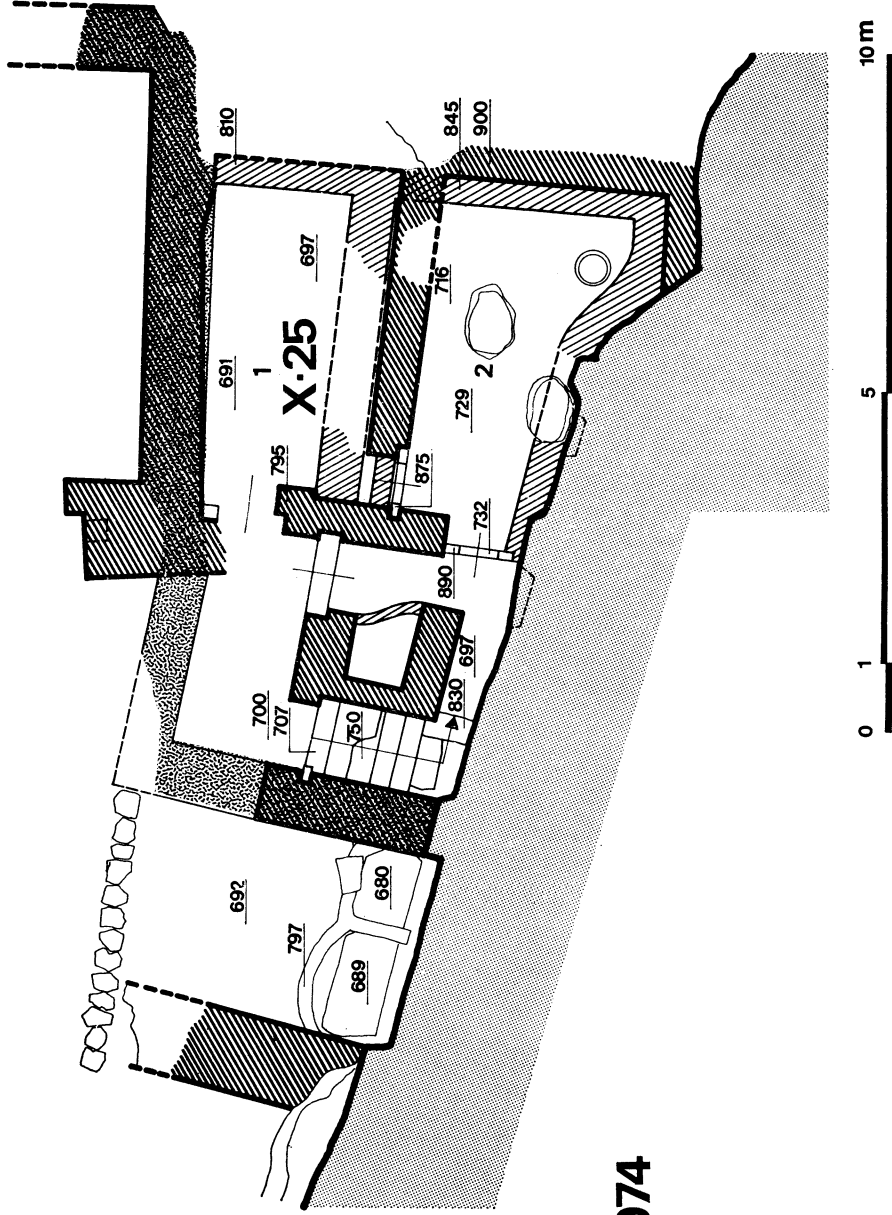
As had been anticipated, a thick deposit was found to have existed in the area, since it had once formed part of the way which led up from the gate towards the narrow street, which by reason of its curve had been called by successive expeditions to Ibrim, 'Regent Street'. At its western end this street opens on to the stabling area which formerly overlay the site of the Temple Church. The upper levels of the deposit of the Bosnian period of occupation were a hard fill of earth containing horse-droppings, stones, and a miscellaneous collection of potsherds, ranging from the Meroitic to the Terminal Christian period. The deposit was no less than 2 m. in depth in some places and extremely closely packed as the result of the passage of many feet over a long period of time. The probability is that the street had been in existence for many centuries and had gradually built up over the years.

At the bottom of the street deposit, between the back wall of the gate and the slope of the *gebel*, the tops of stone walls were found (pl. XIII, 4). Though partially damaged in places the walls are in an excellent state of preservation. The stone jambs of two doorways have been preserved to their original height. The builders of the walls seem to have been the Meroïtes though the fill in the various rooms pointed to their occupation as having been largely X-Group. It is reasonably certain that these structures were built about the same time as the East Gate, for the lower part of the back wall of the gate is slightly recessed below the upper part of the wall. The indications are that the upper part of the wall was built after the rooms had been filled in and that the lower part of the wall is an integral part of the construction of the earlier building.

The building consists of two rooms and a passage area to the north, built around a rectangular structure which possibly served as a storage place (fig. 3). At some time after the completion of the building a wall was extended from the west wall of the gate northwards for about 1 m. and then turned at a right angle to continue to the slope of the *gebel*; this wall was apparently intended as a retaining wall to hold back the higher deposit on the north. Access to the higher level was by way of a stair built to the top of the retaining wall.

The walls were well constructed of rough stones set in mortar and are about 50 cm. in thickness. In room 1 a similar wall was built against the face of the *gebel* where the slope becomes almost perpendicular. Access from the outside into the two rooms was by way of two doors set in the north walls. Each door had jambs and thresholds cut from single pieces of stone. A door between room 1 and 2 was of similar construction. All the doors had been partially blocked with loose stones. But the doorway between rooms 1 and 2 had been more effectively blocked later by the building of a wall along the line of the dividing wall of the two rooms. An odd discovery was made under the door between the two rooms. In a shallow pit under the door lay three gourd containers (pl. XIV, 1). One of the gourds had been inscribed with a few lines of cursive Meroïtic incised into the surface. Perhaps the gourds were some kind of foundation deposit.

The small storeroom to the north was apparently built in the first instance as a room. It is very small, being no more than just over 1 m. square. The door which gave access to the room on the south side was later blocked with mud-bricks and stones. It must therefore be presumed that hereafter entrance to the room was from the top. A



QASR IBRIM 1974 EAST GATE

-  PHASE I
-  PHASE II
-  PHASE III

FIG. 3

number of shallow cavities had been cut into the face of the *gebel* behind the rooms. These may have been cut to serve as storage places, but it is possible that they are the remains of much older work. Similar shallow cavities exist in the *gebel* to the north of the East Gate area, and it is possible that they once formed parts of rock-cut tombs which subsequent quarrying cut away.

The excavation of the rooms behind the East Gate produced a number of important finds. Examples of X-Group pottery in excellent condition and several clay figurines were discovered. Of particular interest was the finding of a circular base of bronze, 33 cm. in diameter and decorated with a vine-leaf pattern in positive relief (pl. XIV, 2). A hole in the middle of the base was intended for a column which, to judge from some of the Ballana finds, once supported a lamp. When found, the base was thickly encrusted with oil. But what must be the most remarkable find in this area was a complete piece of frontal body armour (pl. XIV, 3). Made of thick ox-hide, moulded and tooled into a complex pattern of raised bosses and ribbed surfaces with half holes for the arms, it extends from the level of the eyes to the knees of the wearer. The piece was attached to the body by means of strings, of which some pieces remain in position. Fragments of a hide breastplate were found by Professor Emery at Ballana, but the latest find at Ibrîm must be accounted the finest example of protective military equipment yet discovered in Nubia. The circumstances of its finding indicate that it is X-Group. Possibly it is a development of the large oblong shields of raw ox-hide, which according to Strabo were carried by the Meroïtes who fought against the Romans under Petronius. In essence the Ibrîm armour is a large shield but attached to the body rather than worn on the left arm. The finding of the armour in this area may indicate that the rooms excavated once formed part of a guardhouse inside the East Gate in Meroïtic and X-Group times. However, no other weaponry was found in this area.

The East Gate also produced its quota of manuscript material. Well down in the fill, but above the X-Group levels, a small sealed red-ware jar was found. This contained a single paper letter written in Sahidic Coptic. The interpretation of the letter presents some difficulties, but the writer who was living in Upper Egypt is writing to his sister at Ibrîm on matters of business. The names of witnesses are recorded, some of whom are clearly Nubians. Unfortunately the letter is not dated, but from the style of the handwriting is probably eleventh century. A small pit in the floor of room 1 proved to be a veritable mine of papyrus fragments. Among these are examples, not only of cursive Meroïtic, but also late hieratic and demotic. Two small fragments are part of a religious text, for in addition to part of a coloured representation of a deity there are the remains of cursive hieroglyphs which are a feature of ancient funerary texts.

Collections of various kinds of material were made from all the excavated areas. These included objects of metal, leather, palm fibre (pl. XIV, 4), and wood. A very comprehensive collection of textiles was also assembled for study. Pottery is represented by a large number of vessels in excellent condition and a representative collection of analysed sherds was made.

In the successive seasons at Ibrîm since 1963 material of every kind, ranging over a period of thirty-five centuries and embracing several cultures, has been found. As the

Report reveals, the latest season has proved no exception. As a result of the various discoveries a pattern of the history of the site is beginning to emerge. The implications of some of the evidence is already clear. Some evidence is ambiguous and only further work both on the site and at the desk will resolve some of the problems raised. The detailed evidence of the manuscripts, and more especially the Meroïtic and the Old Nubian, will not be fully available for some time. With so much of the site still requiring to be excavated it would be rash to try to reach definite conclusions or to make pronouncements. But perhaps the author of this Report, having directed the excavations at Ibrîm since 1963 and having observed the progress of the work, might be permitted to make some suggestions on one matter of nomenclature.

Until recent times the sole evidence about Ibrîm was to be found in written sources. These revealed broadly that Ibrîm had once been an important Meroïtic fortress, which later became a Blemmyan stronghold, then a great Christian centre, and finally an outpost of the Ottoman Empire, garrisoned by Bosnian mercenaries. The written testimony is supported in the main by the work of excavation. However, the equating of the Blemmyes with the X-Group is open to question. In the eighth century, as clearly shown by the Arabic letter from the Governor of Egypt to the King of Nubia and the associated Coptic letters, found at Ibrîm in 1972, the Blemmyes are shown to be unquestionably the Beja of the Eastern Desert and are regarded as foreigners who had no part in Nubia. The evidence of the finds at Ibrîm covering the Meroïtic and X-Group periods increasingly suggests that one is not dealing with two quite independent cultures but that the Meroïtic and X-Group periods are stages in the development of one over-all culture.

The finding of the Lion statue bearing the name of the Meroïtic king Amenyeshbehe during the 1966 Season suggests that at the beginning of the fourth century Ibrîm was still part of the Meroïtic realm. The discovery of documents written in cursive Meroïtic in sealed X-Group levels is further support that Meroïtic influence still persisted. It is possible that the last vestige of the Meroïtic Empire continued in Lower Nubia when Meroë itself had fallen to the invading armies of 'Ezana king of Axum, *c.* A.D. 350. The written testimony of Olympiodorus (*c.* A.D. 425) and the inscription of Silko king of the Nobatae in the temple of Kalabsha may be no more than statements that in their respective times Ibrîm, together with other Nubian cities, was under the suzerainty of the Blemmyes. In other words their witness refers to a political interlude and not a significant cultural change. Possibly the term X-Group has served its purpose. So long as it is understood to imply no more than a period in cultural development it is not entirely unacceptable. But if the implication is a new people with a new culture then the use of the term is open to question, at least so far as the evidence from Ibrîm suggests. This is not to say that there were no changes in the population. The indications from the cemeteries are that small but continuous movements of peoples who were the ancestors of the Nubians of the Christian period took place from the South into Lower Nubia. Probably already influenced by Meroïtic culture in the regions from which they came they were assimilated without difficulty into the pattern of life which still existed in such centres as Ibrîm.

May we not then see in Lower Nubia, at least until the establishment of the Christian Kingdoms in the sixth century, a continuation of Meroitic culture along provincial lines? Among alternative nomenclatures proposed for the X-Group have been Nobadian and 'Ballana Culture'. The first is less objectionable than the second, which has overtones of geographical limitation. Might it not be preferable to recognize Lower Nubia before the establishing of the Christian kingdoms as the Northern Province of Meroë? With the over-all description 'Northern (Provincial) Meroitic' a number of Periods could be adopted. Thus one might speak of Early, Classic, Late, and Terminal Northern Meroitic with provision for suitable subdivisions. So far as this suggested scheme might be applied to Ibrîm, Early Northern Meroitic would begin after the building of the Temple of Taharqa, Classic Northern Meroitic might be divided by the episode of the Roman occupation into Classic I and Classic II. Late Northern Meroitic might begin with introduction of the characteristic X-Group pottery at a time when the Meroitic writing was still in use. Terminal or possibly Transitional Northern Meroitic could be marked by the evidence of Christian material including Coptic writing. Possibly Nubian could be reserved as the over-all term for the ensuing periods down to modern times.

Addenda

'The main areas . . .' (p. 6): the directional orientations employed for convenience in this report (and in earlier reports since 1966) are the 'ecclesiastical directions' defined by the Qaşr Ibrîm churches in which the rear walls of the sanctuaries, actually oriented north-east, are taken as designating east.

'Dalmatias' (p. 7 *ad fin.*): possibly for Tolmeita (Ptolemais) the port of Barca, one of the Five Cities in the West on the coast of North Africa. The Patriarchs of the Coptic Church claimed authority over this region.

'The fresco has preserved the head of the pharaoh . . .' (p. 20): in view of speculation about the racial origins of the kings of Kush it is significant that the colour, allowing for fading, used for the face and body of Taharqa is decidedly brown.

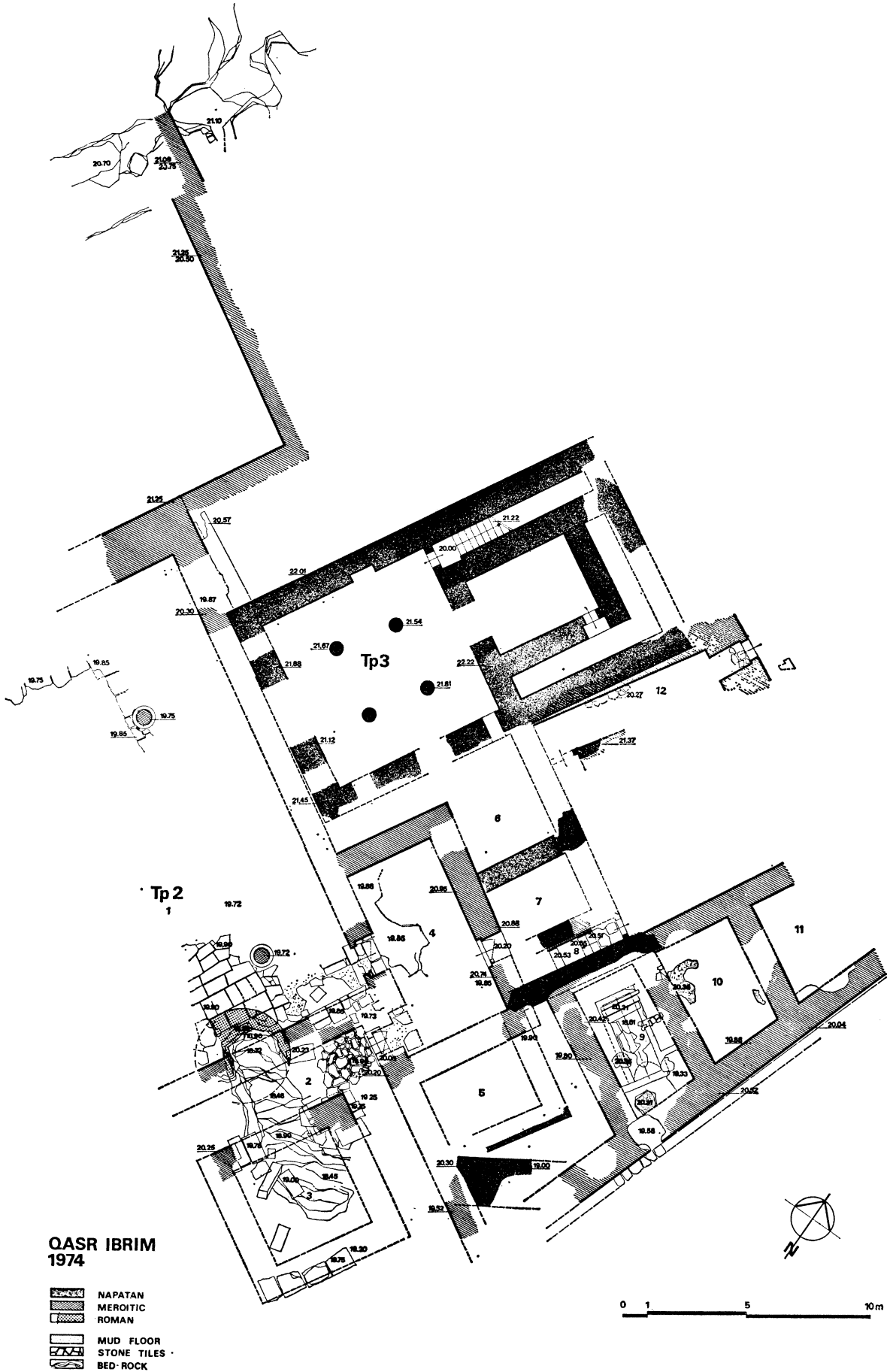


FIG. 4

SOME REMARKS ON THE ORIGINS OF THE TITLES OF THE ARCHAIC EGYPTIAN KINGS

By ELISE J. BAUMGARTEL

WHAT I am trying to do in this paper is to reconstruct from archaeological evidence the origins of the titles and insignia of the archaic kings of Egypt, and to show as far as possible their connections with the preceding predynastic periods. I very rarely take into consideration literary sources which were written thousands of years after the events they describe. There will have been a fairly reliable oral tradition (and oral tradition is good in the Near East) of the names of the kings before the First Dynasty, as they were needed for dating, but when it comes to events we have no means of distinguishing facts from fancy and how much the authors of the documents projected the circumstances under which they lived into the distant past.

As far as we can make out there existed in Badarian and Naqada I times a number of small settlements all situated on the spurs of the Low Desert. They extend from the neighbourhood of Asyût in the north to about Edfu in the south. On the spurs of the desert they were out of reach of the yearly inundation and did not take up any of the precious fertile soil in the valley itself, yet they were near enough to these fields to work there without unduly long journeys to get to them.

Of nearly all of these small communities the cemeteries are all we have. The one at Naqada is by far the largest and the most important. It is therefore to Naqada that we must accord the first place during the Naqada I period. And here, at Naqada, we find the first occurrence of Egypt's most venerated royal insignia, namely the Red Crown. Petrie excavated it from tomb 1610 to which he gave the sequence dates 35-9, i.e. the end of Naqada I or the very beginning of Naqada II. The crown is shown in relief on a sherd of the black-topped ware, a rare technique on this type of pottery.¹ The early date is noteworthy because it is in accordance with the position of the Red Crown in comparison with that of the White Crown. The Red Crown was always considered to be the most ancient and the most exalted, the one that was venerated as a goddess. It has precedence over the White Crown. The tradition of the oldest crown and of the sovereigns preceding the First Dynasty I who wore it is preserved on the Palermo stone. There the predynastic kings with their names recorded over them are represented wearing the Red Crown. The knowledge of their names must have been preserved by oral tradition. As the kings wear the Red Crown they have been taken for kings of a Lower Egyptian kingdom because in much later times the Red Crown was often connected with Lower Egypt. For the period in question we have no sign that Egypt north of Asyût had a settled population. No connection with the south was ever mentioned

¹ The sherd with the Red Crown is kept in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. See pl. 15, 1.

for the kings with the Red Crown on the Palermo stone, and this though Petrie had published the sherd with the Red Crown seven years before H. Schaefer² first published the Palermo stone. The sherd with the Red Crown was totally ignored. The other preserved fragment of the annals, now in the Cairo Museum, also has a number of pre-dynastic kings in the top row. Unfortunately this stone is so badly preserved that Petrie was able to take them for Upper Egyptian kings while Breasted saw kings with the Red Crown followed by seven kings with the Double Crown. The Double Crown is not attested before King Den. All this makes the Cairo fragment useless for this discussion.

The earliest representation known to me of the White Crown is on the famous palette of King Narmer. There he wears it on the obverse when he slays his enemy. This palette was found at Hierakonpolis, and Hierakonpolis is taken to have followed Naqada as the most important town towards the end of Naqada II. The reasons are the painted tomb, surely belonging to a most important personage, probably a ruler, and the fact that King Narmer erected his victory temple there. With this clashes the fact that the White Crown belongs to Nekhbet, the one from El-Kab, where her temple was excavated by the Belgians. Nekhbet is the crown goddess of the White Crown, and she and the crown are interchangeable on the monuments. That the White Crown is inferior to the Red is not only shown by her position behind the Red, but also by her name. She is *wereret*, 'the one that became great', in contrast to the Red Crown which is *wert*, 'the great one'.

If we now turn to the titles of the archaic Egyptian kings: *nswt-bit* and 'The Two Ladies', we must remember that we can hardly expect to find them before the introduction of writing. Again, by its position in the titulature *nswt* must be the older title, and I would like to associate it with the Red Crown and Naqada I. For this, so far, there is no proof. If we want to give the *nswt*-title the rank of seniority from its position in the *nswt-bit* combination, it might help if we could assess the age of the *bit*-title. Now, the *bit*, 'the beekeeper', can only be associated with the god Min. He is the master of the wild bees and honey is sacrificed to him. Some of his priests are beekeepers, and, in much later times, one is even called *bit*. Min is 'the king of the gods'; to him belong the two *itrt*-chapels. He resides at Coptos, and the country east of Egypt to the Red Sea is his kingdom. Min is the bull god; he is the 'bull of his mother' whose earthly shape is the king when as a bull he tramples on his enemies. An outward symbol of the king's identity with Min is the bull's tail which forms a significant part of the king's robe of state. From Min the king takes over the appellation of the 'bull of his mother' and 'the strong bull'; and, last not least, the *bit*-title. It seems to me that Min is the god of the Naqada II people. On the boats of the decorated ware of Naqada II we find for the first time his still unidentified fetish. I assume with Petrie that the people of Naqada II entered the Nile valley through Wadi Hammamat. They brought with them their superior culture, and their own gods. We know very little about the gods of Naqada I. They venerated the great goddess and also a young male god who is generally associated with her. He is her son and lover. During the Naqada I period

² H. Schaefer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen* (Berlin, 1902).

the largest and most important tombs belong to women. They contained more precious objects than those of the males. From this I infer a matriarchal society of which strong remnants survive into historical times. Min, on the other hand, is the exponent of a patriarchal society. He does not need a woman to propagate himself. While the great goddess has a young lover and is the first of the cows, Min is the god of the corn, and it will not have been known to these early people that even corn needs a male and a female element to produce the fruitful ear.

From the importance of its cemetery which remains undiminished during Naqada II, it seems likely that Naqada remained the principal city till towards the end of the period. I venture to suggest that when the people of Min took over the old town and created Naqada II they added the title of *bit* to that of *nswt*. For this there is as yet no material proof. The earliest example so far of the *nswt-bit* combination occurs under Den. In the time of his predecessors the name inscribed into the *serekh* was the distinctive sign of royalty.

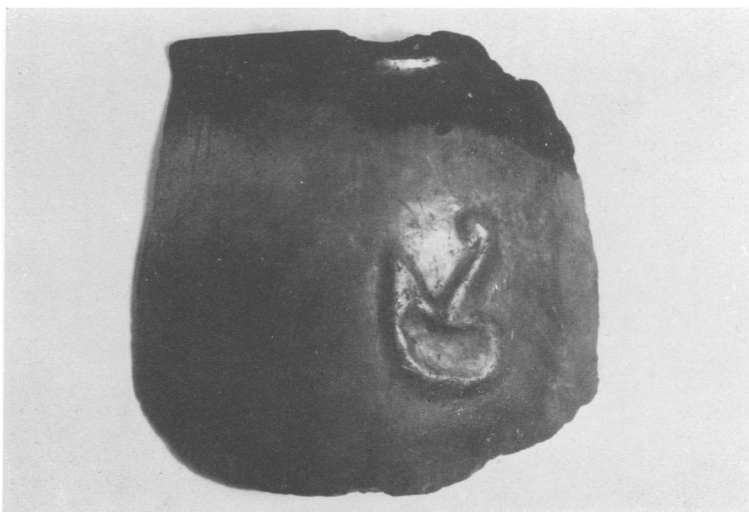
Though 'The Two Ladies'—the vulture and the serpent—occur already on the famous ivory label which J. de Morgan found in the royal tomb of Naqada, 'The Two Ladies' as a royal title was not included in the royal titulature before King Den. We are accustomed to identify 'The Two Ladies' with the Red and the White Crowns, but we do not know at what period that was first done, nor do we know whether the snake was the cobra from the outset, for it never shows on the early representations the dilated neck which it has when it becomes attached to the crowns in the Middle Kingdom. Neither the vulture nor the uraeus are known to me from predynastic times, though there were any number of other snakes. The vulture *Nekhbet*, which means 'the one from *Nekhbet-El-Kab*' must belong there, though Capart³ tried to transfer her to Hierakonpolis and the snake to El-Kab. This suggestion is not borne out by the Belgian excavation at El-Kab where a temple of *Nekhbet* was excavated, but no sign has been found so far of a temple of a serpent. The connection between the vulture and the White Crown must be the older one as the vulture always takes precedence in the chapel with the Two Ladies. The serpent must have been connected with the Red Crown at a later date, perhaps during Den's reign, for Emery⁴ found in one of the great tombs at Saqqâra a label of Den's where the serpent is replaced by the Red Crown. This seems to me to indicate that it was obvious to the people of the First Dynasty that the White Crown and the vulture belong together, but the connection between the Red Crown and the serpent had to be explained.

If the snake in the chapel of the Two Ladies was not originally the uraeus it is difficult to say which snake she might have been. The only snake besides the uraeus known to us by name from this early period is the *ꜥḥꜥ*, 'the standing one', which was carved on the two stelae in front of Min's temple. The erect forepart of *Nekhbet*'s companion may indicate this, though this is also a characteristic of the cobra.

The Horus title is closely connected with the First Dynasty, the kings of which were called later 'followers of Horus'. Horus appears first towards the end of Naqada II on

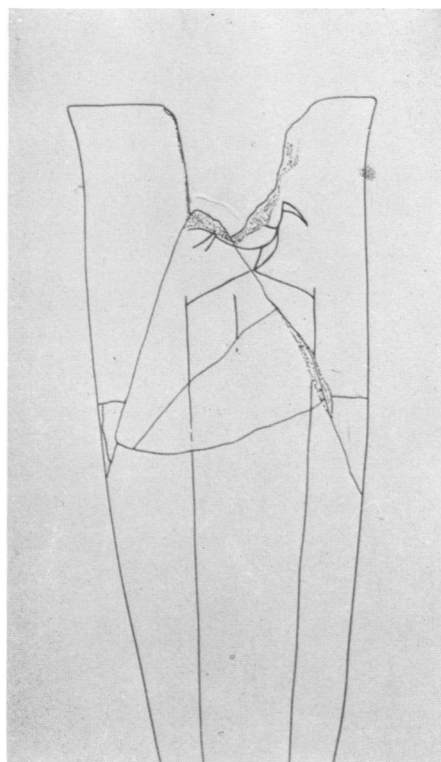
³ J. Capart. *Quelques observations sur la déesse d'Elkab* (Brussels, 1946).

⁴ *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, II (London, 1954), 102, fig. 105.



1. The Red Crown on a sherd of black-topped ware from Naqada, now in the Ashmolean Museum

Courtesy Ashmolean Museum



2. Pot mark from Naqada showing a house with a domed roof on top of which a bird is perched

TITLES OF THE ARCHAIC EGYPTIAN KINGS

the decorated pottery, and also as an amulet. He sits on the *serekh* into which the royal name is inscribed. *Serekh* means 'throne'; we have got accustomed to call the construction a palace façade, though we have no indication what a palace of the First Dynasty may have looked like. The only representations of buildings which we have are the drawings of temples, the houses of the gods, and the house model found at El-Amra now in the British Museum. The earliest of these is the pot mark found in Naqada t. 1546 S.D. 37, i.e. at the end of Naqada I (pl. XV, 2). It shows a house with a domed roof which rests on the two side walls which protrude over it. On top of the building is perched a bird which is very roughly drawn, but may be the same as that shown on a similar building scratched in one of the labels of King Ḥor-ʿAḥa.⁵ This is the building which is generally called the 'Lower Egyptian *itrt*', but, like the Red Crown, belongs originally to Upper Egypt, though both of them were in later times taken up by Lower Egypt.

To sum up the scanty facts which we have concerning the paraphernalia of the archaic Egyptian kingship, the most important is the sherd with the Red Crown found at Naqada in a Naqada I context. We have nothing comparable for the White Crown which is shown for the first time on the Narmer palette. Nor do we know anything about a predynastic occurrence of the *nswt*-title, which I would like to associate with the Red Crown, but this is conjecture. I hope to have shown that the *bit*-title belongs to Min whom we first find during Naqada II. Together with the title he gave the bull's tail to the king's ceremonial garment, showing him as the living Min who, on the early slate palettes, tramples, in the shape of a bull on his enemy. From the same source comes the description of the king as 'the strong bull' and the 'bull of his mother'. To Min also belong the *itrt*-chapels, one of which, the one generally called the Lower Egyptian one, also occurs on a sherd from Naqada of the end of Naqada I.

Naqada, Hierakonpolis, and El-Kab all have the same cultural background. The painted tomb of Hierakonpolis is constructed in the same way as contemporaneous graves at Naqada. The wall-paintings are in the style of the decorated pottery. When more than one person was buried in the grave they are in the same two rooms, which constitute the tomb. With the Thinites things alter. They have a different tradition. We do not know where this was, though it may very well have been Abydos. Their tombs at Abydos are one-roomed, around which are the graves of the attendants, each in a room of her or his own. They must have been killed in numbers at the death of their masters. The Thinite kings each have two tombs, from Ḥor-Aḥa onwards, one at Abydos and one at Saqqâra. Narmer had no tomb at Saqqâra, but, I think, had two tombs at Abydos, for I take the one for the so-called King Ka as the *ka*-tomb of Narmer. Only a few vases have the name of Ka on them, and there the *ka* stands at the bottom of the *serekh*, not at the top, as with all other royal names. This cannot have been a scribe's mistake, for it occurs too often, but must have a meaning, which I take to be that the tomb at Abydos containing these vases, together with those with the cartouche of Narmer, is intended to indicate that this was the *ka*-tomb of Narmer. The tombs at Saqqâra are built in the shape of Sumerian temples—not palaces. They are

⁵ Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pls. x, 2, and ii, 4.

one of the many things which the Thinites adopted from the Sumerians, who at this period must have been the shining prototype of all the princes in the Near East. And yet, the indigenous Egyptian tradition was already so strong that the rightful king had to take over the ancient titles and insignia, all of which had their origin in Upper Egypt, while nothing comparable is known from Lower Egypt during the early period.

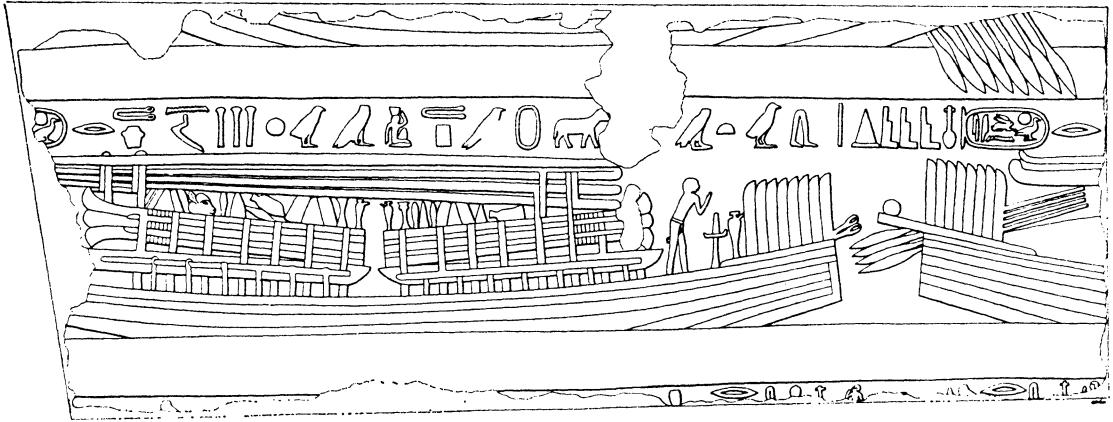



FIG. 2

The four incomplete lines may be translated as follows:

- (x+1) . . . [I brought back columns of granite from (?)] Elephantine^a for the Majesty of Wenis within seven days,^b
- (x+2) . . . His Majesty praised me on account of it.
- (x+3) . . . four days in transit.^c His Majesty granted
- (x+4) . . . [th]is (?these?)—which I made (?).^d I did not allow any stone to go^e
- (x+5) . . .

Comments

(a) The form of the elephant resembles that of a rhinoceros; for the similarity of these two animals in representations of the Old and Middle Kingdoms see Keimer, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 50, 52.⁵

(b) Lengths of journeys are rarely noted in ancient Egyptian texts, although *Hr-hw·f* specifies the lengths of entire expeditions covering seven or eight months (*Urk.* I, 124–5). The closest parallel to the present example is in the biography of *Wni*: '[His] Majesty sent me to Ḥatnub to bring back a great offering table of alabaster of Ḥatnub and  I delivered this offering table to him within seventeen days' (*Urk.* I, 107–8). The distance to Memphis by river was only about 180 miles, but the trip was made during the season when the water level was at its lowest and navigation was most difficult. In the present case the voyage was probably between the Memphite capital and the Island of Elephantine, a distance of about 580 miles—three times as much as *Wni* covered in an equal number of days. One must assume that the journey was in one direction only, downstream towards Memphis, and even so, the expedition would have had to maintain an average of 3·4 miles per hour travelling 24 hours a day. That may not seem a very rapid journey, but it assuredly was so, considering the weight and bulk of the cargo. In this connection it is useful to consider

⁵ In the Eighteenth Dynasty the representations of the elephant become more convincing, presumably because this animal was encountered during the campaigns in Syria; see Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, pl. 35, line 22, and Davies, *Rekh-mi-rēr*, pl. 23.



1. Inscription referring to an official of King Wenis



2. Top of Stela in Cairo Museum

Reisner's comments on a warrior of the Second Intermediate Period who claimed to have journeyed from Edfu to the south of Kush in thirteen days (Gunn, *ASAE* 29 [1929], 10).⁶

(c) Evidently this again refers to the length of a journey, but the point of departure and destination are less certain than in the preceding case. And *m šm(t) ii(t)* might literally mean 'going and coming', implying a round-trip, or it might simply mean 'travel'. The next earliest (Twelfth Dynasty) example of this expression is to be found in Gardiner-Peet-Černý, *Sinai*, pl. 17 (53, line 16), and p. 80, written $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$. The omission of the feminine ending from the two infinitives is comparable to *m hnti(t)* (Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* §§ 688, 691; Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*, § 299).

(d) Reading $[\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}] \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$.

(e) Possibly this negative use of *rdi hʿi* is related to *shʿi* in affirmative statements concerning the delivery of stone; as in the statement from the biography of *Wni* quoted earlier.⁷ But *hʿi r* is also applied to a Middle Kingdom account of bricks which 'went into' the ramparts of a fortress (Reisner, *Kerma* IV-V, fig. 343 [30] on p. 509). One might therefore restore: 'I did not allow any stone to go [into any other building].'

2. Another Eleventh Dynasty reference to the House of Khety

The fragment shown in fig. 3 and pl. XVI, 2 comes from the top of a stela that was

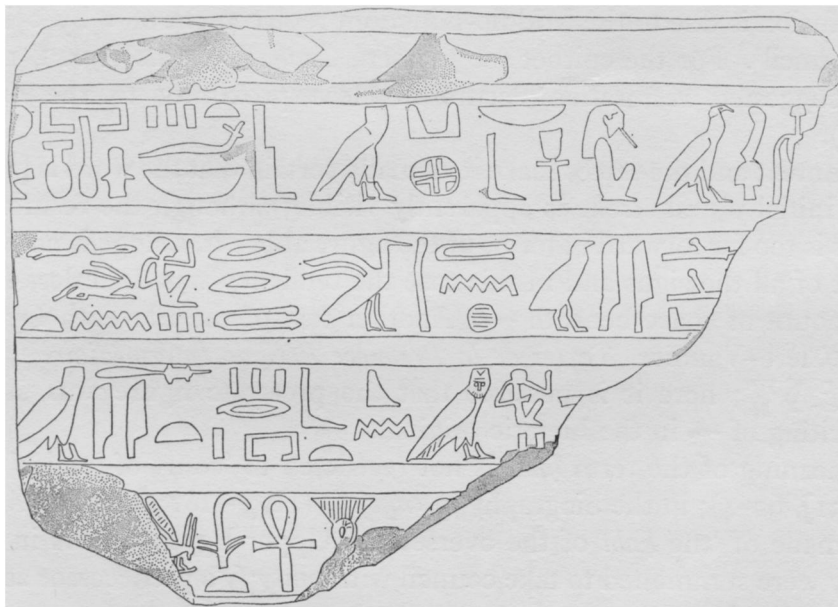


FIG. 3

⁶ The journey southward was a rapid one even if, with Posener (*Kush* 6 [1958], 55-60), we place the southern limit of Kush at the island of Sai, some 90 miles farther north than Kerma, which Reisner took to be the destination. It therefore seems impossible that the return journey was also accomplished within the thirteen days, as Berlev believes (*Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 95 [1966], 30)—particularly if we assume that the traveller stayed in the south of Kush for any length of time.

⁷ Other examples: *Urk.* 1, 258 (16), 259 (7); Anthes, *Hatnub*, Gr. 9 (10-11).

made for a private individual, to judge from the epithets; and, judging from the restorations that must be supplied in the first line, which indicate that at least half the original width is lost, it seems probable that the format was longer than it was tall, and not the other way round. The dimensions of the fragment are 18×26 cm., and it is presently in the Cairo Museum, where it bears the number $\frac{25}{17} \frac{10}{10}$. I am indebted to Dr. Gamal Moukhtar and Dr. Henry Riad for permission to publish it.

- (1) [*An offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris*], *Khentamentiu, lord of Abydos in all his places, funerary offerings—a thousand of . . . (2) . . . [one who heard speeches in?] private,^a who was distinguished^b beyond (other) people, [whose equal?] did not exist . . .^c (3) . . . the petitioners^d in (?) the council^e concerning (?)^f the House of Khety^g in (?) . . . (4) . . . the Horus^h W³ḥ-*cnḥ*, King of Upper and Lower Egypt [the Son of Rēc Intef] . . .*

Comments

(a) The restoration is from Newberry, *Bersheh* II, pl. 21. Note the writing of $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$; this is apparently a false dual and not *wc wcw* 'one alone', a divine epithet attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty and later (*Wb.* I, 275, 15; cf. 277, 9).

(b) The sign \ominus is miscopied from the similar hieratic form of \circ ; it seems less likely that the confusion is due to the Middle-Kingdom replacement of \circ by \circ in *ḳd* 'build' and *dꜣdꜣt* 'council'. For the epithet see Janssen, *Trad. Eg. Autobiogr.* I, 117 (II Gk).

(c) The suggested restoration occurs in close proximity to the one cited in comment (a).


(d) The context and the traces make it virtually certain that the word is $[\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}] \overline{\text{𓂏}}$. A trace of the initial plural stroke is apparently visible; although the resultant group of three strokes is too far forward in terms of the figure above it, a slope is noticeable in the arrangement of all the signs and in this case the tendency was doubtless furthered by the great amount of space beneath $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$. Another text of the Eleventh Dynasty (B.M. 614, line 9; Clère-Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire* I, § 20) writes the word $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$; here it is possible that the prostrate figure was suggested by indistinct writing of $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ in the hieratic original.

(e) The meaning of the term *ḳnbt* is not restricted to 'court of justice' (cf. Lourie, *JEA* 17 [1931], 62–4); in the biography of *cnḥtyfy* (IIγ3–IIδ1; Vandier, *Mocalla*, 186) mention is made of 'the *ḳnbt* of the overseer of Upper Egypt who is in the Thinit Nome'; they were summoned to take council with *cnḥtyfy*'s predecessor as nomarch of the Hierakonpolite Nome.

(f) Or 'regarding', 'against', 'to'. The last possibility suggests that the preceding preposition *m* might be translated 'from', i.e.: '(I sent[?]) petitioners from the council to the House of Khety.'

(g) The 'House of Khety' is the expression used elsewhere in Theban inscriptions to designate the Herakleopolitan regime: Clère-Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire* § 18 (line 3); § 30 (line 3). In view of the first of these two references, in

which this designation is unmistakably applied to the adversary of the Thebans, it is difficult to share Schenkel's doubts concerning the interpretation of the second (*Memphis . Herakleopolis . Theben*, 239 n. c).

(h) the head of  is visible at the right edge.

The interest of this fragment lies in the reference to the Herakleopolitan 'House of Khety' on a stela which, in view of the mention of *Wḥ-ꜥnh* Intef, probably comes from Thebes⁸ and is to be dated to his reign, or at any rate before the reunification of Egypt.⁹ Although the missing portion of line 3 cannot be restored with any certainty, the most likely alternative is that the speaker '[heard depositions when] petitioners [spoke] in the Council against (or concerning) the House of Khety'. It seems much less probable that he '[sent] petitioners from the Council to the House of Khety'. In other words complaints were lodged in Thebes or elsewhere, and these complaints were undoubtedly the result of some difficulty for which the Herakleopolitans were held responsible, and which provided grounds for hostilities. If the fragment actually comes from Thebes, one might conclude that the Theban ruler had a council (*ꜥnbt*) like the one—doubtless of earlier date—that is attributed to a Thinite overseer of Upper Egypt in the biography of *ꜥnhꜣty.fy* of Mo'alla. But it is not certain that the provenance is not Abydos; if it were, the council might be a survival of the earlier one. And the last possibility remains valid regardless of the provenance, since one might suppose that the narrator '[heard depositions in the Thinite nome when] petitioners [spoke] in the Council concerning the House of Khety'.

⁸ The broad dividing-lines are found on several Theban stelae of the Eleventh Dynasty [e.g. Cairo *CG* 1759 Clère-Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire*, § 1], 20005 [ibid., § 3]; but also occur later (*CG* 20003 [ibid., § 2]; for the date of the last, early Twelfth Dynasty, cf. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 112-13). This type of dividing-line also occurs on some contemporaneous stelae from Dendera: Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 11 (Beba and Ḥaṭotep); University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-66-609 (D 2606).

⁹ Apart from a graffito at Aswân, recording a quarrying expedition (Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. 12 [310]), every direct reference to the 'Horus *Wḥ-ꜥnh In-it.f*' that has survived derives from Thebes and antedates the Reunification: Clère-Vandier, op. cit., §§ 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, and 24. It should be noted, however, that a fragmentary biography from Abydos mentions his successor, *Nb-tp-nfr In-it.f*, and may well have mentioned *Wḥ-ꜥnh* as well (*CG* 20502; most completely published in Mariette, *Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Abydos*, no. 544).

EGYPTIAN ANCHORS¹

By ALESSANDRA NIBBI

IN recent years we have come to know a great deal about Bronze Age anchors from the Aegean and the Mediterranean, thanks to the work of Miss Honor Frost.² Only a little has been added to our knowledge of Egyptian ones, however, because no-one has yet found any object in a pharaonic archaeological context in Egypt which can be recognized as an anchor. It may well be, of course, that stone anchors have not been found in Egypt because no-one has looked for them, or perhaps, recognized them when they saw them. Yet it is undoubtedly significant that whereas anchors have been found both in natural and sacred contexts in Byblos, Ugarit, Kition in Cyprus, and elsewhere, no such finds have ever been made in Egypt.³

Nor have we ever found a god for seafarers in the Egyptian pantheon although we have a papyrus telling Egyptians about the Asiatic goddess of the sea, Astarte.

However, we *do* see some anchors in the Egyptian reliefs, now that we are in a better position to recognize them. They are not common on representations of ships, and they are, with one exception, drawn *without* a hole at the top for the rope. This suggests that perhaps the Egyptian artist was not familiar with this type of object.

Only from the Causeway of Wenis do we have an anchor shown on the deck of a boat with a hole carefully drawn on it.⁴ Similar objects are to be seen on the deck of one boat in the Saḥurē^c reliefs,⁵ on three of the four boats in the mastaba of Akhet-ḥotep in the Louvre,⁶ in the tomb of Ti,⁷ and in the mastaba of Kai-em-^cankh.⁸ Since none of these anchors is drawn with a hole at the top, it is not surprising that they were at first taken as loaves of bread,⁹ large, triangular loaves of identical proportion or larger being carried by servants in the reliefs of the tomb of Ti.¹⁰ In this tomb some of the triangular objects on the deck of the boats are in fact smaller in proportion than the loaves carried by the servants in the other scene.

¹ My thanks are due to Dr. J. Málek and Mr. W. V. Davies for their help in discussing many points with me.

² H. Frost, 'From Rope to Chain—On the Development of Anchors in the Mediterranean', *Mariner's Mirror* 49, 1 (1963), 1 ff.

³ H. Frost, 'Bronze Age Stone-Anchors from the Eastern Mediterranean', *Mariner's Mirror* 56, 4 (1970), 383 f.; also K. Nikolaon and H. Catling, 'Composite Anchors in Late Bronze Age Cyprus', *Antiquity* 42 (1968), 225 f.

⁴ B. Landström, *The Ships of the Pharaohs* (London, 1970), fig. 192; also S. Hassan, 'The Causeway of Wenis at Sakkara', in *ZAS* 80 (1955), 139.

⁵ L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ahu-re* (Leipzig, 1913), Blatt 12, bottom row, second boat from left.

⁶ Musée du Louvre, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, Tome 1, 22.

⁷ G. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti* (Leipzig, 1913), pls. 74–6.

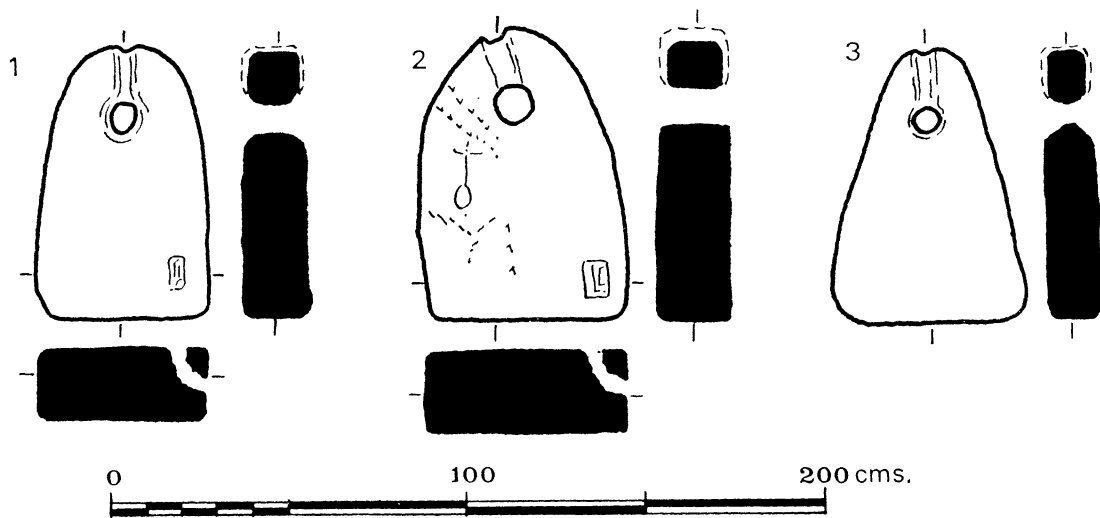
⁸ H. Junker, *Giza IV* (Vienna, 1940), pls. 3, 4, 7.

⁹ C. Boreux, *Études de nautique égyptienne* (Cairo, 1924–5); Junker, *op. cit.*, 54; R. L. Bowen, 'Egyptian Anchors', *Mariner's Mirror* 49 (1963), 304, and Miss Frost's answer to this, *ibid.*, 50 (1964), 242.

¹⁰ Steindorff, *op. cit.*, pl. 96.

Only in the tomb of Saḥurē is the triangular object shown together with other objects which suggest offerings. In all the other cases the triangular objects are shown by themselves. It is therefore probable that they are anchors. They are accepted as such by Björn Landström.¹¹

In the course of Miss Honor Frost's discovery and study of Bronze Age anchors, she found only two 'Egyptian'-shaped samples: one from Byblos, carrying an inscription *nfr* (together with some other unintelligible signs) and another from Ugarit.¹² Both anchors are of sandstone, basically triangular, but slightly rounded at the apex (figs. 1 and 2). In addition to the rope-hole, each anchor is pierced through one corner of the base. Since this piercing is L-shaped, Miss Frost concluded that it could not have held a wooden fluke, so that it must have been used for a supplementary cord to help disengage the anchor from the bottom. Among the Byblos anchors is also the triangular one-holed type (fig. 3).¹³



Reproduced by courtesy of Miss Honor Frost

FIGS. 1-3

It is remarkable that the shapes we see on the reliefs and the two 'Egyptian' anchors found by Miss Frost are all of the 'weight' or 'rock' type, which is suitable for a rocky river-bed but which would tend to drag on sand. For sandy or muddy conditions, one would expect a fluked anchor, that is an anchor with holes through which flukes would be placed to act as claws and grip the river-bed.¹⁴ The 'rock' anchor may have been used for slowing up or steadying a boat, as Herodotus described,¹⁵ rather than for

¹¹ Landström, *op. cit.*, 65 and 69.

¹² Frost, *op. cit.*, 1970, 383 f.

¹³ As to dating, one must rely on contexts in which these anchors have been found on land. The oldest Byblos anchors are considered to be the ones forming the bottom step of the 'Tower Temple' at Byblos, for which Miss Frost quotes M. Dunand's dating to the twenty-third century B.C. Unfortunately we have no date for the *nfr* anchor.

¹⁴ Frost, *op. cit.*, 1963, 1 ff.

¹⁵ 2. 96.

stopping the boat in midstream. But Björn Landström argued that if these anchors were used as braking weights, they should have been shown on the after-deck, whereas they are always on the fore-deck.¹⁶ When Boreux recognized two types of primitive anchors in the predynastic paintings, these were also situated on the prow of the boat.¹⁷

Although an anchor is a very difficult thing to define, no-one today would agree with Boreux's identification of anchors as (a) conical-shaped, white-painted objects, pierced with a hole through the top, which were probably weights,¹⁸ or (b) his example from an Old-Kingdom relief from the tomb of Akhet-Ḥotep-Ḥor, which the original publication shows clearly to have been a jar.¹⁹

Miss Frost's 'Egyptian'-shaped anchor is very close to the Byblos type, in size and weight as well as appearance. When she compared the Byblyte anchor to the Ugaritic type, she found the Byblyte largest specimens to be only half the size of the largest Ugaritic ones, which weighed up to half a ton.²⁰ She points out that this does not *necessarily* mean that the Byblos ships were smaller as they could carry a number of such anchors. It seems very likely, however, that the Byblos ships *were* smaller, because, apart from the reference in the Wenamūn story that a ship's full load was seven tree-trunks, they could not consistently count on a large and deep channel into the Delta.²¹ The pictorial representations of this type of ship confirm this view.²²

Another interesting point about the Byblyte anchor is that it is not to be found scattered throughout the Mediterranean area as was the case with the Ugaritic type,²³ It was only to be found locally around Byblos, which is known to have had a very small natural harbour.²⁴

Can it be that the people of Byblos shared much of the Egyptian reluctance to travel abroad?²⁵ They certainly absorbed much of Egypt's culture and were known to have

¹⁶ Landström, *op. cit.*, 69.

¹⁷ Boreux, *op. cit.* 24, distinguished one kind from the Naqada paintings and another from Diospolis Parva, as shown in Petrie's publications. He suggested that both forms of anchor used forked branches of trees to grip the mud in the river bed and there seems to be no reason to contradict this. If this was so, the absence of flukes on the 'Egyptian' anchors does not follow in the predynastic tradition.

¹⁸ Boreux, *op. cit.* 416 f., follows Jéquier *BIFAO* 19 (1922), 128 f.; however an egg-shaped line weight is recorded from a Hellenistic level from Byblos by Miss Frost in 'Anchors, the Potsherds of Marine Archaeology', *The Colston Papers*, 23, Univ. Bristol, 403 f.; see also H. Frost: 'The Stone-Anchors of Byblos', *Mélanges de l'Université de Saint-Joseph*, 45, Fasc. 26, pl. 6.

¹⁹ The original publication by A. E. J. Holwerda, P. A. A. Boeser, and J. H. Holwerda, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung* (Leiden, 1905), pl. 20, shows sufficient detail in the drawing of the base of the jar to relate it to the other jars on an adjoining boat, particularly another from which a man is actually drinking. The cattle on the boat would be answer enough to Boreux's objection, that, if the young man were drawing water, he was doing it from the area in the boat furthest away from the water.

²⁰ Frost, *op. cit.* 1970, 383 f. and 386 f.

²¹ A. Nibbi, 'Further Remarks on *w3d-wr*, Sea Peoples and Keftiu', in *Göttinger Miszellen* 10 (1974), 37 f.

²² A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien* (Helsingfors, 1939), pls. 18 ff.

²³ H. Frost, 'Stone-Anchors as Indications of Early Trade Routes', *Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en orient et dans l'Océan Indien*, Actes du huitième colloque international d'histoire maritime (Beirut, 1966), ed. Michel Mollat, S.E.V.P.E.B. 55 ff.

²⁴ H. Frost: 'Ancient Harbours and Anchorages in the Eastern Mediterranean' *Underwater Archaeology: A Nascent Discipline* (UNESCO, Paris, 1972), 95 f.

²⁵ A. Nibbi, *The Sea Peoples: A Re-Examination of the Egyptian Sources* (Oxford, 1972), 28 f.; also Nibbi, *op. cit.* 1974, 36 f.

used hieroglyphs, as P. Montet, M. Dunand, and more recently, G. Posener have shown.²⁶

I have stated elsewhere the reasons for my belief that the fear of dying abroad prevented the ancient Egyptians from going on the sea, where, in the case of an accident, their body would be lost and, without the necessary burial rites, so too their hopes of an after-life.²⁷ I have also stated elsewhere my observation that, far from being seafarers, the ancient Egyptians did not really know the sea at all or even have a word for it until they adopted the Semitic word *ym* from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.²⁸

The problem of 'Egyptian' anchors, as far as we can see at present, seems to confirm this view.

Postscript

In *Voyages en Égypte des Années 1597-1601*, ed. S. Sauneron (IFAO, Cairo, 1974), 84-5, we find a practical reason for the carrying of anchors on the *prows* of boats. The Italian traveller, Aquilante Rocchetta, in 1599 described the delay in the departure of his ship from Alexandria. Owing to the absence of wind, the ship's anchors were placed on a dinghy and carried out ahead of the ship as far as the cables would allow. Then the ship was gradually hauled to where the anchors lay by winding the cable around a wooden capstan. This manoeuvre was repeated for a considerable distance until the boat reached the wind. Such a technique must also have been useful along the Nile in the absence of wind.

²⁶ P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (Paris, 1928), 130 f.; M. Dunand, *Byblia Grammata* (Beirut, 1945), 71 ff.; G. Posener, 'Sur les inscriptions pseudo-hiéroglyphiques de Byblos', *Mélanges de l'Université de Saint-Joseph* (Beirut, 1969), 45, Fasc. 13.

²⁷ A. Nibbi, *The Sea Peoples and Egypt* (Noyes Press, forthcoming), see chapter on 'Egyptian shipping'.

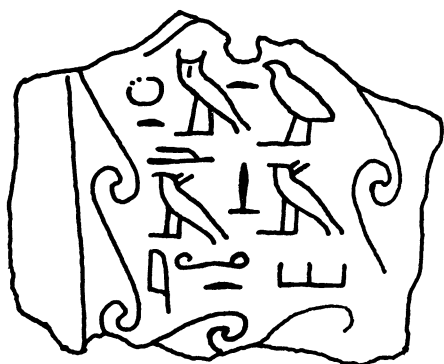
²⁸ Nibbi, *op. cit.*, 1972, 13 f.; also Nibbi, *op. cit.*, 1974, 35 f.

SEMNA SOUTH: THE SOUTHERN FORTRESS

By LOUIS V. ŽABKAR

Drawings by JANICE YELLIN, Ph.D. Candidate in Egyptology

IN Volume 58 of this Journal I discussed the Egyptian name of the fortress of Semna South, which on numerous seal impressions found in the quarry-dump of that fortress is written as *dʿi Stī* or *dʿir Stī* (figs. 1 and 2), and which I translated either as ‘Subduer of the Setiu-Nubians’, or, because of the *ḥst* determinative following the word *Stī*, as ‘Subduer of the Seti-land’.



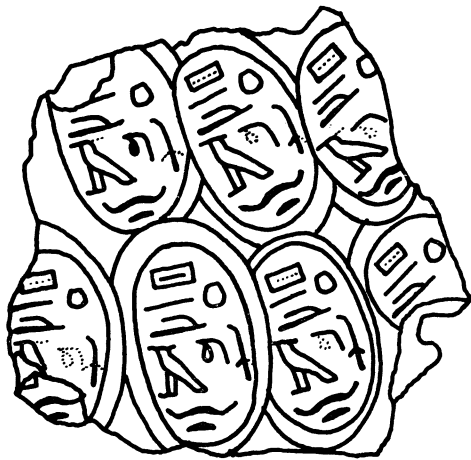
K 4-3 1:2
FIG. 1



F 16 1:1½
FIG. 2

If there were any doubt about this identification of the most southern of the Second Cataract fortresses with which the damaged Ramesseum Onomasticon must have begun, that doubt has now been dispelled by the further study of the seal impressions: a number of them, including some sack-sealings (fig. 3) and letter-sealings (fig. 4), refer to the fortress at Semna South as *mnw rsy dʿi Stī* ‘Southern Fortress: Subduer of the Seti-land (or: Setiu-Nubians)’.

A few and somewhat unusual palaeographical features occur in this new spelling of the name of the fort. First, the hieroglyph for *mn*, the draught-board, is written in a simplified manner, without the draught-board figures being shown on the board, but with a horizontal bar in the middle within the board—features occurring in other examples of this sign on the seal impressions from Semna South, and representing probably the influence of the hieratic on the hieroglyphic writing. The same hieratic influence can also be seen in the writing of the vulture-sign with a ‘diacritic’ mark on the head of the bird (on other, larger sealings the vulture-sign shows two ‘diacritic’ marks on the head of the bird), and in the writing of the word *rsy*, represented in two different ways.



KE 37 1:1½
FIG. 3



K2-2 1:2
FIG. 4

Another observation to be made is that in this spelling of the name of the fort the group of signs to be read *dʒir* or *dʒi* is consistently written without the *r* and/or *i* signs, while on other, larger sealings the name of the fort is written either *dʒir* or *dʒi*. Yet another unusual feature is that the third of this group of signs, the bow-string, has its right end much more elongated than in the usual occurrences of this hieroglyph on the sealings from Semna South and elsewhere. A further peculiarity to be noticed in this spelling of the name of the fort is that, contrary to all other instances in which it occurs in the sealings from Semna South, the word *Sti* is written without the *hʒst* determinative.

With regard to the latter, it could be argued that the *hʒst* determinative was omitted on such small sealings as these for the reason of economy of space. However, taking into consideration the minute care and precision with which these ancient craftsmen executed their seals, it is also possible to explain this omission of the *hʒst* determinative as an indication that the Egyptians of the Twelfth Dynasty used the word *Sti* to designate both the Seti-land and its inhabitants, that is the Setiu-Nubians. Certainly, when it was meant to indicate an ethnic name, one would expect the man-and-woman, or just the man determinative, such as indeed occur in the spelling of the name of the fortress *hʒf Mdʒw* in the Ramesseum Onomasticon list of fortresses.¹ It is to be noticed, however, that the seal impressions recently found at Serra East, which identified that fortress as *hʒf Mdʒw* (*mnw hʒf Mdʒw*),² write the word *Mdʒw* not with the man, but with the *hʒst* determinative—a spelling known from the Old Kingdom texts³—or without any determinative. It seems more appropriate to translate the name of the fort at Serra East as ‘Repeller of the Medjay-Nubians’, rather than ‘Repeller of the Medjay-land’. What transpires from this brief discussion of the names of the two fortresses, at

¹ A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, III, pls. 2 and 2a; cf. G. Posener in *ZAS* 83 (1958), 38–43, and P. C. Smither in *JEA* 31 (1945), 7 ff.

² See J. Knudstat in *Kush* 14 (1966), 175 f.

³ See *Wb.* II, 186, 1 and 2; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 73 ff.

Semna South and Serra East, is the fact that already in the Middle Kingdom the words *Sti* and *Mdꜣw*, even when followed by the *hꜣst* determinative, could, in certain instances, designate an ethnicon as well as a toponym.

I also wish to make a brief observation with regard to the adjective *rsy* 'southern' which follows the word *mnw* 'the fortress'. Since the fortress of Semna South together with that of Semna West was part of a strategic fortification system of the Second Cataract basin, and since in relation to Egypt both the Semna West as well as the Semna East (Kumma) fortress, from which Semna South on the west bank of the Nile was less than a mile distant, can also be said to be 'southern' fortresses, the adjective 'southern' following the word *mnw* on these sealings from Semna South was perhaps understood by the Egyptians as actually designating the Semna South fort as 'the most southern fortress' of the Second Cataract region.

As to how these two spellings of the Semna South fort chronologically relate to each other, it is impossible to say. The shorter version which I discussed here occurs on smaller sealings, letter- or sack-sealings, and never on large official sealings of the fort or various departments of the fort which are very often over stamped by the private seal of the officer in charge of a particular department. The sealings with the shorter version of the name of the fort were found near the surface and at the deeper levels in the holes of the quarry dump, at the same levels of the same holes from which also some of the large sealings came. Both versions of the name, therefore, could well have been used simultaneously, but for different purposes. As far as the shorter spelling of the name of the fort is concerned, it can be assumed that it was impressed on letters and some packages where the private seal of the controlling officer did not need to be added as an over stamp, and where the shorter version of a smaller seal was sufficient and adequate.

As a bibliographical note of some interest I would like to mention that this new version of the name of the Semna South fortress designating it as 'the Southern Fortress' unexpectedly confirmed a reference made to it by G. Steindorff long before any excavations had begun in the Semna region. Describing his visit to the Second Cataract in March 1900 Steindorff⁴ wrote:

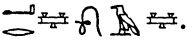
Wir haben nun noch drei weitere Burgen gefunden: die eine, vorzüglich enthaltene nannten die Anwohner Schalfak; sie liegt etwas südlich von der heutigen Bahnstation Sarras auf dem linken (westlichen) Nilufer; die zweite erhebt sich an der Nordspitze der langgestreckten, felsigen Nilinsel Uronarti, der 'Königsinsel' (arab. gezîret el-melek), zwischen Schalfak und Semne; die dritte liegt etwa 1 km südlich von Semne, wie dieses auf dem westlichen Flussufer, jedoch inmitten der Wüste und ist von uns als das Südfort von Semne bezeichnet worden.

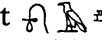
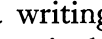

⁴ *Berichte Leipzig*, 52 (1900), 231.

READINGS IN THE STORY OF SINUHE AND OTHER EGYPTIAN TEXTS

By W. V. DAVIES

THE majority of points hereinafter discussed occur in texts which I had the advantage of first reading as an undergraduate at Oxford under the late Professor John Barns. I am grateful to Mr. T. G. H. James and to Professor A. F. Shore for reading a typescript of this article and for their helpful comments.

1. *Sinuhe B 2 (= R 25):* *ist wi ḥꜣꜣkwī sdmꜣnꜣi ḥrwf iwꜣf ḥr mdt iwꜣi m* 

'Now I stood, and heard his voice as he was speaking, I being in . . .'. The acknowledged vagueness of these lines, which follow immediately upon the passage describing the 'summoning' of one of the royal princes, has rendered the *raison d'être* for Sinuhe's panic and flight—and thus the very mainspring of the story—tantalizingly obscure. The problem is further compounded by the obscurity of the final phrase *m ḥrw wꜣ* which constitutes a long-standing crux. Gardiner's proposed 'nigh at hand a little way off'¹ was rightly rejected by De Buck on the grounds that 'only the insertion of "little" skilfully conceals the flagrant *contradictio in terminis* of what would actually be the meaning of this phrase: *in a far nearness*',² though the latter's own proposal 'as he was speaking at a distance (or: from afar), while I was near'³ can hardly be considered an improvement. I believe that the failure to elicit any satisfactory sense from this phrase has arisen from the mistaken assumption that  here must be the word *wꜣ* meaning 'far'. I would suggest rather that it is a writing of the word *wꜣ*, , meaning 'conspire' or the like,⁴ employed here as a nominal infinitive with the meaning 'conspiring', 'conspiracy', or 'sedition'—the entire line reading 'I being in the nearness (or 'vicinity') of a conspiracy'.⁵ The false determinative of the manuscripts is to be explained by the scribal confusion of this comparatively rare word with the far more common and familiar one meaning 'far'.⁶ It seems to have been similarly overlooked in *B 74*:⁷  *r ḥmꜣf nn tmꜣf ir bw nꜣr n ḥꜣst wn nty sy ḥr mꜣwꜣf*, 'Do not utter sedition⁸ against His Majesty. He will not fail to do good to the country which is loyal to him.' In each case the new meaning is exactly that required by the context—the

¹ *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 12; cf. Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 6; Wilson, *ANET* 19; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 224.

² *Griffith Studies*, 58; cf. Gunn in Lewis, *Land of Enchanters*, 33; Lefebvre, *Romans et Contes*, 6.

³ Cf. De Buck, *op. cit.*, 57.

⁴ Cf. *Wb.* I, 244, 10-13; Faulkner, *Dict.*, 52.

⁵ For *wꜣ* in nominal sense 'conspiracy' see *CT* I, 215e; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, I, 45; 46 n. 3.

⁶ Cf. *CT* II, 1396; Faulkner, *op. cit.* 109; 110 n. 9 also the late writings of the word cited by *Wb.*, *ibid.* The confusion would have been greatly facilitated in this case by the determinative of the preceding word *ḥrw*.

⁷ Also, possibly, in *B 95*—so Lichtheim, *op. cit.*, 227—though less certainly so.

⁸ Cf. the expression *šny bšw* 'auf Empörung sinnen' (*Wb.* IV, 495, 15). The similarity between the two expressions was long ago noted by Erman, *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele*, 56, n. 1.

first conclusively confirming Gardiner's supposition that 'the dismay of Sinuhe was caused less by the message brought from Egypt, than by the attitude adopted by the prince on hearing it';⁹ the second providing a neat and apt balance between loyal conduct, on the one hand, and seditious or disloyal conduct, on the other.

2. *Sinuhe B 128*; $di\cdot n\cdot i \overline{\square}\Delta n b:gs\overline{w}i$.

In Sinuhe's account of his preparations for battle with the 'champion of Retjenu', we are informed that, among other things, he attends to his dagger, though to what purpose exactly has remained obscure owing to the uncertain meaning of the crucial word $\overline{\square}\Delta$. The old rendering 'I gave an edge to my dagger' (i.e. I sharpened it) is clearly that which best meets the needs of the context. This, however, was rejected by Gardiner on the grounds that such a meaning for $\overline{\square}\Delta$ could not be justified.¹⁰ He translated rather 'I took out my dagger' i.e. out of the sheath, literally 'I gave an opening to my dagger',¹¹ while others have preferred to render 'I gave free play to my dagger', 'I made my dagger easy in its sheath', or the like.¹² Crucial evidence bearing on this matter may, however, exist in the scene and accompanying inscription on a Ramesside ostrakon found in a tomb at Deir el-Medina.¹³ On this the deceased is depicted seated on a stone before a pile of offerings brandishing two large knives—an action to which is appended the label $\overline{\square}\Delta \times \overline{\square}\Delta$, $pd(t) sn$, 'sharpening the *sn*'.¹⁴ $\overline{\square}\Delta$ here, then, would seem to be a substantive denoting or pertaining to a knife, or a blade, or some relevant part thereof. In view of the very close similarity in form between this word and the word in question in *Sinuhe*, and of the not dissimilar contexts, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that they are one and the same word. The only meaning which would satisfactorily fit both contexts at once is 'edge', 'cutting-edge'—i.e. in the first case 'I gave an edge to my dagger', in the second, 'sharpening the edge'.¹⁵

3. *Sinuhe B 142*: $rdi\cdot n\cdot i hknw n Mntw mrwf \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} n:f$.

Translators have invariably followed Gardiner¹⁶ in taking hb here to mean 'mourn': 'I gave praise to Montu, his servants mourned for him' i.e. the servants or followers of the slain 'champion of Retjenu' mourned for him; yet this is the only example of hb quoted with such a sense.¹⁷ Elsewhere it has the quite opposite meaning of 'triumph', 'celebrate a triumph',¹⁸ and such surely is its meaning in this passage too, where it

⁹ Op. cit., 13.

¹⁰ Cf. *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 50 and 73.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Cf. e.g. *Wb.* III, 483, 3; Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 10; Wilson, *ANET* 20; Lefebvre, *Romans et Contes*, 13; Gunn in Lewis, *Land of Enchanters*, 37; James, *Ḥekanakhte Papers*, 78.

¹³ Cf. Bruyère, *Fouilles* (1922-3), 33-4; *MIFAO* 54, 102; Vandier d'Abbadie, *Ostraca*, pl. 92 (2722) and p. 150 (where the crucial label is mistakenly omitted).

¹⁴ Cf. Bruyère, op. cit., 34—'le texte qui accompagne cette scène indique que l'homme aiguise ses couteaux'.

¹⁵ The word may be related to *sn*, 'abschneiden' etc. (*Wb.* III, 457, 17 ff. which is written with the 'legs' det. in *CT* v, 322g).

¹⁶ Cf. Gardiner, *Notes*, 55; and e.g. Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 11; Lefebvre, *Romans et Contes*, 14; Grapow, *Der stilistische Bau*, 58; Schenkel, *Grundform mitteläg. Sätze*, 39; Lichteim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 228.

¹⁷ Cf. Gardiner, op. cit., *ibid.*; *Wb.*, III, 61, 12-13; Faulkner, *Dict.*, 167. The Coptic $\text{ϣ}h\epsilon$ does not in itself constitute evidence to the contrary.

¹⁸ Cf. Gardiner, op. cit., 55 and 159; *Wb.*, III, 61, 12-13.

should be taken as referring not to the 'champion of Retjenu' but to Montu; 'I gave praise to Montu, his (i.e. Montu's) servants¹⁹ celebrated a triumph through him'. For a parallel example of *hb n*, 'triumph through' a divine agent, cf. *Urk.* IV, 1239, 4-6 —*hsy·n·i m hntyt ib·i zw, hb·n·i n nb·i* [*Imn-Rc nb nswt tswy*] *pꜣ wd pꜣ nht*, 'I betook myself southwards in joy, having triumphed through my lord, [Amen-Rē, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands], who had commanded the victory'.

4. *Sinuhe B* 205-16: $\overline{\text{Ⓜ}} \text{ wrt tn irt·n bꜣk im m hm·f in kꜣ·k ntt nfr nb tswy mrw Rc etc.}$

It has recently been shown that the group $\overline{\text{Ⓜ}}$ in this line is to be taken not as a writing of *rhtw* '... is known', as was previously the case,²⁰ but rather as an introductory expression *rht* 'as to the matter of . . .';²¹ and that *in* here is not the preposition introducing the agent but the non-enclitic particle beginning a new clause. This latter has been understood as a case of *in*+noun+passive participle (or relative form) 'It is your *ka* that Rē loves . . .'.²² But whilst this interpretation yields in itself a satisfactory sense, at the same time it involves a glaring inconsistency. The initial statement 'As to the matter of this flight . . .' surely demands that the following passage contain some reference to this 'matter'. Instead, we have the assertion that the *ka* of the king is loved by Rē and favoured by various other gods, which leads into a lengthy prayer. Indeed, on present interpretation, 'the matter of this flight', which the opening line explicitly states to be the main point of concern in Sinuhe's communication to Pharaoh, is not mentioned again until well over half the speech is completed in *B* 223.²³ To rectify this anomaly I would suggest a slightly different interpretation: that the words *mrw Rc* etc. be understood not as the predicate of the clause beginning with *in kꜣ·k* but rather as a relative clause which limits *nb tswy* and introduces a long parenthesis ending with the line *nh pw bꜣk im n nb·f šd m imntt* in *B* 213-14; and that after this parenthesis the main clause is then resumed with the words *nb sꜣ·sꜣ rhyt sꜣ·f* etc.²⁴ Omitting the parenthesis for the sake of clarity the main clause would then read *in kꜣ·k, ntr nfr, nb tswy, nb sꜣ·sꜣ rhyt, sꜣ·f* etc., the basic construction being a case of *in*+noun+*sdm·f*,²⁵ 'It is your *ka* that will perceive . . .'. When this sentence is placed in context, again with parenthesis omitted, the connecting thread of the passage becomes clear: 'As to the matter of this flight, which this humble servant did in his ignorance, it is your *ka*, O good god, lord of the two lands, lord of Perception who perceives the commonalty, that will perceive in the majesty of the palace that this humble servant

¹⁹ The 'servants of Montu' are, no doubt, Sinuhe and his fellow-Egyptians mentioned earlier in the narrative, *B* 31-3.

²⁰ Cf. Gardiner, *Notes*, 78-9; Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 15; Gunn, in Lewis, *Land of Enchanters*, 40; Lefebvre, *Romans et Contes*, 18; Grapow, *Der stilistische Bau*, 77-8.

²¹ Cf. Barns, *JEA* 53 (1967), 7 and 14, following an observation of Goedicke, *JEA* 51 (1965), 30-1.

²² Cf. Goedicke, *op. cit.*, 31 and n. 8; Barns, *op. cit.*, 7 and 14; Lichteim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 230.


²³ The same inconsistency was present also under the old interpretation of this line; cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 78, 'clearly Sinuhe must be about to discuss "this flight" in some way. But on reading the next few lines we observe that Sinuhe's flight is entirely forgotten . . .'.
²⁴ The rubric at this point may well serve to indicate this very fact.

²⁵ Cf. Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* §§ 227, 2 and 450, 5, e.

fears to speak of it; for it is, as it were, too great a matter to repeat it.’²⁶ The sense is, therefore, that Sinuhe is afraid to discuss the matter of his flight (perhaps because it would involve the recollection of the royal conspiracy) and expresses the belief that the king, through the offices of his *ka*, will understand this. In conclusion, I append a translation of the entire passage here discussed (including parenthesis):

Copy of the acknowledgement of this decree: The servant of the Palace Sinuhe says: In very good peace! As to the matter of this flight which this humble servant did in his ignorance, it is your *ka*, O good god, lord of the two lands—whom Rē loves and Montu lord of Thebes praises, and Amūn lord of Karnak, and Sebek-Rē lord of Sumenu, and Horus, Hathor, Atum with his ennead, and Sopdu-Neferbau-Rē-Semseru-Horus-the-Easterner, and the Lady of Yemet, may she enfold your head! and the conclave upon the flood, and Min-Horus in the midst of the foreign countries, and Wereret lady of Punt, Nut, Haroeris-Rē, and all the gods of Ta-Meri and the isles of the Great Green. May they give life and joy to your nostrils! May they endue you with their bounty! May they give you eternity without limit and infinity without bounds! May the fear of you be noised abroad in lowlands and highlands, you having subdued all that the sun encircles! This is the prayer of this humble servant for his lord who saves from the West.²⁷—(it is your *ka*, O) lord of perception who perceives the commonalty, that will perceive in the majesty of the palace that this humble servant fears to speak of it; for it is, as it were, too great a matter to repeat it.

This parenthetic eulogy coming at the beginning of Sinuhe’s letter may be interpreted as a development of the independent exclamatory greeting which often occurs in parenthetic fashion at the beginning of Middle Kingdom letters. Lists of gods are not uncommon in such greetings; see, e.g., James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, 98, Text B 3–9, where the wording is very similar to that of the *Sinuhe* passage. (For a discussion of such greeting formulae with further examples of long lists of gods, see James, *op. cit.*, 125.)

5. *Sinuhe B* 260: 


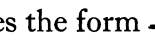
Most translators seem to have followed Gardiner²⁸ in his assumption that the particle *ꜥ* here is ‘practically meaningless’ and that with these words, usually rendered ‘I feared punishment’, Sinuhe resumes his narrative after the king’s greeting. But, as Barns pointed out, the reading of the *Ashmolean Ostrakon* (*vs.* 49), *snḏ·k ḥsf·k*, suggests the quite opposite conclusion—that these words are, in fact, to be understood as those of the king to Sinuhe.²⁹ I would go one step further and add that, though *AO*’s reading gives unsatisfactory sense in itself, it does provide the vital clue to the original reading of *B*. I would therefore emend the text of the latter as follows: *snḏ·<k> ꜥ n ḥsf*. With this small emendation the particle *ꜥ* becomes perfectly explicable. It is the negative *ꜥ*, considered by Gilula to be a writing of the negative *w*, the function of which is ‘the

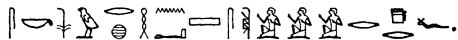
²⁶ These last two clauses have previously been taken as referring to Sinuhe’s prayer; cf. Gardiner, *Notes*, 82; Grapow, *op. cit.*, 80–1.

²⁷ This line, which concludes the parenthesis, may well be an explanatory aside addressed to the reader; cf. the similar phenomenon in P. Westcar, 7, 19 f. and 7, 26–8, 1, with Grapow, *ZÄS* 77 (1942), 22 ff. (*pace* Barns, *JEA* 58 [1972], 161–2).

²⁸ Cf. Gardiner, *Notes*, 84; Lefebvre, *Romans et Contes*, 22. Gunn proposed the actual emendation of *ꜥ* into *n*; cf. Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 18; Blackman, *MES*, 37a, 11; Grapow, *Der stilistische Bau*, 96.

²⁹ Cf. Barns, *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe*, 30.

Interestingly, next to this javelin-case there is pictured a 'quiver of arrows' *mꜥdt nt* *ḥꜣꜣw* .⁴³ The close association of arrow and javelin arises, no doubt, from their related functions as projectile weapons.⁴⁴ Further confirmation of this meaning for *ḥb* is given by the reading of the *Ashmolean Ostrakon*, where the word is written with the metal determinative,⁴⁵ and by that of P. Chester Beatty, v, vs. 4, 4, where it takes the form .⁴⁶ The verb *nft*, lit. 'loosen', 'unfasten',⁴⁷ must here then (like *sfh* in the following clause) be understood in the extended sense of 'relax', 'lay to rest', and the two clauses rendered 'Lay to rest thy javelin. Put aside thine arrow.'

8. *Urk.* I, 39, 12: *dwꜣꜣ(i) ntr nb n Sꜣḥw-Rꜥ* .

Difficulty in the translation of this line has centred on the meaning of *ḥnꜥ* and its relation to the preceding verb *rh*. The apparent need to provide an object for the latter led Breasted,⁴⁸ who was followed by the *Wörterbuch*,⁴⁹ to take *ḥnꜥ*, rather improbably, as an otherwise unknown substantive meaning 'desire' with the line translated 'for he knows the desire of the entire suite'. Goedicke preferred to understand it as an example of the rare *nisbe*-form *ḥnꜥi*: 'siehe, er kennt den, der zum Gefolge gehört'⁵⁰—a rather contrived solution, the force of which is further lessened by his omission from consideration and translation of the adjectival phrase *r-drꜣf* which limits *šmsw*.⁵¹ Kaplony's 'Er ist allwissend, samt all seinen Gefolgsleuten'⁵² with *rh* taken intransitively and *ḥnꜥ* as the simple preposition is more straightforward and natural, but it seems unlikely that, in a passage devoted to praise of the King's wisdom, the *šmsw* should be included on equal terms. Another interpretation is possible. Hitherto, it has been assumed that the phrase *ḥnꜥ šmsw r-drꜣf* forms part of the clause introduced by *sk*. However, this need not be the case. I would suggest that it be taken rather as belonging to and resuming the preceding main clause *dwꜣꜣ(i) ntr nb n Sꜣḥw-Rꜥ*, and that *sk sw rh(w)* be understood as an intercalated clause of circumstance or cause. The sentence would then read: *dwꜣꜣ(i) ntr nb n Sꜣḥw-Rꜥ, sk sw rh(w), ḥnꜥ šmsw r-drꜣf*, 'I thanked every god for Saḥu-Rē, he being wise (or 'for he was wise'),⁵³ in conjunction with the entire retinue', i.e. 'I in conjunction with the entire retinue thanked every god for Saḥu-Rē,

⁴³ Cf. Terrace, op. cit., pl. 20 and pls. 30–1. The word *mꜥdt*, 'quiver', is not known to the *Wb*. It occurs again among the *frises d'objets* on the outside coffin of Nekht-Kawa (cf. Petrie, *Sedment*, I, pl. 24) now in the Glyptothèque ny Carlsberg, no. AEIN 1585.

⁴⁴ *ḥb* and arrow are again associated in P. Chester Beatty, VIII, rt. ii. 3; cf. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series*, II, pl. 43. Cf. also E. Blumenthal, *Die Phraseologie* (Berlin, 1970), 345.

⁴⁵ Cf. Barns, *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe*, rt. 57. The metal determinative would clearly be less suitable for a bow.

⁴⁶ Cf. Gardiner, op. cit., II, pl. 28. Cf. also the word *ḥbt* 'Speer' (*Wb*. I, 178, 13). It should be noted that the reference to bow 'horns' (whether *dbw* or *ḥbw*) in P. Koller, I, 8 (cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, I, 38*, n. 2; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 435) is no support for Gardiner's interpretation of *ḥb*, for they refer not to the bows themselves but to their curved horn-shaped extremities. (I hope later to publish a reconsideration of the Koller passage.)

⁴⁸ Cf. Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* I, § 240.

⁴⁹ Cf. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 66.

⁵¹ He similarly ignores the adjective *nb* in his translation (op. cit. 56) of a suggested parallel *nisbe*-formation *ḥnꜥ ḏh* (*Urk.* I, 211, 17).

⁵² Cf. Kaplony, *Orientalia*, 37 (1968), 50 (49).

⁵³ The context would seem to demand a causal clause here; cf. *Urk.* I, 129, 13 and Gunn, *JEA* 34 (1948), 28 (9); Posener, *De la Divinité du Pharaon*, 63.

⁴⁷ Cf. Blackman, *JEA* 22 (1936), 40.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Wb*. III, 112, 6.

for he was wise'. Such a word-order would not be unusual for Egyptian⁵⁴ and would, no doubt, have been determined in this case by the desire to keep the *sk*-clause as close as possible to the noun to which it refers.

9. *Urk.* IV, 1229, 20: $\overline{\text{ssd}}:f \leftarrow \text{†} \overline{\text{sh}} \overline{\text{hr}} \overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{y}} \parallel \text{mi sb}; \overline{\text{d}}:f \text{ hrt.}$

It has recently been proposed that the expression *pdty* 2 in this line, which has usually been rendered 'the two bows (of heaven)',⁵⁵ be read rather as a miswriting of *pdtyw* 'foreigners'.⁵⁶ This seems to be somewhat unnecessary. The line as it stands serves as a perfectly apt explanation of the preceding line. The king's ability to 'flash between the two bows of heaven (i.e. from one end of the world to the other) like a (shooting) star crossing the sky' explains his power to 'prevail instantly (*sh̄m hr-wy*) over all foreign countries'. In any case, conclusive confirmation of the original reading is provided by the second occurrence of this same expression written without the pleonastic *snw*, where again in a military context it indicates geographical expanse:⁵⁷ 'a warrior valiant of his arm, a follower of the king in the foreign lands of the south, north, east, and west, one pure of limb between the two bows'⁵⁸ ($\overline{\text{d}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{y}} \leftarrow \text{†} \overline{\text{sh}} \overline{\text{hr}} \overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{y}}$). *wcb*, lit. 'clean, pure' is here probably used in the extended sense of 'untouched', 'unharmed'.⁵⁹ The idea expressed, then, seems to be that the deceased in all his campaigns with the king throughout the entire world remained free from harm.

10. *Battle of Qadesh P* 10: $\overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{y}} \overline{\text{h}} \overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{h}} \overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{f}} \overline{\text{h}} \overline{\text{y}} \overline{\text{f}} \overline{\text{m}} \overline{\text{l}} \overline{\text{m}} \overline{\text{h}} \overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{s}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{p}} \dots$.⁶⁰

Gardiner renders this line 'one knows not when he will begin to fight'⁶¹ on the unsupported assumption that *šsp r ch̄* is to be equated with the expression *šsp ch̄* 'begin battle'.⁶² But the *Wörterbuch* is surely correct in understanding *šsp* here in the sense of 'den Gegner annehmen, sich auf den Kampf mit ihm einlassen',⁶³ an interesting idiomatic use of *šsp* corresponding to the English 'take on' in battle. The line should therefore be rendered 'One cannot take him on to do battle'.⁶⁴ Another excellent

⁵⁴ The same basic principle is to be observed in sentences such as *Urk.* I, 129, 11-13, *n lw mr n:f iry n smr wty Hr-hwf, h̄y:f m l̄m, hr rs-tp* . . . ; *Urk.* I, 215, 14, *hs wi hm:f, r-tnw iw r hnw, hr-s*—cf. Edel, *Untersuch. zur Phraseologie*, 52, 48; *Urk.* I, 219, 16, *ir-n̄i, r hst hm:f, m mh̄w šm cw*. For intercalated clauses as a tendency of Egyptian style, cf. De Buck, *Griffith Studies*, 59; also, Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* § 507, 6. A fine Middle-Egyptian example of *h̄m̄* resuming an interrupted main clause is to be found in *Urk.* IV, 1547, 6-11. Here the main clause *prt in n̄tr n̄fr* is followed by several dependent clauses and a parenthesis introduced by *ist*, and is then resumed by *h̄m̄ w̄w̄w̄ k̄ny m šmsw:f*.

⁵⁵ Cf. e.g. Reisner, *ZAS*, 69 (1933), 27; Volten, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 356; Helck, *Übersetzung zu d. Heften*, 17-22, 6.

⁵⁶ Cf. Barns, *JEA* 58 (1972), 162, 8.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Urk.* IV, 415, 2.

⁵⁸ So Sethe; cf. Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* II, § 353, n.g.

⁵⁹ For *wcb*, 'get clear', 'get clean away', from harm in battle (*Qadesh, P* 213 and *R* 9. 6), cf. Faulkner *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 107 and 111, n. 24; Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, 26 and 36.

⁶⁰ This same expression occurs also in *Tanis stela*, II, A, 1. 6; cf. Yoyotte, *Kemi*, 10 (1949), pl. 6.

⁶¹ Cf. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses*, II, 7 and 15.

⁶² Cf. *Wb.* IV, 533, 12.


⁶³ Cf. *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* IV, 533, 10; also Edgerton and Wilson, *Medinet Habu Texts*, 23, n. 22a.

⁶⁴ For other examples of *n* (or *bw*) *rh̄ tw* + infinitive in the Qadesh texts, cf. *P* 164 and *B* 90—on each occasion, of the enemy's impotence before the king.


example of this use of *šsp* occurs in *Israel Stela*, 12:⁶⁵ 'Who can fight knowing his unhindered stride? Foolish and witless is he who takes him on⁶⁶ (*pꜣ nty hr šspꜣf*).'

Similarly, I believe that the well-known passage in the *Inscription of Amenemheb* describing the latter's battle with the elephant⁶⁷ is to be read *ḥꜥꜥn šspꜥn(i) pꜣ ꜣbw ꜣ nty imꜥsn, ḥꜣ(i) r-ḥft hmꜣf*,⁶⁸ 'I took on the largest elephant among them, I doing battle in front of his majesty'.⁶⁹

11. *Battle of Qadesh P 211: mk ḥꜣꜥwn pꜣ mšꜥ nt-ḥtri irrꜣk ḥꜥ r nḥmꜣw hr r n ih.*

Previous interpreters have either supplied the particle *in* after *ḥꜣꜥwn*: 'Behold we are abandoned <by> the army and chariotry, for what reason do you remain to rescue them?';⁷⁰ or have taken  as a unique writing for the first plural of the dependent pronoun:⁷¹ 'Behold the infantry and chariotry have deserted us, for what reason do you remain to rescue them?'⁷² No such expedient is necessary if we simply understand *pꜣ mšꜥ nt-ḥtri* as the object of *nḥm* placed in anticipatory emphasis:⁷³ 'Behold we are abandoned. (As for) the infantry and chariotry, for what reason do you remain to rescue *them*? Let us get clear that you may save us.'

12. *Battle of Qadesh: P 235: ḥꜥꜥn pꜣꜣꜣi mšꜥ iw r dꜣꜣꜣi hrꜣsn[]n mꜣꜣ irtꜣni*

All the monumental texts have the lacuna at this point.⁷⁴ Fortunately the reading  of P. Sallier, III, 7. 10,⁷⁵ makes it almost certain that the word to be supplied is the verb *ꜥn* of which *hrꜣsn* is thus the subject. The most natural interpretation is to understand the former as the verb *ꜥn* 'be beautiful, bright', since the combination *ꜥn hr* is well attested as an expression meaning 'be glad, cheerful',⁷⁶ and this is exactly the sense required by the context: 'My army came to praise me, they being glad (lit. 'their faces being bright') at seeing what I had done'.⁷⁷ Gardiner, however, preferred the rendering 'their faces [turned away] at seeing what I had done'⁷⁸ on the grounds that 'in view of

⁶⁵ Cf. Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions*, IV, 15, 14.

⁶⁶ Cf. Wilson in Pritchard, *ANET* 377; also Edgerton and Wilson, op. cit., 23, n. 22a. The idiom survives in Ptolemaic; cf. Sauneron, *Rev. d'Ég.* 15 (1963), 53.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Urk.* IV, 893, 16-17.

⁶⁸ Ellipse of the first person sing. suffix is very common throughout this text, cf. e.g. *Urk.* IV, 890, 10 and 14; 892, 3 and 16; 895, 4 and 9; 897, 5 and 11.

⁶⁹ Edgerton and Wilson's 'I received (the attack of) the greatest elephant among them' misses the essential nuance of meaning inherent in the idiom 'take on'. The latter conveys the idea of an active and wilful aggression in opposition to an enemy, not the more passive action of resistance to attack. The point of Amenemheb's boast is not that he was attacked by the largest of the elephants but that he sought out the largest of the elephants to fight.

⁷⁰ Cf. Faulkner, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 107.

⁷¹ Cf. Gardiner, *The Kadash Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, 24, who suggests it may be a mistake.

⁷² Cf. Gardiner, op. cit., 11; so previously, Wilson, *AJSL* 43 (1927), 274; cf. also Erman, *Lit.* 333.

⁷³ Cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.* § 703; Korostovtsev, *Gr. du Néo-égyptien* § 463. Anticipatory emphasis of this kind and similar is common in the Qadesh texts; cf. e.g. *P* 180, 184, 201, 203, 275 (see below, 14), 284, 308-9, 336, *B* 110.


⁷⁴ Cf. Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions*, II, 74, 12-13.

⁷⁵ Cf. op. cit., II, 74, 16. P. Sallier is, of course, corrupt in reading *rn* for *hr*. Interestingly, the same corruption occurs later in the text, III, 11. 5 = Kitchen, op. cit., II, 99, 15.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Wb.* I, 190, 14.

⁷⁷ Cf. Wilson, *AJSL* 43 (1927), 267; so, also, tentatively, Faulkner, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 108.

⁷⁸ Cf. Gardiner, *The Kadash Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, 12.

the repetitive habit of the author it seems necessary to fill the lacuna with the word  found in 201 in the same context'.⁷⁹ This argument is baseless, for the respective contexts are, in fact, quite different. In the line here in question it is the army of the king who beholds what he has done; in *P* 201 it is the defeated and fleeing enemy: 'Whosoever escaped from my hand among them, they stood looking back (*cnw*), beholding what I had done'. Sense, therefore, demands the first translation given above. A remarkably close parallel in both expression and context is provided in the *Sphinx Stela* of Amenophis II, I. 15,⁸⁰ where similarly the onlookers are joyful at the marvellous deeds of the king: *hrw cnw m mꜣꜣ nꜣf irꜣnꜣf nn*, 'Faces were bright at beholding him, he having done these things'.

13. *Battle of Qadesh P* 275: *nꜣ mtrꜣi r ꜥꜥꜣ ptr gmꜣi st whꜥꜣi ꜥꜥꜣi hr ꜥꜥꜣ ꜥꜥꜣ nꜥꜥꜣ shrꜣnꜣi ꜥꜥꜣꜣ dꜥꜥꜣ m ꜥꜥꜣꜣi*.

The translations adopted by Faulkner⁸¹ and Gardiner⁸² for the line *nꜣ mtrꜣi r ꜥꜥꜣ* seem doubtful. Wenté's 'those whom I had instructed to fight'⁸³ is much more convincing, though I would modify it slightly into 'those whom I had instructed for battle'⁸⁴ and take it not as 'standing in apposition to *nꜣyꜣi wꜥꜣꜣw* "my butlers" '⁸⁵ but rather as the object of *gm* placed in anticipatory emphasis:⁸⁶ '(As for) those whom I had instructed for battle, lo, I found *them*, (only) when my majesty broke off from might and victory, having overthrown hundreds of thousands combined through my strong arm.' 'Those whom I had instructed for battle' are clearly the king's infantry, chariotry, and auxiliaries, who at the outset of the campaign had been given the 'battle-instructions' (*tp-rd n ꜥꜥꜣ*)⁸⁷ but who at the moment of attack had broken and fled, to return only after the king had won the victory. In this passage, the king contrasts their cowardly action with the part played by his chariot-team and his few close followers:

I defeated millions of foreign countries being alone on Victory-in-Thebes and Mut-is-Content, my great horses. They (alone)⁸⁸ it is whom I found to support me when I was alone fighting many foreign countries. I will persist myself in my making them eat food in my presence every day when I am in my palace. They (alone) it is whom I found in the midst of battle together with the chariot-ear, Menna, my shield-bearer, and my household butlers who were by my side. (But as for) those whom I had instructed for battle, lo, I found *them*, (only) when my majesty broke off from might and victory, having overthrown hundreds of thousands combined through my strong arm.

⁷⁹ Cf. op. cit., 25.

⁸⁰ Cf. *Urk.* IV, 1280, 8.

⁸¹ *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 109—'Those were present with me in the battle'; cf. Erman, *Lit.*, 335.

⁸² *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, 13—'the witnesses to me as regards the fighting'; cf. Wilson, *AJSL* 43 (1927), 275.

⁸³ *JNES* 22 (1963), 206–7.

⁸⁴ Lit. '... instructed concerning fighting'; for *mtr r* 'instruct someone about something', cf. *Wb.* II, 171, 19; Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, 22*, n. 17.

⁸⁵ Cf. Wenté, op. cit., 206.

⁸⁶ See above p. 52 n. 73.

⁸⁷ Cf. *P* 27.

⁸⁸ Cf. Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late-Egyptian*, 72–3.

ONCE MORE HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTION 191

By ALAN B. LLOYD



THESE lines have proved to be amongst the more recalcitrant of Egyptian *cruces*. In a recent study the late Revd. Professor J. W. B. Barns attempted to remedy the shortcomings of previous renderings and offered several novel suggestions.² It is this discussion which forms the motive for the present paper.

The passage presents two major lexicographical problems which may or may not be connected. I shall deal with them in the order in which they occur.

(A) *irt ḥw*

On the traditional view *ḥw* is regarded as an equivalent of *ḥwyt* 'rain' and the phrase *irt ḥw* is to be interpreted 'the making of a rainstorm'.³ In favour of this the following arguments may be urged:

1. The phrase *irt ḥwt* occurs in the required sense.⁴
2. There are apparent parallels. Two Egyptian texts, in fact, speak of miraculous downpours and their beneficial effects. The first, surviving in several copies, is the record of an unusually high Nile in Regnal Year 6 of Taharqa (i.e. 684 B.C.) which is stated to have been caused in part by a torrential downpour in *Tḥ sty*.⁵ This High Nile is described as a *bḥyt* and is stated to have been given by Amen-Rē^c at the request of his son. The second passage, probably of Twenty-sixth Dynasty date, occurs in a badly damaged stele from Daphnae.⁶ Here we are informed of a downpour in the land of Punt which caused the Nile to flood. These circumstances are then stated to have saved a *mšc* in

¹ J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques et Hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât* (Cairo, 1912), pl. 36, no. 191; A. de Buck, *Egyptian Reading Book* (Leiden, 1970), 77, 11-16.

² 'Some Readings and Interpretations in Sundry Egyptian Texts', *JEA* 58 (1972), 159, I.

³ So *BAR* I, § 451; G. Posener, 'A Propos de la "Pluie Miraculeuse"', *RdPh* 25 (1951), 162 ff.; Sir Alan H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 125; E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bj* (Cologne, 1971), 114 ff.




⁴ *Wb.* III, 49, 3.

⁵ V. Vikentiev, *La Haute Crue du Nil et l'Averse de l'An 6 du roi Taharqa* (Cairo, 1930), 48 ff., 63 ff.; L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa, I. The Inscriptions*, Text (Oxford, 1949), 22 ff.

⁶ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tanis II* (London, 1888), pl. 42, with Griffith's translation and commentary, 107 ff. Petrie thought that he could make out traces of the name *Psmṯk* on a fragment of the stele. This, united with language and context, puts a Saite date beyond reasonable doubt.



some way which cannot be determined. Despite its mutilated condition, however, it is clear that this document is concerned with essentially the same syndrome as the text of Taharqa viz. rain in the south⁷ → flood of the Nile → Egypt or Egyptians benefit.

These arguments can be countered without difficulty:

1. Certainly the expression *irt hwt* is known, but that is not what Hammamat 191 reads. To translate as though it did assumes a defective writing; for there is no known word for rain spelled . Certainly Vikentiev considered the word  of the *Pyramid Texts* as an alternative writing of *hwt*,⁸ but this is clearly  'die Flut (eines Gewässers)' (*Wb.* III, 48, 24). It has long been an accepted principle of textual criticism that emendation is a last resort. If a received reading will yield a satisfactory sense without it then it must stand. We shall see below that such is, in fact, the case here.

2. The similarities between our text and the two late documents are at first sight striking, but on consideration grave doubts must arise as to their relevance. In the first place the circumstances described in the latter appear to be very different—in *primis* in both texts the Nile is a crucial element and that is completely lacking in the Hammamat passage. It must also be emphasized that both passages are much later than the Eleventh Dynasty and may well be the product of a very different world. Most obviously, they both display a concept of the beneficial quality of rain which would be very hard to parallel in older Pharaonic documents where rain seems to be consistently regarded as a nuisance when any attitude is expressed at all.⁹ With Taharqa we seem, in fact, to have a distinct volte-face on the matter. As it happens it is not at all unlikely that this is precisely what confronts us. Is it not intriguing that the earlier of the stelae dates from the reign of a Nubian Pharaoh? Is it not equally intriguing that in both cases it is rain in the south that is involved? Finally, is it not extremely curious that in a Stele from Gebel Barkal of the Nubian king Ḥarsiyotef¹⁰ (404–369 (Hintze); 416–318 (Dunham)) we find the king endowed with a power over the rain which is clearly to be used for beneficial purposes. Amen-Rē speaks thus



Evidently this is corrupt as it stands since no sense can be extracted from the group . However, parallel pronouncements preceding and succeeding suggest that what we need is the definite article  *p*. In fact, if the sculptor were working from a hieratic draft, it is perfectly possible that he has misread a badly written *p* to yield the enigmatic group in question, especially since the context could have suggested to his mind such phrases as *mw n pt* and *hwyt pt*. Thus emended, we can read the line as *dī(i) n-k p mw-<n>-hwy nfr* 'To you do I give the goodly rain'. There is possibly another Nubian example of rather earlier date. In the Stele of Anlamani (623–593 B.C.) we find, amongst the blessings for which the king prays to Amen-Rē, the following request

*dī-k n-i hcp(y) wr nfr m šmm(w) hwyt ɣt n snw imf*¹²

Hwyt is evidently the older *hwyt* and is translated by Macadam 'flood'. Surely, however, since 'flood' is already comprehended under *hcp(y)*, the alternative rendering 'rain' is a distinct possibility and the correct translation of the passage might well be 'Mayst thou vouchsafe to me a great Nile good in harvest and a bounteous rainfall wherein is no harm'. If this were correct, the rain is

⁷ It should be noted that Nubia and Punt were very closely connected in the Egyptian mind (L. Kákosy, 'Nubien als mythisches Land im Altertum', *Annales Univ. Budapest: Sect. Hist.* 8 (1966), 1 ff.—a reference which I owe to V. A. Donohue), ⁸ *Op. cit.*, 50 ff.

⁹ *Py.* 426; P. Westcar, XI, 14; *Urk.* IV, 386, 16; K. Kitchen, *RI* II (5) (Oxford, 1971), 249; *Lebensmüde*, 137; probably *Amduat* Hr. 12; J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Brussels, 1939), 18, 13–19.

¹⁰ H. Schäfer, *Urk. der älteren Äthiopienkönige*, I (Leipzig, 1905), 116 ff.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, 118, 14.

¹² Macadam, *op. cit.*, pl. 16, 11. 26–7.

clearly to be regarded as an economic asset, though in the word *snw* its possible disadvantages and positive dangers are conceded. Whatever doubts exist with this passage, however, there can be no argument that such are the implications of the Stele of Ḥarsiyotef. Now there is nothing particularly surprising in any of this; for there are at least three reasons why such an attitude might appear in Kush—(a) Conditions in Egypt were very different from those to the south in that in the latter area rainfall evidently played a considerable rôle in the economy.¹³ (b) It is far from impossible that in these hieroglyphic texts we have, preserved beneath the thick veneer of Egyptian religious forms, something of the African rain-maker king.¹⁴ (c) It is far from impossible that in these late documents from Egypt and Nubia we have an indication that the Kushites, from their vantage point on the Upper Nile, knew considerably more than the Egyptians about the effects on the river of torrential rains to the south.

The upshot of this analysis is clear enough. At the very least we are justified in harbouring the strongest of suspicions that the two Egyptian documents exemplifying 'la Pluie Miraculeuse' are partly inspired by notions that are fundamentally un-Egyptian and were brought into the country from the south during the Nubian occupation. Therefore, not only the basic pattern of events described but the very conceptual matrix of these late texts place a very large question-mark over their relevance to the situation described in Hammamat 191.

3. The writing of the phrase *wḥm bi:(y)t* and the explicit comparison with the *bi:(y)t* of the gazelle mentioned in Hammamat 110 indicate that we are dealing with one *bi:(y)t* and one only. To an Egyptian a rainstorm and the finding of a well where none had existed before would have made two.¹⁵ Certainly a rainstorm might have led to a rise in the water-table and thereby caused the appearance of a spring and to us it might well seem that such a nexus of events would count as one marvel but to an Egyptian, we can be quite confident, no such concept of the course of events would ever have occurred. To him the water in wells and related phenomena derived from subterranean sources, in fact from Nun (see below, pp. 58 ff.). It was not derived from rain. Indeed, in this instance the word *bsi*, 'bring forth',¹⁶ seems to point imperiously in the direction of just such a notion. The inner logic of the passage and Egyptian concepts themselves are, therefore, flatly opposed to the traditional view.

It was the innate difficulties of interpreting *ḥw* as 'rain' which inspired Schenkel to suggest that we read $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ which he relates to the word 'flood' of *Wb.* III, 48, 24, and then renders 'Wasserstrom'. This gives a much more satisfactory sense than the traditional translation but is subject to the same orthographical criticism. Furthermore, it is highly questionable whether the word *ḥ(w)y* would fit the timbre of Hammamat 191. It is known only in the *Pyramid Texts* where it occurs once (707b) and in Ptolemaic where it looks like one of many borrowings from the *Pyramid Texts*. In our present state of knowledge, therefore, we have no alternative but to regard it as a specifically *Pyr.* word and as such it would have a recondite quality which would harmonize very ill with the stylistic character of this group of inscriptions. John Barns was equally anti-traditionalist on the matter and offered the original suggestion that *irt*

¹³ A. J. Arkell, *A History of the Sudan*, 2nd edn. (London, 1966), 166 ff.; P. L. Shinnie, *Meroe* (London, 1967), 160.

¹⁴ For this and related phenomena see Sir James Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (Abridged Edition) (London, 1963), Index, s.v. Rain etc.; D. Forde (ed.), *African Worlds. Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples* (Oxford, 1968), Index, s.v. Rain-magicians; M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems* (Oxford, 1969), Index, s.v. Rain-making and rain-makers.

¹⁵ Against Graefe (op. cit., 212, 9) and with Schenkel (*Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben.* Äg. Abh. 12 (Wiesbaden, 1965), 268) and J. W. B. Barns (loc. cit.).

¹⁶ *Wb.* I, 474, 5-16.

hw should be interpreted as *irt hw(t)*, 'making a strike'. This is seductive but is probably placed out of court by the fact that the immediate context of the phrase will not allow it—and that brings us to the area where the solution probably lies.

A close analysis of the environment of *irt hw* shows that it is moving entirely in the world of divine concepts. The section begins with *wḥm bi:(y)t* 'the doing of a second marvel' and *bi:(y)t* here, as often, means 'a manifestation of divine power'.¹⁷ The portent is the tangible sign that the gods, in particular Min-Ḥor, are propitious to their servant Montuḥotpe IV in his rôle as champion of Ma'at.¹⁸ The phrases immediately following are equally clear statements of the imminence of divine revelation—*mꜣꜣ ḥprw nꜣ ntr pn* 'seeing the manifestations of this god'; *dit bꜣwꜣn Rḥyt* 'the giving of his power to the Lapwing-Folk'. Does it not seem a little strange that in the midst of such theologically charged phraseology we should be faced with something so unequivocally secular as a quarryman hitting a rock? What we would expect is that *irt hw* should be imbued with the same associations as the phrases around it. Once we begin to think along these lines light begins to dawn on our problematic *irt hw*.

The sun god possessed as part of his creative apparatus two great powers or faculties—*sꜣꜣ* 'perception' and *hw* 'authoritative utterance'¹⁹ and not only did he possess them but other divine beings did also, including the Pharaoh himself. If the Egyptian envisaged divine action, he would, as often as not, envisage that action as the product of these qualities. Since the latter are often personified and regarded as acting personally it might seem reasonable at first sight to interpret *irt hw* as meaning 'Ḥu acts' but this is not likely to be correct since the other three narrative infinitives *wḥm*, *mꜣꜣ*, and *dit* do not have an expressed logical subject and we should expect *irt* to follow the same grammatical format. There is, however, another use of *hw* which fits perfectly.

In the Inscription of Weni we read



Urk. I, 108, 10; cf. 109, 11.

It was done by my hand in every respect in accordance with the divine command which the Majesty of My Lord issued.

¹⁷ Graefe, op. cit., 113 ff.

¹⁸ The purpose of the *bi:(y)t* is stated as follows: *wbꜣꜣ s n ḥmꜣ ḏꜣꜣ iꜣꜣ grt sdḥꜣꜣ nꜣꜣ s(y) rḥꜣꜣ nꜣꜣ mtt pn ḥmtꜣꜣ nꜣꜣ ḥntꜣꜣ sp pn n mrwt mꜣꜣ bꜣꜣꜣ rḥꜣꜣ t(w) mnḥ(w) ḥmꜣꜣꜣ*: 'It was revealed to His Majesty himself; for, lo, he (sc. Min-Ḥor) had concealed it because he knew this precise moment, having planned the issue of this event in order that his sc. Min-Ḥor's power might be seen and that the efficiency of His Majesty might be known.' Here the key word is *mnḥ(w)*. *Mnḥ* and its cognates convey the idea of 'efficiency' in the sense that a person or thing to which it is applied is stated to be playing the rôle appointed for him or it in the divine plan (*Mꜣꜣt*). A king is *mnḥ* when he discharges the rôle of Ḥorus in maintaining the cosmos. *Smnḥ* used of temples and offerings means 'to make them efficient' i.e. the objects and installations in question are being put in a position where they can discharge their appointed rôle in the order of *Mꜣꜣt*. The complex interplay of the concepts of *Mꜣꜣt* and *mnḥ* is particularly clear in the great inscription of Khnumḥotpe II at Beni Hasan (De Buck, op. cit., 67 ff.) but is almost always implied wherever the word is used in Egyptian contexts. This being so, *mnḥ(w)* in Hammamat 191 is a clear statement that the King is discharging his divinely appointed function and the *bi:(y)t* is regarded as the god's acknowledgement of the fact. (This theme I hope to discuss in depth at a later date.)

¹⁹ A. H. Gardiner, 'Some Personifications II. ḤU "Authoritative Utterance", SIA'. "Understanding", *PSBA* 38 (1916), 43 ff., 83 ff.; 39 (1917), 134 ff.; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 318 ff.

Here the word clearly means 'an expression of Ḥu' i.e. 'a divine authoritative utterance, divine command'. This sense would fit our *locus* perfectly. Surely *irt hw* means 'the performing' or 'issuing of a divine command', *irt* being used in the same way as in the common phrase *irt wd* which *Wb.* glosses 'einen Befehl erlassen, einen Befehl vollziehen'.²⁰ To this new interpretation there are certainly objections:

(a) *irt hw* is unexemplified elsewhere in the required sense. Its components are, however, and the format of the phrase, as already indicated, is easy to parallel.

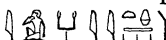
(b) *hw* 'command' has only been certainly identified in the Sixth Dynasty. It should, however, be remembered that Eleventh-Dynasty inscriptions show very close affinities with those of the late Old Kingdom and that *hw* in our text might even be a conscious archaism.

On the credit side the suggestion can be supported by several considerations:

(a) Although the writing of the word is not identical with that in the Inscription of Weni, it is paralleled by Old-Kingdom writings for the personification Ḥw.²¹ All earlier suggestions involve postulating a defective text.

(b) The suggested meaning fits the conceptual context perfectly.

(c) The phrase, thus interpreted, provides a natural narrative progression—rubric stating that a manifestation of power is to take place (*whm bi(y)t*); the command is issued (*irt hw*); the god then manifests himself (*mꜣꜥ ḥprw*) and shows his power (*dīṯ brw*) and that takes the form of placing a flood in the mountains, etc. (*irt ḥst m nwyṯ*, etc.).

(d) There is a close parallel for such an interpretation in the Kubbân Stele.²² Here the problem confronting the king was the fact that the exploitation of the gold mines of  was being rendered impossible through the inadequacy of water supplies. Wells had been dug previously but they had not yielded water. The king, therefore, calls together his officials to discuss the situation and they proceed *more suo* to laud his powers:

Then did they say to His Majesty 'You are like Rē^c in respect of everything which you have done; for that which your heart desires comes into existence. If you desire a matter in the evening, when day dawns it has happened of a sudden. We have seen the multitude of your *bi(y)t* since you appeared as king of the Two Lands. We did not hear and our eyes did not see when they came into existence as they are. . . . If you say to the water 'Come from the mountain' Nun will come forth immediately in accordance with your utterance inasmuch as you are Rē^c in body and Khopri in his true form. You are the living image on earth of your father Atūm of Heliopolis in that Ḥu is in your mouth, Sia in your heart, your speech is the tabernacle of Ma^cat, god abides on your lips, and your words are realized every day. Your heart has been made even in the likeness of that of Ptaḥ who created crafts and you shall abide for everlasting with all your plans being executed and all your words being obeyed, O Sovereign, our Lord . . .

The King's Son of Kush speaks in similar terms:

If you yourself say to your father Ḥ^capy, the father of the gods 'Cause that water come forth from the top of the mountain (*imi bs mw ḥr tp ḏw*; cf. *bst mw ḥr nḥꜣ n inr* ap. Hammamat 191) he will do exactly as you have said.

A little later when the success of the enterprise had been achieved similar sentiments are expressed:

. . . (in accordance with) that which Your Majesty said with his own mouth and water came forth

²⁰ I, 396, 22-3.

²² P. Tresson, *La Stèle de Koubân* (Cairo, 1922).

²¹ *Wb.* III, 44.

in it (sc. the *hnmt*) . . . the water which was in Duat listening to him as he (sc. the King's Son of Kush) dug out the water from the mountain. . . .

In view of what has already been said (above, p. 57) this passage needs little exegesis. The new marvel to be set beside the *knw m bi:(y)t* mentioned in l. 14 is the appearance of the water in the newly-dug well. The king, who is here, as often, identified with the creator god Rē^c-Atūm, is to achieve this by his authoritative utterance. He speaks and the water comes forth *and it is from the Nun/Duat that it emerges*. Surely it is in precisely this way that Min-Ḥor is to be imagined as functioning in Hammamat 191.

We conclude, therefore, that *irt ḥw* probably means 'performing' or 'issuing a divine command' and refers to one of the stages in the nexus of divine action believed to have brought about the *bi:(y)t* which is to demonstrate spectacularly the favour in which Nebtawyrē^c stands with the gods.

(B) *nh:*

No rendering of this word has achieved anything approaching general recognition. *Wb.* offers 'wasserloses Gestein'²³ and is echoed therein by Faulkner.²⁴ Schenkel,²⁵ followed by Graefe,²⁶ translates 'auf der rauhen Oberfläche des Steinblocks' and interprets this as meaning 'über die noch ungeglättete Oberfläche des Sarges'. He gives no justification for the translation but it is presumably based on *Wb.* II, 291, 2. Barns claimed that 'the bulk of instances of words written *nh:* in *Wb.* II, 290 f. and Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 136, suggests that the basic idea behind most of them is "shake"' and offered the suggestion that the phrase *hr nh: n inr* meant 'by reason of the disturbance of the stone'.²⁷ Clearly he was led in this direction by his view of *irt ḥw*. If this is wrong—and it probably is—his interpretation of *nh:* must lose much of its force. There is a further and crucial objection. Logic, at least of the Western variety, is not an infallible guide to the truth in the study of Egyptian, but it is a little difficult to understand how the text *could* mean what Barns suggested. The essence of the *bi:(y)t* is surely quite clearly stated as follows

pṛt h:st hr gs(wy):sy in mš^c(w) n tp-cwy nsw ḥprw hr h:st n m:n s(y) irt nb(t) n hr hr n r(m)ḫ hr:s

The expeditions of former times and the kings who were of old went out and returned beside it, but no eye beheld it, no face of man fell upon it.

i.e. the water showed itself in a spot where it could have been seen by previous expeditions, had it existed. It was not seen and, therefore, had not existed. This point is totally lost if a screen of rock has to be broken *before* it can be revealed. A final objection is the fact that the meaning of *nh:* and its cognates does not appear to hover around the concept 'shake' as Barns suggested.

The only way to put an end to the debate, if that can be done at all, is to analyse in depth the uses of the root *nh:* and attempt to establish its basic meaning. These uses fall into two categories: (a) literal, (b) metaphorical:

²³ II, 291, 1.

²⁴ *Dict.* 136.

²⁵ loc. cit.

²⁶ loc. cit.

²⁷ loc. cit.

(a) Literal Uses

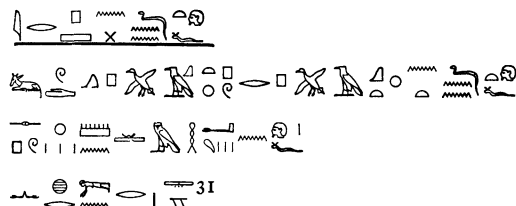
Nh and cognates frequently figure in the medical texts and were discussed in that context by von Deines and Westendorf, who concluded that *nh* is used 'zur Beschreibung einer unebenen (willigen, zerfurchten) Oberfläche'.²⁸ The meaning can, however, be defined more precisely than that. Let us consider the major *exempla*.

P. Edwin Smith II, 3 ff.



If you examine a man who has a gaping wound in his head, penetrating to the bone and splitting his skull, then shall you palpate his wound and therein will you find things which are *nh* under your fingers and it will quiver,³⁰ to be sure, very much. . . .

The first line is glossed a little later in the following terms:



As for splitting his skull, it means the separation of one plate of his skull from another, while fragments remain in the flesh of his head and do not fall away.

This description enables us to determine exactly the character of the wound as a comminuted fracture, i.e. a fracture where the skull is split and fragments of bone are broken off and remain embedded in the wound. In such a fracture the *pk(w)t* would display on palpation a certain amount of movement along the lines of the fracture while the uneven edges of the fracture itself and the bone fragments broken off would offer a surface which was rough to the touch. Now since *nh* in the first passage is obviously referring to some medically significant tactile feature, it is probable that it is

²⁸ *Wb. der medizinischen Texte*, I, (Berlin, 1961), 471 ff.

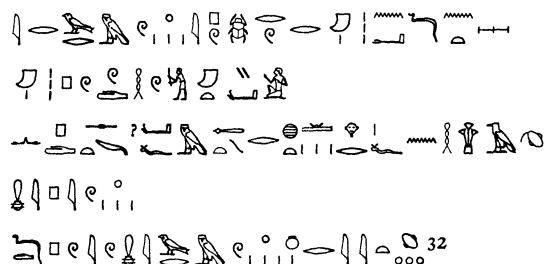
²⁹ J. H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* (Chicago, 1930), 141.

³⁰ *nry* is rendered 'schaudern, zucken' by von Deines and Westendorf, op. cit., 466 ff. and Breasted concurs (op. cit., 141, 143 ff.). The construction is a problem. Probably D. and W. are right when they construe as impersonal *sdm.f*. What, however, is the subject? Breasted thought it was the patient but this seems harsh since the lines preceding and succeeding are clearly describing the wound. Surely the subject is *wbn* and the scribe is describing the phenomenon of *crepitus* (i.e. the grinding movement of the parts of a broken bone) which might well present itself to the touch as a quivering motion. (So also III, 3; VIII, 1; X, 5; XIII, 14.) Admittedly in XIV, 18 the subject is the patient, but neither context nor construction is parallel.

³¹ Breasted, op. cit., 152.

describing one of these two phenomena. The first, however, seems to be described by the next sentence. It is, therefore, probable that *nh* is referring to the latter, i.e. *nh* probably means 'rough'.

Ibid., II, 25-III, 1.



As usual in medical texts interpretation here is bedevilled by lexicographical difficulties. Breasted's rendering has dominated all subsequent interpretations, including that of von Deines and Westendorf, but is often question-begging. A detailed analysis is essential.

- wrmw* In the last line the word occurs again in the phrase *wrmw nw ryt*. *Ryt* means 'pus' (von Deines and Westendorf, *Wb. der medizinischen Texte*, 521) and analogies like *ꜣt nt ryt* (*P. Ebers* 869) and *hnhnt nt ryt* (ibid. 861a) suggest that *wrmw nw ryt* should mean a 'lump, boil' or 'blister filled with pus'.
- n ɸdnt* There is a word *ɸdnt* which appears to denote an 'armlet' or 'collar' (*Wb.* I, 242, 2; Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, 167 ff.). If there were a metaphorical use we should expect it to be based on the notion of encircling. Breasted suggested the translation 'crucible' (op. cit., 167 ff.) but since crucibles are shut at one end, the metaphor would be neither obvious nor happy. It would suit much better a furnace for smelting copper of the type found by Currelly in the Wadi Maghara in which a hole in the ground about 2½ ft. deep was surrounded by a stone wall (*ap.* W. M. F. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, London, 1906, 242 ff.)—a furnace, in fact, of a type common in early metallurgy (cf. B. Rothenberg, *Timna*, London, 1972, 27 ff., 235). The stone wall or shaft around the bowl might well have been called 'a bracelet' or 'a collar' and the term then applied by synecdoche to the entire furnace. It may, therefore, be tentatively suggested that *hmt n ɸdnt* means 'copper of the smelting furnace', i.e. 'newly smelted copper'.
- wdh* The word means both 'to smelt' and 'to cast' (*Wb.* I, 393, 6-13). Since there is good reason to believe that the passage is not concerned with casting (see below, s.v. *ꜣt sub fin.*), the former is probably the correct rendering.
- pds* *Wb.* is non-committal (I, 566, 12, glosses simply 'von der Bearbeitung frisch gegossenen Kupfers'). There is, in fact, a verb *pds*, the only one known with those consonants, which, according to *Wb.* (loc. cit., 16-19), is used in the senses '(Gesicht, Nase) breitdrücken' and 'zerstören'. The *exempla* do not appear to justify all the nuances denoted by 'breitdrücken' but there is no doubt whatsoever that the verb implies the application of violent pressure to something from above. The determination of the exact process involved must depend to a large extent on the interpretation of *ꜣt r h(w)t*.

³² Breasted, op. cit., 173.

ʕt This is translated 'mould' by Breasted (op. cit., 173 ff.). An examination of the uses of *ʕt* in *Wb.* I, 165, 13–21; 166, 1–7 suggests that the basic meaning was 'kostbarer Stein' and that this developed in two ways: (a) by emphasizing in some contexts the concept of preciousness—hence its use for all sorts of valuable stone vessels and even linen, and (b) by developing the concept of a hard, lumpish, stone-like body—hence its use for pathological symptoms such as lumps, gall-stones, etc. (cf. von Deines and Westendorf, op. cit., 123 ff.). It is difficult to see how (a) could be relevant but (b) is much more promising. In view of the meaning postulated for *pds* we should expect *ʕt* to refer to a hard, lumpish body used for striking the copper. That would suit perfectly a hand-hammer of the type known to have been used by Egyptian metalworkers (L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, Heidelberg, 1915, 85, 4; R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, Leiden, 1950, 121). Hammering might occur at various stages. It could be used to break up the mass of newly smelted copper in the furnace (A. Lucas, rev. J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th edn., London, 1962, 212; Rothenberg, op. cit., 235). The copper could be hammered after this process to consolidate the metal and remove some of the grosser impurities (Lucas rev. Harris, loc. cit.). Tools, weapons, and other objects could be manufactured by hammering. Finally, hammering might also take place after casting. This latter process does not, however, seem to be involved for two reasons. First, if the interpretation of *hmt n ʕdnt* is correct, there is no room for casting in our context. Secondly, hammering a casting would involve fabricating *one* tool or weapon only whereas the Egyptian indicates that the object of the exercise was to produce several (⊖ $\frac{\text{⊖}}{\text{⊖}}$). The last objection also removes from consideration the third alternative. We are left, therefore, with the first two possibilities only.

p̄w Meaning unknown (von Deines and Westendorf, op. cit., 260).

On the basis of this discussion we may translate as follows:

As for these blisters (boils, lumps) which occur upon newly smelted copper—the reference is to copper which has been smelted by the coppersmith before he has pounded it with a hammer to make things of it, its surface being *nḥ* like *p̄w*. What is meant is that it is like blisters (boils, lumps) filled with pus.

Even allowing for arguable interpretations such as *hmt n ʕdnt* it seems well nigh certain that this passage is referring to copper at some stage after smelting and before the fabrication of a copper object whether by casting or hammering. Now whichever of the first two hammering processes mentioned above (see above, s.v. *ʕt*) is involved the surface characteristics of the metal would be the same. Copper smelted in a furnace like that described earlier would take the form of 'a spongy mass of incompletely fused metal still containing cinders and extraneous matter' (Forbes, op. cit., p. 320) and would show a coarse surface, pock-marked and covered with pimply excrescences and blisters (i.e. it would resemble blister-copper). In a word—its surface would be *rough*. Our second text, therefore, indicates that the translation 'rough' for *nḥ* is, at the very least, highly apposite.

P. Ebers 350, 383, 407.

The passages in question are concerned with an eye-disease called $\text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘}$ or $\text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘}$. If our deductions from the earlier *exempla* are correct, it should be characterized by roughness or irregularity on the surface of the eye or some related body.

This description would satisfy perfectly the condition known as *trachoma* (lit. 'roughness') which is characterised by granular excrescences on the inner surface of the eye-lids.³³

Clearly, this detailed analysis of cases where *nh* appears to be employed literally provides strong, though not conclusive, evidence that *nh* means 'rough, roughness'.

(b) Metaphorical Uses

Nh is used in many contexts which clearly involve a greater or lesser degree of metaphorical development. If it were possible to establish the course of this semantic evolution, we should be able to corroborate or disprove the results of the preceding section. We take some typical examples.

Lebensmüde 55 ff.

iw wp·n n·i b·i r·f wšb·f ddt·n·i ir sh·k krs nhst·ib pw int rmyt pw m sind s šdt s pw m pr·f hsc (w) hr kš nn pr·n·k r·hrw m·k r(w).

My soul opened his mouth that he might answer what I had said. 'As for your mention of burial—it is *nhst·ib*. It is something which brings weeping, making a man miserable. It is something which takes a man from his house so that he is laid up on the hill. You shall not come up that you may see the light of the sun.'

The context makes it quite clear that the meaning hovers around the concepts 'sadness, grief, anguish'.

P. Ebers 197.

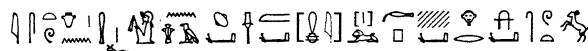
The purpose of the treatment is stated to be



Here the determinative of *nhst*, the connection with *ib* and the context, taken together, prove that we are dealing with an emotional state induced by illness. Evidently 'affliction, distress' *vel sim.* is meant.

A similar translation is required in *Admonitions* 12, 3; *Urk.* IV, 1578, 5; 1818, 5. It would also suit the enigmatic *dd·hr·k r·f nh pw n pr·k* of *P. Ebers* 197a which may be rendered "Then shall you say concerning it "It is distress for your house" ", i.e. 'You are in for a bad time'.

There are cases, however, where this rendering does not fit. At Medinet Habu we have the following descriptions of Ramesses III in action



Kitchen, *RI* v (1), 23, 4

... Now the heart of His Majesty was *nh* and strong like that of a lion hidden and ready for small cattle.

³³ So also von Deines and Westendorf, *op. cit.*, 472.

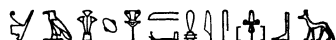
A little later the northern invaders say of Pharaoh in a similar context



ibid., 25, 9-10

. . . there is a charging(?) lion, *nh3* and strong, grasping with its claw.

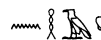
In a similar passage in the Great Inscription of Year 11 he is described in comparable terms as



ibid., 61, 6

. . . *nh3* and strong like a jackal.

In all of these cases the context and determinative suggest that the word refers to violent action. Clearly the meaning is 'fierce, wild' or something similar.

The term  *Nhs-hr* is often used of Apopis and other evil spirits (*Wb.* II, 290, 15-18). The Typhonic nature of these beings in whom, in Bonnet's words, 'die unfreundlichen oder doch unheimlichen Züge überwiegen', suggests that the meaning of *nh3* here lies in the same area as that identified above and that we should render 'Wild' or 'Fierce of Face'. The name would then be conceptually similar to that of the demon '*Irtjfy-m-sdt*, 'He whose Eyes are Flame'.³⁴

The rendering 'fierce, wild' would also be highly apposite to such expressions as *sdt nh3(t)* (*P. Berlin* 3050, III, 8), *mdw nh3* (Chassinat, *Edfu*, VI, 119), *ḏr(w) nh3(w)* (Kitchen, op. cit., II, 319, 15) and *t3w nh3(w)* (*P. Anastasi*, IV, 2, 8).

Yet another nuance emerges in the Harris Magical Papyrus where the protection of Amen-Rē is invoked in the following terms:

mī irk n-i h3y nb (nh3(w) wḏ3(w) snb(w)) ntrw shr-k n-i ḏwt nb(w)t nh3 nb nty hr itrw. (IV, 6-7.)

Come to me, I beseech you, O Lord (l.p.h.) of the gods, and cast down for me every evil and every *nh3* which is upon the river.

The parallelism with *ḏwt* and the use of *nb* suggest that we are dealing here with a general word meaning something like 'peril'. We may compare the phrase 'perils and dangers of this night' in the *Book of Common Prayer*. A similar translation would suit the noun *nh3* of Caminos, *Literary Fragments*, pl. 12, 1, and the verb *nh3* of *P. Anastasi* I, 23, 7.

The upshot of this analysis is that the root *nh3* developed a range of metaphorical meanings running through the spectrum: (1) 'sadness, anguish'; (2) 'wild, fierce, violent'; (3) 'dangerous'. We must now attempt to determine the evolution of these uses, in order to establish whether they are compatible with results of section (a).


The answer, at least in the case of 1, is indicated by one of the expressions used to denote the opposite of 'sad, wretched', viz. *sncc ib* 'rejoice'.³⁵ The word *sncc* means 'to make smooth, remove the roughness from something'. Therefore, *sncc ib* means 'make smooth, remove the roughness from the heart'. Obviously, then, to the Egyptian

³⁴ De Buck, op. cit., 118, 4 (*BD* 125).

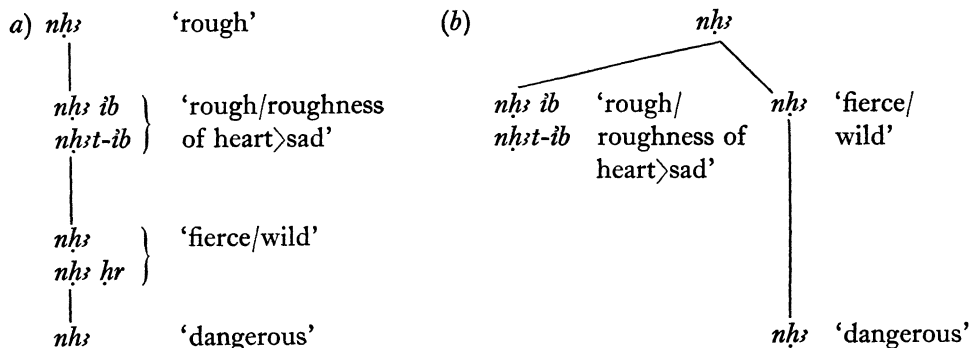
³⁵ *Wb.* IV, 156, 16. For the phrase as a personal name see H. Ranke, *PN*, I, 312, 14.

nothing could have been more natural than to associate 'sadness, wretchedness' with 'roughness of heart'. Therefore, the use of *nhꜛ* in such contexts provides strong justification for believing that the basic core of meaning which attaches to the root is 'rough'.

From this point it would be easy to develop the other metaphorical uses. (1) could easily have given rise to (2), in view of the intimate behavioural links between the human states in question. Indeed the relationship in the Latin *tristis* between the meanings 'sad, gloomy' and 'harsh, severe' is not dissimilar. As for (3) its affinities with (2) need no pressing. We cannot be certain, however, that this linear schema is, in fact, correct.

If we bear in mind the evidence just evaluated, another possible family-tree presents itself. In Greek the word *τραχύς* 'rough' developed the metaphorical uses 'harsh, savage' as applied both to people and things without any mediating semantic development. Similarly the English 'rough' is often used of 'wild, unrestrained or uncouth' behaviour. This suggests at least the possibility that metaphorical uses (2) and (3) evolved *directly* from the root meaning and this possibility is considerably strengthened by the parallel phrase  lit. 'smooth of heart'. One's immediate reaction would be to interpret this as meaning 'joyful' by analogy with *snꜛ ib* and such a meaning would, in fact, suit its use as a proper name in Petrie, *Abydos*, I, pl. LX, 5 and Cairo 20264 rather well, but the same is not true of the example in Cairo 20517 where it is given as the *nsw-bity* title of a Second Intermediate Period king named *Mn-hꜛw-rꜛ*³⁶ or in Cairo 20543 where an official is described as *rh(w) tp-hꜛsb n irt nꜛꜛ-ib*.³⁷ In both these cases a more positive nuance would be expected, i.e. 'gentle, kind' would best fit the context.³⁸ If this is correct, we have a direct development from 'smooth of heart' to 'gentle' and that suggests the likelihood of a direct development from 'rough of heart' to 'wild, fierce'.

On the basis of this analysis we may, therefore, tabulate the evolution of the metaphorical uses of *nhꜛ* in at least two ways of which the second is rather the more probable:



³⁶ M. Burchardt and M. Pieper, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (Leipzig, 1912), 42, no. 206 = H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois de l'Égypte*, II (Cairo, 1912), 67, no. 33.

³⁷ H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs. CGC.*, II, Berlin, 1908, 165, 4.

³⁸ Janssen translates 'kalm' (*De Traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk* [Leiden, 1946], 40).

Whichever schema we prefer, however, this evidence constitutes a very strong case indeed for the view that the basic core of meaning in *nhꜣ* is 'rough'.

Conclusions

Our situation now stands thus. The discussion of the literal uses of *nhꜣ* indicates that the root meaning is 'rough' and this is strongly supported by our evaluation of the metaphorical uses. This evidence is surely as close as we are likely to get to absolute proof that such *is*, in fact, the meaning. Armed with this information let us now return to Hammamat 191.

In the Kubbân Stele we find the sentence *imi bs mw hr tp dw*, 'Let water come forth on (or from) the top of the mountain'. By analogy we should render *bst mw hr nhꜣ n inr* as 'The bringing forth³⁹ of water on (or from) the *nhꜣ* of the stone'. The most natural interpretation of this is that *nhꜣ* is a noun referring to some surface feature of the stone. In view of the foregoing analysis can there be any reasonable doubt that this feature is 'roughness'? It emerges, therefore, that Schenkel's rendering is, in fact, probably the correct one, though since he presented it without any proof, its status was little more than that of a guess, however inspired. The point of emphasis in the word is probably not, as Schenkel thought, that the sarcophagus lid has yet to be planed off but rather to evoke in the mind of an Egyptian a picture of the arid, stony wastes of the Eastern Desert and thereby vividly bring home the extraordinary nature of the finding of the well.

To conclude. On the basis of the foregoing analysis, lengthy but essential, we propose the following as a rendering of ll. 1–5 of Hammamat 191.

Setting to work in this mountain on a sarcophagus of everlasting stone. A second marvel which took place. The issuing of a divine command. The seeing of the manifestations of this god. The giving of his power to the Lapwing Folk. The making of the desert into a flood. The bringing forth of water from (or upon) the rough surface of the rock. The finding of a well in the midst of the wadi. . . .

Acknowledgement

For assistance with some of the more technical aspects of this article I am indebted to three of my colleagues at the University College of Swansea—Dr. H. O'Neill, Emeritus Professor of Metallurgy, Mr. D. W. Hopkins, Dept. of Metallurgy and Dr. T. Tudor Jones, Medical Officer.

Postscript

For a discussion of *nrc* and cognates in terms similar to mine see W. Westendorf, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 297 ff.

³⁹ *bsi* is both transitive and intransitive. Since the other narrative infinitives are all active-transitive, it is perhaps preferable to treat it in the same way.

SEAL IMPRESSIONS FROM KAHÛN TOWN AND URONARTI FORT

A COMPARISON

By OLGA TUFNELL

Introduction

THE object of this paper is to present two comparable groups of scarab designs from two excavated sites, Kahûn at the centre of pharaonic culture and Uronarti, one of its southern outposts in a Second Cataract fort. The comparisons demonstrate that the main classes of design, as already selected from scarabs and seals found elsewhere, are present in both places, though the detail differs, and there are clear fluctuations in size. The main classes of design can be used to set a framework for the occupational range of the sites in question, given the fact that both places were lived in during limited periods of time. It is only in Egypt that the course of history is reasonably well assured during the second millennium B.C. through astronomical means, and that there is sufficient inscriptional material to outline the occupational range of sites during a specific series of reigns. This is especially true of the two sites now under consideration at opposite ends of the Nile Valley, and through the scarab impressions from them it may be possible to work out the respective positions in time of scarab-seals found in closed deposits elsewhere. One of the advantages of using only the material from the workmen's town at Kahûn and the southern fort at Uronarti is the fortuitous circumstance that the collection of measurable sealings were originally about equal in number, though even these represent but a fraction of the total number recovered from the sites, many of which were duplicates, broken, or obscure.¹ The balance is not maintained in the illustrations provided on figs. 2-12, because only ten main classes of design have been used in the comparison, and more than one motif of design is often included on the plinth. The background to the problem of using scarabs in addition to pottery in establishing a viable seriation is partially discussed in various papers already published or in the press, particularly in respect of certain basic excavated sites in the Syro-Palestinian field.²

¹ 488 illustrations from Kahûn Town, see Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* (1890), pl. 10—abbreviated hereinafter *KGH*; *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* (1891), pls. 9-10—abbreviated *IKG*; Petrie, Brunton, and Murray, *Lahun*, II (1920), pls. 4-5.

489 illustrations from Uronarti. A study of the sealings by G. A. Reisner and N. F. Wheeler was published in *BMFA* 28 (1930), 47 ff., 'The Art of Seal Carving in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom'. A fuller treatment of Reisner's material appeared posthumously in *Kush* 3 (1955), 26 ff. entitled 'Clay Sealings of Dynasty XIII from Uronarti Fort'. In the final account of the Second Cataract Forts, vol. II of *Uronarti Shalfak Mirgissa*, edited by Dows Dunham (Boston, 1967), the illustrations of seal impressions from Uronarti were republished on pp. 65-80 under the same numbers as in *Kush* 3. A few impressions were recovered from Shalfak (pl. 71) and even more at Mirgissa (figs. 9-12).

² W. A. Ward, *Egypt and the East Mediterranean World 2200-1900 B.C.* (Beirut, 1971) abbreviated

The Historical Setting

In the first place, it is necessary to consider any evidence which may help to define the inaugural and terminal dates of the two sites in question, based on any documentary information which may have survived, and on actual impressions on cylinder seals, stamps, and scarabs inscribed with royal names.

Kahûn Town. Recent study of the Kahûn papyri undertaken by Mr. C. H. S. Spaul does not provide any further dates to those recorded in them and summarized by F. Ll. Griffith in the original publication.³ In brief, Griffith thought it doubtful that any fragment of the papyri dates from the reign of the founder of the city, Sesostri II. He noted that in all cases, where the name 'Usertesen' or 'Khakheperre' occurred, the cartouche was followed by the word 'deceased'. Many of the papyri were from the age of Ammenemes III (1842–1797 B.C.); some named the king as 'living', whilst in others his reign was recognizable by the high dates. There was at least one papyrus of the age of Ammenemes IV (1798–1790 B.C.) and dates in the reign of Sobkneferu may also be accepted (1789–1786 B.C.). Of early Thirteenth-Dynasty kings, there were the dates 'year 1' and possibly 'year 2' in the reign of Sekhemrê-Khutowy, with 'year 2 (?)' and 'year 3' in the reign of Sekhemkarê.

Turning to the evidence provided by seal impressions, the picture is not dissimilar. Whole or partial cylinders (or sealings) recorded the names of Sesostri I, II, III, and Ammenemes III.⁴ It is not surprising that the name of the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty is missing, for there is no sound evidence to prove that scarabs inscribed with his prenomen were issued during his lifetime.⁵ In any case, that king was a usurper, who set up a new capital on the borders of Upper and Lower Egypt to consolidate his hold on the Two Lands, and it seems that it was only under his son, Sesostri I, that the scarab industry expanded during his reign of fifty-three years, including a decade of joint rule with his father (1971–1928 B.C.). The prenomen of Sesostri I was invoked on more surviving scarabs than that of any other king, prior to the Thirteenth Dynasty, but there is a curious lack of scarabs bearing the name of his son and successor, Ammenemes II, even though he ruled for less time than his father (1929–1895 B.C.). Impressions of his name are hardly to be expected at Kahûn, since the town was not founded until the reign of his successor, Sesostri II (1897–1878 B.C.), in order to house the Egyptian and foreign workmen who were employed on building the latter's pyramid at Lahûn. The greatest activity on the site should therefore be attributed to his comparatively short reign of twenty years, though it is only reflected in one possible

EEMW; O. Tufnell and W. A. Ward, *Studies on Scarab-seals*, I–II (forthcoming) which will summarize results from preliminary work already published or in the press, e.g. *Syria* 43 (1966), 165–258, 'Relations between Byblos, Egypt and Mesopotamia at the end of the third millennium B.C. A study of the Montet Jar'; *Levant* 5 (1973), 69–82, 'The Middle Bronze Age Scarab-seals from burials on the mound at Megiddo'.

³ F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898), Appendix A, pp. 84 f.

⁴ *KGH* pl. 10, 2–11; *Lahun*, II, 201. For scarabs see fig. 12: 437–47.

⁵ Certain scarabs named for Sehetepibrê in museum collections are generally considered to commemorate a Thirteenth-Dynasty king or kings using the same prenomen; see J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (Glückstadt, 1964), 36 ff., abbreviated hereinafter *Zweite Zwischenzeit*.

surviving impression bearing his name (fig. 12: 437). More surprising is the fact that no papyri can be positively identified as dating from the reign of Sesostri III, though there are cylinder seals (or impressions) bearing his name, at least once alongside that of his son, Ammenemes III. Many documents were definitely written in the latter's reign, who is represented among scarab impressions by five measurable pieces (fig. 12: 438-42). The tally of royal names recorded on the papyri is extended by a scarab or impression naming Neferhotep (c. 1740-1730 B.C.) which completes the series at Kahûn (fig. 12: 444).

Uronarti Fort. Sesostri III built the island fort of Uronarti, north of Semna in the region of the Second Cataract, in his sixteenth year, when he also set up temple endowments (c. 1862 B.C.). The clay sealings were found in the floor debris of the inner fort, where presumably the archives were stored, and the excavator, G. A. Reisner, noted that they were of special importance because they covered only a short space of time. In his opinion the collection dated from the early part of the Thirteenth Dynasty in the reign of the 'first king the Horus Khabauw, that is Sekhemra-khuwtauwy' and of his near successors, 'the Horus Deduwy-kheperew and Merytauwy (?)'.⁶ Neither of these last two kings is well known, and there is doubt as to the exact position of 'Sekhemra-khuwtauwy' in the sequence of Thirteenth-Dynasty kings.⁷ Reisner considered that the seals which appear to bear the name of Sesostri III were not royal seals of that king, but were the official seals of the temple endowments founded by him, and renewed by Tuthmosis III in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but he was convinced that the seals were not of the latter period.⁸ Except for 'ten memorial objects of plastered wood inscribed with dates of the reign of Amenemhat III', he found nothing datable to the Twelfth Dynasty.⁹

However, quite apart from the endowment sealings, a closer look at the details of design does support a date or dates much nearer to the historic foundation of the fort. There is at least one fragmentary sealing naming Sesostri II in a round-hook scroll border (*Uronarti*, 65: 13). Among symmetric designs, motifs are employed which are characteristic of the reign of Ammenemes III, in particular *red crowns confronted*, associated with scarabs bearing his name.¹⁰ According to the occurrence of royal names in the collection, the deposition of archives in the fort is extended into the Fifteenth Dynasty by the impression of scarabs in typical style (so far unrecognized) of Mayibrēç, often identified with Sheshi, a king or kings, whose scarabs are more numerous than any others of the period (fig. 12: 446). The currently accepted date for the beginning of the Fifteenth Dynasty is c. 1674 B.C., which would give the collection a time-span of nearly two centuries in all, say in round figures from 1860 to 1670 B.C.¹¹

⁶ The seals of the three kings were found in the same deposit. Reisner considered that they were not impressions of a cylinder seal, but of a long rectangular stamp. The impressions, with those of a squared shape having a curved top or base are assembled in *Kush* 3, 53, fig. 1, and also in *Uronarti*, 64, but they are not classified or reproduced in the present study. ⁷ *Zweite Zwischenzeit*, 222, Thirteenth Dynasty, 3 or 16.

⁸ *Kush* 3, 37 f.

⁹ *Ibid.* 26.

¹⁰ H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs etc. in the British Museum*, 1; *Royal Scarabs* (London, 1913), nos. 141-2 = B.M. 37655 and 3931.

¹¹ Von Beckerath's dates will be used in this discussion, differing only slightly from those of W. C. Hayes in *CAH*, rev. edn. (1962).

The comparison

As far as we can tell, the collections from Kahûn Town and Uronarti Fort cover between them a period of about 220 years. Kahûn certainly had 35 years' start, and Uronarti lingered on for more than half a century after the desertion of the workmen's town. Both places were especially active between say 1862 and 1785 B.C., and correspondence between officials at all government centres was undoubtedly heavy and sustained. In anticipation of the full result of this inquiry, it can be said that the Kahûn collection shows best affinity with the scarab contents of Tomb 66 at Ruweise,¹² whereas the Uronarti sealings fit in closely with the graph for Jericho Groups IV–V and for the same criterion established for certain graves and the general collections found by Griffith and Petrie many years ago.¹³ Thus the two collections from Kahûn Town and Uronarti Fort will take their place in the final analysis as historical markers in the development of the scarab industry as a whole (fig. 1).

Seal impressions

Dimensions. The clay seal impressions only provide two measurements, length and breadth, but they are sufficient to place each design in relation to others of the same kind in different collections. When only a small portion of the sealing is missing, then the estimated size is prefixed by a query. It will be appreciated that the fragmentary nature of most of the material does not permit of this precision, and at the end of each section which follows, an attempt will be made to estimate whether the indications of quantity established by measurable impressions is borne out by the numerous fragments. It is important to confirm in this way which motifs and designs are completely missing at Kahûn and Uronarti. In passing, it should be noted that some of the drawings published in *KGH*, pl. 10, actually represent scarabs and have been seen in Manchester, but as it is uncertain how many more there may be, all are treated as impressions only in this survey.¹⁴

Design class 1, *Linear patterns*, so characteristic of the First Intermediate period in Egypt, are rare at Kahûn and Uronarti.¹⁵ Both *maze* and *geometric* patterns are missing (1A–B) and there are no true representatives of the stick-like human figure (1C).¹⁶ Animals and insects executed in linear style (1D) may be represented by hedgehogs opposed,¹⁷ the only case that I know of when the animal appears on the plinth, though attractive hedgehog-backed seals do occur.¹⁸ Among floral elements (1E), the three-stem papyrus plant is very common at both sites, but in each case the average length is less than that at Jericho, the site which provides the nucleus of the basic excavated series, founded on the division of the pottery from Middle Bronze Age tombs into five

¹² *Berytus*, forthcoming.

¹³ E. Naville, *Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias* and F. Ll. Griffith, *Antiquities of Tell el-Yahûdiyeh* (London, 1890), pl. 10; W. M. F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, double vol. (London, 1906), pls. 6–9.

¹⁴ Manchester University Museum, nos. 170a–j, see *KGH* pl. 10, nos. 40, 44, 46, 47, 53–5, 58, and 71.

¹⁵ *Syria* 43, 181.

¹⁶ The determinative for 'child', *hryd*, appears on three impressions from Uronarti, but in those cases it should be interpreted as a hieroglyphic sign.

¹⁷ *Uronarti*, 76: 349.

¹⁸ e.g. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* 1 (London, 1931), pl. 13: 14, Level II Rm. Y.

groups, established by Dame Kathleen Kenyon.¹⁹ Items with one, two, or four stems are missing or rare among fragments at Kahûn,²⁰ though there are measurable pieces at Uronarti.

Design class 2, *Scrolls and spirals*. Well developed on scarabs in the Montet Jar,²¹ Z-, S-, and C-scrolls (2A) are surprisingly rare at Jericho, occurring only in single examples in Group I–IV and on two pieces in Group V. These deficiencies are made up at Kahûn and Uronarti, where the details are more elaborate (fig. 3: 58–116). At Fara and ‘Ajjul, the design is proportionately rare. The same situation applies to the *round interlocking spiral with ends* (2B1), completely missing from Jericho Groups I–II and represented in Groups III–IV by scarabs with a larger average length than those at Kahûn and Uronarti (fig. 3: 117–57). A similar result is obtained from the *round interlocking spiral, unending* (2B2) in Groups III–V at Jericho, in relation to Kahûn and Uronarti (fig. 4: 158–221). Fragments of all these varieties are illustrated in the original publications.

Design class 3, *Egyptian signs and symbols*. In this, the largest class of designs, many further divisions are necessary. Monograms and varia (3A) include two important symbols already established in First-Intermediate-Period contexts. *The Sign of Union, the full smꜣ* (3A1) is, however, missing in the Montet Jar. Based on the temporal unity of the Two Lands, that situation could have obtained in Ward’s Period 3 of the First Intermediate Period, and also in the early decades of the Twelfth Dynasty. Four examples from Jericho, attributed to Group II,²² come from late tombs in the group, and stand after the average lengths calculated for Kahûn and Uronarti (fig. 4: 222–37). Nbtj and plant monograms (3A2) were a large class in the First Intermediate Period, and are just present in the Montet Jar and at Ruweise.²³ The design is missing at Jericho, but present at Kahûn, with one solitary example at Uronarti (fig. 4: 238–44) and there are only derivatives of the original pattern at ‘Ajjul and Fara.

Varia (3A3) denotes designs in symmetric fashion composed of Egyptian hieroglyphic signs which have not been classified. To include every permutation would seriously overburden *Studies on Scarab-seals* and it might be even more difficult to distinguish the wood from the trees. These unclassified designs have not been singled out or illustrated as far as the Kahûn and Uronarti collections are concerned.

Horus hawk, with ntr and other signs (3A4), introduced at Ruweise, is most prominent at Megiddo, and occurs throughout the Jericho sequence,²⁴ but there is no trace of the design at Kahûn or Uronarti. The absence of this design at the sites now

¹⁹ K. M. Kenyon, *Jericho I. The Tombs excavated in 1952–4*, 263–518; *Jericho II. The tombs excavated in 1955–8*, 167–478—hereinafter abbreviated *JT* I and II. The scarabs are discussed by D. Kirkbride in vol. II, Appendix E, pp. 580–655.

²⁰ The only significant piece in the collection is fig. 2: 3, which appears identical with scarabs from Tell el-‘Ajjul, Level II, Rm. Q, datable to the reign of Auserre ‘Apophis (*AG* I, pl. 13, 6–7). Otherwise, there is no indication that the workmen’s town was still in occupation so late.

²¹ *Syria*, 43, 181 f.

²² *JT* II, fig. 286: 3, 11; 282: 3 and 285: 5; the first two at 15–16 mm. and the last two both at 19 mm.

²³ *Syria*, 43, fig. 2: 24–5; *Berytus*, forthcoming, ‘Ruweise, near Sidon Tomb 66’.

²⁴ *Ibid.* fig. 1: 18–19; *Levant* 5, 75 ff.; *JT* II, fig. 282: 5–7, Group I Tomb B 48, and *passim*.

under consideration may prove to have regional or more probably chronological significance.

Symmetric patterns (3B) consist of Egyptian hieroglyphic signs and symbols arranged in pairs on either side of a central group or theme. The concept seems to be rare in First-Intermediate contexts in Egypt, but it occurs at Ruweise, and is paramount at Megiddo and Jericho.²⁵ The difference in motifs between these sites and Kahûn and Uronarti is very marked. *Cobras* in various positions (3B1a-d) are missing or reduced to single items (fig. 5: 245-7); the combination *King of Upper and Lower Egypt* (3B2) is absent, as it was also at Ruweise and in graves on the mound at Megiddo. Red crowns (3B3) concentrate more on positions which were rare at the earlier sites, in particular *red crowns addorsed on nb* and *red crowns confronted* (3B3a and 3B3c) (fig. 5: 248-50, 256-63), details of which appear on seals and scarabs naming Sesostris II and Ammenemes III.²⁶ Motifs *Horus eyes* (3B4), sedge plant (3B5), and forepart of lion (3B7) are well represented at both sites, but *GOLD-sign (nbw) in longitudinal setting* (3B6), is more popular at Uronarti, where all the motifs achieve a greater average length than at Kahûn (fig. 6: 268-306).

It is noteworthy that the so-called 'an-ra' style *formulae* (3C), composed almost entirely of low broad signs chosen from Egyptian hieroglyphic writing is missing at Kahûn and Uronarti. It remains to be seen whether the absence of this style, much identified with Hyksos rulers, has a regional or chronological significance. Meanwhile, it should be borne in mind that, as far as I know, there is only a scarab and a plaque on which such signs are associated with a royal name, that of Sesostris III.²⁷

Cartouches (3D) on cylinder seals commemorate Sesostris I, II, III, and Ammenemes III at Kahûn, where the reign of Ammenemes II is ignored. The same site produced a scarab or impressions with the prenomen of Neferhotep placed within a cartouche.²⁸ The squared seal, with curved top or base, seems to replace the cylinder at Uronarti.²⁹ For scarabs bearing a cartouche, with or without royal names, see fig. 6: 301, 307-12, and fig. 12: 441, 444, 445-7.

Panels (3E). In keeping with the lack of formulae at Kahûn and Uronarti, the arrangement of groups of signs divided into vertical panels is missing, unless the solitary example naming Mayibrē, midway between a cartouche and a panel, should be included in the latter category (fig. 12: 446).

Design class 4, *Concentric circles*, arranged in various ways, were most popular in the Montet Jar,³⁰ and from other instances it can be shown that the dotted circle, once thought to be exclusive to the Second Intermediate Period, also had a place in the Middle-Kingdom repertory: the tradition is maintained at Ruweise and Megiddo with the same variants beginning at Jericho in Group II.³¹

Design class 5, *Cross pattern*, is rare before the period of the Montet Jar, which

²⁵ *Berytus*, forthcoming; *Levant* 5, 76.

²⁶ See note 10, p. 69.

²⁷ R. Weill, *Fin du Moyen Empire Egyptien* (Paris, 1918), 250; Oriental Institute, Chicago, no. 18438 (unpublished).

²⁸ *KGH* pl. 10: 2, 3, 10, 11-15.

²⁹ *Kush* 3, 53; *Uronarti*, 64.

³⁰ *Syria* 43, 183 ff.

³¹ *Berytus*, forthcoming; *Levant* 5, 75.

contains four examples.³² The design occurs at Ruweise;³³ it is somewhat rare at Megiddo, where two pieces can be assigned to Müller's Strata XII–XI = Kenyon's Group MB II ph. B, with two more attributed to Strata XI–IX = Kenyon's MB II ph. E–G.³⁴ At Jericho, Miss Kirkbride commented that the design 'is at its most popular in Group II and ceases completely after Group III'.³⁵ Versions of the cross pattern becoming almost a rosette at Kahûn and Uronarti are clearly distinguishable from all those to be seen in the excavated series (fig. 7: 323–37).

Design class 6, *Coiled and 'woven' patterns*. Only the first two versions of this complex design occurred in First-Intermediate material, with three out of four pieces found in the Montet Jar.³⁶ At Megiddo, the emphasis lay on more involved designs, mostly found in burials attributed to the later phases E–G of the cemetery on the mound.³⁷ All variants of the design are present at Jericho, though they are by no means common. On the whole, it can be said that these designs are in short supply at Kahûn and appear more frequently at Uronarti (fig. 8: 338–72; fig. 9: 373–7).

Design class 7, *Scroll borders*. Contrary to previous information, Ward will show that the scroll border dates back to Periods 2 and 3 of his First Intermediate Period, though there are only three well-dated examples.³⁸ Despite the fact that there are none in the Montet Jar, he is now able to show new material from Lisht which suggests that scroll borders were in use from the early years of the Twelfth Dynasty.³⁹ This is supported at Megiddo, where an example of the continuous-hook scroll border (7A) and several examples of paired scrolls (7B) occur in Müller's Strata XII–X equal to Kenyon's MB II ph. A–D.⁴⁰ As far as Kahûn is concerned there are few measurable impressions of scroll borders, though one piece encloses the prenomen of Ammenemes III—7A2b (fig. 12: 439). Other examples are inscribed with the names of officials (7B3b), and it is worth noting a small difference between the scroll borders of earlier sites where the scrolls themselves are nearly always hooked into the opposing convolution, though at Kahûn and Uronarti they are often completely joined and unbroken (fig. 10: 398–413). The change may indicate some small improvement in the lapidary's craft. The absence of yet another variety of paired scroll border, where the loop at top or bottom is omitted (7C) is conspicuous at Megiddo, and is limited at Jericho to one significant design occurring at the junction of Groups III and IV.⁴¹ It indicates that room has to be found at about this point in the Jericho sequence for the insertion of other open-ended scrolls, many of which enclose the names of Fifteenth-Dynasty kings. The scarcity of such designs at Kahûn and Uronarti suggests that neither site was much occupied during the latter part of the reign of Mayibrē' Sheshi or his successors (fig. 10: 415–17).

Design class 8, *Rope borders*. In imitation of the rope, perhaps, enclosing the oblong of a well-drawn cartouche, the design on scarabs does not seem to predate the Twelfth Dynasty.⁴² Indeed, it cannot yet be shown that it is found on any scarabs naming

³² *Syria* 43, 185. In *StSc* 1 it will be seen that nos. 60, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, and 70 in the Jar have now been transferred to other classes.

³⁴ *Levant* 5, 75.

³⁵ *JT* 11, 586.

³³ *Berytus*, forthcoming.

³⁶ *Syria* 43, nos. 63, 67, and 69.

³⁷ *Levant* 5, 75.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 77, and *StSc* 1.

³⁹ *EEMW*, 116–18.

⁴⁰ *Levant* 5, 77–8.

⁴¹ *JT* 11, fig. 294: 8 Group IV Tomb J 45(4) 7B2b+8B.

⁴² Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*³ 74.

Sesostris I or Ammenemes II, though there is an isolated example for Sesostris II at 23 mm. The border is, however, common on scarabs naming Sesostris III between 12 and 16 mm., and there is a single scarab for Ammenemes III at 17 mm.⁴³ In the excavated series, rope borders form an outer finish to scroll borders at Jericho, and are also seen as the only decoration on scarabs of Group II, at an average length of 20 mm. At Megiddo, four examples cover the whole range of the pottery phases, but the average lengths of the items concerned tend towards those of Sesostris III.⁴⁴ At Kahûn, rope borders—barred—(8B) were found in three measurable pieces (fig. 11; 418, 422, and 428) but at Uronarti (8AA—twin strands, twisted) take over at greater lengths, mostly inscribed with official names and titles (fig. 11: 423–7).

Design class 9, *Animals*. Representations of animals filling most of the space on the plinth are confined at Kahûn to a couple of lions, one *rampant* and unique in its pose, the other *couchant*, both at 21 mm. (fig. 11: 430–1). Four sealings representing the hippopotamus goddess Taurt (most crudely executed) might be included under this heading, but as this deity of child-birth is not represented among the designs in the Syro-Palestinian field, as far as I know, it is sufficient to refer to the original publication, and to First-Intermediate comparisons from Middle Egypt.⁴⁵

It will be shown in *StSc.* II that figures of animals taking up most of the field, usually deeply cut and often hatched or cross-hatched on the body, only begin at Jericho in pottery Group III.⁴⁶ Prior to that point in time there are some off-beat representations of animals at Megiddo, already discussed, as well as conventional pieces for which there are parallels at Jericho in Groups IV–V.⁴⁷ The scarcity of animal designs at Kahûn and Uronarti may have a regional and/or a chronological part to play in the final analysis.

Design class 10, *Human and mythical figures*. Apart from a few 'stick-like' human figures, which are interpreted as the hieroglyphic determinative for 'child',⁴⁸ standing and kneeling figures are missing at Kahûn; the situation is little better at Uronarti, where two measurable impressions were found of kneeling figures with human heads (fig. 11: 432–3). For the *hez* vase held by the second figure there are parallels in the First Intermediate Period, and also on the base of a figurine found in the Montet Jar.⁴⁹ No hawk-headed deities or other zoomorphic gods are represented at either site. There are, however, five representations of the Hathor symbol (fig. 11: 434–6 A–C) already reproduced on scarabs in First-Intermediate times, drawn in some detail, and occasionally stylized to an almost unrecognizable degree.⁵⁰ The Kahûn and Uronarti symbols are drawn differently from any pieces found in the excavated series.

⁴³ Sesostris II—Cambridge, Lib. of Egyptology no. 2; Sesostris III—e.g. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders* (London, 1917), pl. 13, 12. 5. 5–6; Ammenemes III—Hall, *Catalogue* no. 147 = B.M. 24128.

⁴⁴ *Levant* 5, nos. 26, 7, 50, and 85.

⁴⁵ *Uronarti*, 79, nos. 420–3, but an example is listed among scarabs in the Nat. Museum of Lebanon (F. 756).

⁴⁶ One notable exception exists in the scarab depicting antelopes *tête bêche*, which carries on an earlier tradition in design; cf. *Syria* 43, no. 5, references on p. 229.

⁴⁷ *Levant* 5, 79.

⁴⁸ Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*, 443, Sign-list A 17; see above, n. 16.

⁴⁹ *StSc.* I; *Syria* 43, 190, fig. 4: 100.

⁵⁰ *StSc.* I.

Design class 11, *Names and titles*. The evidence provided by the royal names found on impressions at Kahûn and Uronarti (11A) was discussed above.⁵¹ Both sites produced a useful collection of private-name and title impressions (fig. 12: 448–91), for the readings of which reference should be made to Dr. G. T. Martin's catalogue.⁵² In this survey the emphasis lies on the ancillary designs, which may be summarized as follows:⁵³

<i>Kahûn Town</i>			<i>Uronarti Fort</i>		
<i>Total</i>	<i>Average length mm.</i>	<i>Design</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Average length mm.</i>	<i>Design</i>
			1	25	7A1a
			2	19.5	7A2b
			6	20.1	7B3a
2	19.5	7B3b	6	21.1	7B3b
			1	21.0	7B4a
			1	18.0	7C3b
1	12.0	8A	1	21	8A
1	17.0	8AA	4	21.7	8AA
1	?22.0	8B	0	—	8B

The relationship of these lengths to the royal-name series must await the final study.

Finally, there are certain impressions which have been doubtfully identified as containing the elements of a royal name (11C). Both Kahûn and Uronarti provide specimens and there are several others all inscribed with two signs, *nfr r̄c̄*. One of those from Jericho places the signs in a cartouche (3D2), with the combination of sedge plant and bee above, denoting the title 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt' (3B2). Even with these attributes of royalty, it is considered doubtful that these scarabs commemorate an actual ruler; at present it seems more likely that a good-wish motto is intended. However, they are singled out in the collections from the two sites now under review in case more information comes to light at some later time. The measurable examples (fig. 12: 492–6) are augmented by many fragments from the earlier site, see also certain items not reproduced on fig. 12 (fig. 6: 307–12). There are also two scarabs which may name Djedneferr̄c̄; in the first case the signs are transposed (fig. 6: 304, fig. 10: 416).

Illustrations (Figs. 1–12)

The illustrations provided by Petrie and his staff at Kahûn, and by Reisner and members of his expedition and publication team must represent in themselves a considerable total of man-hours, and if I have used their careful work without due acknowledgement to each one individually, I feel that they would have been the first

⁵¹ pp. 68 f.

⁵² G. T. Martin, *Egyptian administrative and private-name seals* (Oxford, 1971).

⁵³ Items 408, 409 entered under 7B3b were omitted in error under the illustrations 11B and the same applies to 417. They are included in the averages.

to agree that the greatest amount of information possible should be extracted from their meticulous task.

The mere selection and arrangement of the drawings was also exacting and time-consuming, and I am extremely grateful to Mr. R. N. L. B. Hubbard for the successful completion of this assignment. Part of the cost of preparing the illustrations will be covered by a grant from the Wainwright Fund, which is also gratefully acknowledged.

The graph (fig. 1) was drawn by Miss Alison Urwick. It summarizes the results as far as Design classes 1-10 are concerned, and in due course other graphs and statistics will appear summarizing the conclusions from closed deposits elsewhere, with a view to establishing a relative sequence throughout the period under review.

The lists which identify the illustrations need some explanation. When more than one motif occurs on a single scarab, it is repeated under the appropriate class of design, with one important exception. Class 3B *symmetric patterns*, is too large to allow for this treatment, and it would be unhelpful to repeat the drawing for every pair of signs. In this case, therefore, illustrations are limited to one occurrence, usually when it first appears in the sequence. Subsequent occurrences are noted in the lists, placed according to size, and preceded by the number of the illustrated example placed within diagonals. In the last column class numbers in bolder type indicate where the illustration can be found.

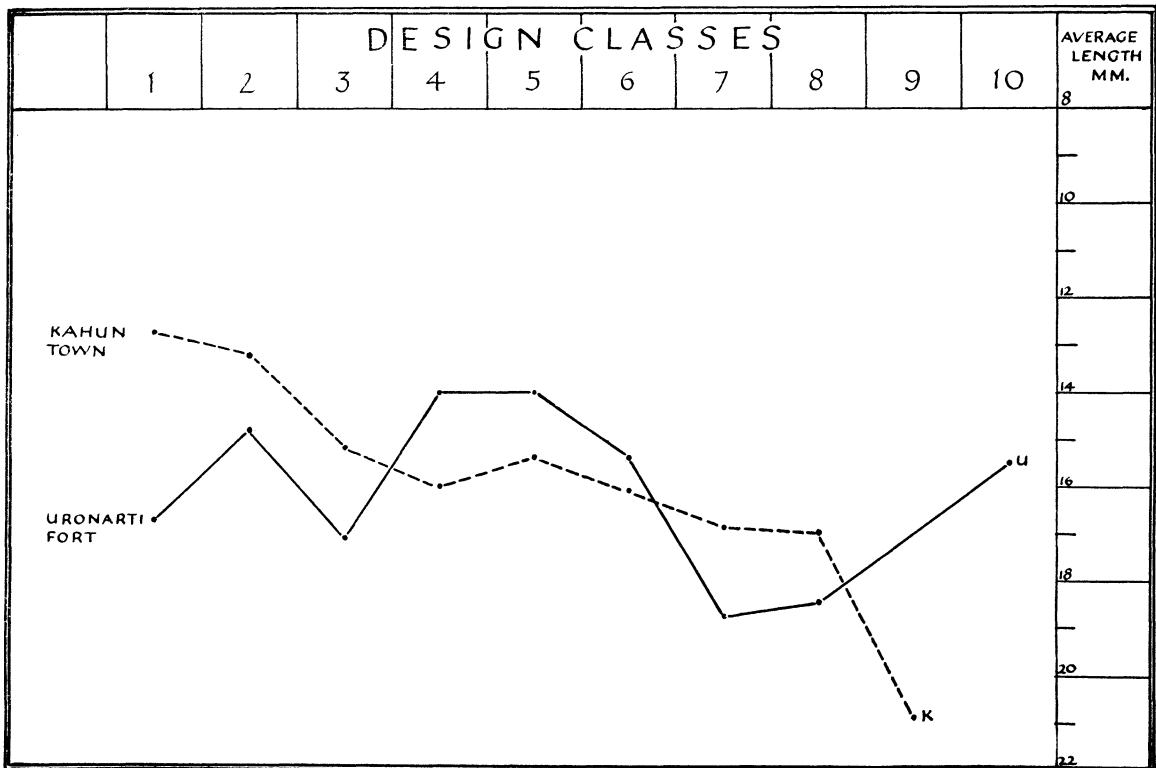


FIG. 1

CLASSES OF DESIGN

1. Linear Patterns

1E1: floral motif, one stem

KAHÛN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
1	8×5	<i>Lah.</i> II 258		6	12×7	<i>Uro.</i> ⁵⁴ p. 69: 110	
2	9×7	<i>Lah.</i> II 260	+2A	7	14×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 234	+3B3a
3	10×6	<i>Lah.</i> II 291	+nb				+3B3e
4	14×10	<i>IKG</i> 80	+3B1a	8	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 211	
			+3B7	9	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 246	
5	14×10	<i>Lah.</i> II 307		10	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 230	
				11	16×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 219	+2A
				12	17×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 212	
				13	17×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 245	
				14	17×12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 247	
Total = 5	Average length = 11 mm.			Total = 9	Average length = 15.3 mm.		

1E2: floral motif, two stems

Nil	15	13×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 350	
	16	14×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 329	
	17	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 106	+2B1
	18	16×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 347	
	19	19×14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 346	+8B
	20	22×15	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 217	
	21	23×18	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 216	
	Total = 7	Average length = 17.4 mm.		

1E3: floral motif, three stems

22	11×7	<i>Lah.</i> II 341		32	?12×8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 75: 311	
23	12×9	<i>Lah.</i> II 340		33	13×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 249	
24	14×10	<i>Lah.</i> II 339		34	13×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 248	
25	14×10	<i>Lah.</i> II 338		35	14×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 75: 290	+nb
26	?14×10	<i>KGH</i> 43		36	14×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 343	
27	15×13	<i>KGH</i> 49		37	14×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 124	+2B2
28	16×10	<i>KGH</i> 36		38	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 320	
29	16×11	<i>Lah.</i> II 276	+3B3a	39	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 328	+2B2
			+3B7	40	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 214	
30	16×11	<i>Lah.</i> II 337		41	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 261	+3B6
31	?17×11	<i>Lah.</i> II 268	+3B3b	42	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 348	
			+3Bb7	43	16×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 123	+2B2
				44	16×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 344	
				45	16×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 75: 294	+nb
				46	17×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 345	
				47	17×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 317	+6A
				48	?17×12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 75: 314	
				49	18×13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 75: 312	
				50	19×14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 264	+3B6
				51	22×15	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 265	+3B6
				52	22×16	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 218	

⁵⁴ Dows Dunham, ed. *Uronarti Shalfak Mirgissa*, II (Boston, 1967).

1E3: floral motif, three stems (cont.)

KAHÚN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
				53	22 × 16	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 268	+3B6
				54	23 × 16	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 395	+3A1 +3B3b +3B4 +3B7
				55	24 × 15	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 251	
				56	26 × 16	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 316	
				57	27 × 17	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 250	
Total = 10	Average length = 14.5 mm.			Total = 26	Average length = 17.5 mm.		

2. Scrolls and Spirals

2A: Z-, S-, C-scrolls

58	9 × 6	<i>Lah.</i> II 260	+1E1	79	11 × 7	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 207	+5
59	9 × 6	<i>Lah.</i> II 400		80	12 × 7	<i>Uro.</i> p. 77: 353	+3B3a
60	10 × 7	<i>Lah.</i> II 286	+3B3e				+3B3e
61	10 × 8	<i>Lah.</i> II 408		81	12 × 8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 85	+2B1
62	11 × 7	<i>Lah.</i> II 369		82	12 × 8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 87	
63	11 × 8	<i>Lah.</i> II 333	+3A1	83	12 × 8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 88	+2B1
64	11 × 8	<i>Lah.</i> II 401		84	12 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 206	+5
65	11 × 8	<i>Lah.</i> II 368		85	13 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 105	
66	11 × 8	<i>KGH</i> 54		86	13 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 168	
67	12 × 10	<i>Lah.</i> II 356		87	13 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 226	
68	?13 × 10	<i>Lah.</i> II 367		88	13 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 227	
69	14 × 8	<i>Lah.</i> II 349		89	13 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 252	+3B6
70	14 × 9	<i>KGH</i> 44		90	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 103	
71	14 × 11	<i>IKG</i> 151		91	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 273	+3A1
72	15 × 10	<i>Lah.</i> II 364		92	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 137	+6A
73	15 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 399		93	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 84	
74	15 × 12	<i>IKG</i> 149		94	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 202	+5
75	15 × 12	<i>IKG</i> 175	+6A	95	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 101	
76	16 × 9	<i>Lah.</i> II 347		96	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 100	
77	16 × 11	<i>IKG</i> 37	+3A1	97	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 89	
78	17 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 348	+3B4	98	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 129	
				99	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 204	+5
				100	15 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 205	+5
				101	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 228	
				102	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 164	
				103	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 102	
				104	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 163	
				105	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 86	
				106	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 90	
				107	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 138	+6A
				107A	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 219	+1E1
				108	16 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 165	
				109	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 283	+3A1
				110	17 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 128	
				111	17 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 203	+5
				112	17 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 94	+2B2
				113	18 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 448	
				114	18 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 136	+6A
				115	20 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 1	+3D2 +11A
				116	20 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 8	+11B
Total = 21	Average length = 12.3 mm.			Total = 39	Average length = 14.3 mm.		

2B1: round, interlocking spirals. 1. with ends

KAHÛN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
117	10×8	<i>Lah.</i> II 321		135	11×7	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 57	
118	11×8	<i>Lah.</i> II 402		136	12×8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 88	+2A
119	12×8	<i>Lah.</i> II 394		137	12×8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 85	+2A
120	12×8	<i>Lah.</i> II 386		138	12×8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 58	
121	13×9	<i>KGH</i> 51		139	12×8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 59	
122	13×9	<i>Lah.</i> II 391		140	12×8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 60	
123	13×10	<i>Lah.</i> II 366		141	13×8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 112	
124	14×10	<i>KGH</i> 50		142	13×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 97	
125	15×11	<i>IKG</i> 171		143	13×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 77	
126	15×11	<i>KGH</i> 40		144	14×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 113	
127	16×11	<i>KGH</i> 41		145	14×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 78	
128	16×12	<i>Lah.</i> II 355		146	14×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 81	
129	17×11	<i>IKG</i> 146		147	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 106	+1E2
130	18×12	<i>KGH</i> 17		148	15×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 53	
131	18×14	<i>Lah.</i> II 378		149	15×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 67	
132	19×11	<i>KGH</i> 28		150	16×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 108	
133	20×15	<i>IKG</i> 150		151	16×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 114	
134	22×15	<i>Lah.</i> II 375		152	17×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 107	
				153	17×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 156	
				154	18×12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 95	
				155	20×14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 91	+7A1a
				156	21×13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 56	
				157	21×14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 96	
Total = 18	Average length = 15.2 mm.			Total = 23	Average length = 14.3 mm.		

2B2: round, interlocking spirals. 2. unending

158	12×8	<i>Lah.</i> II 387		187	?12×7	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 445	
159	13×9	<i>IKG</i> 144		188	12×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 69	
160	13×9	<i>Lah.</i> II 390		189	13×8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 71	
161	13×9	<i>Lah.</i> II 351		190	13×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 72	
162	13×9	<i>Lah.</i> II 389		191	13×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 74	
163	13×10	<i>KGH</i> 20		192	13×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 105	
164	14×9	<i>KGH</i> 48		193	14×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 234	+3B3c
165	14×9	<i>Lah.</i> II 382		194	14×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 446	
166	14×9	<i>Lah.</i> II 410		195	14×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 127	+5
167	14×9	<i>Lah.</i> II 377		196	15×9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 125	
168	14×9	<i>Lah.</i> II 363		197	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 66	
169	14×10	<i>Lah.</i> II 381		198	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 62	
170	14×10	<i>Lah.</i> II 358	+3B4	199	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 73	
171	14×10	<i>Lah.</i> II 383		200	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 109	
172	14×10	<i>IKG</i> 169		201	?15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 122	+10D2
173	15×10	<i>Lah.</i> II 395		202	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 123	+1E3
174	15×11	<i>IKG</i> 159		203	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 132	
175	15×12	<i>IKG</i> 154		204	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 449	
176	16×10	<i>KGH</i> 42		205	15×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 450	
177	16×10	<i>IKG</i> 172		206	16×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 80	
178	16×11	<i>IKG</i> 176		207	16×10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 65	
179	16×11	<i>Lah.</i> II 350		208	16×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 70	
180	17×12	<i>KGH</i> 27		209	16×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 184	+6B1
181	17×12	<i>Lah.</i> II 379		210	17×11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 157	
182	17×12	<i>IKG</i> 166	+5	211	17×12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 447	
183	18×12	<i>IKG</i> 160		212	17×13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 94	+2A
184	18×12	<i>Lah.</i> II 376		213	17×13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 92	
185	22×16	<i>IKG</i> 158		214	18×12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 93	
186	24×16	<i>Lah.</i> II 392	+7A2a	215	18×13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 69: 98	
				216	19×12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 79: 410	+3B4

2B2: round, interlocking spirals. 2. unending (cont.)

KAHÛN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
				217	19 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 133	
				218	20 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 61	
				219	20 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 158	
				220	20 × 15	<i>Uro.</i> p. 68: 79	
				221	23 × 15	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 154	+3B4
Total = 29	Average length = 15.3 mm.			Total = 35	Average length = 15.9 mm.		

3. Egyptian Signs and Symbols

3A: Monograms and Varia

3A1: sign of union, sm3

222	11 × 8	<i>Lah.</i> II 333	+2A	228	13 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 271	
223	12 × 9	<i>IKG</i> 121		229	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 273	+2A
224	15 × 10	<i>Lah.</i> II 334		230	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 276	
225	16 × 11	<i>KGH</i> 37	+2A	231	16 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 269	+nb
226	16 × 12	<i>IKG</i> 120	+11C	232	16 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 285	
227	17 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 332		233	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 274	+3B3a
				234	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 282	
				235	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 283	+2A
				236	20 × 14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 270	+nb
				237	23 × 16	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 395	+1E3 +3B3b +3B4 +3B7
Total = 6	Average length = 14.5 mm.			Total = 10	Average length = 16.9 mm.		

3A2: nb.ty and plant

238	?10 × 7	<i>Lah.</i> II 310		244	20 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 75: 307	
239	13 × 7	<i>Lah.</i> II 314					
240	14 × 9	<i>IKG</i> 79					
241	14 × 10	<i>KGH</i> 47					
242	16 × 11	<i>KGH</i> 45					
243	22 × 13	<i>IKG</i> 113					
Total = 6	Average length = 14.8 mm.			Total = 1	Average length = 20 mm.		

3A3: varia

Omitted

Omitted

3A4: Horus hawk, with ntr and other signs

Nil

Nil

3B: Symmetric patterns*3B1a: symmetric patterns 1. cobras a. addorsed*

KAHÛN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
245	14 × 10	<i>IKG</i> 80	+1E1 +3B7	Nil			
Total = 1	Average length = 14 mm.						

3B1b: symmetric patterns 1. cobras b. addorsed and linked

Nil	Nil
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3B1c: symmetric patterns 1. cobras c. confronted

246	15 × 9	<i>Lah.</i> II 269		247	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 321	
Total = 1	Average length = 15 mm.			Total = 1	Average length = 16 mm.		

3B1d: symmetric patterns 1. cobras d. addorsed, linked and crowned

Nil	Nil
-----	-----

3B1e: symmetric patterns 1. cobras e. confronted and crowned

Nil	Nil
-----	-----

3B2: symmetric patterns 2. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, n-sw bit

Nil	Nil
-----	-----

3B3a: symmetric patterns 3. red crowns addorsed a. on nb

248	10 × 7	<i>Lah.</i> II 288		/266/	12 × 7	<i>Uro.</i> p. 77: 352	+2A
249	11 × 7	<i>Lah.</i> II 309					+3B3e
/303/	16 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 276	+1E3 +3B7	/259/	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 334	+3B3e
				/304/	15 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 457	+3B4 +3B7 +11C
/302/	16 × 11	<i>IKG</i> 58	+3B4 +3B7				
/274/	22 × 15	<i>Lah.</i> II 271	+3B4	250	16 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 242	
				/262/	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 235	+3B3c +7B1a
				/233/	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 274	+3A1
				/267/	17 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 77: 354	+3B3e
Total = 5	Average length = 15 mm.			Total = 7	Average length = 15.5 mm.		

3B3b: *symmetric patterns 3. red crowns b. addorsed*

KAHÛN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
251	?17 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 268	+1E3 +3B7	252	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 319	+6A
				253	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 77: 371	
				254	19 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 408	+3B4 +3B7
				255	?21 × 14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 77: 361	
				/237/	23 × 16	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 395	+1E3 +3A1 +3B4 +3B7
Total = 1 Average length = 17 mm.				Total = 5 Average length = 18.4 mm.			

3B3c: *symmetric patterns 3. red crowns c. confronted*

256	12 × ?10	<i>IKG</i> 50	+3B6	257	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 234	+2B2
				258	14 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 253	+3B6
				259	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 334	+3B3a
				260	15 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 254	+3B6
				261	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 257	+3B6
				262	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 235	+3B3a +7B1a
				263	19 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 256	+3B6
Total = 1 Average length = 12 mm.				Total = 7 Average length = 15.8 mm.			

3B3d: *symmetric patterns 3. red crowns d. 'L-shaped'*

Nil				Nil			
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3B3e: *symmetric patterns 3. red crowns e. tête bêche*

264	10 × 7	<i>Lah.</i> II 286	+2A	266	12 × 7	<i>Uro.</i> p. 77: 253	+2A
265	14 × 8	<i>Lah.</i> II 284					+3B3a
				267	17 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 77: 354	+3B3a
Total = 2 Average length = 12 mm.				Total = 2 Average length = 14.5 mm.			

3B4: *symmetric patterns 4. Horus eyes*

268	14 × 10	<i>Lah.</i> II 358	+2B2	275	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 237	
269	15 × 8	<i>Lah.</i> II 277		276	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 238	
270	15 × 10	<i>Lah.</i> II 270		277	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 77: 372	
/301/	15 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 215	+3B7 +3D1 +11A	/304/	15 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 457	+3B3a +3B7 +11C
/300/	15 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 278	+3B7	278	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 75: 299	+nb
/302/	16 × 11	<i>IKG</i> 58	+3B7	279	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 241	
271	17 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 348	+2A	280	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 403	
272	?17 × 12	<i>IKG</i> 110		281	19 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 79: 410	+2B2
273	19 × 15	<i>KGH</i> 32		/254/	19 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 408	+3B3b +3B7
274	22 × 15	<i>Lah.</i> II 271	+3B3a	281a	23 × 15	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 154	+2B2
				/237/	23 × 16	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 395	+1E3 +3A1 +3B3b +3B7
				/306/	25 × 17	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 396	+3B7 +8A
Total = 10 Average length = 16.5 mm.				Total = 12 Average length = 18.2 mm.			

3B5: *symmetric patterns 5. sedge plant, swt*

KAHÛN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
282	?14 × 11	<i>IKG</i> 118		285	15 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 77: 363	
283	16 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 325		286	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 77: 373	+10D2
284	16 × 13	<i>IKG</i> 119		287	16 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 326	
				288	18 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 324	
				289	18 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 327	
Total = 3	Average length = 15.3 mm.			Total = 5	Average length = 16.4 mm.		

3B6: *symmetric patterns 6. Nbw (GOLD-sign) in longitudinal setting*

/256/	12 × ?10	<i>IKG</i> 50	+3B3c	293	13 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 252	+2A
290	15 × 11	<i>KGH</i> 33		/258/	14 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 253	+3B3c
291	15 × ?11	<i>IKG</i> 41		294	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 261	+1E3
292	20 × 13	<i>IKG</i> 44		295	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 260	
				/260/	15 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 254	+3B3c
				296	16 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 259	
				/305/	16 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 262	+3B7
				/261/	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 257	+3B3c
				/263/	19 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 256	+3B3c
				297	19 × 14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 264	+1E3
				298	22 × 15	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 265	+1E3
				299	22 × 16	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 268	+1E3
Total = 4	Average length = 15.5 mm.			Total = 12	Average length = 16.9 mm.		

3B7: *symmetric patterns 7. forepart of lion h̄st*

/245/	14 × 10	<i>IKG</i> 80	+1E1 +3B1a	304	15 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 457	+3B3a +3B4 +11C
300	15 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 278	+3B4				+3B6
301	15 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 215	+3B4 +3D1	305	16 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 74: 262	+2B2 +
			+11A	/281/	19 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 79: 410	3B4
302	16 × 11	<i>IKG</i> 58	+3B3a +3B4	/254/	19 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 408	+3B3b +3B4
303	16 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 276	+1E3 +3B3a	/237/	23 × 16	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 395	+1E3 +3A1
/251/	17 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 268	+1E3 +3B3b				+3B3b +3B4 +3B7
				306	25 × 17	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 396	+3B4 +8A
Total = 6	Average length = 15.5 mm.			Total = 6	Average length = 19.5 mm.		

3C: *symmetric patterns C. formulae*

Nil

Nil

3D1: *cartouche I. simple oblong*

/311/	15 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 215	+3B4 +3B7 +11A	308	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 385	+11C
				309	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 380	+11C
307	17 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 240	+7A2a +11C	310	16 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 383	+11C
				311	17 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 381	+11C
				312	20 × 14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 382	+11C
Total = 2	Average length = 16 mm.			Total = 5	Average length = 16.6 mm.		

3D2: *cartouche 2. oblong with single-line base*

KAHÛN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
Nil				313	20 × 12	<i>Uro. p. 65: 1</i>	+2A +11A
				314	24 × 17	<i>Uro. p. 65: 3</i>	+11A
				Total = 2	Average length = 22 mm.		

3D3: *cartouche 3. oblong with single-line base joined by lines*

Nil				Nil			
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3D4: *cartouche 4. oblong with triangular base*

315	21 × 15	<i>KGH</i>	15	+11A	Nil		
Total = 1	Average length = 21 mm.						

3D5: *cartouche 5. neck between oblong and base*

Nil				Nil			
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3D6: *cartouche 6. varia*

Nil				Nil			
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3E1: *panels 1. three or more signs in margins*3E2: *panels 2. two signs in margins*3E3: *panels 3. double n̄r signs, one reversed in margins*3E4: *panels 4. cross-bars in margins*3E5: *panels 5. serekh or shrine*

Nil				Nil			
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3E6: *panels 6. varia*

Nil				316	14 × 10	<i>Uro. p. 71: 162</i>	
				Total = 1	Average length = 14 mm.		

4A2: *concentric circles A. with lines 2. double ring*

317	15 × 10	<i>KGH</i>	46	Nil			
318	17 × 12	<i>IKG</i>	182				
Total = 2	Average length = 16 mm.						

4B2: *concentric circles B. linked 2. double ring*

Nil				319	14 × 8	<i>Uro. p. 75: 301</i>	+nb
				320	14 × 10	<i>Uro. p. 71: 174</i>	+5
				321	17 × 11	<i>Uro. p. 71: 172</i>	
				Total = 3	Average length = 15 mm.		

4B3: concentric circles B. linked 3. triple ring

KAHÛN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
Nil				322	13 × 8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 173	
				Total = 1	Average length = 13 mm.		

5: cross pattern

323	12 × 8	<i>Lah.</i> II 396		328	11 × 7	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 207	+2A
324	14 × 10	<i>Lah.</i> II 397		329	12 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 206	+2A
325	16 × 10	<i>KGH</i> 71		330	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 202	+2A
326	17 × 12	<i>IKG</i> 166	+2B2	331	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 204	+2A
327	18 × 12	<i>KGH</i> 35		332	14 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 127	+2B2
				333	14 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 174	+4B2
				334	14 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 208	
				335	15 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 205	+2A
				336	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 126	
				337	17 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 203	+2A
Total = 5	Average length = 15.4 mm.			Total = 10	Average length = 14.0 mm.		

6A: coiled and 'woven' patterns A. single-line thread

338	12 × 8	<i>Lah.</i> II 371		340	12 × 8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 231	
339	15 × 12	<i>IKG</i> 175	+2A	341	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 137	+2A
				342	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 319	+3B3b
				343	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 138	+2A
				344	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 76: 317	+1E3
				345	18 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 136	+2A
				346	20 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 233	
				347	21 × 14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 73: 232	
Total = 2	Average length = 13.5 mm.			Total = 8	Average length = 16.5 mm.		

6B1: coiled and 'woven' patterns B. convoluted 1. coils

348	14 × 9	<i>Lah.</i> II 414		351	10 × 7	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 198	
349	15 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 411		352	12 × 8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 197	
350	15 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 415		353	13 × 8	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 178	
				354	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 177	
				355	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 195	
				356	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 180	
				357	14 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 175	
				358	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 190	
				359	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 188	
				360	15 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 451	
				361	16 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 189	
				362	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 186	
				363	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 187	
				364	16 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 184	+2B2
				365	17 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 182	
				366	19 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 181	
Total = 3	Average length = 14.6 mm.			Total = 16	Average length = 14.7 mm.		

6B2a: coiled and 'woven' patterns B. convoluted coils 2. knot-like a. central '×' cross

Nil				367	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 176	
				368	14 × 9	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 179	
				369	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 72: 194	
				Total = 3	Average length = 14.3 mm.		

6B2b: *coiled and 'woven' patterns B. convoluted coils 2. knot-like b. central bar*

KAHÚN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publications	Designs
Nil				370	17 × 12	<i>Uro. p. 72: 192</i>	
				Total = 1	Average length = 17 mm.		

6B3: *coiled and 'woven' patterns B. convoluted 3. varia*

371	21 × 15	<i>IKG</i>	186	372	13 × 8	<i>Uro. p. 72: 196</i>	
Total = 1	Average length = 21 mm.			Total = 1	Average length = 13 mm.		

6C1: *coiled and 'woven' patterns C. encompassed 1. central '+' cross*6C2: *coiled and 'woven' patterns C. encompassed 2. central twist*

Nil				Nil			
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6C3: *coiled and 'woven' patterns C. encompassed 3. central cable*

373	?15 × 11	<i>Lah. II</i>	416	375	17 × 11	<i>Uro. p. 72: 199</i>	
374	?16 × 11	<i>KGH</i>	29	376	17 × 12	<i>Uro. p. 80: 452</i>	
				377	18 × 12	<i>Uro. p. 72: 191</i>	
Total = 2	Average length = 15.5 mm.			Total = 3	Average length = 17.3 mm.		

7A1a: *scroll borders A. continuous 1. round a. hooked*

Nil				378	20 × 14	<i>Uro. p. 68: 91</i>	+2B1
				379	25 × 17	<i>Uro. p. 65: 11</i>	+11B
				Total = 2	Average length = 22.5 mm.		

7A1b: *scroll borders A. continuous 1. round b. joined*

Nil				Nil			
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7A2a: *scroll borders A. continuous 2. oblong a. hooked*

380	13 × 10	<i>Lah. II</i>	388	384	16 × 10	<i>Uro. p. 70: 147</i>	+11C
381	?15 × 11	<i>IKG</i>	164	385	16 × 11	<i>Uro. p. 70: 148</i>	
382	17 × 11	<i>Lah. II</i>	240				
							+3D1
							+11C
383	17 × 11	<i>Lah. II</i>	243				+11C
Total = 4	Average length = 15.5 mm.			Total = 2	Average length = 16 mm.		

7A2b: *scroll borders A. continuous 2. oblong b. joined*

386	14 × 10	<i>Lah. II</i>	216	+11A	388	14 × 10	<i>Uro. p. 71: 151</i>	
387	19 × 13	<i>KGH</i>	31		389	15 × 10	<i>Uro. p. 71: 150</i>	
					390	16 × 11	<i>Uro. p. 69: 115</i>	
					391	17 × 11	<i>Uro. p. 71: 159</i>	
					392	19 × 12	<i>Uro. p. 65: 10</i>	+11B
					393	20 × 13	<i>Uro. p. 65: 9</i>	+11B
					394	20 × 13	<i>Uro. p. 70: 142</i>	
Total = 2	Average length = 16.5 mm.			Total = 7	Average length = 17.2 mm.			

7B1a: *paired scrolls, loop top 1. one pair (ii) oblong a. hooked*

KAHÛN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
Nil				395	13 × 9	<i>Uro. p. 77: 355</i>	
				396	17 × 11	<i>Uro. p. 73: 235</i>	+3B3a &c
				Total = 2	Average length = 15 mm.		

7B1b: *paired scrolls, loop top 1. one pair (ii) oblong b. joined*

397	15 × 10	<i>Lah. II 346</i>		Nil			
Total = 1	Average length = 15 mm.						

7B2a: *paired scrolls, loop top 2. two pairs (ii) oblong a. hooked*7B2b: *paired scrolls, loop top 2. two pairs (ii) oblong b. joined*

Nil				Nil			
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7B3a-b: *paired scrolls, loop top 3. three pairs (i+ii) round and oblong scrolls a. hooked and b. joined*

398	15 × 11	<i>Lah. II 345</i>		Nil			
Total = 1	Average length = 15 mm.						

7B3a: *paired scrolls, loop top 3. three pairs (ii) oblong a. hooked*

Nil				399	17 × 11	<i>Uro. p. 66: 28</i>	+11B
				400	20 × 15	<i>Uro. p. 66: 27</i>	+11B
				401	21 × 13	<i>Uro. p. 66: 26</i>	+11B
				402	21 × 13	<i>Uro. p. 66: 19</i>	+11B
				403	21 × 13	<i>Uro. p. 66: 20</i>	+11B
				404	21 × 14	<i>Uro. p. 66: 21</i>	+11B
				405	28 × 19	<i>Uro. p. 79: 434</i>	
				Total = 7	Average length = 21.2 mm.		

7B3b: *paired scrolls, loop top 3. three pairs (ii) oblong b. joined*

406	19 × 12	<i>Lah. II 237</i>	+11B	408	16 × 10	<i>Uro. p. 80: 442</i>	+11B
407	?20 × 13	<i>IKG 30</i>	+11B	409	21 × 13	<i>Uro. p. 65: 17</i>	+11B
				410	21 × 15	<i>Uro. p. 65: 14</i>	+11B
				411	22 × 14	<i>Uro. p. 65: 16</i>	+11B
				412	?23 × 16	<i>Uro. p. 65: 15</i>	+11B
				413	24 × 16	<i>Uro. p. 80: 441</i>	+11B
Total = 2	Average length = 19.5 mm.			Total = 6	Average length = 21.1 mm.		

7B4(i)a: *paired scrolls, loop top 4. four or more pairs (i) round a. hooked*

Nil				414	21 × 13	<i>Uro. p. 65: 12</i>	+11B
				Total = 1	Average length = 21 mm.		

7B4(ii)a: *paired scrolls, loop top 4. four or more pairs (ii) oblong a. hooked*

Nil				Nil			
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7C1a: *paired scrolls, open at top and/or base 1. one pair (ii) oblong a. hooked*

7C1b: *paired scrolls, open at top and/or base 1. one pair (ii) oblong b. joined*

7C2a: *paired scrolls, open at top and/or base 2. two pairs (ii) oblong a. hooked*

7C2b: *paired scrolls, open at top and/or base 2. two pairs (ii) oblong b. joined*

KAHÛN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
Nil				Nil			

7C3a-b: *paired scrolls, open at top and/or base 3. three pairs a. hooked b. joined*

415	?20 × 13	KGH 34		416	15 × 10	Uro. p. 71: 152	+11C
				417	18 × 12	Uro. p. 80: 443	+11B
Total = 1	Average length = ? 20 mm.			Total = 2	Average length = 16.5 mm.		

8A: *rope border A. twisted strand*

418	12 × 10	Lah. II 228	+11B	419	9 × 6	Uro. p. 70: 139	
				420	21 × 14	Uro. p. 66: 38	+11B
				421	25 × 17	Uro. p. 78: 396	+3B4 +3B7
Total = 1	Average length = 12 mm.			Total = 3	Average length = 18.3 mm.		

8AA: *rope border AA. double twisted strand*

422	17 × 11	Lah. II 227	+11B	423	15 × 10	Uro. p. 70: 140	+11C
				424	21 × 13	Uro. p. 66: 35	+11B
				425	21 × 14	Uro. p. 66: 36	+11B
				426	22 × 14	Uro. p. 66: 34	+11B
				427	23 × 15	Uro. p. 66: 37	+11B
Total = 1	Average length = 17 mm.			Total = 5	Average length = 20.4 mm.		

8B: *rope border B. barred strand*

428	?22 × 16	IKG 26	+11B	429	19 × 14	Uro. p. 76: 346	+1E2
Total = 1	Average length = ?22 mm.			Total = 1	Average length = 19 mm.		

8C: *rope border C. full cable*

9A: *animals A. equine*

9B: *animals B. antelope*

9C: *animals C. cobras*

9D: *animals D. crocodile*

Nil				Nil			
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9E: *animals E. lions*

430	21 × 12	IKG 39		Nil			
431	21 × 13	Lah. II 256					
Total = 2	Average length = 21 mm.						

9F: heraldic beasts

KAHÛN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
Nil				Nil			

10A1: human and mythical figures A. standing 1. human head

10A2: human and mythical figures A. standing 2. mythical head

10B: Two or more figures B. standing or kneeling

Nil

Nil

10C1: human and mythical figures C. kneeling 1. human head

Nil

432	14 × 10	Uro. p. 70: 424	+nb
433	17 × 12	Uro. p. 70: 425	
Total = 2	Average length = 15.5 mm.		

10C2: human and mythical figures C. kneeling 2. mythical head

Nil

Nil

10D1: goddess standing 1. regardant

Nil

Nil

10D2: goddess 2. Hathor-symbol

434	13 × 9	IKG 95	
435	14 × 9	Lah. II 289	
Total = 2	Average length = 13.5 mm.		

435A	?15 × 10	Uro. p. 70: 122	+2B2
435B	15 × 10	Uro. p. 77: 373	+3B5
436C	16 × 10	Uro. p. 75: 302	+nb
Total = 3	Average length = 15.3 mm.		

11A: names and titles A. royal names

437	9 × 6	Lah. II 202	
438	?12 × 7	Lah. II 213	
439	14 × 10	Lah. II 216	+7A2b
440	15 × 10	IKG 1	
441	15 × 11	Lah. II 215	+3B4 +3B7 +3D1
442	20 × 12	Lah. II 211	
443	?21 × 12	Lah. II 209	
444	21 × 15	KGH 15	+3B4
Total = 8	Average length = 15.8 mm.		

445	20 × 12	Uro. p. 65: 1	+2A +3D2
446	20 × 13	Uro. p. 77: 378	
447	24 × 17	Uro. p. 65: 3	+3D2
Total = 3	Average length = 21.3 mm.		

11B: names and titles *B. private-names*

KAHÛN TOWN				URONARTI FORT			
Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs	Sealing number	Dimensions mm.	Publication	Designs
448	12 × 10	<i>Lah.</i> II 228	+8A	462	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 44	
449	13 × 11	<i>IKG</i> 16		463	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 46	
450	14 × 10	<i>Lah.</i> II 230		—	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 442	see
451	16 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 224					7B3b
452	16 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 225		464	16 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 45	
453	?16 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 226		465	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 66: 28	+7B3a
454	17 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 217		—	18 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 443	see
455	17 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 227	+8AA				7C3b
456	18 × 12	<i>IKG</i> 17		466	19 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 6	
457	19 × 12	<i>Lah.</i> II 237	+7B3b	467	19 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 10	7A2b
458	?19 × 12	<i>IKG</i> 20		468	20 × 12	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 8	+2A
459	?20 × 13	<i>IKG</i> 30	+7B3b	469	20 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 9	+7A2b
460	?22 × 16	<i>IKG</i> 26	+8B	470	20 × 14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 42	
461	?31 × 19	<i>IKG</i> 18		471	20 × 15	<i>Uro.</i> p. 66: 27	+7B3a
				472	21 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 12	+7B4 (1a)
				473	21 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 66: 26	+7B3a
				474	21 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 66: 19	+7B3a
				475	21 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 66: 20	+7B3a
				476	21 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 17	+7B3b
				477	21 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 66: 35	+8AA
				478	21 × 14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 66: 21	+7B3a
				479	21 × 14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 66: 36	+8AA
				480	21 × 14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 66: 38	+8A
				481	21 × 15	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 14	+7B3b
				482	22 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 5	
				483	22 × 14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 16	+7B3b
				484	22 × 14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 66: 34	+8AA
				485	22 × 16	<i>Uro.</i> p. 67: 43	
				486	23 × 13	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 4	
				487	23 × 15	<i>Uro.</i> p. 66: 37	+8AA
				488	?23 × 16	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 15	+7B3b
				489	24 × 16	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 441	+7B3b
				490	25 × 15	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 7	
				491	25 × 17	<i>Uro.</i> p. 65: 11	+7A1a
Total = 14	Average length = 17.8 mm.			Total = 32	Average length = 20.5 mm.		

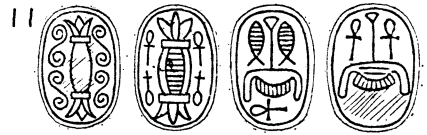
11C: names and titles *C. doubtful readings*

492	14 × 10	<i>IKG</i> 85		495	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 140	+8AA
493	17 × 10	<i>Lah.</i> II 243	+7A2a	(see 416)	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 71: 152	+7C3b
494	17 × 11	<i>Lah.</i> II 240	+3D1 +7A2a	(see 308)	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 385	+3D1
				(see 309)	15 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 380	+3D1
				(see 304)	15 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 80: 457	+3B3a +3B4 +3B7
				496	16 × 10	<i>Uro.</i> p. 70: 147	+7A2a
				(see 310)	16 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 383	+3D1
				(see 311)	17 × 11	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 381	+3D1
				(see 312)	20 × 14	<i>Uro.</i> p. 78: 382	+3D1
Total = 3	Average length = 16 mm.			Total = 9	Average length = 16 mm.		

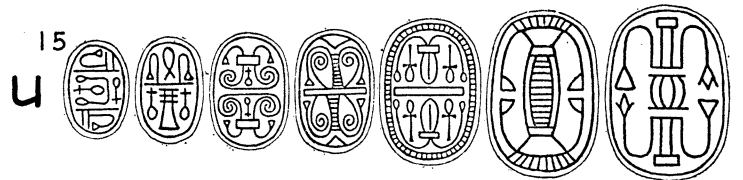
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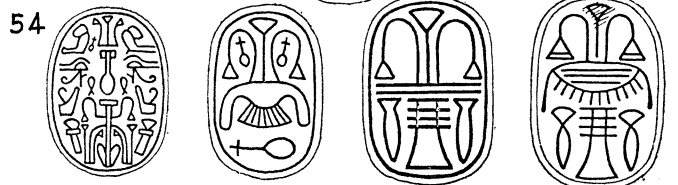
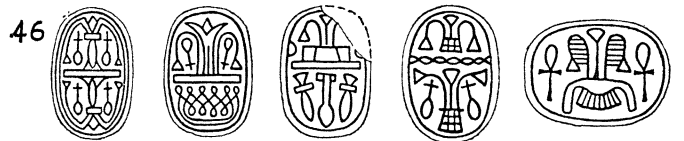
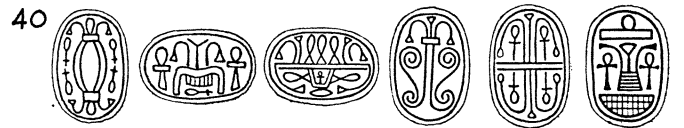
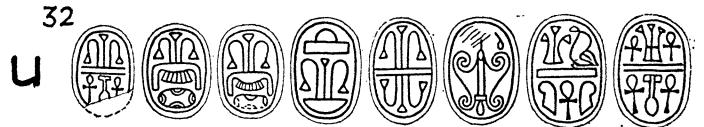
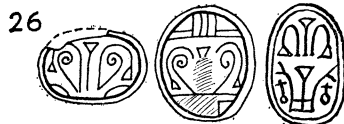
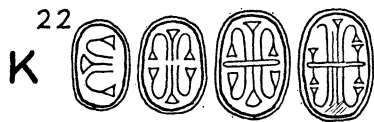
CLASS 1E1



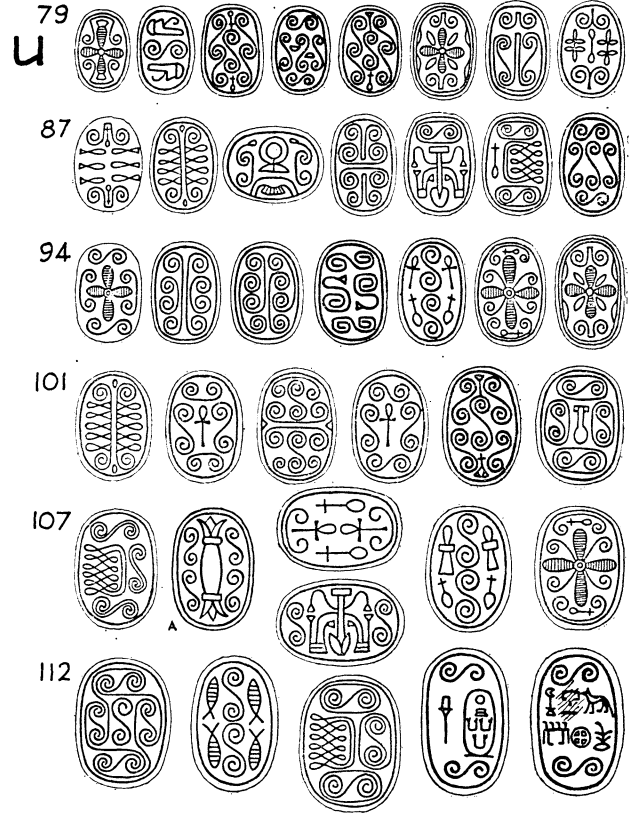
CLASS 1E2



CLASS 1E3



CLASS 2 A



CLASS 2 B1

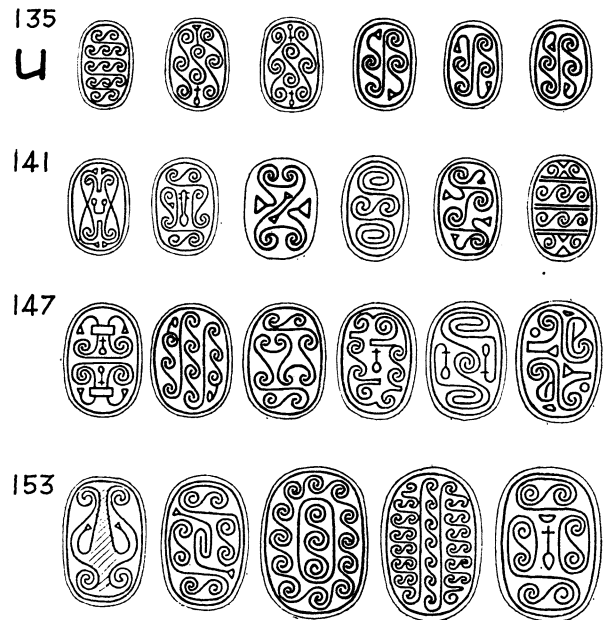
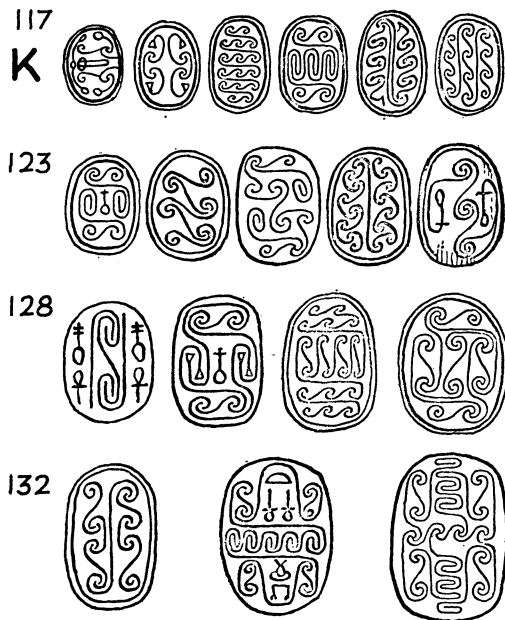
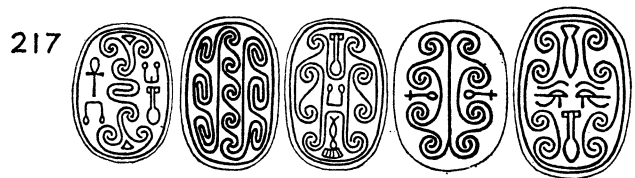
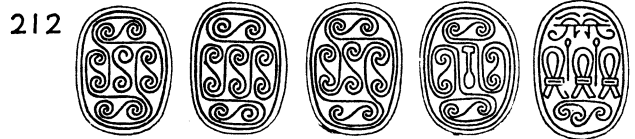
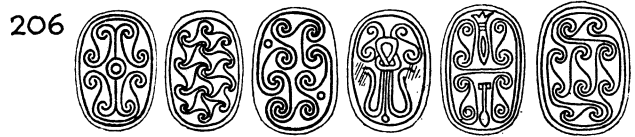
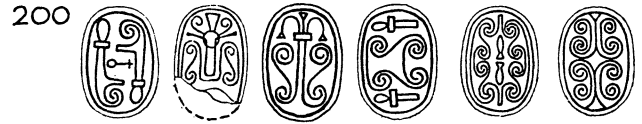
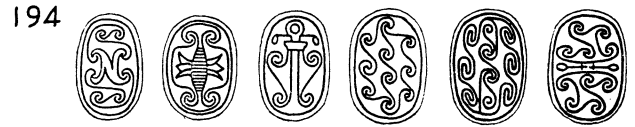
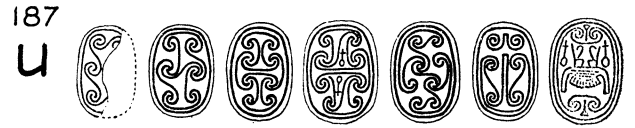
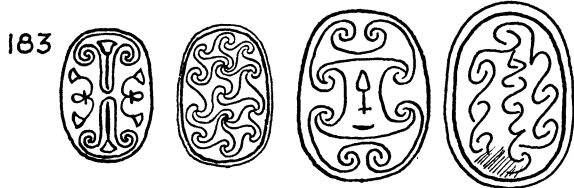
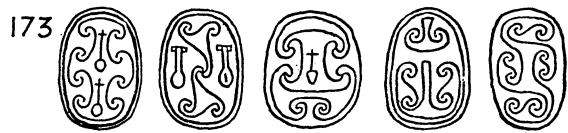
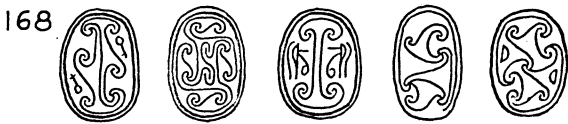
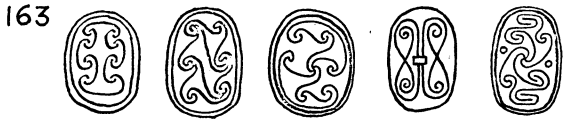
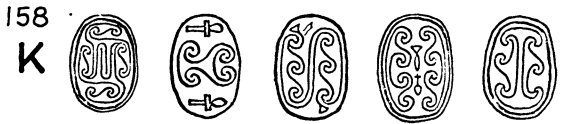
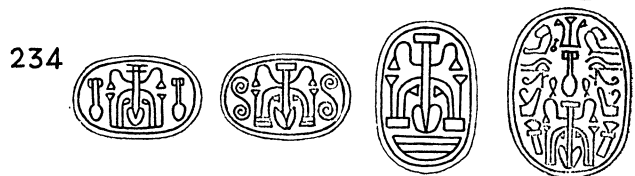
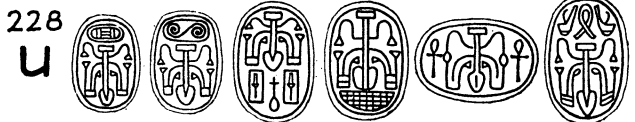
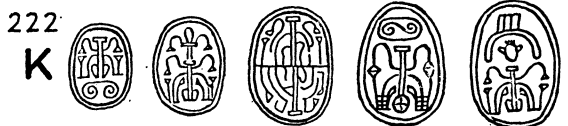


FIG. 3

CLASS 2 B2



CLASS 3 A1



CLASS 3 A2

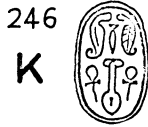


FIG. 4

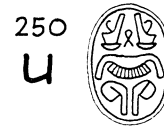
CLASS 3B1a



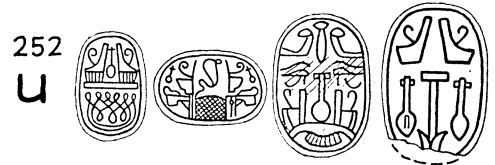
CLASS 3B1c



CLASS 3B3a



CLASS 3B3b



CLASS 3B3c



CLASS 3B3e

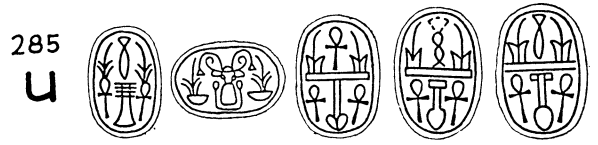


FIG. 5

CLASS 3 B4



CLASS 3 B5



CLASS 3 B6



CLASS 3 B7



CLASS 3 D1

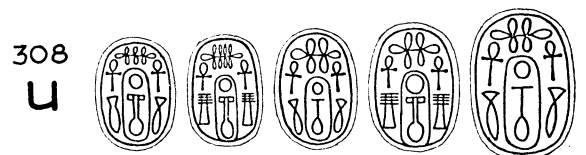
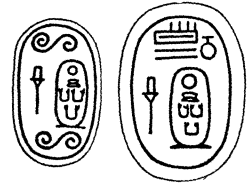


FIG. 6

CLASS 3 D 2

313
U



CLASS 3 D 4

315
K



CLASS 3 E 6

316
U



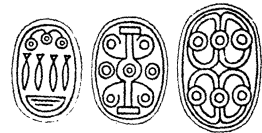
CLASS 4 A 2

317
K



CLASS 4 B 2

319
U



CLASS 4 B 3

322
U

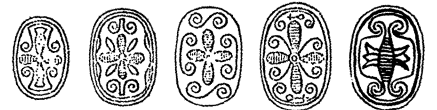


CLASS 5

323
K



328
U

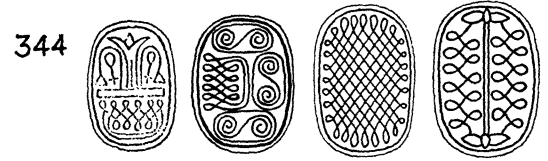
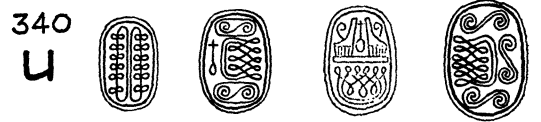
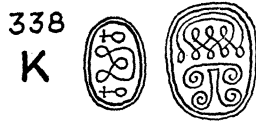


333

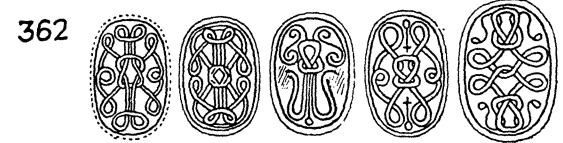
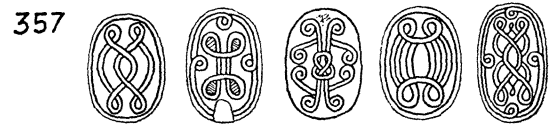
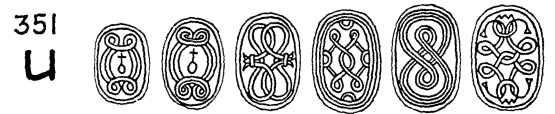
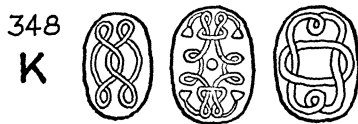


FIG. 7

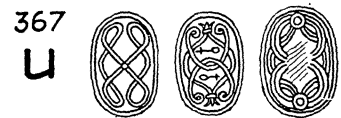
CLASS 6A



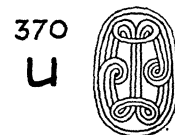
CLASS 6B1



CLASS 6B24



CLASS 6B26

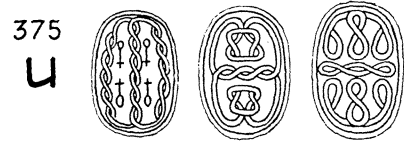
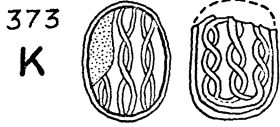


CLASS 6B3

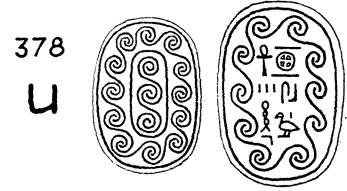


FIG. 8
H

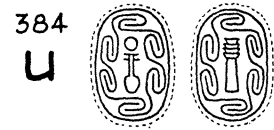
CLASS 6 C 3



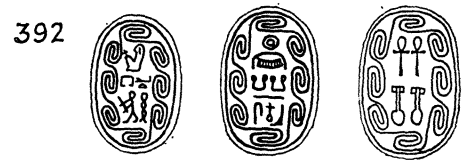
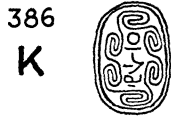
CLASS 7 A 1 a



CLASS 7 A 2 a



CLASS 7 A 2 b



CLASS 7 B 1 a

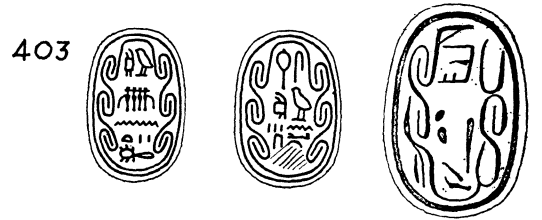
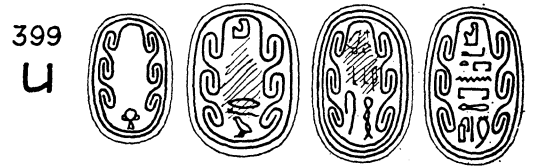


FIG. 9

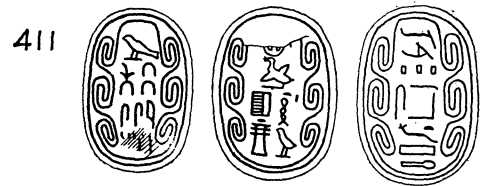
CLASS 7 B 16



CLASS 7 B 3 a



CLASS 7 B 3 b



CLASS 7 B 4 a



CLASS 7 C 3

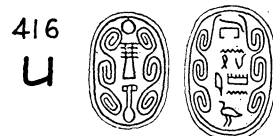
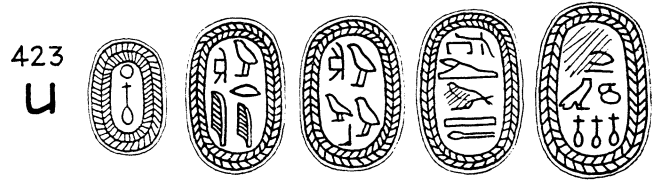


FIG. 10

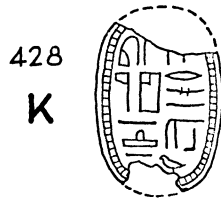
CLASS 8A



CLASS 8AA



CLASS 8B



CLASS 9E



CLASS 10 C1



CLASS 10 D2



FIG. 11

CLASS 11A

437

K

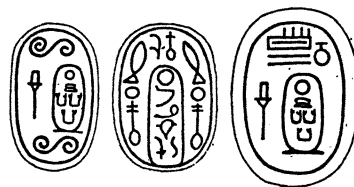


442



445

U



CLASS 11B

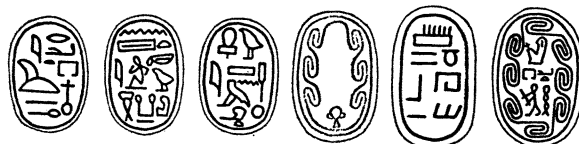
448

K



462

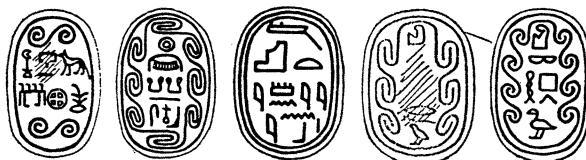
U



451



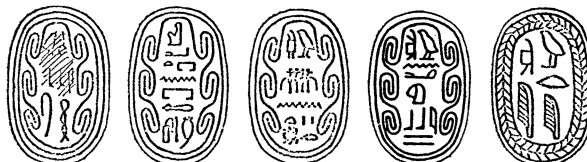
468



454



473



456



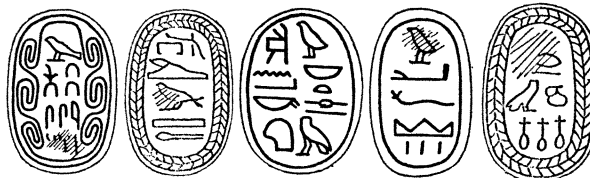
478



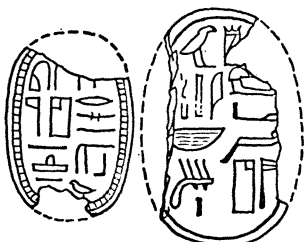
458



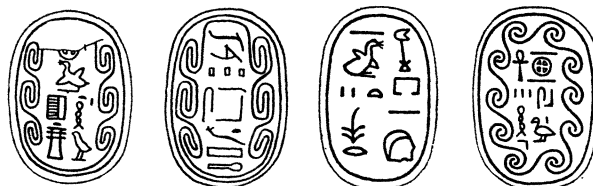
483



460



488



CLASS 11c

492

K



495

U

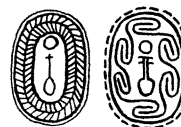


FIG. 12

PETRIE'S MANUSCRIPT NOTES ON THE KOPTOS FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF TUTHMOSIS III

By BARBARA ADAMS

SCHOLARS who visit the Petrie Museum, University College London, will be aware of the existence of some of Professor W. M. F. Petrie's original manuscripts which are available for research here. The manuscripts consist of a range of notebooks, distribution lists, some tomb cards, and a journal. The notebooks are small and usually filled with complex notes and sketches on the excavations, measurements, and sometimes the accounts, which can be very difficult to read and interpret. The distribution lists are sheets of paper with Petrie's intention for the destination of the objects from his excavations when they were brought back to England. These can be very useful for the early excavations where he did not publish a distribution list of any kind in the excavation report and scholars wish to establish the location of objects in museums today. Unfortunately, in most cases, no reference is made to the publication relevant to the list (see the Koptos list, p. 10). The tomb cards only exist for a limited number of sites,¹ and the series is incomplete, but they sometimes contain information which was not published. The journal is composed of a series of letters, dating from 1880 to 1923, which Petrie sent from Egypt to his family and colleagues in England. They are day-to-day records of his work and contain sketches of excavated objects and notes of purchases which he made in Egypt. The Petrie museum holds xerox copies of this journal; the original copies were donated by his daughter, Miss Ann Petrie, to the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

This analysis is an attempt to illustrate how the manuscript material can be used to reassemble groups of objects from Petrie's excavations and augment the information in the early excavation reports, which is very often incomplete. Full use of the manuscript is made during the registration of the Petrie collection, which was started in the 1930s, but then interrupted when the collection was packed away during the Second World War. The registration of the collection was commenced again in 1951 and this work still continues. The process can be very slow and laborious because in very many instances the objects have to be re-identified and many of them were not published. Petrie sometimes marked the objects at his excavations or in the museum later, and a key to some of these marks has been established.² This can very often be the beginning of the process of identification, but in several instances the marks have proved wrong,³ they were no doubt made in the museum long after the excavations. Occasionally, as with the journal from Koptos used here, objects that Petrie purchased are mentioned in

¹ There are tomb cards for the following sites: Abydos, Gaza, Gerzeh, Gurob, Harageh, Kafra Ammar, Medum, Qau, Sedment, Tarkhan. Petrie's forms of place-names have been retained in this article.

² Mostly the work of Dr. A. J. Arkell, Curator of the Petrie collection, 1951-64.

³ Some of the pots here were marked AII for the temple of Amenophis II at Thebes.

his letters.⁴ This can be the only method of establishing the identity of objects which were not published in one of his catalogue volumes.⁵

During work on the registration of objects from the New-Kingdom temples excavated by Petrie, it became apparent that the foundation deposits of Tuthmosis III at Koptos were incompletely published. Several objects from the deposits had been registered in the past; but the exact deposit to which they belonged had not been identified, each one was merely noted as coming from a foundation deposit of Tuthmosis III at Koptos. In actual fact, as Petrie notes in his excavation report,⁶ there were seven deposits. He gave sketches of four of the deposits,⁷ and two plates of drawings of the objects from them,⁸ but the relation of each sketch to a particular deposit was not always noted; this particularly applies to the pottery.

The Petrie manuscripts relevant to Koptos were assembled and it was found that the journal⁹ and one of the notebooks¹⁰ were most useful. The table (Figs. 1-3) shows the description in the text of each object in the excavation report, its illustration if any, and a notation if the object appears in the published plan of the deposit. The information from the journal and notebook is then added to this basis and then the Petrie museum numbers of identified objects and those that are available from other museums.¹¹ The notebook contains plans of each deposit, except No. 5; these are traced and reproduced on Fig. 4, the identification of the plan of deposit No. 6 being the most doubtful, although the plans are in sequence of discovery in the notebook. The extra information is not extensive, but it confirms the identification of objects from the relevant deposits and augments the scanty information on some of them. Unfortunately, the notes on the pottery do not facilitate the identification, although the quantity of pottery from each deposit is given, so that the 'vases' of deposit No. 7 in the publication number 150 according to the manuscript. No doubt some of the unidentified pots here are from this large deposit, and it should be noted that the drawings in the publication most probably constitute a corpus of the type of pottery found in each deposit, as well as being, in some instances, the record of an individual pot.

As this painstaking, but rewarding, reconstitution of the material from early excavations continues,¹² the Petrie collection can be gradually reassembled and hopefully collated with other collections which hold objects from his excavations, the purchased objects being isolated in the process. This will then provide a basis for research and a tool for the comparison of recently excavated material with the rich store of objects which we hold from Petrie's heyday.

⁴ e.g. An unpublished serpentine headrest fragment purchased at Koptos, UC. 8620.

⁵ A list of the Petrie catalogue volumes will be found in the preface to Petrie's *Funeral Furniture and Stone and Metal Vases* (B.S.A.E., 1937). Several volumes were projected but never published. The Petrie museum holds the manuscript of 'Glass and Glazing'.

⁶ W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos* (1896), 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 16.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 14, 25.

⁹ Journal from Koptos, 27. xi. 1893 - 12. i. 1894.

¹⁰ No. 52.

¹¹ I am indebted to Dr. J. Weinstein of the University Museum of Philadelphia for his continual help with the whole topic of foundation deposits, and the details of the objects from the Koptos deposits in Philadelphia. His comprehensive study of foundation deposits is forthcoming. Mrs. J. Crowfoot Payne provided me with the details of the objects in the Ashmolean Museum and Dr. Rosalie David those in the Manchester University Museum.

¹² Petrie notebooks have already been used by E. J. Baumgartel, *Petrie's Naqada Excavation: A Supplement* (1970), and B. J. Kemp, 'Photographs of the Painted Tomb at Hierakonpolis' in *JEA* 59 (1973), 36-43, fig. 2.

BARBARA ADAMS

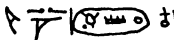
<u>Text description</u>	<u>pl.</u>	<u>plan, pl. XVI</u>	<u>Petrie Journal</u> 27.xi.1893- 12.1.1894	<u>Petrie notebook</u> <u>52</u>	<u>Museum number</u>
<u>Deposit No. 1</u>					
Bronze knife	XV, 73	✓		Bronze knife (4)	UC.15896
Bronze axe	XV, 68	✓	Bronze axe inscribed	Bronze adze (3)	UC.15892
Bronze adze	XV, 64	✓	Broad bronze chisel inscribed	Bronze chisel (5)	UC.15894, Ash.E4297
Bronze chisel	XV, 65	✓	2 narrow bronze chisels	Small bronze chisel (6)	UC.15895, Manch.3603
	XV, 72?		Bronze	Stylus below stone rubber (8)	?UC.15899, Ash.E4538
Corn-grinder stone inscribed	XIV, 3	✓	Corn rubber	Stone corn rubber (7)	UC.15902
5 jars	XIV, 40 etc.	✓		Vase (2)	Ash.E4500
		✓	XIV, 8	Flower pot vase (1)	See pottery list
			XIV, 39		See pottery list
			XIV, 41	<u>Plan</u> (fig. 4)	
<u>Deposit No. 2</u>					
Oval alabaster inscribed	XIV, 2	✓	Oval alabaster inscribed		Ash.E4296
Pottery		✓	Pottery 40 jars & cups	Big red bowl under 7 cups (1)	See pottery list
			XIV, 39		See pottery list
			XIV, 40		See pottery list
Bones under central pot				Bone under the pot here (6)	
				<u>Plan</u> (fig. 4)	
<u>Deposit No. 3</u>					
	XV, 76 (Bronze rod)	✓			UC.15903 (?Ash.E4539)
	XV, 67 (Bronze arrowhead)	✓	Bronze harpoon	Arrowhead (16)	Ash.E4534
	XV, 66 (Spear point)	✓	Bronze lance		Ash.E4533
		✓	Bronze tube	Bronze tube	?Ash.E.4539
Green glaze bowl fragments		✓	Bronze hook	Bronze hook	
	XV, 74 (2 female figures)	✓	little green vase Some little green figures	Figure (Isis?) under pot, second Isis figure perfect	
Green glaze eggs	XV, 62	✓	Many little green eggs	Green egg (6) Egg? green glaze	UC.15914, Ash.E4532
Balls	XV, 61	✓	Many little green glazed-ware balls, painted in meridians	Green egg Green ball? (4)	UC.15912, Ash.EE643 UC.15910, ?UC.15911
Inscribed menat, string of beads & fish in glazed ware	XV, 75	✓	Inscribed pottery menat, bottom 1' away	Green ball 4 balls	
Line of beads		✓	Occasional beads	Menat, end of menat	Ash.EE641
	XV, 59	✓			Ash.EE238
	XV, 60	✓		Beads (2)	Ash.EE642, EE668
Blue bead		✓		Bead (18)	Ash.EE668
Green glass bead		✓		next carnelian Long blue bead Green glass bead	
				Glob. glass bead Green glob. bead	

FIG. 1

PETRIE'S NOTES ON KOPTOS FOUNDATION DEPOSITS










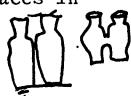


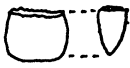
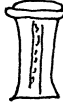
<u>Text description</u>	<u>pl.</u>	<u>plan, pl, XVI</u>	<u>Petrie Journal</u> 27.xi.1893- 12.1.1894	<u>Petrie notebook</u> <u>52</u>	<u>Museum number</u>
<u>Deposit No. 3 (cont.)</u>					
Scarabs	XV, 44	✓	11 scarabs without names	Scarab (3) 	Ash.EE669 (XV, 44-58)
	XV, 45	✓		Stag scarab (19)	
	XV, 48	✓		Scarab (13) in red jar 	
	XV, 49	✓		Scarab 	
	XV, 51	✓		Scarab..... 	
	XV, 52	✓	Hatasu scarab	Scarab of  (10)	
	XV, 53	✓		under pot (9)	
	XV, 54			Scarab..... 	
	XV, 46			Scarab ?..... 	
	XV, 47			Scarab under cup 	
	XV, 50			Scarab bottom (25 deep) 	
	XV, 55				
	XV, 56				
	XV, 57				
	XV, 58		Tuthmosis III scarab		
			Green scarab		
			Agate cowroid	Plain agate cowroid (19)	
				Plain jasper scarab (14)	
				White glaze scarab (17)	
				Yellow flint scraper	
				Spire shell	
Quintuple jar	XIV, 7	✓	5 jars joined together		Ash. E4291
Group vase	XIV, 29	✓	2 compound vases with faces in relief 	Pot with faces (9)	Ash.E4292
	pots:				
	XIV, 37	✓			
	?XIV, 25	✓			Ash.E4515
	XIV, 23	✓			?UC.19098, ?Ash.E4513
	XIV, 26	✓			
	XIV, 24	✓			?UC.19099
	XIV, 8	✓			See pottery list
			Jar neck	Neck of big jar 	Ash.E4518
	?XIV, 11 or 16		Pot stand	Foot of stand 	
				Pot (5)	
				Yellow saucer under red brim saucer (7)	?UC.19096, ?Ash.E4503
				Red jar mouth down (15)	
				Pot cone broken	
				Red saucerette	
				Brown saucer	
				Plan (fig. 4)	
<u>Deposit No. 4</u>					
Small shell				On top of small shell	
Flat piece steatite				Flat piece soapstone	
Spire shell				Spire shells	
Broken end black stone axe			Broken end of black stone celt	End black stone axe 	
				Plan (fig. 4)	

FIG. 2

<u>Text description</u>	<u>pl.</u>	<u>plan, pl. XVI</u>	<u>Petrie Journal</u> 27.xi.1893-	<u>Petrie notebook</u> 52	<u>Museum number</u>
<u>Deposit No. 5</u>					
Broken up & scattered					
<u>Deposit No. 6</u>					
Quantity of copper tools & pottery			Is yet a puzzle, we have cleared out 6' of earth & not reached bottom yet	4 inscribed stones 10 small chisels 4 long bars 3 flat chisels 2 knives 3 axes	Some of the bronzes and grinder stones queried below in Deposit No. 7 may come from this deposit (?Berlin 12508), ?Axe illustrated in <u>PSBA</u> , 36, pl. XVI, 79
<u>Plan (fig. 4)</u> This entry may refer to Deposit No. 7, but the numbers of the bronzes differ					
<u>Deposit No. 7</u>					
Copper models of tools	cf. XV, 68	Inscribed axe	2 axes inscribed	2 axes	?UC.15893, ?Ash.E4298
	cf. XV, 73	3 knives	4 knives inscribed	4 knives	?Ash.E4299, ?Berlin 12509, ?Phil.E949
		11 chisels	3 flat chisels, inscribed. 15 small chisels uninscribed	3 flat chisels, inscribed. 15 small chisels uninscribed	3 flat chisels
	XV, 69			6 small flat chisels	?Ash.E4537, E4535
	XV, 70			4 small deep chisels	E4639, ?Manch.3665
	XV, 71			2 small narrow chisels 3 small narrower chisels	?UC.15898*, ?Manch.3601 ?UC.15897*
<hr/>					
24 bronzes					
<hr/>					
Alabaster vases inscribed	XIV, 4 XIV, 5	✓ 13	13 alabaster vase & lids inscribed	13 vases	UC.15904, UC.15905 UC.15906, Ash.E4293 Berlin 12504, Manch.3591, Phil.E955A-B Ash.E4294
Alabaster saucer inscribed	XIV, 6	✓		1 dome	
Model corn grinders	cf. XIV, 1 cf. XIV, 3		6 pairs corn grinders sandstone	12 rubber stones	?UC.15901, UC.28828 UC.28829, ?Ash.E4295 ?Manch.3590, ?Phil.E956, E957
Pot filled with lead core			Cup of ore	Carnelian beads Flints Cup of ore	UC.15907
Vases	XIV, 14 XIV, 17 XIV, 38	✓ ✓ ✓			Ore only UC.28830 A-J Ash.E4505 cf. UC.28825, Ash.E4507, Phil.E966
		XIV, 15 XIV, 34 XIV, 36 XIV, 37 XIV, 38 XIV, 39 XIV, 41 XIV, 43			See pottery list ?UC.19101, & see pottery list See pottery list See pottery list See pottery list See pottery list ?UC.19102, & see pottery list ?UC.19100, ?Ash.E4531, ?Phil.E958, E959

Plan (fig. 4)

*UC.15897, 15898, 15900 are published by Petrie in Tools and Weapons, 1917, pls. XXII, C.56, C.55 and XVII, Z.87, and said to come from the Nubt foundation deposits, but not in Nagada and Ballas, 1896, pl. LXXIX.

Koptos Foundation Deposit Pottery List

Pots for which the deposit identification is not certain. Most of the pottery in the Petrie museum is probably from deposit No. 7.

<i>Type (pl. ref.)</i>	<i>Museum Number</i>	<i>Possible Deposit</i>	<i>Type (pl. ref.)</i>	<i>Museum Number</i>	<i>Possible Deposit</i>
XIV, 8	Ash. E4500	1, 3	XIV, 34	UC. 19101, UC. 28823	2, 7
XIV, 9	Ash. E4501			UC. 28824, UC. 28827	
XIV, 10	Ash. E4502			Ash. E4522	
XIV, 13	UC. 28796	2, 7		Phil. E964	
	Ash. E4504	1, 2, 7	XIV, 35	UC. 28806, UC. 28807	2, 7
XIV, 15	UC. 28797			UC. 28808-UC. 28819	
	UC. 28880			UC. 28826	
	Ash. E4506			Ash. E4523	
	Phil. E967			Phil. E962, E965	
XIV, 19	Ash. 4508			Manch. 3596	
XIV, 20	Ash. E4509		XIV, 36	Ash. E4524	2, 7
XIV, 21	UC. 19097		XIV, 37	UC. 28805	3, 7
	UC. 28804			Ash. E4525	
	Ash. E4510-11			Manch. 3592	
XIV, 22	Ash. E4512		XIV, 38	Ash. E4526	2, 7
XIV, 24	UC. 19099	2, 3	XIV, 39	UC. 28784-UC. 28790	1, 2, 7
	UC. 28803			UC. 28792-UC. 28795	
	Ash. E4514			Ash. E4527	
	Phil. E970, E971			Phil. E961	
XIV, 26	UC. 28801	? 2, 3		Manch. 3597	
	Ash. E4516		XIV, 40	Ash. E4528	1, 2
	Phil. E968		XIV, 41	UC. 19102	1, 2, 7
XIV, 27	UC. 28802			UC. 28783-91	
	Ash. E4517			Ash. E4529	
	Phil. E969			Phil. E960	
XIV, 31	Ash. E4519			Manch. 3593	
XIV, 32	Ash. E4520		No type	Phil. E972	
XIV, 33	UC. 28820-1			Manch. 3587, 3588	
	UC. 28822			3598, 3599, 3600	
	Ash. E4521				

Petrie's Distribution Lists for the Koptos Foundation Deposits

UC.

2 knives, UC. 15896; 2 chisels; 1 axe, UC. 15892; pieces of 1 axe, UC. 15893; 1 long chisel, UC. 15894; 3 small wide, UC. 15897; 3 small narrow, UC. 15895, UC. 15899; 1 small deep, UC. 15898; 5 alabaster jars, UC. 15904-6; 6 corn grinders, UC. 15901-2, UC. 28828-9; About 50 jars and cups, UC. 19096, UC. 19098-102, UC. 19107, UC. 28783-827.

Oxford

Set of complete FDs, E4291-9, E4312, E4500-E4539, EE238, EE641-3, EE668-

Kennard

Set of FDs. (The axe, published by W. L. Nash, 'Notes on Some Egyptian Antiquities' in *PSBA* (1914), 251, pl. 16, 79, may have originally been in the Kennard collection.)

Manchester

5 chisels, 3601–3605; corn grinders, 3590; alabaster jars, 3591; pottery, 3587–8, 3592–600.

Berlin

Set of FDs.: 11 pottery jars and cups; bronze knife, 12509; axes, 12508; large chisel; 5 small chisels; pair corn grinders; alabaster vase and cover, 12504; clay cup of a jar. See G. Roeder, *Inschriften des neuen Reichs* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Aegyptische Inschriften, Bd. 2, 1924), 528, 530.

Brown

2 axes; broken alabaster jar; rubbers; pottery.

Leipzig

Alabaster jar; corn grinder; pottery.

Philadelphia

Set of FDs. E949–72.

There are some objects in the Cairo museum not mentioned in this manuscript, J.d.E. numbers 30826–8 (Information courtesy Dr. Weinstein).

Appendix 1

List of Distribution Lists (Petrie *et alii*) in the Petrie museum.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Site</i>
1885–94	Various: Gurob, Lahun, Naukratis, Nebesheh	1909	Qurneh, Memphis
1894	Koptos	1910	Meydum, Memphis
1895	Naqada	1911	Hawara, Gerzeh, Memphis
1896	Ramesseum, Six Temples	1912	Tarkhan, Heliopolis, Memphis
1897	Deshasheh, Oxyrhynchus, El Kab	1913	Tarkhan, Riqqeh, Memphis
1898	Dendereh, Hierakonpolis	1914	Lahun, Harageh
1899	Diospolis, Fayum, Deir el Bahri	1915–20	No distribution
1900	Abydos	1920–1	Lahun, Sedment
1901	Abydos, Beit Khallaf, Mahasna	1922	Abydos, Oxyrhynchus
1902	Abydos	1923	Qau El Kebir
1903	Abydos (Osireion)	1924	Qau, Hemamieh
1904	Ehnasya, Buto, Saqqara, etc.	1925	Badari, Fayum
1905	Saqqara, Serabit, Magharah	1926	Badari, Fayum
1906	Hyksos and Israelite Cities	1927	Gerar
1907	Gizeh and Rifeh	1938–40	Armant (Myers)
1908	Athribis, Memphis	1931–4	Gaza
		(sent 1948–50)	

Appendix 2

List of Petrie Journals (original in Griffith Institute).

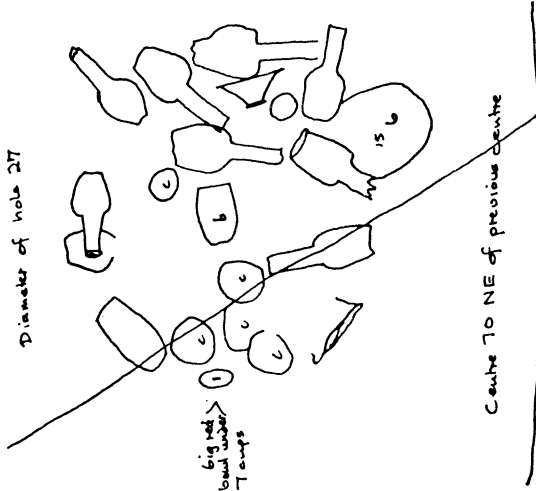
<i>Date</i>	<i>Site</i>
30. xi. 1880-22. vi. 1881	Gizeh
3. x. 1881-8. v. 1882	Gizeh and the Nile
7. xi. 1883-23. vi. 1884	Wady Tumulat and Tanis (Zoan)
20. xi. 1884-31. v. 1885	Naukratis
23. xi. 1885-1. vi. 1886	Naukratis, Nebesheh, Defenneh
29. xi. 1886-30. v. 1887	The Nile, Dahshur
16. xii. 1887-12. v. 1888	Biahmu, Hawara
24. x. 1888-23. v. 1889	Gurob, Kahun, Illahun
26. ix. 1889-27. vi. 1890	Kahun, Gurob, and Jaffa (Tell Hesy)
6. xi. 1890-13. vi. 1891	Meydum, Greece, Italy
22. x. 1891-23. iv. 1892	Amarna
27. xi. 1893-12. i. 1894	Koptos
(1894-95	Naqada—no journal)
26. xi. 1895-15. ii. 1896	Thebes
17. xi. 1896-27. xii. 1896	Behneza (Beni Mazar)
28. xii. 1896-9. iii. 1897	Bibeh
29. xi. 1897-20. iii. 1898	Denderah
29. xi. 1898-27. ii. 1899	Dechneh, Hu, Luxor, etc.
2. iii. 1899	Abydos, Hu, Saqqara
6. xii. 1898-6. iii. 1899	Hu, Thebes, etc.
xi. 1899-ii. 1900	Abydos
i. 1901-iii. 1903	Abydos
20. xi. 1903-15. i. 1904	Ehnasiya
20. xi. 1904-12. i. 1905	Sinai: Maghura and Serabit
17. xi. 1905-16. iii. 1906	Tell el Yahudiyeh, Tell el Retabeh
1906	Gizeh
1907	Rifeh
1908	Memphis
1909	Thebes, Memphis, Meydum
1910	Meydum, Memphis, Medinet el Fayum
1911	Medinet el Fayum, Memphis
1914	Lahun
1920	Lahun
1923	Qau, Hemamieh
1927	Tell Jemmeh, Gaza
1928	Tell Fara (Beth Pelet)

Appendix 3

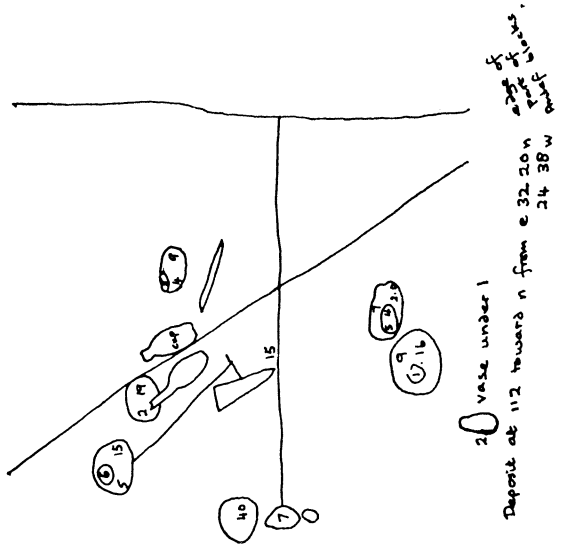
List of Petrie notebooks (*et alii*).

- | | |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Abydos | 38A. Hawara |
| 2. Abydos, Royal Tombs | 38B. Hawara |
| 3. Abydos, Royal Tombs | 39. Hawara and Gurob, a, b, |
| 4. Abydos, 1899-1900 | 40. Hu (see also 96) |
| 5. Abydos, 1903 | 40A. Diospolis Parva |
| 5A. Abydos, Tombs of the Courtiers, 1922 | 41. Hu |
| 5B. Abydos, Temples, 1902-3 | 42. Hu |
| 6. Antaeopolis | 43. Illahun |
| 7. Athribis | 43A. Lahun |
| 7A. Athribis | 44. Illahun and Delta |
| 7B. Athribis | 45. Illahun |
| 8. Ballas | 46. El Kab |
| 9. Ballas | 47. Kafr Ammar |
| 10. Ballas | 48. Kahun |
| 11. Ballas | 48A. Kahun/Illahun |
| 12. Bersheh and Thebes | 49. Kahun |
| 13. Dendereh? | 50. Kahun and Gurob |
| 14. Dendereh? | 51. Khafaneh and other Delta sites |
| 15. Dendereh? | 52. Koptos |
| 16. Dendereh? | 53. Koptos |
| 17. Dendereh, a, b, c | 54. Koptos |
| 18. Deshasheh | 55. Medamud and Zoweidah |
| 19. Deshasheh | 56. Meydum and Beni Hassan |
| 20. Deshasheh | 57. Meydum |
| 21. Deshasheh | 58. Meydum |
| 22. Deshasheh | 59. Meydum |
| 23. Delta Sites | 60. Meydum |
| 23A. Ehnasya | 61. Meydum |
| 23B. Ehnasya | 62. Meydum |
| 24. Gizeh? | 63. Meydum |
| 25. Gizeh? | 64. Meydum |
| 26. Gizeh? Pyramid Survey | 65. Meydum |
| 27. Gizeh? Pyramid Survey | 66. Meydum |
| 28. Gizeh? Pyramid Survey | 67. Meydum, a, b, c |
| 29. Gizeh? Pyramid Survey | 68. Memphis |
| 30. Gizeh? Pyramid Survey | 69. Naqada, Nubt |
| 31. Gizeh and Abu Roasch | 70. Naqada |
| 32. Gizeh, a, b, Pyramid Survey | 71. Naqada |
| 33. Gizeh and Thebes | 72. Naqada |
| 34. Gurob | 73. Naukratis |
| 34A. Gurob | 74. Naukratis and other Delta sites |
| 35. Hawara | 75. Nubt, Koptos, and other sites |
| 36. Hawara | 76. Oxyrhynchus? |
| 37. Hawara | 77. Palestine, Tell Hesy, etc. |
| 38. Hawara | 78. Palestine, Tell Hesy, etc. |

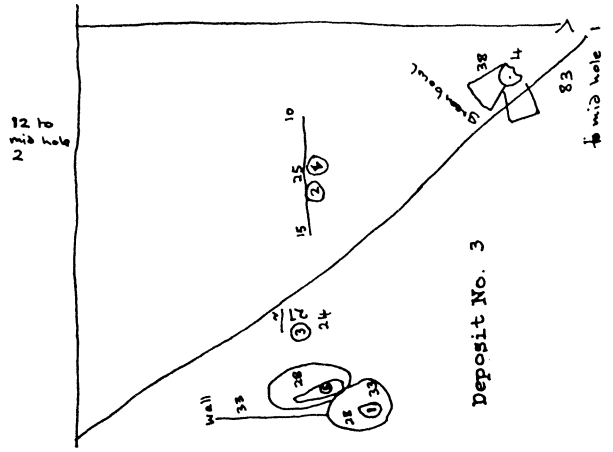
- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 79. Qau | 95C. Sedment skulls |
| 80. Qurneh | 96. Sheik Ali (see 40-2) |
| 81. Qurneh | 97. Sinai, a, b, c |
| 82. Qurneh | 98. Tanis, a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h |
| 83. Ramesseum | 99. Tarkhan |
| 84. Ramesseum | 100. Tarkhan |
| 85. Rifeh | 101. Tell el Amarna |
| 86. Rifeh | 102. Tell el Amarna |
| 87. Rifeh | 103. Tell el Amarna |
| 88. Rifeh | 104. Tell el Yahudiyeh |
| 89. Rifeh | 105. Tell el Yahudiyeh |
| 89A. Gizeh and Rifeh | 106. Tell el Yahudiyeh |
| 90. Saft el-Henna | 107. Thebes, Six Temples |
| 91. Saft | 108. Thebes, Six Temples |
| 92. Saft | 109. Thebes, Six Temples |
| 93. Saqqara | 110. Thebes, Six Temples |
| 94. Season in Egypt | 111. Thebes, Six Temples |
| 95. Season in Egypt | 112. Zaraby |
| 95A. Sedment | 113. Zowaydeh |
| 95B. Sedment | |



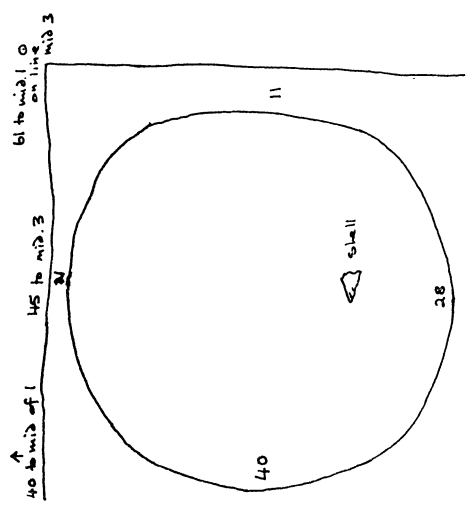
Deposit No. 1



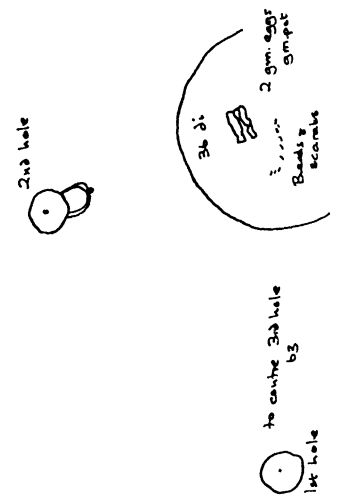
Deposit No. 2



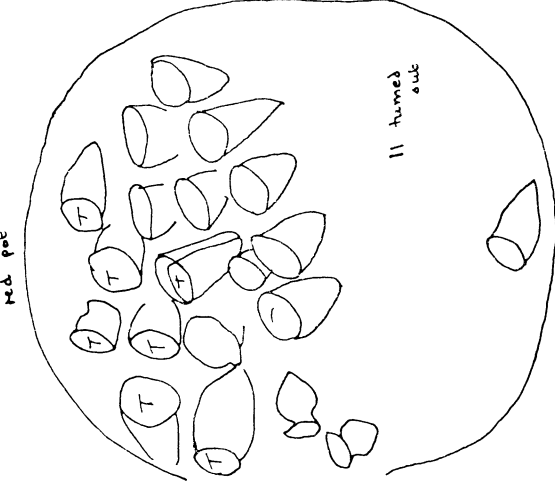
Deposit No. 3



Deposit No. 4



Position of Deposit No. 3 relative to Deposits Nos. 1 and 2



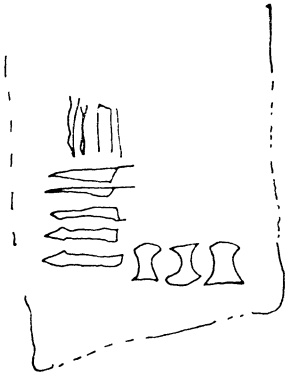
11 turned out

all more upright



Deposit No. 6 or 7
(identification uncertain)

E edge hole w. of 42 30 8w
Deposit of bronze 80 w of 44 8 n



Deposit No. 6 or 7
(identification uncertain)

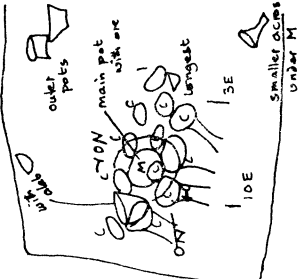


L alabaster
mid pit 50N of mid of stone

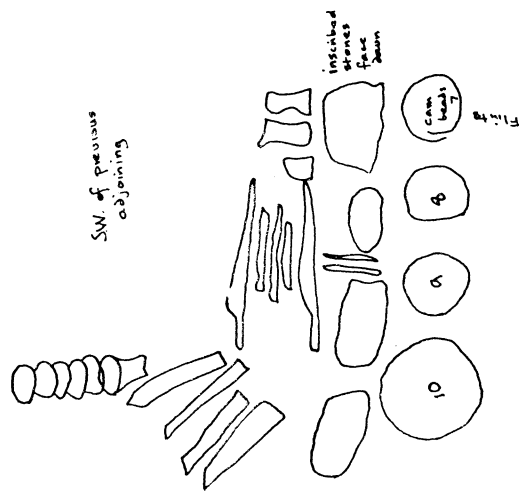
34 E-W
31 N-S
across



at bottom from N from E
inset above by size 10
chisel 15 17
chisel 7 14
do 7 9



Deposit No. 7



Deposit No. 6 or 7
(identification uncertain)

SKETCH PLANS OF THE KOPTOS
FOUNDATION DEPOSITS FROM
PETRIE NOTEBOOK NUMBER 52



THE USE OF DISC-BEADS IN EGYPTIAN BEAD-COMPOSITIONS

By KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS

DISC-BEADS were occasionally employed in Egypt in a peculiar cloth-like bead-composition which was used for a variety of purposes. Although I had taken note previously, in the Cairo Museum, of the elaborate and sophisticated bead work on a hassock from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn¹ (pl. XVII), my active interest was drawn to this particular technique of beadwork when I was obliged to handle, examine, and evaluate a number of bead-objects from the part of the Wellcome Collection which had come to University College, Swansea, in 1971. These objects include bead-collars with bead-bands² as well as bead-faces³ and bead-figures.⁴

By trying to imitate the bead-threading technique of these objects with modern beads, I soon recognized that in spite of their elaborate appearance, the basic skill is a comparatively simple adding and matting technique which ensures that each bead is passed twice by a thread, so that it is possible to compose a bead-band with one single thread. From a number of dated examples of such beadwork, it appears that this technique was used already in the Old Kingdom; it was employed for more elaborate objects during the Middle Kingdom; and it experienced a sudden explosive development during the Amarna Period. In the Late Period, beadwork of this kind was apparently mainly used for funerary equipment.

The general purpose of this study is to draw attention to a field of original Egyptian craftsmanship which has been unduly neglected and deserves a thorough survey of the extant material. The special stimulus for writing was the necessity to find facts relevant to the examination and dating of one of the Wellcome collars,⁵ which contains three differing bead-bands made of disc-beads. Among the aims are an outline of the development of bead-compositions and an enumeration of objects produced, as

¹ *A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb*, compiled by Helen Murray and Mary Nuttall (Oxford, 1968), 354. I am most grateful to Miss Helen Murray and the Griffith Institute for permission to show this photograph of the hassock which was taken during the excavation, as well as the photographs of other bead-objects from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn.

² The new registration numbers of the bead-collars are W8-W11. The former numbers of the Wellcome Museum were 24 685/4 and on W8 also EGY/Cos(tume) 259.

³ Thirteen bead-faces from the Rustafjaell Collection. Auction Catalogue of Sotheby (Dec. 19, 1906), no. 341, pl. 19, 52. The new registration numbers are W773-W785.

⁴ Three boards with beadwork figures. The new registration numbers are W927-W929.

⁵ Registration number W8 (see note 2 above), the only collar without amuletic pendants. The three other collars (W9-W11) have been treated in a paper read in Paris during the XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists (1973), under the title 'Bead Collars with Amarna Amulets'. A summary of this address will appear in the *Acta* of the Congress.

well as of some techniques and materials employed. Finally an attempt is made to apply the outcome of the inquiry to the evaluation of the 'Wellcome Collar' (pl. XIX).

Definition

Although the 'disc-bead' is a regular bead of relatively simple geometric shape, its classification is by no means beyond dispute. I accept here the definition given by Horace C. Beck in a paper 'written in the hope that it may assist in getting more uniformity in the description of beads'.⁶ According to him disc-beads are beads 'in which the length is less than one third of the diameter'. In his plates 2 and 3 which show possible variations of disc-beads, he includes even square beads among them. But the disc-bead used in bead-compositions corresponds to his category *IA2b*; this is a circular cylindrical bead with flat ends. It is only on account of their flatness that a composition of disc-beads can achieve a textile-like appearance. An additional feature is that these special disc-beads have a type VII⁷ perforation—that is, a tubular perforation found in some cylindrical beads, in which the perforation is 'so large, that the beads become a tube'.

Historical Outline

Disc-beads of stone and shell were made already during the Predynastic Period,⁸ but as they were arranged in simple strings, they do not concern us here. The oldest recorded and dated bead-composition belongs to the end of the Sixth Dynasty, and comes from the burial of Prince Ptahshepses near the Valley Temple of Wenis at Saqqâra.⁹ The belt is composed of 'small disc-beads threaded to resemble a piece of cloth' which was fixed over a thin band of gold and connected to a gold buckle with inscription. The bead-band was 90 cm. long and 4.9 cm. wide, consisting of 'carnelian and gold beads threaded on gold wires in a geometrical pattern'.¹⁰

The Twelfth Dynasty is well represented by the bead-apron of Senebtisi from Lisht, 'the first apron and tail to be identified in excavation'.¹¹ It was found outside the mummy wrapping and consists of three separate parts,¹² 'a narrow band of closely worked beads around the waist', a series of pendant strings hanging to the knees, and a tail. The waistband consisted of '40 rows of small faience beads'. The top and bottom row were of black beads strung horizontally while the inner rows were all strung vertically. In the centre was 'a series of diamonds of dark green outlined with black and on either side zigzag bands of light green, dark green, and black'. But for the cheaper material, the belt is obviously closely related to the belt of Ptahshepses. There is, however, one innovation: apart from the two-dimensional stretch of bead-composition,

⁶ Horace C. Beck, 'Classification and Nomination of Beads and Pendants' in *Archaeologia* 77 (1929), 1-76.

⁷ *Ibid.* 51.

⁸ Alix Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), 11.

⁹ *Ibid.* 46 and fig. 31.

¹⁰ It is not quite clear why the colours given in the description do not correspond with the colours specified in a list on the line drawing, which are: gold, silver, red, blue or black(?), black or blue(?).

¹¹ *Ibid.* 78.

¹² A. C. Mace and H. E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (New York, 1916), 19; 70; pl. 27.

an attempt is made to use it also three-dimensionally over the core of wood which forms the tail 'with small faience beads strung horizontally over the shaft and tip . . . and vertically over the tuft in zigzag pattern'. A colour photograph of the bead-apron is also shown in Aldred's *Jewels of the Pharaohs*.¹³ An almost identical apron (but without the tail) is depicted on the anthropoid wooden coffin of the military leader Sepi from El-Bersha, which proves at least its ceremonial (and religious) importance.¹⁴ Wilkinson summarizes a number of similar girdles and bead-aprons (or the remains of them) found at Dahshûr, El-Bersha (bead-work tail and belt of green disc-beads on which is a pattern of green and brown diamond shapes), Hawara (girdle of small glazed composition disc-beads coloured brown and white and arranged in zigzag-pattern, belonging to princess Neferu-Ptah), and Nubia.¹⁵ There must be some connection between this tradition and the fact that a sheet-gold belt with zigzag and diamond pattern was found on the mummy of Tutankhamûn.¹⁶ Holes were pierced through the lower edge of this belt, apparently for bead-strings, although no corresponding bead-strings were found in the coffin, and no covering of bead-composition for the belt. However, a ceremonial robe was found in the tomb of Tutankhamûn which possesses as many as three bands of disc-bead composition,¹⁷ (pl. XX, 1 and XX, 2), of which one band (band A) with strings attached to it, was at the bottom of the robe, while another (band B) with green beads attached, was probably at the top of the robe. Between those two bands stretched a netting of blue and green beads with gold sequins in between, as can still be seen on the photograph which was taken when the famous case with miniature hunting and fighting scenes (Handlist 21) was first opened (pl. XX, 1). One can see there part of a band (band C) with a more intricate pattern lying at the edge of the case, furthest away from the sandals; and near it is a fragment of band B. Carter suggests that it was looking 'as though band B ran at right angles to C and A'. All the bands were threaded vertically.

Carter calls it 'Ceremonial robe' (on card 11 of *Handlist*, 21), 'elaborately decorated with beadwork and gold sequins' and mentions 'Border band of tiny glass disc beads of white, green, yellow, red and blue, arranged in patterns and threaded criss-cross'. 'This pattern garment', he says (on card 12 of *Handlist*, 21) 'should belong to a woman. It may, like others in the box, have been a child's garment.' And indeed, the bead-dress seems to have much in common with the bead-dresses worn by some of the goddesses on the pectorals of Tutankhamûn.¹⁸ This ceremonial dress, although it may be meant for a woman, is still not far remote from the Old-Kingdom belt of Ptahshepses and the Middle-Kingdom bead-apron of Senebtisi. But there are other objects in the treasure of Tutankhamûn which show a far more explorative attitude to disc-bead composition, possibly encouraged by the mass production of the glass factories at

¹³ (London, 1971), pl. 9.

¹⁴ Pierre Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 1904 and 1906), CCG No. 28084 and pl. 20.

¹⁵ A. Wilkinson, op. cit., 79.

¹⁶ Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen* (London, 1923-33), II, pl. 34; A. Wilkinson, op. cit., pl. 48B and p. 135; *Handlist*, 256ee.

¹⁷ *Handlist*, 21d.

¹⁸ See Aldred, op. cit., pls. 94, 95, and 98 (Isis and Nephthys); pl. 99 (Sakhmet); pl. 109 (Ma'at).

Amarna. For now glass beads of shining colours were available to replace the expensive disc-beads of gold and carnelian and the cheap disc-beads of glazed composition. The most astonishing objects, perhaps, are two hassocks with decoration in disc-bead composition (pls. XVII and XVIII).¹⁹ The better preserved of the two (*Handlist*, 354) shows not only geometric patterns but also complete human figures composed of beadwork, probably the first example of this kind known from Egypt. According to the index-card, it was found in the south-east corner of the chamber, below the left-hand door-jamb of the doorway where it had been thrown. Its maximum diameter is 29 cm., its height 6.5 cm.

A circular shaped hassock the basic frame-work of which is made of rush-work, papyrus-pith, and was covered with linen, upon which finely threaded mat bead-work has been worked. The bead-work upon the top and bottom of this hassock is worked into the following device: a large rosette in the centre, around which are the alien foes of Egypt bound with lotus and papyrus, with marginal borders of garland pattern. The sides of this hassock have an ornamental net-work of beads. The colours of the beads employed are: white, light and dark yellow, light and dark blue, red, and black. (From Carter's index card to *Handlist*, 354.)

Looking at the figures in their curved prostration, one is astonished to find that the bearded Asian foe with his dress wound in spirals around his body is an almost exact replica of the curved figure on Tutankhamun's ceremonial stick.²⁰ It is a striking example of the extraordinary skill of the Ancient Egyptians in the task of reproducing one and the same theme in different media. The large sixteen-leaved rosette in the middle is a new *tour de force* in disc-bead composition. The photograph of the other less well-preserved hassock (*Handlist*, 34) shows how disc-beads of two different sizes could be used to form a netting (pl. XVIII). This hassock was discovered resting against the framework of the lion couch in the Antechamber. Carter's card states significantly that 'in the centre of all sat a bronze nail 1.1 (cm.) in diam.' One may therefore assume a similar centre for the other hassock.

The central rosette was apparently not repeated after the Amarna Period; but the bead-figures formed a starting-point for an art which blossomed in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties. Other examples of bead-figures in Tutankhamun's tomb are the uraei on the King's skull-cap.²¹ These are described by Carter as follows:

This temple-band held in place a skull-cap of fine Cambric-like linen, worked upon which an elaborate Uraei device in minute blue and red glass and gold beads. . . . In the centre of each Uraeus (4 in number) are cartouches of thin gold of Aten. . . . (From Carter's index card to *Handlist*, 256 4T.)

This then gives an absolute date for the new method of using disc-beads for figure-making and proves that it was practised already during the reign of Akhenaten.

A new device, too, is the 'bead-picture' on a sandal of Tutankhamun²² which is

¹⁹ *Handlist*, 34 and 354.

²⁰ Carter op. cit., I, pls. 69 and 70: 'a ceremonial walking stick with two foes symbolizing the southern and northern enemies of Egypt. Asiatic of ivory, African of ebony. They are unique in Egyptian art.'

²¹ *Handlist*, 256, 4T; Carter, op. cit., II, pl. 32.

²² *Handlist*, 85a.

decorated with lotus flowers. Carter's card describes it in detail, giving many relevant facts:

Sandal of coloured beadwork. L. foot . . . Base of leather, Beads threaded & then sewn to leather. *Toe-thong* . . . A circular thong of leather(?) covered with beads in spiral pattern. Ends at top in a flat papyrus . . . overlying ends of side thongs. *Side-thongs* . . . at 4 (cm.) up they flare into bands . . . with papyrus designs.

Elaborate patterns in coloured faience disc-beads. Colours—blue, yellow, green, red & white.

This is a good example of the extent to which disc-bead composition could be used for profane purposes, and how adaptable it was. Leaving aside a number of less well preserved and defined articles of disc-bead composition in the tomb of Tutankhamūn, we must mention two bead-collars. They were found in their original position on the mummy itself and they are the earliest extant examples of a Broad Collar and a Falcon Collar, which—but for the pendants and the terminals—are completely made out of disc-beads. One of them²³ was lying 'on the abdomen left of umbilicus reaching down to lower part of pelvis'.

Collar of minute violet faience beads, woven or threaded after the fashion of mat work and having semicircular shoulder pieces and pendant border.

Carter also states that 'this collar has not yet been restrung'. But his diagram is sufficient to show the traditional arrangement of the minute disc-beads.

The other collar²⁴ was 'suspended from the neck, covering shoulders and chest as far down as the lower edge of the *mammae*'. Unfortunately the task of removing it proved so difficult that most of it was left on the mummy. However, Carter's notes together with a black-and-white photograph (pl. XXI) keep a sufficient record of it, even if the impression must remain incomplete without the colours, which were mainly turquoise blue and gold. According to the diagram there were at least four gold-bead chevrons on turquoise-blue background. The containing band, also turquoise blue, is set off by a slight touch of haematite red and yellow, and gold sequins are sewn on to it while traditional gold pendant drops are suspended from its lower edge. To the side edges of the bead-composition 'gold hawk-headed flexible clasps' are fastened.

The next dated examples of disc-bead composition come from the Late Period. Few of them have been properly recorded. But there must be a good number of examples extant in various museums. It is instructive to read early reports of how pieces of this kind were obtained. For instance, Petrie²⁵ writes thus on his excavations in Illahûn:

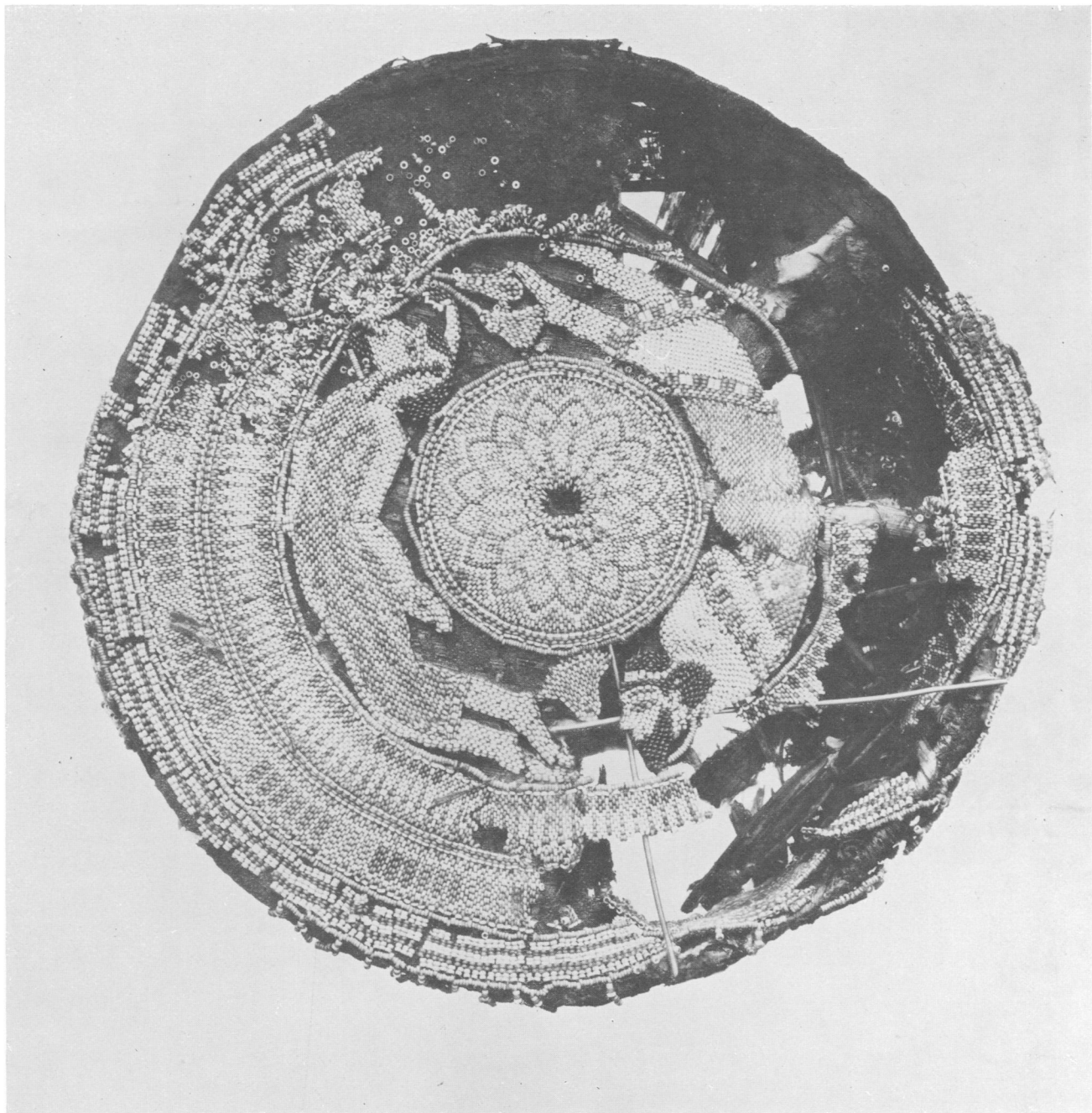
The next period of importance at Illahûn is from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fifth Dynasties. The hills near the pyramid (were) re-used during the Late Bubastic and Ethiopian dynasties. Those internments are generally rude, the coffins seldom having any intelligible inscriptions. Many of the mummies have bead networks and patterns upon them with figures of winged scarabaei, the four genii, the ba bird, and other emblems, all executed in coloured beads.

As I have stated already, there are bead-figures of this kind in the Wellcome Collection

²³ *Handlist*, 2560.

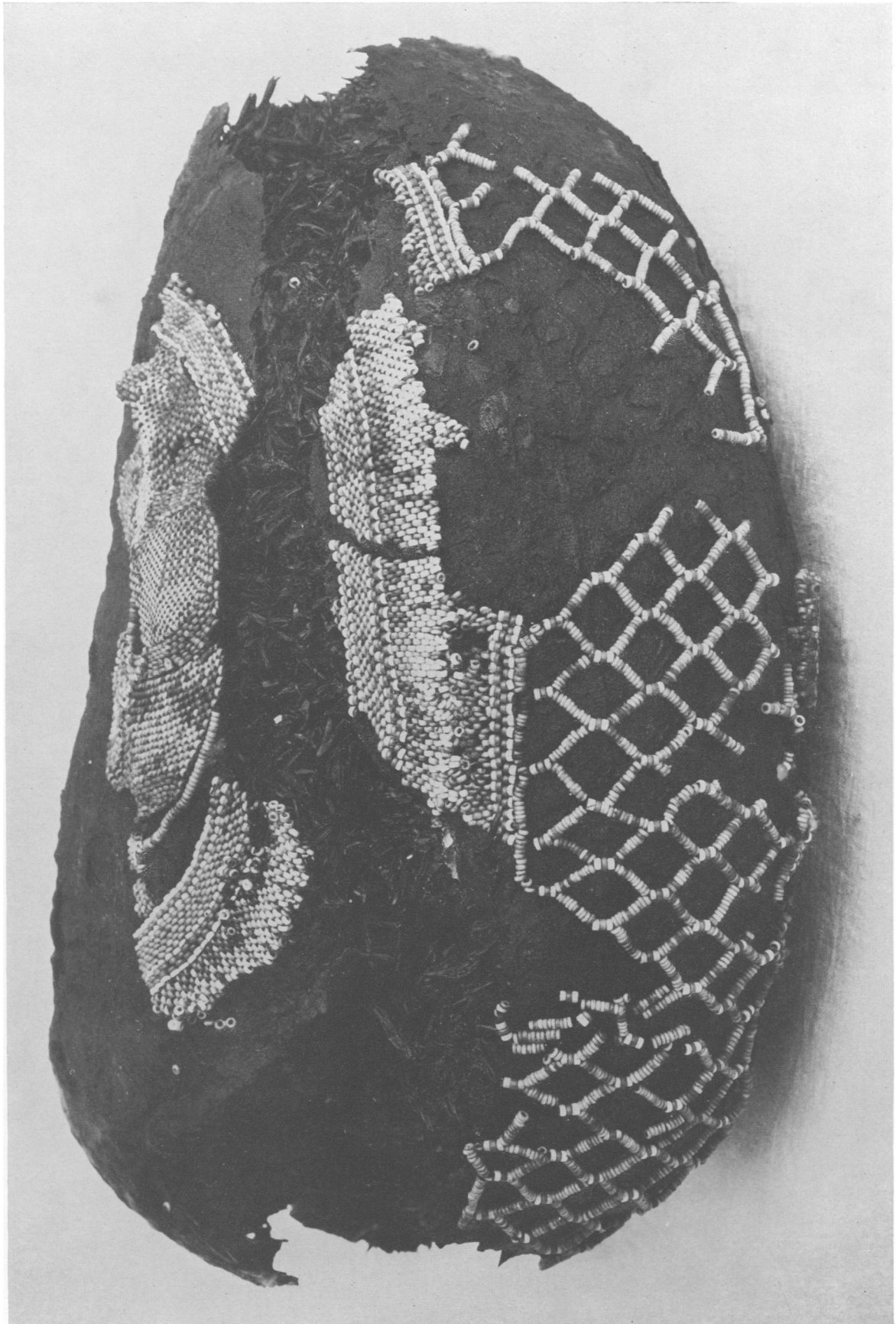
²⁴ *Handlist*, 256ttt; A. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 112.

²⁵ *Ten Years Digging in Egypt* (London, 1892), 124.



Hassock from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn (*Handlist*, 354)
Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford

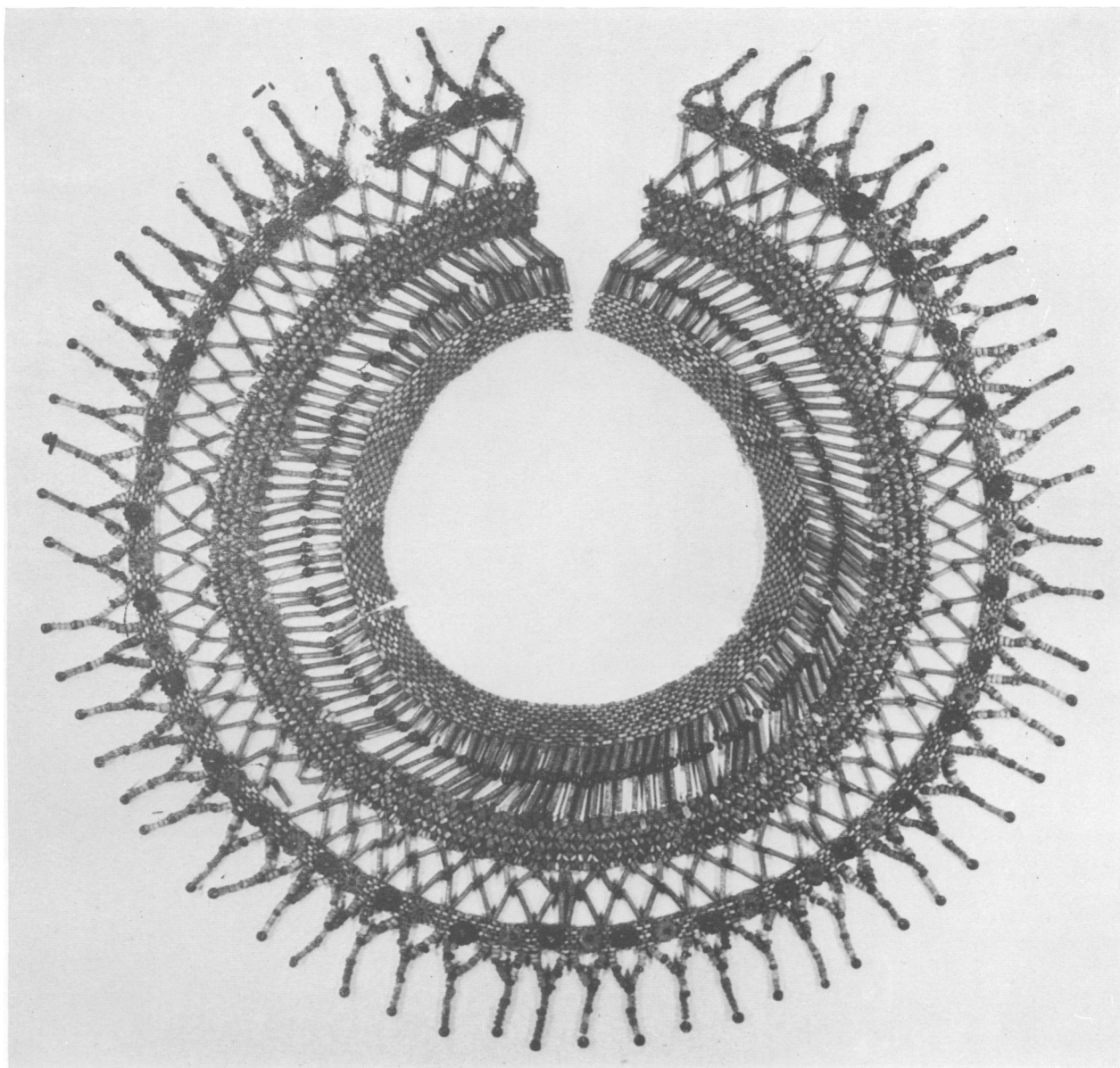
DISC-BEADS IN EGYPTIAN BEAD-COMPOSITIONS



Hassock from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn (*Handlist*, 34)

Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford

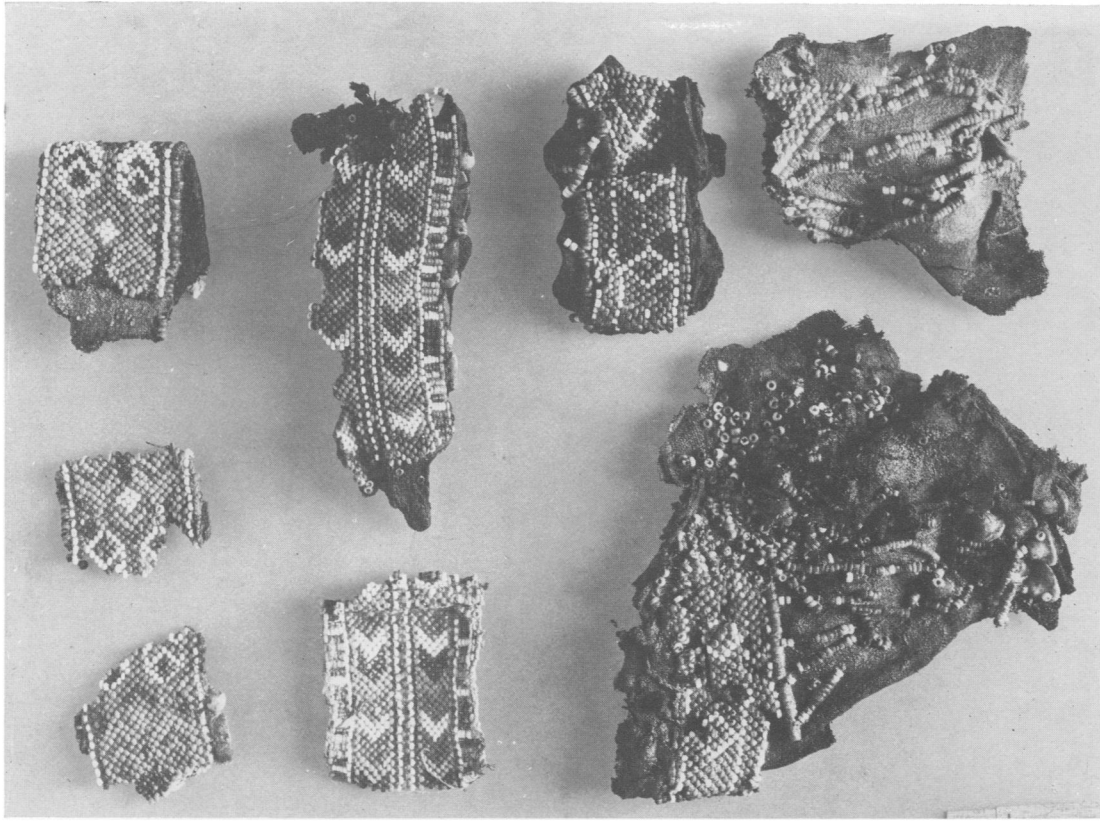
DISC-BEADS IN EGYPTIAN BEAD-COMPOSITION



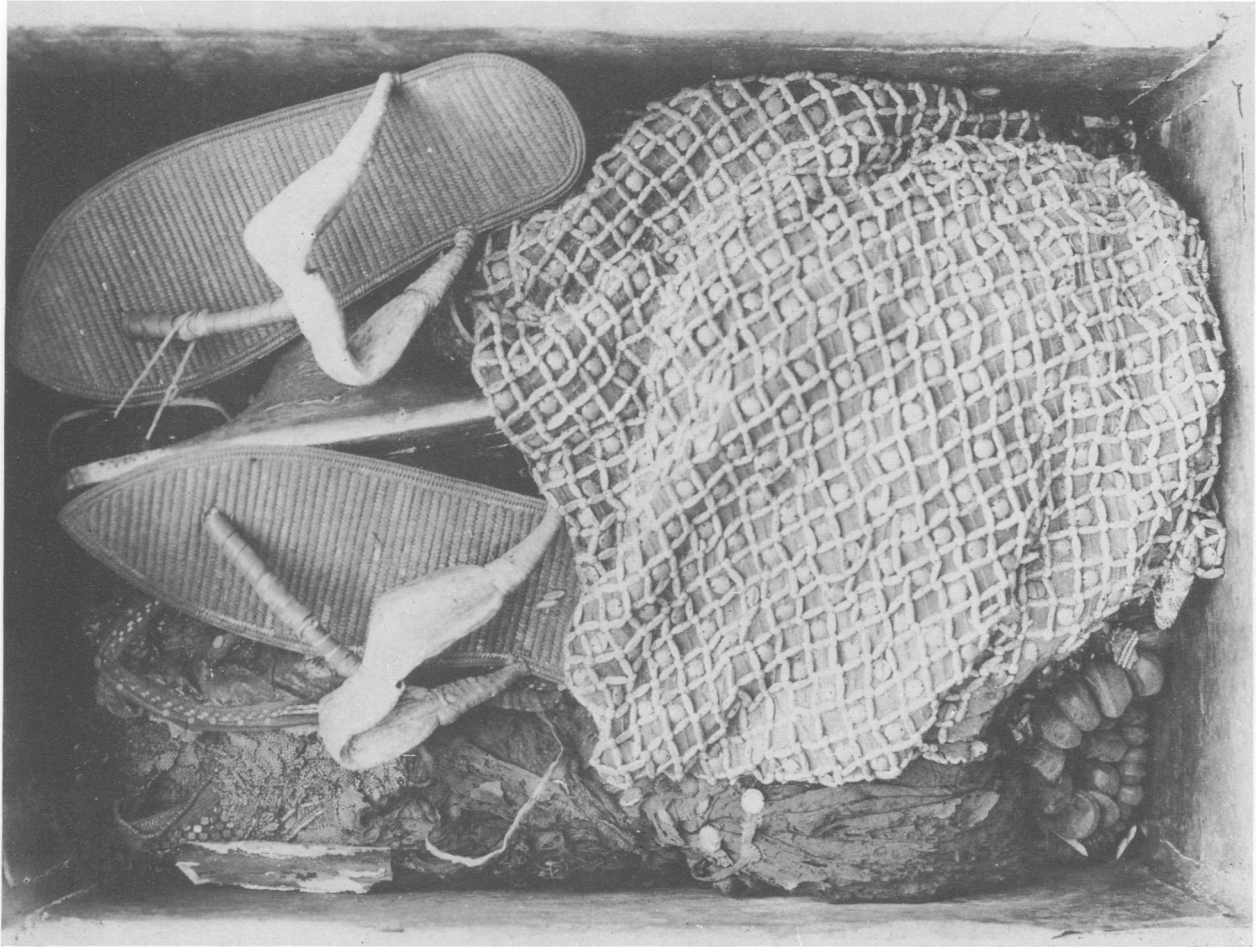
Rosette Collar from the Wellcome Collection at Swansea

Photograph Roger Davies

DISC-BEADS IN EGYPTIAN BEAD-COMPOSITIONS

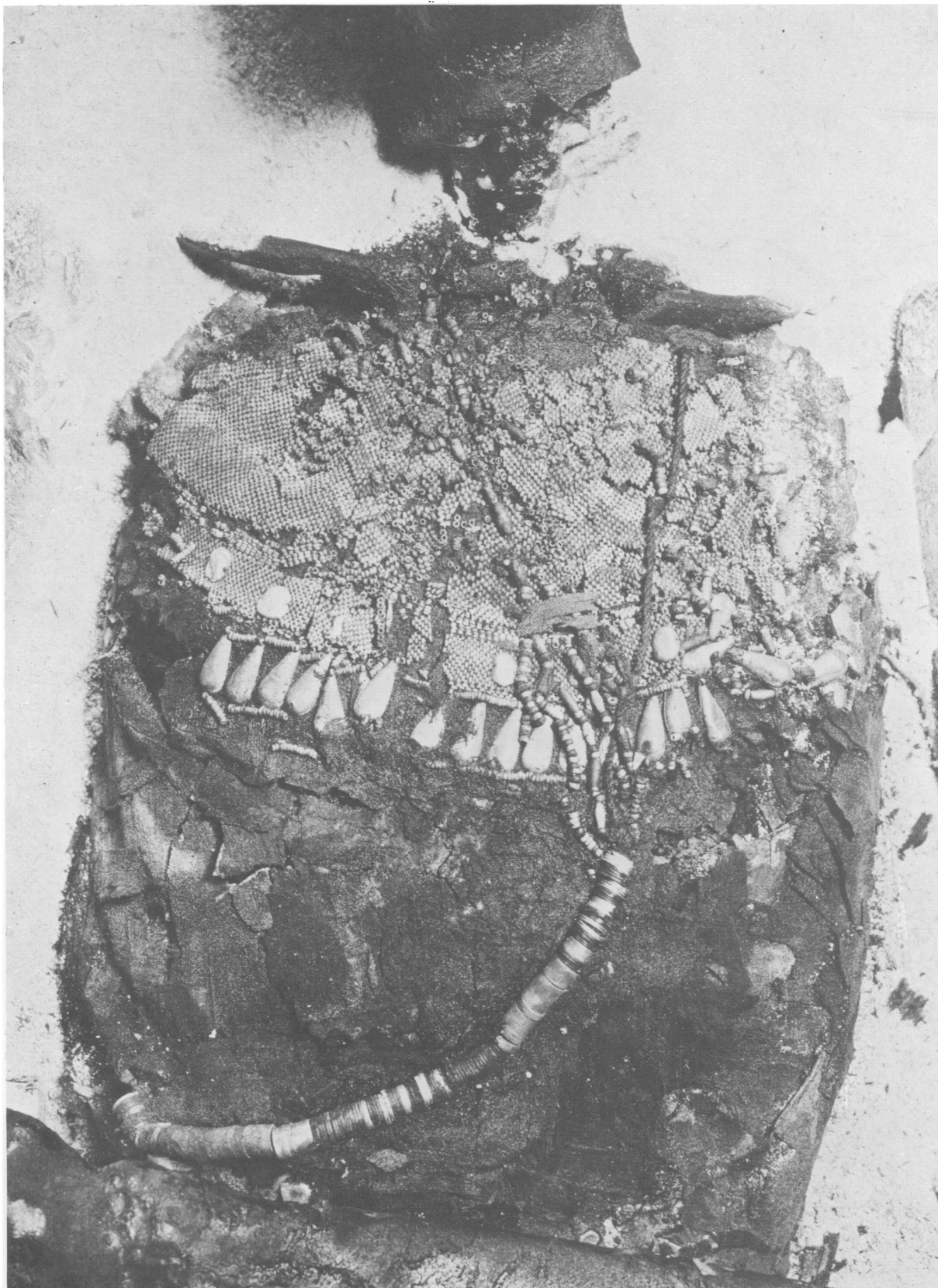


2. Bead-bands from the Ceremonial Robe (*Handlist*, 21d)



1. Ceremonial Robe of Tut'ankhamūn (*Handlist*, 21d)

Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford



Bead-collar of Tut'ankhamūn (*Handlist*, 256ttt)

Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford

DISC-BEADS IN EGYPTIAN BEAD-COMPOSITIONS

in University College, Swansea. Some of them are composed with great skill out of strong beads whose colour has not faded.

Petrie also describes his method of preserving such finds:

. . . as the threading is completely rotted, the beads all fall apart with the slightest shake and such work is therefore not preserved when excavations are left to the native overseer. . . .

When we entered a tomb I opened the coffins in the gentlest way drawing or cutting out the pegs which fastened them; and then a glance inside showed if any beadwork existed. If there were bead-patterns the next step was to fetch a petroleum stove down into the chamber, melt a batch of beeswax and then, when it was on the point of chilling, ladle it out and dash it over the beadwork. If the wax is too hot, it sinks in and soaks all the mummy wrappings into a solid mass. . . . If poured on, it runs off the body in a narrow stream. When all the beads were covered and the wax set, I then lifted up the sheet of wax with the beadwork sticking to it, flattened it out on a board and it was ready for fixing it to a tray permanently with the lower side turned outward.

Budge reports on similar beadwork of the Late Period found at Akhmîm, while describing burials of the Twenty-first to the Twenty-sixth Dynasties:²⁶

. . . the mummies inside them have gilded masks and are usually covered with a network of glazed faience bagle beads upon which are laid figures of Nut and the four children of Horus in smaller beadwork.

This is the period when bead-faces, too, appear in connection with bead-nettings. K. Myśliwiec published four such bead-faces. These were originally joined to the netting together with collars with falcon-head terminals, also made of disc-beads. Two of them are known to have come from Meir. Myśliwiec maintains that these bead-faces take the form of the hieroglyph *hr*, and that this stands for Horus the son of Osiris, and could possibly be a symbol of rebirth.²⁷

La signification religieuse justifierait la présence du signe *hr* comme motif principal dans le décor attaché aux momies, dont quelques exemples non publiés, se trouvent au Musée Egyptien au Caire . . . Ce viage y est accompagné par d'autres symboles religieux de caractère funéraire.

Concerning the bead-faces in the shape of the *hr* face on the bead-netting of the mummies from Meir, Myśliwiec comments:

Le motif principal est toujours la face prenant la forme du signe *hr* aux couleurs suivantes: la face jaune avec les yeux bleus aux pupilles noires, le nez et les lèvres rouges, le milieu de la bouche bleu . . . est bordée de quatre raies noire, bleue, rouge et jaune.

The main pattern of the collars accompanying the bead-faces in Cairo consists of a number of zigzag lines. Mr. Cyril Aldred²⁸ kindly sent me the photograph of a similar bead-face in Edinburgh which is still fixed in a netting of tubular beads. Also fixed in the netting and directly under the beard of the face is a semi-circular bead-collar of disc-beads with a pattern of lotus flowers. The terminals of the collar are falcon-heads composed of beads. Under the collar and also fixed in the netting are the bead-figures of a winged scarab and the four sons of Horus.

²⁶ E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Mummy* (repr. New York, 1971), 309.

²⁷ K. Myśliwiec 'A propos des signes hiéroglyphiques *hr* et *tp*', *ZÄS* 98 (1972), 96-7 and figs. 17 and 18.

²⁸ In his letter of Jan. 23, 1974.

The bead-faces from the Wellcome Collection in Swansea seem to follow a different tradition concerning the hope of rebirth.²⁹ They, too, were apparently once part of a bead-shroud, and they, too, are composed of disc-beads; but in their case the faces are essentially green and their expression varies from one face to another, as if the intention had been to create portraits. As Rustafjaell was inclined to buy up whole collections, it is not unlikely that they all came from the same burial place.

Disc-bead Composition

As a guide to the present state of our knowledge of ancient Egyptian jewellery, the recent books of Cyril Aldred and Alix Wilkinson³⁰ are invaluable. But they touch only very lightly on the subject of disc-bead composition. Aldred remarks (*op. cit.* 115) that 'no other nation of antiquity produced such an enormous wealth of beads in so many different shapes and substances, and used them not only in single and multiple strings but threaded in warps and wefts to form patterned textiles and sewed them on linen or papyrus backing to make such articles of dress as belts, aprons, and sandals'. This could possibly give the impression that the Ancient Egyptians used bead-looms. But in the course of a stimulating correspondence concerning the 'Wellcome collars' in Swansea, Mr. Aldred corrected this statement, saying in his letter of 8 February 1974:

I was wrong to imply that the Egyptians used a bead-loom and I withdraw my remarks about warps and wefts. A matting technique was generally used or the looped-thread system as on your sample. I was trying to describe an effect rather than defining a technique.

Wilkinson enlarges on several bead-objects using disc-bead composition including the belt of Ptahshepses (see above p. 115) which is composed of 'small disc-beads to resemble a piece of cloth'; he mentions the bib-like collar on the mummy of Tutankhamun (see above, p. 118) 'composed of small disc-beads so closely strung together that they resemble a cloth of beads',³¹ adding that 'the main design was a chevron pattern with a border of drop-pendants. But he mentions neither its exceptional colour-scheme of turquoise blue and gold nor the fact that another collar on the mummy, one of the two described as 'purple with semicircular terminals', was also made of disc-beads. Nor did he apparently notice that similar bead-cloth collars were contained in bead-shrouds of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, as he expressly notes³² concerning the Late Period (Twenty-third to Twenty-sixth Dynasties), that 'no actual collars have been found dating from this period in Egypt'. There arises, of course, the problem whether articles of dress made with the same technique as bead-collars should be included in books of jewellery.

In his card-index on the finds from Tutankhamun's tomb, Carter recorded many important and valuable details relating to the patterns and position of objects of disc-bead composition. But as far as the technique of uniting the beads is concerned, he

²⁹ See above, note 3, p. 114.

³¹ *Op. cit.* 112.

³⁰ See above, note 8, p. 115, and note 13, p. 116.

³² *Op. cit.* 194.

expresses himself rather ambiguously; for example, concerning the collar in *Handlist*, 2560, which was found on the King's body, he writes:

Collar of minute violet faience beads *woven or threaded* after the fashion of mat work and having semicircular pieces and pendant border.

Concerning one hassock (*Handlist*, 34):

. . . on the cloth elaborate pattern of beadwork in blue, green, red, yellow, and white disc beads . . . *all strung overlapping*.

And concerning the ceremonial robe (*Handlist*, 21d):

. . . Ceremonial robe . . . border band of tiny glass disc beads of white, green, yellow, red, blue *arranged in patterns and threaded criss-cross*. (The italics in the last three quotations are mine.)

Restorers of beadwork of this kind must be well acquainted with the technique of disc-bead composition. But I was not able to learn from books that the essence of Egyptian disc-bead composition is the fact that—as they are threaded 'criss-cross'—the tension on the beads comes diagonally from two directions, in consequence stress from the horizontal and vertical directions cannot easily tear the bead-composition into pieces (although that could happen through age or dampness). Also, the beads are, indeed, arranged 'overlapping, giving the impression of warp and weft'. But each bead has to be added one at a time, which allows complete freedom of movement with regard to direction and colouring, as is exemplified by the bead-figures of bound prisoners on one of the hassocks (*Handlist*, 354). Furthermore, there exists technically no restriction of size, however big or small the object is to be. It was possible also to use this technique in composing bead-pictures, like the lotus and papyrus plants on a sandal of Tutankhamūn (*Handlist*, 85a) or the lying jackals on a bead-shroud of the Late Period in the Louvre (Salle 244, *sine numero*).

Many variations can be found in the actual compositions and they are worth observing, as they could sometimes help to reconstruct an object. Without attempting to be exhaustive, I shall note just a few of them:

(a) Parts of the bead-composition can be put at right angles to each other, as can be observed, e.g., on one of the hassocks (*Handlist*, 34) where a border band is set at right angles to wider inner bands.

(b) The round pieces of this hassock are connected by a netting of small beads.

(c) Block patterns in a straight line can be formed by threading four beads at a time instead of one, as happens in the ceremonial robe (*Handlist*, 21d).

(d) The edge of a piece of bead-composition is occasionally formed by a straight string of coloured beads put at right angles (hassock, *Handlist*, 354, under the prisoners).

(e) There was a special technique of broadening a piece of bead-composition, particularly employed in figure composition, by using two beads occasionally instead of one and afterwards each of the beads separately (a technique common in modern crochet-working, by the way).

All these techniques were fully known in the Amarna Period. Unfortunately the whole charm of these bead-compositions cannot be appreciated without colour-reproduction, and that may be the reason why disc-bead compositions have not received their due appreciation as *objets d'art*.

Material Employed

There remain some problems concerning the material used in disc-bead compositions. During the Old Kingdom, it seems, gold and carnelian were used together in the belt of Ptahshepses (see p. 115 above), and gold wire served for the threading. But as soon as the term 'faience' is used, there arises uncertainty as to the real nature of the material. In the publication of the tomb of Senebtisi (see note 12, p. 115) it is stated on p. 70 that 'the waistband consisted of 40 rows of small faience beads', while on pl. 28 in the same book the same object is described as 'girdle of glazed pottery beads'. This mistake could have been made when somebody tried to specify the term 'faience' and found in a dictionary that it is a 'kind of glazed earthenware', and then translated 'earthenware' with 'pottery'.

H. C. Beck³³ remarks concerning the term 'faience' that it is 'often used to describe Egyptian beads. It would be more correct to speak of "glazed composition"'. And so we find the same girdle of Senebtisi described by A. Wilkinson³⁴ as follows: 'The waistband consisted of 40 rows of glazed composition beads.' Lucas³⁵ gave a more scientific definition of Egyptian faience, stating that it 'consists of a highly siliceous body coated with glaze, that is to say it is a glazed frit', and adding that 'it is generally coloured, often being blue or green, though it may be of any colour'. The term 'frit' is explained by Beck (op. cit. 54) thus:

Frit is a partially mixed material, consisting of unmelted substances held together by a cement. It may consist of materials which would make a glass but have been only partly melted.

The term 'glass' is also defined by him:

Glass is a vitreous compound that has a conchoidal fracture. It is a combination of silica with lime or lead and an alkali such as soda or potash.

In the New Kingdom an added difficulty arises when one has to differentiate between glass and Egyptian faience; however, the production of glass on a large scale must have helped also to increase the number of objects made of disc-beads, as Aldred³⁶ states:

The introduction of glass on an ambitious scale as an intentionally made material occurs only in the New Kingdom. . . . Its main quality, when it is found in a good state of preservation, is the brilliance and intensity of its colours, yellow, white, black, red, green, dark blue, light blue and greenish blue.

Even so, it is not always easy to differentiate between the two materials, faience and glass, by sight; and it could happen even to Carter, that while describing two bead-objects found in the same box in the tomb of Tutankhamūn, he called the material of one object glass and that of the other faience:

Handlist, 21d: Ceremonial robe, border band of tiny glass disc-beads of white, green, yellow, red and blue arranged in pattern.

and

Handlist, 21s: cap or bag of beadwork. . . . The beads were all small discs of faience, red, yellow, white, blue and green.

³³ Loc. cit. 35.

³⁴ Op. cit. 78.

³⁵ A. Lucas, *Antiques* (London, 1932), 61; cf. J. R. Harris in *The Legacy of Egypt*² (Oxford, 1971), 95 f. and Lucas-Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*¹, 156.

³⁶ Aldred, op. cit. 36.

Nevertheless the description could be correct. The 'bib-like collar' (*Handlist*, 256ttt) was still using gold disc-beads, but in connection with turquoise glass beads.

The 'Rosette Collar' of the Wellcome Collection

During our correspondence about the 'Wellcome Collars' Mr. Aldred remarked (letter of 6 September 1973) that 'much work has been done on beads, but almost nothing on necklaces and collars made of beads'. As an epilogue I shall here try to apply the facts which have emerged from the investigation into disc-bead composition to one of the bead-collars from the Wellcome Collection (pl. XIX). This collar has no accredited pedigree and must therefore be judged on its own merits. The prejudice, naturally, is against it, as I have been assured from more than one side that any strung beadwork which is taken to a museum's curator is automatically under the strong suspicion of being 'dealers' confection'.

The collar consists of three bands of disc-bead composition which are connected by peculiarly arranged tubular beads. Its fringe is formed by some half-netting which ends in bead-strings with a round red bead at each end. The only 'amuletic' decoration is a row of alternating dark and light rosettes which are fastened on the outer band. This collar, as I have mentioned before, is one of four which are strung in similar style, but for the fact that Amarna amulets are attached to the edges of the three other collars. A piece of thread of one of the collars, which is not quite complete, has been examined in a Forensic Science Laboratory at Cardiff, where it was stated that it is of linen (not of modern cotton). The colours of the beads are blue, red, green, and yellow. Some of the green beads have turned brown, other beads show a separation of siliceous material, which can happen both in faience beads and in glass beads.³⁷ The radiant blue tubular beads and the smooth red round beads between them are probably of glass.

The neck-band (yellow and mainly faded green) is made of disc-beads in the traditional 'cloth-like' fashion. The pattern consists of twelve yellow and corresponding green triangles with a base of ten beads each, but for two triangles (there is a base of eight beads) suggesting that the bead-band has not been manufactured in a mechanical way. The beads are strung vertically, that is to say, their diameter is turned towards the neck, thus forming a straight edge.

The central bead-band consists of disc twin-beads ('spacer beads') interwoven with a diamond pattern of single yellow disc-beads; its lower edge is a single string of multi-coloured beads. The third band is simply formed of six rows of greenish disc-beads strung 'cloth-like'; they present the background for thirty pairs of yellow and lilac-blue rosettes with a hole in the centre. A translucent glass bead of contrasting colour is fastened over the centre of each bead to keep it in place. Similar 'boss beads' have been found at Gurob³⁸ and Amarna. I have to thank Dr. P. R. S. Moorey for allowing me to examine the rosettes from an Amarna excavation which are now in the Ashmolean

³⁷ A. Lucas, *Antiques* (London, 1932), 62 and 69.

³⁸ Guy Brunton and Reginald Engelbach, *Gurob* (*ERA* 41, London, 1927), pl. 35 and p. 14: Tomb 408. The dating given (time of Tuthmosis III) seems to me a little too early.

Museum³⁹ and for providing photographs of these and related Amarna beads and moulds. There may be some significance in the fact that a similar string of light and dark rosettes is pictured on the 'Ecclesiastic seat'⁴⁰ (on the curved edge of the seat) of Tutankhamūn.

Constructional Ideas

If one compares the 'Rosette-collar' with the falcon-collar (*Handlist*, 256ttt) and the broad-collar (*Handlist*, 256o) of Tutankhamūn, which consist of unbroken 'bead-cloth', the 'Wellcome collar' does not completely correspond. It is significant, however, that the gold sequins on the bead-band which forms the edge of the 'falcon collar' (pl. XXI) represent the same idea of ornamentation as is found on our collar. These collars also demonstrate how shoulder-pieces and even flexible gold clasps could be fixed to the edge of the beadwork. A nearer precedent for the constructional idea of the 'Rosette-collar' is evident in the ceremonial robe (*Handlist*, 21d) where three bands of bead-composition are connected through bead-netting (pl. XX, 1-2) while the edge of the garment is formed by a fringe of bead-strings. The practice of connecting pieces of beadwork through netting consisting of tiny beads is found in two hassocks from the tomb (*Handlist*, 34 and 354; pls. XVII and XVIII). There are other features which have accredited precedents: the light-green and blue beads used for the netting which connect the central and the lower bead-band can be compared with the netting of the bead-dress of a servant from the tomb of Meketre^c at Deir el-Bahari, of the Eleventh Dynasty;⁴¹ the blue-red-blue vertical lines between the upper and the central bead-band may have followed the same 'textbook' as the bracelet of Sit-Hathor which was found at Lahūn.⁴² Even the 'diamond pattern' formed by the yellow beads on the second bead-band might echo the diamond pattern on the gold-belt of Tutankhamūn and the belt of Senebtisi.

Without trying to press the points of the argument too far, it seems surprising that all these genuine parallels should be found in a piece of 'dealers' confection'. To me, at least, it seems more probable that some genuine collars of the Amarna Period should have survived by chance in their original form.

³⁹ E.g. TA/289, a dark-blue and a light-blue rosette with twelve leaves, a central hole and flat rear, about one cm. in diameter, deriving from the 1928 excavations at Amarna.

⁴⁰ *Handlist*, 351; Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen* (Penguin Books, 1965), pl. 4.

⁴¹ Boris de Rachewiltz, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1966), pl. 48.

⁴² Aldred, *op. cit.*, pl. 40.

THE DEDICATORY AND BUILDING TEXTS OF RAMESSES II IN LUXOR TEMPLE¹

II: INTERPRETATION

By MAHMUD ABD EL-RAZIK

IN the previous volume of this *Journal*, the corpus of dedications inscribed in Luxor temple by Ramesses II was made available in hieroglyphic copy. In this second part, we proceed to give the translations² and a compact commentary.

§ 1. We may fittingly begin with the major dedicatory and building-text of the year 3, uncovered only in recent years.³ It begins on the inside face of the east wall, where it is still hidden under the mosque of Abu 'l-Haggag, and continues in a single line along the back of the pylon (east wing) ending with some 12 vertical lines. On the inside of the east wall, below, is a lesser dedicatory text (here, § 1A). This (see Part I, fig. 1) may be tentatively translated as follows:

§ 1A. Minor Text (E. Wall)

[. . . large loss . . .] . . . *s of my father, my lord who created me, possessor of a noble Ba, . . . god, lord (?) . . . upon [. . .]*.⁴

§ 1B. Major Text, Year 3

(1) [. . . large loss . . . *As for*]⁵ *this good god, he is a scribe, excellent in skill and in knowledge (rḥt) like Thoth, one who knows the regulations, skilled in precepts(?),⁶ esteemed like the two sisters(??),⁷ . . . without mishap(?) / coming(?) . . . Then His Majesty researched (in) the archives, and he opened the writings of the House of Life.⁸ He (thus) knew the secrets of heaven and all the mysteries of earth. He found Thebes, the Eye of Rē, as a (primeval) mound which arose in the beginning(?),⁹ since this land has*

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), 306–12).

³ For this text, see M. Abd El-Razik, *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 69, pl. 26; M. Abdul-Qader Muhammed, *ASAE* 60 (1968), 262–3, pls. 60, 61, 62, 62 bis, 62 ter; K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions*, II/6 (1971), 345–7; D. B. Redford, *JEA* 57 (1971), 110–19, pl. 31/31A (omitting readings obtainable from plates of *ASAE* 60); Ch. Kuentz, *La face sud du massif est du pylône de Ramsès II à Louxor* (Cairo, 1971), pls. 21–5, 35 (omitting E. wall).

⁴ Gaps and losses in this line (with most of it still buried under the mosque) make it very difficult to give a running translation; like the main text, it seems to have been unusual.

⁵ Restoring here [*ḥr*] *nṯr pn nṯr*.

⁶ The sign Δ is normally used in words spelt *wṯs*, but none of these has a suitable meaning. So perhaps we should take the word here as a rare writing of *ṯsw*, 'pronouncements, precepts, utterances', etc.

⁷ This looks like two seated female figures; 'two sisters' might be Isis and Nephthys. What follows is obscure.

⁸ For which see Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), 157–79; Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung* (Analecta Aegyptiaca, III), 1942, 17–40; Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825* (1965), 48–61, 96–101.

⁹ The signs immediately after *ḥpr* are difficult; one expects a phrase for 'in the beginning'. Perhaps these signs stand for something like *ḥntw* as in the expression *ḥpr ḥntw* (*Wb* III, 304, 8).

existed, and Amen-Rēc . . . ed¹⁰ as king; he illuminated heaven, he shone (psd) upon the (solar) circuit, seeing the place where he might allow the ray(s)¹¹ of his Eye to alight: his right eye in the nome Waset, in the City, (is) 'Southern Heliopolis', and his left eye in the nome of Heq-candjet, (is) 'Northern Heliopolis', (even) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amen-Rēc. Eternity is his Name, and Everlasting is his Nature, and his Ka is all that exists.

Said King¹² Usimarēc-Setepenrēc to his nobles who are in his following, 'I am he who proclaims(?) effectively(?)¹³ [.] since its/his beginning. Behold, my mind¹⁴ is set on executing works [.] (2) erecting constructions in his temple within [Southern] Opet [. . . large loss, in each column . . .] (3) he has assumed¹⁵ the throne of him who begot him, as King, Lord of the Two Lands(?)¹⁶ [.] (4) million(s) of y[ears]¹⁷ The da[y] of the new moon¹⁸ (was) the letting loose the cord [.] (5) The King himself/spoke,¹⁹ giving instructions to conduct the work²⁰ [.] (6) all the officials [.] the procedure(?)²¹ [. , bu-] (7) ilt; and [Renen]utet,²² she assumed her place, finding(?)²³ . . [.] (8) giving a hand in directing the work, the hand(s) of the soldiery (being) [.] (9) numerous [ships] according to [their] crews, sailing both downstream and upstream [.] (10) their allowances in grain, both Upper and Lower Egyptian,²⁴ their limbs strong(?) [. sound?] (11) their limbs, none said, 'Oh that I had (this or that)! The work was completed in Regnal Year 3, 4th Month of Inundation, Day 10(?) + x,²⁵ making [. . . a total of . . . years, . . . months, . . . days, for the work??; . . . excellent?] (12) in all its work, being the craftsmanship of 'South-of-His-Wall', of granite [.] (13) (of) hard, white stone(?),²⁶ (and) every genuine (valuable?) stone.²⁷ Its good name²⁸ is [the noble] shri[ne(?)²⁹ in the Temple of Ramesses II, Meryamūn, United-with-Eternity].³⁰

¹⁰ Before 'Imn-r c m nsu a verb seems to be lost in the lacuna; n under nsu is its phonetic complement, then hwy 'to shine, illuminate'.

¹¹ Taking 𓂏 as for stwt, 'rays'.

¹² The group of Thoth-figure plus sacred eye, in sy, is a cryptographic spelling of nsu, 'king' (pronounced insi, as indicated by cuneiform transcriptions). This spelling of nsu recurs (as Thoth-baboon and eye) elsewhere in the court (see § 3B, below). Mythologically, in sy 'he who brings it'—with Thoth and Eye—refers to Thoth restoring to Horus his eye after being attacked by Seth.

¹³ Reading sr mnḥ; or, traces could be p: mnḥ, 'the Effective [of plans]' or similar.

¹⁴ Here, line 1 changes to being a vertical column, followed by 12 other vertical lines. On hrp r irt kst, cf. now Redford, JEA 57 (1971), 114-15, note (b).

¹⁵ Using htp plus direct object of place, as also in line 7 below.

¹⁶ If one reads the traces as nb twy with Redford, op. cit. 114.

¹⁷ A tiny trace of top of one of the three palm-branches of rnpwt was pointed out by Redford (pp. 114, 115 note (f)).

¹⁸ Reading [hrw]n psdntyw with Redford, 114, 115, note (g).

¹⁹ Middle horizontal sign is broken, allowing either ds:f (Redford) or dd:f (Kitchen).

²⁰ More of kst is visible on the early photos (see ASAE 60 (1968), pl. 60) than on more recent ones or on the wall at present.

²¹ For other suggestions for this sḥmw, cf. Redford, 115, note (k).

²² Possibly reading ḥd-ti, Rmnwt (so also Redford). On this goddess, cf. Bonnet, Realexikon, 803-4.

²³ A bird like gm (with something lost before it) is visible in the early photos (ASAE 60, pl. 60), a point overlooked by Redford.

²⁴ On the traces of these words, see Redford, p. 116, note (p).

²⁵ A doubtful trace, possibly the edge of a n '10', with just room for one, or two, small unit-strokes entirely lost.

²⁶ The first hieroglyph in this line seems completely new and very puzzling. As it is followed by the ideogram for 'stone' and by the words 'hard', 'white', so often used of stone, perhaps it too is connected with some word for stone. For further ideas, cf. now Redford, 117, note (y).

²⁷ Perhaps restore inrw [r:]w, 'valuable stone', with Redford, 114, 117 note (aa).

²⁸ Definitely reading rn:s nfr; the first n looks almost as though inscribed over an f.

²⁹ Restoring mn [ḥb špsy], cf. Redford ad loc.

³⁰ Restoring further [. . . m hwt-ntr Rmssw,] etc., cf. Redford, 117, note (bb), and text, § 8 below.

This text is an unusual composition. While Neferhotep I of the Thirteenth Dynasty had studied temple-scrolls to make a new image for Osiris of Abydos,³¹ Ramesses II here proclaims himself a 'scholar' more forcefully than his distant predecessor—skilled scribe, investigating the archives, finding out the theological importance of Amūn and Thebes. When complete, the text was quite informative, giving details of the king's speech, the dates of the building, time taken, and provision for the workmen.³² It was also cleverly written, as if to demonstrate the 'scholarship' of the king and his scribes. This we see in the use of unique hieroglyphs (man opening a scroll; man balancing in line 13), cryptographic and abbreviated spellings. The placing of the right and left eyes of the sun-god in Thebes and Heliopolis is remarkable, and reminds one of the two eyes of the sun-god being elsewhere identified with the sun ('day') and moon ('night').³³ It is, therefore, very much to be regretted that this text is not better preserved, but one must be grateful for what has survived.

§ 2. NW. Quarter: Dedicatory Text

S. face of Pylon, W. wing: [all illegible]. Continues on W. wall, interior, north half:

[part illegible]; *Amūn himself has caused him to appear, to be ruler of all that the sun's disc encircles. He has fashioned him in valour and victory; his strength is like (that of) Montu who has . . . ed him³⁴ with joy. Fear of him has bound up the Nine [Bows], (namely) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimarēc-setepenrēc, Son of Rēc, Ramesses II Meryamūn.*

He has made as his monument [for] his [father] Amenresonter, Lord of Heaven, chief of his harīm [the making of a great pylon?], its [doors?]³⁵ of real cedar, banded (nbd) [with copper] of Asia . . . , adorned (smnh) . . . [a court] . . . surrounded with of real [. . .], which (was) made for him (by) the Son of Rēc, Lord of Diadems, Ramesses II Meryamūn, beloved of Amenrēc, King of All Gods, and given life like Rēc <forever>.³⁶

§ 3. SE. Quarter: Dedicatory Texts

§ 3A. Minor Text (S. Wall, from Gateway; § 4A is identical).

(Long) live the good god, lord of the two lands, lord performing the rites, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimarēc-setepenrēc, Son of Rēc, Ramesses II Meryamūn, given life, beloved of Amenrēc, King of the Gods, who resides in the Temple 'Ramesses II Meryamūn, United-with-Eternity in the Domain of Amūn'—may it endure for a million million (years),³⁷ abundant in provisions every day.

§ 3B. Major Text (S., then E., Walls).

[(Long) live . . . various titles, lost . . . Son of Rēc,] Ramesses II Meryamūn, given life, beloved of Amenrēc, King (in-sy)³⁸ of the Gods and Ruler of Thebes.

³¹ Cf. Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, I (1906), §§ 755–9, 764 note b, and 765; Pieper, *Die grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos* (1929), *passim*.

³² Compare such inscriptions as the Manshiyet es-Sadr stela of Year 8, A. Hamada, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 217–30.

³³ In P. Leiden I 350, 5, 20, Hymn to Amūn 'stanza 600', accessible in translation by J. A. Wilson in Pritchard, *ANET* 369, and fully edited by Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350* (Leiden, 1947), 100–1, with further references. ³⁴ Verb, *s·m*, after Montu, is obscure and difficult to restore.

³⁵ After *hnty ipt·f* one may probably restore something like [*irt n·f bhnt ʿst špst, . . . sbꜣw*]*s* (etc.) as in § 7B below. Most of the other damaged parts of this inscription remain obscure.

³⁶ At the very end one would expect the usual *dī ʿnh mi Rꜥ dī*. However, the final *dī* is also omitted on the exterior W. wall, bandeau text, § 16 below, as well as here.

³⁷ Literally, 'for a million of a million', phrase which recurs on the Pylon (E. Wing, S. face), § 7B, (iv), below, and which doubtless means millions upon millions of years.

³⁸ For *in-sy* cf. text, § 1B above; together with the falcon-signs for *nꜣrw*, 'gods' and the spelling of *rmt*, 'men' at the end of the text here, it illustrates the scholarly pretensions of these inscriptions.

He has made as his monument for his father Amenrē, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of [Heaven?, . . . etc., . . . the making for him of the temple (called)]³⁹ ‘Ramesses II Meryamūn, United-with-Eternity in the Domain of Amūn,⁴⁰ in good white stone, of hard stone,⁴¹ its court being in front of his Opet (‘harīm’?), surrounded by columns, the doors and flagstaves (being) of cedar⁴² of Lebanon, banded with copper of Asia. It includes (‘has enclosed’) statues—seated, standing, Osirid⁴³—of the Lord, L.P.H., of quartzite, (pink) granite, and black granite (inr km); an open court with (a pair of) obelisks of (my) father Amenrē-Atum,⁴⁴ a shrine (sh-ntṛ) of granite, the doors being of electrum—a resting-place for the Lord of the Gods in his Festival of Opet in which to make his halts at the beginning of every ten days. He made [it] for him upon the right ground, the precinct of the first occasion (primeval time), a place of supplication, of hearing the petitions of Gods and men, which the Son of Rē Ramesses II Meryamūn, has made for him.

Two points are of special interest in this text. First, the precise details about different types and materials of the statues of Luxor temple, to be compared with those one sees today, and details of the buildings. Second, this text gives us the earliest reference so far found to the ten-day periods at the beginning of which Amūn of Opet visited the temple of Djeme (small temple, Medinet Habu) on the West Bank at Thebes—previously not attested before Ramesses III⁴⁵ and much later periods.

The shrine mentioned may be the triple shrine inside the forecourt of Ramesses II (at least its façade is of granite). That the forecourt, shrine, and esplanade of Ramesses II was ‘a place of supplication’, ‘of hearing petitions’ is of great interest—perhaps Amūn here gave oracles in reply to petitioners as so often Amūn of Karnak did in later times.⁴⁶ This is supported by the remains of similar phrases to be found still on the East walls of the Mut and Khons chapels of the triple shrines (cf. §§ 13A, 15A, below). Despite its interest, this text has apparently not been edited hitherto.

³⁹ In the lacuna after *nb pt*, probably restore further titles of Amūn, then certainly *irt nḥ hwt-ntṛ*, as the following cartouche with *hnm-hh* is part of the name of Ramesses II’s work at Luxor (cf. next note); for similarly-constructed texts, cf. §§ 7 and 8 below.

⁴⁰ This is the specific name for the pylon, forecourt, and triple shrine which Ramesses II added as one big, independent unit ‘in front of’ (*hft-hr*) the main Luxor temple. It will have had its own financial endowment (fields, etc.) within the great domains of Amūn.

⁴¹ I.e., in hard sandstone, a meaning of this phrase pointed out by Sethe and confirmed by J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), 71–2. Note abbreviated writing of *inr*, ‘stone’.

⁴² More strictly coniferous wood generally from Lebanon and Asia Minor, cf. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I (1947), 8 and n. 1 with earlier references.

⁴³ Of special interest are the determinatives specifying the different types of statue. The various granite statues of the king are a familiar sight in the temple; but there is little trace there of quartzite or sandstone statues of Ramesses II except for an Osirid one (partly lost) to the east side of the forecourt. Conceivably *bit mṛt* might just be for ‘red stone, granite’?

⁴⁴ *Wbṛ m thnwy it-i Imn-rṛ Im*—because of the mention of the obelisks, one may consider that this *wbṛ* is the open court or area in front of Ramesses II’s pylon. For a parallel text, cf. § 8 below. It is noteworthy that the obelisks (solar symbols) are named with Amūn who has the compound name Amenrē-Atum, itself solar.

⁴⁵ Stela of Ramesses III, lying flat behind a statue of Ramesses II, W. colonnade, S. half, in forecourt, last republished by E. Otto, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 93–7, cf. 91 (1964), 140. For Amūn’s journey, cf. Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter* (1929), § 112. The present text of Ramesses II is mentioned by Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (1967), 79.

⁴⁶ On these, cf. Černý in Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes* (1962), 35–48.

§ 4. SW. Quarter : Dedicatory Texts

§ 4A. Minor Text (S. Wall, from Gateway; identical with § 3A).

§ 4B. Major Text (S., then W., Walls).⁴⁷

Words spoken by the Hereditary Prince and Count, He of the Curtain, Eldest Son of the King, [conducting??] the nobles of their(?) palace [to/for?] their lord and their father, Lord of the Two Lands, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc, [Lord of Appearings,] Ramesses II Meryamūn, given life.

The Viziers, the Royal Companions, the Treasurers of the Palace, the Overseers of the Two Houses of Silver and Gold, the Generals of Infantry, the Commanders of Bowmen, Controllers, Overseers of Southern and Northern Deserts, Overseers of Fortresses, Overseers of River-mouths, Stewards, Director of Controllers(?), Rulers of Domains, Overseers of Horn, Hoof, Feather and Scale,⁴⁸ of Egypt, the Director(s) of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the Counts (or, Mayors), and the Overseers of Prophets who come in obeisance, bearing their tribute as the revenues of Nubia and every offering of the land of the Asiatics, and the accounts of Egypt, to see the beauty of their lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc, Son of Rēc, Ramesses II Meryamūn, Amenrēc in his beautiful Festival of Opet before (?) the [Ennead?] . . . [rest lost].

The hierarchy of officials can be compared with the sequence of ranks in the Onomasticon edited by Gardiner,⁴⁹ although there the generals and commanders come partly before, partly among or after, treasurers and other civilian officials. One may tabulate the main correspondences between our text and the Onomasticon as follows:

Ramesses II, Luxor, § 4B	Onomasticon, Nos.
<i>imy-r mnfyt</i>	cf. <i>imy-r mšc</i> (87), <i>sš mnfyt</i> (88)
<i>hry-pdt</i>	cf. <i>šsw-pdt</i> (234-5), lesser rank
<i>imy-r hšwt rsyw, mhtyw</i>	cf. <i>imy-r hšwt, Hrsw, Kšš</i> (106)
<i>imy-r htm(w)</i>	cf. <i>idnw imy-r htm(w) nw Wšd-wr</i> (105)
<i>imy-r hšwt(y)</i>	cf. <i>imy-r hšwt(y)</i> (109)
<i>imy-r pr</i>	cf. <i>imy-r pr wr n nb-šwy</i> (124), (a senior rank)
<i>hšty-c</i>	cf. <i>hšty-c (dmi, whst)</i> , (101)
<i>imy-r hmw-ntr</i>	cf. <i>imy-r hmw-ntr</i> of S. and N. (100), (a very senior honorific)

All the officials 'come in obeisance' to present their dues to the king, a fact long recognized. But Daressy's old copy of this text⁵⁰ did not go further than the second set of cartouches of Ramesses II, whereas the text continued originally a fair length beyond that point (though now badly damaged). It is these hitherto unpublished traces that seem to give us the occasion for the presentation—none other than the great Feast of Opet, one of the main annual functions of Luxor temple; above this text are processional scenes explicitly linked with that feast. This presentation during Opet of dues and tribute to the king is perhaps a new fact about this festival, not previously known.

⁴⁷ A slightly different translation of much of this line of text (but based on Daressy's copy, *Rec. Tr.* 14 [1892], 31) is given by A. R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (1964), 115-16, No. 173; cf. Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, III, § 484.

⁴⁸ On *imy-r cb* (etc.), for overseers of all livestock, cf. Loret, *Rec. Tr.* 38 (1916), 61-8, and Faulkner, *Dict.*, 40.

⁴⁹ *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 1 (1947), 19* ff.

⁵⁰ In *Rec. Tr.* 14 (1893), 31.

§ 5. Side Doorways of the Court

§ 5A. West Doorway.

Both inside and out, closely similar door-names. Exterior: *Great Doorway of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc, at whose monuments Amūn rejoices.* Interior: *Great Doorway of the Temple of Ramesses II Meryamūn, at whose monuments Amūn rejoices.*

§ 5B. East Doorway.

Exterior, upper lines: *Great Doorway of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc, whom the people praise, in the Temple of Ramesses II Meryamūn in the Domain of Amūn.*

Lower line (S. side): [*All lands?, . . .*], *the Southland, and all Upper Egypt, in unison, they adore this good god [. . .].*

Lower line (N. side): *All lands, the far North, the Hau-nebu(?), . . . [rest lost].*

Interior: *Great Doorway of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc, whom all the people praise that they may live.*

The East Doorway appears to be the more important, as it has two lines of dedication (exterior) to the West Door's one. The name, 'door of Ramesses whom the people adore', suggests that this was a door that could be used by the king (coming from his palace?). Its greater importance may also be indicated by the framing inscription (§ 6 below) that it has, which is absent from the West Door.

§ 6. Dedication flanking Scenes south of East Doorway

1. *(Long) live the Horus, Strong Bull beloved of Marat, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc, Son of Rēc, Lord of Appearings, Ramesses II Meryamūn, beloved of Amenrēc Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Chief of Karnak, residing in the Temple of Ramesses II Meryamūn in the Domain of Amūn.*

2. *He has made as his monument for his father Amenrēc, chief of his harīm (Opet), the constructing for him of a great and august doorway in front of Rēc (when) he reveals ('gives') himself, of fine white, hard stone, the door being of cedar from the desert-lands, the terraces,⁵¹ banded with Asiatic copper.*

The phrase 'before', 'in front of' Rēc refers to the eastward-facing location of this doorway. The next phrase is less easy; my translation makes it refer to the sunrise. One could refer it to the king: *he (the king) has placed it, (it being) of fine, white stone.*

§ 7. Dedications on the Pylon (below Cornices)

§ 7A. North (front) Façades.

W. Wing: *Horus, Strong Bull, son of Amūn; Two-ladies, the Favourite, [beneficial to his father; Golden Horus, Seeker of good deed]s for him who produced him; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc: he has made as his monument for his father Amenresonter the constructing for him of the Temple of Ramesses II Meryamūn in the Domain of Amūn, in front of Southern Opet, and the erecting for him of a pylon anew, its flagstaves reaching up to heaven—being what the Son of Rēc, Ramesses II Meryamūn, given life forever, made for him.*

E. Wing: *Horus, Strong Bull who shatters the Asiatics; Two-ladies, who fights with his strong arm, protector of his soldiers; Golden Horus, Powerful of arm, who subdues the Nine Bows; King (etc.) Usimarēc-Setepenrēc: he has made as his monument for his father Amenresonter the constructing for him of the Temple of Ramesses II Meryamūn in the Domain of Amūn, whose beauty is as high as heaven—*

⁵¹ Read probably as *ꜥꜥ n ḥꜣst ḥꜣtw* 'cedar of the land of terraces', i.e. Lebanon.

place of appearance for the Lord of the Gods in his Festival of [Opet], being what the Son of Rēc, Lord of Appearings, Ramesses II Meryamūn, [given life forever], has made for him.

The damaged Nebty and Golden Horus names on the W. wing can be restored from their parallels on the South façades of the E. and W. wings respectively of this pylon (see below). The unusual titles and purpose of the temple (for the Opet-feast) are the main points here.

§ 7B. South (rear) Façades.

W. Wing, upper line: <Horus>, *Strong Bull beloved of Maꜣat; Two-ladies, Protector of Egypt, who curbs the foreign lands; Golden Horus, Rich in years, great in victories;*⁵² *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc: he has made as his monument for his father Amenrēc, presiding over his harīm, the constructing for him of a great and noble pylon before his temple, its flagstaves reaching up to heaven, (made of) cedar of God's Land, which the Son of Rēc, Ramesses II Meryamūn, given life like Rēc forever, has made for him.*

W. Wing, lower line: *Horus, Strong Bull exalting Thebes; Two-ladies, Preparing monuments in Southern Opet for his father Amūn who set him on his throne; Golden Horus, Seeking out good deeds for him who produced him; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc: he has made as his monument for his father Amenrēc the constructing for him of the Temple of Ramesses II Meryamūn in the Domain of Amūn, of fine, hard, white stone, being what the Son of Rēc, Ramesses II Meryamūn, given life like Rēc forever, has made for him.*

E. Wing, upper line: *Horus, Strong Bull beloved of Maꜣat (etc.; normal titulary): he has made as his monument for his father Amenresonter, the constructing for him of the Temple of Ramesses II Meryamūn in the [Domain] of Amūn, before his Southern Opet, a place of acclamation [rest lost].*

E. Wing, lower line: *Horus, Strong Bull son of Amūn; Two-ladies, the Favourite, beneficial to his father; Golden Horus, Strong with the sword, beloved of the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc: Eldest Son of the King of the Gods who caused (him) to appear upon his throne upon earth, to be Lord [. . .] every land; (for) he recognized him as Protector to embellish his house (the temple) for a million of million (years?). The Great Ennead in Karnak, their hearts rejoice, and their arms are pleasant, (being) filled with life and dominion for the Son of Rēc, Ramesses II Meryamūn, beloved of Amenrēc, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.*

Apart from two unusual titularies that help to restore those in § 7A above, the main points of interest are the mention of the pylon (these are few), of 'the place of acclamation' (by whom?), and of the king's relation to Amūn and the Theban Ennead.

§ 8. Dedication, Main Architraves, W. Side facing into Court

S. Section: [*Horus, Strong Bull beloved of Maꜣat, etc., normal titulary*];⁵³ Main Section (S. to N.): [*Son of Rēc, Ramesses II Meryamūn, given life for ever and ever, (and) beloved of Amenrēc, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, presiding in Karnak, of Mut the Great, Lady of Asheru, Mistress of all the Gods, (and) of Khonsu in Thebes, [Neferhotep: he has made as his monument for his father Ame]*⁵⁴*n-resonter, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes, the constructing for him of a noble chapel in(?)|namely(?)*⁵⁵*the Temple of Ramesses II Meryamūn United-with-Eternity in the Domain of Amūn, in front of Southern*

⁵² The normal titulary of Ramesses II; it will be abbreviated below as 'normal titulary' in the translations.

⁵³ The beginning of the text is lost, but can be restored from its 'cryptographic' parallel on the opposite side of the court (§ 9); it was simply the normal, standard titulary of Ramesses II.

⁵⁴ This restoration exactly fits the gap in the middle of the great architrave, and follows the scheme of these building texts.

⁵⁵ Preposition or *m* of predication?

Opet, planned out upon the ground (at) full scale(?),⁵⁶ by Seshat Lady of Building, it being constructed (ḥwsi-ti) in her work(manship) of a mill[ion of million of years?]; North Section (facing S.): [Large loss a pylon? court? with] (a pair of) obelisks of the Father Amenrē-Atum, it being surrounded (pḥr-ti) by statues of the Lord, of quartzite/pink granite(?) and black granite,⁵⁷ the doors of the abode being of beaten copper, overlaid(?)⁵⁸ with (N. End) Asiatic gold; [its n]ame, good and abiding like [. Ramesses II?], given life.

Originally, this text ran in one continuous line along the architraves bordering the SW., W., NW./N. façades in the W. half of the court, and it was paralleled by a corresponding text round the E. half of the court. The latter is written in ‘cryptography’ as a kind of ancient scholarly ‘puzzle’, to which the ‘key’ was the text in ‘clear’ hieroglyphs along the west of the court.

The work constructed by Ramesses II is here described as a *mnḳb špsy*, ‘a noble abode’. This word, suitable for a chapel, but not to describe an open courtyard, may probably be best understood to refer to the triple shrine of Ramesses II in his forecourt, not to the forecourt itself, still less to the Luxor temple generally (not built by him). The references to obelisks and statues are very much like § 3, and the two texts confirm each other. The damage here is regrettable.

§ 9. ‘Cryptographic’ Dedication, Main E. Architraves

S. Section: *Live the Horus, Strong Bull beloved of Maat; Two-ladies, Protector of Egypt, who curbs the foreign lands; Golden Horus, Rich in years, great in victories; [King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimarē-Setepenrē];⁵⁹ Main Section (S. to N.): Son of Rē, Ramesses II Meryamūn, given life for ever; beloved of Amenrē, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, presiding in Karnak (ipt-swt),⁶⁰ (of) Mut the Great(?), Lady of Asheru, Mistress(??)/Khonsu(??)⁶¹ [. much is buried in Abu’l Haggag mosque . . . or lost] granite stone of Elephantine?⁶² [. . . lost or buried]; N. Section: groups covered in paint . . . Temple? (of) Ramesses II Meryamūn in the Domain(?) of Amūn(??)/given life(?).⁶³*

⁵⁶ *Snḫi-ti hr tḥ m mḏwt wr*—lit. ‘in great depth’, but *mḏwt* or *mḏt* is not only depth (a vertical measurement) but also a term for measuring ‘extent’—so, for the horizontal ‘depth’ of a niche in the tomb-plan of Ramesses IV (Gardiner and Carter, *JEA* 4 [1917], 137–8), and elsewhere. So here, it might mean ‘full extent’ or ‘on full scale’.

⁵⁷ On these stones, cf. above, § 3.

⁵⁸ Perhaps we can understand the text as *m ḥmt m ḳm, m(?) ʿmr m nbw Stt; ʿmr*, usually ‘smear’ of mud (e.g. Faulkner, *Dict.* 42), but here perhaps refers to an overlay of thin gold on wooden doors.

⁵⁹ Lost with a portion of the architrave; this gap was not allowed for by Drioton, whose numbering of signs crosses this gap (from no. 15 to no. 16). One may restore the missing portion from the ‘Cryptographic’ titles of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, for which see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 315.

⁶⁰ Reading here *ipt* (lady doing accounting), with phonetic complements throne for *p* and ‘*t*’ for *t*. Then, *imn* for *i*, *šw* for *sw*, and *tfnt* for *t*, for *iswt* in *ipt-iswt*; this modifies Drioton slightly, but respects the parallel of § 8.

⁶¹ Interpretation here is doubtful; the figure looks like Khons. If so, this architrave omits some epithets of Mut found in § 8; if not, the figure might be for ‘youth’, *ḥwn*, and be the beginning of *ḥn[wt nḫrw nbw]*, as in § 8.

⁶² Over 120 years ago, Lepsius saw part of this architrave inside the mosque and reproduced the six signs given in *LDT*, III, 78.

⁶³ The last ten signs are unpublished hitherto. Perhaps the first is for *ḥwt*, ‘Temple’; thereafter follow *Rr*, *mes* (child), and *ses* and Amūn over *mer*, i.e. Ramesses (II) Meryamūn; then the vulture, Mut for *m* (*ASAE* 40, 311–12, [8]), perhaps the tall building for *pr*. It is, perhaps, guesswork to call the figure in White Crown Amūn, and the following figure as ‘giving life’, but these suggestions may agree with the traces at end of § 8.

Notes on this text can be brief, as most of it was handled by Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 319–28. However, he omitted to allow for the now missing prenomens (on a part of architrave now lost), he did not include the Lepsius fragment, and likewise did not include the hitherto unpublished end of the text. Temporary cleaning of paint or wash from the short piece of architrave preceding the last ten signs will increase the known text yet a little further, some day. The whole inscription, along with others studied by Drioton, and some signs in the main text, § 1 above, show off the ‘scholarship’ of the scribes of Ramesses II.

§ 10. S. Façade (E. Half), S. Face of Main Architrave

Beginning on adjacent cross-beam: *Horus* (etc., normal titulary), *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Joyful Ruler, Lord of the Two Lands, Usimarēc-Setepe[nrēc, Son of Rēc, Ramesses II Meryamūn: he has made as his monument for his father Amenrēc, the ma]king for him of a Festival Court for the temple, of fine, white, hard stone, being [what] the Son of Rēc, Ramesses II Meryamūn, given life, has made for him.*

The restoration follows the general form of these texts; the main value of this inscription is in specifying the Court as for the festivals of Amūn.

§ 11. W. Face of W. Architrave, W. Side of Court

S. Half: [(*Long live the good god, etc., . . . lost of*] *Harakhte, nursling of Weret-ḥekau, to be ruler of all that the Sun’s Disc encircles; Rēc has given to him his kingship, and Seth has doubled for him his might—the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, performing good deeds, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord performing the ritual, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc [. . . rest lost]*].

N. Half: (*Long live the good god, son of Amūn, born of Mut lady of the Two Lands, nursling of Weret-ḥekau in Karnak whom [Amūn?? has caused to appear [. . . on his throne?? . . . to whom] Geb gave the beneficent office (i.e., kingship), . . Rēc . . [. . rest lost . .]*).

This architrave contains basically epithets of the king, and is the most extensive and interesting of these; other sets of epithets on some architraves contain little more than the king’s titles and the most banal epithets, so they are omitted here.

§ 12. Dedications on Torus-rolls, Gate of Amenophis III

Both texts were probably identical, beginning with the normal full titulary of Ramesses II; after his prenomens, they continue: *He has made as his monument for his father [Am]enrēc, the constructing for him of the Temple of Ramesses II Meryamūn, United-with-Eternity, in the Domain of Amūn, in front of Southern Opet.*

§ 13. Dedications, Forecourt Chapel of Mut

For parallels, see § 15.

§ 13A.

E. Wall: (Usual Horus-name and cartouches, R. II): *he has made as his monument for his mother Mut-Bastet, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods, [the making for her of a] great and noble [place] in the temple (‘palace’) of Southern Opet, of fine, hard, white stone, the [handiwork?⁶⁴]; [. . . .] of granite, its doors of real cedar of the terraces (i.e., of Lebanon), banded with Asiatic copper. [He has*

⁶⁴ This trace may be for † *ḥmwwt*, ‘craftsmanship’.

made] for her upon an everlasting precinct,⁶⁵ an abode for eternity; (and) a great shrine for the Ruler of Thebes, a sanctuary for his Ennead—a place of supplication [. . . for hearing petitions of gods and men?⁶⁶ Rest lost].

§ 13B.

W. Wall: (*Long live the Horus, Strong Bull* [. . . probably normal titles of R. II; lost . . . *making monuments, etc. . . .*] *true(?)*) . . . *to uplift her beauty for the people, while she is (borne) upon 3 poles, repeating [her image upon] 4 poles,⁶⁷ which (I?) embellished for all ('throughout') eternity, wi[dening?—swsh] the door[ways?] in the Court of Appearance. Behold, His Majesty, L.P.H., thought about her image when he was (only) a youth, a prince, counselling with his heart, to repeat her images for millions (of years?), according as [. . . .] announced [.] Usimarēr-Setepenrēr [. . . . rest lost]*

§ 13C.

Exterior, E. Jamb: [. . . lost . . . , then titles of] *Ramesses II Meryamūn, given life*; (2) [. . . lost . . .] *his Opet (or, Harīm); he erected a real? . . . of true cedar, its head (top?) being of electrum, that he might make 'given-life'.*

This set of texts is of interest for its reference to the compound Mut-Bastet, to the claim of Ramesses II that, even as a prince, he was interested in making new images for Mut, and for its mentions of the shrines of Mut, Amūn, and the Ennead. The wooden object with an electrum cap in text C remains obscure.

§ 14. Dedications, Forecourt Chapel of Amūn

§ 14A.

E. Wall: [Usual titles, R. II]: *he has made as his monument for his father Amenresonter, presiding over his Opet, [the constructing for] him of a noble temple, namely a chapel and sanctuary⁶⁸ for his sacred image, of fine, white, hard stone, surrounded with columns, its [statue]s(?) (being) of (pink) granite and black granite—a noble dwelling for the Lord of the Gods, an eternal abode, its good name abiding and enduring: the Temple of Ramesses II Meryamūn, United-with-Eternity.*

§ 14B.

W. Wall: [All destroyed, except:] *Ramesses II Meryamūn, United-with-Eternity.*

§ 14C.

Dedications: Sacred Staff of Amūn in Corners. Both texts identical:⁶⁹ *Horus (etc., normal titles): he has made as his monument for his father Amenrēr, Lord of Heaven (var., of Thrones of the Two Lands), presiding over his Opet, the making for him of the noble staff, 'Amūn Greatly Renowned', in the Temple of Ramesses II Meryamūn in the Domain of Amūn.*

Text A would seem to refer—with its columns and statues—to the great forecourt as a 'temple' as well as to the shrine of Amūn in the triple sanctuary within that forecourt.

The texts C are inscribed on stone images of the noble 'Staff of Amūn' which had its

⁶⁵ *Bkꜣt, bkꜣt*; cf. *Wb.* I, 430, 14; Faulkner, *Dict.* 85, and *JEA* 39 (1953), 20.

⁶⁶ For restoration after *st-snmh*, see parallel text, Khons, § 15A, also § 3B, end.

⁶⁷ This refers to carrying the sacred portable barque and image on long poles by the priests at festivals—three or four rows of men affected the width of the procession through the temples. See G. Legrain, *BIFAO* 13 (1917), 2–3, using our texts in part.

⁶⁸ After *mnꜣb*, the sign over a stand may be for *h* over *m*, *hm*; cf. Drioton, *ASAE* 40, 313 (17). On the spelling of *mnꜣb* with the obelisk-sign for *mn*, cf. use of this sign in the Horus-name of Ramesses V, *Kꜣ-nꜣt mnꜣt*, 'Strong Bull, enduring in Truth' (*LD*, III, 223b).

⁶⁹ Except for one epithet of Amūn.

own cult and even priests.⁷⁰ Such staves were closely connected with the King as well as with Amūn; statues of the King can show him holding them, and this staff occurs in a chariot before the King's chariot when he goes to war.⁷¹

§ 15. Dedications, Forecourt Chapel of Khons

For parallels, see § 13.

§ 15A.

E. Wall: (Usual titles of R. II): [*he has mad*]e as his monument [*for his father Khons, son of ?*] Mut, sweet of love, the construction for him of a great and noble place in the abode of Southern Opet, of fine, white, hard stone, the craftsmanship(?) [. with doors of cedar, etc., bound] with Asiatic copper. He made for him, on an everlasting precinct, an eternal abode [. . . ? a great shrine for the Ruler of Thebes, a sanctuary for his Ennead—a place of supplication . . . , for] hearing the petitions of gods and m[en,] Son of Rēc Ramesses II Meryamūn, given life, [. . . rest lost . . .].

§ 15B.

W. Wall: (Usual titles of R. II): His Majesty, [L.P.]H., [*decreed?*] the making of a monument for his father Khons-in-[Thebes], Neferhotep (namely) the fashioning of an image of electrum, glittering with every (kind of) real precious stone to uplift his beauty for the people when he was upon three poles; his image was [repeated] upon four poles—(I?) embellished it for all [eternity . . . rest lost . . .].

§ 16. Dedicatory Text, Exterior of Court, W. Wall

[. . . . much lost] formerly. He has surpassed what (previous) kings had done—the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc, Son of Rēc of his body, whom he loves, Lord of Appearings, Ramesses II Meryamūn, beloved of Amenrēc, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, presiding in Karnak, and given life like Rē <forever>.

No other such text survives from the exterior of Ramesses II's great court; its sole feature of interest is his boast of having surpassed other kings.

§ 17. Renewal Texts, Amenophis III Chapels

§ 17A.

Khonsu-Chapel, Jambs: (i) Both, lines 1-4: [*Doorway of*] Usimarēc-Setepenrēc pacifying Khons, (2) [*King of Upper and Lower Egypt*], Lord of the Two Lands, Lord performing the ritual, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc, (3) [*Son of Rēc*], of his body, Lord of Appearings, Ramesses II Meryamūn: (4) he has made [a]s his monument for his father Khons— . . .

(ii) E. Jamb: (5) he has widened [his] great place, after (6) fashioning his image upon four poles. (iii) W. Jamb: (Khons)-in-Thebes, (5) Neferhotep, after fashioning his image (6) with electrum, real lapis lazuli, and every (kind of) genuine precious stone, upon four carrying-poles.

Edges of Jambs: are lost, except for traces of cartouches.

§ 17B.

Mut-Chapel, Jambs: (i) Both, lines 1-3: The good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord performing the ritual, Usimarēc-Setepenrēc, (2) Son of Rēc of his body, Lord of Appearings, Ramesses II Meryamūn: (3) [*he has made a*]s his monument for his mother Mut (Lady of Heaven)⁷²—(ii) E. Jamb: (4) he widened

⁷⁰ Cf. Nelson, Hölscher, and Schott, *Work in Western Thebes, 1931-33, OIC No. 18 (1934), 48-51 and fig. 21 (from Theban tomb 44).*

⁷¹ E.g., *Medinet Habu I*, pl. 17.

⁷² Bracketed epithet on W. Jamb only.

her great place, (5) after fashioning her image upon four carrying-poles. (iii) W. Jamb: (4) [? after making] her [image]? in electrum, (5) [lapis, and every] real [precious stone, upon four carrying-poles]. Edges of Jamb: The good god (one cartouche on each): he has made as a monument for his mother Mut, Lady of Heaven, the widening [of her great place . . . rest lost . . .].

For Mut and Khons, both sets of texts commemorate the facts that Ramesses II enlarged the portable barque-images of these gods, and that he therefore had to widen the doorways of their old shrines in the Temple of Amenophis III (behind his great colonnades); cf. also, comments under § 13B above.

Summary of Terminology Used by Ramesses II

From the series of texts collected and translated here, it is now possible to survey compactly the entire terminology used of his Luxor constructions by Ramesses II, in more or less table-form, as follows:

1. *The Entire Foundation of Ramesses II* is called officially the 'Temple of Ramesses II, United-with-Eternity, in the Domain of Amūn'; cf. §§ 3A/4A, 3B, 7A/B, 8, 12, 14C.
2. *Open Court*, before the Pylon—*wbꜣ*, § 3B.
3. *The Pylon*, 'great and noble' (§ 7A/B) and *Obelisks* (§§ 3B, 8).
4. *The Great Court*—described variously as 'a court (*wsht*) before (S.) Opet' (§ 3B), as 'a court of appearance', *wsht hrt* (§ 13B), as a 'festival court', *wsht hbyt* (§ 10). Including the shrines, it was an 'abode', *mnkb* and *mshnt* (§ 14A), being surrounded by colonnades and pink- and black-granite statues (cf. §§ 2, 3B, 8, 14).
5. *The Triple Shrines* of the Theban triad in the court. These were each a 'great place' or 'great seat' (*st-wrt*) for Mut and Khons (§§ 13, 15) and a 'great sanctuary' (*hm wr*) of Amūn (§§ 13A, 14A), they being a place of supplication, of Amūn hearing petitions of gods and men (§§ 3B, [13A], 15A)—by oracle?
6. *Doorways*. The W. Door and especially the E. Door (more important?) had their own names (§§ 5, 6)—so also at the Khons-Chapel in the Temple of Amenophis III (§ 17).
7. *Purpose*. The whole complex was (part of) the abode of Amūn, and especially for his festivals—the Festival of Opet, and the ten-days' frequency of processions of a form of Amūn that went over to Medinet Habu.

Until recently, § 1 was unknown, and parts of §§ 4, 7, 9, 12, 13–15, and 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 had all been 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.

TWO WOODEN URÆI

By EBBA KERN LILLESØ

At the loan exhibition Antik kunst i dansk privateje. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. 15. maj
til 31. august 1974. Inv. no. 58 A+B.

AMONG the many antiquities of the loan exhibition at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen were two wooden uræi, one wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, the other the crown of Lower Egypt. They do not, however, constitute a pair and will be described separately.

A. The first uræus wears the crown of Upper Egypt. Except for a small break on the right side of the crown—obviously owing to a knot in the wood—the uræus is intact from the top of the crown to the base, where it had originally been tapped on to some unknown object. The tenon is still in position and shows sign of having been broken, whereas the end of the snake appears unbroken. The tenon goes right through the base from front to back. The head is beautifully carved, mouth and jaw being indicated by a fine line. The incision from the eye socket is continued over the cheek down over the flaring hood, melting into the back of the hood at a point approximately 1.5 cm. below the shoulders.

Remains of paint are still noticeable in a few places.

Red: a tiny spot under the jaw, on top of the head below the edge of the crown, and in the furrows running from the eye sockets over the cheeks to the back and on the iris of the eyes.

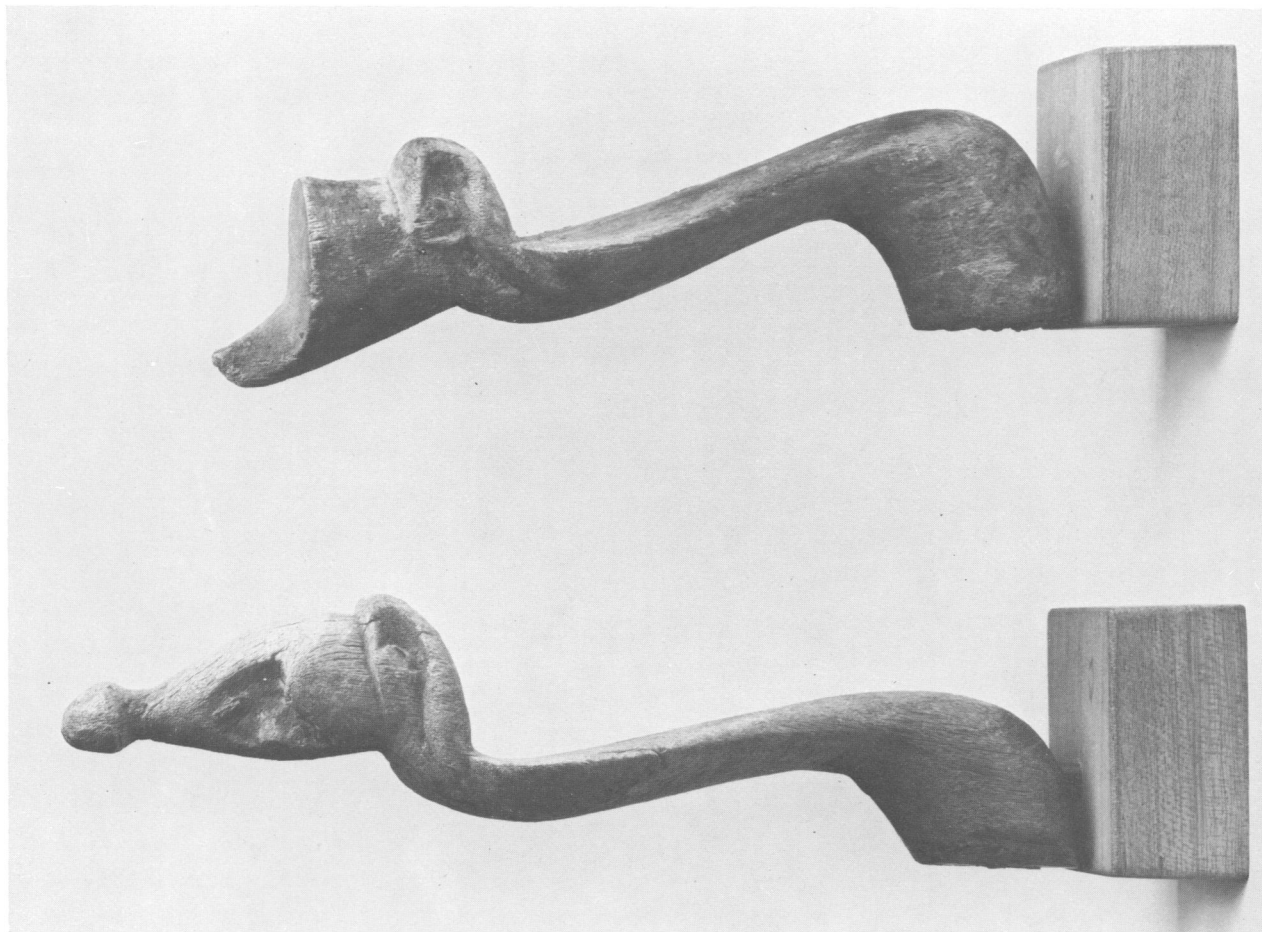
The pupil is black.

Dark blue: in front of the eye sockets towards the nose of the snake.

Material: coniferous wood, probably cedar.

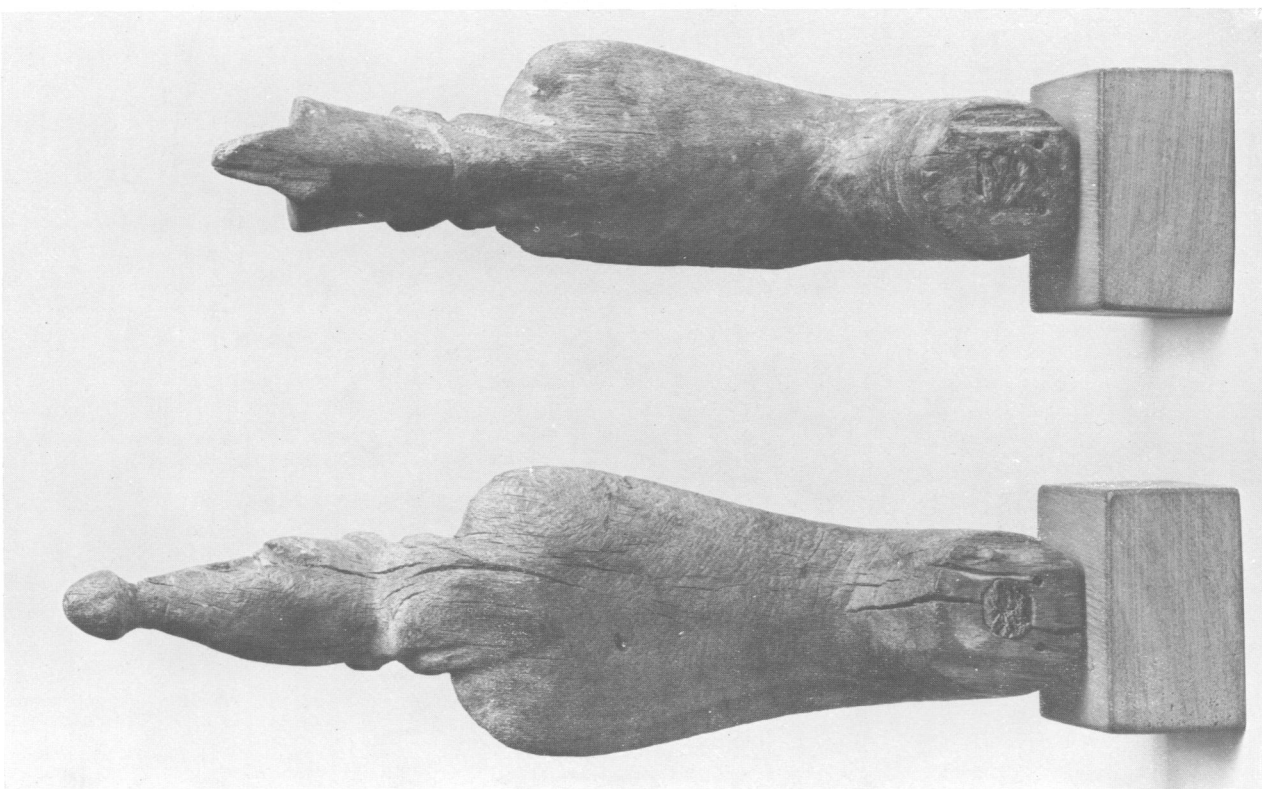
The measurements are: Height, 16.5 cm., height of crown, 5 cm. Width, 4.6 cm., width at base of hood, 2.8 cm. The tenon is roughly square, 0.9 cm. wide and 0.8 cm. high.

B. Although this uræus has retained more of its original colour, it is decidedly coarser in the carving. The head is surmounted by the Red Crown of Lower Egypt and is fairly plumb, the nose is somewhat broader and heavier; there are no carved indications of jaw and mouth. The top and left side of the crown is broken off as well as the left shoulder of the hood. Apart from this the uræus is intact down to the original base, where the back shows the old tenon, which in this case is more regularly rectangular and it does not run through the entire base to the front, as it does on the other item. The line from the eye sockets over the cheeks to the back of the hood is carved rather deeply and ends about 1 cm. below the shoulder.



B.

TWO WOODEN URAEI



A.

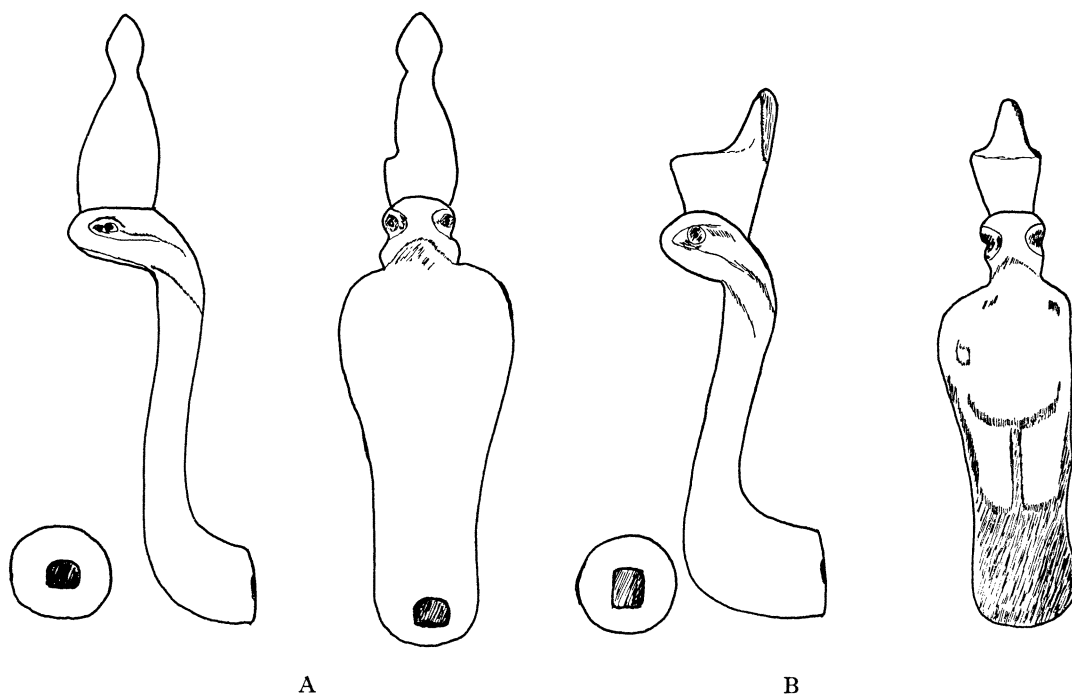


FIG. 1

The remains of colour are—though vague—sufficient to give some indication of the original colours, which follow the normal pattern for the New Kingdom:¹ dark spine and frame indicating upper circle, middle and lower panel, where the traces are almost too vague to identify the original colour.

Red: the colour of the crown is preserved almost intact except at the break; the iris is red with black pupil. Remains of red are found on the middle panels.

Dark blue: vague traces near the outer border of the circle.

Bright blue: remains of a vivid, almost turquoise blue are found in the cavity of the eye sockets towards the nose and bright blue in the carved furrows from the eyes towards the back of the hood.

The spine and frame are indicated by a very dark colour, almost black: the lower panel is darkish and cannot be identified, as the traces are too vague.

Material: coniferous wood (cedar).

The measurements are: Height, 14 cm., height of crown, 4 cm. Width over hood to break, 3.5 cm., at base, 2.6 cm. The tenon is rectangular, 0.9 cm. wide and 1 cm. high.

See pl. XXII, A–B, and fig. 1.

The measures and the carving technique of these two wooden uræi clearly indicate that they did not originally form a pair. They must, however, each have been one of a pair—or several pairs—and this: A+one uræus wearing the crown of Lower Egypt and B+one uræus wearing the crown of Upper Egypt.

¹ H. G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, II, §§ 154–7.

In order to try to establish the approximate date and the original use of such a pair of crowned uræi, we must first consider the royal sculpture, where such uræi appear. From the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty the kings habitually wear an uræus on sculpture;² the royal emblem is worn in connection with the *nemes*, on a diadem or directly on the hair. Not until the Middle Kingdom did the uræus appear on the Upper and Lower Egyptian crowns and the first example of the double crown plus uræus in sculpture is found on a statue of Sesostris I from Karnak.³ The blue crown or helmet—*hprš*—is first mentioned in a text from the Thirteenth Dynasty published by J. v. Beckerath.⁴ King Neferhotep III is described as ‘being adorned with the *hprš*, the living image of Rē, the lord of terror’. The blue crown is known from relief work from the early New Kingdom—on the encrusted axehead with Aḥmose’s name from Aḥhotep’s tomb and on a relief of Amenophis I from Karnak in the small sanctuary.⁵ In sculpture the blue crown became popular under Amenophis III, where it is worn with the uræus—most elaborately coiled.

Normally the kings wear but one uræus at the brow, but there are a few examples of two uræi on sculptures of kings:

The canopic lids of Amenophis II. G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois*. CCG no. 5030, pl. 50.

Canopic lids of Horemheb. Th. M. Davis, *The tomb of Harmhabi*, pls. 75 and 76.

An unfinished sculpture of Akhenaten. G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*. CCG no. 42089.

Ramesses II in Cairo. Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, *BSFE* no. 23, pp. 16–17.

A 4 mm. high fragment of the upper part of a head. L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Könige und Privatleute*. CCG no. 760.

In none of these cases do these uræi wear the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.

During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty the Kushite kings regularly wore the double uræi. A huge head in Cairo (CCG no. 42010) represents Shabako⁶ wearing the double crown, two uræi with the additional Upper and Lower Egyptian crowns. The double-cobra diadem was particularly popular during the reign of Taharqa; the sculpture of this period has been thoroughly analysed by Edna R. Russmann, ‘Two Royal heads of the Late Period in Brooklyn’, *The Brooklyn Museum Annual*, 10 (1968–9). Further to this period see J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les Monuments Thébains de la XXV^e Dynastie dite Éthiopienne*.

As all sculptures of the Late Period were destined for the temples and as life-sized statuary in wood from this time does not occur, it seems rather unlikely that the two wooden uræi can have belonged to a late sculpture of a king: in addition to this the

² With the exception of the group of Mycerinus and Kha-merer-*neby*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts no. 11, 1738.

³ Cairo J.E. 38287; J. Vandier, *Manuel d’Archéologie égyptienne*, III, pl. 95, 1.

⁴ For further references to other examples of the *hprš* from the Thirteenth Dynasty and H. W. Müller’s assumption of its Lower Egyptian origin see Jürgen von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politische Geschichte d. zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (Ägypt. Forschungen, 23, 1965), 68.

⁵ The axehead: W. Stevenson Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pl. 86. The Karnak relief: H. W. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunst*, pl. 91.

⁶ S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO*, 50 (1952), 193, and J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les Monuments Thébains de la XXV^e Dynastie*, § 33.

colour pattern corresponds to that of the New Kingdom, as mentioned above (p. 138). Sculptures of queens from the Old Kingdom are comparatively rare, but the most common head-ornament—apart from diadems—seem to have been the vulture cap, which is known from the Fourth Dynasty.⁷ A perfect little alabaster group of Pepi II on his mother's lap shows the queen wearing a heavy tripartite wig with a vulture cap; a hole on her forehead indicates that the cap originally had an additional ornament, probably the vulture head of Nekhebet.⁸ Another sculpture of a queen from the Sixth Dynasty (CGG 255) also shows the vulture cap; in this case the frontal ornament is so badly destroyed that we can only assume that it was once a vulture's head. There are—to my knowledge—no examples of queens wearing the royal cobra on Old-Kingdom statuary, whereas they habitually have one during the Middle Kingdom. The heavy tripartite wig of the Old Kingdom was generally abandoned in favour of the Hathor coiffure, where the uræus was placed at the parting of the hair above the forehead. The old-fashioned tripartite wig does, however, still exist on sculptures of queens from the Middle Kingdom, now adorned with the uræus, as for instance the fine sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (M.M.A. 08. 202.7)⁹ and the interesting little monument in copper of princess Sebek-nakht nursing a royal infant (Brooklyn Museum 43. 137).¹⁰

The vulture cap is, however, not used by the queens of the Middle Kingdom, which is rather strange considering the increasing importance of the goddess Mut. Even the fragmentary sculpture of a queen wearing the Hathor coiffure with diadem and uræus in connection with a fragmentary vulture's body, does not have the feathery cap.¹¹ From the onset of the New Kingdom the vulture cap became very popular on sculptures of queens; most charming of all is probably the statuette of Tetisheri in the British Museum.¹²

A royal lady of the early New Kingdom, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,¹³ favoured the heavy tripartite wig adorned with the vulture cap and head; the head of the vulture has been broken off, but the shape of the break is too round and broad to have belonged to the much slimmer and higher form of the cobra.

The Hathor coiffure was still in use in the first part of the New Kingdom, best illustrated by a fine statuette of princess Iahhotep in the Louvre (N 446);¹⁴ the sculpture was presumably made before she became queen, as she does not wear the uræus. The Hathor head-dress is mainly found during the time of Ḥatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, as for instance on the female sphinx in Cairo J.E. 56599¹⁵ and another sphinx formerly ascribed to Ḥatshepsut in Museo Barracco no. 13.¹⁶ This female sphinx probably represents a wife of Tuthmosis III, as it has the cartouche of this king; there

⁷ Relief fragment published by G. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 17d.

⁸ The Brooklyn Museum acc. no. 39. 120, *Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum Collection*, pl. 19.

⁹ W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I, fig. 122.

¹⁰ *Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum Collection*, pl. 28.

¹¹ Cairo J.E. 64770, Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. 75, 1-2, and L. Keimer in *ASAE* 35 (1935), 182-92.

¹² British Museum 22 558, *Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* (1964), fig. 68.

¹³ W. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II, fig. 26.

¹⁴ Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. 96, 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* pl. 102, 3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 300, pl. 98, 7.

is thus no indication that it represents Ḥatshepsut.¹⁷ Both sphinxes wear the vulture cap and frontal ornament instead of the usual *nemes* and *uræus*.

Two other royal ladies, believed to have been wives of Tuthmosis III,¹⁸ are shown wearing the vulture cap on a Hathor head-dress, but now adorned with the royal *uræus* (Cairo, Cat. Gen. 42009 and J.E. 45076).

After this time the Hathor coiffure is only sporadically used by the queens, as, for example, on the colossal bust of a royal lady, presumably from the court of Ramesses II (British Museum 601), who wears it in connection with one *uræus*.

A bust of a queen in Baltimore,¹⁹ who is shown wearing the Hathor head-dress with vulture cap (the vulture's head is broken off), has been attributed to the Middle Kingdom by Steindorff (*ibid.* p. 23) and to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty by Vandier.²⁰ According to H. W. Müller's oral communication it belongs to the Late Period—from the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to the early Ptolemaic Period. Considering the style, I am inclined to favour the later date.

The two crowns of Egypt were identified with the vulture goddess Nekhbet—the White Crown of Upper Egypt (*Pyr.* 910)—and the cobra goddess Wadjet, representing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, together called *nbtj*, 'the two mistresses'.²¹ Nekhbet was early connected with the king, and her White Crown is greeted as his mother (*Pyr.* 910 *a-b*); as such the vulture cap and head became the natural ornament for the queens, whereas the kings kept to the fiery cobra, assigned to him as the double *uræi* (*Pyr.* 1287*b*). The combination of a king's head and a cobra's body, as represented in a single fragmentary item in the Walters Art Gallery, no. 143²² is of great interest for the connection between royalty and cobra, but the subject is outside the scope of this article.

The dualism—vulture and cobra—representing the political union of the Two Lands and the double *uræus* representing the religious concept of the eyes of Rē is of interest for the further development of the royal head-ornaments. With the mounting influence of Amūn of Thebes and his vulture consort, Mut, the vulture cap and head became increasingly more popular on New Kingdom royal statuary. There was a close association between Mut and the crowned *uræi*; she is shown wearing the double crown of Egypt, vulture cap and a diadem with the vulture's head in the centre flanked by two *uræi* on a temple relief from Abydos.²³

The single vulture or *uræus* were the main royal ornaments for the queens of the early New Kingdom till we come to the interesting statue of Isis (*CCG* 42072), the concubine of Tuthmosis II, who became the mother of Tuthmosis III. She is shown wearing a heavy wig surmounted by an ornamental circlet—later to develop into the

¹⁷ I thank H. W. Müller for calling my attention to this.

¹⁸ Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. 104, 6 and 7, p. 315. For a detailed drawing of Cairo J.E. 45076 see B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, no. 1049.

¹⁹ G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, fig. 31, inv. no. 22. 405.

²⁰ Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 315, pl. 103, 5.

²¹ Hugo Müller, *Die formale Entwicklung der Titulatur der ägyptischen Könige* (*Ägyptologische Forschungen*, 7), 38 ff.

²² G. Steindorff, *Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, inv. no. 22. 367, p. 49.

²³ Temple of Sethos I at Abydos: see W. Wolf, *Die Welt der Ägypter*, pl. 92.

cobra circlet. Isis does not wear the vulture cap at her front, but the first example in sculpture of the two uræi crowned with the Upper and Lower Egyptian crowns. Some of the Tuthmosid kings were the result of marriages between reigning kings and secondary wives: the mother of Tuthmosis II, Mutnofret, wore one uræus; the mother of Tuthmosis III, Isis, wore two crowned uræi, but his son—Amenophis II—was the result of Tuthmosis III's marriage to the divine consort of Amūn, Meryetrē H̄atshepsut II, and thus had royal blood on both sides. He married the great royal wife Tiy, possibly his half-sister (*CCG* 42080), who again wore the vulture cap and head in the group of herself and her son Tuthmosis IV. When we examine Tiy—the non-royal queen of Amenophis III—we find her regaled almost more royally than royalty and more divinely than divinity. On the huge group in conventional style of the royal couple in Cairo (N.E. XI)²⁴ Tiy wears three crowned uræi; the handsome head in Cairo (*CCG* 609) is adorned with two crowned uræi and a crowned vulture's head between them. A statuette in the Louvre (N. 2312) has two uræi with a vulture in the centre; the magnificent head from Sinai²⁵ (Cairo J.E. 38. 257) and the Brussels relief (E. 2157)²⁶ also show her wearing two crowned uræi. The exquisite head of Tiy in Berlin (21834)²⁷ originally had but one—possibly composite—ornament at the brow, the hole for which was filled as the head was given a new wig with two frontal ornaments, now lost, but probably the two uræi like the ones found on her one free ear-ring, where the cobras have small unframed sundiscs on their heads.

Tiy's over-elaborate head-dresses were not continued by Nefertiti, who on statuary seems to have contented herself with the single uræus, whereas some reliefs from Amarna show her wearing two uræi, crowned with horns and sundiscs.²⁸ The ornamental circlet with snake decorations, which is so typical on representations of Tiy, was occasionally worn by Nefertiti—Cairo 10/11/26/4)²⁹ as well as by Ankes-amūn,³⁰ who may have one or two plain or sundisc-crowned uræi.

The ornament composed of horns and sundisc—commonly worn by Isis and Hathor—surmounts the uræi at the brow of Mutnodjem from the Turin group³¹ of her and Horemheb. Ramesses II's queen, Nofretari, wears two uræi with horned sundiscs at one of her statues in Luxor³² and two uræi with crowns at another.³³

A fine head of a royal lady, probably from the time of Ramesses II (*CCG* 600) also wears the two crowned uræi, whereas two other royal ladies of the same period have but a single uræus each (British Museum 601 and 602), and this continues to be the practice till we reach the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, when the double crowned uræi

²⁴ Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. 108, 1.

²⁵ C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art*, pls. 78 and 79.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 80.

²⁷ L. Borchardt, *Der Porträtkopf der Königin Teje* (1911). H. Schäfer, *Das Simonsche Holzköpfchen der Königin Teje*, *ZÄS* 68 (1932), 81–6. This article contains a thorough analysis of the head and pl. 6, *c-d* show X-ray photographs of the hidden ear-ring. See also C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (Brooklyn, 1973), 105.

²⁸ C. Aldred, *ibid.*, catalogue, figs. 18 and 120, Berlin 15000, a queen with two plain uræi.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, catalogue, fig. 34.

³⁰ H. W. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunst*, pl. 133.

³¹ E. Scamuzzi, *Egyptian Art in the Egyptian Museum of Turin*, pl. 32, no. 1379.

³² Archille Carrier, *Thèbes*, pl. 32.

³³ A. Weigall, *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art*, pl. 274, 1. G. Roeder, *Statuen ägyptischer Königinnen*, No. 19.

reappear at the brow of the divine consorts of Amūn (CCG 654 and Berlin 10114);³⁴ the statue of Amenirdis I in Cairo (CCG 565) has two uncrowned uræi supplemented with the vulture-head.

The double uncrowned uræi are fairly common during the Ptolemaic Period; two sculptures of Arsinoë II in New York and the Vatican³⁵ and an unnamed princess from the same collection³⁶ all wear this ornament. The strange occurrence of three uræi on Ptolemaic queens has been commented on by B. V. Bothmer, who gives additional examples in *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 146–7, where he also cites H. W. Müller's suggestion that the centre uræus is an assimilation of the queen's vulture head to the two uræi. The combination of the double uræus with a vulture's head in the centre is quite common on Late Period bronzes of goddesses, especially Isis.³⁷ It is typical of these late bronzes that the vulture's head is moved forward to the brow with the uræi placed slightly further back on the head. The uræi may even in these cases be adorned with horn-framed sundiscs.³⁸

It does not seem likely, as mentioned above, that our two wooden uræi belonged to sculptures from the Late Period; the divine consorts of Amūn are the only group of royal ladies to have had sculptures made of them during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.³⁹ Not until the early Ptolemaic Period does the statuary of queens reappear and at that time wood was not employed for life-size statues of royalty.

The two crowned uræi might be presumed to have belonged to a royal coffin, but these had only one uncrowned uræus, if any, at their brow, with the exception of Tutankhamūn, to whose head ornaments we shall return below.

The coffin of the queen and divine consort of Amūn, Ma'at-ka-rē⁴⁰ of the Twenty-first Dynasty has actually three holes at the front:⁴¹ the ornaments are missing, but probably consisted of two uræi and a vulture. The coffins, miniature sarcophagi, and canopic lids of Tutankhamūn are of special interest, as they are unique and complete. The young king has stressed the return to the traditional religion by having both the royal cobra and vulture—representing Wadjet and Nekhbet—at his brow. These representatives of the crowns of the Two Lands are constantly repeated thus on the golden diadem holding the beadwork uræus skull-cap in place consisting of the vulture and the uræus,⁴² on the diadem,⁴³ the Nebty-collar⁴⁴ and the *wedjat*-pendant,⁴⁵ where

³⁴ H. Schäfer, *Die Kunst Ägyptens*, pl. 423, 2.

³⁵ Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 38, 10, ESLP no. 98, and Vatican no. 25, G. Botti and P. Romanelli, *Le Sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, pl. 23, 31.

³⁶ Vatican no. 29, *ibid.*, pl. 23, 33. Cf. J. Gwyn Griffiths, *JEA* 47 (1961), 117 f. with pl. 9.

³⁷ Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 89, 2, 660, ESLP no. 113, and Turin no. 1385. E. Scamuzzi, *Egyptian Art in the Egyptian Museum of Turin*, pl. 110.

³⁸ Louvre E. 20058, B. Hornemann, *Statuary*, no. 1255/6; Hildesheim 1739, *ibid.* 1275.

³⁹ G. Steindorff, *Walters Art Gallery*, inv. no. 54. 2021, no. 393, and G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, CCG nos. 39. 315 and 39. 324.

⁴⁰ C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 8.

⁴¹ G. Daressy, *Cercueils des Cachettes Royales*, CCG no. 61028.

⁴² Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, figs. 101–3.

⁴³ P. Fox, *Tutankhamun's Treasure*, pl. 34.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 35.

⁴⁵ C. F. Nims, *Thebes of the Pharaohs*, pl. 32.

the sacred eye is flanked by the two crowned goddesses and on a number of other ornaments with similar symbols.⁴⁶ The previous—and few—other royal diadems including the crown on the Hierakonpolis falcon,⁴⁷ Sit-Hathor-Yunet's crown,⁴⁸ the uræus of Sesostri II,⁴⁹ and the Intef crown⁵⁰ have but a single uncrowned uræus.

The tomb of Tutankhamūn contains four items of special interest to our inquiry as to what purpose our two wooden uræi could originally have been used for. Their measurements—16.5 cm. and 14 cm.—demand that they either belonged to an approximately life-size sculpture or had an independent function. The material would make it natural that they had been tapped on to some wooden object. Tutankhamūn's tomb is particularly rich in such objects in perfect condition; two life-size statues of Tutankhamūn⁵¹ found in the antechamber belong to a group of funerary objects, of which a very limited number has been preserved, i.e. approximately life-size wooden statues, standing with a staff and mace, short *shenti* skirt with the *nemes* headcloth, short or bag wig with an uræus at the brow. These statues are 1.73 m. high.

From the tomb of Amenophis II comes a cedar statue of the king, measuring 80 cm.⁵² Of far greater size is the sycamore-wood statue of Horemheb,⁵³ which originally must have measured about 2.20 m.; the head alone measures 35 cm.; the entire face is lost but two large tabs may indicate the former presence of two uræi, although most probably they served as tenons for the now lost face-mask. There are three Ramesside statues belonging to this group in the British Museum: no. 854 (567) comes from the tomb of Ramesses I and measures 1.95 m., no. 883 (685) comes from the same tomb and measures 2 m., whereas no. 882 (575) probably comes from the tomb of Ramesses II and only measures 1.40 m.⁵⁴ These statues all have one single hole at the top of the brow into which the dowel of the uræus must have fitted.⁵⁵ The cult statue of Ramesses II (Louvre E. 16277) with the blue helmet and one front hole probably does not belong to this group; it measures 70 cm.⁵⁶

The wooden portrait figure of Tutankhamūn⁵⁷ measures 1.16 m., and has an uræus pegged to the brow; as is often the case, the body of the snake is merely painted on the background on the various crowns.

As the blunt ends of our uræi indicate, they have not been mutilated through being removed from their original position and the pegs suggest a fastening closely related to the technique employed on the Tutankhamūn figures, i.e. they must have been connected to a horizontal plane or panel. Another possible use for the crowned uræi may be that they were decorative elements in connection with royal furniture, as for instance on Tutankhamūn's golden throne,⁵⁸ where two uræi of approximately the

⁴⁶ Desroches-Noblecourt, *op. cit.*, 166 ff.

⁴⁸ C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, pl. 39.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. 82–3.

⁵² G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois*, CCG 24598.

⁵³ Th. M. Davis, *The tomb of Harmhabi*, 101, pl. 79.

⁵⁴ Stanley Mayes, *The Great Belzoni*, 330.

⁵⁵ I want to thank Dr. I. E. S. Edwards for his kind communications concerning these three statues.

⁵⁶ B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de deir el Médineh 1935–40*, vol. 20, 2, p. 53, no. 112, pl. 32.

⁵⁷ Fox, *op. cit.*, pl. 8, Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, pl. 13.

⁵⁸ Fox, *op. cit.*, pl. 9.

⁴⁷ H. W. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunst*, pl. 47.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 43.

⁵¹ Fox, *Tutankhamun's Treasure*, pl. 17.

same size as ours wear the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt; they are placed at either side of the rear end of the throne between the back and the back panel. Tut'ankhamūn's canopic shrine⁵⁹ has rows of solar uræi, and we cannot exclude the possibility that crowned uræi may have been used as architectural elements on shrines or chapels in wood; plain uræi had been used as cornice ornaments from the time of Djoser.

A pair of wooden uræi found in a building at Amarna were 23 cm. high and may well have been used as decorative elements.⁶⁰ Apart from being used as a royal emblem the cobra is not uncommonly found in connection with votive groups or as an independent religious object. From the tomb of Amenophis II comes a 17 cm. high uræus,⁶¹ cut in sycamore wood, head erect with the coils of the body immediately behind resting on a rectangular base.

This form is found fairly frequently, either singly or forming part of bronze votive groups of the Late Period. There is a fine example in Baltimore of such a group where two crowned uræi in front of Anubis are facing the kneeling worshipper.⁶² When the uræi are placed on top of a pole or ceremonial staff the coils of the body tend to be shaped differently and the body of the snake is raised in a high loop behind the hood, the tail trailing downwards. Examples in wood of crowned uræi on top of poles are found on a votive group from El-Bersheh⁶³ (dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty); their size is, however, just above 6 cm., so had our uræi been used in such a fashion the whole group would have to be on a much larger scale.

A relief from the Osiris chapel, temple of Sethos I at Abydos⁶⁴ shows Thoth with two ceremonial staves topped with the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt and two crowned uræi, which are of the same shape, with the high loop behind the hood; here the tails are winding round the staves. It seems most likely that such ornaments were of metal, possibly with inlays marking the colours. Religious staves with deities on top are far from rare and there is a fine lion-headed uræus from Baltimore⁶⁵ in sheet gold on a papyrus capital with a hole for insertion on a stick or staff. Wooden uræi do not have the same pronounced sculptural details of hood and spine as are found on those in stone or metal; they were painted on instead. The few remaining colours on uræus B show that it had the dark outer frame-line usual for the New Kingdom⁶⁶ and that there were two coloured panels under the upper dark-blue circle. The angle between the heads and hoods is sharply defined in both cases—approximately 110°—which corresponds to the angle of the Tut'ankhamūn uræi. The majority of uræus heads on sculptures are unfortunately lost, but it seems that the angles on sculptures from the

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 42.

⁶⁰ H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The city of Akhenaten* II, 70, no. 31/289.

⁶¹ Daressy, *Fouilles . . . vallée des rois*, CCG 24628.

⁶² Walters Art Gallery no. 588, inv. no. 54. 4000, formerly publ. by Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, CCG 38518.

⁶³ *A catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities*, F. G. Hilton Price, II, no. 4356, pl. 13.

⁶⁴ K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt* (1957), pl. 220.

⁶⁵ Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 57. 1432, p. 154. Height 7.6 cm.

⁶⁶ Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, § 154.

earlier part of the dynasty are slightly more right-angled, as for instance on the statue of Tuthmosis III (*CCG* 42053).

The two uræi here published possibly belonged to wooden funerary statues from the late New Kingdom or they may have been independent decorative elements from the same period. It is tempting to assume that they came from a tomb belonging to a minor queen, but there is so far no evidence of life-sized wooden funerary statues from such tombs.

Postscript

A somewhat similiar wooden uræus of approximately the same height—15.4 cm.—as the ones under discussion, but with a solar disc on its head, has been published in *Ägyptische Kunst*, Auktion 49, 27. Juni 1974, Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basel, p. 55, no. 100, pl. 21.

The lids of the canopic jars of Horemheb (p. 139) may have had one uræus and one vulture at the brow according to Edna R. Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty* (Brussels and Brooklyn, 1974), 37.

PAPYRUS MOSCOW 127

(TRANSLATION AND NOTES)

By S. ALLAM

DURING the summer term, 1967, J. Černý was visiting professor in the University of Tübingen, West Germany. He taught especially Late Egyptian Grammar and held besides a seminar devoted to hieratic texts dating from the New Kingdom. One of the texts he tackled in class was the hieratic papyrus published by M. A. Korostovtsev: *Ieraticeskii papirus 127 iz Sobraniya GMII im. A. S. Pushkina* (Moskva, 1961).

It is well known that the late Professor Černý did not concern himself much with purely literary texts. Still, he occupied himself with this text, supposing that it might not be of a literary nature at all. As a result of his class I have been able to produce a complete translation which I submitted at that time to Černý. I hoped then that he could work anew upon it, checking some readings, adding some notes or comments towards a better understanding of this extremely difficult text. Alas, Černý left us suddenly, and among the studies to be done by him was the present text. In arranging his note-books Miss Helen Murray of the Griffith Institute, Oxford was kind enough to return my translation and suggested at the same time that I might like to publish it. I think that it will be useful for students who would like to study the text or reconsider its interpretation; others who deal with metrics will probably find herein a new challenge.

Translation

(1, 1) A copy of [the] message¹ which the god's father² *Wr-mꜣi*, son of *Hꜣwy*, of the Temple in Heliopolis has sent inquiring (after) the condition³ of his brother⁴ *Pꜣ-Rc-ms*⁵ (in) Heracleopolis, the royal scribe in (the) Residence (of King) *Wsr-Mꜣꜣt-Rc*.⁶

He said⁷: Life, prosperity (and) health to thee during thy lifetime. Mayest thou attain a good old age in the town of (god) Atum.⁸ Thy favour, may (it) remain with the kingship.⁹ Mayest thou be satisfied (with) the gods as well as (with) the people.

¹ On *šꜣt* see Abd el-Mohsen Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography from the 18th to the 21st Dynasty* (Cairo, 1970), 14 f. Phrases in italics are in red in the original.

² For this title of priests see Kees, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 115 ff.

³ On the formula *nd-ḥrt* in letters see Bakir, op. cit., 46 f. *Wb.* II, 382, 7 quotes *ndnd-ḥrt* as well.

⁴ Apparently *snsn* is a dittography for *sn*, 'brother'. Whether the person in question is a real brother of the speaker, one cannot tell.

⁵ The passage in question could be read in a different way: 'the royal scribe . . . *Nḥt*, <son of> *Pꜣ-Rc-ms*'.

⁶ If the following *nḥt* is appended, this name could be *Wsr-Mꜣꜣt-Rc-nḥt*.

⁷ The Egyptians used the past tense in their letters where we use the present in ours; Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit* (Tübingen, 1973), 33 n. 2.

⁸ The group *ḥtm* after *'Itm* could be taken as a phonetic complement. Otherwise a rendering like 'Atum, the fortified (one)' seems rather improbable.

⁹ On *kꜣ nswt* see Gardiner, *JEA* 36 (1950), 7 n. 2, who regards the 'King's Ka' as identical with the kingly office.

(When) the sun-god rises in (the) sky, may (1, 5) his look¹⁰ encompass thy heart. May he come forth at thy prayers,¹¹ he being pleased.¹²

May he hear thy petitions, when(ever)¹³ thou worshippes him. Mayest thou be anointed with his rays, (as long as) he is alive.¹⁴ May thy body proceed in health. May he expel¹⁵ thy distress. May he come quickly (at thy) call —. May he cause <thee> to reach 110 years¹⁶ on earth, thy belly being whole, (thou) becoming old joyfully, there being no disease in thy body. May it (the body) be erect, thy heart being cheerful, without the feebleness which thy age might attain.

May a union with (1, 10) death¹⁷ be far from thee, (when) thou art cold¹⁸ (because of) the clay of¹⁹ the *hmk*-vessel.²⁰ May becoming cold (because) of wine be far (from thee). Mayest thou wisely not approach it. May thy hours at¹⁹ the *ḫ*-vessels²¹ not exist (with) thy nose being shut.²² May there not be a bad smell²³ for thee.

May thy body be whole, everything being in its²⁴ (proper) place, thy heart being in its chest.²⁵ May thy tongue proceed as it was (before) without vacillating.

Mayest thou behold²⁶ the place of mankind in the morning. May the sight of a place empty of people be far from thee, (while) thy divine eye is opened²⁷ quickly for thee (and) the conduct of thy ears proceeds <without?> restraint²⁸(?) (2, 1) May thy belly be their companion,²⁹ without fault³⁰ (of) thine.

¹⁰ Černý read *ptr*.

¹¹ Read *smh*.

¹² *Hr-w* is obviously the old perfective; the sign of heart is to be taken as the determinative (cf. *Wb.* II, 496).

¹³ On this conjunction see Sethe, 'Neuägyptisches *m-dr* für *m-dj*', *ZÄS* 62 (1926), 5 ff.

¹⁴ That would mean that an Egyptian god was to the Egyptians a mortal being; see E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt, 1971), 143 ff. Or should we translate '(so long as) thou art alive (*iw-k m ḥnh*)', assuring an error in the text?




¹⁵ Read *dr*, and not *ir*, notwithstanding the determinative.


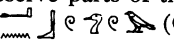
¹⁶ In ancient Egypt the idea of good old age could be expressed by 110 years; see Janssen, 'On the Ideal Lifetime of the Egyptians', *OMRO* 31 (1950), 33 ff.

¹⁷ *Hr-mwt* could be a compound noun. Substantives could be built by help of the prefix *hr*, like *hr-mrht*; see Allam, op. cit., 25 n. 2. Note also that *h(t)* in Demotic could have a similar function; see W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), 375, and W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1925), § 35. Otherwise we could translate *hr mwt* 'those who are under death, i.e. dead people'.

¹⁸ *Rš* corresponds presumably to Coptic ἀροϋ: ρροϋ, 'become cold' (W. Crum, *Coptic Dict.* 16).

¹⁹ Lit. 'under' (*hr*).

²⁰ One could read   in the hieratic text, but the photograph is not clear enough. On the reading *hmk* for this group of signs see Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II (*Commentary*) (Oxford, 1948), 112 f. In our context it has the meaning 'vessel' (written  in *Wb.* III, 118, 6).

²¹ The transcription from hieratic is to be rendered . On the other hand Korostovtsev reads *ḫb* (*Wb.* v, 354). The vessels and clay spoken of are apparently those destined to preserve parts of the dead body. It is legitimate therefore to think here of canopic jars. ²² Transcribe:  (Černý).

²³ The bad smell mentioned here might be that of a dead person.

²⁴ The suffix *f* refers certainly to *mdt nbt*, which is feminine, at least in its form. For the use of the suffix *f* referring even to plurals see Allam, op. cit., 23 n. 30.

²⁵ The thorax is obviously meant here.

²⁶ *Dgy-k* is clear in hieratic.

²⁷ The meaning of *sḥr* is 'cause to ascend' and the like. We have here probably a figurative sense: when the eyebrows go up, the eyes are opened.

²⁸ A translation of *hr intnt* 'with restraint' does not give the sense demanded by the context, the more so as we expect an expression parallel to *m hpt* at the end of the preceding sentence. Are we to understand the expression in the sense of *Wb.* I, 97, 8? In this case we have the meaning: 'Thy ears, may they proceed preventing (bad things).'

²⁹ This means that eyes and ears will be united with the body.

³⁰ Taking *sp* with the meaning 'misdeed, fault', although the writing is awkward. Yet, if we prefer the meaning 'remainder' (*Wb.* III, 442, 2), our phrase would have another sense: 'There shall exist no remainder (of) thee.' The underlying idea is probably that there shall be nothing removed from the body.

Mayest thou be united (with the) sky, safe (and) sound. Mayest thou (be) like the justified ones³¹ (and) join the Great Ones in Heliopolis. Mayest thou³² enter into (this) noble (assembly).³³ Mayest thou be associated (with) thine offerings in the cabin.³⁴ (Mayest thou) go³⁵ before the God among the western (people),³⁶ always.³⁷

Further,³⁸ *I am remaining*³⁹ (*here*) *through deceit*. I have been wronged before saying (anything). (2, 5) I have been cheated⁴⁰ without (any) wrong (on) my (part). I have been expelled from my town, (my) possessions were taken away—they are no (longer) safe. I was⁴¹ with all the Great⁴² (and) Wise (Ones) of the area; they were also crying out to me. My wife has been killed in their presence. Their children have been carried off—some of them have been imprisoned in the slaughter-house, others have been taken away as captives, being loaded with possessions in front of me. My servants have been driven (away).⁴³ (2, 10) (My) herds have been taken away. I (can)not seize (him) who violated my place of yesterday. The Strong⁴⁴ (Ones) have been placed on a remote road.

The land has been enclosed by the flame of the enemy—south, north, west, (and) east belong to him. I [departed]⁴⁵ (for) the crew⁴⁶ of a boat that was not mine. (I) took my face⁴⁷(?). (I) travelled through the land in haste, the river flowing out of its depth. (I) reached⁴⁸ the north thereof, (namely) at (the town) (*šh*)-*bit*.⁴⁹ (I) travelled through arable land⁵⁰ (and) Delta marshes in flowing (streams)⁵¹ (until) the land *Pdt-šw*,⁵² (this)

³¹ I read *mštyw* 'righteous ones'; otherwise read *ršw* (*Wb.* II, 454) 'joyful'.

³² On the use of *r*+suffix after an imperative see A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1933), § 707.

³³ I hesitate to render *šh* here with 'Balsamierungsstätte' (*Wb.* IV, 52, 17), the more so as the Berlin Dictionary adds a query to this meaning. On the other hand, *šh*, although written here differently, can have the meaning 'noble, dignitary', which suits our context well.

³⁴ On this word see *Wb.* IV, 179, 16. The cabin points probably to the journey of the dead in the solar bark.

³⁵ There is a lapse on behalf of the scribe. The sentence should read: *šm-k m-bšh* . . .

³⁶ The sign of the bird reading *nh* is clear in hieratic. Our scribe has confounded it with the bird reading *tyw*. It is certainly an element in the preceding word *imntyw*; see below, n. 44 and n. 46.

³⁷ *M šw(t) d(t)* = lit. 'in the length of eternity'.

³⁸ On *hnc dd nty* occurring in letters see Bakir, *Epistolography*, 83; 99.

³⁹ If we read *twi (r)mn-(kw)š*, the translation would be: 'I have been carried away . . .'

⁴⁰ Read *šwn-k(wi)*. Otherwise translate: '(I am) not speaking <in order to> cheat you.'

⁴¹ The grammatical present form cannot be rendered here save in the past tense; similarly Erman, *op. cit.*, § 481.

⁴² Strangely enough this word has the phallus as determinative, apparently contaminated by the word *ʿ* 'donkey'.

⁴³ Another translation seems quite possible: 'My servants are administering them.'

⁴⁴ Here again we recognize the bird-sign *nh* following the word *nht*, confounded with the bird reading *tyw*; see above, n. 36 and below, n. 46.

⁴⁵ Read *š e wd* in the lacuna.

⁴⁶ On *hwty* see *Wb.* II, 485, 8; it designates a group of people connected with the construction of ships and maritime transport. Note also that the bird *nh* occurs here erroneously instead of *tyw*; see above, n. 36 and n. 44.

⁴⁷ This could mean: 'I occupied the front part (of the boat)'.

⁴⁸ Lit. '(I) was brought'.

⁴⁹ This town, which the Greeks called Chemmis, existed in reality (*Urk.* I, 219 ff.) elsewhere in the papyrus-marshes of the Delta; Gardiner, *JEA* 30 (1944), 52 ff.

⁵⁰ For the discussion of the word *qyt* as a kind of field see Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 27 f., 178 f.

⁵¹ The word *wbn* could be the name of a town or region since it shows the determinative of a town. In the Dakhleh stela, however, it occurs with the determinative of water with the meaning 'flowing well'; see Gardiner, *JEA* 19 (1933), 20.

⁵² This is the name of one of the Bow Peoples. They are to be situated in the East between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea; see the recent discussion by Uphill, *JEOL* 19 (1965-6), 405 f.

land (in which they) pitch (*qd*) (3, 1) their (*sic*) tents⁵³ (towards) the west. (Thereupon, the land) Libya was entered. (As for) the Libyans, (they) were crossing Egypt width-wise. (They) shipwrecked (at the town) *P3gzw*.⁵⁴ I proceeded to Heracleopolis(?).⁵⁵ I arrived at (the nome) *W3bw*.⁵⁶ [I] entered the Great Oasis (Khargeh). (I) hastened (through) Upper Egypt, through every part (of) it.

I travelled around to a village,⁵⁷ being on foot. (I) seized (3, 5) horses, (I) stole chariots, my horses (became) frightened in (my) hand. (As I wanted to) take (hold of) their reins,⁵⁸ another (man) was (already) upon them—(it was) not I who caused it. I was constrained to leave.

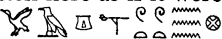
(I) spent (some) time in a town not belonging to me <as>⁵⁹ abode, which took no notice of a stranger⁶⁰—with neither my old (friends, nor) newly acquired friends. (As long as my) limbs were apart from (my) belly,⁶¹ (I) tarried.⁶² When they (i.e. the limbs) were with (me), I (began to) exist. (I) had neglected (*mkh*) them in the distress.⁶³



If⁶⁴ only (one) had written in order to cheer (3, 10) (my) heart as¹³ (I) came in (the) calamity. Never has (one) inquired (after) (my) condition³ as¹³ (I) came on (this) road. Flesh (and) bones are cast in a cavern.⁶⁵ Who will conceal it? If (one) only had written in order to comfort⁶⁶ (my) heart.

Behold, there are no chiefs ——. They have not cared for me during my pains. Why⁶⁷ are they (existing), except (for the) many (things that will occur) to me (in) the necropolis?

I am (in) the sight of the horizon-dwelling (god). May he rescue (me) from the desert (and) from the disturbance. (My) belly is (now) whole,⁶⁸ my⁶⁹ condition (of) yesterday is over. I am hale in (3, 15) his (the god's) retinue.⁷⁰ (I) came in the morning so that (I might) put under his command my heart's concern through my petitions(?)⁷¹


⁵³ Cf. *ihr* 'Zelt der Nomaden' (*Wb.* I, 119, 5),

⁵⁴ Note that the sign *g* which in this name closely resembles the sign for 7,000 is written here as if it were 2,000. According to P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte Ancienne*, I (1957), 91 this town  is not to be identified with *H3sw* (Xois); see also Vernus, *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 27 ff.

⁵⁵ Černý transcribed the group at the beginning of line 3 differently:  | . Extending it to <Nn>*nswt* we obtain the name of Heracleopolis.

⁵⁶ That is the XIXth Upper Egyptian nome; Montet, op. cit., II (1961), 180.

⁵⁷ For a discussion of the word *whyt* see Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 32 f.

⁵⁸ Černý read . For *rgs* the *Wb.* I, 236, 10 gives 'Riemen, Gurt (?) aus Leder'.

⁵⁹ For the *m* of predication.


⁶⁰ The said stranger is apparently our speaker himself.

⁶¹ This expression might paraphrase a state of exhaustion.

⁶² The use of the auxiliary *ir* before the trilateral verb *3bb* is noteworthy.

⁶³ Another possible translation: 'Behold, who is behind them is at a loss.'

⁶⁴ The auxiliary *bs* can be used in artificial conditional sentences; Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 820.

⁶⁵ I wonder if the determinative of this word is not .

⁶⁶ Read *3ms/3ms ib* (cf. *Wb.* I, 11, 7). In any case we have apparently a parallel expression to *bs h3b r sfn ib* (3, 9-10).

⁶⁷ Read <*r-*>*ih*.

⁶⁸ To be read either *tm* or *htm*; for the latter word see *Wb.* III, 197, 4.

⁶⁹ The text gives, I think erroneously, the third-person singular.

⁷⁰ Lit. 'on his steam' (cf. *Wb.* II, 122, 19). This idiom describes the state of a subordinate, like the frequent expression *hr mw:f* (lit. 'on his water'), for which see Westendorf, *Göttinger Miscellen* II (1974), 47 f.

⁷¹ Assuming that the word in question might be *dbh*.

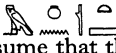
(I) sent to thee (4, 1) a messenger (with) my copy (of the message) in a pot(?)⁷² I was unaware of the corn, (I) did not know it.⁷³ He (the messenger) is not a man who looks like a good (man). He set out⁷⁴ on my (behalf) because (there was) no (other)(?);⁷⁵ therefore he went out. (I) was aware (of it), my heart was correct⁷⁶ (about it). I spent a month stewing (lit. stinking) because of the corn, (I) was furious(?)⁷⁷

On what account are the people among whom I (live) existing? Their notables have become few. The Nile⁷⁸ ceased, their land (4, 5) is empty.⁷⁹


I (could) not set out⁷⁴ —. (I) asked for a (boat)⁸⁰ from the hand of its (the boat's) (or, his, i.e. the messenger's) master. His promise was to set forth. A crew was brought to it (or, him) (through) flattery. Their wages⁸¹ [were set] for each one of them, apart⁸² from (what [they] might) gather, (besides) their rations⁸³ (which consisted of) salt, natron, vegetables, *w3nr-*, (and) *isr-* (plants).

(I) wrote to thee, (my) heart being confident, thinking⁸⁴ (that) it (the boat) (or, he, i.e. the messenger) will come back without anything. (But) my brother⁸⁵ caused (that) it (or, he) should return with abundance (of things). He (the messenger) set a heap of corn for his master, (for) each concern⁸⁶ of his. His heart was confident, (4, 10) thinking (*sdd?*) (that) he will return to me. He spent a month (on) his journey. He spent (it) because⁸⁷ it (the boat) had suffered distress (and) was cast on the ground⁸⁸ like a boat (of) . . . cattle(?).

His (or, its, i.e. the boat's) master caused me (to) be accused⁸⁹ (in) the court. He did evil to me in my town. His fees were for me⁹⁰(?) heavier than his granite. His price⁹¹

⁷² Černý read  not without a query. However, the preceding group (*ni*) renders any translation impossible. I assume that the scribe was mistaken in copying the relative *nty*.

⁷³ Lit. 'them' (plural)! Is the corn here the fee for the bringer of the letter? Or had the addressee previously asked for corn from the writer of our letter?



⁷⁴ Read . The first two elements are rather like the sign for *htp*, but *htp* is not attested with the determinative of legs.

⁷⁵ Lit. 'second' (*snmw*), but the beginning is corrupt in the hieratic text.

⁷⁶ *Mk* means originally 'guard, protect, save' and the like. Still, the determinative of this word is not what we have in our text.

⁷⁷ The word *isp* is attested in Papyrus Lansing 9, 8; it describes a state of the body of a hungry person. The rendering 'furious' is a sheer guess.

⁷⁸ Emend correspondingly into *Hrpw*.

⁷⁹ Černý transcribed, at the end of this word,  instead of .


⁸⁰ The determinative of the word as well as the context point to a water-vessel.

⁸¹ Lit. 'that has been fixed'; cf. *Wb.* IV, 135, 14, where the meaning given is 'value, price (of corn)'.




⁸² Černý emended the transcription into *wi·ti*; cf. *Wb.* I, 272, 4. Korostovtsev took it as *rwi·t* and translated 'disappear'.

⁸³ Černý thought of *htr* and consequently added *h* at the beginning of the word though it is not written out in hieratic.


⁸⁴ Read <*r*->*dd*.

⁸⁵ Černý transcribed . The said brother might be the addressee himself.

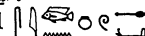
⁸⁶ The word *nnd* figures in *Wb.* II, 382 only as a verb meaning 'ask' and the like.

⁸⁷ Černý transcribed  instead of ; see the same sign in line 4, 7. Thus we obtain  which might be a conjunction; cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 681. Otherwise we can take it as *mi* since it resembles this sign very closely. Also *mi* could be a conjunction; cf. Erman, op. cit., § 621.

⁸⁸ For *h3c hr qnr* see *Wb.* V, 55, 1.

⁸⁹ Note that *cd*  is not the word normally used in connection with the court; cf. Gardiner, *Rameside Administrative Documents* (London, 1948), 56, 15. Here *cd* is certainly a phonetic writing of *cd*.

⁹⁰ We have possibly *m-di·i* in the corrupt place.


⁹¹ Černý transcribed .

was (too) much; (it) has been received⁹² (by him) and⁹³ the crew. He let me wait (here) lacking⁹⁴ my grain (*šs*) which others had given to me—(I) received⁹⁵ it (on) his journey (and) that of their ships⁹⁶ (?), (its measure) being not full. (Thereupon I) said: If (I) only had controlled⁹⁷ his *oipe*-measure⁹⁸ (that was) forged⁹⁹ (already) at its manufacture.¹⁰⁰ How guilty is the carpenter¹⁰¹ who manufactured it! By it one *hʿr* (?)¹⁰² is (4, 15) 1 *hʿr* (and) 2 *oipe*.¹⁰³

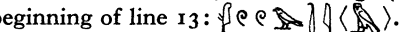
As Atum, the unique¹⁰⁴ (God), endures: He stole it. It is (incumbent?) on me (now to) explain¹⁰⁵ (the) affair(?)¹⁰⁶ (of the) grain (and) the fees. He waited a day.¹⁰⁷ (Then) he came to me saying: It is terrible, (namely the) *cm̄m*-corn(?). (I) did not know (it). It is no (longer) left <in> the field. (5, 1) O, there is no punishment¹⁰⁸ for them. I said to my heart: May the sparrows take them away. Their remainder¹⁰⁹ would be (then) the *cm̄m*-corn(?).

Mayest thou free me from (the) fees (of) the crew. They (i.e. the crew) cause me to be extremely¹¹⁰ ashamed. Would¹¹¹ that (I) had not sent (him) to¹¹² thee. A monstrous crime has been (committed) unto (the) God. One travels around, while it is happening to (me). Who will conceal it? I say: (It is) thy wrath,¹¹³ O God, that caused it. Come, rescue¹¹⁴ <me> from them.

If (I) only had sent him (the messenger) to Nahrin (5, 5) in order to fetch the hidden *mrgn*,¹¹⁵ he would (then) have proceeded to (or, passed by) the (people of the land) *Scr*

⁹² Černý transcribed .


⁹³ The preposition *hnr* is quite clear. But under *h* there is a sign (*r*); cf. *r-hnr* (*Wb.* III, 112).

⁹⁴ Černý transcribed at the beginning of line 13: .


⁹⁵ I do not hesitate to assume the verb *iti* (see above, n. 92) in the lacuna.


⁹⁶ This rendering is a mere guess. One might take this expression as *p(i) n qir·sn*. At the same time one could think of *qrr* 'ship' (*Wb.* v, 61, 7).

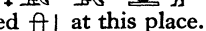
⁹⁷ The proper meaning of *wd* is 'command'. I suggest reading: *bs m-dī·i wd/wd·(i) . . .*

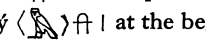
⁹⁸ To be arranged .

⁹⁹ For the meaning of *hd* with regard to measures see *Wb.* III, 213, 6.

¹⁰⁰ To be arranged .

¹⁰¹ To be arranged .

¹⁰² Černý transcribed  at this place.

¹⁰³ Read with Černý  at the beginning of line 15. On forged measures of corn see Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, 199.

¹⁰⁴ On the epithet 'unique' attributed to Egyptian gods see Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 180 f.

¹⁰⁵ For this meaning see *Wb.* I, 238, 14. Or have we to admit here the word *whr* for which *Wb.* I, 348 gives a meaning similar to that proposed above? Note that the same sign occurs in 2, 1 and 4, 11 where '*d*' is certain.

¹⁰⁶ The word *dnrm* is not attested in *Wb.* It could be a corrupt writing of *dnr/dnr* (*Wb.* v, 524) meaning 'necessity' and the like. It is to be compared with Coptic $\alpha\omega\lambda\alpha\alpha$ ('be implicated, involved').

¹⁰⁷ We can append this clause to the preceding one and translate: '. . . fees which he sets (every) day'. Korostovtsev translates: '. . . which he sets on the day of coming to me'.

¹⁰⁸ Read *shd* (*Wb.* IV, 209, 6). Such a reading is suggested by the existence of the verb *hd* which means 'condemn' (*Wb.* II, 505, 8).

¹⁰⁹ I.e. that which remains from them.

¹¹⁰ The adverb *r-(i)qr* is very probable. Another translation for the whole sentence: 'It caused me to wink (*trm*) to the ships (*qwr*) (?)'

¹¹¹ On *hʿn my* (Coptic $\rho\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$) see Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 689.

¹¹² Lit. 'beside' (*r-gs*).

¹¹³ Lit. 'thy might' (*bʿw·k*); see Gardiner, *JEA* 48 (1962), 62 n. 3.

¹¹⁴ Read $\text{šd}\cdot\{n\}k$.

¹¹⁵ This hidden object could be a precious stone.

and he¹¹⁶ would have turned to us again. Would that he had reached my (people) *Sbtyw*.

(*verso*) (O) my (persea-)tree, my (persea-)tree, (O) Khons, (O) my (persea-)tree, make whole (my) lifetime.

(I) said (it). What shall I say to (my) heart? They (?) said: The heart, (may it be) praised (?).

A copy of [the] message which the god's father has sent.

¹¹⁶ Assuming the conjunctive form *mtw·f* which is here written *m-di·f*.

ZUR FRAGE DER VERGÖTTLICHUNG DES VEZIRS (PA-)RAHOTEP

von HARTWIG ALTENMÜLLER

Zu den schon früh nach Europa verschlagenen Denkmälern der Zeit Ramses' II. gehört eine Statue des Vezirs (Pa-)Rahotep, die einst in der Villa Altichiero bei Padua aufgestellt war und die sich heute in der Villa Melzi in Bellagio am Comer See befindet. Die bereits am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in vier Ansichten veröffentlichte Figur¹ galt seit langem als verschollen. H. Brunner² hat sie wieder entdeckt und ihr in der Festschrift für J. Černý einen eingehenden und grundlegenden Aufsatz gewidmet.

Die Figur zeigt den Vezir (Pa-)Rahotep als Würfelhocker. Alle vier Seiten des Hockers waren ursprünglich mit Darstellungen und Inschriften dekoriert. Doch nur die Texte der Vorder- und Rückseite sind heute noch lesbar. Die in einer senkrechten Zeile zwischen den Bildern der Götter Ptah und Osiris entlang geführte Inschrift der Vorderseite nennt den Namen des Parahotep, Bürgermeisters und Vezirs von Pi-Ramses. Die Inschriften der Rückseite, die aus vier senkrechten Zeilen bestehen, setzen an das Ende der jeweiligen Zeilen nach einer längeren Ehrentitulatur den Namen des Vezirs in der artikellosen Form Rahotep, zweimal in Klarschrift und zweimal in ägyptischer Schrift. J. Černý,³ H. de Meulenaere,⁴ und H. Brunner⁵ haben gezeigt, daß Parahotep und Rahotep verschiedene Namensformen eines gleichen Personennamens sein können, sodaß die Annahme berechtigt ist, daß die auf der Figur festgestellten Namen Parahotep und Rahotep trotz der unterschiedlichen Namensform den gleichen Vezir bezeichnen.

H. de Meulenaere⁶ hat nun nachgewiesen, daß unter Ramses II. zwei Vezire mit dem Namen (Pa-)Rahotep lebten. Der frühere der beiden Vezire stammte aus Abydos. Dort war sein Bruder Wenennefer Hoherpriester des Osiris. Der jüngere kam aus Sedment, dem alten Herakleopolis, wo auch sein Grab gefunden worden ist und wo seine Angehörigen am Tempel des Harsaphes Dienst taten. Es stellte sich daher die Frage, welchem der beiden Vezire der Würfelhocker des (Pa-)Rahotep zugewiesen werden sollte. Dieses Problem schien sehr rasch gelöst. Denn der Vezir (Pa-)Rahotep wurde auf der Vorderseite des Würfelhockers als 'Bürgermeister und Vezir von Pi-Ramses' näher bezeichnet und wies damit einen Amtstitel auf, der auch für den Vezir aus Herakleopolis gut belegt war. Einer Zuweisung der Statue zu den Denkmälern des Vezirs aus Herakleopolis schien nichts mehr im Wege zu stehen.⁷

Trotz des scheinbar klaren Sachverhaltes sind nun aber einige Überlegungen berechtigt, die sich aus der Unterschiedlichkeit der auf der Stele belegten Namens-

¹ Mad. J. W. C. D(e) R(osenberg), *Altichiero* (Padua, 1788), Taf. 13-16.

² *JEA* 54 (1968), 129-34.

³ *Bi. Or.* 19 (1962), 142 f.

⁴ *Chron. d'Ég.* 41 (1966), 223.

⁵ a.a.O., 132 Anm. 4.

⁶ a.a.O., 223 ff.

⁷ Ebd. 231: doc. d; H. Brunner, a.a.O., 132.

formen sowie aus der Verschiedenheit der für die jeweiligen Vezire genannten Ämter ergeben. Ungewöhnlich scheint zu sein, daß auf einem gleichen Monument der Name des gleichen Vezirs sowohl in der Form Parahotep, als auch in der Form Rahotep begegnet, und sonderbar ist es, daß der Vezir mit der Namensform Parahotep als Vezir von Pi-Ramses erscheint, der Vezir mit der Namensform Rahotep aber nicht mit einem bestimmten Amtssitz, sondern ausschließlich mit religiösen, und zwar speziell memphitischen Priesterämtern verbunden wird. Diese Feststellung ist insofern bemerkenswert, als beobachtet werden kann, daß die Angaben des Würfelhockers über ein eventuelles memphitisches Priesteramt des Vezirs (Pa-)Rahotep aus Pi-Ramses durchaus singulär sind und daß kein anderes, mit Sicherheit dem in Pi-Ramses wirkenden Vezir (Pa-)Rahotep zugewiesenes Denkmal gleichzeitig einen Amtssitz in Pi-Ramses und ein memphitisches Priesteramt aufzählen. Das memphitische Priesteramt wird nur auf einer einzigen Stele des (Pa-)Rahotep ausführlich belegt.⁸ Dieser (Pa-)Rahotep ist aber dort nicht 'Bürgermeister und Vezir von Pi-Ramses', sondern 'Bürgermeister und Vezir von Memphis'.

Die Stele von Memphis, die für den Vezir (Pa-)Rahotep sowohl verschiedene memphitische Priesterämter, als auch ein Vezirat in Memphis (*inbw*)⁹ erwähnt, hat bisher stets als ein Denkmal des Vezirs (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis gegolten.¹⁰ Die sichere Neuzuweisung dieser Stele zu den Denkmälern des Vezirs (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos ist aber jetzt durch den Vergleich mit einer Statue des (Pa-)Rahotep aus Saqqâra möglich geworden. Diese Statue, die im Jahre 1955 in Saqqâra in der Nekropole des Neuen Reiches in der Nähe des Grabes des Chaemwese gefunden wurde,¹¹ dann verschollen war und 1972 wieder entdeckt worden ist, besitzt Inschriften, die sich eng an die Texte der Stele von Memphis anlehnen.¹² Ähnlich wie die Inschriften auf der Stele von Memphis setzen diese den Vezir in Verbindung mit memphitischen Gottheiten, und ähnlich wie jene verleihen diese dem Vezir (Pa-)Rahotep den Totentitel 'Osiris'. Für die Stele ist daher mit gutem Grund ebenso wie für die Statue eine Herkunft aus der Nekropole von Saqqâra anzunehmen, wo beide ursprünglich im Grabbereich des (Pa-)Rahotep aufgestellt gewesen sein könnten. Da aber in Saqqâra nur (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos bestattet worden sein kann, weil das Grab des (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis bei Sedment gefunden wurde,¹³ kann der auf der Grabstele genannte 'Bürgermeister und Vezir von Memphis' nur mit (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos identisch sein.

Wird nun aber das Amt des Vezirs und Hohenpriesters von Memphis mit (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos und nicht mit (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis verbunden,

⁸ Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, v, 950 f.

⁹ H. de Meulenaere, a.a.O., 226, versucht $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{⊕} \\ \text{⊗} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ als Kurznamen von Pi-Ramses zu erklären. Er liest daher die Zeichengruppe $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{⊕} \\ \text{⊗} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ als *inbt* — 'Festung'. Diese Interpretation der Zeichengruppe ist kaum zu halten, vor allem wenn man vergleichbare Kurzschreibungen als eine Bezeichnung von *inbw* — 'Memphis' (H. Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* I [1925], 81) nachweisen kann.

¹⁰ H. de Meulenaere, a.a.O., 231: doc. f.

¹¹ J. Ph. Lauer, *BSFE* 22 (1956), 62 f.; J. Leclant, *Or. N.S.* 25 (1956), 256.

¹² H. Altenmüller und Ahmed M. Moussa, 'Eine wiederentdeckte Statue des Vezirs Rahotep', in *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 1 ff.

¹³ W. M. F. Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment*, II (1924), 28 ff., Taf. 71-6, 84.

ergeben sich einige Schwierigkeiten bei der zeitlichen Einordnung des Vezirs. Das Hohepriesteramt von Memphis wird nämlich während des größten Teils der Regierung Ramses' II. vom Prinzen Chaemwese bekleidet. Mindestens 37 Jahre lang, vom 16. bis 52. Jahr der Regierung seines Vaters, ist Chaemwese Hohepriester von Memphis gewesen.¹⁴ Daher kann dieses Amt durch (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos höchstens vor dem 16. Jahr oder nach dem 52. Jahr Ramses' II. besetzt worden sein. Um hier zu einer Entscheidung zu kommen, muß das für (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos vorliegende prosopographische Material auf seinen zeitlichen Ansatz hin näher untersucht werden.¹⁵

(Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos wird auf zwei Denkmälern seines 'Bruders' Wenennefer aus Abydos gemeinsam mit dem 'Bürgermeister und Vezir Nebamun' genannt.¹⁶ Nebamun, der auf den genannten beiden Denkmälern seinerseits als 'Bruder' des Wenennefer erscheint, dürfte—obwohl er mit Sicherheit weder leiblicher Bruder des (Pa-)Rahotep noch des Wenennefer war¹⁷—in engem Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zu beiden Personen gestanden haben. Da Nebamun und (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos beide wiederholt als 'Brüder' des Wenennefer auf einem gleichen Monument nebeneinander erwähnt werden, kann deren Lebenszeit aber nicht allzu weit auseinander gelegen haben. Nebamun war Vezir zur Zeit des Königs Sethos I.¹⁸ Das Hohepriesteramt des Vezirs (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos dürfte daher in der ersten Hälfte der Regierung Ramses' II. liegen. Sollten nun aber beide Vezire, wie es nunmehr erscheint, annähernd gleich alt gewesen sein, kann (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos kaum das 52. Jahr Ramses' II. erreicht haben. Dem widersprechen auch nicht die Angaben einer Stele des Wenennefer aus Abydos, auf der im 42. Jahr Ramses' II. der Name des (Pa-)Rahotep zum letzten Mal zusammen mit dem seines 'Bruders' Wenennefer erscheint.¹⁹ (Pa-)Rahotep könnte sehr wohl bereits im 16. Jahr Ramses' II. gestorben sein und wegen einer gewissen Berühmtheit auch noch einige Zeit nach seinem Tode auf dem Denkmal seines leiblichen Bruders genannt worden sein. Denkbar wäre aber auch eine Lebenszeit bis zum 42. Jahr Ramses' II. über das 16. Jahr hinaus, wenn angenommen wird, daß der alternde (Pa-)Rahotep im 16. Jahr der Regierung Ramses' II. den Prinzen Chaemwese als seinen Kollegen in das Hohepriesteramt von Memphis mit aufgenommen hat.

H. de Meulenaere²⁰ hat festgestellt, daß (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis jünger war als der gleichnamige Vezir aus Abydos. Der zeitliche Ansatz der Vezirs (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos an den Beginn der Regierung Ramses' II. erfordert daher einen entsprechend späteren Ansatz des Vezirs (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis. Für ihn käme eine Amtszeit in der Mitte oder am Ende der Regierung Ramses' II. in Betracht. Ein Ansatz in der späteren Zeit der Regierung Ramses' II. wird dann auch besonders durch die Bezeichnung des Amtssitzes nahegelegt. (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis

¹⁴ W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, I (1960), 132.

¹⁵ H. de Meulenaere, a.a.O., 231 f.: doc. o-v.

¹⁶ Statue Athen 106: G. Legrain, *Rec. trav.* 31 (1909), 202 f.; Gruppe des Museums Kairo: Ebd., 204 ff.

¹⁷ H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat* (1953), 102.

¹⁸ Statue Kairo, CG 1140: L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, IV (1934), 70; vgl. W. Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I.* (1896), Taf. 16 b, a. 2.

¹⁹ Kairo, JE 34505: A. Mariette, *Abydos*, II (1880), Taf. 41.

²⁰ a.a.O., 230

amtierte in Pi-Ramses. Einmal erscheint dieser Amtssitz in der späten Form *pꜣ Rꜥ-mss pꜣ kꜣ n pꜣ Rꜥ*.²¹ Diese Form des Ortsnamens von Pi-Ramses ist erst am Ende der Regierung Ramses' II. gebräuchlich und kann zum ersten Mal im 52. Jahr Ramses' II. belegt werden.²²

Unter dem Vezirat des (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis in der zweiten Hälfte der Regierung Ramses' II. und vermutlich sogleich nach dem Tod des Chaemwese im 52. Jahr Ramses' II. ist Pahemnetjer, der Vater des Vezirs (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis,²³ in die freigewordene Stelle des Hohenpriesters von Memphis eingewiesen worden. Auf diesen dürfte Didia gefolgt sein, wenn nicht angenommen werden will, daß dieser gleichzeitig und kollegial mit Pahemnetjer amtiert hat.²⁴ Didia war Bruder des (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis²⁵ oder dessen Schwiegervater²⁶ und wird auf einer Stele des Pahemnetjer gemeinsam mit Pahemnetjer, als Hoherpriester von Memphis geführt.²⁷

Werden nun aber Pahemnetjer und Didia als Nachfolger des Chaemwese im Hohepriesteramt von Memphis betrachtet, erscheint es ausgeschlossen, daß (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis jemals selbst das Hohepriesteramt von Memphis übernommen hat. Denn gleichzeitig mit dem in Pi-Ramses wirkenden (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis amtierte in Theben der Vezir Neferrenpet.²⁸ Dieser Vezir aus Theben verkündete im 57. und 60. Jahr Ramses' II. das 10. und 11. Sedfest des Königs und muß spätestens nach Didia das Amt des Hohenpriesters von Memphis übernommen haben. Wahrscheinlich hat er es als 'Pensionierung' erhalten. W. Helck nimmt an, daß diese 'Pensionierung' nicht erst unter Merenptah, sondern bereits am Ende der 66-jährigen Regierung Ramses' II. erfolgt ist,²⁹ da Denkmäler des Neferrenpet, die sein Hohepriesteramt von Memphis erwähnen, noch unter Ramses II. datiert sind.³⁰ Die jeweilige Amtszeit der beiden Hohenpriester Pahemnetjer und Didia kann daher unter diesen Umständen nur sehr kurz gedauert haben. Für ein Hohepriesteramt des (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis aber ist dann aus zeitlichen Gründen nicht mehr genügend Platz.

Wird das Amt des Hohenpriesters von Memphis nunmehr endgültig mit dem Vezir (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos und nicht mit (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis verbunden, ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß der Würfelhocker der Villa Melzi in Bellagio, der als einziges Monument für den Vezir (Pa-)Rahotep — und dies bemerkenswerterweise unter den verschiedenen Namensformen Parahotep und Rahotep — sowohl ein Vezirat in

²¹ A. Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos* (1880), 424 f. Nr. 1138.

²² Mahmud Hamza, *ASAE* 30 (1930), 44.

²³ Brit. Mus. 712: T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, 9 (1970), Taf. 14.

²⁴ Eine kollegiale Verwaltung des Hohepriesteramtes könnte durch die gemeinsame Nennung der beiden Hohenpriester auf der Stele Brit. Mus. 183 nahe gelegt werden.

²⁵ H. de Meulenaere, a.a.O., 227.

²⁶ H. Kees, a.a.O., 103.

²⁷ Brit. Mus. 183: T. G. H. James, a.a.O., 9 (1970), Taf. 15.

²⁸ W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches* (1958), 322 ff., 451 ff.

²⁹ Ebd., 324.

³⁰ Berlin 2290: H. Schäfer und G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 11 (1924), 316 f.

Pi-Ramses, als auch das Hohepriesteramt von Memphis belegen könnte, dem Vezir (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis zugeteilt wird. Auf Grund der oben angestellten Überlegungen und Berechnungen erscheint es nämlich ausgeschlossen, daß (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis, für den das Vezirat in Pi-Ramses sicher belegt ist, jemals das Hohepriesteramt von Memphis bekleidet hat. Daher sind die in den Inschriften des Würfelhockers genannten beiden Namen Parahotep und Rahotep auf zwei verschiedene Vezire zu verteilen. Die Inschriftzeile der Vorderseite, die ein Vezirat in Pi-Ramses erwähnt, müßte dabei dem Vezir (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis zugewiesen werden, die vierzeilige Inschrift der Rückseite, die auf das memphitische Hohepriesteramt anspielt, dem Vezir (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos. In dieser Inschrift wird der Name des Vezirs Rahotep sowohl in Klarschrift als $\textcircled{\text{P}} \text{A} \text{R} \text{H} \text{T} \text{P}$, als auch in ägyptischer Schrift als $\textcircled{\text{P}} \text{A} \text{R} \text{H} \text{T} \text{P}$ wiedergegeben.³¹

Unter der Voraussetzung, daß der Würfelhocker der Villa Melzi zwei verschiedene Vezire des Namens (Pa-)Rahotep nennt, muß versucht werden, das gegenseitige Verhältnis der den verschiedenen Veziren zugewiesenen Inschriften zu definieren. Da dabei die auf der Vorderseite des Würfelhockers eingravierte einzeilige Inschrift des (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis einer vierzeiligen Inschrift des (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos auf der Rückseite gegenüber gestellt wird, ist es naheliegend, die einzeilige Inschrift der Vorderseite als Widmungsinschrift des (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis für den älteren (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos aufzufassen und damit die Figur selbst als Weihefigur des (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis an seinen bedeutenden Vorgänger zu interpretieren. Die Deutung des Würfelhockers als einer von (Pa-)Rahotep gestifteten Figur wäre denkbar, müßte aber, um voll zu überzeugen, noch durch weitere Inschriften abgesichert werden. Dies ist jedoch gegenwärtig leider nicht möglich, da die Texte der beiden Seiten des Würfelhockers, die Reste von Opfergebeten enthalten,³² wegen allzu großer Zerstörung nicht mehr lesbar sind.

Trotz des unter den gegebenen Umständen noch hypothetischen Charakters einer Interpretation des Würfelhockers der Villa Melzi als einer möglichen Weihefigur des (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis an seinen Vorgänger (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos läßt sich die hier vorgeschlagene Deutung weiter erhärten. Wertvolle Hilfe leistet dabei eine Felsinschrift des Wadi Hammamat aus der Zeit Darius' I., in der Chnumibre, der Oberbaumeister des Großkönigs, seine verschiedenen Vorfahren katalogartig aufzählt. An die Spitze seiner Ahnen setzt er dabei den 'Priester des Amun-Re, des Königs der Götter, den Herrn der Geheimnisse des Hauses des Re, den Oberbaumeister von Ober- und Unterägypten, den Bürgermeister und Vezir Rahotep, dessen Ruf über den des Oberbaumeisters von Ober- und Unterägypten, des Bürgermeisters und Vezirs, des obersten Vorlesepriesters des Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten Djoser, (nämlich) des Imhotep geht, des Sohnes des Oberbaumeisters von Ober- und Unterägypten Kanefer, der von der Hausherrin Satnefertum geboren worden ist'.³³

³¹ H. Brunner, a.a.O., 132. Brunner macht a.a.O., Anm. 6 darauf aufmerksam, daß gerade der Vezir aus Abydos Schriftspielereien liebt und führt als Beleg den Würfelhocker Boston, MFA 03. 1891 an.

³² H. Brunner, a.a.O., 130 f.

³³ J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât* (1912), Taf. 22; G. Posener, *Première Domination perse en Égypte* (1936), 99 ff.: doc. 14, 26 ff.

Für den Oberbaumeister Chnumibre liegt die Vergleichbarkeit zwischen den beiden berühmten Persönlichkeiten (Pa-)Rahotep und Imhotep, von denen zumindest der Vezir (Pa-)Rahotep als möglicher Ahnherr des Chnumibre in Betracht kommt,³⁴ in deren beider überragenden Tätigkeit im Bauwesen. Einen solchen Wirkungsbereich erwähnt (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos an zwei Stellen. In der Inschrift seines Würfelhockers aus Abydos sagt er von sich selbst: 'Mein Herr machte mich zum Vezir, um den Ptahtempel entstehen zu lassen.'³⁵ Auf der dem (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos zugeschriebenen Stele aus Memphis trägt er nicht nur die Titel der Hohenpriester von Heliopolis und Memphis, sondern auch den eines 'Oberbaumeisters' (*imj-r; kꜣwt*).³⁶

Eine bis an die Vergöttlichung reichende Verehrung von Baumeistern im Alten Ägypten ist nichts Außergewöhnliches. Sowohl Imhotep aus der Zeit des Djoser, als auch Amenophis Sohn des Hapu aus der Zeit Amenophis' III. haben ihren Ruhm für die Nachwelt vor allem durch die von ihnen erstellten Bauwerke gesichert. Imhotep gilt in den Augen der Nachwelt als der 'Erfinder des Steinbaues' schlechthin.³⁷ Zu den größten Leistungen seiner Bautätigkeit gehört die noch heute bewundernswerte Grabanlage des Königs Djoser in Saqqâra. Ähnliches ist bei Amenophis Sohn des Hapu zu beobachten, der für Amenophis III. mehrere Tempelbauten errichtet hat und darüber auch in seiner Biographie an verschiedenen Stellen spricht.³⁸ Warum sollte daher nicht auch der Vezir (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos aus ähnlichen Gründen von der Nachwelt verehrt worden sein? Ist er doch nach eigenen Angaben der Vezir unter Ramses II., der den Ptahtempel von Memphis umgebaut und erweitert hat. Die Ruinen des von ihm, möglicherweise in Gemeinschaftsarbeit mit Chaemwese errichteten Bauwerkes vermitteln noch heute einen Eindruck von der ursprünglichen Monumentalität des damals geschaffenen Tempels.

Es wäre schön, wenn die besondere Leistung erkennbar wäre, die zur Verehrung des (Pa-)Rahotep in späterer Zeit geführt hat. Doch sind in dieser Frage nur hypothetische Antworten möglich, da die Anonymität des Künstlers zum Berufsethos der ägyptischen Handwerker, Künstler und Architekten gehörte und daher keine Nachrichten über die verschiedenen Bauten des (Pa-)Rahotep existieren. Erschwerend kommt bei (Pa-)Rahotep hinzu, daß die eigene Leistung nur ungenau von der seines ebenso berühmten jüngeren Zeitgenossen Chaemwese zu trennen sein dürfte. Dennoch sei hier eine Vermutung geäußert, die in das Bild der Zeit Ramses' II. hineinpassen könnte. Vielleicht liegt die besondere Verehrung des (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos, die ihn auch gegenüber Chaemwese abheben dürfte, in der Schaffung der neuen Residenz Pi-Ramses bei Kantir und der Erbauung und Ausschmückung der dortigen Tempelanlagen. Der Namen der unter Ramses II. neugeschaffenen Residenz Pi-Ramses ist zum ersten Mal mit Sicherheit im 8. Jahr Ramses' II. erwähnt,³⁹ eventuell

³⁴ K. Sethe, *Imhotep* (UGAÄ 2, 1902), 106 f.; vgl. D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, I (1969), 83.

³⁵ Boston, MFA 03. 1891: W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos*, II (1903), Taf. 35. 2, 37.

³⁶ Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, v, 950.

³⁷ K. Sethe, a.a.O., 113 f.

³⁸ A. Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou* (1968), 8: Text 2; 27: Text 11. 3 ff.; 37: Text 13. 16 f.; 130.

³⁹ Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Rec. trav.* 30 (1908), 215.

bereits im 5. Jahr dieses Herrschers.⁴⁰ Der Ausbau und die Ausschmückung der neuen Residenz dürfte daher am Beginn der Regierung Ramses' II. erfolgt sein und unter der Aufsicht des Vezirs von Memphis gestanden haben. Als dieser kommt nur (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos in Betracht, der den Ausbau der Residenz mit besonderem Nachdruck vorangetrieben haben könnte. Indirekte Belege für seine Aktivität in Pi-Ramses, bei Kantir im Ostdelta, sind die zahlreichen memphitischen Denkmäler aus der Zeit vor Ramses II., die in Tanis gefunden worden sind.⁴¹

Die Annahme einer möglichen aktiven Beteiligung des Vezirs von Memphis (Pa-)Rahotep an der Erbauung und Ausschmückung der Residenz von Pi-Ramses würde sich sehr gut in das bisher von (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos gewonnene Bild einfügen. Zugleich könnte auch erklärt werden, warum sein Nachfolger (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis in seiner Funktion als Vezir von Pi-Ramses seinem Vorgänger (Pa-)Rahotep eine Weihefigur stiftete. Denn (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis scheint der erste Vezir der Zeit Ramses' II. gewesen zu sein, der seinen dauernden Amtssitz nach Pi-Ramses verlegt hat.⁴² Zwar läßt sich der thebanische Vezir Paser, der ein Zeitgenosse des (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos gewesen zu sein scheint, bereits im 17. Jahr Ramses' II. in Pi-Ramses nachweisen.⁴³ Doch besaß er dort nicht einen Amtssitz, sondern nur ein Wohnhaus. Nach wie vor darf daher angenommen werden, daß (Pa-)Rahotep aus Herakleopolis der erste Vezir von Pi-Ramses war und zur Bekundung seines neuen Amtssitzes, und vielleicht auch, um sich von (Pa-)Rahotep aus Abydos abzuheben, seinen Namen fast regelmäßig mit dem neuen Amtstitel verband: 'Bürgermeister und Vezir von Pi-Ramses'.

⁴⁰ A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 179 f.

⁴¹ J. v. Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben* (1951), 41 ff.

⁴² vgl. H. de Meulenaere, a.a.O., 225.

⁴³ Labib Habachi, *ASAE* 52 (1952), 480; vgl. auch die Stele aus Tanis (*Rec. trav.* 22 [1899], 110).

PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVAL SENTENCES¹

By A. M. BAKIR

My intention is to suggest a plausible answer to the discrepancies that we ourselves have created as a result of analysing the Egyptian language in accordance with the concepts applicable to Indo-European languages. For instance: *rš* 'to rejoice' in *rš s* 'the man rejoices', and *nfr* 'to be happy or beautiful' in *nfr(·)tw* 'you are (or 'one is') happy or beautiful' are, in Egyptian, verbs (more accurately 'predicates') without limitations of time and action. True, these predicative adjectives are derived from some sort of verb, according to our linguistic perception. But if we take Arabic as a criterion, we find that it is not the ordinary *transitive* verb which takes an object or the *intransitive* one which does not pass to an object, be it person or thing. In other words, these so-called verbs express a state or condition or signify an act which is, by its very nature, confined to the person of the subject and cannot pass to another individual as its object. Such verbs are specially classified, in Arabic, as *neuter verbs*, since they are neither really *active* nor really *passive*, but something between the two.²

Under this pattern of predicative adjectival sentences, the adjective is, in 'Arabic', *assimilated to a participle, active or passive* (called *صفة مشبهة*), viz. in respect of its inflection.³ These adjectives come from *neuter* verbs and express partly a quality inherent and permanent in a person or thing which is their most usual signification (i.e. 'being' or 'becoming') and partly a certain degree of intensity. They are, thus, mostly passive.⁴ Of the sixteen Arabic adjectival forms, we are concerned only with two, which could be used as guiding parallels, namely:

- (a) *fācīl* (e.g. *ṭaqīl* 'be heavy') and its reduplicated form with an 'intensive' meaning: *fācīl* (e.g. *sakkīr* 'addicted to drinks'),
- (b) *fācūl* (e.g. *kāsūl* 'be lazy') and its reduplicated form with an 'intensive' meaning: *fācūl* (e.g. *qūddūs* 'most holy').

Also, while the subject of an active voice is always an agent (person or thing), whose act may or may not affect an object, the subject of the passive is either the object of the

¹ Arranged chronologically, the following references have been used: B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (1926) = *Syntax*; W. Wright, *Arabic Grammar* (rev. edn., 1951) = *W. Gr.*; H. Brunner, 'Das *nfrw sw* in Ägyptischen' in *Archiv für Orientforschung* 16 (1952), 75-80 = Brunner; T. W. Thacker, *The Relationship of the Semitic and Egyptian Verbal Systems* (1954), 289 ff. = Thacker; G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'Égyptien Classique*, 2nd edn. (1955) = *L. Gr.*; A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd edn. (1957) = *G. Gr.*

My friend C. Spauldrew drew my attention to an article published in *ZÄS* 99, 17-20, which deals with 'Les Verbes Diffus'. In this article, M. A. Korostovtsev discusses mainly the verbs that take a dative object, such as: 'to go' (..... 'to a place') and 'to answer' (..... 'to a person'). Also I must mention another article published by the same writer in *Rev. d'Égypte*, 24 (1972), p. 98 in particular.

² Wright also gives as examples: *māridā* 'to be sick' and *nāmā* 'to sleep', cf. *W. Gr. I*, §§ 75 and 231.

³ That is to say, *not a real* participle; cf. *W. Gr. I*, § 231.

⁴ *Ibid.*, §§ 75, 73, and 38.

former act (i.e. the personal passive) or the abstract idea of the act (i.e. the impersonal passive).⁵ To express it in our Semitic conception, the object whose case is the 'accusative', becomes the 'nominative' in the passive. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to separate the different internal vocalization systems and inflections which denote corresponding different implications either between the active and the passive participles or the nominative and accusative cases.⁶

The passive, let it be noted, is especially used in four cases:⁷

- (a) when God, or some higher being, is indicated as the doer of the act;
- (b) when the author is unknown, or at least not known for certain;
- (c) when the speaker or writer does not wish to name the agent;
- (d) when the attention of the hearer or reader is directed more to the person affected by the act than to the doer of it. To indicate this 'direction' 'to' is used— J l in Arabic⁸ and $\text{m} n$ in Egyptian. For example, sh n'tn would mean 'profitable to you' i.e. 'you (certainly) will have the profit'.⁹

Sometimes a predicative adjective shows a *reduplication* of its last radical as an expression of a certain degree of its intensity or habit, as in šrr , which would generally mean '(the certainty of) becoming small or belittled'. Thus, $\text{nn šrr } \text{cbt hst:k}$ would mean: 'The burial of your corpse shall (certainly) not become small.'¹⁰ In other words, the lowering in the social scale which would, in the normal circumstances, be the inevitable result of exile, would not take place in Sinuhe's case; and this is indicated by the reduplication. Such reduplication along with the directive n may both occur in such an example as: $n \text{ kbb } n \text{ hrwy } m \text{ hnw } Kmt$ 'An enemy is (in all certainty) not (i.e. never) harmless within Egypt.'¹¹

Apart from these two patterns, namely the use of the directive n and the reduplication of the terminal stem, there are other patterns in which the subject is either a 'dependent pronoun', second- or third-person singular, or the 'suffix'. Whereas the first pattern indicates that the adjectival predicate has a transitive *meaning*, but not a transitive *action*, the second simply describes the *state*, even if it is reduplicated.¹² Or, the first would signify that the subject is the possessor of the quality in an active sense, while the second is in a state, in a passive sense. For example, nfr tw 'you are (or become) happy' in the sense of 'being or becoming possessor of happiness', but nfr f 'he is (in a state of being or becoming) happy'.¹³ Similarly, if the subject in the sentence is a substantive, the adjectival predicate is taken in the active sense. It is now necessary to explain

⁵ See note 2.

⁶ Cf. Thacker, pp. 313-15.

⁷ Cf. W. Gr. I, § 74.

⁸ Cf. W. Gr. II, §§ 29, 30.

⁹ Sinuhe B 258-9, to be compared with Gunn's view, *Syntax*, 201. Similarly, on the same page Gunn cites another šrr from *Sîût I*, 295.

¹⁰ Cf. *Syntax*, p. 201—*Petrograd Pap.* 1116 A (rt. 168).

¹¹ Unlike Černý's translation in *Sinai II*, 98; and I suggest the following for the whole passage: 'If you do it, you (certainly) will be (regarded as) beneficent, and you will render service more than what is ordained of you.'

¹² It merely indicates a state of intensiveness, e.g. knn-i in m:n hm:f knn-i would mean 'His Majesty saw (the permanent quality) that I am brave' (G. Gr. § 442).

¹³ A similar idea is suggested by Gardiner in *Gr.* § 141 in ihm ist kalt and es ist kalt , so too in French: *il a froid* as contrasted with *il est froid*.

the inverted pattern with the first-person singular independent pronoun as predicate¹⁴ plus the predicative adjective as 'subject'. By the very nature of the sentence construction, with emphasis on the pronominal predicate, it can be safely assumed that this is a pattern of an adjectival form with special emphasis on the pronoun as the possessor,¹⁵ not forgetting that this pattern frequently presents the particle *is*. As an explanatory example *ʾInk is mšchrw tp-tʾ* would literally be translated 'To me (and not to anybody else) indeed being or becoming (the possessor of) justified of voice upon earth';¹⁶ i.e. 'I am certainly the only one justified of voice'.

A similar effect of emphasis may be obtained by the use of the exclamatory adjectival predicate with the suffix *·wy*, since this formative element basically indicates duality.¹⁷ In addition, the dependent pronoun (if it is used), is usually the subject in such patterns—an occurrence which adds to the intensity of the predicate.

Although it may seem irrelevant to the discussion at issue, yet the occurrence of an old perfective pattern as a variant of the adjectival predicate+the dependent pronoun is sufficient justification to allow its inclusion in this article. The examples are:¹⁸

- (a) *iw·i rh·kwi šwt rd·ti*, etc. 'I know the tuft is being (already in a state of) flourishing, etc.'
- (b) *gm·f sy nfr sy*, etc. 'He found it that it was (certainly, or possessor of) more beautiful, etc'.

Both examples are syntactically objects, in the European sense, of certain *verbs of senses*,¹⁹ which are not verbs of *action*. Thus, the implications we may get by using these two different constructions is that the predicative adjective pattern expresses an *active sense*, whilst the old perfective one signifies simply the sense of being *static*.

Above all, let us not lose sight of the fact that sentences with predicative adjectives are not subject to limitations of time. They are nominal and the tense factor accorded to them is determined purely by the context. They predicate a quality or condition, momentary or permanent.²⁰ According to this, it is out of the question that the *·n* of the perfective in this particular *šdm·n·f* form could be correct. In *n ndm·n n·f ht·ht im*²¹ the repetition of the *n* (after *ndm* and the one before the suffix) is to mark the *sound*,²² but not as a formative element of the perfective. This is simply a case of an adjectival predicate plus directive *n* and suffix.

To sum up, the pattern of sentences with adjectival predicates falls mainly into *two aspects*, according to the function of the adjective:

A. The Intensive Aspect:

1. by 'reduplication'
2. by 'directive' *n*

¹⁴ See *JEA* 52, p. 36.

¹⁵ The same idea of possession is suggested by Korostovtsev in *Rev. d'Égypt* 24, p. 98.

¹⁶ Cf. *G. Gr.*, § 136 and *L. Gr.*, § 624.

¹⁷ Cf. *G. Gr.*, § 49, obs.

¹⁸ Cf. *G. Gr.*, § 374. After my interpretation, I trust that these examples are no longer obscure.

¹⁹ Cf. *W. Gr. II*, § 24. I prefer to call them *verbs of perception*.

²⁰ That is the implication of the adjective.

²¹ Cf. *G. Gr.*, § 144.

²² Cf. *G. Gr.*, § 62.

3. by the use of the 'exclamatory' element *·wy*
4. by the use of the 'dependent' pronoun or the 'substantive'
5. by the use of the 'independent' pronoun first-person singular

B. The Static Aspect:

1. Old Perfective form
2. Adjective + suffix

SDM·TW·F:²³ In a construction such as the passive *sdm·twf*, *·tw*, as the 'indefinite' suffix of the formative element of the passive, and therefore inseparable, has long lost its function as a 'dependent pronoun'. To put it more clearly, the function of *·tw* has simply come to suggest the *indefinite meaning*²⁴ which the passive implies; 'being heard' plus the genitival subject.

In the light of the facts mentioned above, both nominative and accusative may change places within our established word-order in a sentence.

²³ To be compared with Thacker, p. 314, on the origin of *·tw* which may be a development within Egyptian (p. 315).

²⁴ I.e. the *purely passive*—the term used by Wright in his *Gr. I*, § 76.

TWO SERAPEUM STELAE

By SAMI FARAG

IN December 1973 the Egyptian Government Department of Antiquities undertook an excavation in an area 100 metres north-east of the Serapeum at Saqqâra, in order to clear ground for the foundations for a new shelter for the animals used by tourists. On December 21, at a level 50 cm. below the present desert surface, there was found in unstratified debris a stela bearing a representation of the Apis bull (pl. XXIII, 1). No other antiquities were found near or under the stela, and it is evident that it must have been looted at some period from the interior of the Serapeum and left where it was found.

The stela is now registered in the general register of Antiquities of Saqqâra under the number 16824. It is a rectangular block of friable limestone, measuring 48.5 cm. wide by 35.5 cm. high by 8.5 cm. thick. The bottom right-hand corner has been damaged. The surface of the stone has been plastered with a thin coat of gypsum, painted red; the scene is in bas-relief, deeply cut.

A divine barque is shown resting upon its base, supported upon a plain flat sledge. Under the sledge are four round objects, which may be intended for wheels, as incised lines may indicate spokes.¹ They are, however, of small diameter, and could conceivably represent tree-trunks used as rollers, if the incised lines can be regarded as a conventional rendering of the markings on the boll of the tree. The barque has a high prow and stern with open papyrus-flower finials. The higher end of the boat, normally the stern, is shown at the right; as the bull faces right, he is shown facing the stern, possibly in error.

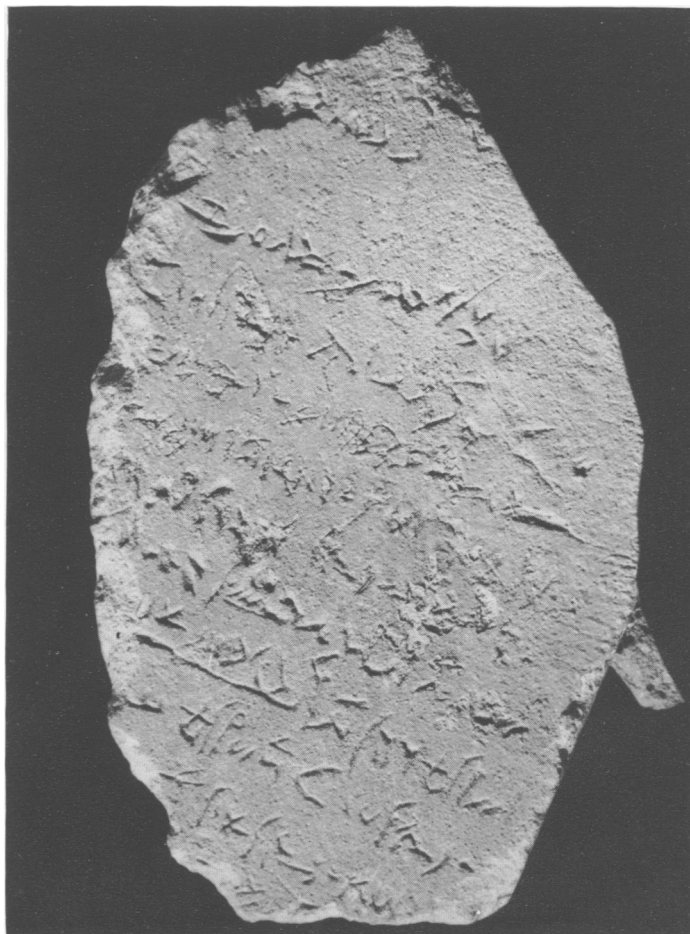
On the barque rests a shrine: two aspects are shown, the entrance upon the right and the side on the left, combined in one plane in typical Egyptian manner. The façade shows a gateway with its main cornice and entablature supported upon a pair of columns, with capitals of lotiform or composite type. The cornice shows a frieze of *uraei* and traces of red paint, the entablature a central winged disc in relief with incised details. Within the main gate is shown a second doorway, flanked by columns of similar type. These support a cornice with a frieze of *uraei*, a plain upper entablature painted red, and a lower entablature with central winged disc, also painted red. The space between the columns of the inner and outer doorways, originally painted red, was later filled with blue pigment.

Within the gateway a bull protome is represented in relief against a blue background. The bull is kneeling upon its hocks; the body is shown without detail and is therefore probably intended to be shrouded. The bull's head and features, and the sundisc and

¹ Inserted among the scenes of the exterior of the rear wall of Komombo temple is an incised relief of a crocodile mummy, borne upon a wheeled carrier; this relief should be later than the time of the Emperor Trajan.



1. Apis Stela, No. 1



2. Apis Stela, No. 2

uraeus upon its head, are outlined in black paint; the details of the *uraeus* and ears are, however, incised and do not correspond exactly with the outline originally drawn. The side of the shrine is represented as an openwork relief panel, consisting of alternating ⚡ and ⚡ amulets in five rows of four, finished by a plain entablature and a cornice decorated with a frieze of *uraei* in relief. This cornice is supported on the right by one of the columns shown supporting the main gateway, and on the left by a similar, free standing column. This detail makes it clear that the shrine was intended to be peripteral, with a column at each corner. The background to the openwork panel is painted red, the space between the corner columns and the shrine blue.

Either side of the shrine relief figures of Isis and Nephthys are shown, the former on the right. Both are represented with their near hands raised in gestures of mourning, their free hands at their sides. The features and figures are very crudely and clumsily worked (so much so that the false impression is given that they possess tails rather than legs), though the breasts and navels are indicated. Isis's head-dress is damaged; in its present state it resembles ⚡ rather than ⚡, almost certainly misleadingly. Nephthys as usual bears ⚡ upon her head. Detailed measurements are as follows:

barque:	length	45 cm.	height	12 cm.	
sledge:	length	37 cm.	height	1.5 cm.	
wheels:	circumference	5 cm.			
shrine:	façade:	height	23.5 cm.	width	13.5 cm.
	side:	height	19.5 cm.	length	13.5 cm.
		width excluding columns of façade:	11 cm.		

The colouring suggests that the shrine represented was made, in this instance, of wood. It is clearly that used to cover the shrouded mummy of the Apis-bull on its funeral procession to the Serapeum, and as such is in form and function parallel to the outer shrines of Tutankhamūn. In demotic stelae from the Serapeum and the burial-place of the Mothers of Apis it is referred to as *tꜣ gꜣt* 'the shrine' (old ⚡ ⚡ — ⚡ *kꜣr*).² The representation suggests a late Ptolemaic or early Roman date, but in the absence of any inscription this dating is uncertain. A limestone stela with an almost exactly similar representation (Saqqâra Register No. 297) was excavated by the Department of Antiquities at Tell el-Nawa, Memphis, in 1945–6. It bore a short vertical inscription in hieroglyphs mentioning Osiris–Apis; unfortunately the stela has not yet been located in the magazines at Memphis, and the inscription cannot yet be collated.

The Department of Antiquities is currently carrying out a plan to register the contents of all the magazines at Saqqâra. Among numerous architectural and relief fragments transferred over the years from all parts of the Saqqâra necropolis, a fragment of a limestone stela inscribed with a demotic text was discovered (pl. XXIII, 2). Though its exact provenance is now uncertain, it was found in the environs of the Serapeum, and bears the excavation number Serapeum Saqqâra 29. 12. 36. R. Internal evidence shows that it must originally have stood in the Serapeum, perhaps in one of

² See most recently *Rev. d'Ég.* 24, 176 ff.—where Smith, however, mistranslated *gꜣt* as 'sarcophagus'; the correction is due to the acuity of Dr. Alan Lloyd.

the niches cut in the rock inside the entrance. It has now been registered in the general register of Saqqâra under the number 16828.

Only the top right-hand portion of the stela has been preserved, showing the curve of the lunette. The maximum measurements of the preserved fragment are: height, 16.5 cm.; width, 11 cm.; thickness, 3 cm.; estimated height of lunette, 4.5 cm. It bears the beginnings of eleven lines of incised demotic text, a gap being left after the first line. The text is lightly scratched in an awkward angular hand; salt incrustations produce many uncertainties of reading. The first line gave the date, of which only 'Year 20, month 4 . . .' is preserved. Lines 2-6 are too broken and damaged for the text to be safely restored. The temple of the living Apis is referred to in line 3 (*pr*^[?] *n Hp rnh*), the stall (Greek *sêkos*) in line 4 (*p ihy*), the burial-vault in line 5 (*t knhy*), and the 'place of Apis-Osiris' in line 6 (*t s(t) n Hp-Wsir*); this last phrase perhaps refers to the whole precinct of the Apis at Memphis rather than a specific temple or shrine. Evidently the involvement of the dedicators in the burial of an Apis-bull is being described, but whether as worshippers or as masons who took part in the construction of the vault and in the burial is unclear. Lines 7-9 contained the names of the dedicators who, from what survives, probably bore the usual religious title 'soul of Osiris-Apis and servitor of the living Apis, the great god' (*b y n Wsir-Hp sdm-rš n Hp rnh*). The only fully legible name is Paptah son of Hor, whose mother was Tahy (line 8). The title 'the scribe of Apis-Osiris' stands in line 10, followed by a broken name; this indicates that few lines of the stela are wholly lost. The epigraphy suggests that the stela belongs to middle or late Ptolemaic times.³

³ I wish to thank H. S. Smith and J. D. Ray for their help in describing the stelae here published.

PTOLEMAIC FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE IN

P. Tebt. 8¹

By ROGER S. BAGNALL

WHEN Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly published the first volume of *The Tebtunis Papyri* in 1902, perhaps the most remarkable document in that rich volume was *P. Tebt.* 8, 'a series of drafts of letters written to different officials and containing directions concerning the collection of the foreign revenues of Egypt', as the editors put it. It had no parallel then, and it has not found one in the seventy years since; what connections the Zenon papyri offer with the non-Egyptian possessions of the Ptolemies are of a very much more informal sort. The papyrus has naturally attracted some attention from historians, but there has been no critical text of it since Wilcken's *Chrestomathie* in 1912, and no discussion of its problems since D. Cohen's dissertation on the administration of the Ptolemaic empire in the same year.² Furthermore, the second column of the papyrus, partly pictured on the plate published by the editors but not included in their transcription, has never been edited, although it has, despite its fragmentary condition, some significant information bearing on the dating of the text. These gaps I hope to fill here, but my discussion of the first column leads in many places to the conclusion that we know much less about the text and meaning of the papyrus than previous editors and historians have thought, and it can hardly be claimed yet that all of the major problems are solved.

1. The Text

Column I

[. . .]αχιω[.] ειλημ[.].ψ[. . .]
 λει[. . .]ρτου γρα() ἐπιδε[δω]κότος

¹ I am indebted to the Rare Books Collection of the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley for the photograph printed here (pl. 24) and to the Director for permission to publish it and the text of Column II. Much of the preparation of this article was made possible by the generous support of the Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship that I held in 1969-72. James G. Keenan has throughout my work on the papyrus given generously of his time and thought in alleviating the problem of my not being able to see the original papyrus, by repeatedly looking at it in Berkeley for me and in discussing many of the issues that I treat below. E. G. Turner, A. E. Samuel, and J. C. Shelton have also read drafts of the article and contributed suggestions, some of which are mentioned individually below. William H. Willis also discussed many of the problems in the papyrus with me and helped to clarify several points. To all of these I offer my thanks.

² In the discussion below I refer to three works by the names of their authors: Ulrich Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* (1912), 1. 2, no. 2; D. Cohen, *De Magistratibus Aegyptiis externas Lagidarum regni provincias administrantibus* (Diss. Leiden, 1912), 55-63; and W. Crönert's discussion of *P. Tebt.* 8 in *Wochenschrift klass. Phil.* (1903), 455. I may point out that Cohen's many restorations have never been registered in the *BL*.



P. Tebtunis 8

Courtesy Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

PTOLEMAIC FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE IN P. TEBT. 8

- 4 φειλ[. . .] Ἐψιβ (τριώβολον) εἶσα[.]. . .
(δραχμάς) Ἐβω[. . . ὄ]πως καὶ τὰ λο(ιπὰ) .[.] . .
- [] ιε
Ἀφροδισίωι· χρημάτων καὶ σίτου
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φό(ρων) τῶν ὑπαρξάντων
8 ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Λέσβον καὶ Θράκιην
τόποις διασαφῆ(σαι) εἰ μετείληφεν
καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ τῶν γρα()
ἀποσ(τεῖλαι) ὅπως διεξαχθῆι.
- 12 Καλλιμήδει· τ(ὸ) ἀν(τίγραφον) καὶ συναποσ(τεῖλαι) τοὺς ἀπὸ κα().
κδ
Νικοστράτωι· ἡγεγρά(φαμεν) τὴν εἰς τὸ δ (ἔτος) διάπρα(σιν)
16 τῶν κατὰ Λυκίαν ἀργυ(ρικῶν) προσόδων
ἐπιτετακέσαι (τάλαντα) ε Ἄτιβ (τετρώβολον)
ἐπηνεκέσαι καὶ εἰς τ[ὸ] λοιπόν.
- ἄλλ[λ]η· διαπυλίου οὐ γεγρ(άφαμεν) ἀφευρηκέσαι
20 τὴν ὠνήν (τάλαντα) β Ἄτξς γραφῆν
[ἀ]ποσ(τεῖλαι) ἀπὸ τοῦ ις (ἔτους) τοῦ εἰσηγμέ(νου)
[δι]ὰ τῶν π[ωλ]ητῶν οἴνου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν
[ὦ]ς ἀντι[τεθ]ῆι πρὸς τὸ ἀφεύρεμα.
- 24 [.]ου γεγρ() ἡμῆ' πεπρα(χέσαι)
[.]των ἢ διαπεφωνηκέσαι
[.]αι τῆς ξυλικῆς καὶ
[τῆς . . .]ης φό(ρ--) ὅπως μὴ καταλυθῆι
28 [. . . διασ]αφῆ(σαι) τὴν γενομένην οἰκονο(μίαν)
[.]τωι κατὰ Ζῆθον καὶ . .[. .]. . .ην
[τοῦ]ς ἐγλαβόντας τὴν κατὰ Λυκίαν
[πο]ρφυρικὴν εἰς (ἔτη) ε οὐς ἐγράφη
32 [πρ]ᾶξαι τὸν φόρον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν
[ἀργ]υρίου (τάλαντον) α Ἄω καὶ τὸν τοῦ δ (ἔτους)

Column II

Traces of 13 lines adjacent to upper part of Column I:

- 39 β[44 δορ[46 λ[
47 Ἴππομε[δοντ
τε.η.[
πεμ[.]ρα() [
Ba . . ιαι απ[
ξα[
52 Θεαγένους φ[
. . α[

line, but there is no more than a trace of it (it was dotted in the first edition), and it may well belong to the marginal scribblings of the left side of the papyrus. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the alignment of line 4 and the *paragraphos* below it (not noted by the editors) indicate a margin which would run to the right of the supposed letter; the same is true of the supposed *omicron* in line 3, which is only a trace projecting from the margin. In line 3, also, the *alpha* at the end of the line, not read by the editors, is clear; following traces are not readable. In line 4, *λο(ιπά)*, dotted by the editors, is clear. The third letter of what follows might be either a *tau* or an *epsilon*.

A number of restorations and interpretations have been proposed for this passage. Crönert restored the beginning of line 2 as *Ἀγεμ[ό]ρτου γρα(μματέως)*, but the *gamma* and *mu* of his name are impossible, and the difficulty of the opening letter has already been discussed. Cohen more ambitiously restored almost all of the paragraph:

[. . .] *αχιω[ι γραφήν] εἰλήμ[μεθα περί]*
ἄλει[φα]ρ τοῦ γρα(μματέως) ἐπιδε[δω]κότος
ὀφείλ[ειν] Ἐψιβ (τριώβολον) εἰς [τὸ γ' ἔτος]
(δραχμὰς) Βω[εσ ὄ]πως καὶ τὰ λο(ιπά) [οὔτω]

This restoration encounters a number of problems. The *upsilon* of line 1 mentioned above excludes Cohen's restoration there. Line 2 is yet more difficult, since the initial *alpha* is, as we have seen, very dubious. The sense of *ἄλειφαρ*, a rare word cited by *LSJ* mostly from poetic contexts, is not very suitable, unless the use of the word by Theocritus (7. 147) for resin for sealing wine jars is meant; this is not impossible, but the use of the word in a documentary context would be at least remarkable. In line 3, there is the opening-letter problem again, and in addition the fact that the *alpha* at the end of the line again excludes Cohen's restoration. Neither Cohen's restoration of the end of line 4 nor Crönert's [*διεξ(αχθῆι)*] is palaeographically excluded.

Cohen thought that the paragraph, as he restored it, meant that the writer had received the account of unguent, 2,856 drachmas, and that later the secretary had reported that the inhabitants owed 5,712 drachmas for the third year. This view seems to distort sentence order beyond reason, and the lack of coherence of the contents more likely belongs to this restoration than to the original text.

Under the circumstances it is dubious if any attempt to restore this paragraph can be essayed with a chance of demonstrable success. One can create various conjectural restorations, but there is no way of telling which, if any, is correct. Line 1 might well have contained [*τῶν*] *εἰλημ[μένων]*, 'the receipts'⁶—but it might not have. We do not know how to resolve *γρα()* in line 2, because we do not know whether the subject of *ἐπιδε[δω]κότος* is to be sought in line 2 or line 3. The end of line 3 might have been *εἰσάγειν*, 'pay in', but the conjecture cannot be verified.

5. There is no reason to think that any letters are lost in the bracketed space in this line; cf. line 14. Following the numeral are traces of letters ignored by the editors as falling into the category of marginal scribblings (discussed by them on pp. 67–8),

⁶ *WB.* gives 'Geld vereinnahmen, Steuern erheben' as a possible meaning of *λαμβάνω*.

unrelated to the text. Cohen, however, presented the following text of these letters:

$\tau\rho(\acute{\iota})\tau\eta$
 $\iota\epsilon$ $\iota\zeta$
 $\mu(\omicron\acute{\iota})\rho\alpha$

For this text he provided a detailed explanation. But the writing is upside down, a fact Cohen did not notice. The first line in fact reads $\Xi\eta\nu\omega$,⁷ the second apparently $\lambda\iota\beta\alpha\nu$.

6–11. The text of this letter abstract is perhaps the clearest of the papyrus. Aside from expansions of verb forms (see above), the only problems of restoration are the resolution (line 7) of $\phi\omicron()$ (as in line 27) and of $\gamma\rho\alpha()$ in line 10. The editors read for the first $\phi\acute{\omicron}(\rho\omega\nu)$, while M. Rostovtzeff⁸ suggested $\phi\omicron(\rho\acute{\tau}\acute{\iota}\omega\nu)$. The following points may be adduced in favour of the editors' suggestion: (1) $\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ is used unabbreviated in line 32 in a context like those of lines 7 and 27; (2) $\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ is a far more common word than $\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\tau}\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$, and is therefore more likely to have been written in abbreviated form; (3) $\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ in fact makes good sense here; the mentions of $\chi\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ and $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ refer to the media in which the revenues were received rather than to the names of taxes. I would translate the first part of the paragraph, 'To Aphrodisios: about the money and grain and other revenues in the places in Lesbos and Thrace, to let us know if he has received part of them.'⁹

The last two lines are more difficult: 'About Herakleitos and the ?, send so that it may be carried out.' The editors resolved $\gamma\rho\alpha(\mu\mu\alpha\acute{\tau}\epsilon\omega\nu)$, but Keenan points out that $\gamma\rho\alpha(\phi\acute{\omega}\nu)$ is also possible, and perhaps more likely. One might envisage a problem about Herakleitos and his accounts more readily than about Herakleitos and the secretaries.

12–13. These lines are the most cryptic of the text, and their interpretation is difficult. The editors restored the end of line 13 as $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma(\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\nu) \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron} \text{Κα}(\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma?)$. For the beginning, Crönert suggested $\tau(\acute{\alpha}) \acute{\alpha}\nu(\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha)$, but this does not yield a useful sense. Cohen, on the other hand, proposed $\tau(\acute{\alpha}) \acute{\alpha}\nu(\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\gamma\alpha) \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma(\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega) \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda()$. He interpreted the first two words as meaning that the secretary was writing the same things to Kallimedes as to Aphrodisios, plus what followed. Wilcken adopted Cohen's reading at the start, but retained the word-division in line 13. The sense of Cohen's supplement is suitable and attractive, but he cited no evidence to support such a usage of $\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\gamma\alpha$, and I find no attestations of this word in the neuter plural to mean 'the analogous things'. John C. Shelton suggests to me the words $\tau(\acute{\omicron}) \acute{\alpha}\nu(\acute{\tau}\acute{\iota}\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\nu)$,

⁷ Changed from Ζηνω (Keenan observes that the change seems certain to have gone in that direction rather than the reverse, despite logic). H. I. Bell, *Cl. Rev.* 28 (1914), 199, pointed out Cohen's mistake here.

⁸ *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, 335.

⁹ This translation is supported by Mayser, who, in citing the passage (lines 6 ff.) as a possible instance of a partitive genitive with $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ('teilnehmen') in *Grammatik*, II. 2 (1933), 197, remarks in n. 2 that it is doubtful that this classification is correct: 'Es ist sehr fraglich, ob die Genitive $\chi\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ και $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ usw. hier direkt von $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\phi\epsilon\nu$ in Abhängigkeit zu bringen sind. Dem aphoristischen Charakter des Briefauszugs entspricht eher die S. 134, 21 gegebene Auffassung, wonach es sich wie in der angeschlossenen Wendung $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\upsilon\acute{\iota} \text{Ἡρακλείτου και τῶν γρα(μματέων) ἀποσ(τείλαι) ὅπως διεξαχθῆι}$ um selbständige Genitive des Sachbetroffs handelt.' On p. 134, in fact, Mayser classifies these lines 6–9 as a 'Genitiv des Personen- und Sachbetroffs'.

which seem to me to be almost certainly correct: a copy of the letter to Aphrodisios is to be sent to Kallimedes with the additional instruction to send the (revenues?) from Ka— (whether the editors' restoration of this as Caria is correct defies demonstration at present). The procedure of sending a copy of a letter to someone other than the addressee, coupled with a covering letter and some further instructions, is so common in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy as to need no elaborate justification. The connection of this letter with the preceding one is perhaps strengthened by the fact that although a *paragraphos* (not noted by the editors) stands above line 12, the first word of that line begins only just to the left of the regular margin, rather than being aligned with the opening words of the other letters (as it is printed by the editors).

14. Cohen claimed that a *delta* was to be seen under the κδ in this line. This is not the case; the strokes that Cohen saw are part of the abbreviation of γεργρ() in the next line.

15–18. Two problems exist in these lines. In line 15, the editors resolved γέγρα(φε) (they do not indicate that the word is written above the line); in the commentary they state that Nikostratos 'is told that information has been received to the effect that the sale of the money-taxes in Lycia for the 4th year had yielded an increase of 6 talents 1312 drachmae 4 obols'. On their interpretation, evidently, γέγρα(φε) is left without a subject. But one may ask who the subject could be, who would notify the *dioiketes* about the sale of a tax-farming contract; one would expect, rather, that the contract would have been let in an auction in Alexandria under the direct supervision of the *dioiketes*.¹⁰ It is possible, then, (as Keenan suggests) that γέγρα(πται) is meant—'To Nikostratos: it has been written that the sale of the contract for the money taxes in Lycia for the 4th year, etc.' The solution of this problem, however, depends on the understanding we attach to line 18.

The verb ἐπηνεκέσαι in that line has created problems. The editors took it to be ('it seems most natural to suppose') the perfect infinitive of ἐπανίημι, a rare form; the advantage of this supposition and their interpretation of the meaning as 'to decline' is that the verb can then, correctly, depend on γεργρ() in line 15 (like ἐπιτετακέσαι, which is seemingly parallel). They remark, however, that the use of καί instead of δέ after the infinitive is strange on this view, and Cohen pursued this opinion to the conclusion that the verb is a perfect infinitive of ἐπαινώ, a solution rejected by the editors on the grounds that no sense was possible.

Wilcken also accepted ἐπηνεκέσαι (printing it with an *iota* subscript, unlike the editors), but did not discuss the problem. Mayser,¹¹ *LSJ*,¹² and *WB*.¹³ have also

¹⁰ Cf. the story of Joseph in Josephus, *A. J.* 12. 154 ff., where the subject goes to Alexandria just before the great auction in which the taxes for Syria and Palestine were to be sold.

¹¹ *Grammatik*² 1 (1923), 372.

¹² *LSJ*'s treatment of the word is curious. S.v. ἐπαινώ (1. 4) it states 'agree to or undertake to do, ῥώμην μ' ἐπαινώ λαμβάνειν E. *Andr.* 554; ε. εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν P. *Tebt.* 8. 18 (iii B.C.).' When one turns to the work cited by the dictionary, the form in question is not to be found, for the editors of *P. Tebt.* 8 do not print the *iota* subscript that would justify this reference; it is to *W. Chr.* 2 that the editors of *LSJ* should have referred. Their interpretation is thus passed off as if it belonged to Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly when in fact it does not. The reference to the *Andromache* of Euripides is no sounder: cf. the edition of P. T. Stevens (Oxford, 1971), who observes (p. 163), after discussing the many proposed emendations for this line, 'if the text is right, the verb is

followed this interpretation. None of these has indicated any reluctance to accept that line 18 is an integral part of the sentence of lines 15–17; but if it is, the infinitive must depend on *διάπρα(σιν)* as a subject, and must consequently have a perfect meaning. But it is quite impossible that if *ἐπηνεκένοι* from *ἐπαινῶ* is the verb, the subject of that verb should be *διάπρα(σιν)*, for no sense emerges. The avoidance of any translation of the complete phrase by Wilcken, *LSJ*, and *WB*. prevents us from knowing how any of these understood the passage and what they took to be the subject of the second infinitive.

Two other possible solutions should be considered. The first (suggested to me by Shelton and Turner) is that we are to understand here *ἐπηνε<γ>κένοι*, a falsely formed infinitive (aorist stem, perfect ending) from *ἐπιφέρω*. The sound changes required (ϵ to η , dropping of γ) are not impossible for this time (late third century),¹⁴ although the combination might give pause, but other considerations seem to me to weigh heavily against it: (1) the scribe was secretary, it appears, to the highest official in the land; he writes carefully in this document and uses perfect infinitives correctly and frequently. The likelihood that he would make a type of mistake extremely rare in this period appears to me small.¹⁵ (2) There is no obviously suitable meaning of *ἐπιφέρω* to be understood here, for most technical use of the word in the Ptolemaic period has to do with producing contracts.¹⁶

The other possibility (and perhaps it is what some earlier scholars supposed without so indicating) is that we are to understand a new subject for *ἐπηνεκένοι*, in which case *ἐπαινῶ* becomes a plausible source for the form.¹⁷ One must in this instance consider

used like *παραινῶ* in the sense ‘advise, recommend’. And L. Méridier, in the *Budé Euripides* (II, 1927), gives to this line the translation ‘je m’exhorte à recouvrer la vigueur de mes jeunes ans’. This meaning of *ἐπαινέω* should therefore be deleted from *LSJ* in its entirety.

¹³ *WB*. interprets *P. Tebt.* 8 (which, like *LSJ*, it cites for the form *ἐπηνεκένοι* when *W. Chr.* would be the correct reference) as an only example of a meaning ‘versprechen, in Aussicht stellen’.

¹⁴ For η in place of ϵ , see Mayser, *Grammatik*² (rev. H. Schmolli, 1970) I. 1, 39–40, with numerous examples especially from the Hibeh and Zenon papyri; for disappearance of the nasal, p. 164, citing precisely several compounds of *φέρω* in the third and second centuries.

¹⁵ Mayser, *Grammatik*² (Schmolli) I. 2, 162–4, discusses these forms, remarking, ‘Das Gebiet unorganischer Zwitterformen mit Kreuzungen der Tempusstämme und Endungen ist in der ptolemäischen Papyri in Verhältnis zur Masse des überlieferten Materials klein, weitaus kleiner als in der späteren *κοινή* der römischen Kaiserzeit.’ The only third-century example cited, in fact, is *ἀνεγκόσι* in *BGU* 1010. 5 (dated by the editor to 219 B.C., but the year 29 mentioned is surely 257/256), where Mayser concedes that the word is at least as likely to be the dative plural of the participle (the fragmentary condition of the papyrus prevents argument from context). Cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *Studies in the Greek Language* (Athens, 1972), 12: ‘When a certain writer produces a hybrid verbal form it means that he confuses the tenses involved in it.’ Mandilaras also notes, pp. 18–19, that the perfect is well known and accurately used, especially in official contexts, in the Ptolemaic period. For late Roman documents, cf. S. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen*², 90–1, esp. p. 91 n. 2, who notes the growing commonness of such forms in later papyri.

¹⁶ *WB*. I cites meanings of bringing up water, making a complaint, and (frequently) producing a contract; *WB*. Suppl. I cites for the same meaning *inter alia* *P. Sorb.* 15 (where the editor, p. 63, refers to M. Haessler’s discussion of validity clauses).

¹⁷ The omission of *iota* adscript in papyri of this period, particularly in the initial position as here, is not common, but it is attested: cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*² (Schmolli) 103–4, citing *P. Athen.* 8. 7 (III–II). The scribe is usually careful with such things (cf. line 8, *Θράκιην*), but it is a less remarkable occurrence than those supposed in a form of *ἐπιφέρω*.

that line 18 begins a new clause; although there is no physical evidence that this is so,¹⁸ the absence of a conjunction (as we have seen, the position of *καί* essentially excludes its having this function) lends support. If the verb *γεγρα()* is resolved, as Turner suggests, as *γεγρά(φαμεν)*, a common enough idiom of official correspondence, one may then suppose that with a certain amount of liberty in the use of parallel infinitives with different subjects the author of the letter is the subject of *ἐπηνεκέναι*. The whole passage would then be translated, 'We have written that the sale of the contract for the money revenues for Lycia for the fourth year has increased to¹⁹ 6 talents, 1312 drachmas, 4 ob.; and that we have given approval also for the future.' The intransitive use of *ἐπαινέω*, while far less common than the transitive with a direct object of person or thing commended, is not unknown.²⁰

19–23. It is probable, in line 19, that the restoration adopted for the previous letter is to be understood here also; that is, one should resolve *γεγρ(άφαμεν)* (again, on the assumption that tax contracts would be let in Alexandria and not by the provincial correspondent). The last three lines of the letter then represent the current instructions in response to the situation outlined in 19–20. I translate, 'another (letter:) about the gate toll, about which we have written that the sale was short 2 talents 1366 drachmas, to send the account of the wine imported by the merchants yearly from the 16th year, so that it may be balanced against the shortage.' It is probable that the reference here is to a scrutiny of the accounts rather than to a payment of money in compensation. In line 20, [τ]ῆν edd.; but part of the *tau* is visible (and confirmed by Keenan on the papyrus).

24–28. The problems of this letter make a connected translation impossible. In 24, the editors read as follows: [. σί]του γέγρ(αφε) μῆ πεπρα(χέναι). As to the first word, the *tau* is not certain; it resembles the final *upsilon* of *διαπυλίου* in line 19, and the same type of construction, with *οὐδ* *γεγρ(άφαμεν)*, may well have stood here originally. (The editors do not indicate that *μῆ* is written above the line). The *alpha* of the next line, the first letter read in the editors' text, is far from certain, and their restoration [*καὶ* *χρημ*]άτων is thus highly uncertain. In line 26, the editors restored [τούτων *καί*], but Wilcken omits this, properly, for it is neither certain nor useful. In line 27, the editors read *φό(ρος)*, but the case and number do not seem to me certain, inasmuch as the word would appear to go with the two preceding tax names. Unless the grammatical structure of the entire letter can be clearly discerned, it is hard to see why one case should be preferred.

And the structure of the letter is highly uncertain. Cohen, restoring [*ἄλλη*· *φόρους* ()

¹⁸ The photograph shows what looks like a *paragraphos* after line 17, but Keenan tells me that this is a 'mirage—a hairline crack in the papyrus which is shaded on the photo, and so looks like ink.'

¹⁹ The verb *ἐπιτείνω*, while better attested than *ἐπανήμι*, is not common in the papyri (cf. *WB.* 1 etc.). The passage in *P. Tebt.* 8 is cited in *WB.* 1 and translated 'er [showing that *γέγραφε* was accepted here] schrieb, dass die Steuerverpachtung sich erhöht habe auf x Talente'. The translation seems to me preferable to the editors' assumption that 6 talents etc. is the amount of the increase.

²⁰ *LSJ* cites an absolute sense of *ἐπαινέω* meaning consent or agree from Aristoph. *Av.* 1616 and Thuc. 4. 65 (*ἐπαινεσάντων δ' αὐτῶν*); similar is the passage of *P. Eleph.* 13. 4 (223/222 B.C.) cited by *WB.*, *ὁ δὲ ἐπήνει μόνον, ἐπέταξεν δ' οὐθέν*. (The citation of this verb by *WB.* Suppl. 1 from *P. Col. Zen.* 118a. 5 is in error; this Ptolemaic text reads *επανω*.)

. . .]του γέγρα(αφε) μὴ πεπρᾶ(σθαι), followed much of the editors' indicated structure. But if the reservations indicated above are correct, the first part of the letter may have said something quite different. The adoption of a first-person-plural verb in line 24 would indicate that the first part of the letter summarizes information previously sent by the *dioiketes* to the official, as was the case in lines 19–20 in the previous abstract. Lines 25–26 are extremely difficult; perhaps ἦ in 25 co-ordinates with a second perfect infinitive in 26 ending -κέν]αι. Or, perhaps more likely, the -αι ended an aorist infinitive giving (in the manner we have supposed earlier) the instructions of the present letter. But the impossibility of demonstrating the correctness of a full restoration here makes it unfruitful to offer one.²¹ It may be, actually, that φο() in 27 is the subject of the second perfect infinitive, and that a partial stop should be placed after it. Some alteration would then be necessary in 28. I am far from suggesting that the difficulties of this passage are solved, but these suggestions may indicate the direction in which a solution might be found. That one is possible in the state of the papyrus and our lack of parallels is by no means certain.

29–33. In 29, Cohen, Crönert, and Wilcken all restored [Νικοστρά]τωι. The reason for the restoration (not made by the editors) is that the letter should be addressed to him because it concerns Lycia. But there can have been many officials in the area; and there is no evidence that Nikostratos did not have a supervisory position over a larger area than Lycia. Since the restoration gives us no additional knowledge, and since the evidence is not strong that it is correct, it seems best to omit it. I translate the text as follows: 'Concerning Zethos and —es, who took the purple contract in Lycia for five years, and about whom it was written that they had collected the revenue of 1 talent 1800 drachmas per year and the (revenue) for the 4th year . . .'

Column II

50. I have not succeeded in restoring this name, evidently (as Turner remarks) originally ending in -ιας, for the *alpha* after the *iota* evidently begins a new word.

56. If the *sigma* is read correctly, only this genitive can be restored.

Column III

I do not print a photograph of this column, which preserves the left margin of another series of abstracts, with two or three paragraph beginnings apparently starting with Απ[. To the left is more of the small cursive scribbling found to the left of Column I, but it is not upside down here. Little of this column seems readable.

²¹ On the meaning of *διαφεωνηκέναι*, uncritical use of *LS*⁸ by the editors resulted in the following remark (p. 67): 'διαφωνεῖν (l. 25) is used by Polybius of accounts which do not balance, but it seems better in this place to interpret the word in the sense in which it is used by Diodorus, xvi. 3 γέγραφε βίβλους ὀκτώ πρὸς ταῖς πεντή' κοντα, ἐξ ὧν πέντε διαφωνοῦσι.' The attestations are both taken from *LS*⁸ (1897, unchanged from 7th edn. of 1882), which reads '2 . . . διαφωνεῖ τι τῶν χρημάτων the accounts disagree, are not balanced, Polyb. 22. 26. 23. *LS*⁷ cites the same passage, saying 'generally, disagree, . . . διαφωνεῖ τι τῶν χρημάτων there is a discrepancy in the accounts, Plb. 21. 43. 23.' L. and J. Robert have pointed out in *La Carie*, II, 310, n. 10, that the passage means 'disappear, be missing', and thus belongs in section 3 of *LS*⁷'s article. As Thomas Drew-Bear points out in *Glotta* 50 (1972), 67, the *Supplement* (1968) to *LS*⁷ does not register this change.

3. The Date of the Papyrus

The editors assigned *P. Tebt.* 8 to the last part of the third century B.C. on the basis of the palaeography. The date was further narrowed by the mention of a year 4 (lines 15 and 33) which is evidently imminent or present; the choices available are the reigns of Philopator (219/218) or of Epiphanes (202/201). The editors chose the latter on the basis of the correspondence that they saw in the contents of the papyrus with the historical situation about 202. The instructions issued, they argued, showed a state of crisis readily explicable in the face of Philip's moves in Thrace and elsewhere in 202. But what these abstracts really show is relentless activity on the part of the *dioiketes* to attend to the size and security of the revenues from every area of the empire and every possible source. There is nothing startling in this picture, which reminds us of the activity of Apollonios in the middle of the century. If we had comparative material from the files of an earlier year, it might be possible to assert that the differences here, if any, showed a state of crisis. In the absence of such material, a claim that the instructions of this papyrus reveal an emergency is unjustified. One might as well suppose that the government was in preparation for the campaign of Raphia and gathering its resources. Nothing here, then, points to one date or the other with certainty.²²

More recently, P. M. Fraser has sought to provide further support for a date of 202 through the use of prosopography. The figure in question is Kallimedes, the addressee of the abstract beginning in line 12. Fraser pointed out that Livy records that Ainos was surrendered to Philip V in 200 by its commandant, one Kallimedes.²³ The preceding letter to that addressed to Kallimedes here is concerned with affairs in Lesbos and Thrace, and if the interpretation τ(δ) ἀν(τίγραφον) is correct, Kallimedes would seem to be localized in this region in the papyrus.²⁴ Fraser reasoned from this possible identification that a date close to the surrender in 200 would be preferable to an earlier one for this appearance of Kallimedes.

Fraser expressed some diffidence about the identification, however, asserting that 'it should be noted that the name Kallimedes is frequent in Ptolemaic Egypt'. This is not the case. Aside from the reference in *P. Tebt.* 8, only seven references to men of this name are registered in the *Namenbuch* and the *Onomasticon*, and Professor Peremans tells me he has no others listed in his files. Of these, four are private citizens in the second half of the second century, two of whom are alleged to be perpetrators of injustices suffered by petitioners.²⁵ Of the remaining three, two belong to papyri mentioning an eponymous priest (of year 12 of Philadelphos) named Leontiskos son of Kallimedes.²⁶

²² No more can one accept the argument of K. J. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*² iv. 2, 345 n. 1 (followed by D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 936-7) that Philip had already taken these Ptolemaic possessions by 202. and that the letters must be earlier than that date; cf. the rebuttal of this position by P. M. Fraser, *JEA* 39 (1953), 91-2 n. 5.

²³ Livy 31. 16. 4, cited by Fraser (n. 22, above). Ainos is otherwise known as a Ptolemaic possession through *Asylierkunden aus Kos*, no. 8 (*Abh. Berl.*, 1952, nr. 1).

²⁴ The editors' resolution Κα(ρίας) would thus be definitely excluded.

²⁵ *P. Grenf.* I. 17; *UPZ* 180a Col. 19. 2; *SB* 428 and 4638.

²⁶ *P. Hib.* 110. 41, and *P. Cair. Zen.* 59001 (the latter a double of *PSI* 321).

The last is also a patronymic, the father of the eminent official and companion of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, Lochos.²⁷ The sum total, then, is two fathers of important sons and four private citizens of the late second century. For more than a century the name is not attested; and it is in the middle of this century that our Kallimedes falls. It would seem, therefore, that some of Fraser's diffidence over the identification is unwarranted.

The father of the eponymous priest is part of a cluster of figures in third-century Ptolemaic history who seem to form a family group. The first Kallimedes, father of the priest, must have been born in the mid fourth century, his son a generation later.²⁸ It is likely that the Perigenes son of Leontiskos who was an Olympic victor in 272 and appears on Siphnos in the 270s (providing entertainment for the Siphnians on the occasion of the announcement of the well-being of the king and his army)²⁹ was a son of the eponymous priest, an active young man when his father was middle-aged. Another Perigenes appears as the Ptolemaic admiral of the campaign of Raphia; it was probably his daughter Iamneia who served as *athlophore* in 211/210 and as *canephore* in 210/209. It is not unreasonable to suppose that he was a son, or at least a relative of the other Perigenes.

It would also not be unreasonable to suppose that the commandant of Ainos, Kallimedes, came from this family. There is no evidence to provide him with a stemma, but if he belonged to the generation of the children of the second Perigenes, his period of activity might have spanned the period *c.* 220–180. If the Kallimedes of 200 was a middle-career officer well up the military hierarchy, he might well have been a lower officer a decade or two earlier. While the identification by Fraser has much verisimilitude, then, and although it points to a later date for the papyrus, it is by no means conclusive evidence for the late date.³⁰ While Kallimedes may thus be said to contribute to the solution of the problem, his place is not entirely clear.

Column II, fragmentary though it is, contributes two new names for consideration. We may take Theagenes first. There are only four Ptolemaic occurrences of this name, two of them from Tebtunis texts of the late second century that cannot concern the man of this papyrus.³¹ The third is a somewhat dubious patronymic in a third-century Petrie papyrus.³² The fourth, however, is of some interest. He dedicated a statue of his father, —n son of Apollodoros, in Alexandria.³³ The father, an Alexandrian with the

²⁷ For Lochos, see the study of W. Peremans and E. Van't Dack, *Prosopographica*, 40–5.

²⁸ The evidence for the members of this supposed family is gathered by J. IJsewijn, *De Sacerdotibus*, 63, no. 12, who makes these connections as far as the second Perigenes.

²⁹ This text is best consulted at *IG XII Suppl.*, p. 111, from G. Klaffenbach's revision on the stone, but the essential discussions are those of M. Holleaux, *BCH* 29 (1905), 319 ff., and L. Robert, *BCH* 60 (1936), 184–9; cf. his notes to M. Holleaux, *Études* VI, 25–6 n. 74; also the remarks of J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1965, 6, p. 75, on M. Vandoni's recent reprinting of the text.

³⁰ It is possible that our Kallimedes was the father of the Kallimedes who was the father of Lochos; the sequence of generations would fit reasonably well.

³¹ *P. Tebt.* 94. 25 and 116. 19.

³² *P. Petr.* III 59. c. 1 recto III. 18, Πετενοδῆμις Θεαγ[], in a list of names all of which are Egyptian; I owe the reference to Professor Peremans.

³³ The inscription, then in the Lyceum Hosianum of Braunsberg (now perhaps in Warsaw) was published by W. Schubart in *Klio* 12 (1912), 365–73, with a thorough commentary; the text is reprinted as *SB* 5021.

demotic Athenaeus, had these titles: τὸν [γε]νόμενον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λογιστηρίου τῶν νομαρχικῶν καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιστατεῖαι τοῦ ξενικοῦ ἐμπορίου. He had evidently retired from the very top level of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy, as head of accounting for nome accounts and chief of the customs service and export supervision in Alexandria—one of the highest subordinates of the *dioiketes*. His court rank was in keeping with these dignities. At the time of the dedication, he must have been well past the age of active service. His son, now τῶν πρώτων φίλων himself, is τῶν ἐφημερευόντων τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰσαγγελέων. Theagenes must be a courtier of middle age himself, and with a comfortable court position is perhaps past his own most active days; perhaps he lacked his father's distinction as an administrator and was kept on, for the sake of his father's feelings, as a minor court official.³⁴

The date of the inscription cannot be established with certainty. Schubart suggested the second century on the basis of the hand.³⁵ The presence of court rank suggests only that the text dates after the early part of Epiphanes' reign. If we identify this Theagenes with the official in *P. Tebt.* 8, we arrive at little more certainty about the date of the latter than was the case with Kallimedes. The earliest date at which the son of a man who was retired and aged, like Theagenes' father, could have been active—if we assume the earliest possible date for the inscription, in the 190s—would have been *c.* 225–220. We thus have, as before, a *terminus post quem* of the papyrus of about 220, a date that accommodates either of the possible dates of composition.

The last name is the most significant: Hippomedon. Aside from some legendary figures,³⁶ scarcely any bearers of this name are known, none of them in Ptolemaic Egypt except Euergetes' governor of Thrace and the Hellespont.³⁷ With a name of this rarity, and with at least a rough coincidence of dates and of spheres of activity, there can be no doubt that the Hippomedon of the papyrus is the same as the already known *strategos*. In order to extract the import of his appearance here for the chronology of *P. Tebt.* 8, it is necessary to examine in some detail the evidence for his life.

(1) Hippomedon, Polybius tells us, was alive in 219 and at that time had a daughter with two living sons.³⁸ Hippomedon was the son of the Spartan Agesilaos, the advisor of Agis in the late 240s, and we know that his daughter married king Archidamos. Archidamos was dead by 227 or shortly thereafter, so that his wife's child-bearing must have begun *c.* 230, if not earlier.³⁹ Plutarch tells us that Spartan women married late,⁴⁰

³⁴ Schubart shows that Theagenes' title of usher at court was a real position, and not purely honorary, but it is not exceptionally prominent.

³⁵ He remarks (p. 365), 'Die Schrift, vom Steinmetzen vorpunktiert, gibt sich auf den ersten Blick als ptolemäisch zu erkennen, ist aber nicht besonders charakteristisch.'

³⁶ See the list by H. Zwicker in *PW* 8. 2 (1913) s.v. Hippomedon. The Hippomedon whose name appears in *Un Livre d'écolier* line 102 is, from the proximity in this list of polysyllabic names to Polyneikes and Eteokles, probably the member of the Seven against Thebes. (D. Foraboschi informs me that the reference to *P. Cair. Zen.* v in the *Onomasticon* s.v. Hippomedon is an error for this occurrence.)

³⁷ Several are listed by Zwicker (n. 36), and to his list may be added *SEG* xxii 508, a dubious restoration by W. G. Forrest of the name in a Chian inscription; and the epitaph at Odessus of Artemidorus son of Hippomedon and his wife, *SEG* xxiv 990.

³⁸ Polyb. 4. 35. 13.

³⁹ Cf. Walbank's comments in the *Commentary* to Polybius, I, 568 ff.

⁴⁰ *Lycurgus* 15. 10.

and even if Hippomedon was married before the age of thirty, it is very unlikely that he had a married daughter before he was about forty-five. We may therefore conclude that Hippomedon was born *c.* 275 or even earlier.

(2) During the period *c.* 245–241, in the turmoil of the reign of Agis, Hippomedon was already *εὐδόκιμος ἐν πολλοῖς πολέμοις ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγα δι' εὐνοίαν τῶν νέων δυνάμενος*.⁴¹ From Plutarch also we learn that Spartan men did not take a part in the agora until they were thirty. If Hippomedon had served in many wars, was no longer one of the young men himself, and could take a part in public life, seconding his father and cousin in the years after 245, the date 275 once again seems a reasonable *terminus ante quem* for his birth.⁴²

(3) Of Hippomedon's later career we also know something. Teles relates that he fled his native country and, like Glaukon and Chremonides of Athens, became counsellor to a Ptolemy.⁴³ The date of this will certainly have been in 241, with the collapse of Agis' government and his death. Hippomedon was at that time, according to Teles, made governor of Thrace: *ὁ νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκης καθεσταμένος ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου*—a post for which we have also epigraphical testimony of an uncertain date.⁴⁴

Hippomedon the governor of Thrace would have been in his middle to late fifties in 219, when Polybius tells us that he was still alive. By 202 he would have been well over seventy. It is not impossible that Hippomedon stayed in office to a very old age, escaping the shuffling of ambassadors and governors carried out by Agathokles after the death of Philopator. But it is surely more reasonable to suppose that Hippomedon would no longer have been in an active post abroad—if indeed he was still alive—in 202.

There is no certainty yet to be had about the date of *P. Tebt.* 8. The discussions of Theagenes and Kallimedes do not furnish decisive evidence for either a date under Philopator or one under Epiphanes. Hippomedon, however, seems to me to tip the balance in favour of the earlier date. Perhaps new evidence will one day allow the verification of this conclusion.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Plut., *Agis* 6. 3.

⁴² On the date of entrance to the agora, Plut. *Lycurgus* 25. W. Otto concluded in *PW* 8. 2 (1913), 1884–7 that Hippomedon must have been born before 270. His thorough survey of the ancient sources is still useful.

⁴³ See the references in *Pros. Ptol.* 14605, especially Teles, *De Fuga* (ed. Hense²), 23 and, on the terminology, C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum u. griech. Städte*, 32 n. 20.

⁴⁴ *IG XII* 8. 156, and *Syll.*³ 502; most recently, in *Samothrace: Inscriptions*, 39–40, with P. M. Fraser's detailed commentary on the present state of the stone. The more useful earlier bibliography and readings are best discussed by L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935), 425–7 (now *Op. Min. Sel.* 1, 185–7).

⁴⁵ A year 16 is mentioned in line 21, where the writer requests that the accounts from that year on be sent. Both Euergetes and Philopator had sixteenth years, and the length over which cases could drag on in the bureaucracy should prevent us from assuming that a period of five years is preferable to one of fifteen in a case of an important decrease in revenues.

PAPYRUS CARLSBERG 67: A HEALING-PRAYER FROM THE FAYÛM[^]

By J. D. RAY

In memoriam J. W. B. BARNES

THE papyrus which forms the subject of this article is part of the rich collection in the Egyptological Institute of the University of Copenhagen. Facilities to study and photograph the document were given to me by Professor J. R. Harris, and I am grateful to him for his encouragement. I have also had the opportunity to read through the text with Professor R. H. Pierce of Bergen, and have benefited greatly from his assistance. Even with such help, the writer is acutely aware that he has failed to solve many of the problems of this papyrus, and the translation in particular is offered in the spirit of Gardiner's remarks in *JEA* 32 (1946), 56. If the present article produces improved readings, or succeeds in drawing attention to a class of text which until now has been badly represented in the publications, it will have achieved a little of its purpose.

Description: Height, 24.5 cm.; Width, 12.7 cm. The writing runs parallel to the fibres. Eleven lines are visible, with traces of a twelfth at the upper margin. Other lines may have been lost. A space intervenes between the text proper and a colophon of four lines in the same hand; the entire script is written with the split reed, encountered in Greek papyri from Egypt as early as the third century B.C., but which is not common in demotic manuscripts before the Christian era.¹ The present text, which dates from 5 B.C., may therefore be among the earliest to exhibit this feature. There are many lacunae, and the papyrus seems to have been folded down the middle. The reverse ('Verso') is presumably blank, although this is obscured by the mounting, as the papyrus has been stuck on to a backing-sheet which also serves as ground for another text, a lease of Year 33 of Philadelphus. This text, which lies back-to-back against 67, has many features of interest, but is beyond the scope of this article. The splendid photograph of 67 which appears in Plate XXV is the work of Mrs. V. M. Conlon, formerly of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London. Its excellence does much to compensate for the sadness of the original.

The provenance of the papyrus is known to be Tebtunis; yet the text distinguishes between *r* and *l*.

Text

(x+) (1) [lost]^a (2) [*iw*]f *hpr wn-n3-iws* [] . . . [] (3) *wpy p3 nb*. []^b *db3 [p3]*
nb. []^b [*hb*]l (4) *grh3 yt mt[ry] šll nw nb^c* (5) *smy nw ir hny^d ʿš db3* (6) *nw ir swhy*.
[]^e *n-drt T3-šrt-3st ta* (7) *Hr* [] *nh m*[] *3yd3f r3 mh* (8) *n-im*[s]*hw*

¹ Černý, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt*, 12; cf. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 2.

(?)^h *wsh·s*. [] *r^{ci} iw·i dit n·k* (9) *p·y m[k]mk dd i·ir·kⁱ [ir] p·y·i^k hp t·y·i^k wpy* (10) *tktk mtw·k tm s[s]kⁱ i·ir·k^j h³r p·y hww^m* (11) *m-s³ n·y·s ksw p·y šny m-s³ n·y·s ccyt* (12) *grh m-[k]dy mtry* (vacat) (13) *sh h³t-sp 25 abd-3 šmwⁿ sw 12 (?)^o Kysrs^p* (14) [*p·y*] *bw(t) Sbk nb [Tp-Tn]^q p·y ntr c³ m-s³ rmt nb (p·y)^r t³ mtw·f^s* (15) *in p·y m[kmk r-bl] p·y nty wcb m-s³ p·y nty wsh·f^t* (16) *mtw·f (?) ir [] p·y i·ir sh·f*.

Notes

(a) This line is entirely lost and it is therefore impossible to be certain that none preceded it. In view of the word *mkmk* 'document, memorandum' in lines 9, 15 below it is possible to restore the opening line as something like * *wc mkmk i·ir·hr Sbk nb Tp·tn p·y ntr c³ n-drt T³·šrt-šst (ta Hr)*. A more conventional, and perhaps preferable, opening might be * *hrw b³k(t) T³·šrt-šst m-b³h p·y·s hry Sbk nb Tp·tn p·y ntr c³*; cf. the remarks of G. R. Hughes, *JNES* 17 (1958), 6-7. There seems little point in conjecturing further, particularly as there is no certainty that the subject of the document (the woman Tshenēsi) is also the writer: see note (g) below.

(b) This group appears twice in the line, but in each case it is lost. Only the first sign, which resembles *hr* with two strokes, is at all visible. The whole may well have been a title of, or circumlocution for, the god of Tebtunis. See further note (e) below.

(c) Several genitival particles must obviously be supplied here; they are omitted in the transliteration in accordance with the remarks of Reymond, *Bulletin J. Rylands Lib.* 49 (1967), 466. [*Hb*] *b* in the previous line is restored from the similar phrase in P. Michaelides, lines 5, 22 (G. R. Hughes, *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, SAOC* 35 [1969], 48).

(d) Presumably a writing of ϱHHE (Crum, *Dict.* 688b); cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 312.

(e) This word too has fallen victim to a lacuna. The initial group, which has partly escaped, may be another example of *nb* 'lord'. Only the ending of the following word is preserved, -y followed by the 'force' determinative. The whole is possibly yet another occurrence of the title discussed in note (b) above, but this is far from certain.

(f) Possibly a later writing of *cd* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 74-5)?

(g) The syntax, not aided by the frequent lacunae, has collapsed at this point; it may be that the writing *r* conceals the copula *iw* (e) here, as often.

(h) This word also in line 10 below. The reading adopted is a conjecture based on the *hw* of *Wb.* III, 50, and the $\varrho\text{oo}\gamma$ (Fayûmic $\varrho\text{a}(\text{o})\gamma$) of Crum, *Dict.* 731a-b. This pedigree does not confirm its identity.

(i) [*d*]*r^c xwwpe* (Erichsen, 684) suggests itself as a restoration, but other readings are not to be excluded.

(j) So written, but the idea of a second present seems strange, unless it is merely to emphasize the phrases which follow (*tktk mtw·k tm sskⁱ*; *grh m-kdy mtry*). It is also possible to take the group as a writing of the standard Third Future (*iw·k*) with the preposition *r* understood. This idea is given some support by the use of *iw·i* (*r*) *dit* at the end of line 8. The sense is presumably future whichever the reading; for the 'exhortative' use of the Third Future cf. Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 56 (1920), 3.

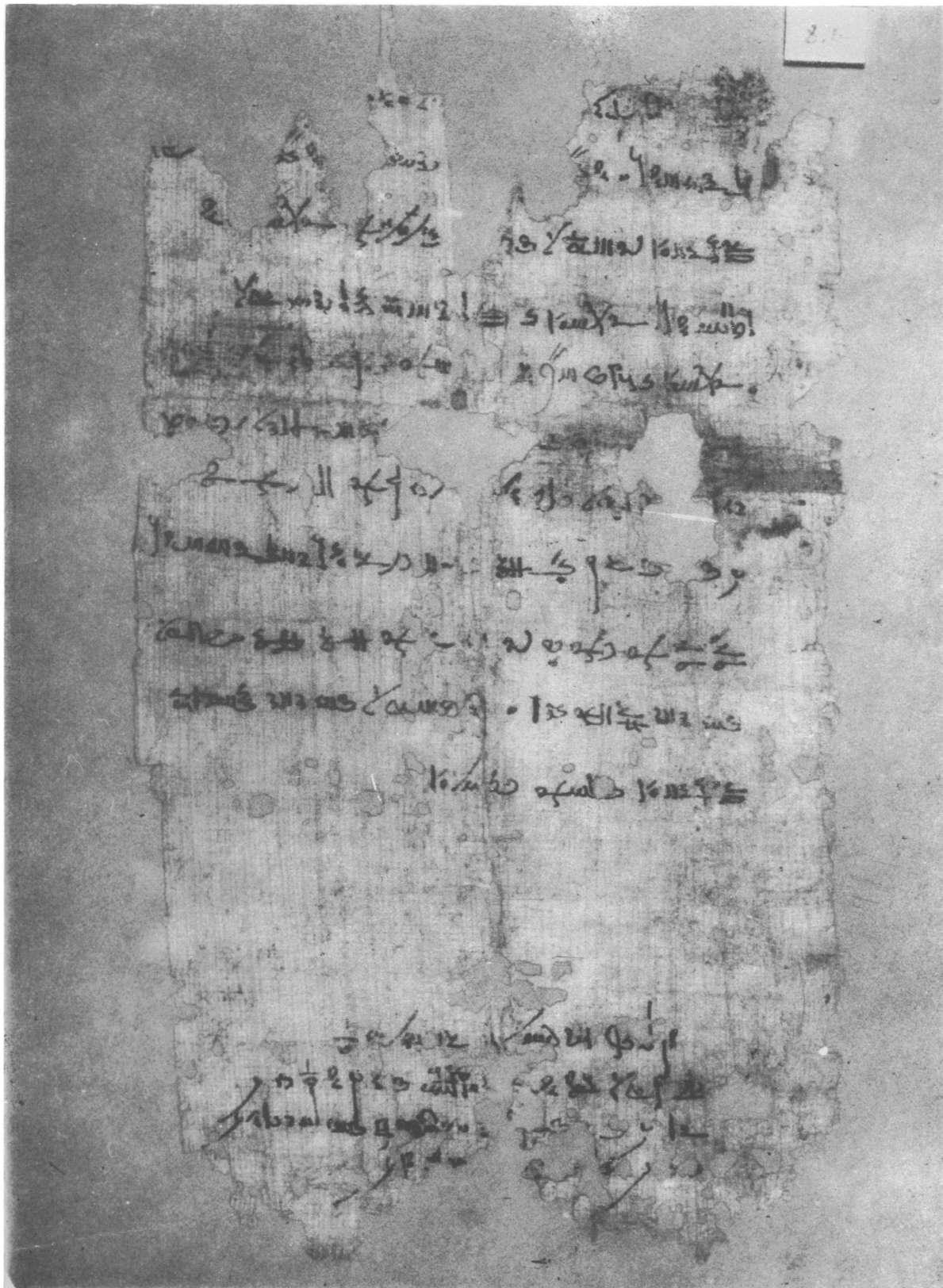
(k) These groups may represent either demonstratives (HHE- , TEI-) or possessive adjectives of the first person (HAE- , TA-). The latter seems more convincing: cf. *p·y* at the beginning of l. 9.

(l) Restored from the general sense, which is clearly one of urgency.

(m) See note (h) above.

(n) The reading seems preferable to the alternative *p^rt*.

(o) Unfortunately damaged by a lacuna; of all the numbers between 11 and 18, only 17 seems impossible.



Papyrus Carlsberg 67
(photographed in infra-red light)

A HEALING-PRAYER FROM THE FAYÛM

(p) It is strange to find such a writing, with a 'foreign' determinative and no cartouche, at such a late point in the reign of Augustus; but it would be rash to form any conclusion from this form of the name, as demotic scribes exhibit almost every possible variant. For other texts from this year see Pestman, *Chronologie*, 87.

(q) The context and the known provenance make this restoration extremely likely. The reading of the name has undergone vicissitudes in scholarly literature, and much support has been forthcoming for *Tʿ-tn* (Thompson, *JEA* 26 [1941] 70-1, and from variants contained in the name of the goddess *tʿ nb(t) Tʿ-tn* or the title preserved in the Greek *Σοκνεβτῶνις*, Glanville, *JEA* 19 [1933], 36 n. 2; Botti, *Mélanges Rosellini*, II, 23 n. 8; Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 61 (1962), 115 n. 3; Spiegelberg, *CCG* [*die demotischen Denkmäler*] II, 21 n. 6). The alternative *Tp/b-tn* (Spiegelberg, *Demotica*, I, 14) is judged doubtful by F. de Cenival, *Associations Religieuses*, I, 52; yet a variant spelling *Dbʿ-tn* is shown clearly by Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 49 (1911), 130. The -β- in the Greek *Τεβτῶνις* is likewise difficult to explain *ex nihilo*, and I therefore incline to favour the reading *Tp-* for the first element.² Erichsen, in *ZÄS* 87 (1962), 8, § 3, gives *Tp-tn* without comment, as in his *Glossar*, 627. The loss of the first element in *nb-Tn/-νεβτῶνις* is perhaps to be explained as simple elision, and the truncated form *Tn* is occasionally used on its own; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 153-4.

The village of Tebtunis (Umm el-Baragât) lay in the division (*μερίς*) of Polemon in the southern Fayûm; much useful information on its temple and its administration can be found in Evans, *Yale Class. Stud.* 17 (1961), 143 ff.

(r) A surprising omission, but clearly so.

(s) Doubtless for *nty iwʿf*. The Fayûmic dialect in Coptic has **ⲡⲧⲉϥ-* for *nty iwʿf*, *ⲡϥ-* for the Conjunctive, but it is not known when this difference appeared in speech.

(t) From this point the sense is almost completely lost; *hrʿf* is also a possible reading for *wʿh-f*, and the opening words of the next and final line are particularly doubtful. The translation is tentative.

Translation

(1) [**The voice of the servant Tshenēsi before her master Sebek lord of Tebtunis.*]^a (2) It happened that she was [.]^b . . . [.]^c (3) judgement (to) the lord of . . . [.]^d retribution [(to) the] lord of . . . [.]. Misfortune (by) (4) night, misery (by) day, plaint (at) every hour! (5) An appeal (at the) hour (of) offering incense, a cry (of) retribution (6) (at the) hour (of) assembling (?)^e [the lord (?) of] from Tshenēsi daughter of (7) *H*or [.]^f wrong to (?) seize (8) her [.] corruption (?) She has [.]. *I*^g shall give you (9) this document^h for you are to effect my justice (and) my judgement (10) swiftly and not delay; you are to drive out the corruption (?) (11) from her bones (and) the disease from her limbs (12) night as well as day.ⁱ [The colophon follows after a short space] (13) Written in year 25, Epeiph, day 12 (?)^j (of) Caesar. (14) [The] abomination (of) Sebek lord of [Tebtunis] the great god follow any man (on) earth who shall (15) remove this do[cument from] the sanctuary (and) follow him who lays it down (?) (16) and who (?) does (?) [.] him who wrote it.^k

² The spelling *Tb-* represents a compromise. The Arabic form *تظون* quoted by Spiegelberg, *CCG* (*die demotischen Denkmäler*), II, 21 n. 6, can hardly be considered conclusive; it is certainly not proof of the reading *Tʿ-tn*.

Notes

(a) For comments and reservations upon this reconstruction, see note (a) to the text above.

(b) The lost phrase may well have referred to the circumstances of the subject's illness, but restorations are out of place.

(c) In view of the reference to 'judgement' at the beginning of the next line, this lacuna may have contained a description of the sufferer's decision to turn to the god for aid. In the absence of parallels, it is again difficult to reconstruct the original.

(d) Possibly a lost cult-title: see textual note (b) above. The article *p* which precedes *nb* 'lord' twice in this line may perhaps be taken as vocative (Spiegelberg, *Gr.*, § 42). The loss of much of the context, and the regular omission of the particle *n*, make it impossible to confirm this otherwise tempting possibility.

(e) It is difficult to see how gods can be 'assembled', and the translation may be wrong. But it is at least possible to follow the drift of the previous three lines from the general to the particular. The sufferer is described conventionally as oppressed by misfortune day and night (cf. the parallels in the Michaelides text and in P. Cairo 50110: G. R. Hughes, *JEA* 54 [1968], 178 n. to line 1, and *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 48). This complaint changes in line 5 to a specific appeal 'at the hour of offering incense'. Now incense was normally offered to a god three times daily, though notably at the morning ritual (Roeder, *Kulte und Orakel*, 84 ff.), and it is quite likely that our text is an appeal addressed to the deity during the course of an ordinary temple day. The 'hour of assembling (?)' would then be a point in the ritual, perhaps in the morning when the god was presented with his regalia (cf. most recently A. R. David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 89 ff.). An alternative explanation would see in the 'hour of assembling (?)' a specific festival at Tebtunis, perhaps involving a public procession of the cult image, the sort of occasion on which gods were normally held to be propitious (Černý in Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 36 ff.; Barta, *MDAIK* 23 (1968), 75 ff.). In the Late Period the setting for the delivery of oracles seems to have shifted from the public procession to the sanctuary of the god itself, and this may add some weight to our first interpretation.³

In spite of the lacunae, it is possible to appreciate the skill with which lines 3–6 are brought to a climax. Only the discovery of parallel texts will decide whether this is conventional, or an individual composition.

(f) It is impossible to be sure of the father's name, or of the force of the element *nh* which alone survives. The following clause presumably served to amplify the account of Tshenēsi's illness.

(g) The identity of this first person is not stated. Two possibilities suggest themselves: that the speaker is a representative, friend or relative, of the sufferer, or that it is Tshenēsi herself. Now Tshenēsi is presumably the one referred to throughout in the third-person feminine, and while a sudden change from third person to first is not inconceivable in an Egyptian text, it seems awkward to postulate it here. It therefore appears that we are dealing with an agent (possibly a male relative) employed to place Tshenēsi's appeal before the god. The individual *p* *i'ir sh-f* who appears in line 16 is not necessarily the same person; this reference may be merely to a professional scribe, to whom the text was dictated or the details given for elaboration.⁴

(h) The literature on the term *mkmk* and its Greek equivalent *ὑπόμνημα* is long and complex: see now most recently Reymond, *JEA* 58 (1972), 254 ff., where the legal aspect of the word is stressed as referring to written evidence used in supporting a petition to the authorities. It is therefore surprising to see the word employed in its present context; yet the writer clearly regards his or her plea

³ It is appropriate to the present article that the earliest reference to consultation with a god in his sanctuary by a private person was published by Barns, 'The Nevill Papyrus', *JEA* 35 (1949), 69 ff.

⁴ Schubart (*ZÄS* 67 [1931], 114) notes the comparatively small number of individual hands which appear in the Greek 'oracular questions' from the Fayûm, and concludes that professional scribes were employed in many cases.

as a plea for a judgement (*wpy*, lines 3, 9). It may be possible to regard the entire text as legal, with the notion of sickness used as a sustained metaphor for injustice, but the plea in lines 9–12 seems too literal for this. It is easier to regard the *mkmk* as the metaphor, and to assume that the writer has applied legal terminology to right something which he considers abnormal, something in conflict with the principle of *mꜣrt* (Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, 28). The subtlety of the Egyptian idiom is again in evidence.

(i) Phrases invoking parallels between night and day are of course common in Egyptian and in most other languages. That the use was something of a cliché in normal speech is suggested by the grumble of Apophis in P. Sallier I, 2, 6 (Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 87, lines 12–13) *pꜣ wn bn st dit iwꜣ n-i tꜣ kd(t) m hrw m grh*, or by the indignant objections of Ḳhmoṣe *P-n-Ḳsty* to his master (P. Louvre 3230, 2–3) *in-iw n ink pꜣy-k bꜣk hr sdm wpt-k m grh mi hrw* (Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 55 (1918), 85). Nevertheless one suspects that in a numinous context such expressions may acquire more strength, for day and night are complementary, as are (in Egyptian thought) sun and moon, hawks and ibises, even life and death.⁵ The use of this joint term also obeys the cautious principle of naming both alternatives, so as not to allow the god a pretext for refusal. See also note (e) above.

(j) For qualifications see note to the text. The Julian date is (?) July 6, 5 B.C.

(k) Possibly the name of the scribe preceded these final words. Many reconstructions of the last two lines are plausible, none obligatory.

General Observations

Doubts and lacunae beset P. Carlsberg 67, but they are not able to disguise its individuality among demotic documents. A woman, Tshenēsi, either directly or through an agent, appeals to the god Sebek, lord of Tebtunis, to cure her of a disease which is afflicting her. The date is the beginning of July, 5 B.C. References to illness are not uncommon in demotic texts, but they are generally casual and make no mention of any attempt to obtain a cure.⁶ An as yet unpublished text from Saqqâra refers more interestingly to the fashioning of a statue for a sick woman in the precincts of the temple of Imhōtep, and it seems legitimate to imagine that the purpose of this image was in some way medical.⁷ But for fuller information recourse must be had to oracular material. A letter to the dead from Nagꜣ ed-Deir represents, according to Goedicke (*JEA* 58 [1972], 95 ff.), our earliest example of the invoking of supernatural powers to cure disease, but the text itself is far from clear and its original editor (Simpson, *JEA* 56 [1970], 58 ff.) produced a translation on which very different interpretations may be based. This is a pity, for evidence for such practices in Egypt before the Hyksos period with its alleged ‘Asiatic influences’ would be very welcome indeed. In the present state of our knowledge, it must even be admitted that evidence for healing prayers in Egypt is extremely scarce at any point before the first millennium: several workmen’s stelae from Deir el-Medīna record their donors’ gratitude to the gods for delivery in

⁵ It is interesting to see such imagery developed in the Buchis pebble (Mond and Myers, *Bucheum*, II, 56), where lines 4–6 have *šꜣ nꜣy-i ꜣš n grh r nꜣy (i) mšꜣ n mtry*, ‘more manifold are my cries by night than my wanderings by day’ and lines 9–10 *wn mtw-f pꜣy-f wš [n mwꜣt] bn-iw-f sdm*, ‘has he his hour [of death] and will not hear?’ The chain of ideas may well have been unconscious, but it is none the less striking.

⁶ An obvious example is Theban Ostraca D III, R^o, 7 *iw-i yꜣb m-šs* (Thompson *et al.*, *Theban Ostraca*, 63) where the words are incidental to the main theme, the delivery of a quantity of wheat.

⁷ This text is in the process of publication by the Egypt Exploration Society under the supervision of Professor H. S. Smith.

illness, but this is not the same as a request to cure.⁸ A similar objection applies to the 'oracular amuletic decrees' of the Late New Kingdom, few of which can have been written before the beginning of the first millennium, and all of which represent attempts by gods to anticipate worshippers' grievances rather than to alleviate their sufferings.

Stronger ground is reached with the Late Ramesside letters. In several of these the scribe of the necropolis, Dhutmose, refers to an illness from which he is suffering (P. B.M. 10326 = Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, no. 9; B.M. 10433 (?) = *LRL* no. 27 A; Leiden I, 369 = *LRL* no. 1) and in the fifth letter (P. Leiden I, 370, V^o, 18) he instructs his recipient *mtw'k dd n Ymn i'rwī pꜣy mr nty im(i)* 'and say to Amūn "drive out this sickness which is in (me)"' (Černý, *LRL*, 11; Wente, *LRL*, 28 and 31, note *ar*). The parallel to our present text is clear, and it is strengthened by the similar usage in P. Hier. Strassburg 21, a letter from El-Hibeh in which the writer, whose name is lost but who may be the High Priest of Amūn Menkheperre^c, prays to Amūn *P-n-pꜣ-ihy* for the recovery of his brother Masaherta from a sickness.⁹ Lines 2-3 of this interesting but fragmentary document contain the repeated instructions *šd sw snb sw i'rwī mr nb nty im'f* ' "save him, cure him, chase away any illness which is in him" '.¹⁰ Such sentiments are not far from lines 10-12 of our present text, although the metaphor is too obvious to assume any stronger connection, especially as a thousand years separate the two papyri.

From the Twenty-fifth Dynasty there survives an interesting but rather neglected text from the small tomb-chapel erected by the adoratrice of Amūn Shepenwepet II to the memory of her predecessor Amenirdis at Medinet Habu. This takes the form of an 'address to the living' engraved upon the lintel of the pylon (Daressy, *Rec. Trav.* 20 [1898], 74-5). Good evidence for the consultation of healing gods by private individuals during the following dynasty is shown by a statue bearing a dedication to the deified Amenḥōtep son of Ḥapu by a Saïte princess named Merneith (Wild, *MDAIK* 16 [1958], 406-13). The god, who is addressed as *pꜣ swnw nfr*, is summoned to cure the princess of an eye-disease; the date is 628/627 B.C. It is of course well known that some deified officials, in particular Imḥōtep at Memphis and Amenḥōtep son of Ḥapu in Western Thebes, became the centre of popular medical cults, but the pleas to Amūn quoted above and those to Sebek discussed below show that major gods could also be expected to perform the same functions, as did the Theban deity Khons *pꜣ-ir-šhr* who is said on a granite monument from Kôm el-aḥmar (?) to have saved Ptolemy II Philadelphus from the Underworld (*šd ḥm'f m Dwt*); it is unfortunate that the details are not elaborated.¹¹

⁸ A convenient collection of these stelae may be found in Gunn, *JEA* 3 (1917) 83-92.

⁹ Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 13 ff.; a further translation by Černý in Parker, *Saïte Oracle Papyrus*, 46.

¹⁰ Černý's translation.

¹¹ Daressy, *Rec. Trav.* 16 (1894), 44; *Urk.* II, 108. It is interesting that Khons, in another of his forms, *Nfr-htp*, plays a significant rôle in the surviving oracular amuletic decrees; cf. *JEA* 58 (1972), 251-2.

Imḥōtep is of course the source of the healing recipe on a demotic ostrakon in Cambridge (Thompson, *PSBA* 35 [1913], 95 ff.); the powers of Amenḥōtep son of Ḥapu are made clear even to the ruling monarch (Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II) in the temple of Qasr el-Agūz (Mallet, *Le Kasr el-Agouz*, 39) where he says *rwī(i) mnt nb(t) m ḥꜣw'k* 'I expel all sickness from your body'.

The above survey has claims to be typical rather than exhaustive, but it would be wrong to make no mention of a device intended to allow sufferers from an ailment to share in divine power by a less direct method: the healing statue. Numerous examples are known; the underlying principle seems to be that water, kept in troughs by or within the material of the statue or stela and so imbued with the essence of its healing texts, was drunk by the patient. (Jelínková-Reymond, *Djed-her le Sauveur*; Lacau, *Monuments et mémoires. Fondation Eugène Piot* 25 [1921-2], 189 ff.; Seele, *JNES* 6 [1947], 43 ff.; Barb, *Legacy of Egypt* (2nd ed.), 157-8; van de Walle, *JNES* 31 [1972] 67 ff., with the observations of Borghouts, *Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I* 348, 149-51; the texts of the Metternich Stela are published by Sander-Hansen, *Analecta Aegyptiaca*, VII).

The healing statue is largely a product of the fourth century B.C. and later, and from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period sources in Greek join the native documents. Greek private letters commonly include wishes for the recipient's health; sometimes, as in *SB* v, 7618, these take the form of apparent prayers, as *δέομαι δὲ περὶ σου πρὸς τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ τὴν Ἰσω ὅπως ὑγιαίνης*, but such dicta have a conventional ring and represent a social ideal rather than a documented practice. More precise information comes from the Fayûm itself, and the Greek texts from Dimai and elsewhere were collected, with some fine comments, by Schubart (*ZÄS* 67 [1931], 110 ff.). One petitioner of the first century A.D. questions the crocodile-gods Soknopaios and Sokonpieios at Dimai *ἦ μὲν σωθήσω ταύτης ἧς ἐν ἐμοὶ ἀσθενίας; τοῦτόν μοι ἐξένικον* (Schubart, *op. cit.*, 110 no. 4; further translations by Černý in Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 47, and Roeder, *Kulte und Orakel*, 250, where a similar Christian example from Oxyrhynchus is quoted). With such texts we are as near in spirit as in time and place to our present document.

So much may be said of the main text of P. Carlsberg 67; but as much importance, if not more, lies in its final *colophon*. In lines 14-15 the curse (*bwt*) of Sebek, lord of Tebtunis, is invoked upon any man who attempts to remove the document from the god's sanctuary. The 'curse of Sebek' is known from several rule-books of Fayûm cult-guilds (as P. Cairo 31179, 13; 30605, 12, both from Tebtunis: de Cenival, *Associations religieuses*, 1, 65, 75), but the use of the phrase in a private document is more surprising. Equally interesting is the information that the text was lodged in the sanctuary; this conclusion was reached by Schubart (*op. cit.*, 113-14) after comparison with later accounts given in Lucian (*Pseudomartyr*, 19), Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, 1. 23), and most interesting, Ammianus Marcellinus (*Res Gestae* 19. 12. 3 concerning the oracle of Bes at Abydos, where *chartulae seu membranae, continentes quae petebantur, post data quoque responsa interdum remanebant in fano*, 'blieben die Papyrus oder Pergament-blätter, worin die Fragen standen, auch nach Erteilung der Antwort bisweilen im Heiligtum'). It is likely that from time to time such accumulated documents would be removed by the priests and perhaps buried within the sacred precinct.¹² There is no trace of an answer written on the papyrus as it survives, and it is unlikely that one would have stood in the lost upper margin; perhaps Tshenēsi received a verbal reply from the god, read out by one of his *προφήται* from a prepared list of responses.

¹² Cf. the remarks of Erichsen, *Kgl. Dansk. Vid. Selsk.* 28, 3 (1942), 15-19.

There is no indication from the present document that she resorted to other means of ascertaining the god's will, such as incubation, although such practices are well attested in healing cults both in Egypt and abroad.¹³

It is indeed appropriate to end with a reference to the world outside Egypt. Cursing colophons are not uncommon in cuneiform sources, and some bear marked resemblances to the present example.¹⁴ It is also to be borne in mind that the so-called 'individual prayers', or requests to gods or deified kings on behalf of persons in distress, are attested in Babylonia from the time of Shulgi onwards.¹⁵ We have seen that evidence for such prayers in early Egypt is not good, and it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that our present papyrus reflects a Mesopotamian or Near Eastern tradition. *A priori* considerations may cast some doubt on this result, but in the present stage of our knowledge we are in no position to reject it.¹⁶ May the healing-prayer here published provoke further discussion.

J. W. B. Barns in life was characterized by a sympathy for those who suffered; this article is offered to his memory.

¹³ A fine example of a sick man's recourse to incubation may be contained in Ostrakon Brooklyn 37. 1821 E; this text, originally published by Malinine, *Acta Or.* 35 (1961), 3 ff., was revised by Volten, *Acta Or.* 36 (1962), 130 ff. According to the latter the narrator of the text describes how, suffering from a disease of the eyes which has made him blind, he resorts to the courtyard of Amenrasonthēr and a deified man (*hry*) named *Pj-šw-rj-wbn*. After prayer he is rewarded with a dream, but the sequel is unfortunately lost. Replies by Malinine, *Rev. d'Ég.* 15 (1963), 124 and *Rev. d'Ég.* 16 (1964), 209, have succeeded in reducing the *hry* to the ranks of the human, and have cast severe doubts upon Volten's argument in general; I have therefore made no reference to this interesting text above.

¹⁴ A corpus is published by H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone (AOAT 2 [1968])*, and nos. 128, 129, and 168 (pp. 52, 63) bear some similarity to our colophon. I owe this reference to Professor W. G. Lambert.

¹⁵ See Hallo, *JAOs* 88 (1968), 71 ff.

¹⁶ A similar conclusion is reached by Parker in his *Vienna demotic papyrus on eclipse- and lunar-omina*, where, however, the Mesopotamian influence is unmistakable. The Achaemenid period seems the most likely for the introduction of such ideas into Egypt.

A MATHEMATICAL EXERCISE—P. DEM. HEIDELBERG

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By RICHARD A. PARKER

SHORTLY after the publication of my *Demotic Mathematical Papyri*¹ Madame Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, to whom I owed so much for that volume, once more placed me in her debt by discovering two fragments of another demotic papyrus of mathematical content in the Heidelberg collection. Through her good offices an excellent photograph of the fragments was sent to me by Professor R. Seider together with permission to publish them. I am deeply grateful to both colleagues, and also to Professor O. Neugebauer with whom I have discussed to my advantage various problems of interpretation of the scanty remains.

Indeed, what remains of two columns is so scanty that it is rarely possible to do more than suggest a connected line-by-line translation, but with the help of four figures illustrating the text that are, as we shall see, all of the same size in their external measurements, but that vary in the operations carried out within them, it is possible to reconstruct with some certainty the aim of each problem and suggest the method of attack.

On the reasonable assumption that the figures are all given in full size it is clear that no more than half of any line is preserved. In col. A the lines would begin under the right corner of the figure while in col. B they would presumably end under the left corner of the upper figure. The base line of the upper figure in col. A restored would be 10 cm. From a line of this length only 4 cm. of writing remains. The problem of restoration is obvious.

Though I have numbered the problems 1 to 4 it must not be thought that it is quite certain that the two fragments are correctly placed in relation to one another in the Plate, and that col. B follows directly after col. A. Though the sequence of A and B is assured from the nature of Problems 2 and 3 it is entirely possible, even likely, that a whole missing column separated the fragments. The few traces that remain on the right margin of B suggest numerals in the hundreds (opposite line 6 is what looks like 300) but such numbers do not seem to occur in Problem 1. Nor do the fibres appear to match across the gap even when the fragments are moved about in relation to one another. The versos are blank and of no help.

It will be seen that in general the four problems are concerned with smaller areas within a field, but with the twist that an area is given and the task is to determine the lengths of the lines that enclose it. This is clearest in Problems 1 and 2.

¹ Brown Egyptological Studies VII. Brown University Press, Providence, 1972.

The basic figure is a field in the form of an isosceles trapezoid with a base of 1,8(00), a height of 6(00), a top of 2(00) and sides of 1,0(00), thus two right-angled triangles in the classic 3:4:5 ratio separated by a rectangle 2(00) by 6(00). And here it is necessary to explain the units of measure so that the parentheses may be dropped.

Given such a number as 1 1/2 1/8 1/32 *mḥ* 1 1/2 1/4 1/8 from the figure to Problem 1 and the facts that *mḥ* can be nothing other than 'cubit', that the fractions which follow *mḥ* are the usual ones while those which precede are fractions of the aroura (an area 100 by 100 cubits), the only reasonable conclusion is that the aroura fractions are used linearly, just as in Problem 65 of *Demotic Mathematical Papyri*, and the whole numbers preceding them are units of 100 deriving from the land cubit, a strip 100 cubits long by 1 cubit wide. The smallest aroura fraction is 1/32 which then represents 3 1/8 cubits linearly. For measurements under 3 1/8 cubits *mḥ* is used, the largest number following it being 2 1/4 1/8 as it happens. The Table gives a convenient comparison of both sets of fractions.

Aroura (unit 100)							Cubit (unit 1)		
1/16+1/32	1/2+1/4	1/32	1/16	1/8	1/4	1/2	1/8	1/4	1/2
1	2	1	2	4	2	1	4	2	1

It should be remarked that the figures illustrating each problem are clearly not to scale and not even of the same size throughout. Palaeography suggests a Ptolemaic date, perhaps second or first century B.C. The lines have been numbered on each fragment without regard to the strong probability that some are missing above or below what is preserved.

Problem 1

Though much of the figure is missing we appear to be concerned with areas in the left half of the field only. We know, of course, from the dimensions of the field that its total area is 60 arouras. One half then is 30 arouras. From the measurements given we know that D has an area of 6 arouras and 6 arouras are mentioned in line 7. A has an area of 15 arouras as calculated from its measurements and 15 arouras are mentioned in lines 7 and 8. But since A is 15 arouras, then B, C, and D total 15 as well. Calculation shows that B is a rounded-off 8 arouras and C a rounded-off 1, a combined total of 9. Neither 8 nor 1 are referred to as areas in what remains of the text but it is very likely that the possible 9 in line 8 refers to B and C together and the 15 arouras of line 8 are the summation of B plus C, and D. On areas of 15, 9, and 6 see also Problem 2.

It seems likely that the intent of the problem was to determine the sides of A, given that they must enclose 15 arouras, and once this was done determine the measurements of B and C as well. The working out of A is not preserved but since we know that A, B, and C together form a right-angled triangle in the 3:4:5 ratio a simple formula will give the required measurements. If *x* is the base, then 3*x*/4 is the height and the formula

would be $\frac{x(3x/4)}{2} = 15$, and x would be $6 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{16} m\dot{h} \frac{1}{4}$ ($\sqrt{40}$ rounded off). All other measurements in the figure can now be derived, and it is at this point that the preserved text begins.

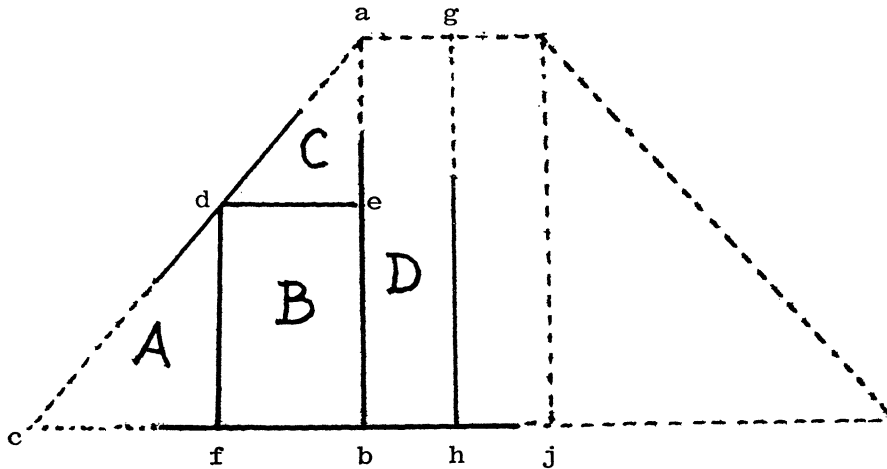


FIG. A

The measurements given in the figure are:

- $ab = gh: 6$, i.e. 600 $bh = hj: 1$, i.e. 100 $ae: 1 \frac{1}{4} m\dot{h} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$, i.e. $125 \frac{5}{8}$
- $df = eb: 4 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} [\frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32} m\dot{h} 2 \frac{1}{2}]$, i.e. $474 \frac{3}{8}$
(Since ab is 600 the restoration in df is forced.)
- $bf = ed: 1 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} m\dot{h} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8}$, i.e. $167 \frac{1}{2}$
- $fc: 6 \frac{1}{4} [\frac{1}{16} m\dot{h} \frac{1}{4}]$, i.e. $632 \frac{1}{2}$
(Since bc is 800 the restoration in fc is forced; see also line 1.)

Col. A

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1. [. $\dot{i}w \cdot k \underline{dd}$
6] $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{16} m\dot{h} \frac{1}{4} p\dot{s} nty \underline{sdr}$
[$n\dot{f} n \underline{gs} n\dot{s}w$]</p> <p>2. [$\dot{i}w \cdot k \underline{dd} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} m\dot{h} \frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8}] p\dot{s} \underline{sp} n \underline{p\dot{s}} \underline{gs} n\dot{s}w$
[.]</p> <p>3. [. $\dot{i}w \cdot k \underline{dd}$
8] $p\dot{s} \underline{gs} n\dot{s}w \underline{r-hn} p\dot{s} \underline{c\dot{h}c} n [6$
.]</p> <p>4. [$\dot{i}w \cdot k \underline{dd} 4 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32} m\dot{h} 2 \frac{1}{2}$
$\underline{r-h\dot{t}}] p\dot{s} \underline{c\dot{h}c} mty \underline{r-h\dot{s}\dot{t}f}$</p> <p>5. [$\dot{s}c\dot{t} 4 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32} m\dot{h} 2] \frac{1}{2}$
$n 6 \underline{sp} \frac{1}{4} m\dot{h} \frac{1}{2} [\frac{1}{8} \dots]$</p> | <p>[. You shall say:
'6] $32 \frac{1}{2}$ cubits are what lays
[itself down as base].'</p> <p>[You shall say: '167 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits] are
the remainder of the base.'
[.]</p> <p>[. You shall say:
'8]00 cubits are the base up to the
height of [600 cubits.']</p> <p>[You shall say: '474 $\frac{3}{8}$ cubits are
equal to] the middle height before it.'</p> <p>[Subtract 474 $\frac{3}{8}$ cubits] from 600:
remainder 125 $\frac{5}{8}$.' [.]</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

6. [.]. *tws mnt*
2t r p [ʔ¹]
7. [.].
st 6 *st* 15 *ḥ* [ʔ¹ *iw·k*¹]
8. [.] *hr mh·w*
n *st* 15 *ḥ* *r w* [ʔ¹ *n*]
- [.]. Here are two proofs to the [ʔ¹ arouras¹]
- [.]. as 6 arouras, 15 arouras. [ʔ¹ 'You shall'¹]
- [.] The 15 arouras are complete to one (field) aga[in].

Notes

1. The injunctive *iw·k dd* is usual in giving results and data in mathematical texts and is likely here and in following lines. The measurements here and in the figure complete one another. The second restoration depends upon lines 2 and 3.

2. The restoration is the measurement *bf* and assumes that the text is concerned only with the base length of the left-hand triangle. *gs* is usually 'side' but taking it as 'base' fits better with *ḥr* 'height'. I have no suggestion for the trace before the break.

3. The restorations are logical but the amount of missing text is great. The grammars of both Spiegelberg and Lexa have *r-hn-(r)* as a preposition of time only but P. Carlsberg 1, col. iv, 29, uses it of place as well in *p*; *m*; *nty iw·w n-im·f r-hn-r p*; *m*; *rsy ibty n t* [ʔ¹] 'the place in which they are is as far as the south-eastern place of the [sky]' (Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, 1).

4. The restoration appears certain as giving the height of the triangle of 15 arouras as against the total height of the field restored in line 3. There are traces of *ht* for which compare col. B, 5. *r-ht* is usually translated 'like, according to'.

5. The restoration follows the logic of determining the two measurements totalling the height of 600.

6. I cannot read the traces before *tws*. At the end of the line is the tail of a sign running down into the next line which might very well be the numeral 9. If this is the correct reading, and I have no other suggestion, the reference must be to the combined areas of B and C, 8 and 1 arouras respectively, which then with the 6 arouras of D make another field of 15 arouras. Against 9 is the singular article *p*; *n*; would be expected after the plural copula *nsw* in lines 2 and 3. *mnt 2t* 'two proofs' should refer to the operations carried out in lines 6, 7, and 8. On *mnt* as 'proof' and feminine see Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 161, with reference to Zenon 3, 3, where it renders *δειγματισμός*.

7. One can only hazard a guess as to the exact nature of the 'two proofs'. The areas of B and C could be calculated as 8 and 1 arouras respectively (rounded off). Or, since the total area of half the entire field is 30 and A and D are 15 and 6, then the total of B and C must be 9 arouras. The traces at the beginning of the line are a puzzle. The vertical stroke looks like the aroura fraction 1/32 but if it is that I cannot explain its presence in the context. Nor is the plural or *w* likely, unless written badly. At the end *iw·k* is probable with the tail of 9 crossing it.

8. The 15 arouras that make one field again should be B+C+D rather than the 15 of A which has not been divided further.

Problem 2

With about one-third of the figure and four incomplete lines one can only say that this problem is concerned with the division of the entire field into three smaller areas by two lines parallel to the top and bottom, and then with some subsequent operations. The largest field after the division is the lower one of 30 arouras, and that figure is

Fragment B of a papyrus scroll containing handwritten mathematical text in Coptic script. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. At the top left, there is a small diagram of a right-angled triangle with a vertical line extending from its right side. The script includes various symbols, including what appears to be the Greek letter π and other characters. A small number '5' is written on the right side of the fragment, and a small letter 'A' is visible near the bottom right edge.

B

Fragment A of a papyrus scroll containing handwritten mathematical text in Coptic script. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. At the top left, there is a diagram of a right-angled triangle with a vertical line extending from its right side. The script includes various symbols, including what appears to be the Greek letter π and other characters. A small number '5' is written on the right side of the fragment, and a small number '10' is written further down on the right side.

A

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natural size

A MATHEMATICAL EXERCISE

mentioned in the text. The next largest is above it and consists of 18 arouras while the smallest, at the top, is 12 arouras. It is noteworthy that the horizontal division of the field into 30, 18, and 12 arouras is in the same ratio (5:3:2) as the vertical division of half the field into the 15, 9, and 6 arouras of Problem 1.

The lengths of the interior boundary lines are given as $8 \frac{1}{4}$ and $12 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{16}$ respectively, with the known top of 2 and the bottom of [1]8. Though the height is not shown it must be 6. There is nothing in the text to suggest how the calculations resulting in the interior boundaries were carried out, but there is a formula by which this could have been done. Given a figure of the shape we have, with a the length of the base, b the length of the top, h the height, x an inner boundary line parallel to the base, and A the area to be enclosed, then $x = \sqrt{\left(a^2 \frac{a-b}{h} \cdot 2A\right)}$. If we substitute 30 for A we arrive at $12 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{16}$ with the last fraction rounded off and for 48 ($30 + 18$) we get $8 \frac{1}{4}$ exactly, when the Heron formula for approximating irrational square roots is employed (see *Demotic Mathematical Texts*, Problem 62).

Instead of such computations we have in line 11 the figure $10 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{16}$ which can only be the result of subtracting 2 (the upper width) from the lower inner-boundary line of $12 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{16}$. Why this was done and what operations followed must, for the present, remain a mystery.

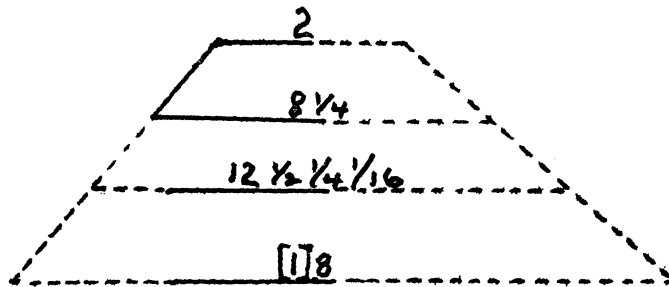


FIG. B

9. [*iw·w dd n·k i·iry t:y r*]-*ht n*
nty sh (r)-bl tws p:y:f [smt]

[If it is said to you: 'Make this]like
what is written out—here is its
[plan]—

10. [*iw·k st:t*] 30
sh hr p: . . . mht [.]

[you shall] 30 arouras
under the northern . . . [.]

11. [*st 2 n 12 1/2 1/4 1/16 sp*] 10
1/2 1/4 1/16 n:y:f [.]
.]

[Subtract 200 cubits from 1,281 $\frac{1}{4}$ cubits:
remainder] 1,081 $\frac{1}{4}$ cubits. Their [. .
.]

12. [. *n:y:f*] *mht*
p:y

[.] is [their] north.

Notes

9. The temptation is to restore the beginning of the line after col. B, 7 (see the note to that line for a discussion of the grammatical problem involved) and this would fit the missing portion of the line exactly in length. Very probably there was nothing more after *smt*, and *iw·k* would begin line 10.

10. The very short word after *pꜣ* and before *mḥt* (for the writing of the latter see line 12) ought to be *gs* 'side', or a similar word, but the traces do not suit *gs* and I have nothing else to offer. *mḥt* introduces the problem of orientation. Contrary to our habit the Egyptians usually took the top of a plan as south and its bottom as north.² In this problem it is not possible to be certain that the same order holds since there are 30 arouras both above and below the 12 1/2 1/4 1/16 line. However, in Problem 3 *rs* in line 2 must refer to the bottom line of the figure since the triangle concerned is based on it. This would mean that the orientation of the four figures is as ours with north on top and south on the bottom. This would suit the present situation better also since the 30 arouras below the division line are undivided while those above are in two sections.

11. *ny·f* (or possibly *pꜣ·f*, since both can be written the same) should refer to the preceding measurement, but I have nothing at all secure to suggest as a follow-up.

12. We have perhaps a reference to the northern or top boundary of the 30-aroura section.

Problem 3

In Problem 2 were determined interior boundaries which divided the field into 30, 18, and 12 arouras respectively. The present problem has the objective of determining the height of each such smaller field. The scribe knows that he is working within a right-angled triangle of base 8, height 6, and hypotenuse 10. He knows as well that the height of any smaller right-angled triangle within the larger one and with sides parallel to it must be 3/4 of its base. He proceeds by subtracting the length of the first interior boundary from the total length of the base, halves it, and then takes 3/4 of the result. Only this first operation is carried out in detail, since the remaining two would be similar. An indefinite number of lines must be missing before the figure.

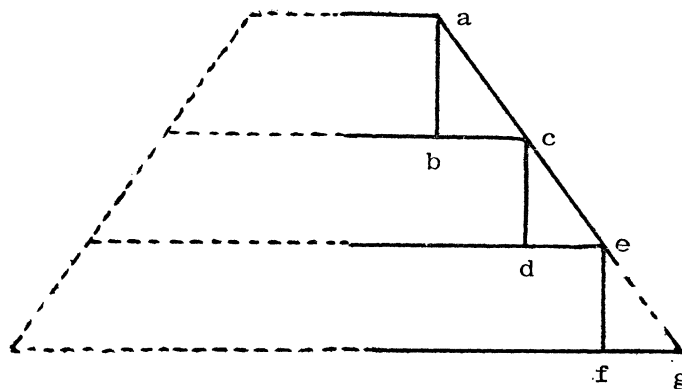


FIG. C

The measurements given in the figure:

ab: 2 1/4 1/16 1/32, i.e. 234 3/8 *cd*: 1 1/2 1/8 <1/16> *mḥ* 2 1/4, i.e. 171

² George Posener, 'Sur l'orientation et l'ordre des points cardinaux chez les Égyptiens', *Nachr. Göttingen* (1965), 69.

ef: 1 1/2 1/4 1/8 1/16 *mḥ* 1/2 1/4 1/8, i.e. 194 5/8

(Since these must total 600 the emendation of 1/16 in *cd* is forced; there are good traces of 1/8 at the end of *ef*.)

bc: 3 1/8, i.e. 312 1/2 *de*: 2 1/4 1/32, i.e. 228 1/8 *fg*: 2 1/2 1/16 1/32, i.e. 259 3/8.

(As expected these total 800.)

Col. B

1. *p*ḥ ḥ*rw*¹ *mḥ*-I š*ṣ*t I2 I/2 I/4 I/16
[*n* I8 *sp* 5 I/8 I/16 *n*ḥ*y*f I/2
2 I/2 I/16 I/32 *p*(*r*) *rs p*ḥ*y*]

The first 'operation'. Subtract 128 1/4 cubits [from 1,800 cubits: remainder 518 3/4 cubits, their half 259 3/8 cubits. It is the south]

2. *mtw*·*w w*ḥ *<p(r)>* *rs n p*ḥ *ḥ*ṣ *mty*
[*r*-*ht*¹ 4 *n* 3 *r* I/2 I/4]

of them. Set the south to the middle height [as 4 to 3: result 1/2 1/4].

3. *t*ḥ *p*ḥ I/2 I/4 *n* 2 I/2 I/16 I/32
mḥ·[*w* I I/2 I/4 I/8 I/16]

Take the 1/2 1/4 of 259 3/8 cubits so that [they] complete [194 5/8 cubits].

4. *mḥ* I/2 I/4 I/8 *p*ḥ *ḥ*ṣ *mty* [*p*ḥ*y*]

[It is] the middle height,

5. *r*-*ht* *p*ḥ *nty* *sh* (*r*)-*bl iw*·*k ir*
[.....]

like what is written out. You shall [.....]

6. *hr mḥ*·*w st*ḥ 60 *ḥ*ṣ *cn*

They complete 60 arouras again.

Notes

1. I can offer no other suggestion for the sign after *p*ḥ than to take it as *irw* 'operation, doing', a more basic rendering of *irw* 'rite, ceremony', see Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 39. A writing of the latter, somewhat similar to the one here, appears in P. Rhind 33 (1⁵). *mḥ*-I, though partially obscured by the tail of the fraction in the figure, seems a secure reading. The restorations of the numbers are forced. *p*(*r*) *rs p*ḥ*y* at the end is a guess based on line 2.

2. *mtw*·*w* cannot be a conjunctive continuing *ḥ*ṣ as that would require *mtw*·*k*. I suggest taking it as the preposition though this leads to a rather awkward construction. *w*ḥ cannot be 'add' here because that operation does not suit the context. It looks as though the vertical stroke of *w*ḥ served the scribe also as the initial stroke of *p*(*r*), for which see line 8 below. The restoration is a guess but this or something similar seems required to explain the 1/2 1/4 of line 3. This would lead to a short line as compared with line 1, but lines 2 and 3 seem also to be short, and this suggests that a subsidiary figure may have been drawn to the left of them.

3. One expects the result of taking 3/4 of 2 1/2 1/16 1/32 to follow immediately, after the usual preposition *r*. Instead there is writing that strongly suggests *mḥ*, as e.g. in col. A, 8. Restoring *w*, or here possibly *f*, for a *sdm*-*f* clause of purpose after an imperative is conceivable (Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.*, § 124). This leads to a short line, on which see the note above.

4. The restoration would suit lines 2 and 3 in length and the continuation in line 5 fits well. The fraction 1/8 after *mḥ* is a rounding off from a correct 1/32.

5. Clearly this line is again a long one as after *iw*·*k ir* we expect something like 'do likewise with the remaining areas of the field'. If we carry out these operations it will be found that *ab* comes out exactly whereas *cd* should add 1/16 1/32 after *mḥ* 1/4. Instead the scribe adds them to *ef* in rounding off to 1/8 (see line 4). It would appear that he did not want to use a fraction smaller than 1/8 after *mḥ*, though one would think that he would have preferred to round off *cd* rather than *ef*.

6. All the divisions again total 60 arouras when added together and the problem is concluded.

Problem 4

The two half-lines preserved are not conclusive as to the steps of the problem though the aim is set at an area of 60 arouras. Possibly the area of each section marked off was calculated independently and then totalled. The figure gives the by now familiar measurements.

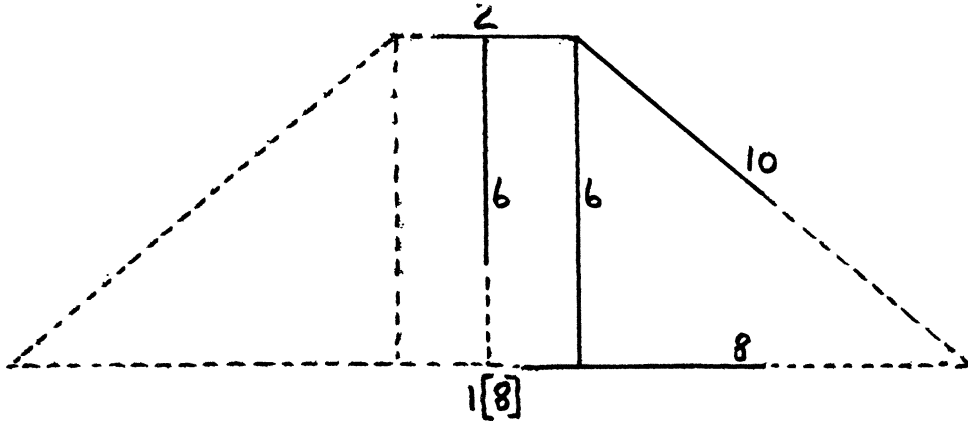


FIG. D

7. *iw.w dd n.k i-iry try n 60 [18*
p(r) rs 2 p(r) mht 10]
8. *p(r) i:bt p(r) imnt tws p:y:f*
smt [iw.k]

If it is said to you: 'Make this as 60
 (arouras): [1,800 cubits the south,
 200 cubits the north, 1,000 cubits]
 the west and the east—here is its plan—
 [you shall]

Notes

7. It seems best to take *iw.w* as introducing the protasis of a conditional sentence (for parallels see, among others, Problems 3–5 in *Demotic Mathematical Texts*) rather than injunctive Third Future, 'They shall', which does not occur to my knowledge in the statements of mathematical problems. The apodosis usually follows immediately as an imperative, a question, or an operation introduced by *iw.k*. *try* used absolutely is rare. It is found in *Kanopus* 13: 46 referring to a goddess. The reference here may be to *sh*t 'field'. The restoration is suggested by the beginning of the next line.

8. *tws p:y:f smt* is hardly the apodosis after *iw.w* etc. and may best be taken as a parenthetical remark. *iw.k* restored may correctly be the first line of the next column since the space below the figure suggests that there was no writing there.

SOME COPTIC ETYMOLOGIES

By H. S. SMITH

A FRAGMENTARY demotic literary papyrus,¹ found during the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations under the late Professor W. B. Emery in the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra in 1966-7, yielded some rare words for which Coptic equivalents may be proposed.

1. *mtṛṭ*. In three broken passages (Vo. Col. II, 19, 21, 32) virtually the same text is repeated, so that they can now be restored with confidence, e.g. Vo. II, 21 *di Mr-ib in-w wṛ ḥtrî cr=f r-r=f bn-pw=f dit ḥr mtrṭ n-ḥr=f bn[-pw=f mhyṭ=f] bn-pw=f dit mšṛ rmt ḥyṭ=f mšṛ pṣ ḥtrî* [. . . .]: 'Merib caused a horse to be brought, he mounted upon it, he did not let a bridle fall upon it, he did not beat it, he did not cause a man to walk in front of it; the horse went [. . .].' As the function of the horse in the story is to guide Merib to a secret place in the hill-country whither Pharaoh has been lured by his enemies, the point of the sentence is that Merib in no way interfered with the horse's own will. Thus *mtrṭ* must be the precursor of Coptic ⲙⲉⲣⲁⲧ^{SB} nn. f., 'bridle, bit' (Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 196a).

Dr. W. J. Tait has drawn my attention to the passage *Kufi*, col. 17, l. 18, where a lion, having been rescued from a human trap by a mouse, comes upon a series of animals who have been tricked and exploited by Man. They all bear some outward sign of their humiliation, which the lion notices. Among them are a horse and an ass. The damaged text is not wholly intelligible; what is clear reads 'The lion approached a horse [.] [.] the mouth of the horse, there being a *mṭ* . . . in the mouth of the ass'. Spiegelberg read *mtr* and translated 'Halfter', quoting the Coptic ⲙⲉⲣⲁⲧ from Peyron. As Dr. Tait points out, *mṭ* . . . not *mtr* is the correct reading; this strengthens the parallel with *mtrṭ* in the Saqqâra text.

2. *škrkr*. In Ro. Col. 6, 1 ff. the building and furnishing of a shrine is described. Though the text is badly damaged, it is probable that one of the items in the shrine is a couch, since it is provided with *nṛm iw = w škrkr* and with a *wrs*, 'head-rest' (*Wb.* I, 335). *nṛm* is determined with δ ; probably then it is a metathesis of *nmṛ*, a root which *Wb.* differentiates into two verbs: (i) 'to sleep', 'to lie in the sleep of death' (II, 266, 7-10): (ii) 'to clothe', especially 'to spread a bed with linen' (II, 266, 11). Both meanings should no doubt be connected with *nmit* 'bier' (II, 266, 2-5). The second survives in demotic in I. Kh. 5/16 *iw wn glg ṛšy ḥn = s iw = w nmṛ n šs-nsw* 'there being many couches in it spread with royal linen'. No doubt therefore it is reasonable to assume the existence of a noun, hitherto apparently unattested, from the same root, and to translate

¹ Saqqâra demotic papyrus 153+357+376, to be published by W. J. Tait and myself in a volume of demotic literary and miscellaneous texts from the site.

νυκτικώρακα ἄδει θανατηφόρον, 'the owl who bears souls to Hades'.⁴ In Arabic **ⲉⲟϥⲗⲁⲗ**^B is translated by **بوم** or **صدا**; in popular mythology in Arab countries from pre-Islamic times onwards the owl has been thought of as visiting the grave-side and connected sometimes with the man's soul, sometimes with the *ghūl*. There does therefore seem to be a similarity of function between the owl and the *hm̄r*; if *hm̄r* were connected in this way, it would explain both the bird determinative in B.M. 10622 and the feminine form in B.M. 10631, since *hy*, *hy't* occurs in both masculine and feminine in the self-dedication texts,⁵ and *mwt*, *mwt't* and the like regularly appear in medical recipes and magical texts (*Wb.* II, 167, 4-6). It is true that *Wb.* compares **ⲉⲟϥⲗⲁⲗ**^B with the assumed original meaning of the hieroglyph **𓂏** (*Wb.* II, 1), but this appears to refer to Sethe's explanations of the alphabetical values of the hieroglyphs rather than to a suggested etymology.⁶

Suggestive though the chain of connections may be, two strong and obvious phonological difficulties stand in the way of deriving **ⲉⲟϥⲗⲁⲗ**^B from *hm̄r*, namely the loss of the first syllable and the addition of the final one. The loss of the first syllable may not however have been universal if **ⲉⲗⲉⲟϥⲗⲁⲗⲉ**^S is correctly connected with the root, and might be accounted for by a shift of accent due to the addition of an extra syllable (the demotic magical papyrus writing *smwld* might be considered to be a stage in this process of attrition). The addition constitutes the real difficulty: on a speculative basis one might suggest that through metathesis **ⲉⲗⲉⲟϥⲗⲁⲗⲉ** represented an original *hm̄r h̄d*, 'destroying owl' (𓂏 *Wb.* III, 212-13), noting that **ⲉⲟϥ**^{SF} means 'to be in straits (of

⁴ Vatican MSS. 1, a Bohairic text, gives **ⲗⲁϥ** in Deut. 14: 17 (Crum, *Copt. Dict.*, 28a); it seems probable that the word *νυκτιβαῦ* which appears instead of *νυκτικώραξ* in two Greek magical papyri (*P. Mag. Berol.* 1. 223, indeclinable: *P. Mag. Oslo* 1. 264, declined) is a Graeco-Egyptian compound. For lexicographical reasons Crum gives separate entries for **ⲗⲁⲓ**^O 'spirit' (= *ψυχή*, Horapollo, 1. 7) and for **ⲗⲁⲓ**^{SB} (a) = *νυκτικώραξ*, 'long-eared owl' (Crum's 'night-raven' is apparently a conventional translation of the Greek); (b) = *βοῦβος* (Lat. *bubo*), 'screech-owl'. But a context like *Paris Bib. Nat. MSS.* 43, 23, where **ⲗⲁⲓ** is translated **ⲗⲁⲓ** = **ⲗⲁⲓ** = **ⲗⲁⲓ** with a gloss **ⲗⲁⲓ** 'soul', **ⲗⲁⲓ** 'bogy' shows that the basic identity was still recognized in medieval times. I am aware that in my discussion I have confused the bird which represented a man's soul with that which carried it off; I think that this confusion was latent from the late first millennium B.C. on at least.

⁵ *JEA* 26, 76.

⁶ K. Sethe, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets*, 153. I thank my friend Prof. A. F. Shore for quoting this reference to me from the manuscript of the late Prof. Černý's *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, where *OLZ* 35, 254 is referred to for the meaning of the word; also for a reference to Godron's study in *BIFAO* 56 (1957), 19-20, note on 'Les oiseaux **ⲗⲁⲓ** et **ⲗⲁⲓ**'. Prof. E. Edel has re-studied the ancient name of the owl in *Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der Weltkammer aus dem Sonnenheiligtum der Nüserre*, II, 99-101: '*im-w* "der Klagende" als vermutliche Grundform des koptischen (e)mu "Eule".' Using the phonetic evidence of the demotic and Coptic writings, he demonstrates convincingly that the original name of the owl represented by **𓂏** was **emów*, and that it must be connected with *im-w* 'der Jammervogel', which appears in the *Weltkammer* of Nüserre. He further connects the latter with the word **𓂏** = **𓂏** (*Wb.* I, 77, 12), 'wehklagen, jammern'. Edel's argument helps to reinforce the view expressed here that the owl, as a bird which bewailed the dead, may be connected with the *hm̄r* in the rôle in which it appears in the Saqqâra narrative. But his reconstruction of the bird's name as **emów* may for some scholars rule out *hm̄r* as a possible spelling of the word. This is a matter for discussion: all I would say here is that if *hm̄r* represents **ⲉⲗⲉⲟϥⲗ*, the final consonant of the stem was *-l*, as in the Indo-European root which Edel quotes (Gk. *δολύζω*, ahd. *hiwilōn*). As is well known, post-vocalic *l* is not represented in Old Kingdom writing, and first appears as *ʿ* in the 'group-writings' of foreign names in the *Achtungstexte* of the Middle Kingdom. Its omission in early writings of the root is perhaps not therefore an overriding objection to their comparison with *hm̄r*.

death)' and its derivative $\varrho\alpha\alpha^s$ appears as some sort of plague in Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, 27, 'a dying man $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\eta\varrho\alpha\alpha \dagger \kappa\omega\epsilon\eta$ whom the $\varrho\alpha\alpha$ pursues like strong wind and devouring fire' (Crum, *Copt. Dict.*, 742b). Less plausibly, one may note the appearance of a demon (?) $\overline{\text{ⲉ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}} \overline{\text{ⲛ}}$ in the phrase $p\text{:} \underline{d}w \text{ n } Hmrk$, 'the mountain of *Hmrk*' (P. Leiden 343; 3, 9; 6, 4). However this may be, the likeness between the $hm\text{:}r$ and the $\alpha\omega\gamma\lambda\alpha\alpha$ does seem to be strengthened by the contexts in the Saqqâra papyrus, which may be speculatively restored and rendered as follows:

Ro. Col. 6, 8 (after the construction of the chapel): $p\text{:} hm\text{:}r \text{ } i\text{w}=f \text{ nby } i\text{w}=f \text{ r } \check{s}m \text{ n}=f$, 'the evil $hm\text{:}r$ will go off'.

Ro. Col. 6, 23 $\check{s}n=f$ [. . .] $i\text{-}i\text{r } p\text{:} \text{ ntr } dit \text{ hpr}=f \text{ n } p\text{:} \text{ nti } \check{i} \text{ r } mwt \text{ r } tm \text{ dit } i\text{r}=f \text{ h\check{s}t}\check{t}=f \text{ m-s\check{s}}$ [. . . .] . . . $my \text{ } i\text{w}$ [. .] $tw-s \text{ } t\check{s}i(=y) \text{ } tbh \text{ } mtw=k$ [. . .] $t\check{s}i\check{t}=f \text{ } p\text{:} \text{ } hm\text{:}r$ [. .] $mn \text{ in-}mwt$: 'He asked [what] the god caused to happen to the one who was about to die so as not let him set his heart upon [.]. "Give (him) old age, behold that is my request from you. (Until) the $hm\text{:}r$ has taken him, there is no dead man.'"

Ro. Col. 6, 30-1 $i\text{-}i\text{r}=k \text{ } tn \text{ } wn\text{-}n\text{:}w \text{ } i\text{r}\check{t}\check{t}(=y) \text{ } wh\check{s}=k \text{ } \underline{d}d \text{ } p\text{:} \text{ } ntr \text{ } wn\text{-}n\text{:}w \text{ } i\text{-}i\text{r}=y \text{ } n \text{ } pr\text{-}\text{[imnti]} \text{ } [\check{s}n]=y \text{ } Wsir \text{ } r\text{-}db\text{:} \text{ } Is\text{:}t \text{ } r\text{-}wn\text{-}n\text{:}w \text{ } \text{[n-im=s]} \text{ } i\text{w } p\text{:} \text{ } hm\text{:}r$ [. . . .]: "Whither were you bound for when my eye was seeking you?" Said the god: "I was bound for the underworld. I besought Osiris concerning Isis who was there; for the $hm\text{:}r$ came [. . . .]".'

A PETITION TO THE PREFECT OF EGYPT AND RELATED IMPERIAL EDICTS

By J. DAVID THOMAS

ALMOST the whole of the surviving part of this text, which belongs to the early third century A.D., is contained on a large fragment of papyrus measuring 19 × 33 cm. There is in addition a much smaller fragment (5.5 × 7 cm.) which supplies the right-hand part of lines 27–39, there being a join in *τοῦτο* in line 37.¹ The resulting document is complete at the top and at the foot, but even where both fragments can be used it remains incomplete at the right. For most of its length a great deal of the right half of the text is missing, the loss being especially bad in lines 12–23. Furthermore, the surviving part has numerous holes and not infrequently the top surface has flaked off, taking with it the ink. It is not surprising therefore that a large number of difficulties both of reading and interpretation remain, some of which are no doubt insoluble given the state of preservation. Nevertheless it is possible to establish the format of the text and to indicate the main points with which it is concerned, which in turn enables one to speculate on the problems raised, which are of no small interest for the history of Roman Egypt.² For a photograph see pl. XXVII.

The text as a whole comprises a legal dossier, which begins with quotations from two pronouncements of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (1–9), follows these with a letter of the prefect of Egypt, Subatianus Aquila, to the *stratego*i of the Heptanomia (10–23), and then contains, in the largest and best preserved part (23–44), a petition to the same prefect from a certain Heraklides. The format, with the imperial and prefectorial pronouncements preceding the petition in which they are referred to, is quite normal: papyrological parallels include *P. Flor.* III 382, *P. Oxy.* XII 1405 and *PSI* IX 1052. All this is written in the same hand, a medium-sized, undistinguished semi-cursive, typical of the period. A second hand has added at the foot of the petition (44–5) a date, a *κόλλημα* reference, and a note instructing the *strategos* to take action. This is clearly the *subscriptio* of the prefect, giving his answer to the petition, and, as it is a different hand, the assumption must be that our papyrus preserves the original petition, which

¹ The papyrus is the property of the Egypt Exploration Society, inv. no. Box 3B 34/H5 (recto: on the verso are remains of a list of inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus). I am very grateful to the Society for permission to publish it here in advance of its appearance in a volume of Oxyrhynchite papyri.

² In preparing an edition of this text I have benefited from being able to use a preliminary transcript made by Mrs. Ursula Buske (*née* Schlag). I have also received considerable help from Professor H. C. Youtie, who has seen a photograph of the text; by no means all of his suggestions for readings and interpretations are specifically attributed to him in the notes which follow. In March 1973, I presented the text to a seminar group in the Institute of Classical Studies, London, and I should like to thank all who took part in the ensuing discussion, in particular Professors A. Momigliano, J. A. C. Thomas, and E. G. Turner. It is presumably this papyrus to which N. Lewis alludes briefly in *Proc. XII Int. Congress of Papyrology* (ASP 7; 1970), 11.

was presented to the prefect's office and then returned to the petitioner (cf., however, the note to line 23). Below this, perhaps in a third hand, is some additional writing whose purpose is obscure (46).

The date of the *subscriptio* is February 25, A.D. 209, and the petition is unlikely to have been presented very much earlier than this. It must in any case be after the date at which Aquila became prefect, for which the *terminus ante quem* is October/November, A.D. 206 (see the note to line 10). The petition falls into three sections: the preamble, which no doubt contained an appeal *ad misericordiam* (24–7); the complaint proper (27–39); and a request for action to be taken through the *epistrategos* (39–44). The complaint is directed partly against a certain Serenos, who is alleged not only to be illegally absent from his *idia* but to be making a nuisance of himself as well (he is called, by implication, a *μετανάστης καὶ ἀσεβῆς ἄνθρωπος* in lines 38–9); and partly against the person or persons who are illegally sheltering him (the verb used is *ὑποδέχασθαι*). Both parties are said to be disobeying imperial edicts and prefectorial instructions.

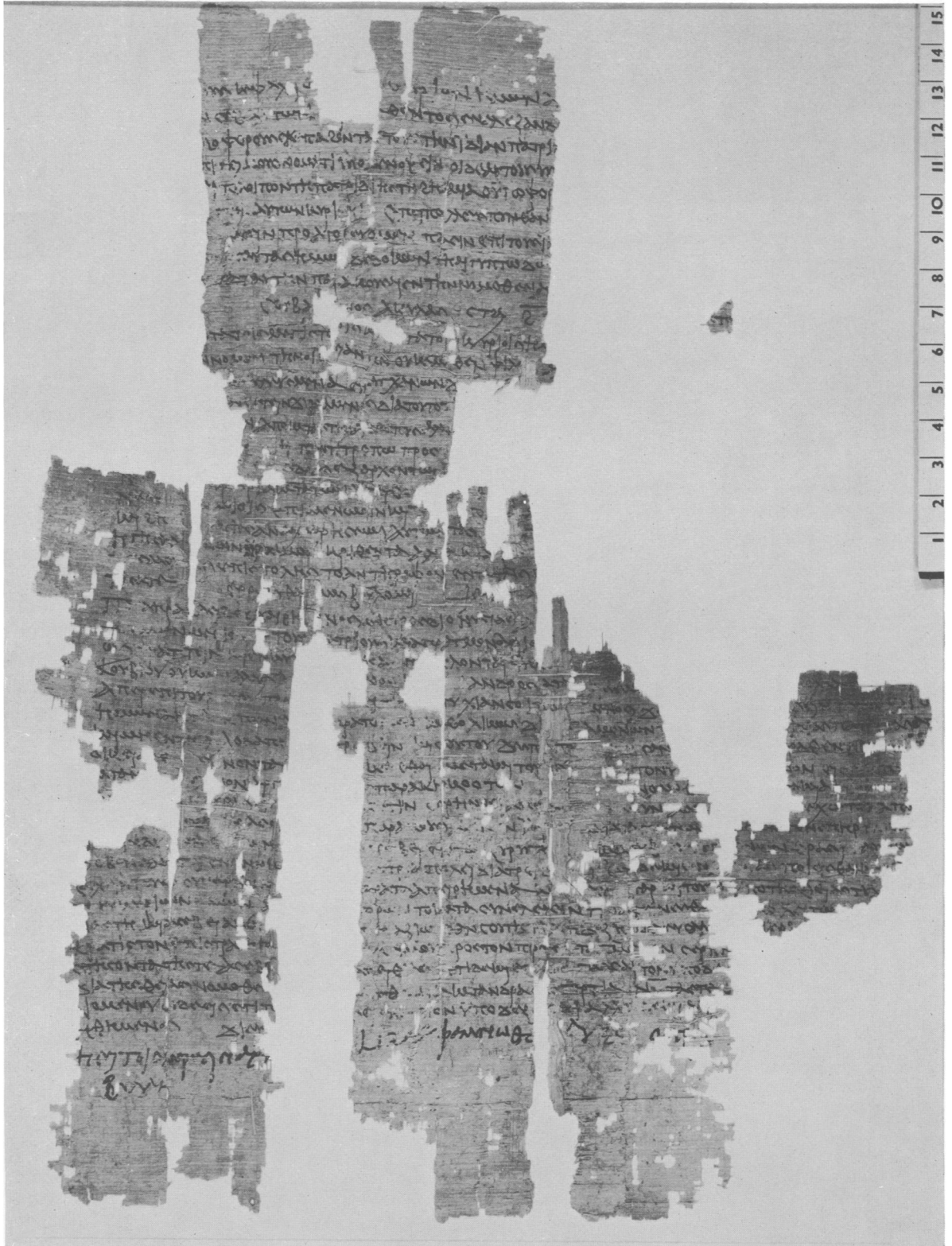
Extracts from the imperial edicts in question are quoted in lines 1–9. As they were issued in Alexandria they are no doubt to be dated A.D. 199/200, when we know that Severus and Caracalla were in Alexandria and when they issued a large number of *constitutiones* (cf. *Apokrimata. Decisions of Septimius Severus*, ed. W. L. Westermann and A. A. Schiller (1954), 27–30; an improved text of these rescripts by H. C. Youtie is to be found in *Chron. d'Ég.* 30 (1955), 327–34 = *SB*, VI 9526). Since the pronouncements quoted in our text are referred to in line 34 as *διατάγματα* (cf. *διατεταγμένων*, line 29), they are no doubt to be classed as edicts. The first refers to taxpayers (*ὑπόφοροι*) illegally leaving their homes and fixes financial penalties for those protecting them (*σκεπάζοντες*). The second instructs all absent from their own *nomes* to return there forthwith.

The prefectorial letter which follows belongs to the year A.D. 206/7, probably to Hathyr, i.e. October/November 206 (see the note to line 23). Little of its import can be gleaned from the fragment which has survived, but it seems fairly clear that it was concerned in some way with tightening up regulations against persons who had illegally left their *idia* (cf. esp. *ζήτη[σι]ν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως* in line 20). One surprising feature is that the prefect seems to be reporting ignorance on the part of a named individual (cf. the note to line 12), although the letter is a general instruction to all the *strategoï* of Middle Egypt. This suggests that the offender, who had probably ignored the imperial edicts, was an official, perhaps a high-ranking one.

After the text, notes, and translation, the more important historical points are treated at greater length in the excursus on pp. 212 ff.

The Text

[Ἐκ μέρ]ους κεφαλαίω[ν τῶ]ν κυρίων ἡμῶν Α[ὑτοκράτορων Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου	
[Εὐσεβῶ]ν Σεβαστῶν [π]ρ[ο]σθέντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ[εία	c. 30 letters
[. . . . ὑ]ποφόρους σκεπάζοντας τοὺς τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδ[α καταλιπόντας	22
[. . . . ἔ]πιτείμου ὄνοματι ὑπομενοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπ[ο]δεχόμενοι (?)	27



Oxyrhynchus Box 3 B34/H5

A PETITION TO THE PREFECT OF EGYPT

- 5 [.] αι τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ πατρίδι ἧς τῇ ζημίᾳ ὁ ὑπόφορος 34
 [.] α τῶν αὐτῶν κυρίων. vac. Ἐπεὶ πολλοὺς πυνθαν[όμεθα 26 ἐν τῇ ἀλ-
 [λοδαπῇ] διάγειν, προαγορεύομεν πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδ[ίους νομοὺς κατιέναι 18
 [.] τρσαύτας ἡμῶ[ν] δεδοκ[ότων] τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ δω[ρεὰς 30 εἰ δέ
 [τινες] μετὰ ταύτην παρακούσαιεν τὴν νομοθεσίαν [36
 10 [] vac. Σουβα[τι]ανὸς Ἀκυλᾶς στρα[τηγοῖς] ζ[υ]γομῶν καὶ Ἀρσινοῦτου χαίρειν. 12
 [.] τα τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ θ[ε]ι[ο]τάτοις κυρίοις ἡμ[ῶν] Σεουήρω καὶ
 Ἀντωνίνῳ 18
 [.] ν νομὸν τὴν οἰκείαν γῆν οὐκ ἔμαθεν φιλο. α. [37
 [9] κεκελευσμένα ἐντυγχάνων δ[έ] 46
 [8] α πίστειν δυνάμενος διὰ τοῦτο τι[44
 15 [II] ν ἀποκαταστήσαι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλο[υς] 43
 [II] .[.] αι παντὶ τρόπῳ προσ.[46
 [II] . . ἄνδρας ἐξ ἀρχόντων [47
 νο. ε[.] αρ. . ρια κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων α[37 ἐὰν δέ τι-
 νες τρεῖς ὁμοίοις ἐπιμένωσιν καὶ το[. . .] πο. [. .] μ[38
 20 καὶ ζήτη[σι]ν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως αὐτῶν τασ[. . .] . [27 κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἡγήσαμ[έ]νων πρὸ ἐμοῦ κριθέντα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀξ[ιωθέντες] ὑπ' ἐμοῦ 10 ὑμεῖς
 προθεῖναι ταύ-
 τῆς μου [τ]ῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἔν τε ταῖς π[ό]λεσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπισήμοις τῶν
 νομῶν τόποις φρον-
 τίσατε. vac. ἐρρῶσθα[ι] ὑ[μ]ᾶς βούλομαι. vac. (ἔτους) ιε // Ἀ[θ]ῶν . Σουβατιανῶ
 Ἀκυλᾶ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου
 παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου Χαιρή[μ]ονος μητρὸς Διονυσίας ἀ[πὸ 36
 25 ἡγέμων μέγιστε, τοὺς [μ]ετρίους καὶ ἀπράγμονα βίου[ν] ζῶντας 30
 ὡς πράττειν καὶ ἐνκυ[. . .] εα. η[. .] ελονται τῆς[. .] γωνα[31
 κοῦ βίου οὐκ ὦν ἀλλὰ ἀ[πράγμο]νος [.] ἀνδρὸς ατα[. .] εἰς ἐμ[έ] 10 ὦν]
 πολλὰ σημεί[α] ἔχω
 ἄπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥητοῦ παρ[αθήσομ]αι, τῇ[ν] ἐν[τυ]χίαν σοι ποιο[ύ]μενος δέ[ομαι] μὴ με
 παρι[δεῖν] τῶν κυρίων[ν]
 ἡμῶν ἀη[τ]τήτων Α[ὐ]τοκράτορων καθολικῶς δι[α]τετ[α]γ[μ]ένων π[άν]τας εἰς τὰς]
 ἰδίας πατρίδας ἀπ[ι]έναι
 30 καὶ μὴ ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ [δια]τρε[ί]βειν καὶ σοῦ τοῦ δεσπότη[ν] κε[λέ]ψαν[τος] ἐν τῷ
 π[α]ρα[τε]θέντι [.] ο[.]
 οἰκείας ἐπ[ι]μ[έ]νοντα [συλλ]αβέσθαι, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ [.] ισ[.] τὸν ὑ[πο]δεχόμε[νον]
 εἰς ἐπιτε[ί]μου λόγον
 [κ]ατ' ἄν[δρα] συχνὸν ἀργ[ύριον] ὡ[ς] παρακηκοότων τ[ῶν] θείων] νομοθ[εσιῶν] . .] α καὶ
 α . . β . α[. . .] λ[.]
 [.] ν. νουσ. ιπ[.] ἐστὶν Σερῆνος Ἀπελ[.] σ συν Ἀμ[5
 Πα]ρχώτου ἀπὸ [.]
 [.] τῆς μ[ει]κρᾶς Ὁ[άσεως] παρακούσας τῶν ἱερῶ[ν] διαταγμάτων
 [. . .] τῶν τὸν ἐπητημέ[νον] αὐ-

- 35 τ[ὴν κ]ίνδυν[ον] ξ[ίτη] καὶ ν[ὴν δι]ατρείβει ἐν τῷ [’Ο]ξυρυγχ[ίτη] κακοῦ β[ί]ου τυγχ[ά]-
νων θράσει ταύτῳ μ[έ]γαν
φόβον ἑαυτῷ ἐν νν[. ἐν ἀ]λλοτρία πόλει διατρείβ[ον]τι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ . . νχ[. . .]ιας
ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπ[ὸ] χείρα
ἔχειν τοὺς συνερχομέ[νους] παρὰ τὰ ἀπειρημένα· κε[κώ]λυτ[α]ι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῆς
θείας τύχ[ης] τῶν αὐ-
τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Α[ὐτοκρα]τόρων τὸ κατὰ συνέλευσιν τινα γείνεσθαι[ι τῶν] πολιτῶ[ν]
..... μετα-
γαστή καὶ ἀσεβεῖ ἀνθρ[ώπων]· διό[περ] ἀξιῶ ἐὰν σοῦ τῆ τύχῃ δοξῆ κελεῦσαί σ[ε] διὰ
ἱερά[ς] σου ὑπογραφῆς τὸν
40 κράτιστον ἐπιστράτηγο[ν] διακ[οῦ]σαί μου πρὸς τὸν προτεταγμέ[ν]ον Σερῆν[ον] 10
ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπο-
στήσουντα τῆς τε ἀσεβε[ίας] καὶ ἀπειθ[ίας], ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐπαγ[α]γκάσαι τὸν ὑποδε[χόμενον]
αὐτὸν τελέσαι τὰ τε
διὰ τῆς θείας νομοθεσ[ίας] ὄρ[ε]ισθέντα κατ’ ἀνδρα σηστέρτια ν- τάς τε ο[] 14
τούτου δὲ γε-
νομένου οὐδὲ εἰς ἔτι τρ[ι]μή[σει] ἀνα . . τον ὑποδέξασθαι ἄλλο[.] δὲ καὶ α[.] 18
βεβο-
ηθημένος. vac. διευτ[υχ]εῖ. vac.] (2nd hd) (”Ετους) ιζ // Φαμενώθ α [κ]ολ[λήματος]
υξς. ὁ στρα[τηγὸς] τὰ προσήκοντα ποι-
45 ἦσει τοῖς μέρεσιν αὐτ[οῦ].] vacat
(3rd hd?) βελλη vacat

35 l. διατρίβει

36 l. διατρίβοντι

38 l. γίνεσθαι, πολιτῶν

42 l. ὀρισθέντα

Notes

1. ἐκ μέρ]ους κεφαλαίω[ν]: the combination of ἐκ μέρους with κεφάλαιον is new, though each expression is well enough attested by itself: for ἐκ μέρους cf. *P. Tebt.* II, 286. 1 (= *M. Chr.* 83) ἐκ μέρους ἀποκρίματος θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, and *WB.*, s.v. 1c. For κεφάλαιον with reference to imperial edicts see esp. *P. Würzb.* 9. 40–1 ἕως [τοῦ]του [τὸ] κ[ε]φ[ά]λαι[ον], which Wilcken translates ‘bis hierhin (reicht) das Hauptstück’; cf. *BGU* IV, 1074. 3 (= *SB* I, 5225), *P. Oxy.* xxvii, 2476. 4. What it refers to is the main part of the edict (in the language of diplomatic this might be called the ‘text’ as opposed to the ‘initial protocol’ and ‘final protocol’), which alone is quoted, leaving out imperial titles and other introductory matter (cf. the way imperial rescripts are reported in *P. Col.* 123); see Volterra, *Atti del II Congr. Int. della Soc. Ital. di Storia del Diritto*, ‘La critica del testo’ (1971), 821–1097 (on the papyri 883–938), esp. pp. 921–5. The best English equivalent is perhaps ‘gist’ or ‘substance’ (not ‘summary’). ἐκ μέρους κεφαλαίων might appear to be a tautologous expression from P. M. Meyer, *juristische Papyri* 27 (= *SB* I, 1010 = *FIRA* III, 61), where *ex ea parte edicti* is translated ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τοῦ διατάγματος (cf. *PSI* x, 1101), whereas in *SB* VI, 9298, it is translated ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ κεφαλαίου τοῦ διατάγματος. But what the writer of our text meant can, I think, be readily understood if we take κεφάλαιον in the sense just indicated. Nevertheless one might have expected προτεθέντων for προτεθέντος.

The only alternative restoration possible in the imperial titles would be to add καὶ Γέτα after Ἀντωνίου (cf. P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales* (Pap. Brux. 2; 1964), 95–101), but Geta is not in

comparable texts (listed in *Apokrimata*, 27 f.); note esp. *SB* I, 4284, which relates to the same edict as the one quoted here in lines 6–9 (see below, p. 213). The restoration given may seem to make the first line too short—it has only 62 letters as against 75–80 in lines 28 ff. But the writer makes his letters larger and broader as he moves into the imperial names, with the result that line 1 up to the final break has only 31 letters, whereas line 39 has 41 in the same space. Therefore it would not be surprising if, in the rest of the space after the break, line 1 had only 31 letters where line 39 had 39.

2. After ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ[εῖα will have stood the date, no doubt year 8 as indicated in the introduction.

3. ὑ]ποφόρους: the restoration is certain in view of ὑπόφορ[ος in line 5. *WB.* quotes only *SB* I, 5659. 6 for this word, but there it occurs along with γῆ and so is certainly to be corrected to σιτοφόρος, see Grenfell, *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* 1917, 30. The word is therefore new to the papyri. For the suggestion that it may translate Latin *tributarius* and for the possible significance of this, see below, p. 218.

σκεπάζοντας: this is the only possible reading: there is too much ink after the *alpha* for us to read σκεπάζοντα and this ink is not consistent with σκεπάζονται.

4. ὑπομενοῦσιν: hardly likely to be a participle, but a present instead of a future indicative is obviously possible.

ὑπ[οδεχόμενοι: supplied from lines 41 and 43 (cf. 31). It is used of sheltering fugitives wanted by the government from the third century B.C. (*P. Hib.* II, 198. 92–100, esp. 96–9 κατὰ τὰ α[ὑ]τὰ δὲ καὶ οἱ ὑποδεχόμενοι[ι τὰς λεί]ας (?) παρὰ τ[ῶν] ληισ[τ]ῶν ἢ κακούργου ἢ αὐτοῦς ὑπ[οδεχόμε]νοι ἔν[οχοι] ἔσ[τω]-[σα]ν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίμοι[ς, cf. 92 n.] to the seventh century A.D. (*P. Oxy.* I, 139. 22–3, a promise not to ὑποδέξασθαι λιστάς (*l.* ληστάς)). Note in particular the prefectorial edict on the suppression of brigands, *P. Oxy.* XII, 1408. 25 f. (c. 210–14), εἰσ[ί] δὲ ὑποδεχομένων πολλοὶ τρόποι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κωνων[ο]ντες τῶν ἀδικη[ν]μάτων ὑποδέχονται, οἱ δὲ οὐ μετέχοντες μὲν κα[.

5.]αι τὸ λοιπόν: not ἐ]πι τὸ λοιπόν.]αι points to κ]αί or an infinitive.

3–5. It is greatly to be regretted that so much of this edict (the significance of which will be discussed below, pp. 218 ff.) has been lost, as the information it brings is new. The chief problem is to understand the construction. καταλιπόντας or a synonym would appear inescapable in line 3, οἱ δὲ of line 4 carries the implication that οἱ μὲν preceded, and the restoration in the same line of ὑπ[οδεχόμενοι is very tempting. If we start with these assumptions, two lines of approach suggest themselves: (1) To assume that σκεπάζοντας and ὑποδεχόμενοι are contrasted, the first meaning 'those offering official protection' to the defaulters, and the second 'those affording them shelter'. For this meaning of σκεπάζειν cf. for example *P. Cair. Isidor.* 68, in which a petitioner complains that officials, among them a κωμογραμματεὺς, are protecting persons who neglect their duty to the village (on σκέπη see further below, p. 220). With this interpretation we must probably supply οἱ μὲν before ὑ]ποφόρους and suppose σκεπάζοντας an error for σκεπάζοντες (a slip which is by no means unlikely for this scribe; cf. lines 8, 29, and 30). The sense will then be: 'those affording official protection to ὑπόφοροι who have left their homeland shall be liable to . . . by way of a fine, whereas those sheltering them shall be liable to pay the remainder to the πατρίς (of the ὑπόφορος) for whose loss the ὑπόφορος is responsible' (supplying τελέσ]αι, *vel sim.*, at the start of line 5). (2) To assume that σκεπάζοντας and ὑποδεχόμενοι both refer to the same group of people, the words being more or less synonymous. This first edict may then have begun much as the second edict and οἱ μὲν can be supplied after καταλιπόντας. The sense produced would be: 'since we have learnt that people are protecting ὑπόφοροι who have left their homeland, one group (the ὑπόφοροι) shall be liable to pay . . . by way of a fine, whereas the second group (οἱ ὑποδεχόμενοι) shall be liable, etc.' (as before). In favour of this it may be noted that lines 29–32 allude to instructions issued against (a) those deserting their *idia* and (b) those sheltering them.

A grave objection, however, can be made to both reconstructions. Lines 41–2 allude to payment by ὁ ὑποδεχόμενος of a fine of 50,000 sesterces fixed διὰ τῆς θείας νομοθεσ[ίας, and it is natural to suppose

that the petitioner quoted the relevant imperial instruction in his submission. The obvious place to supply the missing words is between *καταλιπόντας* in line 3 and *ἐπιτείμου* in the next line; note especially the parallelism between *ἐπιτείμου ὀνόματι* here and *εἰς ἐπιτεῖ[μου λόγον* in line 31 (which alludes to the same payment as that referred to in line 42, see the notes ad loc.). But on either reconstruction the group to whom *ἐπιτείμου ὀνόματι ὑπομενοῦσιν* applies—which should be the *ὑποδεχόμενοι*—is in fact *contrasted* with *οἱ ὑποδεχόμενοι*. With the second reconstruction it is just possible to get round this difficulty by supposing that the lacuna before *ἐπιτείμου ὀνόματι ὑπομενοῦσιν* alluded to a relatively small fine to be paid by the *ὑπόφοροι* (an amount which would in fact be less than their financial obligations to their *πατρίς*), and that the fine of 50,000 sesterces was specified in the lost part of line 4, thus: ‘and those sheltering them shall be liable to pay 50,000 sesterces per person to the *fiscus* (?) and the remainder (of the taxes owing) to the *πατρίς*’ (supplying *καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν* in line 5). But this is not too convincing. Perhaps the attractive restoration *ὑποδεχόμενοι* should be abandoned.

6.]α τῶν αὐτῶν κυρίων: logically *ἐξ ἄλλου μέρους τῶν κεφαλαίων* should precede *τῶν αὐτῶν κυρίων*, but the letter after the lacuna cannot be *nu*. *Sigma* is just possible, suggesting *ὁμοίω]ς* (as e.g. *P. Mich.* IX, 522. 1), or *ἐξ ἄλλου μέρου]ς*. However, the most likely reading is *alpha*; therefore perhaps *ἄλλο διάταγμα]α* or *ἄλλα κεφάλαια]α*, but neither is wholly satisfactory.

πυθνα[όμεθα: cf. the beginning of the edict of M. Sempronius Liberalis, *BGU* II, 372 = *W. Chr.* 19 (154).

6/7. *ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ*: restored *exempli gratia* from line 30 and *SB* 4284. 7, which both have this expression followed by the much commoner word *διατρίβειν*.

7. *διάγειν*: cf. e.g. *P. Würzb.* 9. 56–8 *ὅπως ο[ε] τε αὐτοῦ . . . ἀ[νυ]βριστοι καὶ ἀνεπ[η]ρέαστοι διάγωσιν ἐν τῷ νομῶ*.

ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδ[ίους νομούς: the restoration of *νομούς* is, I believe, inescapable. For its possible significance see below, p. 217. *ἴδιοι τόποι* nowhere occurs and is an unlikely expression, whereas *ἴδιοι νομοί* is found in *P. Flor.* I, 6. 12 (quoted below, p. 214); it is also restored in *P. Flor.* III, 375. 44 (early third century).

κατιέναι: restored from *SB* 4284. 8.

8. *δεδοκ[ότ]ων*: a considerable blunder on the part of the scribe if this is intended for *δεδικότων*, but no alternative seems possible.

9. *παρακούσαιεν*: the reading is certain; according to B. G. Mandilaras, *The verb in the Greek non-literary papyri* (1973), para. 624, the normal form for the aorist optative would end in *-ειαν*. There are two ways of taking this line: (a) assuming that *παρακούσαιεν* is used without an object expressed and taking *μετὰ ταύτην τὴν νομοθεσίαν* together, ‘if any disobey after this lawgiving’; or (b) assuming that *παρακούσαιεν* governs the accusative following it and that *ταύτην* refers back to some such word as *προθεσμία* in the lacuna, ‘if after this time limit any disobey our lawgiving’. In either case ‘they will be punished’, or words to that effect, must have completed the edict. For the fixing of a time limit to a concession cf. *P. Col.* 123, as emended in *SB* 9526. 6–7, *τὰς ἐπιβληθείσας Ἀλεξ-ανδρεῦσι ἢ Αἰγυπτίοις ζημίας τῇ δωρεᾷ χρόνον προσαγα[γόν]τες ἀνήκαμεν*; see also *BGU* 372 II, 19 ff. *με]τὰ τὴν τοσαύτην μου φιλανθ[ρ]ωπίαν*, and *P. Cair. Isidor.* I. 13 f. *εἰ γὰρ τις ἄλλο πράξας ὀφθείη μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην δωρεὰν κινδυνεύσει*. These parallels tempt me to prefer (b) above. This, however, is linguistically more difficult, as *παρακούειν* generally takes the genitive (as in line 34); for an example of it followed by the accusative cf. *P. Apoll.* 40. 3 *οὐ δύναμαι παρακ[ο]ῦσ[αι] τὰς κελεύσεις τῶν δε[σπο]τ[ῶ]ν*.

10. Before *Σουβα[τι]ανός* are 1.5 cm. of blank papyrus. Why Aquila’s name was inset is not clear, but possibly the second imperial edict ended in the lost part of line 10 and was then followed by a gap.

Σουβα[τι]ανός Ἀκυλάς: a very well-known prefect on whom see Reinmuth, *BASP* 4 (1967), 109,

and A. Stein, *Die Präfekten von Ägypten* (1950), 111–14; to the references in Reinmuth add *BGU* XI, 2061, *SB* X, 10275, and correct *P. Yale* I, 67 to 61; cf. also *P. Oxy.* xxxiv, 2708. Grosso, *Rend. Acc. Naz. Lincei* 22 (1967), 55–64 (cf. Rea, *Par. Pass.* 112 (1967), 48–53), has shown that the earliest date known for his tenure of the office of prefect is *P. Oxy.* VIII, 1100, of Hathyr (= October/November) 206 (Reinmuth gives 205/6, October/November; this is misleading, as the month of Hathyr in question is that of year 15 and must therefore be dated 206).

11. Perhaps supply *διατεταγμένα* and treat the imperial names as datives of the agent. Alternatively, read *δοξα]ντα* at the start of this line. For the restoration of *Σεουήρω και Αντωνίνω* cf. *SB* 4284. 7.

12.]ν νομόν: e.g. καθ' ἕκαστο]ν νομόν; but in such a broken context one cannot rule out νόμον.

φιλο. α.[: the letter before the break is *lambda*, *mu*, or *chi*, and the letter before the *alpha* might be *delta* or *kappa*. Thus a proper name such as Φιλόδομ[ος or Φιλόκαλ[ος could be read, though neither is a very likely name, especially at this date, cf. Preisigke, *NB*, Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum*. A reference to a specific individual in a general epistle to all the *strategoî* of the Heptanomia is, as remarked in the introduction, most unexpected. It would, however, suit ἐντυγχάνων in the next line. It would be easy to suppose ἔμαθεν an error for ἔμαθον and refer the word to the prefect himself, but no obvious solution of the difficulty suggests itself, and to read ἐμεθεν for ἔμαθεν makes things worse.

14.]α πίστειν: οἱ ἀπιστεῖν.

17. ἄνδρας ἐξ ἀρχόντων: perhaps a reference to newly created officials who are to be elected from among the ἀρχοντες (as opposed to ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν); for the expression cf. *P. Oxy.* XII, 1409. 13–14 and xxxiii, 2664. 14.

17/18. Possible readings are πυκ]νότε[ρα δὲ] μαρτύρια or πυκ]νότε[ρα ἐκ]μαρτύρια (though *upsilon* is hard to fit to the traces). This would presumably refer to the taking of written depositions against persons accused of disobeying the laws.

19. τῶν ὁμοίους ἐπιμένωσιν: cf. *P. Beatty Panop.* 2. 242 f. εἰ δὲ . . . τινες τῶν πρακτῆρων τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν βουληθεῖεν, where Skeat translates 'if any of the collectors should decide to continue in their evil ways'. Similarly here τὰ ὅμοια is no doubt used of 'comparable breaches of the law', which will bring with them unpleasant consequences for the lawbreakers, including (20) ζήτησις τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως αὐτῶν.

20. ζήτη[σι]ν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως: though ζήτη[σι]ν is far from certain as a reading, it is marginally preferable to ζημί[α]ν or ζημι[οῦ]ν and gives excellent sense. In *BGU* 372 I, 18 f. μ[ηδ]εμίαν πρὸς α[ὐ]τοὺς ζήτησιν ἔσεσθαι is used with reference to ἀνακεχωρηκότες, cf. also *P. Flor.* 375. 46 and Braunert's remarks, *JJP* 9–10 (1955/6), 264.

21–3. A stock expression for which there is a very close parallel in *BGU* IV, 1086 II 3 f.; cf. also *P. Oxy.* 1100. 2–4 (also from *Aquila*) with *Berichtigungsliste*, I, p. 331 [but the original editors' νομῶν is preferable to κωμῶν].

22. π[ό]λεσι: the letter before the break appears to be *gamma*, but this leads nowhere and it is better therefore to treat it as a broken *pi*; μ[ητροπό]λεσι is not possible. πόλις is of course used often enough to refer to the Egyptian nome capitals (cf. πολιτῶν in line 38 below), but one might have expected the prefect to have avoided this technically incorrect term and to have used μητροπόλεις.

23. After (ἔτους) ιε one could read two *alphas* with a space between, which would point to ἀ(ναφορίου) ἀ(ντίγραφον). There are two objections to this: (i) the prefect's letter should be dated by month and day as well as year; and (ii) the petition which follows is not a copy but an original document (though cf. the next paragraph). I think it just possible to take what looks like part of an *alpha* after ιε as all that remains of two diagonal strokes following the year number (as in line 44). The second *alpha*, if rightly read, will then be the beginning of the month's name, i.e. Hathyr. If this is

correct, our document contains, along with *P. Oxy.* 1100, the earliest known reference to Aquila as prefect (October/November 206).

From line 25 we know that the addressee of the petition was the prefect, hence the supplement in this line. For a petition beginning in the middle of the line cf. *PSI* IX, 1052. 3 (also to Aquila) and *P. Flor.* III, 382. 27 (though there the text is uncertain). Nevertheless it is an odd arrangement and we should note too that there is no signature to our petition after *διεντυχεῖ* (44). This being so, the possibility must be borne in mind that what we have is a copy of the dossier kept by the petitioner (or his lawyer), to which he subsequently added the prefect's *subscriptio* after the original had come back from the prefect's office. In which case the addressee of the petition need not have appeared in our papyrus.

24 ff. No doubt the petitioner began by stressing his moderate means and law-abiding behaviour. Introductory remarks of this type begin to appear in petitions at about this date, cf. *SB* V, 7517 (c. 211/12), and had become clichés a century later; see, for example, *P. Merton* 91. 6 = *P. Cair. Isidor.* 74. 2–3 (315–16).

25. *μ]ετρίους*: see Guéraud, Youtie, *Chron. d'Ég.* 28 (1953), 150, who contrast the *μέτριοι* with 'des gros bonnets qui se croient tout permis'—a significant expression in the light of the nature of the persons here complained of (see p. 220).

ἀπράγμονα βίον ζώτας: cf. *P. Oxy.* XVII, 2131. 10 *γεωργικὸν [κα] ἀπράγμονα βίον ζῶν* (in a petition to Aquila); also *SB* VI, 9622. 13 (343) *τὸν [ἀπ]ράγμον[α βίον]ν ἀσκῶν*.

26. *ἐνκυ[. . .]ξα.η[. . .]ελονται τῆσ[. . .]νωνα*: enough ink remains here for there to be some hope of recovering the sense, but the solution escapes me. After *ἐνκυ kappa* could be read, suggesting *ἐν κύκ[λω]*. *BGU* 2061. 8 may be relevant (also an appeal to Aquila), where Maehler reads *διὰ τὸ αὐτοὺς ἐνκυλιεσθ[. . .]*; but unfortunately this papyrus also is fragmentary and the context obscure. At the end *τῆσ ἀ[ν]ώννας* could be read: for the genitive *ἀνώννας* Youtie refers me to *SB* VI, 9429. 4.

27. The word to be supplied at the start depends on how we take what follows. If *ἀ[πράγμο]νος* is correctly supplied we need its opposite to precede, e.g. *ληστρικὸν*, cf. *SB* 9622. 3 *τὸν ἀν[αυδ]ῆ [κ]αὶ ληστρικὸν [τρό]πον ἡρημ[έ]ν[ο]ις*, and *BGU* 372 II, 1 f. *πονηρ[ὸν κ]α[ὶ] λησ[τ]ρικὸν βίον [έ]λομ[έ]νοις*. It is possible, however, that the words refer to the person Heraklides is complaining of, in which case we must reject *ἀ[πράγμο]νος* and reconstruct differently.

ἀνδρός: before this not *ὑπ'* or *ὑπό*; perhaps *κα]ί* or *κα[ὶ νυν]ί*.

ατα κτλ.: *ατα* is on a separate piece of papyrus which may not be correctly placed here; physically, however, the join is very good. All *ατα* suggests to me is *ατα[ξία] εἰς ἐμ[έ] χρωμένον*, cf. perhaps *P. Oslo* III, 128. 15, where a petitioner complains *περὶ τῆσ τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου ἀταξίας*; but there is not really room for three letters between *ατα* and *εἰς*.

ὦν] πολλὰ σημεῖ[α ἔχω: suggested by Youtie. Only the flimsiest traces of the letters after *sigma* remain, but the sense is excellent. On *σημεῖον* in the papyri see Youtie, *ZPE* 6 (1970), 105–16. At this point the smaller fragment begins.

28. *ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥήτου παρ[αθήσομ]αι*: elsewhere the verb used in this expression is either *δηλώσω* or *ἀποδείξω*, cf. *WB.*, s.v. *ῥήτος*. The latter might be thought to point to *παρ[αδείξομ]αι* here, but there is no justification for the middle with this verb; nor does *παρ[αδείξω κ]αὶ* look promising.

δέ[ομαι μή με παρι]δεῖν: there is barely room for all this in the lacuna so that *σε* must have been omitted, as for example in *P. Oxy.* III, 487. 12.

29. *καθολικῶς* and *ιδίας πατρίδας* are perhaps significant, see below, p. 219.

ἀπ[ιέναι]: *ἀγ[ειν]* appears to fit the space better but does not seem to make good sense, and the amount lost at the ends of lines can vary considerably. For *ἀπιέναι* cf. the edict of Severus and Caracalla (discussed below, p. 219) mentioned in *P. Westminster Coll.* 3 (*JEA* 55 (1969), 188 f.), where line 11 reads *ἀπιναι ἕνα ἕκαστον εἰς τῆ[ν] ιδίαν*; the editors take this as *ἀπειναι*, but I doubt whether this gives the required sense and should prefer to treat it as an error, correcting to *ἀπι(έ)ναι*.

30/31. π]αρα(τε)θέντι κτλ.: there must be a reference here to Aquila's letter quoted in 10–23. The correction of παραθεντι to παρατεθέντι seems necessary (cf. Mandilaras, op. cit., para. 421); cf. its use in *SB* v, 8246. 48 f., θείου καὶ προσκυνητοῦ νόμου τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν . . . παρατεθέντος ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομημάτων. What follows is baffling. We are not helped by the fact that the reading offered at the start of the next line is doubtful, see note. If line 31 is on the right lines, what we should expect before it is a noun to describe the prefect's letter, e.g. γραμματεῖω or ἐπιστάλαμι (ἐπίσταλμα is used of a letter from a *dioiketes* in *P. Oxy.* xii, 1409. 5), and then something like τὸν ἐκτὸς τῆς οἰκείας ἐπιμένοντα; but it is impossible to fit all this in. Perhaps the scribe made another blunder and omitted the noun to go with παρατεθέντι (if the missing word were ἐπιστάλαμι, homoioteleuton could account for the error).

31. ἐπ[ι]μ[ε]νοντα [συλλ]αβέσθαι: a doubtful reading. For βεσθαι one could read κε[ε]σθαι, but there is no reason why the *iota* should not be visible. The trace after the lacuna is not consistent with *iota*, so διατρ]ύβεσθαι is impossible. συλλαβέσθαι, meaning 'arrest', suits the context well enough, cf. line 20 and the edict of Liberalis of 154, *BGU* 372 II, 20–2, which proclaims that anyone found ἐ]πὶ ξένης πλανώμενος will be sent to the prefect ὡς ὁμόλογος κακοῦργος σ[υ]νλημφθείς.

μετὰ καὶ τοῦ [. . .]ισ[. . .] . . . : for the construction cf. *P. Merton* II, 92. 22 f. We need an infinitive after τοῦ and, if the next line is right, it should mean 'to pay'. Either ἐ]ισ[φέρει]ν or ἐ]ισ[ενέγκα]ι would do, but the traces surviving are extremely slight.

31/32. The reading from μετὰ καί to παρακηκοῦτων must all be accounted dubious and depends heavily on the parallel expressions in lines 4 and 41–2. Most doubtful is συχνόν, but it is certainly a fair description of a fine of 50,000 sesterces. It might be objected that in 42 the penalty is said to have been fixed διὰ τῆς θείας νομοθεσίας, whereas here it is connected with the instructions from the prefect. The answer to this, I believe, is that the clause beginning μετὰ τοῦ goes with the whole of what precedes, from τῶν κυρίων in line 28 onwards, which may help to account for the genitive παρακηκοῦτων where one might have expected an accusative.

33. Σερῆνος Ἄπελ[. . .]ς: ἀπελε[ύθερο]ς is a possible reading but one would expect it to be followed by the name of Serenos' former owner. Therefore a patronymic seems more probable. Ἄπελλ[ἄτο]ς is somewhat short for the lacuna.

33/34. If [τῆ]ς μ[ε]ικρᾶς Ὁ[άσεως] is correctly supplied it may have been preceded by, for example, ἀπὸ [τῆ]ς μητροπόλεως.

34/35. παρακούσας κτλ.: if παρακούσας governs κίνδυνον (for παρακούειν with the accusative see above, note to line 9), the sense would be 'ignoring the danger . . . arising from the imperial edicts'; but it is doubtful whether [το]ύτων is a possible reading after διαταγμάτων and it is hard to see what else could be supplied if this were the construction. It is no doubt better to take παρακούσας τῶν ἱερῶν διαταγμάτων together and then perhaps introduce a second participle after διαταγμάτων. Youtie points out that ἀλογῶν would make good sense; γων is a possible reading but it is questionable whether the letter before this could be *omicron*.

ἐπηρτημ[ε]νον: με is hard to read but would seem to be inescapable.

36. ἐν νη[. . .] : presumably we need a word meaning 'inspiring'. The letter after εν looks like *gamma* and that before the lacuna like *êta* or *kappa*. I should like to read a participle from ἐμφέρειν but do not see how to fit it to the traces.

διατρεῖβ[ον]τι: at least as good palaeographically as διατρεῖβ[εσθ]αι and the verb is normally active.

. . νχ[. . .] . . . ιας ποιείσθαι: there appear to be two letters before *nu*, most probably *sv*, but perhaps a broad *epsilon* could account for all the ink. If so Youtie's ἐνχειρεῖ is very attractive, as it gives us a verb to govern ποιείσθαι and ἔχειν. If spelt ἐνχ[ιρῖ] it could be accommodated in the lacuna, but in that case what follows is difficult: there would seem only to have been a single letter before ιας (*iota* doubtful), though there might have been room for two slim ones. χρείας ποιείσθαι, in the

sense 'he attempts to perform public offices', is not, I think, a possible reading and Heraklides is hardly likely to have credited Serenos with such public-spiritedness.

ὑπ[ὸ χεῖρα: suggested by Youtie; *υπ* has only fragile support from the papyrus, but the sense seems likely to be right.

37. τοὺς συνερχομέ[νους: see the note to συνέλευσις in the next line.

37/38. τύχ[ης τῶν ἀν]τῶν: the restoration is due to Mr. P. J. Parsons.

38. συνέλευσίν τινα . . . [τῶν] πολειτῶ[ν]: it seems probable that the petitioner is quoting more or less literally an imperial edict and borrowing from it the unusual word συνέλευσις. Its other occurrences in the papyri (see *WB.*, s.v.) are all in quite different contexts. Here it must, I think, refer to gatherings of the citizen-body, or more accurately of the inhabitants of the metropoleis who, be it noted, had just been granted quasi-municipalization with the creation of βουλαί. The verb, used of gatherings of the people, has a respectable history, see *LSJ* s.v. II, 1. It is used of a meeting of a section of the inhabitants in Oxyrhynchus in *P. Oxy.* IX, 1187. 6 f. where certain ἄμφοδα are instructed to meet and elect liturgical officials. The petitioner is clearly speaking of official gatherings of a formal nature, gatherings which are conspicuous by their absence in Roman Egypt (cf. A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (*ASP* 11, 1971), 17–18). Apart from a third-century B.C. inscription from the Greek city of Ptolemais (*OGIS* 1, 48. 10 = *SB* V, 8852), ἐκκλησία is to my knowledge never used to mean a popular assembly in Egypt (*P. Strasb.* 254. 14 is obscure; for *SB* VIII, 9902 D 11 see Thomas, *ZPE* 6 [1970], 179). In *P. Oxy.* XXIV, 2407 (late third century A.D.) a meeting of part of the citizen-body is called a σύλλογος. The Romans are generally thought to have been strongly hostile to democratic assemblies; cf. P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale* (1911), 162–5, who goes so far as to say (p. 164) 'partout où ils l'ont pu, les Romains ont supprimé les assemblées du peuple'. Nevertheless we have proof in *P. Oxy.* I, 41 (= *W. Chr.* 45), perhaps of the late third century, that such a meeting could occur and since minutes were kept, the meeting must have been official (cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*² [1971], 341), though it might have been in this instance of an extraordinary character, see Bowman, *op. cit.* 34 n. 45. The wording in the present papyrus is vague enough to cover a meeting such as that alluded to in *P. Oxy.* 1187 (see above) and need not necessarily relate to a meeting of the whole δῆμος.

38/39. Youtie suggests the sense may be that a μετανάστῆς is not granted the right even to speak at such a meeting. If this is correct, the word to supply after πολειτῶν, as Momigliano points out, should be παρρησίαν.

μετα[νάστῆ]: a rare word, occurring elsewhere (in papyri) only in *P. Tebt.* II, 439 (151), a petitioner seeks help ἵνα μὴ] μετανάστῆς γέν[ωμαι ἐκ τῆς] ἰδίας, *P. Oxy.* III, 487 = *M. Chr.* 322. 18 (156), with *Berichtigungsliste*, I, p. 323, and VI, 899 = *W. Chr.* 361. 14 (200). It is quite clear that it means a person who has taken to ἀναχώρησις and is illegally absent from his ἰδία, cf. Martin, *Akten III Int. Papyrologentages = Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft* (Münch. Beitr. 19; 1934), 153 n. 87.

39. διὰ] ἱερᾶ[ς σου ὑπογραφῆς: cf. e.g. *P. Oxy.* XII, 1469. 19 (of the acting-prefect). This is the last line contained on the smaller fragment.

42. ὄρ]εισθέντα: a doubtful reading but likely to be right in the context, cf. *P. Beatty Panop.* 2. 232 (cf. 230) ὁπόσον ἢ θεία ὤρισεν διατύπωσις.

42/43. τούτου δὲ γε]νομένου: a cliché at this point in Ptolemaic ἐντεύξεις, cf. Di Bitonto, *Aegyptus* 47 (1967), 51 f.

43. τρ[ιμῆ]σει ἀνα . . . τον: if τρ[ιμῆ]σει is right, a derogatory word should follow. ἀνάξιον cannot be read.

43/44. One would expect the petition to finish up ἔν' ὧ ὑπό σου βεβηθημένος, but the words after ὑποδέξασθαι are particularly hard to construe. Very tentatively Youtie suggests that ἄλλο[ς] δὲ καὶ may have been written for ἄλλως δὲ καὶ (cf. *UPZ* I, 20. 44 ἄλλως δέ 'im übrigen aber' and the classical ἄλλως τε καὶ), reconstructing after it something like ἀεὶ [σοι χάριν ὁμολογήσω βεβο]ηθημένος.

44/45. The *subscriptio* regularly follows the pattern: date, instructions to *strategos*, etc., *κόλλημα* and *τόμος* reference (for the omission of a *τόμος* as here, cf. *P. Oxy.* xvii, 2131. 5). I know of no example in which the *κόλλημα* reference precedes the instructions as in the present papyrus.

44. ὁ στρα[τηγός]: one would expect the prefect to refer the matter to the *epistrategos*, but ὁ κρῆ[τιστος ἐπιστράτηγος] is not, I believe, a possible reading and leaves insufficient space for the sentence to be completed. I know of no comparable text in which the prefect declines to refer a suit to the *epistrategos*, when he is requested to do so, and refers it instead to the lowlier *strategos*. A possible explanation is the following: the person complained of, if the reading in line 34 is correct, is from the Small Oasis, the petitioner no doubt from the Oxyrhynchite nome. The petitioner may have felt that as the parties to the dispute came from different nomes, the matter needed to be decided by the *epistrategos*. However, though undoubtedly two nomes, the Small Oasis and the Oxyrhynchite were often combined administratively under a single *strategos* (cf. Jones, op. cit. 478 n. 20) and this may have been so at this date.

44/5. ὁ στρα[τηγὸς τὰ προσήκοντα ποι]ήσει τοῖς μέρεσιν αὐτ[οῦ]: cf. *BGU* II, 648 = *W. Chr.* 360. 26 εἴ]ντ[υχ]ε τῶ στρα[α]τηγῶ, ὃς τὰ ἑαυτῶ προσήκοντα [πο]ύήσ[ει]. For the use of *μέρη* cf. *P. Mich.* vi, 425. 23 f., τῶ κρατῖ[στω ἐπιστρα]τήγῳ ἔντυχε πρὸς τὰ αὐτοῦ μέρη οὐκ ἐνδεήσοντι, with the note ad loc.

46. βελλη: an enigmatic addition, possibly in a third hand. There is no trace of ink before or after these letters, yet the surface of the papyrus appears undamaged. After the *subscriptio* some texts have *ἀπόδος* (e.g. *P. Mich.* 425. 24 and 29) and *P. Flor.* 382. 94 has [ἐ]τέθη ἐν τῶ ταμικῶ. But these do not help to suggest an explanation for what stands in the present text.

Translation

Extract from the substance of edicts of our lords the Emperors, Severus and Antoninus, Pii Augusti, published in Alexandria . . . ‘. . . people protecting taxpayers who have left their own homeland . . . shall be liable to . . . by way of a fine, and those who shelter them (?) . . . for the remainder to the homeland, for whose loss the taxpayer is responsible (?) . . .’

Another edict (?) of the same lords. ‘Since we have learnt that many . . . are living in foreign parts, we publicly order all to return to their own nomes . . . seeing that we have granted such great boons to Egypt . . . but whoever after this time limit (?) disobeys our lawgiving will pay for it.’

(20 ff.) . . . according to the decisions of the prefects who have preceded me, but also, at my request, . . . do you take care to put up the copy of this letter of mine in the cities and in the public places of the nomes. I wish for your good health. Year 15, Hathyr . . .

To Subatianus Aquila, prefect of Egypt, from Heraklides son of Chairemon, mother Dionysia, from . . . , o most great prefect, those of moderate means and living a peaceful life . . . I, being a person who does not live a brigand’s life (?) but a peaceful one, a man having used disorderly behaviour towards me (?), of which I have many proofs which I will put forward at the hearing, making this petition to you I request you not to neglect me, since our lords the invincible Emperors have issued a general decree that all are to return to their own homelands and are not to live in foreign parts, and since you my lord have ordered in the accompanying letter that anyone found residing away from his own home is to be arrested (?), together with the payment by the person sheltering him by way of a fine of a great deal of money per person, on the grounds that they have disobeyed the divine lawgiving . . . son of Panechotes of the metropolis (?)

of the Small Oasis, disobeying the sacred edicts, showing no regard for (?) the danger hanging over him, still even now lives in the Oxyrhynchite leading an evil life, and with the same brazenness inspires (?) great fear of himself though living in a city not his own, and further he attempts (?) to make . . . and to keep under his control (?) the people when they meet, contrary to what has been forbidden (for this too has been banned by the divine fortune of our same Lord Emperors, namely the right of a vagabond and impious man even to speak (?) at any gathering of the citizens). Wherefore I ask you, if it please your fortune, to give orders in your sacred *subscriptio* that the most excellent *epistrategos* hear me against the aforementioned Serenos . . . to make him stop from his impiety and disobedience, and further to compel the person sheltering him to pay the 50,000 sesterces per person fixed by the divine lawgiving . . . and if this is done no one at all in future will dare to shelter a . . . and above all I shall always acknowledge gratitude to you for the help I have received. Farewell.

(*Second hand*) Year 17, Phamenoth 1. Column no. 476. The strategos will do what befits his duty.

(*Third hand?*) . . .

The relationship of the new papyrus to the Egyptian background

The most convenient point to begin this examination is with the second of the two imperial edicts quoted, lines 6–9. Two other papyri contain references to an edict issued by Severus and Caracalla in which inhabitants of the country living away from their *idia* are instructed to return there forthwith. The first is a petition to the *strategos*, dated A.D. 207, from twenty-five *δημόσιοι γεωργοί*, of which lines 6–8 read *οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν θιότατοι καὶ ἀήττητοι Αὐτοκράτορες Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνεῖνος ἀνατείλαντες [ἐ]ν <τῇ> ἐα[υ]τῶν Αἰγύπτῳ, μεθ' ὧν πλείσ(τ)ων ἀγαθῶν ἔδωρήσαντο, ἠθέλησαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ διατρίβοντας πάντας κατιέναι εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν ἐκκόψαντες τὰ βίαια [καὶ ἀν]ομα, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἱερὰς αὐτῶν ἐν[κελεύ]σεις κατεισήλαμεν.³ This text has been known since 1903 and figures in all the discussions of *idia* to which we shall have occasion to refer below. The second was not published until 1969.⁴ It is an official letter from the *strategos* of the Great Oasis to another official, probably one of the *strategoι* of the Arsinoïte nome, dated A.D. 200/1. The subject, as indicated in the heading (line 2), is *περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ δ[ιατριβόντων]*. The editors' reading and reconstruction of lines 5–11 is as follows: *οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς ἀδελφε ὑπογυογ. [— τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν μεγίστων καὶ] θειοτάτων ἀηττήτων Αὐτ[οκράτορων Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου] καὶ τὰ γραφέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ λα[μπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ] ἀλλοδαπῇ διατριβόντων ξέν[ων —] γνωρίσαι καὶ προσάξει τοὺς ε[— ἀ]π' ἄλλων νομῶν ὄντας προσ[—]ως ἀπι(έ)ναι ἕνα ἕκαστον εἰς τῇ[ν ἰδίαν].⁵ They are no doubt right to take their text as alluding to the same imperial instructions as those to which the petitioners of *SB* 4284**

³ *SB* 1, 4284 = *P. Cattoui* 2, first published by Barry in *BIFAO* 3 (1903), 187–202.

⁴ By D. J. Crawford and P. E. Easterling in *JEA* 55 (1969), 188 f. = *P. Westminster Coll.* 3.

⁵ I should expect the prefect's name to have been mentioned in line 7, which would give an appreciably longer line than the editors suppose; but the sense would not be affected and I should agree with the editors' interpretation of the text. The dating formula in lines 18 f. proves the correctness of the restoration of the names of Severus and Caracalla in line 6. For *ἀπι(έ)ναι* see above, note to line 29.

refer. Is the second edict in our papyrus a quotation from this self-same decree? *A priori* this is likely and I see no reason to deny it. Certainly the subject-matter of all three texts is identical. It is true that *SB* 4284 adds the phrase *ἐκκόψαντες τὰ βίαια καὶ ἄνομα* and that this reference to putting a stop to violence is so pertinent to the petitioner's case in our text that one would expect him to have included it in his extract from the edict; but there is plenty of room for it to have stood in the lost part of line 8. The slight differences in expression can easily be accounted for by the fact that our papyrus contains an extract giving the actual wording of the edict,⁶ whereas the other two texts are allusions to it in which the writers use their own paraphrases. I conclude therefore that the edict of which the *κεφάλαιον* is quoted in lines 6–9 is the one known from *SB* 4284 and *P. Westminster Coll.* 3.

We may now turn to the *epistula* of Aquila, lines 10–23. Again we already know of two papyri which allude to instructions from Aquila on the same subject, that of return to one's *idia*, but here the problem of identification is more complicated. The evidence is as follows: (i) *P. Gen.* 16 = *W. Chr.* 354 = *Sel. Pap.* 289, a petition of Phaophi (September/October), A.D. 207, to a centurion, in which peasants ask for aid to enable them (lines 18–21) *ἐ[ν] τῇ ἰδίᾳ συμμένιν, μάλιστα τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος Σουβατιανοῦ Ἀκύλα κελεύσαντος πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ ξένης ὄντας καλισελεθῆν (l. κατεισελεθῆν) εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐχομένους τῶν συνηθῶν ἔργων*. It is from the same people as the petition to the *strategos* which has just been cited, *SB* 4284, which has led to the suggestion that the prefectorial and imperial edicts were really one and the same, the prefect merely issuing the orders of the emperors.⁷ It is better to say that Aquila issued an instruction reinforcing the imperial decree: for the latter was issued in A.D. 200, and we now know that Aquila was not prefect until at least A.D. 205.⁸ Thus Aquila appears to have issued general instructions that all away from their *idia* are to return there. Now the petitioner in our papyrus is probably not writing until A.D. 209, so that he should have been aware of an instruction issued by Aquila which was known to petitioners writing in A.D. 207, and it was certainly relevant to the case he was presenting to Aquila to quote the prefect himself on the subject of returning to one's *idia*. Conversely the petitioners of *P. Gen.* 16, who lived in the Fayûm, ought to have been aware of the *epistula* to *strategoî* of the Heptanomia contained in our papyrus, which dates from A.D. 206/7. Furthermore, the wording which they use, *Σουβατιανοῦ Ἀκύλα κελεύσαντος*, need not apply to an edict and is quite acceptable as a description of an *epistula*. It is clearly the most economical hypothesis that both these two papyri refer to the same instructions by Aquila. It is true that the extant portion of the *epistula* in our text makes no specific reference to returning to one's *idia*, but the mention of *ἀναχώρησις* in line 20 shows that it was concerned with this subject, and we have no means of knowing what was expressed in the large portions of the text which are missing.

(ii) *P. Flor.* 1, 6 (210) is a petition to the *dioiketes* in which the writer requests permission to absent himself from court because of pressing agricultural business, and

⁶ This at any rate is how I should understand a *κεφάλαιον*, cf. the note to line 1 above.

⁷ See Braunert, *Historia* 6 (1957), 201 f., *JJP* 9/10 (1955/6) 230 n. 55.

⁸ Claudius Julianus was still prefect as late as December, A.D. 204; see the articles by Rea and Grosso cited above, n. to line 10.

reminds the *dioiketes* (lines 10–12) that ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγεμὼν Σουβατιανὸς Ἀκύλας διὰ τὸ ἀ[παρ]αίτητον τῆς [συ]νκομιδῆς καὶ τοὺς ἐ[ν Ἀλεξανδρ]εῖα πρότερον ὄντας ἀπεπέμψατο εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους νομοὺς πρὸς τὸν κ[αιρὸν τῆ]ς συνκομιδῆς. The language used of Aquila's instruction here (ἀπεπέμψατο) is compatible with a reference to the *epistula* in our papyrus, but on the face of it a fatal objection is the phrase ἐ[ν Ἀλεξανδρ]εῖα used in the Florentine text. This implies that Aquila's pronouncement affected persons in Alexandria only and was not a general instruction to all away from their *idia* to return there, and this has led, logically enough, to the deduction that *P. Gen.* 16 and *P. Flor.* 6 refer to different pronouncements by Aquila.⁹ This may not be right. Note that the words ἴδιοι νομοί do not suit well in an Alexandrian context; they would apply most naturally to people residing in a different *nome* from the one in which they were registered, not to people residing at Alexandria.¹⁰ Note further that most of ἐ[ν Ἀλεξανδρ]εῖα is restored. I suggest that we must seriously consider whether the true restoration is not ἐ[ν τῇ ἀλλοτρ]εῖα.¹¹ In this case the reference would be to a general proclamation by Aquila and we should naturally suppose it to be the same proclamation as that alluded to in *P. Gen.* 16. There is, however, a serious objection to the identification of the instructions referred to in *P. Flor.* 6 with the *epistula* in our papyrus:¹² the petitioner in the Florentine text specifically connects Aquila's instructions with the pressing demands of the harvest, from which one would deduce that they were issued at harvest-time;¹³ a reference to the harvest is clearly much less appropriate in a proclamation issued in Hathyr (October/November), which would seem to be the date of our *epistula*. In sum, while it is most improbable that the present text, *P. Gen.* 16 and *P. Flor.* 6 relate to three different instructions of Aquila, it is not certain that they all refer to one and the same set of instructions. Possibly our papyrus and *P. Gen.* 16 relate to the same orders, with *P. Flor.* 6 referring to orders issued on a different occasion;¹⁴ or it may be that our *epistula* is new and that *P. Gen.* 16 and *P. Flor.* 6 both relate to the same instructions.

However that may be, it is clear that our dossier brings more information on two well-attested and related phenomena in Egyptian history, compulsory return to one's *idia* and ἀναχώρησις. To decide whether it contains any new features we must glance briefly at comparable edicts already known (apart from those of Severus and Aquila

⁹ See Martin, *Atti del IV Congresso Int. di Papirologia (Firenze, 1935)*, 235 ff. (cf. *id.*, *Akten III*, 157 n. 99), and Braunert, *JJP*, cit. 229 f. If we are right in thinking that our petitioner is complaining about the activities in Oxyrhynchus of a man whose *idia* was the Small Oasis, he will hardly have quoted an instruction from Aquila which dealt only with persons at Alexandria. For a recent suggestion that *P. Gen.* 16 and *P. Flor.* 6 both relate to the same instructions of Aquila see N. Lewis, *BASP* 7 (1970), 111 f., who seems unaware of the remarks of Martin and Braunert just cited.

¹⁰ Contrast the edict of Vibius Maximus (*P. Lond.* III, 904 (pp. 125 f.) = *W. Chr.* 202), where people living at Alexandria are described as ἀπὸ τῶν] νομῶν (i.e. from the *chora*); see H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung* (1964), 168 f. (henceforth cited as Braunert, *BW*); he seems to feel something of the difficulty created by the words ἴδιοι νομοί in *P. Flor.* 6 in his remarks on p. 169 n. 244.

¹¹ The first editor may well have been led to restore ἐ[ν Ἀλεξανδρ]εῖα under the influence of the edict of Vibius Maximus just mentioned, to which we shall return, below.

¹² It could be argued that καί fits better with the reading ἐ[ν Ἀλεξανδρ]εῖα ('even those formerly in Alexandria'), cf. Martin, *Akten III*, 157 n. 99, Lewis, loc. cit., but this is far from conclusive.

¹³ So Martin, *Atti IV*, 241 f.

¹⁴ In which case the restoration ἐ[ν Ἀλεξανδρ]εῖα could stand.

which we have just considered). They are three in number.¹⁵ (1) The edict issued by the prefect C. Vibius Maximus in A.D. 104, which is partially preserved in *P. Lond.* III, 904 (pp. 125 f.) = *W. Chr.* 202 = *Sel. Pap.* 220.¹⁶ The prefect declares that as it is the time of the fourteen-year census, all [ἀπὸ τῶν] νομῶν must return home, special provision being made for those whose services are necessary at Alexandria.¹⁷ Rostovtzeff argued from this that every fourteen years the Romans made an effort to get all persons absent from their *idia* to return there and stay there, and that all the edicts proclaiming such a return were to be connected with the census.¹⁸ Now it may very well be true that inhabitants of Egypt were required to return home to register once every fourteen years and Maximus may be using this as a lever to ensure that people returned to their *idia*;¹⁹ but a return for registration purposes would be of a temporary nature only and so not relevant to the present inquiry. Furthermore, Rostovtzeff was certainly wrong in thinking that all edicts ordering a return to one's *idia* were to be connected with the census: there is no reference in any of the other relevant edicts to a census and we now know that Aquila at any rate was not in office in or near a census-year.²⁰ In this respect therefore Maximus' edict is unlike other edicts ordering a return to one's *idia*. In another respect too it does not conform to the general pattern: it is clear beyond reasonable doubt that Maximus is not issuing general instructions affecting the whole of Egypt, but addresses his edict solely to inhabitants of the *chora* at present residing at Alexandria.²¹ It is thus in no way comparable to the instructions to be found in our papyrus and may be left out of consideration.²² (2) The edict of the prefect M. Sempronius Liberalis, issued in A.D. 154.²³ The vital words are προτρέ[πομαι] οὖν πάντας ἐπαν[ελθ]εῖν ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια . . . [καὶ] μὴ ἀνεστίους καὶ ἀο[ι]κ[ου]ς ἐπὶ ξένης ἀλᾶσθα[ι].²⁴ (3) In a petition A.D. 216 the writer refers to instructions of the prefect Valerius Datus: τοῦ οὖν λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος Οὐαλερίου Δάτου κελεύσ[αν]το[ς] ἄπαντας τοὺς ἐπὶ ξένης διατρεῖβοντας

¹⁵ Cf. also *P. Oslo* III, 79 (134) and perhaps *P. Strasb.* 239 (late second century); *P. Gron.* I (193) is not relevant, see Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 11 (1973), 161-3.

¹⁶ On this edict see most recently Braunert, *BW* 168-74. It has aroused considerable interest, above all because of the apparent parallel between the need for Egyptians to return home for the census and Joseph's compulsory return to Bethlehem to register at the time of the birth of Christ. On this see esp. Braunert, *JJP* cit. 321 f., and *Historia* 6 (1957), 192-214, who points out the serious difficulties in drawing analogies between the situation in Judaea under Augustus and that known by the second century in Egypt.

¹⁷ Lines 20-4 read τῆς κατ' οἴκ[ια]ν ἀπογραφῆς ἐ[ν]νεστώ[σης] ἀναγκαῖόν [ἐστίν] πᾶσιν τοῖ[ς] καθ' ἡ[ν]τινα] δήποτε αἰτ[ί]αν ἀποδημοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν] νομῶν προσα[γγέλλε]σθαι ἐπα[νελ]θεῖν εἰς τὰ ἑαυ[τῶν] ἐ[φ]έστια.

¹⁸ M. Rostovtzeff, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* (Archiv Beih. 1; 1910), 209-11.

¹⁹ Cf. Martin, *Atti IV*, 224-6, M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine* (*P. L. Bat.* v; 1952), 63-5, *P. Berl. Leihgabe* 16, with Kalen's remarks on p. 174.

²⁰ The census was in A.D. 201/2; Aquila was not prefect before 205 (above, note to line 10). For a detailed refutation of Rostovtzeff's views see Martin, *Atti IV*, 225 ff.

²¹ First pointed out by O. W. Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt* (Klio Beih. 34; 1935), 67 f.; see also Martin, *Atti IV*, 235 f., and Braunert, *BW* 168-74. On the restoration [ἀπὸ τῶν] νομῶν, guaranteed by the contrast in lines 28 f. between ἡ χώρα and ἡ πόλις, see *ibid.* 169 n. 244.

²² It is an instruction of the same type as that issued by Caracalla in A.D. 215, that all without legitimate business in Alexandria should leave the city forthwith (*P. Giss.* 40 II = *W. Chr.* 22 = *Sel. Pap.* 215), and perhaps as that by Aquila alluded to in *P. Flor.* 6. 10-13, but see my remarks above on the restoration ἐ[ν] Ἀλεξανδ[ρ]είᾳ.

²³ *BGU* II, 372 = *W. Chr.* 19; cf. *P. Fayûm* 24.

²⁴ Col. I, 9-14.

εἰς τὰς ἰδίας κατεισέρχασθαι, κατεισῆλθον.²⁵ (2) and (3) appear to be very closely parallel to the edict of Severus and the instructions of Aquila discussed above.

To whom do these imperial and prefectorial instructions apply? At any given time there must have been a considerable number of people in Roman Egypt living away from their *idia*.²⁶ Of these many would have registered their new dwelling with the authorities and would therefore be available for the various burdens (fiscal, liturgical, etc.) which the state might impose on them. In contrast there would be a second group who had simply packed up and fled to unknown whereabouts, action known as *ἀναχώρησις*. This involved the avoidance of one's obligations towards the state and the community in which one lived and for this reason the authorities, both Ptolemaic and Roman, must at all times have treated it as an evil to be rooted out. It seems to have been especially prevalent in the second century A.D.²⁷ It is certain, therefore, that the instructions we have just been discussing, as well as those referred to in our text, were aimed at the *ἀνακεχωρηκότες*. Were they also aimed at those living away from their *idia* whose whereabouts were known to the government? This would carry the implication that *all* absence from one's *idia* was illegal. This is certainly what these instructions appear on the face of it to say: they are general orders, explicitly said to affect *all* away from their *idia*, and not making special reference to *ἀναχώρησις*.²⁸ Nevertheless it is generally held that inhabitants of Egypt were free to change their dwelling during the first three centuries A.D. and that it was not until the Byzantine period that they became 'bound to the soil', i.e. forbidden to change their abode except by special permission.²⁹ The volume of evidence to be found in the papyri of the first three centuries A.D. indicating that people did live away from their *idia* certainly supports this view.³⁰ The language too in which Liberalis' edict is couched can be held to imply that it was directed against the *ἀνακεχωρηκότες* only: some people, says the prefect, have left home *διὰ τὴν γενομένην δυσχέρειαν* or to avoid liturgies; they are to cease being *ἀνέστιοι καὶ ἄοικοι* and leading a *πονηρ[ὸν κ]α[ὶ] ληστ[ρ]ικὸν βίον*.³¹ This does not look as though it refers to people who have simply gone to live elsewhere. If Liberalis' edict can be explained in this way—which is far from certain³²—it is noteworthy that all the other

²⁵ BGU I, 159 = W. Chr. 408. 5-7.

²⁶ Apart from those who had changed both their dwelling and their *idia*, for which the technical term is *μετάβασις*, cf. Braunert, *JJP* cit. 317 f., *BW* 241.

²⁷ See esp. Braunert, *JJP* cit. 240-93, *BW* 164-86; cf. also Martin, *Akten III*, 144-65, Henne, *Akten VIII Int. Kongr. für Papyrologie, Wien 1955* (MPER v; 1956), 59-66, W. Schmidt, *Einfluss d. Anachoresis im Rechtsleben Aegyptens zur Ptolemäerzeit* (Diss. Köln, 1966).

²⁸ Cf. Braunert, *JJP* cit. 228-31.

²⁹ See in particular Wilcken, *Gr.* 325, Hombert-Préaux, *op. cit.* 69, Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* 211. Braunert too is prepared to allow that movement away from one's *idia* could be legitimate (*JJP* cit. 237, 278 f.), which seems to me to imply some inconsistency with his remarks in the passage referred to in n. 28, and which is not really resolved by his conclusion (*ibid.* 293), 'Absicht der römischen Verwaltung ist es, die Gesamtbevölkerung an ihren Zuständigkeitsort zu binden'.

³⁰ One need only consult Braunert's *Die Binnenwanderung*, Index pp. 384 f. *s.v.* *ἐπίξενος* and *ξένη*, to appreciate this; cf. also A. Calderini, *οἱ ἐπὶ ξένης*, *JEA* 40 (1954), 19-22, D. Nörr, *Tijdschr. voor Rechtsgesch.* (*RHD*) 31 (1963), 539 ff.

³¹ BGU 372 I, 3-14 and II, 1-2.

³² In *P. Fayûm* 24 (158) a village official says that he has posted up an *ἐπιστολή* of Liberalis, and this is usually identified with the edict preserved in BGU 372. (This is not without its difficulties: could an edict be

relevant instructions belong to the early third century. This suggests the possibility that the edict issued by Severus in A.D. 200 was the first command which sought to make *all* permanent absence from one's *idia* illegal.³³ If so, this must be reckoned an important change in government policy.

It is not necessary here to go into the precise meaning of the concept of *idia* in Roman Egypt and of its relationship to the Latin *origo*.³⁴ It has been examined in great detail by Braunert, who concludes that in the Roman period it meant 'erste Wohnsitz',³⁵ and more cursorily by Hombert and Préaux, who stress its connection with the place at which a man is registered, for the villager his village, and for the inhabitant of a metropolis the relevant quarter of the metropolis.³⁶ There are, however, grounds for supposing that this meaning of *idia* dropped out of official terminology at the beginning of the third century, when Severus introduced quasi-municipalization.³⁷ It is therefore of interest to note that our papyrus speaks of a return of people to their ἴδιοι νομοί (line 7). Similarly *P. Westminster Coll.* 3, which, as we have seen, relates to the same edict as that quoted in lines 6–9 of our dossier, is concerned with persons ἀ]π' ἄλλων νομῶν. Furthermore Aquila is said to have ordered a return εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους νομούς in *P. Flor.* 6. 12 quoted above. This emphasis on the *nome* to which a person belongs may be without significance, since even during the first two centuries of Roman rule we occasionally find evidence that the Roman authorities only concerned themselves with the *nome* to which an inhabitant of Egypt belonged.³⁸ On the other hand it is possible that on the introduction of quasi-municipalization at the start of the third century, with a council in the metropolis made responsible for some of the administration of the surrounding *nome*, the Roman government also introduced a new concept of *nome-idia*. This new concept is perhaps to be seen in operation in *PSI XII*, 1248. 31–4, of A.D. 235, where officials are appointed to go to the Hermopolite in pursuit of men residing there who are alleged to be from the Oxyrhynchite.³⁹

called an ἐπιστολή? A letter from the prefect giving instructions for the edict to be displayed would certainly have accompanied the edict. Is the official perhaps using ἐπιστολή to refer both to this letter and to the edict it enclosed?) The language which is used in *P. Fayûm* 24 certainly implies that the instructions were of a general nature, affecting all ἐπίξενοι (lines 13–16): *περὶ τῶν ἐπιξένων καταμενόντων ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ ὥστε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνέρχεσθαι.*

³³ There is a tendency to argue that these instructions were of no avail, because we find them frequently repeated. Note on the other side that the petitioners in *SB* 4284 and *BGU* 159 explicitly state that they did return to their *idia* in compliance with the edicts.

³⁴ See esp. Nörr, *op. cit.* 525–600, esp. 539–49.

³⁵ *JYP* cit. 211–328; for the Roman period see pp. 226–40, 260–93 and 305–28; also *BW*, *Index s.v.*, p. 385.

³⁶ *Op. cit.* 63–76, esp. 67–70. On p. 68 they discuss the noun to be understood with *idia*, as does Braunert, *JYP* cit. 215 f. and 230. They both take ἡ ἰδία οἰκεία in *SB* 4284. 8 (quoted above) as ἡ ἰδία οἰκία, as does Preisigke, *Index to SB* I. It seems to me, on the contrary, that *idia* and *oikeia* are both adjectives, used somewhat tautologously to express an idea which could be adequately conveyed by either adjective on its own. For *oikeia* may be compared line 31 of the present papyrus, as well as line 12, where it accompanies γῆ. This suggests to me that when no noun is expressed with *idia* the one to be understood is γῆ, cf. E. Mayser, *Gr.* II, 1 (1926), 22.

³⁷ Cf. Braunert, *JYP* cit. 232 n. 63a, 238, and 291.

³⁸ See Braunert, *BW* 28 and 277 f. *Inter alia* he refers to Trajan's question to Pliny concerning the doctor for whom Pliny had requested Roman citizenship: *ex quo nomo sit* (Pliny, *Ep. ad Trai.* 7).

³⁹ *Συναπεστάλημεν . . . γνωρίσαι τοῦ(ς) δηλωθέντας ὑπὸ Τίτου Φλαυίου Χαϊρήμονος ἀμφοδογραμματέως*

It may be then that Severus introduced a new concept of nome-*idia*, replacing the former *idia* of a village or section of a metropolis with a wider *idia* consisting of the whole nome community. It may be also, as we saw, that in the second edict in our text he is attempting to confine the population of Egypt to the *idia* (i.e. nome) in which each person was born. Such moves, especially the latter, would have to be seen as foreshadowing developments which were to become prominent in the period after Diocletian.⁴⁰ Other features in our text also appear to foreshadow later developments, as will be apparent if we turn to consider further the first edict (lines 3–5). However we take these lines (see the notes, ad loc.), they must refer in part to the fixing of a monetary penalty to be paid by those offering illegal protection to taxpayers who have fled from their *idia*. When ἀναχώρησις became especially bad in the second century A.D. one measure the Roman authorities took to offset its damage to the treasury was to make the whole community responsible for the taxes of those of its number who had fled, by instituting the μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων.⁴¹ Such a short-sighted policy can only have exacerbated the problem, and it is perhaps a possible interpretation of the first edict in our text that it shows Severus attempting to solve this problem by a different method, namely by making those who sheltered the ἀνακεχωρηκότες responsible for the taxes the latter owed.⁴² What makes this more remarkable is that a measure of this kind is reported from A.D. 332 in a section of the Theodosian Code: *apud quemcumque colonus iuris alieni fuerit inventus, is non solum eundem origini suae restituat, verum super eodem capitacionem temporis agnoscat*; the *interpretatio* is as follows: *si quis alienum colonum sciens in domo sua retinuerit, ipsum prius domino restituat et tributa eius, quamdiu apud eum fuerit, cogatur exsolvere*.⁴³ This of course relates to the changed situation of the Byzantine period, when the so-called Roman colonate was in operation; nevertheless the similarity between this law and the first edict in our papyrus is worthy of note. Also worth further consideration is the word ὑπόφορος. According to the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* this is one of the Greek equivalents for *tributarius*.⁴⁴ Now *tributarius* is a technical term in the legal codes of the fourth century onwards and comes to mean not simply a taxpayer, but a taxpayer who is bound to the soil.⁴⁵ This condition, it has been

τῆς Ὁξ(υρύγγων) πόλ(εως) διατρίβιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ νομῷ ἀπὸ Ὁξ(υρύγγων) πόλ(εως) ἄνδρας ἀριθμῷ ἔ. ὀμνύομεν . . . μεμαθηκέναι τούτους εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποδεδημηκέναι. In the fourth century it was the *pagus*, as we should expect, which was the community to which a man could be said to belong, cf. *P. Cair. Isidor.* 126 (prob. 308/9) (this has the interesting information that the government was now offering a small reward for the surrender of πάντ[ας] τοὺς ξένους τοὺς εὕρισκωμένους ἐν ταῖς κώμαις).

⁴⁰ Cf. A. H. M. Jones's remarks on the edict of Vibius Maximus, *Past and Present* 13 (1958), 5, as a foreshadowing of later practice.

⁴¹ On this see Lewis, *JEA* 23 (1937), 63–75, and Rémondon, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 221–45 (where I should accept the identity proposed between the μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων and the μερισμός ἀπόρων, but should regard the ἀπορικόν attested in the papyrus there published (now = *SB* VI, 9124) of A.D. 209–11 as a different tax). Cf. also the unedited Berlin papyrus (inv. 16036; A.D. 168) referred to by Miss Swiderek in *Proceedings XII Int. Congr. of Papyrology* (ASP 7; 1970), 461.

⁴² It is probably not mere chance that our sources cease to record payment of the μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων at precisely this point of time, cf. Braunert, *JJP* cit. 281 n. 207, and his remarks on ἀναχώρησις on p. 290.

⁴³ Cod. Theod. v, 17. 1, addressed to *provinciales*.

⁴⁴ Other equivalents mentioned elsewhere in the Corpus are ὑποτελής, συντελεστής, and φορολόγος.

⁴⁵ See A. Segrè, *Traditio* 5 (1947), 103–33, esp. 103–11.

held, was created by the reforms of Diocletian.⁴⁶ I do not wish to suggest that in the present papyrus *ὑπόφορος* is already a technical term with this connotation, but it is not too fanciful, I think, to see in the imperial edicts in our text features which foreshadow post-Diocletianic developments.

This does not exhaust the interest of the first edict. The second edict relates *expressis verbis* to Egypt; but there is a distinct possibility that the first is of general application to the whole empire. The following points are worth noting: (i) *ὑπόφορος* is not found elsewhere in papyri and might therefore belong in a non-Egyptian context; as we have seen, it may well be translating Latin *tributarius*. (ii) *ἰδία πατρίς* (line 3) is found in two other papyri, in the first of which, an edict of Caracalla, it refers to the whole Roman empire,⁴⁷ and in the second to the Greek city of Alexandria.⁴⁸ It is an odd expression to use of the *idia* of Egyptians, for which the second edict employs the phrase *ἴδιοι νομοί*, applicable only to Egypt. (iii) In line 29 the petitioner speaks of imperial edicts as issued *καθολικῶς*. This word might naturally be thought to mean that the edicts are of general application, i.e. were relevant to the whole empire.⁴⁹ (iv) In line 42 the petitioner speaks of the imperial decrees as having fixed a fine of 50,000 sesterces, and we have seen reason to suppose that a reference to this fine should be inserted in the first edict quoted.⁵⁰ Sesterces are rarely mentioned in papyri and then usually in a Roman context. A reference to them would seem more natural in a text which was not intended simply to apply to Egypt.

However, although persuasive, none of these arguments is conclusive. (i) There is no need to suppose, indeed it is most unlikely, that *ὑπόφορος* is here a technical term. It may mean simply 'taxpayer' in a general sense, and as such could readily apply to the Egyptian inhabitant with his liability to poll-tax. For the use of unusual words in edicts one may note *συνέλευσις* in line 38 of the present text (with my remarks above, ad loc.) and *ὑπέραλλος* in another edict of Severus, which is attested only here in papyri.⁵¹ (ii) Although *ἰδία πατρίς* may look significant, *πατρίς* by itself is common enough in papyri, used to refer to the Egyptian metropolis;⁵² and it may be that *ἰδία πατρίς* is merely a tautology meaning no more than *πατρίς* alone. (iii) *καθολικῶς* is a cruelly ambiguous word. Of its use in *P. Giss.* 7. 13 the editor (p. 24) says 'für ganz Ägypten'.⁵³ Furthermore, the petitioner, at the point at which he uses this word (line 29), must have the first edict in mind, since he mentions *τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας*, but the rest of what he says here apparently refers to the second edict (*καὶ μὴ ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ [δια]τρε[ί]βειν*).

⁴⁶ Segrè, op. cit. 105, 'the peculiar condition of the *tributarius* was created by the fiscal reform of Diocletian'. So A. H. M. Jones, op. cit. 1-13, esp. p. 4.

⁴⁷ *P. Giss.* 40 II = *M. Chr.* 378, 8 f., now also in *P. Oxy.* xxxvi 2755. 9, *ὑποστρεφέτωσαν πάντες εἰς τὰς πατρίδας τὰς ἰδίας*, glossed in the next line with [ε]ἰς ἅσασαν τὴν γῆ[ν].

⁴⁸ *BGU* IV, 1140 = *W. Chr.* 58. 7 (5/4 B.C.).

⁴⁹ Cf. Parsons, *JRS* 57 (1967), 139, on *τοῦ ἱερωτάτου καθολικοῦ διατάγμα[τος]* ('imperial general edict') in *BGU* VIII, 1578. 6.

⁵¹ *P. Flor.* III, 382. 20 f., cf. *P. Mich.* IX, 529 (p. 29); *LSJ* give only a single reference to it, and that from Pindar!

⁵² Even before the quasi-municipalization of Severus in *P. Ryl.* II, 77. 34 (Hermopolis; A.D. 192).

⁵³ Other uses of *καθολικῶς* in the papyri shed no further light on its meaning; cf. *BGU* III, 970 = *M. Chr.* 242. 13 *ἐναντιουμένης τοῖς καθολικῶς διατεταγμένοις*, also l. 28, and *BGU* III, 983. 16.

If he is applying *καθολικῶς* to *both* edicts, he cannot mean it to imply a reference to the empire as a whole. (iv) In the *Gnomon* of the *Idios Logos* there are several references to fines fixed in sesterces.⁵⁴ Although the *Gnomon* contains imperial instructions issued in Rome, they were not of general application, but intended for an official whose sphere of control was limited to Egypt. In sum, though it is tempting to regard the first edict as having relevance for the whole Roman empire, the temptation is probably to be resisted.

So far we have considered the dossier for the light it throws on *idia* and *ἀναχώρησις*. In conclusion it is worth glancing at the other charge which the petitioner makes against his opponent, namely that he is making a thorough nuisance of himself, and doing so apparently quite blatantly at public gatherings of the people. Thus he is not only showing himself living away from his *idia*—in open defiance of the laws according to the petitioner—but he has considerable weight he can throw around. A remarkable state of affairs! Such a person can only have attained influence through support from powerful backers, *οἱ ὑποδεχόμενοι*, and here the relevance of the first edict quoted to the petitioner's case becomes apparent. The picture too at this point takes on a more sinister look.⁵⁵

The word *σκεπάζοντας* used in the first edict (line 3) may well lead us to suspect that the government was taking a serious view of the law-breaking here in question. For *σκέπη* from Ptolemaic times onwards is regularly used in papyri in a bad sense of influential persons exercising illegal authority to protect those under their *σκέπη* from having to fulfil their legal obligations.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the wording of line 42 implies that the government has fixed a fine of 50,000 sesterces to be paid on behalf of every person illegally sheltered by those offering them this shelter. A fine of swingeing proportions! This clearly implies that the authorities were bent on stamping out a serious defiance of authority and leads me to suggest that what may lie behind our text is organized crime on a wide scale.

Persons who had taken to flight might often make for Alexandria or a nome metropolis, but many of them undoubtedly took to a life of crime. The connection between *ἀναχώρησις* and brigandage is plain to see from our evidence and has often been stressed by modern scholars.⁵⁷ Now it is quite clear that *ἀναχώρησις*, always a running sore in Egypt, flared up markedly in the second century A.D.,⁵⁸ and it is no doubt no accident that the edict of Sempronius Liberalis of A.D. 154, already quoted above, specifically states that some of those who have abandoned their *idia* have taken to a life of brigandage.⁵⁹ More directly interesting for us, however, are two further points. First, the

⁵⁴ *P. Gnomon*, paras. 29, 30, 32.

⁵⁵ This sinister aspect of the text was stressed by Professor Momigliano at the Seminar referred to in n. 2.

⁵⁶ See *PSI* XIII, 1313. 5 n., *UPZ* I, 110. 15 n., Piatkowska, *Eos* 54 (1964) 239–44 and esp. Lewis, *Atti XI Congr. di Papirologia*, 508–12. In *P. Lond.* III, 897 (p. 206) a man indicates that he will only return from flight if he is guaranteed *σκέπη* (84).

⁵⁷ It is clearly demonstrated by Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat* 209, Martin, *Akten III*, 158–60, and Braunert, *BW* 68, 174, and 186–8. On brigandage in the Roman empire generally see R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (1967), 255–68, and Flam-Zuckermann, *Latomus* 29 (1970), 451–73, with extensive bibliography.

⁵⁸ See esp. Braunert, *BW* 165–76.

⁵⁹ *BGU* 372 II, 1 f. *πονηρ[ὸν κ]α[ὶ] λησ[τ]ρικὸν βίον [ἐ]λομ[ε]νοῖς μελγυνοσ[αι]*.

evidence that the Roman authorities realized that such crimes as brigandage could only be rooted out if not merely the brigands were arrested, but those who aided and abetted them as well, i.e. their accomplices who remained living in the towns of Egypt and might act as shelterers of persons or receivers of booty.⁶⁰ This is referred to in the literary sources⁶¹ and is to be seen most clearly in a prefectorial edict issued *c.* A.D. 210–14, where the prefect remarks that in order to stamp out the evil of *λησταιί* it is essential to exterminate also *οί ὑποδεχόμενοι*.⁶² Secondly, as the edict just quoted has shown, there is evidence that the early third century was a time when the government increased its efforts to combat brigandage. It is precisely at this time that we first hear of the *ληστοπιασταί*, obviously officials specially appointed to act as a police force to control *λησταιί*.⁶³ Certainly it would be in character for Severus to have instigated new and more stringent measures against brigands while in Egypt in A.D. 199/200; the *Historia Augusta* says of him *latronum ubique hostis*.⁶⁴

If this picture is accurately drawn, the Serenos complained of in our text is one member of a powerful gang who went around terrorizing the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus (or so the petitioner claims).⁶⁵ Thus we get a glimpse of a breakdown in law and order, which carries important implications for the efficiency of the Roman government in Egypt at this date.

⁶⁰ For a non-Egyptian parallel cf. *Dig.* 48. 3. 6. 1, which relates that Antoninus Pius, when proconsul of Asia, gave instructions *ut irenarchae, cum adprehenderint latrones, interrogent eos de sociis et receptatoribus*.

⁶¹ See F. Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues* (1937), 65–8, with reference in particular to *Firm. Mat.* 1, 227. 18, on *latronum conscios et receptores*.

⁶² *P. Oxy.* XII, 1408; see esp. lines 23–5: [τὸ? τοὺς ληστὰς κα]θαι[ρ]εῖν χωρὶς τῶν ὑποδεχομένων μὴ δύνασθαι πᾶ[σι φανερόν, ἀλλὰ] γυμνοὺς τῶν περικειμένων αὐτοῖς ὄντας ταχέως τ[ιμωρησόμεθα?].

⁶³ See F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* (1917), 270, Braunert, *BW* 187, and N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services* (ASP 3; 1968) s.v. (to his references add *SB* VI, 9406, 305 (246)). Possibly we should also connect the *κολλητίωνες*, police officials who first appear now in Egypt, cf. N. Lewis, *Chron. d'Ég.* 29 (1954) 292, and the edict of Aquila to be found in *P. Oxy.* VIII, 1100. The phenomenon of brigandage persisted beyond the early third century of course. It is mentioned, for example, in *P. Antin.* II, 87 of the late third century.

⁶⁴ *SHA* Severus, 18. 6.

⁶⁵ A contemporary reference to the terrorizing of village officials is to be found in the petition *SB* 4284. 13 (207): καὶ οὐδὲ πώποτε ἐλιτο[ύ]ρ[γ]ησαν ἐ[κ]φοβοῦντες τοὺς κατὰ χρόνους κωμογραμματέας (but these people were not ἀνακεχωρηκότες).

ON SOME OCCURRENCES OF THE VERB 'TO SEAL' IN COPTIC AND EGYPTIAN TEXTS

By DIETER MUELLER

THE so-called *Tripartite Tractate* in Codex I of the Nag Hammadi Texts recently published in a magnificent *editio princeps* by a team of outstanding scholars¹ is not only remarkable for its contents, but also for its extraordinary contributions to Coptic lexicography and grammar. Its language confronts the investigator with a number of difficult problems, one of which shall be examined here in some detail.

Describing the origin of the Aeons, the anonymous author of this tractate states that [they] exist while (still) needing (-χρεία) to receive [knowledge] and growth and faultlessness, (and) he withheld it for a while (62, 12-15).

This lack of perfection is then attributed to the foresight of their creator:

15 • πετε αϣμεεγε
 αρσϣ ϣηηϣαρπ̄ η̄ταϣ ᾱεεεη
 οϣητεϣ̄ ᾱεεεϣ ϣηηϣαρπ̄
 αϣηεϣ αρσϣ αϣρω̄π̄ δε ᾱεεεο
 αηαεῑ επταϣ̄ ϣορπ̄ η̄εῑ αβαλ
 20 ᾱεεεαϣ ρ̄ηη οϣφ̄θονοϣ επ αλ
 λα ϣενασε̄ η̄σετᾱε̄ϣη ϣη̄
 η̄ϣαρπ̄ η̄τοϣη̄ε̄πτᾱτϣτα ϣη̄ η̄
 ᾱιωη̄ etc.

15 *He who had conceived*
 of it from the very beginning, he indeed (μὲν)
 possessed it from the very beginning (and)
 saw it;² but (δέ) he . . . it (even?)
 to those who had been first to come forth from
 20 *him, not out of jealousy (φθόνος), but (ἀλλά)*
 that the Aeons (αἰών) might not obtain from
 the very beginning their faultlessness . . .

In this otherwise straightforward account, only the verb αϣρω̄π̄ in l. 18 presents a problem. The editors have hesitatingly offered two divergent translations:

il l'a vu, mais, d'autre part (δέ), il l'a conjoint à ceux qui sont les premiers à être issus de lui,

¹ *Tractatus Tripartitus. Pars 1: De Supermis.* Ed. R. Kasser, M. Malinine, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, J. Zandee, adiuv. W. Vycichel, R. McL. Wilson (Berne, 1973).

² Or, 'he possessed it ever since (ϣηηϣαρπ̄) he had seen it'?

and

he saw it, but (δέ) he did <not> insert it in those who first came forth from him.

Neither is entirely satisfactory. If ϩωπ̄π̄ is taken to be the well-attested verb ϩωπ̄π̄ 'to join, attune, be reconciled, sink' (Crum, *Dict.*, 724b; Gk. συμπλέκειν, συνάπτειν), the 'faultlessness' was indeed awarded from the beginning, but only to an earlier generation of Aeons, i.e. 'those who had been first to come forth from him'. However, the subsequent reference to 'the Aeons' (without qualification) makes this somewhat unlikely; moreover, this explanation does not at all agree with the claim that this action was taken, 'but . . . not out of jealousy'.

Well aware of this problem, the editors have debated two possible solutions:

- (1) if the form ϩωπ̄π̄ is the result of a metathesis, it might represent a verb *ϩωπ̄τ̄ which could then be linked to ϩηπ̄τ̄, a qual. of ϩωπ̄ 'to hide' (Crum, *Dict.*, 695a);
- (2) ϩωπ̄π̄ 'to join' can be retained, if one assumes that the scribe has accidentally omitted a negation.³

Of these two solutions, the former yields an excellent sense ('. . . he hid it from them'); but it is etymologically quite impossible. If ϩηπ̄τ̄ is indeed a qualitative of ϩωπ̄ (Egn. *h̄p*), the final τ̄ could only represent the ending *·ty* of the third-person-singular feminine of the Old Perfective.⁴ This precludes its treatment as third radical of the infinitive of a trilateral root, and makes the suggested metathesis highly improbable.

The assumption that the scribe has skipped a negative particle is somewhat less problematical; but it is not entirely clear which particle it might have been. As this text always uses the form εν̄ for αν̄, αν̄αῑ <εν̄> εν̄ταϩ̄ρ̄ ϣορ̄π̄ could have become αν̄αῑ εν̄ταϩ̄ρ̄ ϣορ̄π̄ through haplography; but the meaning obtained by restoring one εν̄ is not very satisfactory.⁵ The context certainly requires the negation of the verb; but that would be *~~αν̄~~π̄εϩ̄ρ̄ωπ̄π̄⁶—a form whose disappearance cannot be explained with the omission of a negative particle.

The apparent lack of a satisfactory solution along these lines justifies the exploration of a third possibility. Phonetically, Coptic ϩ stands for Egn. *h*, *h̄*, *h̄*, and sometimes *h̄*; τ̄ may represent *t*, *t̄*, *d*, or *d̄*; and π̄ either *b* or *p*. Of the numerous possible combinations, only six are actually attested: *h̄tb* 'to mourn' (*Wb.* III, 183, 3), *h̄tp* 'to rest' (*Wb.* III, 188, 2), *h̄db* and *h̄tb* 'to overthrow' (*Wb.* III, 205, 8 and 402, 12), and *h̄db* 'to kill' (*Wb.* III, 403, 3). None of them fits the passage under investigation.

However, a number of Coptic words also attest a change from Egn. *b* to Coptic *ae*, e.g. Egn. *nb* > π̄*ae*, *iskb* > ω*ae*, etc. Conversely, Egn. *m* may appear as *h̄*, as in *nm̄c* 'to

³ Thus Wilson and Zandee: op. cit., 292 f., note on 62, 18.

⁴ For this form of the qualitative see e.g. W. Till, *Koptische Gr.* (Leipzig, 1955) § 257B; G. Steindorff, *Lehrbuch der Koptischen Gr.* (Chicago, 1951), § 228 note, etc.

⁵ 'He joined it, [not] to those who had been first to come forth from him' (one expects: 'but to someone else'): see e.g. G. Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, § 420. 3. The actual continuation ('but not out of jealousy') is quite incompatible with this solution.

⁶ Thus the corresponding paragraph in the *Gospel of Truth*: '. . . as He has confined to himself their perfection, which *he did not give* to the All. Not that the Father was jealous (*φθονεῖν*); for what jealousy (*φθόνος*) is there between Him and His members (*μέλη*)?' etc. (*Evangelium Veritatis*, ed. M. Malinine, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel [Zürich, 1956], 18, 36-40).

sleep' (*Wb.* II, 266. 7) > (ϩϫ)ⲛⲏⲛⲃ (Crum, *Dict.*, 691a).⁷ The oscillation between *m* and *b* at the end of a word is also demonstrated by the various Greek transcriptions of the name of the Egyptian god Khnum (*hnmw*), which is spelled both *Xνοῦμῆς* and *Xνοῦβῆς*.⁸ Their affinity widens the circle of possible candidates. Neither Egn. *h̄tm* 'to equip' (*Wb.* III, 196, 9), nor *h̄tm* 'to destroy' (*Wb.* III, 197, 10) suits our context; but *h̄tm* 'to seal, close, shut' (*Wb.* III, 350 ff.) warrants a closer examination. Its normal forms in Coptic are ⲱⲱⲧⲁⲗⲗ and ⲱⲱⲧⲁⲗⲗⲗ, but ϩⲱⲧⲁⲗⲗ and ϩⲱⲧⲁⲗⲗⲗ are also attested.⁹ Followed by Egn. *r*, Coptic *ε-*, εϣⲟ=, it assumes the meaning 'to close (something) against', which eminently suits the passage under investigation. It is therefore legitimate to explore the possibility that ϩⲱⲧⲛⲓ ⲗⲗⲗⲗⲗⲗ = *ε-* in *Trip. Tract.* 62, 18 stands for ⲱⲱⲧⲁⲗⲗ ⲗⲗⲗⲗⲗⲗ = *ε-*.

At first sight, the obstacles to such an interpretation seem somewhat formidable. The spelling ϩⲱⲧⲁⲗⲗ for ⲱⲱⲧⲁⲗⲗ is very rare, and ϩⲱⲧⲏ or ϩⲱⲧⲛ for ϩⲱⲧⲁⲗⲗ seem to be unattested so far. One would therefore hardly entertain the idea, if it were not for one, and perhaps two, texts which tend to confirm this theory. The first comes from a Ptolemaic inscription on the propylon of the temple of Montu at Karnak, where Ptolemy III leads a procession of Upper Egyptian nomes approaching the goddess Thebes. The First Nome addresses Thebes

n(t)t̄ h̄db(t) n̄wt m pry im̄s
s̄ipy(t) sp̄wt m s̄t̄w̄s

you are the one who . . . the cities with what has
*come forth from her, and founded the nomes on her ground.*¹⁰

A similar statement occurs in the partly destroyed legend accompanying the Sixth Nome: [] *ms idb* [·wy] *h̄tb n̄wt s̄t̄w̄ s̄ipy idbw* ('who produced the Two Banks and . . . the cities, ground that founded the lands' etc.: *ibid.*, 49, 1).

The meaning of *h̄tb*, spelled ⲏⲧⲃ in the first, and ⲏⲧⲃⲏ in the second example, is obscure: *Wb.* proposes '(Städte) bauen, o.ä.' (*Wb.* III, 350, 1); but as no such verb seems to be attested elsewhere, one may very well wonder if this is not *h̄tm* 'to seal (off), (en)close' in the sense of 'to fortify' (cf. *h̄tm* 'fortress' *Wb.* III, 352, 9). That the enclosure of cities by walls could be considered the essence of the act of foundation is to some extent confirmed by the claim of Isis ἐγὼ περιβόλους πόλεων ἔκτισα;¹¹ but the lack of comparable material makes this explanation somewhat hypothetical.

Fortunately, no such doubt attaches itself to the second example, taken from the Demotic *Mythus vom Sonnenauge*. In the story told by the little baboon, the lion in search of a man finds another lion *r̄iw̄=f* [*dth̄?*] *iw̄ty w̄c h̄t n̄ tw̄ r̄p̄ h̄t h̄tm r̄hr̄ t̄ty=f*

⁷ G. Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, § 22. 2; W. Till, *Achmimisch-Koptische Gr.* (Leipzig, 1928), § 33b.

⁸ The latter, e.g. W. Dittenberger, *OGIS* No. 130, 7 and 168 *passim*; in private names, *Παχνοῦμῆς* occurs besides *Παχνοῦβῆς*, *Περεχνοῦμῆς* besides *Περεχνοῦβῆς*, etc. (W. Preisigke, *NB* 295 and 317; D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum* (Milano, n.d.), 242 f. and 254).

⁹ For references see Crum, *Dict.*, 595b and 596a.

¹⁰ K. Sethe-O. Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus Griechisch-Römischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1957) = *Urk.* VIII, 36 (49c).

¹¹ *Isis Aretalogy of Memphis*, M 51; text e.g. in R. Harder, *Karpokrates von Chalkis und die memphitische Isispropaganda* (Berlin, 1944), 21.

'who was [caught] in a desert tree, with the tree (or: wood) closed over his paw' (Copt. *εϵϥ[] οϣτε οϣϣε ἡτοοϣ ε(ρε) πϣε ἡτοοϣ ϣοτᾶ εϣἰ τοοτϥ).¹² When asked about the cause of his plight, the second lion recounts how he met a man who promised to make him a wooden amulet. He then continues:

*m*ṣ=*i* ἰrm=*f* p*h*=*f* r p*ɣ*y ḥt n tw wys=*f* n*im*=*f*
dd=*f* n*ɜ*=*i* w*ɜ*y t*ty*=*k*
ty=*i* t*ty*=*i* iwt*y* p*ɜ* ḥt ḥtb=*f*^{sic!} r*ɜ*=*f* r*·hr*=*f*^[sic!]

I went with him (and) he reached this desert tree (and) sawed it off.

He said to me, 'give (me) your paw!'

*I put my paw into the tree, (and) it (or: he) closed its mouth over it.*¹³

In Coptic, the last sentence would roughly be *ⲁⲓⲥⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲉ ⲁϥϣⲟⲧḥ ϣⲟϥ εϣἰωϥ (em. εϣἰωϥ), and it has long been recognized that this ḥtb/ϣⲟⲧḥ, which is otherwise unattested, can hardly be anything else but the ḥtm/ϣⲟⲧᾶ of the preceding column.¹⁴ Isolated though it may be, this Demotic form confirms that the pronunciation of ḥtm oscillated sufficiently between ḥtm and ḥtb/ḥtb to prompt the occasional 'irregular' spelling.

It is actually possible that this form may not be quite as singular as it might seem at first sight. In Deut. 25: 4, the famous proverb that one shall not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn, Gk. φιμοῦν 'to muzzle' is rendered in Coptic by a verb ϣⲟⲧḥ (Crum, *Dict.*, 595b), which is also used in the NT quotation of this saying 1 Cor. 9: 9 (Gk. κημοῦν). Elsewhere, φιμοῦν appears as ϣⲟⲧᾶ (e.g. Matt. 22: 34), a fact that suggests a close relationship between the two Coptic verbs.

This contention is borne out by the few occurrences of its ancestor *štb* (*Wb.* IV, 557, 8–9) in hieroglyphic texts. After the victorious battle at Megiddo just prior to the siege of this city, Tuthmosis III exhorts his troops, 'behold, [all foreign countries have been put into this town by the command] of Rē^c on this day, for every prince of all [northern] countries is shut up (*štbw*) within it!'¹⁵ In the *Book of Overthrowing Apopis*, the demon is warned that 'Isis overthrows you with her magic, and seals your mouth' (*štb·s r·k*).¹⁶ Here and elsewhere, *štb r·k* is apparently merely a 'phonetic spelling' of the more frequently attested ḥtm r·k (*Wb.* III, 351, 15–16). This is particularly obvious in two spells of the *Magical Pap. Harris*, where ḥtm r·k n m*ɜ*iw ḥtyw ('sealing the mouth of lions and hyaenas') is used interchangeably with *štb r·k n m*ɜ*iw ḥtyw*.¹⁷

The apparent affinity between ḥtm and *štb* opens up two possibilities. Either ḥtm and *štb* are merely alternate forms of one verb ḥtm 'to seal, close, shut' that eventually

¹² W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge nach dem Leidener Demotischen Papyrus I*, 384 (Strasbourg, 1917), col. xvii, 33–4.

¹³ Op. cit., col. xviii, 6–7; r*·hr* = *f*: emend r*·hr* = *s*.

¹⁴ W. Spiegelberg, op. cit., p. 217 no. 569; W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1957), 372, s.v. ḥtm.

¹⁵ *Urk.* IV, 660, 6–7; earlier, the campaign report had mentioned that the people of Megiddo had closed (*ḥtm!*) the town against the outside.

¹⁶ Col. xxxi, 17: R. O. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (Brussels, 1933), = *Bibl. Aeg.* III, 84.

¹⁷ Col. x, 3 and xi, 3–4: H. O. Lange, *Der Magische Papyrus Harris* (Copenhagen, 1927), 84, 10 and 92, 9.

split into two separate, but closely related words, $\text{ϣ}\omega\tau\text{ⲗ}$ 'to seal, close', and $\text{ϣ}\omega\tau\text{ⲉ}$ 'to muzzle';¹⁸ or, alternatively, these two verbs may have been distinct from the very start, but came to resemble each other so closely in meaning and pronunciation that their similarity gave rise to occasional confusion. The relatively late appearance of *štb* in Egyptian texts favours the first explanation, but the available evidence is not sufficient to settle this question with certainty.

In either case, the $\text{ϩ}\omega\overline{\text{π}}$ of the *Tripartite Tractate* can now be linked to $\text{ϣ}\omega\tau\text{ⲉ}/\text{ϣ}\omega\tau\text{ⲗ}$ 'to close'. The spelling of these verbs with ϩ instead of ϣ is attested in Coptic and in the Demotic *Mythus*; forms with final *b* instead of *m* occur in the same Demotic source and in several hieroglyphic texts (as *štb* and perhaps ptol. *htb*: see above). The only serious obstacle to this theory is, strangely enough, the use of π instead of ⲗ in the *Trip. Tract.* That final *b* can change to *p* is, of course, also attested;¹⁹ but I know of no instance where this has happened to a $b < m$. However, in a text that shows so many, often inexplicable, peculiarities and previously unattested forms, such a spelling should perhaps not be overrated. The translation

he indeed (μέν) possessed it from the very beginning (and) saw it; but (δέ) he closed it to those who had been first to come forth from him, not out of jealousy (φθόνος), but (ἀλλά) that the Aeons (αἰών) might not obtain from the very beginning their faultlessness

certainly solves a difficulty that would otherwise remain baffling.

¹⁸ Cf. Egn. ḏdb (*Wb.* v, 632, 7) and ḏdm (*Wb.* v, 634, 19), both meaning 'to sting, prick', and probably one and the same verb.

¹⁹ To the examples collected by Till, *Achmimisch-Koptische Gr.*, § 30, add perhaps $\text{ϩ}\tau\text{ⲟ}\text{π}$ 'fall, destruction' (*Crum, Dict.*, 725b), from $\text{ḥdb}/\text{ḥtb}$ 'to overthrow, fall' (*Wb.* III, 205, 8 and 402, 12).

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOHN WINTOUR BALDWIN
BARNES
(1912–1974)

By S. W. GRUEN

Compiler's Note. I am pleased to take up Mr. E. P. Uphill's suggestion in *JEA* 57 (1971), 181, that others should also produce inventories for scholars in Egyptology. I should like to dedicate this bibliography to the memory of my former tutor and supervisor, the late Reverend Professor J. W. B. Barnes, as a small token of my gratitude. From the following list it can be seen that his breadth of scholarship was extremely wide, ranging from Greek to Old Nubian (No. 48), and encompassing every stage of the ancient Egyptian language (with the exception, possibly, of Old Egyptian). Every effort has been made to record here everything that he has ever written; but, given his incredibly diversified interests, I trust that scholars will be indulgent if some obscure item has inadvertently been omitted. It must be pointed out, moreover, that the list would have been considerably larger if it had included the numerous publications of others which have benefited from his invaluable advice and practical help, especially his papyrological expertise.¹ Standard abbreviations (such as are found, e.g., in Helck and Otto, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 1, pp. v–xxvii) have been employed. For an obituary of Professor Barnes by W. V. Davies, see *JEA* 60 (1974), 243–6 (with portrait).²

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¹ See, for example, F. M. Cross, Jr., 'Discovery of the Samaria Papyri', *The Biblical Archaeologist* 26 (1963), 114; G. W. Bond, *Euripides Hypsipyle* (O.U.P., 1963), vi; H. Lloyd-Jones, *Gnomon* 31 (1959), 111–12, and *Maia* n.s., Fasc. 3, Anno XIX (1967), 210 (I owe these two references to Professor Lloyd-Jones).

² I am most grateful to Mr. W. V. Davies for generously having given me a basic list of Barnes's works, which he had compiled for the above-mentioned obituary. My sincere thanks must also go to Dr. R. A. Coles, to Mr. A. Ostler, Senior Assistant Registrar of the University of Oxford, and to Mr. C. W. H. Currie, Librarian of the Ashmolean Library, Oxford, and his staff; also to the Editor.

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THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AYLWARD MANLEY BLACKMAN (1883–1956)

By E. P. UPHILL

Prefatory Note. Since A. M. Blackman was my first teacher in Egyptology, Mr. Uphill has kindly asked me to introduce the latest of his valuable bibliographies. No lengthy appreciation seems necessary, for a compilation of this kind is itself a guide to a scholar's activities. As a teacher A. M. Blackman established a close personal relationship with all his pupils. This is, of course, often possible to some extent in Egyptological studies if only because pupils are fewer in number; but in his case there was an ardent desire to make education an affair of living together and of cultural sharing in the broadest sense. Indeed he held most of his tutorials in his own study. There one could not fail to notice that he was often in the middle of writing something. Nor would he hesitate to refer to his particular research interest at the time. Egyptian religion and philology were his main pursuits, as this Bibliography amply attests, and a dominant feature of his writings was that his discussions of religious problems were closely related to the texts and other sources. He was always striving to understand the texts more perceptively. Another mark of his writings was their attractive and incisive presentation. As Professor Fairman justly remarks in *JEA* 42 (1956), 103, he was 'a great stylist and master of English'; yet he would not sacrifice scholarly accuracy in order to serve stylistic ends.

For an appreciation of his life and work see the admirable tribute by Professor Fairman which has just been cited; also Eric P. Uphill in *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (2nd edn., London, 1972), 29–30.

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THE ROLE OF *FIR'AWN* IN POPULAR ISLAM

By A. FODOR

THE interest of Islam in Pharaonic Egypt has been constantly assured in manifold ways during its long history. At first Muḥammad made use of the Biblical story of Moses and Pharaoh and wishing to show how God treated the unbelievers, he necessarily accepted the negative picture of the Egyptian ruler.¹ This portrayal, coloured by Judaeo-Christian bias, runs through the whole Islamic literature, but later on, after the conquest of the Nile valley, the acquaintance with local Coptic tradition, oral and written alike, brought a relatively more balanced and realistic view to the Arabic sources depicting the monuments and the ancient history of the country.² These descriptions, together with the still living oral traditions and folk-customs, have preserved many surviving elements of pre-Islamic Egyptian culture which may offer additional information considered to be relevant for both Islamic and Pharaonic civilization.³

So it is in no way surprising that the figure of Pharaoh (Ar. *Fir'awn*) has permanently kept Muhammedan popular imagination busy inventing stories about him. To illustrate this phenomenon I wish to present here two pieces of folk tradition which at first sight seem to be purely the interesting products of Muhammedan popular belief, but on a closer examination turn out to reveal elements reverting to Pharaonic Egypt.

The first passage relates how Fir'awn, the first ruler in Egyptian history to be called by this name, seized power; and it gives a popular etymology of the word. The second one refers to the role the Pharaohs (Ar. *Farā'ina*) were to play in Muhammedan magic.

1. According to the general view of Arabic tradition the wicked kings of the so-called Amalekite (i.e. Hyksos) dynasty, seven in number and masters of Egypt in the period between Abraham and Moses, were given the title Fir'awn as a kind of pejorative attribute, recalling by it the person of the last antediluvian ruler named Far'ān, who distinguished himself with his exceptionally brutal and outrageous deeds.⁴

¹ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², s.v. Fir'awn. See also R. Paret, 'Le Corps de Pharaon signe et avertissement pour la postérité', *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, 1 (Paris, 1962), 235-7.

² The description of Pharaonic Egypt by Arabic sources in the Middle Ages is extensively dealt with in G. Wiet, *L'Égypte de Murtadi fils du Gaphiphe* (Paris, 1953).

³ See, e.g., C. E. Dubler, 'Survivances de l'ancien orient dans l'Islam', *Studia Islamica* 7 (1957), 47-75 and 'Altägyptische Miszellen', *Asiatische Studien* 16 (1963), 107-24, M. Ghallab, *Les Survivances de l'Égypte antique dans le folklore égyptien moderne* (Paris, 1929); W. S. Blackman, *Les Fellahs de la Haute-Égypte* (Paris, 1948), 245-79 and 'Some Social and Religious Customs in Modern Egypt, with Special Reference to Survivals from Ancient Times', *Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte* 14 (1926), 47-61; M. Kamāl, *Āthār ḥaḍārat al-farā'ina fi ḥayātina al-hāliyya/Traces of the Pharaonic Civilization in Our Present Life* (Cairo, 1956); and my papers: 'The Origins of the Legends of the Pyramids', *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 23 (1970), 335-63 and 'The Evil Eye in Today's Egypt', *Folia Orientalia* 13 (1971), 51-65.

⁴ Wiet, op. cit., Introduction, pp. 22 ff.

In a slight contrast to this commonly held opinion Wahb ibn Munabbih tells the following story:⁵

When, after the death of the king ar-Rayyān, the rulership was passed to his son, Sinjāb, there lived in Egypt a 170-year-old shepherd, Muṣ'ab, who had no child. One day Muṣ'ab saw a cow bringing forth a calf. He dyed the cow with saffron and then God made the animal prophesy to Muṣ'ab that he would be given a male child who was to become a pillar of hell. Not long after this Muṣ'ab died and his wife gave birth to a boy who received the name al-Walīd. When the boy grew up, he went to learn carpentry, which he finally neglected because he became fond of gambling and kept on trying his fortune until he lost everything he had. The mother reproached her son for this, but al-Walīd answered her by saying that he was the helper (Ar. *'awn*) of himself. After this the nickname *'awn* came to remain with al-Walīd and when, feeling ashamed of his losses in gambling, he ran away from the town, people said *farra 'awn*, i.e. '*awn* (Helper) fled.' From this day on al-Walīd came to be called by no other name than this.⁶ Finally he returned home to lead the life of a villain and mischievous vagabond, but in the end he succeeded in creeping into the king's favour, who appointed him to be the chief of the royal guard. To show his gratitude, al-Walīd killed his lord at the first opportunity, crowned himself king in his place, and stepped into the history of Egypt as the famous adversary of Moses.

By giving this etymology Wahb ibn Munabbih more or less confounded the order of the rulers in the Amalekite dynasty⁷ and made al-Walīd ibn Muṣ'ab the first Amalekite to bear the title *Fir'awn*, although he was actually the seventh and last in this line.⁸

The most striking thing in the whole history is the mention of a cow which can certainly be brought into contact with the surviving memory of the goddess Hathor. The Arabs knew quite well that the cow had been worshipped as a goddess by the Egyptians, and a story about the cow who protects the treasures hidden in the temple of Denderah (dedicated to Hathor) is still current in Egypt.⁹ The prophesying feature of the animal is another typical characteristic of the ancient Egyptian religion where revelations given e.g. by lambs or Apis-bulls were common.

II. In the magic handbook of al-Būnī (*ob.* A.D. 1225), which has influenced Arab magic until today, there is the following passage in the chapter dealing with the 'beautiful names' of Allah:¹⁰

As for his name (may He be exalted!) al-Malik (The King), if somebody keeps on mentioning it the Pharaohs will be led to him and they will obey him and will come under his authority.

This picture of the Pharaohs as servants of Muslims in magic practices is in harmony with the Qur'ānic presentation, but beyond this it fits in well with the broader context

⁵ *Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' az-zuhur* (Cairo), 116 ff.

⁶ For an etymology partly similar to this, see Ghallab, *op. cit.*, 14, where the word *'awn* is given the meaning 'giant'.

⁷ See, e.g., Wiet, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 26. None of the main sources referring to ancient Egypt mentions this story when they deal with the Pharaoh of Moses: Pseudo-al-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār az-zamān* (Beirut, 1966), 269 ff. and its translation by Carra de Vaux, *L'Abrégé des Merveilles* (Paris, 1898), 388 ff.; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ I* (Cairo), 142.

⁸ At-Ṭabari, *Ta'rīkh I* (Cairo), 413.

⁹ Kamāl, *op. cit.*, 70 ff.

¹⁰ Al-Būnī, *Shams al-ma'ārif al-kubrā I* (Cairo), 54. For another detailed description of the uses of the name al-Malik, see *ibid.*, IV, 33. On al-Būnī see M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (Leiden, 1972), 390 ff.

of Muhammedan sorcery, where the magic of names played a prominent role.¹¹ According to the popular belief, with the knowledge of different demon-names or especially of the names of God, demons can be forced to fulfil certain wishes. This very same thing happens in the above-cited prescription where the Pharaohs are evoked. It is only too natural that in this operation the name al-Malik is used, since the notion of power and authority is necessarily associated with it. All this means that in the source of the operation the method of demoniac magic is completed with that of sympathetic magic.

The tasks which the Pharaohs are called for are not detailed and we can only assume that it is not their persons in their physical embodiment, but their spirits that are supposed to execute the different wishes of the petitioner. This same process of the degradation of ancient Egyptian values takes place in connection with the statues of Pharaohs and Gods found in the temples: in Muhammedan popular belief they are thought of as the guardian spirits of the ancient buildings.¹²

Although Muhammedan name-magic has close connections with Jewish sorcery,¹³ in the case of al-Būnī's above-cited passage one cannot help recalling the ancient Egyptian tradition which attributed the same importance and supernatural force to names.¹⁴

¹¹ See, e.g., E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers, 1909), 129 ff.

¹² Pseudo-al-Mas'ūdī, op. cit., 169 f.; G. Maspero, 'L'Abrégé des Merveilles', *Journal des savants* (1899), 79.

¹³ For the importance of names in Jewish magic, see L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (Budapest, 1898), 117-46.

¹⁴ The name of the Pharaoh *Mn-hpr-r* had been especially popular because of its magical power, to mention but one example. See also Ghallab, op. cit., 265, who, however, emphasizes too much the direct contact between ancient Egyptian and Muhammedan beliefs in the magic force of names without taking into consideration the more important Jewish influence.

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY ARABIC LETTER TO THE KING OF NUBIA

By J. MARTIN PLUMLEY

DURING the 1972 Season at Qaṣr Ibrīm in Egyptian Nubia a number of papyrus scrolls were found (cf. *JEA* 60 [1974], 237). The largest scroll is 255 cm. long and 53·5 cm. wide and was constructed by the gumming together of a number of sheets of the finest quality papyrus. When found the scroll was tightly rolled and secured around the middle by a piece of string with a small mud seal (pl. XXVIII, 1). The seal itself was quite plain, there being no evidence of any impression. Only the recto of the document had been used to record sixty-nine lines of Arabic written in a large and beautiful hand (pl. XXVIII, 2). Undamaged except for two small holes in the first two lines, the manuscript is probably the finest early Arabic document of its kind yet found. Three other papyrus scrolls found with it are less well preserved. All of these are written in Sahidic Coptic in cursive hands. The largest and most complete of the Coptic scrolls is 95 cm. long and 48 cm. wide. It is probable that the original width of this scroll approximated to that of the Arabic scroll, for about 3 to 4 cm. of the whole of the left margin is now missing. The other two scrolls are represented by several large pieces and a number of smaller fragments. Some preliminary work has been done on the large Coptic scroll but the others will call for considerable work in relating the various fragments to one another. Since it is the present policy of the Egyptian Antiquities Service not to allow manuscript material to leave Egypt, all the initial work on manuscript material must be carried out by means of photographs or hand copies. Owing to the lack of electric lighting in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo the photographs had to be taken in very unfavourable conditions. The Arabic scroll, though in excellent condition and very clearly written, presented no less difficulties to successful photography. Fortunately Dr. Martin Hinds of the University of Cambridge and Professor Hamdi Sakkut of the American University of Cairo were in Cairo at the time. They were able to make hand copies of the Arabic text shortly after the scroll was unrolled in the Museum by the author.

The purpose of this article is to present a translation of the Arabic text pending a more detailed study so that its contents may be available as soon as possible. A few references are made to the associated Coptic scrolls so far as they have been interpreted where it appears that they bear on the Arabic text. The translation of the Arabic text is the joint work of Dr. Hinds and Professor Sakkut. The introduction and notes are the responsibility of the author.

The contents of the scrolls are of the first importance for the light which they throw on a period of Nubian history which hitherto has been poorly documented. Of special

interest is the mention of the *baqt* or treaty which had been established between the Nubians and the Arab rulers of Egypt shortly after the conquest of Egypt in A.D. 641. What has been suspected by some as being an invention of later Arab historians is now seen to be fact.

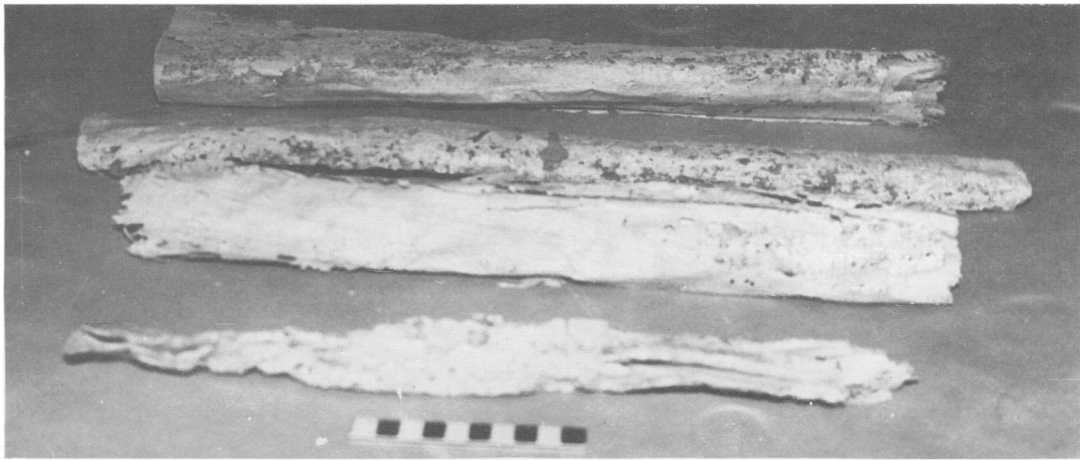
The Arabic scroll is an official letter of complaint from the Governor of Egypt, Musa Ibn Ka'b, to the King of Nubia, sent in the autumn of A.D. 758. Since the King of Nubia had his official residence at Dongola far to the south, the finding at Qaşr Ibrîm of a letter addressed to him calls for some explanation. The nature of some of the complaints and the mention of the King's Deputy in the Arabic scroll plainly determined the King's action in referring the letter to the official at Qaşr Ibrîm, the administrative centre of the most northerly part of his kingdom which bordered Aswân.

The associated Coptic scrolls, though none of them bear on the verso the names of either the sender or the intended recipient—are from their contents clearly letters to the king of Nubia. It is difficult to assume otherwise than that their ultimate author was the King's official at Qaşr Ibrîm. Since none of the letters is addressed on its verso, it may be that they are copies of the original letters, retained at Qaşr Ibrîm for archival purposes. On the other hand it is not impossible that they may be drafts. Certainly in the case of the largest and most complete of the Coptic scrolls the difficulties in providing a satisfactory translation are not so much the occurrence of new words and unusual constructions as the number of breaks in the thread of the argument. One is left with the impression that the scribe, having written out the usual opening formulae of greeting, gradually lapsed into a series of long, loosely connected notes.

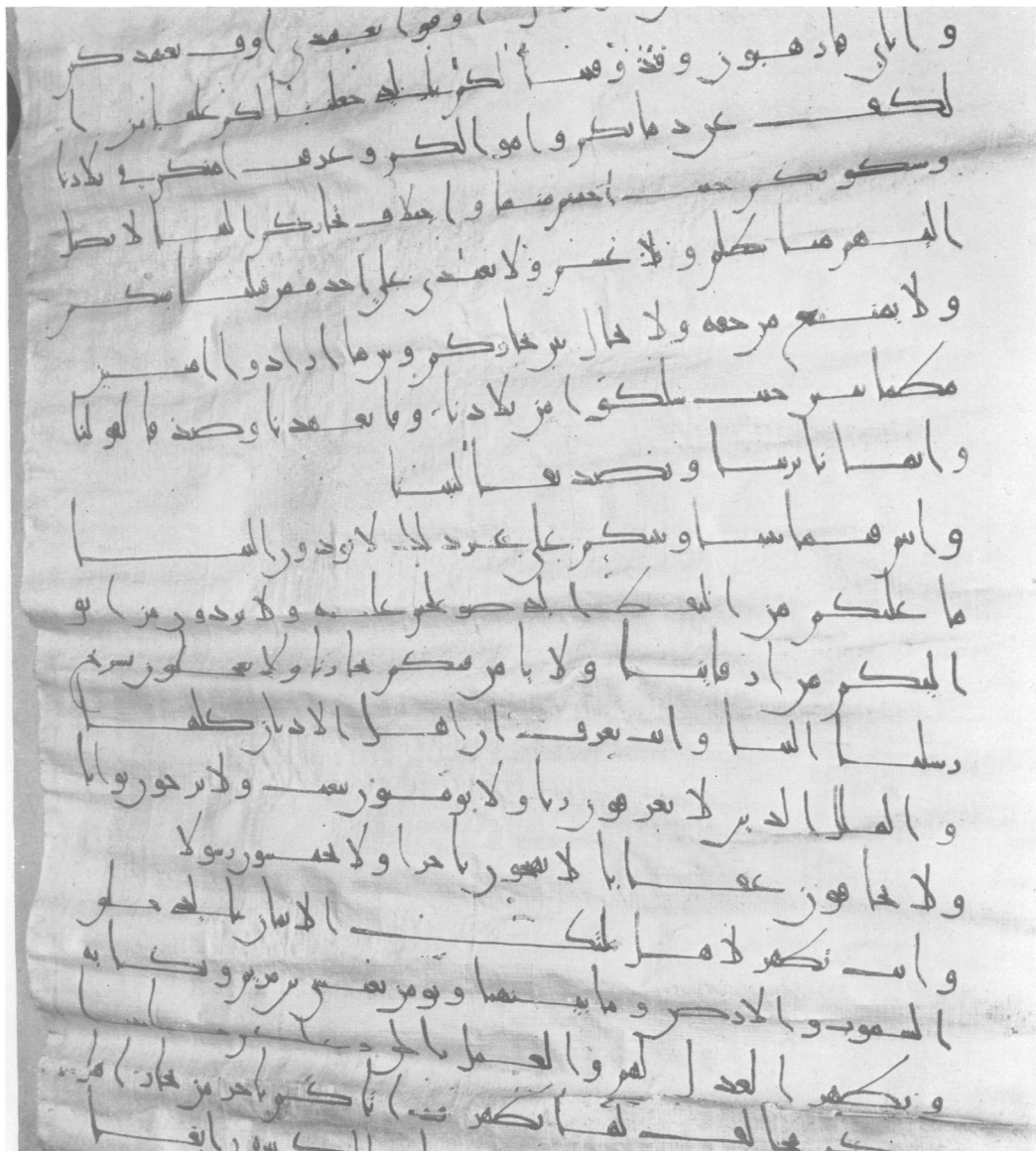
As the handwriting reveals, each of the Coptic scrolls was written by a different scribe. Two of the scrolls are so damaged that it has not been possible as yet to find any trace of a date. The large scroll, however, has a line of dating at the end of the letter, but the line is somewhat damaged and has not reproduced well on any of the available photographs. The reading of the complete date is therefore not certain. It does appear, however, that the year can be read as A.D. 759. That this is the correct reading is strengthened by the mention in line 5 of the Coptic scroll that the Governor of Egypt was Maamed Ibn Al Asath. It is known that he succeeded Musa Ibn Aa'b in 759 in accordance with the custom that as a rule the governorship was held only for one year.

Translation

1. *In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful*
2. *From Mûsa b. K[a'b to] master (šāḥib) of Muqurr[a] and Nubia. Peace be upon*
3. *the friends (awliyā') of God and those who obey him . . . To them do I praise God,*
4. *other than whom there is no god.*
5. *To continue. You (sing.) know that about which an agreement was made with you and the fulfilment of it*
6. *which you took upon yourselves, so preserving your blood and property if*
7. *you fulfil [it]. God, blessed and exalted is He, says in His book 'Fulfil*
8. *the compact of God when you make a compact, and do not break the oath after*
9. *it has been affirmed and you have made God your guarantor; verily God*
10. *knows what you do'. And He said 'Fulfil my compact and I shall fulfil your compact and mine;*



1. The four papyrus scrolls. Top: the most complete Coptic scroll; second from top: the Arabic scroll with mud sealing



2. Detail of part of the Arabic scroll

11. *so fear me'. We have fulfilled for you that which we took upon ourselves for you in*
12. *turning away from your blood and your property and you (sing.) know your security in our land*
13. *and your dwelling wherever you wish in it and the repairing of your merchants to us; no oppression*
14. *or harm comes to them from us; no one of you who is among us is attacked by us*
15. *nor is he denied his right; no obstacle is placed between your merchants and what they want—[they are] safe*
16. *and contented wherever they go in our land, [this being] in fulfilment of our compact, in truth to our word,*
17. *in belief in our Lord and in trust in our Prophet.*
18. *You however, in that which lies between us, behave otherwise. You do not bring to us*
19. *that to which you are liable according to the baqt on the basis of which/about which agreement was made with you: nor do you return those of our*
20. *slaves who run away to you; nor are our merchants safe among you; nor do you hasten to permit*
21. *our messengers [to return] to us. You know that the people of all religions*
22. *and the persuasions (milal) which neither know a lord, nor believe in a resurrection, nor hope for recompense,*
23. *nor fear punishment, [even these] do not attack a merchant or detain a messenger.*
24. *You (sing.) make manifest to the people of your persuasion belief in Him who created*
25. *the heavens and the earth and what is between them, you (sing.) believe in Jesus the son of Mary and his book,*
26. *and you (sing.) make manifest to them justice and the doing of what is right, while what you do in that which is between you*
27. *and us is contrary to that which you make manifest. One of the merchants of the people*
28. *of our country, Sa'd by name, came to you with much wealth, having made off*
29. *with it from its owners, and you detained him among you, stood between him and the one who rightly pursued him*
30. *and protected him from him. [Secondly] a man of the people of Aswān, named*
31. *Muḥammad b. Zayd, sent to you a merchant of his, on his business and seeking rights for him.*
32. *You detained him and the wealth that he had with him, and my governor over Aswān*
33. *wrote to me, mentioning that he had written to your deputy*
34. *concerning him and that your deputy had written to him, asking him to send to him Muḥammad*
35. *b. Zayd, the master of that merchant, so that he might make over to him with the wealth which he (the merchant) had*
36. *with him. So he (the governor) sent him (Muḥammad) to him (the deputy) with a group of Muslims, and he (the deputy) gave him (Muḥammad) a bad*
37. *beating and broke his hand and detained him with him for three nights until he (Muḥammad) thought that he would kill him.*
38. *Then he (the deputy) let him go, and my governor over Aswān, Salm b. Sulaymān, asked him (Muḥammad) for evidence*
39. *of the arrival of his merchant to you and of that which your deputy had done to him.*
40. *He (Muḥammad) then brought to him a group of Muslims, witnesses of probity ('udūl), from the inhabitants of Aswān, and they bore witness*
41. *to him (Salm) of what he (Muḥammad) had mentioned in the matter of himself and the matter of his merchant. He (Salm) then wrote to me about all of this*
42. *and sent to me Muḥammad b. Zayd, the master of that merchant. He came at the time of the*
43. *arrival of BṬRH (Peter), your messenger to me, so I brought them together. With Peter*
44. *[was] a group of your persuasion, and they mentioned*

45. *that they thought, when they took him (the merchant), that he was one of the Beja who make attacks on them.*
46. *I then instructed 'Awn b. Sulaymān, qādī of the people of Miṣr, to look into their affair;*
47. *then were you made to bear the like of the right and justice which the people (al-nās, i.e. Muslims?) are made to bear,*
48. *for he judged that Peter should return that merchant, together with the wealth that is*
49. *with him, if he is alive, and if he is dead, you are liable to blood money of*
50. *one thousand dinars.*
51. *Salm sent to you a messenger of his nine months ago, and a messenger four months*
52. *ago, and you detained them, together with those slaves of the people of Islam and of the people*
53. *protected by us who are with you, as well [being liable to] that to which you are liable in the baqt. It has been mentioned to me|He (Salm) mentioned to me*
54. *that you are liable to the baqt of [several] years, which you have not fulfilled; as for that which you have sent in accordance with the baqt,*
55. *you have sent that in which there is no good—the one-eyed, or the lame, or the weak old man,*
56. *or the young boy.*
57. *So look (sing.) into that about which I have written to you (sing.) and hasten (sing.)*
58. *the dispatching to us of your remaining liability according to the baqt for the years for which*
59. *you owe and do not send (sing.) that in which there is no good, for we do not accept it; and send (sing.)*
60. *to us the merchant of Muḥammad b. Zayd and the wealth which was with him, unless*
61. *he has been killed, in which case send (sing.) the thousand dinars, his blood money, together with*
62. *the wealth which was with him; and send (sing.) to us Sa'd the merchant who is among you and be not tardy (sing.)*
63. *in that in any respect if you wish us to fulfil for you our compact*
64. *and to continue as we did in dealing correctly with you. Hasten (sing.)*
65. *that and do not delay (sing.) it. If you (sing.) do not obey, I shall have*
66. *my view concerning what is between you and me, God willing. I have wanted to exceed the usual bounds in exhorting you*
67. *and to take proof against you. Peace be upon the friends of*
68. *God and those who obey him. Written by Maymūn on Sunday*
69. *the twelfth night remaining in Rajab in the year 141.*

Notes

2. '... Master of Muqurr(a) and Nubia'. Owing to damage in this line the name of the King is lost. For the title cf. Abu Salih *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* (ed. B. T. Evetts), 261 n. 2, in which a ninth-century Arab writer Yahut is cited as stating that the King of Nubia called himself the King of Muqurra and Nubia. At the height of the power of the Nubian kingdom the King, living in Dongola, ruled over three once-independent kingdoms, Nobadia, Muqurra, and Alodia. Nobadia was the most northerly of the kingdoms, stretching from the borders of Aswān in the north as far as the region of the Third Cataract in the south. At some time in the first half of the seventh century an amalgamation took place between Nobadia and the neighbouring kingdom of Muqurra, the southern boundary of which lay some distance south of the point where the river Atbara joins the Nile. The most southerly kingdom of Alodia, though nominally independent, was under the suzerainty of the King in Dongola. Later the name Nubia, which seems to be used to denote the united regions of Nobadia and Muqurra, was often replaced by the name Maris, derived from the Coptic word meaning 'south', or in Coptic manuscripts by ⲚⲮⲏ.

19. 'the *baqt*'. For a translation of the terms of the *baqt* cf. J. L. Burchardt *Travels in Nubia*, 511–12. Not surprisingly, there is no mention of the *baqt* in the Coptic scrolls.

20. 'our slaves who run away to you': The largest Coptic scroll not only acknowledges the presence of fugitive slaves in Nubia but even states that some have found refuge in the palace of the King.

21. 'messengers'. In the Coptic the messengers from Egypt are described as Beretarios, i.e. the Latin *Veretarius*, 'courier'. One of them is named, but since the left-hand margin of the scroll is missing, only part of the name can now be read: '. . . and the son of Abdeiusa'. Two of the messengers sent from Nubia are named in the Coptic scroll: Jacobos and Petros. The second messenger is also named in line 43 of the Arabic scroll. According to the Coptic scroll he held the office of Notary and during his audience with the Governor of Egypt was threatened by him with imprisonment, pending satisfaction being received from Nubia.

33. 'Your Deputy'. Presumably the reference here is to the high official at Qaṣr Ibrîm. As the Deputy of the King of Nubia his title was the Eparch, itself a Byzantine title of an office, the duties of which included the supervision of public order, the administration of justice, the collection of taxes, and the control of trade and industry. Frescoes from Faras and Abd el-Gadir show that the Eparch wore a richly decorated robe and a special kind of head-dress consisting of a helmet having horns on each side, surmounted by a half moon on a vertical bar, and bearing on the front either the emblem of the skull of an ox or the Shield of David. The number of these officials is not known, but possibly each of the three kingdoms had an Eparch presiding over it as a Deputy for the King of Nubia. Other important centres may also have Eparchs. A number of Old Nubian documents found at Qaṣr Ibrîm were addressed to the Eparch of Nobadia. Some bear the personal names of the Eparch. A small number of documents mention the Eparch of Terp (*sic*). The last is an abbreviated writing and possibly refers to some locality at present unknown. In the large Coptic scroll the writer, who can hardly be referring to himself, sends greetings to the Great Eparch. Possibly it is to this official that several addresses on letters in Old Nubian, found at Qaṣr Ibrîm, refer under the abbreviation *Eparch(os) Krat(istos)*. Preliminary study of documents from Qaṣr Ibrîm would seem to indicate that the Old Nubian equivalent of the Greek title was *Migin soñoğ*.

38. 'My Governor over Aswân, Salm ibn Sulayman': In the Coptic Scroll his office is described as Amir, but he is not named. The title Summoul (*σύμβουλος*) is reserved for the Governor of Egypt.

45. 'The Beja'. In the Coptic scrolls the Beja are called the Blemmyes, an important and conclusive piece of evidence for the identification of a desert people who for many centuries had been a thorn in the side of successive governments in Egypt. Under the name of Blemmyes they were known in Ptolemaic times. They proved a constant threat to the Romans. During the fourth and fifth centuries they were in control of a stretch of Nubia from Qaṣr Ibrîm in the south to within a short distance from Aswân. Towards the end of the fifth century they were defeated and expelled from the Nile Valley by the Nobadian king, Silko. They continued, however, to be a serious nuisance for many years afterwards, raiding both Nubia and Southern Egypt. The Coptic scrolls mention several instances of their raids upon various localities and their persistent interference with travellers. At the time of the writing of the scrolls it would seem that the scale of their raiding was on the increase. Eventually the rulers of Egypt were forced to take strong measures against them, for in A.D. 831 the Caliph Mamûn, grandson of Harûn el-Rashîd, sent an expedition against them under 'Abdullah Ibn Jiham. A treaty signed by the defeated Beja remained in being for less than twenty years, for in A.D. 854 they slaughtered the Arabs working in the mines in the Eastern Desert, refused the payment of the tribute, and raided as far as Qena in Southern Egypt, inflicting great destruction as they went. A carefully prepared expedition under the command of Muḥammed 'Abdullah Ibn Gami' was sent against them by the Governor of Egypt, Ansaba Ibn Ishak. Brought to battle near Gebel Zabara in the Eastern Desert, the Beja were completely defeated. From that time onwards the Beja ceased to present a serious threat to Egypt, though it is probable that they continued smaller raids into Nubia and thereby contributed to the eventual downfall of the Christian Kingdom.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A feminine example of *wḏ ḥm·k*, 'thy majesty commands' in the Fourth Dynasty

ALTHOUGH I had the privilege of looking over the newly published *Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* while it was still in preparation,¹ one portion of that publication is new to me, and I think it deserves a few more words of comment. The most important item is a block of relief (fig. 1)² from the small chapel of the original mastaba, which Reisner plausibly ascribed to Queen Hetepheres II.³ On p. 3 of the publication the uppermost signs are grouped together so as to read [s]mrw m . . . , while the remaining signs, in front of the figure, are read *ḥmt·t mḥ Hr*. *Ḥmt·t* is certainly correct and it equally certainly means 'thy majesty', referring to the queen toward whom the figure is advancing.

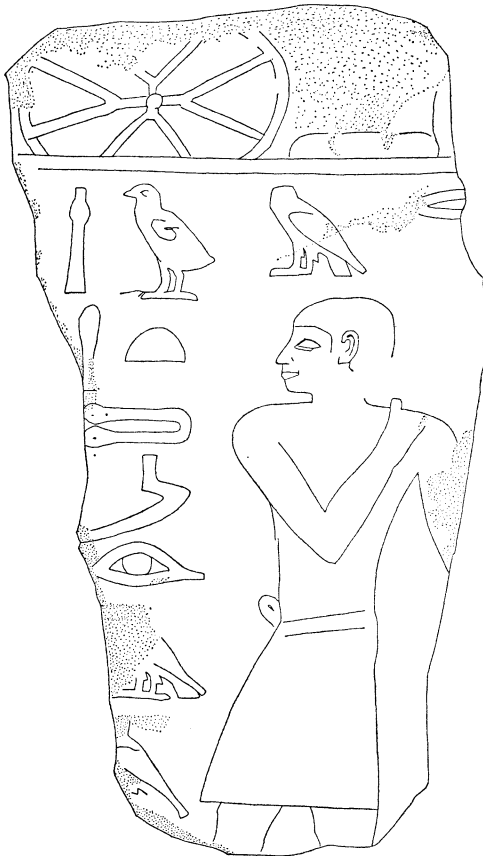


FIG. 1

As far as I know, this is the first and only Old-Kingdom occurrence of the feminine form of *ḥm·k*; indeed, it seems to be the only occurrence of *ḥmt* that is known prior to Hatshepsut's use of this term in the Eighteenth Dynasty, nearly 1,000 years later.⁴

The signs preceding *ḥmt·t* are evidently to be connected with it as part of the same vertical column. The first sign does not look at all like *mr* (𓄀),⁵ but may well be 𓄁, which sometimes shows the ball of cord at the top of the stick, rather than at the centre, as is more usually the case.⁶ Examples very similar to this one have, in at least two instances, been mistakenly interpreted as 𓄀 in recent studies.⁷ The last sign of the column, although only partly preserved, is clearly 𓄀 rather than 𓄁.

¹ Dows Dunham and William K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, Boston, 1974. A minor consequence of that reading is their adoption of the new interpretation of one of the queen's titles, as proposed in *JEA* 60, 94–9, although a reference to the article has been inadvertently omitted.

² Drawn from the photograph in pl. 13c.

³ Another segment of relief (pl. 13a) is also of special interest because it shows a female dwarf (not a male, as stated on p. 3) as in a similar scene in the tomb of Queen *Nbt* (Zaki Saad, *ASAE* 40 [1941], 683 and pl. 79); cf. also Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 1, and Kaplony, *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit, Supplement*, p. 33 and pl. 5 (Abb. 1067).

⁴ Cf. *Wb.* III, 92 and Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* 75.

⁵ The substitution of 𓄀 for 𓄁 does occur in a faulty writing of the title *smr* (*Urk.* I, 209 [4]), but this anomaly is purely coincidental.

⁶ The ball of cord is near the top in BM 1223 (T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 1², pl. 8 [2]) and is even higher, like the present example, in Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwi*, I, pl. 16; Junker, *Giza*, III, pl. 2 (two examples, one

[Footnotes 6 and 7 continued on p. 247]

same restoration reappears in *PN I*, 415 (18), where it is transliterated *inj-n.j(?)-iš.t.f*. In *PN II*, however (p. 402), Ranke adds: 'die Ergänzung ist gewiss nicht richtig!' The examples of *Kj-z-nb.f* strongly suggest that the correct restoration is [𐀓] 𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓, *Kj-n-z-iš.t.f*, 'the *kj* of a man is his property'. The only real uncertainty, in fact, lies in the writing of 𐀓, which might possibly be written 𐀓; but the size of the lacuna seems to favour the first alternative. HENRY G. FISCHER

Fractions in the Abu Sir Papyri¹

CHAPTER XX of Gardiner's Grammar² deals with numbers, weights, and measures. There is also in this section a discussion devoted to the subject of fractions.³ Among the rules which are postulated for the correct writing of fractions, there is included the fact that a number such as $\frac{4}{7}$ could never have been written $\overline{\text{|||||}} \overline{\text{|||||}} \overline{\text{|||||}} \overline{\text{|||||}}$, since an expression like that would have meant that there could exist more than one actual seventh of a particular object.⁴ 'Consequently, the Egyptian was reduced to expressing (e.g.) $\frac{4}{7}$ by $\frac{1}{2} (+) \frac{1}{14}$.'⁵ Since this practice appears to have been followed in all of the extant mathematical papyri, the explanation which Gardiner supplied has always been accepted.

While cataloguing the materials and vessels mentioned in the Abu Sir papyri,⁶ it became apparent that many of the inventories included quite detailed information about the specific objects.⁷ The notations usually had a characteristic format: the composition of the object in most cases was placed at the top like a heading; it was then followed by the name of the specific vessel; a breakdown according to its size and sometimes colour was then recorded; and a statement regarding the condition of the object followed.⁸ It is after the comments as to the state of preservation of the vessel that there often appears the hieroglyphic symbol 𐀓 *rw* meaning length and 𐀓 *shw* meaning width. Both of these signs are followed by numerical measurements.⁹

In the publication of the papyri, Posener-Kriéger had originally understood and transcribed these numbers as if they should be interpreted as a single numerical designation referring to the

¹ This observation is a result of a seminar held several years ago at the Oriental Institute. It was directed by Professor Klaus Baer, and I am indebted to him for his help.

² Pp. 191-200.

³ See also R. Gillings, *Mathematics in the Time of the Pharaohs* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972), 20-3. See R. Parker, *Demotic Mathematical Papyri* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1972), 8-10, who discusses the use of fractions with numerators larger than one in Demotic texts.

⁴ See Gardiner, p. 196; and Gillings, p. 21, where he refers to these numbers, all of which are written with the same numerator, as 'unit fractions'.

⁵ Gardiner, p. 196.


⁶ P. Posener-Kriéger and J. de Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, fifth series (London: British Museum, 1968).

⁷ For a further discussion of these descriptive phrases, see P. Posener-Kriéger, 'A propos d'une transcription erronée dans les Papyrus d'Abousir', *Rev. d'Égyptol.* 24 (1972), 147-51 and P. Kaplony, 'Das Papyrusarchiv von Abusir', *Orientalia* 41 (1972), 11-79 and 180-248.

⁸ See P. Posener-Kriéger, *Hieratic Papyri*, pls. 20-6, where much of the original records remain. On pls. 27, 28, 29, and 90 only fragments of the records are extant. P. Posener-Kriéger, *Rev. d'Égyptol.* 24, 149, concludes that the commentary on the objects listed in the inventory of pls. 23-4 refers to the damages on the object. P. Kaplony, *Orientalia* 41, 227-34, has made translations of many of these passages.

⁹ A third hieroglyph 𐀓 frequently occurs along with the other two measurements. According to P. Posener-Kriéger, *Rev. d'Égyptol.* 24, 150, it should not be considered as a designation of weight, since it would be impossible to weigh a damage. She suggests the reading *sp* rather than *dbn*. P. Kaplony, *Orientalia* 41, 226, however, does read the sign as *dbn*. That 𐀓 cannot refer to the weight of the object is clear from one example, where both the large and the small *hnut* vessel have the same numerical designation (P. Posener-Kriéger, *Hieratic Papyri*, pl. 24 *e* and *f*). It seems possible that 𐀓 might refer to the amount of damages that are in each section of the vessel.

entire object. These measurements usually consisted of a certain number of palms, digits, and fractions of digits. In a later article, however, she reconsidered the measurements listed in some of the inventories,¹ concluded that the sign which she had transcribed as a palm \curvearrowright should actually have been read as \ominus , indicating a fraction, and decided that each number is to be understood as a separate integer referring to a damage in a specific part of the vessel.²

A problem with this interpretation arises, however, with the reading of a partially damaged inventory, where it is not clear how many parts of the object the measurements refer to.³ In this case, it appears that the expression  refers only to one damage in the base⁴ of a *hwt*s vessel.

Although it is possible that the phrase *m hr-f* 'in its bottom' might be another part of the vessel which was being described, it is unlikely owing to the fact that *hr* does not occur in conjunction with *nm(t)* (the part of the vessel which is clearly being referred to) in any of the inventories.⁵ It is also true that, in most cases where measurements occur, they are organized so as to be close to or almost directly under the specified part of the vessel,⁶ and *hr* is somewhat isolated from the rest of the text. If we are to understand the measurements *ḏbr 1 r 5 r 5* as one number referring to the length and width of the damage, it must be read as one and two-fifths digits.⁷ Although the scribe did not write \ominus over either 5 when designating the width, it is clear that it is to be understood.⁸

If this proposed reading for the measurement is accepted, then it becomes clear that the rule postulated by Gardiner has not in fact prevailed. It would seem that, rather than following the classical method of writing $\frac{2}{5}$ as $\overline{\text{||||}} \overline{\text{O}} \text{||||}$, the scribe, possibly owing to his ignorance of that particular mathematical process, simply transposed his figures from a measuring device which he was using at the time.⁹ It is probable that his ruler had some markings delineated into fifths, and the easiest method of recording the indicated measurement was simply to write $\frac{1}{5} (+) \frac{1}{5}$.

DAVID P. SILVERMAN

¹ P. Posener-Kriéger, *Rev. d'Égyptol.* 24, 149-51.

² P. Kaplony, *Orientalia* 41, 240, has apparently accepted the original reading *šsp*.

³ See P. Posener-Kriéger, *Hieratic Papyri*, pl. 23c.

⁴ The phrase under which the measurements occur reads *wšwt (?) m nm(t)f*, 'damage in its base'. See P. Kaplony, *Orientalia* 41, 232, who reads Δ as 'Boden.'

⁵ Since both *hr* and *nm(t)* refer to the base of a vessel, it would be redundant to use both terms to describe a part of the same vessel. Note, however, a case (P. Posener-Kriéger, *Hieratic Papyri*, pl. 23c), where *nm(t)* and *hr* do occur together; but, since the gender of their suffixes is different, it is likely that two objects are referred to. *Hr* is used to designate the base of a censer (*ibid.*, pl. 14 1d). See also P. Kaplony, *Orientalia* 41, 232. Dr. E. Wente has informed me that *hr* can mean the contents of a vessel; cf. B. Bothmer, 'Block Statues of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom', *Brooklyn Mus. Bull.* 20, 4, 11-26.


⁶ P. Posener-Kriéger, *Rev. d'Égyptol.* 24, 149, has pointed out that the alignment in pl. 23e does not correspond exactly to the inventoried parts.

⁷ See P. Posener-Kriéger, *Hieratic Papyri*, pl. 26 a and b, where a certain number of palms and fingers appear to refer to the same object, and pl. 24f, where one number apparently refers to all three parts of the object.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 23e. The same abbreviated writing occurs here.

⁹ For a discussion of ancient Egyptian measuring devices, see R. Lepsius, *Die Altägyptische Elle und ihre Eintheilung* (Abh. Berlin, 1865); W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures* (London, 1926), 38-9; Wm. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 1 (New York, 1953), 297; A. E. Berriman, *Historical Metrology* (London, 1953), 69-93. More recent commentaries can be found in E. Iversen, *Canon and Proportion in Egyptian Art* (London, 1955), 21-6; A. Badawy, *Ancient Egyptian Architectural Design* (Berkeley, 1965), 40; E. Scamuzzi, 'Historical Comments about Some Cubits Preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Turin', *la rivista RIV, Turin* 11 (May 1961), 18-22, and D. Senigalliesi, 'Metrological Explanation of Some Cubits Preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Turin', *loc. cit.*, 23-52. I am indebted to the Editor for pointing out to me the most recent discussion of ancient Egyptian metrology in A. Schlott, *Die Ausmasse Ägyptens nach altägyptischen Texten* (Darmstadt, 1969).

The Office *sdꜣwtꜣ bity*

THE position of the holder of the office  *sdꜣwtꜣ bity* has often given rise to speculation and to some misconception as to its relative importance. Thus Winlock¹ refers to the 'Great Chancellor Kheti', rather after the manner of the Lord Chancellor of mediaeval England, when he found this title preceded the more generic one *imy-r sdꜣwtꜣw*. This grandiose rank is also accorded to a considerable number of First-Dynasty officials by Emery,² although he did not comment on the anomaly of several of these possibly existing in the reign of Den, two at least being certain. Gardiner renders it merely as 'treasurer', and with *bity* added 'of the king of Lower Egypt', while *Wb.* is very indecisive.³ The best definition and one much more commonly used at present is that of Faulkner,⁴ 'seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt'. In fact it denotes an office, hardly a rank, and certainly not a title as often previously classified: it is likely to have been much more widely held than by one or even two great officials at a time. Simple reference to specific inscriptions shows holders of the office to be exceedingly numerous in *all* periods. Thus for the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes alone we have no fewer than five: Kheti, tomb 31; Henenu, tomb 313; Harhotep, tomb 314; Meket-Rē, tomb 280; and Intef, son of the previous person. In addition there is the possibility of another who was owner of tomb 310, which by its position might suggest Kheti's predecessor. All these can only occupy a space of about sixty years at maximum, i.e. c. 2050–1990 B.C., but their tombs are of comparable grandeur with those of the viziers, indicating perhaps their princely rank. This postulate is amply supported by further evidence from elsewhere, as a few examples will suffice to show. At Beni Hasan Amenemhet, tomb no. 2, is not only called 'Great Chief' or governor of the Oryx Nome, but *rꜣꜣr(t)* prince and *hꜣty-r* as well,⁵ while also 'Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt', as was his father. Khnumhotep, tomb 14, has exactly similar titles, and Khnumhotep II, tomb 3, differs only in that he was in charge of the eastern desert. At Qau (Antaeopolis) the position of Wahka II is analogous, nomarch and prince, noble and seal-bearer, rendered by Steindorff as 'Schatzmeister'.⁶ Similarly again among the nobles at Aswān, Mekhu, Khunes, and Sen in the Old Kingdom, and Sarenput in the Middle Kingdom, were all *sdꜣwtꜣw-bity*.⁷ Other holders in different provinces were Meru, Wiu, Meru (Bebi) at Sheikh Sa'īd,⁸ and Iby, Djau Shmaa, Djau, and Isy at Deir el-Gebrawi,⁹ all in the later Old Kingdom. If then the nomarchal families normally held this office, its enormous frequency would be explained. This from the evidence cited here seems to be the case, and the reasons for its being vested in these princely families are not hard to find. The king and state obviously required large stores and magazines of food and all kinds of raw materials in the provinces throughout Egypt, and it would naturally devolve on the local 'chief' to see to their safety. Thus the services of the seal-bearer would be constantly required. With 36 nomes in the earlier historical periods and 42 later, and a time range covering 3,000 years, a rough calculation would suggest a number running into thousands, given an average tenure in office of about 20 years. Given also the fact that other high officials at court and in the central administration also sometimes held this office as well, in particular the Vizier himself, and that the actual seal-bearers may have had deputies or be able to have appointed them, the total could well run into tens of thousands.

E. P. UPHILL

¹ *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931, passim; The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes, esp. pls. 36–7.*

² *Archaic Egypt*, 75, where he calls Hemaka 'Chancellor'.

³ *Egn. Gr.* 3rd ed., S 19, p. 506; *Wb.* IV, 379; I, 435, 8; V, 638, 12–14.

⁴ *Concise Dict.*, 258. See also Helck, *Unters. zu den Beamtentiteln*, 111–18.

⁵ *Beni Hasan*, 1.

⁶ Steindorff in Steckeweh *Die Fürstengräber von Qaw* (Leipzig, 1936), 7.

⁷ Carter in *ASAE* 6, 127; Porter–Moss, *Top. Bibl.* v, 231, 235, 240.

⁸ N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Sa'īd*, 30, 27, 24.

⁹ N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi*, I, 9; II, 1, 2, 33.

Idn = 'an ear'

It is common knowledge among Egyptologists that a very close contact existed between Egyptian and the Semitic languages. This can be discerned, among other things, by the existence in Egyptian of some basic words of apparent Semitic origin such as words denoting body members (e.g. *ḏbr*, 'finger' = 𓂏𓂏𓂏 ; *spty*, 'lips' = 𓂏𓂏𓂏 ; *ns*, 'tongue' = 𓂏𓂏𓂏 and others). Some of these are believed to have survived in pronunciation only, but not in their original meaning. Such are 𓂏 *cn*, *cn* (*Wb.* I, 189–91; also 187, 13 and 188, 11) from Semitic 𐤀 , 'eye', and 𓂏 *idn* (*Wb.* I, 154) from 𐤁 'ear'.¹ An example of *idn* in this meaning is now supplied by *CT* VII, 30k, (*ink*) . . . 𓂏 *ink* . . . *sdm hrw mi idn ggwy*, 'I am he who hears a sound (or: voice) like an attentive ear', or even better 'like attentive ears' in the dual. If this meaning of *idn* is correct here, then we gain a new meaning also for the word *ggwy* hitherto known only as a verb 'to stare' (Faulkner, *Concise Dict.*, 292).
MORDECHAI GILULA

The Length of the Reign of Ramesses X

IN *JEA* 58 (1972) I suggested that Theban graffito 1860a dated to year 8, third month of Akhet, day 6 should be ascribed to either Ramesses X or Ramesses XI because of the mention of the chief workman Amennakht who is firmly dated to year 3 of Ramesses X.² In a recently published work Černý indicates that in year 8 of Ramesses XI the two chief workmen were Khons son of Ipyu and Kenna son of Ḥarnufer.³ The earliest date on the papyrus on which these workmen appear is year 8 [. . .] month of Akhet, day 5, and thus unless Amennakht was replaced within the third month of Akhet he and graffito 1860a must be dated to year 8 of Ramesses X. He is to be distinguished from the chief workman Amenhotep (formerly read Amennakht) who appears late in the reign of Ramesses XI.⁴ This dating would tend to confirm Parker's suggestion on astronomical grounds that Ramesses X reigned nine years.⁵ This dating would also mean that in year 8 of Ramesses X a high priest Ramessesnakht was in office, and this fact certainly complicates the problem of the suppression of the high priest Amenhotep.
M. L. BIERBRIER

Another Dinner-Invitation from Oxyrhynchus (P. Lond. Inv. 3078)

THE small fragment of papyrus here published comes from the excavations of Sir Flinders Petrie at Oxyrhynchus in 1922. Together with a number of other objects from Oxyrhynchus it was purchased from Petrie by the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, where it bore the accession number 1922.10.21.2. In 1968 I suggested to the Keeper of the Department, my colleague Denys Haynes, that the fragment might be more appropriately housed with the collection of Greek papyri in the Department of Manuscripts. He readily agreed, and it was transferred to the Department of Manuscripts, where it was given the inventory number 3078. I am grateful to the Keeper of Manuscripts, Dr. Daniel Waley, for permission to publish it here.

¹ Cf. Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Anal. Orient. 38, Rome, 1965), 352, no. 88, *udn* 'ear'.—ED.

² M. L. Bierbrier, 'A Second High Priest Ramessesnakht?', *JEA* 58 (1972), 195–9.

³ J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Cairo, 1973), 310–11 citing P. Turin Cat. 2018 of years 8–10 of Ramesses XI which is transliterated fully in Černý *Notebook* 15, pp. 49 ff. for the use of which I must thank the Trustees of the Griffith Institute, Oxford. See also my forthcoming study on the genealogies of Dynasty XX workmen.

⁴ Černý, op. cit. 311.

⁵ R. A. Parker, 'The Length of the Reign of Ramesses X', *Rev. d'Ég.* 11 (1951), 163–4.

In its present state the fragment measures approximately 5.0 cm. in both directions. About half of the top margin, and most of the left-hand margin are preserved, but at least half of the original document has been lost through fractures or the depredations of worms. The writing, an upright, medium sized semi-uncial, running across the fibres, suggests a date in the latter part of the second century A.D. It will be convenient in the first instance, to print the surviving text just as it stands, without restoration:

ἔρωτᾶ σε[
 δειπνήσα[ι
 ρια τῆς θ[
 ἐν οἰκίᾳ [
 ἀπὸ [

The document is clearly of a familiar type, an invitation to dinner, of which nearly all the known examples come from Oxyrhynchus. In restoring the text by comparison with other invitations the crux is clearly the letters *ρια* at the beginning of l. 3. The solution is, I believe, to be found in *P. Oxy.* XII, 1484, which reads as follows:

ἔρωτᾶ σε Ἀπολλώνι-
 ος δειπνήσαι εἰς
 [κ]λείην τοῦ κυρίου
 Σαράπιδος ὑπὲρ μελ-
 λοκουρίων τῶν
 [ἀδελφῶν?] ἐν τῷ Θ[ο-]
 [ηρίῳ]

This suggests that the present fragment might be restored as follows:

ἔρωτᾶ σε Ἀ[]
 δειπνήσα[ι εἰς μελλοκού-]
 ρια τῆς θ[υγατρὸς ἑαυτοῦ]
 ἐν οἰκίᾳ []
 ἀπὸ [ὥρας]

In l. 1 a proper name such as Ἀ[πολλώνιος] would be about the right length. In l. 3 ἑαυτοῦ (or αὐτοῦ) presupposes that the host was of the male sex, i.e. the girl's father, but there are instances of invitations being issued by women, presumably widows. In l. 4 one would expect ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ as in *P. Oxy.* 111, 926, 1579(?), *P. Fouad* 1, 76, but the article is omitted in *SB* 7745 (ἐν οἴκῳ). The lacuna in this line would have contained the date for which the invitation was issued. In l. 5 the dinner-hour was probably the eighth or the ninth: for statistics of dinner-times in these invitations see L. Koenen in *ZPE*, 1 (1967), 124, n. 18.

If the above restoration is correct we now have two examples of the mysterious word μελλοκούρια. Grenfell and Hunt in their note on *P. Oxy.* 1484 suggested that this was either 'probably a festival in honour of μελλοέφηβοι, or of persons ceasing to be ἀφήλικες (at the age of 25), or possibly in honour of an approaching marriage, if [ἀδελφῶν] refers to a brother and sister.' The former of these alternatives is accepted by Liddell-Scott-Jones, who give the meaning 'coming of age celebration'. However, Bror Olsson, in a note in *Aegyptus* 7 (1926), 111-12, points out that the second element of the word, -κούρια, is to be connected with κείρειν and κουρά: 'Es muss sich also um eine Feierlichkeit aus Anlass des (ersten) Haarschneidens der Kinder handeln.' And he goes on to quote the κουρωῶτις (ἡμέρα or ἑορτή), the third day of the Apatouria, when offerings of the hair of children were made to Artemis. He also quotes as an example of the (ceremonial?) cutting of hair *B.G.U.* 1, 38, 23,

ἀν [κ]ίρηται (= ἐὰν κείρηται) Εἰσίδωρος, τί θέλεις ἀπενέγκω αὐτῶ; , adding 'In einem unpublizierten Berlinerpapyrus ist die Rede von dem Haarschneiden von Knaben, die wahrscheinlich Epheben werden sollen, worauf ich noch nicht näher eingehen kann.' So far as I know the last-named papyrus is still unpublished.

The present papyrus, though it does not help to elucidate the meaning of the *μελλοκούρια*, does provide some additional details. We see, for instance, that the ceremony can apply to girls. It also rules out Grenfell and Hunt's alternative suggestion of a marriage ceremony, and to that extent strengthens the case for Bror Olsson's interpretation. Furthermore, while in *P. Oxy.* 1484 the *μελλοκούρια* is linked with a cult meal in the *κλίνη* of Serapis staged in the Temple of Thoëris, we now learn that it could be celebrated independently, on its own in a private house. This does not, of course, imply that the ceremony had no religious significance. Meals in the *κλίνη* of Serapis, for instance, could take place either in temples or in private houses, a situation which led J. G. Milne, in an article 'The Kline of Sarapis' in Vol. 11 of this *Journal* (1925), 6–9, to suggest that they were purely secular, and that the *κλίνη* was in reality nothing more than a dining-club. This view is rejected in H. C. Youtie's magisterial article, 'The "Kline" of Sarapis',¹ in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 41 (1948), 9–29, to which the final proof has been provided recently by a papyrus in Cologne edited by L. Koenen, 'Eine Einladung zur Kline des Sarapis', *ZPE* 1 (1967), 121–6, in which it is the God himself who issues the invitation: *καλεῖ σε ὁ θεὸς εἰς κλείνην γενομένην ἐν τῷ Θοηρείῳ κτλ.* We may therefore conclude that the *μελλοκούρια* also—as we should indeed expect—had a definite religious significance.

The most recent discussion of the nature and purpose of these dinner-invitations in general is that by the late Prof. Bradford Welles in his introduction to *P. Yale* 1, 85. He accepts Wilcken's suggestion that although invitations were delivered verbally by a servant or slave of the host, to supplement this verbal invitation by a written one constituted 'etwas gesellschaftlich "feines"'—in other words, a written invitation emphasized the social status both of the host and his guest.

For the practice of verbal invitations we need go no further than the New Testament (Matthew 22: 2–10 = Luke 14: 16–24 = Gospel of Thomas 65). A messenger would have been necessary if only to ascertain whether or not the invitation was accepted, since the surviving invitations carry nothing in the nature of 'R.S.V.P.'. We can also see that, since they were delivered directly by hand, there was no need for an address. But the point I wish to make here is a different one. Welles repeatedly remarks upon what he calls the small number of invitations which have survived, in comparison with the number of dinners which must have taken place, but I do not find this attitude convincing. We have, after all, at least twenty-nine examples² from a period of some 2–3 centuries. How many of the infinitely more important census-returns have we for the same period, out of the millions which must have been filed? Indeed, I would be inclined to reverse Welles's argument and to say that it is remarkable that so *many* of these purely ephemeral documents have survived, and for the most part, in such excellent condition.

In this connection no one, so far as I know, has commented upon one striking and constant characteristic of these invitations: their very small size. Papyrus was after all not expensive, and if it was 'etwas gesellschaftlich "feines"' to issue written invitations at all it would not have done much

¹ Youtie justly points out that the separation of religious and secular life implicit in J. G. Milne's article would have been incomprehensible in the ancient world. Cf. *JEA* 59 (1973), 233 ff.

² Most of them are included in M. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci* (Milan, 1964), nos. 125–34, 138–47. A complete list of those known to me is: *P. Oxy.* 110, 111, 523, 524, 747, 926, 927, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1579, 1580, 1755, 2147, 2592, 2678, 2791, 2792; *P. Fay.* 132; *P. Fouad.* 1, 76; *P. Fouad Univ.* VII; *P. Oslo.* III. 157; *SB* 7745; *P. Yale.* 1, 85; *P. Lond. Inv.* 3078 (published here); *P. Colon. inv.* 2555 published by L. Koenen, *ZPE*, 1 (1967), 121–6 = *SB* 10496; *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 21 (1971), 46 (found by the German expedition at Medinet Madi in Jan. 1910); and finally the 'Leipziger ineditum' mentioned by Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 419.

for the social reputation of the host to appear to be cutting down on expense.¹ But apart from the social 'cachet' did these invitations serve any practical purpose? A reminder of the time and place of the dinner would hardly have been necessary since the invitations were commonly issued either for the same day or the following day: in other words, their average useful life would have been about forty-eight hours.

My suggestion is that possession of a number of these small scraps of papyrus might have formed a kind of 'status symbol' in the upper classes at Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere; and I would conjecture that some means were found of displaying them to visitors in the house of the recipient, in much the same way as the bowl of visiting-cards in the hall of a Victorian residence. This would explain the small size of the invitations, which obviously could be more easily displayed if of relatively small dimensions. It would also provide a second explanation for the absence of an address, since the social value of the invitation would lie in the identity of the host.

If my suggestion is correct there would have been not one but two motives for the issue of written invitations: firstly, as Wilcken proposed, to show the taste of the host, and secondly to enable the guest to advertise in a discreet manner his social standing and popularity in the community.

T. C. SKEAT

A propos du mot copte 'Sphransh'

LE mot copte (bohaïrique) ⲬⲢⲣⲁⲛⲱ̅, traduisant le mot grec ἐξηγητής, 'interprète (de songes), magicien', et figurant dans l'histoire de Joseph au ch. 41 de la Genèse,² a toujours donné beaucoup de mal aux coptologues, son étymologie leur apparaissant quelque peu mystérieuse.

B. Gunn³ fait, le premier, dériver le mot copte du mot égyptien Ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ (autre graphie: Ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ), *sh pr-ꜥnh*,⁴ 'scribe de la Maison de vie'. L'étymologie de Gunn qui semblait aller de soi est reprise telle quelle par Spiegelberg,⁵ qui critique à l'endroit même une hypothèse peu vraisemblable de Stern.⁶

J. Černý⁷ conteste cette étymologie généralement retenue, en invoquant comme argument déterminant le fait que le mot *sh* conserve dans tous les dialectes coptes le Ⲛ:Ⲥ. Il propose à la place un autre mot égyptien, à savoir Ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ, *sb(ꜥ) pr-ꜥnh*, 'maître de la Maison de vie', attesté déjà au Moyen Empire dans le titre d'un scarabée.⁸ Il suffirait, selon lui, de faire intervenir l'assimilation *b:p*, pour obtenir ⲬⲢⲣⲁⲛⲱ̅. D'autre part, *sb(ꜥ)*, 'maître', serait, toujours d'après Černý, plus probable quant au sens que l'homophone 'disciple, élève' (cf. B Ⲭⲟⲩⲩⲱ), eu égard à la teneur

¹ There are, of course, other papyri of small size, such as customs receipts, but here the need for economy is obvious.

² Vv. 8 et 24, au pluriel dans les deux cas, rendant ainsi à son tour le mot hébreu ׀מְבַרְבְּרִים, qui se trouve être également de racine incertaine, mais remonte probablement à l'égyptien *hri-tp*: voir B. H. Stricker, 'Trois études de phonétique et de morphologie copte', dans *Act. Orient.* 15 (1937), 1-20.

³ *JEA* 4 (1917), 252.

⁴ Le *Wb.* transcrit le signe Ⲛⲟⲩ *sš* (III, 479), de même Faulkner (p. 246), tandis que Erman-Gradow hésitent encore entre *sš* et *sh* (*Handwb.*, p. 149). Plus correctement *zhꜥ*, voir Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* I, §§ 117, 120, 132: comp. aussi *Sš.t* (*zhꜥ.t?*), nom de la déesse de l'écriture (ibid. § 117) et Ⲭⲟⲩ (= Ⲭⲟⲩⲱ: ⲬⲤⲁⲓ) qu'on rencontre dans un ostracon (voir E. Stefanski and M. Lichtheim, *Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu* (Chicago, 1950), no. 55; manque chez Spiegelberg, Crum et Westendorf).

⁵ *Koptisches Handwb.* 121.

⁶ *Koptische Gr.*, par. 165, p. 77: 'Das boh. ⲬⲢⲣⲁⲛⲱ̅ (Traumdeuter) ist jedenfalls ein compositum und vielleicht das bekannte Ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ Gen. 41, 45'.

⁷ *JEA* 50 (1964), 184.

⁸ Au Musée du Caire (Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. xiii, 34 = Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pl. 40k), selon référence exacte dans l'article cité de Černý.

d'un scarabée. La nouvelle étymologie de Černý est adoptée de préférence à celle de Gunn dans la récente réédition du *Handwörterbuch* de Spiegelberg remanié et mis à jour par Westendorf.¹

Ceci pour ce qui est de l'histoire approximative du mot. Or, il ne semblerait pas exclu que la première explication de Gunn ne soit pas dénuée de tout fondement philologique et soit, somme toute, à réhabiliter, en partie du moins, contre la rectification successive de Černý. En effet, dans un écrit hermétique de Nagʿ-Ḥammâdi édité par Krause et Labib,² on lit à la page 61, ligne 20 du manuscrit (p. 181 de l'édition): ϩⲏ ϩⲉⲛϩⲟⲗⲓ ⲛⲉⲁϩ ⲡⲣⲁⲛⲱⲩ, que nous croyons devoir traduire 'en lettres (= caractères) de scribe de la Maison de ϩⲏh'.³ C'est comme ceci, en effet, qu'il va falloir, nous semble-t-il, interpréter le texte gnostique qui parle juste aux lignes précédentes du 'temple sur lequel il faut graver le(s) paroles du) livre'. Le contexte reste donc en faveur de notre traduction.⁴

À noter que, par un curieux retour des choses, le copte paraît tout aussi bien donner raison à la traduction de Černý, abstraction faite de l'étymologie sous-jacente, du fait que le mot ϩⲁϩ, qui signifie d'abord le 'scribe', désigne par la suite dans l'acception courante le 'maître' au sens de 'professeur', les deux idées étant tout naturellement liées dans l'esprit.

Une difficulté, non point insurmontable à notre avis, viendrait peut-être du fait que l'expression ϩⲁϩ ⲡⲣⲁⲛⲱⲩ revient peu après dans le même passage, à deux reprises, sous la forme altérée suivante: ϩⲁϩ ⲡⲣⲁⲉⲩⲱ.⁵ Mais on vient facilement à bout de cette difficulté, aussitôt que l'on pense que la transition de ⲏ à ⲉⲓ n'est pas chose bien compliquée, surtout en présence d'une locution qui échappait sûrement déjà à la compréhension du copiste.⁶

Si donc notre interprétation s'avère légitime, il s'ensuit que ce texte, outre que confirmer l'étymologie proposée par Gunn, toutes réserves faites pour la formule 'Maison de vie', nous fait connaître

¹ Cf. p. 193.

² M. Krause et P. Labib, *Gnostische und Hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI*, en *ADAIK*, Koptische Reihe, 2, Glückstadt 1971.

³ ⲁⲛⲱⲩ s'écrit bien ϩⲏ, mais est-ce vraiment la 'vie'? On aurait plutôt tendance à s'imaginer ici ⲱⲛⲓϩ ou une forme voisine avec *h* au lieu de ⲁⲛⲱⲩ! Il semble, en ce cas, plus prudent de traduire le terme *pr-ϩⲏh* par 'Maison de ϩⲏh'. Le *Wb.* traduit l'expression entière 'Haus von Schriftgelehrten', par une sorte de périphrase (1er vol., p. 515; précédé en cela de Erman-Gradow, p. 53), et Faulkner rend 'House of Life' = Temple scriptorium (p. 89). La version allemande de Krause et Labib s'en tient à un vague 'in Meisterbuchstaben', sans aucune note explicative (pp. 181-2, op. cit.). On songe tout naturellement à rapprocher ce mot du copte ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲱ, 'serment', qui, en égyptien, se dit précisément ϩⲏh (ϩⲏ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲁϩ) et dont il est effectivement question dans notre texte, plus loin p. 62, ll. 22-3 (édition p. 182) et p. 63, ll. 16 (suivi de ⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ), 25 et 29 (éd. pp. 183 et 184), mais nous ne sommes pas en mesure de préciser le sens exacte de cette dénomination.

Cf., à ce sujet, Gardiner, 'The House of Life', en *JEA* 24 (1938), 157-79 ('It will be seen that the evidence fully vindicates my statement that the □ ϩ □ was neither a school nor a university, but was rather a scriptorium where books connected with religion and cognate matters were compiled', p. 175) et Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825* (1965) ('Ce nom lui-même, maison de la vie, ne peut avoir été choisi pour désigner ce qu'on pourrait appeler une maison d'édition de livres sacrés, sans qu'une raison particulière ait amené les égyptiens à le faire. La raison doit être religieuse, dépendre de leurs conceptions métaphysiques. Ces livres qu'on y fabriquait n'étaient pas une fin en soi, mais étaient nécessités par la liturgie, elle-même reflet de ces conceptions, comme on l'a vu précédemment. Et prendre la maison de la vie pour un établissement d'enseignement ou un centre de recherches me paraît prendre les moyens pour une fin', p. 66). Derchain, en se basant sur le contenu du papyrus, pense, contre Gardiner, que la maison de vie n'était pas, comme pour ce dernier, 'une sorte de conservatoire de la magie' (selon les mots mêmes de Derchain, p. 38), mais le lieu où se déroulaient les cérémonies pour le maintien et la conservation de la vie, d'après des rituels magiques, avec, bien entendu, son personnel ('les scribes de la maison de vie'), sa bibliothèque et tout son matériel (pp. 18-20 et *passim*).

⁴ Voir, en outre, *ibid.*, ll. 28-30 et p. 62 du manuscrit (p. 182 de l'édition), ll. 10-15.

⁵ Respectivement, p. 61, l. 20 et p. 62, l. 15 du manuscrit, p. 182 de l'édition.

⁶ Le texte est justement considéré comme étant des plus anciens, peut-être bien contemporain à la version de la Bible.

(1882), 194: 'εγροῶν ist ein Participium und kann sich nur auf ein Nomen oder auf ein Pronomen der 3 sgl. msc. beziehen, *nicht aber als Adverb* (my emphasis) auf eine Tätigkeit. In ähnlichen Fällen nimmt die Sprache zur Umschreibung ihre Zuflucht'; referring to his *Grammatik* (§ 514) and adducing examples for the usual Coptic rendering (following the Greek) of the Hebrew so-called tautological or absolute infinitive: 'ἀγριῶν ρεν-ογριῶν εγενῆσθαι' (Mat. 26: 75), wherein the inner object is qualified,¹ hence the action itself: a makeshift in default of proper adverbs, Stern offers an emendation: 'ρεν-ογενκοτ εγροῶν', 'in a pleasant sleep'. This seems unnecessary, in view of the foregoing evidence.

Although it is my intention here but to point out this use of the circumstantial form, I would try to account for it in two alternative ways, as follows:

1. The circumstantial form is (or was originally) used *predicatively*, before a syntactical met-analysis isolated it from its nexus;

2. What we have here is a Coptic approximation to the Greek adverbial 'accusativus neutri', with the circumstantial functioning as a substantival relative form. ARIEL SHISHA-HALEVY

Wn·k tn 'Where are you?'

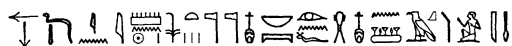
IN *Pyr. Transl.* 18 (Utt. 77, n. 1) I gave reasons for translating *tn i·wn·t* in § 52a as 'Where are you?' This opinion has now been confirmed by Coffin Text Spell 753 (de Buck, *CT* vi, 382), which in 382c reads: 'O *Pwy!* O *Wy!* *Wn·k tn* 'Where are you?'; the only material difference between the two passages is the position of the interrogative word. The use of *wn* instead of *iw* of normal Old and Middle Egyptian (Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* § 1012; Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*³ § 503, 1) may be an indication of great age for the original source, see my remarks loc. cit. See also *CT* Spell 897.

R. O. FAULKNER

Two further decree-cases of *Š:k*

IN *JEA* 58 (1972), 251-3 there was published a gold cylinder in the Fitzwilliam Museum which bore an inscription offering the protection of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotpe to a certain *Š:k*. It was proposed in this article that the cylinder formerly contained a rolled papyrus bearing the text of an 'oracular amuletic decree'. It now appears that this cylinder is not alone, for the existence of two similar gold cases inscribed with the name of the same person has since been confirmed.² Both these additional cylinders are in the Louvre, and the authors would like to acknowledge the help which they have received from the Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, and in particular from Mme Diane Harlé and M. J-L. de Cenival. A photograph of the two objects appears in Plate XXIX.

A. Louvre E. 3316. Height: 5 cm.; width: 1.3 cm. Bought, together with its companion, in 1858. This cylinder is marginally smaller than its Fitzwilliam counterpart. The inscription runs vertically in a column slightly narrower than that of the two other cases. It is as follows:



dd mdw in Imn-Rc nsw ntrw ntr nfr nb pt ir·n·f s3 nfr n Š:k m3c-hrw

'Words recited by Amenrasonthēr, the good god, lord of heaven; he made a goodly protection for *Š:k*, the justified.'

¹ The usual equivalent of the 'tautological' infinitive, the *unqualified* ρῖ- ογ- infinitive, *precedes* the finite verb-form (e.g. Ps. 118: 18, Jer. 46: 18). This rendering of the two collateral Greek constructions (the conjunct present participle and a *nomen actionis* in an oblique case) as well as the occasional use of the preposed circumstantial present for the same purpose, deserve a special discussion.

² The authors are grateful to R. J. Demarée of The Hague, who first brought this fact to their attention.

Apart from the change of divinity (again one not unknown in oracular amuletic decrees) this formula is clearly identical with that found on the Fitzwilliam example. The scribe has here troubled to write the preposition *n* before the proper name, whereas on the Fitzwilliam case this was omitted.

B. Louvre E. 3317. Height: 5.6 cm.; width 1.5 cm. Bought with the above, 1858. This cylinder is thus the largest of the three. The inscription again runs vertically:



dd mdw in 3st wrt mwt ntr hr(t)-ib Kbt hws Šk mꜣc-hrw

'Words recited by Isis the great, mother of the god, who dwells in Coptos; may (?) she protect Šk, the justified.'

The appearance of Isis of Coptos gives us the first indication that our cylinders may not have come from Thebes. The choice of divinity is at first sight surprising for an oracular decree, for in the surviving texts Isis normally represents a potential source of evil rather than a protection, but her role in magical contexts as guardian of the infant Horus is well attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards. Perhaps therefore the choice of the epithet *mwt ntr* is not entirely conventional, and the whole concept will gain strength if we are correct in thinking that Šk was a child.

Other points deserve attention: the spelling *Kbt* is rare, at least before the Graeco-Roman period (*Wb.* v, 163), and the variant *hws Šk* for the *ir·nf sꜣ nfr n Šk* of the other two cylinders must raise questions. The interpretation as a wish given in the translation above is open to doubt, although this seems preferable to regarding the group as a defective writing of *hw[n]s*. However, as the tense written *sdmꜣ* consistently carries a preterite meaning, at least in spoken later Egyptian, it may be that the syntax of the two variants is essentially the same. The translation of short inscriptions is surely one of the greatest problems facing the Egyptologist.

There can be little doubt that the hand of all three cylinders is identical: the writing of signs such as *sꜣ* and *mdw* is characteristic, and the *š*-sign preserves its four lotuses. The design of the lids and their ingenious method of attachment (*JEA* 58, pl. XLIII, 2) is also the same in each example. Yet the presence of three gold decree-cylinders for the same individual is remarkable. Šk, the justified, must have moved in wealthy circles, and this in a period not immediately associated with material splendour. We can hardly be far wrong in associating him with the semi-royal family of priests of Amūn who ruled in Upper Egypt during the last dynasties of the New Kingdom. Among the sons of the pontiff Menkheperre was one Psussenēs, who seems to have exercised power in the region between Abydos and Coptos; at least he was a priest of the Coptite divinities, including Isis, as well as being a Divine Father (*it-ntr*) of Amenrasonthēr (Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 270–1). It may be possible, before the argument becomes circular, to see in Šk an offspring of this branch of the family; this would at least explain the intrusion of Isis into an otherwise Theban setting. Perhaps he walked in life with a string of cylinders around his neck, an audible child; perhaps he took them more silently into the grave.

J. D. BOURRIAU

J. D. RAY



left Louvre E. 3316

right Louvre E. 3317

TWO ORACULAR AMULETIC DECREE CASES

REVIEWS

Ancient Hierakonpolis and *Ancient Hierakonpolis Supplement*. By BARBARA ADAMS. Pp. xx+88, 48 pls.; pp. 169, many text figures. Warminster, 1974. £12.50 and £2.50, together £13.50.

Hierakonpolis remains the key site for the Archaic period, and new information about it is of primary importance. Both these volumes contain much that has not been previously published.

The first volume, *Ancient Hierakonpolis*, is prefaced by Professor H. S. Smith, who shows very clearly the historical importance of the site, the present position of our knowledge, and the hopes for the future. The book is a straightforward factual catalogue of the objects from Hierakonpolis in the University College collection, mainly, of course, from the Quibell and Green 1897-9 seasons, but also from Brunton's 1927-8 excavation. The objects have been collected into reasonable classes, fully described, and, in the case of the Quibell and Green material, all are illustrated by drawings (rather heavy, and perhaps insufficiently beautiful), and sometimes also by photographs. The Brunton material, being more fully published, is not illustrated. The site numbers and other details of the precise location are given for each object, where these are known. Finally there is the essential concordance with museum numbers.

Mrs. Adams has herself cleaned and consolidated the very important carved ivories, a major operation; when these were discovered, they lay in a mass in damp ground, impregnated with heavy sand and clay, interwoven with the roots of plants; much of the ivory was too rotten to move at all, and the specimens that could be saved were impregnated with various waxes. The cleaning that they now need is both delicate and time-absorbing, but the result of this work is that we now have all the remaining surface details of sixty carved ivories, of which only three had been previously published. Elizabeth Sandford's identification of the material into hippopotamus or elephant ivory, or bone, is given for each object. Mrs. Adams considers that the ivories are of mixed date, and in this conclusion she is not, at present, alone. On stratigraphical grounds it is theoretically possible to separate the Ivory Deposit from the rest of the Main Deposit, and to regard it as a later burial. Alternatively, if a few objects should prove to be certainly later than the rest, it is possible that these specimens did not form originally part of the main mass: exceedingly few ivories have original location marks, and some may have come from other parts of the excavation, or even from other sites, particularly Abydos. However, the main mass of these remarkable objects are certainly from the trench containing the Ivory Deposit at Hierakonpolis; and for the main mass, now augmented by the newly cleaned specimens, the striking features seem still to be the stylistic unity of the ivories, and the continuing absence of precise and unequivocal post-Archaic parallels.

Many of the Hierakonpolis objects in museums bear original excavators' numbers, but very few of the numbers were mentioned in the original publications. I think a succession of museum workers must in the past have tried to make sense of the numbers, but they made no pattern of distribution; it was clear that without more information it was generally not even possible to decide whether marked objects came from cemetery, from town, or from temple enclosure. The discovery of the Green MSS. a few years ago has completely changed this situation. These papers, which include both notebooks and plans of the Hierakonpolis excavations, were found among other documents belonging to the Green family, and are now in the Faculty of Oriental Studies in Cambridge. The second volume, *Ancient Hierakonpolis Supplement*, is principally a publication of the papers. The information contained has been collated, and the site numbers grouped by provenance. Inside each major area, the sites follow their numerical order; all the details of location of each site are included, assembled in chronological order, as dug, from the dates on the notebook pages. There are good copies of Green's original drawings, and references everywhere to the original MSS., for future checking. All details in the MSS. of the objects from each site are given, and, in another column, the actual objects known with their museum numbers. One of the new papers, MSS. 329, is a list of pottery types belonging to numbered groups, probably all graves. In recording these, Mrs. Adams has added sketches all through of the types, taken as Green would have done, from Naqada and Ballas; this, I feel, was

not necessary; anyone working on the period soon learns the more common types, and only one book is needed for reference. Here, however, I am perhaps prejudiced by my personal sorrow at seeing Green's mistaken typing for the Decorated Tomb perpetuated after two articles devoted to pointing out these errors!

It has not been possible to include all the many objects in various museums in the main part of the volume, the Manuscript Analysis Register, but all those omitted are listed more briefly at the back; the University College holdings are not included in these lists, being fully dealt with in the first volume. At the back also there are various good appendices, all necessary for different approaches. All this is excellent.

Much of the work in these volumes is so good that one feels disinclined to find fault with it. But Mrs. Adams has been unfortunate in attempting to locate the numbered sites on the plans she has used as the endpapers of both volumes. She has reproduced there all the numbers as they appear on the various plans among the Green papers, without understanding what stage these plans had reached. Green plotted his points in the temple area by re-section, using a base line AB , mid-point C , along the SE. enclosure wall of the temple, and measuring the angles AXC and BXC to fix a point X . From these angles he calculated the positions of the centres of the circles AXC and BXC at the intersection of which the point X would lie; these centres, of course, lie along two straight lines, at right angles to the base AB , bisecting AC and BC . The two lines are marked on Green's plans, with the centres for a number of sites marked by the site number; for this reason, a number of sites are marked in three places, once on each line of centres, and once where the site really lay. This is not so clear on the plans as it sounds, for they are drafts at different stages, but enough remains, combined with odd notes in MSS. 206, to make clear what Green intended. Part of the same confusion, Mrs. Adams has misread a list of Green's with figures for plotting sites (MSS. 206, p. 32); the site numbers are followed in columns by their angles with the base line, and the distance in mm. on his plan between the base line and the centre of the appropriate circle. This applies particularly to pp. 47 and 48 of the *Supplement*. (Thus where Mrs. Adams writes 'A $L43^{\circ} 9'$ ar $106^{\circ} 7'$ B $L33^{\circ} 0'$ br $154^{\circ} 0'$ ' one should read 'A $\angle 43^{\circ} 9'$ ar 106.7 mm. B $\angle 33^{\circ} 0'$ br 154.0 mm'.) The result of this misunderstanding is that most of the locations of site numbers on the plans published as endpapers are incorrect. This does not, however, affect the general location of the sites.

It is possible also to go further than Mrs. Adams has gone in understanding how the site numbers were allocated by Quibell and Green. The two scrapbooks (MSS. 205, i, ii) were filled by Green with pages out of his notebooks (now MSS. 201-3). The three notebooks can be reconstituted, and when this is done it is apparent that the entries ran consecutively from 30. 12. 98 to 12. 4. 99, and that the site numbers allocated during this time went from 1 to 225, in as reasonable an order as one would expect, being allotted as they were needed, regardless of what area was being excavated. The numbers between 1 and 225 may therefore belong to either the first or the second season, and groups with these numbers may be mixed. Numbers after 225 belong to the first 1897-8 season.

It should be possible now to make some further identifications of objects from Hierakonpolis, though, as Mrs. Adams says, these will probably not be very numerous, and research of other kinds, both on the site and on the material from it, is now possible. Details of any new identifications should be sent to Mrs. Adams, who will keep records of them in an appendix to her *Supplement*. Work such as Mrs. Adams has done in these two volumes is both taxing and laborious, and deserves the gratitude of all who will use it in future research on this very important site.

JOAN CROWFOOT PAYNE

Mathematics in the time of the Pharaohs. By RICHARD J. GILLINGS. Pp. xii+286, with many text figs. M.I.T. Press. Cambridge, Mass., and London. £11.25.

The general opinion of Egyptian mathematics held by most modern students of ancient mathematics is unenthusiastic. Claims that early Greek mathematicians learnt much from the Egyptians are discounted; nothing in the mathematical processes found in the few surviving texts points to a rigorous, truly theoretical and scientific attitude towards the solution of problems and the philosophy of numbers. The Egyptians, it is said, were only interested in providing themselves with a mathematical equipment sufficient to enable them to solve the day-to-day problems involved in simple accountancy and in the construction of buildings.

It is true that Egyptian mathematical texts, in particular those contained in the Rhind and the Moscow Mathematical Papyri, reveal processes of calculation which are cumbersome, and apparently incapable of

allowing the easy tackling of complicated problems. The system of numbers used by the Egyptians appears to be crude, and it is usually regarded as primitive. The apparent absence of mathematical development, or at least modification of the numerical system, throughout the long period of Egypt's dynastic history, seems one more indication of the supposed rigid conservatism which affected most aspects of ancient Egyptian life. Nevertheless, the planning of the great structures which particularly characterize Egypt's civilization, could not have been affected without a mathematical system sufficiently flexible and advanced to allow the solution of many kinds of problems, including such as would now be considered geometrical and algebraic. To build pyramids and great temples successfully requires adequate, if not advanced, mathematics. Many constructional problems could undoubtedly have been solved on the basis of experience, by trial and error, even by chance; but all such problems could not always have been solved in these ways. New problems demand new solutions; new solutions can be provided by the theoretical developments of old solutions. Such new solutions may not have involved the pure mathematical approach of Thales or Euclid, but they surely required the manipulation of unwieldy processes, the construction of helpful tables, and of other aids to calculation, all of which cannot be lightly dismissed as crude and primitive.

To make some positive claim on behalf of Egyptian mathematics does not oblige us to side with the author of a recent publication who says: 'The Great Pyramid, like most of the great temples of antiquity, was designed on the basis of a hermetic geometry known only to a restricted group of initiates, mere traces of which percolated to the Classical and Alexandrian Greeks.'¹ The contrary claim that 'Egyptian mathematics remained at much too low a level to be able to contribute anything of value [to Greek geometry]',² is, nevertheless, too severe. One of the greatest virtues of Mr. Gillings's book, *Mathematics in the Time of the Pharaohs*, is that it endeavours, with considerable success, to rehabilitate the calculators of ancient Egypt.

An academic mathematician by profession, Mr. Gillings has spent many years studying ancient mathematics, in particular Egyptian mathematics. From long consideration of the surviving mathematical texts he has achieved a sympathy with the ancient Egyptian modes of calculation which has in turn generated what appears to be real insight and understanding. A certain awkwardness in the handling of purely Egyptological matters in his introductory sections, and occasionally elsewhere in the book, should not disguise the fact that he illuminates the whole subject of Egyptian mathematics; he has convinced at least one reader that in mathematical affairs the ancient Egyptians do not deserve the patronizing apologies so regularly produced on their behalf in the past.

The truth of the matter is that the surviving mathematical texts provide clues only to the ways in which the ancient Egyptians reasoned mathematically. No details of workings and side calculations are shown; there is no evidence of the use of tables, whether for simple processes of addition and subtraction, or for more complicated processes involving fractions. Mr. Gillings rightly points out (pp. 14 ff.) that the apparent simplicity of working simple calculations in the hieroglyphic script does not apply equally to calculations performed in hieratic or demotic, the forms of writing most commonly used.

In a close study of the table of the division of 2 by the odd numbers from 3 to 101, contained on the *recto* of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, Mr. Gillings concentrates his attention on the surprising way in which the scribe succeeds in expressing the results in fractional decompositions which are always the simplest and best. To check the validity of this claim, he tested the results in the papyrus against those obtained by a computer; in his words, 'the computer did not find a decomposition superior to that given by the ancient scribe' (p. 52). This ancient achievement is in itself remarkable; what is more remarkable is the way in which the scribe arrived at his decompositions. A series of possible precepts which may have guided the scribe is compiled by Mr. Gillings (p. 49). They are relatively simple, and certainly work; but it is perhaps too much to claim that they were those actually used by the scribe. It is, however, fair to add that precepts of this kind may well have formed part of a scribe's mathematical training, and helped him to resolve his problems.

In this, as in other particular cases, Mr. Gillings injects a fine element of common sense into his discussions. He also performs an important service in obliging the reader to look at Egyptian mathematics with fresh eyes. For example, in his treatment of the problem of finding the area of a circle, he combats the view

¹ P. Tompkins, *Secrets of the Great Pyramid* (London, 1973), xiv.

² G. J. Toomer in J. R. Harris (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1971), 45.

expressed clearly by Peet, that 'the Egyptians evolved no better means of stating a formula than that of giving three or four examples of its use'.¹ As Gillings properly asks, 'What is the nature of proof?' It need not be symbolic—which is what, in effect, Peet was implying—but can be non-symbolic provided that 'the particular value [in the proof] be *typical* and that the generalization to any value be *immediate*' (p. 146). He adds, 'The rigour of the argument is implicit in the deduction'. Many Egyptian pragmatic solutions can, in the light of this conclusion, be interpreted as having the force of general arguments embodying proofs of universal application.

The arrangement of this book is a little puzzling. It does not present a systematic account of Egyptian mathematics, but deals in order with specific problems and their solutions, extracted from the surviving mathematical texts. It is a densely argued work, tough reading for the non-mathematician, yet worth much trouble for the light it throws on the ways in which the workings of the mathematical processes are analysed. What most Egyptologists will appreciate is the clear conclusion which goes a long way to restore some claim to scientific method for the ancient Egyptian mathematician. Mr. Gillings puts it admirably:

We have to accept the circumstance that the Egyptians did not think and reason as the Greeks did. If they found some exact method (however they may have discovered it), they did not ask themselves *why* it worked. They did not seek to establish its universal truth by an a priori symbolic argument that would show clearly and logically their thought processes. What they did was to explain and define in an ordered sequence the steps necessary in the proper procedure, and at the conclusion they added a verification or proof that the steps outlined did indeed lead to a correct solution of the problem. This was science as they knew it, and it is not proper or fitting that we of the twentieth century should compare too critically their methods with those of the Greeks or any other nation of later emergence, who, as it were, stood on their shoulders. (p. 234).

T. G. H. JAMES

Catalogue des objets de toilette égyptiens au Musée du Louvre. By J. VANDIER D'ABBADIE. Pp. 191, 831 ill., colour pls. 2. Éditions des Musées Nationaux, Paris, 1972. Price not given.





Both archaeologists and art historians will welcome the publication of a catalogue of the justly famous collection of toilet articles from ancient Egypt displayed in the Louvre Museum. Most of the items recorded in this work were acquired as part of the generous donations of such noted collectors as Salt, Drovetti, Champollion, Clot Bey, and Anastasi, but, more recently, purchase and excavation finds have enhanced the excellence of this already valuable collection. The Museum's superb collection of toilet spoons has long excited admiration, but this volume also reveals the high quality of the other material.

The objects have been divided into groups according to known use—toilet spoons, toilet boxes, kohl pots and sticks, unguent jars and lids, cosmetic horns, mortars, combs, pins, razors, mirrors, and perfume flasks. Two notable classes of objects, Pre-dynastic slate palettes and Roman glass toilet vessels have been omitted, but on the reasonable grounds that they merit separate studies of their own. In the brief introduction, the author discusses the difficulty of assigning small jars and vases of indeterminate use to any particular category, and explains the criteria by which they were allotted to their various groups. The attention of the reader is drawn to the conflicting opinions as to the actual use of the horns and the spoons, and a brief résumé of the various ideas is provided, together with a bibliography for those who wish to pursue the matter further.

Apart from a general bibliography, the rest of the book is devoted to the actual catalogue of the 831 objects, each of which is illustrated by a black and white photograph at half life size. Each written entry gives a brief description of the object, its dimensions, material, and state of preservation, together with an approximate date, such as 'Nouvel Empire', the provenance where known, and bibliographical details where available. If the object is inscribed the hieroglyphs are hand-drawn in the text, with arrows to indicate direction.

¹ T. E. Peet, 'Mathematics in ancient Egypt', in *Bull. John Rylands Library*, 15 (1931), 439.

The work is certainly agreeable to look at and easy to use, but the serious student may find himself somewhat disappointed that more details were not supplied. Extra information concerning the material of some objects would be welcome, and, where possible, notes on methods of manufacture would have been particularly valuable. Many readers would doubtless also have appreciated detailed discussion on the possibilities and problems of dating, while anyone interested in typology, particularly of kohl pots, will lament the total absence of any drawings and sections.

Facsimile drawings of the decorated vessels would have been valuable, and facsimile copies of the texts would have eliminated certain small, but unnecessary errors. On object 206, for example, the photograph clearly shows the word *msdmt*, 'black eye-paint', written with a vulture,  instead of the more usual form with an owl, , but it is the latter writing that appears in the text. The same type of error has occurred in the copying of the text of number 555, where the group , *srt*, has been written for what undoubtedly is , *wrt*, in the original, in the title 'King's Great Wife', while in the copy of number 240, the cartouches have been reversed, so that the *nomen* of Amenophis III is made to precede the *praenomen*.

When all is said and done, however, the lasting impression conveyed by this work is of delight at the delicacy, skill and humour of the craftsmen who produced these objects, and of admiration and envy of the ancient Egyptians, whose good taste demanded that even the small, practical aids to their daily toilet should be transferred into miniature works of art.

ANNE MILLARD

Akhenaten and Nefertiti. By CYRIL ALDRED; New York, 1973. Pp. 231, 358 illustrations, 8 in colour; 55 figs. \$16.95. London, 1973. £7.50.

The remarkable collection of objects from Amarna assembled and shown in the Autumn and Winter of 1973/4 in Brooklyn and Detroit gathered together numerous reliefs and statues, many of the royal family at Amarna—and some of the small art of the period. Mostly drawn from American collections, exhibits also included loans from the British Museum, University College, London, the Ashmolean, Fitzwilliam, and Royal Scottish Museums, and from the National Museums of Paris, Brussels, East and West Berlin, and Munich, as well as from some private collections. Mr. Aldred's catalogue is a record of the Exhibition with photographs and detailed descriptions of the objects in it and his artistic observations must have delighted the visitors. To write a catalogue of such an Exhibition and include a number of introductory chapters on art, monuments, iconography and a historical outline poses the difficult, perhaps insoluble problem of interesting visitors, while providing a text also of use to serious students and experts. A review in this Journal must be concerned predominantly with the latter function. The London publishers of the subsequent English printing of the Catalogue, made available in June 1974, include an Index, Addenda and Corrigenda, and a List of the Figures of objects not in the exhibition, all very useful: there is also some helpful additional bibliography, more of which would have been welcome, notably where in the text bibliographies are described as 'none', in no. 50 for instance, see J. R. Harris, *Egyptian Art*, pl. 31, and in No. 124, Roeder, *Amarna Reliefs*, pl. 180.

Portraits of Akhenaten which were exhibited included the small alabaster statuette holding an upright stela (1) and a relief of the period of greatest caricature (6), both from West Berlin. One of the beautiful, unfinished royal heads from East Berlin, probably of Nefertiti awaiting the application of her tall crown (99), contrasts with the head of the princess from there which is carved for the inlay of the eyes and eyebrows (88). Mr. Aldred's view that the shape of Amarna princesses' heads is partly artistic exaggeration is welcome, although the 'back-brushed' *bouffant* hairstyle worn in African fashion and seen quite frequently today, masks the shape of the skull and, giving it the same effect as a protuberance at the back, could be a contributory factor, especially if 'capped' as occasionally on Nefertiti and the older daughters. From the Louvre is the fine torso of the draped queenly figure (22), and from the Petrie Collection, University College, London, a sketch of the Queen wearing her tall crown.

There are inconsistencies in the text and assertions in Mr. Aldred's Introductions that unfortunately do little justice to scholarship. The unproven assumption of Ay's 'daughter Nefertiti', 'the cousin of Akhenaten', has been picked up in the English publication in a chart at the end which shows her origins as conjectural.

For the view that Nefertiti's disappearance was 'much more likely to have been a result of her death' the reader does need references to other work on the subject besides Mr. Aldred's own. Elsewhere Mr. Aldred writes that it appears that Meritaten died before her husband Smenkhkarē who then married Ankhesenpaaten; this is unproven, as is the assertion that Tutankhamūn married Smenkhkarē's widow. Also *can* it be presumed that Akhenaten fathered his grandchildren both by Meritaten and Ankhesenpaaten, or is this another theory like the one held in the past that he could not have fathered his daughters, largely based on his one nude, unfinished statue from Karnak (Fig. 9), where its completion by carving the kilt would have obviated the need to delineate the genitalia?

To select for the bibliographies those publications 'most easily accessible' and with 'useful illustrations', although convenient for visitors, tends to narrow opinions, and can exclude experts such as Borchardt and Schäfer, for instance, from No. 114, the East Berlin marine stela of Pasi (*DDR* 17813). Of this Mr. Aldred writes 'the only inference seems to be that the stela represents a pair of co-regents seated side by side, the one on the left being Smenkhkarec, and the other Akhenaten . . .' This follows the view of Carter and Newberry who believed the crowns worn by the two figures showed they were kings, a wrong premise. That Nefertiti wore the kingly crowns is now recognized and can be seen, as noted by Mr. Aldred, in No. 31 from the Ashmolean, where she wears the crown with disk, plumes, and horizontal horns as Akhenaten does on the Cairo relief Fig. 31. Originally the un-named royal figures were seen as Akhenaten and Nefertiti and now, after numerous intervening Smenkhkarē theories (surely not 'rejected by scholars who have found such an idea upsetting'), Professor Harris has pointed out that the empty cartouches are placed like those of the King, Queen, and Aten in hundreds of other Amarna scenes, not as those for two kings in a co-regency. His additional data include the feminine shape of the neck of the second figure, which, although not very clear in this catalogue photograph, in fact resembles the Queen's neck on the Stela of the royal family from West Berlin (No. 16, 14145), and is an Amarna characteristic of women's portraits.

The wigs and crowns and who wore them so atypically at Amarna provide evidence for archaeological identification and they need consistent nomenclature with precise definition which has been lacking in the past. Distinction is important for instance between the Nubian short crop of curls (little more than a skull cap) as in No. 45, somewhat resembling that of the young king leaning on his staff (120), and the very different wigs, often with one to five layers of curls fringing the face and sometimes with a streamer behind, but *always* ending in a point, down the neck or even to the collar-bone in front. These are not happily described as 'short Nubian' (48). Also it is vital to establish that they were not 'virtually a monopoly of royal ladies at Tell el Amarna' (125); they are worn by both men and women (137), 'grooms' (61), 'a herdsman wearing a short Nubian wig' (67) and, with a brow-band, 'an official' (140). This shape is sometimes shown plain as on the 'prostrate fan-bearers' (136), and in 125, whether because it was worn uncurled or remained uncarved is not known, but the front edges always end in points. It could be called the pointed wig. The figure in the relief from Hermopolis (No. 130), who wears an elaborately curled example of the sidelock so consistently worn by the princesses, is not, as suggested, unlikely to be royal because of her frontal position; see the undraped figure of Nefertiti (no. 29) from the Petrie Collection. Incidentally this marble relief has no 'fissures filled with dirt', as stated by Mr. Aldred, who may mean the surface lines sketched across the frontally presented breast, and in other places, to guide the sculptors. The description of this and other objects as 'Excavated in 1891-2 by Howard Carter and W. M. F. Petrie' is unrealistic, for Carter (sometimes 'H. Carter'), was then a boy of eighteen who joined Petrie in 1892 as a student and helped by digging part of the temple site for Lord Amherst, but he cannot, of course, be thought of as responsible for the excavations, survey, and plans of the site, nor did he contribute to Petrie's classic *Tell el Amarna*, 1894, reprinted 1974.

Fragments of thirteen Amarna royal ushabtis, eleven with the head of the King (160-5 and 167-74) and one from the Royal Scottish Museum (175) make a useful group for comparison. No. 163, Brooklyn, resembles the ushabti head from Akhenaten's tomb, now in the Petrie Collection. To this section in the Catalogue Mr. Aldred writes an introductory note.

Mr. Aldred's clarification that the cast of a man's head (107 from East Berlin) and the mask (109 from West Berlin) are of the same man is of historic value. The latter has been thought to represent Amenophis III.

JULIA SAMSON

The Treasures of Tutankhamun. By I. E. S. EDWARDS. Pp. 160, 160 illustrations, 23 coloured. New York, 1973. \$14.00.

It was to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the unearthing of Tutankhamun's tomb, by Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter, that fifty treasures from it were sent by the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt for exhibition at the British Museum in 1972. The catalogue of this Exhibition, written by Dr. Edwards, has proved a widely appreciated blend of scholarship with attractive presentation, and will for long remain a valuable source document. Besides the account for visitors of the discovery of the tomb, the historical summary is a lucid guide for them through the swirling eddies of fact and fiction, although nowhere is it unreadably overweighted. Comprehensive descriptions of all the objects include their iconographical significance, so revealing in the carvings and in relation to the regalia, the jewellery, and the funerary equipment that includes one of the gilded beds and the famous gold mask. Information on some of the relevant hieroglyphs helps to fill out the background for visitors; but the book is also valuable for scholars.

The illustrations reveal the exquisite craftsmanship described, except in the case of the plates on the golden shrine (25). These indicative panels in low relief are difficult to photograph, but might have been enlarged as they are on the covers of the British Museum edition and on the dust cover of this one, to show more details for studies such as the one by Kate Bosse-Griffiths in this Journal for 1973. Clarification in publishing all inscriptions is vital, especially if there is any question of a palimpsest. Professor J. R. Harris¹ has noted that names on the bow-fronted box show indications of changes (17).

Three of the gold statuettes are included, and of the one standing on a leopard Dr. Edwards writes that although it is inscribed with the name of Tutankhamun, the physical features, and in particular the prominent breasts, suggest it represents Smenkhkarē (28). Evidence concerning this shadowy figure remains scant and his looks are undocumented, but the little statue certainly resembles Nefertiti. Dr. Edwards links his suggestion with the miniature canopic coffin shown earlier in the catalogue (No. 9), one of the four which were found in the canopic chest. He records that in the inscriptions on these, Tutankhamun's names appear to have been substituted for others which have been completely erased, and he conjectures that these, like some of the other objects in the tomb, may originally have been made for Smenkhkarē. Dr. Edwards notes the Amarna characteristic of a deep dip in the carving of the front of the girdles on the statuettes, and clearly it is not only in such details as this that the objects in this disturbed but virtually unplundered royal tomb of the period call for continued examination and scholarly study. The gaps in our knowledge of the happenings during the last years at Amarna, and the uncertainty of the royal relationships, need the compared results of research. Inscriptions from all relevant collections, from Hermopolis, as yet insufficiently worked over, and from the material now emerging from Karnak could produce hard evidence of the developments in these atypical years. Unproven guesses in the past developed into ideas that clouded facts, and delayed genuine historical progress. The discussion of the small, gold squatting figure of the king wearing a *khepresh* crown (46), is welcome in view of the continuing impression that it was Amenophis III, which arose from what was but an afterthought on Carter's record card.

This book, although in catalogue form, stands as a compendium for future use.

JULIA SAMSON

Ramesses II, A Chronological Structure for his Reign. By J. D. SCHMIDT. Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies, 3. Pp. vii+216. Baltimore and London, 1973. £4.75.

The pattern of this elegant little book is simple. After the first chapter (on the absolute date(s) B.C. of Ramesses II), it has two main components. First, an annotated survey of all attested year-dates of Ramesses II (Ch. 2), with brief analysis of these (Ch. 3). Second, a translation of and commentary on the Hittite Treaty (Ch. 4). Then come a brief review of the 'co-regency' of R. II and Sethos I (Ch. 5), and 'interpretation' of the reign of R. II in outline (Ch. 6). The work closes with an Appendix (consolidated list of year-dates, R. II), a bibliography, and indexes.

The subject, the internal chronology of the long and fairly well-documented reign of Ramesses II, was an excellent choice, if tackled properly. The treatment accorded it in this book is less than satisfactory on

¹ *Acta Or.* 36 (1974), 15 n. 17.

several counts, as will appear below. Chapter 1 is, strictly, superfluous to this book and could well have been omitted, as it deals with the absolute date of the King, not the internal chronology. Through no fault of Schmidt's his treatment is now outdated, as the real choice for accession dates of Ramesses II is no longer between 1304 and 1290 B.C. (1304 B.C. now being impossible), but between 1290 and 1279 B.C. This is because (i) of the new, lower date of 1070/69 B.C. (Hornung; Kitchen) for the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, (ii) the new low dates in Mesopotamia (cf. Brinkman, *BiOr* 27 [1970], pp. 301 ff., esp. 306-7), and (iii) the necessity for keeping to *minimal* lengths of reigns and life-spans so far as possible during the entire Ramesside period (M. L. Bierbrier, *Genealogy and Chronology of the Later New Kingdom*, Warminster, 1975).

Chapter 2, the annotated date-list, constitutes almost half the book. Intending users should note the following points (not exhaustive), following the sequence as given by Schmidt:

Year 1-A: in the 'inscription dédicatoire' at Abydos, Regnal Year 1 written *hst-sp 1* in lines 26, 30 (old 22, 26) and used of R. II first visiting Thebes as sole pharaoh (*KRI*, II/6, 324: 12 and 325: 5-6) must *not* be confused with *rnpt tpyt*, 'the first year' of R. II's appearing as prince-regent (line 53, old 49; *KRI*, II/6, 328: 8) some years earlier, as is done by Schmidt. The orthography of 'Year 1' and 'first year' is totally different. The text as a whole could have been inscribed at any time from Year 2 onwards. *Year 1-D*: inner door-thickness at Abu Simbel; S.'s doubts of it being R. II are fully justified. This is an oracle of the image of R. II in Year 1 of Sethos II, as is clear from the titles—Horus, *K3-nht Mry-Rc*; Nebty, *Nht-h[ps̄ dr pdt 9]*, and prenomen *Wsr-[hprw]-rc stp-n-rc mry-Imn* (collated by the reviewer); 1-D should thus be deleted. *Year 1-F* should also be deleted, as the W.-Theban graffito 298 belongs to Year 1 of Ramesses IV (abnormal form), and all the scribes named (Amennakht son of Ipyu and family) are very well known then in Deir el-Medina, as S. should have discovered. *Year 1-G* must be deleted, because it too is of R. IV (reviewer's copies, and collation with M. Abdel-Razik, modifying latter's initial reading).

Year 2-A, Aswân stela. Pending collation, S. is totally unjustified in trying to assign this text to Year 10. Its contents prove nothing about date, and the grouping of signs for 'Year 2' can be paralleled, e.g. with Sethos I (*KRI*, I/2, 45: 5, Fayûm stela). *Year 2-C* (Nahr el Kalb) is Year 10, as S. also decides. *Year 2-D* (Sai) should be deleted, and referred to Tuthmosis I, active in that area in his first two years. *Year 2-E*, Graffito 225 (W. Thebes) should be deleted, it also being R. IV—see Černý, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques . . .*, 1956, No. 1405, ll. 1-3 (l. 4 is later). *Year 4-A*, read 4th of Akhet. *Year 4-B*, Lachish ostrakon, pretty certainly delete—Černý long ago suggested Merenptah or later on palaeographical grounds; a scarab of R. III was found, unstratified. One should add a *Year 4-C*, stela of R. II, Byblos: Year 4, 2+x (prob. 4) Shomu; Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pl. 34, reading, *KRI*, II/4, 224 (forthcoming), confirmed by Grdseloff copy (courtesy, Griffith Institute). *Year 5-B, C*: there is just *one* Tomb-Scribe Ramose at Deir el-Medina, author of many monuments there, and 'buddy' of the vizier Paser. *Year 8-C*, Manshiyet es-Sadr stela; *all three dates actually read 'Year 8'* (I have collated them thrice over at intervals, to be sure of this), even though one may have to be emended to be 'Year 9'. In the extant MSS., *Years 9-A, E*, both probably belong to Merenptah. *Year 10-B* should be deleted, pending collation; cf. 2-A above.

Year 14-A, private oracle-stela from Abydos. S.'s attempt to evade the clear date of this in R. II's 14th year is totally unjustified. (i) Poor style occurs as often in private stelae of this period as of any other. (ii) Use of oracles goes back to Tuthmosis III's time (Karnak) for royalty, and is known from R. II's Year 1 as S. admits in the case of the appointment of Nebwenenef as High Priest of Amûn. To which may be added others: e.g., in Theban Tomb 19 (cf. latterly, Černý in Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 1962, p. 42, fig. 9; 'Dyn. 20' is a slip for Dyn. 19), and a stela from Koptos (Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. 19; cf. Nims, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 148). (iii) The personal names on the Year 14 stela are *not* untypical of Dyn. 19 (so far as they are not hapaxes); e.g., Tjay is the name of Prince (and King) Merenptah's royal secretary, Serapeum Stela Cat. No. 14 (1968-ed.), and Theban Tomb 23. (iv) The spelling of *hrw pn* is of no chronological value, but rests on an ancient error in turning hieratic *p* into hierogl.

Year 15-A, P. Cairo 65739, can *only* belong to R. II's reign—the Mayor of W. Thebes, Ramose (line 24) is attested elsewhere as contemporary of the vizier Paser of the first decades of R. II's reign—cf. Ostr. Berlin P. 11238 (*Hierat. P. Berlin*, III, Taf. 32), a fact ignored by S. The nature of the lawsuit requires a date very soon after Year 15—say, Year 16 or 17 at latest. *Year 16-A* (Serapeum) is certainly recorded in retrospect on a stela of Year 30—but *does* commemorate a real burial, the first of two made in one chamber,

a real burial in Year 16. *Year 17-A*, hierogl. graffito of [vizier Paser son of] Nebneteru, High Priest of Amūn, W. Thebes now in MMA. S.'s treatment of this piece is utterly incredible. Being determined at all costs to remove it from the reign of R. II, he suggests (i) the cartouche could be any king *Wsr-mꜣꜣt-ꜣꜣ* . . .; (ii) that this text is Kees's sole evidence for a High Priest Nebneteru about this time (specifically, between Nebwenenef and Bakenkhons), 'otherwise unknown' (pp. 35-6); (iii) that this Nebneteru could belong in Dyn. 22 as a 'more likely date', when there were many Nebneterus (but never more than 3rd Prophet); (iv) Dyn. 22 had an interest in the Deir el-Bahari area. All of which, frankly, is 'stuff and nonsense'. (i) Clear traces of the square top of *stp* and of a sun-disc prove the reading *Wsr-mꜣꜣt-ꜣꜣ Stp-[n]-ꜣꜣ*—which normally leaves *only* R. II or Shoshenq III. (ii) It seems incredible that S. should have missed the frequent mentions by the vizier Paser of his father, the High Priest of Amūn, Nebneteru: this filiation dictates a date for the incumbency of Nebneteru under either S. I or R. II, in agreement with the MMA graffito which is *not* the sole evidence of N's date. (iii) Dyn 22 is a most *unlikely* date—no Nebneteru is known to have attained the high-priesthood of Amūn in this period, or ever likely to be: High Priests in Dyn. 22 had to be of royal birth or of immediate royal descent, and no known Nebneteru (of nine!) qualifies, least of all under Shoshenq III. (iv) Dyn. 22's interest in Deir el-Bahari was purely incidental (burial of priests of Montu, etc.), and certainly not 'touristic'. As noted long since by Helck, and latterly by Wilding, this 'tourism' is a New-Kingdom, especially Rameside phenomenon. The MMA graffito should be restored as a record of a visit by Paser, not Nebneteru, in Year 17 of R. II; Nebneteru was probably High Priest of Amūn under Sethos I, as will be dealt with elsewhere.

Year 18-C, S. correctly opts for this, not Year 9, on the Beth-Shan stela; despite his arrogant n. 145, the reading *is* clear to an experienced eye, once pitting has been allowed for; I had a good facsimile, and there is a cast in London. *Year 20-A* (pp. 37, 66B), delete here; as Sethe correctly saw long ago, this text is of Year 1. The published photograph shows clear enough traces of the *r* and disc for *Prt* (cf. *KRI*, II/6, 338: 10); *ꜣꜣt* is highly unlikely, and S.'s denial of the relevance of the short prenomen is just plain wrong (cf. on Ch. 5, below). *Year 26-A*. The Serapeum stela Cat. 4 indicates burials of Apis bulls in Years 16 and 30 of R. II and (as S. rightly notes) of a Mnevis bull in Year 26. Hence, the Mnevis stela of Year 26 relates to the tomb for that burial—a new tomb, built by R. II from *re-used* blocks of Tutankhamūn and Haremḥab, and not simply refurbishing a tomb built by Haremḥab as S. carelessly misread Daressy, *ASAE* 18, p. 199. *Year 26-D*; contrary to S., the two Apis-burials of Years 16 and 30 are correctly dated, and so are the officials whose mementos were found with them.

Year 37-C, S. exhibits his customary ignorance of Deir el-Medina, as of other private monuments not having year-dates; far from 'impossible to identify further', Huy son of Thut-ḥir-mikṭef is a well-known Tomb Scribe; to him should also be assigned the Černý-Sadek graffito 1722 of Year 37, as well as the two graffiti Sp. 988 (S's 35-D) and 1005 of Year 35; Theban tomb 357 indeed belongs to Huy's father. *Year 38-B*, the people named are all known Deir el-Medina characters. *Year 40-E* differs from the 'usual style of a business report' . . . because it isn't one! It is a Deir el-Medina list of absentees from work. *Years 42-B, 57-A*: the viziers Prehotep and Neferronpet were in neither case 'Mayors of Thebes'—S.'s mistranslation of *mr-niwt*, a vestigial title ('governor of the (Residence)-city') of the viziers since Old-Kingdom times. *Year 44-B*: the 'specific activity' of Setau and co. in that year has long been known—press-ganging labour to build W. es Sebua temple, etc.; cf. already, Yoyotte, *BSFÉ* 6 (1951), 9-14 and pls. 1-2. Pp. 56, 59, add *Years 49-B, 55-C*, ostraca from Theban Tomb 217 of Ipuṯ, despite S.'s pointless exclusion of them, p. 96 n. 456. *Year 55-B*, the supposed tomb of Khaemwaset at Nazlet el-Batran is illusory; cf. S. Wenig, *Forschungen und Berichte* 14 (1972), 39-44, pls. 1-2, and F. Gomaà, *Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses II*, 1973, 48 ff., both appearing too late for S. to use, it should be said. *Year 56-A*, the dateline of P. Sallier IV has nothing to do with introducing a titulary already in use in Year 46 and earlier. *Year 57-A*, cf. 42-B. *Year 66-B*: the provenance 'Abydos' for Ostrakon Cairo Cat. 25237 is wrong, as its characters all belong to Deir el-Medina and the Valley of Kings; the confusion goes back to Mariette's time, when both Theban and Abydene material came together in Cairo. *Year 66-C*: textual difficulties do not needfully imply a post-R. II date. A *Year 66-D* should be added, from Helck, *CdÉ* 38 (1963), 39 ff. (Karnak, probably by R. IV as at Abydos.)

Section 2, questionable dates. Under § A (p. 65 f.), Pay and Thut-ḥirmikṭef are familiar figures at Deir el-Medina (where *wꜣw* is a permissible variant for *rmt-ḥꜣwt*, or the religious *sdm-ꜣꜣ m st-mꜣꜣt*), despite S.

In contrast it is a pleasure heartily to endorse S.'s attribution (pp. 67 f.) of Sinai stelae Nos. 294, 301–2, 304, to R. IV (as already, *KRI*, VI).

Chapter 3 offers a brief analysis of the listed data. The alleged 'empty decade' (Years 10–18) is pure illusion, given the solid dates of Years 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, which *cannot* be dismissed by riding roughshod over solid evidence as S. attempted to do; such 'methods' are a travesty of research. On p. 107, these years should all be restored.

Chapter 4, translation of the Hittite Treaty (it is more than just an 'alliance' although including this). Separation of translation, comments and notes may mean cheaper book-making, but it is expensive in terms of reader-convenience. The translation is of fair standard or less, the commentary, less. Extended comment is impracticable here, but a few points should be noted, as in some respects S.'s version marks a backward step in the interpretation of this text.

In line 7 (p. 114), restore: '[good] accord [and good alliance between us] unto eternity'. In lines 8–9, the translation has gone badly astray, as is shown by the less ambiguous Akkadian text. First (pp. 114, 127), 'searching' is not in the text and is not required there; despite Goedicke's misleading advice, *ptr* is here just 'lo, see' as everywhere else in this text. Lines 8–9 should be translated as done years ago by J. A. Wilson, *ANET*, 199, cf. Goetze, p. 202; Rē and Seth (the Sun and Storm gods) and Egypt and Hatti are each in parallel. This disposes of the nonsense on pp. 127–8. P. 115, the word is 'rout', not 'route' in English. P. 121 end, name within titles is banal in the Ramesside period. P. 125, a genealogy is quite usual in Hittite treaties in the thirteenth century B.C.; as for pp. 124–5, the 'terms' of an agreement (*nt-r*) are—in a word—the 'treaty'. On p. 132 to line 15, S. makes impossibly heavy weather of *ky hrw*, 'another foe/threat', overlooking the simple fact that the treaty and alliance was naturally valid also against *third parties* who might be hostile to either of the partners in future days. Hence, no previous mention; there is nothing 'unexpected' here at all. S. further compounds his personal misunderstanding of the Treaty on pp. 133–4 to line 19. From the *hypothetical* wording of ll. 16 ff., he needlessly deduces an *actual* rebellion against R. II by his own subjects. This overlooks (i) the fact that the document was drawn up in a Hittite chancellery, from a Hittite (not Egyptian) viewpoint, and (ii) that the subjects concerned would thus not be treasonable Egyptians inside Egypt proper but real or potential rebels among Egypt's foreign vassals in Canaan and Upi; the king shall 'go' (*šm*) to rout them. (For a real past event of this kind, cf. the reconquest of Ascalon, Galilee, and Moab in undated reliefs of R. II at Karnak and Luxor, probably in the period immediately after Qadesh.) Had S. reflected on these considerations, he would have been spared his perplexities (p. 136); 'other/others' is probably the Hittite king or a vassal of his, and the vassals and/or officials of R. II respectively. Nothing special need be read into this. As for p. 153 n. 182, it is very clear from the peculiar nature of the Egyptian (esp. when read along with the Akkadian) that the Egyptian text of the Treaty is indeed a translation or adaptation from an Akkadian original, but no such converse peculiarity attaches to the Akkadian version (cf. Friedrich long ago).

Chapter 5, 'The Co-regency', briefly covers a subject already admirably covered by Seele back in 1940, and marks a backward step in interpretation of the data. Initially S. begins by giving due consideration to the data of the 'inscription dédicatoire' and Kubân stela, and to the reliefs. But he comes badly unstuck over the royal titulary through sheer carelessness. First, let it be noted, Seele did *not* accept Sethe's fine-spun (and wrong) arguments for putting all the minor variants of R. II's prenomen into a chronological sequence; nor does Seele's position depend on Roeder's detailed interpretation of Beit el-Wali (which Seele modifies!). The *sole* distinction that matters is that between the short form *Wsr-mšct-rc* (or *Wsr-mšct-rc* and varying epithets) and the standard formulation *Wsr-mšct-rc Stp-n-rc*. On this basis, with Seele (regardless of Sethe's lesser and wrong details), the short form and varying epithets date from the regency under Sethos I and from Year 1 of sole reign of R. II, while the standard formulation is universal from Year 2 of R. II onwards. On available evidence, this still remains the true position, despite all of S.'s attempts to obscure it. Contrary to S., the following facts should be noted. The 'Year 1' at Abu Simbel is Sethos II, and hence irrelevant (cf. on Ch. 2, above). The Silsila Nile-stela of Year 1 uses *only* the short form and varying epithets (*tit-rc*; *mr-rc*; *hkꜣ-Wꜣst*), but *not* the standard formulation with *Stp-n-rc* as carelessly assumed by S. (p. 167)—cf. texts in *KRI*, I/3, 81–96 *passim*. This alone demolishes S.'s denial of the differences. It is at Beit el-Wali that his carelessness reaches the nadir (pp. 157 f.). S. claims that the short prenomen of R. II there occurs with the *late* form of his Horus-name, i.e. *Kꜣ-nḥt mry-mšct, nb ḥbw-sd mi*

it. f Pth-T:tnn, current in Years 34 ff. Not true! The Beit el-Wali text actually reads: *Kꜣ-nḥt mry-mꜣꜣt*, *Wr ḥbw-sd mi Rꜥ, wr-nḥtw, mnm. f ḥr iꜣd*. Which (i) is totally distinct (despite *ḥbw-sd*), and (ii) is part of an early form of titulary of R. II, used during the regency and first decade of sole reign! (It recurs in early temples of R. II in Nubia, e.g. Aksha and Amara West.) This formulation must on no account be confused with the formulary of Years 34 ff.; the special *Nebty*-titles are likewise quite distinct in each case. In contrast to this gaffe, one may warmly second S.'s adduction of the very important Sinai stela No. 250 (now, *KRI*, I/2, 63), as evidence of the regency. But then, once more, his speculations (pp. 159 ff.) on the Year 8 Sinai text of S. I as possible date of accession (and Year 1) of R. II as co-regent are worthless. (i) There is no evidence that all texts on the monolith (besides the two main ones) are needfully contemporary. (ii) A text intended to proclaim the co-regency would surely have betrayed *some* indication of its subject-matter! The surviving Year 8 texts are purely laudations of S. I, totally ignoring the co-regent whose accession is assumed. (iii) The date in 1st month of Peret has nothing whatever to do with the accession-day of R. II which—as Helck long since showed with highest probability—should on present evidence be set at 3rd month of Shomu, Day 27. (iv) The assumption (p. 160 f.) of a three-year co-regency, whereby Years 1–3 of R. II overlap Years 8–11 of S. I is fallacious. It assumes that Year 11 of S. I was his last, a point refuted in favour of a minimum reign of 14/15 years (and possibly 19/20 years) by M. L. Bierbrier, *JEA* 58 (1972), 303. If this be correlated with S.'s false assumption of Year 1 of R. II beginning in Year 8 of S. I, we would have the grotesque result that Sethos I was alive long enough to know all about his son's Qadesh debacle in Year 5 (S. I, Year 12); he would at 14–20 years live to Years 11–17 of R. II. For this sort of assumption, we have no grounds whatever. One may likewise dismiss the worthless speculations cited in n. 60, p. 165, concerning the Kubân stela—absence of *mꜣꜣ-ḥrw* proves nothing whatever about king's status as alive or dead. Sethos I was certainly dead when the 'inscription dédicatoire' was engraved—yet, beside examples with *mꜣꜣ-ḥrw*, his names are written seven times without that epithet (lines 26 (old 22), 36 (32), 46 (42), 47 (43), 62 (58), 67 (63), 80 (76)), *KRI*, II/6, 323–36, *passim*. (v) Lack of 'private monuments' in Years 1–3 is pure accident, and is perhaps untrue—note the Sinai stela Nos 254 (regency or Year 1, by cartouche-form) of an official, name lost, and 252 (Year 2) of Asha-ḥebesd and Amenemope, *KRI*, II/6, pp. 339–40. On the latter, R. II's titles are banal rather than unusual as S. mistakenly avers (p. 160).

In short, despite S.'s efforts, there is *no reason whatever* for believing at this juncture that any regnal year of R. II overlapped any regnal year of S. I; R. II's Year 1 began with the death of S. I. Prior to that date and event, Ramesses was Prince-regent, his father's aide and deputy, just as S. I was to R. I. His one special distinction (as explained in the 'inscription dédicatoire', etc.) was that Sethos had his son crowned as 'shadow-king', and gave him full titulary including cartouches—but *not regnal years*. For this reason, one may call R. II regent, not co-regent. Again, one should note the clear contrast between the uses of *ḥꜣt-sp* 1 and *ꜣꜣꜣt ꜣꜣꜣꜣt* in the 'inscr. dédic.' (Ch. 2, Year 1-A, above).

Chapter 6, 'An Interpretation', gives S.'s general conclusions, alas, heavily coloured by the errors in Chs. 2–5 dealt with above. Thus, p. 167, delete *Stp-n-rꜥ* from the Year 1 titulary at Silsila; it does not occur on this stela. As Prince-regent, R. II did war—in Nubia (Beit el Wali). Contrary to p. 168, Year 10 saw no change in titulary: (i) the Aswân stela is of year 2; (ii) S. confuses epithets (banal in any case) with the titulary proper. P. 170, what S. reads into *grg-tꜣꜣꜣ* is sheer imagination; this phrase could have one of several meanings, perhaps best 'one who furnishes/provides for the Two Lands'. For Mnevis, see above, Ch. 2. 'Another disorder' is erroneous, cf. on Ch. 4 above; hostile third parties in Western Asia are envisaged. P. 172 end, the various stelae from Wady es-Sebua show that the temple there was being built in Year 44 (personal collations), and indirect data exist for the others. The Viceroy Huy (p. 173) is chronologically fixed: as Royal Envoy, he escorted the Hittite princess to Egypt (i.e., in Year 34), while Setau was Viceroy by Year 38 (Abu Simbel). Thus, Huy's viceroyalty dates precisely to Years 34–8 in all probability—which agrees with his few monuments (one major stela, a few rock-graffiti). Paser is earlier than Huy. P. 173 f., Year 4 was more significant than S. realizes; on this first campaign, R. II annexed Amurru, which led to the epic confrontation at Qadesh, as the Hittites were determined not to lose Amurru. P. 174, the Egyptian agreement with Muwatallis was most likely with Sethos I, not Ramesses II (no agreement until Year 21). The Treaty stems from a complex situation in Western Asia of which S. has almost no inkling (other than wrongly denying the documented importance of Assyria here). Pp. 175–9 unveil S.'s reason

for so perversely refusing to face the evidence of good, dated documents for Years 14–18 of R. II: he thus obtains (spuriously) an imaginary ‘empty decade’ on which he freely exercises his imagination. He seemingly would have a revolt in Egypt behind the Pharaoh’s back when R. II went to Syria campaigning in Year 10, such that R. II was ‘exiled’ in Palestine for several years until Year 18 (Beth Shan stela) when negotiations between R. II and Hattusil III of Hatti (i) restored R. II to the rule of Egypt and (ii) made peace between the two powers. Splendid fiction, without the remotest vestige of historical reality! As already seen in reviewing Ch. 2 above, one *cannot* discard the solid data for Years 14, 16, 17 and 18. During that time R. II’s trusted officials (such as the vizier Paser) conducted the king’s government in full normality; no usurper, no unnatural absence of R. II. The claim that the Beth Shan stela has wording in its scene that is ‘uncommon’ (p. 178) merely illustrates once more S.’s invincible ignorance. The phrases in question are trite and common enough in the rhetorical repertoire. For such as *šsp n.k ḥpš* (etc.), *ḥsk(t).k tpw bštyw/ḥkw-ib* (etc.), cf. *KRI*, I/1, 27: 4 f.; II/3, 167: 12, 168: 14–15; IV/1, 24: 5, V/2, 108: 11, 110: 9–10; *ZÄS* 96 (1969), p. 26, fig. 9. *Ḥr ḥry-tp trwy* is especially banal (e.g. in triumph-scenes), cf. passages adjacent to several of those just quoted, from Sethos I to Shoshenq I inclusive; neither these nor R. II needed any rebellion to legitimize their rights over Egypt, by this or any other cliché. P. 179, the ‘Horbeit’ stelae came from Qantir (or has Habachi written in vain for two decades?); these are simply ex-votos by garrison-troops and palace-attendants of Pi-Ramesse—not of some theoretical ‘military colony’. The book closes with a consolidated Chart of Dated Inscriptions (to be amended as indicated under Ch. 2, above), Bibliography, and Indexes.

At this stage, in some dismay, one feels impelled to ask, ‘what went wrong?’ in this study. Superficiality, haste, and carelessness are not the deepest flaws, although they have materially taken their toll. The real trouble here is twofold: content and basic approach. As for ‘content’, the book does not, in fact, present a chronological structure for R. II’s reign—merely a date-list, a translation of one text, and a bundle of mistaken speculations. This is because this study has been conducted on such an extraordinarily narrow basis—S. will not deal with anything that does not bear a year-date. For a full structure of this data-rich reign, one *begins* with the year-dated material, ties in the material (esp. with high officials and buildings; royal family) that is closely connected with the dated things, and then brings in the other undated material on a thus-enlarged basis. Then a real over-all structure can be presented. S. (with an aversion to private monuments) merely began this task, but has not pursued it; so it must now be done elsewhere. The second major failure is in method. Frankly, clever speculations that are imposed hastily upon a reign and perversely forced through in the teeth of clear and formidable contrary evidence (as with the imaginary ‘empty decade’) can never be a valid substitute for patient collecting and weighing of all available evidence, with a willingness to *discard* theory the moment it is torpedoed by the emergence of contrary data; S. has been badly schooled. Mournfully, one is driven to observe that what is true is not new, and what is new is not true, in large measure in this book. Novelty is not enough in a thesis or book; what is new must be factually based, or it is a waste of time.

In closing, this reviewer would remark that he had looked forward to receiving and using this book with eager anticipation; himself immersed in several Ramesside undertakings (including one on Ramesses II of an entirely different type), he stood to benefit more than most from access to a really good technical study of the reign of Ramesses II, and was poised to commend such a study warmly and quote it happily at every appropriate juncture in his own forthcoming works. That these eager hopes of Schmidt’s work were cruelly dashed will be, alas, all too evident from the foregoing survey. It is with real sorrow and regret, therefore, that one finds great difficulty in recommending this slim volume to anybody’s use except as a convenient interim date-list (to be amended as above) until the *Realkatalog* one can appear; and as a further treatment of the Hittite Treaty to be used in conjunction with earlier and better versions. The confusions over the regency and speculations over R. II’s second decade, etc., are best mercifully consigned to oblivion. The work is a very poor ‘first effort’, but hopefully its author will learn from experience and go on to do better things; this reviewer’s sorrow might then be turned to joy.

K. A. KITCHEN

Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses’ II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis. By FAROUK GOMAA. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 27. Pp. xii+137 (incl. 36 figs.), 8 pls. Wiesbaden, 1973. DM 68.

Among the numerous progeny of Ramesses II, his fourth son Prince Khaemwaset is by far the best

documented and most engaging figure, and attained a fame that endured for centuries, rivalling that of his redoubtable father. It is therefore a real pleasure to see the basic data for Khaemwaset's career collected, sifted, and set out so conveniently as in the volume under review, which originated as a dissertation, under the guidance of Prof. J. von Beckerath.

The work comprises thirteen fairly brief chapters and a very comprehensive Catalogue of the monuments and mentions of Khaemwaset. Ch. I puts Khaemwaset 'in context' by reviewing the sources for the sons of Ramesses II, in particular the war-reliefs and the lists of princes (in which Dr. Gomaà can offer new readings from Centre of Documentation photographs, for the Wadi es-Sebua lists). G. claims (pp. 5, 20) that the presence of the princes in these war-reliefs is 'fiction', his sole reason being his belief that none was born much before R. II's accession as sole king, and hence they were mere infants during the initial decade of that king's wars. However, two considerations may refute this. First, at the Battle of Qadesh, 'the king's sons' (*nṣ msw-nsw*) and royal womenfolk(?) were ordered to get clear of the mêlée, and the fan-bearer Prēc-hir-wonmef who chases off in a chariot is probably the king's third son—possible for a lad of fifteen, say, but not an infant.¹ Second, there is good reason to believe that Ramesses II's earlier sons were all born well before his accession to sole rule (during the regency), as the reviewer hopes to indicate elsewhere.² But G. is fully justified in exposing the false reasoning of early writers (p. 4) that led to the classic estimate of 111 sons and 59 daughters for R. II's offspring. He does not carry out a full computation (contenting himself with the 30 sons originally attested at Wadi es-Sebua), but the reviewer's own investigations suggest a minimum roster of 45 or 46 sons, and of 40 daughters (possibly more), an absolute minimum of about 85 or 86 children altogether.³ G. favours the identification of Amen-hir-wonmef and Amen-hir-khopshef as one person, with which this reviewer's results concur.⁴ That Prince Khaemwaset was 'already born' by Year 1 of R. II (pp. 10–11) is something of an understatement, as the Beit el-Wali temple was certainly executed during the regency (before Iuny succeeded Amenomopet as Viceroy, under Sethos I), distinctly before R. II's own Year 1. At the other end of the time-scale, G. gives only a page or so (Ch. II) to Khaemwaset's own descendants. He rightly retains one Ramesses as a son of Khaemwaset and deletes Huy; but omits a son Hori who followed his distinguished father in the Memphite priesthood.⁵

Chapters III–V cover the 'career and functions' of Khaemwaset. In Ch. III, G. rightly considers that Khaemwaset only became Crown Prince briefly and quite late before his own death. Khaemwaset was *Sem*-priest par excellence, and only *wr-hrp-ḥm* later on. He proclaimed the first five *Sed*-festivals of R. II (Years 30–52) throughout Egypt. G. gives a useful conspectus of the proclamation-inscriptions (Silsila, Aswân, etc.), enhanced by his access to the Silsila photos of the Centre of Documentation. G. is intrigued that such records should be made at Silsila; the clue here is that the Nile was honoured at Silsila, and there was an ideological link between the *Sed*-feast and the promise of high Niles, as indicated (e.g.) by the ostraca Gardiner 28 and Munich 3401, etc.⁶ Chapters VI–XII survey the building-activities of Khaemwaset, and XIII ends with brief notice of the prince in late tradition (demotic, Setne-Khamwas, etc.). Thus, G. covers Khaemwaset's works in Memphis itself (VI), and his major innovations at the Serapeum, changing

¹ Qadesh, 'Reliefs', §§ 9, 10; *KRI*, II/3, p. 130: 11–12, 15; Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, p. 36 (where P. is inadvertently called eldest son). Regrettably, G. has made no attempt to update his work between its submission as a thesis and publication as a book. Thus, he never cites *KRI*, despite the fact that it offers new collations of, and additions to, relevant texts, and he still (and wrongly) describes as 'unpublished' (p. 3, n. 5) the new Luxor list of R. II's sons and daughters, even though both Kuentz and myself (*KRI*) published it in 1971, three years before G's work appeared in early 1974.

² That the short lists ('kurzere Darstellungen') 'obviously' belong to R. II's earliest years (p. 3) is an entirely unproven assumption—the brief lists at Abu Simbel and Derr are short merely because they are in each case restricted to the end-wall of the hall in which they appear, and not extended on to the side walls.

³ The 15 additional princesses of Ostrakon Louvre 666 might raise the number of daughters to 55 (and total of R. II's children to 100 or 101), but this Ramesside ostrakon may well be a necropolis record of burials of bygone royal ladies.

⁴ That Amen-hir-khopshef is also the same as Set-hir-khopshef as is inferred by G. (p. 15, after Ranke) and Yoyotte (*BiOr* 26 [1969], 14, 15) is very uncertain indeed, but just possible.

⁵ For which branch of the family, see now H. De Meulenaere, *AIPHOS* 20 (1968–72/3), pp. 191–6.

⁶ Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca I*, pl. 9, and Brunner, *ZÄS* 76 (1940), 1–3; cf. also W. Helck, 'Nilhöhe und Jubiläumsfest', *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 74–9.

the mode of Apis-burial from isolated tomb to underground gallery and instituting a temple of Apis near by (VII). Then (Ch. VIII) he ably shows that Prince Khaemwaset's own tomb was closely connected with the Serapeum, a point independently established by Wenig.¹ G. and W. differ only in that W. thinks that Khaemwaset's burial actually in the Serapeum galleries (and found by Mariette) was original, while G. thinks that it had been secondarily transferred there in the Late Period and either view seems possible. Beyond Memphis, Khaemwaset's activities left traces in the Fayûm, Middle Egypt, and Thebes (Ch. IX). Some of the prince's subordinates can be identified (Ch. X).

Particularly fascinating is Prince Khaemwaset's work as restorer of ancient monuments at Saqqâra and Giza,² for which G. offers a fuller synoptic text of Khaemwaset's great 'museum-labels' on the pyramids. G. is able to present (Ch. XII) a hitherto unpublished statue of Kawab son of Cheops, excavated at Giza (and 'labelled' and re-erected in Memphis) by Khaemwaset, precursor of Reisner, Junker, and Hassan!

The Catalogue of monuments (pp. 75-98) is a highly useful tool of reference,³ while the modest-looking figures and plates include some quite new materials as well as improved versions of some known texts, all very welcome. For the size of the book (esp. as printed from offset electric typescript), the price seems excessive; but this cannot detract from the real value of Dr. Gomaâ's work as a most valuable addition to scholarly literature on the early Ramesside period.

K. A. KITCHEN

Die libyschen Fürstentümer des Deltas, vom Tod Osorkons II. bis zur Wiedervereinigung Ägyptens durch Psametik I. By FAROUK GOMAA. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 6. Pp. ix+173. Wiesbaden, 1974. DM 30.

This volume belongs to a series of *Beihefte* being issued in conjunction with the planned Tübingen Atlas of the Near East. Already, two other Egyptological volumes have appeared in this major project, providing the expected topographical commentary as 'underpinning' for the material to be included on the eventual maps: Zibelius's *Afrikanische Orts- u. Völkernamen* (1972), and Helck's *Die altägyptische Gauen* (1974). Dr. Gomaâ's work adds a third volume, but here there is a dearth of topographical commentary, and most of the book is devoted to setting out lists of local rulers in the Delta chiefdoms of Libyan-age Egypt. In some degree, therefore, this work merely repeats ground already covered by the reviewer's *Third Intermediate Period* (1972). That book appeared in the midst of G.'s labours, which would have been lightened if he had spent more effort on topography and less on local chronologies. The more so, as his absolute dates B.C. are simply taken uncritically from von Beckerath's *Abriss der Geschichte des Alten Ägypten* of 1970—a marvellously compact outline for popular use, but *not* a final treatise on Late-Egyptian chronology, as its author would be the first to admit. Those dates were very serviceable for 1970, but now they are in large measure obsolete, thanks to the much more detailed work done since by the reviewer and others. G. does not reveal the source of his dates until pp. 78-9; if he wished to use them for convenience, he could have said so in his Introduction. As for the inner relative chronology of the local principedoms, many of G.'s results agree in large measure with those already attained by the reviewer in *Third Intermediate Period*. Occasionally, they are distinctly inferior, cf. his pp. 58-9 with my Table 4 (upper half). Occasionally, more happily, Dr. Gomaâ has opted for a solution that (in hindsight) is most likely superior to mine: it is better to assign 21 years to Iuput II (with G.) than to Iuput I (as I had done), with consequent changes for the rulers of Mendes—a matter I shall set out elsewhere in a little more detail. On non-chronological aspects, G. is sometimes the victim of totally outdated misconceptions. That a king is mentioned in Thebes does *not* make him Theban—Iuput I, Osorkon III, Rudamûn, etc., are Delta princes, like Shoshenq I (the biggest Libyan builder in Thebes!). G.'s claim that Leontopolis was 'never' an Egyptian capital is directly contradicted by the Piṛankhy (Piye) stela, which shows with crystal clarity, Osorkon IV

¹ *Forschungen und Berichte* 14 (1972), 33-44, pls. 1-2.

² On N.K. 'tourist-graffiti', cf. Helck, *ZDMG* 102 (1952), 39-46, and in the present connection, D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt*, I, 1969, pp. 65 ff., and *passim*.

³ On G.'s p. 87, No. 64, for 'Kadeschschlacht' read 'Minfest'; delete 'Unveröffentlicht', and instead insert: Ch. Kuentz, *Face sud du massif est . . . Louxor*, 1971, and Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, II/6, 1971, pp. 348-9. To his p. 94, No. 97, add: A. M. Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography*, 1970, pls. 16-17, XXII.

of Bubastis and Iuput II of Leontopolis as Egypt's two 'senior' kings (Dyns. 22, 23), as Yoyotte long ago made evident. G. does not understand Manetho's attributions for dynasties—that Dyn. 23 was 'Tanite' indicates its founder's birthplace, NOT the capital from which the line reigned: i.e., Dyn. 23 in Pedubast I was an offshoot of Dyn. 22, reigning in Tanis—but Pedubast I and his successors reigned elsewhere (in fact, in Leontopolis, as several pieces of evidence indicate).

These and other points indicate that (like the rest of us) G. has still much to learn about this period. Returning to topography, one finds perhaps 40 of his 173 pages that can be related to what should have been the main theme of this book. They are principally distributed as follows: Ch. II, p. 20 only; Ch. III, pp. 25, 27 f., 29–31, 37–9, 45, 47–51; Ch. IV, pp. 60, 65 f., 74, 88; Ch. V, pp. 91 f., 96 n., 105–6, 108, 110 f.; Ch. VI, pp. 113 f., 118–19, 124, 132–4; Ch. VII, p. 147 f.

In short, this book has its uses as a limited supplement to *Third Intermediate Period* on the local-history plane (in part to be corrected by the latter work), but its service in the context of the great Atlas-project would have been greatly enhanced had it concentrated on topography and geography of the princedoms, with minimal treatment only of their chronology.

K. A. KITCHEN

I sarcofagi egizi dalle origini alla fine dell' Antico Regno. By ANNA MARIA DONADONI ROVERI. Ser. Arch. 16. Pp. 180, 41 pls. (1 col.), 20 figs. Rome, 1969. £11.

This is a welcome book in that it deals very thoroughly with the history and development of the wooden coffins and stone sarcophagi of the Early Dynastic period and Old Kingdom. It has good photographs and excellent figure illustrations throughout. This is important as the subject covers a much larger field than might be expected, involving among other items, neolithic burial, typology of tomb (i.e. mastaba), material technique and form of sarcophagi, architectural forms and decoration of these; also the religious origin of the 'palace façade' design rightly traced to the Mesopotamian temples, the religious background, inscriptions, names and titles of deceased, and *htp-di-nsw* formulae.

Three appendixes give really valuable information on the corpus collected here. *A* lists full details of royal stone sarcophagi under headings such as provenance and present whereabouts, materials, dimensions, date, bibliography, and general observations. *B* gives us similar details of those belonging to other royalty and nobles, and *C* of wooden examples often dating from very early historical times.

The *Pyramid Texts* are quoted where needed to expand on archaeological material, the text as a whole being copiously and well annotated. An essential volume for the serious student of Egyptian burials.

E. P. UPHILL

Egypt and the East Mediterranean World 2200–1900 B.C. Studies in Egyptian Foreign Relations during the First Intermediate Period. By WILLIAM A. WARD. Pp. xxiv, 145, 31 figs. Beirut, 1971. \$10.00.

This work has already established itself as something of a classic and the author may take credit from having at least in part helped to fill one of the lacunae in Egyptian history. While much time and space in the past have been devoted to the Second Intermediate Period, the First has only recently been receiving adequate treatment, notably from such scholars as the author features, H. G. Fischer and W. Schenkel. H. Stock's pioneer effort of reconstruction was, as Ward says, disappointing in some respects, but is still the only full historical study on this theme. Similarly most of the relevant texts published by Egyptologists deal with internal history, often purely local, and no attempt has therefore been made to discuss Egyptian foreign relations, other than those with Nubia. In particular those with the eastern Mediterranean countries have been neglected.

This book thus sets out to re-examine the evidence cited by Frankfort, Scharff, and others, supporting the idea of an Asiatic invasion of Egypt at the end of the Old Kingdom, and the establishment of 'Syrian' dynasties. Until now it has been almost universally held that 'button-seals' and related objects which first appeared during the Old Kingdom, and which were mainly used in the First Intermediate Period, were of Asiatic origin or were inspired from examples made there. This archaeological as well as the literary evidence appeared to support the Asiatic migration or takeover theory, at least for the Delta, and the invaders'

expulsion under the Heracleopolitan kings, and has often been linked by Palestinian specialists to the general destruction that occurred in W. Asia at the close of the Early Bronze (EB) period.

But in *JEA* 56 the author had already definitely shown that these button-seals and related objects were really of Egyptian origin, and that the suggested foreign connections were illusory. In a reappraisal he accordingly notes that under the Old Kingdom, Egyptian connections with W. Asia were strongest with the EB cities along the Syro-Lebanese coast. As these cities were not completely destroyed at the end of the EB age like those of Palestine, they were still able to trade. He further proposes that the Asiatic penetration was not so great as supposed, and that the W. Delta was never overrun, so that the sea route between Egypt and the Syro-Lebanese coastal cities was never closed, some kind of trade being thus maintained. So a very different picture of the First Intermediate Period (FIP) emerges, with Asiatics concentrated only in the E. Delta which the Heracleopolitan kings were unable to control. The theory that the W. Delta nobility acted as intermediaries between Syria and Heracleopolis, and that the E. Delta, at least the frontier districts, was not brought completely under state control until the reign of Ammenemes I, seems to this reviewer much more suspect. One must in particular refer the reader to the Mentuhotep I scenes showing wars with Asiatics, even quoted by Ward himself, fig. 8 on p. 60, etc., which rather go against this late date for the reconquest, while for the previous period before the reunification all that can be said is that no firm evidence exists yet on these points. It is very likely, as Ward suggests, that 'spiralform decoration (on scarabs) was developed independently within Egypt itself and was not imported from outside'. Too often 'stylistic' changes, sometimes very small, are interpreted as simply foreign influences at work.

The book begins with a good survey on chronology 2200–1900 B.C. It is thorough, clear, concise, and gives all recent standard views. There is a helpful table covering dynasties VI–XI, fig. 8 on p. 4. Ward in general follows the relative chronology of Schenkel, and the absolute chronology, for actual dates, of Hayes, fig. 3, thus ending the Sixth Dynasty c. 2182 B.C., the Seventh and Eighth c. 2160 B.C. The Eleventh would therefore be established c. 2133 B.C. and the reunification take place between the 14th and 39th years of Mentuhotep I's reign, c. 2047–2022 B.C. This scheme is wisely integrated with Brunton's proposed archaeological periods and shows the postulated break in the northern trade. Convincing archaeological evidence is cited for dating this break to the middle of Pepi II's immensely long reign, c. 2235 B.C., assuming the break really happened. Similarly the resumption of this trade is linked to the traditional time of the reign of Wahkarē Akhtoy, whom Ward takes as father of Merikarē, c. 2100 B.C. There are interesting comments on Brunton's system of dating archaeologically, by pottery sequence, etc., and Ward shows how these necessarily overlap. Thus, as he aptly points out, the 'Sixth Dynasty' archaeological assemblage may have been earlier or later than the reign of Teti, and similarly ended before or after queen Nitocris. Other factors necessitated the cutting of Brunton's time-spans by more than half, as shown in chart 3. The writer rightly stresses that this archaeological material has a strong bearing on the FIP, and that the early and late assemblages cannot be reduced below the maximum of 125 years (c. 2225–2100 B.C.) allowed in his table. Thus it would indicate a period of approximately 75 years only, c. 2200–2125 B.C., for the FIP proper, which, as Ward fairly says, is 'certainly not too long'. Thereby the even shorter chronologies of Helck and von Beckerath are ruled out, although this material fits those of Hayes, Schenkel, and Stock. The relative chronology of Egypt and Syria–Palestine is another major problem, and it should be noted here that the author uses Albright's chronology, but, as he himself says, while the general sequence of events appears clear enough 'there is wide disagreement on both relative and absolute chronology'. As a word of caution it must also be remembered in this context that many in other schools of thought find the Albright system does not accord with other areas in W. Asia, notably Babylonia, and uses too low dates. Albright's EBIV period of semi-nomadic occupation in Palestine, which he dated to c. 2250–2000 B.C., is in fact classified differently by other archaeologists, i.e. G. E. Wright and R. Amiran, although all agree on the Syro-Palestinian 'Intermediate Period'.

Using Ugaritic evidence for 'absolute chronology', Ward shows that Schaeffer dates the destruction of ancient Ugarit 2 towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty, in the late 23rd or early 22nd century B.C., and the rebuilding of the NBI city to about 2000 B.C., roughly at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. The ancient Ugarit 3 phase thus coincides chronologically with the Egyptian FIP and the Eleventh Dynasty. The people at this site were not nomadic but lived in small substantial buildings and had burial grounds. The situation is more or less the same at Byblos with continued occupation but with simpler houses. New pottery also

appears. Egypt could thus have continued to trade with the people here whoever they were. To sum up, Palestine seems to have been closed to trade, but not Syria–Lebanon.

One would challenge the statement on p. 20 n. 75. Ward is probably right on the decline of the Old Kingdom and breakdown of royal authority at least as regards the Sixth if not the Fifth Dynasty, and the assumption of greater powers by the provincial nobility, but does this really apply to the priesthood of Rē, which was a cult especially associated with the king? The vast solar temples and priesthoods were as much for the king's benefit, and certainly regulated by him, as for an individual and separate deity, as shown clearly in the Nyuserrē scenes and inscriptions, and too much has often been made of hieratic control in the past. But he very properly points out the enormous economic burden that the huge royal (and private) funerary endowments laid on the state, an additional onus to the already huge but possibly less disastrous expense of constructing so many vast monuments. Nevertheless Wilson's views as expressed in *The Burden of Egypt* should not perhaps be followed too closely. One agrees strongly with the author's sane view of the Bell theory of decimation at this period.

Strong arguments are also given against Van Seter's dating of Ipuwer to the Second IP and Ward cites the relevant pessimistic and prophetic literature for the FIP. This section relies much on the *Instruction of Merikarē*, with a detailed commentary on the text. In general he follows the Volten view of the political situation here, with interesting and plausible points about Waḥkarē advising his son to continue his work in the Delta and build a defensive line from 'Ways-of-Horus' to Lake Timsah, i.e. a canal and embankment along it, and to use Memphis as his base for military operations against the Asiatics still perhaps remaining in the E. Delta.

Ward uses Faulkner (translation and notes) on Ipuwer, and gives the few apposite passages suggesting an Asiatic invasion of the Delta, inferring that while Ipuwer gives a correct picture, it is undoubtedly an exaggeratedly pessimistic one.

Much space is naturally devoted to the problem of Egyptian design-amulets (button-seals). As already stated, the traditional view that these may be foreign imports and thus proof of external domination during the FIP, has been reversed by Ward, who asserts positively that his own studies have led him to exactly the opposite conclusion. The uses of the objects are important in this context, and Ward shows the barrenness of mere 'typological' comparison and dating, for, as he states, 'in origin, and until their secondary use as seals at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, they were used only as amulets and were associated primarily with middle-class females and children'. He also emphasizes their 'thoroughly Egyptian' character and design. Never were the general warnings of Professor Leonard Palmer against mere typological analysis as a dating method better illustrated than here, for it is obviously this restricted use that is the key to the whole question of the origin of a new class of object. It is thus needless to seek further afield than this class of native cemetery.

In n. 162 on p. 43 Ward raises an interesting point about the constant repetition in historical and archaeological books of the idea that the Amorites destroyed the EB culture of Syria–Palestine. In fact, as he stresses, these peoples can still only be positively identified in history by their personal names, and none of these appears in this area until the early second millennium. Thus, significantly, the name of the 21st-century B.C. ruler of Byblos, Ibdâdi, is not Amorite at all. Lapp's interesting study of ethnic movements receives serious consideration, although his views relating to the Egyptian areas and the FIP are not accepted by Ward.

Another good point made here is that there are so far no Sinai inscriptions dated between year 4 of Pepi II and Ammenemes I. While one would not go along with Ward in the view that the Sinai mines were apparently in the hands of the Asiatics, serious disruption of the metal industry must have taken place at this period. Certain indications may suggest that this great industry was resumed under Mentuhotep I if it really did not continue to flourish during the FIP. On p. 49 emend 'An offering with the king gives' to '... which ...'; and on p. 50 emend 'F. L. Griffiths' to 'F. Ll. Griffith'.

The long discussion on the availability of products, while basic to the thesis, tends to be repetitive of previous material. The importance of the Montet Jar in this corpus cannot be too much stressed, however, and the amazingly varied contents were published by Ward and Olga Tufnell in 1966. The archaeological stratification associated with this temple deposit is not known or else inadequately recorded; all that can be said is that it was buried sometime in the late Eleventh Dynasty, and this only by the rather dangerous

method of stylistic 'analysis' of scarabs and other objects. As it comprised items from Syria-Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, as well as evidence of contacts with Asia Minor and possibly the Aegean, it becomes fundamental to dating. Especially interesting is the section on Asiatic contacts under Nebhpetrē Mentuhotep. Much of the evidence cited here seems to go against Ward's previously stated view of Asiatic domination in the E. Delta and Sinai, and, as he himself now states, there is the possibility of expeditions under this king and his successor Seankhkarrē. Also interesting is his point that two of the Meketrē models are made from 'straight-grained, coniferous wood which was probably a pine or cedar imported from Asia Minor or Syria'. There is no justification for the view expressed on p. 65 that the period without a clearly defined king at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty was 'seven years of anarchy'. This statement is much too strong in view of the inadequate evidence; what little documentation survives suggests the possibility of a peaceful transition to the Twelfth Dynasty. Too much is also concluded from Khunmhotep I's expedition to 'I(met) and Sena', the facts about this being very bald. Ward discusses Cretan pottery at length in the section on Egypt and the Aegean, especially the importance of spiral decoration, *vis à vis* Egyptian scarab decoration. He also recalls Schachermeyr's view of Egyptians possibly borrowing from the Cyclades, if not Crete; thus there are chronological dangers if this material is used. Ward rejects these theories and sees spiralforn as a local Egyptian development. He also repudiates Åstrom's late dating for the end of EM III at 1800-1750 B.C. as being primarily based on a date of 2850 B.C. for Menes, or 250 years later than many Egyptologists would accept as possible. Likewise Albright's low date for Hammurabi, 1728-1686 B.C., must also be accepted in this view. It would seem better, as the author says, to assume a long period of use for some of the Cretan *tholoi*. Another useful table gives Ward's views on the comparative chronology of Egypt and Syria-Palestine for 1900-1700 B.C. as shown by archaeological material. In a detailed analysis of Cretan and Egyptian seals Ward again refutes most previous theories based on similarities. Here one must question the remark that the 'Karnak Prism was an experiment attempted by some Egyptian engraver at a time when such artistic individuality was possible'. A cliché spoils a good argument; *artistic individuality* is always possible.

For the Egyptologist and Cretan archaeologist alike it is important that Ward re-dates most of the MMI scarabs published by Pendlebury in *Aegyptiaca* to other than the FIP. But again a warning must be given that, while quite convincing as argued, this is nearly all typological dating by Ward. In the discussion of miniature Egyptian stone vessels and their Cretan parallels he should surely have gone into their purpose and possible intended use as well as shape and form; this might help in more definite conclusions on connections if any. His results are thus really not much help in dating. The conclusions arrived at in this section indicate that Egyptian connections with the Aegean during the FIP were few and probably through an intermediary, a not unexpected deduction. His views on the use of dotted circle and concentric-circle decoration, while interesting, seem highly speculative. Conclusions based on this kind of evidence must, as he himself is the first to admit in the context of the Montet Jar, remain inconclusive. Some connections with the lotus plant may be established in fig. 27, however. Much more to the point is the important appendix on scarabs of Sesostri I from W. Asia, which gives details in drawing, and detailed analysis, and which refutes the idea of their really being contemporary, as against the criticisms by Posener and Givon of Ward's previously expressed views. Here he points out that the former critique takes no account of archaeological context and provenance, while the latter has misquoted his original statement and failed to recognize that it only applied to those of this king and not necessarily to those of the Twelfth Dynasty in general. A useful catalogue of this material follows with sites and context of finds clearly defined. Vital in this matter is the actual writing of the king's prenomen *hpr kꜣ Rꜥ*; the variants commonly accepted may, as Ward points out, give rise to suspicions. Of other kings of this dynasty only those of Sesostri II show any variants. While too much should not be made of this kind of evidence, given the archaeological context and the fact that similar anomalies exist in those from Egyptian excavations, it is hard not to accept the author's opinion that these mainly belong to subsequent periods from the Thirteenth to even as late as the Eighteenth Dynasty. In this I would merely cite the fact that, if this is so, then we have an analogous situation to that of Tuthmosis III, in which a 'popular' monarch such as Sesostri I enjoyed such a reputation that his scarabs were also issued later. These would be acquired by pilgrims and those interested, as Ward suggests, and, dare one hazard, may be one of the causes of the classical legend of Sesostri the world-conquering king.

In conclusion this is a well printed and set-out volume, with excellent plates and text figures, copiously annotated in each section; it has a list of abbreviations used, is indexed under personal names, geographical names, and Egyptian words and phrases, but lacks a further bibliography. It is an excellent production full of original ideas for which the author may take credit, and will obviously become a standard work of reference for this period for many years to come.

E. P. UPHILL

Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt. Bildostraka aus Theben-West, ihre Fundplätze, Themata und Zweckbereiche mitsamt einem Katalog der Gayer-Anderson Sammlung in Stockholm. By BENGT E. J. PETERSON. Bulletin 7-8, The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Pp. 144, 80 pls. 1973. Sw. Crs. 40.

Picture ostraca form a fascinating subject and these will be of particular interest to British readers as they represent a large collection formed by the late Major R. G. Gayer-Anderson (1881-1945), whose house in Cairo forms such a popular tourist attraction. All these items date from the great New Kingdom period 1550-1000 B.C., and come from West Thebes. The first great collection of ostraca was found by Daressy in March-April 1888, while cleaning two of the rock tombs in the Valley of Queens, i.e. nos. 6 and 9, dated to Ramesses IX and Ramesses VI. As Daressy himself described them, 'These are exercises for training the hand, executed by the scribes charged with surveying the work.' Other collections were subsequently found, especially famous being those of Deir el-Medina. The author describes these discoveries and the type of painted ostraca associated with royal and private tombs in some detail, as well as other examples relating to temples and the gigantic Malkata palace complex of Amenophis III. Another section deals with Theban ostraca in certain European collections.

Naturally the last and most important section covers the Gayer-Anderson collection in Stockholm and consists of a very comprehensive catalogue divided into various group sections with such titles as: the royal sphere, the mythological sphere, the private sphere, scenes of animal fables, etc.—in all, 149 examples. These are very adequately described with their museum numbers, material, dimensions, and a general account of the scene and any inscription on them.

The book is very amply annotated, all the references being gathered together in a section at the end. A copious bibliography arranged under authors alphabetically and including a short glossary of abbreviations, followed by an index, ends the text. The plates are in general quite good and give clear pictures in black and white of the scenes, although they do not have any scales. An attractive and well-printed volume which should form a useful addition to the standard works on this subject.

E. P. UPHILL

The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.). By K. A. KITCHEN. Warminster, 1972. Pp. xvii+525, 10 figs., 24 tables. £6.75.

Reviewer's Note. We are asked by the author to draw attention to the fact that owing to a misprint the erroneous date 1973 appears on the verso of the title-page and should in fact be read as 1972.

The purpose of this book is well defined in the preface. The so-called 'Late Period' of Egyptian history has suffered from some neglect over many years, and is usually only accorded rather piecemeal treatment. The aims of this book, then, are the reconstruction of the basic chronology of the Twenty-first to Twenty-fifth Dynasties, and the presentation of a *compact history* of the period by using the main archaeological and textual evidence. The author also significantly expresses the wish that his own title 'Third Intermediate Period' which has lately become popular, may in fact be abolished by the work itself, a hope one would see as fulfilled in that the immense quantity of material evidence presented here lifts this period right out of the condition of the other two Intermediate Periods, if ever it was analogous to them. Indeed on some matters this age is better documented than any previous period.

Whether Kitchen's hoped-for designation of the 'Post-Imperial Epoch' will take on is of course a matter for speculation, but one must agree with his rejection of the term Ethiopian for the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and his substitution of the more correct 'Kushite' which is, as he states, both a more Biblical and a more 'Africanist' term. The further substitution of 'Nubian' on the grounds that this is a 'term that most closely

covers the territory involved' is less happy, if by this the writer means the place of origin and homeland of this dynastic line, for by no means can the area mainly centred south of the Third Cataract be so named. Indeed it goes against most of the archaeological and historical material normally used for this location, and Nubia is correctly regarded as further north even at this date. While, as he further states, this cannot be the definitive work on the subject, it may not be amiss to say that it will no doubt go a long way to preparing for that work if it should ever appear.

The plan of the work is a vast one. Parts One and Two deal with chronology in great detail under the heading 'Dynasties', while Part Three is purely concerned with its reconstruction through high officials, these sections occupying nearly half the book. Part Four gives us the historical survey and falls under geo-political subdivisions, i.e. 'Tanites and Thebans', 'Libyan dominion', 'Nubian dominion (?)' etc., with a short epilogue on the Saïte revival. Part Five forms a set of essential and very important excursuses on such topics as, the bandage-writings of the Twenty-first Dynasty, the various Lower and Upper Egyptian cults, etc., and Part Six is entirely devoted to a set of tables.

To begin with, one is glad to see that the author accords great importance to the genealogies of priests and high officials in his reconstruction of the historical framework of the period. All too often these have been forgotten or else simply ignored in modern historical and chronological works, with the result that a useful counter-check to other basic material, often merely consisting of isolated dates arrived at by scientific processes, is lost or ruled out as evidence. Such tables are, however, the basic stuff of history, and it is no good ignoring the fact that however many radiocarbon or astronomical dates one has to play with, a system cannot be said to work if a man's grandfather is placed biologically out of time and context in the records. Genealogies where they exist and are known to be accurate as regards generations therefore represent the ultimate historical-chronological check. Thus in his first chapter Kitchen draws attention to the 'apparent dyarchy' of the Twenty-first Dynasty with kings at Tanis and a dynasty of high priests at Thebes, and stresses the need for using the genealogical sequence of the latter to supplement the reconstruction of the Delta line. Using all the funerary and other evidence, he is able, from the results of this survey, to show that Ḥerihor was High Priest and 'King' during years 5 and 6 of the 'Renaissance Era' under Ramesses XI. Eight successors are listed down to the high priest Psusennes III. Then the seven Tanite kings are discussed, the writer concluding that the main *sequence* given by Manetho fits with the first-hand evidence of the monuments, with one possible exception, this being Amenemnisu, who in any case had a short reign.

In his second chapter Kitchen takes the view that the King High Priests Psusennes II and III must at present be taken as separate people and not as one man who later rose to the throne, as advocated by Černý and Wentz. In this context it may be remarked that the author's method of taking the period in sections, i.e. Pinudjem II to the end of the dynasty and then back to the earlier Menkheperre is rather confusing to all but the most well-read student. One is also struck with the great reliance that has to be placed on Manetho for the regnal years of the Twenty-first Dynasty kings and the lack of monumental evidence as to year dates; nevertheless one must agree with Kitchen that a short reign of 14+ years following Africanus is more suitable than the long one of 35 years of Eusebius adopted by Montet, as there is a lack of any higher monumental dating.

Again on p. 15 it is shown that whichever one of three possible solutions is adopted for the long series of year dates of Menkheperre, his pontificate must have lasted at least 40 years, and was in part contemporary with a ruler having a minimum length of reign of 48 years, i.e. Kitchen suggests Psusennes I. This is of course at variance with the view expressed by Černý among others that the contemporary mummy-bandage date-evidence must be followed and Amenemope allowed 49 years instead of Manetho's 9 (see *CAH* II, Chap. xxxv, p. 43 and table at end), and the comment that this 'high regnal year' agreed with the examination of the king's mummy which showed he 'reached a considerable age'. But Kitchen follows the lead of the Memphite priest's genealogy here, although this monument is not entirely clear here for the reign of Psusennes. Finally it might be questioned whether Menkheperre really lasted as long as the 52 years postulated.

On p. 21 the author makes a good point, following Černý, that the kingship of Ḥerihor was rather fictional and restricted to the walls of Karnak and his funerary equipment, unlike that of Pinudjem I. But is he correct in giving Smendes as King of even Lower Egypt alone before the death of Ramesses XI (as shown

in Table I where he is allocated 11 years), with such scanty evidence as exists at present? Černý again more cautiously called him ruler and added, 'Nesubabenebde who, after the death of the last Ramesside king, *became the pharaoh* and the founder of a new dynasty' (my italics, op. cit. 41). Smendes is also nowhere referred to specifically in *Wenamun* as Pharaoh.

The *Book of Sothis* seems a dangerous guide to follow for assigning 29 or 30 years to Ramesses XI, although Kitchen here only follows Hornung, but it suits his purpose to allow Pi'ankhy about 4 years under the 'Renaissance' after Herihor and not to the reign of Smendes. The sections under paragraphs 21-4 in Ch. 3 seem rather needlessly extended in order to postulate an extension of the reign of Amenemope by 4 years to 52 years. The table on page 27 seems to be redundant in view of the two alternative schemes at the back of the book (pages 465-6), and as the whole is but an hypothesis will inevitably confuse the general reader who does not know which to accept. Preliminary schemes such as this should be dispensed with or relegated to the back with the other tables for quicker reference. The same applies to the table of the second hypothesis on p. 31, which is used to allow for a long reign of Psusennes I, i.e. 49 years instead of 26. There is, however, a useful discussion of the possibility of a co-regency between Amenemope and Psusennes I with the latter's year 49 being the one referred to on the bandage copied by Daressy.

It should be pointed out that Kitchen's reconstruction of the chronology here, giving the long reign to Psusennes I, rests on a restoration of this bandage-text. In support he points out that this king was also old from the evidence of his mummy, as did Hornung, but again justly comments on its not being a decisive factor. He also shows that the general information gathered from Deir el-Medina does bear out his chronology. One cannot help feeling that while all the schemes suggested in Chapter 3 are very reasonable ones and soundly based on existing evidence, there is yet much that is repetitive in this section.

Chapter 4 deals with the family relationships and is mainly concerned with queens and high priests' wives, together with some of their sons, Hrere, Nodmet, Mutnodjmet, the Henttways, and Tentamun, to name some of them. There seems to be some lack of consistency in the transliterations of royal titles; thus on p. 47 we have for Henttawy 'Devotee of Hathor' without transliteration of the original,¹ yet the much more familiar *mwt-nsw* is invariably included. Which raises the question in this context, at whom is this work aimed, the specialist or the general reader interested in historical background?

Again this same title 'King's Mother' used for Henttawy on a vessel from the tomb of Psusennes could surely also apply to the next king who succeeded the said Psusennes, and she would therefore indeed be the wife of this king as Montet suggested. While Kitchen's deduction that she was not the mother of his successor is reasonable on the evidence from the inscription, which does not refer to her as a wife, bearing this in mind we find the answer far from being as clear as he would have it supposed, and Montet may not have been unjustified in his statement, the provenance and context being after all a tomb where things could go in after the owner's death with added or altered attributions.

On the next page there is a very interesting suggestion that the names Ramesses-Psusennes and Ramesses-Ankhefenmut show a close connection between the Twentieth and Twenty-first Dynasties, and that these princes claimed some descent through the female line perhaps via a daughter of Ramesses XI. This would be in the tradition of previous dynasties as regards royal descent and might have been followed up further. Its importance to the royal succession is absolutely fundamental and although the evidence is as yet hardly forthcoming, a special excursus could be used to gather all the available material for study.

The affiliation of queen Tentamun to Neb-seny as given on p. 49 rests on slightly obscure references in Henttawy's funerary papyrus which suggest she was grandchild of this man. Now on the next page this princess's titles are set out and she is here called daughter of the queen *sst hmt-nsw-wrt*, but although 'King's Daughter', *sst nsw*, not the significant 'Bodily King's Daughter', *sst nsw n ht.f*, which is all-important to clarify her relationship with the reigning or dead king, and a point which Kitchen overlooks. In other words, given the indefinite meaning and use of this term 'King's Daughter', especially in the Old Kingdom, she could equally have been a granddaughter of a king and had a non-royal father. While it is probable she was in fact the daughter of Smendes, this cannot be proved by the evidence cited here of itself and shows the dangers of using these terms when not specific and without other support, as literal proof. There is a heavy reliance in this section on Wente, but his theories are not always followed by Kitchen, who

¹ This does appear later on p. 48 but a number of other titles do not seem to be transliterated at all in either text or footnotes.

contents himself with using Wente's work and general research, adding copious comments and notes of his own.

Altogether four certain and two uncertain Henttawys are listed, showing the risks of following too closely a genealogical tree artificially constructed in modern times. The author humorously quotes recent X-ray evidence to dispose of the problem-child, i.e. pet baboon, of the assumedly celibate God's Wife of Amūn Maatkarē (A). Again no less than six Istemkhebs are listed under this dynasty. Kitchen disagrees with both Černý and Wente on the identification of the first of these, believing that 'she cannot possibly be the daughter of Psusennes I', and that this wife of Pinudjem I cannot be the mother of Henttawy of MMA tomb 60. For this section readers are very definitely advised to make a close study and *comparison* between tables 8 and 9, where, however, this last genealogical postulate is not shown.

In the fifth chapter we are given a study of dates, reigns, and pontificates of high priests. Here the synchronism between the reign of Shoshenq I, the 5th regnal year of Rehoboam, and Assyrian chronology becomes fundamental. Kitchen perhaps overstates the lack of delay between the Shoshenq campaign and its subsequent depiction on the 'Bubastite Gate' at Karnak. Campaigns were after all usually conducted by kings in the earlier years of their reigns, witness Tuthmosis III in this respect and other Pharaohs of the empire, and a summary on a temple wall without date is no certain guide in this respect. Nevertheless the fixing of this campaign to the period just prior to the construction of this gate is generally accepted as correct. The evidence cited by Thiele in his now classic study of Hebrew regnal years is absolutely essential in the matter and one feels it is given rather summary treatment here. It well deserves a special excursus, the more so as it may not be very familiar to some Egyptologists. It should be noted that Kitchen follows Thiele in placing the death of Solomon at 931/30 B.C., and not Albright's somewhat lower dating which he regards as 'far inferior'. On this evidence the Blackman date 945 B.C. for the accession of Shoshenq is retained and the Tanite rulers' dates worked back from that terminal point. 'Gues(s)time' ages are included for the Theban High Priests.

Part Two continues with a detailed analysis of the Kings involved in Dynasties Twenty-two and Twenty-three. This involves the complicated question of the use of the important Nile level inscriptions of the quay at Karnak and with this material the question of co-regencies and double dating. Chapters 6 and 7 follow on from this with a discussion of the sequence and reigns of the kings of these dynasties. Chapter 9 deals with the chronology of the later dynasties, from the Twenty-fourth and early Twenty-sixth, and refutes certain speculations of Goedicke on the status of king Tefnakht of Saïs, and suggests that his assumption of full Pharaonic dignity took place *after* Pi'ankhy's withdrawal to Kush. The old royal line of the previous two dynasties still continued for a while under Osorkon IV and Iuput II according to the scheme proposed here, thus still causing confusion as to who was regarded as the 'legitimate' Pharaoh by the Delta Egyptians. One consequently feels that while Kitchen's explanation of the date of Tefnakht's assumption of kingship is very reasonable, he has not really got to grips with the situation at the end of the Twenty-third Dynasty and the possible transference of power involved. The Assyrian evidence can only provide a general outside chronological check, and the equation of the Shilkanni of Sargon's 716 B.C. campaign with Osorkon IV of Tanis further bedevils the issue.

Chapter 10 on the 'Nubian' rulers is more straightforward as history. These are in fact included here with the Intermediate dynasties as accurate fixed dates and really commence only in 664 B.C. The author is critical of Macadam's views on the chronology of this dynasty and rejects the Taharqa co-regency with Shebitku.

The third part of the book is perhaps the most valuable and interesting of all, dealing as it does with the chronology of officials. In Chapter 12 we have a really excellent summary of the dignitaries living at Memphis and their place in the history of the period. The High Priests of Ptaḥ during the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties form the basis of this. One welcomes this detailed treatment of the genealogical material relating to high officials. The most remarkable of these inscriptions is the stone from a Memphite tomb now in Berlin and published by Borchardt in the 1930s, which gives the truly fantastic pedigree of a man (now missing) who faced four rows of ancestors. Many of these were High Priests of Ptaḥ and although some figures are missing or erased, most of them survive, together with the names of the kings whom they served. In general this unique monument has been accepted by Egyptologists as accurate, at least it cannot as yet be faulted, Wente and others having had recourse to it as well as Kitchen. One would

agree, however, with the former in allowing that six or seven names are missing from the top row, which would thus have been longer than the others, rather than that there is here a case of omission or haplography by the carver or scribe in what is an otherwise complete table. The resulting 66–7 generations of male descent average, as Borchardt showed, about 22 years, starting from a now lost ancestor, and give a conspectus of Egyptian chronology between about 2200 B.C. and 750 B.C. without parallel in world history. Kitchen's researches therefore give valuable support to its authenticity at least for the later period, in addition to the pioneer efforts of Borchardt for the whole span. One must agree with him on the apparent misplacing of Nebhepetrē Mentuhotep, perhaps the only mistake in the whole layout, unless of course we still do not fully understand the relationship of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties at this time. Some of Kitchen's evidence (quoted from the Tanix finds) is in truly startling confirmation of the knowledge of the compilers of this list about the order and length of the reigns.

Similarly Chapter 13 is concerned with the High Priests of Amūn and is less interesting as evidence, perhaps because it covers better-known ground, which is curiously from a genealogical point of view more confusing. Much is derived from Kees's epoch-making study *Priestertum*, and long pedigrees are provided for the reader, 15 generations for the Neseramūn family, 6 for the Nebneteru descent, etc., although these are inevitably of partly modern compilation unlike the Memphite one. Other useful family trees are those of the Vizier Nakhtemut and his relatives ḲAnkhpakhered, that of Shoshenq I, and the Besenmut and Montemhat families—all good time-checks for the dynasties. Chapter 14 is a short section on the dignitaries of Heracleopolis and Middle Egypt, but contains no pedigree tables.

With Part Four we come to the outline historical survey, beginning in Chapter 15 with the fall of the Ramessides, which gives the conventional view. An excellent point is made on p. 245 where it is shown that Ramesses III, in settling captured Libyans and other invaders in special military settlements, not only followed the example of Ramesses II but also, one could add, of the Eighteenth-Dynasty kings as far back as Tuthmosis III probably, when settling foreign captives. A useful map of Egypt in the so-called Renaissance Era is included showing the approximate limits of the two realms of Smendes and Ḳeriḳhor. The military aspects of the rule of Ḳeriḳhor, a one-time general, are admirably brought out, a good antidote to the rather obsessive old view of a priest-dominated age. Likewise his 'Kingship' is played down by Kitchen.

The next chapter is devoted to the founders of the Twenty-first Dynasty, and one would agree with Kitchen in calling Psusennes 'perhaps the greatest and most active ruler of his line'. Certainly no other makes such an impression especially with regard to the extant monuments and remains of building activity. He also makes him very old, about 87, at his death, perhaps a feature of this age being the number of High priests and kings who from anatomical evidence seem to have been of advanced years. Surely a pointer to a peaceful age? Again the Dibabieh stela shows Smendes as king of *all Egypt*. Bothmer's views on the Pinudjem I colossus at Karnak style and date are quoted, this pontiff being suggested as 'king' after year 16 of Smendes until the first years of Psusennes I. Once again one feels compelled to add that there is much repetition here of material previously dealt with.

In Chapter 17 the later kings of the dynasty are discussed further, the author noting the 'poverty' of the burial of Amenemope not only in comparison with the great Pharaohs of the New Kingdom, but even with his predecessor Psusennes I. The conclusions advanced on pp. 274–5 appear very speculative. Why if the Egyptian queen, sister of the Edomite Hadad's wife, is not to be named Tahpenes, but is to be further designated *t3-ḥ(mt)-p3msw*, i.e. 'the wife of the king', does the Hebrew scribe use such a redundant expression; also, what has become of the *m* as well as the *t* in *ḥmt*, if the loss of the latter is explained through having fallen out in late pronunciation? Kitchen's further suggestion that the *m* was assimilated then with the following *p* does rather strain the imagination; further, it is not missing in the example quoted from Federn. The remarks that follow on the date, birth, and subsequent career of Genubath the son of Hadad and this Egyptian princess, leave the field of history and enter the realm of pure imagination; such guesswork can hardly be credited as history at all, being unsustained by textual or archaeological proof, and therefore deserves no place here.

Other points which are to be found in the later chapters of the work and which need some comment are dealt with here by page references. P. 276: The two southern titles of the first priestess Nesikhons quoted here are almost certainly meaningless, and far from this lady functioning in such positions as Viceroy of Nubia were doubtless honorific as Kitchen suggests. One would also question whether the 'revenue' of N.

Nubia was still available at this late date as he further suggests; there is in any case a marked lack of both monuments and Egyptian activity generally in the area by this period. P. 280: Kitchen puts the Egyptian conquest of Gezer (and Philistia) 'squarely into the last decade of the reign of Siamun', here dated c. 978–959 B.C., thus definitely making him the conqueror of the area, and sees evidence of this in a fragmentary scene at Tanis showing Siamun smiting a group of prisoners who grasp a double-axe of a type similar to examples from the Aegean and W. Anatolia. This is an interesting suggestion although of course not certain proof that these peoples are the Philistine and Sea-Peoples. He again sees in a Philistia campaign an Egyptian need to crush commercial rivalry, especially with the Delta port of Tanis. P. 293: One must agree with the assertion that Shoshenq I probably had a Nubian campaign and did not merely open up the south for trade by passive means. As cited here, the Karnak texts are strong support for this. P. 294: The campaign against Judah is, as might be expected, treated at some length. The initial border strife of this famous war is particularly well treated and a very plausible reconstruction given. The Biblical figures for his army—1,200 chariots, 60,000 horsemen, as well as innumerable African allies—are shown to be very reasonable ones in comparison with what other kings of the period could muster. Another useful map shows the route of the king's main army and task forces, giving both the outward and return passage. The use of Kushite (or Nubian?) troops bears out the idea of a previous campaign in the southern Nilotic areas once again. (The long Excursus E with a very detailed analysis of the topographical list of Shoshenq I should be read in conjunction with this section.) The writer seems a little hard in his strictures on Spiegelberg for having 'servilely followed' 'the arrogant Wellhausen' if as cited here he published his views in 1904 as against the latter's quoted work of 1914. Nevertheless the list is obviously a *primary* source as the author takes it to be, and like all such lists must be taken as being truthful as an account unless proved otherwise. The views of Noth, Mazar, and Herrmann are also discussed, the main point of difference between Kitchen and the two last named seemingly being the use of the 'Via Maris' by the Egyptian king. P. 303: Here are pointed out the immense gifts of Osorkon I to the temples of the major deities and the question raised as to the sources of this wealth. The final suggestion that some of it constituted part of the spoils from his father's campaign in Palestine deserves more serious consideration than has been given hitherto. P. 313: Another good point is to contrast the forcefulness of Osorkon II with the weakness of his father, the rather ephemeral Takeloth I. As Kitchen shows, his very titles deliberately emulate Ramesses II and kings of previous ages. He was the most considerable builder since Shoshenq I and two imaginary reconstructions are given of the temple precincts at Tanis and Bubastis at this period (Fig. 3). While such postulates can be and are very useful as guides, it should be remembered that the one of Tanis is incorrect in some details and does not correlate with the architectural plans and data in Montet's reports as to the location of earlier Twenty-first Dynasty temple foundation deposits, really the only safe guide at present as to the original extent at that time. That of Bubastis follows the general order indicated by Naville, but, it should be stressed, is also extremely hypothetical. P. 321: On the question as to whether Osorkon II did or did not exempt Thebes from tax for the *Heb-Sed* year, one might comment on the author's point about the similarity of Amenhotep III's Soleb text, that this does not preclude the later king from also having genuinely done so. As it may have been a standard part of the rights it is unlikely to have been included as a matter of form. Again the statement made on p. 324, that 'within Egypt, Osorkon II was already much less of an absolute ruler than they' (i.e. Shoshenq I and Osorkon I), is hardly justified by the present slender evidence. In the field of foreign affairs this king took some part in Asia and the author accepts the identification of the 1,000 soldiers from Musri mentioned in the Assyrian annals as those of Egypt.

The rest of the history in this section traces the last years of this dynasty and its successor, the Twenty-third, until the disintegration of a centralized monarchy, and a map (Fig. 4), shows the distribution of the Delta fiefs under Shoshenq III. The Piṅkhy campaign and reign are described (cf. Fig. 5), and the clash of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty with Assyria in some detail. The book is completed with an epilogue on the foundation of the Saïte Dynasty and the reunion of Egypt under Psammetichus I, 656 B.C., followed by a 'Concluding Perspective' which rather tamely ends the whole conspectus.

In conclusion this is an excellently produced, well printed volume, with clear if small type. The system of paragraphs used in addition to page numbers—430 in all—could cause confusion in using the index until understood and the value of these might be questioned. It has a set of valuable tables, except for the 'ready-reckoners' which seem unnecessary and a waste of space, very good and helpful maps for the

reader to follow, an immense number of footnotes but no bibliography as such, and three indexes all well set out. The style, it must be confessed, is difficult at times, becoming a little breathless due to so much material being packed in, which makes reading harder for the non-specialist if not the Egyptologist. But equally this is a book which no serious student can do without over the next years, and which has gathered together so much information that it should prove well nigh indispensable to anyone whose researches take them into this rather obscure but fascinating period.

E. P. UPHILL

Die altägyptischen Sargtexte in der Forschung seit 1936. Bibliographie zu de Bucks *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* I–VII. By REINHARD GRIESHAMMER. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen. Ed. WOLFGANG HELCK und EBERHARD OTTO. Band 28. 306×216 mm. Pp. viii+179. Wiesbaden, 1974. ISBN 3-447-01544-6. DM 56.

Egyptology has been fortunate in the number of people who have been willing to devote time to the rather dull task of preparing bibliographies or lists of references to various aspects of the subject. We are all exceedingly grateful to them, however; a gratitude that must now be extended to Grieshammer for the bibliography which he has produced to de Buck's seven volumes of *Coffin Texts*. The appearance of this work is more than usually opportune in that it follows so closely on the publication of the first volume of Dr. R. O. Faulkner's translation of these same texts, to the users of which it cannot but be of the greatest assistance.

The period covered is from 1936 to 1973 and, since volume 1 of the Coffin Texts came out in December 1935, this means all the time that has elapsed since the publication of that initial volume. Every effort has been made to make the references as complete as possible, even down to the mere mention of spells or parts of spells. At a rough estimate the entries amount to the astonishing total of about 13,000! There are, however, two sets of omissions: the references made by Zandee in his notice of the seven volumes of the *Coffin Texts* in the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography* for 1961, and those in T. G. Allen's edition of the *Book of the Dead*. These omissions are intentional, the reason given being that these particular references are readily to hand. Yet this can scarcely be said of Allen's book in which the many references to the *Coffin Texts* are scattered far and wide and have no separate index. At the end of the book a further 600 or so references are listed. These are from two sources: recent literature; and pre-1936 literature referring to Lacau's *Textes religieux*, and to the same author's contribution to J. E. Quibell's *Excavations at Saqqara*, vol. II, both being publications of texts from coffins which appeared in the earlier years of this century.

The book is clearly printed on good paper and is provided with an index to the abbreviations used, which is set out on a sheet which unfolds in such a way that the whole can always be seen while using the book.

C. H. S. SPAULL

The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13. By WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON. Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt. William Kelly Simpson and David B. O'Connor, Co-directors and Co-editors. Number 5. 343×270 mm. Pp. viii+30, pls. 84, figs. 2. New Haven and Philadelphia, The Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University, The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 1934. Lib. of Congress Cat. Cd. No. 73-88231. £9.25.

During the first half of the last century local agents dug up very many stelae at Abydos and these went, for the most part, into the collections of Athanasi and Anastasi; whence they were dispersed in sales, especially those of 1828, 1837, and 1857. Inevitably no records were kept of the actual place of finding and, to make matters worse, only a minority of the objects that now repose in collections all over Europe can be definitely tied up with the sales catalogues. Around 1860 the scene changed and excavations were made at Abydos on behalf of the Egyptian government for, rather than by, Mariette. Many more stelae were found as well as other objects, which are now in the Cairo Museum. However, although these finds were published it was only with the sketchiest indication of where on the site they were actually found. The final result is that we have today an extensive, but entirely haphazard, collection of objects from Abydos lying in a dozen different museums.

Professor Simpson, struck by the fact that this scattered collection appeared to contain more than one stela for the same individual, set himself the task of bringing together from among the stelae, offering-tables, and statues, known or reasonably suspected to come from Abydos, groups 'in which two or more objects can be assigned to the same individual or family with some degree of probability'. He confines himself to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties as these cover the peak period for the provision of such objects at Abydos. In all he brings together 183 stelae, 7 offering-tables, and 6 statues, each one being the subject of a photograph reproduced in collotype on the 84 plates which go to make up the bulk of the book. It is stressed that these plates are in no way a definitive publication of the objects, but serve to illustrate the style, layout, and the forms of the hieroglyphs. These illustrations leave no doubt that there are sets of stelae from the same sculptor; a striking instance being BM 566, BM 830, Louvre C 240; and that complementary sets are to be found consisting of a central and two flanking stelae, as in the case of Louvre C 35 with Cairo Catalogue 20546 to its right and BM 182 to its left. Groups are therefore no figment of the imagination. Professor Simpson distinguishes 63 separate groups, varying from 11 items in the case of Ikhernofret to 2 in the majority of cases. These he labels ANOC 1-63, the initials standing for 'Abydos North Offering Chapel'; a designation based on the fact that possibly all the objects concerned originated from structures in Mariette's Northern Necropolis.

Professor Simpson says that the analogy of Elephantine suggests that these groups of objects were once components of brick chapels which existed at Abydos either as adjuncts to tombs, or to cenotaphs for persons buried elsewhere. He indicates that his goal is 'to bring into some sort of order the widely dispersed elements of these chapels and to place them in their original architectural, religious, and cultural context'. In fact the Pennsylvania-Yale expeditions of 1967 and 1969 had the object of seeking evidence to assist in this.

In his initial essay Professor Simpson puts forward five propositions with regard to these chapels and asks seventeen questions. In addition he discusses several elements in Abydos stelae inscriptions naming the 'Staircase of the Great God' and other localities in which the stelae describe themselves as having been set up. For this purpose stelae are included which, since they do not form part of any group, are not illustrated in this book. Always he stresses the preliminary nature of his inquiry, the fact that it will inevitably contain errors, and will clearly be the subject of many additions.

The book is furnished with the following very useful lists and comments: List of Monuments Assignable to Abydene Cenotaphs or Tombs, Comments on the ANOC Groups, List of Monuments Assignable to Abydene Cenotaphs or Tombs by Collection, Selected Dated and Datable Stelae of Twelfth Dynasty from Various Sites, Index to Principals in ANOC List.

This book serves two purposes; that designed by Professor Simpson, but also that of a not too expensive collection of photographs of over 180 Middle Kingdom stelae. On both counts the book is thoroughly to be recommended.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Historische Karte des alten Ägypten. Prepared and drawn by WILHELM BERG with the assistance of JÜRGEN VON BECKERATH. 350 × 212 mm. Portfolio. Pp. 76 + 49 multicoloured maps + 2 key maps. Sankt Augustine, 1973. ISBN 3-921255-01-5. DM 225.

This atlas, the first devoted specifically to Ancient Egypt since the Egypt Exploration Society's atlas of 1894, covers Egypt and the Sudan from the Mediterranean to latitude 14° N. It is divided into two Parts: 26 maps, 297 × 210 mm., for Egypt, and 23 similar maps for the Sudan; all to the scale 1:500,000. The maps are numbered from 1 to 24 in the first part and 1 to 27 in the second. It must be noted, however, that Part 1 has an 18a and a 21a, while Part 2 has no numbers 1, 9, 12, or 22. Each Part is equipped with a key map showing the positions of the individual sheets with their numbers, and with a booklet containing separate indexes for the Arabic, Greek and Latin, Coptic, and Ancient Egyptian place-names. The basic index is that of the Arabic place names, which is provided with map references throughout. The other indexes have the ancient name followed by the modern Arabic one. To find the position on the map of an ancient locality it is therefore necessary to look up the appropriate index, note the modern Arabic equivalent, and then look this up for the map reference. In addition the booklet to Part 1 has an appendix in which the modern

names are listed followed by their ancient equivalent or equivalents (Egyptian, Greek, Latin, or Coptic), and on occasion, with some reference to the appropriate literature. The booklet to Part 2 has a similar appendix, followed by a second appendix listing the names of localities along the Upper Nile where there are ruins, the ancient names of which are either uncertain or unknown. On the maps the modern names are in black, the Greek in red, but all executed by an unpractised hand so that the result is most untidy.

The maps themselves are disappointing. They are coloured in layers, and no method brings the configuration of a country more vividly to the eye, but in this case the effect is spoilt because the colours used are not well contrasted, are badly applied, and do not always exactly coincide with the contours. No reference is given as to the significance of the various shades, and only in Part 2 are the heights entered against the contours. In Part 1 the most we have is a few spot heights at the highest points. A higher standard of map production could surely be expected for so high a price as DM 225.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Grammaire du Néo-égyptien. By M. KOROSTOVTSSEV. L'académie des sciences de l'U.R.S.S. L'institut des études orientales. 266 × 210 mm. Pp. xxiv + 480. Edition 'Naouka'. Département de la littérature orientale. Moscow, 1973.

In 1880 Adolf Erman brought out the first grammar of Late Egyptian, which, in its second much enlarged and thoroughly revised edition of 1933, has remained the only comprehensive treatise on this stage of the language of Ancient Egypt until the present day. Even since 1933 a period of forty years has elapsed, and since 1880 almost a century. Now Professor Korostovtsev has presented us with the grammar under review. Naturally numerous articles have appeared in the meantime, and three books: Hintze's *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*, which comes near to being a grammar, Mrs. Groll's *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* and her *Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian*. This latter book, which appeared in 1970, will have been too recent to have been available to the author of the present grammar; indeed he does not seem to have used very much which has been published since the mid 1960s. That master of Late Egyptian, Professor Jaroslav Černý, was at work on a new grammar when he died in 1970. This would have embodied the concepts of the Late Egyptian verb which he had formulated and which are known to many of his students on both sides of the Atlantic. This information, not having been published, could unfortunately not be available to the writer of the present book.

The grammar is written in French, which makes it available to a wider circle of readers than Erman's grammar, which is in German, the more especially in Egypt and the Near East, where a knowledge of French has always been widespread. Every part of the grammar is illustrated with a wealth of examples set out in hieroglyphs, transliteration, and translation. The use of transliteration has the advantage of making the general arguments as to grammar and linguistic structure clear to readers with no knowledge of Egyptian, but its inevitably conventional nature could be a snare for the unwary. However Korostovtsev makes the somewhat arbitrary nature of any system of transliteration in the present state of our knowledge quite obvious at the end of his chapter on Phonetics and Phonology.

Ancient Egyptian can be observed over a period extending from about 3000 B.C. to A.D. 1500. As Korostovtsev observes, the critical point in this long development is the changeover from Middle Egyptian and its precursors to Late Egyptian and its successors: a change which is first fully manifest in the texts of Dynasty 19, around 1300 B.C., although clear evidence exists that it was well in train 500 years earlier. A fundamental switch is involved from a synthetic to an analytic linguistic system. Late Egyptian itself endured as the written language for some 600 years, until it merged into the language of the Demotic documents, but without any basic interruption in the continuing evolution. Linguistically speaking 600 years is a very long time indeed. It is only necessary to call to mind the fact that a comparable period for our own language would extend from Edward III to the present day, to envisage the possibilities involved. Korostovtsev keeps the historical perspective constantly before the reader, referring repeatedly back to Middle Egyptian and forward to Coptic. He does to my mind, however, fail to distinguish clearly between what is properly Late Egyptian and what is a stylistic survival of Middle Egyptian arising from the admiration for and training in that medium.

As a technical foundation for his grammar Korostovtsev makes great use of the *Éléments de syntaxe structurale* by Lucien Tesnière (Paris, 1959, 2nd. edn. 1965). This book, stimulating in itself and often most apt in its application to Egyptian, may well be somewhat unfamiliar in its approach to those brought up on traditional grammar. However, no real difficulty is occasioned, since Korostovtsev defines the terms he uses and sets out their application to late Egyptian. Nevertheless some acquaintance with Tesnière's work is a help in appreciating the present grammar. The grammar itself is constructed on the plan outlined in the succeeding paragraphs. It starts with a quite elaborate summary of the phonetics and phonology of Late Egyptian, in which it contrasts favourably with the paucity of such information in Erman, and concludes with some pages on the peculiarities of the orthography. A particularly interesting part of this section is the discussion on the 24 phonemes of Late Egyptian, taken by pairs to bring out various contrasts and relationships.

The book then passes on to its two main sections, Morphology I and Morphology II. Under Morphology I are treated the noun (with which are included the numeral and the pronoun), the adjective, the adverb, and finally the preposition and the particle. This is part of the grammar where little new is to be expected, but Korostovtsev does put forward one concept which deserves special consideration. He points out that in the preposition + noun construction, a non-case language like Egyptian may nevertheless be said to possess what might be called an analytical declension. He goes on from this to characterize the use of the preposition *in* + noun in various constructions to express the agent or semantic subject as constituting an ergative case. He admits, however, that the use of the same combination merely to give emphasis makes the designation not entirely appropriate, and so proposes the term 'emphatic case'. This idea of an ergative case is one to which Korostovtsev returns several times when treating of the verb. It is an idea which is worth following up in the earlier stages of the language, since it might well have important implications for the prehistoric stages of Egyptian and related languages. The use of case designations with reference to Egyptian, however conventionally intended, does not always have happy results since it leads to the statement that the nominative and accusative are unmarked, whereas both concepts so named are clearly marked by position.

Morphology II is the most extensive section and occupies very nearly half of the entire book. It treats solely of the verb, every aspect of which is set forth and discussed, and finishes with a synopsis of forms divided basically into a simple conjugation and a periphrastic conjugation, the latter being subdivided into suffixial forms, qualitative forms, and infinitival forms. The inclusion of many forms which are little more than sporadic survivals from Middle Egyptian tends, however, to produce a confused picture, in which what is really Late Egyptian is not clearly to be perceived.

The final part of the grammar proper is that called Syntax. It is not very long, but it must be remembered that a very large part of what could well be expected to come under this heading is inserted up and down the grammar in appropriate places (e.g. under the noun where there is a chapter entitled Syntax of Common Nouns). This part includes a scheme for the shorthand description of all sentence forms. Interesting is the discussion of parataxis and hypotaxis which seems to me to clarify the difference between virtual clauses and true subordinate clauses.

At the end of the grammar there are two appendices, the first of which deals with the system of punctuation by means of red dots, the second with the characteristic linguistic typology of Late Egyptian. So far as indexes are concerned there is a list of contents and a bibliography, but unfortunately no general index, nor an index to the quoted examples with which the book is so amply supplied. C. H. S. SPAULL

Syntax of the Negative Particles bw and bn in Late Egyptian. By VIRGINIA LEE DAVIS. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, 29. Pp. 409, 10 tables. Berlin, 1973.

The title of this book does not fully prepare the reader for its content. The practical translator will find little syntactical classification to help him here. Miss Davis is concerned with the morphology of Egyptian. It is in this that her method differs from that of Professor Groll (*The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian*, hereafter *Negative*). At every turn there is comparison with the other stages of the Egyptian language; the aim is throughout an overall historical picture. Therefore Miss Davis has not

concerned herself with the texts themselves, beyond the mechanical (or rather computerized) collection of the constructions on which she is working. Nor does she use syntactic analyses to give weight to her original theories. (For the principles by which she is guided in dealing with Egyptian, see pp. 8–16.) I think it would be true to say that it is the particles themselves, rather than their syntax and context, in which Miss Davis is finally interested. It is the history of these particles that is the real meat of this book, not the sentence patterns and syntax of Late Egyptian.

Before discussing the body of the work it is essential to put some sort of definition on the term 'Late Egyptian'. In her introduction Miss Davis thanks, among others, the late Professor Černý, but her method stands apart from his realization that one could not successfully treat the literary and non-literary texts as exemplifying a single language. Indeed the documents of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties show quite considerable variations; ostraca of the early Nineteenth Dynasty are linguistically quite different from the report of Wenamūn, which one admires as the perfect exemplification of living Late Egyptian. Through Černý we have come far from Erman's original principle of a synchronic 'Neuägyptische Grammatik', distinct from the Middle Egyptian and Demotic languages. But a synchronic grammar, to be successful, must be really synchronic. Thus the logical result of Černý's principle is the use wherever possible of material from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, as the only completely reliable source, both because of the quantity of material of limited type, representing the spoken language, and the scribes' apparently greater psychological freedom from the literary language. Although Miss Davis makes the distinction between literary and non-literary texts, she lays a different emphasis on them, describing them as formal and colloquial. The difference in approach is more real than it may seem at first. I believe that Miss Davis regards the real difference between Middle and Late Egyptian as being essentially dialectal (see particularly pp. 201–2). This seems to lead her to class the literary texts as merely formalized versions of the language of the colloquial texts, and not as, in essence, Middle Egyptian, and therefore full of dead constructions and phraseology, not to be found in genuine contemporary speech. These texts are of course more or less contaminated with Late Egyptian; a careful grammatical comparison of the early Nineteenth Dynasty Royal Inscriptions would show how far this contamination can vary even in contemporary texts of the same genre. This type of error in classification leads to the treatment here of *bw* and *bn* in the Eighteenth Dynasty texts as valid uses of these particles in Middle Egyptian (pp. 151–2). For Miss Davis's explanation of her position see pp. 1–8 and 201–2.

Miss Davis has classified the uses of *bw* and *bn* into 24 numbered patterns, collected into nine chapters, with additional chapters on *mn* and *m-bist*. Final chapters are devoted to a description of *bn . . . iwnt*, a statistical analysis of the frequency of each formation, and a theoretical discussion of the origins of the negative particles ('Form and Writing'). The chapters describing each group of formations follow a consistent pattern. The elements of the formation are briefly described, then follows a series of examples, with comment interspersed. Each chapter ends with a list of examples from all periods of the Egyptian language, as illustration of the history of the particular formations. The book is completed by an appendix describing the computer programme used in the collection of the material. This programme is simply a rather sophisticated card index; it has clearly enabled Miss Davis to handle a vast quantity of material but has the built-in difficulty that Late Egyptian cannot be really satisfactorily represented by transliteration. The transference of this absence of hieroglyphs to the published book is a false economy. Other inconveniences for the user are the need to check the citation number, used presumably for the computer's benefit, against the citation list, the failure to quote publications by date, particularly in the case of periodicals, and the use of a purely morphological classification of the formations, based on a rigid general theory of the structure of the verb forms and non-verbal constructions. The prospective *sdm.f* that follows *bn* (form 01) appears as *i-sdm.f*, although such a form is not, to my knowledge, attested in Late Egyptian.

To proceed to the text itself; the first chapter treats the prospective *sdm.f* that follows *bn*. The two examples here quoted of the use of *iri* as auxiliary (form 02) are not convincing. It is possible that this construction should be regarded as non-existent. The second chapter lists together the *bw sdm.f* and *bwpw.f sdm* (which Miss Davis, concerned with the probable origin, describes as *bw pw.f sdm*). The treatment of the *bw sdm.f* is unsatisfactory. It fails to note the rarity of this form with the simple verb (as far as genuine non-literary texts are concerned), while the *bw iri.f sdm* construction, and that formation's characteristic simple present tense, are not discussed.

The nominal and adjectival sentences (Chapter 3) are collected into five formations. The failure to use a symbol to represent a noun or noun phrase, and insistence on using a pronoun, with the implication that it can always be substituted, is bad method, as well as confusing to the reader. Form 09 is thus described as the *bn ntf ntf* pattern ('he is not he'), although such a form only exists in the affirmative, and not in the most satisfactory of places.¹ This chapter is much concerned with the discussion of stress, and the problem of logical subject-logical predicate, a problem too tortuous to discuss properly here; as Miss Davis notes, 'the intuitions of grammarians differ'. It is noteworthy that both here, and in the following chapter, dealing with the negation of sentences with adverbial predicate, Miss Davis does not recognize 'one membral' sentences as a separate category (i.e. the type of sentence classified by Professor Groll (*Non-verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian*) as the A ϕ patterns). For the theoretical classification this may well be justified, when regarding, for instance, a pattern like *bn nfr iw n* (see Groll, op. cit., 114) as in reality the *bn nfr sw* pattern. The omission of a vague pronominal subject is a well established phenomenon. Such constructions (see example F 1715 = LEM 17, 16-18, 4) need no comment here. However, when one is dealing with the *bn sw* pattern, it is perhaps not so satisfactory to take it from a *bn sw im* pattern. Here *im* is predicate. Presumably Miss Davis is here too much influenced by Professor Groll's observation that it stands as affirmative counterpart to *sw dy*, a **bn sw dy* not being found (*Negative*, 113). The cavalier omission of the predicate of a sentence is a difficult suggestion to assimilate, and the explanation of Professor Groll (*Non-verbal Sentence Patterns*, 98-9) seems preferable, although I cannot agree with her that *bn* and *mn* do not belong to the same class, merely because of the difference in actor expression. On pp. 53-5 Miss Davis enunciates the most probable semantic distinction between *bn sw* and *mn A*; that the latter denies existence in quite a general way, whereas the former denies a specific presence under specific circumstances. It is thus wrong of her to look, on p. 116, for cases of *mn* or *wn* with pronominal subject. Semantically the pronoun is the equivalent of a defined noun; it must refer to a definite and specific 'antecedent'.² It should be remarked at this point that Miss Davis takes the *wn A* and *mn A* patterns as basically the same as the *nfr sw* pattern. If *bn sw* and *mn A* are to be distinguished as patterns this must hang on the nature of the inherent *wn*, in Middle Egyptian *nn wn*, rather than the parallel between *sw im* and *bn sw* in Late Egyptian.

Chapter 5 deals with the first present formations in which the predicate is formed by a preposition+infinitive. Sentence type 13, *bn sw r sdm*, dealt with in this chapter, is difficult to regard as a non-literary Late Egyptian verbal phenomenon. Miss Davis's example c 691 (= LRL, 32, 4-5, also quoted in Chapter 12) is more likely to be classified as the *bn sw* pattern, whereas her example C 776 (= *Giornale*, 39, C 11 = C 2617) seems to be isolated; this and the phrase, common in letters, *ib-i r ptr-k*, 'My wish is to see you' should perhaps really be classified as non-verbal in syntax and use. It is strange that this dubious construction should be given an individual numbering, but that the 'third future' (*iw-f r sdm*) should be subsumed under type 23, *bn iw-f im*. The first present with the stative (old perfective/qualitative) is treated separately in Chapter 6.

The concept of the emphatic formations represented in Chapter 7 is individual to Miss Davis. Sentence type 15, *bn i-sdmw-f im* and 16, *bn i-iryw-f sdm im* (it is really quite meaningless to stress the theoretical flexional endings *w* and *yw* in Late Egyptian) are quite normal, and require no comment, other than that insufficient stress is laid on the rarity of the simple construction in non-literary texts, almost all examples being restricted to the verbs *rdi*, *ini*, and *iri*. The forms 19, *bw sdm-n-f im*, and 20, *bw ir-n-f sdm im*, require more comment. A genuine *sdm-n-f* formation, whether emphatic or not, simply does not exist in true Twentieth Dynasty non-literary Late Egyptian. Occasional writings of forms with the *n* in the Nineteenth Dynasty are one of the more obvious differences between the texts of the two dynasties. Nor is an emphatic formation 17, *bw sdm-f im*, 18, *bw ir(r)-f sdm im* to be found. The dying use of the *bw sdm-f/bw iri-f sdm* for the simple present tense (Groll, *Negative*, 46-8), that would in Middle Egyptian have been negated by *n sdm-n-f*, and the disappearance of *sdm-n-f*, with *sdm-f* now standing for the 'initial' perfect tense, makes one wonder whether such forms as 17, *bw sdm-f im* and 19, *bw sdm-n-f im*, do not frequently represent

¹ The affirmative, and unpublished, amulet, quoted in Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (Oxford, 1967), Ex. 110, and Anastasi IV, 5, 1.

² The philosophical concept of existence implied by the use of this *wn* with a defined subject seems unfamiliar to Egyptian. Thus the shipwrecked Sailor is threatened with becoming 'what has not been seen', Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, 43, 12. But see also *tm wn*, *Urk.* IV, 1230, 2.

a single, identical form (where they should not be classified as the non-emphatic formations *bw sdm·f* and its missing partner *bw iri·f sdm*). It is no satisfactory explanation of lack of emphasis on, or even complete lack of, an adverbial phrase to suggest a function classed as 'generalization' (p. 74), even if it superficially satisfies both Gardiner's and Polotsky's theories of the geminated *sdm·f* in Middle Egyptian. This sweeping and radical solution is based on an extremely dubious theoretical analysis of Late Egyptian literary texts, when it should be based on the syntactic analysis of a reliable group of Middle Egyptian texts. Miss Davis is too keen to find emphatic, or rather 'nominalized', formations wherever she can. It is certainly ludicrous for her to describe the forms 21, *bw sdmt·f* and 22, *bw irit·f sdm* as requiring an adverbial predicate, to justify her theory of the 'nominalized' nature of the *sdmt·f* form (n. 201).¹ Even if this form should be regarded as in some way nominal, this does not make it of necessity an 'emphatic' formation with adverbial predicate.

In Chapter 9 are discussed the *iw* and *wn* which follow *bn*. These are described as simply indicators of future and past tense, as against the 'first present' formations which are regarded as 'essentially timeless'. This approach is based on the construction of a convenient paradigm rather than the realities of usage. The constructions **bn iw·f m ncy* and **bn iw·f hr sdm* are purely projections of this theory; the affirmative example of the former quoted (C 2716 = *HO*, pl. 48, 1, vs. 7-9), *nty iw·w m hd* is not convincing. True, the *iw*, following *nty*, must be the *iw* of the future, but the phrase *m hd* is too fixed a unit to use as a living example of the *m* of contemporary action, as is used in the first-present construction. The *iw·f hr sdm* of the future seems always to be negated by *tm*, and it seems always to be a 'non-initial' main clause,² whereas the other future constructions containing *iw* are 'initial'; thus one must regard this *iw* as being, at least syntactically, a different formation. They will not fit conveniently into a single paradigm. These two projections, in view of the well attested use of *iw·f im* and *iw·f nfrw* are not inherently unlikely; it simply seems that in the dynamic constructions involving a preposition+infinitive, Late Egyptian had standardized on *iw·f r sdm* to cover all future constructions, in clear distinction to *sw hr sdm*, covering the present tense (which in practice covers a wide band of time positions when translating), and the more specialized present tense of *sw m ncy*. This seems to me to be on the right track, in that the projected **wn·f r sdm* in fact appears as *wn iw·f r sdm*. This construction, as described by Till,³ appears not to be accepted by Miss Davis (n. 246). But it is irrelevant of her to object that Coptic would use a first rather than third future in such a construction. The first future is not yet a fixed verb form in Late Egyptian. Miss Davis then develops a theory that the *iw* of the future and the *wn* of the past are 'nominalized' verbal formations, on which hang the emphasized adverbial predicates, *iw* being derived from the verb *iw* 'come' (particularly notes 250, 260, and 266). This function, she believes, became degraded to mere tense indication, the verb *iri* then being introduced for the *iw* of the future to retain the emphatic function (p. 111; it is apparently forgotten that this substitution had been described as 'obscure', p. 105, and that it is apparently restricted to nominal subjects; or does she think that the Coptic phenomenon is unrelated to that of Late Egyptian?). This theory seems not susceptible to proof (for *iw* more so than for *wn*), but to depend on the authoress's view of the nature of Egyptian grammar.

The construction 25, *m-(w)n rmt*, of Chapter 10, was discussed above, in connection with the *bn sw* construction. An interesting suggestion is put forward for the use of the eye determinative in this word, deriving it from *mꜣꜣ/mꜣꜣn* 'see'. Chapter 11 lists examples of *m-bꜣst*, 'not', 'no'.

Discussion of *bn*, . . . *iwꜣꜣ* is collected together in Chapter 12. This discussion starts from the wrong premiss, as there is no attempt to compare the use of *bn* . . . *iwꜣꜣ* in Late Egyptian with the restriction of Coptic (ⲛ) . . . ⲁⲛ to the durative tenses. Without this it cannot be satisfactorily concluded that the *iwꜣꜣ* is a basically optional element, with one exception; the case of nominal sentences in which the pronominal subject is omitted (i.e. sentences of the pattern *bn nfr iwꜣꜣ*). The difficulties Miss Davis is unable to clear up, with regard to this latter conclusion, arise from the use of P. Anastasi I, a purely literary text, in which unsatisfactory examples can best be explained as Middle Egyptian. Thus, in Anastasi I, 7, 2 ff.

¹ Compare Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* §§ 306, 2 and 406, and Satzinger, *JEA* 57 (1971), 58-69. One should note in this context that the 'narrative' *sdmt·f* form has been made even more dubious by Barns, *JEA* 58 (1972), 160-1. See also Schenkel, *GM* 4 (1973), 23-8.

² Groll, *JEA* 55 (1969), 89-92 and 96-7.

³ *ZÄS* 69 (1933), 112-17.

(see also Groll, *Non-verbal Sentence Patterns*, 110) the *tm·k* is perhaps to be taken as the subject of the *bn nfr*, a construction not found in genuine Late Egyptian, and not as the apodosis of the sentence.

Černý's theory that *inn* was developed from **in wn* is accepted uncritically (n. 299) and then developed, on the assumption that *inn* can also stand for **in wn bn*, as opposed to the suggestion by Černý that it might have to be understood as **in nn wn*, 'except'. As evidence the magical papyrus Geneva MAH 15274¹ is produced. (All the other examples have no true indication of negation.) This papyrus contains a number of examples of the type *inn ntf iwns A*. Other than regarding a *bn* as explicit in the *inn* (and bearing in mind that one is here dealing with a magical papyrus which may not give an undistorted linguistic image), one could provide a number of equally possible theoretical solutions: (1) that the *inn* stood simply for *bn* (extremely unlikely); (2) that, as with the Coptic ⲁⲛ, the *iwns* was becoming sufficient marker of the negative itself; or (3) that in this particular group of examples the sandwiching of the *n* written *bn* between the *n* of *inn* and the *n* of *ntf* led to its omission, as in Coptic the ⲛ of ⲛ . . . ⲁⲛ is frequently omitted before ⲛⲉⲣⲥⲱⲧⲁⲓ.² More to the immediate point, Černý's etymologies are far from certain; both *inn* (as Miss Davis seems to realize in n. 418) and *hm*³ are perhaps better regarded as Semitic loan words; nor does it seem necessary to insist on an explicit negation when translating *inn* as 'except'. This chapter also includes a discussion of Middle Egyptian *n . . . is* as a parallel to the use of two grammatical elements together to indicate negation.

The statistical analyses of constructions, by date (Chapter 13), vital as they are in any historical discussion, could have been so much more valuable with a less coarse division of the language; and of course the non-Late-Egyptian material is not really sufficient for meaningful statistics.

The main content of the final chapter involves a complex theory to demonstrate the origins of the negative particles in dialect variations, and thus to explain the variations between *m*, *n*, *b*, and *l* in the negatives. Space does not permit a proper discussion of these phonetic and dialect theories, which use, with great freedom, material of many types from all periods. I would simply like to draw attention to the comparisons with Semitic languages (pp. 173 ff.) for the possible variations that can underlie the at best only semi-phonetic writings of the negative in Old and Middle Egyptian (see also Groll, *Negative*, 93-5), and also to the interesting suggestion that the negative *m-bist* should really be regarded as belonging to the main stream of negative particles, with the real consonantal structure being something like *m/bi*. More objectionable is the attempt to explain writings such as *bnpw* (p. 142 and pp. 195-6) and *m(b)pw* (p. 150) as anything but graphic variants of *bnpw*.

CHRIS EYRE

Die Götter von Abydos. By JOACHIM SPIEGEL. Pp. 196, pl. 1. Göttinger Orientforschungen, Reihe: Ägypten, Band 1, Wiesbaden, 1973. DM 48.

This book bears the subtitle 'Studien zum ägyptischen Synkretismus' and it is based on a statistical research into 1,120 commemorative stelae, most of which came originally from Abydos. They date from the Sixth to the Fourteenth Dynasties, and the research is primarily concerned with the gods named in the offering formulae, which reflect the religious spirit and piety of the pilgrims who came from all over Egypt to take part in the Mysteries of Osiris at Abydos.

These gods of the 'offering formulae' are contrasted with the 'systematic lists' of up to twenty-seven gods which are displayed on the dated stelae of some high-ranking officials, as for example the memorial stone of Wepwawet-ḥa from the Glyptothek at Munich, either no. 35 or no. 27 (both numbers are given for the same stela). A photograph of the stela (given as a frontispiece) clearly shows this list written in vertical columns in the eighth line, while the rest of the stela is written in horizontal lines. The complete text of the stela can conveniently be read in Sethe, *Lesestücke*, pp. 73-4.

As this very thorough study is based on statistics, I find it difficult to understand why the stela of the chief treasurer Ikhnofret (Berlin, 1204), has not even been mentioned, although the text is given in Sethe, *Lesestücke* (pp. 70-1) and was also studied and published by Heinrich Schäfer under the title *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos* (Leipzig, 1904); cf. too H. W. Müller, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), pl. 35, 2.

¹ Massart, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 172-85.

² Till, *Koptische Gr.*⁶, §§ 403 and 406.

³ Compare Haldar, 'On the problem of Akkadian *šumma*', *JCS* 4 (1950), 63-4.

The first part of the book deals with the individual gods and their epithets. Naturally the main interest is concentrated on Osiris and the jackal gods Anubis, Wepwawet, and Khentamenthes, but individual attention is also given to Ptaḥ and Sokar; Isis and Hathor; Horus and Min; Ḥeqat and Khnum; Geb and Nut; Amūn, Rē, and Atum; and Thoth.

Spiegel defines Egyptian syncretism as an attempt to take over a whole complex of ideas about the gods which was elaborated in one cultural circle and to transfer it to another, thereby extending and deepening its significance. He refutes the definition of syncretism given by Bonnet and Morenz, who interpreted it as meaning the living of one god in another, the 'Einwohnung' of one god in another. Against this, Spiegel states that it is quite incorrect for Bonnet to maintain that syncretistic thought is not conducted by the circumscribing powers of the intelligence, but rather by a mobile and emotional stimulus. Quite to the contrary, Spiegel claims, it was expressly the religious thought which attempted a new systematic interpretation of outdated existing forms of cult.

The second part of the book deals with the dedication formulae of the stelae and the information which can be gathered from them concerning the meaning of the stelae and the changing attitudes of individuals towards life after death, the company of the blessed (p. 121), rebirth (p. 125), and the judgement of the dead (p. 127). Some surprising new discoveries emerge, as for example the importance of the Pyramid Texts for the understanding of the Mysteries of Osiris at Abydos and the negligible part played by Isis at Abydos during the Middle Kingdom.

Our thanks are due to Prof. Westendorf, who persuaded the author to adapt his special research on the memorial stones of Abydos during the Middle Kingdom, so as to form the first volume in a new series of publications at the Georg-August University, Göttingen. A list of the 1,120 stelae studied as statistical material was prepared by Herr Bernd Sladzianovski. There is also an alphabetical list of the gods and their epithets mentioned on each stone (14 pages) and a list of the quotations from the *Pyramid Texts*.

KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS

Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience: Aspects of the Ruler-Cult. By DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON. Pp. xxviii+221. Colour Plates, 4; Monochrome Plates, 74; Figs., 2. Oxford, 1973. £18.00.

In the *Journal des Savants* of 1862, E. Boulé wrote an article on 'Le vase de la reine Bérénice' which dealt with the discovery of a faience libation jar (*oinochoe*) with the figure and name of Queen Berenice II. The article drew attention to a class of Hellenistic ware which was soon referred to as the 'Ptolemäerkanne' or 'Berenikekanne'; yet no convenient term exists in English. This jar, which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, shows the Queen with a cornucopia standing between a pointed pillar and an altar while pouring out a libation towards the ground.

This book contains a study of 292 similar and related pieces of a faience ware which is 'unique in the Hellenistic world' and can only be understood in the setting of the city of Alexandria and its Ptolemaic rulers. It also proves 'that the fusion of Greek and Egyptian elements could on occasion be creative' (p. 116).

Inscriptions on a number of jars provide the facts for the dating and the identification of the Queens represented. It is with pleasure that one recognizes on 'the finest surviving oinochoe' (No. 75, shown on colour plate B)—as well as on the oinochoe in Paris (No. 29)—the selfsame Queen Berenice who inspired Callimachus, Catullus, and Pope to write poems about a lock of her hair which had allegedly been transferred to the sky as a constellation (p. 5).

The author has succeeded in collecting thorough information concerning the historical, technical, artistic, and religious significance of the 'Ptolemäerkanne'. Its historic significance was to show the portraits of still-living rulers on a ware which was made for common use, presumably with the purpose of supporting the 'ruler cult'. Its technical innovation lies in the use of traditional Egyptian material, the gaily coloured Egyptian faience, for a libation jar of the Greek type with Greek figures and Greek inscriptions. The artistic novelty is evident in the conscious inclusion of Egyptian elements like 'the presentation of the frontal pose of the body rendered in depth with a flat head rendered in full profile' (p. 105) and the occasional Isis dress of the Queen (No. 123, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

The religious propaganda involves a syncretism which united the Greek 'Agathe Tyche' with the Egyptian Isis and the living Queen, like No. 139: *Βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης ἀγαθῆς τύχης* (p. 19). V. Tran Tam Tinh, in his book *Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi* (Paris, 1964, 78) had already noticed the easy amalgamation of Tyche and Isis at Alexandria, and so had earlier scholars; in the present work this point is by no means made clear (see pp. 52 and 167 n. 1, although the appellation 'Isis-Tyche-Nike' is used in the latter place). D. Burr Thompson finds it difficult to decide the proper significance of the Queen as Tyche on the vases. Again, why were so many of the vases found in cemeteries? To whom does the Queen pour out the libation? What is the meaning of the decorated pointed pillar behind the Queen? Were the vases used as prizes during festivals or were they New-Year's-presents in the Egyptian tradition? In her conclusion the author finds herself forced to state (p. 119) that 'the functions of the faience ritual vase then are still open to speculation'.

In an otherwise convincing deduction from the facts it is only with regard to Egyptian religion that the author sometimes seems to have missed the point, as for example concerning a bronze plaque (Pl. LXXb) showing two Eros figures tying a band around two cornucopiae under a divine couple, where she states: 'Just as Eros and Anteros tie together the horns of plenty, so love united Helios-Horus with Selene-Isis. . . .' (p. 65). To an Egyptologist the two winged figures stand clearly in direct succession to Horus and Seth tying together the Papyrus- and Lotus-plants around the symbol for 'Union'; and the gods are not Helios-Horus and Selene-Isis, but Helios-Sarapis and Isis with the common Hathor-crown.

But these are small faults in a work which gives a new and original approach to the life and art of Alexandria. Very valuable also is the provision of excellent photographs of all the objects discussed.

KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS

The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts. Volume I, Spells 1-354. By R. O. FAULKNER. Pp. xiv+285. Warminster, 1973. £5.75.

This book, which is dedicated to Phyllis and Cyril Spaul, has been admirably produced by those enterprising publishers, Aris and Phillips, and its very attractive format follows in general that of *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* by the same author. It is fitting that a worthy presentation has been given to a translation of the *Coffin Texts*—a second volume will complete the whole—for their far-reaching importance is being increasingly realized. Their early origin and their considerable extent, which far exceeds that of any other funerary corpus, are factors in their significance; and to this is added the outstanding textual advantage that Adriaan de Buck meticulously recorded the great majority of them in the seven monumental volumes published by the University of Chicago Press. From the very beginning of de Buck's project, and indeed before that with Lacau's publications, Egyptologists have realized the importance of these texts for the study of Egyptian religion. It is only more recently, as the researches of Polotsky, Gilula, and others have shown, that their philological importance is being fully apprehended.

How welcome, therefore, is a pioneering translation by a philologist of the calibre of Dr. Faulkner, who takes us in the present work to the end of de Buck's fourth volume. In effect he offers not only a translation but also a textual and philological commentary, for the notes which follow the translation of each spell give information on variant readings, these too usually being translated, and in addition on matters of morphology, syntax, and lexicography. There are also occasional references to discussions in articles and books and brief notes on matters of general interpretation. One minor feature of the renderings may be questioned. We are told in the introductory notes that "Osiris N", representing the name of the owner of the coffin, whether with or without titles or epithets, has been rendered everywhere simply as "N"; the constant repetition of "Osiris" as epithet of the deceased becomes almost meaningless, and can make nonsense, as in e.g. "O Osiris, this Osiris N is your son." One might expostulate that the constant identification of the deceased with Osiris is a matter of some moment, and that it is important to know if and when it makes nonsense. Still, no harm is done if the note which has been quoted is borne in mind. The Osiris name occurs not only, as commonly, in the opening of a spell, but also in many other places. At the end of Spell 73 (p. 68) we have 'indeed they will not permit Seth to be free of bearing you aloft for ever, O Osiris'; n. 8 on p. 69 informs us, with welcome care, that 'only T2C inserts the name of the deceased here'. (Incidentally the printer has omitted the eighth footnote reference on p. 68.)

Hieroglyphic type has not been used in the printing, but this is a positive advantage, since the hieroglyphs which are reproduced by zincograph are more accurate and are also very pleasing in Dr. Faulkner's well-known calligraphy. One is impressed by the handling of the textual variants; not only are they recorded, but in many difficult cases their relationship is analysed, and sound reasons advanced for the choice of the superior reading. The translation inevitably lacks a definitive stamp: it is a pioneering venture which will help all students of these important texts. A wise use is made of the optative, the sense of which may well be present even when there is no particle to suggest it; indeed the nature of these texts makes an optative sense often likely. I have noted one instance (the top of p. 4) where it would seem advisable to introduce a further application of it: 'N. is vindicated before you, even as Horus was vindicated . . . May he be joyful before you, even as Isis was joyful . . .' The parallelism would seem to demand an optative in the first clause also: 'May N. be vindicated . . .' Zandee has recently translated, with a valuable commentary, a group of spells in *ZAS* 98 (1972), 149 ff. and afterwards. Comparing his translations with those of this book is a reassuring process, especially as the later ones could not have been consulted by Dr. Faulkner; two scholars working independently here reach a substantial measure of agreement (Prof. Zandee, it is true, was able to use Dr. Faulkner's study, 'Some Notes on the God Shu' in *JEOl* 18 [1964], 266 ff.). Zandee, in *ZAS* 100 (1973), 64, offers an attractive new reading for a phrase in Spell 76 = *CT* II, 3e: in the sentence given here on p. 77 as 'I indeed am Shu whom Atum created, whereby Rē came into being', Zandee gives for the last clause 'on the day when he (himself) came into being', reading Ⓞ𓆎 as *hrw*, although the determinative does not appear to occur elsewhere with this word. In *CT* III, 82d-83a (here on p. 154) one must prefer a translation such as 'I have given glory instead of sexual pleasure, joy instead of covetousness, peace of mind instead of eating bread'; see E. Otto, *CdÉ* 37 (1962), 250.

But whatever improvements may be suggested from time to time, the enduring achievement of this book is bound to be recognized, and it goes without saying that the second volume will be eagerly awaited.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways. By LEONARD H. LESKO. University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies, 17. Pp. xii+148. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1972. \$5.00.

A description, translation, and notes are here provided for an important body of Egyptian funerary writings which was given the name of *Das Buch von den Zwei Wegen des seligen Toten* by H. Schackenburg when he published a version of the material in 1903. Lesko rather silyly omits the article before the numeral, not perhaps with any very deliberate purpose, for he also speaks of *Coffin Texts* and *Pyramid Texts*. In a businesslike Introduction he shows that the first editor's name for the work derives from 'the two zigzag paths that form a kind of map for the use of the deceased' and that this map section usually concerns about one-third of the whole book. The Two Ways, then, do not share the Virgilian contrast of the two paths to Elysium and Tartarus. Many 'gods and goals' are described in other parts of the work; and the usual location of the book on the inside base of coffins is explained as having a very practical aim—'probably so that the deceased would have this guide at their feet when waking in the underworld'.

For various reasons the texts are by no means easy, mainly because early versions became corrupt; and Lesko wants his translations to be regarded as 'a pioneering attempt and in no way definitive'. The material is divided into nine sections, and three main versions are recognized, of which the third is a good deal shorter than the other two. Within the material which constitutes the three versions there is naturally plenty of variation of reading, and in choosing his basic text at any point Lesko gives himself some latitude. He tells us that 'the translations are eclectic, based on what I consider to be the best text'. Thus on pp. 90-1 he translates Spell 513 of the *Coffin Texts*, providing detailed references to De Buck's text as he goes along, and including the locations of the three versions. What is especially welcome in this procedure is that the notes which follow the translation provide the textual variants and also, sometimes, alternative translations. References are also given to previous translations of parts of the text, such as those in the works of Kees and Zandee. On p. 90 the opening of B9C in Spell 513 is translated: 'My decay was caused yesterday and I have come here. Make way for me that I may go forth and that I may take what Anubis bewailed.' Here I should prefer '. . . I have come today' and '. . . what Anubis created', the latter clause alluding, it seems, to the mummified form.

Lesko has succeeded in establishing a clearer framework for the material, and his linguistic comments, if on the brief side, are helpful. Nor does he neglect the basic religious concepts. All the versions of the book come from El-Bersha, a cemetery of Hermopolis, a remarkable fact which is judiciously pondered. As for the general approach revealed in this funerary vade-mecum, one must agree that 'there are almost no moral criteria connected with reaching the goals'.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

The Wandering of the Soul. Texts translated with commentary by ALEXANDRE PIANKOFF. Completed and prepared for publication by HELEN JACQUET-GORDON. Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations, vol. 6. Bollingen Series, XL, 6. Pp. xviii+124, 47 pls., 6 pp. of diagrams, 1 plan. Princeton, 1974. \$25.

Three groups of texts are presented in this volume: the *Book of the Two Ways*, the 'Querert Texts' (BD 168), and a text concerned with 'the Egyptian game of draughts' (*senet*). Many other texts are concerned with the general theme, but several of these were included in previous volumes of the series.

For the *Book of the Two Ways* we now have the more elaborate presentation by Professor Lesko (Berkeley, 1972). It is not very helpful, in comparison, to have a straight translation with no comments or record of variants. (The words 'with commentary' on the title-page are misleading.) We are told that the text followed is 'the most complete and least corrupt from among the parallel versions presented in Volume VII of de Buck's *Coffin Texts*'. Then a courageous attempt is made to convey the complexities of the 'Querert Texts'. If the schematic diagrams are hard to follow, the attractive plates are helpful and they are more closely related to the text than is the case in Part I. Part III is of necessity much shorter, and for this Madame Helen Jacquet-Gordon is mainly responsible. It begins, as do the other sections, with a useful bibliography of the theme, but one misses references to *P. Oxy.* III, 470, and to Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 12. The style of the production, as one expects from the Bollingen Foundation, is lush and lavish. The book concludes a splendid series, and the principal criticism is that these works sometimes fall between the two stools of the general reader and the serious student.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit. By WINFRIED BARTA. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, 28. Pp. 252. Munich, 1973. DM 33.

The first part of this study is devoted to the general conception of the Egyptian Divine Enneads, and includes themes such as the localization of their cult, their connection with the sun-god, their functions as a judiciary college and as a welcoming delegation in the afterworld, and their status as a group of royal ancestors. In the second part attention is given to the individual divine members, but we are warned in the Foreword not to regard these accounts of the gods as concise divine biographies, since the treatment is still subordinated to the main theme. The second section ends with a discussion of apparent discrepancies in the system of the Great Ennead. Several much-discussed problems relate to the general theme, and whereas no claim is made to achieve other than 'working hypotheses', the tentative conclusions reached are all commendably related to the primary source-material, above all to the *Pyramid Texts* and the *Coffin Texts*.

On the question of transliteration Barta comes out firmly in favour of *psdt* and rejects *psdt ntrw*. When the latter reading plainly occurs (or *psdt nt ntrw*), as it does at the end of the Hyksos period, it is dubbed a secondary phenomenon which never achieved general currency. There are clear indications of it, however, in still earlier writings, and the form $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, which is common in the Pyramid Texts, must include *ntrw* in the reading since the ideogram is probably being repeated (not the determinative, as stated here on p. 21). A numeral is also being expressed, and one might opt for *ntrw psdwt*, 'nine gods', were it not for the parallel form with \approx at the end, which points to *psdt ntrw*. In *Orientalia* 28 (1959), 36 f., I argued that the use of *psdt* to refer to the 'Nine Bows' almost compels one to accept the readings *psdt ntrw* and *psdt psdwt*. On this point Barta proposes a new way of overcoming the difficulty: the numeral in the expression with 'the Bows' is not, he urges, the abstraction but the cardinal number, and *psdt psdwt* is to be read. But the cardinal would be expected to follow the noun; and it is a little puzzling before this (p. 19) to find *psdt* in the divine context described as (in one group) the feminine form of the cardinal number nine, although

afterwards (pp. 21 and 23) it is defined as numeral abstraction. That the abstract form of the numeral is naturally followed by a specifying noun is shown by an expression like *hmnt·k nmswt* (*Pyr.* 2021 c), 'your eight jugs, lit. your ogdoad of jugs'. In the case of the Ennead of Gods the frequency of the phrase could doubtless result easily in writings where the specifying noun is reduced to the role of a determinative; these may be regarded as elliptical forms, pointing to an original *psdt ntrw*.

Attention is also given to the basic concept of the divine Ennead. Does it imply, from the first, the nine known gods of Heliopolis or is the notion of unlimited plurality intended? After a valuable survey of the debate it is shown that various centres were eventually involved and that, apart from the Heliopolitan Ennead, precious little emerges about the constituent members of the other Enneads. As a result, the engaging attempt to equate them with parts of the Manethonian mythical dynasties cannot carry much conviction. As many as eighty-four lists of the Heliopolitan Ennead as presented in full, and the mythology of the constituent members is discussed in welcome detail, with emphasis, rightly, on the idea of divine succession from Atum through Shu, Geb, and Osiris to Horus, and also, very questionably, on the *Kamutef* idea. Osiris is explained as *wst irt*, 'the seat of the eye', with reference both to the womb of the sun-god's mother and to the royal throne, ideas which are claimed to make him in any case a feminine divinity. One is tempted to remark that if a posited etymology does not lead to a degree of sense, it should be rejected. Yet the second idea, which is concerned with the throne, does not necessarily imply a feminine divinity, for *wst* is a grammatical, as opposed to a logical, feminine; it is otherwise with the divine womb of the first idea.

The answer to the basic question (pp. 48–50) is related to the consideration that *ntrw* is a frequent synonym of *psdt*; the Ennead basically means, it is therefore urged, a plurality of gods, and confirmation is found in its role as a divine company of the King's ancestors, for such a group is of necessity an expanding one. It is not, however, a concept of vague or anonymous plurality since its members are named. If it be asked how the Great Ennead of Heliopolis fits all this, the answer offered is that it is an exception, for here the members are also named, but they are definitely nine. It might seem that Barta is trying to have it both ways. The Egyptians themselves, it could be argued, were often thus disposed; indeed they not infrequently went further and tried to have it many ways. At least that appears to be the situation eventually evolved. One must always ask, at the same time, what was the initial situation, and there is a good case for believing that the Ennead of Gods was originally regarded in exactly the way indicated by the phrase—a group of nine gods.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Die religiöse Bedeutung der sogenannten Grabräuberschächte in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. bis 20. Dynastie. By FRIEDRICH ABITZ. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 26. Pp. 122, 9 plans. Wiesbaden, 1974. DM 43.

A good deal of uncertainty has hitherto accompanied the explanations offered of the subsidiary shafts or pits, sometimes called 'tomb-robber shafts', which occur in royal tombs from Tuthmosis III to Ramesses XI. In the present study an instructive selection is presented in the Introduction, beginning with Belzoni's description of the tomb of Sethos I. These shafts have usually been interpreted as security measures to prevent the influx of rain-water or to entrap or deter prospective tomb robbers, the assumption being that these holes were dug out after the burial. In her *Tutankhamen* (1965), 189, Madame Desroches-Noblecourt understandably hankered after a more meaningful explanation. After referring to 'the well-hole, generally interpreted as a barrier against both thieves and infiltration by water', she compares the significance of a room in the tomb of Sethos II and claims that it 'represents symbolically the aquatic region in which the "becoming being" dwells as it were in his mother's uteral water'. But from the standpoint that emerges in this book it is the end of a dictum by Miss Elizabeth Thomas in her *Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (1966), 77, that shows prophetic insight: 'The purpose of this shaft was perhaps threefold: to prevent the ingress of rain-water and of the too curious visitor, and probably also religious in a way that is specifically uncertain.'

Friedrich Abitz has now examined and studied the tombs (nineteen in all, two being inaccessible), and presents for each a ground-plan and elevation. Some variation and development is revealed, but a degree of similarity persists. What is clearly established is that the shafts in question were made before the burial

and were a part of the initial plan; they are also shown to be connected with an adjacent room or rooms, and an aim of excluding tomb robbers or water is convincingly rejected. An examination of reliefs and paintings, if it be granted that their location is purposive and functional, leads to a religious and ritual solution of the *raison d'être* of the shafts. In general the *Book of Amduat* and the *Book of Gates* are conspicuous in these tombs, and in a certain group (Sethos I to Merneptah) the shaft is interpreted, together with its associated room, as the symbolic grave of Osiris or Sokar or of Osiris-Sokar. The Fifth Hour of *Amduat* is involved here, and yet it is admitted that in the one case where the shaft has its walls decorated—the tomb of Ramesses II—it is the Twelfth Hour that is there depicted. But it is the 'Resurrection Hour' and can therefore be easily associated with the Osirian theme. In the tomb of Ramesses II the Twelfth Hour is depicted also in the room adjacent to the sarcophagus-chamber, and it is in a detail such as this that one is tempted to question a too rigid application of the doctrine of *Raumfunktion*. It is clear, however, that this study, which gives due attention to variations apparent in different eras, has successfully removed previous misconceptions and opened the way to a much better understanding of its theme. J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Die Alten Ägypter. Verborgenes Leben unter Pharaonen. By EMMA BRUNNER-TRAUT. Pp. 272, 16 coloured pls., 80 black-and-white pls., 62 text-figures. Stuttgart, 1974. DM 78.

Scholars are not always eager to flaunt their works of 'high popularization'. They fear the inevitable comment, 'Another picture-book!' If Professor Emma Brunner-Traut's new book quickly falls, at first sight, into this category, one does not need to peruse much of it before one realizes that it differs radically from many of its fellows. First, the pictures themselves: they are not only splendidly produced, but chosen with much care and discrimination, and many of them have not been previously published. Secondly, the text: it is no mere adjunct to the plates and figures, but is the main thing, presenting with much sensitive detail a record of the social life of the Ancient Egyptians—and especially the life of ordinary people.

We are told on p. 10 that one chapter is devoted to the Pharaoh, the rest of the book to his people. There is a similar avoidance of the grandiose in the approach to the literary sources: the book is liberally equipped with quotations from Egyptian literature, but pride of place is given to lowlier writings—personal letters, legal documents, and notices, particularly those written on ostraca. The author is at her best in the chapters on animals, on the family, on education, on stories and fables, on religion, on courtship and love, on ostraca, on the workers at Deir el-Medina; these are themes which she has illuminated by her own researches, and the length of the list indicates the range of her scholarly interests. Her expert knowledge of Egyptian art is also evident in the choice of the illustrations; and there is no theme which does not benefit here from a fresh presentation. A few paragraphs in the Introduction may seem too ethereally pitched; the chapters that follow do not neglect the less attractive side of things, and their minuscule fidelity to the sources is itself a warrant of this. The material is lightly and deftly conveyed, but one is always conscious of the erudition which lies behind it. J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Le Culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée. By FRANÇOISE DUNAND. Three vols. I. *Le Culte d'Isis et les Ptolémées.* Pp. 249, 45 pls., 3 maps. 100 g. II. *Le Culte d'Isis en Grèce.* Pp. 223, 45 pls., 3 maps. 80 g. III. *Le Culte d'Isis en Asie Mineure: clergé et rituel des sanctuaires isiaques.* Pp. 400, 23 pls., 2 maps. 120 g. *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain*, 26. Leiden, 1973.

Sarapis. By WILLIAM HORNOSTEL. ÉPRO 32. Pp. 482, 3 text-figs., 220 pls., 2 maps. Leiden, 1973. 280 g.

Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments. By G. J. F. KATER-SIBBES. ÉPRO 36. Pp. 230, 33 pls., 12 maps. Leiden, 1973. 88 g.

Isis Lactans. By V. TRAN TAM TINH. ÉPRO 37. Pp. 225, 78 pls., 1 map. Leiden, 1973. 120 g.

The Egyptian cults are certainly not being neglected in the ambitious and ever-expanding series published at Leiden. In this extensive project the House of Brill has been fortunate in securing Professor M. J.

Vermaseren as General Editor. His scholarship is at least a guarantee that no *Kitsch* will appear in the series.

The volumes by Françoise Dunand are an elaboration of a doctoral thesis presented at the Sorbonne in December 1970. Her account of the cult is a comprehensive one which includes Crete and the islands of the Aegean, and it ambitiously deploys all types of evidence. Whereas the Introduction on Isis in the Pharaonic cults is disappointing—it relies excessively on Sethe's *Urgeschichte* and Kees's *Götterglaube* and often neglects more recent research—the wealth of documentation in the main body of the three volumes is commendable, and there is a perceptive appreciation of the elements in the Pharaonic tradition which persisted in Greek and Roman times. An exception must be made here, it is true, of the discussion which concerns antecedents of the Mysteries in Egypt: these are dismissed in somewhat cavalier fashion (III, 243 ff.). It is also misleading to speak of the Isiac Mysteries (III, 254) as involving 'un engagement personnel et exclusif au service d'Isis'; there is an occasional suggestion in Apuleius in support of the second adjective, but evidence to the contrary is plentiful. Welcome detail is offered in the topographical coverage, and in a good discussion of the evidence for Cenchreae (II, 155 ff.) mention is made of the difficulty in reconciling a temple of Isis at Cenchreae with the rather elaborate appendages described by Apuleius. Here it would have been worth discussing Berreth's theory that Apuleius really had the Corinthian temple of Isis Pelagia in mind. There is a surprisingly easy acceptance (III, 224) of Alföldi's claim in 1937 that the Roman *vota publica* were associated with the *Navigium Isidis*; it is regrettable too that no reference is made to Alföldi's second thoughts on the subject in *Jb. für Antike und Christentum* 8–9 (1965–6), 53–87. But on the whole the work is a valuable and rewarding study, and its usefulness is enhanced by the prosopography of Isiac clergy and by the full indexes.

W. Hornbostel's book on Sarapis also originated as a doctoral dissertation, in this case at Marburg. He is concerned, as his subtitle indicates, with the history of the tradition about the god, with his iconography, and with the changes of form which occurred in the ensuing centuries. His first four chapters are devoted to the cult-statue in the Alexandrian Sarapeum, a theme pursued also by J. E. Stambaugh in his *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies* (ÉPRO 25, 1972); but the aim and scope of the present volume differ in that a thorough-going typology is produced which covers a considerable era of time. In an introductory survey of the religious situation in which the god's image was evolved it is stated (p. 18) that two gods specially figure at the outset, the Egyptian Osiris and the Greek Hades-Pluto. It is strange to see the Apis-element omitted here, particularly as his name constitutes a part of the name Sarapis. Apis is usually represented with a sun-disk between his horns, and it may be suggested that this plays a part in the equation of Sarapis and Helios, although both Hornbostel and Stambaugh look to Osiris only as the source of the connection. There are also texts which associate Apis with Atum or Rē: see S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, 150 f. Hornbostel aptly describes Sarapis as 'an ecumenical god' and in a list of the gods whose attributes were subsumed by him he names (pp. 21 ff.) Zeus, Ammon, Asclepius, Dionysus, Poseidon, Helios, Heracles, and Mithras. Here Hades-Pluto is oddly omitted in spite of the earlier stress on him; in a footnote (p. 22, n. 1) it is said that in this case the equation with Sarapis is given little prominence, and that this is shown by the inscriptions. Yet Plutarch, Tacitus, and others regard the equation as important; cf. Stambaugh, *op. cit.*, 27–35, where, however, both Osiris and Apis should have figured in the discussion. A detailed analysis of the literary and artistic sources leads to the conclusion that Bryaxis was indeed the creator of the original cult-statue and that an origin in the fourth century B.C. is not to be excluded. Alexandria and not Sinope on the Black Sea is accepted as the place of origin; the rather brief chapter devoted to this question omits to mention the possibility that a Memphite Sinopion lies behind one aspect of the tradition; see my *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 395 f. The subsequent account of the typological variations in representations of the god, which includes those on coins, is an imposing study, and there is a useful chapter on the attitude of the Roman emperors to the Egyptian gods. Finally there is the extensive collection of plates which is a refreshing answer to the negativism of some earlier researchers.

G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes, of Amsterdam, takes a modest view of his volume, which he describes as a 'Preliminary Catalogue' aimed at facilitating the work of the *Corpus Cultis Serapidis Isidisque*. 'Monuments' in his title is a fairly comprehensive term, ranging from temples to plaques and seals. We are told in the Preface that inscriptions, lamps, finger-rings, gems, and jewellery have been omitted 'except for some specimens'. In fact there are many references to lamps, but the Catalogue is usually content to list the

discussions of them which occur elsewhere. The amount of detail supplied in the Catalogue varies considerably—inconsistently, at first sight, but with a wisely expansive manner when inaccessible objects or sources are mentioned, as in no. 206, where the description by Nancy G. Reynolds is quoted *verbatim*.

The name of V. Tran Tam Tinh is well known to students of the Graeco-Roman Egyptian cults, and in his latest book he presents a corpus of the monuments in this era which represent Isis giving suck to Harpocrates. This time he has been assisted by Yvette Labrecque. The subject is one of frequent occurrence, and it is little wonder that no claim of an exhaustive presentation is made. In a detailed Introduction due attention is given to the ancient antecedents; it is recognized that Hathor and not Isis is the original mother of Horus and nourisher of the Pharaoh. On pp. 40–9 the question of a possible connection between *Isis Lactans* and *Maria Lactans* is faced. The view is taken that even within Egypt there is no influence of the former on the latter in iconography. An element in this surprising conclusion is an almost perverse refusal to recognize the Madonna and child in early representations from the Fayûm in spite of the manifest Christian symbols. If the argument here is quite unconvincing, it must be admitted that the book's main task has been competently carried out.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Les Conditions de Pénétration et de Diffusion des Cultes égyptiens en Italie. By MICHEL MALAISE. Pp. xi+529+1 plate+2 maps+1 plan. Price f. 156.

Inventaire préliminaire des Documents égyptiens découverts en Italie. By MICHEL MALAISE. Pp. xvi+400+64 pls.+12 maps+4 plans. ÉPRO 22. Leiden, 1972. Price f. 156.

To do justice in this abbreviated review to two volumes amounting to nearly 1,000 pages of closely documented analysis of late Egyptian religious infiltration into Italy is an obvious impossibility. For professional Egyptologists Malaise has provided a rich feast of facts, many of them unfamiliar but all welcome as evidence of what the gods of Egypt meant to Italy in Roman times. Here the most that can be attempted is to look rapidly at a few issues to which readers of this *Journal* should have their attention directed.

The maps provided in each volume eloquently show the extent of the diffusion of the cults. Isis benefited most, and was worshipped in virtually every part of Italy (*CPD* 472–3). Historically, Isis and her *Synnaoi Theoi* stayed as an important influence in Italy from about 100 B.C. until the end of the fourth century A.D. (*CPD* 362–455). The Egyptian gods became the prop and stay of the humble, and rose to be the protectors of the Roman Empire (*CPD* 478–80). 'Étrange destin', exclaims Malaise, 'réservé par la Fortune à ces dieux nés sur les rives du Nil et transplantés sous le ciel d'Italie'.

Odder perhaps than this transplantation is the takeover in Italy of Isiac elements by Roman Catholicism. I have myself (in the book on Isis to which Malaise obligingly makes some 100 page references) elaborated on this still imperfectly understood and historically momentous development (cf. *CPC* 30 n. 3) and have stressed the cultic continuity such as that suggested (with a *peut-être* and a *bien possible* which I find too weak) between the Iseum Metellinum and S. Maria in Domnica (*IPDE* p. 171). In Italy, and especially at Rome (the cradle of the Catholic Church) Isis was the great forerunner of Madonna Mary (cf. Chapter XX of my book *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*). Malaise (*IPDE* Rome 305) brings the names, for instance, of S. Maria in Navicella and Isis Pelagia into a loose connection, mentioning the replica of a marble boat outside the church. Here surely is the unmistakable archaeological evidence of a recurring phenomenon which one of these days must be handled from the Egyptological side—the debt of the Church of Rome to Italianized Nile cults. As Malaise indicates (in *IPDE* Rome 61—an inscription dated by Vidman to the first century A.D.) Isis came to be regarded as an indigenous deity. She fell into place, and retained her place, without dethronement, until the Church took over. The issues raised under the heading of *Arcus ad Isis* (*IPDE* 190–214), especially the finds under the apse of S. Maria sopra Minerva (*IPDE* Rome 371 ff.) are complicated: if as Malaise holds the cause of the destruction of the Iseum Campestre was a violent act of incendiarism (*ibid.*, p. 214) then one of the most famous temples of Isis (cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11, 26), like the great Sarapeum at Alexandria and like so many Mithraea in the Roman world, must have been deliberately wrecked at the hands of triumphant Christians. (Their hostility towards the Egyptian goddess resembled that of Tiberius—cf. the *sistra* thrown into the Tiber, *IPDE* Rome 427.)

The Ager Vaticanus (*IPDE* Rome 420–3) has produced significant finds, including a divinity with the *crux ansata* underneath the very basilica of St. Peter's. (A dedication to Dea Pharia is said to have been found there: Rome 51.) For Malaise, of course, the issue of historical continuity between the Egyptian cults and what followed in Rome and elsewhere in Italy is not strictly relevant. But the material he presents with such meticulous care serves to draw attention to the need for similar research into the later repercussions on the Church whose centre of authority is the Vatican.

Malaise illuminates the position of Isis *vis-à-vis* her divine companions from the Nile, particularly Serapis. A telling passage from Macrobius (*CPD* 168) shows the difficulty Serapis found in gaining the Roman hearts that warmed to the maternal love showered on them by Isis (*ibid.*, 169). Serapis was remote: *éloigné des préoccupations humaines*. At one stage Serapis outstripped his consort: his zenith was reached under Caracalla (*ibid.*, 439). But devotion to Serapis was inconstant: Isis-worship was steadfast. Coins from the mint at Rome show it (pp. 443–71). The importance of Isis onomastically is not in doubt (cf. *IPDE* Rome inscriptions 146–249—names formed from Isis cover 51.25 per cent, the largest proportion, of monuments found in Italy—*CPE* p. 46). Even at the time of Augustus, hostile towards whatever gods came forth out of Egypt, and intent on anti-Egyptian propaganda (*CPD* 245), Livia was surrounded by Egyptian slaves, including one whose enfranchised name Thermuntario suggested her liking for Isis (*ibid.*, 87). The actual attestations to the Egyptian gods' presence in Italy show Isis well in the lead. The table (*CPD* 160) gives her 60 per cent, in contrast with Serapis' 32 per cent.

Exactly how the so-called Alexandrian cult reached Italy is debatable. Malaise stresses (perhaps over-stresses) the reception of the cult by Italians at Delos (*CPE* pp. 282, 304, 331/2) and regards the importation of the Egyptian gods by Italian traders on their return home as the first phase (*ibid.*, p. 259). Direct contact with Egyptian religion through trade, according to this view, came later. Commercial relations, however, had long existed between Alexandria and Puteoli, as is clear from Cicero's 'Alexandrinorum pulsatione Puteolana', referred to in *CPE* 326, n. 4. (Cf. also what Malaise says about Alexandrians at Naples, *IPDE* p. 262). Already in the first century B.C. (*ibid.*, 317) Egyptian slaves brought to Italy by Roman *publicani* had opened the temple doors to the Nilotic pantheon. The political *entente* (*ibid.*, Chapter XIV) established as early as Ptolemy II and strengthened two centuries later when the Romans restored Ptolemy XIII to his throne, surely gave some incentive for economic links—and the Egyptian merchants who sailed to Campania took with them their gods, including, of course, Isis Pelagia.

Malaise is right (*ibid.*, p. 94) in attributing the expansion of the cult in Italy to slaves and women, rather than to soldiers. He does well also (*ibid.*, p. 136) to emphasize the important role played by women in cult practice. How different in these respects was the religion of Mithras in the Roman world! Yet the contrast between the Egyptian and Persian cults on Italian soil should not be exaggerated. In writing about 'la vieille hostilité religieuse' of the two in Imperial Rome, Cumont did historians of religion a disservice. To say nothing about Serapis in various Mithraea of the Roman world (cf. *CPD* p. 34), the *pater sacrorum* of Rome inscription 37 is reminiscent of Mithras (the priest of Isis in Apuleius, as Malaise notes, bears the name *Mithras*—and conversely in a Mithraic papyrological document mention is made of 'father Serapion'), the Mithraeum of Santa Prisca (*IPDE* 415–19) has figures of both Isis and Serapis, and in the lararium above the Mithraeum near San Martino ai Monti (*ibid.*, 324) is a statue of Isis-Fortuna, which worshippers of Mithras could not have missed seeing (and doubtless saluting) on their way to their shrine.

Enough has now been said to indicate the importance of these two volumes, as excellently illustrated as their subject-matter is arranged and documented, key works which demand their place on the bookshelf of today's Egyptologist.

R. E. WITT

Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses (Marburg/Lahn, 2. bis 6. August 1971). Münchener Beiträge, 66. Edited by E. KIESSLING and H. A. RUPPRECHT. Pp. xx+501, 8 pls. Munich, 1974. DM 120.

The proceedings of the Marburg congress once again demonstrate that however narrow a specialism papyrology may appear to the outsider, it is a discipline which has interest and importance for scholars from a wide variety of fields, almost all of which are here represented. A reviewer can do no more than list the articles of particular note.

The volume very properly opens with Mme Claire Préaux's introductory lecture, in which she considers the value of the papyri as a source for history in the Hellenistic period. H. Heinen, who writes on the chronology of the marriages of Euergetes II, is concerned with the same period, whereas it is the Roman and Byzantine periods which interest C. A. Nelson on *eiskriseis*, A. K. Bowman on Diocletian's reforms in Egypt, notably the introduction of the *protostatai*, and the late Roger Rémondon on avenues of research in Byzantine Egypt. Within this general division may be included M. Raschke's study of the *agoranomoi*, D. Bonneau on the administrators concerned with the water supply in Roman Egypt, O. M. Pearl on the ninety-four klerouchies at Karanis, I. F. Fikhman on slaves in Byzantine Oxyrhynchus, and G. Husson on hotels, etc., in Byzantine Egypt, as well as J. R. Rea's paper aimed at improving the interpretation of *PSI* 870, with its important suggestion that Restitutus was prefect of Egypt about A.D. 250. Here too belong certain of the publications of new texts: J. G. Keenan on two papyri from the University of California (reign of Tiberius), O. Montevecchi and G. Geraci on two interesting texts from the reigns of Nero and Otho, J. D. Thomas on a list of nomes from Oxyrhynchus (c. A.D. 200), and G. Wagner on a Ptolemaic decree from Karnak. Particularly important are the centurion's will, witnessed by seven persons (A.D. 320), contributed by N. Lewis, and a bilingual papyrus referring to a court hearing at Caesarea (A.D. 152), contributed by H. Maehler.

In the field of literary papyri we have contributions from R. Roca-Puig, who lists variant readings in a papyrus of Cicero, *In Catilinam*, from C. Corbato, who attributes *PSI* 1176 to Menander, *Plokion*, from D. Del Corno, who discusses *P. Berol.* 9571 on the dithyramb, and from M. Gigante, who improves the reading of Herculaneum papyri of Philodemus.

Judicial papyrology is well represented, with J. Herrmann on *Vollmachtsurkunden*, notably *P. Fam. Tebt.* 27 and *P. Merton* 23, A. Kränzlein on *κυριενέτω τῶν καρπῶν*, J. Modrzejewski on *datio tutoris* of women in Roman Egypt, a long and exhaustive study referring in particular to a *senatus consultum* passed under Claudius or Nero, E. Seidl on traces of Greek influence in demotic legal papyri (they are very rare, as one would expect), H. Wagner on the formula *πρωτοπραξίας φυλασσομένης*, and H. J. Wolff on six-witness deeds. Here too should be placed G. M. Browne's reconsideration of *P. Oxy.* 2705, which refers to the registration of contracts.

Readers of this journal will be particularly interested in the contributions from Egyptologists: P. Kaplony on the Middle Egyptian literary text 'Kemit', U. Kaplony-Heckel, lexicographical notes on the legal code from Hermopolis, A. Polacek on the code of Ptaḥhotep and the Wisdom literature, and K. T. Zauzich, an attempt to decipher the Carian script, which claims it is an alphabetic type of Greek.

The palaeography of the papyri is the subject of papers by G. Cavallo and W. H. Willis, the former treating literary papyri of the sixth and seventh centuries, while the latter discusses a new parchment palimpsest and relates its script, *inter alia*, to the Ambrosian Iliad. On the language of the papyri there are papers by F. T. Gignac on the loss of nasal consonants, and from B. G. Mandilaras on the confusion of aorist and perfect; cf. also H. Cadell on the changed vocabulary in use from the fourth century. More generally, E. G. Turner is concerned with the typology of the codex, presenting statistical evidence on the various sizes attested, W. E. H. Cockle discusses taking photographs of papyri, and A. Tomsin and J. Demooz present results derived from the use of a computer on papyrological data. Christian papyri are less in evidence than usual. J. O'Callaghan presents statistics on *nomina sacra* in papyri of the fourth to seventh centuries, while K. Treu publishes two new texts of the Septuagint.

The above survey omits summary articles or those the substance of which has already appeared elsewhere; I must, however, make an exception for H. C. Youtie's paper on the *βραδέως γράφων*, entitled 'Between literacy and illiteracy'. On reading such a book one is struck by the heretical thought that it is perhaps unnecessary, even undesirable, to collect papers in this way. Today no less than seven journals regularly appear which are devoted at least in part to papyrological subjects, so that there is unlikely to be any problem in getting worthwhile papers published without undue delay. At any rate organizers of future congresses might do well to consider whether dispensing with *Acta* is not one way in which they could justifiably cut expenses.

J. DAVID THOMAS

'Η Ἑλληνορωμαϊκὴ Παιδεία ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ α' ἕως τοῦ δ' μ. Χ. αἰῶνος κατὰ τοὺς παπύρους. By Μωχαμετ-Χαμντι Ιμπραχημ ("Ἀθηνᾶ") . . . Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων, 13.) Pp. vii+335, ἐν Ἀθήναις, τυπογραφεῖον ἀδελφῶν Μυρτίδη 1972. Price not stated.

This book discusses Graeco-Roman education in Egypt during the first four centuries A.D.; its material comes largely from the school-books and school exercises surviving on papyri, ostraca, and wooden tablets, which are listed at the end (pp. 300 ff.). The author deals systematically with primary and secondary education, including mathematics and music; with the teaching of Latin; with higher education (university) and technical education (apprenticeship); with what is known of schools, teachers, pupils, methods, text-books, writing materials, and punishments.

The treatment falls short of the ideal in several ways. (1) The list of texts is seriously incomplete; it does not replace those of Zalateo (*Aegyptus* 41, 1961, 160) and Pack (*Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2nd edn., 1965, pp. 137 ff.). (2) The discussion of individual texts is sometimes perfunctory or wrong-headed. Thus p. 110 refers only cursorily to Tables of Conjugation (but we need to know which verbs are chosen, and at what periods, and why); p. 280 commends *P. Oxy.* 2331, 'The Labours of Hercules', as an illustrated textbook (but no schoolmaster would have approved this doggerel comic-strip). (3) The author recognizes that the texts from Egypt and the extra-Egyptian literary tradition (grammatical and rhetorical) supplement one another. But again useful material is missing. The Grammatical Tragedy of Callias (Athen. 453 C-E) would give immediacy to the syllabic exercises (p. 77); Theo, *Rhet. Gr.* ii. 101 f., shows the antiquity and degeneracy of the exercises in 'Declining the Sentence' (pp. 112, 115). (4) The papyri say almost nothing about the formal organization of schools and syllabuses. This book supplies the framework, as has been usual, from the literary tradition: primary education begins at seven years of age, ends at thirteen; then secondary education, overlapping with the ephebate; each stage has its defined location, special teachers, precise curriculum. Some of this may be true. But there is a world between Quintilian and the Egyptian market town. What scheme accommodates the ephebe Ammonius (Wilcken, *Chrest.* 148. 101), who could barely sign his own name? (5) The school texts are part of the social history of Egypt, and must be seen against this background. But here the background is often missing or misunderstood. (P. 73 n. 2, 'Latin texts become less rare in the later Roman period.' Why? P. 190, 'The study of Latin opened a career as interpreter.' How, since the main business of government was conducted in Greek?) Important questions are not even asked. What were the social conditions for acquiring any kind of education? How common and how significant was illiteracy? (6) The school texts are conservative, as the author says; they must be seen as a whole. It is therefore a pity to exclude those of the Ptolemaic and Byzantine periods. And how is this totality to be judged? Century after century Graeco-Egyptian schoolboys laboured over arid syllabaries and trivial apophthegms, straining to master the language of an age long past, and to comprehend the literature of a country they had never seen. This book finds the devotion of the schoolmasters commendable; and it is certainly true that the same pattern has conditioned European education ever since. But we can at least inquire whether the Roman East would have produced more understanding citizens and less stereotyped literature without the domination of *katharevousa* and cultural chauvinism.

Many of these questions remain to be treated fully. Meanwhile, the reader of this book will find some detailed observations of interest, and much fascinating material sensibly set out. P. J. PARSONS

Le Paneion d'El-Kanaïs. Les Inscriptions Grecques. By ANDRÉ BERNAND. Pp. xxii+180, pls. 58. Leiden, 1972. Price, Gld. 148.

In the field of Egyptian Greek epigraphy M. A. Bernand has come to occupy an enviable position. He has already provided us with superb editions of several major groups of inscriptions from Egypt—*Les Inscriptions Grecques et Latines du Colosse de Memnon* (Cairo, 1960), *Les Inscriptions Grecques de Philae, I. Époque Ptolémaïque* (Paris, 1969), and *De Koptos à Kosseir* (Leiden, 1972). He has now placed us further in his debt with a masterly edition of a collection of inscriptions associated with a small rock temple east of Edfu in the Wadi Mia which most Egyptologists know as the Temple of Redesiyah, and which M. Bernand prefers, with good reason, to call the Paneion of El-Kanaïs.

The temple in question lies on the desert road which runs eastwards from the Nile Valley in the vicinity of Edfu and gave access in antiquity to several major economic resources. In the New Kingdom it was this road which was taken by caravans to the gold mines of the Eastern Desert. It is, in fact, to the reign of Sethos I that the temple itself belongs as well as the digging, or rediscovery, of the well associated with it. In Ptolemaic times it lay on the overland route between the Nile and the Red Sea at Berenice, and was much used by all concerned with the commercial exploitation of the Red Sea and the trade to which it gave access. In the time of Sethos I the temple was dedicated to Amen-Rē^c but an Amen-Rē^c whose Min-aspect was very much to the fore (see *LD* pl. 141, a). In fact inscribed material makes it quite clear that the aboriginal god of the place was indeed Min himself¹—a natural enough situation since it was he who was pre-eminently concerned with the Eastern Desert Lands. The subsequent identification of Min as patron of travellers and as an ithyphallic god of fertility—or, in this case, a Min-orientated Amen-Rē^c—with the Greek god Pan is standard and explains much of the terminology of the inscriptions. These religious and economic aspects of the site both emerge very clearly in the Greek texts from the temple area.

The inscriptions and the site itself obviously have many points of interest and M. Bernand gives us most of what we need to appreciate them. The first section of the book is concerned with the history of scholarly interest in the temple (pp. 1–22), the position (pp. 23–5) and nature of the inscriptions (pp. 26–9), their chronology and classification (pp. 30–1), and their points of interest (pp. 31–4). All of this is of great value, but there are regrettably two criticisms which I feel compelled to make. In the first place, the discussion of Pan at El-Kanaïs (pp. 31–3) totally ignores the Ancient Egyptian background. The role of Min, subsumed though it may be in Amen-Rē^c, is obvious and it is misleading to treat the Πάν of El-Kanaïs as though he sprang full-grown like Athene from the head of Zeus. That B. should have done this at all is surprising since he has earlier quoted Weigall's discussion of the *Kultgeschichte* of the site in which Pan's Pharaonic affinities are clearly indicated. The Egyptological background would also have cast further light on the implications of no. 72, where we read

Πανὶ Ε[ὐόδ]ωι
[καὶ] Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀπόλλ-
ων ἔγρα[ψ]α, etc.

Of this B. writes 'Dans un seul texte il (*sc.* Pan) est associé à Apollon qui pourtant donne son nom à la ville voisine'. This is true enough, but there are two further points that need to be made. Both Horus and Rē^c-Harakhty actually figure in the Pharaonic reliefs and inscriptions at El-Kanaïs itself (most obviously *LD* III, pl. 138, o, 140, a) and both gods can be identified with Apollo. It should further be borne in mind that the affinities of Min with Horus-Apollo were very close indeed. The theological dimensions are, therefore, a little more complicated and, at the same time, more immediately connected with El-Kanaïs than might at first sight appear to be the case.

The second criticism of the introductory section is that it would have been reasonable to expect, and certainly convenient to get, a summary of the information which the texts give on military and trading activities in this area together with a summary of our knowledge in general on these issues. Certainly most of the information one would want can be found embedded somewhere in the commentaries to individual inscriptions, but digging it out is a time-consuming business. If it makes sense to summarize what the inscriptions tell us about Pan it would surely make equally good sense to summarize the other major item of information which they provide. This criticism, like its predecessor, is admittedly a matter of *oikonomia*, but one of the things that the writing of editions and commentaries is all about is precisely that.

Having dispensed with the preliminaries, B. gets down to a discussion of the inscriptions themselves (pp. 35–158): Ch. I, Épigrammes Ptolémaïques; Ch. II, Inscriptions d'Époque Ptolémaïque datées de façon sûre; Ch. III, Inscriptions d'Époque Ptolémaïque (*suite*). Inscriptions datées, d'après l'écriture, de la haute Époque Ptolémaïque; Ch. IV, Inscriptions d'Époque Ptolémaïque (*fin*). Inscriptions datées, d'après l'écriture, de l'Époque Ptolémaïque avancée; Ch. V, Inscriptions datées, d'après l'écriture de l'Époque Ptolémaïque avancée, mais non situées; Ch. VI, Inscriptions d'Époque Impériale; Ch. VII, Inscriptions Inédites. Of this entire section the very least one can say is that it is outstandingly good. The format is,

¹ A. E. P. Weigall, *Travels in the Upper Egyptian Deserts* (Edinburgh, 1909), 157 ff.

in fact, exemplary. Where possible all inscriptions are given a physical description, list of previous discussions, text, date, and the fullest possible commentary. The work is then completed by an excellent index comprising a full concordance, *index nominum*, *index Graecitatis*, and a general index.

There is no doubt whatsoever that in this outstanding book M. Bernard has produced the definitive publication of an important corpus of Egyptian Greek inscriptions. Certainly, on some points, Egyptological correctives and amplifications may be made, but this does little to modify the permanent value of the work. We need more books of this sort for all stages of Egyptian civilization while the inscriptions are still there to be studied!

ALAN B. LLOYD

Monastic Archaeology in Egypt. By C. C. WALTERS. Modern Egyptology Series. Pp. viii+354, 43 pls., 44 figs. Warminster, 1974. Price £5.50.

Of all branches of the study of Egyptian history and civilization it is probably the Coptic Period to which least attention has been devoted. The study of the language, although it has been pursued in the West since at least the seventeenth century, still presents major problems, whilst in the sphere of archaeology there are basic issues which still await elucidation, particularly in the sphere of chronology. This immaturity of Coptic studies has been reflected, amongst other things, in the paucity of the aids to scholarship which are taken for granted in other disciplines. Certainly dictionaries have long been available, but grammars designed for teaching the language as distinct from reference books have not. Excavation reports and site surveys, some of them excellent, have been at our disposal for decades, but syntheses of the data which they contain have been conspicuous by their absence. It is, therefore, more than welcome to find a scholar who is in complete mastery of the material devoting his energies to supplying such essential tools of the trade. Dr. Walters has already provided us with an elementary Coptic Grammar which immeasurably facilitates both teaching and learning the language. He has now given us a compendium of Coptic monastic archaeology which brings together the basic material from all the major excavations and reports and offers an invaluable conspectus of the subject.

The difficulties of such a task are considerable. The evidence in many fields is fragmentary. Very often, as with painting and sculpture, one is forced to rely on data largely derived from a very restricted number of sites. The quality of Coptic field-archaeology, like that in Egyptology, has not been of the highest, particularly when it has been in the hands of Egyptologists themselves, who have usually been more embarrassed than gratified by the presence of Coptic levels and have, consequently, destroyed them as quickly as possible with the most cursory of descriptions. Priceless evidence has thereby all too often been lost beyond recall. Furthermore, a high proportion of the evidence rests in museums in widely scattered parts of the world, bereft of context and, *ipso facto*, of much of its scientific value. This, together with the preceding point, has created the grimmest of conditions for the student of Coptic archaeology who attempts to deal with chronological problems. Yet another difficulty is the fact that the material culture of Christian Egypt is far from being an isolated phenomenon. It draws elements from the Hellenistic traditions of Egypt, Byzantium, Persia, and Syria, to name but the most obvious sources, and demands in the student a wide acquaintance with the artistic world of late antiquity and the early medieval period.

Difficulties, then, there certainly are, but the value of the task is at the least commensurate. The historical importance of Coptic monasticism and related phenomena would be difficult to overestimate and the need for a handbook which provides a clear picture of its physical context has long been pressing. Furthermore, the art of Coptic Egypt, particularly painting, is also of great value to all art-historians specializing in the Christian period. That this book goes far towards fulfilling these requirements will be quite evident from the following summary:

Introduction. A short and lucid account of the origins of Egyptian Christianity and the rise of eremitism and monasticism.

Chapter 1. The evolution of the various types of monastic community—Anthonian and Pakhomian.

Chapter 2. Church Architecture. A general discussion of the main features (orientation, entrances, narthex, choir, sanctuary, etc.). Building materials and methods are also described. Two main periods are isolated—(a) mid-fifth century—c. 700, (b) 700 onwards—and three types of church distinguished according

to the ratio between longitudinal and transverse measurements. A particularly interesting section is devoted to the early history of these structures and Walters suggests that in a building discovered by Fakhry in the Bahria Oasis, possibly second century in date, we may well have a parallel to the famous house-chapel at Dura Europos.

Chapter 3. Non-ecclesiastical architecture (enclosure walls, entrances and gatehouses, keeps, refectories and cells).

Chapter 4. Painting. There are two sections. The most meaty is inevitably concerned with the material from Apa Jeremias and Bawit. Walters discusses typology, purpose (he wisely argues for a multiplicity of functions; a decorative instinct is involved, a desire to commemorate the dead, in the case of warrior-saints an instinct to express the need for security and a desire to provide a visual expression of certain fundamental points of dogma), and the disposition of murals within the church. In a subsequent section (p. 136 ff.) we are given an analysis of influences and styles. Egyptian and Jewish Hellenistic, Byzantine, Parthian, Sassanid, and Syrian sources are all regarded as serious contenders. Influences are in many cases, it is argued, probably derived via such indirect media as mosaics, tapestries, illuminated manuscripts, coins or medals. W. rightly dismisses the claims that such features as *horror vacui*, symmetry, decoration by registers, and the *orans* have Ancient Egyptian prototypes. In fact in my view there is very little indeed in any aspect of Coptic Civilization which derives from Pharaonic culture and the sooner the fact is faced by all concerned the better.¹ Whatever the origin of the various elements in the artistic idiom, however, Walters insists on the fundamental individuality of the spiritual content of Egyptian painted figures:

. . . The intention seems to have been to produce a stereotyped figure embodying what the artist understood by the spirit of asceticism. The sunken, staring eyes, the pursed or drooping mouth, the gaunt face, these were the elements that were utilised to create a picture of austerity and self-denial. The utterly impersonal nature of so many of the figures is far more extreme than in contemporary examples elsewhere, and *would appear to reflect the distinctively harsh and fanatical mentality of Egyptian Christianity at this time* (my italics) (p. 151).

Chapter 5. The plastic arts. The first section is devoted to stone and stonework which is derived largely from Apa Jeremias and Bawit. The discussion begins by elucidating the general characteristics (the *Leitmotif* is a growing tendency to abstraction and harder lines), purpose and influence (Hellenistic/Byzantine with a dash of Syria/Palestine). The bulk of the chapter is taken up with an extremely useful catalogue. The concluding paragraphs (pp. 197 ff.) are given over to woodwork.

Chapter 6. Aspects of daily life. Food and food production (kitchens, ovens, mills, water-supply, wine-making, oil), clothing, and occupations are all described. While discussing the latter Walters proffers the suggestion that the mysterious holes on the wall of one of the rooms at Cellia² may reflect the erstwhile presence of a weaving shop and points to a possible parallel in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Meketrēc. This may well be true, but it should be emphasized that the loom itself would almost certainly have been very different from the M.K. example since the far more efficient vertical double-beamed loom was being used from the New Kingdom and seems to have become standard at least by Herodotus' time and probably much earlier.³ The chapter concludes with a discussion of latrines—a somewhat unexpected feature in view of the standards of hygiene characteristic of early Christians for whom cleanliness was by no means tantamount to godliness.

Chapter 7. Burial customs. What little we know is well set forth, though one may regret that line-drawings of the various types of tomb were not provided. As a supplement it might be pointed out that sections of cemetery, at least in part monastic, were discovered in N. Saqqâra during several seasons of the recent E.E.S. excavations on the Sacred Animal Necropolis.

The book is completed by three appendixes (a survey of the monastic sites used, a catalogue of paintings and descriptions of the costumes of the principal figures in the paintings), a glossary, a bibliography, and a well-made index. The whole is embellished with frequent line-drawings and over forty photographs.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that there are aspects of the practical business of book-making

¹ I discuss this issue as far as beliefs are concerned in a chapter on the *Coptica* from N. Saqqâra, to be published in the forthcoming First Excavation Report.

² F. Dumas, 'Les Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale pendant l'année 1966-1967', *CRAI* 1967, 444.

³ A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th edn., 1962), 141 ff.

127. 12 ff. The section εϛ'αηη εβδλ ρ̄π̄να'αᾱπ̄ωπε' τηροϛ ϣᾱπ̄τε'πεα τηροϛ π̄πκαρ'αϛω ϛ̄πιστεϛε ᾱε' has been omitted in the translation, which should read (from κεκας) 'so that their blessing and their grace might be continually in all my abodes unto all the ages of the earth, and I believe that . . .'.

Araïoule and Pteleme. 131. 6. ε̄σοουϛ is translated in the common manner as 'Ethiopians'. Since the term was applied in a much wider sense to the peoples living beyond the southern border of Egypt, is it not time that this word was rendered as 'Nubians' or something similar? 136. 7. 'His holy name' not 'thine . . .'.

Translation misprints. 158. 12. for 'what' read 'that'. 210. 16. for 'other' read 'others'. 222. 14. for 'thre' read 'the'.

This volume represents the final contribution to Coptic studies by John Barns. While the publication of these martyrdoms is to be welcomed, one questions whether their manner of presentation is the correct one. The desire to cut expenses to a minimum and thus keep the cost of the finished product within reasonable bounds is entirely laudable, but when, in spite of these economies, the published price is at a level that puts the book beyond the pocket of the average student, one wonders whether this is not a classic case of getting the worst of both worlds. It is a pity that we could not have had a more handsome memorial to a fine scholar.

C. WALTERS

The Rise of the Monophysite Movement. By W. H. C. FRENDE. Pp. xvii+405. Cambridge University Press, 1972. £12.50.

Most histories of the Early Church come to a conclusion with the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, and as a result the next two centuries—whose importance lies in the fact that it was they which saw the emergence of the various oriental churches into more or less their present form—have been unduly neglected by church historians. While to western Christendom Chalcedon can indeed to a certain extent be seen as a climax, in the east this was certainly not the case, and this book, which deals with the events immediately leading up to the fateful council, and their lengthy aftermath, is particularly welcome in that it provides a readable over-all account of the reaction to Chalcedon, hitherto lacking in English.

The first chapter outlines the events that led up to the Council, A.D. 428–51, while the background—Imperial policy and theological trends—is supplied in the following two chapters. Chapters 4–7 span the next century: the Henotikon, the Monophysite hour of success under Anastasius, the reaction of Justin's reign, and Justinian's fruitless efforts at reaching some sort of agreement (fruitless, that is, at the time, but perhaps not so in the light of recent conversations between the Melkite and Monophysite patriarchates of Antioch). The book concludes with a brief chapter on the 'Monophysite kingdoms', and a rather cursory look at developments under Justinian's successors, culminating in the loss of Syria and Egypt to the Arabs.

One can perhaps sense a certain imbalance in the presentation of the subject: well over one third of the book is spent on the period prior to and immediately following Chalcedon, while the generally much less familiar aftermath is covered with much greater rapidity. This imbalance is no doubt to be connected with the fact that far more work has been done on the earlier period, whereas for the later, while the primary sources probably increase in number and complexity, the secondary treatments are considerably less numerous.

One of the great merits of Professor Frend's book is the fact that he brings out very clearly the distinction between the two wings of the opposition to Chalcedon, the (Severan) *diakrinomenoi* and the Eutychians. While this distinction will immediately be obvious to anyone who is familiar with the anti-Chalcedonian sources, it is one that is still surprisingly often neglected by modern writers.

On the whole Professor Frend has made good use of the monophysite sources, although a few have been overlooked. Thus the account of the newly elected Severus throwing out the luxurious kitchen and bathing installations of his predecessors in the patriarchal palace, to be found in the second part of the Chronicle of Ps. Dionysius, might have appealed to the author's sense of humour. More surprising, in that it is far better known, is the lack of any mention of Simeon of Beth Arsham's correspondence on the Himyarite martyrs.

The weaknesses of the book lie in those areas where comparatively little spadework has been done. Thus the role of the Arab kingdoms is very poorly brought out, and it is perhaps symptomatic that on p. 285 the Lakhmid Mundar has been taken as a Ghassanid; no mention either is made of the activities of Hareth ibn Jabalah (mis-spelt 'Jabadah', *ibid.*) in support of the Monophysites in the 570s. Likewise the brief mention of the persecution of the monophysites in the Yemen in 523 fails to bring out the important political background that led to Byzantine (orthodox!) intervention, as a result of the conference at Ramlah in 524.

It would be true to say that almost all western writers on the subject covered by this book show a marked bias against the *diakrinomenoi*, thanks to their own ecclesiastical background and to the predominance and greater accessibility of anti-monophysite sources. Something of this (perhaps unconscious) bias is to be seen in the very title of the book: quite apart from the fact that 'Monophysite' is itself a loaded term (in that to many it means simply Eutychian), the word 'movement' is a little misleading, in that it implies movement away from something (i.e. Chalcedonian orthodoxy): in fact the *diakrinomenoi* saw themselves as the true upholders of the Nicene tradition, and held the Chalcedonian formula to be a dangerous and quite unnecessary innovation. But on the whole Professor Frend has made a serious effort to be impartial—at least until the Epilogue, where his real feelings are suddenly unveiled in an exceedingly one-sided outburst (the extent to which reason has been thrown aside here can be seen in the totally fantastic etymology (*oikonomia*) that is alleged for Syriac *qnoma* 'person').

In conclusion one can say without hesitation that this is a very useful work, but it is one that has certain failings, notably in its coverage of the second half of the period that it deals with. There is an appendix which gives an English translation of the Henotikon, the monophysite petition of 532 to Justinian, and the Edict of Justin II in 571. The lengthy bibliography is very helpful; there are, however, some surprising gaps as far as Chapters 8 and 9 are concerned. In the list of primary sources those of monophysite provenance are designated with an asterisk (though a few have escaped unmarked, and thus masquerade as Chalcedonian). The index rather tiresomely covers the text only, not the footnotes.

SEBASTIAN BROCK

Principles of Egyptian Art. By HEINRICH SCHÄFER. Edited with an epilogue by EMMA BRUNNER-TRAUT. Translated and edited by JOHN BAINES with a Foreword by E. H. GOMBRICH. Pp. xxviii+470, 109 pls., 331 figs. Oxford, 1974. £10.

(NOTE. This work, originally published as *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, was previously reviewed in *JEA* 7 (1921), 222–8, by N. de G. Davies. Readers are accordingly referred to this excellent analysis. E.P.U.)

As the writer of the foreword states, this book is a classic of Egyptology. Here a superlative edition has been produced with a special introduction by the translator in addition to a preface and a very major epilogue on 'Aspective' by the editor. This last item which fills no less than twenty-six pages has two purposes, firstly to replace Schäfer's term 'geradvorstellig' used for Egyptian representational methods with a more modern-sounding *aspective*. Secondly, as a reply to those who disregard Schäfer's results and try to interpret Egyptian art on the basis of its structure, and what is worse all pre-Greek art purely subjectively. Aldred's strictures on those who attempt the latter are very valid here. This new edition again employs much classical cross-referencing and strays into Renaissance ideals, as well as dealing with Babylonian and other art of comparable date, but does reinforce Schäfer's views strongly. Much of this will perhaps be too philosophical for the layman reading this kind of material for the first time, and on occasion is downright difficult of comprehension, as when on p. 435 we are treated to the explanation 'Space in *sculpture* is aspective, as in two-dimensional art'. The statement is here made in a context which is not clear as to whether sculpture in the round or reliefs are being referred to. Surely this sort of thing makes a considerable difference both as regards technical treatment by the ancients and modern analysis likewise. One must agree, however, with the writer's point that Schäfer's basic thesis that perspective *space* does not occur in Egyptian *two-dimensional art* is really a false one, derived from the assumption that two-dimensional art cannot show either space or depth. The question of the lack of perspective in the sense of modern art and the true possibilities of giving a sense of depth by other means seem to this writer to have been never satisfactorily dealt with by anybody as yet, and here more than anywhere Schäfer's invaluable work needs updating.

The book contains six appendices, beginning with the Sumerian myth of Etana's flight to heaven, quoted from Speiser's translation in *ANET*. These are followed by some Addenda with additional material mainly dating from before 1971, a chronological table based on Hornung with a curious system of vocalization of royal names. Why for instance 'Rekha^cef' but 'Menkaure' without honorific transposition, or 'Hatšepsut' with final *t* written and 'Tewosre' without? The grotesque mixture of old and new Egyptian renderings with classical forms, in some instances, is likely to prove most confusing to the non-specialist. A useful list of Berlin Museum numbers with object locations is a must, bearing in mind the present state of these divided collections since the Second World War, and the concordance of plate numbers in the German and English editions is also very useful. Sources of all text figures and plates are included as well as a copious bibliography with abbreviations listed, and very full indexes to what is in general an exemplary reissue.

E. P. UPHILL

Gläser der Antike Sammlung Erwin Oppenländer. By AXEL VON SALDERN, BIRGIT NOLTE, PETER LA BAUME, and THEA ELISABETH HAEVERNICK. Pp. 260, 265 pls. Mainz am Rhein, 1974. DM 88.

This very large private collection assembled by an industrialist is here given very thorough treatment by a team of experts. The vast amount of material is divided into sections by manufacture, typology, e.g. sand core, etc., in all ten classes. Egyptian objects fall into the first of these, and only these examples are treated here.

Each item is catalogued by number—762 in all. Of these no fewer than 100 are ancient Egyptian; by contrast only 14 examples are representative of all W. Asia, but later examples from Mediterranean countries reach about 107. A short introductory note is provided before each section, the contents of which appear to be aimed more for the general reader than the specialist, if that by Nolte on sand core vases is typical, and which covers only four pages.

The plates are excellent and many are in colour. Although they contain no scales, all the heights and dimensions of the objects are recorded in the notes on items. These last are excellent and contain full details of date, provenance, technical and typological categories, bibliography, and inventory number. Some serious criticisms must be made of what is a very lavish production in that it lacks two essentials for serious scholarship, both a list of plates and an index. This last must be accounted a disastrous omission if the authors desire their work to be taken seriously as a working tool, and while an abridged bibliography is given at the beginning, which would have been better placed at the end, there is no list of periodicals included here. Surely this is necessary as the mere dozen or so listed among the general works on glass incredibly do not include *ASAE*, *JEA*, or most of the standard Egyptological journals. Thus by inference the work of such researchers as H. C. Beck, which has appeared over the years in a variety of such journals, is completely ignored and the reader has not even a guide as to where to find such material for further study. The book at this level must therefore fall into the category of secondary source material, although of course the objects themselves provide the main interest and are very adequately covered. E. P. UPHILL

Other books received

1. *Late Egyptian and Coptic Art.* An Introduction to the Collections of the Brooklyn Museum. 285 × 210 mm. Pp. 24, pls. 54. Brooklyn Museum, 1943. Reprint 1974. Price: \$9. ISBN-0-913696-23-4.
2. *The Triumph of Horus.* An Ancient Egyptian Sacred Drama. Translated and edited by H. W. FAIRMAN with a chapter by DEREK NEWTON and DEREK POOLE. 222 × 138 mm. Pp. x + 150, pls. 4, figs. 19. London, B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1974. Price: £3.00. ISBN-0-7134-1938-0.
3. *The Sphinx & the Megaliths.* By John Irving. 233 × 161 mm. Pp. x + 108, illustr. 40. London, Turnstone Books, 1974. Price: £2.95. ISBN-85500-0228.
4. *The Divine Tribunal.* An Inaugural Lecture, 1974. By J. Gwyn Griffiths. 210 × 140 mm. Pp. 32. Swansea, University College, 1975. Price: 25p.

C. H. S. SPAULL

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59. LOCATION-LIST OF THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI AND OF OTHER GREEK PAPYRI PUBLISHED BY THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY. By R. A. COLES. 1974. £1.50.
60. THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, Part XLIII. By J. R. REA. Twelve Plates. 1975. £16.50.
61. PROCEEDINGS OF THE XIVth INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PAPYROLOGISTS, Oxford, July 1974. 1975. £4.50.

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- WHO WAS WHO IN EGYPTOLOGY. A Biographical Index of Egyptologists . . . from the year 1700 to the present day, but excluding persons now living. By WARREN R. DAWSON. 1951. 2nd edition revised by E. P. UPHILL. 1972. £7.25.

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