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## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE retirement of Professor Eric G. Turner as Chairman of the Society is an event that points to a distinguished record of service both to the Society and to the scholarly interests represented by it. At the same time he has relinquished his Chair of Papyrology at University College London, a post which he has filled with signal distinction. It was in succession to the late Professor Stephen Glanville that he was elected to the chairmanship of the Society twenty-one years ago. During this period there has never been anything casual or cursory about his approach. Rather has he thrown himself into every area of the Society's activities with constant vigilance and vigour. He has often visited our excavation sites, and, when Graeco-Roman material has been involved, has himself taken an active part in the publication of new material. He has long since acted as Joint Editor of our Graeco-Roman Memoirs, having first appeared in that capacity in 1951. He has also shown a keen interest in Pharaonic Egypt and in our whole programme of research and publication. Recently he has been fittingly awarded the degree of D.Litt. *honoris causa* by the University of Liverpool; and he has been elected a Vice-President of our Society. We wish him many happy years ahead and proffer our fervent gratitude.

Our sense of loss at his departure is tempered by the good fortune which has attended the election of his successor. Miss Margaret S. Drower, our new Chairman, is well known to all our members. For many years she was Honorary Secretary of the Society, and has remained an active member of the Committee after handing over that position to Mr. Robert Anderson. She is well equipped to guide our future deliberations.

During the last year the Society has conducted excavations in several areas. Of the work in North Saqqâra (1977-8) Professor H. S. Smith writes as follows:

Two excavations were undertaken in the northern temple town, conjecturally identified as the 'Anubieion', one on the site of the central terraced temple on the escarpment (Sectors 12-14); the other on a domestic quarter within the western precinct wall, north of the Teti pyramid temple (Sector 5). In its final phase the central temple appears to have comprised stone-built halls and sanctuaries on the cliff top (now under the modern village), a huge and impressive terrace in squared limestone masonry rising to the level of the top of the cliff which may have borne a columned hall or court, and at least one great terraced and paved court lower down the cliff. Apparently there were two ways up from the cultivation: one by the Serapeum Way to the north, the other by an access way through the courts of the temple by ramps or stairs up to a granite pylon standing on the escarpment. The elements of this gate have been recovered and it can be reconstructed: unfortunately, the remainder of the stonework of the temple was all robbed before the site was reoccupied by a Christian community, probably in the fourth-fifth century A.D., who built their brick rooms and granaries direct upon the temple pavements. The plan of the temple buildings cannot therefore be more than partially reconstructed, but a cornice block of Ptolemy II Philadelphus found on the lower terrace pavement suggests the date of its final rebuilding. At least two earlier phases have been identified.

The outstanding achievements of the season are these; the detailed history of an important temple-quarter of Memphis in the Late Period is being articulated; the combination of settlement evidence with temple-building history should lead to closer understanding of the function of such quarters than has been possible in the past; a datable series of coins from stratified levels will allow much-needed analysis of the Egyptian domestic pottery wares of the Graeco-Roman period; a small but useful collection of Greek and Egyptian documents on papyrus, stone, and potsherds will help throw light on the community; a series of samples have been taken for scientific investigation; and finally it has been shown, thanks to the unsparing and devoted efforts of a highly qualified staff of dig supervisors, that very detailed methods of excavation recording, based upon those recommended by the Council for British Archaeology, can be adapted for use even in trenches dug in the soft sand of the Egyptian desert, providing that recording is instant and special

measures are taken to deal with the inevitable collapse of sections and difficulty of discriminating minutely varying strata.

Excavations continued at the Memphite tomb of Horemheb and the results are thus described by Dr. Geoffrey T. Martin:

Our fourth and final season of excavations was concluded on March 27, 1978. All our activities this year have been underground, and the entire substructure of the tomb is now revealed. The complex of rooms and corridors opening off from Shaft IV, and designed for the tomb-owner and his wife, was emptied of its fill of limestone chippings. The main burial-chamber lies some 29 metres below the surface, and was found to be unfinished. It had, however, been used for an interment. Quantities of sherds from large storage vessels and amphorae were found here, as well as other pottery. All this material is closely datable, since one of the amphorae bears a hieratic docket of Year 13 of Horemheb, the highest certain regnal date of that monarch so far recorded. The plan and architecture of the subterranean complex, now being studied, is of considerable interest, and some of the features are unique in Egyptian funerary archaeology.

Our primary concern in the 1979 season will be to complete the recording and collating of the wealth of reliefs, inscriptions, objects, and pottery, brought to light in the preceding seasons, and to prepare it for publication.

A new season at Qaṣr Ibrîm is thus reported by Mr. Robert Anderson:

The 1978 season at Qaṣr Ibrîm was longer than usual. Excavation began on January 15 and stopped on March 30. The team finally left the site on April 15. Work was concentrated in two main areas, a large sector west of the cathedral, and the plaza west of the Taharqa temple. In addition there was systematic investigation of the cathedral and church 2 with a view to early publication, and fascinating discoveries were made about the architectural history of the south bastion and southern fortifications. West of the cathedral the Bosnian structures have been completely cleared, and beneath them was found a large series of houses dating to the early part of the Late Christian period. In this area Ballana and Meroitic features have also been exposed, and a series of Bosnian storage pits would appear to intrude into Napatan or earlier levels. In the west plaza it has become clear that in late Meroitic times the Taharqa temple was flanked on the west by three stone-walled chambers running from north to south. There are foundation traces of a small pylon to the north, and considerable stretches of the pavement remain *in situ* with many footprint impressions, sometimes enclosing the pilgrim's name, similar to those on the podium. In front of the temple has now appeared what seems to be the base of a large pylon, with hints of a second further north. It can now be seen that the southern fortifications contained at subsequent periods heavy curving walls with a brick skin and core of rough stone slabs with wide gateway; a circular bastion creating an elevated platform; a double-faced girdle wall including the South Gate; and evidence of later heightenings and rebuildings. The many finds of the season have included a bronze or copper sheet that may originally have provided the sheath for a military baton, with decoration Roman in inspiration; a small Meroitic head of Amûn as a ram in gold; the barrel of a bronze or brass cannon; two croziers; fragments of wooden furniture, probably ecclesiastical. Among the more remarkable textual discoveries have been a Latin poem probably in honour of Augustus; a papyrus (perhaps seventh century) with a Greek letter on one side and a Coptic legal document on the other; many biblical fragments in Coptic; and six Psalms in Greek and Old Nubian.

Mr. W. V. Davies contributes the following account of the work done by the Saqqâra Epigraphic Expedition:

The season extended from September 9 to October 21, 1977, when work was concluded on the group of Sixth-Dynasty mastabas situated to the north of the tombs of Kagemni and Mereruka in the Teti-Pyramid Cemetery. The staff, as last season, comprised Drs. A. B. Lloyd and A. J. Spencer and Mr. W. V. Davies, working in collaboration with Dr. Aly El-Khouly of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities. Epigraphy was largely concentrated on the one tomb, which remained unrecorded from the previous season, that of an official named Meru. The copying of the scenes and inscriptions in this tomb proved a difficult and challenging task, as the decoration was roughly executed and is much effaced, but was in the end brought to a successful conclusion. The work was much facilitated by the fact that the walls had been carefully cleaned, before the season proper began, under the supervision of Dr. El-Khouly. Archaeological work proceeded in conjunction with the epigraphy. As many of the burial shafts and chambers of the group as were accessible were



excavated and planned. Four of the chambers contained a large limestone sarcophagus, in each case robbed out in antiquity. Nevertheless, a considerable number of objects was recovered during the season, including an inscribed offering table, flint implements, model tools and vessels, offering pots, canopic jars, beads and amulets, and fragments of an inscribed wooden coffin. Towards the end of the season attention was turned to the large mastaba of Nefer-seshem-Ptah in the nearby 'Rue de Tombeaux'. The first stage in the recording of this tomb, the making of rubbings of the decoration, is now almost complete.

Mr. Barry J. Kemp reports on the survey which has continued at El-'Amarna:

Barry J. Kemp returned to El-'Amarna to complete the survey of the city begun last year, and worked on the site between March 4 and April 5, accompanied by Mohammed Abd el-Aziz, Inspector of Antiquities. Beginning from the northernmost limits of settlement, the surveying was continued southwards until it joined up with that carried out last year. Various features north and south of the Great Temple were mapped, and a certain amount of architectural study was carried out in the North City to aid the eventual final publication of the Society's excavations carried out here in the 1920s and 1930s. In the centre of the city an examination of the pottery lying above and on the desert behind the 'Temple Magazines' strongly suggests that this building was in fact the main central bakery for the city. Some preliminary recording was also done along the sides of the storm-water canal dug from the desert to the river bank just to the north of El-Till village. Whilst most of the sediments exposed are of desert origin, a clear narrow alluvial stratum containing Roman remains can be identified along much of the lower end at a depth of between 1.5 and 2 metres below present ground level. In addition to the archaeological work, a restoration of the old southern dig house near the modern village of El-Hagg Qandil was carried out, to provide the Society with accommodation appropriate for further field-work at El-'Amarna.

A papyrological project in which the Society has been co-operating with other bodies is reported by Dr. Revel Coles:

A team spent a month in Cairo from February 13 to March 13, 1978, continuing the photography of Greek papyri in the Egyptian Museum for the International Papyrological Photographic Archive. The team was composed as follows: Dr. R. A. Coles (Oxford: Director); Dr. A. Bülow-Jacobsen (Copenhagen); and Dr. W. Van Rengen (Brussels). The mission was sponsored jointly by CIPSH (UNESCO) via the Association Internationale des Papyrologues and the Egypt Exploration Society, with some additional help from other organizations. The Society accepted over-all responsibility for the mission, and effected this through Dr. G. T. Martin who was directing work at Saqqāra at the time. We are grateful to the Egyptian authorities for allowing the team to work, and especially to Dr. Dia Abou Ghazi the Director of the Museum and Dr. Khafif who was directly responsible for the papyrus collection. We should also like to thank Professor Kaiser and the staff of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Cairo for facilities kindly provided.

The seven sets, he adds, were distributed thus: the large-format negatives to the International Papyrological Photographic Archive in Brussels. Two sets of 35-mm. negatives to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Sets of colour transparencies to the Brussels Archive; the Papyrology Rooms at the Ashmolean in Oxford; the Aegyptologisk Institut in Copenhagen, and the Institut für Altertumskunde in Cologne. The team photographed the P. Fayûm and P. Hibeh in the Museum, miscellaneous items mostly recorded in R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2nd edn., Ann Arbor, 1965, and a selection of Michigan papyri published in volumes VI and VIII of that series. Approximately 250 papyri altogether were photographed, and approximately 2,400 photographs made.

Professor R. A. Caminos has provided the following brief conspectus of the excellent epigraphic work he has done for the Society:

Here is a summary of three recent seasons of epigraphic work at Gebel es-Silsilah. Between February 7 and May 16, 1975, the expedition entirely finished the double task (discontinued since the spring of 1959) of making an architectural survey of the Speos of Horemheb and of recording all the inscriptions, reliefs, sculptures, and graffiti extant in that monument, which is, among other things, a vast repository of texts of prime historical importance. In the following seasons, stretching from February 13 to May 2, 1976, and

from February 5 to April 14, 1978, the Society's camp was established at the south end of the site, on the west bank, within a stone's throw of the monuments to be copied. In the course of these two campaigns, the three huge rock-shrines erected by Sethos I, Ramesses II, and Merneptah in honour, mainly, of the Nile god were recorded in full, both epigraphically and architecturally; and moreover fourteen different stelae, niches, and inscribed panels cut on the cliff in the vicinity of the royal shrines were also recorded in life-size fascimiles, including a stately stela of Sethos I, which had long been thought to have been destroyed by modern quarrying, and which proved to be not entirely rhetorical, as an 1862-3 copy had led to believe. The Silsilah expedition was a one-man operation throughout, except when Dr. Jürgen Osing joined it for a week, in April 1978, and made a thorough study of the colours preserved in the royal shrines. Grateful acknowledgement is made of his valuable help, and also of a substantial grant awarded by the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, D.C., for the February-April 1978 season.

We congratulate Mr. John D. Ray on his appointment as Herbert Thompson Reader in Egyptology at the University of Cambridge. His scholarly work is well known from the pages of *JEA* and the Society has recently published his admirable *Archive of Hor*. At Liverpool University Mr. Chris Eyre has been appointed Lecturer in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies. He is an Oxford graduate who studied Accadian with Egyptian. At the University of Geneva Dr. Robert Hari has been appointed Professor of Egyptology in succession to Professor Charles Maystre.

It is good to note that the International Association of Egyptologists has been firmly re-established under the presidency of Professor T. Säve-Söderbergh. The secretariat is being organized by Professor Jean Leclant, to whom the enrolment fee of \$10 (for students \$5) should be sent at 77 Rue Georges-Lardennois, F-75019 Paris. There will be no annual subscription. An International Association for Coptic Studies has also been recently founded. The president is Professor Martin Krause and the secretary Professor Tito Orlandi, whose address is Via Civinini 24, 00186 Roma.

The death has occurred on January 27, 1978, at Bushey of Miss Myrtle F. Broome, who assisted Amice M. Calverley at Abydos in a project which led to the publication by the Society of *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*. Miss Broome was in her ninetieth year.

With this volume, the eighth produced by him, the present Editor takes his leave. He has cause to be grateful for much good advice, for the patience of contributors, and especially for the expert aid so readily given by the Oxford University Press. Looking back, one observes that some volumes were fat and some were thin; and it seems likely that the second type will prevail for some time.

Our new Editor, Dr. Alan B. Lloyd, is well qualified to take over. He is a Senior Lecturer in Ancient History at the University College of Swansea in the University of Wales, and his scholarship is already well known to readers of this Journal. He is also the author of the invaluable new *Commentary on the Second Book of Herodotus*, two volumes of which have so far appeared (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1975 and 1976).

## EXCAVATIONS AT THE MEMPHITE TOMB OF HOREMḤEB, 1977: PRELIMINARY REPORT

By GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

THE third season of excavations opened on January 10, 1977, and continued until March 23. The staff comprised Dr. G. T. Martin (University College London, Field Director), Dr. H. D. Schneider (National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden), Mr. C. J. Eyre (The Queen's College, Oxford, photographer), Mr. M. J. Raven, Mr. R. van Walsem (Leiden University), and Mr. W. P. Schenck (draughtsman). The assistance of our friends and colleagues in the Egyptian Antiquities Department (H.E. Dr. Gamal Mukhtar, Dr. Aly El-Khouly, Mr. Said El-Fiky), and the hospitality of Dr. and Mrs. F. Leemhuis (Netherlands Institute, Cairo) are warmly acknowledged.

In the previous report<sup>1</sup> I described the discoveries in the Second Courtyard of the tomb, including a remarkable series of reliefs. Our work in 1977 was a little more prosaic, but none the less fruitful. Most of our efforts this season were underground, where we were hoping to recover information on the family of ḤoremḤeb from the burial-chambers. Our hopes have not been altogether fulfilled in this regard, but some extraordinarily interesting new facts and puzzles have resulted from the work. In addition to the excavating, work has also begun on the repair and making-safe of the tomb.<sup>2</sup>

In Shaft I, in the north-west corner of the Great Courtyard, we continued the work begun in 1976. In that season we emptied the shaft itself to a depth of 8.0 metres, at which point a doorway on the south side gives access, via a corridor, to the burial-chambers. This year we found some evidence that these had been entered in the nineteenth century, perhaps at the time when blocks from the courtyard above were being extracted for removal to the Museum collections. It seems certain, however, that no systematic clearance was carried out. One of the most curious finds from the shaft was a fragment of a canopic jar with the Duamutef formula, and an early nineteenth-century inscription added in charcoal, which proves to be Sura 109 from the Qur'ān.<sup>3</sup>

We found the burial-chambers heaped with chippings from the original blocking of the corridor, and these chippings contained a number of objects of great interest. Originally there were four burials in this part of the tomb, but as usual in large and important tombs everything had been overturned, broken, or otherwise destroyed. The humidity had caused most of the woodwork to perish—including the coffins—and left most of the bones in fragile condition. The burials here were certainly rich—there was much

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 63 (1977), 13–18. The work of planning the newly excavated subterranean rooms found in 1977 has been postponed until the final season, 1978. As in the previous two reports, for reasons of economy, the descriptive detail has been kept to a minimum.

<sup>2</sup> Made possible through a generous financial grant, given as a result of a cultural agreement between the Netherlands Government and Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> Read and identified by Dr. F. Leemhuis.



burial-chamber, a simple rock-cut room on the south, containing a late Old-Kingdom sarcophagus in position in a pit in the floor. It was inscribed for the *s3b Hwꜣ-wr*.<sup>6</sup> Evidently this was the burial-chamber of a mastaba demolished by Horemḥeb to make way for his own monument. Its chequered history was not finished with the Eighteenth Dynasty, however, for some 1,500 years after the tomb of Horemḥeb was finally abandoned the chamber was used as an anchorite's cell. Several Christian symbols, including a cross and a fish, are daubed on the ceiling and walls. There is evidence that other parts of the tomb were occupied in the Coptic period, doubtless by monks and others from the neighbouring monastery of Apa Jeremias. From the historical point of view one of the most interesting discoveries in Shaft I was a number of architectural elements from the pyramid *enceinte* of Djoser, reused as blocking material in the doorways of the chambers. Other pieces were subsequently found in Shaft III. Indeed it is now clear that Horemḥeb's architect used a large number of blocks from the Djoser enclosure for building the superstructure of the tomb,<sup>7</sup> and the discovery of such reused material is thus of interest for the history of the Djoser monument itself.

Our work completed in Shaft I, we turned our attention to Shafts II and III, which flank the main cult chapel on the west side of the tomb. The shafts and chambers of both were reused in the Late Period and early Ptolemaic Period. Though everything had been disturbed, skeletal material was plentiful.<sup>8</sup> Hundreds of small shabtis were found, some inscribed with the names of their owners. The burial-chambers of Shafts II and III break into the subterranean parts of other tombs via robbers' tunnels, and it is possible to walk for a considerable distance underground, moving from tomb to tomb. After examination, for reasons of safety and security these parts have been sealed off.

Evidently the burial-chambers of Shaft III are on two levels, the second of which will be investigated next year. At a depth of 8.0 metres chambers are met with on the west and east sides. The latter breaks into Shaft IV by way of a plunderer's hole. Shaft IV, in the Second Courtyard of the tomb, was certainly designed to give access to the principal burial-place, and was doubtless intended originally for Horemḥeb and his wife. All the material recovered by us from this shaft is of late Eighteenth-Dynasty date, in contrast to Shaft I which, as noted above, contained Ramesside burials.

At the 8.0 metre level in Shaft IV an impressive doorway opens out on the south side, giving access to a corridor, above and around which is a level platform forming a kind of ante-room. Part of the original blocking of stones is still in position in the corridor. This is plastered, and the gypsum bears a series of clear impressions of the Necropolis seal (pl. II, 1), Anubis on his shrine over nine bound captives.<sup>9</sup> Once the plunderer's hole in the blocking is negotiated a small room is entered, with a stairway on the south giving access to a deep pit, like the examples in the royal tombs in Thebes

<sup>6</sup> 

<sup>7</sup> This material has now been examined *in situ* by M. Jean-Philippe Lauer, who promises us a report on it for the final publication. The elements from the pilasters of the Djoser colonnade, found in the tomb of Horemḥeb this season, have now been taken by us to the Step Pyramid enclosure.

<sup>8</sup> This has been studied, and will be published, by Dr. Eugen Strouhal.

<sup>9</sup> For other recently published examples of this seal from the Memphite necropolis, see E. Bresciani, S. Pernigotti, M. P. Giangeri Silvis, *La tomba di Ciennehebu* (Pisa, 1977), pls. 28, 8-10; 59.

and El-'Amarna.<sup>10</sup> High up on the north side of the pit is a chamber, which will be mentioned below.

Having emptied the pit of its fill of chippings,<sup>11</sup> we entered a corridor on the west, the door of which had likewise been stamped with the seal of the Necropolis. At the end of the passage was found a large burial-chamber, orientated north-south, which from its impressive dimensions we at first took to be the principal burial-place of Horemheb's tomb, and the intended resting-place of the great official himself. In the middle of the room is the sarcophagus pit, but the humidity had destroyed practically all remains of the wooden coffin. The ceiling of the chamber (pl. II, 2) is vaulted, and it and the walls are roughly painted with bands of red and black decoration. A niche or doorway is shown at the north and south ends. No inscriptions were found in this room to give a clue to the name of the original occupant, but inscribed objects (see below) were found in the outer approach corridor and adjacent areas. The main interest of the chamber is architectural, since on the western edge of the sarcophagus pit are three truncated columns with scalloped capitals, carved out of the rock, and supporting a painted cavetto cornice (pl. II, 3). This is an extraordinary, and at the moment inexplicable, feature, and apparently new in Egyptian funerary archaeology.

Our work completed in this chamber, we turned our attention, towards the end of the season, to the room opening off on the north side of the pit, noted above. Having emptied the room of its fill of chippings, we found that it contained another deep pit, which itself gave on to a large room, full of debris. The walls are carved with shallow recessed panels, and painted red and black. In the north-east corner the top of a door was discernible above the chippings. This proved to give access to another large room, orientated east-west, almost entirely filled with soft limestone (*tafl*) chippings. On the east side of the room is a doorway, the surround elaborately carved with *ankh*, *was*, and other symbols, but otherwise uninscribed. Beyond is yet another chamber, full of debris, with niches to either side. This is the anteroom leading to a pillared hall (pl. II, 4), again painted with decorations in red and black, and filled almost to the tops of the capitals with limestone chippings. Around the walls, just below ceiling level, are a series of rock-cut niches or panels, perhaps representing the windows or slits provided in that position in Ancient Egyptian houses and other structures. On the south side of the hall is a shaft, the rim of which is worn from the ropes and tackle of the plunderers who entered in antiquity. We found no clues to suggest that Shaft IV had been entered in modern times, and all the evidence points to the burial-chambers having been used at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the north-east corner of the hall another doorway, completely choked with debris, will doubtless lead to another room or rooms. Thus the tomb is seemingly of royal proportions, at least in its subterranean arrangements. Another season will be needed to complete the excavation.

<sup>10</sup> See F. Abitz, *Die religiöse Bedeutung der sogenannten Grabräuberschächte in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. bis 20. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1974).

<sup>11</sup> One curious feature of the tomb is the enormous amount of soft desert marl or limestone chippings (*tafl*) present in most of the chambers. The assumption is that this represents the spoil from the original cutting of the underground chambers, afterwards utilized in the blocking of approach corridors after the burials had taken place. The chippings were subsequently tunnelled and redistributed by tomb-robbers.

To turn finally to the objects found in Shaft IV. These were plentiful, but reasons of economy preclude the mention of all but a few of the more significant historical pieces. Almost without exception these were found in the entrance corridor and in the east burial chamber of Shaft III, where it breaks through into the corridor. Evidently the robbers brought out the funerary objects from the inner chambers to the comparative light of the shaft, selected the more valuable items, and smashed and threw away the remainder. Of inscribed objects there may be mentioned an elaborate vessel inscribed for Amenophis III. The nomen was obliterated in the reign of his son, Akhenaten. Many fragments of fine alabaster vessels were likewise found. We also located a seal impression on a sherd, mentioning the Aten temple at Heliopolis, a limestone stela showing a king before two offering-tables (pl. III, 1), a limestone plaque with the prenomen of King Ay (pl. III, 2), two stamped jar-handles with the name of ḤoremḤeb as king (pl. III, 3), and fragments of painted pottery with hieratic docketts naming him at an earlier stage in his career as Royal Scribe. These latter are dated to Year 2, presumably of Tut'ankhamūn or Ay. Two statues of an official, presumably ḤoremḤeb, were also found in this area (pl. IV, 1, 2). Of particular interest and importance are objects of Mutnodjmet, wife of ḤoremḤeb.<sup>12</sup> These include fragments of alabaster inscribed with her name and titles, one of which bears a funerary text and which seems to be part of her funerary equipment rather than a votive object dedicated at the burial of another person. It is thus possible that Queen Mutnodjmet was buried, if only temporarily, in the monument built by her husband when he was a private individual. If this proves to be the case—and the 'royal' character of the subterranean parts of the tomb may bear it out—it will be of some interest from the historical and chronological points of view. At the very end of the season fragments of a statuette of the queen began to come up (pl. IV, 3), and it is hoped that the rest will be found in the lower levels of Shaft III when we resume work next season.

As a postscript to this brief report I may mention that the Zizinia Block which, as I indicated in the previous report,<sup>13</sup> is from the tomb, has now been rediscovered, thanks to the efforts of friends and colleagues in Egypt. Hopes that other blocks in Museum collections would prove to derive from the Memphite tomb of ḤoremḤeb have begun to be realized with the discovery, on a recent visit to Chicago, that an unpublished block (no. 10591) in the Oriental Institute Museum is part of the decoration of the south wall of the Great Courtyard.<sup>14</sup>

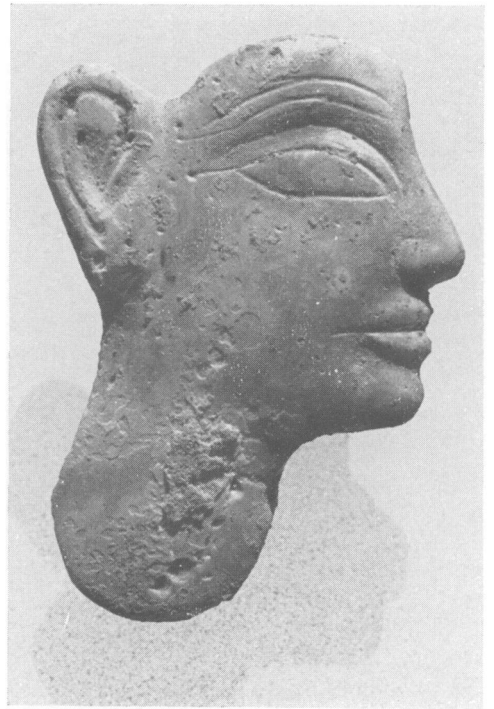
<sup>12</sup> Most of the documentation is assembled in R. Hari, *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet* (Geneva, 1964), 149 ff. See also E. Thomas, *JEA* 53 (1967), 161-3; C. Aldred, *JEA* 54 (1968), 100-6; cf. 56 (1970), 195-6; W. Helck, *CdÉ* 48 (1973), 251-3; R. Hari, *CdÉ* 50 (1976), 39-46.

<sup>13</sup> *JEA* 63 (1977), 16.

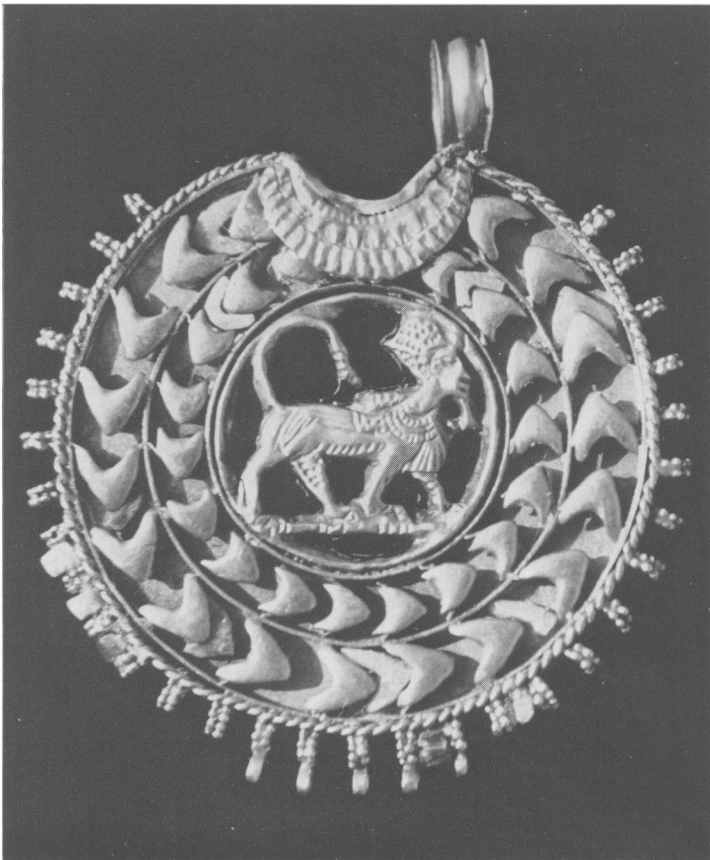
<sup>14</sup> This will be published in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.



1. Heart scarab from Shaft I

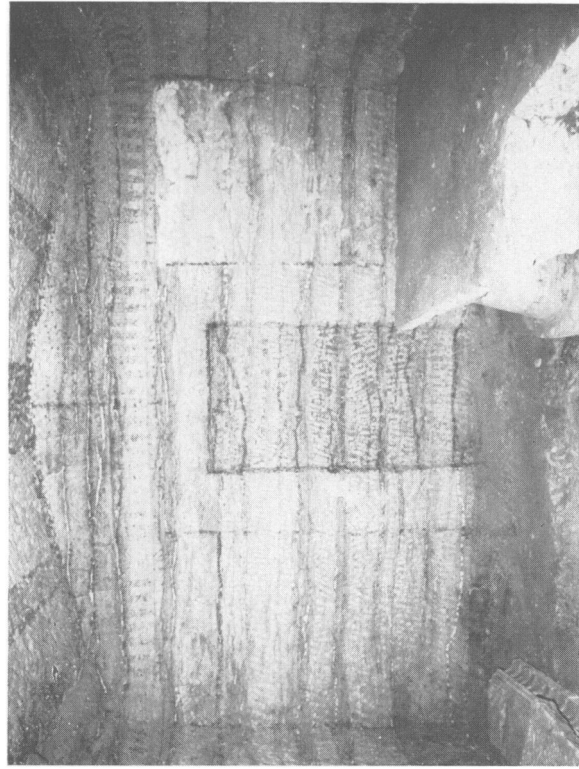


2. Glass inlay from Shaft I. Ht. 5.1 cm

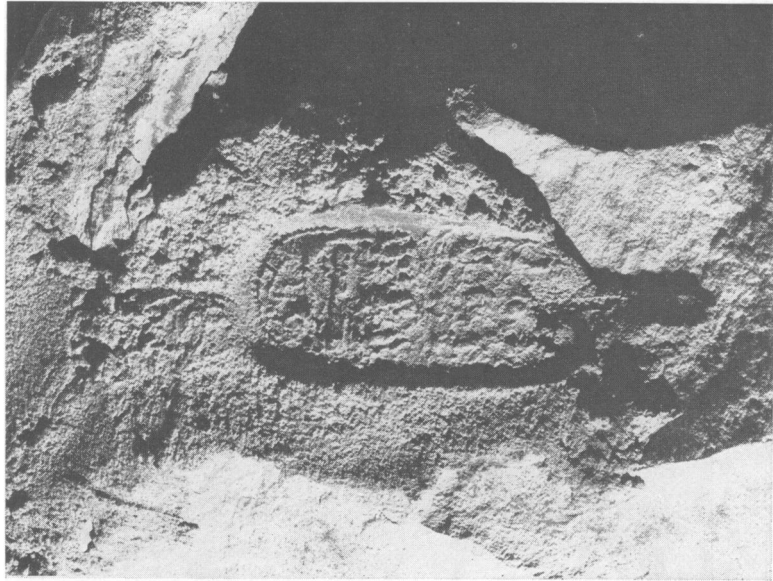


3-4. Gold ear-ring from Shaft I. Diam. 4.5 cm

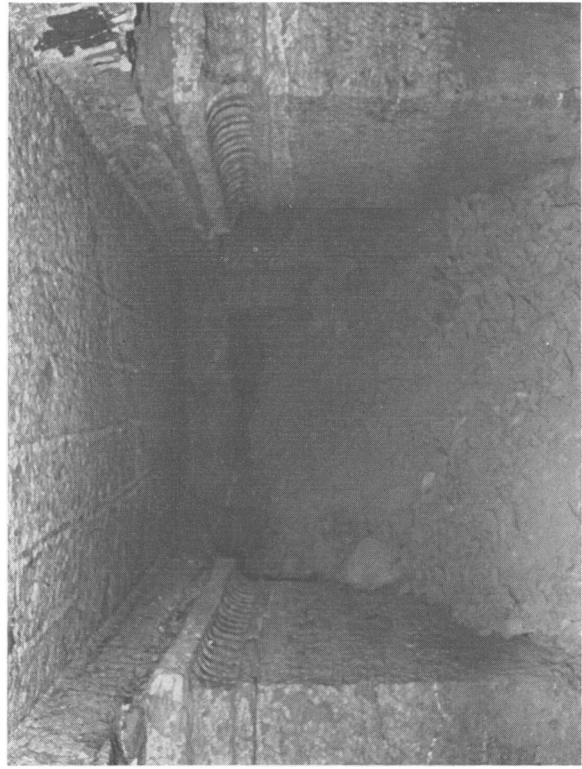




2. Burial chamber in Shaft IV, looking south



1. Necropolis seal from corridor, Shaft IV. Ht. of oval 12.0 cm





1. Miniature stela. Ht. 10.5 cm



2. Plaque of King Ay. 6.6×4 cm



3. Stamped handle of Horemheb as King



4. Tyet-amulet. Ht. 4.5 cm



Kneeling statue. Ht. of figure 71.0 cm



2. Head from statue of Horemheb



3. Lower part of statuette of Queen Mutnodjmet. Ht. 40.8 cm

## THE NORTH SAQQÂRA TEMPLE-TOWN SURVEY: PRELIMINARY REPORT FOR 1976/77

By H. S. SMITH *and* D. G. JEFFREYS

THE Society's expedition worked at North Saqqâra from November 1, 1976 to January 4, 1977. The staff members were H. S. Smith, J. D. Ray, W. J. Tait, D. G. Jeffreys, C. J. Davey, and Mrs. S. George. El-Sayyid Said El-Fiky, Inspector of Antiquities for North Saqqâra, shared in the work, and the Society is deeply grateful to him and to Dr. Aly El-Khouly, Director for Saqqâra and Memphis, for scientific and administrative co-operation of every sort. It also owes a deep debt of gratitude, extending now over many years, for the advice, courtesy, and constant help that have been given by the Head of the Antiquities Organization, Dr. Gamal Mukhtar; it is with his encouragement that the present work has been undertaken. The Director-General of Antiquities, Dr. Ahmad El-Khadry, and the Director-General for Egyptian Monuments, Dr. Hishmet Messiakh, and the head of the Public Relations office, Mr. Gamil Shagr, have also given much courteous help.

While excavation of the temple precinct at the Sacred Animal Necropolis site was completed in December 1975, much publication work remains to be done. Ray completed a survey of demotic ostraca, and prepared copies and transcripts for publication. Tait and Smith continued work on demotic literary papyri and letters. Smith and Jeffreys wrote up material for the site report. Davey, with the help of El-Sayyid El-Fiky, undertook a topographical survey of the valley from Abusir to the Serapeum, on the scarp of which the temple precinct lies. He also re-examined the catacombs for evidence of the methods used in their construction with interesting results.

As an extension of the Society's work over the past twelve years, it seems logical to examine and survey other Late-Period remains at Saqqâra which may comprise the burial catacombs and temple precincts of the animal gods of Memphis. Outstanding among these is the site colloquially known as Es-Sign Yusuf: 'The Prison of Joseph'. It was first investigated by Auguste Mariette<sup>1</sup> in 1860, in the course of his Serapeum excavations. The sphinx-lined sacred way, which had led him to the Serapeum *dromos* and catacombs, was traced by him eastwards down the escarpment to the edge of the cultivation; in order to do this, he dismantled, after protracted negotiations with the local notables, the domed burnt-brick Muslim shrine called Es-Sign Yusuf. This stood within a vast rectangular enclosure (250 × 250 m. in area) of ancient mud-brick walls, called Gisir En-Nahas, up to 7 m in thickness (see map, fig. 1). Mariette was able to trace this in part, and near the cultivation he found what appeared to be a stone quay wall. Where the escarpment rose from the valley, it was revetted with a massive wall over 100 m long and 20 m high of fine white limestone. West of this wall

<sup>1</sup> See his *Le Serapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1882), 72-5 and pl. I.

he found buildings of considerable size flanking the Serapeum Way. On the basis of the Greek documents he found at the Serapeum, Mariette suggested that the whole brick enclosure was the 'Greek Serapeum' and that these buildings represented the 'Pastophorion'; with typical acuity, however, he realized that the great enclosure might also be linked with the temple quarters of the Anubieion and Asklepieion mentioned in the Serapeum documents. Mariette's plan of these remains is not accurately surveyed, nor is the revision of it which J. de Morgan<sup>2</sup> published in his valuable map of Saqqāra, though he includes a plan, apparently substantially accurate, of the catacombs of the dogs about 150 m north of the north wall of the enclosure. Most of what Mariette saw is today buried or built over, and what can now be recovered is not easily identifiable on his plan owing to its inaccuracy.

In 1905/7 J. E. Quibell<sup>3</sup> excavated a large area of the southern end of the enclosure in preparation for work on the funerary temple of the Teti Pyramid complex. In the south enclosure wall he found the granite threshold of a gateway; within was a rectangular platform paved in stone which had presumably served as the floor of a temple court or hall. Adjoining this platform on the east against the inner face of the enclosure, he found a series of roughly built chambers. The walls of these chambers were adorned with effigies of Bes and lesser figures in *pisé*, painted in bright colours. A limestone wall enclosed these chambers and the temple platform on the east and north, forming an inner precinct. A block bearing the cartouches of Ptolemy V Epiphanes was recovered from a gateway leading northwards out of this precinct; other finds, though generally of Ptolemaic and Roman date, did not help to date the structure precisely. Quibell dug through the remains of the platform and removed some of the Bes chambers, and found below a necropolis of small tombs of the Late Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, and Early Middle Kingdom. These in turn were cut into layers of deposit overlying and surrounding a great unfinished limestone *mastaba* tomb, which had been used as a base for the temple platform; the great south enclosure wall was constructed across it (see map, fig. 1). The *mastaba* had two plain niches on its east face; its style suggests that it belongs to a relatively early date in the Old Kingdom, but no inscriptions nor precise evidence of date were found. Subsequently, Quibell and Firth dumped vast quantities of spoil from the Teti Pyramid temple in an arc round the *mastaba* (see map, fig. 1), so that only a portion of these excavations is still visible; Quibell's plan suffers from its relatively small scale and apparent inaccuracies.

From the south gate of the great brick enclosure, Quibell traced a stone-paved causeway, leading southwards through a gate in an even more massive brick wall, which is at a slight angle to the first. This is the north wall (shown in fig. 1) of a southern enclosure, the total area of which is approximately 325 × 275 m. In the nineteenth century, burials of mummified cats were found in quantity in its southern part; they are marked on de Morgan's map. It is thus natural to assume that it represents the Bubastieion, the temple precinct of the cat-headed goddess Bastet. Early excavations in the valley area of the enclosure revealed mud-brick vaulted structures flanking an access way from the

<sup>2</sup> *Carte de la Nécropole Memphite* (Cairo, 1897), Map 10.

<sup>3</sup> See his *Excavations at Saqqara* (1905-06) (Cairo, 1907), *passim*; (1906-07), 1-61.

east, while in the middle of the south enclosure wall was a gate tower of imposing proportions, perhaps the main entry to the necropolis from Memphis. A brick wall along the edge of the escarpment divides the enclosure; to the west of it may be discerned traces of an inner rectangular brick precinct wall, which may have surrounded the temple. Sporadic minor excavations have been undertaken within this enclosure by inspectors of the Antiquities Service during this century, but nowhere is there any general account or plan of the whole complex.

C. M. Firth, as Chief Inspector of Saqqâra, built a large house at the north end of the northern enclosure, which has subsequently become the headquarters of the Antiquities Service at Saqqâra, to which has been added a village for Antiquities Service staff. In the southern enclosure only two houses have been built, but the centre of the site is used as a car park. Work on the Teti Pyramid cemeteries by Firth, Gunn, and their successors, together with the valuable clearances of J.-Ph. Lauer, J. St.-Fare Garnot, and J. Leclant in the Teti Pyramid temple<sup>4</sup> have inevitably led to further removal of Late-Period levels and to dumping within the northern enclosure.

In recent years valuable studies by B. H. Stricker,<sup>5</sup> J. J. Guilmet,<sup>6</sup> H. de Meulenaere,<sup>7</sup> and others have drawn attention to the interest of this site and its possible connection both with the Anubieion, the embalmers' quarter of Memphis, and with the Asklepion, the temple precinct of Imouthes-Asklepios, the Egyptian Imhotep. Despite these studies, no recent work has been done on the site itself. Since the Anubieion appears to have been the centre of the Late-Period necropolis and an important quarter of Memphis itself, it has seemed worth while to undertake to survey and investigate these sites as far as their present condition and the Society's resources allow. To this end, C. J. Davey has prepared a contoured map of the whole area (fig. 1, showing the northern enclosure only) indicating modern buildings and discernible ancient remains. To facilitate this survey the following works were undertaken: they are described and illustrated by D. G. Jeffreys.

### Introductory

Clearance at selected points along the enclosure walls, together with surface observations, revealed sufficient material to plot a substantial part of each enclosure. However, clearances along the north wall of the north enclosure (see fig. 1, Area 10) and the west wall of the south enclosure showed no occupation levels, presumably because these walls were denuded below pavement level. The east walls of the enclosures have not yet been located.

### North Enclosure

#### *Area 1*

The main work was concentrated on selected areas within the north enclosure to gain knowledge of the stratigraphy of the site. Area 1 lies above the south-east corner

<sup>4</sup> J.-Ph. Lauer and J. Leclant, *Mission archéologique de Saqqarah, I: Le Temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Têti* (IFAO, 1972).

<sup>5</sup> In *Acta Or.* 19, 1 (1941), 101 ff.

<sup>6</sup> In *CdÉ* 37 (1962), 362 ff.

<sup>7</sup> In *CdÉ* 35 (1960), 104 ff.

of the funerary temple of Teti, excavated by M. J.-Ph. Lauer.<sup>8</sup> Here he found the New-Kingdom tomb of Akhpet overlying the Old-Kingdom remains. Above the tomb is a fill, on which a series of stone and mud-brick buildings contemporary with the north enclosure had been built. The construction phases are as follows:

(i) Before laying the first course of the south enclosure wall, the builders cut a foundation trench through into the Old-Kingdom levels (see section, fig. 2). The enclosure wall was laid against the south side of this trench, an offset foundation sill being constructed upon the limestone rubble of the Old-Kingdom masonry five courses above its base. Thereafter the courses were laid pan-bedded with a batter, and the construction trench was filled with limestone chips and mud-brick rubble up to the first building level (fig. 2, 'construction' level). A small postern let into the main enclosure wall led to a narrow alley along its inner side.

(ii) The buildings within the enclosure are of mud-brick with stone or brick foundations. Wooden strengtheners run through many of the walls, and in one case an external corner is reinforced with blocks of dressed limestone. The plan (see fig. 1) suggests that the buildings served as small store-rooms, long and narrow, partitioned off into square compartments. They lie either side of a street running westwards from the 'double-stairway' found by Quibell,<sup>9</sup> by which this terrace was reached from Area 17. The east-facing walls are symmetrically pan-bedded, perhaps simulating small pylons either side of the street. A line of orthostats of limestone, apparently bounding a courtyard of moderate size, extends northwards from Area 1; it clearly preceded the brick-built stage, although both belonged to the same general phase of construction.

The dating of the structures is uncertain. Coins recovered from the accumulation over the earliest street level await analysis. Fragments of Greek amphorae and scraps of papyrus inscribed in Greek hands of the middle Ptolemaic period were found dumped inside some of the rooms. On the basis of other pottery evidence and a survey of brick sizes, construction may have begun before the Ptolemaic period, as seems probable in Area 14.

(iii) A terrace revetted in stone had been raised over the north end of the courtyard of orthostats. An occupation surface on top of this terrace comprised several small buildings of brick and stone, some containing a *ṭabūn* ('oven') of fired clay. The terrace is contained by the west enclosure wall, but excavation of these surface remains is needed to tell whether they represent a distinct building phase, or simply one more of the series of successive terraces by which the buildings within the enclosure were accommodated to their sloping site. The phase (ii) postern was certainly modified with a threshold sill of wooden beams bonded with mud-pack and vertically pinned with wooden rivets (see pl. V, 1). This technique is common in the Graeco-Roman period, as at Karanis,<sup>10</sup> especially in reinforcing external corners in mud-brick houses.

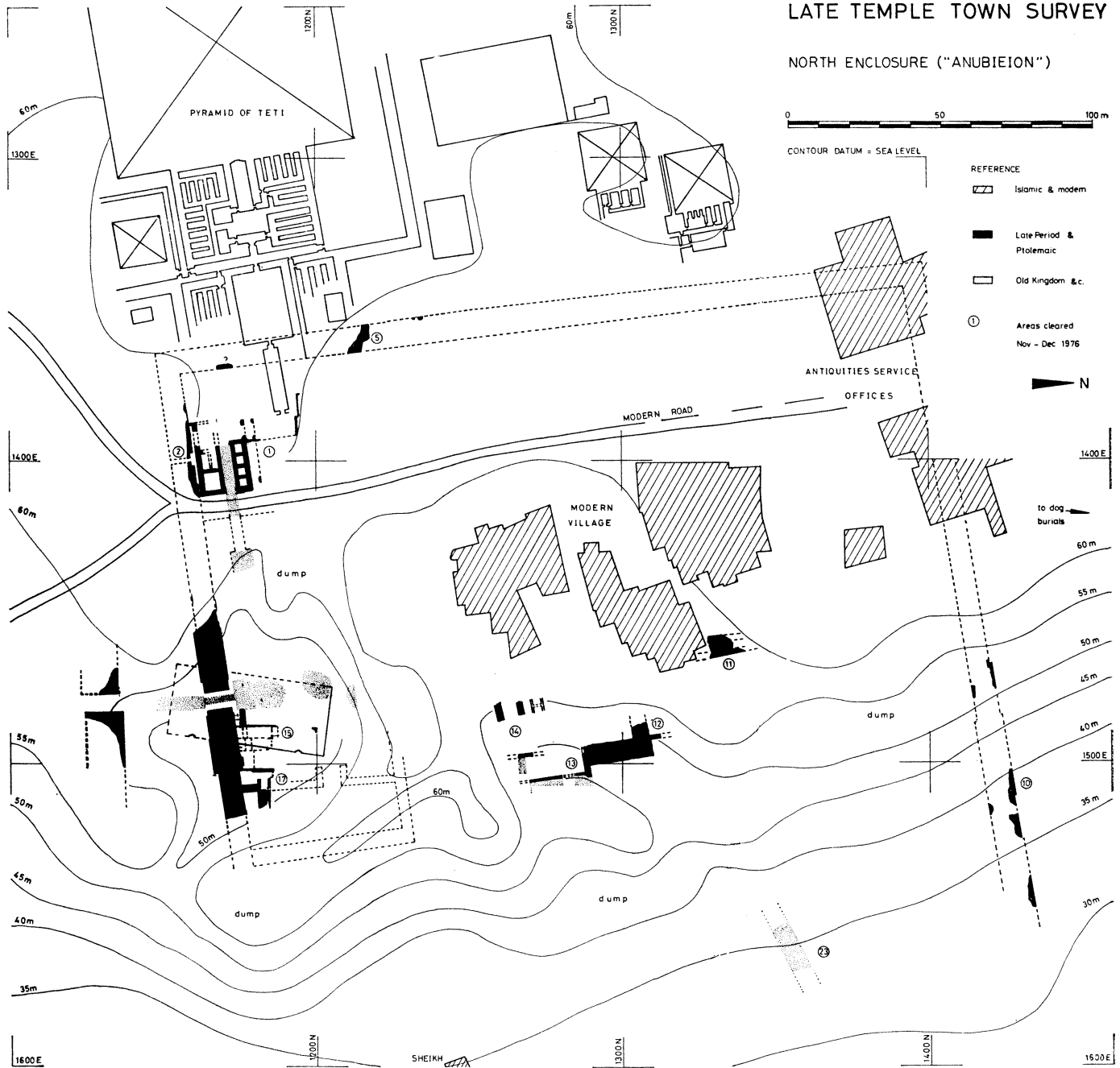
<sup>8</sup> See J.-Ph. Lauer and J. Leclant, *op. cit.* The tomb of Akhpet will be published in Vol. II.

<sup>9</sup> *Excavations at Saqqara (1905-06)*, p. iv and pl. 7.

<sup>10</sup> A. E. R. Boak and E. E. Peterson, *Karanis* (Michigan, 1931), House B1, room A, see p. 17 and fig. 15; House B47, area G, see fig. 36; construction details I, II, and plans 15, 16.

# North Saqqara LATE TEMPLE TOWN SURVEY

## NORTH ENCLOSURE ("ANUBIEION")



Egypt Exploration Society

Traced from the contour survey plan (1977) by CJ Davey  
 Restored walls (broken lines) and paved surfaces (stippled) in Areas 15/17  
 adapted from JE Quibell, "Excavations at Saqqara, 1905 - 6"

FIG. 1



North Saqqara

LATE TEMPLE TOWN SURVEY

Area ①

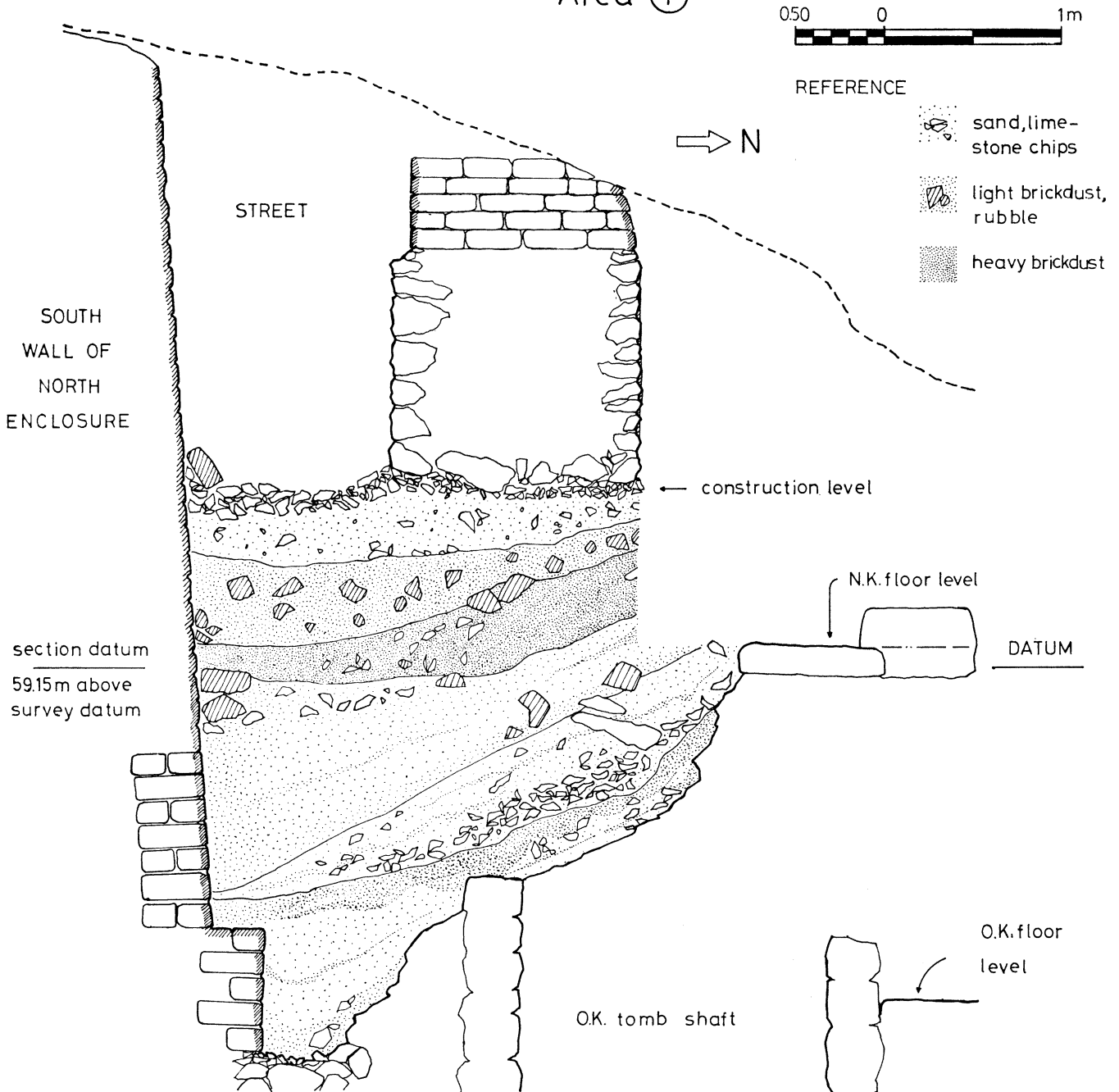


FIG. 2

# North Saqqara

## LATE TEMPLE TOWN SURVEY

### Areas 12,13,14

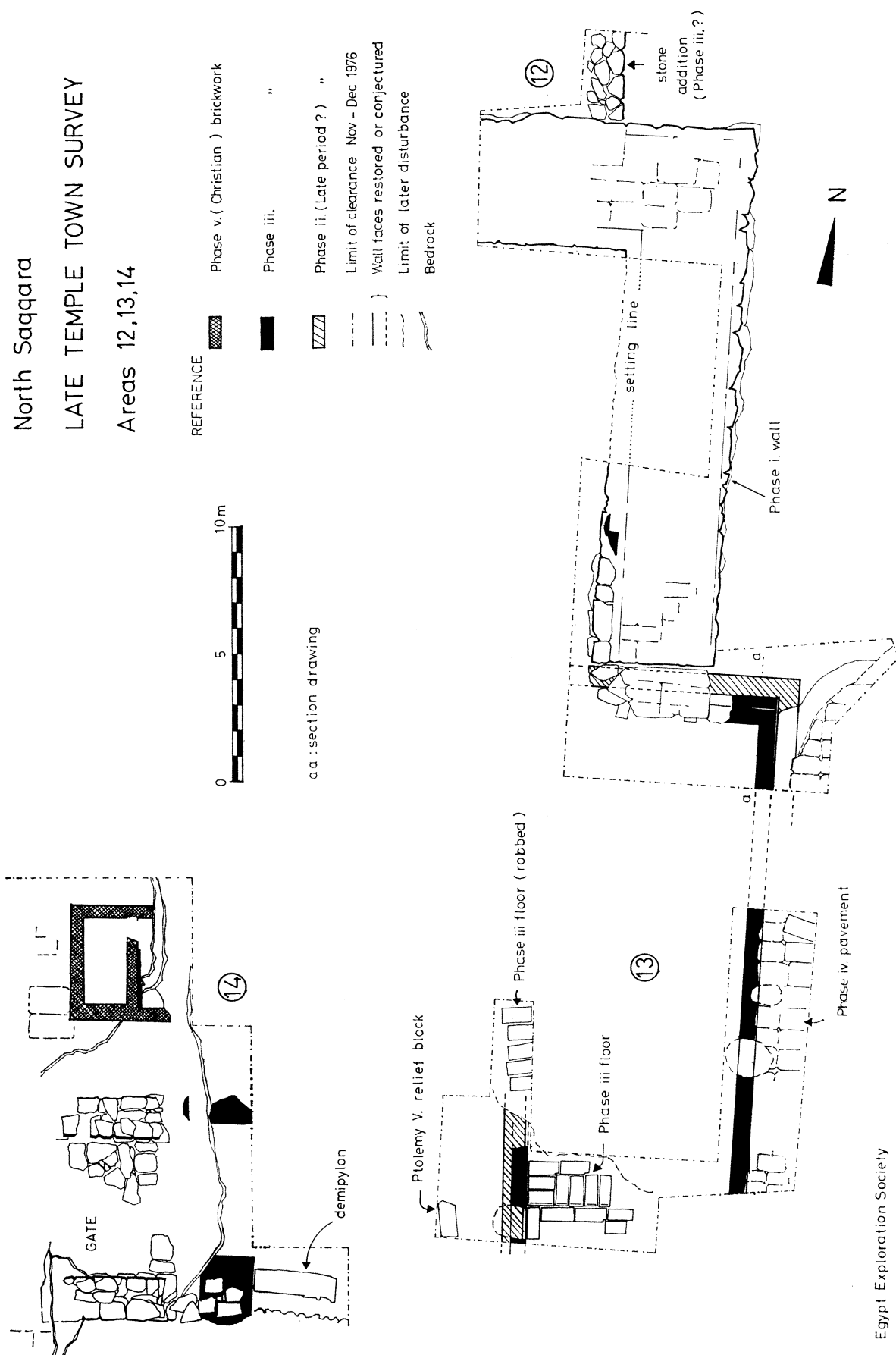
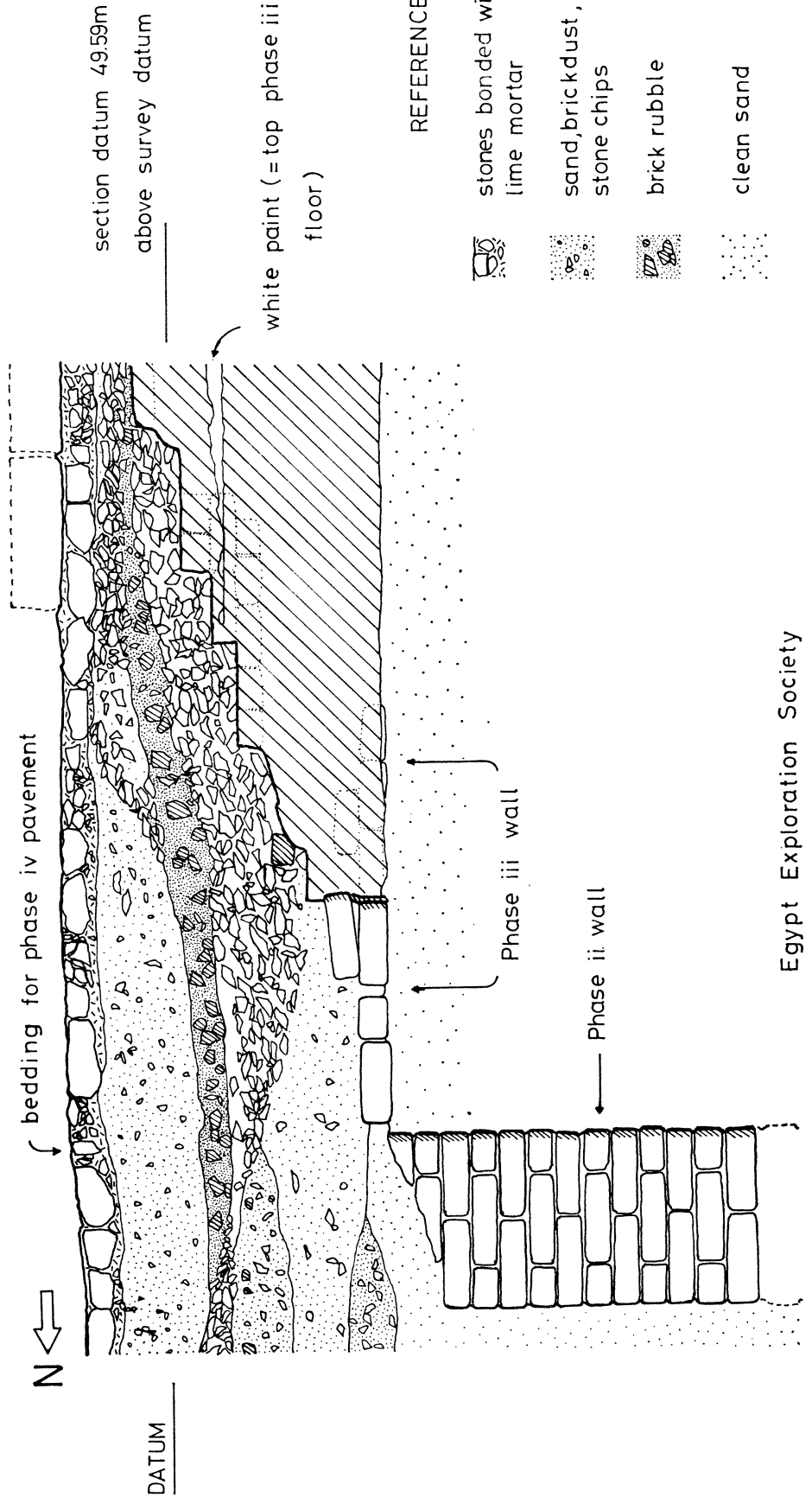


FIG. 3

# North Saqqara

## LATE TEMPLE TOWN SURVEY

### Area 13



North Saqqara

LATE TEMPLE TOWN SURVEY

Area (17)

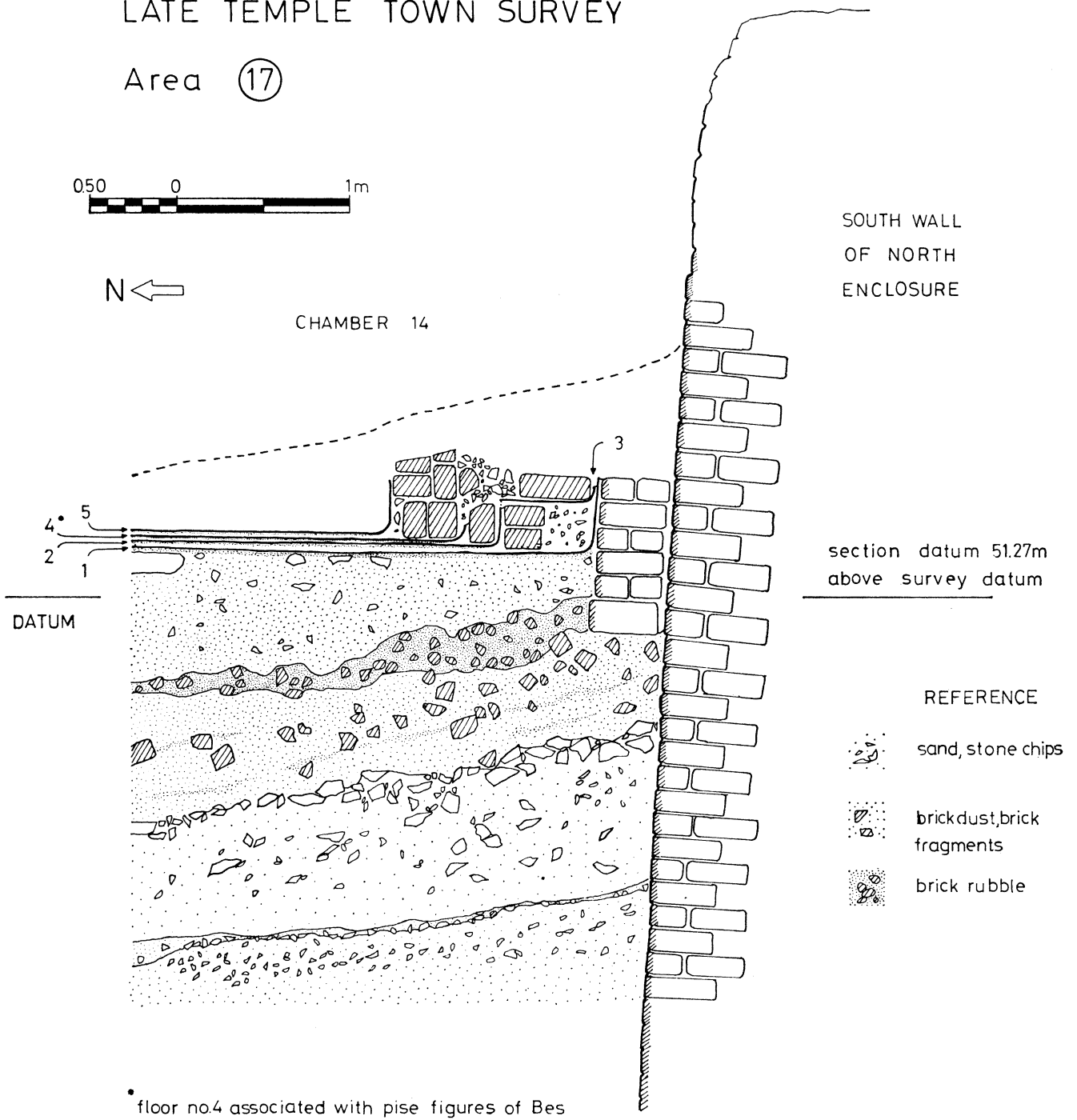


FIG. 5

(iv) The buildings were reoccupied in a subsequent period and the street levels raised; all the buildings were levelled off and rebuilt on the same plan. The postern was filled in up to the new street level and internal piers added in mud-brick (see pl. V, 1).

#### *Areas 13 and 14*

These areas were on the east slope of the desert plateau to the north of Quibell's 1905-7 excavations and to the south-east of the modern village (see plan, fig. 1). Extended soundings were made, and five building phases of post-New-Kingdom date were distinguished.

(i) A massive wall of undressed limestone blocks bonded with pink lime or gypsum mortar runs north-south across the scarp, with an east-west return at its north end (see plan, fig. 3). It served both as a revetment for a terrace fill on its west side and as a foundation for a wall or pillared colonnade of dressed masonry, as indicated by setting-lines along its top. This stage may not have been completed; the wall was later incorporated into the phase (iv) pavement.

(ii) A rectangular system of mud-brick walls was built against the south end of this wall. The original base of these walls and of the phase (i) terrace wall have not yet been reached, so that they may prove to be contemporary.

(iii) The phase (ii) walls were levelled down, and a second brick building, mud-plastered and lime-washed on the inside, was built over them on approximately the same plan. The floor of this building, made of well-dressed oblong limestone blocks bedded on a sand fill, had been largely robbed away in the centre. A terminal date for this destruction is perhaps suggested by the recovery from the pit-fill of rubble of a badly damaged naophorous statue in black diorite of a class common from Dynasty XXVI to Dynasty XXX.

(iv) The phase (iii) walls were in turn levelled off and a paved platform of mortar-bedded limestone flags laid over the top (see pl. V, 2), after a fill of sand, limestone chips, and brick rubble had been thrown in (see section, fig. 4). Originally, this pavement ran westwards to a stone stair and gate leading to a further terrace, but it is badly pitted and the central area was completely destroyed, probably at the same time as phase (iii). A limestone relief block (see pl. V, 3) had slid into this pit from the south, perhaps from the vicinity of the gate of Ptolemy V found by Quibell. The block measures  $1.73 \times 0.88$  m in surface area, and bears part of a scene of Ptolemy V Epiphanes offering incense to Anubis. Probably, therefore, the robbing of phase (iv) occurred considerably later than the time of Ptolemy V. In view, however, of the fact that the block may have slid down from the area excavated by Quibell, it remains stratigraphically possible for this destruction phase to have antedated Ptolemy V, in which case the construction of phase (iv) may even have been pre-Ptolemaic, though a Ptolemaic date seems at present more likely. The presence of the block provides strong evidence for identifying at least part of the northern enclosure with the Anubieion.

The stone stairway and gate in Area 14 (see plan, fig. 3) leads up to another stone building on a higher terrace, which awaits excavation. The stairway is not yet stratigraphically related with phases (i–iii), although an uninscribed red granite demi-pylon of characteristic form probably shows that it was in use during the Ptolemaic period; this has been re-erected as near as safety allows to its original position by the Society with the aid of the Antiquities Service (see pl. V, 4). Traces of brickwork below the stairway of stone may be remains of an earlier brick ramp or stair; Quibell<sup>11</sup> found a ‘double stair’ in Area 17, where an original brick stair mounting a terrace had later been replaced in stone. Such a brick ramp or stair could correspond to phases (ii) or (iii) of brick building in Area 13.

(v) A small brick building of the Christian period lay north of the stairway (see plan, fig. 3); it may have been domestic in purpose. In one place it is founded upon an earlier wall of ‘Late Period’ bricks, possibly part of a terrace wall running north from the stairway.

#### *Area 17*

This is the area of the temple platform and the ‘Bes-chambers’ discovered by Quibell (see map, fig. 1), which were subjected to limited cleaning and reappraisal. As in Area 13, two distinct phases (i and ii) in the brick construction of the chambers are evident, and one room, Quibell’s No. 14, shows in section a sequence of five refloorings (see section, fig. 5), of which three precede that associated with the *pisé* figures of Bes. The paved stone temple terrace (phase iii), approached from the east by a street and stairway flanked by sphinxes, replaces a brick-built phase (i–ii). It extended westwards to a further terrace wall, which was ascended by Quibell’s ‘double-stairway’ leading to Area 1.

#### *Relationship of Areas 13 and 14 to Area 17*

A check was made on the absolute levels of the respective floors in each area. Absolute levels are of course unreliable for stratigraphically unrelated strata, and the stone precinct wall buried by Quibell under dumps may have broken the continuity between Areas 14 and 17. Nevertheless, since all the floors consist of deliberately levelled and well-laid surfaces, for the most part relatively undisturbed, the following correspondences may be significant.

Area 14: phase (iv), floor west of stone gate	m. OD	55·49
Area 17: phase (iii), floor of temple terrace	m. OD	55·33
Area 14: phase (iv), floor east of stone gate	m. OD	52·50
Area 17: latest phase (iii), floor, Room 13	m. OD	53·02
Area 13: phase (iii), floor	m. OD	49·21
Area 17: phase (ii), floor, Room 14	m. OD	51·65
Area 13: top phase (iv), floor on lower terrace	m. OD	50·29
Area 17: top phase (i), floor	m. OD	48·80

<sup>11</sup> *Excavations at Saqqara (1905–06)*, p. iv and pl. 7.

### The Serapeum Way

A series of soundings at the foot of the escarpment north-east of Area 13 revealed a short section of the footings for the Serapeum Way (see map, fig. 1, Area 23). However, it proved impracticable at present to locate it in Area 12, although its approximate alignment may be inferred. To its north, at the top of the escarpment in Area 11, heavy stone walls were located (see map, fig. 1), which may or may not correspond with the great stone wall revealed by Mariette.

### South Enclosure

Apart from some clearance along the enclosure walls, work was concentrated upon the great south gate and its approach road from Memphis. Several stages in the construction of the gate were observed, but no reliable dating evidence was recovered.

A sounding at the foot of the escarpment east of the north wall of this enclosure revealed a series of mud-brick walls with lime-washed mud-plastered interiors. These may belong to domestic buildings, but more work is required to determine their date and function. Their presence on the line of the north enclosure wall suggests either that its line changed in the valley or that it stopped short at the top of the escarpment.

### Conclusion

As these preliminary clearances were made mainly in disturbed areas, such objects and pottery as were found were mostly not in their original archaeological context. The battered naophorous statue of probable Twenty-sixth–Thirtieth Dynasty date and the relief of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, noted above, suggest that the site was in use in pre-Ptolemaic and Ptolemaic times. In a general way, the pottery wares and forms found, being very similar to those recovered from the Sacred Animal Necropolis site, confirm this, and so do the types of small objects found. Fragments of papyrus from Area 1 inscribed in Greek hands of the second century B.C. and demotic ostraca of comparable date correlate with this. Thus it seems reasonable at present to suggest on the stratigraphic evidence given above that there were two phases of temple building in pre-Ptolemaic times and one about the time of Ptolemy V, followed by destruction and a reoccupation in the Coptic period. Such a pattern would correspond fairly closely with that worked out for the temple precinct in the Sacred Animal Necropolis, but must remain hypothetical until a major section is completed across the temple site and the relatively undisturbed area north of the entrance to the Teti Pyramid temple has been fully investigated. This work will be undertaken in 1977/8, and will, it is hoped, help to elucidate the history of the Memphite necropolis in the Late Period.



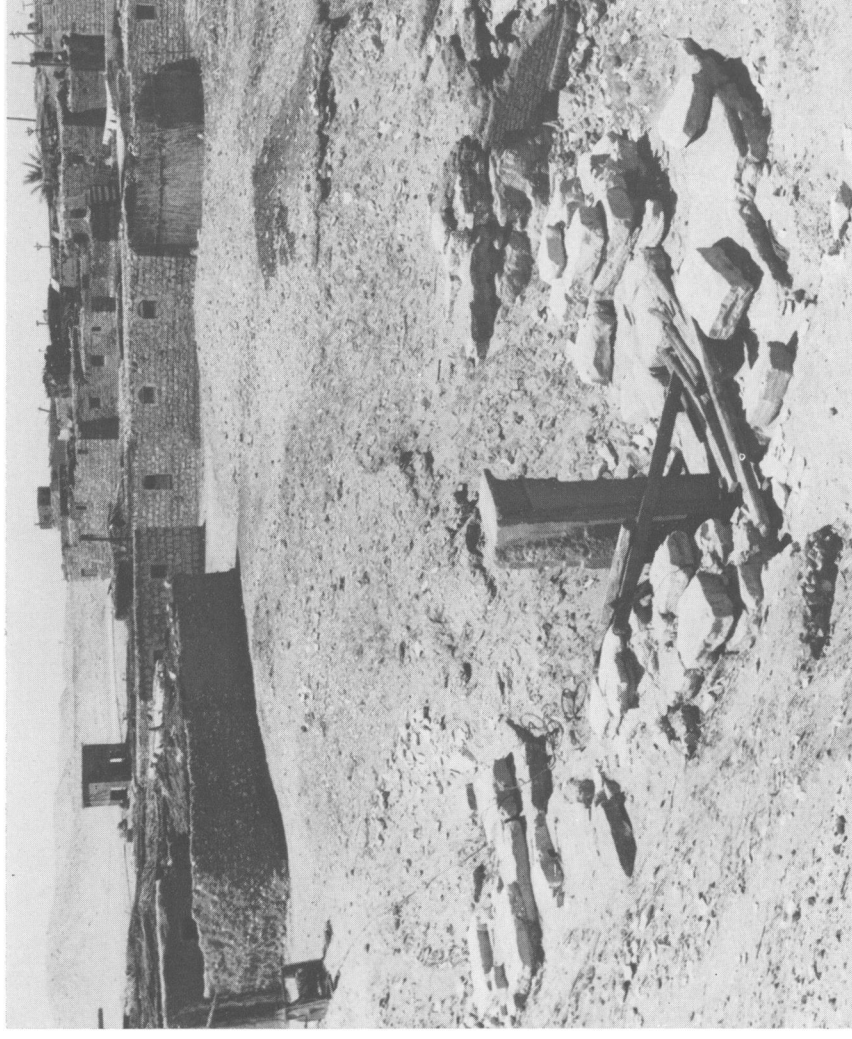
1. Detail of postern gate in Area 1, seen from NW, showing three phases of construction



3. Limestone relief block, showing Ptolemy V censuring before Anubis



2. Phase IV mortar bedding for pavement laid over Phase III wall in Area 14, showing successive tip-lines of the destruction phase above



4. Granite demi-nylon re-erected in gateway to the upper terrace in Area 14. Originally the



## PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EL-'AMARNA SURVEY, 1977

By BARRY J. KEMP

THE first season's work of the survey began on January 25 and ended on March 14, a total of seven weeks. It was carried out by Barry J. Kemp of the University of Cambridge, accompanied by Mohammed Abd el-Aziz, Inspector of Antiquities, who worked very hard to ensure that the progress of the survey was interrupted as little as possible. Accommodation was generously provided at the clinic at El-Amariya by kind permission of the mayor of Deir Mawas. Gratitude is also due to H.E. Dr. Gamal Mukhtar and to the Higher Committee of the Antiquities Department for giving permission for the survey, and to Dr. Hishmet Messiakh, Director-General of the Antiquities Service, and Kamal Fahmy and Mahmud Hamza, successively Chief Inspectors at El-Minya, for greatly facilitating the work.

The main purposes of the survey are to establish a more detailed and accurate map of the site, and to assess the potential for further excavation.<sup>1</sup> For this season it was limited to the area between a point about 3 kilometres south of El-Hawata and the central area of Akhenaten's city, specifically the smaller Aten temple. By using the recently completed line of electricity pylons, a base line was established and from this the necessary surveying was carried out to enable a 1 : 5000 scale map to be prepared of the whole area, and for the main area of the city, i.e. from Hagg Qandil northwards, a map at the scale of 1 : 2500. This map incorporates the previously published plans of the German and British excavations, an outline survey done this year of the unpublished British excavations of 1923-4, significant topographical information (e.g. present edge of cultivation), and archaeological detail derived from various sets of aerial photographs and from planning carried out as the survey proceeded.

In the main city area very substantial tracts remain unexcavated, although mostly to a greater or lesser extent dug over in the past by *sebbakhîn*. On the final version of the map it is planned to indicate the varied intensity of this digging. For a possible future excavation strategy two areas call for particular note. One is the continuation of the public or official buildings southwards from the excavated city centre (pl. VI, 1). These cover a substantial area and in some places the walls are relatively well preserved. Until these are excavated our picture of the official part of the city will remain a some-









<sup>1</sup> On the place of El-'Amarna in the study of ancient Egyptian urbanism, see Kemp, 'The early development of towns in Egypt', *Antiquity* 51 (Nov. 1977), 185-200; Kemp, 'The city of el-Amarna as a source for the study of urban society in ancient Egypt', *World Archaeology* 9, no. 2 (1977), 123-39.

what abbreviated one. Indeed, the partial excavation of a non-residential building by the Antiquities Service some years ago not far from Hagg Qandil may be a sign that this line of buildings extended to the southern limit of the city. A plan of this building was made during the survey. There are certain indications that these buildings faced westwards towards the river, and thus towards the important thoroughfare which led southwards from the two pavilions at the south-west corner of the Great Palace. Although they have been dug over by *sebbakhîn* a long time ago, their condition is probably no different from that in the central area, excavated successfully by the Egypt Exploration Society and published as *City of Akhenaten*, III. Recent minor disturbance has exposed some stamped bricks from the middle of the northern wall of the northernmost of these buildings, i.e. the wall closest to the 'Coronation Hall'. Fig. 1 is a composite copy from four fragmented examples. The stamp appears not to have been attested before at El-'Amarna.<sup>2</sup>

The second area for particular comment lies between the old southern expedition house and the modern Hagg Qandil cemetery. This is the one part of the city which has escaped serious *sebakh*-digging, and must be in a condition similar to that of areas excavated by the German expedition before 1914. Surface indications suggest that smaller houses predominate, and thus that this area should be informative on just those points which require further examination in greater detail than that attempted by previous expeditions.

To the south of the main city a record was made of such sites as survive, mainly in the form of drawings of surface collections of sherds and other artefacts. This material includes: probably Roman and a small number of Eighteenth-Dynasty sherds from around and within El-Hawata; material from two very large and probably Coptic cemeteries in the El-Arba'in area which runs south from the southern boundary stelae; some Eighteenth-Dynasty sherds from a scattered area of small mud-brick buildings also in the El-Arba'in area, to the west of the southern boundary stelae (Pl. VI, 2). There is nothing here equivalent to the large building at the far northern end of the city.

Three separate sites lying further back in the desert were also included in the survey.

<sup>2</sup> For the sign  Drioton suggested the value *nh* in one late-Eighteenth-Dynasty cryptographic inscription, *RdE* 1 (1933), 38, no. 38. My colleague A. Leahy has very kindly supplied me with a note to the effect that it can also have the value *ntr*, e.g. *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 234-5 n. 8, cf. *Wb.* II, 366. All the definite examples seem to be of the Persian period or later, but this is not necessarily an obstacle since many of the supposed 'late' values do in fact occur earlier. He further points out that the signs  and , sometimes accompanied by , occur together on various amulets and sealings from El-'Amarna, e.g. *City of Akhenaten*, II, pl. 49. I.B.25 and I.C.54; pl. 50. 274; *City of Akhenaten*, III, pl. 112. I.C.60; Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, pl. 17. 250-1; pl. 16. 171-5. *Tell el Amarna*, pl. 16. 174 with only a single  and  is perhaps the closest to demonstrating that  could read *ntr* at this period, although the mud-brick under discussion, with following *nb trwy*, seems to be equally significant. This interpretation would, of course, involve an unnecessary repetition of .

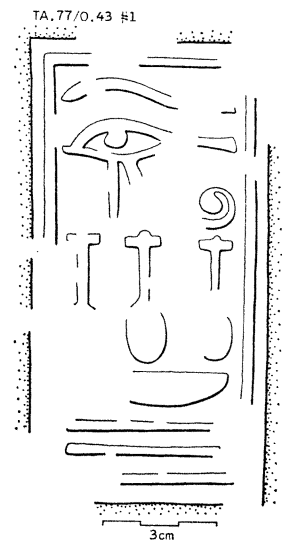


FIG. 1. Stamped mud-brick impression from the unexcavated building in square O. 43

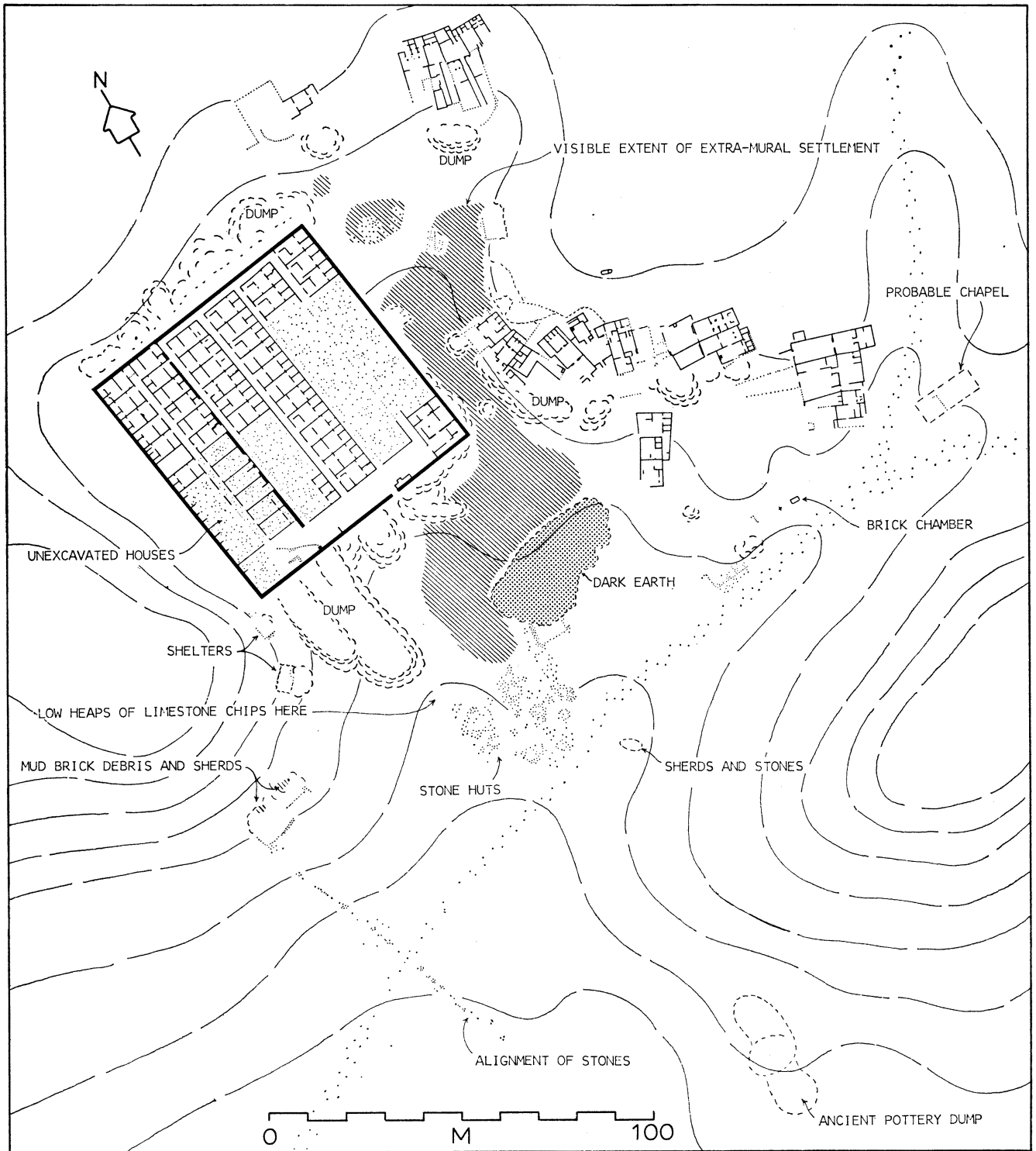
### The workmen's village

This site lies in a short and shallow side valley in a low spreading plateau which runs westwards from the main mountain mass, joining the cliffs some way to the south of the entrance to the royal valley. In 1921 and 1922 the Egypt Exploration Society expedition cleared almost exactly half of the village and published a relatively detailed account in *City of Akhenaten*, I. The same volume also contains a report on the chapels which line the hillsides opposite the village, although, as they were planned separately, one has to rely upon a few brief remarks for the relative positions of the two groups of remains. This has now been rectified by the making of a map of the whole general area (fig. 2).

The village and chapels are the main features of a compact area of remains which must represent more or less the total physical requirements of this one community. This is one reason for giving it a high priority for further fieldwork, the other being the obvious comparison with Deir el-Medina, a comparison made all the closer with the discovery of the stone village, see below. In fig. 2 the excavated parts are shown in relation to each other, to the topography, and to other archaeological features which can be observed from surface indications.

The short but relatively steep hillsides provided the site with a natural boundary, except to the south-west where the valley opens out. On this side the boundary of the site was marked by a line of stones running south from the hillside, though not apparently crossing the valley altogether. Possibly it may originally have been a low wall, but there are too few stones visible now to suggest a significant height. At its northern end it terminated in a small group of stone huts, which require excavation, as do two further small ones higher up on the corner of the hill. Of the main brick village itself, in the years that have elapsed since 1922 the remains of the houses cleared by the Egypt Exploration Society have deteriorated badly, and no walls seem to stand now to any significant height, except for the long wall which divides the site into two unequal parts. This sad fact may point to the need to re-bury any houses excavated in the future. Of the unexcavated half of the village, parts on the east have been dug into, probably not recently, but on the west the surface looks relatively undisturbed. One major aim of fieldwork here would be to complete the excavation within the walled village by excavating the thirty-seven or so houses still remaining.

The second area where excavation is called for runs along the eastern side of the village, below the chapels, then spreads around the south-eastern corner, to continue southwards towards the bottom of the valley. Over much of this area the surface presents the appearance of low mounds of sherds, stones (some forming alignments), sand, and fine gravel. Near the northern end is a patch of very recent illicit digging which has exposed short lengths of a mud-brick wall and a wall of stones, buried partly in ashy settlement debris. This helps to substantiate the impression that an extension of the village ran outside the perimeter wall on this side, probably of very modest accommodation indeed. As it approaches the valley floor the amount of covering debris, mostly sand, becomes less, and the outlines of stone huts, mostly round, emerge. A distinct area, lying partly between here and the more buried part of this extra-mural settlement,



EL-AMARNA: WORKMEN'S VILLAGE AREA

13.2.77

THE CONTOURS INDICATE ONLY THE GENERAL LAND FORMS

FIG. 2

is much darker in colour and has been to a small extent dug over in recent times. It has the appearance of the village rubbish heap, although it should be noted that discarded pottery was dumped separately, on the hill slopes further to the south. The larger of the two dumps was trenched by the 1922 expedition, confirming its dump character. A few additional alignments of stones and sherd clusters lie further east, along the lower slopes of the valley. With regard to this extra-mural settlement, one might recall at Deir el-Medina the existence of the *smdt n bnr* (the 'outside community') which was responsible for menial tasks. It is also possible that included in this area are further chapels.

#### The stone village

Its position in relation to the workmen's village is shown in fig. 3. The site appears to have gone unnoticed by previous expeditions, which is surprising in view of the fact that on Timme's map the course of some of the desert patrol roads which pass very close by are correctly marked. It lies on an east-facing slope, looking in the general direction of the entrance to the royal valley. Communication with the main village would not have been difficult, via one of the shallow valleys running up to the top of the plateau, but there seems to be no visible trace now to suggest the use of one particular route. If the stone village was supplied separately from the city, the route below the northern edge of the plateau is an easy one.

The settlement measures some 75 by 50 metres and is now irregular in outline, see fig. 4, with no visible sign of a perimeter wall (pl. VII, 1). The surface of the site is a tumble of undressed boulders over which sand has drifted. New-Kingdom pottery occurs prolifically. In places it can be seen that the boulders have been set in clay to form walls; as the clay has weathered away so the stones have fallen out. Small areas of sherds and small stones occur around the outside, and at least two patches of ashy debris occur at the lower end of the site. Little in the way of wall alignments is visible, although the edges of a possible street running east-west down the middle can just be discerned. Apart from one place where stones have been heaped up to form a wind-break and another where a shallow weathered trench cuts into the side, the site appears to be undisturbed. On the hillsides to the south and south-east are the remains of stone huts and shallow scrapings in the hill, in one or two cases showing also mud-brick debris. These are presumably shelters for watchmen, and their examination should be included in any programme of excavation.

This site might be compared with the stone huts on the col separating Deir el-Medina from the Valley of Kings.<sup>3</sup> This collection of huts may have accommodated the workmen overnight during periods of work so that supervision of them could be maintained. The stone village at El-'Amarna seems suitably placed to have served a similar function.

#### Kôm el-Nana

On the map of El-'Amarna made by Petrie and on that published in *City of Akhenaten*, II the site now known locally as Kôm el-Nana is marked and identified as a 'Roman

<sup>3</sup> B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1934-1935)*, III (Cairo, 1939), 345-64.

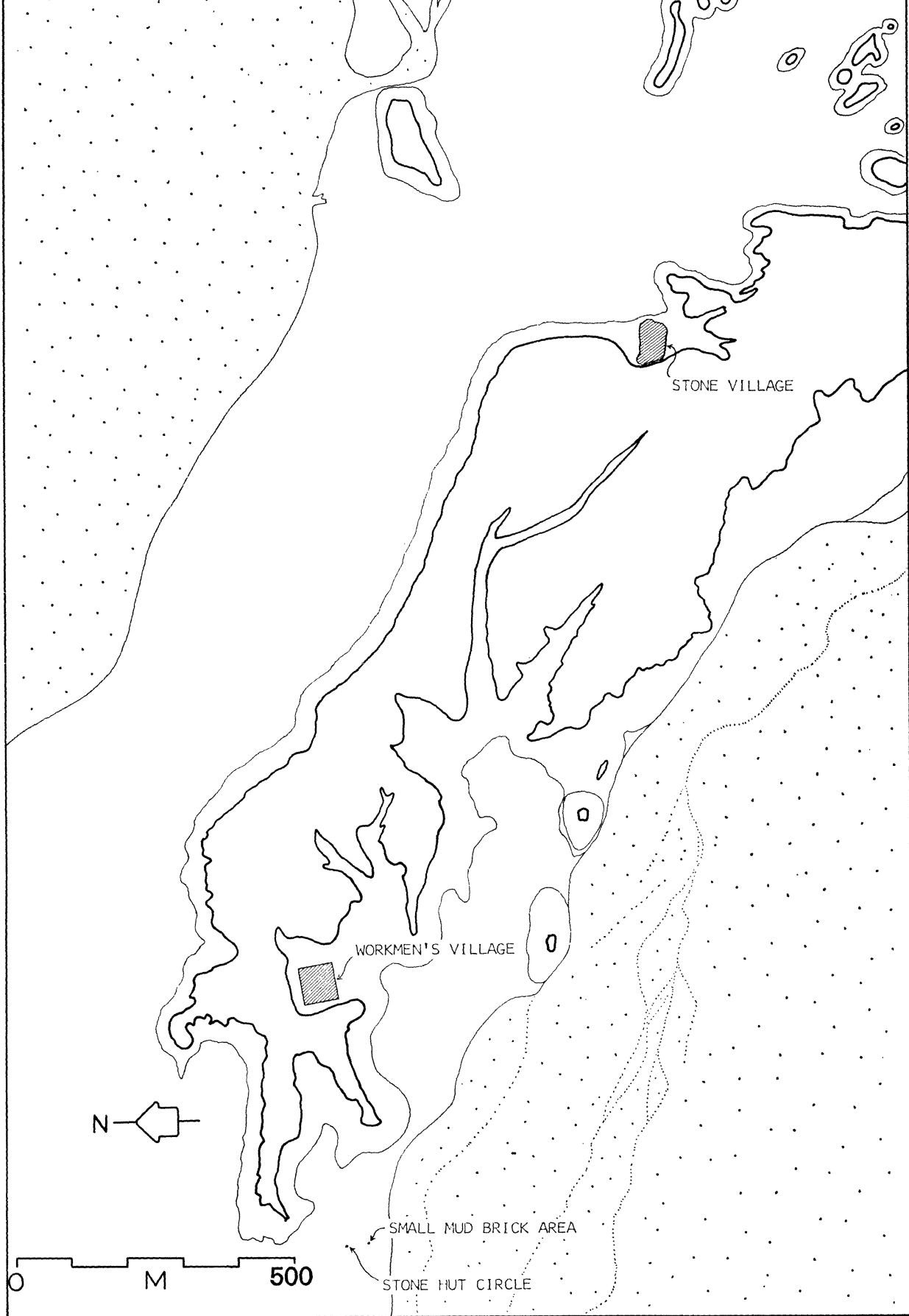
camp'; on Timme's map its position is also marked, but in the text doubt was expressed as to the correctness of the Roman date.<sup>4</sup> Since it stands on the line of the ancient road to the Ḥatnub quarries, an Old-Kingdom date was hesitatingly given.

The site occupies a very flat expanse of desert with a very slightly cut watercourse running close along the southern edge. It is now bounded on all four sides by drainage canals belonging to the new irrigation scheme. The basic structure is discernible from the gravel-covered mounds and ridges whose main outlines appear on the map, fig. 5. Surrounding the site is a ridge representing a perimeter wall whose brickwork is exposed in the south-east corner where subsequent wadi activity has swept part of it away. It measures approximately 225 by 210 metres. Along the eastern part of the north side shallow recent digging has exposed numerous New-Kingdom sherds including many from rough bread moulds. Five conspicuous steep-sided mounds rise within this enclosure (pl. VII, 2), labelled A to E in fig. 5, mound D apparently lying on the line of the perimeter wall itself. Wall fragments can here and there be seen emerging from them, and some slight superficial digging has turned up lumps of mud-brick, pieces of mud, with halfa-grass impressions from roofs, the latter particularly from the east side of mound D. These mounds resemble in size and appearance the mounds covering the large private houses in the main city, whose much thicker walls than those of surrounding structures have ensured much better preservation. Within the triangle formed by mounds A, B, and C the level of the ground is still relatively high, see the profile, fig. 6, and the undulating surface and general appearance strongly suggest that a dense group of thinner brick walls lie beneath. A further group of very low gravelly mounds from buildings runs eastwards from between mounds D and E.

In several places are areas of stone chippings, mostly limestone but with some sandstone. These are marked by stippling on fig. 5. The two largest occupy roughly rectangular spaces on either side of mound C. That on the north, F, is pitted but not deeply dug over; that on the south, G, was probably partly dug out by the 1963 Antiquities Department sondage described below. Where this went deepest it disclosed a pavement below the general ground level (see fig. 6) on a bed of gypsum concrete. The spoil from this digging is mostly heaped immediately to the south. I found two small worked limestone fragments in this part; see fig. 7. One of them, TA.77/KN.2, depicted an amphora on a light wooden stand, a common element in Amarna-period scenes.

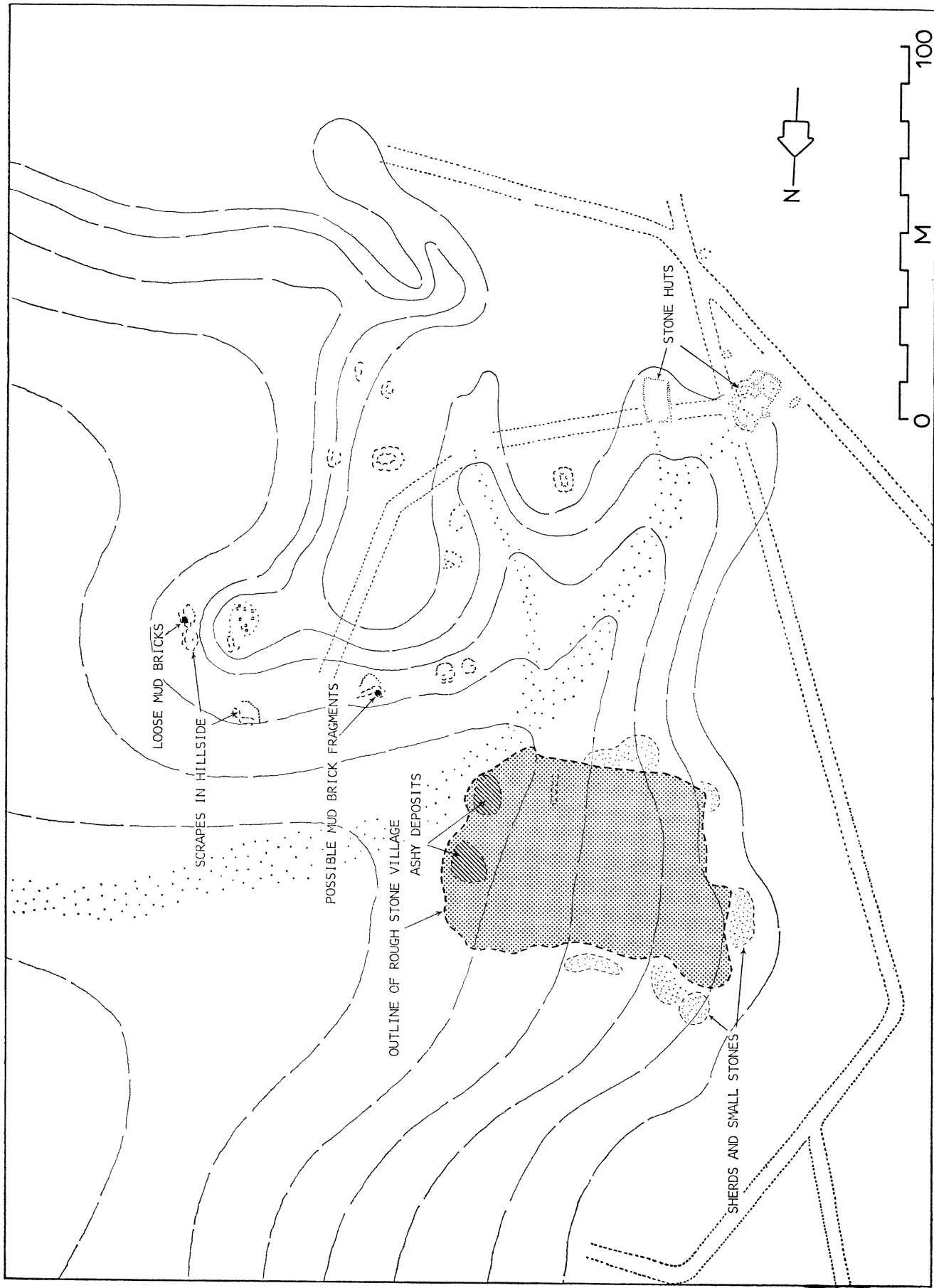
In 1963 the Antiquities Department undertook exploratory digging in order to confirm that the site was indeed an ancient one, and should therefore be preserved from the great land reclamation project then being started. As a result of this the area was protected by drainage canals on all four sides. The digging took the form of a large number of narrow trenches whose main outlines are marked on the plan. They cover an area running at a slight angle to the main axis of the site between a point on the western perimeter wall and one of the main areas of stone chippings, G, or just beyond. At the western end these trenches exposed a small brick pylon entrance, and then followed a long wall eastwards which seems to divide the site as a whole into two unequal parts. Eventually this wall runs into the building debris around the foot of

<sup>4</sup> P. Timme, *Tell el-Amarna vor der deutschen Ausgrabung im Jahre 1911*, 24, cf. Blatt 6.

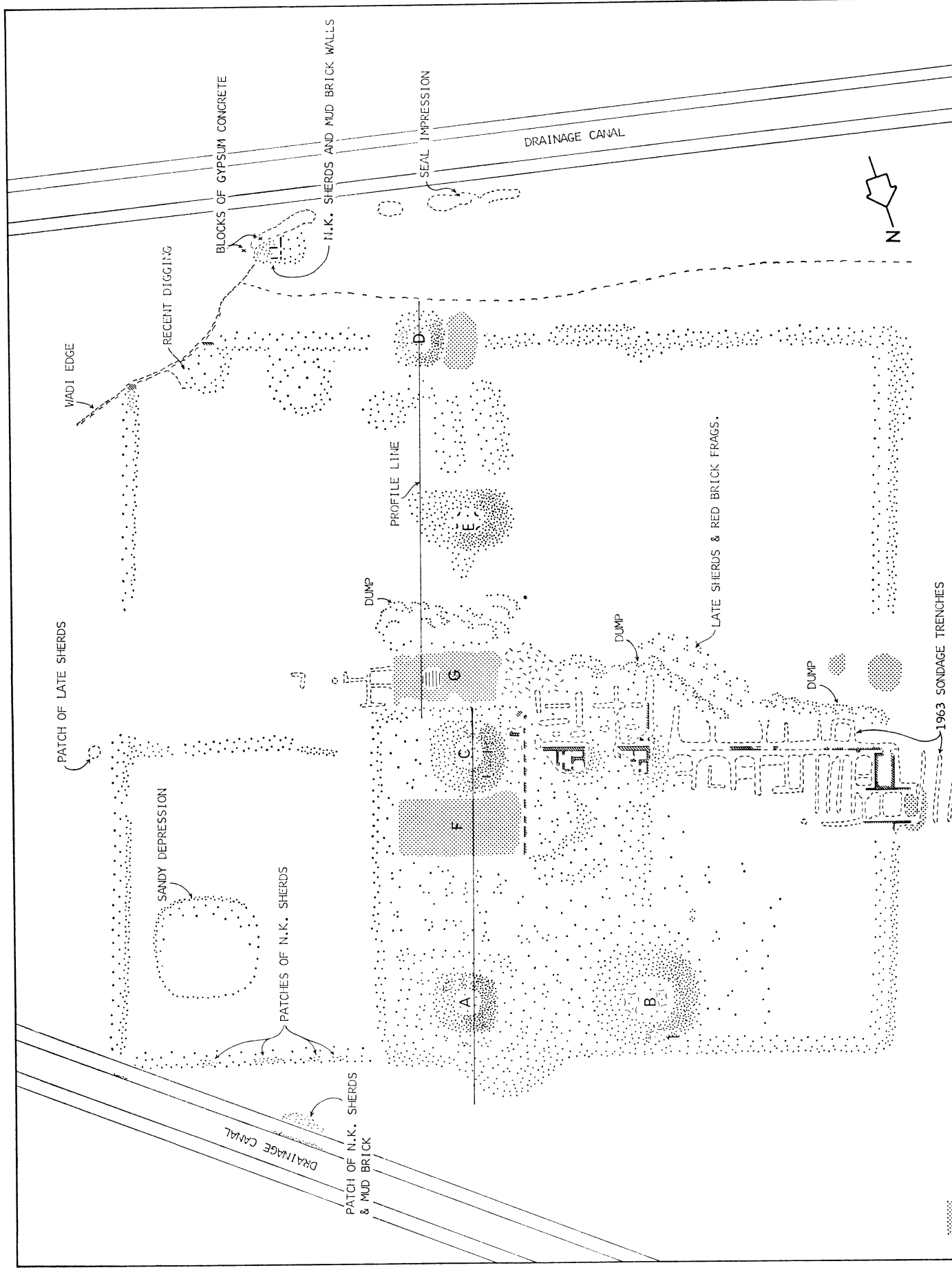


EL-AMARNA: MAP SHOWING RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE WORKMEN'S VILLAGE AND STONE VILLAGE

Fig. 3







PATCH OF LATE SHERDS

WADI EDGE

SANDY DEPRESSION

RECENT DIGGING

BLOCKS OF GYPSUM CONCRETE

PATCHES OF N.K. SHERDS

PATCH OF N.K. SHERDS & MUD BRICK

N.K. SHERDS AND MUD BRICK WALLS

PROFILE LINE

A

C

D

E

F

G

DUMP

DUMP

DUMP

LATE SHERDS & RED BRICK FRAGS.

DRAINAGE CANAL

SEAL IMPRESSION



1963 SONDAGE TRENCHES

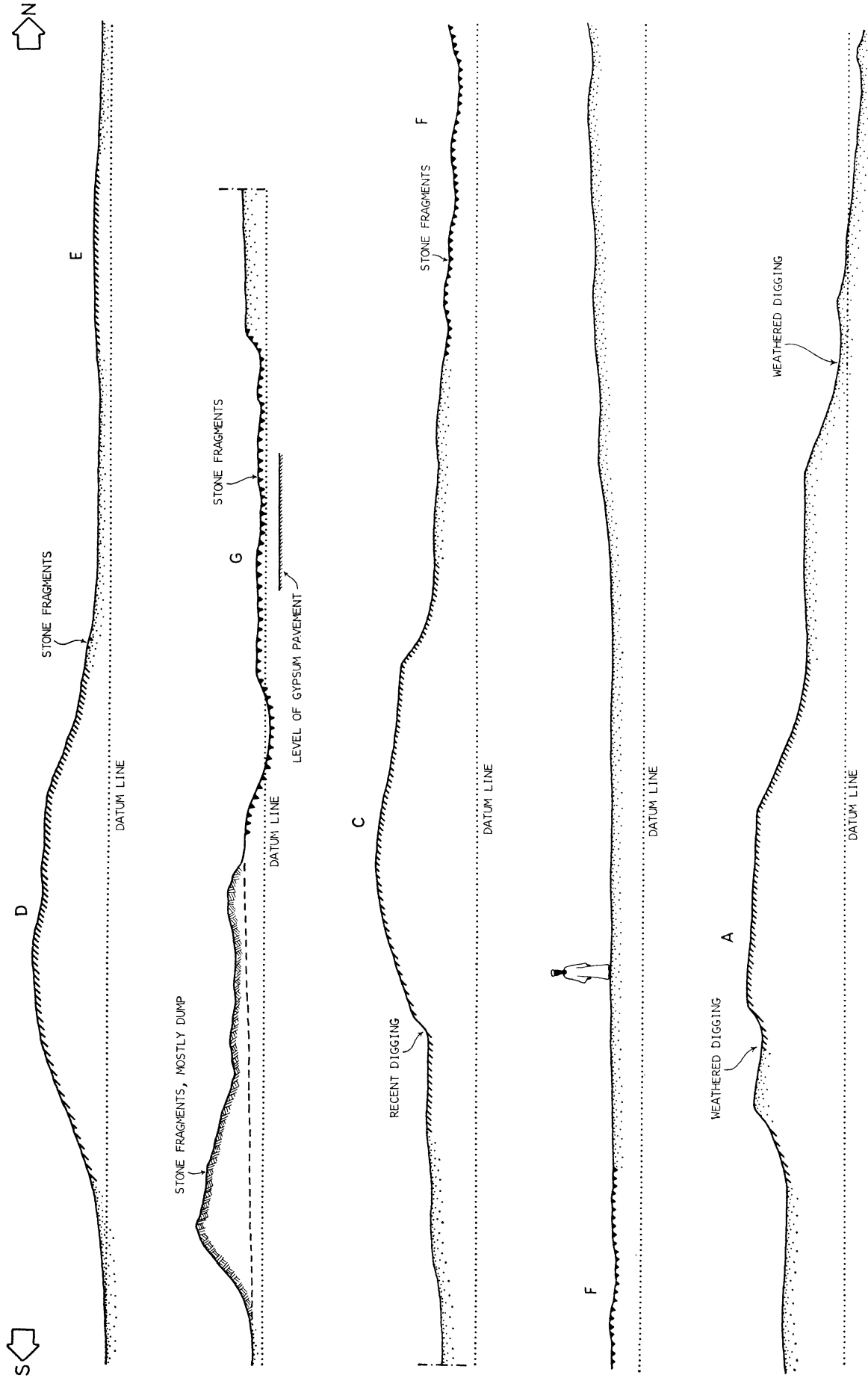


Fig. 6

EL-AMARNA: KOM EL-NANA, PROFILE FROM NORTH TO SOUTH

mound C, and here two isolated patches of brickwork were dug out, so confirming the character of the ground in this part. The walls so exposed are relatively thick and well built, and although the character of the building is not really evident, attention should be drawn to an alcove with a ledge in the easternmost of these two exposures. Fragments of smooth hard gypsum plaster from the walls can still be seen, such as might be suitable for painting. The excavations continued across area G, and it was presumably here that a few Amarna-style blocks were found, said to be now in the museum at Mallawi, and mentioned to me by the Inspector who carried out the work.

Over much of the site, and particularly in the north and centre, is a relatively thick scatter of post-Pharaonic sherds which must have given rise to the term 'Roman camp'. A selection of these was drawn. They seem to be unrelated in the main to the principal features of the site, and where the Antiquities Department cut trenches no separate archaeological level of a later period seems to have been found. The area marked on the map 'late sherds & red brick frags.' consists of low pitted mounds and may perhaps represent such a layer; a concentration also occurs, mixed up with stone chippings, in a disturbed area immediately to the west of G. On the northern side of mound A a few fragments from thin glass vessels and a pair of iron ear-rings were found and drawn.

The southern part of the site, except for the north-south alignment created by features D, E, and G, and a few very low mounds against the perimeter wall, seems to have been left as open space. The same may have been true for the area into which the pylon led in the northern part of the site. The square space in the north-eastern corner contains a roundish depression with sand at the bottom, almost certainly indicating the presence of the well or pool which was the standard accompaniment of buildings at El-'Amarna. The ground around it is slightly higher than the normal desert level, and small animal holes show dark dust and some ash beneath the surface. Whether this comes from buildings or from the soil used to create a garden is not clear.

Around Kôm el-Nana, at various distances, several small mounds from contemporary buildings can be seen. One on the north side has been cut in half by the canal; one on the south has been badly dug over by the workmen employed on making the embankments for the canal near by. In this latter place some wall lengths have been exposed, as well as much New-Kingdom pottery. Beside it lie two blocks of gypsum concrete bearing the impressions of small stone blocks. The search for material for the embankments produced a line of irregular pits running westwards from here (not all are shown in fig. 5). In the side of one of them, one of the *ghaffirs* in my party found a part of a mud seal impression depicting Akhenaten, see fig. 7. The positions of the other small mounds lying to the west are marked on the main survey map, as is a curious area of dark cemented sand and small pebbles. This contains small charcoal fragments and patches of ash, as well as occasional sherds with decayed surfaces and pieces of burnt brick. The layer is not particularly deep. Where identifiable the sherds were of the New Kingdom, except for two which may have been of Old-Kingdom date.

The appearance of Kôm el-Nana, the results of the 1963 diggings, the pottery and remains of stone buildings constructed according to the methods used elsewhere at El-'Amarna can leave no doubt that the site is essentially of Akhenaten's reign. Its

size, isolation, and stonework imply a royal building; yet whilst the southern part may have perhaps been given over to religious use, the remains in the northern part seem to suggest rather a mixture of large and small domestic units. The post-Pharaonic sherds belong to a reuse of the site and in the main probably derive from a fairly superficial deposit.

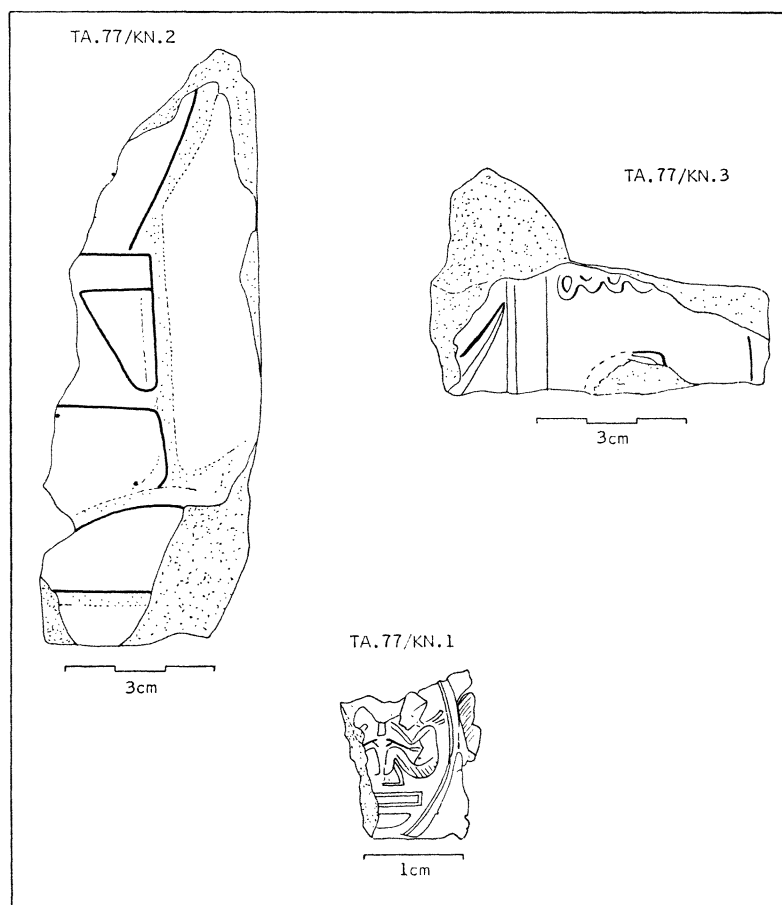


FIG. 7. El-'Amarna: Kôm el-Nana, two carved limestone fragments (nos. 2 and 3) mud seal impression (no. 1)

Mention has been made above of the great desert reclamation project at El-'Amarna. The main work of laying out fields and canals was done in the mid-1960s, but except along the western edges, cultivation has had to await the installation of electricity to drive the large pumps for raising water to the highest and most distant parts whence it will drain back to the Nile by gravity. At the time of writing the arrival of electrical power seemed imminent. If this irrigation project comes fully to fruition, the southern part of the city, south from the broad wadi which crosses from square Q49 to square N47, will become a broad promontory flanked on both east and west by extensive cultivated areas. At its closest on the east the drainage canal bordering the reclaimed

land passes within 40 metres of the ancient city. The field system extends back into the desert for a considerable distance, and takes in at least one ancient site. This is known locally as El-Mangara, and lies about 2.5 km behind the village of El-Amariya. It consists merely of a scatter of New-Kingdom sherds and pieces of gypsum concrete, worked limestone and sandstone, and occasional mud-brick fragments. Some Amarna-style carved blocks have apparently been found here by the Antiquities Service. There is probably little or nothing left to excavate; one can merely note the presence of what was perhaps a little isolated desert shrine.

**Postscript to the article on the 'Window of Appearance' in JEA 62 (1976), 81-99**

I suggested in this article that the curious triangular projections above the room in the palace which contained the bed or couch, as depicted in the tomb scenes, might be a symbolic device to emphasize a room of particular importance, rather than a simple roof ventilator. The large group of Karnak *talatat*-blocks assembled in the new Luxor Museum depicts, amongst other things, activities taking place within three similar buildings. In the top left-hand portion of each is a room containing a couch, and above, the roof line projects upwards in a manner similar to that in the El-'Amarna scenes. However, laid midway across the vertical line of each projection is a representation of a window grill. In the face of such positive evidence a non-literal interpretation would seem unnecessarily forced.

In fig. 4 of the same article the value of the scale for the provisional map of the North City was given as 50 metres. This was a mistake: it is each division which is 50 metres, the total scale being 250 metres.



1. Unexcavated continuation of official buildings southwards from the city centre



2. Small Eighteenth-Dynasty building to the west of the southern boundary stelae



1. The stone village lying east of the workmen's village, looking north



2. View to the west of Mound A at Kôm el-Nana

## EXCAVATIONS AT THE PYRAMID OF USERKAF, 1976: PRELIMINARY REPORT

*By* ALY EL-KHOULY

THE pyramid, though built in the Fifth Dynasty, corresponds more to the Fourth-Dynasty type, the core being built of large stones rather than with a series of retaining walls or terraces, the usual technique in the later pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. According to Manetho, Userkaf was the first monarch of the Fifth Dynasty. His name appears in the Abydos List and the Pharaonic Canon of Turin. His name, too, has been found at the First Cataract, so it is certain that he reigned over the whole of Egypt. About Year 6 of his reign he constructed the first sun-temple, at Abu Gurab.

Marucchi discovered the entrance to the pyramid in 1831-2, Perring penetrated it in 1839, following the tunnel forced by the robbers. From that date the pyramid was neglected, until the excavations of C. M. Firth (October 1927-April 1928). He cleared the south side of the pyramid area, disclosing the mortuary temple, Saïte tombs, etc. During his second season on the same site, October 1928-March 1929, he excavated the famous red granite head of Userkaf and a limestone relief slab. In 1954-5 J.-Ph. Lauer re-cleared and re-planned the mortuary temple.

The work undertaken during the present century was thus mainly on the south side of the pyramid, though a small amount of clearance was done on the east. The north and west sides have never been cleared; they have served as dumping areas from the Step Pyramid excavations and from the work in the Userkaf mortuary temple. It seemed worth while, therefore, to initiate work in these neglected areas. The excavations were accordingly opened in March 1976. Two campaigns of almost two months each were carried out, the work terminating in December 1976.

As regards the pyramid itself the main problem was the presence, over the entrance on the north side, of an enormous cracked block in a precarious and unstable state. In turn it supported many other large blocks of yellowish limestone and sandstone. These latter were left by the original builders either unworked or only very roughly squared, and were bonded together with coarse mortar. Thus the restoration of the entrance was a matter of some urgency, if further work in the interior of the monument were to be contemplated. First the drift sand was cleared away down to bedrock, so that walls could be built there to support the large unstable block. In the debris many large blocks from the core of the pyramid were excavated. After this preliminary clearance, side walls of stone were built up on the east and west of the original entrance. The true



entrance itself was hewn in the bedrock, and floored and roofed with large slabs of white limestone. These were largely destroyed and removed in comparatively modern times, when the pyramid was used as a quarry for building materials in the villages near the Saqqâra plateau. After the consolidation of the side-walls an iron roof was fixed to support the large cracked block and the others above it, so that future work inside the pyramid itself can be carried out with comparative safety, though much future reconstruction work over the entrance remains to be done.

Further work of clearance was undertaken in the area immediately to the north of the entrance to the pyramid. Here some weeks were spent removing modern dumps, large blocks fallen from the pyramid, and heaps of broken stones and mud-bricks. When the Late-Egyptian level was reached we found three burials apparently of Ptolemaic date in the rubble, wrapped in linen cloth. Parallel to the pyramid on this side a few courses of mud-brick walls were located at this level, running east-west, which may prove in future work to be a Saïte tomb enclosure. In clearing the debris in front of the entrance of the pyramid a few objects were found (nos. 80-94 in the appended catalogue), among them a painted limestone slab (no. 80) from a Fifth-Dynasty mastaba. Curiously both sides have been sawn. A large number of red granite fragments were likewise found in the rubble. Exactly in the centre of the north side at ground level some blocks of red granite were found *in situ*. The true entrance (descending corridor) is roofed and floored with this material. It remains to be seen whether granite was used as flooring all the way down the corridor, or whether further inside another stone was employed. Only one block of granite on each wall of the corridor near the entrance has so far been found, and a half-slab of granite roofing remains on the east side. Two great red granite blocking plugs are still in position near the corridor. These were ignored by the plunderers, who made their way into the pyramid over the corridor. The plug nearer the entrance is surrounded with gypsum plaster, about 7 cm thick on top and on the east and west sides; see pl. VIII, 1. The second plug has traces of gypsum on the top surface. Beyond these two blocks much destruction has taken place; traces show that the walls of the corridor were of limestone blocks. The area between the two plugs and the continuation of the descending passage cut in the bedrock is destroyed, but we were able to clear away some of the debris and to enter the pyramid through the proper entrance rather than through the robbers' tunnel. The rooms in the interior are full of sand and rubble; much work will be needed in a subsequent season to clear this in order to secure an accurate plan.

We found no trace of a chapel at the north entrance, though one might have been expected. A grey granite block, just under 1.0 metre long, is thrown to the east side of the corridor entrance. It might have been utilized originally as the outer plug of the corridor, filling the empty space between the first red granite plug and the back of the chapel. On the east side of the north entrance an enormous amount of fill remains to be removed before pavement level is reached. In levelling the area a cache of objects, mainly of bronze, was located, dating to the Saïte and later periods (catalogue nos. 1-79). Before work was terminated the outline of another square enclosure of mud brick walls was found, which may subsequently prove to be a Saïte tomb.

## Catalogue

*From cache east of north entrance to pyramid*

## I. BRONZE

A. *Figurines of bulls*

1. Bull with short horns, disc and uraeus; incised triangle on forehead, winged scarab on neck, saddle and winged hawk on rump; fitted to base with pegs (Apis). Ht. 12·3 cm.
2. Bull with horns, disc and uraeus; incised winged scarab on neck, saddle (probable) and winged hawk on rump (Apis). Ht. 6·5 cm.
3. Bull calf with short horns; both front legs forward; incised saddle; two base pegs. Ht. 10·0 cm.
4. Bull with horns, disc and uraeus; incised winged scarab on neck, saddle (probable) and winged hawk on back (Apis). Ht. 9·5 cm.
5. Bull with horns, disc and uraeus(?); incised winged scarab at neck, saddle and winged hawk on rump (Apis). Ht. 8·5 cm.
6. Bull, horns, disc, and uraeus lost; gold leaf on eyes; exaggerated humped neck; incised winged scarab on neck, saddle and winged hawk; no base (Apis). Ht. 8·5 cm.
7. Bull with horns, disc and uraeus; no incised markings visible; fitted to base with single peg. Ht. 7·4 cm.
8. Bull with horns, disc and uraeus; gold leaf survives on left eye; incised winged scarab on neck, saddle, winged hawk on rump; fitted to base with single peg. Ht. 6·0 cm.
9. Bull with horns, disc and uraeus; possible incised triangle on forehead, no other markings visible; base broken. Ht. 6·2 cm.
10. Bull with horns, disc and uraeus; incised collar on neck, no other visible marks; base with one peg. Ht. 5·0 cm.

B. *Figurines of Osiris*

11. Swathed standing figure of Osiris, with *stf*-crown, horns, plaited beard, broad collar, flail in right hand, crook in left hand; single base peg. Ht. 16·0 cm.
12. Swathed standing figure of Osiris, with *stf*-crown, horns, plaited beard, flail in right hand, crook in left hand; base broken. Ht. 12·0 cm.
13. Five corroded standing figures of Osiris, with *stf*-crown, horns, plaited beard, crook and flail, square base and base peg. Ht. 9·7, 8·5, 8·2, 7·2, 5·5 cm.
14. Two corroded standing figures of Osiris, with *stf*-crown, plaited beard, crook and flail; suspension rings at back and at left of feet. Ht. 7·0, 6·0 cm.
15. Twenty corroded standing figures of Osiris, with white crown with two plumes, plaited beard, crook and flail; with base pegs.
16. Large headless standing figure of Osiris, with broad collar, flail in right hand, crook in left hand. Ht. 19·0 cm.
17. Seated figure of Osiris with white crown with two plumes, disc and uraeus, flail in right hand, crook in left hand; base lost. Ht. 10·8 cm.
18. Standing Osiris figure with white crown with two plumes, crook and flail; two suspension rings at the back, one right of feet. Ht. 7·0 cm.
19. Small standing Osiris, of very flat section and darkened metal; no base peg; corroded, details uncertain. Ht. 7·0 cm.
20. Four standing Osiris figures, with white crown with two plumes, crook and flail; head broken off in one; all have a suspension ring by the right foot, one shows a base-peg in addition. Ht. 8·5, 8·5, 8·0, 5·2 cm.

21. Six standing Osiris figures with white crown and two plumes, crook and flail; lower parts broken.

C. *Figurines of Isis or Hathor*

22. Seated figure of Isis, wearing coronet and disc, with Harpocrates, wearing sidelock, seated on her lap; with one base peg. Ht. 8.5 cm.
23. Seated figure of Isis, wearing coronet and disc, with Harpocrates, wearing sidelock, seated on her lap; in two pieces. Ht. 9.0 cm.
24. Four figures of Isis with Harpocrates seated on her lap; the smallest has a suspension ring at the back. Ht. 9.0, 5.8, 5.2, 4.5 cm.
25. Very heavy coronet with uraei, with large central spike of square section (from horns) corroded into central hole; fine incised work on uraei. From a figure of quite exceptional size. Ht. 11.3 cm.
26. Top of coronet, originally with uraei, surmounted by cow-horns separately made; a groove inside the horns shows that a disc was originally present. Of large size. Ht. 18.5 cm.
27. Coronet with uraei, with separate horns and disc attached by base-spike. Ht. 8.8 cm.

D. *Aegis of Isis*

28. Aegis of Isis, with two rings for attachment behind the middle of the back of collar, and a triple slot beneath the back of the wig for the carrying pole: this slot contains mortar. Isis wears a coronet of uraei, with large uraeus, her normal wig with twin tresses, a broad collar with hawks decorating each end, and a pectoral with winged-hawk above. The pectoral shows a hawk-headed sun-deity holding *ꜥnh*, and a goddess with horns and disc holding *ꜥnh*, seated opposite on either side of a lotus. There are traces of gold leaf on the frieze of uraei on the coronet. The eyes were originally inlaid. Ht. 17.0 cm. See pl. VIII, 2.

E. *Harpocrates and child figures*

29. Very corroded figure of a seated male child with right hand to its mouth; traces of attachment show that it came from the lap of an Isis figure. Ht. 6.5 cm.
30. Figure of a seated male child, naked, with hair divided into three clumps like that of a Nubian, ears pierced for ear-rings, hands on knees, feet together; the posture suggests that it was seated on the lap of a goddess, but the hair-style leaves doubt as to the child's identity. Ht. 11.5 cm.
31. Badly corroded figure of a seated child, with both hands flat on thighs. Ht. 13.0 cm.

F. *Osiris Neferhotep*

32. Standing figure of Osiris Neferhotep, wearing the daily wig and uraeus, surmounted by the red crown with double streamer descending down back and tucked into belt; broad collar; short, pleated kilt; the left arm is forward (probably originally holding a spear), the right arm by the side; the left leg forward. Base lost. Ht. 16.5 cm.

G. *Osiris-Icah-Thoth*

33. Seated figure of Osiris-Icah-Thoth, with long lappeted wig, uraeus, and moon crescent bearing disc; long plaited beard; the left hand is held forward clenched, the right hand by side. The throne is lost, the right leg broken below the knee, and the base broken. (Possibly an ibis-head can be discerned on the disc beneath the corrosion.) Ht. 12.5 cm. See pl. VIII, 3.

H. *Khons*

34. Standing mummiform figure of Khons, wearing hair short with sidelock of youth and uraeus, holding *wꜥs*-sceptre in front of body, flail in right hand, crook in left hand; with square base and peg. The moon disc has been broken away. Ht. 12.5 cm.
35. Standing figure of Khons with disc, head-dress badly corroded, *wꜥs*-sceptre held in front of body, flail in right hand, crook in left; no base peg. Ht. 7.5 cm.

36. A base showing base peg and two feet, left slightly advanced; inscribed on side *dd-mdw in Hnsw* 'said by Khons . . .' Length 5.5 cm.

I. *Imhotep*

37. Seated figure of Imhotep in normal daily dress reading scroll; seat lost, 1 peg on base. Ht. 11.5 cm.

J. *Thoth*

38. Squatting figure of baboon on square pedestal, detail corroded. Ht. 5.0 cm.

K. *Onuris*

39. Standing figure of Onuris wearing daily wig, topped by plain coronet surmounted by four plumes; rest of figure badly corroded; left arm forward holding spear at angle of 45°, left foot forward; base lost. Ht. 10.2 cm.

40. Standing figure like no. 39, badly broken with single base peg; probably Onuris. Ht. 8.4 cm.

L. *Sekhmet, Bastet, and cat-goddesses*

41. Standing figure of cat-headed goddess, wearing disc and uraeus and long head-dress; naked with hands by side; base lost. Ht. 7.8 cm.

42. Seated cat with short ears, with no head decorations or ear-rings; the tail curls round the right of the body and the paws are flat; hollow-cast, no pegs. Ht. 20.5 cm.

43. Head of seated cat, with upright prick-ears, eyes possibly originally inlaid; hollow-cast; corroded and broken. Ht. 18.5 cm.

44. Seated cat with upright prick ears, seated on a base shaped like a *menat*; corroded and peg lost. Ht. 8.0 cm.

45. Seated cat with mutilated ears and tail missing; one base peg. Ht. 9.0 cm.

46. Large hollow-cast cat figure, broken into many pieces.

47. Two minute cats, with prick ears, seated on single rectangular base, on side of which is inscribed *Hwt-hr Bstt* 'Hathor Bastet'. Ht. 3.2 cm.

M. *King*

48. Standing figure of king, wearing *nemes* head-dress and uraeus, and *shendyt*-kilt with belt; both hands are forward holding an offering of some sort; left leg forward; fine workmanship. The base is broken. Ht. 13.0 cm. See pl. VIII, 4.

49. Kneeling figure of king, wearing *nemes* head-dress (no uraeus survives), and pleated *shendyt*-kilt with belt; the hands are on the thighs with palms inwards as if they originally held a *naos*, of which no trace is extant. There is a large rectangular base-peg under the knees, and the toes are turned forward. Ht. 14.5 cm. See pl. VIII, 5.

N. *Offering-bearer*

50. Kneeling offerer holding a *hs*-vase horizontally against his chest in the act of pouring a libation. Ht. 5.0 cm.

O. *Miscellaneous fragments from figures*

51. Uraeus with disc; there is a suspension ring behind the snake's head and a base-peg. Ht. 10.5 cm.

52. Badly corroded uraeus. Ht. 5.0 cm.

53. Two plumes from head-dress of Osiris with horns and attachment bar; one broken. Ht. 26.0, 13.5 cm.

54. Two plumes and disc, finely incised with diagonal lines, from head-dress of Osiris. Ht. 9.0 cm.

55. Long plaited beard of Osiride type with its own back pillar. Ht. 5.8 cm.

56. Two small bronze bells, one with clapper and suspension ring; perhaps originally from cat-figurines. Ht. 3.0, 1.5 cm.

57. Two bases of seated figures, showing feet together. Length 4·0, 3·0 cm.  
 58. Cornice of shrine adapted for use as a base, bearing the feet of a standing figure with two base pegs. Length 3·8 cm.  
 59. Statue base in the form of a platform (*mꜣr*) with steps; it has a trapezoidal slot with curved front in the base suitable to hold a Ptah or Osiris statue. Length 6·8 cm.  
 60. Portion of bird's foot, with three claws at the front and one at the back, presumably from a hawk. Ht. 7·4 cm.  
 61. Coronet with uraei from Isis or Hathor figure. Ht. 3·8 cm.

P. *Situlae*

62. Four small situlae with button-bases, rings for handles (no handles survive), and incised lotus patterns. Ht. 8·0, 7·3, 6·5, 6·3 cm.  
 63. Two small situlae with button-bases, rings for handles (no handles survive); plain without decoration. Ht. 8·5, 6·0 cm.

Q. *Miscellaneous*

64. Portion of a bronze chain with four double-ring links.

II. FAIENCE

*Figurines*

65. Figure of Ptah Pataikos, nude, with fat belly, bow-legs, and phallus shown; with suspension hole behind head. Ht. 5·5 cm.  
 66. Figure of Isis seated with Harpocrates (broken) on her lap; she wears a plain wig with tresses and uraeus. Ht. 4·0 cm.

III. GLASS

*Scarab*

67. Blue glass funerary scarab, with elytra and prothorax outlined, and no nicks on the wing-cases; rounded head with clypeus separated from base; legs hollowed out and shown in relief; no stringing holes. The glass is very dense and compact. Length 7·0 cm., width 5·7 cm., ht. 3·6 cm.

IV. STONE

A. *Steatite figurine*

68. Standing figure, with lappeted wig surmounted by a head-dress, possibly the white crown with plumes; apparently animal-headed (perhaps a lioness); the figure wears a *shendyt*-kilt, and holds the right hand across the body; the left leg is forward. Possibly Sakhmet or Bastet. Ht. 5·3 cm.

B. *Slate fragment*

69. Fragment of schist with one straight side and one angled, showing a vertical inscription in hieroglyphs reading . . . *wpt-rnpt Dhwtyt* . . . 'the opening-of-the-year festival (and) the Thoth-festival', which must be part of a *htp-di-nsw* formula. The nature of the object from which the fragment was broken is uncertain; possibly an offering-table. Length 9·0 cm., width 5·0 cm.

C. *Alabaster vessel*

70. Fragment of base of alabaster oil vessel of 'alabastron' type. Ht. 3·0 cm.

V. WOOD

A. *Figure*

71. A wooden mummiform figure with lappeted wig, plain head-dress reaching to shoulders at

back, and long beard. There is a circular hole in the head for the attachment of plumes or head-dress, and a square base-peg. Identification of deity uncertain. Ht. 38.5 cm.

B. *Mummy-labels*

72. Two wooden labels: (a) darkened, with triangular head and two holes: the inscription is lost; (b) rectangular with no holes, one very faint line of demotic in black ink, now illegible. Length 8.5 cm, 9.0 cm.

VI. POTTERY

A. *Lamps*

73. Round Sarapis-lamp, with spout for wick and upright ring handle with strap pattern: a relief figure of Sarapis on the upper surface. Pink ware. Length 8.5 cm.  
74. Round lamp with spout, showing moulded floral pattern above and incised branch on base. Buff ware. Length 7.0 cm.

B. *Jars, etc.*

75. Necked jar with horizontal shoulder and rounded external rim. Two holes punched below the rim suggest a degraded 'Bes-jar'. Pink ware. Ht. 15.0 cm.  
76. Small globular offering pot: pink ware. Diam. 4.0 cm.  
77. Small jar, broken: pink ware, fired white on surface. Max. width 5.0 cm.

C. *Mould*

78. Pottery mould for making a rosette; pink ware. Diam. 2.0 cm.

VII. COINS

79. Four badly corroded copper or bronze coins, two showing heads, one possibly Greek, one possibly a Roman Emperor. Diam. 1.9, 1.8, 1.7, 1.0 cm.

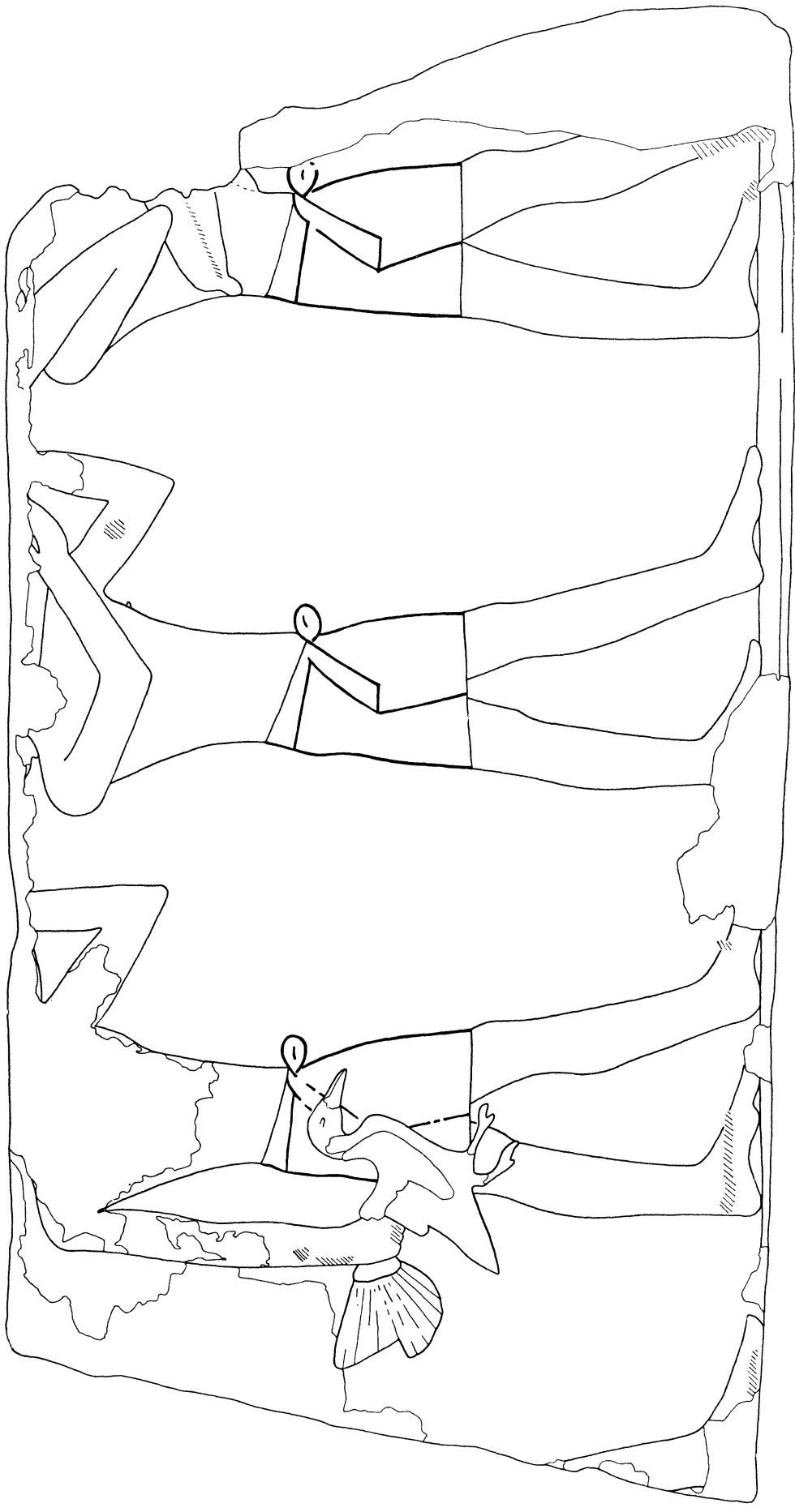
*From sand and rubble north of north entrance to pyramid*

I. LIMESTONE

80. Limestone block from an Old-Kingdom tomb, delicate raised relief. The pigment is somewhat carelessly applied in places. Three offering-bearers are depicted, together with the leg of a fourth. Their navels are not rendered. Colours: flesh red-brown. Edges of the kilts also in red-brown. The object carried by the first bearer, under his right arm, is painted orange-yellow. The trays or baskets carried by the second and third bearers are shown in yellow. Traces of blue colour on the baskets perhaps represent grapes. The bird held by the third man is painted white, the beak, part of the feathering, and the lower part of the legs and feet in turquoise blue, the face, tail-feathers, and wings in buff. The base-line is black. Max. width 55.0 cm, ht. 28.0 cm, thickness 10.0 cm. Date: Fifth Dynasty. See fig. 1.

II. POTTERY

81. Light-brown ware cup, base carinated. Ht. 12.3 cm. Diam. of rim 11.7 cm. Date: Late Period.  
82. Buff-ware jug, the neck and handle broken away. Ht. 11.0 cm. Date: Late Period.  
83. Brown-ware pot with buff slip. Ht. 11.5 cm. Diam. of rim 9.4 cm. Date: Late Period.  
84. Buff-ware jug, the neck and handle broken away. Ht. 9.0 cm. Date: Late Period.  
85. Buff-ware jug, the neck, handle, and part of the wall broken away. Ht. 11.2 cm. Date: Late Period.



CAT. NO. 80

FIG. 1. A limestone block from an Old-Kingdom tomb.



86. Pottery lamp with interior handle. Width 8·8 cm, ht. 4·0 cm. Date: Late Roman–Coptic Period.
87. Pottery lamp, similar to preceding. Width 8·8 cm, ht. 4·0 cm. Date: Late Roman–Coptic Period.

## III. SANDSTONE

88. Hard sandstone pounder, showing traces of green matter. Length 9·6 cm, width 9·5 cm, ht. 7·5 cm.

## IV. REED

89. Reed pen. Length 17·0 cm.

## V. FAIENCE

90. Group of amulets and beads, faience.
91. Faience shabti, lower part of legs and feet missing. Text illegible. Ht. 8·0 cm.
92. Fragments of faience shabtis, one inscribed for *ꜣst-wrt mꜣ-hrw*.
93. Group of twelve faience amulets and one faience bead.

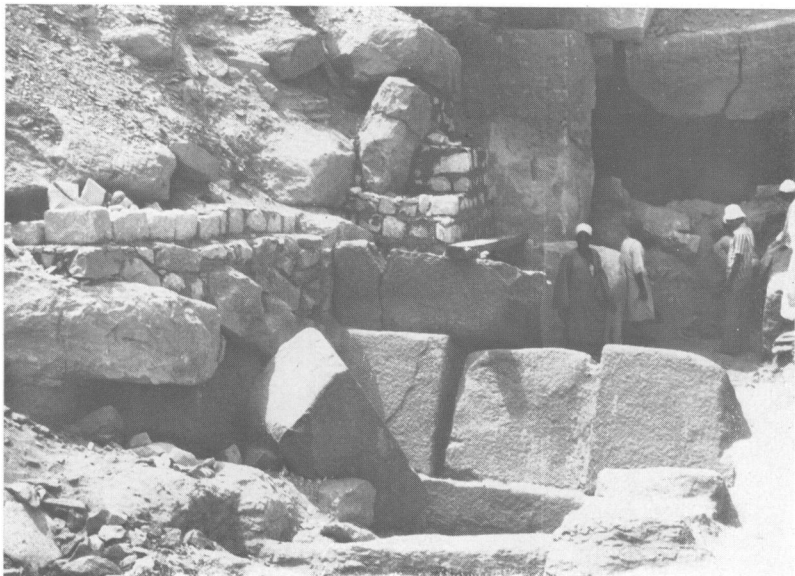
## VI. FLINT

94. Flint blade. Length 3·8 cm.

**Postscript**

The writer wishes to record his grateful thanks to Messrs. Swisspharma S.A.A., Cairo, for their support.





1. Entrance to Pyramid, showing plug in position



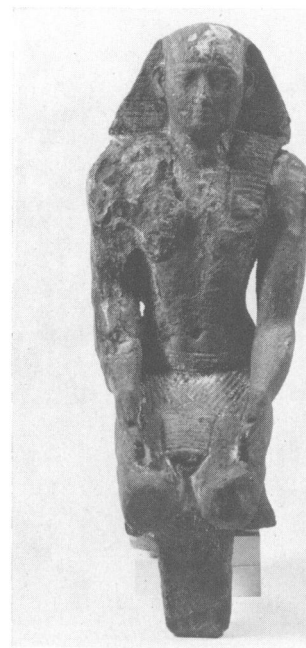
2. Aegis of Isis wearing a coronet of Isis  
(Cat. 28)



3. Seated figure of Osiris-I'ah-Thoth  
(Cat. 33)



4. Standing figure of King wearing  
*nemes* head-dress and uraeus (Cat. 48)



5. Kneeling figure of King wearing  
*nemes* head-dress (Cat. 49)

## AN OFFERING-TABLE OF SESOSTRIS I FROM EL-LISHT

By ALY EL-KHOULY

DURING the month of June 1976 the Department of Irrigation of Gîza Province was engaged in clearing the main canal which runs north-south about 3 km east of the desert and in the neighbourhood of the two Middle-Kingdom pyramids of El-Lisht. Work was interrupted when an enormously heavy weight was found to be impeding the grab of the mechanical excavator. On investigation this was found to be the offering-table shortly to be discussed, which doubtless originally formed part of the furnishings of the pyramid temple (or conceivably the valley temple) of the pyramid of Sesostris I. Apart from some chips missing from the edges, and minor surface abrasion, the monument, which is of grey granite, is in excellent condition, despite its long sojourn in the waters of the canal. On being informed by the Sheikh of the ghaffîrs of the site that the offering-table had been found, I arranged for it to be brought to the Antiquities Department office at Saqqâra, where it now is. The measurements are as follows: Length (upper surface) 1.02 m, width (incl. runnel) 0.735 m (0.62 m without runnel), height 0.51 m. The bottom edge at the back (or runnel side) is chamfered. The base is flat. On the upper surface are carved a reed mat with offering loaf (*htp*-sign), two *kbh*-jars, and two round loaves, all in raised relief. See pl. IX. The inscriptions are incised.

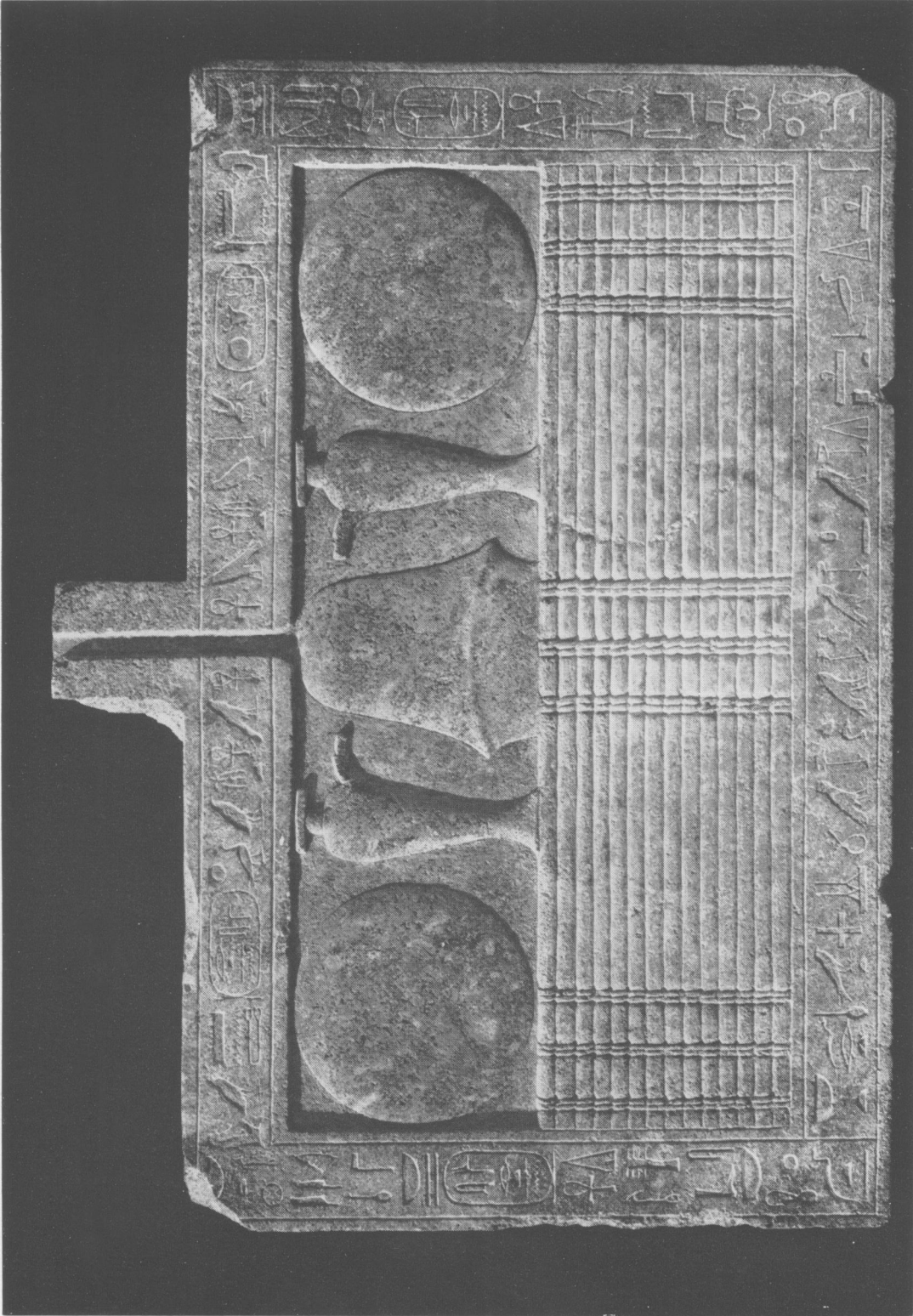
### Inscriptions

Right from runnel: *May there live the Horus, Living-of-births, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkarê, beloved of Amûn lord of Karnak, the son of Rêc Sesostris, given life, stability, power, health: may his heart rejoice like Rêc for ever.*

*May there live the Horus, Living-of-births, the son of Rêc Sesostris, beloved of Montu lord of Thebes, the good god, the Lord of the Two Lands Sesostris, given all life, stability, power and health like Rêc for ever.*

*A boon which the king gives, a boon which Geb gives, (being) a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of bulls and birds, a thousand of alabaster and clothing, every great and beautiful thing being in it.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *imy* here probably refers to the offering-table itself; it may be an example of the rare, but attested, use where it is not the antecedent but the following noun which is thought of as being 'in' or 'on'. Cf. *JEA* 28 (1942), 66-7.

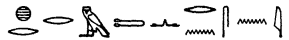



AN OFFERING-TABLE OF SESOSTRIS I FROM EL-LISHT

## PYR. 604C-D AND WESTCAR 7/17-19

By MORDECHAI GILULA

THE Pyramid Texts are our oldest source for the study of ancient Egyptian religion. The correct understanding and evaluation of the religious data they contain depend on the knowledge of the vocabulary as well as on the correct understanding of the grammatical constructions. At the present time our operative knowledge of the grammar of the Egyptian language far exceeds the workable knowledge of the vocabulary.<sup>1</sup> It happens many times that one knows the exact grammatical construction of a given passage, and yet cannot understand it, or translate it properly, because of lexical deficiency. This is particularly true of the religious and wisdom literature. On the other hand, there are cases in which all, or most, of the words are known and well understood, but the sentence is a crux. When dealing with such difficult passages, scholars sometimes first gain an insight into what appears to them to be the meaning of the passage, and only then try to reconcile the meaning with the grammatical rules known at the time. In other cases the correct understanding of the grammatical constructions is the key to analysis of the content. I think that *Pyr. 604c-d* and *Westcar 7/17-19* are cases in point and can serve as exemplary cases.

The following is Faulkner's<sup>2</sup> translation of *Pyr. 604c-d*: 'Nu has commended the King to Atum, the Open-armed has commended the King to Shu, that he may cause yonder doors of the sky to be opened for the King, , barring (ordinary) folk who have no name.' This is the generally accepted meaning of the passage and it depends on Sethe's analysis and translation in his *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, III, 121-2. The main difficulty which Sethe confronted was in translating the word *hr*. Apparently he did not consider any of its accepted meanings and uses as appropriate to this context, but looked for a new interpretation. He said: 'Zu der Bedeutung von *hr* vgl. Westc. 7/17 *iw hrt·k mi cnh tp m tn·i hr iwot* [my transcription of Sethe's hieroglyphs] "dein Befinden ist wie das eines (Menschen), der lebt auf dem Wege zum hohen Alter, trotz des Alters" das du tatsächlich erreicht hast (s. die Erkl. zu m. Lesestücken S. 37/8).' In *Erläuterungen*, 37-8, he said that *hr* could not be a conjunction because the determinative  was missing; as a result he took it to be a preposition and stated, '*hr*—"bei" = trotz'. Accordingly he translated *Pyr. 604c-d* 'trotz der (gewöhnlichen) Menschen die keinen Namen haben' and remarked in his commentary, '*hr rmt·w* muß hier geradezu bedeuten: "im Gegensatz zu gewöhnlichen Menschen."' The interpretation of *hr* in *Westcar 7/17* as a preposition was first suggested by Erman in *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, 46, but he suggested it only

<sup>1</sup> The gap is now even wider than it was fifty years ago. See A. Erman, 'Das Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache' *ZDMG* N.F. I (1922), 72 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (1969), 117.

tentatively and was not sure of its meaning. He did not translate it 'trotz'.<sup>3</sup> Today, the more or less accepted analysis of *hr* in Westcar 7/17 is that it is a non-enclitic particle which introduces a new sentence.<sup>4</sup> Faulkner (op. cit. 117 n. 3) remarks upon it, but nevertheless he accepts Sethe's interpretation and translation of *hr* in *Pyr.* 604c. It is obvious that Sethe's interpretation of this locus, and its English adaptation by Faulkner,<sup>5</sup> are influenced by the preconception that the Pyramid Texts were written on behalf of the king, whereas ordinary human beings could not share any of the benefits which they were supposed to provide. This is the generally held view of the Pyramid Texts, and Sethe's interpretation 'im Gegensatz zu gewöhnlichen Menschen' is in conformity with it and appears to be correct in view of the meaning of the whole utterance. But he had to bring it to terms with lexicon and grammar. Thus *hr* was treated as a preposition, and was given a meaning 'trotz', which could not be, and has not since been, substantiated<sup>6</sup> except by reliance on a tentative *ad hoc* translation of a seemingly similar word in Westcar 7/17. This meaning had to be stretched to its limits in order to provide the desired sense of 'im Gegensatz', which can be described as a squeezed-out product of a hard-pressed scholar.

The rest of the sentence did not present any special difficulties to Sethe. He wrote: '𓏏, das spätere 𓏏, in der bekannten Ausdrucksweise für "nicht haben" ("ein Schiff, nicht ist sein Steuerruder").<sup>7</sup> Der Satz (wie in diesem Beispiel aus Sinuhe) ein Zusage Satz statt eines Relativsatzes, daher *rmtꜣw* indeterminiert zu verstehen. Das 𓏏 gibt dem Satz die Nuance einer Begründung. Weil sie keinen Namen haben, sollen sie ausgeschlossen sein. Vgl. 1923\*. *rn* "Name" in prägnantem Sinn, wie wir sagen: er hat sich einen Namen gemacht = ist bekannt, berühmt.' The analysis of *n* as the predicative existential negation has been universally accepted.<sup>8</sup> It is only in regard to *is* that opinions have varied. The nuance of 'Begründung' which Sethe saw here is not expressed in the Pyramid Texts by *is* as a single element. *Is* in the meaning of 'because' does not occur in free use before the Middle Kingdom, where it can be a late secondary

<sup>3</sup> Erman later changed his mind in *Die Sprache des Papyrus Westcar* (1889), § 191, in which he wrote, 'Eine andere Conjunction ist wohl die 𓏏 *hr* geschriebene in der Stelle 7, 17, wo sie wie unser "doch" einen Gegensatz gegen das vorher Bemerkte auszudrücken scheint.' This was later one of the meanings assigned to *hr* in *Wb.* III, 316. Erman apparently suffered another change of heart; it is reflected in his translation in *Lit.* 70: 'Dein Ergehen gleicht einem Leben vor dem Altwerden und vor(?) dem Alter.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf., e.g., Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* § 133 (p. 105 n. 6) and p. 585. See also Blackman in *JEA* 13 (1927), 187-9. But W. K. Simpson, in a recent English translation, has rendered it as connected to the previous words; cf. n. 22 below.

<sup>5</sup> So also J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *L'hommage aux dieux*, 94 'à la différence (*hr*) des hommes (ordinaires) qui certes n'ont pas de renom'. Some translators just transferred Sethe's 'trotz' literally to their own language as 'in spite' or 'malgré', e.g. S. A. B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts in translation and commentary*, I (1952), 122; Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, VI (1946), 162; L. Speleers, *Traduction etc.* (1934), 84. Other translations are those of A. Moret, *Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne* (1937), 207, 'il a reconnu le roi N parmi les hommes qui n'ont, certes, plus de nom', and J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (1912), 102, 'Men fall, their name is not.'

<sup>6</sup> This is the only locus which Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* § 768e could quote for this meaning.

<sup>7</sup> *wshꜣt nm hmꜣw s*, *Sinuhe* B 13; cf. Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* § 196.

<sup>8</sup> Edel, op. cit. § 826; C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Studien zur Gr. der Pyramidentexte* (1956), 133, § 382; H. Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen*, §§ 44-5. Satzinger realized that *is* was part of the construction, but he thought that the negative *n . . . is* was an existential negation.

development of the original use. Originally *is* was a subordinating morpheme of non-verbal sentences without *iw*.<sup>9</sup> It indicated subordination of such sentences to verbs and prepositions. As such it was also used in ‘Begründung’ sentences, but it was not *is* which carried the ‘Begründung’ nuance. This was expressed by a preposition. In the Pyramid Texts *is* always accompanies in such sentences the preposition *n* (sometimes in the hyper-characterization *n ntt*), which is the ‘Begründung’ carrier, and this construction appears to have been confined to affirmative sentences. It was only later that *is* took upon itself the actual expression of the ‘Begründung’ nuance, and the preposition was dropped from the construction. Another objection to Sethe’s analysis is that *is* in this meaning cannot be negotiated satisfactorily with the supposed attributive use of the negative *n*. Either one translates ‘unlike (= barring) human beings, because they do not have a name’ or, to quote Faulkner’s translation, ‘barring (ordinary) folk who have no name’. A combination of the two is impossible. Sethe’s suggestion as to the function and meaning of *is* in this place has not been adopted by grammarians. Instead, Edel (loc. cit.) and Satzinger (op. cit. §§ 44-5) take it as the particle that occurs in negative sentences, while Sander-Hansen said, ‘Die Partikel *is*’ emphatisiert ausnahmsweise das *Hauptwort eines Existenzsatzes n rn·sn is* “sie haben ja keine Namen” 604, bei dem die Partikel *pw* des Nominalsatzes zu entbehren ist’ (loc. cit.).

The particle *is* is not an emphasizing particle. In negative sentences it is an integral part of the negation, the combination *n . . . is* being the negation of non-verbal sentences without *iw*.<sup>10</sup> This is a negative pattern that is different in character from the existential predicative *nm* (Old Egyptian *n*), and should not be confused with it.<sup>11</sup> The particle *is* that is part of the negative pattern *n . . . is* is incompatible with the existential predicative *n(n)*, so the very presence of *is* in our sentence prevents the identification of the negative word as such. If *n* does not stand for *n(n)* then the attributive function and translation ascribed to it are wrong. This conclusion is reached any way we look at the sentence. If we do not take *n . . . is* here as the nexal negation, then *n* must stand for *n(n)*, and *is* must have another meaning. The only *is* still left for consideration is the enclitic particle meaning ‘like’ (cf., e.g., Edel, op. cit. § 828). Taken together with *n(n)* they could theoretically be translated ‘like people who do not have names’, but this is unlikely not only because such a construction does not occur elsewhere, and is presumably impossible,<sup>12</sup> but also because the meaning would not fit. Thus we must conclude

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *JEA* 57 (1971), 16 n. 11c; and Satzinger, op. cit. 30 n. 92.

<sup>10</sup> *JEA* 56 (1970), 207 ff.

<sup>11</sup> But cf. Satzinger, op. cit. §§ 44-5.

<sup>12</sup> The position of *is* would have to be in such a case after *rmṯ*, i.e. *\*rmṯ is n(n) rn·sn*. The only instance that I know of a nominal sentence preceded by *nm* and containing a *is* which is open to analysis as the particle ‘like’ is *CT* III, 76h (SloC<sup>a</sup>) *nm irt Hr iwṯ nm ink is pw iw*. Normally I would explain *nm* in the second sentence as a mis-writing for *n*, induced by the *nm* in the first sentence, and regard the second sentence as a nominal sentence negated by *n . . . is* ‘there is not a boatless Eye of Horus; I am not one who is boatless’. But the parallel version SloC<sup>b</sup> *nm irt iwṯ ink is iwṯ* can very well be understood as an instance of *nm* serving to negate the idea expressed by two qualified substantives (a noun and a pronoun) connected by the particle *is* ‘like’, i.e. ‘a boatless eye and (literally “like”) a boatless “I” are non-existent.’ If this is the correct analysis, one could assume that also the first version could be analysed accordingly as the predicative *nm*, this time explicitly written before a nominal sentence containing the particle *is* ‘like’ (perhaps better translated here ‘likewise’), ‘a boatless Eye of Horus is non-existent; it is likewise non-existent that I am boatless.’ The crucial difference

that although *rmt̄ n rn·sn* could on its own be translated 'people who do not have names',<sup>13</sup> in the present context, if we take all grammatical considerations into account, this meaning must be false.

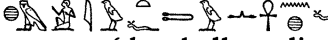

I came to deal with this sentence in the course of a study of the particle *is* and its various uses. Influenced by Sethe's interpretation, I was at first at a loss for the analysis of *is*. But after having established in my mind what I believe to be the true function of *n . . . is* (i.e. the negation of non-verbal sentences without *iw*), and having come to realize that *is* is an integral part of the construction, I returned to examine this sentence. I have reached certain conclusions as to its analysis and meaning which I wish to present here.

By the process of elimination described above we are left with only one possible role for *is*, viz. that it is part of the nexal negation *n . . . is*. If so, then *n rn·sn is* is a subjectless negated nominal sentence (as suggested also by Sander-Hansen, loc. cit., but with a wrong interpretation of both *n* and *is*, and consequently a wrong translation). Subjectless sentences form a special group in every kind of sentence pattern in Egyptian. They are not sentences with accidentally omitted subject,<sup>14</sup> but rather sentences in which the subject (the thing or person which is talked about) is intentionally not specified, whether because it is clear from the context, or because it is an abstract or general quality. Negated subjectless nominal sentences are *Berlin* 1157, 20 *n s̄·i is* 'he is not my son' (compare *Ptahhotep* 213 (L2) *nn s̄·k is pw* 'he is not your son', in which *nn* is the late orthography for *n*; *Ann. Serv.* 59 (1966), pl. XLIX, *nn s̄·i is pw* 'he is not my son', a 19th Dynasty inscription); *ibid.* 13 *n rmt̄ is nt šft st* 'they are not people worthy of respect'; perhaps also *CT* VII, 52*s-t*, and see also further below. *N rn·sn is* is an independent sentence. It must be translated 'it is not their name', and refer back to something which is either mentioned in the text or is implicitly known. This cannot be *rmt̄* which is resumed in the sentence by the plural suffix *sn* (thus being part of it), and must therefore be the preceding passage about opening the gates of heaven. The literal translation is meaningless in the present context, so it is possible that this negated sentence is an idiomatic expression, used here figuratively and not in its literal sense. The only suggestion I can make is to take it to mean 'it does not mean

between the two versions is that while version (b) *ink iw* can be analysed as a qualified pronoun (and not necessarily as a binary nominal or an adjectival sentence), an extremely unusual but quite a reasonable occurrence that even seems to be warranted by the grammatical context, version (a) can only be a ternary nominal sentence. While in version (b) *is* as a connective element is probable (but not certain), in version (a) it is doubtful. In (b) it may connect words; in (a) it must connect sentences, but this use is not found elsewhere. Until further evidence is adduced for the use of *is* 'like' in sentences preceded by *nn* I would prefer to consider *nn ink is pw iw* as a writing of *nn* for *n*. This sentence was referred to by A. Roccati, *Papiro Ieratico N. 54003* (Turin 1970), 31. Two consecutive sentences beginning with *nn* need not necessarily be 'Wechselsätze'. The cases of *nn* 'nor' discussed by Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (1924), 163, are unrelated to this case.



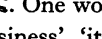


<sup>13</sup> For *nn rn·f* 'he has no name' as a personal name cf. *Louvre* C 168 and *Cairo* 20524; *Hekanakhte*, VI, 2 (pl. 13).

<sup>14</sup> Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* referred to this phenomenon as the 'omission of subject'. Cf. his references under this title on p. 637. In addition, cf. for nominal sentences, e.g. *CT* V, 151*f*; Participial Statement, e.g. *CT* VI, 250*e-f*, 2490-*t*; *CT* V, 98*a-f*; adverbial answer to an 'emphatic' question *CT* VI, 250*r-s*; adverbial question and an adverbial answer *CT* V, 151*c-d*; *iw sdm* (passive) + abverb *CT* II, 249*d-250b*. For impersonal sentences see Gardiner, op. cit. §§ 141, 145, 422 (p. 340), 465, 466, 467, and 486. See also E. Edel, *Altägyptische Gr.* § 919a.

them', i.e. it is not applicable to them, it does not refer to them. There are two other similar occurrences of negated sentences which may have precisely the same meaning.<sup>15</sup> *Neit* 744  'as for him who would displace you,<sup>16</sup> he shall not live; as for him who would call to you "get you behind me" (or "go away"), it should not be of any concern to you' (because your father Geb protects you). *Aba* 554 is broken  'as for him who calls after you "go away"<sup>17</sup>—it should not concern you'.

The only real difficulty in our sentence is the function and meaning of *hr*. It could be a preposition connecting *rm̄t* to the preceding words '. . . that he may cause the two doors of heaven to open for the king, unlike (or 'barring') human beings—it does not refer to them', but the preposition *hr* does not have such a meaning elsewhere, and it is doubtful that it has it here. On the other hand, *hr* could be a non-enclitic particle introducing a new sentence 'as for(?) human beings, it does not refer to them', but, again, there is no supporting evidence for it, because in Old Egyptian the particle *hr* occurs only with verbal sentences (Edel, op. cit. § 849). Nevertheless, whether we take *hr rm̄t* as attached to the preceding words or as introducing a new sentence, the independent syntactic status of *n rn̄.sn is* and its contextual relation to the preceding passage remain unaffected. If I had to choose between the two possibilities, I would prefer to see in *hr rm̄t n rn̄.sn is* an independent statement of the construction *hr* + noun in extra-position + negated subjectless nominal sentence. I would do so not only because a meaning 'trotz' for the preposition *hr* is unlikely whereas the use of a particle *hr* in such a construction is probable, but also because the sentence in *Westcar* 7/17-18 appears to be of the same construction, and because the two passages seem to be grammatical counterparts.

The sentence in *Westcar* 7/17-18 runs *hr iswt st mni st hrs st sm̄ t̄*, and it is analysed as a particle *hr* before a nominal sentence constructed of subject and predicate in direct juxtaposition, the subject preceding the predicate (Blackman in *JEA* 13 (1927), 187-9; Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* 105 n. 3). Blackman's admirable treatment of the whole passage leaves no doubt as to the translation of the sentence: 'for old age meaneth death, enwrapping, burial'. There is, however, a question as to its grammatical analysis. Nominal sentences constructed of two nouns in direct juxtaposition are very rare in Middle Egyptian (Gardiner, op. cit. § 125). Normally a sentence with two nouns should have a *pw* as mediator (either as a 'formal' subject when the predicate precedes, or as a 'copula' when the subject comes first), except for some very special well-defined cases (*JEA* 62 (1976), 170 f.). There are, however, some cases of two nouns in seemingly

<sup>15</sup> I know of only one more sentence of this kind. It is from the 19th Dynasty and has the literal meaning of 'it is not your name', cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the B.M.*, 3rd series, pl. 65, *Chester Beatty*, XI Recto 3, 7   [e]. *Pap. Turin* 133, 11 (= G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke*, 31, 11) has   . One would expect also to find affirmative sentences like *rn̄.k pw* or just *rn̄.k* in the meaning of 'it is your business', 'it applies to you'. I do not know of such cases. Faulkner, op. cit. 278 n. 8, refers to occurrences of *rn̄.tn* that are obscure and cannot be translated literally 'your name'.

<sup>16</sup> Literally 'ignore', i.e. 'would wish to displace you'. Faulkner, op. cit. 277 (§ 1922) translates 'exclude'.

<sup>17</sup> *r.s* is difficult to translate. It may refer back to something which had been mentioned before, or go together with *ht̄t* 'go away from it'. In *Pyr.* 1071a *ht̄t* goes with *m*; so also Sethe, *Les.* 93, 11-12 (Siut).



direct juxtaposition which cannot be classified. These instances, in which the predicate (i.e. the important part on account of which the sentence is uttered) always seems to follow the subject, occur typically as a special 'telegraphic' style in wisdom texts and medical diagnoses,<sup>18</sup> and also in such terse statements as *Westcar* 7/17–18. In my opinion, all these occurrences have to be analysed as a special nominal pattern, a noun in extraposition followed by a subjectless nominal sentence, i.e. Noun, Noun Ø.<sup>19</sup> I believe that *Westcar* 7/17–18 and *Pyr.* 604c-d are of the same pattern, and I think that *Pyr.* 604c-d represents a negative construction of this kind (for such a sentence after a noun in extra-position introduced by *ir* see the above-mentioned example from *Berlin* 1157, 19–20). *Hr* need not be a part of the construction, and the fact that both sentences are preceded by *hr* is not necessarily related to their structure. I do not exactly know how to translate *hr*, but I have no doubt that it introduces new sentences in both cases.<sup>20</sup>

Prince Ḥordedef's address to Djedi in *Westcar* 7/17–19 presented difficulties not only in regard to *hr*. The end of the speech was also not clear, 'your condition is like *ꜥnh* before old age; for old age means death, enwrapping and burial,' *sḏr r šp šw m ḥꜣt nn ꜥḥꜥḥt nt sꜣyt*. Erman who translated *ꜥnh* as 'Leben' took *sḏr* as a participle and translated '(Du bist noch), einer, der in den Tag hinein schläft' (*Literatur der Aegypter*, 70). Blackman (loc. cit.) objected to this interpretation saying that it 'is an impossible rendering of *sḏr r šp* (lines 18 f.). Surely *sḏr* is imperative and the words are to be translated: "sleep on until daylight (free from malady, etc.)," which affords excellent sense and requires no textual emendation.' It is true that Blackman's translation does not require textual emendation; it is also true that his suggestion is more consistent with the translation of *ꜥnh* as 'life'; but *ꜥnh* can also mean 'a person'<sup>21</sup> and if translated in this way the imperative would not fit, whereas the participle would give good sense.<sup>22</sup> But even in its context, Blackman's translation does not afford an 'excellent sense'. Moreover, independent grammatical considerations as well as contextual relations make it impossible in my opinion to analyse *sḏr* as anything else but a participle.<sup>23</sup> *Sḏr r šp* is followed by *šw m ḥꜣt nn ꜥḥꜥḥt nt sꜣyt* which form together with it one group. *Šw* can be either an adjective or a Stative of an adjective verb, but nothing else. Either way it is incompatible with *sḏr*, if *sḏr* is an imperative. An imperative can take only adverbial modification, but *šw* cannot be an adverb, i.e. the Stative, 'sleep until morning, being

<sup>18</sup> For the medical examples cf. W. Westendorf, *Gr. der medizinischen Texte*, 280–I § 401.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. also *JEA* 62 (1976), 170 n. 58. I hope to deal with this question in a future publication. For the AØ pattern in Late Egyptian cf. S. Israelit Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian*, 12 ff.; negated sentences, 94 ff.

<sup>20</sup> I am tempted to see in *hr* in both cases the verb 'to say' used impersonally to introduce a quotation. But until independent additional evidence is produced this must remain a conjecture.

<sup>21</sup> Faulkner, *Concise Dict.* 44, literally 'one who lives' (a participle). Cf. Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 37/8; Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 1, 1 and n. For the greeting formula *iw ḥꜣt-k mi* (or *m*) *ꜥnh*, cf. Gardiner and Sethe, loc. cit., and T. G. H. James, *The Ḥekanakhte Papers*, 120–2, who has an extensive discussion.

<sup>22</sup> W. K. Simpson, *Lit.* 23, translated *ꜥnh* as 'a man', but since he connected *hr iwꜣt* to the preceding words he could not translate *sḏr* as a participle or as an imperative, 'Your condition is like that of a man before old age although senility has come, the time of mooring, burial and interment. (Yet you) sleep until dawn, free from ailment, and there is no coughing in your throat.'

<sup>23</sup> So also interpreted by Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 38. Before that he thought that *sḏr* was an imperative, as his reference in *Lesestücke* (1st ed., 1924), 29, 19, to Erman's *Ägyptische Gr.* § 380 indicates.

free from ailment', because in such a case we would expect after the imperative the second person \*šw·tī (not to mention that there are no examples of a Stative modifying an imperative). For the same reason it cannot be an exclamatory independent Stative continuing an imperative. If šw is not a Stative it can only be an adjective, and there is no satisfactory way of connecting šw as an adjective to sdr as an imperative.<sup>24</sup> But if sdr is a participle then šw is compatible with it either as an adjective or a Stative, '(he) who sleeps until dawn free (a Stative) from ailment' or, 'who is free from ailment' (an adjective). Sdr must be a participle. As such it can be used either substantively or attributively. When used attributively, a participle can be used independently (e.g. as a noun in apposition or a vocative), or as a part of sentence. When a part of sentence it can be either the predicate (in nominal and adjectival sentences), or the subject (in nominal sentences and in the Participial Statement). None of the latter applies here, so sdr can only be a participle used independently or attributively. In either case it would in the present context need an antecedent. The only likely candidate is ḥnh. This is possible because if ḥr iwt st mni is an independent sentence, then it can be taken as a parenthetical statement. In such a case sdr r šp could be connected to the first sentence, either as a continuative or a modifying clause (so also Sethe, loc. cit.). If ḥnh is taken as 'life' no comprehensible meaning would result from its qualification or continuation by '(he) who sleeps until dawn'. In fact, the grammatical analysis makes it mandatory to look for another meaning for ḥnh. The readily available meaning 'a person' is the most obvious one,<sup>25</sup> and the translation would be 'your condition is like that of a person (or, "one who lives") before old age (for old age—it is death, enwrapping, and burial), who sleeps until dawn free from ailment without bouts of coughing.' Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I* (1973), 218, has apparently analysed the sentence in the same way.

<sup>24</sup> Except, perhaps, to take it as a vocative, 'sleep until dawn, you who are free from ailment', but this does not give a good sense and I suspect that such a use of an adjective is grammatically unsound.

<sup>25</sup> James, loc. cit., argues in favour of interpreting ḥnh as an infinitive 'living', against Gardiner's and Sethe's (and Gunn's) 'he who lives'. Such an interpretation is possible in his examples, but in our sentence we must take into consideration the continuation of the opening phrase by sdr r šp, etc. ḥnh 'living' is equivalent both semantically and grammatically to ḥnh 'life' and cannot in the present context be qualified by a participle sdr. If ḥnh is an infinitive then sdr must be either an imperative or an infinitive. The imperative is untenable. The same considerations that disqualify sdr as an imperative also disqualify it as an infinitive, because šw cannot be satisfactorily attached to an infinitive nor follow it (šw itself cannot be an infinitive since there is no infinitive of adjective verbs in independent use). I would analyse ḥnh in all examples of this formula as a participle 'one who lives', used as an undetermined noun followed by an adverbial qualification ḥh n xp or wrt which are semantic equivalents. In our particular case, ḥnh tp m iwt 'one who lives before old age' is a noun in restricted meaning which is more likely to be qualified by an adjective (the participle sdr) than by an adverbial expression (the Stative sdr·w).

## TWO ENIGMATIC HIEROGLYPHS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE SED-FESTIVAL

By A. J. SPENCER

THE signs  $\square$  and  $\square$  which are a regular feature of Egyptian temple-reliefs of the Sed-festival,<sup>1</sup> have attracted a good deal of comment but have not been satisfactorily explained.<sup>2</sup> To understand the reason for the inclusion of the signs in the reliefs it is necessary to examine their function in the ritual. As Lauer<sup>3</sup> has pointed out, the signs  $\square$  are a representation of some of the architectural structures necessary for the performance of the rites, namely the boundary-markers around which the king was supposed to run. The remains of such markers have been discovered in the courtyards of the Step Pyramid complex, and they are depicted on the reliefs beneath the pyramid and in the South Tomb of Djoser.<sup>4</sup> In the *Heb-Sed* scenes, the sign is always given in triplicate on either side of the king, the markers being shown in plan according to Egyptian artistic convention. Since the representations are pictures of the actual stone-built structures the signs are always shown as simple ideograms, and where the markers are mentioned in the texts their name is not spelled out, as, for example, in:



‘They run between the boundary-markers’<sup>5</sup>

a text which confirms the purpose of these objects. The name of these markers is, however, written in full in a list of divinities in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos.<sup>6</sup> The list is set out in vertical columns with the name of a divinity at the top of each, and immediately below is a text to be recited by the priests when offering incense to each god in turn. The boundary-markers of the *Heb-Sed* are here deified and they are named as the  $\square$   $\square$   $\square$  and  $\square$   $\square$   $\square$  whilst at the top of the column they are written pictographically as  $\square$  and  $\square$  followed by  $\square$  as a divine determinative.<sup>7</sup> The name

<sup>1</sup> See the examples collected in Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, pls. 2, 3, 6, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 119-22, 128-31; G. Jéquier, *Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II*, II, 15 and n. 1; idem, *Rec. Trav.* 27 (1905), 170-5; *CdÉ.* 27 (1939), 29-35; *Sphinx*, 14 (1911), 183-5; W. Helck, *Orientalia*, 19 (1950), 431; P. Munro, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 68-9; R. Caminos, *Temples of Buhen*, II, 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Pyr. à degrés*, I, 168; idem, *Histoire Monumentale*, I, 116, 153-4, 160.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, *Pyr. à degrés*, I, 168, 179, and pl. 35; *Histoire Monumentale*, I, pls. 9, 26. The three signs together on the stele do not seem to agree with the layout of the structures in the courtyards, since four markers, in two pairs, stood in the great court, and two in the *Cour de la maison du Sud*. However, this gives a total of six, which may be what is shown by the two opposing groups of three on the reliefs, since there is no reason why the scenes should not show all the structures as though they all stood in the same place.

<sup>5</sup> E. Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II*, pl. 15, 6. The presence of three running figures is paralleled by a scene on the Narmer mace-head from Hierakonpolis, and may represent an archaic version of the ritual in which the king himself did not run.

<sup>6</sup> Kees, *Rec. Trav.* 37 (1915), 75, 30. See also pp. 65 and 68.

<sup>7</sup> Kees omits the signs  $\square$  but Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions*, I, 175, 11, includes them.



well-attested appellations 'the two banks', and 'the banks of Horus'. The following examples may be quoted:





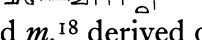



 *shy hftyw n Hr m itbw*

'Who overthrows the enemies of Horus in the Banks.'<sup>12</sup>

 *idbw m hy*

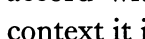
'The Banks were in jubilation.'<sup>13</sup>

There also exist references to the 'banks of the north and south',<sup>14</sup> agreeing with the north-south division of the markers.

The other sign normally found in *Heb-Sed* reliefs,  or , has been identified with the hinge of a door,<sup>15</sup> but variant writings with  show quite clearly that it is really a part of the sky.<sup>16</sup> The symbol  occurs among the objects depicted on the interior of the Middle Kingdom coffin of Seni in the British Museum,<sup>17</sup> and above the sign is a hieratic label naming it  *mdnbw wsht*. The word *mdnbw* is probably a substantive with prefixed *m*,<sup>18</sup> derived once more from the verb *dnb*, and again meaning 'boundary', 'limit', or, more literally, 'point of turning back'. In this case, however, the determinative  shows that we are dealing with a boundary of the sky, as distinct from the similarly named land boundary determined with . So both the limits of the land and of the sky are represented by the presence of these symbols in the *Heb-Sed* reliefs. As shown by the text on the coffin of Seni, the location of the sky-symbol was in the broad courtyard (*wsht*). Another Middle Kingdom coffin in the British Museum<sup>19</sup> bears a representation of the  with the accompanying inscription

 *dnb wsht*,

'the boundary-marker of the broad courtyard'.

This means that both symbols were located in the broad court, which is where one would expect the running ritual to take place, and, more importantly, is in precise accord with the position of the markers in the Step Pyramid courtyards.<sup>20</sup> In this context it is worth remarking on the title  which I would suggest should be read *rpr(t) (i)r(i) dnbw wsht*<sup>21</sup> presumably being an ancient title of an official who had duties connected with the Sed-festival, and with the boundary-markers in particular.

<sup>12</sup> Chassinat, *Edfou*, v, 255, 6.

<sup>13</sup> Legrain, *Rec. Trav.* 29 (1907), 166, 24.

<sup>14</sup> H. Brugsch, *Dict. Hiérog.* v, 172.

<sup>15</sup> Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Neuserre*, 85; Kees, *Opfertanz*, 128-31; Jéquier, *Sphinx*, 14 (1911), 183.



<sup>16</sup> L., *D*, III, 36b, 185; Mariette, *Dendérah*, II, 54.

<sup>17</sup> B.M. 30842.

<sup>18</sup> I am grateful to Mr. W. V. Davies for this suggestion. See Grapow, *Über die Wortbildungen mit einem Präfix m- im Ägyptischen*; also Jéquier, *Rec. Trav.* 39 (1921), 145-54, and Lefebvre, *Gr. de L'Égyptien Classique*, 86.

<sup>19</sup> That of Gwa, B.M. 30839.

<sup>20</sup> The word *wsht* is used in Egyptian for both open courtyards and large halls; the Step Pyramid courtyards would certainly have had this name.

<sup>21</sup> Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 35. The form of the signs in this title makes it certain that they refer to the *dnbw*, and, therefore, the title is separate from  in which  reads *wdb* and is associated with reversion-offerings. See Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), 83-91, and Helck, *Orientalia*, 19 (1950), 431-2.



THE *STT* SIGN<sup>1</sup>

By ALESSANDRA NIBBI

THE *stt* sign has been called a shoulder-knot by our standard authorities.<sup>2</sup> Gardiner<sup>3</sup> took as the best example of this sign the aesthetically very satisfying one from the Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb of Puyemrē<sup>c</sup> (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> Yet no one who has looked at this sign critically and who has considered its close connection with Asiatics at all times has ever been completely satisfied with its identification as a shoulder-knot.<sup>5</sup>

R. Engelbach<sup>6</sup> discussed this sign in 1929, taking as his earliest example the one incised over the figure of an Asiatic on an early dynastic ivory object from Abydos<sup>7</sup> (see our fig. 2). This is quite unlike any shoulder-knot that we can find on the Egyptian reliefs. Engelbach's study was based on a number of assumptions and on some incorrect conclusions on the part of Margaret Murray, whom he quotes<sup>8</sup> as saying that the shoulder-knot was never represented in the early dynasties for religious reasons. Engelbach's figures opposite his page 36,<sup>9</sup> together with his plate showing examples of knots, have nothing to do with real Egyptian examples. They are his own tentative reconstructions for which no ancient examples are cited. A most serious fault is that his figure 3 on p. 35 is a *wrongly redrawn* shoulder-knot from Petrie's *Medum*<sup>10</sup> which Engelbach places among his *stt* signs for comparison. It is significant that Engelbach<sup>11</sup> accused the ancient Egyptian artists of a 'defective' representation of the shoulder-knot, which shows that he did not believe that the *stt* sign really resembled it very much at all.

We must begin by making the point that whereas all the shoulder-knots we could find show only one long and very floppy loop and *one* string or tape hanging down on

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Erika Feucht, Prof. J. Leclant, Prof. G. Kadish, Prof. J. Baines, Dr. J. Málek, Dr. G. Martin, and Mr. W. V. Davies for bibliographical or other help relating to this work, and to the E.E.S. for permission to publish Petrie's photograph on pl. X (see n. 18).

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* Signlist S 22; R. Engelbach discussed this sign in *Ann. Serv.* 29 (1929), 33-9. See also Engelbach, *ibid.* 40-6.

<sup>3</sup> He refers to a context for this sign in *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (1947), I, 177\* and II, 5\*.

<sup>4</sup> N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemre at Thebes* (1922-3), pl. 36.

<sup>5</sup> W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa* (1893), 126-8; K. Sethe, *ZÄS* 64 (1929), 2 f.; W. Helck, *Beziehungen* (1962), 15, 24, and 279 f.; W. Westendorf, *ZÄS* 92 (1966), 149 f.; P. Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge* (1966), 30.

<sup>6</sup> His study is not historically based and does not take into account a sufficient number of examples of this sign.

<sup>7</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty* (1900), I, pl. 17, no. 30. Engelbach's references are incorrect.

<sup>8</sup> Engelbach, *op. cit.* 33.

<sup>9</sup> His main concern was to show how such a knot could be tied.

<sup>10</sup> Pl. 13. I am grateful to Dr. Erika Feucht who discussed shoulder-knots with me and drew my attention to some early examples.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* 33.

each side (see figs. 3 and 4),<sup>12</sup> the *stt* sign as a rule shows one *very short* loop, usually standing upright, with *two* strings or tapes hanging down on each side. This is an important difference between them, which has been overlooked so far. Even in the few early examples where the loops of the *stt* sign are not drawn standing upright (perhaps before the characteristics of this sign became standardized in the drawings) the loops and the strings are *never* shown to be hanging straight downwards, as are those of the shoulder-knot (except perhaps in the *Medum* example), but are shown to follow a wide curve downwards, much wider than we would expect if they were following the curve of a human shoulder (figs. 5 and 6).<sup>13</sup> It should be stressed that the loops on the *stt* sign are always small. They are *never* as long as the loops that we see on the examples of shoulder-knots that we can find. The *stt* sign is therefore not portrayed as we should expect it to be if it really represented this rare detail in the costume of ancient Egypt and if it was made of cloth of some kind. Moreover, if we adhere to the idea that this sign represents the shoulder-knot, not only does it *not* fit the nature of the historical variations in the writing of the sign, as we shall see below, but it cannot logically be connected with Asiatics. However, such an association immediately becomes apparent if we remember that *stt* is derived from the word root meaning 'to tie'. The *Wörterbuch* (IV, 330) records the meaning of 'knüpfen' ('to tie') for *stj* and the identification of this sign remains fundamentally dependent on the idea of *tying*, as the early Egyptologists correctly understood. However, this meaning applies, I believe, *not* to the elegant shoulder-knot, but to a much more ordinary and practical object, the pack-saddle.

#### The pack-saddle

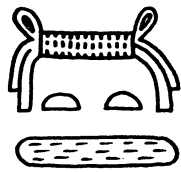
It has always been evident to me that, from its earliest examples in the Abydos sealings (figs. 5 and 6) and the Pyramid Texts (figs. 7 and 8),<sup>14</sup> this sign represented the carrying frame, properly called the pack-saddle, which was placed on asses to carry merchandise. Pack-saddles of very similar shape are still used today in Mediterranean and African countries, wherever goods are transported on the back of animals (fig. 9). The purpose of the pack-saddle, which is usually padded, is to guarantee the safe transport of the load, while at the same time protecting the animal from sores (called galls) resulting from the rubbing of the load against his bare skin. In the ancient Egyptian context, the loops of this frame and the cords (or possibly leather straps) for tying the baskets or other goods on to it are the distinctive and persistent elements of the sign, right through the centuries, surviving a number of variations in the writing of it, as we shall see below.

<sup>12</sup> Figs. 3 and 4 are from W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (1958), respectively pls. 13 and 14, both from Saqqâra, Second Dynasty. Other shoulder-knots may be found in W. Westendorf, *Das Alte Ägypten* (1968), 32 and 49; R. Anthes, *Ägyptische Plastik* (1954), pl. 42; H. Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter* (1923), 110.

<sup>13</sup> Fig. 5 is from Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties* (1901), II, pl. 22, no. 181, from Abydos, seal of Peribsen. Fig. 6 is from Naville, *Cemeteries of Abydos* (1909-10), I, pl. 10.

<sup>14</sup> *Pyr.* 1837b and 285b.





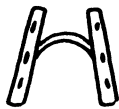
1



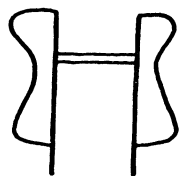
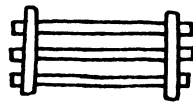
5



6



9



11



2



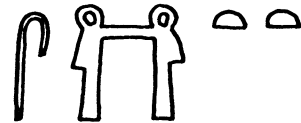
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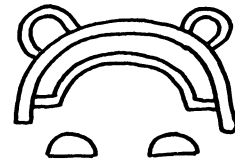
4



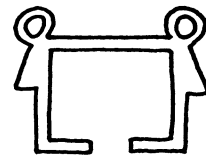
7



8



10



12

FIGS. 1-12

The pack-saddle is usually depicted as if seen from the front of the animal, its sides being *rounded* to suggest the contours of the animal's body. This is why the side cords of this sign are never shown to hang down straight, in any period, as the shoulder-knot does. We find some good examples of the pack-saddle in Pyramid Text 1837*b* (our fig. 7) and in the Sinai Inscription 54, from the time of Ammenemes III<sup>15</sup> (our fig. 10). These particular examples can in no way be said to resemble shoulder-knots. Nor can two other Old-Kingdom examples of variations of the sign, from the tombs of the High Priests at Heliopolis<sup>16</sup> (fig. 11) and from the mastaba of Mereruka<sup>17</sup> (fig. 12).

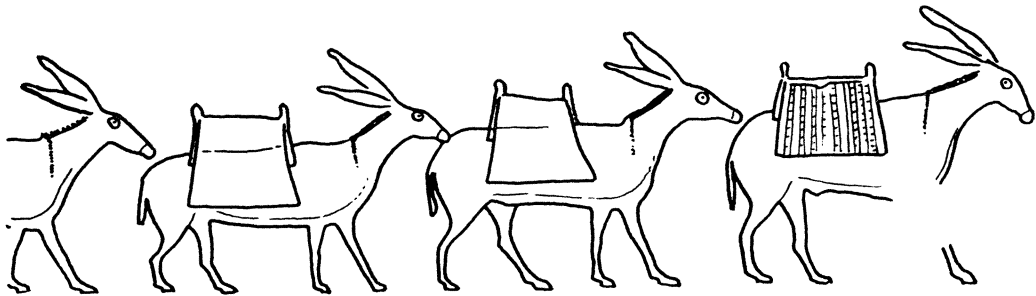


FIG. 13

The actual pack-saddle itself is to be found in some ancient Egyptian scenes. In a First Intermediate Period context from Dendera<sup>18</sup> we see a row of donkeys going into the fields with pack-saddles on them, ready for transporting goods of some kind (pl. X). The type of pack-saddle shown on this relief seems to be of the traditional wooden-slatted kind, similar to that still used by the British army on its pack asses and mules right up to the present day.<sup>19</sup> This frame is still made of wood and is so heavy that it requires two men to lift it on to the animal's back.<sup>20</sup> From an Eleventh-Dynasty context at Thebes<sup>21</sup> we find a row of asses, some with only the bare frame on their backs while others already have some baskets attached to the frame (fig. 13). The size of this frame

<sup>15</sup> Gardiner and Peet, ed. J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, I (1952), pl. 18.

<sup>16</sup> G. Daressy, 'La nécropole des Grands Prêtres d'Héliopolis sous l'Ancien Empire', *Ann. Serv.* 16 (1916), 193-212, exx. pp. 207 and 211.

<sup>17</sup> P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* (1938), II, pl. 199.

<sup>18</sup> Petrie, *Denderah* (1898), pl. 10, Tomb of Ptaḥ-mery, Dyn. 6-7.

<sup>19</sup> War Office, 'Manual of Horsemanship, Equitation and Animal Transport', *Army Orders for December, 1937*, 57-71; also 'Animal Management', Veterinary Department of the War Office, *Army Orders for July, 1923*, chap. x.

<sup>20</sup> Op. cit. (1937), 63 f. The donkey has been used less and less for carrying loads in Egypt since the advent of the camel. Today he is used mostly as a draught animal for pulling carts. The camel, however, being a carrier of merchandise, wears the pack-saddle. I have not been able to find any evidence for the use of the mule in Egypt, either in the past or in the present day. But the donkey is attested from the earliest times. The Egyptian Sahara has yielded faunal remains of the ass in nearly all the Mousterian sites, see F. Wendorf and others, 'New Explorations in the Egyptian Sahara', *Problems in Prehistory: North Africa and the Levant* (1975).

<sup>21</sup> From the Tomb of Djar, Thebes, Eleventh Dynasty.

suggests it may have been a heavy one, designed to carry a heavy load. It resembles in shape the British army 'tree'<sup>22</sup> shown on our fig. 14.

The donkey does not have as tough a skin as the mule and needs a good protective cover on his back, such as a bolster stuffed with straw and supple sticks or cane for a frame, or a protective pad of blankets. In the ancient reliefs the harvesting scenes often show a large load on the donkey's back and sometimes a rug is to be seen protruding from under this load.<sup>23</sup>

As far as I can find, we have no archaeological examples of the pack-saddle. It is, we must admit, a very undistinguished-looking object and it is unlikely that excavators would have recognized one, even if they had found such a thing.

### The writing of the *stt* sign

Many variations are evident in the writing of this sign throughout the dynasties and they are always significant and enlightening as to the meaning which the ancient Egyptians attached to it. It is clear that its association with Asiatic traders was uppermost in the mind of the scribes when they used this sign.

From the Old Kingdom until well into the New Kingdom, the predominant shape for the centre of this sign is a *rectangular* one. Gauthier's<sup>24</sup> examples are extremely misleading as they do not reproduce the way these signs are actually written in the texts but followed the conventions of the type he was using. He, Brugsch, and many others convey this shape in print with rounded sides, as though it were the island. I believe the central rectangular shape of the *stt* sign to be deliberately reminiscent of the lake and to be significant. Eventually we shall have to accept the fact that many Asiatic groups lived in the vicinity of the Bitter Lakes at all times. In the Egyptian literature there are a number of examples of Asiatic names which are formed in conjunction with š (possibly 'lake') and šꜥ (possibly 'swampland'), for example: Ibsha, in the Beni Hasan Tomb No. 3,<sup>25</sup> Nenshi, the son of the Asiatic in the story of Sinuhe,<sup>26</sup> the Asiatic on the Narmer palette, who is about to lose his life,<sup>27</sup> and the Asiatic on Sinai Inscription No. 405 from the time of Ammenemes III.<sup>28</sup>

We find the *stt* sign often determined by an island sign.<sup>29</sup> I have already discussed elsewhere<sup>30</sup> the idea first put forward by Charles Kuentz<sup>31</sup> and amplified with some

<sup>22</sup> War Office, *op. cit.* (1937), 57 f.

<sup>23</sup> K. Michaelowski, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (1969), vol. II, illustrations no. 241 and 260 from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.

<sup>24</sup> *Dict. Géog.* (1925), v (S), 94 ff. Here, Gauthier's reproduction of the Pyramid Text examples are completely different from the original writing, as are his other examples according to his references. Some of these are also wrong references.

<sup>25</sup> P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* (1893), I, pls. 28 and 30.

<sup>26</sup> Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (1916), ll. 30 ff.

<sup>27</sup> H. Asselberghs, *Chaos en Beheersing* (1961), pl. 94.

<sup>28</sup> Gardiner and Peet, *op. cit.* II, 206, fig. 17.

<sup>29</sup> Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* (1880), 1331; also Gauthier, *op. cit.* 94.

<sup>30</sup> A. Nibbi, *The Sea Peoples and Egypt* (New Jersey, 1975), hereafter *SPE*, ch. 2.

<sup>31</sup> 'Autour d'une conception égyptienne méconnue; l'Akhrit ou soi-disant horizon', *BIFAO* 17 (1920), 121-90, see 150 ff.

reservations by Jean Vercoutter,<sup>32</sup> that the island was used from the earliest times as an alternative to the hill-country to represent the Asiatic neighbours of Egypt. We find it used in this way not only in the New Kingdom, but in the Narmer Palette,<sup>33</sup> in the Lion Palette,<sup>34</sup> and in the so-called Tehenu Palette.<sup>35</sup>

The pack-saddle is usually drawn as though one is looking at it from the front of the animal. Yet we find some examples where the sign is depicted as though seen from the side. In this case the sign resembles the top of the basket which was usually attached to the pack-saddle to carry the goods, often with a lid or cover tied securely on to it (fig. 15). Emphasis on this shape of the basket rather than on the pack-saddle itself may well be drawing attention to the imported, and therefore precious, nature of the goods.<sup>36</sup> The Narmer Palette shows one such basket shape, though without its cover (fig. 16) and I would unhesitatingly associate it with the *stt* sign. It is drawn inside the fortress walls and may possibly symbolize Asiatic goods sacked inside the fortress by the Egyptian army. In *Pyr.* 1837*b* three fortresses are shown, each of a different shape, accompanied by the *stt* sign illustrated as our figure 7. The shape of the basket, with the cover on it, is related to another recurring variation in the writing of this sign, which is also very important in confirming the meaning which the ancient Egyptians attached to it. Newberry's<sup>37</sup> study of the *šsm*t sign, closely connected with the eastern areas and with Sopdu shows that this sign always had the tendency to fuse with the *stt* sign (see figs. 17 to 20). Examples of this fusion are to be found from the Old Kingdom right up to very late times.<sup>38</sup> These cannot be described as scribal errors, but must be attributed to very positive geographical and psychological links between the two signs. I have already discussed<sup>39</sup> the *šsm*t land as wooded and fragrant mining-country east of the Nile and the area called tꜣ *ntr*, perhaps indicating the land of Sopdu, from the Eleventh Dynasty onwards.

If Daressy<sup>40</sup> was accurate in his reproduction of two Old-Kingdom examples of this sign from Heliopolis, emphasis on itinerant or nomadic traders and trading seems to be indicated. The sign, written with two *šw* feathers (fig. 11), is the determinative for vases and altars, both groups described as being of *Sektu*<sup>41</sup> provenance, as well as having

<sup>32</sup> 'Les Haou-nebout', *BIFAO* 46 (1947) and 48 (1949), see latter 108 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Nibbi, *SPE* 20 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Asselberghs, *op. cit.*, pl. 86.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 92. It is time we called this palette by a more appropriate name. See Nibbi, 'The Trees and Towns Palette' in *Ann. Serv.* 63 (1977), forthcoming.

<sup>36</sup> The baskets are most beautifully shown in the mastaba of Mereruka (Duell, *op. cit.*, pls. 171, 189-97, where the artist is able to convey the careful handling they received, clearly showing the highly valued nature of their contents; see also pls. 58, 59, and 65 from this publication). Similarly shaped baskets of precious goods are shown on the decks of the boats in the Punt reliefs from Deir El-Bahari (Naville, vol. III, pls. 74 and 75). Von Bissing drew attention to the variety of basket shapes and the detail in *Die Mastaba des Gemnika* (1911), I, pl. 27.

<sup>37</sup> Newberry, 'SSM.T', *Griffith Studies* (1932), 316-23.

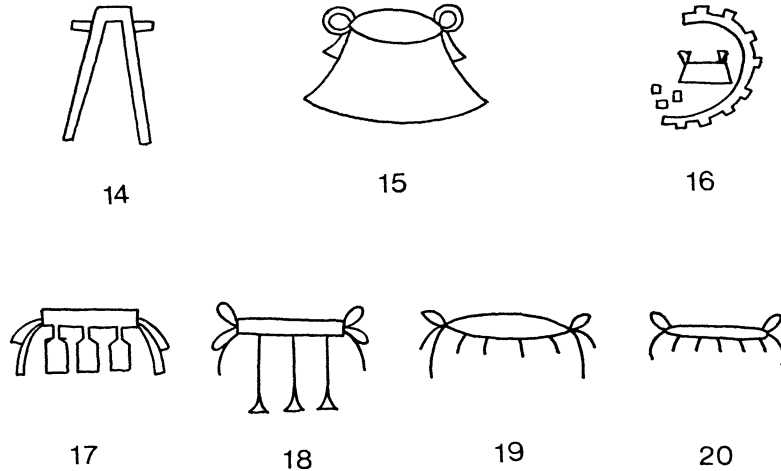
<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* 320 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Nibbi, 'Remarks on the Two Stelae from the Wadi Gasus', *JEA* 62 (1976), 54 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.* 207 and 211. I have unfortunately not been able to check these against the original inscriptions.

<sup>41</sup> *Sektu* boats are mentioned in the ninth campaign of the Annals of Tuthmosis III, see Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 707, 12.

this determinative beside them. The *Wörterbuch* (IV, 433) tells us that *šw* meaning 'donkey' is attested from the end of the Middle Kingdom. However, if this sign was correctly identified and reproduced by Daressy, it would suggest that the word goes back to considerably earlier times. Hence *šwj*, 'humble person', should probably be 'donkey-driver' and *šwj-tj* (Wb. IV, 434) 'merchant', should be more accurately rendered 'itinerant or nomadic trader' (or, who knows, perhaps 'importer' and 'exporter'). Albright<sup>42</sup> discussed this term in relation to Midianite donkey caravans.



FIGS. 14-20

It seems likely therefore that we should often be translating *stt* as 'imported' rather than 'Asiatic'. I believe this would apply to copper<sup>43</sup> and lapis lazuli<sup>44</sup> and any other goods that were brought into Egypt from neighbouring lands.

We must note in conclusion that we have some examples from the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom where some *stt* people are determined by the cow's skin pierced by an arrow,<sup>45</sup> and not by the sign we are discussing. Many scholars<sup>46</sup> have drawn attention to the similar-sounding root *stī*, meaning 'to shoot' and this distinction is an important one which must be made. I believe that every time we see the determinative of the cowskin pierced by an arrow, we are looking at a word coming from the root meaning 'to shoot' and not from the root meaning 'to tie', which is the one we are discussing. There is no reason to think that there is a transference of meaning from the idea of 'trader' or 'importer' to that of an actively hostile people (the determinative in this case often showing both men and women). It is most likely that this reference is simply to a hostile people who have nothing to do with itinerant or nomadic trade.

<sup>42</sup> 'Midianite Donkey Caravans', *Essays in Honor of H. G. May: Translating and Understanding the Old Testament* (1970), 197-205.

<sup>43</sup> A. Nibbi, 'Some Remarks on Copper', *JARCE* 14 (1977), forthcoming; also 'Ancient Egyptians in the Sinai', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (1977), forthcoming. It is not our intention here to discuss the meaning of this sign, but only its identity and the manner in which it is written.

<sup>44</sup> Nibbi, *GM* 19 (1976), 45 ff.; 20 (1976), 37, and criticism from R. Givéon, 23 ff.; also 22 (1976), 51.

<sup>45</sup> Gauthier, *op. cit.* v, 92. This writing is attested several times in *Sinuhe*, beginning with the opening lines Gardiner, *op. cit.* 120) and also in the New Kingdom, as, for example, in *Medinet Habu*, pl. 31, line 2.

<sup>46</sup> See note 5. Also G. Roeder, 'Sothis und Satis', *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 24 f.; Van Seters, *Hyksos* (1966), 107

## The determinative for Satis

There is a great deal of confusion with regard to the writing of this name and it is all of our own making. The Egyptian texts are clear enough. The determinative for Satis is *always* the cow's skin pierced by an arrow, from the time of the Pyramid Texts onwards, as in *Pyr.* 2209b. Her name is written in this way in the Coffin Texts, where she is said to be 'she who shoots arrows'.<sup>47</sup> It is also written in this way in the Sesostri I inscription in the Temple at Elephantine<sup>48</sup> where Wolfgang Schenkel<sup>49</sup> draws attention to two examples. It is interesting that he found no reference to Khnum in this inscription. Günther Roeder<sup>50</sup> quoted a number of Ptolemaic examples where Satis is shown to be still indisputably associated with the shooting of arrows, although this scholar believed that her name was also used as a pun on the meaning of 'to pour'. We are fortunate in having Labib Habachi's<sup>51</sup> publication of a rock stela of Sethos I from Aswân in which Anukis is called the mistress (or lady) of Elephantine while Satis is clearly labelled *nbt tꜣ stꜣ* (fig. 21). It is this epithet for Satis that must be the clue to her name. Her amply documented reputation for shooting arrows must be closely linked with her title of *nbt tꜣ stꜣ*, which nome<sup>52</sup> is always written with the determinative of the archer's bow.

When Gardiner<sup>53</sup> said that the *stꜣ* sign stood for the name of the island of Sehêl in the First Cataract, he was stating the generally accepted view of the scholars of his day, who all followed Brugsch.<sup>54</sup> But the evidence for this is not conclusive. All the inscriptions<sup>55</sup> from the island of Sehêl which speak of *nbt stꜣ*, written with the pack-saddle sign, are referring explicitly to Anukis, *not* to Satis. Whenever they speak of Satis, her name is written with the cow-skin pierced by an arrow.<sup>56</sup> Anukis was clearly favoured on this island, but we need to know a lot more about her history and character before we can safely determine the identity of the place called *stꜣ* over which she presided, which is sometimes determined by a town sign, sometimes by an island sign, and sometimes by a hill country sign. Her feathered head-dress symbolizes something



FIG. 21

<sup>47</sup> D. Valbelle, summary of thesis 'Satis et Anoukis', in *Annuaire, École Pratique des Hautes Études*, v, 1972-3, 80-1, fasc. 2, 143-6. See 143 f.

<sup>48</sup> W. Kaiser, P. Grossman, G. Haeny, H. Jaritz, 'Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine', *MDAIK* 1970-2 and 1974.

<sup>49</sup> 'Die Bauinschrift Sesostri I im Satet-Tempel von Elephantine', *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 109-25. Schenkel noted two examples of the writing of the name of Satis, on blocks S 137 and S 610 Z. On the latter the name of Satis is mentioned in conjunction with that of Anukis.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.* 26.

<sup>51</sup> 'The Two Rock Stelae of Sethos I in the Cataract Area Speaking of Huge Statues and Obelisks', *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 113-25.

<sup>52</sup> W. Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue* (1974), 68 f.

<sup>53</sup> *Egn. Gr.*, Signlist F. 29.

<sup>54</sup> See n. 29 above.

<sup>55</sup> Brugsch, *op. cit.*, quotes Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pls. 70, 71, and 73, as evidence for the fact that the *stꜣ* sign stood for the island of Sehêl. On these plates reproducing a number of inscriptions from this island we find many references to Anukis as *nbt stꜣ*, but none to Satis alone with this title, pl. 73, no. 71 being a doubtful case because it has a plural form and also because there is a break preceding this sign. The fact that Anukis is associated with Elephantine in our fig. 21 makes it doubtful whether Sehêl is to be indisputably associated with the locality of *stꜣ*.

<sup>56</sup> See n. 29 above.

which we cannot at present understand.<sup>57</sup> We look forward to the forthcoming publication of Dr. Valbelle's thesis on these two goddesses which must enlighten us in many respects.

It is possible that the reference in *Pyr.* 1116*a-b* is to Anukis rather than to Satis, because the name of Satis is always written with the determinative of the cow's skin pierced by an arrow, and it is not written in this way in this text.<sup>58</sup> It is the reference to Elephantine that has made scholars believe that Satis is meant here. Satis has been called the goddess of Elephantine<sup>59</sup> but she has also been called the goddess of *tꜣ stꜣ* which fits her name very much better. We must not forget the title of Anukis on our stela from Aswân (fig. 21). Labib Habachi<sup>60</sup> has discussed the close relationship between these two goddesses and has convincingly suggested that Anukis may have been regarded as the daughter of Satis.<sup>61</sup>

Another text written with our pack-saddle sign and generally believed to refer to Satis has, I am sure, been wrongly interpreted. It is *Pyr.* 812*a-b*.<sup>62</sup> Some thought about its content will show that it must be much more rationally attributed to an enemy people, who burned and ravaged the Two Lands of the King, rather than to a goddess of the King's own lands, who ought to serve as their protectress. But if scholars insist on extracting a goddess from the text, Anukis is indicated rather than Satis, because the name is written with the pack-saddle sign so closely associated with this goddess in later times. Contrary to what [Günther] Roeder<sup>63</sup> said, I have not been able to find any grounds for linking *stꜣ*, written with our pack-saddle sign, with the name of Satis, beyond the general relaxation in the discipline concerning the use of these signs which prevailed in later times.

<sup>57</sup> The feathered head-dress of Anukis closely resembles that of Egypt's foreign attackers during the reign of Ramesses III, as depicted graphically on the walls of *Medinet Habu* (op. cit.). However, no link can for the moment be found between them, beyond the fact that Anukis is reputed to be *nbt stꜣ*. We cannot be sure that this geographical term refers to a foreign place, though the hill-country sign which we find as the determinative on some occasions suggests that we must not rule out this possibility.

<sup>58</sup> My thanks are due to Prof. Jean Leclant for confirming the correctness of Sethe's writing here.

<sup>59</sup> In a temple at Simna, see *LD* III, 53; see also L. Habachi, 'Divinities Adored in Kalabscha', *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 181.

<sup>60</sup> 'Was Anukis Considered as the Wife of Khnum or as his Daughter?', *Ann. Serv.* 50 (1950), 501-7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 504 f.; see also n. 59 above; also Te Velde, *JEA* 57 (1971), 85 f.

<sup>62</sup> Jéquier, *Rec. Trav.* 34 (1912), 112-14.

<sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.* 24.



A LIMESTONE RELIEF WITH AGRICULTURAL SCENE  
(From Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. X) Courtesy Egypt Exploration Society

THE  $\overline{ST}$  SIGN



## UN DROIT PÉNAL EXISTAIT-IL *STRICTO SENSU* EN ÉGYPTE PHARAONIQUE?<sup>1</sup>

Par S. ALLAM

POUR la vieille Égypte il ne paraît plus possible de réfuter l'idée de l'existence d'un droit proprement dit depuis le troisième millénaire a.n.è.<sup>2</sup> Il est vrai que l'Égypte pharaonique ne nous a pas laissé un aperçu théorique et systématisé de ce droit. Nous en sommes donc réduits à faire ressortir les aspects du droit pharaonique pour autant qu'il transparaît dans les témoignages qui sont actuellement à notre disposition.

Il va de soi que ce droit ne comprend pas seulement des aspects soi-disant externes, à savoir les aspects sociaux et économiques aussi bien que la jurisprudence et les institutions publiques, mais il faut également retracer les principes dogmatiques ainsi que le développement du droit procédural, du droit civil et du droit pénal.

Ici, il convient de souligner quelques caractéristiques du droit pharaonique et surtout d'évoquer la nature de la documentation juridique. On sait bien que ce droit n'était pas alors un domaine spécial et indépendant de la pensée humaine, et à certains égards il était encore lié à d'autres aspects de la vie sociale. En outre, la conscience juridique, à cette époque-là, n'a en général abouti ni à une précision de notions, ni à une pensée abstraite sur le plan du droit proprement dit.

Cependant, il faudrait étudier le droit pharaonique en le détachant des autres aspects, et lui accorder un intérêt spécial, puisqu'il s'agit d'un phénomène culturel assez important. D'autre part, il ne conviendrait pas de traiter un droit ancien comme une matière morte. Par contre, il faudrait éclairer ce droit ancien de la même façon que n'importe quel autre aspect de l'histoire humaine. Cela veut dire de traiter le droit ancien en tant que phénomène conservé en notre présence, quoiqu'il appartienne à l'antiquité. Il est donc nécessaire de systématiser les matières de ce droit d'une manière qui nous soit compréhensible. En plus, la méthode de recherches historiques du droit exige que des critères développés soient appliqués même aux formations juridiques peu évoluées. Certes, cela se fait dans le but de mieux comprendre une réalité juridique, également afin de saisir non seulement la signification individuelle d'une telle réalité, mais aussi sa portée dans l'histoire générale.

Ceci dit, nous ne serions pas dans l'erreur en nous demandant si un droit pénal existait, à proprement parler, en Égypte pharaonique. Que cette question soit d'autant plus permise qu'il y a d'assez nombreux textes ayant trait à des aspects que nous considérerions aujourd'hui comme appartenant au droit pénal. En d'autres termes, la question qui se pose maintenant est de savoir si les Égyptiens eux-mêmes distinguaient

<sup>1</sup> Exposé fait le 18.2.1977 à Leyde — Colloque consacré au droit égyptien ancien.

<sup>2</sup> A. Théodoridès, 'Le problème du droit égyptien ancien', in: *Le Droit égyptien ancien — Colloque organisé par l'Institut des Hautes Études de Belgique* (18 et 19 mars 1974), 3 sqq.

en leur droit un aspect pénal d'un aspect civil. Autrement dit, les Égyptiens étaient-ils dans leur pratique conscients de la notion du droit pénal? Il s'agit évidemment d'une question assez importante du point de vue dogmatique.

Pour aborder cette question, on ne saurait mieux faire que de recourir à la documentation provenant de l'ancien village de Deir-el-Médineh, datant de l'époque ramesside (fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'au début du XI<sup>e</sup> a.n.è.). En effet, la masse de textes étudiés jusqu'à présent nous fournit de précieux renseignements sur maints aspects de la vie quotidienne, entre autres sur la vie juridique dans cette communauté. Or, on ne s'attend pas à ce que les Égyptiens aient été préoccupés de théorie, leur pensée n'étant pas tellement prédisposée à l'abstraction juridique. En effet, les textes à notre disposition ne portent pas sur des doctrines générales, mais sur des cas réels, concrets et précis. C'est à cette casuistique, aussi riche que variée, qu'il faudrait prêter attention.

En y regardant de plus près, on voit les habitants de ce village défendre leurs intérêts et régler leurs différends par tous les moyens possibles. Mais, nous n'y trouvons aucune preuve tangible d'une défense légitime. En effet, les textes ne nous dévoilent aucune querelle dans laquelle il apparaîtrait que quelqu'un se soit fait justice soi-même et qu'un tel acte eût été toléré par les autorités publiques. Par contre, tout porte à croire que le droit de se faire justice n'existait pas dans le concept juridique des habitants dudit village. Visiblement, leur concept juridique était en général assez développé.<sup>1</sup>

Prêtons notre attention maintenant à la juridiction locale dans ce village. Il s'agit là d'un conseil constitué par les habitants les plus estimés; quelquefois, un dieu était engagé en tant que juge suprême. Ce tribunal local statuait, entre autres choses, sur les litiges qui surgissaient entre les particuliers, qu'il s'agisse de matière civile ou de matière pénale.<sup>2</sup>

Ce qui mérite ici d'être signalé d'abord, c'est que les délits commis par des habitants (tels que vol, adultère, acte de violence, calomnie, etc.) n'étaient jugés que par ce tribunal. Cela veut dire que la juridiction en matière répressive était réservée absolument aux autorités publiques.<sup>3</sup> Il est évident que la matière pénale faisait forcément partie du ressort public, cette conclusion étant confirmée par le fait que le tribunal local pouvait dans quelques cas non seulement prononcer son jugement, mais aussi faire exécuter une peine, la bastonnade à titre d'exemple.

En effet, ce tribunal agissait en tant qu'organe d'exécution; il était compétent en matière exécutoire, peu importe que ce soit un cas civil ou un cas pénal. En matière répressive aussi bien qu'en matière contentieuse, ce tribunal avait le pouvoir de faire usage de la force, et il était autorisé, entre autres, à infliger une peine corporelle.

Cependant, l'exécution d'une telle peine, précisément une bastonnade, pouvait être,

<sup>1</sup> Cet état de choses est conforme à leur échelle sociale; pour celle-ci voyez W. Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr.* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden/Köln, 1975), 207.

<sup>2</sup> Pour une étude détaillée voyez S. Allam, *Das Verfahrensrecht in der altägyptischen Arbeitersiedlung von Deir el-Medineh* (Tübingen, 1973). Pour un précis voyez *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, s.v. Gerichtsbarkeit.

<sup>3</sup> Il semble toutefois que certains délits graves, comme le pillage dans la nécropole royale, était du ressort de la cour suprême dans le chef-lieu (Thèbes). Voyez à ce sujet I. M. Lurje, *Studien zum altägyptischen Recht* (Weimar, 1971), 40 sqq.

selon le cas, de nature différente. Dans un cas civil, la bastonnade serait une mesure coercitive pour forcer le débiteur à satisfaire son créancier; dans un cas pénal, en revanche, elle serait une sanction pour agissements délictueux. Quoi qu'il en soit, la documentation à notre disposition ne nous permet pas de savoir si le tribunal, en infligeant la bastonnade à la partie vaincue, distinguait entre matière civile et matière pénale.

A ce propos, il n'est pas inutile d'examiner aussi la formule attestée dans plusieurs procès-verbaux et avec laquelle le tribunal rendait public son jugement quelle que soit la matière, civile ou pénale. Le tribunal énonçait souvent la formule suivante: '(La partie) A a raison, (la partie) B a tort.' Dans ce cas les allégations des parties s'excluaient généralement l'une l'autre. C'est pourquoi le tribunal n'avait dans un tel cas qu'une seule possibilité, à savoir approuver ou l'affirmation d'une partie ou la contre-affirmation de l'adversaire. De toute manière, un jugement rendu par cette formule-là ne nous permet pas non plus de concevoir une distinction dogmatique entre matière civile et matière pénale au sein du tribunal lui-même.

En poussant plus loin l'analyse des textes, nous constatons que plusieurs procès s'achevaient par le serment de la partie perdante devant le tribunal. En effet, de nombreux procès-verbaux montrent que le tribunal à la fin de l'audience imposait le serment à la partie qui avait succombé: en matière civile, cette partie jurait de remplir son obligation au profit de son adversaire; en matière pénale, elle promettait de s'abstenir d'un acte punissable.

Cependant, dans plusieurs procès le tribunal ne se contentait pas de la promesse pure et simple de la partie vaincue. Dans ce cas, celle-ci jurait souvent de remplir son obligation ou de s'abstenir de l'acte illicite qui lui était reproché, sinon elle s'exposerait à subir une peine corporelle.

Analysons soigneusement cette peine prononcée par la partie perdante. En matière civile, cette partie affirme sous serment qu'elle va satisfaire son adversaire, sous peine de cent coups de bâton — il s'agit là d'une formule stéréotypée. Quant au serment prêté en matière pénale, la partie accusée promet de ne pas commettre dorénavant l'acte punissable en question, sous peine d'une sanction dépassant largement la bastonnade.<sup>1</sup>

Dans un cas de calomnie la mutilation du nez et des oreilles est la sanction requise. La même peine ainsi que l'empalement sont invoqués au cours du procès d'une personne accusée d'avoir troublé le repos d'un mort dans son tombeau. Dans un cas pareil l'accusé prononce la sanction de bastonnade (100 coups) et de cinq blessures. A la fin d'un jugement au sujet d'un adultère, il est question de mutiler le nez et les oreilles du délinquant et de la bannir en Nubie. Au cours d'une autre séance l'adultère invoque le bannissement en liaison avec la condamnation aux travaux forcés.<sup>2</sup>

Il ressort de cet exposé que le tribunal distinguait nettement entre matière contentieuse et matière répressive, lorsqu'une pénalité était envisagée. Cette distinction est

<sup>1</sup> Pour un aperçu voyez Allam, *Verfahrensrecht*, 69.

<sup>2</sup> S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit* (Tübingen, 1973), 62, 278 (deux cas), 301 (deux cas); cf. aussi p. 218 avec note 16 où il est question d'une sanction (brûlures ou travaux forcés?) dans un cas de matière pénale. En outre, le mot désignant l'empalement dans ce texte-ci est restitué par Černý/Gardiner.

d'autant plus remarquable que la pénalité n'était pas dans la réalité toujours prise au sérieux. En fait, quelques textes attestent plusieurs procès où la partie vaincue échappait quand même à la peine qui avait été sanctionnée auparavant.<sup>1</sup> A quoi donc servait la différenciation de la pénalité, si la peine n'était pas toujours exécutée? Il nous semble que les Égyptiens agissaient ainsi plus pour différencier la pénalité selon la matière, civile ou pénale, que dans un souci d'exécution de la peine elle-même.

Vu la nette différenciation faite par les Égyptiens eux-mêmes au cours de leurs procès, il serait donc permis d'affirmer que la notion de droit pénal ne leur était pas inconnue à cette époque-là.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Allam, *Verfahrensrecht*, 106.

<sup>2</sup> Grâce à cette distinction, il nous est maintenant possible de mieux comprendre le procès mentionné dans l'ostr. Berlin 12654 (Allam, *Ostraka und Papyri*, 36). Puisque la personne coupable fut condamnée, outre la bastonnade, aux brûlures et travaux forcés, il s'agissait donc d'un cas pénal, semble-t-il. La sanction de cinq blessures est attestée aussi dans deux autres procès (op. cit., 299); il est probable qu'il s'agissait là de matière pénale. Par ailleurs, on notera que dans les textes provenant de Deir el-Médineh l'emploi du verbe *hd* (*Wb.* II, 505) est restreint aux cas en matière civile, pour autant que nous le sachions; Allam, *Verfahrensrecht*, 66.

## THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED PORT ON THE RED SEA SHORE

By ABDEL MONEM A. H. SAYED

IN an article published in this periodical, Mrs. Nibbi<sup>1</sup> assumed that the ancient Egyptians were far from being seafarers and that the lack of 'Egyptian anchors' confirms her view. In another article in a subsequent volume,<sup>2</sup> she insisted on the maritime inefficiency of the ancient Egyptians, assuming that it was unlikely that they used any port along the Red Sea coast. In the same article she excluded the possibility that the ancient Egyptians carried their boats through the mountainous terrain between the Nile and the Red Sea.<sup>3</sup>

The discovery of the site of the Twelfth-Dynasty port at Wâdi Gawâsîs on the Red Sea shore and the monuments found there have produced significant new evidence. In addition, they cast light on some ancient Egyptian maritime problems. The discovery was achieved by an archaeological expedition started by the History Department, Faculty of Arts, University of Alexandria, under the direction of the writer. The work began on March 1976 and lasted for two seasons of excavations (March 1976, Jan.-Feb. 1977).<sup>4</sup>

The expedition began the work within the valley of Wâdi Gâsûs in a Roman station (Hydreuma) which lies at about 7 km. from the Red Sea shore, following previous discoveries by J. Burton and Sir Gardner Wilkinson in its temple of two Twelfth Dynasty stelae. We discovered in the Roman station a number of various monuments of Graeco-Roman type, but no Pharaonic monument or inscription was found, although we excavated the station to its very foundations. The stela of Khentekhtaywer (at least) was transferred to the Roman station in Graeco-Roman times from a place on the Red Sea shore (the port of Sawu). Therefore I shifted the work to the sea shore.

On the sea shore we worked at two sites:

1. At the mouth of the valley of Wâdi Gâsûs there is a small dhow harbour called Mersa Gâsûs. It lies at about 20 km. south of the modern port of Safâgâ. We did not find any monument there.

<sup>1</sup> 'Egyptian anchors', *JEA* 61 (1975), 41 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 'Remarks on the two Stelae from the Wâdi Gâsûs', *JEA* 62 (1976), 47 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 45. She states that we have no inscription in Wâdi Gâsûs before the Ptolemaic period (p. 49). On the contrary, we do have *two* inscriptions before the Ptolemaic period, namely from the time of Psammetichus I of the 26th Dynasty. The two inscriptions are discussed by Vikentiev, in *Ann. Serv.* 52 (1952), 151 ff. and 54 (1956), 180 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The full report on the excavations of the first season (1976) is forthcoming in the *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29. A summary had been published in the 'Abstracts Book' of the 'First International Congress of Egyptology, Cairo, Oct. 1976' (pp. 105-7).

2. At the mouth of another valley called Wâdi Gawâsîs there is another dhow harbour called Mersa Gawâsîs.<sup>5</sup> It lies at about 2 km. south of Mersa Gâsûs. It is the suggested site of the Ptolemaic port of 'Philoteris'. Here we discovered the site of the Twelfth-Dynasty port.

In the site of the port proper, i.e. at Mersa Gawâsîs, we discovered some small stelae and parts of stelae, in addition to two small inscriptions. All of them are made of limestone and are badly weathered. But one of the stelae still retains a hieroglyphic inscription which has great importance because it mentions the name Bia-Punt in a new form, that is with the genitival adjective 'n' (Bia-n-Punt). One of the two inscriptions which we discovered has also special importance, because it bears the cartouches of King Sesostris I; therefore it gives us the clue to define the time of the port. At about 250 m. to the west of the port proper on the northern edge of the valley of Wâdi Gawâsîs, we found a small shrine facing the south. Its façade is inscribed in hieroglyphs with the name and titles of a man called 'Ankhow who held the office of 'Chamberlain' of King Sesostris I. Therefore it is contemporary with the monuments of the port proper.

The shrine of 'Ankhow has a pedestal consisting of four limestone anchors arranged in two rows.<sup>6</sup> The shrine itself was similarly made of three anchors after cutting off their upper holes; see Pl. XI, 1. At about 200 m. west of the shrine of 'Ankhow we found a limestone stela measuring about 45 cm. (h.), 50 (br.), 15 cm. (th.). Its upper part is badly weathered and the inscriptions of the first line had fallen down. It is inscribed with a hieroglyphic text recording an order issued by King Sesostris I to his vizier Antefoķer to build ships to be sent to the region of Bia-Punt. Therefore all the monuments found in the site of the port proper and in its vicinity (at the entrance of Wâdi Gawâsîs), are contemporaneous. The stela of Antefoķer stood on a limestone anchor which formed its base. A small channel was engraved on the face of the anchor to hold the stela.

During the second season (Jan.-Feb. 1977) we completed the excavations on the sites of the first season, where we found the two lower anchors under the shrine of 'Ankhow, and the anchor of Antefoķer. In the meantime we worked on the slope at the northern edge of Wâdi Gawâsîs, near the stela of Antefoķer. Here we found various remains, the most important of which are the following:

- a. Potsherds inscribed with hieratic in black.
- b. Potsherds incised with hieroglyphic and hieratic signs and other signs.
- c. Two unfinished limestone anchors. They are smaller in size than those of Antefoķer and 'Ankhow (approx. height 71 cm.).

<sup>5</sup> *Mersa* is an Arabic word for 'small harbour'. *Wâdi* means in Arabic 'valley'. *Gâsûs* is the Arabic word for 'spy'. But here it designates a kind of boat which was used in Islamic times to detect the movements of the enemy's ships. The Gâsûs-boat usually sailed at night only and without light. *Gawâsîs* is the plural of the word *gâsûs*.

<sup>6</sup> My thanks are due to Mrs. Nibbi for drawing my attention during the meeting of the First I.C.E. (Cairo Oct. 1976) to the possibility that the pedestal of 'Ankhow's shrine is composed of two anchors. When I returned to the site in the second season (Jan. 1977), to carry on the excavations, I found that the pedestal is composed of four anchors.

- d. A small limestone anchor, perhaps for a rescue boat.
- e. Many regular pieces of wood with mortises.
- f. A small copper or bronze chisel and some broken chisel heads.

The site in which most of these monuments were found is sheltered by a huge rock, and traces of ashes and food remains are abundant under the rock. These indications suggest that it was a dwelling-place of a group of people, most likely the craftsmen and labourers who made the anchors of the ships and engraved the shrine of 'Ankhow (and may be the stela of Antefoker also) with hieroglyphic signs.

The finding of the monuments in their original places, as attested by the pedestal of 'Ankhow's shrine which was deeply embedded in the ground, decisively identified the site of the Twelfth-Dynasty port. It is in all probability the port named Sawu on the stela of Khentekhtay-wer although we did not find this name on the discovered monuments written with the same signs. In fact, we found a somewhat similar name. It reads *Sww* and occurred on the eastern jamb of the shrine of 'Ankhow (pl. XI, 2, line 5). It is mentioned in a context which denotes a port, for the phrase reads: . . . *dpt(w)* . . . (*d?*)*mi n SWW* . . . *spst Gbtyw*. Its translation may be: '. . . boats . . . (of) the quay of *Sww* . . . the Coptite nome.'

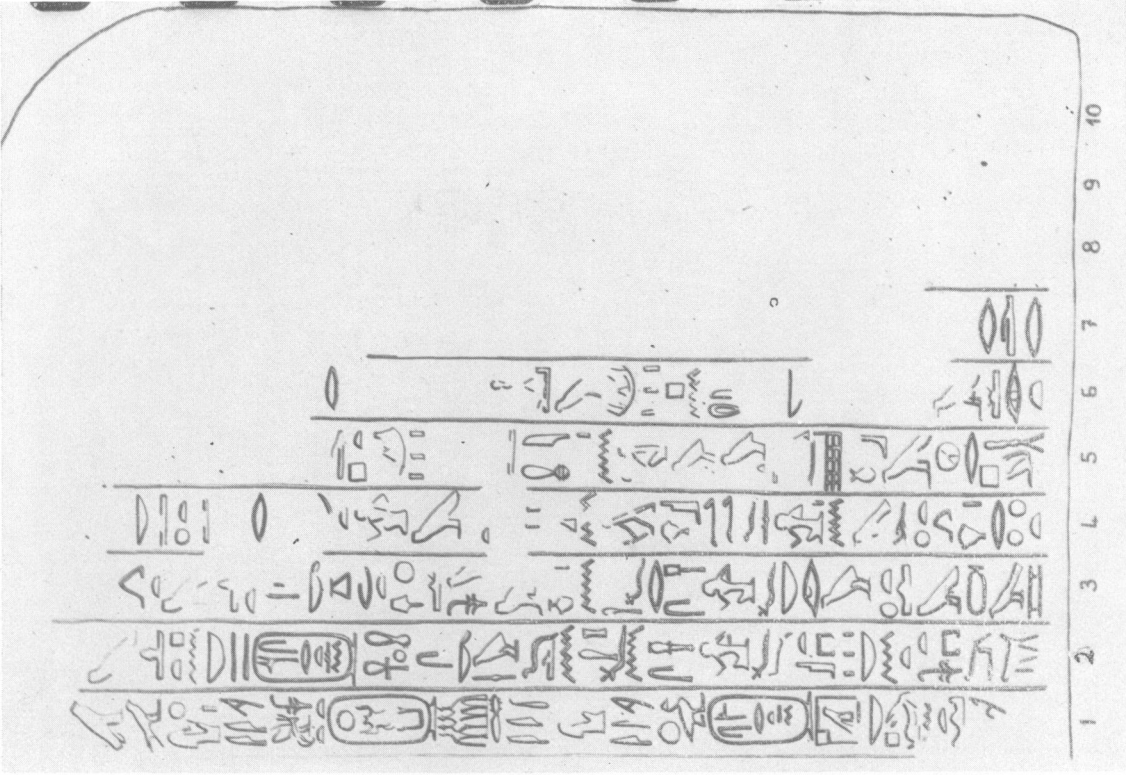
While the monuments, found in their original places on the site of the port, are sufficient evidence of Egyptian naval activity in the Red Sea (contrary to Mrs. Nibbi's assumption), some of the discovered texts confirm this fact; for example, a text on the eastern jamb of the shrine of 'Ankhow (pl. XI, 2) qualifies him as follows: 'He is excellent in the heart of his majesty more than any of his friends who operated in the sea.' We also find among the titles of the officials who shared in the expedition to Bia-Punt this unique title 'Administrator of the ocean' (*rd-mr nww*). Furthermore, the ships which were sent to Bia-Punt are called on the stela of Antefoker 'Ships of the Dockyards of Koptos' (*hrw nw whrw(t) n Gbtyw*). This nomenclature means that they were of pure Egyptian workmanship.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> It also refutes the view that the name *kpnt*, given to the ships which were used in Egyptian voyages in the Red sea to Punt (inscriptions of Pepi-Nakht, Henu, and Hatshepsut), denotes Byblite workmanship.

On the other hand, this nomenclature, in combination with the existence of the anchors in the vicinity of the port, suggests that the ships were built at Koptos and were then dismantled and carried in sections by land to the Red Sea shore where they were reassembled. After the return voyage the same process occurred, i.e. the ships were dismantled again and carried with their cargo to the Nile valley. The heavy stone anchors (250 kg. each) would have meant a difficult trip on the rough desert road, and this explains the making of the anchors on the site of the port, as proved by the finding of the unfinished ones; they were left behind on the site of the port and set up with the other monuments as a memorial of the maritime expedition to the land of Bia-Punt.



1. The lower holes of the former anchors used for building the shrine of Ankhaw



2. The inscription of the eastern jamb of the shrine of Ankhaw. The blank lines and spaces indicate badly weathered or completely obliterated hieroglyphs



## TWO SEATED SCRIBES OF DYNASTY EIGHTEEN

By WILLIAM H. PECK

REPRESENTATIONS of the seated scribe can be attested [to] in all periods of Egyptian history, in relief, painting and in three-dimensional sculpture. It is well known that scribal training was a pre-requisite for advancement in the military or the bureaucracy and, from an early time, officials of high rank chose to have themselves represented in the attitudes or with the attributes of the scribe. Old-Kingdom examples, to name only a few of the most prominent, include Ḥesy-rē<sup>c</sup> of Dynasty Three, Ka-wab, Khuenrē<sup>c</sup> and Set-ka of Dynasty Four.<sup>1</sup> The tradition continued to be honoured in later ages as exemplified by statues of Amenḥotep, son of Hapu, of Dynasty Eighteen, Ḥoremḥeb in Dynasty Nineteen and Bes, Prince of Mendes, in Dynasty Twenty-six.<sup>2</sup>

The methods of presenting the image of the seated scribe differed considerably in relief and in the round, for in the two-dimensional representations the variety of possible arrangements of the legs and feet was extensive. Schäfer<sup>3</sup> illustrates twenty possible poses of the lower body of seated males, all of which could have been utilized in the depiction of the scribe. For sculpture in the round, the choices were somewhat more limited. The usual format, known from the Old Kingdom, is the pose in which the figure sits on the ground with legs crossed and knees near the ground forming a horizontal surface of the kilt which could be used as a support for writing. There are a number of variations of the placement and the posture of the hands but the pose is essentially one of balance and reserve contained within the cubic outline of the block from which the statue was cut. The second and less often used pose of the scribe in three-dimensional representations has the balance broken by the adjustment of one leg to a position with the knee raised. Usually, it is the left leg which has been so treated with the left foot flat on the ground in front of the right leg, which is still in the customary place parallel to the ground. This change in position of one leg causes the skirt of the garment to drape in a slight downward curve. This second pose of the scribe is far better known from relief and painting, but there is some indication that it was the more natural position for working while sitting on the ground. It was probably due to the rank of the officials who had themselves represented as scribes that the more formal and reserved pose predominates in three-dimensional sculpture.

Examples of the scribal position with one knee up can be found from the Old Kingdom to the Late period.<sup>4</sup> During Dynasty Eighteen there was a special utilization of

<sup>1</sup> Relief of Ḥesy-rē<sup>c</sup>, Cairo 1427; fragmentary statue of Ka-wab, Boston 25.1.393; statue of Khuenrē<sup>c</sup>, Boston 13. 3140; statue of Set-ka, Paris E12629.

<sup>2</sup> Amenḥotep, son of Hapu, Cairo 42127; Ḥoremḥeb, New York, 23.10.1; Bes, Prince of Mendes, Palermo 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Principles of Egyptian Art* (tr. John Baines, Oxford, 1974), 251-3, Fig. 268.

<sup>4</sup> Cairo 41978; New York 20.3.4b; New York 30.8; Lisbon 158.

the type which is illustrated by the two objects which are to be discussed below. Votive groups in which a seated scribe is shown before the cynocephalus ape of the god Thoth seemed to have attained a high degree of popularity during this period, to judge from the number of examples extant. Four complete groups which give a good indication of the type can be cited: Cairo JdE 59291, Louvre 11153, Louvre 11154, and Berlin (East) 20001. The group in Cairo was found at El-'Amarna and can be easily seen to be in the style of the time of Akhenaten. Louvre 11154 and East Berlin 20001 have scribes in the more popular 'knees down' position. Louvre 11153 has the scribe in the position with the left knee elevated. All except the East Berlin example have the scribe facing at right angles to the axis of the base above which the sacred animal is elevated on a pedestal. The intention of this orientation was probably to suggest the notion of the human who is inspired, listens attentively, and takes dictation from the god. A number of isolated scribes exist which have been separated from their original groups. Of particular interest are Metropolitan Museum's 31.4.1, Berlin (West) 22621 and Detroit 31.70. The statue in New York was acquired at Thebes and was a gift to the museum.<sup>5</sup> The Berlin example was excavated, like the group in Cairo, at El-'Amarna.<sup>6</sup> The scribe in the Detroit Institute of Arts was purchased by the donor in Paris in 1925 and given to the museum in 1931.<sup>7</sup> It was said to have been a part of the Raife collection which was dispersed in 1867. The New York statue has the more conventional pose with both knees down, but the Berlin and Detroit pieces have the left knee raised. See pls. XII and XIII.

The statues in Berlin and Detroit make an interesting comparison because they are particularly close in conception, the major difference between the two being that the Berlin scribe represents a man of advanced years while the Detroit scribe is youthful. The Egyptian convention of representing the same person at two ages in his life, at his physical prime and at a more mature age, is well known. Only two examples are necessary, the statues of Ranofer from Dynasty Five and those of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, from Dynasty Eighteen.<sup>8</sup> It is impossible to prove that the two scribes in Detroit and Berlin are depictions of the same man, but it can be demonstrated that they are probably from the same workshop. It might even be suggested that they are by the same hand.

In an article on a granite head in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,<sup>9</sup> Bernard V. Bothmer included the Detroit and Berlin scribes in a list of statues and statuettes which he placed in the reign of Amenophis III. In his discussion concerning the lowered head and the contemplative pose of such figures, he said that they seem to

<sup>5</sup> William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (Harvard, 1959), II, 265, fig. 160, height 5 inches, serpentine on a marble base.

<sup>6</sup> Catalogue of the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (west), 53, No. 553. Dr. Karig of the Ägyptisches Museum has provided the following information concerning the find spot of the piece: 'Haus O 47, 7, Nordostecke unter einem kleinen Mauerpfeiler. Fundjournal-Nr. 1028 vom. 9.2.1914'. It was listed in the inventory book in West Berlin only as 'Von der Orient-Gesellschaft überwiesen'. Dr. Karig was able to locate it in the records on East Berlin, for which I owe him thanks.

<sup>7</sup> Gift of Lillian Henkle Haass, 1931.

<sup>8</sup> Cairo 18, 19; Cairo JdE 44861, 44863; Cairo 42127.

<sup>9</sup> *Bulletin, Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 47 (1949), 42-49.

reflect the attitudes and ‘. . . spirit of a time which tried to find expression for a new relationship between man and his god’. Whatever the psychological reason for the attitude of the figure, it is entirely conceivable that both pieces were the product of that reign. The finding of the Berlin statue at El-‘Amarna does not preclude its execution before the move of the capital by Akhenaten. There is much about the piece to suggest a date prior to his artistic revolution but not long before it. Edward L. B. Terrace<sup>10</sup> acknowledged the possibility of it having been made before the move to El-‘Amarna, but he also suggested that ‘. . . artists working in a more traditional mode were present’ at that site.

It is useful to present a point-by-point summary of the comparisons between the Berlin and the Detroit scribes:

1. The general pose of the two figures is essentially the same. The major difference between the two is the height to which the left knee is raised in the Detroit example, that brings the left hand placed on the knee almost to the level of the lowered chin. It is possible that this is the result of the depiction of a more youthful figure in which the seated pose could be more marked or dramatic due to the agility of the younger person. From the left side, the Detroit statue has a more compact appearance and the diagonal lines of the head and neck more closely parallel the line of the upraised leg.
2. The wig, in each case, is carved with lines radiating from a central point at the crown with horizontal divisions indicated by lightly cut lines. The locks at the sides of the faces and necks are delineated as slightly modelled vertical lozenges. The under wig in the Berlin statue is not as clearly described as in the Detroit example, but this can be attributed to the fact that the hair falls behind the shoulders and only a small part of the under wig is shown.
3. The ears of both statues are indicated in an identical summary fashion. Two simple cuts serve to define the concha and the scapha with a ridge left between them for the anti-helix.
4. The eyebrows are in raised relief on both statues. On both they curve down at the outer corners and end in points, a style usually associated with the period of Amenophis III. The upper eyelids in both cases are defined in relief.
5. The lips, in both instances, are full and protrude slightly; the philtrum is defined and the corners of the mouth are treated in the same manner in each statue.
6. The garments of the two statues are similar in conception but differ in details. The Detroit figure is clothed in what appears to be a sheath-like tunic in one piece. It has a round neck-line with a ‘v’-shaped slit, three folds or pleats on each sleeve and a belt or girdle which is lightly incised on the back of the statue. The Berlin figure, by contrast, has a garment consisting of two units, a shirt with a similar neck-line to that of the Detroit piece with three rolls below the breasts indicating the fleshiness of middle age, and a short kilt, if the incised line on the front of the garment at the waist actually indicates a division. The sculptural treatment of the clothing in both examples serves to mould the figures in the same manner. The handling of details such as the sleeve folds in one and the rolls below the breast in the other are very much alike.
7. The conception of the hands of the two figures is very close. The hands which hold the papyrus scroll in both instances are carved in the same way so that the rolled scroll disappears into the angle of the hand in each piece in an identical fashion. The lower hands which are posed in the act of writing are characterized very much alike, the major difference being the angle of the hand as it is adjusted to the direction of the skirt.
8. Junctures of all types (between wig and shoulder, between arm and body at the mid-torso,

<sup>10</sup> With Henry G. Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum* (London, 1970), 129–32.

between upper and lower arm) are executed in a similar style. In the left side view the swelling of the upper arm below the sleeve and the shape of the heel of the right foot are virtually identical in both statues.

9. The musculature and bone structure of the legs in both cases are carved with the same type and degree of faceting. The transitional area between the back of the left leg and the front of the right is handled in the same way in each.
10. The dark stone of both statues has been brought to the same degree of polished finish although each has suffered damage to a different degree. The Detroit statue has lost the fore parts of both feet and the tip of its nose and has deep scratches on the left side of the wig, as well as on the left sleeve. The Berlin statue has suffered only minor surface scratching.

The large number of similarities which exist between the two pieces strongly suggests an affinity between them which exceeds what might be expected as a result of the stylistic attitudes of a particular period. The Berlin scribe could have been produced in a Theban workshop before the move of the capital to El-'Amarna and could have been taken there as a valued possession; or it was created at the site where it was found by an artist who continued to work in the tradition in which he had been trained during the reign of Amenophis III. The Detroit scribe exhibits more of a tendency toward the new style of Akhenaten, particularly in costume.<sup>11</sup> The peculiarities of conception and craftsmanship which the two pieces share suggest a continuity of thought only slightly affected by the stylistic revolution. The small details of execution in both pieces make it likely that the two are products of the same school of artists wherever they were made. It would be rash to suggest and impossible to prove that they were made by the same sculptor, but the number of comparative features could be used in favour of such an argument.

Taking the two pieces within the tradition which seems to have been important in Dynasty Eighteen, in which the small group of the seated scribe and the ape of Thoth were an important type, it is certainly possible to say that both the Detroit and the Berlin scribes exhibit the highest qualities known among the examples which exist. They are both products of the 'courtly' tradition which developed under Amenophis III and continued in the reign of Akhenaten. They both have a presence which belies their small size and they serve as excellent examples of the ever-present duality of Egyptian art: the ability of the artist to work within canonical restrictions and, at the same time, to observe and record the subtleties of life.

<sup>11</sup> Compare the treatment of male dress in New York 11.150.21 (group statue).



1. Statuette of a seated scribe, Detroit Institute of Arts,  
31. 70



2. Statuette of a seated scribe, Ägyptisches Museum  
Berlin), 22621



3. Detroit, 31. 70, right side



4. Ägyptisches Museum (West Berlin), 22621, right side

TWO SEATED SCRIBES OF DYNASTY EIGHTEEN



1. Detroit, 31. 70, left side



2. Ägyptisches Museum (West Berlin), 22621, left side



3. Group of a seated scribe before the ape of the god Thoth, Ägyptisches Museum (East Berlin), 2001



4. Statuette of a seated scribe, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 31, 4. 1

## THE FRONTAL SINUSES OF THE REMAINS PURPORTED TO BE AKHENATEN

By PEDRO COSTA

IN *JEA* 52 (1966) Professor Harrison, of Liverpool, published a very interesting work on the Pharaonic remains purported to be Akhenaten.<sup>1</sup> His conclusions were practically definitives, and he excluded the existence of acromegaly in these remains. On the other hand, C. Wells<sup>2</sup> suggested that the statues of King Akhenaten and 'certain anatomical details of his skull make it extremely difficult to reject an acromegalic element in his strange appearance'. I wish to support the conclusions of Professor Harrison against the theory of acromegaly and I should like to make a few comments on this problem.

I have studied with particular interest the frontal sinuses in normal subjects and acromegalic patients. Here I wish to consider only two measurements: first, the height of the frontal sinuses; second, a new parameter which I describe and I think very interesting. It is an index which I name *Sinus-transverse-cranial Index* (STCI). This is calculated by the formula

$$\text{STCI} = \frac{\text{width of right sinus} \pm \text{width of left sinus}}{\text{greatest transverse diameter of the skull}} \times 100$$

For the purpose of the study radiographies of the skulls were obtained and measurements were made with a ruler to the nearest half millimetre. The STCI gave interesting data of sinuses proportions with regard to maximum breadth of the skull.

The height of the frontal sinuses was studied in 31 normal subjects (22 females and 9 males). A total of 61 sinuses were measured (44 females and 17 males). The height of the sinuses ranged from 6 to 45 millimetres with mean  $\pm$  S.D. of  $25.639 \pm 7.545$ . The height of acromegalic sinuses was studied in 10 patients (6 females and 4 males). A total of 20 sinuses were measured (12 females and 8 males). The height of acromegalic sinuses ranged from 13 to 77 millimetres with a mean  $\pm$  S.D. of  $46 \pm 15.293$ .

The analysis of the height of male and female frontal sinuses from the control group showed a highly significant difference ( $p < 0.001$ ). Female control height of the sinuses ranged from 6 to 34 millimetres, with a mean  $\pm$  S.D. of  $23.09 \pm 6.48$ . The height of the sinuses in male control subjects ranged from 23 to 45 millimetres with a mean  $\pm$  S.D. of  $32.234 \pm 5.93$ . See Table I.

<sup>1</sup> R. G. Harrison, 'An Anatomical Examination of the Pharaonic Remains purported to be Akhenaten', *JEA* 52 (1966), 95-119.

<sup>2</sup> *Bones, Bodies, and Disease* (Thames & Hudson, London, 1965), 108.

The height of frontal sinuses in acromegalic females ranged from 13 to 66 millimetres with a mean  $\pm$  S.D. of  $39.33 \pm 14.59$ . The height in acromegalic men ranged from 45 to 77 millimetres with mean  $\pm$  S.D. of  $56 \pm 9.92$ . The difference was significant between males and females from the acromegalic group ( $p < 0.02$ ). See Table I. Statistical analysis of these data showed a highly significant difference between normal females and acromegalic women ( $p < 0.001$ ) and between normal males and acromegalic men ( $p < 0.001$ ). See Table I.

TABLE I  
*Height of the frontal sinuses from control group and acromegalic patients*

CONTROL GROUP					
	Subjects	Sinuses	Height range (mm.)	Mean $\pm$ S.D.	Significance
Females	22	44	6-34	$23.09 \pm 6.48$	(+)
Males	9	17	23-45	$32.23 \pm 5.93$	(++)
Total	31	61	6-45	$25.63 \pm 7.54$	(+++)
ACROMEGALIC GROUP					
Females	6	12	13-66	$39.33 \pm 14.5$	(+)
Males	4	8	45-77	$56 \pm 9.92$	(++)
Total	10	20	13-77	$46 \pm 15.29$	(+++)

$\left. \begin{matrix} (+) \\ (++) \\ (+++) \end{matrix} \right\} p < 0.001$   
 $\left. \begin{matrix} (+) \\ (++) \end{matrix} \right\} p < 0.02$

(+)  $p < 0.001$   
 (++)  $p < 0.001$   
 (+++)  $p < 0.001$

The human remains purported to be Akhenaten are undoubtedly from a man and the height of the frontal sinus—38 millimetres does not differ significantly from that in modern normal male subjects (fig. 1).

The study of the sinus-transverse-cranial Index (STCI) was also helpful in estimating the size of the frontal sinuses and their proportions with regard to maximum breadth of the skull. The STCI was studied in 31 normal subjects (22 females and 9 males), and 11 acromegalic patients (7 females and 4 males).

Female control STCI ranged from 10.958 to 55.862 (mean  $\pm$  S.D. of  $38.058 \pm 10.31$ ). Male control STCI ranged from 25.333 to 65 (mean  $\pm$  S.D. of  $43.22 \pm 10.81$ ). The difference was not statistically significant ( $p < 0.30$ ). See Table II.

Acromegalic female STCI ranged from 39.61 to 67.33 (mean  $\pm$  S.D. of  $55.65 \pm 8.52$ ). Acromegalic male STCI ranged from 60.55 to 74.04 (mean  $\pm$  S.D. of  $65.75 \pm 5.02$ ). There was no statistically significant difference ( $p < 0.10$ ). See Table II. Statistical analysis of these data showed a significant difference between normal females and acromegalic women ( $p < 0.001$ ) and between normal males and acromegalic men ( $p < 0.01$ ). See Table II.



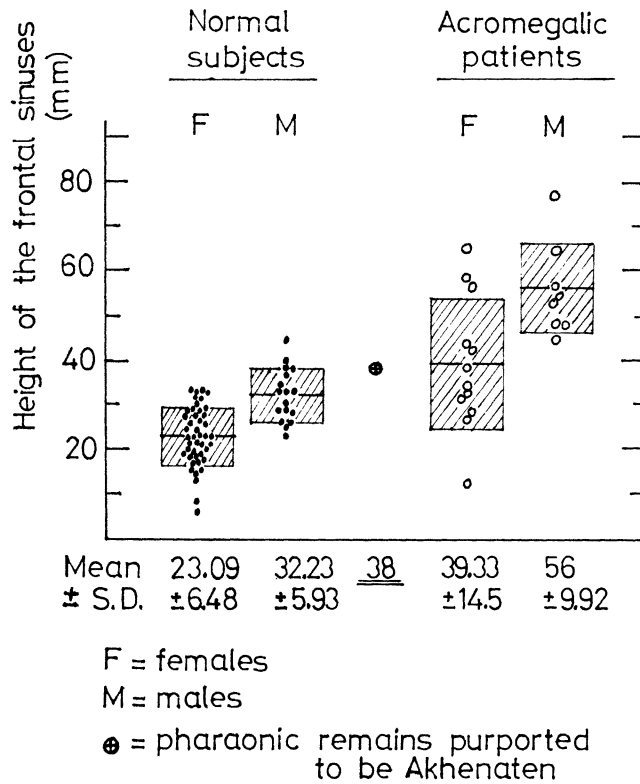


FIG. 1. Height of the frontal sinuses. Shaded area is  $\bar{x} \pm S.D.$

TABLE II

*Sinus-transverse-cranial-Index from control group and acromegalic patients*

		Subjects	Mean $\pm S.D.$	Significance
<i>Control group</i>	Females	22	38.058 ± 10.31	(+)
	Males	9	43.22 ± 10.81	(++)
	Total	31	39.55 ± 10.72	(+++)
p < 0.30				
<i>Acromegalic patients</i>	Females	7	55.65 ± 8.52	(+)
	Males	4	65.75 ± 5.02	(++)
	Total	11	59.32 ± 8.88	(+++)
p < 0.10				

(+) p < 0.001  
(++) p < 0.01  
(+++) p < 0.001

The sinus-transverse-cranial Index of the skull studied by Harrison is 51.948, which falls within the male range and it is lower than in acromegalic men (65.75 ± 5.02). See fig. 2.

It is possible to conclude from the data studied that the remains purported to be Akhenaten and examined by Prof. Harrison are from a man. The parameters studied here—height of the frontal sinuses and sinus-transverse-cranial Index—falls within normal range and *differ significantly from those in acromegalic men*. However, it must be emphasized that these parameters do not differ significantly from those in acromegalic women.

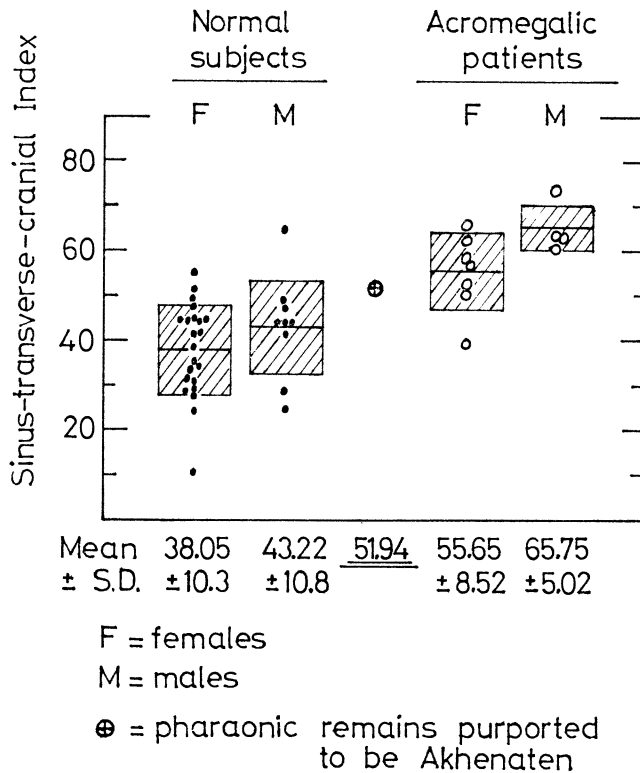


FIG. 2. The sinus-transverse-cranial Index studied. Shaded area is mean  $\pm$  S.D.

## THE 'WELL' IN KINGS' TOMBS OF BIBÂN EL-MOLÛK

By ELIZABETH THOMAS

IN 'the dynastic type established by the tomb of Tuthmosis III' in Bibân el-Molûk,<sup>1</sup> the king's entrance stair is followed by a sloping corridor leading to a second stair with a tall recess to either side, by a second sloping corridor, then by a shaft that is nearly square, its longer dimension perpendicular to the axis of the tomb to this point. Taking the entrance stair as A, we may call this fifth element E. A-E remain basically the same in the succeeding royal tombs that were completed in Bibân el-Molûk, although stairs later became corridors, the slopes of A-D decreased, and the floor in E was not cut away. The shaft was quarried in the tombs of Tuthmosis III-IV, Amenophis, II-III, Horemheb, Sethos I, Ramesses II-III, Merneptah; E is presently inaccessible in the tombs of Amenmesse, 'Bay', Ramesses X; Ramesses XI presumably was or was to be buried in a room off the bottom of the large, deep excavation in the centre of his sarcophagus hall. Today the shafts are virtually clean only in the four earliest tombs, those of Tuthmosis III-IV and Amenophis II-III.

In their discussions of this well, *Schacht*, or *puits* Friedrich Abitz<sup>2</sup> and Claude Vandersleyen<sup>3</sup> agree that its purpose was solely religious, yet both omit all mention of this element in the Royal Tomb at El-'Amarna and explain away or ignore the name attested for it perhaps as early as the reign of Ramesses II and definitely by that of Ramesses IV. Although both the excavation by Akhenaten and the name were included in *Necropoleis*,<sup>4</sup> it would seem useful to bring them together here, to add three additional occurrences of the name, and to reply briefly to Abitz and Vandersleyen in several other regards.

Since religion permeated Egyptian thought and life, the various parts of the royal tomb must have had religious meaning and function. Thus I question only the restrictive conclusion of Abitz and Vandersleyen, that the shaft had a *solely* religious purpose,

<sup>1</sup> John Romer, 'The Tomb of Tuthmosis III', *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 316 n. 3; this article is referred to as 'Romer' below. I would like to express appreciation to W. H. Willis and J. Strobe for a copy of this important study; and also to Willis for criticism of my script.

<sup>2</sup> *Die religiöse Bedeutung der sogenannten Grabräuberschächte in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. bis 20. Dynastie* (Ägyptologische Abh., 26, Wiesbaden, 1974); referred to as 'Abitz' below; cf. J. Gwyn Griffiths, *JEA* 61 (1975), 295 f. For a summary of the tombs see Abitz pp. 20-6 and Plans A-I. The latter have been reproduced by permission in smaller scale from my *Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 85, 93 f., 119; referred to as *Necropoleis* below. For Tuthmosis III also see Romer, pp. 323 f.

<sup>3</sup> 'Le Sens symbolique des puits funéraires dans l'Égypte ancienne', *CdÉ* 50 (1975), 151-7; referred to as 'Vandersleyen' below.

<sup>4</sup> The tomb, pp. 88, 93; the name, p. 278. For the former see G. T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-'Amarna* (London, 1974), 8, pl. 4, where the depth of the shaft is said to be 3.12 m.

in view of their failure to consider all possible evidence. Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt does not restrict, as I understand her, when she speaks of the usual interpretation of the 'well-hole' 'as a barrier against both thieves and infiltration by water', then continues: 'However one must now *also* [italics mine] admit that it represents symbolically the aquatic region . . . Of course there is no such "well" in Akhenaten's tomb.'<sup>5</sup> Her 'also admit' appears to propose a third meaning while accepting the first two. As we know, the shaft was positively retained at El-'Amarna, but surely without reference to 'the aquatic region' or to the Amduat suggested by Abitz and Vander-sleyen for earlier tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Was the El-'Amarna shaft symbolic in another sense, or practical, or both?

The name of Element E is found in two papyri and an ostrakon published in part by Černý,<sup>6</sup> as well as in the Turin and Cairo tomb plans summarized in *Necropoleis*.<sup>7</sup> In the probable chronological order Černý proposes, the sources, tomb numbers, owners, and texts in my translations are as follows:

1. P. Cairo No. 86637, vs., 20·5. Tomb 7, Ramesses II, *pꜣ isꜥ* (𓂏 | 𓂏 | 𓂏 | 𓂏), 'The Hindering'.<sup>8</sup>
2. P. Turin Cat. 1885, rt., X, b, the Turin plan. Tomb 2, Ramesses IV, *tꜣ wsꜥt isꜥ* (𓂏 | 𓂏 | 𓂏), 'The Hall of Hindering'.<sup>9</sup>
3. Ibid., vs., 6. Tomb 9, section of Ramesses V, *tꜣ wsꜥt isꜥ* (𓂏 | 𓂏 | 𓂏), 'The Hall of Hindering'.<sup>10</sup>
4. P. Turin Cat. 1923, vs., Ibid., *wsꜥt isꜥ* (𓂏 | 𓂏 | 𓂏), 'Hall of Hindering'.<sup>11</sup>
5. O. Berlin B, 6+O. Nash 10 (BM 65944), rt., 1. Ibid., *tꜣ wsꜥt pꜣ isꜥ* (𓂏 | 𓂏 | 𓂏), 'The Hall of the Hindering'.<sup>12</sup>
6. O. Cairo 25184, the Cairo plan. Tomb 6, Ramesses IX, *tꜣ wsꜥt isꜥ* (𓂏 | 𓂏 | 𓂏), 'The Hall of Hindering'.<sup>13</sup>

The usual translation of the Turin and Cairo plans, 'the Hall of Waiting', is retained without question by Černý, who apparently fails to consider the excavation in this element in the tomb of Ramesses II or in those preceding. In the next tomb of our list, that of Ramesses IV, Element E is barely recognizable as a Hall since it is bisected by the ramp that gives the walls to either side more the appearance of tall recesses than the limits of a room. Such an appellation as *wsꜥt* was surely not invented for it here, therefore, and *isꜥ* as 'waiting' could have fitted no better the original form of this exceedingly stable, and consistently named, small element, whether or not its floor was

<sup>5</sup> *Tutankhamen* (English translation, New York, 1973), 259.

<sup>6</sup> *The Valley of the Kings* (BdE 61, 1973), 23–9: the six occurrences, the sources of our notes 8–13, and brief discussions of the designation of Element E; referred to as 'Černý' below unless otherwise stated.

<sup>7</sup> p. 278.

<sup>8</sup> Černý, 25, 29, 'the paleography . . . points to the reign of Ramesses II'; now published by Abd el-Mohsen Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar No. 86637* (Cairo, 1966), 56, pls. 50, 50A.

<sup>9</sup> Černý, 24, 29; Howard Carter and Alan H. Gardiner, *JEA* 4 (1917), 138, pl. 29.

<sup>10</sup> Černý, 24 f., 29; Carter and Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 148.

<sup>11</sup> Černý, 26, 29, adding a fragment from Cairo 2073, 2082–83; unpublished.

<sup>12</sup> Černý, 25, 29; unpublished.

<sup>13</sup> Černý, p. 23; Daressy, *Ostraca (CCG)* (Cairo, 1901), 35, pl. 32, and *Rev. arch.* 32 (1898), 238, the source of our reading.

cut away before or after the burial.<sup>14</sup> But the meaning of *isk* as 'verweilen', 'etw. zurückhalten',<sup>15</sup> or 'hinder',<sup>16</sup> i.e. 'The Hall of Hindering', or of staying progress down the tomb would seem quite apt. Of course, it did not impede thieves permanently, but neither did other devices of other tombs or pyramids.

*wsht isk* is "stopping-place" in the English translation of Noblecourt (loc. cit.), where it is recognized as 'the earlier well', though its 'last trace' is mistaken. W. K. Simpson, after first agreeing with Černý's 'Hall of Waiting',<sup>17</sup> writes that he now 'shares' my 'feeling that the designation should be "Hindrance"'. A. Badawy,<sup>18</sup> too, contrary to his earlier acceptance of 'Waiting', tells me that he finds 'Place of Hindering' and "stopping-place" 'most significant since they imply hindering the would-be robbers'. Yet after quoting, inexactly, most of my consideration of the third tomb element, C, and expressing doubt that the designations of the Twentieth Dynasty were applied in the earlier periods, Abitz<sup>19</sup> concludes that 'die Bezeichnung für den Schachtraum als "Hall of Hindering" oder "Hall of Waiting" nach meiner Untersuchung keineswegeseinen Aufschluss über die Raumbestimmung zu geben vermag'.

In the following Element F Tuthmosis III combined a pillared hall with a steep stair within its far left side. This exit was filled after his funeral as it probably was customarily, at least, while the plan remained virtually unaltered, through Sethos I. In the tomb of Ramesses II and its successors the descent is placed between the pillars, but the angle of slope remains appreciable, and fill to simulate the end of the tomb would have been feasible even after the stair had become a corridor and the tomb slope otherwise had become relatively slight. 'The Descent / / / /' is read by Daressy<sup>20</sup> from the only known occurrence of the name of this part of F, while his fragmentary text for the Hall itself may have to do with *pr-hd*, 'Treasury'. It is 'The Chariot Hall' in the Turin plan, vs., 7, and 'Chariot' only in P. Turin Cat. 1923, presumably because this object was stored here.<sup>21</sup> On Nash 10, rt., 2-4, it is: 'Another Hall of Repelling Enemies' of so many cubits; 'what is in it, 4 pillars'; then *ky st3-ntr*, 'Another corridor', with dimensions, is followed by *ky st3-ntr*, the two presumably being the lowest corridors of Ramesses VI, Tomb 9. In the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn the contents of Casket 46 are said to belong 'to the House of Repelling Bowmen', which Černý<sup>22</sup> believes 'is probably identical with' "the Hall of Repelling Enemies" of O. Nash 10. Following 'The Hall of Hindering' should 'Another Hall of Repelling' be taken

<sup>14</sup> Pending further clearances and examinations, the question of the time of quarrying (Abitz, 12; Romer, 324 and n. 43) should be held in abeyance, I now believe.

<sup>15</sup> *Wb.* I, 133, 7, 10.

<sup>16</sup> Faulkner, *Concise Dict.* 31.

<sup>17</sup> *J.A.O.S.* 87 (1967), 67, a review of Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn* (TTS, ii, Oxford, 1965).

<sup>18</sup> *A History of Egyptian Architecture*, vol. iii (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), 385 f.; for the shafts in the individual tombs see 393-405.

<sup>19</sup> p. 109.

<sup>20</sup> *Rev. arch.* 238.

<sup>21</sup> Černý, 29; Carter and Gardiner, op. cit., 148, the Turin plan only.

<sup>22</sup> *Hieratic Inscriptions* . . . , 7 f., pl. 25. Černý suggests that our E and F correspond to the Antechamber and the Annex of Tut'ankhamūn's tomb, but would this not project on a noble's tomb—used by, yet evidently not excavated for, a king—the elements of the royal plan? For the ostrakon only see Černý, 29.

literally and construed as perhaps a 'back up', as it were, of the supposed deterrent of the shaft? And does the 'House of Repelling Bowmen' on the casket indicate that the name of at least one element of later tomb plans was certainly that of the Eighteenth Dynasty?

Vandersleyen<sup>23</sup> points to the unexcavated Element E in the tomb of Queen Tausert and to the complete absence of shafts in tombs of queens of Dynasties XIX and XX, although the Valley of the Queens also had its thieves and occasional downpours or runoffs from the high desert. But neither he nor Abitz refers to the very large shaft in the possible tomb of Queen Aḥmose Nefertari or to the excavation of Queen Meryt-amūn.<sup>24</sup> The ownership in the first instance is unproven, its shaft may be secondary, and Ḥatshepsut may have quarried a 'cistern' in the later tomb to protect her temple; yet the two examples merit attention. Further, both Vandersleyen and Abitz speak of KV 14 as the tomb of Queen Tausert without reference to the appreciable alterations and the extension of King Setnakhte, or to the fact that the 'well' could have been excavated by or for him—and was not.

Tomb sites in the near vicinity of waterfalls were obviously favoured in Dynasty XVIII and the earlier part of XIX for practical and/or symbolic reasons.<sup>25</sup> When the tomb entrance was securely sealed or resealed, the choice was wise since all indications of the excavation were obliterated by detritus from the cliffs above and no water penetrated: e.g. the lightly robbed tombs of Maiherperi, Yuya-Tjuya, 'Tiy', Tut'an-khamūn; other low tombs were not totally impermeable in every instance, yet most of them were undetectable until modern methods of discovery were applied. And it is generally agreed that the 'well' proved effective against water in at least one tomb, that of Sethos I.

But this effectiveness does not prove that Tuthmosis III was thinking of protection against water when his shaft was designed, nor is there proof that *isk* as 'hinder' or 'stop' connotes protection against thieves,<sup>26</sup> that thieves were the 'enemies' repelled, or that the specific religious purposes proposed by Noblecourt or by Abitz and Vandersleyen are those of the kings of Dynasties XVIII, XIX, or XX. The pursuit of this proof requires, I submit, the rejection of no theory out of hand, the careful clearance and thorough examination of all shafts and their adjuncts, the consideration of all potential evidence *per se* and in relation to the function of the shaft throughout the sequence of Egyptian tombs.<sup>27</sup> It is to be hoped that the current work of the Brooklyn Museum in Bibân el-Molûk can include the 'wells' and enable us to speak with assurance, if not with absolute certainty, regarding the purpose(s) of the royal shaft.

<sup>23</sup> p. 152.

<sup>24</sup> The wife of Amosis I and mother of Amenophis I; probably the sister and wife of Amosis I; see *Necropoleis*, Index.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Vandersleyen, e.g. 155; the utilization of near-by faults in quarrying, noted a number of times in *Necropoleis*, is also discussed by Romer, 322 and n. 40.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Romer, 324.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Vandersleyen, 156 f.

## A LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF ELEPHANTINE

By PAULE POSENER-KRIÉGER

ON May 12, 1907, Clédat, having just left Elephantine for France, wrote to Clermont-Ganneau in order to give him the last news of the season.<sup>1</sup> After various details concerning the organization of the excavation field for the summer, he says: 'Près du mur de la salle des béliers<sup>2</sup> et près du lieu où nous avons trouvé les statues,<sup>3</sup> j'ai recueilli de nombreux fragments de papyrus hiératiques de la xix<sup>ème</sup> dynastie; quelques morceaux paraissent appartenir à la xx<sup>ème</sup>. Quelques-uns de ces fragments sont en assez bonne conservation pour pouvoir être étudiés. N'ayant pas le temps de m'occuper de cela, j'ai cru devoir charger Lacau de les examiner et de les étudier si cela l'intéressait.' On June 14 of the same year, Lacau acknowledged the receipt of the fragments, saying that he had no time to study the documents or to analyse their contents; he hoped for quieter days to do so, in the near future. Apparently this never happened, for the papyri seem to have remained untouched until Lacau's death. They came to light again thanks to the care of Jean Yoyotte who found them in Lacau's Egyptological legacy.

Among the fragments discovered by Clédat, there were fragments of a letter which could be put together easily;<sup>4</sup> the document entered the Louvre in December 1975 under the accession number E. 27151.<sup>5</sup> It is a sheet of 21.3 cm. by 22 cm., almost completely preserved, bearing eleven lines on the recto, two lines and the address on the verso. The papyrus is of a thin texture and reddish yellow colour; the inscription is written H/V, and one can see a horizontal joint under line 6 of the recto. The document is not palimpsest. The upper right and left corners of the letter are missing, as if torn off when the letter was opened, but the lacunae only affect the introductory formulae on the recto and the address on the verso. The title of the sender is lost and the name of the recipient is only partly preserved in the address. Six horizontal folds and the middle vertical fold are clearly visible, the address being written on the last horizontal fold. See Pls. XIV and XIV, a.

<sup>1</sup> B. Delavaud, Librarian of the Institut des Études Sémitiques in the Collège de France, to whom I express my warmest thanks, found this letter among the papers of the French expedition at Elephantine, which are preserved in the Institut de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres).

<sup>2</sup> For the location of the place on the excavation field, see Ricke, *BÄBA* 6, 23.

<sup>3</sup> One of the statues is a kneeling figure of Nehi (Cairo, JE 39749; Newberry, *JEA* 19 (1933), 53, pl. 10, 1); the other is a headless statue of Tuthmosis III seated (Louvre AF 795 *bis*, now in the museum of Nantes; Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 303, 305, 414, pl. 101, 1).

<sup>4</sup> In September 1969, Černý copied the papyrus in the Bibliothèque Golenischeff in Paris. Miss Murray, archivist at the Griffith Institute, found his transcription in Notebook 19, pp. 43 verso-45, and Dr. Málek was kind enough to send me a photocopy of these pages to compare with my own transcription; I thank both of them for their help.

<sup>5</sup> I thank Madame Desroches-Noblecourt, Head Curator of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre for giving me permission to publish the papyrus.

The script, rather straight and thick, is neither elegant nor florid, but clear and clean. The invocation to Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>-Ḥor-Akhty, which does not appear before the Twentieth Dynasty,<sup>6</sup> and the arrangement of the address, which is in keeping with the habits of this period,<sup>7</sup> confirm the palaeographical criteria: the letter belongs to the Twentieth Dynasty, at the end or shortly after the reign of Ramesses III.

### Translation

(1) . . . . . *Khꜣy of the house of Ḥor-Akhty<sup>a</sup> inquires after the health [of the governor Mentu-ḥer . . . . .] (2) of Elephantine.<sup>b</sup> [In life, prosperity] and health and in the favour of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>, King of the Gods. I [say to Amen] (3) -Rē<sup>c</sup>-Ḥor-[Akhty], when he rises and when he sets, to Ḥor-Akhty and his Ennead<sup>c</sup> (4) to give you health, to give you life, to make you be in the favour of Ḥor-Akhty, your Lord (5) who looks after you.<sup>d</sup> And further: I have opened the jars<sup>e</sup> of honey which you have sent to the God,<sup>f</sup> (6) and I have taken out ten hins<sup>g</sup> of honey among them for the divine offering, and I have found (7) that they were all filled with solid<sup>h</sup> gs-ointment;<sup>i</sup> I have sealed them again and I have (8) sent them back to you to the South; if it is another man who<sup>j</sup> had given it to you, let him see it.<sup>k</sup> (9) And look, if you find a good one (honey), let it be brought to me. (10) May Rē<sup>c</sup> give you health. And if there is none,<sup>l</sup> let a menet-jar<sup>m</sup> of (11) incense be brought to me by the wꜣb-priest Netermose, but may you find honey and may you have brought (Verso 1) to me logs of dry sycamore wood.<sup>n</sup> May Amūn give you health, may Ḥor-Akhty grant (2) you to spend a long life. May your health be good in the presence of Ḥor-Akhty.*  
(Address) . . . . . *Khꜣy of the house of Ḥor-Akhty to the governor Mentu-ḥer . . . . .*<sup>o</sup>

### Notes

(a) The letter is most probably of Theban origin; if so, the 'house of Ḥor-Akhty' should be the solar sanctuary of the roof of the temple of Amūn.<sup>8</sup>

(b) *n ꜣbw* indicates the place where the ḥꜣty-ꜣ was on duty, rather than his place of birth (Grapow, *ZÄS* 73, 50): no divinity of Elephantine is mentioned in the text.

(c) Almost the same writing in Papyrus Geneva D 407, l. 4 (Černý, *LRL*, 14, 5).

(d) *r* for *ꜣ* in the formula is unusual; Papyrus Deir el-Medineh IV, recto 5, bears exactly the same writing (Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Medineh*, 16–17 n.d and pl. 19, 5). For the meaning of *ptr* see Wenté, *LRL Translations*, 44 n.b). The determinative of the seated man after *tw* is known elsewhere (Wenté, op. cit., 77 n.a.).

(e) *nꜣ ꜣꜣw* for *nꜣ ꜣꜣwt(?)*; the *n* in *nꜣ* is very short and the group could be transcribed *tꜣ*.

(f) For honey in the divine offering, see Leclant, *LÄ* 786–8 (*Biene*), with bibliography; Moret, *Rituel du culte divin journalier*, 70–3 and *RdÉ* 4, 6; Nagy, *Studia Aegyptiaca*, 1, 313–15. P. Harris

<sup>6</sup> Bakir, *Epistolography*, 59.

<sup>7</sup> For the disposition of the address, see Černý, *LRL*, XIX–XX, and Bakir, op. cit., 37.

<sup>8</sup> The solar cult is known in Karnak from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward; the upper room of the Akh-menu is called the 'house of Rē<sup>c</sup>-Ḥor-Akhty of the terrace of the temple of Amūn' in the Bubastite period (Kees, *Priestertum*, 222; Leclant, *Enquêtes*, 47; Caminos *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 134). The sanctuary was even considered as 'Southern Heliopolis' (Parker, *A Saïte Oracle*, 10) and it seems to have been, to a certain extent, economically independent, as shown by the title of 'chief of the cattle of the house of Rē<sup>c</sup> of the terrace of the temple of Amūn' (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes*, III, 38, 80; Borchardt, *Statuen*, III, 136–7; Bruyère, *ASAE* 54, 17), although we do not know if this holds good for the Ramesside age. For the description of this part of Karnak, see Barguet, *Le Temple de Karnak*, 291–2.



I gives an idea of the importance of honey deliveries for the temple of Amūn when it quotes 1065 *menet*-jars for the ordinary service (15 a, 3) and 310 *menet*-jars for the feasts (18 b, 7); the decree of year 16 of Ramesses III in Karnak (Nelson, *JAS* 56, 238) allows 4 *hins* of honey per day for the temple of Amūn 'as an increase of what was formerly'.

(g) Honey is usually measured in *hins* (Helck, *Materialien*, 707). We know the price of honey during the reign of Ramesses II: a *hin* was worth  $\frac{1}{8}$  *kite* of silver,<sup>9</sup> while in the time of Osorkon it was worth only  $\frac{1}{10}$  *kite* of silver;<sup>10</sup> for the price of honey see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 352–3. It seems that the Delta was a honey-producing country and that, when imported, honey was mostly derived from Palestine and Syria;<sup>11</sup> still, bee-keeping is known in Thebes since the Eighteenth Dynasty by the tombs of Imenhotep<sup>12</sup> and Rekhmirē<sup>13</sup> and it is clear from the titles of bee-keepers<sup>14</sup> as well as from the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon<sup>15</sup> that the Theban district produced honey, although the Heliopolitan and Memphite sections of P. Harris I seem to give prominence to the north of Egypt in this respect.<sup>16</sup> An inscription on a jar found in El-'Amarna quotes 'Honey from Upper-Egypt'.<sup>17</sup> The numerous bee-keepers registered in P. Wilbour (Gardiner, *Commentary*, 83) show that the production was well organized all over the country, even if we do not know of it explicitly.<sup>18</sup> As the demand for honey was enormous, the Theban district must have imported honey from the south, for we know that bee-keepers and honey collectors extended their trade down to the south of Nubia by the Nauri decree.<sup>19</sup> The decree of Ramesses III in Elephantine, concerning the possessions of the temple of Khnum in the Dodecaschoenus, mentions also the bee-keepers among the people to be protected by the decree.<sup>20</sup> While honey was, in the Old Kingdom, a product exported to Nubia,<sup>21</sup> it was certainly imported from there in the New Kingdom. The differences in the origin of honey may account for the different qualities ('white' or 'red' honey) known to us.

(h) Solid fat in the shape of 'bricks' is known from P. Beatty V(8, 4) and from Anastasi V(21, 8) where the blocks of fat do not seem to be in a container.

(i) *Gs* is a general word for anointing material used for medical or magical purposes (*Wb. med. Texte*, 925–7). The vertical stroke after *gs* is unusual. The jars opened by Kh'ay were probably filled with solid ointment-fat which may have looked like crystallized honey.

(j) This construction in a clause of condition is not listed by Černý–Groll (*Late Egn. Gr*). Kh'ay leaves a chance to the sender of the jars to be exonerated of the trick and, as a matter of fact, he may have been perfectly innocent.

(k) So that he may see by himself that it is not honey?

(l) For this type of construction see Černý–Groll, *op. cit.*, 402 (29. 7) and 563 (62. 5. 5); what is not existing is not expressed, but it is clear that honey is meant.

<sup>9</sup> Gardiner, *JEA* 21, 142.

<sup>10</sup> Caminos, *op. cit.*, 145.

<sup>11</sup> Helck, *Materialien*, 705.

<sup>12</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rē'*, pl. 49.

<sup>14</sup> Lefebvre, *Grands Prêtres*, 46; Nagel, *Céramique*, 18; Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. 27, 2.

<sup>15</sup> When the Chronicle states (Caminos, p. 57) that the bee-keepers have been disbanded, it is clear that companies of bee-keepers existed before that.

<sup>16</sup> P. Harris I, 28, 3; 46, 1; 48, 2.

<sup>17</sup> Fairman in Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, III, 175; see also the references quoted by Helck, *op. cit.*, 704–5.

<sup>18</sup> See the point of view of Helck, *op. cit.*, 705.

<sup>19</sup> Griffith, *JEA* 13, 201, pl. 41, line 39.

<sup>20</sup> De Morgan, *Catalogue*, I, 119, l. 7; Griffith, *op. cit.*, 208.

<sup>21</sup> *Urk.* I, 136.

(m) Fresh incense, which is soft, is normally sent in *menet*-jars of 30 *hins*<sup>22</sup> It is a product imported from the south as the honey sent to Khçay seems to be. The value of a *menet*-jar of incense is approximately of 7 to 7½ *debens* of copper, while ten *hins* of honey are worth between 7 and 8 *debens* of copper;<sup>23</sup> that is to say that the jar of incense is asked as substitution for the ten *hins* of honey, if there is none available, both having approximately the same value.

(n) Dry plants or dry fruits are well known from medical papyri; dry fishes, dry figs or dry cakes are often quoted in ostraca, as well as dry *'ntyw*, but dry wood occurs only in the 'laboratoire' of Edfu<sup>24</sup> where it seems to be a very special sort of wood; wood of dry *çntyw* quoted in P. Harris (I 14 a, 1) can hardly refer to dry wood. It is difficult to know whether the logs of dry sycamore wood are intended for religious purposes or for carpentry.

(o) The name of the governor of Elephantine is not completely preserved: after *hr*, if my reading is correct, we can have either *wmmyt. f* or *hps. f*, the latter being more common. As a matter of fact, we know already of a *hsty-ç* of Elephantine called Mentuḥerkhepeshef from the Turin papyrus P. 1887, and it is tempting to add the letter found by Clédât in Elephantine to the records of the scandals which happened there during the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V.<sup>25</sup>

This letter, which is amusing in itself, for it gives a vivid picture of the irregularities in trade in the Ramesside age, becomes of greater interest if we consider that the *hsty-ç* to whom it had been sent was the Mentuḥerkhepeshef known to us by the Turin Indictment Papyrus. This is by no means certain, but highly probable: the name and title of the recipient, the location of his activities and the date of the papyrus are in favour of the hypothesis. The Turin Papyrus states that in the last years of Ramesses IV, a scribe of the treasury named Mentuḥerkhepeshef acted as *hsty-ç* of Elephantine. Thieves having taken garments from the temple of Anukit, mistress of Aswân, as *hsty-ç(?)*, he had to question them; he found that they had sold the garments to a carpenter of the Place of Truth named Imen-rekh; having received a bribe from the culprits, 'the *hsty-ç* let them go'.<sup>26</sup> To find the same untrustworthy official implied in a case of cheating on the goods is not surprising, although, in this case, his personal responsibility may have been only indirectly involved, as the author of the letter tactfully suggests. Still, knowing what we know, we find his innocence questionable and we are easily tempted to see cheating in what may have been just a mistake.

<sup>22</sup> Helck, op. cit., 713.

<sup>23</sup> Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 445-6 and 352-3.

<sup>24</sup> *Edfou*, II, 207-8; Chassinat, *Les Mystères de Khoiak*, 222.

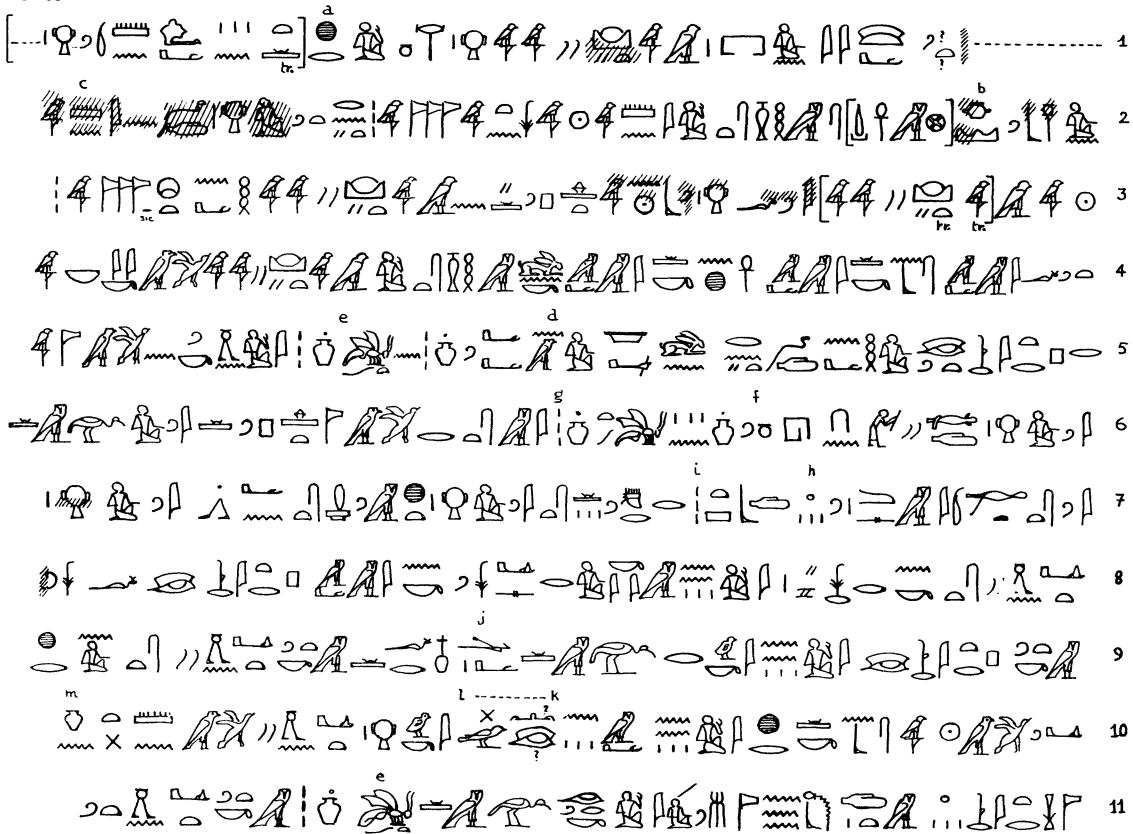
<sup>25</sup> Sauneron, *RdÉ* 7, 53-62.

<sup>26</sup> Gardiner, *RAD*, 78, 4-7; Peet, *JEA* 10, 122.

Handwritten text in Coptic script, likely a letter or document fragment. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines, showing significant wear and tear, including a large vertical tear down the center. The script is dense and characteristic of early Christian Egyptian writing.

Handwritten text in Coptic script, continuing the fragment from the top image. It consists of about 4 lines of text, also showing signs of age and damage. The script is consistent with the top fragment.

recto










verso



address



a Černý: "or 2". b Černý:  (sign of the town now missing). c Černý: . d Černý:  with note: "sic, for n3 because of lack of space at the end of line". e correct disposition of signs found by Černý. f Černý: . g omitted by Černý. h fac-simile in notebook. i omitted by Černý. j fac-simile in notebook. k-1 Černý:  with note: "so it seems". m Černý:  n fac-simile in notebook. o Černý:  with note: "faint, perhaps 3".

## A FAMILY FOR ANHAI?

By CAROL A. R. ANDREWS

The Book of the Dead of the priestess Anhai (BM 10472) has long been a source of illustration for vignettes depicting agricultural activities in the Egyptian equivalent of the Elysian Fields. The papyrus was published by Budge<sup>1</sup> who, in his commentary, stated 'of the Lady Anhai we know nothing beyond the fact that she was a singer in the College of Amen-Ra at Thebes; and as she is called 'Lady of the House' she was probably a married woman. Her husband's name does not appear, but the digging figure in the first section of the Elysian Fields may represent him.'<sup>2</sup> An identical male figure appears with Anhai in a papyrus skiff in the same register as the digging figure and again in the register immediately below: to the left Anhai pulls flax, to the right the male figure cuts emmer. He appears only in these three instances,<sup>3</sup> in each case in close association with Anhai. There is no text above his figure in the harvesting scene. The text above the scene in the boat mentions only Anhai. In the middle of the topmost register Anhai bows before two mummiform figures accompanied by the text 'The Osiris, her mother, Neferytu'. This section of the text runs from right to left. The remainder of the text runs from left to right and immediately above the digging figure reads 'The Osiris, Stablemaster of the Residence, Nebsumenu, justified'. The text naming the digging figure, presumably to be applied also to the other two male figures, could possibly refer to the husband of Neferytu, Anhai's father, but with more probability it refers to the husband of Anhai. Comparable published funerary papyri made for women and containing the vignette for Chapter 110 are very few and all of the Twenty-first Dynasty in date. In BM 10554 Nesitanebtasheru<sup>4</sup> does her own ploughing and reaping; Herywebkhet<sup>5</sup> and Tayuhert<sup>6</sup> are aided in their ploughing, reaping and pulling of flax by unnamed men. However, analogous Ramesside wall-paintings, such as those in the tombs at Thebes of Sennedjem (no. 1), Amenemopet (no. 215) and Paser (no. 305)<sup>7</sup> suggest that when a man and woman are depicted together carrying out agricultural activities in the Fields of Iaru they are man and wife.

The title 'Stablemaster of the Residence' (*hry ihw n Hnw*) is well attested in documents of the Twentieth Dynasty, the period to which the papyrus is usually dated on stylistic and epigraphical grounds. A. R. Schulmann<sup>8</sup> cites the Wilbour

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead. Facsimiles of the Papyrus of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchmet with supplementary text from the Papyrus of Nu* (London, 1899).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 19.

<sup>3</sup> Sheet 5 as the papyrus is now divided; cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, pl. 6.

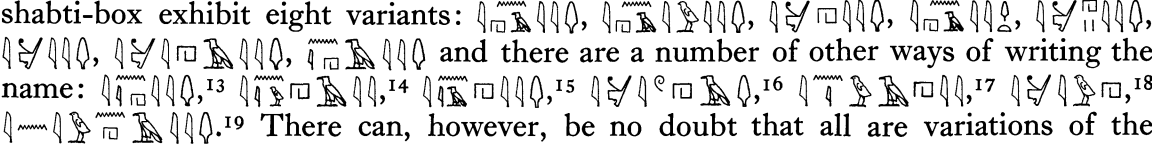
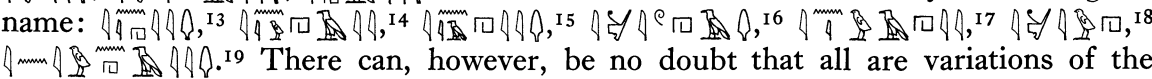






<sup>4</sup> Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum* (London, 1912), pl. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Cairo Papyrus P 133 in A. Piankoff, *ASAE* 49 (1949), pl. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Leiden Papyrus T 3 in M. Heerma van Voss, *Zwischen Grab und Paradies*, pl. 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Top. Bibl.* 1, part 1, 3 (9), 312 (2) and 383 (1).

<sup>8</sup> *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Berlin, 1964), 149, section 399.

Papyrus as alone containing 198 separate entries for this office under Ramesses V; 20 Stablemasters of the Residence were members of the expedition sent by Ramesses IV to the quarries at Wadi Hammamat.<sup>9</sup> Nebsumenu and its variants Nebsemen and Nebsemeny<sup>10</sup> is not an uncommon male name in the New Kingdom, especially under the Ramessides,<sup>11</sup> but the best documented Nebsumenu is the owner of Theban tomb 183, son of Paser, brother of Hunefer and husband of Baket-Mut. By a curious coincidence his sister-in-law, Hunefer's wife, is called Inihy, i.e. Anhai.<sup>12</sup> Mention might here be made of the added difficulty in tracing Anhai's identity inherent in the spelling of her name which allows of a number of variations. Her papyrus, shabtis, and shabti-box exhibit eight variants:  and there are a number of other ways of writing the name: <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup>. There can, however, be no doubt that all are variations of the name *Nhyt*,<sup>20</sup> 'the sycamore' (indeed, Hunefer's wife Inihy is called Nehyt in Theban tomb 385),<sup>21</sup> and exhibit the same phenomenon as that which occurs in the writing of the word *nbi* as *inibw* as early as the reign of Tutankhamun.<sup>22</sup>

Clearly there are great difficulties in securely identifying a man who bears a not uncommon name and is recorded as holding a single and distinctly common office, but a very likely candidate to have emerged as a near relation to Anhai's husband, or perhaps the very man himself, appears in unpublished Theban tomb 148 belonging to Amenemopet II and dated to Ramesses III-V. Like his namesake in Anhai's papyrus, this Nebsumenu is a Stablemaster of the Residence and in addition bears the title 'Steward of Khons' (*imy-r pr n Hnsw*).<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately his wife is named 'Lady of the House', 'Singer of Amun', Taynodjem, a member of a powerful family of Ramesside High Priests of Amun, which would apparently preclude this Nebsumenu from being Anhai's husband unless he married more than once. No further information about Taynodjem's husband is forthcoming from her family's documentation<sup>24</sup> but

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 124, section 240.

<sup>10</sup> H. Ranke, *PN I*, 186, nos. 8, 11, and 12; H. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 16, gives variant writings of the town called Semenu.

<sup>11</sup> C. Kuentz, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), 146-7.

<sup>12</sup> I should like to express my thanks to the Griffith Institute, Oxford, and in particular to Dr. J. Málek for permission to use the Lepsius manuscript notebooks in their possession which contain copies of the texts from unpublished Theban tomb 183.

<sup>13</sup> Lepsius MS., 290.

<sup>14</sup> T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, 9 (London, 1970), pl. 23.

<sup>15</sup> S. Bosticco, *Le Stele Egiziane*, II (Rome, 1965), fig. 51.

<sup>16</sup> J. M. Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb* (Paris, 1970), 34-5, no. 17.

<sup>17</sup> A. Fabbretti, F. Rossi and R. V. Lanzzone, *Regio Museo di Torino* (Turin, 1882), 157, no. 1572.

<sup>18</sup> A. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos* (Paris, 1880), 459, no. 1220.

<sup>19</sup> W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden, 1958), 488, no. 20.

<sup>20</sup> Ranke, *PN I*, 206, no. 26.

<sup>21</sup> A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 36 (1936), 128.

<sup>22</sup> G. Legrain, *Rec. Trav.* 29 (1907), 170 n. 23.

<sup>23</sup> I am indebted to Dr. M. L. Bierbrier for this unpublished information.

<sup>24</sup> M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (Warminster, 1975), 8, and Chart II.

further study of BM 10472 would suggest that this Nebsumenu is indeed closely connected with Anhai.

Budge's statement that 'we know nothing beyond the fact that she (Anhai) was a singer in the College of Amen-Ra at Thebes' has to be modified in the light of the other titles recorded as being held by her in the text of the papyrus.<sup>25</sup> On sheet 5<sup>26</sup> Anhai is termed *wrt hnrt n Wsir* i.e. 'Chief of the Concubines of Osiris'. The Chief of the Concubines of a deity was one of the highest positions occupied by a woman in any particular priesthood<sup>27</sup> and for that reason the holder of the title, during the Ramesside Period at least, was usually the wife, sister or daughter of the High Priest of that cult.<sup>28</sup> Thus the Chiefs of the Concubines of Monthu, Miay,<sup>29</sup> and Tiy,<sup>30</sup> were both wives of High Priests of Month; Aatmeret,<sup>31</sup> Chief of the Concubines of Nekhbet, was wife of Nekhbet's High Priest; Khatnesut<sup>32</sup> and Taywenesh,<sup>33</sup> Chiefs of the Concubines of Anḥur were wives of High Priests of Anḥur; Tausert,<sup>34</sup> Chief of the Concubines of Khons, was wife of Khons's High Priest and Ḥunur,<sup>35</sup> Chief of the Concubines of Ḥeryshef was wife of a High Priest of Ḥeryshef. Examples of the practice to be found among Chiefs of the Concubines of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> are too numerous to list.<sup>36</sup> Curiously, I have been able to locate only one definite holder of the office Chief of the Concubines of Osiris: Tiy of Abydos called Nefertari, wife of Wennefer I, High Priest of Osiris during the reign of Ramesses II.<sup>37</sup> Nefertari seems to have obtained her office through her marriage; her parents had no connection with the priesthood of Osiris. Thus Anhai might reasonably be expected to be the wife, sister or daughter of a High Priest of Osiris. However, neither in her papyrus nor on her shabti-box does she refer to her father; only her mother Neferiytu is mentioned and she never has a title, not even 'Lady of the House'. It seems scarcely likely, then that Anhai could have received such a high priestly office through her parents. Presumably, therefore, she was the wife, sister or possibly even the mother of a High Priest of Osiris.

Among the High Priests of Osiris at Abydos listed by Helck<sup>38</sup> is Ḥori, named on a statue of Ramesses III. Mariette's copy of the inscription<sup>39</sup> shows his titles to be 'High Priest of Osiris' (*hm-ntr tpy n Wsir*) and 'Steward of Khons', the latter the same office as that held by Nebsumenu in Theban tomb 148. There are only two possible listed

<sup>25</sup> Sheets 5 and 7 as the papyrus is now divided.

<sup>26</sup> Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, pl. 6.

<sup>27</sup> A. M. Blackman, *JEA* 7 (1921), 9-10.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 15.

<sup>29</sup> N. de G. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (London, 1948), pl. 36.

<sup>30</sup> A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 36 (1936), 130.

<sup>31</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *ZAS* 48 (1910), 50.

<sup>32</sup> Also called Buia: H. de Meulenaere, *CdÉ* 41 (1966), 229.

<sup>33</sup> Bierbrier, *op. cit.* 8.

<sup>34</sup> *Top. Bibl.* 1, part 1, 42, tomb 25.

<sup>35</sup> de Meulenaere, *op. cit.* 226.

<sup>36</sup> W. Wreszinski, *Die Hohenpriester des Amon* (Berlin, 1904), *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> G. Legrain, *Rec. Trav.* 31 (1909), 209, no. 4.

<sup>38</sup> *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, II (Mainz, 1961), 165.

<sup>39</sup> Mariette, *op. cit.* 33, no. 354.

Stewards of Khons in Helck<sup>40</sup> (one title is damaged), and so the appearance of the title in association with a High Priest of Osiris becomes more significant. Further evidence of this office being closely connected with the priests of Abydos comes from Louvre stela E 17227.<sup>41</sup> On it are nine male members of the priesthood of Osiris headed by the High Priest of Osiris, 'High Steward of Khons' (*imy-r pr wr n Hnsw*) Hori and his son Djehutymes whose titles are damaged but were quite probably the same as those of his father: in fact only *imy-r pr . . . . .* and *. . . . . n Wsir* remain. The fact that this Hori's title is *imy-r pr wr* as opposed to the Abydos Hori's *imy-r pr* has no real significance: Nebsumenu of tomb 183 was 'High Steward of Thebes' (*imy-r pr wr n Wst*) and 'High Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Southern City' (*imy-r pr wr n nb tswy n Nwt rsyt*), but is most frequently titled in his tomb merely *imy-r pr*. Vandier dates the Louvre stela to the Ramesside Period, or to just after the close of the Twentieth Dynasty, but with most probability the two Horis are identical and so a Twentieth-Dynasty date, from some time in the reign of Ramesses III to shortly after, is to be preferred. He further points out<sup>42</sup> that the Louvre (and Abydos) Hori does not seem to be the same man as the High Priest of Osiris called Hori who was a member of Wennefer's family. However, for the purpose of this study, this is of no real importance: all the High Priests of Osiris called Hori are Twentieth Dynasty in date. It seems possible, therefore, to conclude that the rarely attested office of (High) Steward of Khons was held by a man called Nebsumenu (who was also a Stablemaster of the Residence) and by two (or possibly even three) High Priests of Osiris, all dated to the Twentieth Dynasty.

The name Djehutymes which is borne by Hori's son and which later I shall endeavour to show is a family name closely connected with that of Nebsumenu, provides a further link with Anhai through her other title *wrt hnrnt Nbtw Hnmw*, i.e. 'Chief of the Concubines of Nebtu and Khnum' which she is termed on sheet 7.<sup>43</sup> The only seat of worship of Khnum with Nebtu as his consort was Esna.<sup>44</sup> However, although both deities are frequently depicted on the walls of the Ptolemaic and Roman temple there,<sup>45</sup> Nebtu cannot be traced at Esna earlier than the Nineteenth Dynasty (see below) and the earliest mention of the temple of Khnum and Nebtu at Esna is in the title of a 'Scribe of the Offering-table (?) in the temple of Khnum and Nebtu' (*sš wdhw m pr Hnmw Nbtw*) called Meryrē<sup>c</sup> which is recorded in the tomb of Setau, a High Priest of Nekhbet, at Elkab.<sup>46</sup> The latter held office from the reign of Ramesses III until that of Ramesses IX. The only other reference to the temple is in the scribe Djehutymes' report on the collection of taxes in southern Egypt recorded in a Turin papyrus;<sup>47</sup> the date is year 12 of Ramesses IX.

<sup>40</sup> Op. cit. I, 61-2.

<sup>41</sup> J. Vandier, *RdÉ* 13 (1961), 65-9.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 69 n. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Budge, op. cit., pl. 8.

<sup>44</sup> Bonnet, *RARG* 506.

<sup>45</sup> *Top. Bibl.* VI, 113-18.

<sup>46</sup> W. Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 24 (1902), 185-6.

<sup>47</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 30-1.



Unfortunately no information about the local priesthood was obtained from the Ramesside cemetery at Esna which had already been severely plundered when J. Garstang carried out excavations there in the season 1905–6; moreover, his findings were never fully published at the time. The only piece of information to have come from the Esna excavations with the slightest bearing on this study is provided by the limestone sarcophagus made for a man called Huy<sup>48</sup> who was ‘Overseer of the Fields of the temple of Khons’ (*imy-r šhwt n pr Hnsw*) and ‘Director of the Water of the temple of Khons’ (*ꜥꜣ n mꜣw n pr Hnsw*). Since Khons has no epithet the temple in question is presumably the one at Karnak; there is certainly no evidence for a temple of Khons at Esna. It is also arguable whether there was any land situated as far away as Esna which might be subject to the temple of Khons at Thebes.<sup>49</sup> The second title is obscure: I have been able to find only two certain comparable examples. One was held by another Huy, apparently a native of Rifeh, who was ‘Director of the Water of the funerary temple of Ramesses II in the estate of Amūn’ (*ꜥꜣ n mꜣw nt hwt Wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ m pr ’Imn*).<sup>50</sup> The other was held by Maḥuḥy, owner of a wooden shabti in Cairo, no. 47241, who was ‘Director of the Water of the temple of Osiris’ (*ꜥꜣ n mꜣw n pr Wsir*).<sup>51</sup> What is almost certainly a third example is to be found on a model palette, BM 12778, belonging to a man called Amenmes whom Kitchen<sup>52</sup> calls ‘Chief Scribe of the Water in the funerary temple of Seti I in the estate of Amūn’ (*šꜥ ꜥꜣ n mꜣw nt hwt Mn-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ m pr ’Imn*). However, it seems far more likely that Amenmes was ‘Scribe’ and ‘Director of the Water’ in Seti’s temple. Kees<sup>53</sup> was of the opinion that the Rifeh Huy was concerned with the irrigation works and water supply of the Ramesseum; presumably, then, the Esna Huy was attached to the main temple of Khons at Karnak for an identical purpose. Thus a first tenuous link is provided between Esna, Abydos, and Anhai by the Nebsumenu of tomb 148, the Abydos Hori and the Louvre stela’s High Priests of Osiris, all of whom held offices in the administration of the temple of Khons at Thebes, as did a contemporary native of Esna, at a time when surprisingly few officials of that cult-place are recorded.

This connection with Esna is strengthened and confirmed by evidence furnished by a statue group in Cairo, no. 549,<sup>54</sup> belonging to a high official called Djehutymes which names his parents as the ‘Mayor of Esna’ (*hꜣty-ꜥꜣ ’Iwnyt*) Amenmes and the ‘Lady of the House’, ‘Singer of Nebtu’ Henutwedjebu. Djehutymes’ own wife Isis is only styled ‘Lady of the House’ and ‘Singer of Amūn’ both on the statue group and in his tomb, no. 32 at Thebes.<sup>55</sup> However, in Theban tomb 183, belonging to the earlier noted Nebsumenu son of Paser, are depicted a man and wife who must be related in some way to the family of the tomb-owner; unfortunately, the exact relationship is not

<sup>48</sup> D. Downes, *The Excavations at Esna* (Aris and Phillips, 1974), 11–12.

<sup>49</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II (Oxford, 1948), 37.

<sup>50</sup> A. B. Kamal, *ASAE* 14 (1914), p. 69.

<sup>51</sup> P. E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi* (Cairo, 1930), 113.

<sup>52</sup> K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, I (Oxford, 1975), 332.

<sup>53</sup> *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (Leiden, 1953), 147.

<sup>54</sup> L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, II (Berlin, 1925), 94.

<sup>55</sup> A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 38.

apparent. They are named as Djehutymes, a Mayor of some unspecified town, and his wife Isis, 'Lady of the House' and 'Singer of Nebtu'. The date of the Cairo statue group is in some dispute: Vandier<sup>56</sup> followed by Valloggia<sup>57</sup> dates it to the early or middle Nineteenth Dynasty, whereas Kees<sup>58</sup> considers it to be Twentieth Dynasty in date. The latter date is recorded by Helck<sup>59</sup> but he clearly favours Vandier's dating.<sup>60</sup> Daressy's<sup>61</sup> original Eighteenth Dynasty date, reiterated by Gardiner,<sup>62</sup> is no longer tenable. Nebsumenu, son of Paser, and his brother Hunefer are firmly dated to the reigns of Ramesses II and Merenptah.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, the Djehutymes and Isis in tomb 183 are termed *mꜣr-hrw* and were, therefore, presumably already dead when the tomb was decorated although this is not an invariable rule. If, then, the Djehutymes and Isis in tomb 183 are indeed identical with the same-named people on the Cairo statue group, clearly the date of the latter cannot be Twentieth Dynasty.

The only title held by the Djehutymes in tomb 183,<sup>64</sup> apart from Mayor, is 'Overseer of the Fields in the Southern Province' (*imy-r shwt m r rsy*). Gardiner<sup>65</sup> was of the opinion that when this title was cited alone it meant that its owner belonged to the highest bureaucracy; Djehutymes, son of Amenmes, was certainly a very high official. Helck,<sup>66</sup> however, felt that the administration of state agricultural lands naturally devolved on the local mayors near whose towns they lay. He cites as an example Paḥery who was Mayor of El-Kab and Esna and also 'Overseer of the Fields of the Southern Province' during the early Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>67</sup> Since the boundaries of the Southern Province are named in Paḥery's tomb as Dendera in the north and El-Kab in the south,<sup>68</sup> the administration of its fields would quite naturally devolve on the Mayors of Esna. That the office should be kept in their hands is equally plausible. This would tend to confirm that the unspecified town of which the Djehutymes of tomb 183 was Mayor was indeed Esna. Among the many titles held by his namesake, son of Amenmes, are those of 'Overseer of the Fields of the Lord of the Two Lands' (*imy-r shwt n nb tꜣwy*) and 'Mayor of Esna'; Amenmes holds the same offices. Presumably the state lands which they controlled lay in the vicinity of Esna and constituted part, at least, of that administrative area known as the Southern Province. It is highly probable, then, to judge from the appearance of the same names together (Djehutymes and Isis), in conjunction with an extremely rare family priestly office (Singer of Nebtu) and virtually identical administrative offices (Mayor of Esna and Overseer of Royal Fields) that the two persons named Djehutymes, if not actually identical, are closely related.

<sup>56</sup> *Manuel d'arch.* III (Paris, 1958), 491, no. 10 and 522, no. 3.

<sup>57</sup> *Recherche sur les 'Messagers' (wpwtwyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes* (Paris, 1976), no. 66.

<sup>58</sup> [Kees,] *op. cit.* 124.

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.* I, 29.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* II, 157.

<sup>61</sup> *Rec. Trav.* 14 (1893), 26, no. 33.

<sup>62</sup> *JEA* 27 (1941), 31.

<sup>63</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 425-6.

<sup>64</sup> Lepsius MS. 291.

<sup>65</sup> *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 162 n. 3.

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.* III-12.

<sup>67</sup> Helck, *op. cit.* 114.

<sup>68</sup> J. J. Tyler, *The Tomb of Paḥery at el-Kab*, in E. Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh* (London, 1894), pl. 3.

That the wives of Mayors of Esna should be among female servants of the local god and his consort is hardly surprising since the Mayors of certain towns, including Esna, assumed the office of 'Overseer' of their local priesthoods (*imy-r hmw-ntr*) from the early Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.<sup>69</sup> But Anhai held the office of Chief of the Concubines of Nebtu and Khnum and this has been shown to imply that her husband was more than a mere Overseer of Priests. However, the only mention of a male servant of Nebtu and Khnum occurs in an inscription on a statue from Medinet Habu representing a prostrate foreign prisoner which up to the present seems to have been misread. Keimer<sup>70</sup> read the inscription as naming a 'Mayor of Esna', 'Overseer of the Priests of *Gstwt* and Khnum', Khnum(em)ḥat, believing the writing of *gstwt* to be connected in some way with a personal name given by Ranke.<sup>71</sup> It seems clear, however, that what we have in this instance is Nebtu and that as Mayor of Esna Khnum(em)ḥat was also 'Overseer of the Priests of Nebtu and Khnum'.

Further interconnections, albeit tenuous, between the families of Nebsumenu son of Paser, the Nebsumenu of tomb 148 and the Cairo Djehutymes are provided by Paser's third son Paḥerypedjet. In tomb 183<sup>72</sup> he holds only the office of 'Stablemaster of the Lord of the Two Lands' (*hry ihw n nb tꜣwy*); Djehutymes was 'Chief Stablemaster of His Majesty' (*hry ihw tpy n hm.f*); Anhai's Nebsumenu and his namesake of tomb 148 were both 'Stablemasters of the Residence'. Schulmann<sup>73</sup> is of the opinion that the qualifications 'of the Lord of the Two Lands' and 'of His Majesty' had no actual significance but were added to a rank as self-eulogy. Thus all four men were probably equal-ranking Stablemasters and it is possibly not without significance, in view of the non-military nature of their other offices, that Schulmann<sup>74</sup> concludes that the Stablemaster did not in fact have an active military role, but was essentially concerned with administrative duties. Another Paḥerypedjet, who was a 'Royal Scribe' (as were Nebsumenu, Hunefer and Djehutymes) and an 'Overseer of the Granary' (*imy-r šnwꜣt*), is depicted on a funerary stela of Ramesside date in Zagreb.<sup>75</sup> He is presumably also the owner of a wooden shabti bearing the same name and the title 'Overseer of Granaries' (*imy-r šnwꜣty*) which is in the same museum.<sup>76</sup> On the stela he is accompanied by his wife 'Inishꜣy, i.e. Anhai; another woman of the same name, but deceased, appears in the stela's lower register. If this man is Nebsumenu's brother as Madame Saleh<sup>77</sup> appears to suggest, then here we have two more women of the name Anhai in Nebsumenu's family, probably in addition to Hunefer's wife. The identification of this Paḥerypedjet with Nebsumenu's brother becomes slightly more convincing in view of his office (if the shabti is indeed his) of 'Overseer of Granaries': Djehutymes was 'Overseer of the Granaries of Amūn' (*imy-r šnwꜣty n Imn*)

<sup>69</sup> Helck, op. cit. 220.

<sup>70</sup> *ASAE* 49 (1949), 37-9.

<sup>71</sup> *PN* 1, 69, no. 5.

<sup>72</sup> Lepsius MS. 291.

<sup>73</sup> Op. cit. 36, section 79.


<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* 51-3.

<sup>75</sup> Saleh, op. cit. 34-5, no. 17.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 134, no. 605.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* 35.

while Hunefer was 'Overseer of the Granaries for the Divine Offerings of Amūn' (*imy-r šnwty n ḥtpw-ntr n Imn*). Paḥerypedjet's title, unfortunately, gives no indication whether the office concerns state or temple granaries; in comparable examples of the Ramesside Period more often than not the state granaries are intended, but as this is by no means an invariable rule and the man's other offices are unknown, he may well have been connected with the granaries of Amūn, as were the other members of his putative family.

It seems highly likely that a proper examination of the texts in tombs 183 and 385 would provide additional corroborative (or certain contradictory) evidence for the proposed family relationships. In the latter tomb, that of Hunefer, there occur in a damaged section of text just before one of Hunefer's titles the hieroglyphs . <sup>78</sup> Whether this is a name or epithet is unclear, yet it can surely only be a coincidence that a contemporary of Hunefer's called Kha'emopet, whose father Amenwahsu is specifically stated to be 'from Thebes', held an office and epithet which I have found attested thus far only in tomb 183: both he and Nebsumenu were 'Pure of hand when he worships the two horizons' (*wcb rwy dw:f ʒhty*) and 'Divine Father of Rēc-Atum in the House of Life' (*it-ntr n R'-Itm m pr rnh*).<sup>79</sup> Both also held in common the title 'Chamberlain' (*hry-tp nsw*). Gardiner<sup>80</sup> assumed that Kha'emopet at some time must have moved to Heliopolis since his office was held in the House of Life of Rēc-Atum. If the reading of Rēc-Atum in tomb 183 is indeed correct then Nebsumenu probably also held office at one time in the north of Egypt. This supposition is confirmed by his epithet 'of Thebes' in his own tomb and in that of Panehesy (no. 16 at Thebes)<sup>81</sup> and by his office of 'Steward in the Estate of User-ma'at-Rēc Setepen-Rēc' (*imy-r pr m pr Wsr-mʒt-R' Stp-n-R'*) which Helck<sup>82</sup> has shown to have been centred on Memphis. Gardiner<sup>83</sup> concluded that among the duties of the staff of the House of Life was the conduct of festivals, so it is not surprising that Nebsumenu was also a 'Festival Leader of all (the Gods) of the Theban nome' (*sšm ḥb n[ntrw] nbw Wʒst*).<sup>84</sup> Kha'emopet's father Amenwahsu, a 'Scribe of the House of Life', was a 'Festival Leader of all the Gods at their seasonal feasts' and since his other offices included that of 'Scribe of the Sacred Books in the temple of Amūn' it might be safe to assume that he, like Nebsumenu, was concerned with all the Gods of the Theban nome.<sup>85</sup>

A much stronger basis for possible inter-relationships is suggested by the name of Nebsumenu's father, Paser, and his one recorded office of 'Mayor of Thebes'.<sup>86</sup> Nothing is known of his antecedents unless he is to be identified with the Paser,

<sup>78</sup> A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 36 (1936), 127.

<sup>79</sup> Lepsius MS. 290; W. Spiegelberg and B. Pörtner, *Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen*, I (Strassburg, 1902), no. 32.

<sup>80</sup> *JEA* 24 (1938), 161, 10a.

<sup>81</sup> *Top. Bibl.* I, part 1, 28, section 5, II.

<sup>82</sup> *Materialien*, II, 210.

<sup>83</sup> *Op. cit.* 176.

<sup>84</sup> Lepsius MS. 289.

<sup>85</sup> Gardiner, *op. cit.* 161, 9.

<sup>86</sup> Lepsius MS. 289.

nephew of the 'Overseer of the Granaries of Amūn' Amenemopet, who was a 'Festival Leader of Osiris' (*sšm ḥb n Wsir*). This would not only take back to an even earlier generation the family's connection with Abydos but would introduce into the repertoire of family names that of Paneḥesy which was borne additionally by Amenemopet.<sup>87</sup> A Paneḥesy who was a 'Divine Father of Osiris' (*it-ntr n Wsir*) appears with Hori and Djehutymes on the Louvre stela.<sup>88</sup> Helck recognized three 'Mayors of Thebes' (*ḥsty-ꜣ m Nwyt rsyṯ*) called Paser: Nebsumenu's father under Ramesses II,<sup>89</sup> a second under Ramesses III<sup>90</sup> and a third who was involved in the tomb robbery scandals under Ramesses IX.<sup>91</sup> The second Paser, in reliefs from his mortuary chapel at Medinet Habu, is termed 'Steward of the mortuary temple of Amenophis I' (*imy-r pr m ḥwt Dsr-kꜣ-Rꜣ*), 'Overseer of the Treasury of Amūn' (*imy-r pr-ḥd n Imn*), 'Festival Leader of Amūn' (*sšm ḥb n Imn*) and 'Mayor of Thebes'.<sup>92</sup> Nebsumenu was 'Overseer of the Treasury of Amūn' and 'Festival Leader of Amūn'; his brother Hunefer was 'Steward of the mortuary temple of Amenophis I' and 'Mayor of Thebes'. Still within the same family the Cairo Djehutymes, if he is to be identified with the owner of a funerary cone,<sup>93</sup> as Helck seems to suggest,<sup>94</sup> was 'Overseer of the Treasury of Amūn' and 'Festival Leader of Amūn'. The Medinet Habu Paser was also a 'Divine Father of Amūn' (*it-ntr n Imn*); a Paser with this title appears in the tomb of Paneḥesy, no. 16 at Thebes,<sup>95</sup> in a procession led by Nebsumenu. The Paser of tomb 16 could be Nebsumenu's father but could he not equally be the Medinet Habu Paser and, more important, could the latter be a son of Nebsumenu or Hunefer who inherited his father's and uncle's titles? It may not be purely coincidental that a son of the Medinet Habu Paser, whose name is unfortunately damaged but began ,<sup>96</sup> was a 'Stablemaster of the Residence'. Could he have been another Paḥerypedjet named after his great-uncle? A second son of Paser, again with damaged name, could have been a Djehutymes; only Djehuty remains.<sup>97</sup> Bierbrier<sup>98</sup> suggests most convincingly that the Medinet Habu Paser, whom he terms Paser I, was a brother of the Mayor of Thebes Amenmes. This would introduce the family name already known from the father of the Cairo Djehutymes. The father of Paser I is unknown; his mother was an unnamed daughter of the High Priest of Amūn Bakenkhons I.<sup>99</sup> Could she have been Hunefer's Anhai or Nebsumenu's Baket-Mut? What is the family tie with the Nebsumenu of tomb 148? The latter is already connected with Paser I by marriage; could he also have been connected by blood?

<sup>87</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 501, no. 12.

<sup>88</sup> Vandier, *RdÉ* 13 (1961), 68

<sup>89</sup> Helck, *op. cit.* 425-6.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* 428.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* 550.

<sup>92</sup> S. Schott, *Wall Scenes of Paser at Medinet Habu* (Chicago, 1957), pls. 1 and 2.

<sup>93</sup> M. F. L. Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones* (Oxford, 1957), no. 28.

<sup>94</sup> Helck, *Materialien*, vi, 105.

<sup>95</sup> *Top. Bibl.* 1, part 1, 28, section 5, II.

<sup>96</sup> Schott, *op. cit.*, pl. 1.

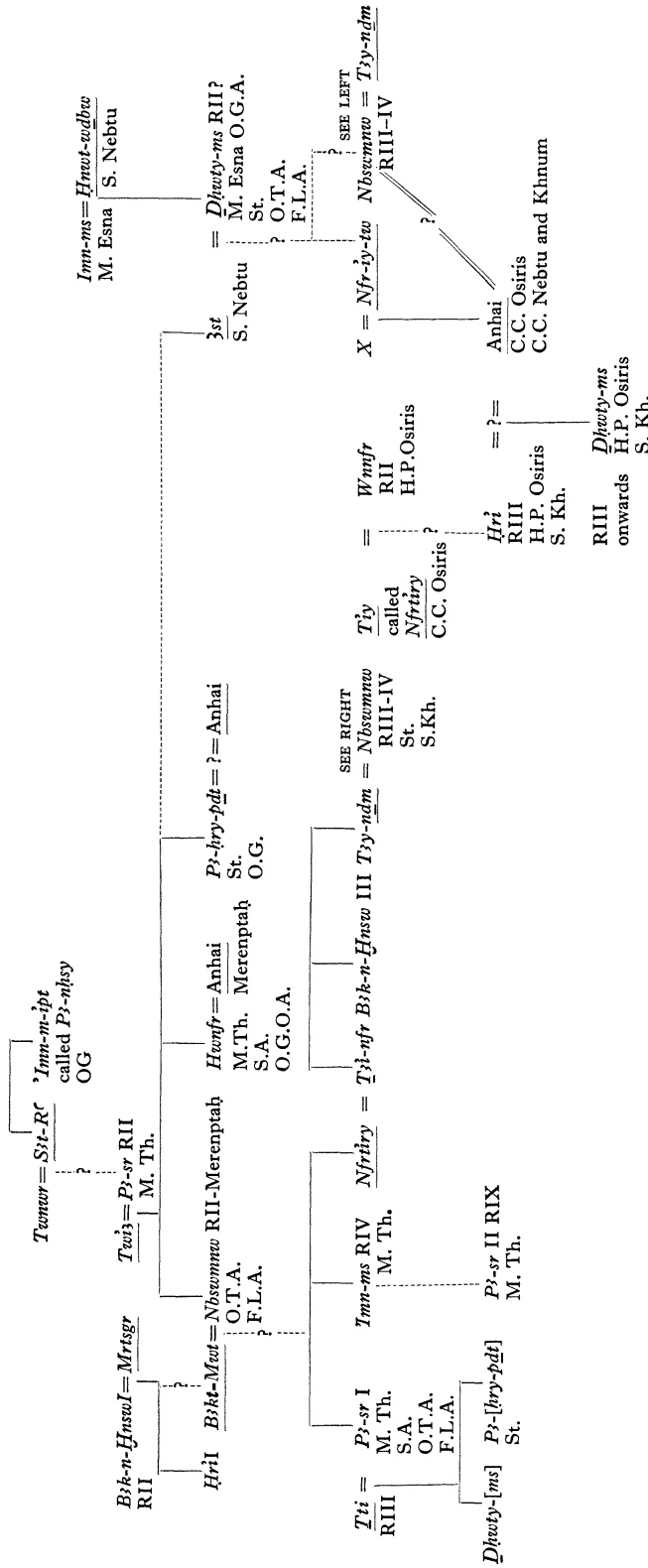
<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt*, 5.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* 3 and Chart I.

It is clear, of course, that until new evidence comes to light such relationships must remain, for the most part, largely speculative. What is certain, however, is that the Anhai for whom the *édition de luxe* Book of the Dead BM 10472 was made, far from being the shadowy figure that Budge sketched, was a high-ranking priestess in the cults of Osiris and Nebtu with Khnum, who was closely connected by birth or marriage to the family and descendants of Nebsumenu son of Paser and that it was probably through this connection and its ties with two men called Djehutymes that she held her offices at Abydos and Esna.

Proposed family tree of Anhai



Women's names are underlined  
 C.C. Nebtu and Khnum Chief of the Concubines of Nebtu and Khnum  
 C.C. Osiris Chief of the Concubines of Osiris  
 F.L.A. Festival Leader of Amun  
 H.P. Osiris High Priest of Osiris  
 M. Esna Mayor of Esna  
 M. Th. Mayor of Thebes  
 O.G. Overseer of Granaries

SOME EGYPTIAN BEAD-WORK FACES IN THE  
WELLCOME COLLECTION AT  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SWANSEA

By KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS

IN 1971 thirteen bead-work faces of mainly green colouring came to Swansea as part of the Wellcome Collection of Egyptian Antiquities. They once belonged to the collection of Robert de Rustafjaell, M.R.G.S., which was acquired between 1894 and 1906 and was auctioned by Sotheby on December 19, 1906. The thirteen bead-faces formed no. 341 of the auction catalogue and one of them is pictured on plate 19, no. 52 of the catalogue. With the exception of one they are in a nearly perfect state of preservation. Their present accession numbers are W 773–W 785. The aim of this article is to assess their place in the history of Egyptian art.

All thirteen faces are similar enough in size, workmanship, and style to have come from one place. However, not one of them is exactly like another and they differ in colouring and expression. For our purpose it will suffice to discuss only three of them in detail (pl. XV, 1–3). These have the accession numbers W 774, W 780, and W 782 respectively.

**Description**

The faces are roughly triangular in shape. They are composed of disc-beads and are surrounded by a frame of tubular beads with disc-beads at the points of friction. They are threaded with blue thread in such a way that front and back look alike<sup>1</sup> and they were not meant to be sewn on any piece of material. Their measurements are:

	<i>Height</i>	<i>Breadth</i>
W 774	13·2 cm	12·2 cm
W 780	14 cm	15 cm
W 782	13·2 cm	12·2 cm

The position of the ears is indicated only by a slight recession. Under the mouth they have an extension which looks in two of them (W 780 and W 782) like a beard, but in the third (W 774) like a long chin. One suspects that an attempt was here made to differentiate between male and female faces.

The material is Egyptian faience with exception of the white beads, which are made of shell. Their general colour is green. Eyebrows, eyes, nose, mouth, teeth, and beard are indicated by contrasting colouring in black, white, and rust-red with the addition

<sup>1</sup> For this 'matting technique' see K. Bosse-Griffiths, 'The use of disc-beads in Egyptian bead-compositions' in *JEA* 61 (1975), 114 ff.



of some blue beads. There are bands of blue beads under the eyes of W 780, as if to indicate the deep shadows under the eyes of an elderly, rather fierce-looking man. The eyes have almost geometrical shapes and are rectangular (W 780), diamond-shaped (W 782), and rhombic (W 774). At the first impression the faces seem to possess a rather un-Egyptian lack of naturalism. It can be shown, however, that all their characteristics can be related to good Egyptian precedents.

### The use of bead-faces in Egyptian art

Bead-work faces are rarely mentioned in literature but they are occasionally exhibited in museums. I was able to see such faces in the City Museum of Birmingham; the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; and the *Museum für Völkerkunde*, Freiburg i. Br. Others I saw stored away in the British Museum, London; the Merseyside Museum, Liverpool; and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.<sup>2</sup>

An exhibit in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, called 'Funerary Beadwork'<sup>3</sup> shows a bead-work face in its proper setting, as an integral part of a bead-netting shroud. A bearded face made of disc-beads is shown there, inside a netting of tubular beads. It stands on top of a broad collar made of disc-beads with falcon-head terminals. Underneath the collar is a winged scarab, and under the scarab are bead-figures of the four sons of Horus. The face has a light yellow colour; the nose is rust-red. All the bead-figures are made of disc-beads of Egyptian faience. This exhibit certainly shows successfully that bead-work faces were conceived as part of a bigger composition.

I am less sure that the restoration work is correct in all its details. The scarab, surely, should have pushed a sun-disc and the netting should have surrounded the top of the head as well as the sides. A very similar bead-shroud with the same mistakes is shown in the 1920-Guide of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.<sup>4</sup>

This element of doubt in even such an excellent work of restoration made it clear that certainty can only be gained from a picture which shows a bead-shroud immediately after its discovery and before it is disturbed even by such well-meaning attempts of preservation as those described by Petrie,<sup>5</sup> who poured melted wax over the bead-work and when the wax was set, 'lifted up the sheet of wax with the bead-work sticking to it, flattened it out on a board and then fixed it permanently in a tray with the lower

<sup>2</sup> I have to thank Mr. John Ruffle, Birmingham, Miss Janine Bourirau, Cambridge, Dr. Dorothy Downes, Liverpool, and Mrs. Joan Crowfoot Payne, Oxford, for taking much trouble in order to provide photographs and colour-slides of bead-work faces in their care.

<sup>3</sup> Accession number E.B. 101. The beads were provided by Sir Flinders Petrie. The restoration work was done under the supervision of C. T. Currelly. The date named is 'ca 8th-6th centuries B.C.'

<sup>4</sup> *Guide to the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* (Edinburgh, 1920), pl. 7. The date given here is "The Ptolemaic Period". Thanks are due to Dr. Erika Feucht, Heidelberg, for telling me about this publication of a picture which I had known up to then only by a photograph given to me some years ago by Mr. Cyril Aldred. There is no description here of the shroud, but in the 1910 *Guide to the Egyptian Antiquities in the National Museum, Edinburgh*, M. A. Murray records under no. 404 (p. 24) a 'network of glazed beads from a mummy with the original threading'. This must be the same shroud although she mentions neither bead-face nor bead-collar. Miss Murray was right in saying that the winged scarab lay on the breast and the 'Genii of the dead' (the sons of Horus) on the abdomen. But she was wrong in claiming that the network of beads was laid on the outside of the coffin.

<sup>5</sup> *Ten Years Digging in Egypt* (1881-1891) (London, 1892), 125.

side turned outward.' By a stroke of luck I was able to find such a picture on a recent visit to Heidelberg (pl. XVI, 1). It was taken during an excavation at El-Hibeh in 1913-14 under the guidance of H. Ranke. With some effort the shrouded mummy in the open coffin can be recognized in Ranke's<sup>6</sup> excavation report. But fortunately much better prints were made from the original negatives which are still kept in Heidelberg. The following notes in the excavation diary, for March 1914, give details about the discovery:

Das Grab in IV wird fertig ausgeräumt . . . Nachdem wir drei Steinsarkophage ausgeräumt hatten, sehen wir zur linken in einer Felsenkammer noch einen gut erhaltenen 4-eckigen Holz-sarg stehen, neben dem zwei Kästchen mit Uschebtis . . . und 1 grosse (61 cm) Osirisstatuette aus Holz in recht guter Erhaltung lagen. In dem 1. Holz-sarkophag scheint ein zweiter zu liegen. Der allein-stehende Holz-sarkophag wird vorsichtig herausgenommen.

24.3.1914 Nr 1705. Lage IV Grab. Mat. Holz. Grösse 192 × 60.5 cm. Beschreibung: 4-eckiger Holz-sarkophag, innen ein 2. in Mumienform, darin die gut erhaltene Leiche mit schönem Perlennetz über d. ganzen Körper. In 2 Teilen mitgenommen. Verbleib: Freiburg.

Unfortunately, however, I was unable to trace the coffin itself and its contents. On my inquiry in Freiburg, I received the following reply from Dr. Erhart Graefe about Egyptian objects which are now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Freiburg:

Die Aegyptiaca waren im Krieg in einer Brauerei ausgelagert und haben dort Schaden genommen. Es könnte theoretisch möglich sein, daß Stücke auch ohne Inventarisierung geblieben waren und dann während des Krieges verschwunden sind.

However, the photographs taken during the excavation in 1914 are clear enough to provide reliable information concerning form, composition and use of the bead shroud, especially if we compare them with the shroud which is exhibited in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. We see here that the bead-face is an integral part of a bead-netting shroud which reaches from the top of the head down to the ankles of the wrapped mummy. It is shaped to conform with the frontal view of the body and is tied to the body (which it greatly hides) by cords. It should be noted that the shroud is not meant to lie flat, but is adapted to the curves of the body. In consequence the removal of any shroud and its 'flattening out' is bound to meet with some difficulties. The bead-figures in the shroud seem to follow a traditional pattern: the bead-work face lies over the face of the dead and its beard stands directly in the centre of a bead-work collar with falcon-head terminals. This collar reaches up to the middle of the ears. In this special case the pattern of the collar is formed by a double row of hanging lotus flowers. Underneath the collar and over the heart of the mummy (compare note 4) is a winged scarab which holds up a sun-disc. Then follow two kneeling figures of winged goddesses and underneath them in one row the four sons of Horus. Finally, the figure of a jackal crouches over a vertical bead-band with a hieroglyphic inscription.

<sup>6</sup> *Koptische Friedhöfe bei Karâra und der Amontempel Scheschonks I bei el Hibe* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926), Taf. 11, 6. The closed mummiform coffin and the outer box-like coffin are shown on Taf. 10, 4 without mentioning their relation to the picture on Taf. 11, 6. I am most grateful to Dr. Erika Feucht for providing prints from the original negatives of the closed and opened coffin and also of an unpublished close-up of the bead-face over the bead-collar. She also sent me the quotations from the Excavation Diary.

Generally speaking one could say that the upper part of the bead-work has associations with Horus, while the lower part is connected with Osiris.

I know of at least one similar shroud the picture of which was taken shortly after its discovery and while the mummy was still lying in an opened coffin. This shroud was found by Ahmed Musa under the causeway of King Unas during Emery's excavations at Saqqâra. In the *Arab Observer* of January 10, 1966, its picture is shown on p. 41 and it is described as follows:

A wooden coffin containing a mummy covered from head to toe with coloured beads of unique beauty and in a perfect state of preservation. . .

Although the picture is not very clear, certain features are recognizable: a bead-netting which reaches from the top of the head to the ankles; a light-coloured bead-face with dark nose and a beard which stands on a broad collar with falcon-head terminals. The broad collar has a zig-zag pattern (not flowers). Underneath it we find a winged scarab pushing a sun-disc, a winged kneeling goddess, the four son of Horus and a band with inscription, all made of disc-beads. Here again, I was unable to see the object itself. When I visited Saqqâra in 1976, Ahmed Musa informed me that, for the time being and until proper storage can be provided, the mummy has been returned to its tomb, which is now closed. He said that he intended to publish his find. Another bead-work shroud of a similar kind was found in a coffin of the Late Period by J. E. Quibell near the Teti Pyramid.<sup>7</sup>

#### Significance of the face

Various possibilities arise when we seek to interpret the meaning of the bead-face itself. It could be intended to replace the portrait of the deceased or else, like the rest of the bead-shroud, it could possess amuletic significance. The position of the wigless face directly on top of the broad collar is certainly surprising. A bead-shroud with gold mask and gold-leaf amulets<sup>8</sup> which was also found at Saqqâra allows some distance between the end of the beard and the top of the broad collar while the shoulders seem to be indicated by the shape of the bead-shroud itself. On the other hand, the bead-work faces from El-Hibeh and Saqqâra look more like the hieroglyphic sign for 'face' and could possibly be an abstract expression with the meaning that here is the face of the dead (not the portrait). Karol Myśliwiec<sup>9</sup> goes further than that. In an article on the hieroglyphic signs *hr* and *tp* he claims that the yellow-coloured bead-face represents the god Horus as sun-god. He shows four bead-faces in the Cairo Museum, two of which hail from Meïr, and gives an exact description of the colouring of the faces (p. 97 no. 41) which is of some importance for the interpretation of their meaning:

<sup>7</sup> J. E. Quibell and A. G. K. Hayter, *Excavations at Saqqara* (Cairo, 1927). pl. 6, 4. The collar has here a zigzag pattern.

<sup>8</sup> Émile Vernier, *Bijoux et Orfèveries* (Cairo, 1927), CCG 53 668, vol. i, 478-80; vol. ii, pl. 103. The inscription names an admiral (*chef de navires*) of the 26th Dynasty.

<sup>9</sup> 'A propos des signes hiéroglyphiques "*hr*" et "*tp*"', in *ZAS* 98 (1973), 85 ff.

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. Une face (b) possède les yeux et le milieu de la bouche verte. La barbe se compose de bandes horizontales de couleur bleue et rouge alternant.

He claims (p. 96) that the sign *hr*, being the phonetic equivalent of the name of Horus, could be a symbol of the god. The yellow colour of the face would then stand for the luminous nature of the god. Even more convincing is a picture from the tomb of Ramesses VI (fig. 15) which shows the Sun-god in the form of the *hr*-face standing in the middle of his barque.<sup>10</sup> Because of the red colour of the face Myśliwiec does not accept this picture as relevant, although there is a striking resemblance between it and the bead-face standing with its beard on top of the broad collar. Myśliwiec maintains that the religious significance of the *hr*-sign justifies the dominating position of the bead-work face in the shroud: the face of Horus, the son of Osiris, on top of the mummy could signify the regeneration of the dead Osiris (p. 97).

#### The colour of the face

But the colour of the face is not always yellow. Similarly shaped faces are occasionally green, rust-red, and even blue. The bead-work face in the Merseyside Museum, Liverpool,<sup>11</sup> which is still tied to a severed head, is of green colour with a red nose. So is a bead-work face of unknown provenance in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.<sup>12</sup> In the inventory this face is called a 'Hathor-head'. This opinion has certainly to be considered as the triangular face of Hathor belongs to the few exceptions to the rule that Egyptian art showed two-dimensional faces always in profile. This face can be derived from a cult-symbol at Dendera which had a double-faced head fixed on a round pillar.<sup>13</sup> This original form was perpetuated in the Hathor-head sistrum with its long handle taking the place of the original round pillar under the double-faced head. The alternating bands of the beard of the bead-faces, however, bear no relation to the long round pillar. One would also expect at least one of the other characteristics of the Hathor-head to be present: the wig with curled ends, the cow's ears, or the horns. I can therefore not accept the interpretation of the green face as Hathor-head. If the yellow face is assigned to Horus, one is tempted to relate the green colour to the colour of Osiris.

At least one face of known provenance is of a shining blue colour, having also a

<sup>10</sup> Taken from A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramses VI* (New York 1954), i, 258 fig. 54; ii, pl. 58. Near the large human face in the barque is written: 'face of the Disk'. This picture belongs to the tenth division of the *Book of Gates*. In the text we read about 'The Great Face', the 'Mysterious Head', the 'two eyes of the One of the Horizon'. In fact the Great God is led to the Eastern Horizon.

<sup>11</sup> P. H. K. Gray and Dorothy Slow, *Egyptian Mummies in the City of Liverpool Museum* (Liverpool, 1966), no. 19; p. 66, fig. 98 and 99. The description of the colours in this publication is incorrect. It reads: 'The mask is composed of faience disk beads of red, black, yellow and white.' But the colour-photograph sent to me from Liverpool shows a green face with a red nose and additional use of black, white, and blue beads.

<sup>12</sup> Accession no. 1968.520. This face shows the same colouring as the face in Liverpool from which it differs only slightly in the shape and colour of the pupils of the eyes.

<sup>13</sup> Hans Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 278.

red nose and a beard which is striped red and white.<sup>14</sup> Blue could be the colour of Amūn or of Ptah. This face, too, was found at El-Hibeh during an Italian excavation in 1934. It was discovered in the innermost of two mummiform coffins.<sup>15</sup> From the shape of the coffin it seems that the owner was a woman. Other faces found at El-Hibeh are of yellow colour.<sup>16</sup> While yellow, green, and blue have some relation to the colours preferred by certain gods, it is more difficult to explain the rust-red colour of other faces, like a bead-work face in the City Museum of Birmingham.<sup>17</sup> This face was once part of the Wellcome Collection, but otherwise its provenance is unknown. It has a rust-red face with a yellow nose and a beard which is striped blue and black. Possibly it is of a later date and disregards the symbolic colouring of earlier examples and shows instead the colour of an ordinary human face. Or could it be that this is the rust-red colour of the face of the Sun in the underworld which is shown travelling in a boat in the tomb of Ramesses VI?<sup>18</sup>

### Dating

The dating of bead-shrouds and bead-faces, if attempted at all, is mostly done in a summary fashion like 'epoca saítica Persana'<sup>19</sup> or 'selon G. Maspero . . . les réseaux provenant de Meir pourraient remonter à la XXVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie'<sup>20</sup> or 'breast covering in beadwork of the Ptolemaic Period'.<sup>21</sup> But by general consent they belong to the Late Period. Perhaps it would be helpful to fix a few points of departure. According to E. Hornung<sup>22</sup> it was in the Twenty-first Dynasty that coffin-painting reached a high point of development and took over motifs which had previously been seen on the walls of tombs of officials at Thebes. It was at this time that the burial customs changed generally. A temple of Amūn founded in El-Hibeh by Sheshonq I in the Twenty-second Dynasty could be a *terminus post quem* for the bead-work faces from El-Hibeh. The placing of bead shrouds on the mummies could have been part of the general change of burial customs about 1000 B.C. Techniques which were known from royal burials could now find a wider application. A bead-work collar made of disc-beads was already placed on the breast of the mummy of Tutankhamūn in the Eighteenth Dynasty. But it was not yet part of a bead shroud.<sup>23</sup>

Another form of dating could be achieved by comparative studies of style. The Egyptians were accustomed to create one and the same picture in different materials. When bead-work figures were first invented they were made as similar as possible to an original made in wood, as can be seen if one compares a hassock with bead-work

<sup>14</sup> Giuseppe Botti, *Le case di mummie e i sarcofagi di el Hibeh nel Museo Egizio di Firenze*, 2 and 23 (Florence, 1958), pl. C 2 (in colour). Accession number of the face: 10 505.

<sup>15</sup> Botti, *op. cit.*, pl. 4. The accession numbers of the coffins are 10 504 and 10 504a.

<sup>16</sup> e.g. Botti, *op. cit.*, pl. A 1. Accession number 10 713.

<sup>17</sup> Accession number W 13675.

<sup>18</sup> See p. 103 n. 10 above.

<sup>19</sup> Botti, *op. cit.*, 94.

<sup>20</sup> Myśliwiec, *loc. cit.*, 97, no. 41: 'Selon G. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*, 1915, p. 356 . . .

<sup>21</sup> See p. 100 n. 4 above.

<sup>22</sup> 'Särge' in *So lebten die Alten Ägypter*, Führer durch das Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel. Sonderausstellung 1976-77, 25.

<sup>23</sup> K. Bosse-Griffiths, *loc. cit.*, pl. 21.

from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn with a ceremonial stick in the same tomb: both show the curved figures of bound enemies.<sup>24</sup> The most perfect imitation, therefore would be the earliest, while later figures became imitations of imitations. In the Wellcome Collection at Swansea we possess a bead-work figure of one of the 'Sons of Horus'<sup>25</sup> which is all but identical in colouring and shape with a faience figure of the Twenty-first Dynasty in the British Museum.<sup>26</sup> If one accepts that bead shrouds with bead-work figures of the sons of Horus must be contemporary with the use of bead-work faces, this would be another proof for dating the earliest bead-work faces to about 1000 B.C.

There are other bead-work figures, but not faces, which can be dated closely to the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. They are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and were found at Sanam in Nubia, in the only cemetery explored in the neighbourhood of Napata which contained other than royal burials.<sup>27</sup> Because of the limited duration of the Ethiopian rule they can be dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, about 700 B.C. There is part of a finely worked wing of a scarabaeus, the figure of a lying jackal and parts of a bead-work band with inscription. The dating of bead-work faces by means of the coffins in which they were found should also eventually be possible. While it seems certain that bead-work faces were in common use from the turn of the millennium until about 500 B.C., I have found no evidence to show how long this custom persisted. The great variety in quality in the bead-work faces which are exhibited in Room U 22 in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo may be due to difference either in provenance or in date.

#### The bead-work faces in Swansea

Looking at bead-work faces other than those in the Wellcome Collection, we have found that, together with other amuletic bead-work figures, they formed an integral part of bead shrouds which were put on top of the wrapped mummy inside the coffin during a period which began about 1000 B.C. and lasted at least until the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Although the broad collar, the winged scarab, the winged goddesses, and the sons of Horus followed traditional patterns, it is less certain why the triangular face was chosen rather than an ordinary human face. A deeper religious meaning seems to have been present, at least in the beginning. But it was open to misinterpretation. There exist bead-shrouds without a bead face, like the one of Horsies, priest of Horus of Edfu, which was found at Hassaia near Edfu in 1916. His coffin stands in Room 21 of the Cairo Museum.<sup>28</sup> Here a bead netting lies directly over the mummy while a cover of cartonnage with amuletic figures is laid over the netting.

A comparison of one of the Swansea bead-faces (pl. XV, 3) with the face of the

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 18.

<sup>25</sup> Accession number W 947d.

<sup>26</sup> Accession number 26 230. Four multicoloured faience figures of the four sons of Horus were shown in colour-print in the Br. Mus. Calendar of 1973 (Oct.).

<sup>27</sup> Accession number 1921-807. They come from tomb 1428. See also F. Ll. Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia' in *LAAA* 10 (1923), 169.

<sup>28</sup> Journal d'entrée 1916, 122-3.

bead-shroud from El-Hibeh (pl. XVI, 2) shows that there is a certain similarity in the set-up: similar are the triangular shape of the face, the nose in contrasting colours, the horizontal stripes of the beard, the black outline of eyes and eyebrows. The general impression, however, is completely different: Egyptian realism in the one, exotic expressionism in the other.

Fundamentally, this difference in expression can be explained by a slightly different technique in the stringing of the beads, and this holds true for all the bead-faces in Swansea in comparison with all the other bead-faces mentioned. It can best be demonstrated by a comparison of the beards: on the face from El-Hibeh the lines of the beard are completely straight, as it should be when one wants to show alternating bands of colours; but the Swansea face has dented horizontal lines, not only in the beard but also in the eye-brows and in the mouth. The reason for this appearance is that the Swansea face is threaded in lines which run from top to bottom, while the El-Hibeh face is threaded in lines which run from left to right. In consequence the El-Hibeh face has straight horizontal lines, while the Swansea face has straight vertical lines. The representation of the eyes seems to have caused the greatest problems. While the El-Hibeh face shows the irregular outlines of an ordinary wide-open eye, which could be recognized on its own, one Swansea face has a simple diamond shape of the kind which is known already from bead-belts of the Old Kingdom.<sup>29</sup>

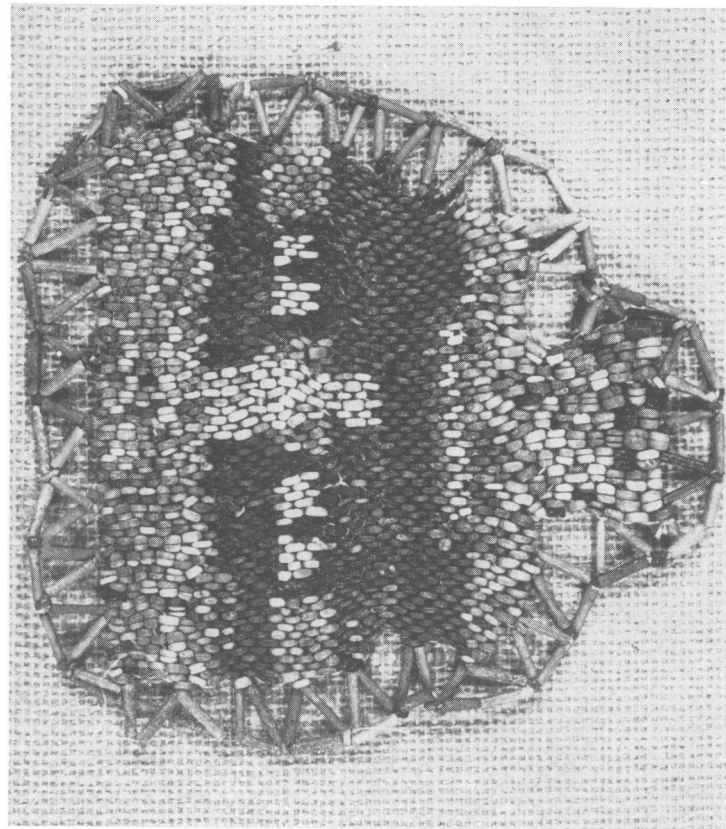
But in a paradoxical way the ordinary bead-work face presents in the likeness of a hieroglyph the conventional face of a God, while the thirteen faces in Swansea seem to aim at differentiation between personalities, even between male and female. The frame of tubular beads which surrounds them would prevent them from standing directly on top of a broad collar, if there ever was a collar at all. They are, in fact, different in technique and in style.

If one looks for a place where faces of this kind could have originated, one is inclined to go outside Egypt proper. Possibly they could have come from Nubia, from a place where the Egyptian tradition was preserved without being fully understood. It is not impossible that they come from a region which had continued the tradition of making bead-work belts. In Nubia the making of bead-work belts is well attested already before the Twelfth Dynasty. In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, a fragment of such a belt is exhibited which was found in a C-group cemetery at Faras in a child's grave.<sup>30</sup> Its patterns are set out in black-, green-, white- and blue-coloured beads. This could have been genuine native work. Parts of bead shrouds of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty which follow more closely current Egyptian traditions were found as far south as Sanam near Napata, as stated already above.<sup>31</sup> It seems therefore possible, although I am as yet unable to prove it, that an experimental kind of bead-work developed which used a technique that was more suitable for belts than for faces. In this way they created something new, something which the Egyptians proper had never attempted to do: they created bead-work faces which represented individual human beings.

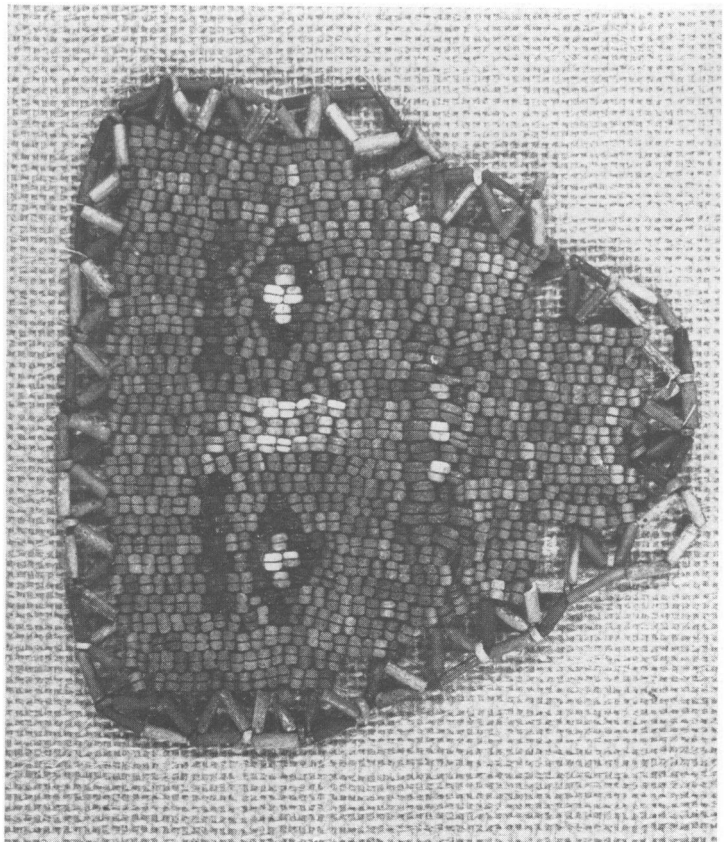
<sup>29</sup> Alix Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), fig. 31.

<sup>30</sup> F. Ll. Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia' in *LAAA* 8 (1921), pl. 12, 1 and pl. 24, a and b.

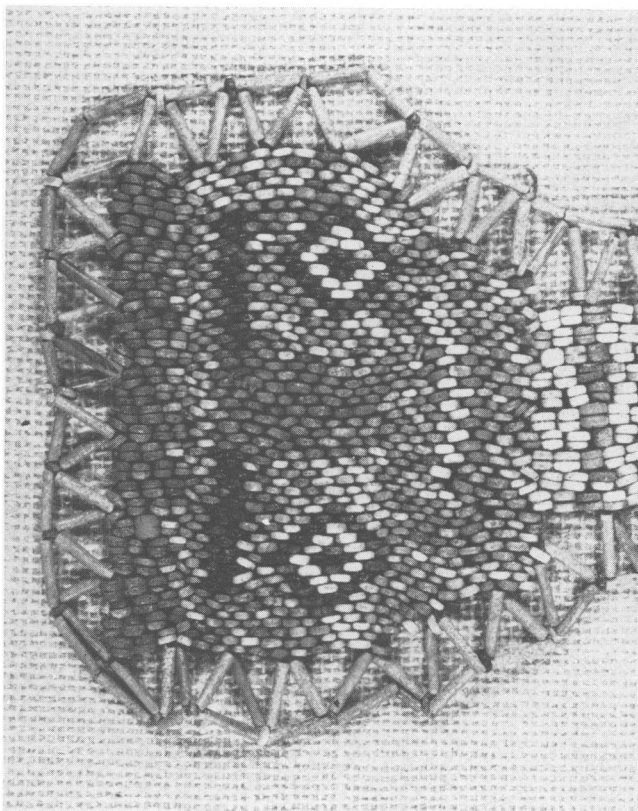
<sup>31</sup> See p. 105 n. 27 above.



2. W 780



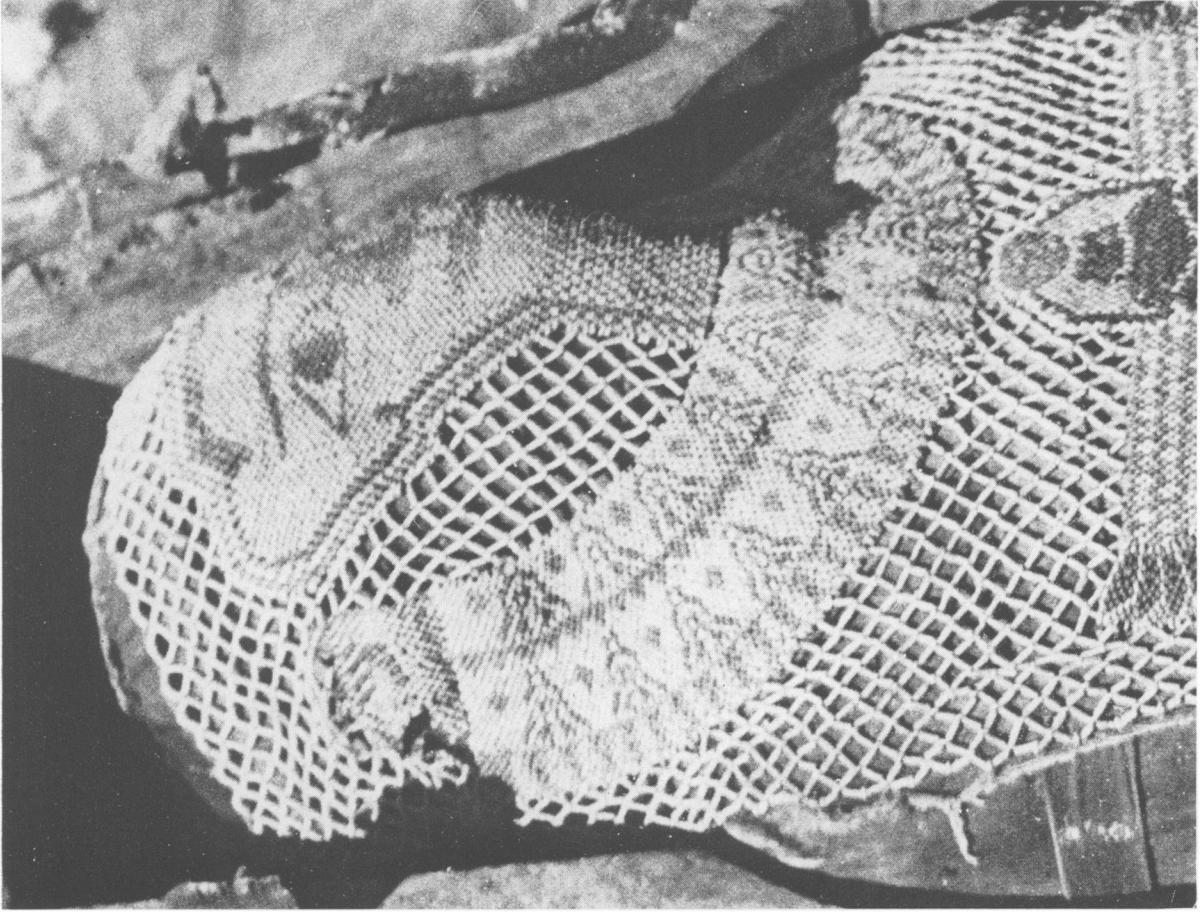
1. W 774



BEAD-WORK FACES IN  
 THE WELLCOME COLLECTION  
 AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,  
 SWANSEA

*Photographs by Roger P. Davies*





1. The inner coffin is opened, showing the shroud which is spread over the mummy

2. Bead-work face of the same shroud, close up, on top of the broad collar

*Courtesy Egyptological Institute of Heidelberg University*

Bead shroud with bead-work features as found at El Hibeh in 1914

## TWO FIGURED OSTRACA FROM NORTH SAQQÂRA

By ALAN B. LLOYD

AMONGST the many intriguing finds of the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations in the Sacred-Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra are numbered two figured ostraca both of which probably relate to Greek or Carian involvement in the country during the Late Period. These, amongst other material, were entrusted to me for publication in Dr. G. T. Martin's *The Tomb of Hetepka*. Unfortunately, exigencies of space made it impossible to supply within that framework the detailed commentary which the pieces deserve. It seems advisable, therefore, to provide a more elaborate treatment in the present format, justifying and amplifying the brief remarks which I offered in that volume.

**The fighting cock (fig. 1)**

**Description.** Brown-ware sherd. Excavation no. G7-46(475). Height: 15.5 cm. Width: 10 cm. Thickness: 0.9 cm. Find-spot: débris of the courtyard of the South Ibis-Gallery (Sector 7, block 6).<sup>1</sup> Date: impossible to fix more closely than Saïte-Ptolemaic. The upper surface bears drawings in black ink in a purely Egyptian style. The most prominent is an almost complete head. It is bearded and is covered by a helmet-like head-dress the top and back of which are embellished with a fixture strongly reminiscent of a cock's-comb. From this there emerges obliquely a more conspicuous feature characterized by two wavy lines. To the right of the eye there is a horn-like item which may be structural or, just possibly, an erroneously supplied ear. In addition to the head there are indeterminate traces towards the top of the sherd while at bottom-left an ibis is clearly depicted together with what is probably the rump of another.<sup>2</sup>

**Commentary.** Since the head sports a natural beard, it must represent a non-Egyptian and that, in view of other finds from the area, should mean either a Greek, a Carian, or someone of Near-Eastern extraction.<sup>3</sup> Given these possibilities, the cock's-comb feature enables us to make a plausible attempt at identification; for it immediately recalls two of the Classical notices on Carian mercenaries:

(i) And Cyrus fell,<sup>4</sup> as some say, struck by the Great King, but according to others smitten by a Carian to whom the Great King gave as a reward for the action the privilege of always carrying on

While writing this study I benefited much from the comments of Mr. S. Hornblower and Professor J. Gwyn Griffiths. The views expressed, however, are my own. I should also like to thank Professor H. S. Smith, Dr. G. T. Martin, and Miss Janine Bourriau for assistance with photographs and other facilities.

<sup>1</sup> This sector is located in Sq. G7 on the map of North Saqqâra in *JEA* 56 (1970), pl. 18. On the excavations at this point see G. T. Martin, 'Excavations in the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra, 1971-2: Preliminary Report', *JEA* 59 (1973), 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I owe the latter suggestion to Dr. Martin.

<sup>3</sup> See the preliminary reports in *JEA* 51 (1965)-60 (1974) and H. S. Smith, 'The Archives of the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra. A Progress Report', *JEA* 60 (1974), 256 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The reference is to the Battle of Cunaxa in 401.

campaign a golden cock upon his spear in front of the line; for the Carians themselves were called 'Cocks' by the Persians because of the crests with which they adorn their helmets.

Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, 10. 3.

(ii) Psammetichus deposed Tementhes, King of Egypt.<sup>5</sup> The god Ammon, when Tementhes consulted his oracle concerning the kingship, told him to beware of cocks. Psammetichus, who had as a companion Pigres the Carian, having learned from him that the Carians had been the first

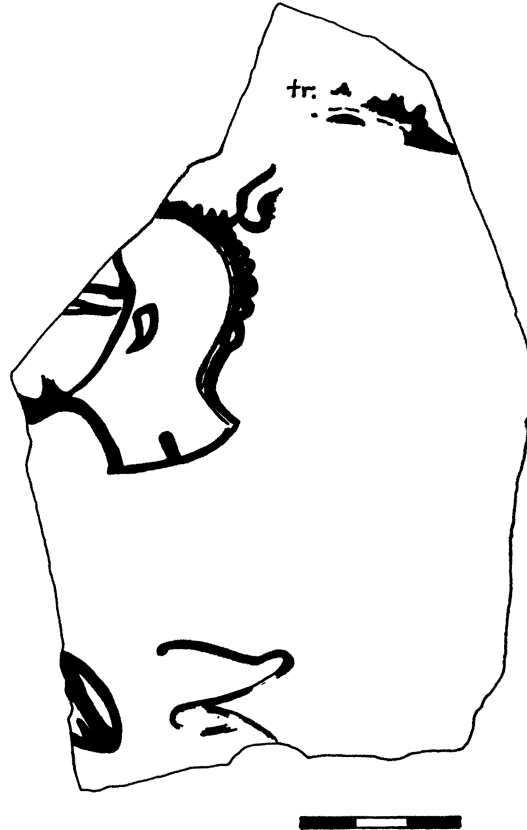


FIG. 1

to fix crests on their helmets, understood the response and, having hired a large force of Carian mercenaries, led them on Memphis. There he joined battle (with Tementhes) in the vicinity of the Temple of Isis outside the capital, from which it (sc. the temple) lies a distance of five stades, and was victorious. After those Carians a part of Memphis is called *Karomemphitai*.

Polyaenus, *Strat.*, 7. 3.

Although neither of these passages specifically states that a Carian crest resembled a cock's-comb, the affinity between their statements and the ostrakon-head is so striking that we are surely justified in regarding the latter as a reference to the famous Carian 'Cocks'. Crests running along the crown of the helmet and comparable with cock's-

<sup>5</sup> Egn. *T3-n-w3-ti-Imn* (Tanutamün) > Gk. *Tendemethes\*/Tentementhes\** (cf. the Assyrian *Taštamane* which is clearly the phonetic transcription of an Egn. *Taltamani\*/Tantamane\**, H. v. Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrer in Ägypten*, Glückstadt, 1944, 47) > *Tementhes*. Tanutamün, the last of the Nubian Pharaohs, briefly maintained a precarious position in Egypt against Assyrians and Saïtes c. 664-656 B.C. (op. cit., 45 ff., 49; K. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, Warminster, 1973, 172 ff., 394 ff.).

combs are exemplified in the Near East and Greece from the early first millennium B.C. onwards<sup>6</sup> and provide sufficiently close parallels to justify the suspicion that the artist is depicting a distinctively Carian type. Unfortunately, given the absence of any unequivocal evidence on the appearance of Carian helmets,<sup>7</sup> we can neither prove nor disprove this idea. However, even if it proves to be wrong, the comb-crest might still be a satirical reference to the Carians' nickname,<sup>8</sup> in which case we could interpret the enigmatic lines emerging from the crown of the head-cover as a cursory rendering of the common stilted crest.<sup>9</sup>

Confidence in the mercenary-hypothesis is strengthened when we consider the nature and scope of Carian involvement in the life of Saqqâra and Memphis<sup>10</sup> during the Late Period. Our Polyaeus reference mentions Carian mercenaries in the area as early as the 660's. Admittedly the narrative is not without absurdities of detail<sup>11</sup> and must be treated with circumspection, but the framework is firmly rooted in the context of early Saïte history; for not only does it agree with the Assyrian record of the defeat of Tanutamûn/Tementhes in 664-3,<sup>12</sup> but it fits perfectly the incontrovertible evidence of the participation of Carian mercenaries in Psammetichus' reunification of Egypt. Its chronological implications can, therefore, be accepted with some degree of confidence. Psammetichus' subsequent policy of maintaining Carian troops as a major element in the Egyptian military establishment must have made them a common sight in Memphis where, no doubt, contingents were frequently stationed. Certain it is that large forces of such troops were to be found there from c. 570 B.C., when Amasis is reported to have transferred all the occupants of the mercenary camps to the city,<sup>13</sup> and their presence is subsequently well documented both by literary and archaeological evidence.<sup>14</sup> All this must have made the Carian soldier a ready model for a contemporary artist working in North Saqqâra.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. Snodgrass, 'Carian Armourers: the Growth of a Tradition', *JHS* 84 (1964), 114 ff.; id., *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (Edinburgh, 1964), 6 ff.

<sup>7</sup> On the basis of a fragment of Alcaeus (F. 58 Diehl) Snodgrass has suggested that Carian crests were of the stilted type ('Carian Armourers', op. cit., 115), but the text is so imprecise that no such inference is justifiable (cf. Snodgrass' diffidence on its interpretation at pp. 107 ff.).

<sup>8</sup> For the expression of this very Egyptian trait in a similar context see the drawings discussed by E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel* (Darmstadt, 1968).

<sup>9</sup> On this type see Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, loc. cit.

<sup>10</sup> On Carians in Egypt in general see O. Masson, 'Les Cariens en Égypte', *BSFE* 56 (1969), 25 ff.; M. M. Austin, 'Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* Supp. 2 (1970), 15 ff.; Alan B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II. Introduction* (Leiden, 1975), 14 ff., 32 ff.; id., 'Were Necho's Triremes Phoenician?' *JHS* 95 (1975), 58 ff.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Snodgrass rightly emphasizes the silliness of the motive ascribed to Psammetichus for employing the Carians ('Carian Armourers', op. cit., 110 ff.).

<sup>12</sup> J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (2nd ed., Princeton, 1955), 297. Strictly it was a victory of the Assyrians with the assistance of Egyptian vassal-princes such as Psammetichus, but Polyaeus' account, true to native tradition, ignores the unpalatable fact of the Assyrian hegemony; cf. M. F. Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies and Administration, 663 to 323 B.C.* (Chapel Hill, 1959), 18; Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II. Introduction*, 14 ff. In general see Kitchen, op. cit., 394 ff. and F. Gornaà, *Die libyschen Fürstentümer des Deltas* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 18 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Herodotus, 2. 154. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Polyaeus, loc. cit.; Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. *Hellenikon* and *Karikon* = Aristagoras, *FgrH* 608, F.9; O. Masson and J. Yoyotte, *Objets pharaoniques à inscription carienne* (Cairo, 1956), 1, 4 ff., 9 ff., 17 ff., 20 ff., 28 ff., 40 ff.; W. B. Emery, *JEA* 57 (1971), 3 ff.

There is a further point which is at least not inconsistent with our hypothesis. It will be recalled that the ostrakon juxtaposes the head with drawings of several ibises. This may, of course, be purely accidental and we may be confronted with nothing more than a collection of random sketches. There is, however, another possibility. In his discussion of the abandoned participation of Carians in the ritual lamentation for Osiris at Busiris Herodotus<sup>15</sup> strikingly demonstrates their willingness to identify themselves profoundly with Egyptian religious life and archaeological material from Saqqâra has amply confirmed this trait.<sup>16</sup> Nothing, therefore, is more likely than the association of a Carian with the cult of the ibis and its related deities which formed such a conspicuous part of the religious life of the Memphite area in the Late Period.

### Thalamegos (pl. XVII)

**Description :** Limestone ostrakon. Excavation no. H5-79[731]. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, E13-1969. Height: 9.0 cm. Width: 13.9 cm. Find-spot: surface debris in Sq. H5.<sup>17</sup> Date: subject-matter suggests the Ptolemaic or Roman Period. The upper surface is occupied by a roughly executed and rather blurred drawing in black ink of a ramming war-galley of totally un-Egyptian design. The hull is adorned with seven (?) shields and ends forward in a ram which is embellished with several vertical lines. The thick smudge on the left of the ram is nothing more than ink which has run along a vertical furrow in the stone. However, at the point where the ram meets the stem the three vertical lines clearly depict attachments by which the ram was fixed to the hull. The prow was clearly decorated with a figure-head of some sort. The ink-traces of the latter are very indistinct but a close examination of the original suggests that it might have depicted a helmeted head. At the poop the artist has represented a rather stubby stern-post from which emerges an oblique line probably depicting an *aphlaston*, the standard classical stern-adornment.<sup>18</sup> Two steering-oars are also shown protruding horizontally from the rear. Below the keel eight to nine oars are drawn together with a W-shaped feature to their right which does not seem to be part of the ship and may well be no more than a shorthand indication of the presence of water. On the deck there stands a cabin whose appearance is markedly Egyptian. This, like most other elements in the sketch, is spectacularly out of scale.

**Commentary :** The nature of the ship is not difficult to establish. The design of the hull is that of a warship such as might have been found anywhere in the Eastern Mediterranean from at least the eighth century B.C., but the presence of a substantial cabin amidships makes it quite clear that we are not faced with a vessel intended for standard military use but rather with a *thalamegos*.

*Thalamegoi* are mentioned by ancient writers in a variety of contexts. Callixeinus<sup>19</sup> gives a detailed description of the huge catamaran-*thalamegos* which was constructed by Ptolemy IV Philopator for voyages on the Nile. It measured over 300 feet in length, 45 feet in the beam and attained a maximum height of about 60 feet. The lines of the double hull were clearly Egyptian.<sup>20</sup> The huge cabin in the centre of the vessel had two

<sup>15</sup> 2. 61. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Masson and Yoyotte, op. cit.

<sup>17</sup> See the site-map, *JEA* 56 (1970), pl. 18.

<sup>18</sup> On the *aphlaston* L. Basch, 'Phoenician Oared Ships', *The Mariner's Mirror* 55 (1969), 141 and L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* (Princeton, 1971), 389, s.v. *aphlaston*.

<sup>19</sup> *FgrH* 627, F. 1 = Athenaeus, 5. 38-9 (204d-206c).

<sup>20</sup> Op. cit. 38.

storeys, was equipped with several dining-rooms, numerous sleeping-compartments, a *tholos*-shaped shrine of Aphrodite, a 'house of Bacchus', and two promenades running around three sides of the ship, each with an over-all length of about 500 feet. Many of the rooms were adorned with colonnades and generally furnished and adorned in the most luxurious fashion, sometimes in the Egyptian style, sometimes in the Hellenistic.

Philopator's vessel was probably exceptional both in size and extravagance but there is clear evidence that elaborate state-barges with luxuriously appointed cabins existed throughout the Ptolemaic Period and, indeed, into Roman times.<sup>21</sup> Their precise design is open to question, though it is likely enough that they were essentially Philopator's *thalamegos* writ small and reft of its grosser hyperboles. The same is not, however, true of those mentioned by Appian who, in his description of the naval might of the Ptolemies, speaks of a force of '800 *thalamega* with golden poops and golden rams for the pomp of war on which the kings themselves used to embark and sail abroad' (*Praef.* 10). Both context and the presence of golden rams make it clear that these ships were para-military vessels designed, for all their splendour, essentially according to the principles of Hellenistic naval architecture. *Thalamegoi* were not, however, confined to the Ptolemaic royal house or Roman governors. They could be employed by administrative officials of various ranks<sup>22</sup> and also figured in religious contexts where they served to transport sacred animals such as the Apis-bull.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, their use as pleasure-boats in the marshes is graphically described by Strabo<sup>24</sup> and there are plentiful references in papyri to their employment as freighters.<sup>25</sup>

It is quite clear from the Classical references that, whatever their role, *thalamegoi* were built essentially according to a time-honoured Egyptian formula. The ship with a cabin placed amidships had been known for millennia in the Nile Valley at all levels of society. The great Ptolemaic and Roman state-barges have their prototypes in the splendid boats of Khufu buried beside his pyramid at Giza<sup>26</sup> and the *thalamegos* of the Apis is clearly closely paralleled by such famous divine barks as the *Ymn wsr ḥꜣt* of Amen-rē.<sup>27</sup> Models, paintings, reliefs and texts<sup>28</sup> provide an overwhelming body of Pharaonic precursors for the smaller *thalamegoi* mentioned in Strabo and the papyri and vividly depicted on the Palestrina Mosaic.<sup>29</sup> This is not to say, however, that ship-builders in the Hellenistic Period could not modify the Egyptian concept to suit new tastes. Ptolemy IV's specimen is certainly Egyptian in its general concept, in the lines of its hull and some of its ornamentation, but the catamaran-arrangement and much else besides clearly derive from Hellenistic sources. The splendid para-military *thalamegoi* of Appian are obviously designed like Hellenistic war-galleys, whatever embellishment

<sup>21</sup> Strabo, 17. 1. 16. (C800); Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 52.

<sup>22</sup> Casson, op. cit., 341 n. 66.

<sup>23</sup> Diodorus Siculus, I. 85. 1-2.

<sup>24</sup> 17. 1. 15. (C799).

<sup>25</sup> Casson, op. cit., 342 n. 68.

<sup>26</sup> B. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs* (London, 1970), 26 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Op. cit., 116 ff., 140.

<sup>28</sup> Op. cit., *passim*.

<sup>29</sup> G. Gullini, *I Mosaici di Palestrina* (Roma, 1956).

may have been added to suit the dignity of the king of Egypt, and it is indeed well-nigh certain that just such vessels are also represented by the boats on two necklace-pendants in the Louvre,<sup>30</sup> each of which depicts a ship with the hull of a Greek war-galley, an animal figurehead and an elaborate poop-adornment in the shape of a duck's head while the centre of the vessel is occupied by a *thalamos* whose roof is supported by columns of an unequivocally Egyptian type.

There can surely be no reasonable doubt that the vessel represented on the Saqqâra ostrakon falls into the same general context as Appian's *thalamegoi* and the Louvre pendants. The hull is that of the classic Mediterranean ramming war-galley. The shield-embellishment along the side is found in association with such ships in many areas.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, the traces on the prow may well represent a helmeted figurehead. Such a feature would be untypical of what we know of ancient warships at present, although a helmeted figurehead in low relief occurs on the stem-post of a Roman trireme of the first century B.C. at Ostia,<sup>32</sup> and an example in the round is known from a Roman coin of the preceding century<sup>33</sup> but it would be directly comparable to the animal-head on the Louvre boats. Similarly, the cabin, even if we allow for the obviously considerable degree of exaggeration in size, would be out of the question on a standard warship but would suit a *thalamegos* perfectly.

There is, however, one final point that should be raised. What is such a representation doing in association with the animal-necropolis of North Saqqâra? Naturally its appearance there could be mere coincidence. Conceivably the drawing is nothing more than an idle sketch bearing no relation to the religious context. It might, for example, simply represent a ship which had anchored for a few days in Abusîr Lake during a pleasure-cruise at any time in the Ptolemaic or even the Roman Period. On the other hand, Diodorus Siculus does inform us that such vessels played a role in the cult of the Apis and it is, therefore, perfectly possible that the drawing represents a ship which functioned at some time or another in one of the animal-cults which abounded in this area.

<sup>30</sup> Alan B. Lloyd, 'The so-called galleys of Necho', *JEA* 58 (1972), 307 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Sporadically on Greek vessels during the Archaic Period (J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, Cambridge, 1968, Arch. 8, 31, 35) and clearly on the Delos trireme-graffito of the Hellenistic Period (?) (Casson, op. cit., fig. 110), at Til Barsib c. 700 B.C. (F. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til Barsib*, Paris 1936, 71 ff. = G. Bass, *A History of Seafaring*, London, 1972, 56, 9), on Phoenician warships from c. 700 into the Classical period (Basch, op. cit., 145 ff.) and on Roman and Italian ships (id., 'A Model of an Ancient Warship in the Louvre', *The Mariner's Mirror* 52 [1966], 115 ff.; Casson, op. cit., fig. 121, 124 [probably], 130, 132: cf. id., 'Another Note on Phoenician Galleys', *The Mariner's Mirror* 56 [1970], 340).

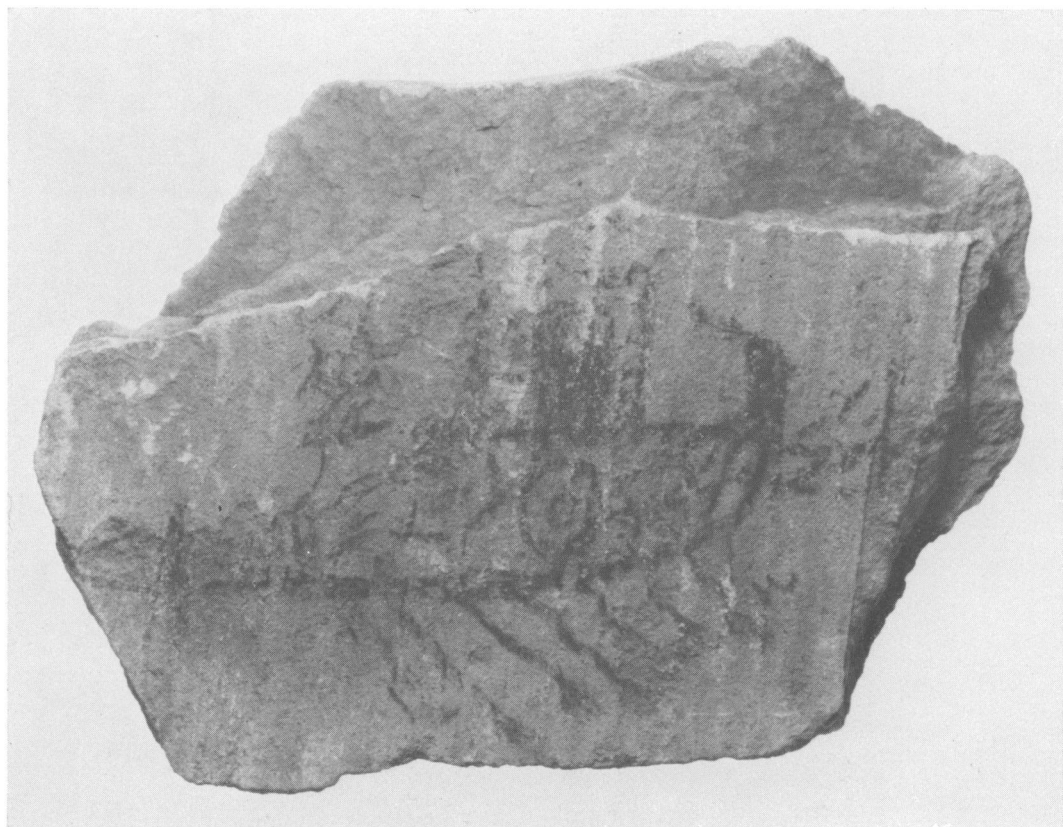
<sup>32</sup> Casson, op. cit., fig. 125: cf. fig. 151.

<sup>33</sup> A. L. Ben-Eli (ed.), *Ships and Parts of Ships on Ancient Coins*. I. *The National Maritime Museum, Haifa* (Haifa, 1975), pl. 8. Figureheads consisting of helmets alone occur on Phoenician warships (Basch, *The Mariner's Mirror* 55 [1969], 230).



1. Fighting cock on brown-ware sherd

*Courtesy E. E. S.*



2. *Thalamegos* on limestone ostrakon

*Courtesy Fitzwilliam Museum*



## OBSERVATIONS ON THE ARCHIVE OF ḤOR

By J. D. RAY

As I write, the Egypt Exploration Society's publication of the demotic Archive of Ḥor is in the press, and it is hoped that by the time these notes appear in print the volume itself will be available to colleagues.<sup>1</sup> Many of these scholars will no doubt add their own contributions to our understanding of these exceptional texts, and it is obvious that the archive will be the subject of continuous reevaluation and discussion; this belief, and an admitted reluctance to leave such inspiring material, may justify this rather untidy step into the pages of the *Journal*. I shall begin with three new texts which were found during clearance work at North Saqqâra late in 1975, and then discuss some points of interpretation.

## A. SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

## Additional Text 66

Height 13.9 cm. Width 10.7 cm. (Thickness 0.5 cm. Munsell 2.5 YR 5/2.<sup>2</sup> Photograph Pl. XVIII, 3. Facsimile not given. Excavator's no. 75/6-6 [6366].

A sherd of fine brownish ware with a pink slip, joined from two pieces. The convex recto bears thirteen lines in a professional hand, almost certainly Memphite. The beginning of the first line and the ends of all subsequent ones are lost. Copy-ticks stand at the beginnings of the lines. The whole is badly faded. The verso is encrusted with a dark substance, and uninscribed.

This text and the following one were found on October 15, 1975 in a stratum of brick dust by a revetment wall which lay immediately to the south-east of the southern gate of the main temple compound.<sup>3</sup> It was thus clear that it was discarded, like Texts 6, 10, and 21, which were found at point Y, and Texts 33 and 59-63, which were unearthed further north at point Z. The contents greatly resemble Text 4 of the publication, and detailed notes may be found in the corresponding pages.

## Text

(x+) 1.       ] šrt       pꜣ nty nb   2. iw [       ] rswt (?) (vacat)   3.       (traces)   4.  
              (traces)   5. dd-s tw.ia [       ]       6. tꜣ nty tꜣy pꜣ šr cꜣ (n) Pr-cꜣ dd iw.w  
 ms-f iw.f [       7. tꜣ nty tꜣy nꜣ mšꜣw ꜣtyks [       8. ꜣk hr rdwy.s<sup>b</sup> irm (?) [       9.

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Ḥor*. Egypt Exploration Society, Texts from Excavations, Second Memoir = Excavations at North Saqqâra, Documentary Series 1, London 1976. I am grateful to Dr. D. J. Crawford for reading and commenting upon parts of the present article.

<sup>2</sup> For this method of recording the colour of a sherd see *Archive of Ḥor*, 1 no. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Preliminary report in *JEA* 62 (1976), 1; 63 (1977), 24 and fig. 1. The position may also be plotted on the map given in the publication (*Archive of Ḥor*, 153, fig. 4); it lies east of the looter's line YZ below the gateway and close to the margin of the limestone *gebel*.

*t3 nty t3y p3* [ ] *kd<sup>c</sup>* [ 10. *t3 nty t3y n3 skr w* [ 11. *iw.f 3rc<sup>d</sup>* [ 12. *dd n3y* [  
13. (traces).

### Notes

*a.* Or possibly *tw-s*; but the traces do not suit the *tw-s n3 mšcw mdt nbt* of Text 4, 4. *b.* For this form see note *p.* to Text 2, R<sup>o</sup> 11, p. 16 of the publication. *c.* Probably *p3* [*wd3 R<sup>c</sup>-]kd*, cf. Text 4, 6. *d.* So the traces; cf. Text 4, 10.

### Translation

(x+) 1. [ ] *letter . . . . . everything which* 2. *is [in the] dream (?)* (space) 3.  
(traces) 4. (traces) 5. *saying<sup>a</sup>: I (?)* [ ] 6. *that which concerns*  
*the eldest son (of) Pharaoh means that he shall be born and shall* [<sup>b</sup> 7. *that which*  
*concerns the journeyings of Antiochus* [<sup>c</sup> 8. *perish<sup>d</sup> immediately together with (?)* [  
9. *that which concerns the [salvation of Alexand]ria* [<sup>e</sup> 10. *that which concerns the*  
*voyagings* [<sup>f</sup> 11. *embarking* [<sup>g</sup> 12. *saying this* [ ] 13. (traces).

### Notes

*a.* Or possibly 'she said', although such a translation is not supported by Text 4. *b.* Text 4, 5-6. *c.* Text 4, 7-9. *d.* Or possibly 'destroy'; this phrase does not appear in the parallel. *e.* Text 4, 6-7. *f.* Probably Text 4, 9, judging from the following line. *g.* Text 4, 10.

### Remarks

Although this text is sadly faded it is clearly very similar to Text 4 of the publication, and it probably represents a recension of some kind. The small divergences from the parallel are illuminating. The opening lines are different, even though it is difficult to reconstruct their exact force. Line 2 apparently contains a reference to a dream, and it is possible that the points which follow are derived from dreams or similar experiences. This is not mentioned in Text 4, but the material of this text was almost certainly elaborated in part from the dream described in Text 1. This information is therefore not surprising. Line 8 produces a new phrase, in which an immediate destruction is recorded. The context is clearly that of the retreat of Antiochus from Egypt which is recorded in greater detail in Texts 2 and 3 of the archive. The references which follow correspond closely to those of Text 4, except that the retreat of Antiochus is described in the new text before the proclamation of the relief of Alexandria, whereas in Text 4 this order is reversed. The order of events in the present text is historically more likely, but the juxtaposition in Text 4 of the eldest son of Pharaoh and the salvation of the capital is obviously intended to recall the great dream of Text 1. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Text 4, as the more artificial account, is later than the present version. A possible solution is contained in the opening lines of Text 4, where the oracles to be described are said to be derived from a letter written by the general \*Eirenaios, and it is worth considering whether our new text is not an earlier version based on this letter. The copy-ticks remain a problem, because in other ostraca they have been interpreted to mean that the texts in question were copied on to papyrus; but there is no reason to suppose that the same method would not

have been used in transcribing the contents of an ostrakon on to another ostrakon, in an attempt to produce a satisfactory draft. This is plausible, but there is little point in speculating further.

#### Additional Text 67

Height 8·0 cm. Width 8·7 cm. Thickness 0·6 cm. Munsell 2·5 YR 5/2. Photograph pl. XVIII, 1. Facsimile not given. Excavator's no. 75/6-14 [6374].

A fragment of much the same ware as the preceding. The recto bears traces of six lines badly faded. The verso again is blank. The hand is a professional Memphite one, and the sherd bears a marked resemblance to Texts 36-44 of the archive.

#### Text

(The sherd opens with a space which is probably greater than the gaps between the surviving lines.)

(x+) 1. ] . *i.ir* [ 2. ] *dd.w* [ 3. ] [ 4. ] [ 5.  
] *t Pr-ꜥ*[*t*<sup>a</sup> 6. ] *ht . b*[

#### Notes

*a. n* *Pr-ꜥ*[*w* is equally possible. *b.* A *pr-* sign is faintly visible.

No connected translation is possible, and conclusions are out of place.

#### Additional Text 68

Height 2·1 cm. Width 2·25 cm. Thickness 0·9 cm. Munsell 2·5 YR 4/4. Photograph pl. XVIII, 3. Facsimile not given. Excavator's no. 75/6-88 [6462].

A small fragment of reddish ware similar to that of Text 1. The recto bears parts of two lines in a hand which is almost certainly that of Text 1, but the greater thickness prevents the piece from being a part of it. The sherd was found on November 12, 1975 in the same area as the preceding two, but at the lower level IV instead of level I.<sup>4</sup>

#### Text

(x+) 1. ] *Pr-ꜥ* [ 2. ] *di.w* [

#### Translation

(x+) 1. ] *Pharaoh* [ 2. ] *they gave* [ .

The hand is of interest, for it is neither that of Ḥor of Sebennytyos nor that of his regular secretary. It appears only in the present fragment and in Text 1, and may be that of an occasional scribe. The two texts may therefore be close in date, but this is not certain.

#### B. THE QUESTION OF THE 'MEMPHITE ḤOR'

Whatever the merits of Ḥor of Sebennytyos, he was not a calligrapher, and his sprawling hand does nothing to enhance the ease or beauty of his texts. It is to his credit that he recognized this himself, and employed several amanuenses to whom

<sup>4</sup> *JEA* 63 (1977), 24; also 62 (1976), 1.

he dictated his material. The finest of these is represented by the professional hand, probably local, in which more than thirty ostraca are written, and in which he may well have intended the whole of his final petition to be composed. In the first section of the commentary (pp. 121–2 of the publication) I suggested that this secretarial hand should be ascribed to the person who appears occasionally in the texts as ‘Ḥor who is concerned with the petition of the chapels of Egypt’ and elsewhere with the expanded name Ḥarthoth.<sup>5</sup> This character appears particularly in association with a five-year episode in a town named *Pr-pꜣy.f-iry* which may have lain near Alexandria (Texts 12 and 25 of the archive). I referred to him throughout as the ‘Memphite Ḥor’, a title which does not occur as such in our texts, but is nevertheless convenient. Reflection, however, casts doubt on this analysis. The main difficulty emerges from Text 25, which is clearly ascribed to Ḥor of Sebennytos even though written in a professional hand. In this text Ḥor justifies his journey to *Pr-pꜣy.f-iry* by reference to an oracle of Thoth, and it is clear that Ḥor himself must have journeyed to this town. In Text 12, however, the same journey with the same dates is described by Ḥarthoth. It is of course possible that Ḥor of Sebennytos was accompanied on his travels, but it seems more likely that Ḥarthoth and Ḥor of Sebennytos are the same person. Duplication of names was common enough in Hellenistic Egypt and elsewhere, and there is no difficulty in such an assumption. It is also possible to understand the psychological reasons for the adoption of the name Ḥarthoth. Text 8 in particular gives details of a dream in which Ḥor of Sebennytos is instructed to devote himself to the worship of Thoth, and it may be from this turning-point in his life that he acquired the new name, particularly if the interpretation ‘Ḥor (of) Thoth’ is the correct one.<sup>6</sup> The epithet *Ḥr nty wꜣꜥ ꜥꜣ smy n nꜣ ꜥꜣyt n Kmꜣ* must then be transferred to Ḥor of Sebennytos, and the two entries in the Index should be combined. The elimination of the ‘Memphite Ḥor’ has considerable advantages: it explains why we are told nothing about the second Ḥor’s family, in particular the name of his father, which we would expect to have been used to differentiate him from his Sebennytic namesake, and above all it is neat. It also sheds light on the functions of Ḥor of Sebennytos at the Saqqâra temple.

Difficulties of course remain: it is strange that the metaphor of ‘the path’ (*tꜣ mît/ꜥꜣ myt*) should occur largely in texts dictated to the professional scribe,<sup>7</sup> but in Text 23, V<sup>o</sup> 9, which is admittedly much restored, the same notion seems to have been written

<sup>5</sup> Detailed references may be found in the publication, Index, p. 180.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the full form *Ḥr-Dḥwtꜣ nb ꜥnh* in Text 23, V<sup>o</sup> 15. We have no way of telling whether this new name was adopted by choice, or whether it was urged upon Ḥor of Sebennytos by the priests of the ibis-shrine, but it is clearly a symbol of his new devotion. The attested examples are few and are confined to a short range of time, from May 31, 172 (Text 19, R<sup>o</sup> 4) to September 18, 167 (Text 23, V<sup>o</sup> 15), with a concentration around the year 168. This may be accidental, but it is possible that Ḥor adopted the name during the first stage of his relationship with the cult of Thoth, or possibly during the troubled period of Eulaeus and Lenaeus and the Seleucid invasions, and later allowed it to lapse. The phrase in Text 19, R<sup>o</sup> 4 ‘and likewise Ḥarthoth within it’ may refer to *Mn-nfr* in the line above, and mean that Ḥor used his adopted name within the confines of the capital and its necropolis, but the text itself is far from clear, and the suggested syntax is still rather tortuous.

<sup>7</sup> See in particular *Archive of Ḥor*, Index, p. 187.

by Ḳor himself, and the matter may simply be a coincidence. Other arguments about 'the path', namely whether the use of the phrase implies some form of initiation into divine mysteries, and what connection if any the metaphor has with the question of the *κατοχή*, are of course unaffected by the suppression of the Memphite Ḳor, and I suspect that his disappearance will not detract from the rest of the archive.<sup>8</sup> The division into hands remains useful, and the term 'Memphite Ḳor' may be taken as a palaeographical approximation. *Amicus Plato*, and it is a pity that the scribe of so fine a document as Text 9 should become anonymous once more; *sed magis amica veritas*.

### C. THE BIRTHDAY OF PTOLEMY VI PHILOMETOR

Few important periods of history, at least since the art of historiography became fully established, are so unsatisfactorily documented as the Hellenistic Age. The evidence is jejune, fragmentary, and often ambiguous; the writer who would construct a connected history out of this haphazard débris must too often be content to make bricks without straw. It is necessary to deal plentifully in conjecture, to squeeze every particle of evidence in order to extract from it the last drop of information, and unfortunately the process has its dangers: the possible tends insensibly to become the probable, the precariously balanced reconstruction is treated as a firm basis for further combinations. (Bell and Skeat, review of W. Otto's *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers*, *JEA* 21 (1935), 262.)

These words seem strange to an Egyptologist, who is used to the evidence from the Pharaonic period and who knows that it is nothing but fragmentary and ambiguous even when it exists at all, but they serve as a warning and a guide. The question of Philometor's birthday is trivial in itself, but it has some importance for Egyptology, depending as it does on a refreshingly large proportion of native sources, and I shall deal with it here because it is mentioned in passing in the Ḳor archive.<sup>9</sup>

Several hieroglyphic inscriptions are known in which Philometor describes himself as *ḥtr Ḳp cnḥ ḥr mshnt.sn* 'twin of the living Apis upon their birth-brick' (Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, iv, 288 n. 2; Rowe, *Aegypto-Cyrenaeae Relations*, 43). This colourful claim was discussed by Brugsch, *ZÄS* 24 (1886), 26-7, who concluded that 'Das kann nichts anderes heißen, als daß der König in demselben Jahre, vielleicht sogar an demselben Tage, oder in demselben Monat geboren ward, in welchem Apis das Licht der Welt erblickte.' Details of the Apis bull in question are contained in a hieroglyphic stela from the Serapeum which was published, also by Brugsch, in *ZÄS* 22 (1884), 125-6.<sup>10</sup> The animal was born in the town of *Pꜣ-dmi-n-Ḳr* in the Saïte

<sup>8</sup> N. 3 on p. 163 of the publication must now be re-worded slightly, but its central argument, I hope, remains. The verso of Text 23 also causes difficulties, as it presents us with fourteen lines written by Ḳor of Sebennytos followed by twelve in the hand of his secretary. If we eliminate the secretary as a source for this material, we must assume that the lines represent an afterthought dictated and squeezed into the text. A compromise is possible, for the anonymous secretary may have composed such material according to Ḳor's specifications, particularly if the subject-matter was routine, but the final responsibility would have lain with Ḳor of Sebennytos. Nevertheless it remains suspect that it is precisely in this passage that the full form *Ḳr-Dḥwtj nb cnḥ* occurs.

<sup>9</sup> Text 3, R<sup>o</sup> 13 n. i p. 26-7; Text 19, R<sup>o</sup> 15 n. m p. 79; Commentary §2, p. 124; Appendix 4, p. 163.

<sup>10</sup> The text, identified as *Inschrift No. 6*, is in the Louvre, where I had the opportunity of examining it. I am extremely grateful to Mme C. Desroches-Noblecourt, chief curator, and M. J.-L. de Cenival for their kindness in allowing me to inspect the stela.

nome to the cow *Ta-rmnt* on 13 Khoiak of the nineteenth year of Epiphanes (January 19, 186), and it would therefore seem an easy matter to place the birth of Philometor near to this, in order to lend substance to his claims. It should be clear by now, however, that matters are not going to be so obliging. Firstly, the expression 'twin of the living Apis upon their birth-brick' is vague, and there is no guarantee that the birthday of Philometor coincided exactly with that of the Apis; we must therefore be content with an approximate answer. Secondly, the figures given upon the stela itself contain an error which casts doubt upon the inscription's reliability. We are told that the bull in question was enthroned at Memphis on 22 Thoth<sup>11</sup> of year 21, in other words October 29, 185, some twenty-one months after its birth, yet the total given for the reign of this Apis and the span of its earthly life correspond exactly: both are given as 22 years 2 months 23 days. This estimate of the bull's life is probably correct, as the date of its death on April 6, 164 is reconcilable with other sources such as *UPZ*. The substitution of this figure for the length of the reign may be a copyist's mistake, but it is understandable and not disastrous for our purpose. The date January 19, 186 may therefore be retained.

In what year was Philometor born? Independent evidence is scarce and contradictory. Otto, *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers*, 1–23 expressed a preference for 184, and some support for this was produced by Bell and Skeat, *JEA* 21 (1935), 263 n. 1. This conclusion was followed by me in the publication of the Ḥor Archive, but I now think that the balance of evidence is against it. The year 186 was argued by Griffith, *Rylands* iii, 141, and a degree of support for this choice is found in an interesting article by Koenen, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 17 (1960), 11–16; the relevant discussion appears on p. 13 n. 2. Koenen's view has the advantage of taking into account Egyptian evidence as well as Greek, and the increased age which it gives to Philometor is useful for reconstructing later events. Above all, it approximates to the date given in our Serapeum stela, and it therefore deserves serious consideration.

The evidence of the Ḥor archive serves only to disturb this picture. Text 3 contains a long address to Philometor written on an important anniversary. Most of the recto of this ostrakon bears greetings to the Pharaoh, and mentions blessings bestowed on him by Isis. In lines 12–13 Ḥor apparently states that the goddess has caused Philometor to be born on 12 Thoth 'the great festival of Thoth her father'. It is possible, though unlikely, that the date should be read as 15 Thoth, but this does not seriously affect the argument.<sup>12</sup> The text itself was written far into the reign, and I have tried to argue for the year 158, after the proclamation of the crown-prince Ptolemy Eupator as eponymous priest of Alexander and during the state visit of Philometor and his queen to the Memphite Serapeum. Difficulties arise, however, when we try to fit the date 12 Thoth into our previous conclusions. If Philometor was born on 12 Thoth (= October 20) 187, the date is rather early to fit the remaining evidence, and if he was born on 12 Thoth (= October 20) 186, the claim that he was a twin of an Apis born

<sup>11</sup> The date on the stela corresponds to the version in Brugsch's hieroglyphic text; the versions in the translation (*ZÄS* 22 [1884], 126) and in the commentary (*ZÄS* 24 [1886], 27) should be corrected.

<sup>12</sup> See n. *w* on p. 23 of the publication.

the previous January becomes nothing more than pious fantasy. It is true that by the end of Epiphanes' reign the authorities in Alexandria were becoming anxious to win the good will of the native priesthood, but this would suggest that they were desperate for it. Equally unhappy is the solution that the birth of Philometor coincided not with the birth but with the enthronement of the said Apis, which we know to have taken place on 22 Thoth (= October 29) 185; but this is simply not the meaning of *hr mshnt.sn*, and the royal claim would then be a complete misrepresentation.<sup>13</sup>

It looks as if something is wrong, and it may well be our interpretation of Ḥor Text 3. The questionable phrase is R° 12 *di.s ms.k*, which is better translated 'she has caused you to give birth (αἰεσιον)'. The use of the verb *msi* to describe the father of a child is strange, but it can be paralleled in religious contexts.<sup>14</sup> The lack of a direct object to the verb is more awkward, and is perhaps the greatest objection to the alternative reading. The advantage of this suggestion, however, is considerable, since it allows us to relate the day 12 Thoth to the crown-prince Ptolemy Eupator. This child, and his birth, certainly occupied much of Ḥor's thoughts and prophecies, and he mentions some sort of honour paid to the prince in the same Text 3, V° 1 'Isis has brought the diadems to your son in the temple of Memphis'. This reference alone suggests that Eupator was already more than an infant, even if the exact meaning of the phrase is hard to determine.<sup>15</sup> In the notes to another ostrakon, the difficult Text 5, the possibility was suggested that we have a reference to the birth of Eupator.<sup>16</sup> The date seems to be December 2, 166, and this would fit the possibility that Philometor's eldest son was born on 12 Thoth (= October 15) of the same year. We are therefore left with a revised chronology: birth of Ptolemy Philometor, between January and October 186; birth of Ptolemy Eupator, October 15, 166 (?); proclamation of Eupator, at least as eponymous priest of Alexander, summer 158; composition of Text 3 for eighth birthday of Eupator, October 13, 158. This is proposed merely as a working hypothesis; the quotation at the beginning of this note should serve to remind us that no chronology is likely to be final in Ptolemaic Egypt. The criteria will be how smoothly it fits the existing evidence, how neatly it explains doubtful or obscure references, and how aptly it accommodates any new material which comes to light. The discovery of the Ḥor archive brings hope that our knowledge will increase, and with it our understanding.

In conclusion it is perhaps worth while to recall two philological problems. The difficult group in Text 18 R° 2 is probably to be read *Hr tpy w3d.f* 'Horus who is upon his papyrus-stem'.<sup>17</sup> The group bears a certain resemblance to the examples from the Canopus decree given in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 105, although the writing in *Ḥor* is more complex and lacks the initial *w*. Bonnet, *Realexikon*, 583 *a*, appropriately relates the title to a Memphite cult-setting, and falcons upon papyrus-columns are of course well known as amulets.


<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., the very different formula applied to Euergetes II when his accession to power was thought to coincide with the coronation of the following Apis, Brugsch, *ZÄS* 24 (1886), 27.

<sup>14</sup> *Wb.* ii, 138 and refs.

<sup>15</sup> See n. *a* on p. 27 of the publication. Some sort of proclamation is obviously implied.

<sup>16</sup> N. *b* to p. 33 (second col.) and the commentary, p. 125.

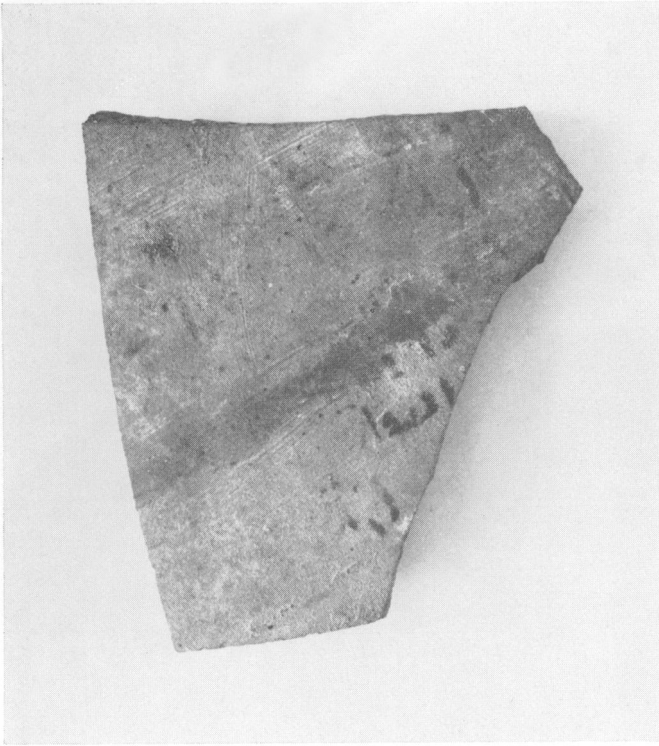
<sup>17</sup> *Archive of Ḥor*, 66 and 67 n. *d*.

On the strange demonstrative (?) pronoun first discussed in the notes to Text 2 (*Archive of Ḥor*, 16 n. *k*) there is an additional observation. The group also occurs in BM 10231 V<sup>o</sup> 14, 17, and in this case it recurs in the form  following the phrase *pꜣ wꜣḥ tꜣ šꜣt* (?).<sup>18</sup> The only word in this phrase which I am sure of is *pꜣ*, and it may just be that here we have the missing masculine singular use of this unusual group; but whether it is masculine or feminine, I am no nearer to discovering its nature. BM 10231 was translated by Revillout (*Rev. Ég.* 5 [1888], 47–8), but his rendering ‘il n’y a rien d’autre’ presumably derives from an attempt to read the group as *bn ky*. This is unlikely, and if it were true, the feminine and plural examples in the Ḥor archive could be expected to look quite different from each other. The same demotic papyrus also appears as number 17 in Sethe–Partsch, *Bürgschaftsurkunden*, but the passage in question was unfortunately not included in their publication.

In spite of this negative conclusion, the occurrence of our group in BM 10231 is interesting. The papyrus almost certainly comes from the Serapeum, and the date is in all probability close to that of the Ḥor texts. Sethe gives the date as February 20, 159, ascribing the text to Philometor. The strange demonstrative, if such it is, therefore seems to be a Memphitism of the mid-second century B.C. Perhaps other texts will give the clue to its decipherment.

<sup>18</sup> Photograph in Revillout, *Corpus Papyrorum*, ii, pl. 3.

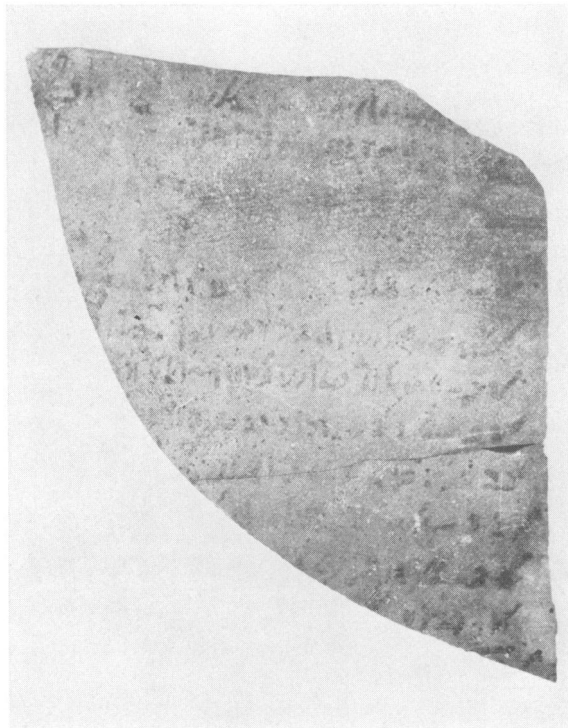




1. No. 67



2. No. 68



3. No. 66

Additional Texts

*EUTROPIUS NILOTICUS*

By F. FILCE LEEK

WHEN I submitted the article concerning the ancient Egyptian mummified fish for publication in *JEA* 62, I thought that all possible information had been gleaned from both the *Eutropius niloticus* and its wrappings. This thought remained, until a chance remark to a fellow member of the team investigating the mummies held in the Manchester Museum received the reply that it was highly probable that more knowledge could well be revealed if the body of the fish were subjected to a microscopic examination.<sup>1</sup>

It will be remembered from the original description that the body of the fish was in a poor state of preservation and it was hoped that not only a clue to this disintegration might be disclosed but also evidence of the presence of ecto-parasites might be detected. These can invade a fish during its lifetime and their haunts are on the gills and on the skin around the eyes. Fish are often hosts to a number of species of Crustacea and commonly fish lice (family Argulidae) and parasitic copepods are to be found. The cuticular remains of these arthropods are quite easily recognized, unlike the remains of soft-bodied parasites. The presence of certain protozoan parasites may be inferred if cysts are found to be present on the skin. Such cysts arise as the result of an irritation caused by sporozoan protozoa. It is possible that the remains of other protozoan parasites could be found, but whether the remains would be recognizable is an open question. It was also hoped that ecto-parasitic Peritrich ciliates, such as *Trichodina*, would likewise be detected.

After death, fish, in common with other organic remains found in ancient Egyptian tombs, are frequently invaded by insects and beetles more commonly associated with stored food products. Amongst those identified from infestations of foods found in such tombs, are specimens of *Tribolium*, *Sitophilus*, *Lasioderma Stegobium*, and Dermestids.

The microscopic examination was carried out with the aid of a Nikon Stereozoom microscope and a Cambridge S4-10 scanning electron microscope. The result of this examination revealed no ecto-parasites or external cysts, but a number of cast-off skin moults from some dermestid beetle larvae were found. Without doubt the destruction of the body of the fish had originally been caused by an infestation of these beetles, which after depositing their eggs amongst an adequate food supply for the emergent larvae had departed. These larvae were nourished by the surrounding tissue, and had in their turn departed, leaving behind, as evidence of their former presence, their skin moults. See pl. XIX, 1-3.

I am most grateful to Dr. Alan Curry, Withington Hospital, Manchester, for his suggestion, interest, and practical help in this investigation.

Whilst continuing the examination in the mid-ventral region, we saw another set of small fish ribs. The overlying material was carefully dissected away, revealing the presence of a small fish. The anterior half of the body was closely encased in a thin covering, which when moistened was easily removed. This tissue, most certainly, was a part of the stomach wall of the *Eutropius*. The small fish proved to be 30 mm long (without its caudal fin), and showed signs of partial digestion. Fortunately not only were the ribs intact but also the pharyngeal bones, and on the basis of these, the fish could be identified as a species of *Barbus*. Since some of the scales were still present, it could be put into the *Barbus* sub-division characterized by a radial pattern of striations on the scales. As there are three such species in the Nile, it is impossible to be more specific about the identity of the fish. There cannot be any doubt that this little *Barbus* did constitute the prey of the *Eutropius*, not only because the stomach wall was still adherent to it, but because the general pattern of decomposition to be seen is typical of that displayed by prey fish which have been in the stomach of the predator for a relatively short period of between two and three hours.<sup>2</sup>

As now the possibility of obtaining more information from the *Eutropius* seemed to be exhausted, attention was transferred to the outer and inner wrappings. These also were examined by the scanning electron microscope, and photographs of threads were taken at a magnification of  $\times 30$  and  $\times 1,000$ , to be used later for comparative purposes.<sup>3</sup> In all cases the wrapping cloth was in an extremely friable condition and the reason for this can be seen in the photograph taken at the highest magnification; here the surfaces appear to be covered by some minute fragments and the fibres are in some cases split longitudinally. Even at this high magnification it is not possible to identify the particles—they could be the products of oxidation of the material of the fibres, or the results of microbial action. See pl. XX, 1–3.

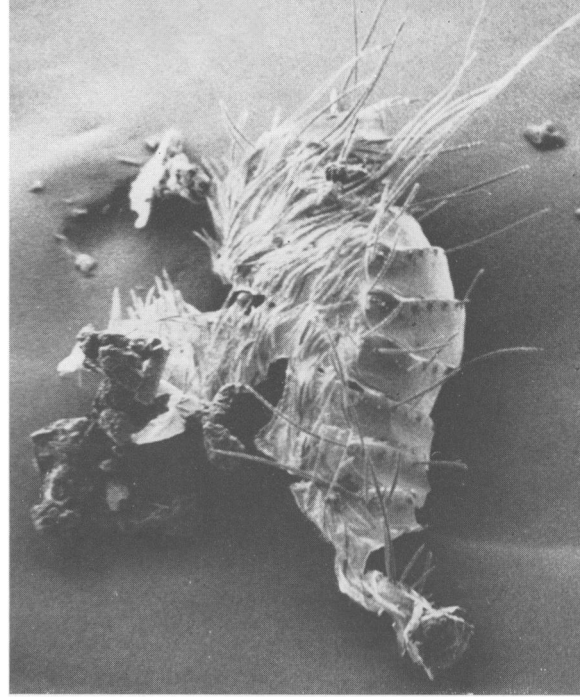
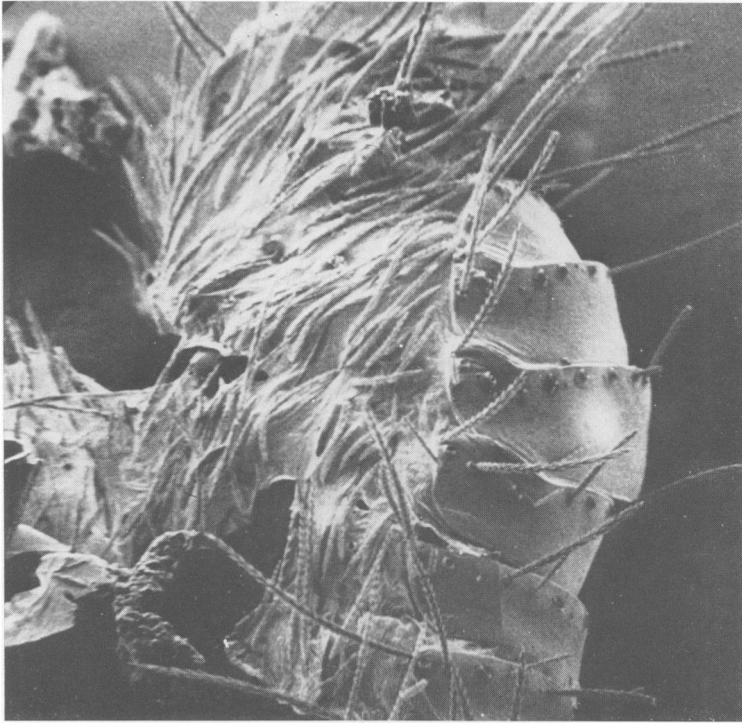
Whilst the wrappings of the *Eutropius* gave the same macroscopical impressions as do the wrappings commonly used for mummified human remains, just in case they were derived from a different source of organic fibres, photographs with the aid of the scanning electron microscope  $\times 300$  were taken of specimens of modern jute, sisal, and flax. Taking into account the diameter of the fibres and the general appearance of the material, it would appear to resemble more closely that of jute than either of the other two. See pl. XXI, 1–3. But as flax has been grown in Egypt since neolithic times and its fibres made up the material universally used for the wrappings of mummified human and other vertebrate remains, it can be assumed that these wrappings had also been derived from the flax plant (*Linum usitatissimum*).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> As with the original examination of the *Eutropius niloticus* Dr. P. H. Greenwood, British Museum (Nat. Hist.), carried out the ichthyological investigation and supplied all the details, for which I thank him.

<sup>3</sup> This part of the investigation was carried out by Dr. David Patterson, Department of Colour Chemistry and Dyeing, Leeds University, for whose co-operation in this and other ancient Egyptian wrapping investigations I am very grateful.

<sup>4</sup> For a comprehensive and detailed commentary on linen and other wrappings used for mummification in ancient Egypt, see A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th edn., 1962, rev. J. R. Harris), 128–154. For the widest discussion of the evidence relating to mummified fish in Ancient Egypt see Ingrid Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1970).

1. Micro-photograph of one of the larvae skin moults found within the *Eutropius niloticus*, possibly a specimen of *Anthrenus sp.* (Dermestidae). These can be less than 1.0 mm long, thus are frequently overlooked during inspection of ancient organic remains. Mag.  $\times 85$

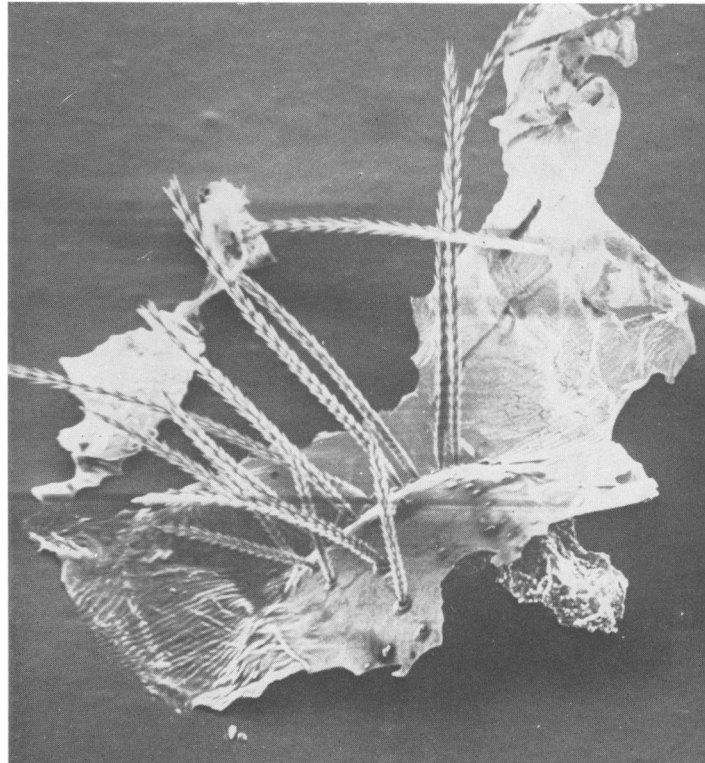


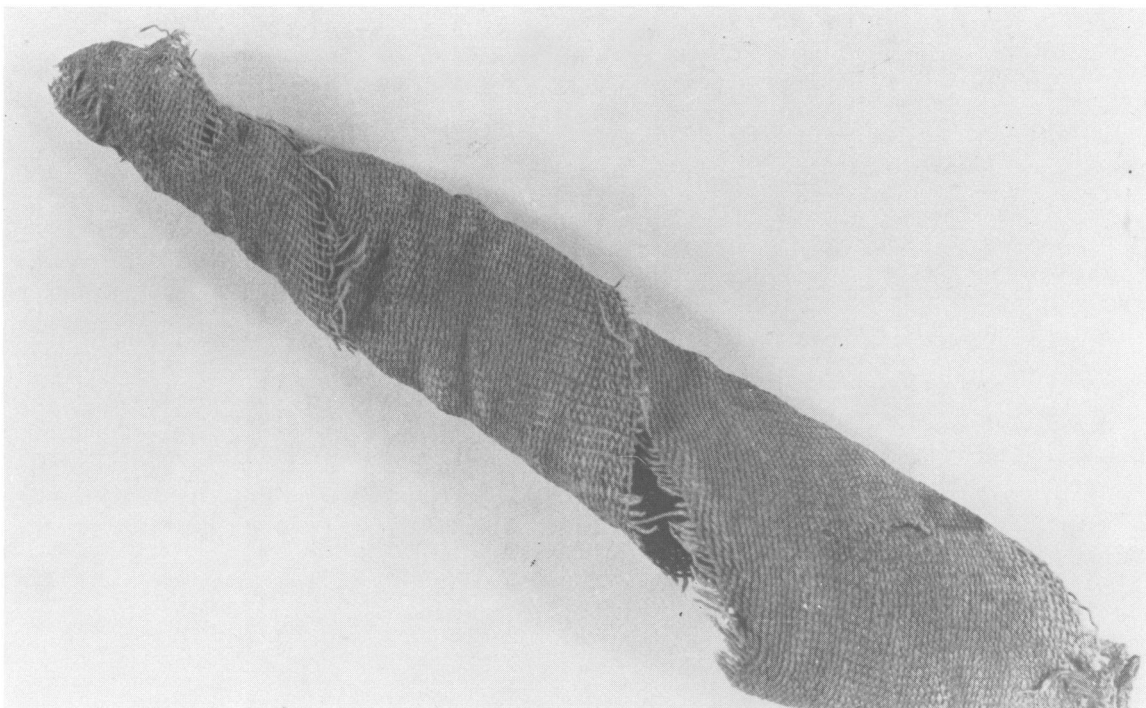
2. Showing the detail of the tergal plates of the moult.  
Mag.  $\times 165$

3. The rows of double barb-like processes of the setae are dramatically highlighted.  
Mag.  $\times 240$

Courtesy Dr. Alan Curry

*EUTROPIUS NILOTICUS*

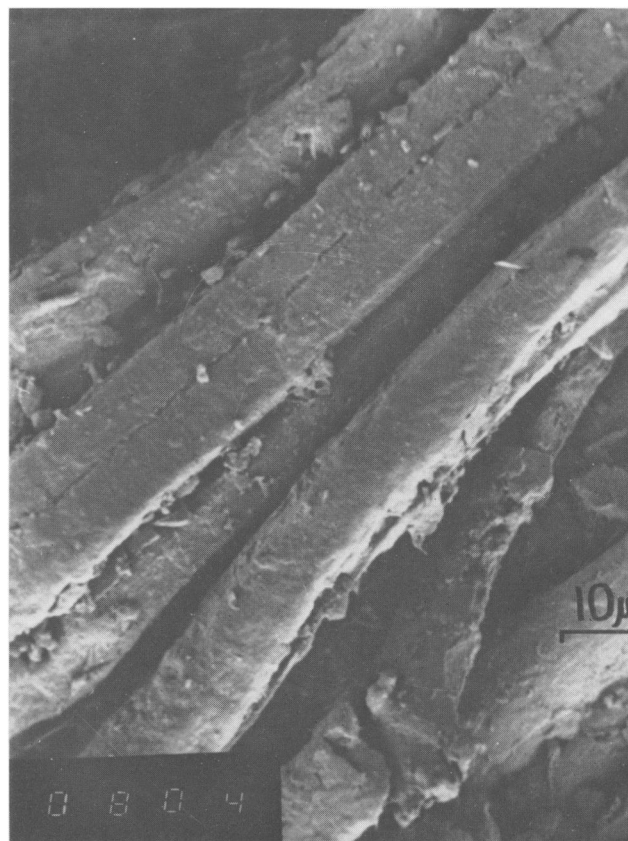




1. The outer wrappings of the *Eutropius niloticus*



2. Scanning electron micrograph of the threads of the wrapping. Mag.  $\times 30$



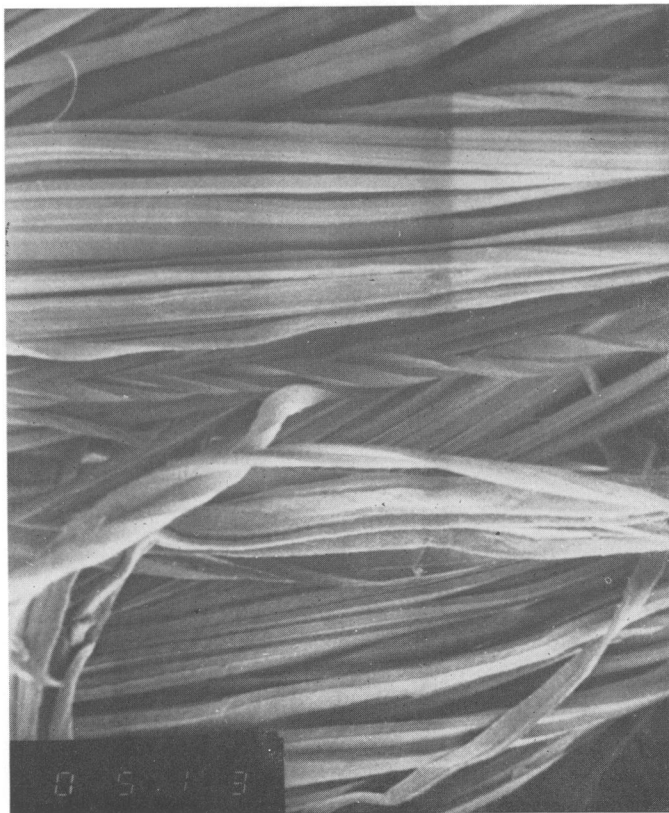
3. As in 2, but mag.  $\times 1,000$

Courtesy Dr. David Patterson, Wolfson Organic Powders Research Unit, Dept. of Colour Chemistry, Leeds University

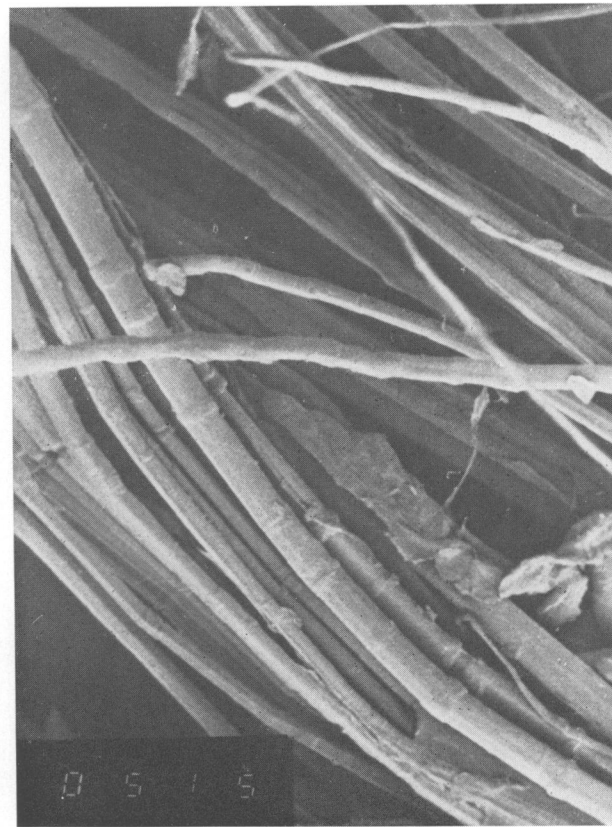
*EUTROPIUS NILOTICUS*



I.



2.



3.

Scanning electron micrographs of fibres woven from specimens of modern (1) jute; (2) sisal, and (3) flax. Mag.  $\times 300$

*Courtesy Dr. David Patterson*

***EUTROPIUS NILOTICUS***

## Egyptian antiquities acquired in 1976 by museums in the United Kingdom

*Edited by* JANINE BOURRIAU

WITH the exception of numbers 41, 65, 84, all the British Museum acquisitions were gifts of the Egypt Exploration Society. The provenance is given where it is known.

### Palaeolithic

1-2. Flint hand axes, Fitzwilliam E.25.1976, E.28.1976. Lengths 14.0, 13.0 cm. From the Fayûm and Sinai.

3-6. Flint implements and core, Fitzwilliam E.26-7.1976, E.29-30.1976. Lengths 8.0, 9.2, 10.2, 14.2 cm. From Sinai.

### Neolithic

7-8. Flint microliths, Fitzwilliam E.16-17.1976. Average length 2.5 cm. From Helwân North and Helwân South.

9-13. Flint arrowheads, Fitzwilliam E.3-6.1976, E.21.1976. Average length 5.4 cm. From various sites in the Fayûm. For 9-11, cf. G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum* pls. xxxix, 9, xxxvii, 21, xlii, 11. (pl. XXII, 1)

14-15. Flint sickle blades, Fitzwilliam E.19-20.1976. Average length 8.6 cm. From Qaşr el-Sâgha, cf. *ibid.*, pl. xl, 11, 5.

16-19. Flint knives, Fitzwilliam E.7-8.1976, E.23-4.1976. Average length 14.6 cm. From various sites in the Fayûm, cf. *ibid.*, for 18, 16, pl. xxxvi, 1-2; for 17, 19, pl. xxxvii, 3.

20-2. Flint and dolerite axes and flint axehead, Fitzwilliam E.12.1976, E.9.1976, E.15.1976. Average length 7.2 cm. From various sites in the Fayûm, cf. for 20-1, *ibid.*, pl. xxxiv, 7, vii, 6.

23-5. Leaf-shaped points and side blow flint, Fitzwilliam E.10-11.1976, E.2.1976. Average length 11.8 cm. From Qaşr el-Sâgha, cf. *ibid.*, pl. xl, 29, 25, xliii, 15.

26-7. Volcanic ash pounder and limestone discoidal mace head, Fitzwilliam E.22.1976, E.14.1976. Length 6.7, 5.5 cm. From Qaşr el-Sâgha.

28. Bone harpoon points, Fitzwilliam E.13a-c.1976. From Qaşr el-Sâgha, cf. *ibid.*, pl. xvii.

### Protodynastic

29-30. Wooden and bone arrowheads with circular cross sections, Ashmolean 1976.565-6. Lengths 11.6, 10.1 cm.

### Early Dynastic Period

31. Clay jar-sealing with the *serekh* of Ḥor-Aḥa, British Museum 68676. Height 7 cm. From Abydos, see Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pl. xiv, 97.

32. Two clay jar-sealings with the *serekh* of Udimu, British Museum 68677-8. Height 14, 15 cm. From Abydos, tomb of Udimu.

33. Clay jar-sealing with the *serekh* of Udimu and the title *šhm-hri-ib*, British Museum 68679. Height 23.0 cm. From Abydos, see Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, pl. xxiv, 44.

34. Rim fragment of a pink limestone bowl, British Museum 68619. Length 6.2 cm. From the tomb of Udimu at Abydos, cf. Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pl. liii C, 443.

35. Two fragments of slate bangles, British Museum 68620-1. Width 0.7, 0.8 cm. From Abydos, tomb of Peribsen.

### Old Kingdom

36. Pottery vessel of a type used to contain contracted burials, British Museum 68666. Height 49.0 cm. Third Dynasty; cf. A. C. Mace, *Naga-ed-Der, II*, pl. 55, e-g.

37. Hand-made red ware pottery vessel, British Museum 68634. Height 20.0 cm. From El-Kâb. Third-Fourth Dynasty.

### First Intermediate Period

38-9. Brown and pale buff pottery vessels, British Museum 68630, 68641. Heights 11.9, 7.5 cm.

### Middle Kingdom

40. Schist statuette, Ashmolean 1976.48 (pl. XXII, 2). Fragment of seated figure with incised inscription. Height 7.6 cm. Probably from Cusae.

41. Terracotta female figurine with incised lines, British Museum 40965. Height 22.0 cm.

42-3. Alabaster *kohl*-pots, British Museum 68659-60. Heights 8.3, 4.3 cm.

44. Four red-brown ware pottery vessels, British Museum 68628-9, 68632-3. Heights 10.4, 9.2, 17.4, 17.5 cm.

### Second Intermediate Period

45. Anhydrite *kohl*-pot, British Museum 68658. Height 4.5 cm. From Huy Y490, see Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. xxx, bottom left.

### New Kingdom

46. Two funerary cones of Senmut, Ashmolean 1976.43-4. Remaining height, 9.9, 8.3 cm. Reign of Hatshepsut.

47. Fragment of a faience head, comprising part of the side of the face and the ear, with the remains of a blue crown decorated with incised circles above it, British Museum 68612. Height 3.1 cm. From El-'Amarna (35-36/460), see J. D. S. Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten, III*, 73.

48. Fragment of a red granite foot, British Museum 68583. Length 6.3 cm. From El-'Amarna (35-36/269), see *ibid.*, 68.

49-50. Limestone fragments of baboons, British Museum 68585-6. Heights 4.2, 5.6 cm. From El-'Amarna (30-1/304), see H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten, II*, 62.

51. Fragment of limestone sunk relief with part of the prenomen of Akhenaten, Ashmolean 1976.567. Height 5.4 cm. From El-'Amarna, from wall-facing of Harîm Quarters of North Palace. Newton and Griffith excavations, 1923-5.

52. Fragment of limestone relief incised with cartouche of Akhenaten, Ashmolean 1976.52. Length 12.8 cm. From El-'Amarna.



53. Fragment of limestone relief with part of a face, British Museum 68584. Height 7.6 cm. From El-'Amarna (35-6/122), see Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, III, 83.
54. Fragment of limestone relief incised with names of the Aten, British Museum 68661. Height 7.0 cm.
55. Mud seal-impression with cartouche of Akhenaten, British Museum 68613. Length 3.5 cm. From El-'Amarna, see *ibid.*, pl. c, 4.
56. Three faience ring-bezels inscribed 'Ankh-kheperu-rē, British Museum 68614-6. Average length 1.9 cm. From El-'Amarna.
- 57-8. Faience ring-bezel with inscription, and bead with cartouche of Akhenaten, British Museum 68617-8. Lengths 2.1, 2.2 cm. From El-'Amarna.
59. Gold wire ring, British Museum 68588. Diameter 1.5 cm. From El-'Amarna (28-9/289), see Frankfort and Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, 51.
60. Eighteen bronze needles, British Museum 68590-68604, 68609-11. Average length 6.8 cm. From El-'Amarna, excavated 1928-9.
61. Bronze *kohl*-stick and tip of chisel, British Museum 68607-8. Length 9.1, 4.5 cm. From El-'Amarna.
62. Diorite heart scarab, Ashmolean 1976.54. Hollows for inlaid eyes, and traces of 8-line inscription. Length 5.5 cm. Eighteenth Dynasty.
63. Two fragments of papyrus, probably from the same roll, Manchester 1976.15A,B. Containing spells from the Book of the Dead of Hapusir. Heights 10.3, 12.0 cm. From the Robert Corder collection. Eighteenth Dynasty.
64. Sandstone stela showing Ramesses II offering to Satet, British Museum 68675. Height 50.0 cm. From Amâra West.
65. Upper part of a granite statue of a prince shown wearing a short wig and the sidelock. On the back pillar are the remains of an inscription, British Museum 68682. Height 26.0 cm. See W. V. Davies in *British Museum Society Bulletin*, November 1976.
66. Limestone fragment of a statuette of a king, comprising torso, arms, and upper part of legs, British Museum 68663. He wears a short kilt, and on the back pillar is a vertical inscription giving titles only. Height 10.5 cm.
67. Granite fragment comprising legs and back pillar from a striding statue, British Museum 68671. Height 20.0 cm. From Buto.
68. Pottery statuette of a standing figure of a man wearing a short kilt, British Museum 68589. Head and feet broken away. Height 17.4 cm.
69. Fragment of limestone relief with remains of three vertical lines of inscription, British Museum 68662. Height 9.5 cm.
- 70-1. Two limestone relief fragments, showing the rear of two horses and a chariot wheel, and the torso of a male figure, British Museum 68673, 68581. Heights 22.1, 6.4 cm.
72. Fragment of sandstone with incised hieratic graffiti on one side, British Museum 68674. Height 22.0 cm.
- 73-4. Papyrus fragments from funerary compilations, Manchester 1976.17, 1976.19. Scenes of woman in boat, a goddess (Nut?), a scarab beetle, and funerary texts. Height of largest fragment 13.1 cm. From the Robert Corder collection. New Kingdom (?)

75. Ten fragments of silver in folded sheets, British Museum 68587.
76. Three brown ware pottery vessels, British Museum 68649–51. Average height 13 cm. From Sesebi Town.
77. Three pottery vessels, British Museum 68622, 68624, 68680.

### Third Intermediate Period

78–9. Two faience shabtis of the God's Father of Amūn, Bakenkhons, British Museum 68605–6. Fillet, tools, seed basket, and inscription in black with name and title in a vertical line down the front. Heights 14.5, 12.7 cm. Probably from Abydos. Twenty-first Dynasty. Cf. D. Randall-Maciver and A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. lviii, 44; J. Garstang, *El Arābah*, 43, pl. xiv.

80. Sandstone block inscribed with the name of Taharqa, British Museum 68664. Height 35.0 cm.

81–2. Fragments of serpentine and steatite shabtis of Pedamenope, Ashmolean 1976.45–6. Height 7.8, 6.6 cm. Presumably from Thebes, tomb 33. Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty, see J. Málek, *JEA* 63 (1977), 134 (A), 136 (C), pl. xxv (A), (C), fig. 1, 3 (C).

83. Granite statuette, Ashmolean 1976.49 (pl. XXII, 3). Lower part of a kneeling figure of an Overseer of Singers. The figure supports a small standing figure of Osiris, and is inscribed on the base. Height 19.4 cm. Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

### Late Period

84. Sheet of papyrus with thirty lines of demotic text on recto, British Museum 10845. Height 29.5 cm. The text is an appeal for help from “the Ibis, the Falcon, the Baboon and the gods who rest with them in the resting-place of the Ibis” on behalf of Psenthotos and Naneferro against their father Harpakheme.

85. Faience shabti, Ashmolean 1976.47. One vertical incised line of inscription naming Esi. Height 12.0 cm. Twenty-eighth–Thirtieth Dynasty (pl. XXIII, 1).

86. Fragment of an inscribed schist offering table probably naming Nectanebo II, British Museum 68582. Length 7.6 cm. From Armant (28–9/94); see Sir Robert Mond and O. H. Myers, *The Bucheum, II*, 22; III, pl. xlixA, 27.

87. Three faience shabtis, British Museum 68667–9. Average height 4.9 cm. From Abydos, Cemetery G. Ptolemaic.

88. Fragment of faience sistrum handle, Ashmolean 1976.50. Inscribed with the cartouche of a Ptolemy. Height 10.5 cm. Ptolemaic.

89. Fragment of cartonage, Manchester 1976.14. Scenes of mummy on a bier, with Isis and Hapy on right and Nephthys and Amset on left. Height 11.4 cm. Probably from Thebes. Ex Hilton Price collection, gift of Robert Corder. Ptolemaic. See *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue*, July 12th, 1911, lot 1035 (pl. XXII, 4).

90. Two papyrus fragments, each inscribed with the name of Ptolemy II, Manchester 1976.18A, B. Heights 4.3, 4.2 cm. From the Robert Corder collection. Ptolemaic.

91. Four terracotta lamps, British Museum 68540–3. Average length 8.1 cm. Graeco-Roman.

92. Three terracotta heads of a Greek, a negro, and a Sardinian, British Museum 68547–9. Average height 4.5 cm. Graeco-Roman.

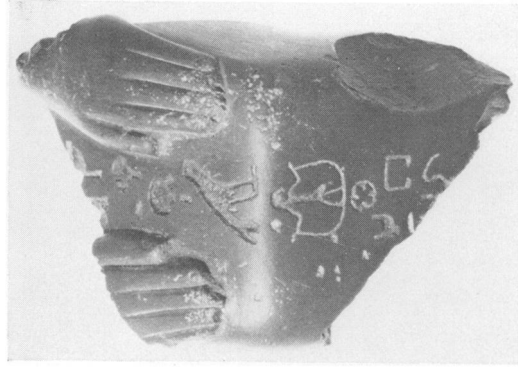
93. Three limestone heads, British Museum 68550-2. Average height 5.6 cm. Graeco-Roman.
94. Sandstone offering table with cursive Meroitic inscription, British Museum 68681. Height 13.5 cm. From Qaşr Ibrîm. Meroitic.
95. Eight pottery vessels, British Museum 68642-7, 68656, 68665. From Sesebi, X-group cemetery.
96. Square bone inlay with incised concentric circles, Ashmolean 1976.568. Height 3.1 cm. From Tanis, Grenfell, and Hunt excavations (?). Roman.
97. Five pottery vessels, British Museum 68652-5, 68657. From Sesebi Town. Late Roman period.
98. Steatite statuette, Ashmolean 1976.51. Part of body and arms of a bearded man wearing a deep collar. Height 11.9 cm. (pl. XXIII, 2).
99. Fragment of a limestone block with one vertical band of inscription in raised relief, Ashmolean 1976.55. Height 15.5 cm. (pl. XXIII, 3).
100. Wooden mummy case with scenes of deities on the upper lid, Manchester 1976.50A, B. Length 183.0 cm. Possibly from Thebes.
101. Mummy of a woman, Manchester 1976.50-51A, B. Length 160.0 cm. Possibly from Thebes.
102. Fragment of papyrus with funerary texts, Manchester 1976.16. Height 5.4 cm. From the Robert Corder collection. Late period (?).
103. Faience shabti with tools, wig and inscription in black, British Museum 68670. Height 10.3 cm.
104. String of faience beads, Ashmolean 1976.1. Length of string 87.0 cm.
105. Five pottery vessels, British Museum 68623, 68625-7, 68648.

### Coptic Period

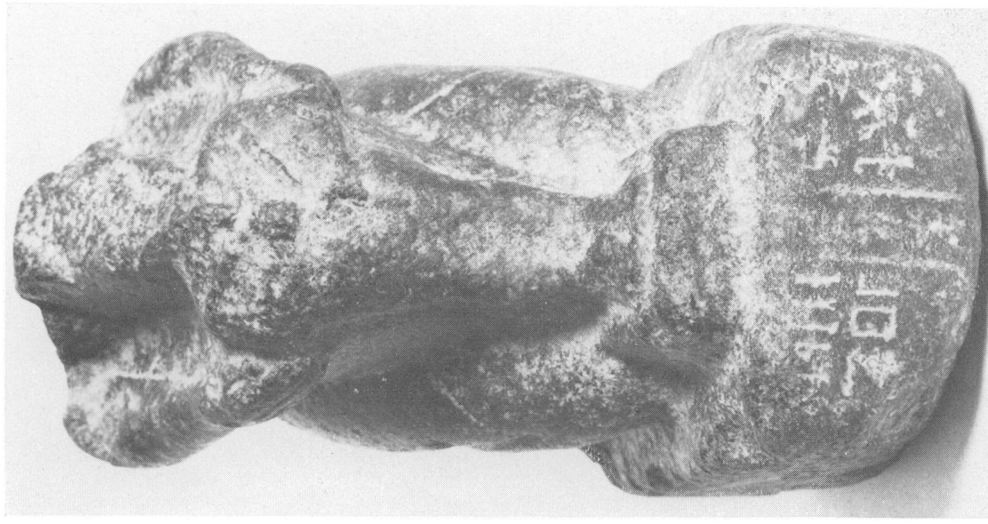
106. Sleeveless tunic of undyed wool with in-woven *clavi* in purple: vine scroll design with medallions containing horsemen, dancers or animals alternating with figure-groups, Roy. Scot. Mus. 1976.126. Length 237.0 cm. Tenth-Eleventh century A.D. (pl. XXIII, 4).
107. Two inscribed ostraca, Manchester 1976.20-1. Heights 8.0, 6.9 cm. From the Robert Corder collection.
108. St. Menas flask, Ashmolean 1976.569. Height 8.5. From Heliopolis. Byzantine.
109. Limestone stamp with incised cross, British Museum 68555. Length 4.9 cm.
110. Plaster jar-sealing with impression of a cross in the centre and inscription around the edge, British Museum 68556. Diameter 10.8 cm.
111. Iron arrowhead with three vanes and pointed tang, British Museum 68580. Length 7.0 cm.
112. Nine bone pins and four bone pegs, British Museum 68557-65, 68574-7. Average length 9.5 cm.
113. Nine bone inlay fragments, British Museum 68566-73, 68578.
114. Flat bone spatula, British Museum 68579. Length 6.2 cm.



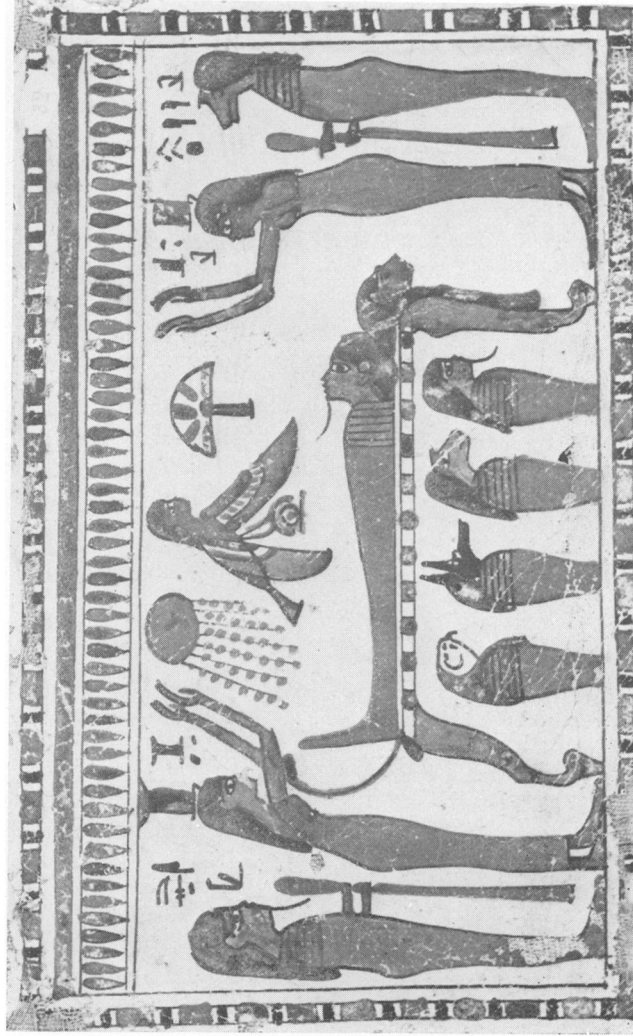
1. Flint arrow-heads, Fitzwilliam Museum, 9-13



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1. Faience shabti,  
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*Courtesy museums named*

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1976

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

### The Tura Caves

THIS note is offered because of the possibility that many Egyptologists may not be aware of a most interesting survival of the practical work of the Fourth Dynasty.

A few miles south of Cairo on the east bank begins that vast block of limestone which forms the main mass of the Eastern Desert. The quarry at Tura, the accompanying cement works, and the steel works are a large feature of the industrial life of Egypt to-day. But Tura was also the quarry for the Pyramids, as was reported by Herodotus (2. 8):

As one proceeds beyond Heliopolis up the country, Egypt becomes narrow, the Arabian range of hills, which has a direction from north to south, shutting it in upon the one side, and the Libyan range on the other. The former ridge runs on without a break, and stretches away to the sea called the Erythrean; it contains the Quarries whence the stone was cut for the pyramids of Memphis . . . (Rawlinson's translation 1858)

In 1940 it was decided to clear out the Tura Caves (note the word, indicating the view that they were a natural formation), with the object of storing the first portion of Middle East Forces reserves of ammunition. These caves were blocked with the accumulated bat dirt of thousands of years. The process, once started, continued and by 1942 Tura Caves were holding large quantities of ammunition, the Army's stores of signal and weapon equipment of high military value, bombs for the R.A.F., signal and radar equipment for the Navy and R.A.F., a workshop, and a hospital. The order is roughly of time not of importance, and the object of the list is to give an indication of the size of the place.

In spite of the name, Tura Caves were not a natural phenomenon, but a huge beautifully wrought quarry, or stone mine, whence had come the limestone blocks for the pyramids. There can be no disputing this, because in 1942 at one point at the end of the quarry a pyramid block was found lying on wooden rollers, still after some five thousand years awaiting delivery. On the side was a job code number in lamp black. To me that job code number was and is the most moving relic of Pharaonic Egypt. It indicates the presence of a working engineer, part of that huge team of engineers and managers who first designed the programme for building a pyramid, and then carried it out. For those without experience, the design and layout of a construction job code itself demands an unusual combination of intelligence and industry.


There are still problems. The normal explanation of the method of transporting the pyramid blocks from Ma'âdi to Gîza is that it was done by barge on the flood. But the distances are such that it is easy to think that the current at the peak of the flood would have carried the loaded barges well past Giza before they could have got across the river. And indeed this must often have happened. The job must have been done on the waning flood, with the implication that the job of transporting the output of a year's quarrying and receiving the input for a year's construction must have been crammed into a few weeks. And that involves calculations of the numbers of men and barges employed which could indicate quite clearly that it was impossible to build the pyramids. But they were built, and they deserve the more their title of a wonder of the world the more closely their construction is scrutinized.

'Liaison' *n* between *-n* and *wi*

IN Gardiner's *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 62, he comments on an unexplained *n* before the dependent pronoun *wi* in *sb.sn n wi* 'when they will send me', *Sim.* B171; an identical collocation occurs in *CT* VI, 66*h*. He also quotes *ms.tn n wi* 'see me', Neferhotpe Stela 33; *CT* III, 382*c*; *shj.sn n wi* 'they remember me', Neferhotpe Stela, 30-1. I can now add twelve more instances from *CT*, as follows:

*Gm.n.sn n wi* 'they found me', II, 5*d* (B1C) beside *gm.n.s wi* in three texts and *gm.n.s N pn* in one.

'I shine for you' *bnr.tn n wi* 'that you may please me', V, 196*c* in three texts; B9C omits the extra *n*.

*N hfc.tn n wi n 3mm.tn n wi* 'you shall not seize me, you shall not grasp me', VI, 41*c*, where *wi* is written as . In the repetitions of these two sentences in 41*l. t*; 42*h*, the extra *n* is not written.

*M33.sn n wi* 'they see me', VI, 49*f* (S1C<sup>a</sup>). In S1C<sup>b</sup> the *n* is not written. So also 57*a*, where both S1C () and B2L have the *n*; 59*e* (S1C, ) ; 61*a* in all three texts; ( in S1C).

*Iw in.n.tn n wi* 'you have brought me', VI, 242*b*, both texts.



'The knot is tied behind me by Seth . . .' *swd.tn n wi* 'so that you might make me hale', VI, 261*i*, both texts.

*In šmsw dw3.sn n wi* 'it is the Servitors who will adore me', VI, 287*j*.

*Rh.tn n wi* 'may you know me', VI, 323*x*.

*Swd.tn n wi* 'may you assign me', VI, 323*cc*.

*Ic.n n wi* '(I) have washed myself', VI, 342*p*. The conjunction of the two *n*'s suggests that the suffix 1st sing. was omitted in speech as well as in writing; if the suffix had been present there would have been no occasion for the intrusive *n*. But see below on VII, 19*c*.

The function of this *n* is not clear, but the fact that in all examples except the last it occurs between final *-n* of a preceding plural suffix and the weak radical *w* of *wi* suggests to me that it may once have formed a liaison in speech, strengthening the *n* of the suffix when followed by *wi*; the writings  and  tend to support this view, as does the last example above, where the absence of the suffix has brought the tense-former *.n* into contact with *wi*; that this 'liaison' *n* is a somewhat rare phenomenon suggests that it may have died out in contemporary speech. On the other hand, it is not impossible that VI, 342*p* may be on a different footing from the other instances, for in VII, 19*c* we have *iw sb.n.i n sw* 'I have conducted him', where the *n* is preceded by the suffix 1st sing. and the pronoun is not *wi* but *sw*. I can offer no satisfactory explanation of this, but it is possible that the *n* in this sentence is due to examples like those quoted above, and is entirely out of place here.

Another intrusive *n* for which no explanation offers itself occurs in *iw n sn r.sn* 'they are against them', I, 33*a* in seven out of nine texts; only B1P and B4C have the normal *iw.sn*; it occurs again in 52*d*, where S10C is the sole text.

R. O. FAULKNER

## Peasant B 141-145

THE passage *Peasant B* 141-5 does not present any difficulties in translation. The general meaning is clear and it does not contain obscure words except for *iw* in the sentence *grg iw t hb:wt B* 143. This word has been satisfactorily explained by Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern* (Leipzig, 1913), 125-6 as a form of *ist* 'a mound', a meaning which is generally accepted, and the sentence is translated 'You are like the flood. You are Hçapy who makes green the fields, revives the wastelands' (Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Berkeley, 1973, I, 175.

Gardiner translated 'wasted tracts' (*JEA* 9, 13) and so also did Faulkner in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed. W. K. Simpson, New Haven, 1973, 30). However, the exact point of the sentence seems to have been lost. It seems to me that there is a certain sentence in the Coffin Texts which may shed new light on this one and enable us to gain an insight into its meaning, thus providing the missing point of the passage as a whole.

In *CT*, IV, 143*k-l* the deceased, describing himself as the Nile (Ḥꜥꜣꜣ) says: *iy.i ḥbꜣ.i šm.i grg.i* 'It is destroying that I come and it is building that I go'.<sup>1</sup> The combination of the words *grg* and *ḥbꜣ* gains a certain significance in our sentence in view of this phrase. The words *iwꜣt ḥbꜣꜣꜣ* do not mean 'waste lands' at all. On the contrary, they mean the inundated arable land and the banks of the river that are crushed by the rushing flood. The subtle nuance of the sentence is that in the process of fertilizing the land the river causes damage to it, and that the Nile builds what it had itself previously destroyed. The meaning of the whole passage is: you are like the flood; it makes green the fields and builds the destroyed mounds (but these it had destroyed itself). So punish the robber and save (take counsel for) the poor man (i.e. me), but do not in the process come as a devastating flood against the pleader (i.e. me), i.e. do not torment me on your way to helping me; do not mistreat me before you eventually grant my petition. This could of course be a reference to the situation in the story in which the peasant is made to plead over and over again without his case being decided; but, on the other hand, it can very well be a general statement against the tribulations caused by Egyptian bureaucracy.

M. GILULA

### Some remarks on nominal patterns in Middle Egyptian

UPON reading Dr. M. Gilula's article on this subject in *JEA* 62 (1976), 160 ff. I wondered if I could add some remarks on the whole approach to such patterns. *A priori*, I notice that my colleagues usually collect their examples within the framework of the context, then they try to find explanations for their individual or collective occurrences. Naturally many anomalies would present themselves.


But, from a purely Semitic approach, I would adopt an opposite method, with a *Maßstab* in English, and then see how far it would solve our difficulties. According to the basic definition of a nominal *Identitäts Satz* pattern, the PREDICATE may be DIRECTLY JUXTAPOSED, though rarely, to the SUBJECT and agree with it in number and gender. Thus as the basic pattern stands in English: 'My father, (THE) king', *it.i nsw* forms a nominal construction. However, such a pattern, with presumably *defined* predicate, is, unfortunately, regarded as a case of apposition, i.e. (THE) king is in apposition to MY father. To translate such pattern by a complete NOMINAL SENTENCE we must insert the impersonal *PW* and invert the word-order of the pattern. It should run as follows: *Nsw PW it.i*. Since *written* Middle Egyptian does not recognize the articles, definite or indefinite, I must presume the *indefinite* article (A) preceding the PREDICATE in order to form a complete nominal pattern, thereby complying with the Semitic linguistic taste, namely that the PREDICATE should be of a GENERAL nature. However, 'MY father, (A) king' may give two possibilities:

- (1) *it.i nsw*—with direct juxtaposition, which is very rare; or
- (2) *it.i M nsw*—with the insertion of a redundant (?) *M*.

<sup>1</sup> The form of the verb with double  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$  i.e.  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  and  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  is a writing of the emphatic *šdm.f*. Cf. also *CT* IV, 112*h-i*, 115*a*, II, 230*e*, 232*c-233a* (S2C<sup>c</sup>), *Ḥekanakhte*, II, 38 and *CT* III, 34*b* (B9C), IV, 143*a*. This form is also used for the circumstantial *šdm.f*, cf. Polotsky, 'Egyptian Tenses' (*Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, 5), §11 p. 5, and in particular *CT*, VII, 495*g iw ntr iwy.f m ḥtp*, but *CT*, VII, 255*d* and 330*c* analysed by Polotsky loc. cit. as circumstantial can alternatively be interpreted as emphatic. *Ḥbꜣ.i* and *grg.i* are circumstantial *šdm.f*.





the weak final consonant reappearing as *y* in the participial form. This possibility is borne out by the Late Egyptian writing of *nht* 'sycamore' as ,<sup>5</sup> for the passage under consideration strongly suggests that the Egyptian word for sycamore essentially means 'shelter'.<sup>6</sup> The Eleventh-Dynasty garden of *Mkt-R'* immediately comes to mind, with its bower of sycamore figs surrounding a pool,<sup>7</sup> as well as several textual references to sycamore figs surrounding lakes;<sup>8</sup> in such cases the trees were valued as much for shade as for their yield of figs.

HENRY G. FISCHER

### A staff of the Princess's Butler, Tuthmosis

IN the collections of the City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham, is a wooden staff inscribed with a funeral offering formula dedicated to the Princess's Butler, Tuthmosis. The Museum inventory (no. 474/52) records it as a gift of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, but there are no further details of this transaction. Nothing is known of the previous history of the staff except that lot 17 of the collections of Mrs. Randolph Beren (Sotheby Sale Catalogue, July 31, 1923) contained several items including 'a portion of a staff with remains of a bronze socket and a well-cut inscription of the Eighteenth Dynasty, praying for offerings for the soul of Tahutimes, Servant of the Princess'. It seems likely that this is a reference to our piece. The staff is a smoothed stick of hard wood 1.3 metres long, gently curved and tapering from a maximum diameter of 22 mm at the top to 15 mm at the base. Both ends are sawn off square and there is a small central hole in each, about 5 mm deep, 2 mm in diameter. There are several long lateral splits and small areas of destruction by white ant. About halfway along the length is a break which has been roughly repaired with a splint of mahogany almost certainly in modern times.

The staff has been examined by Mr. Richard Moore of the Jodrell Laboratory, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. It is from a hard wood legume, possibly *Dalbergia*, although not dark enough for *Dalbergia melanoxylon* (ebony), but more likely to be a *Pterocarpus*.

A much-damaged bronze cylinder, present length 142 mm, fits loosely over the top of the staff, for a distance of about 36 mm if the present discoloration of the wood is an accurate guide. The photographs (pl. XXIV) show the extent of the damage. Only part of one end seems to be preserved and there is no indication that the lost portion was shaped or modelled. The surface of the cylinder is quite plain, and there is no trace inside of any plaster fill for the hollow section.

The staff carries a single line of inscription 265 mm long, finely incised and filled with white pigment (see pl. XXIV, 1). It is superficially marred by two splits, but completely legible. The only departure from orthodox epigraphy is in the shape of the sign  $\ddagger$  in the word *šbdw* which is written in two separate parts. I know of no other example of this form of the sign.

The inscription may be translated as: *An offering which the King gives to Osiris, Lord of Abydos, that he may give funerary offerings of bread and beer, oxen and fowl and every good and pure thing which is set forth upon his altar to the Ka of the Butler of the King's Daughter Tuthmosis Justified before the Great God.*

The name Tuthmosis is common throughout the New Kingdom (Ranke, *PN*, I, 408<sup>s</sup>), but no other monuments of this particular man are known unless he is the Tuthmosis, owner of Theban tomb no. 205, who was a Royal Butler (see Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I, pt 1). JOHN RUFFLE

<sup>5</sup> *Wb.* II, 282.

<sup>6</sup> As has already been suggested by L. Keimer in 'The Sycamore, the Tree of Egypt', *Egypt Travel Magazine*, no. 29 (Jan. 1957), 25.

<sup>7</sup> H. E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, pls. 9-12, 56.

<sup>8</sup> H. G. Fischer, *Dendera*, 160, 225.



A STAFF OF THE PRINCESS'S BUTLER, TUTHMOSIS

## One of Tutankhamūn's trumpets

AFTER the conclusion of the Tutankhamūn Exhibition at the British Museum in 1973, I was permitted to examine the trumpet which was included among the exhibits, and for this would express my most grateful thanks to the authorities of the Cairo Museum for permitting me to do so and to the Egyptian Department of the British Museum for making it possible. This was the smaller of the two instruments found in the Pharaoh's tomb, the bronze trumpet, Catalogue no. 69851 (Hickmann 1949, pp. 144 and 145) and the reason for submitting this brief note is that a close examination has revealed a number of details of its construction that have not been published elsewhere. This note should be regarded as supplementary to Dr. Hans Hickmann's major study (Hickmann 1946).

The trumpet is made in two parts, the body being a slightly conical tube of copper or bronze rolled up from sheet between 0.2 and 0.25 mm in thickness. There is a normal, very skilfully brazed, meander joint down the whole length of the tube. This joint has been smoothed to a perfect finish on the outside of the tube but has been left slightly rough on the inside; the indentations of the joint are clearly visible. It is thus apparent that, as one would expect with a ceremonial

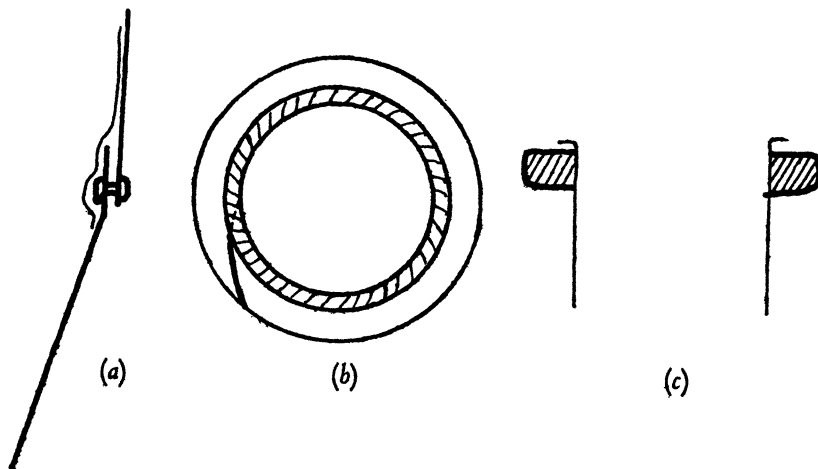


FIG. 1

instrument capable of producing only one or two notes, appearance was more important than acoustical perfection. The other part is the bell, which appears to be made of electrum or of a similar alloy of gold; it is clearly of a quite different material from the body tube and is so thin, between 0.1 and 0.13 mm in thickness, that it cannot be of pure gold, which would be far too soft to hold its shape. The bell is a straight cone and has no perceptible seam; neither internally nor externally is there any trace of a joint. The only conclusion that seems likely is that the joint was made without the use of a flux and was burnished until the gold simply flowed together. The body tube is inserted into the top of the bell and the two are riveted together at four points and the joint covered with a very thin sleeve of pure gold (fig. 1 a which is not to scale; the elements are separated laterally for clarity), which preserves the integrity of the joint against the leakage of air. The outer head of one of the rivets can be seen as a highlight in the detail photograph of the bell in the plate opposite p. 45 of the Catalogue of the Exhibition (Edwards, 1972).

The embouchure, that most controversial of all parts of these instruments, is simply a solid ring of metal, bearing no resemblance to any of the types illustrated by Hickmann (1946, p. 27, fig. 25). Edwards (p. 45) gives the material as silver; it looks like brass and my guess is that it may also be electrum. It is brazed on a diagonal joint (scarfe joint, fig. 1 b) and it is 3.25 mm thick. The proximal end of the body tube is bent out over this ring, the width of the covered portion being

1.2 mm (the hatched area in the figure). The top of the body tube is covered by a very thin sheet of gold, of no more than foil thickness. There is, in some portions of the circumference, a slight gap between the everted top of the body tube and the embouchure ring, as though the ring has slightly moved down the tube (fig. 1 c, in which this gap is exaggerated) and, in this gap, traces of gold can be seen. If these traces are a part of the sheet round the top of the tube, how is the embouchure ring held in position? It is certainly not riveted; it seems unlikely that it is brazed through the gold. It seems most probable that it is an exact fit to the top of the tube, possibly shrunk into position, and that the slight conicity of the tube suffices to hold it in place. Certainly it can be stated categorically that the ring is not on a sleeve (Hickmann, 1946, fig. 25 c) and I am as certain as one can be without probing or radiography that the above surmise is correct. If it is correct, it is evidence as to the notes obtained on the instrument. Hickmann (1946 pp. 34 ff.) and Kirby (1947 and 1952) produced three pitches from the instrument and from their copies of it, as I can on my copy, which was made for me some years ago to Hickmann's measurements by Peter Holmes, also a member of the Galpin Society. Readers who have heard the BBC broadcasts of the trumpet are urged to read Kirby, *op. cit.*, to discover how Bandsman Tappern elicited more notes from it than anyone else before or since. Kirby says that he doubts whether the highest note was ever used, since it requires considerable effort; I am certain that it was never used because the pressure required is more than this embouchure construction would tolerate. It is probable that only the middle note was used (both Hickmann and Kirby point out that the lowest note is poor in quality and carrying power and it is so poorly centred that they both elicited quite different pitches for it) and that the Egyptian military trumpet signal code was a rhythmic one on a single pitch. (Hickmann makes the military role of these trumpets clear beyond any doubt.)

If speculation based upon this hypothesis be permitted, it is likely that if (another hypothesis, but one that is generally accepted) the *Chatzotzeroth* of the Bible, the silver trumpets of Moses (Numbers chap. 10), were the same as the Egyptian trumpets (Sendrey p. 332 ff.), the signals used on these instruments would also have been a rhythmic code on one pitch and quite different from the shofar calls (Wulstan, *GS* 26).

It should be stressed that the above information applies only to the bronze trumpet. The silver trumpet differs from the bronze one in all published details and may differ also in construction. Since it shattered when it was blown in 1939 (according to Rex Keating, who told on the radio in 1954 the story of that historic first broadcast) it may never be possible to determine precisely how it was constructed.

JEREMY MONTAGU

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 We are grateful to the Galpin Society for permission to reproduce this note from *The Galpin Society Journal*.

#### The parentage of Tutankhamūn and Smenkhkarē

R. C. CONNOLLY, R. G. HARRISON, and Soheir Ahmed begin their interesting discussion of 'Serological evidence for the parentage of Tutankhamūn and Smenkhkarē'<sup>1</sup> with the following statement:

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 62 (1976), 184-6.

Earlier theories that Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) was the father of Tutankhamūn through his marriage to Nefertiti have now been discarded in favour of the more acceptable descent from Amenophis III.

This statement demands strong qualification, especially as the question of the parentage of these kings has immediate consequences in other historical and chronological issues.

First, for Tutankhamūn to have been the son of Amenophis III there must have been a long coregency between Amenophis III and Akhenaten.<sup>1</sup> The authors seem to dismiss the arguments against a coregency under the heading of 'earlier theories that . . . have now been discarded . . .' Without going over the ground again, I would merely point out that the case against a coregency has been strengthened considerably in recent years, largely by the work of D. B. Redford;<sup>2</sup> it is thus highly unfair to dismiss these views as either 'earlier' or 'discarded'.

Secondly, if Akhenaten was the father of Tutankhamūn, it does not necessarily follow that Nefertiti was his mother. J. D. Ray<sup>3</sup> addresses himself to this question:

We do know that Akhenaten possessed other wives, among them a Mitannian princess inherited from his father and an otherwise unknown woman named Kia . . . Either of these could have been the mother of Tutankhamūn; other candidates may well appear in time.

Thirdly, Ray<sup>4</sup> deals specifically with the question of blood groups as a criterion for paternity, arguing for a circumspect view:

. . . the fact remains that identity of blood groups may suggest filiation but cannot under any circumstances prove it . . . the most that we can say is that a certain blood group, A<sub>2</sub> and MN, ran in the veins of the royal family of Dynasty XVIII. It is therefore hardly surprising that Tutankhamūn (whom nobody supposes to have been of non-royal blood) should show a similar blood group; but this fact cannot be used to identify his father. . . . Once the group has entered the family inheritance, it may reappear at any point, subject only to the laws of genetics, and it is no indication of fatherhood. . . . A suspicion that conclusions drawn from blood groups are likely to dominate the literature in the future may perhaps justify this rather pedestrian line of argument.

Finally, the statement that 'the remains of Amenophis IV, Queen Tiye, and Sitamūn have not yet been discovered . . .'<sup>5</sup> must now be modified in the case of Queen Tiye, who has very recently been identified as the middle-aged woman from the tomb of Amenophis II on the basis of a spectrographic comparison of a hair sample with the lock of hair found in Tutankhamūn's tomb.<sup>6</sup> This discovery by E. F. Wente and J. E. Harris should lead to new and more definitive anatomical examinations in the effort to shed light on the elusive family relationships of the later Eighteenth Dynasty.

EDMUND S. MELTZER

<sup>1</sup> See D. B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies* (Toronto, 1967), 89 n. 5; K. A. Kitchen, review of C. Aldred, *Akhenaten*, *JEA* 57 (1971), 218; J. D. Ray, 'The parentage of Tutankhamūn', *Antiquity* 49 (1975), 45-7.

<sup>2</sup> [Redford,] op. cit., chap. 5; E. F. Campbell, Jr., *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters, with Special Reference to the Hypothetical Coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten* (Baltimore, 1964), and review by Redford, *JAOs* 87 (1967), 650-3; and Ray, op. cit. I am strongly in accord with Ray's summation (p. 47): ' . . . it seems honest at this point to declare my own suspicion that none of the arguments so far put forward for this co-regency is convincing; but whatever the truth of this, it is doubtful whether the coregency can rest solely on the frail shoulders of Nebkheprurē Tutankhamūn.' Also along with Ray (pp. 45-6) I find it difficult not to view as compelling the testimony of the inscription on a limestone block from Hermopolis reading *ḥt.f mry.f Twt-ḥw-itrn* 'the bodily son of the king, his beloved, Tutankhuaten', published by G. Roeder in *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* (Hildesheim, 1969), 40 and pl. 106 No. 831-VIII C.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., 46. Kia, or Kiya, has recently been discussed by J. R. Harris, 'Kiya', *CdE* 49 (1974), 25-30.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., 45.

<sup>5</sup> Connolly, Harrison, Ahmed, op. cit., 185.

<sup>6</sup> 'Queen Tiye Found!', *Oriental Institute News and Notes*, No. 30 (Oct., 1976): [1]-[2]. (I am grateful to Mrs. Diane Guzman, Wilbour Librarian, for this reference.)

### The date of the destruction of Emar and Egyptian chronology

RECENT excavations in Syria have yielded a rich harvest of finds which are now awaiting study. As yet only preliminary reports have appeared concerning the archaeological and epigraphical discoveries at Mesken, the site of the ancient city of Emar, but some tentative conclusions may be drawn prior to the full publication of the site.<sup>1</sup> The city was destroyed in a violent fire, and from one of the houses a cache of tablets was unearthed, dating prior to the conflagration. One of these tablets was written in year 2 of the Babylonian ruler Meli-šihu (Melik-shipak) corresponding to 1187 B.C. on the generally accepted chronology. However, on J. Brinkman's<sup>2</sup> calculations, this year 2 could vary from 1191 to 1178 B.C. Thus the destruction of Emar occurred some time after 1191 B.C. and possibly not until after 1178 B.C. Other tablets from the site show that the last known generation of Emar before the fire was contemporary with Talmi-Teshub, the last known ruler of Carchemish before its destruction.<sup>3</sup> It is thus likely that the destruction of Emar should be associated with that of Carchemish and other Syro-Hittite sites.

According to Egyptian records, Hatti, Carchemish, and other neighbouring states were destroyed by a wave of invaders known as the Sea-Peoples whose forces reached Egypt not later than year 8 of Ramesses III.<sup>4</sup> Presumably the destruction in Syria should be dated prior to their arrival in Egypt. Although the Egyptian text might contain an element of exaggeration, there can be little doubt that the facts, especially as regards the states destroyed, are essentially correct. The destruction of Emar, downstream from Carchemish on the Euphrates, should be attributed to these same invaders as it occurred at about the same time. Since the destruction of Emar occurred after 1191 B.C., it follows that year 8 of Ramesses III must also be placed after 1191 B.C.

The key date for Egyptian chronology in the latter part of the second millennium is that of the accession of Ramesses II which could have occurred in 1304 B.C., 1290 B.C., or 1279 B.C. according to astronomical evidence and synchronisms with other Near Eastern rulers. The high date has recently been challenged on genealogical grounds, and the low date can only be used with the minimum chronology put forward by Brinkman.<sup>5</sup> The minimum time span between the accession of Ramesses II and year 8 of Ramesses III is 101 years, with 67 years for Ramesses II, 10 for Merenptah, 6 for Sethos II, 8 for Siptah and Tewosret, and 2 for Setnakhte.<sup>6</sup> I have elsewhere demonstrated that probably not more than 10 years can be added to this period.<sup>7</sup> Thus, if year 8 of Ramesses III falls after 1191 B.C., the 1304 B.C. accession date for Ramesses II would be possible only if 12 years or more were added to the period and only if the 1191 B.C. date was used for the destruction. The 1290 B.C. accession date can be used with both the maximum chronology and, with slight additions, the standard date of 1187 B.C. but certainly not with any later date for the invasion. If the 1279 B.C. date is used for the accession, then year 8 of Ramesses III would fall in 1178 B.C. exactly or slightly later with the addition of a year or so.

The new information from Emar is thus not decisive as regards Egyptian chronology, but casts strong doubt on the 1304 B.C. date. It is hoped that more definite conclusions may be drawn when

<sup>1</sup> J. Maugeron, 'Quatre campagnes de Fouilles à Emar (1972-1974): un bilan provisoire', *Syria* 52 (1975), 53-85 and D. Arnaud, 'Les Textes d'Emar et la chronologie de la fin du Bronze Recent', *Syria* 52 (1975), 87-92.

<sup>2</sup> 'Notes on Mesopotamian History in the Thirteenth Century B.C.', *Bi. Or.* 27 (1970), 306-7. Professor Brinkman now informs me that his latest date for year 2 is 1185 ± 5 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Arnaud, *op. cit.* 91-2.

<sup>4</sup> W. Edgerton and J. A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1936), 49-53. An invasion of the Sea-Peoples is mentioned in a text dated year 5, but it is not clear whether this is a separate campaign or a later addition referring to the year 8 campaign.

<sup>5</sup> M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1975), 109-13.

<sup>6</sup> Bierbrier, *op. cit.* 1. The last years of Ramesses II and Sethos II are only partial. The reign of Amenmesse has been omitted from these calculations as its independence has recently been questioned; see R. Krauss, *SAK* 4 (1976) forthcoming.

<sup>7</sup> Bierbrier, *op. cit.* 42-4.


the Emar material and Brinkman's study of Kassite regnal years are fully published. The continuing excavations in Syria may yet afford conclusive evidence as to the date of the invasion of the Sea-Peoples and hence the chronology of Egyptian rulers in the latter half of the second millennium B.C.

M. L. BIERBRIER


### '200 Persea-Bäume im Ptahtempel von Memphis'?



In *JEA* 59, 1973, 113 hat Gaballa ein 'enigmatic fragment relating to Ramesses III' veröffentlicht, eine aus Mitrahine stammende obere Hälfte eines linken Türpfostens (JdE 45570) mit einer dreizeiligen Inschrift biographischen Inhalts. Gaballa las sicher richtig aus den beiden ersten Zeilen, daß sich der König von der Ramses-Stadt nach Memphis begeben hat, ohne allerdings zu versuchen, im Einzelnen den Text der Inschrift wiederherzustellen. Aus der 3. Zeile wollte er aber eine Stiftung von 200 Persea-Bäumen in den Ptaḥ-Tempel von Memphis ableiten, da er das Wort *šwꜣbw* erkannte. Diese Zeile dürfte jedoch anders zu interpretieren sein.

Die ersten beiden Zeilen dürften wohl unter Benutzung der in solchen Schilderungen üblichen Worte etwa so zu ergänzen zu sein: '[Jahr] 26', 1. *šmw*, Tag 24. Man war in der Ramses-Stadt (*Pr-Rc-mss-mrj-šmn-pꜣ-kꜣ-ꜣ-n-Rc-Hr-ꜣhtj*). [S.M. fuhr nach Memphis, indem er gelangte nach *Pr-Rc-mss-ḥqꜣ-šwnw*. Geleiten S.M. in den Tempel des Ptaḥ, des Großen, südlich seiner Mauer, Herrn [von *ꜣnh-tꜣ.wj*, indem er erschien] im *Pr-Rc-[mss-mrj]-šmn-[m-pr-Pth]*.'


Nach den Spuren und der üblichen Form der Zeichenanordnung in Jahresangaben dürfte wohl  zu ergänzen zu sein. Am Ende der Zeile erwartet man etwa folgenden Text:

[*wꜣ ḥm.f r Hw.t-kꜣ-Pth spr.f r Pr-Rc-mss-ḥqꜣ-šwnw*.

Ramses III. begibt sich also von der damals noch nach Ramses II. genannten Residenz in sein 'Schloß' bei Memphis. Wir wissen, daß auch bereits die Könige der frühen 18. Dyn. bei Memphis solche persönlichen Güter angelegt haben, erkennbar an der Namensform *Pr*+Königsnamen, wie etwa *Pr-ꜣ-ḥpr-kꜣ-Rc*, in dem Tutenchamun sein Dekret erläßt. Diese Anlage nennt zusammen mit *Pr-ꜣ-ḥpr-n-Rc* bei Memphis eine Stiftungsstele aus der Zeit des Eje (*Urk.* IV 2109). Von diesem 'Schloß' besucht dann der König in feierlicher Prozession den Ptaḥ-Tempel, wobei er in der Kapelle Ramses' II. (lies: *Pr-Rc-mss-mrj-šmn-m-Pr-Pth* nach der üblichen Namensform solcher Kapellen) 'erscheint'. Erhalten ist vom Verb nur die Buchrolle, wonach wir wohl  ergänzen dürfen.

Bei der Betrachtung der 3. Zeile klammern wir zunächst das Satzende am Zeilenanfang *htp im.f* aus. Daß es nicht 200 Perseabäume sein können, ergibt sich schon daraus, daß zwischen *šwꜣbw* und den 2 angeblichen Zeichen 'Hundert' noch zwei unerklärte Zeichen stehen. Das Problem löst sich, wenn wir in  eine Schreibung für *hr.t-ꜣ* 'Aktenkasten' (beachte das Determinativ!) erkennen; die un-  gewöhnliche Benutzung des *tjw*-Vogels soll wohl nur ausdrücken, daß das 't' damals noch gesprochen wurde.

Damit ist deutlich, wie die vorhergehenden Wörter zu deuten sind: Es werden in der üblichen aktentmäßig vorgeschriebenen Voraussetzung 'Perseabaum-Holz und (eingelegte) Farben' als Material des 'Aktenschranke' genannt, denn das etwas absonderlich geschriebene Zeichen hinter dem Determinativ von *šwꜣbw* ist *dr* zu lesen; die Doppelschreibung des 'kleinen w' und das Kügelchen als Determinativ mit den Pluralstrichen ist charakteristisch für die Schreibung von *drwꜣ* 'Farbe' (vgl. *Wb.* v, 601 (neuäg. Pap.)).

Hinter dieser Angabe eines 'Aktenschranke aus Perseabaumholz und Farben' folgt eine wohl im Dativ stehende Angabe *hrj-md.t*. Da man am Ende der Türpfeilerinschrift Titel und Namen des Hausbesitzers erwartet, wie aus den Parallelen zu sehen, so ist hier wohl der erste Titel zu erkennen. Dabei ist allein unklar, was  bedeuten soll, da weder *mdꜣ.t* 'Akte' wie *md.t* 'Salbe



nach den *Wb.* in dieser Schreibung mit dem Zeichen für 'io' vorzuliegen scheint und *md.t* 'Stall', wo dies möglich ist, nicht in Frage kommt. Wenn wir aber sehen, daß der Handwerker dieses Textes auch an anderen Stellen nicht ganz auf der Höhe der Bildung gewesen zu sein scheint ('*tjw*'-Zeichen bei *hr.t-r*; Form des *dr*-Zeichens), so dürfen wir ihm hier eine orthographische Fehlschreibung zutrauen. Wegen des 'Aktenschranke' möchte ich den ersten Titel des Hausbesitzers als 'Aktenträger' ( $\overline{\text{m}} \overline{\text{n}} \overline{\text{w}}$ ) interpretieren.

Wie aber verbinden wir die ersten beiden Zeilen mit der Fahrt Ramses' III. und die Angabe eines 'Aktenschranke' miteinander? Da liegt nahe, an eine Verteilung von Geschenken zu denken, die der König aus Anlaß seines Besuches im Ptaḥ-Tempel von Memphis an die dortigen Beamten und Angestellten durchführte und bei der der Besitzer unseres Türpfostens ebenfalls bedacht wurde, was er als eine seiner höchsten Auszeichnungen auf dem Türpfosten verewigte. Zu dem Hinweis auf diese Geschenkverteilung muß aber der Rest eines Satzes zu Beginn von Zeile 3 gehören '*. . . htpw jm.f*' Das '*f*' bezieht sich mit Wahrscheinlichkeit auf das *Pr*-Ramses II. im Ptaḥ-Tempel—wer aber 'ruht' darin? An den König selbst ist wohl kaum zu denken, da dieser wohl in seinem *Pr* 'ruhen' kann, ehe man ihn in den Tempel 'geleitet', aber mir scheint es nicht möglich, dieses Verb zu benutzen, wenn der König aktiv Geschenke verteilt; in diesem Fall würde er 'erscheinen'. Statuen 'ruhen' in einem Tempel. So denkt man auch an unserer Stelle an die *Ḥorbeit*-Stelen, unter denen mehrere zeigen, wie der König in Gegenwart seiner Statue an die Soldaten Geschenke verteilt. Es ist also vielleicht möglich, folgende Ergänzung vorzuschlagen: [*jw rdj.n hm.f. fqꜣw m pr pn r gs twt.f rꜣ*] *htpw jm.f*: [Da verteilte S.M. Geschenke in diesem Tempel] [neben seiner großen Statue,] die in ihm ruht'. Wenn diese Ergänzung stimmt, so zeigte es sich, daß diese Form der Geschenkverteilung durch den König in der Ramessidenzeit üblicher gewesen wäre als bisher angenommen und nicht nur auf die *Ḥorbeit*-Stelen begrenzt. Auch der Hohepriester Amenophis unter Ramses IX. wird ja auf der Darstellung in Karnak (*PM* II<sup>2</sup>, 172 (505)) in Gegenwart der Statue des Königs durch die kgl. Abgesandten geehrt und beschenkt. Die Geschenke des Königs sind aber gern auf den Beruf des Beschenkten abgestimmt: Man denke an den Dolch des Generals *Dḥwtj* (*Urk.* IV, 1001), an die goldene Elle des Architekten *Ḥr* (*Urk.* IV, 1509 f.), an die Handschuhe, die der Gottesvater Eje von Echnaton erhält, und zwar in seiner Stellung als General der Streitwagen.

W. HELCK

### Imset (I) and Ḥepy (H) canopic-jars of Neferseshem-psammethek

MONUMENTS of the Third Intermediate and Late Periods sometimes provide genealogical series extending over many generations. It is, moreover, noticeable that certain names tended to occur repeatedly in one family, and that the same family often retained its hold of a particular office for a long time. This, on the one hand, rather complicates the attribution of monuments to various members of these local 'dynasties' of often petty officials and priests, so that even identification based on a coincidence of names as well as titles need not be as certain as it might seem. On the other hand, it enables us to group together, by their 'family names' and 'family titles', people who are otherwise not directly connected.

An attempt to establish the identity and the date of the owner of the two canopic-jars to which I want to draw attention here<sup>1</sup> is hindered by exactly these considerations; paradoxically, were we less well informed the problem would not be regarded as being particularly difficult. The time-span involved is considerable: if the datings of the earliest (*Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* A: probably *temp.* Psammetichus I or Necho II) and of the latest (*Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* E: Dynasty 30) of the men discussed

<sup>1</sup> I want to thank Professor G. Posener for providing me with the genealogy of Apis-stela IM.4111 of the Louvre, and Miss H. V. Murray, Miss K. M. Lorimer, and Mr. Tony Gregory for additional help and information.

below are correct, something like 220 years or more must have separated them. The jars used to be on loan to the Castle Museum in Norwich (No. 11.14) but they were sold<sup>1</sup> at Sotheby's in 1956 (described as 'the Property of a Nobleman, from the Collection of Earl Egerton of Tatton') and their present location is not known. The copies of the texts published here (see fig. 1) were made from rubbings sent to F. Ll. Griffith in December 1913 and January 1914 by the then Keeper of the Museum, Mr. Frank Leney. The rubbings are kept in the archives of the Griffith Institute in Oxford (Griffith MSS. 20.16.6 and 4, with accompanying letters 20.16.2 and 1), together with a photograph (photo. No. 1006) which almost certainly shows the two jars (with another two), but the texts are not visible and the identification therefore not certain.

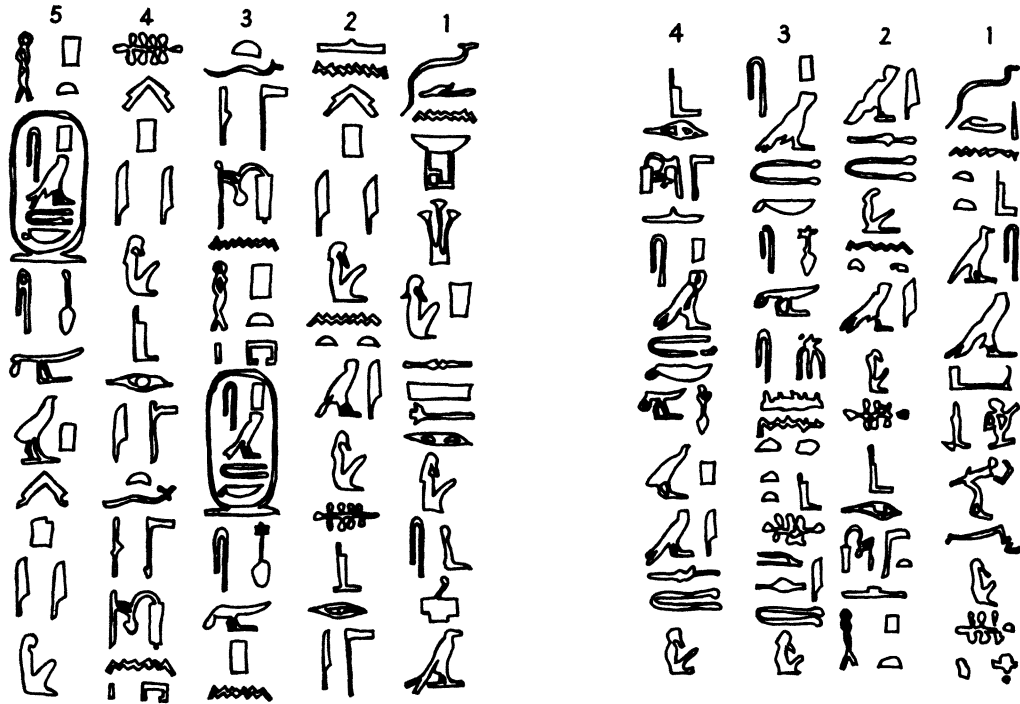



FIG. 1 The texts of the canopic-jars of Neferseshem-psammethk. Reduced to almost one-half (the actual height of the text-column of the Imset-jar is 15 cm, that of the Hēpy-jar is 16 cm).

The alabaster jars, of unrecorded provenance and earlier history, belong to *Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* whose mother was *Mnḥt-3st* (the name, given only on the (I) jar, is the same as that in H. Ranke's *PN*, I, 153, 4, though the writing  differs). The titles are written in a more explicit way on the (H) jar, *it-nṯr sš md3t nṯr n pr Pth* 'the god's father and scribe of divine books of the Temple of Ptaḥ', while the (I) jar shows shortened variants. The royal element of the name is written without a cartouche on the (I) jar and its text is arranged in four columns instead of the five of the (H) jar; however, sets in which canopic-jars show differences in the arrangement of the text and even the size and shape are more common than one would expect. The texts are of K. Sethe's<sup>2</sup> Type XIX, characteristic of Dynasty 26 and later, showing only insignificant deviations (two in column I 1, and one in H 3) from the standard texts given by him.

<sup>1</sup> *Sotheby Sale Cat.* Dec. 3, 1956, No. 189: '... Pair of fine alabaster canopic Jars, made for Nefer-Seshem-Psamtik, scribe of the Sacred writings of Ptaḥ, one with the head of Amsety, the other with the head of Duamutef, XXVIth Dynasty.'

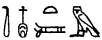
<sup>2</sup> *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung* [etc.] in *Sitzungsb. Berlin* 1934, XIII, 12\*, cf. 229 ff.

The name *Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* is not common, only five other holders of it (hereafter *Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* A–E) being known to me. Although there is no definite proof that they all belonged to the same family, their titles and other ‘family names’ which occur on their monuments make it very likely.

*Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* A and B

Apis-stela IM.4067 = S.2254 = N.418 in the Louvre<sup>1</sup> carries a lengthy genealogy, published a long time ago by J. Lieblein,<sup>2</sup> in which the name occurs twice. In the first instance (*Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* A, the son of *Wšḥ-ib-Rc-mr(y)-Pth*) the titles (*it-nṯr ḥm nṯr sš mdst nṯr n pr Pth*) are almost identical with those of the owner of the jars while the titles of the great-grandson (*Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* B, the son of another *Wšḥ-ib-Rc-mr(y)-Pth* and *ḳst-wrt*, the husband of *Sṯt*) of this man are different. The father of *Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* A was the first *Wšḥ-ib-Rc-mr(y)-Pth* in the family, and one can therefore assume that his son was probably a contemporary of Psammetichus I or Necho II, while *Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* B, at a remove of three generations, could have lived under Amasis.

*Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* C and D

*Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* C, the father of the dedicant of unpublished Apis-stela IM.4111 in the Louvre, held among his many titles those of the owner of the jars, *it-nṯr sš mdst nṯr n pr Pth*. His parents are not known, the name of his wife was *Ts-(nt-)Nfrtm* . His grandson, the son of the dedicant *ḥh.f-n-Shmt* and *ḳst-m-šḥbit*, was also called *Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* (D). The stela was ascribed to the burial of the Apis-bull of year 34 of Darius I by the context in which it was found, but an earlier date is possible. Whether this could be taken as far as to equate *Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* C and A depends on typological considerations concerning the development of Apis-stelae, and for this we have to await its publication in the next volume of the *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*.<sup>3</sup>

*Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* E

The much discussed reliefs<sup>4</sup> (Cairo Mus. JE 10976–8) from the tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* (E), currently dated to Dynasty 30 and probably the best-known representatives of what used to be called the ‘neo-memphite’ style,<sup>5</sup> were found by A. Mariette reused in a house at Kôm el-Fakhry near Mît Rahîna in July 1860. Their original provenance is thus unknown although Saqqâra is strongly indicated. The titles of the owner of the tomb are *it-nṯr sš mdst nṯr*, shortened versions of the titles on the jars. No parentage is recorded, but if the *stylistical* dating of the reliefs holds good, an equation with *Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* A–D is not possible.

To sum up, the owner of the canopic-jars could have been *Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* A, C or E of those listed above, or even another otherwise unattested member of the family. The name of the owner’s mother only helps definitely to eliminate *Nfr-sšm-Psmṯk* B and D from our considerations. It does not seem possible to date the jars more accurately than to Dynasties 26–30, but the tomb from which they came was almost certainly situated at Saqqâra. J. MÁLEK

<sup>1</sup> P. Richer, *Le Nu dans l’Art. Les Arts de l’Orient classique, Égypte–Chaldée–Assyrie* (Paris, 1925), fig. 155 [upper]. See E. de Rougé, *Notice sommaire des monuments égyptiens exposés dans les galeries du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1876), 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, N.S. 18 (1868), 274–5; id. *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques* [etc.] (Christiania–Leipzig, 1871), No. 1207.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I, by M. Malinine, G. Posener, and J. Vercoutter, was published in 1968 (Paris).

<sup>4</sup> All references of importance can be traced through J. Yoyotte in *CdÉ* 29 (1954), 278–80. Good photographs of Cairo JE 10978 are in E. L. B. Terrace and H. G. Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum* (London, 1970), 174–5.

<sup>5</sup> *L’état de la question* in B. V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (Brooklyn Museum, 1960), 110.



de nouveau, et d'une manière tout à fait inopinée, en copte saïdique, précisément dans une œuvre de Shenouté.

Un cas semblable se répète à nouveau dans un autre texte du même auteur, inédit lui aussi, mais en cours de publication par nos soins. Il s'agit cette fois-ci du mot *συνδώνιον*, diminutif de *συνδών*, forme équivalente *συνδόνιον*, plus couramment et généralement employé.<sup>1</sup>

Ce mot avait été découvert au siècle dernier dans un papyrus d'origine égyptienne par J. Nicole qui l'avait également édité.<sup>2</sup>

Nicole ajoute un 'sic' à son mot, ne se doutant sûrement pas qu'un texte copte venant à peine quelques décennies après la date probable du papyrus,<sup>3</sup> pourrait conserver cette même forme, qui, à notre avis, n'est pas une graphie défectueuse pour *συνδώνιον*, mais un terme dialectal et parallèle à celui-ci, en usage exclusivement dans les régions d'Égypte. Nous disons 'exclusivement', car ces attestations, égyptiennes toutes les deux, autorisent à y voir, jusqu'à preuve du contraire, un idiotisme égyptien.

Plus délicat à manier sous ce rapport était évidemment l'autre cas auquel nous faisons d'abord allusion. En effet, des pays si éloignés, tels que l'Égypte et la Sicile, semblent exclure à priori l'hypothèse de la particularité idiomatique, qui dans ce deuxième cas ne saurait faire de doute à nos yeux.

Ce nouvel exemple aura montré, d'autre part et une fois de plus, combien aussi la mine inestimable de richesses cachées qu'est le copte, peut contribuer à une meilleure connaissance de la langue grecque elle-même.

E. LUCCHESI

### Zur Datierung der „Lehre eines Mannes an seinen Sohn“

Es scheint allgemeine Übereinstimmung in der Ansetzung dieser Lehre in die frühere 12. Dynastie zu herrschen.<sup>4</sup>

Freilich stützt sich diese Überzeugung mehr auf allgemeine Erwägungen geistesgeschichtlicher Art als auf konkrete Anhaltspunkte. Einen solchen glaube ich im § 12 b gefunden zu haben. Zwar ist die Stelle — *nn hpr š:wf hrf* — angezweifelt worden,<sup>5</sup> doch möchte ich trotz dieser Einwände an einem überlieferten Text festhalten, wenn er einen guten, in den Zusammenhang passenden Sinn gibt und solange kein besserer gefunden ist. Rein orthographische Einwände, wie allein sie Quaegebeur vorbringt, wiegen bei ramessidischen Ostraka leicht. Der überlieferte Text aber paßt vorzüglich in den Zusammenhang. Vorher heißt es: „Groß ist das Lob des Königs, gewaltig seine Abwehr (des Unheils), wirksam seine Macht. Ich habe die Majestät gesehen: Sein Todesgeschick wird ihn nicht ereilen.“ Die Lebensspanne freilich, wurde im § 11 gesagt, kann niemand verlängern oder verkürzen, aber in ihrem Rahmen sorgt der König für seine Getreuen, weil da seine Macht wirksam ist, zum Schutz wie zum Glück. Dem Folgenden wird dadurch besonderes Gewicht verliehen, daß der Verfasser sich auf den Augenschein beruft:<sup>6</sup> Er hat selbst „die Majestät“ (*qf*) des Königs

<sup>1</sup> Le manuscrit, où se trouve le mot en question, fait actuellement partie du Fond Copte de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, au vol. 130<sup>2</sup>: la leçon qui nous intéresse apparaît au folio 9, recto paginé ٢٧٧, l. 2 de la première colonne. Le début du texte est lacuneux; nous lisons (ll. 1 à 7): *επα]πογογυ η ρενσινζωπιον εγγραε η ρενστολη νεοογνε απρεπαπλοεις.*

<sup>2</sup> *Les Papyrus de Genève*, I<sup>er</sup> vol., Genève, 1896, p. 119 (No. 80, l. 8).

<sup>3</sup> Ce papyrus provenant de Dionysiade, dans le nome d'Arsinoé, remonte vraisemblablement à la moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-Ch. (Nicole, *ibid.*, p. 118).

<sup>4</sup> Ggs. Posener, *Littérature et politique*, S. 124 ff.; ders., *L'Enseignement loyaliste*, S. 15 f. (dort Datierung der loyalistischen Lehre unter Sesostri I., wodurch auch die Lehre eines Mannes dort angesetzt wird, nachdem P. beide Lehren für Zwillinge hält); Goedicke, in: *ZÄS* 94 (1967), 63 f.; Kitchen, in: *Or Ant.* 8 (1969), 197 f.

<sup>5</sup> Jan Quaegebeur, *Le Dieu égyptien Shai* (1975), 47 f.

<sup>6</sup> Es ist die einzige Stelle in der Lehre, die die 1. Person verwendet.


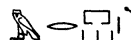



gesehen, also seine Ausstrahlungskraft. Dieser Anblick hat ihm die Überzeugung gegeben, daß diesen König nicht „sein Todesgeschick“ ereilen wird. Dabei stützen wir uns bei der Übersetzung von *šw* auf die bekannte und schon mehrfach zu unserem locus herangezogene Stelle *Urk.* IV 5, 17, wo das „Todesgeschick“ den Rebellen Aata ereilt.



Wenn wir uns nun aber fragen, wie der Dichter auf die ausgefallene Idee kommt, den König von seinem vorzeitigen Tod ausgenommen zu glauben, so liegt der Gedanke nahe, er erinnere sich oder werde erinnert an den gewaltsamen Tod Amenemhets I. In der Tat läge hier ein gewichtiger Einwand des „Schülers“ oder der von ihm zur Loyalität aufgeforderten Kreise: Die Treue zum König hilft nicht, kann u. U. sogar schaden, wenn er ermordet wird wie Amenemhet I. und etwa eine andere Partei zur Macht kommt, die die Anhänger des alten Regimes gar verfolgt! Dieser Einwand ist tatsächlich genau an dieser Stelle der Lehre zu erwarten, die die Macht des Königs im abwehrenden wie zuteilenden Sinne so stark hervorhebt, und genau hier setzt der Dichter sein stärkstes Argument ein: Ich habe den König mit eigenen Augen gesehen und kann nur sagen: Ein solcher Herrscher wird nicht ermordet werden!

Ist diese Überlegung richtig, dann ist damit die Datierung in die Regierung Sesostri's I. gesichert, als noch über die Schreck der Ermordung des Vaters des Königs frisch im Gedächtnis war.

HELLMUT BRUNNER

### *Pr-nfr*

SOME years ago I had occasion to describe a number of reliefs discovered by Petrie at Dendera in 1897–8, amongst which was one of apparently eight stelae of Neferseshempepi Seneni,<sup>1</sup> now placed by Dr. H. G. Fischer<sup>2</sup> within the period from the death of Pepi II to the end of the Eighth Dynasty. In his note<sup>3</sup> on this stela Dr. Fischer gives the second title it records as  which he understands to be a mistaken rendering of , attested in another of Neferseshempepi's inscriptions, and adds: 'The erroneous writing is explained by the presence of two flint nodules beneath  which occupy the position of the loaf and bottle in the preceding group  and evidently led to the assimilation of  from that group.' A first glance at his plate 16a might appear to support this interpretation: inspection of the original, however, shows the sign in question to reproduce exactly the form of *nfr* as it twice occurs in the final register, the cross-line in each instance having been made by a single incision less deeply cut than the vertical stroke (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> The correct reading therefore remains *imy-r pr-nfr*.

The term *pr-nfr*, conventionally translated 'Stätte der Balsamierung' or 'funerary workshop',<sup>5</sup> invites elucidation. Following Grdseloff's analysis of the preliminary episodes of mortuary ritual as it was performed from at least the Fourth Dynasty onwards, it is generally accepted that the lustral washing of the body and its subsequent embalmment were divided between a 'tent', more fully 'tent of purification'  (*ibw n wcb*), and the 'place of purification'  (*wcbt*) loosely rendered 'place of embalmment'.<sup>6</sup> Whether or not the relationship between these two terms

<sup>1</sup> Bolton Museum: 56. 98. V. A. Donohue, *Bolton Museum. The Egyptian Collection* (Bolton, 1967), 25. Seven other stelae: W. M. F. Petrie, *Denderah* (London, 1900), 11, 47; pls. 5, 5A.

<sup>2</sup> *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1968), 119–28 and Index, 230, s.v. *Nfr-ššm-Ppy/Šnni*.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 119 with n. 519.

<sup>4</sup> Equally observable in Donohue, op. cit. fig. 4, a photograph taken under different conditions of lighting. For assistance with the present line-drawing I am grateful to Mr. R. M. Hobby.

<sup>5</sup> *Wb.* I, 517; Faulkner, *Dict.* 89.

<sup>6</sup> B. Grdseloff, *Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt* (Cairo, 1941), with the review by É. Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1941), 1007–14; id., 'Nouvelles données concernant la tente de purification', *ibid.* 51 (1951), 129–40; E. Lüddeckens,

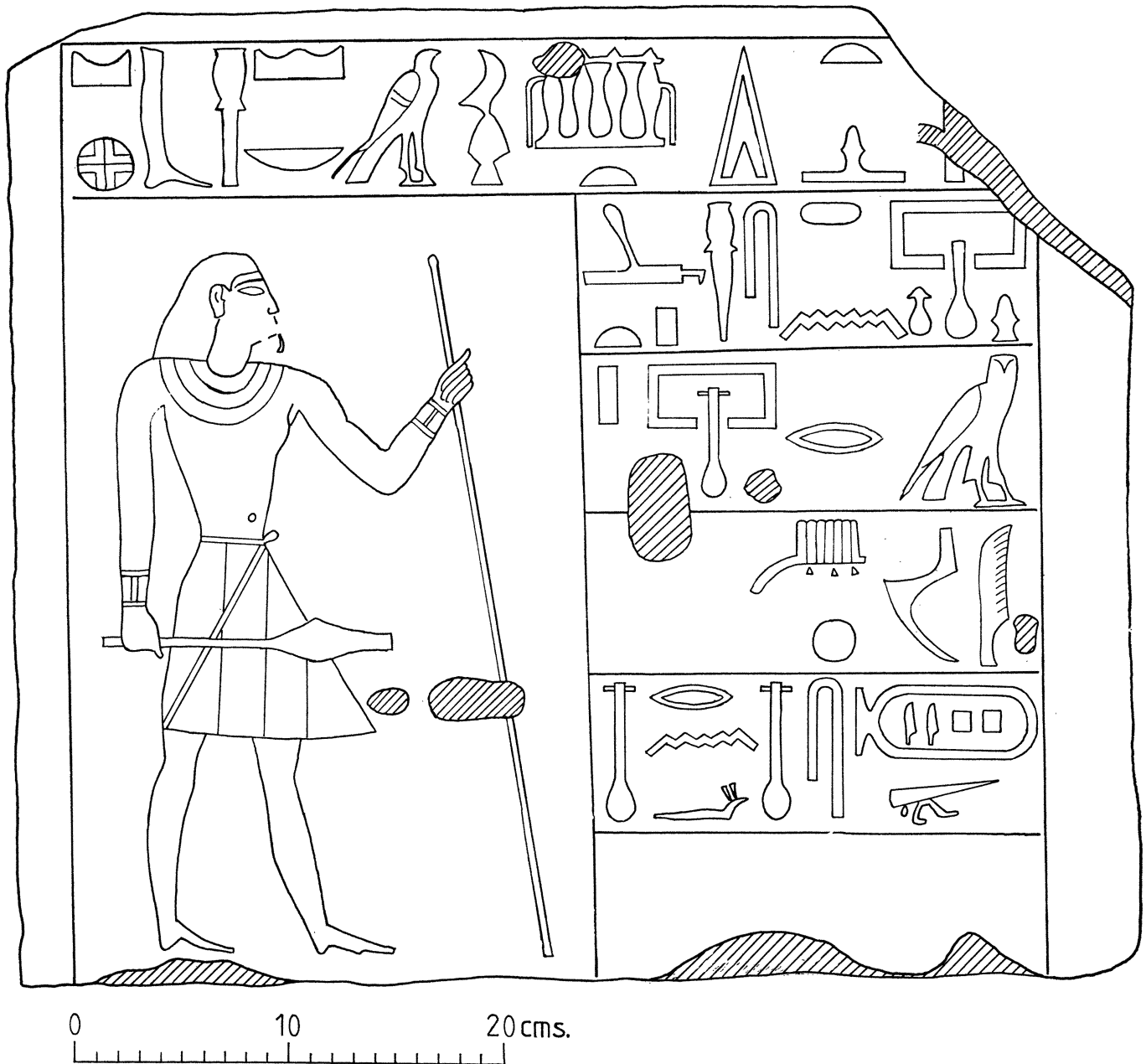


FIG. 1

*MDAIK* 11 (1943), 2-8; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, IV (Cairo, 1943), 69-102; H. Junker, *Giza*, VII (Vienna, 1944), 120-3; H. Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs*, II (Beiträge Bf. 5, Cairo, 1950), 86-98; S. Schott, *Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Pyramidenkult*, *ibid.*, 174-9; G. A. Reisner and W. S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, II (Cambridge Mass., 1955), 58-9; J. Settgast, *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Glückstadt, 1963), 3-20.





exhibited by a number of formulas which on occasion employed both words together. Thus a spell occurring first in the *Pyramid Texts* of Wenis and intended to facilitate the deceased king's ascension to the sky pictures his being asked, 'Are you a god whose places are *w<sup>c</sup>b*?', to which he correctly answers, 'I come from a *w<sup>c</sup>b* (place).'<sup>1</sup> In the following reign Teti<sup>2</sup> similarly announces the entry to his '*w<sup>c</sup>b* place which is in the bow of the Bark of Rē'. Now, however, there is also a reference to the king's '*nfr*-places', whilst in the texts of Pepi I<sup>3</sup> occurs the '*nfr*-place of the Great God'.<sup>4</sup> Finally, under Merenrē,<sup>5</sup> 'places' which are both *nfr* and *w<sup>c</sup>b* are imagined to have been 'made for Rē'.<sup>6</sup> Private funerary inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, in their employment of the divine epithet 'in all his places', reflect a similar if more conservative development. The earliest examples seem usually to be without qualification;<sup>7</sup> later, and during the First Intermediate Period, an exclusive association with *w<sup>c</sup>b* is most often in reference to the 'Great God, Lord of Heaven',<sup>8</sup> whilst in the First Intermediate Period also the presence of *nfr* alone is virtually restricted to Osiris or Anubis.<sup>9</sup> Here the two words are rarely found in apposition before the Eleventh Dynasty,<sup>10</sup> when the usage becomes general and almost always relates to Osiris.<sup>11</sup> The converse situation is attested by the phrase '(a thousand of) everything' with which in the same private inscriptions the conventional prayer for funerary offerings is often terminated. When this is addressed to a god as well as to the king it is originally Anubis who is named, Osiris first appearing with them in the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>12</sup> So also, before the end of the Old Kingdom the term is almost invariably qualified by *nfr* alone;<sup>13</sup> only during the Middle Kingdom is a fully developed synthesis evident in the presence of *w<sup>c</sup>b*.<sup>14</sup>









This parallelism in both usage and theological reference implies that just as *w<sup>c</sup>b* conferred participation in the generative qualities of creation, so must *nfr* have possessed a more dynamic sense than is suggested by its translation as 'good' or 'beautiful', in these and related contexts regarded as

<sup>1</sup> *Pyr.* 473a. Unlike the other examples quoted here in which *w<sup>c</sup>bt* qualifies *st*, in Wenis's reply it is used nominally, as Faulkner plausibly suggests (*The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* [Oxford, 1969], 94 n. 3), perhaps in reference to the 'place of embalment'.

<sup>2</sup> *Pyr.* 710c. Other references qualified by *w<sup>c</sup>b* alone: 1083a (Sothis), 1359b (Rē). <sup>3</sup> *Pyr.* 1191a.

<sup>4</sup> On the identity of *nfr* during the Old Kingdom see R. Anthes, *JNES* 18 (1959), 191-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Pyr.* 1692a.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the names of pyramids: *Špss-k3.f*  (Dyn. 4); *Wsr-k3.f*  *Yssi* , *Wnis*  (Dyn. 5); *Ppi*  *Mr-n-Rc*  (Dyn. 6); *Imn-m-ht*  *S-n-wsr*  (Dyn. 12): C. J. C. Bennett, *JEA* 52 (1966), 175-6.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'ancien empire* (Paris, 1889) 92, 112-13, 377, 392, 412-5; L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, I (CGC, Berlin, 1937), 40.

<sup>8</sup> D. Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* (London, 1937), pls. 12, 1; 14, 2; cf. H. F. Petrie and M. A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels* (London, 1952), pl. 2 (Neith and Wepwawet).

<sup>9</sup> Dunham, op. cit. pls. 6, 1; 13, 1; 17, 2; 18, 2; 21, 1; 22, 2; 25, 1; 30, 2 (Anubis); 9, 2; 15, 1 (Osiris); 27, 2 (Osiris/Khentiamenti); W. M. F. Petrie, op. cit. pl. 12 (Anubis); Fischer, op. cit. pl. 28 (Osiris/Khentiamenti). For the temporal priority of Anubis in this association see below, n. 12.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* (London, 1925), pl. 24. Cf. with Anubis, Borchardt, op. cit. II (Cairo, 1964), pls. 84, 86; Dunham, op. cit. pl. 33, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Bennett, *JEA* 27 (1941), 79.

<sup>12</sup> Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, 81-4; W. Federn, 'Htp (r)dj(w) (n) Inpw, zum Verständnis der vor-osirianischen Opferformel', *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 120-30.

<sup>13</sup> Dunham, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Giza Mastabas, I, Boston, 1974), pl. 6a; von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, II (Berlin, 1905), pl. 1; P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* (Chicago, 1938), pl. 113; N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, II (London, 1901), pls. 13-14; Hassan, op. cit. (1929-1930, Oxford, 1932), 82; id., op. cit. 6 pt. 3 (Cairo, 1950), 195; Borchardt op. cit. I, pls. 7, 18 34; II, pls. 78, 84-6, 88; J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (Cairo, 1907), pl. 18; J. Vandier, *Mo'alla* (Cairo, 1950), 269.

<sup>14</sup> Petrie, loc. cit.; C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Cairo, 1926), 278; Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, pl. 8, 1; Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 15. A rare exception: G. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti* (Leipzig, 1913), pl. 135.

in some way peculiar to Osiris.<sup>1</sup> The latter dimension is itself most conspicuous in the phrase *wnn-nfr(w)*, the imperfective participle of *wnn*, 'to be', + *nfr* in the old perfective, which, employed in the Fifth Dynasty as a personal name, is known as a divine epithet from the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, at first applied solely to Osiris.<sup>2</sup> In what remains the standard discussion,<sup>3</sup> Gardiner attached great importance to this dual use, not on account of the discrepancy of date, but because of 'the extreme improbability that a living individual would in the older of the two periods have received an epithet consciously comparing him with Osiris', regarded during the Old Kingdom as 'either some actual dead king or else a great god who in some degree embodied the notion of dead kingship'. It followed, therefore, both that *wnn-nfr(w)* 'originally contained no reference to Osiris at all, but was intended to express an attribute desirable apart from any divine associations',<sup>4</sup> and that of the nuances inherent in the imperfective participle its employment here cannot have 'contrasted a present state with a past one, but must merely have indicated a continued or permanent state of well-being', a secondary implication, however, appropriate to Osiris alone, being 'that of changed condition, of transition from the troubles of earthly life to a happier, better state beyond the grave'. The flaw in this argument is its failure to appreciate that in terms of human aspiration Osiris provided the model of one not who had suffered death, but who through death had achieved immortality, and that this was no less true when in later periods *wnn-nfr(w)* continued to be used as a personal name.<sup>5</sup> That *nfr* was a quality drawn from human experience is self-evident, it being impossible to conceive of divinity in any other way; as is demonstrated by the evidence quoted by Gardiner himself, however, its significance in the present context lies exactly in its having come to be descriptive of Osiris at his victorious resurrection. Thus in Ikhernofret's account of the 'mysteries' at Abydos during the reign of Sesostri III, *wnn-nfr(w)* is applied to Osiris only at the moment of his assassins' defeat,<sup>6</sup> whilst in the case of ordinary mortals it was pre-eminently the day of burial, and with it a hoped-for regeneration, that was qualified as *nfr*.<sup>7</sup> In attempting to define that quality, Gardiner accepts the opinion of de Buck in reference to the words *nfrw*, 'youths',<sup>8</sup> *nfrt*, 'maiden',<sup>9</sup> and *nfrw*, 'foals', that 'the notion of young, new, triumphant life was inherent in the stem *nfr*', but adds that these ideas are introduced 'only, as it were, surreptitiously and as an undertone. To render *ntr nfr* as "the vigorous god" or "the youthful god" would be far too crassly explicit. And what has been said of the stem *nfr* generally applies probably also to the epithet *wnn-nfrw*.' With the recognition that theological context demands just such an access of vitality, the need for hesitation, if indeed it ever existed, is removed,<sup>10</sup> *wnn-nfr(w)* being most accurately understood not as 'He who is

<sup>1</sup> Jéquier, loc. cit., H. Stock, *Ntr nfr = Der gute Gott?* (Hildesheim, 1951). Also J. Bergman, 'Quelques réflexions sur *NFR-NFR.T-NFRW*', *Actes du XXIX<sup>e</sup> Cong. Int. Orient. Égyptol.* 1 (Paris, 1975), 8-14.

<sup>2</sup> Stock, op. cit., 11.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, op. cit. in n. 4 p. 145 above, 44-53.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Stock's argument that *ntr nfr* was first an epithet of the king, op. cit. 11-12.

<sup>5</sup> H. Ranke, *PN*, 1, 79.

<sup>6</sup> Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos* (Leipzig, 1904), pl., line 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Hrw nfr* has recently been discussed by H. te Velde, *De goede dag der oude Egyptenaren* (Leipzig, 1971), and D. Lorton, 'The Expression *Iri Hrw Nfr*', *JARCE* 12 (1975), 23-31. The evidence is consistent with an originally funerary term which through association with the pleasures of the mourners' banquet came to denote any occasion of merriment. Lorton aptly quotes 'holiday' and the Irish 'wake' as modern parallels, the latter exhibiting a further development in northern England where, normally in the plural, it refers to an annual festivity without any religious overtone. To the extent that in this secondary sense *nfr* was thought to characterize wholly secular delights it may be compared with the English 'recreation'.

<sup>8</sup> See Faulkner, *JEA* 39 (1953), 35-6; A. R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Berlin, 1964), 20-1.

<sup>9</sup> A. Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar* (Berlin, 1890), pl. 5, lines 9-11.

<sup>10</sup> That *nfr* in certain contexts possessed an ethical dimension, echoed in its Coptic survival  $\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon$ , is clear (Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* [Cardiff, 1970], 461); this will, however, have been a derived sense parallel to the moral implications of *mꜣt*; cf. G. Fecht, *Der Habgierige und Maat in der Lehre des Ptahhotep* (Glückstadt, 1958), essentially an agent of cosmic mediation.

continually in a state of goodness (*or* who is continually happy<sup>1</sup>), but as 'He who is become youthful',<sup>2</sup> with the additional suggestion that this condition was now permanent.<sup>3</sup>

If further confirmation were necessary, it would be provided by the appearance of a new interpretation of the place in which the deceased was prepared for burial, but not, as far as present evidence indicates, of any change in the rites of lustration and embalmment which were performed there,<sup>4</sup> at precisely the moment when hopes of Osirian resurrection were first in the ascendant. Instead of paraphrase or translations hinting at the deliberately arcane,<sup>5</sup> *pr-nfr* may accordingly be rendered 'house of rejuvenation'.

V. A. DONOHUE

### Current research for higher degrees in Egyptology, Coptic, and related studies in the United Kingdom, No. 3

FOR the previous list see *JEA* 62 (1976), 188-9. The compilers wish to thank colleagues who have provided information. The following dissertations, in addition to those previously listed, are being prepared:

#### BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY

1. George, Mrs. S. A. 'The history of excavation at the site of the Anubieion and related complexes at North Saqqâra'. 1976. M.A. Mr. J. D. Ray (Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge).
2. Hamad, E.S.S. 'The archaeology of New Kingdom Nubia, with reference to the excavation of Amara West and Sesebi'. 1976. M.A. Mr. J. D. Ray.
3. Hayward, Miss L. G. 'The ivory trade in Egypt and the Ancient Near East'. 1975. Ph.D. Mr. J. J. Orchard.

#### BRADFORD UNIVERSITY. Postgraduate School of Studies in Textile Technology

1. Lennox, Mrs. E. M. T. 'An investigation into the structure of some Ancient Egyptian textiles'. 1975. M.Sc. Dr. P. R. Blakey.

#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

1. Ahmed, El-K.A.K. 'Meroïtic settlement patterns in the Butana'. 1977. Prof. J. M. Plumley.
2. El-Amin, Y. M. 'The Old Stone Age in Sudan, with special reference to the Middle-Upper Palaeolithic transition'. 1975. Ph.D. Dr. C. B. M. McBurney (Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology).
3. Dafa'alla, Miss S. B. 'History of the Sudan: the X-Group'. 1976. M.Litt. Prof. J. M. Plumley.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, 561.

<sup>2</sup> For the translation 'l'Être régénéré': Jéquier, loc. cit.; C. D. Noblecourt *ap.* Vandier, *La Religion égyptienne*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1949), 188 n. 4. Cf. also W. Helck, *PW* (1962), 503.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Misc. Berlin*, 51. The idea that the gods themselves grow old and die, to be reborn again, is not fully exploited until late, in keeping with a developing tendency to historicize mythic material: e.g. Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Berlin, 1929), 53-61; Blackman and Fairman, *JEA* 36 (1950), 78-81; Sauneron, 'L'Abaton de la campagne d'Esna,' *MDAIK* 16 (1956), 271-9.

<sup>4</sup> For the image of Osiris as the animating lustral water: Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3rd Series (London, 1935), pl. 52, rt. 6, l. 2; and Lange and O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1* (Copenhagen, 1940), 5\*, line 7. 2, pl. 5\*, l. 7 with Rundle Clark's rendering of *nfr* as 'revived in vigour', *ap.* Gwyn Griffiths, *op. cit.* 461 n. 1. See p. 145, n. 4, above, and in general Blackman's articles cited in p. 145, n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind* (Leipzig, 1913), 19\* and Gardiner, *Misc. Acad. Berol.* 51 n. 1.

4. Musa, I. M. 'Early settlement patterns in Darfur'. 1977. Dr. J. Alexander (Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology).

5. Osman, A. M. S. 'The economy of Christian Nubia, with special reference to trade'. 1974. Ph.D. Prof. J. M. Plumley.

## LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY

1. Al-Rayah, S. al-R. 'The Kingdom of Napata'. 1976. Ph.D. Prof. A. F. Shore.

## LONDON UNIVERSITY. Department of Egyptology, University College

1. Giddy, Miss L. 'The oases in early Egyptian history'. 1977. M.Phil. Prof. H. S. Smith.

2. Khatib, Miss D. 'Diet in the monastic settlements'. 1977. M.Phil. Dr. D. M. Dixon.

3. Murphy, J. M. 'Regional variations in the Late Predynastic Period'. 1977. M.Phil. Prof. H. S. Smith.

4. Schnare, Miss L. 'The administration of Egypt in the early Middle Kingdom'. 1976. Ph.D. Dr. G. T. Martin.

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1. Hawkes, H. A. 'The Nimrud ivories: an analysis of the Egyptianising style'. 1971. Ph.D. Prof. E. E. D. M. Oates.

## OXFORD UNIVERSITY

1. Jones, D. 'The economy and administration of Egyptian monasteries in the 4th to 9th centuries, and their relationship with the non-monastic community'. 1975. D.Phil. Dr. C. C. Walters.

## SWANSEA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF WALES. Department of Classics and Ancient History

1. Broadhurst, C. A. 'The structure and significance of battle reliefs in Ancient Egyptian temples'. 1976. Ph.D. Dr. A. B. Lloyd.

2. Dunlea-Jones, P. 'The constructional principles of mortuary temples in Western Thebes'. 1976. M.A. Dr. A. B. Lloyd.

The following thesis, mentioned in List No. 2, will not now be submitted: London, University College, no. 1.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN  
W. V. DAVIES

## REVIEWS

*Saqqara, The Royal Cemetery of Memphis. Excavations and Discoveries since 1850.* By JEAN-PHILIPPE LAUER. 255 × 190 mm. Pp. 248, 210 illustrations, 20 coloured. London, Thames & Hudson, 1976. Price £7.50. ISBN 0 500 05024 4

This book is primarily intended for the non-specialist reader, but will, no doubt, be widely used by Egyptologists as a useful and convenient source of reference. Contrary to the general practice in popular works, footnotes are provided, which give a fairly complete bibliography for the last 125 years of excavation in the Saqqâra necropolis.

After a brief introduction,<sup>1</sup> the survey proper begins with the work of Mariette, first at the Serapeum and subsequently among the Old-Kingdom mastabas. It is interesting to read that the mummy of Khraemwaset was intact at the time of its discovery in the Serapeum, and one wonders what became of this mummy, the present location of which was not discovered by F. Gomaa.<sup>2</sup> Chapters II and III are largely concerned with the mastabas discovered by Mariette and later explorers, and contain detailed descriptions of the wall-scenes in the tombs. It is welcome to note the inclusion of the little-known mastaba of Ka-irer in this section, with three plates of its previously unpublished reliefs.

In his treatment of the First-Dynasty cemetery, excavated by Emery, Lauer mentions the Abydos *v.* Saqqâra discussion only briefly, but gives the impression that the Saqqâra tombs are, with hardly a doubt, those of royalty. For the sake of the general reader, who will probably accept this hypothesis without question, it may have been better to have adopted a more neutral approach and to have left the ownership of the tombs as uncertain. This is not the place to discuss the problem in detail, but I would mention just two points which seem to be major obstacles to the royal cemetery being at Saqqâra: (i) There are too many mastabas at the site, and they cannot all be explained as tombs of queens, etc. What, for example, was the reason for the presence of small tombs in the 'royal' cemetery, such as numbers 3338, 3111, 3120-1, and Tomb X? (ii) No royal stelae of the First Dynasty have been found at Saqqâra, the only stela from the tombs being that of Merka, which, as Kemp<sup>3</sup> has shown, belonged to tomb 3505 and not to its subsidiary grave.

The description of the Step Pyramid (Chapter V) is excellent, as indeed one would expect from M. Lauer, whose involvement with the work on the Djoser complex goes back fifty years. He wisely reserves judgement on the purpose of the galleries under the western side of the enclosure, about which Borchardt<sup>4</sup> made the interesting suggestion that they were, possibly, Second-Dynasty tombs built over by Djoser. Lauer then considers the pyramid of Sekhemkhet, including a description of his own recent investigation of the complex. In Chapters VII-IX the pyramids of the Old and Middle Kingdoms are discussed, together with the tombs of various ages which are to be found around them. A number of less-well-known monuments are included, such as the Saïte tombs in the Userkaf temple, the archaic tombs under the Unas Causeway, and the burial of Prince Ptaḥshepses in the Valley Temple of Unas. Incidentally, the object shown in the falcon's claws on the belt of Ptaḥshepses is not a seal, as stated, but is the emblem *šn*. In the description of the pyramids excavated by Jequier, the author uses the name 'Ha-ka-re',<sup>5</sup> taking the sign  $\text{𓆎}$  to read *hr(i)* rather than the usually accepted *ḥr(i)*. The reading 'Ha-ka-re' cannot be accepted, however, in view of the number of names of Old- and Middle-Kingdom date which are certainly compounded with *ḥr(i)*, as shown by writings

<sup>1</sup> The spelling 'Sokkar' in the Introduction is not only likely to be unfamiliar to readers, but is also an incorrect transliteration of the Egyptian.

<sup>2</sup> *Chaemwese*, 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquity*, 41 (1967), 26-7.

<sup>4</sup> *ZÄS* 73 (1937), 109-10.

<sup>5</sup> This is evidently not simply a misprint, as the author uses this name in his contribution to Nagel's guide, *Egypt*, 364-5.

like  $\Delta \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$  and  $\Delta \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ .<sup>1</sup> No names compounded with *hr(i)* are listed by Ranke until the Late Period and in these examples the verb is written out in the geminating form.<sup>2</sup> The section on pyramid exploration is brought up to the present day by an account of the recent work of Lauer and his colleagues on the pyramids of Teti, Pepi I, and Merenrē.

The final chapter is devoted to the recent E.E.S. excavations in the Sacred Animal Necropolis, giving a concise account of the results achieved since 1965, all of which will be familiar to readers of this journal. Tombs 3508 and 3510, mentioned on pp. 217–18, are not of the Third Dynasty, but probably belong to the Fourth or Fifth. M. Lauer cannot, however, be blamed for the error, which stems from the original excavation report in *JEA* 51 (1965).

The book is illustrated with several drawings, mostly plans of mastabas and pyramids, and with a large number of photographic plates, some in colour. Despite the fact that many of the photographs are reproduced from old originals, the quality is good, and, of the more recent colour plates, only one or two are slightly unsharp in the printing (pl. i) or not correct for colour (pl. xv). Particularly interesting are the photographs of the Serapeum *dromos*, which were taken during a clearance made by Macramallah for the Antiquities Service.

To summarize, this is an admirable dossier on Saqqâra, written by one with an unparalleled knowledge of the site, and whose enthusiastic regard for it is clear from his half-century of work on the exploration and restoration of its monuments. This book is an essential starting-point for those who are interested in studying the archaeology of the Memphite Necropolis.

A. J. SPENCER

*Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection.* By HARRY MILNE STEWART. *Part One: The New Kingdom.* Pp. x+72, 53 pls. Warminster, 1976. £10.00. ISBN 0 85668 026 5.

This book is a catalogue of Egyptian stelae, reliefs, and paintings which date from the period of the New Kingdom, roughly 1575 to 1050 B.C., and form part of the Petrie collection, a teaching collection currently lodged in the Department of Egyptology at University College London. Built up by the late Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie with objects from his own excavations and from antique dealers, the collection was acquired by the University of London in 1913 and has since been added to chiefly through donations. A good deal of it has hitherto remained unpublished.

The present catalogue comprises 325 museum numbers or items; the vast majority of them are fragments. For each item there is a succinct explanatory statement with indication of measurements, material, mode of execution, provenance, translation of the hieroglyphic legends whenever they occur, and bibliography. No less than 220 items are fully illustrated: 218 are reproduced in facsimile line-drawings and 2 photographically; one of the line-drawings is supplemented by a photograph showing a detail of the object in question. The remaining 105 pieces are minor, relatively trivial *disiecta membra* for which only verbal descriptions have been deemed sufficient. Search through the catalogue is facilitated by six separate indexes: of registration numbers, of divine, royal and private names, of titles and provenances. The illustrations are superb: in point of accuracy, legibility, draughtsmanship, and neatness of presentation, they are outstanding models of what epigraphic drawings should be—as was indeed to be expected from the author, Mr. Stewart, who is an experienced epigraphist of proven ability and high distinction. He acknowledges the help of Miss Moira Mackenzie in the difficult task of drawing the plates. The results of their combined efforts merit our warmest praise.

Mr. Stewart's book is a rich quarry of miscellaneous information. The following notes might prove of interest to its readers and are offered here for what they may be worth.

Plate I, fig. 1 (UC 14402). Line 1: in *hm n nsw-bit* the genitival *n* is certain: 'the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt', not 'his Majesty, king of etc.' as rendered on p. 1. Lower left-hand corner, next to the docket and crown of the god Mont: the hieroglyphs left unexplained read *Tnnt di[s nh]* or sim.], 'Tjenenet, she gives life (or sim.)'. This goddess is closely associated with Mont, cf. Gardiner, *Anc. Eg.*

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, *PN* 1, 332, 7, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 234, 5, 6.

*Onomastica*, II, 22\*, 24\*. For Tjenedet shown or mentioned along with Mont see, e.g., The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, VII, pl. 583 (upper right, C, 5-7); Christophe, *Temple d'Amon à Karnak: Les Divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leurs épithètes*, 17 (col. 48, troisième tableau); Sethe and Firchow, *Urk.* VIII, 8 (9, b-c); Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (CCG), I, II, 175.

Plate 2, fig. 2 (UC 16804). The interpretation on p. 2 is incorrect. The partly preserved plant is of the so-called fleur-de-lis variety (Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, 68, with fig. 134), symbolic of Upper Egypt, and thought by some authorities to be a lily; be that as it may, it is not the stem of papyrus  $\Upsilon$  or  $w\dot{s}d$ -sign.<sup>1</sup> In addition, it is placed exactly on the vertical axis of the basket above it, whereas in the vertically written royal appellation *nbty w\dot{s}dt rnpwt* suggested on p. 2, the  $\Upsilon$ -sign is pushed to the very edge of the column to a position beneath the front end (here left-hand end) of the basket to make room for *rnpwt*; cf. Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, I, pl. 17 (on both jambs), pl. 24; II, pl. 40 (on both jambs); III, pl. 77. The fragment was part of a heraldic design which showed a vulture goddess on a *nb*-basket balanced upon the top of a single long-stemmed flower emblematic of Upper Egypt; cf. Naville, op. cit. IV, pl. 96; V, pls. 131, 133; Schäfer, *MDAIK* 12, 84, fig. 18; Dunham and Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, pl. 33 (right-hand scene); Habachi, *Ann. Serv.* 52, pl. 4 (after p. 562,) lintel.

Plate 2, fig. 4 (UC 16802). On p. 2 change 'vulture of Mut' to 'vulture of Nekhbet', if it is at all a vulture, which is questionable. Only the tip of the bird's beak is preserved; it might not be a vulture but a hovering Horus falcon as in, for instance, Naville, op. cit. II, pl. 37.

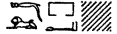
Plate 2, fig. 9 (UC 14420).  is interpreted on p. 3 as *mḥ rw(t) rt*, 'the gate of the chamber has been completed', which can hardly be right. Read *mḥ šnr*—, 'who fills the storehouse or storehouses—'; see, for example, Sander-Hansen, *Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie*, I, 9, 18; 12, 1 (cf. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 56, no. 169, I-III); note also Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 66, 10 (57, 10).




Plate 3, fig. 1 (UC 14372). The king is offering a libation, and the broken sign above  is . The reading *dī mw* indicated on p. 4 is untenable, for the scene title would surely have used the infinitive form of the verb with the  $\Delta$ -sign not in the middle of the hieroglyphic column but pushed to the observer's left to make room for the feminine ending *t* on the king's side, as follows: .




Plate 3, fig. 3 (UC 14373). It is suggested on p. 5 that part of the name of the god Mont may be preserved on this fragment. This I doubt very much because there is no trace of , and  by itself, without the phonetic complement *n*, is none too common outside cartouches. I incline to read , as part of a word (e.g. *šyt*, 'shrine, sanctuary') which continued in the next column, now lost.



Plate 4, fig. 1 (UC 14478). The words  and  are clear enough, but the mutilated state of the text makes translation a matter of great uncertainty. I have no constructive suggestion to offer, and will only say that the rendering 'the throne of his mother' given on p. 6 does not ring true to me, even if a similar phrase, 'the throne or seat of his father', is something of a cliché (*Wb.* IV, 3, 12-13).

Plate 4, fig. 7 (UC 14483). Stewart rightly observes on p. 8 that the inscription on this tablet is a modern fake, though the granite slab on which it is carved may be ancient. This piece ought to have been discarded or at least not to have been graphically recorded; a brief verbal statement would have sufficed, as in the case of over a hundred genuine items in the present catalogue. Little is gained by publishing a faked text, and there is always the risk of its being hastily or uncritically taken for, and quoted as, a legitimate document. Note, at all events, that the translation of the right-hand column is slightly bungled on p. 8 (top right); read '... like Rēc, beloved of Amen-Rēc, lord of the Thrones etc.'

Plate 5, fig. 2 (UC 14580). The figure of a kneeling king on a bark holding up two  $\circ$ -pots is identified on p. 9 as being 'presumably one of the Souls of Hierakonpolis (i.e. the predynastic kings of Upper Egypt), who with their Lower Egyptian counterparts, the Souls of Buto, were commonly represented on divine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Goodyear, *The Grammar of the Lotus*, 43 ff.

barques'. The reader is referred to Calverley, *Temple of Sethos I at Abydos*, II, pl. 11, where I find nothing to support that identification. There is some confusion here. Small figures such as this, showing the king on his knees and presenting *nw*-pots, or in other reverential attitudes, are indeed found on sacred barks and in other contexts (cf. Winlock, *Bas-reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos*, 20), but they are quite different from the Souls (*bw*) of Buto and Hierakonpolis. The Souls are always falcon-headed or Anubis-headed figures; when shown in connection with sacred boats, they are kneeling on one knee and making the *hmw*-gesture of jubilation, and are not upon the deck but on the side of the boat visible to the observer; cf. Kitchen in *LÄ* I, 623 with n. 38, and for further references see Caminos, *New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen*, II, 48 with nn. 1-5.

Plate 5, fig. 3 (UC 14579). The translation on p. 9 reads: '. . . [Wenn]-nefer (?). Then the sole one embraced . . .' Delete the query because the name is beyond question, and translate 'then they embraced each other' or 'then each of them embraced the other'. This is a snippet from the beginning of Chapter 173 of the Book of the Dead; cf. Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, 452, 1-2.

Plate 6 (UC 401). The line-drawing follows the hand-copy of the block in Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, pl. 12, fig. 3, and gives four blank cartouches on the queen's arms as upright ovals (O) without a straight cross-bar attached to the lower end; this detail cannot be controlled on the photograph in Samson, *Amarna*, 44, fig. 20, which is indistinct. The photograph clearly shows, however, four more cartouches on the queen's uplifted forearms: two on each forearm, near the elbow; they are true cartouches (⊖), like the four shown on her chest below the right arm. The bibliography of this piece on p. 10 appears to have been borrowed from Samson, *Amarna*, 43 (marginal note), without proper verification: Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, pl. 12, fig. 4, and Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, III, pl. 19, figs. 4 and 5, illustrate other blocks, not UC 401, and should be cancelled.

Plate 13, fig. 2 (UC 14440). The hieroglyphic traces on the upper right corner of the fragment, which are left unaccounted for, are doubtless to be read  $\begin{matrix} \text{☀} & \text{☀} \\ \text{☀} & \text{☀} \end{matrix}$ , 'which heaven gives [and the earth creates]', cf. *Wb.* v, 35, 8; 213, 13. I am extremely sceptical about the interpretation of the man's title which is set forth, without any sign of hesitation, on pp. 23 and 70: *sš pr-hd t: tm*, 'the scribe of the treasury of the entire land'; and I am convinced that the man's epithet is not 'who loves life', but  $\begin{matrix} \text{☀} \\ \text{☀} \end{matrix}$  *wḥm cnḥ*, 'repeating life'; cf. *Wb.* I, 341, 4.

Plate 14, fig. 3 (UC 14573). According to the description on pp. 24 f. this record mentions the temple scriptorium known as *pr-cnḥ*, 'the House of Life'. This is not so. There is no vestige of a  $\square$ -sign; it is quite clear that  $\begin{matrix} \text{☀} \\ \text{☀} \end{matrix}$  is cut inside a large *hwt*-sign; and there is also a slightly damaged but certain  $\ominus$ . In addition, considerations of space available, grouping of the signs and context indicate unmistakably that the mutilated hieroglyphic docket concerns a man in the service of Amūn in *Hwt ḥnkt cnḥ*, that is, in the now destroyed funerary temple of Tuthmosis III at Thebes, for which cf. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* II<sup>2</sup>, 426 f.; also Spiegelberg, *Rec. trav.* 19, 86 ff.; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, II, 220 (no. 2067); Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus*, 65, 109 ff.

Plate 15 (UC 14462). I suggest a few slight changes in the translation of the third register, which will be found on p. 26. In ll. 4-5: 'Let me tell you what befell me or what accrued to me  $\begin{matrix} \text{☀} & \text{☀} \\ \text{☀} & \text{☀} \end{matrix}$  on account of what I did or accomplished in the following of the sovereign'; Stewart's version of the words here quoted in hieroglyphic type is 'and what was done to me'. In l. 6:  $\begin{matrix} \text{☀} & \text{☀} \\ \text{☀} & \text{☀} \end{matrix}$  is not 'I being efficient' because it lacks the old perfective ending of the 1st person singular; *mnḥ* is here used adverbially for *r mnḥ* and refers to the speaker's way of doing things: '(I performed what my sovereign said) efficiently or thoroughly.' In l. 8: *mrr(w)t*, not '(his) wishes' but 'what is loved', i.e. (one who repeats) the things people appreciate. The final sentence  $\begin{matrix} \text{☀} & \text{☀} \\ \text{☀} & \text{☀} \end{matrix}$  stands for 'Gut ist, (etwas) zu tun für das, was getan worden ist', according to Helck, *Urk. der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22*, 119; and Stewart translates: 'It is pleasant to do (good) on account of what has been done.' I should have thought that *nfr* has here negative force (Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, § 351, 2), and that *hr* expresses opposition or separation; the speaker closes



the account of his life by reaffirming that he always did his duty: in the course of his career 'there was no performance *or* doing (on his part) contrary to, *or* deviating from, what had to be done'.

Plate 16 (UC 14463). There is a summary list of food and drink under the right-hand offering table in the mutilated scene: 'oxen' (𐀓) is omitted in the translation on the left column of p. 27. Second register, l. 3: *hr nhh*, 'for ever', also omitted in the translation. Line 5: *hr mkt·f*, not 'because of his protection' but 'in its proper *or* right place'; cf. *Wb.* II, 161, 9. As for the kneeling man represented at the bottom and on either side of the stela, there is no reason to query his title *sḏm·rš*, 'servant', which is certain; and his name is not *Pth-nw*, as read on pp. 27 and 68, but *Nw-Pth* (lit. 'Ptaḥ watches'), after the manner of *Nw-Imn*, cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 182, 22. Add to the bibliography on p. 27: Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1911, 9-10, 14-16; 1912, 4-20; id., *Urk. der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22*, 313 f.

Plate 17 (UC 10700). Although *snt*, 'sister', appears to have occasionally been used, perhaps as a term of endearment, for 'wife', it is misleading and unsound to render *snt* 'wife' when the record in which it occurs affords no proof that the word is being used in that extended, secondary sense. Especially in a catalogue, where the author cannot be expected to enter into discussions to defend his views and translations, *snt* ought to be rendered 'sister'; and if the cataloguer thinks it stands for 'wife', he could briefly say so in a footnote and leave the reader to form his own conclusions as to what the term actually signifies in that particular context. I find no compelling evidence in this stela that the woman twice explicitly called *Dsr-k*'s sister (*snt·f*) is actually his wife (so Stewart on p. 27). Her epithet *nbt pr* is inconclusive: she may very well have been a woman who kept house for a widowed or divorced brother and therefore was referred to as 'the lady of the house'.



FIG. 1

Plate 18, fig. 1 (UC 14348). I question the sign of the smoking incense-bowl (𐀓) among the determinatives of 𐀓. The drawing on this page shows what I see in the photograph in Capart, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, 2nd series, pl. 87: it is a common form of the cake of bread 𐀓, so shaped that it gives the impression that the tapering loaf is rising from the vessel in which it was baked or moulded and has not yet been removed from it; a vertical gash affects the right side of the sign but does not impair its legibility. Add 'bread and beer' to the translation on p. 28 (left-hand column, l. 15).

Plate 19, fig. 1 (UC 14424). The Osirian epithet *hkꜣ dt*, 'ruler of everlastingness' has escaped the translator's attention (see p. 28).

Plate 19, fig. 4 (UC 8525). An explanation of the scanty remains of cols. 2 and 3 is diffidently offered on p. 29 and leaves 𐀓 out of account. I suggest that this is a record of 𐀓<sup>[𐀓]</sup> 𐀓 [𐀓 𐀓], 'the vizier Paser', and that the broken cartouche held Ramesses II's *nomen*, not the name of one of the Tuthmoside kings. See, for example, Davies, *JEA* 24, 30 (fig. 9), and the many records listed by Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, 447 (no. 24) ff.

Plate 19, fig. 7 (UC 14749). 𐀓<sup>[𐀓]</sup> 𐀓<sup>[𐀓]</sup> is not *wḏhw*, 'offerings', as read by Stewart on p. 30, since there is no 𐀓 and the determinative is the block or brick 𐀓. Lack of context makes it advisable to follow the text closely and render '(fine) stelae', or sing. '(a fine) stela', or even '(fair) decrees'; cf. Žába, *Archiv Orientální* 24, 272 ff.

Plate 20, fig. 2 (UC 14566). The name of the woman-servant holding a bird is 𐀓<sup>[𐀓]</sup> 𐀓, *Tt* or *Twtw*, not *Twhy* as read on pp. 30 and 69; cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 383, 23; II, 398 (383, 23).

Plate 22, fig. 1 (UC 14717). In the translation on p. 31 of the full-height hieroglyphic column between Osiris and the kneeling priest, the epithets 'king of the gods, the great god, and ruler of everlastingness' have been left out. Then 𐀓<sup>[𐀓]</sup> 𐀓 is not the active participle for 'who give', but the optative *sḏm·f* form 3rd person plural: suffix *·w* (for older *·sn*) is quite common in New-Kingdom texts. Translate, therefore, '... that they may give ... to the spirit of etc.'

Plate 22, fig. 2 (UC 14500). Upper left: 𐀓<sup>[𐀓]</sup> 𐀓 cannot be *Hwti*—(as read on pp. 31 and 69), unless it is assumed that 𐀓 is in error for 𐀓.


Plate 23 (UC 14362). Second register: the name of the man on the extreme right is , *Nn* or *N:nz*, not *N:hy* as read on pp. 32 and 68; cf. Ranke, *PN* 1, 170 between nos. 3 and 4, and p. 205, 20.



Plate 24, fig. 2 (UC 14575). Lunette, upper right:  is virtually certain after the -determinative in *Iny*'s name, yielding 'Iny son of —hotep'. *Iny*'s filiation was given in full, his name being followed by that of his father and that of his mother.

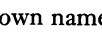

Plate 26, fig. 1 (UC 14592). Hieroglyphic col. 6 from the left: the damaged town name is , *Gbtyw*, 'Coptos': size of the gap, context ('scribe of commands in the temple of Min in Coptos'), and even the provenance of the stela, which is Coptos, clinch the restoration.  is translated 'holy of city' on p. 33. The epithetal phrase *ntry nwt* is possible, though, to my knowledge, unattested elsewhere. I prefer to see here a single word, a writing of *Ntr(w)*, 'Iseum', modern Bahbît el Hîgâra in the Delta, for which compare Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, III, 107. It appears to have been the last word in the string of epithets given to Osiris in this stela, and Osiris is explicitly connected with that town in Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, 321, 6 (from the Eighteenth-Dynasty papyrus of Nu).

Plate 29, fig. 8a (UC 14578). Description on p. 38: 'Both men wear the side-lock, characteristic of the *sem*-priest'. It is not the side-lock, which always curls at the lower end, but a flap or folding of the wig; *sem*-priests would, in all probability, be dressed differently, clad in leopard-skin mantles.

Plate 31, fig. 1 (UC 14404). The Souls of Pe and Nehhen are not 'on the deck' of the Sacred bark as stated on p. 40. They are kneeling and performing the *hnw*-gesture of jubilation on the side of the bark facing the spectator; cf. remarks on p. 153 (top) above apropos of pl. 5, fig. 2 (UC 14580).


Plate 32, fig. 5 (UC 14601). The personal name on this fragment is not *Ysw*, as diffidently read on pp. 41 and 68, but *Kdsw*, with the initial  reversed, exactly as in the two occurrences of this rare name quoted by Block, *Acta Orientalia* 10, 86 with pls. 4 and 5.

Plate 33, fig. 1 (UC 14603). The Osirian epithet *nb nhh* is clearly preserved; the question mark after 'lord of eternity' on p. 42 is unnecessary.




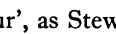
Plate 33, fig. 4a (UC 14568). Space makes it impossible to restore  *imh*, 'honour', as Stewart appears to have done (see his translation on p. 43): the uppermost framing bar, now partly preserved, would surely cut through the backbone of . The damaged sign is . This is doubtless an appeal to [*Dhwtw, nb*] *md(w) ntr*, '[Thoth, lord of] the divine words', that 'he may grant  a witty tongue and deft fingers (lit. 'sharpness of tongue and excellence of fingers') to the soul of so-and-so.' Stewart's 'honour, excellence and renown' is a mistranslation.


Plate 34, fig. 3 (UC 14600).  is not 'Isis, the [great?] goddess', as this docket is rendered on p. 43. Read *3st ntryt*, 'Isis the divine'; see *Wb.* II, 364, 22.











Plate 34, fig. 5 (UC 14436). Tjenedet's epithet  is incorrectly translated '(mistress) of the Two Lands' on p. 44; it reads *Rct-twy*, 'the female Rct of the Two Lands'; cf. Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. Onomastica*, II, 24\*. On pp. 44 and 70 the adoring woman is said to be 'the chief of musicians (*wr dhnw?*) of Monthu'; *wr(t) dhnw* is a rare title which might possibly occur in Brugsch, *Thes.* v, 922, l. 8 of text. I have a suspicion that the damaged sign read  by Stewart is actually , and that we are dealing here with the not uncommon title of *Wb.* III, 297, 14.

Plate 35, fig. 2 (UC 14400). I find it hard to believe that the kneeling man bears the title *šdw* of *Wb.* iv, 566, 1, 'an occupation of uncertain nature', as the reader is informed on p. 44 with n. 1. That title is invariably written with the -sign. Moreover, examination of the photograph in Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis (III)*, pl. 39, 5, makes me wonder whether  are really the signs cut on the stone (is  possible?); and I think I see the frequent group , not , beneath the -sign. However,

<sup>1</sup> For the razor-sign with a single handle shown above the blade cf. Bosticco, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le Stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno*, pl. 31, top right, and the damaged sign in the book under review, pl. 29, fig. 1 (UC 14427). A 'chief () of barbers' is quoted by Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. Onomastica*, I, 70\*.

I am not prepared to press the point because photographs can be very misleading and I have not seen the original.





Plate 36, fig. 1 (UC 14228). A photograph of this record in Capart, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, 2nd series, pl. 88, shows that the determinative of the personal name *Dḥwtj-ms* is a seated man with arms bent in a peculiar way: both hands on his chest and the elbows turned outwards; it frequently replaces  and  in hieroglyphic texts of Nineteenth–Twenty-first Dynasties. Here the seated man has also a very pointed face, almost as if he was ibis-headed or had a bird's long beak on his face, a curious feature which I have observed in many occurrences of this hieroglyph at Gebel es-Silsilah. The suffix in *sn·f* 'his brother', does not appear from the photograph to be like a reversed -sign as rendered in the line-drawing: the curves of the viper's head and body are indeed less pronounced than in a well-turned , but they are there all the same; only the horns are missing. The photograph also seems to indicate that the right-hand end of the incense-burner is the usual Horus head, as in, for instance, pl. 37, fig. 1 (UC 14390).




Plate 37, fig. 3 (UC 14233). The docket on the right was rendered 'the confectioner (?*akhuti*) *Amen-em-apef*' by Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 20, no. 5. Stewart reads the ideographically written title in a similar way, *ṛḥw*, with a query (cf. pp. 47 and 70), but translates 'oven-heater' and refers to *Wb.* 1, 223, 20: 'der Ofenheizer? (zwischen Bäckern genannt)', which needs revision, the quoted *Wb.* entry being a defective writing of *ṛḥw*, 'brewer'; see Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. Onomastica*, 1, 65\* (145). Quibell and Stewart are not, at any rate, wide of the mark. In my opinion *Imn-m-ipt* was a 'brewer', his title being written with the sign  by itself: but whether this was meant for *ṛftj* or *ṛḥw* is a problem. The brewer-sign represents a leaning-forward man kneading dough and straining it into a vessel which holds the mash from which the beer is made. It is used alone, with no phonetic complements of any kind and followed by the man's name, in Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, pl. 4, fig. 5; and Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (CCG), 1, Plates, pl. 40, no. 34.079, left margin of stela. If in the UC stela the dough and vessel appear to be held up above the ground by the operator, it is to fit the scanty space available: the stone-cutter was forced to raise them up, as he was forced to move up the adjoining group , to be able to squeeze in the docket between  and the offering-stand with a round cake on it presented by *Imn-m-ipt*. Note also the globular vessel, which agrees well with the mash-vessels in the two examples quoted above. Curiously enough, the brewer in the stela published by Lacau is also called *Imn-m-ipt*. Additional references: *Wb.* 1, 183, 9; 237, 4; Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, 446 (A 36); Helck, *Das Bier im Alten Ägypten*, 97 f., 113.







Plate 39, fig. 1 (UC 14466). I beg to disagree with the interpretation and translation of this record on p. 48. This text is not concerned with the king's *ka*-service. This is a boundary or field-donation stela: 'North-eastern [boundary] of the land donated to the good god, etc.'; cf. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 215, with reference to p. 112, n. 5; also Edwards, *JEA* 51, 24 with pl. 10, fig. 3; and for the restored noun *t(ṛ)ḥ*, 'boundary', at the beginning of l. 1 see also Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, II, 115, no. 14994, C, 1. In l. 2 the drawing gives , and Stewart translates 'may (N.N.) be caused . . .', which I find extremely doubtful. Since *r-ḏrt* does not normally occur in the context of field-donation stelae,<sup>1</sup> I suggest that  is a misinterpretation of : what we have here is meant for , 'which is under the authority of'; cf. Iversen, *Two Inscriptions Concerning Private Donations to Temples*, 15 (e).

Plate 40, fig. 1 (UC 14475). Text beneath lunette: two upper ends of columns have been overlooked and left unexplained on p. 51. The imperative *mī*, 'come', is frequently used in invocations to deities; cf. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe*, 66 n. 9. *Sḏd* is 'to declare, relate' the might and deeds and good works of a god or gods to the world at large; cf. Erman, *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1911, 1109 bottom; Posener, *Rev. d'Ég.* 27, 209 [12189 rto. 1] with n. 41.

Plate 41, fig. 1 (UC 14470). The title of the adoring man in the bottom register is in all probability ,

<sup>1</sup> An instance of  in analogous context is quoted by Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 86 (upper).

'scribe of the treasury (of the lord of the Two Lands)', not *sš pr*, 'scribe of the palace', as interpreted on pp. 51 and 70.

Plate 41, fig. 2 (UC 14392). The label text beneath the winged disc is translated 'Horus, the Behdetite, the good god, lord of heaven' on p. 51. Delete 'Horus' and change 'good god' to 'great god' (*ntr ʕ*).

Plate 42, fig. 1 (UC 14473). This is an interesting text, a telescoped abridgement of a peculiarly worded style of praise discussed by Wente, *JNES* 22, 32 note d. Here the words 'that they (the gods) may grant food-offerings etc.' have been left out, and as a result *in*, 'by', jars on one's ear after *šhtp-i*, 'I propitiate'. The woman is *Hby*'s sister (*snt·f*); see above, p. 154, remarks on pl. 17 (UC 10700).

Plate 43, fig. 2 (UC 14477). Col. 2: *I rmt nbt iwt(y)·sn*, 'O (you) all people who shall come etc.'; cf. Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> § 364 *ad fin.* (p. 281 n. 17); Stewart proposes a different translation on p. 53. Col. 3: *iw-i m tit n iwn-mwt·f* is rendered 'the pillar in the image of the pillar of his mother (i.e. the young Horus)' on p. 53. I much prefer to translate 'I was in the capacity of Pillar-of-his-Mother priest': Ptaḥmose is telling posterity (all who shall come) about his own career and points out that he was serving as Pillar-of-his-Mother priest when he got a promotion in the temple of Ptaḥ. *Tit*, 'image', is here equivalent to *irw*, 'form', and *sn(t)*, 'likeness', in similar idioms for 'to be in the capacity of'; cf. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 35 (§ 52) f.; Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 168 n. b. The mutilated word at the end of col. 3 is the causative *snfr*, 'to ameliorate, improve', used in correlation with *šnt*, 'to promote, advance (one's position or status)'.  
 Plate 43, fig. 6A (UC 14583). The mutilated word *snt*, 'sister', is rendered 'wife' on p. 54.

Plate 44, fig. 2 (UC 14434). Here again *snt·f* is translated 'his wife', see p. 54 *ad fin.*

Plate 45, fig. 1 (UC 14481, 14581). This is not exactly a prayer to Rēꜥ, as stated on p. 56, but to Pharaoh as 'Sun of Egypt (?) and ruler of the Nine Bows'. The traces after *Rr n*, particularly as recorded in Petrie, Wainwright, and Mackay, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, pl. 38, fig. 1, fit  $\frac{\text{𓂏}}{\text{𓂏}}$  so admirably that I am tempted to write 'Egypt' without a query; for parallels see the Belegstellen to *Wb.* II, 401, 9.

Plate 45, fig. 4 (UC 14800). There is nothing puzzling about the king's forward-leaning pose, which is said to be 'difficult to interpret' on p. 56. The gala dress and posture shows that Pharaoh is at the Window of Appearance or in a kiosk, leaning forward over a cushioned balcony and watching, for instance, a distribution of gifts or a procession of courtiers. Cf. Schäfer, *Amtliche Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 40, no. 3, 41 ff.; Ali Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen*, 3 ff.; Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I, part 1<sup>2</sup>, 463 (I. d).

Plate 46, fig. 6 (UC 14471). Col. 1: *wbs-ḥr m irt ddt* is rendered 'the clear-sighted of eye is what is said (of him)' on p. 58. Translate 'clear-sighted in doing what is said', i.e. a man who shows discernment in the performance of what he is told to do. On *wbs-ḥr* see *Wb.* I, 291, 3; specific references to *iri ddt*, 'Gesagtes tun', will be found in the Belegstellen to *Wb.* v, 624, 13.

Plate 48, fig. 4, lower (UC 14461). The 'two raised hands' on the edge of this fragment are almost certainly the upper ends of a large  $\text{𓂏}$ .





Plate 49 (UC 14574). There is something amiss in the translation on p. 61: 'O my lord, Nebamun, justified, we cry out for food and provisions for every spirit and abundance for Rennutet.' The discrepancy between 'my lord' and 'we cry out' is not a serious objection, for the 'assimilation of pronouns' is not uncommon in Egyptian texts; but  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  is the imperative of *rdi*, 'to give, place', not the *sdm·f* form of *im*, 'to moan'; and then to cry out or call imploringly for abundance for Rennutet, the goddess of abundance and plenty, makes poor sense. I have failed to find a parallel text, better preserved, which might help elucidate this inscription.

A second part of the catalogue, now in preparation, will deal with pre-New-Kingdom pieces in the Petrie collection. One looks forward to it; and it is hoped that Mr. Stewart, while maintaining the very high epigraphic standards of the present volume, will find it possible to give more thought and study to the translation and verbal description of the museum pieces which he so faithfully records.

*Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten.* By ALI HASSAN. *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien.* Heft 33. 171 × 238 mm. Pp. x + 223, pls. 8, figs. 45. Deutscher Kunstverlag, München-Berlin, 1976. Price DM48. ISBN 3 422 00826 8.

This book will agreeably surprise those who might suppose its scope to be as slender as the stick or staff that is its subject. There was, however, scarcely any object in the life of ancient Egypt that was so commonly and constantly in use, that was used in so many different ways, and that took so great a variety of forms. A substantial amount has, in fact, been written about it already—by Mace and Winlock, for example, in *The Tomb of Senebtisi*, and by Jéquier in his invaluable *Frises d'objets*. These works might have been cited more frequently by the author, but it must be said that he has gone beyond them in a number of ways and has produced a compendium of information that is both useful and impressive. Even so, a good deal more evidence might have been included, and particularly the iconographic and palaeographic evidence, which is drawn upon only occasionally. In order to relieve the weight of what promises to be an overburdened review, I have relegated most of my comments on that score to a supplementary article that is scheduled to appear in the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 13 (1978); it will be designated as 'Notes' in the following comments.

By way of introduction the author presents a list of Arabic terms for staves, some of them referring to forms that are known from ancient Egypt, and a list of ancient Egyptian terms. The former is interesting, if only to show that the present terminology is as complex as it was in ancient times, but the latter, as far as I can see, serves little purpose since no references are provided. In most cases there is no further mention of these terms in the succeeding pages and, conversely, not all of the terms mentioned in those pages are included in this list; compare the index on pp. 204–6.

The first matter to be given serious attention (Chapter III) is the manufacture of staves, as represented in the scenes of daily life in tomb chapels of the Middle Kingdom. Here it should be noted that *ndr* is not the word for adze; in the Old Kingdom the usual term was evidently *cnt*.<sup>1</sup> The author concludes that heating and wetting, in that order, were used for the manufacture of staves as well as (in the New Kingdom) for arrows, and suggests, following Klebs, that this process made the shaft more flexible for bending, although that can hardly be true of arrows which, if anything, would require straightening. Again following Klebs and others, he believes that the bending was accomplished by the device represented by the hieroglyph  (Gardiner Sign List U 14). But since the scenes consistently show this device used in the production of *mdw*-staves, it would seem that these too are being straightened rather than bent.<sup>2</sup> One wonders, moreover, if the wood would not have had to be soaked before heating in order to make it supple. As for the alleged example of a curved staff that has been shaped on a wooden tripod (pp. 26–7), this is actually a piece of leather, and the 'weitere Teil der Rede' discussed on p. 25 refers to the preparation of a hide (*hnt*). Here also the author refers to Klebs, who does not, however, make the same error. Some of the other captions that are quoted in this section likewise require correction. The text on p. 18 is not transcribed in the proper sequence, and should begin  'hew! exert thyself!'<sup>3</sup> And on p. 28 the last sign of  belongs to the following inscription, while the stroke that precedes it is a dividing-line. Thus the translation is 'carpentering a door' rather than 'Bearbeiten ihrer Tür'. That also means that , probably a causative verb, should precede the phrase discussed on p. 29.<sup>4</sup> And in this phrase the term *imyt-r* designates a staff, and not 'Apparat'.<sup>5</sup>

The next chapter, on the sale and exchange of staves, also raises a few problems. Of the several New Kingdom references to the cost of staves, the first (p. 46) is probably not 'ein *rwnt*-Stab, ein *hrw*-Stab, gefertigt aus *rkw*-Holz', but 'a *hrw*-staff of *rwnt*-wood worked in *rkw*-wood'. Thus the price of an inlaid staff is four times that of most other staves, including the next example, which is translated, doubtless correctly, 'ein *šbt*-Stab aus *rwnt*-Holz'. The fourth example (p. 47) is not '*twrjt* Stab (macht) 4 (Deben)'

<sup>1</sup> Hassan, *Giza*, vi, pt. 2, 449 and pl. 163; Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, 302.

<sup>2</sup> This point is discussed at greater length in 'Notes', §3.

<sup>3</sup> For *pri-r* cf. *Wb.* 1, 527, 7; the Belegstellen include this very example.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. R. Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1976), 113–14, where the entire question of 'Stöcke biegen' is discussed more judiciously. <sup>5</sup> 'Notes', §1.

but '4 *twrjt*-staves', the worth of which was one *deben* each. Further evidence for one *deben* as the usual price of staves is given by Černý in 'Prices and Wages in Egypt', *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, 1 (1954), 909.<sup>1</sup>

In the section on 'staves as gifts and rewards', p. 51, the staff given to *Hw-Sbk* by Ammenemes II is mistakenly called a *km*-Stab, and this error is repeated on pp. 23 and 190. The word is actually  $\overline{\text{km}}$ , for which compare Faulkner, *Concise Dict.*, 256. A relief of the Amarna Period (fig. 16) is said to represent Akhenaten bestowing a staff upon a courtier, but the staff looks more like a type of leather baton used for policing in the New Kingdom;<sup>2</sup> furthermore it seems at least equally possible that the man who carries it is reporting to the king. On the other hand, Hassan seems to have done better than his predecessors in translating  $\overline{\text{wnt}}$  as 'wnt-Stab . . . aus Weißgold (beschlagen mit weißem Gold)' (p. 53). He might well have backed up this interpretation by referring to the wooden staff of Tutankhamūn (p. 135 [7]), which is similarly called  $\overline{\text{wryt}}$ , 'a *twryt*-staff of electrum' despite the fact that the precious metal is no more than a thin sheet applied to the upper end.

Chapter VI deals with staves as funerary equipment, beginning with a survey of examples found in tombs of the Protodynastic Period and the Old Kingdom. An ivory *w*-staff from the temple area at Abydos is also included (p. 56), but Hassan errs in stating that its size is unknown. According to Petrie's system of indicating the scale on his plates, it is 1/1 and the original length was therefore no more than 20 cm; perhaps it belonged to a statuette. This survey is followed by a summary of the staves listed in the Pyramid Texts, and similarly a survey of staves found in Middle-Kingdom tombs is followed by a brief description of the staves represented in the 'frise d'objets' of coffins. Here there are inaccuracies in transcribing both of the only two inscriptions that are known to occur on staves prior to the New Kingdom. The Golden Horus name of Khety (p. 71) is given as  $\overline{\text{kh}}$ , miscopied from Kamal's  $\overline{\text{kh}}$  which is itself incorrect; only one sign is present, and it looks more like  $\overline{\text{m}}$ .<sup>3</sup> And among the titles on the staves of *Hnw* (p. 75 [b]), the last sign of  $\overline{\text{h}} \overline{\text{m}} \overline{\text{h}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{p}} \overline{\text{r}}$  is certainly to be corrected to  $\overline{\text{p}}$ : 'senior lector priest who is in the year';<sup>4</sup> the mistake is Quibell's but it is made worse on p. 76 by being omitted altogether (and here inscription d is inadvertently repeated in c). Technically *Hnw*'s staves are not, as Hassan states, the oldest non-royal examples of an inscribed object of this kind. The wooden *cb*-sceptre of *K(-i)-pw-nswt* bears the owner's titles and names, incised on the blade;<sup>5</sup> it is only 37 cm long and therefore may have belonged to a statue, but that is not necessarily the case, for an undersized sceptre, only 39 cm long, was placed along with a staff in shaft IIIA of Giza tomb 2011,<sup>6</sup> and one 45 cm long was similarly placed beside the body of *Rc-wr* II.<sup>7</sup>

While a few of the items of the 'frises d'objets' are given individual attention, most of them are simply named (p. 103) in a list of 41 items for which no references are provided, and half of which lack the determinative that provides some idea of their form. I wonder in particular about the source of  $\overline{\text{p}} \overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{h}} \overline{\text{t}}$ , which would correspond to the interpretation of  $\overline{\text{p}} \overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{h}} \overline{\text{t}}$  in *Pyr.* 49+3 (p. 68) as a staff rather than 'pendant'.<sup>8</sup> In this connection one might also compare the  $\overline{\text{p}}$ -topped staff which is labeled  $\overline{\text{p}}$  in an early Middle-Kingdom procession of burial equipment.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An inexplicable omission, since the article is cited in another connection on p. 48 n. 58.

<sup>2</sup> See 'Notes', §7.

<sup>3</sup> As noted by Daressy, *ASAE* 11 (1911), 48.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the writing of this on a fragmentary false door that evidently belongs to the same person: Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1906-7), pl. 9 (4). The sign  $\overline{\text{p}}$  is also barely visible on the foot-end of the coffin, pl. 27, again misread by Quibell on p. 17. For the entire title cf. Kees, *ZÄS* 87 (1962), 124.

<sup>5</sup> A. H. Zayed, *Trois études d'égyptologie* (Cairo, 1956), 2.

<sup>6</sup> Boston MFA 37.1318, from information kindly supplied by Edna Russmann.

<sup>7</sup> Junker, *Giza*, III, fig. 45, p. 227; a somewhat larger one (48 cm) was found at Saqqâra: A. M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, 43.

<sup>8</sup> Translated 'pendant' by Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 16, but certainly wrongly. Cf. L. D. Bell, *Interpreters and Egyptianized Nubians* (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. Pennsylvania, 1976), 16 and notes 182, 183, where other occurrences are cited from *Pyr.* 815a and *CT*, III, 371b, 377d-378a. The validity of the determinative  $\overline{\text{p}}$ , questioned by Bell, is confirmed by the *cnht* at Beni Hasan, cited below.

<sup>9</sup> Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. 7; the procession is described by Hassan on p. 121, but he omits this item. It is shown in greater detail by Montet in *BIFAO* 9 (1911), pl. 14 (2). Note that the forms *mcnht* and *cnht* are paralleled by the similar pair of terms for 'pendant'.

The author has commendably noted the evidence for the location of staves in tombs, and observes that the *rb*-sceptre is found at the right of the body in Old-Kingdom coffins, later replaced by the mysterious implement called the *pd-rhr* (𓏏), while in those of both the Old and Middle Kingdoms the staff is placed on the left side.<sup>1</sup> Throughout these periods, however, the east (left) was also the front, the side towards which the deceased faced to receive his offerings.<sup>2</sup> Thus it is uncertain whether the position of staff and sceptre reflects their position in statuary, which is in turn a reflection of the dominant rightward orientation in two-dimensional art,<sup>3</sup> or whether the staff was placed in front so that it was more easily within reach. In any case it must be kept in mind that a long staff must usually have been carried in the right hand while the bearer was walking.<sup>4</sup> A second question concerning the orientation of the *mdw*-staff is not considered at all: namely, why the hieroglyph 𓏏 shows the larger end downward, while reliefs, paintings, and statuary normally show this end upward. The answer is that the hieroglyph reflects the way the staff was originally held, down to the reign of Cheops in the Fourth Dynasty.<sup>5</sup>

Rather too much emphasis is given to the inclusion of a *mks*-staff in the tomb equipment of King Ḳor (p. 92), for by the Thirteenth Dynasty this royal attribute could probably have been adopted for the other-worldly use of anyone who could afford a sumptuous burial.<sup>6</sup> The idea of the Osiride hereafter, which underlies this usage,<sup>7</sup> should have been mentioned at the outset of the long discussions of Middle Kingdom funerary practices on pp. 95–122, and not brought in only towards the end, on p. 119. And the question of relative dating, which is much more complex than one would suppose from these discussions, should likewise have been considered from the beginning and not left to be belatedly and barely mentioned on p. 120.<sup>8</sup> Another consideration that is not given its due is the distinction—often a difficult one—between tomb equipment that might have been used by the owner during his lifetime as compared with dummy objects, recognizable as such by their size, form, material, or decoration; a clear example of the latter is the pair of wooden sandals that is found in Old- and Middle-Kingdom burials.<sup>9</sup>

This last consideration might seem to invalidate a perceptive observation of the author regarding the staves of *Snbty-sy*, some of which are spliced together from as many as five pieces of wood. He points out (p. 83) that such staves could not have had much strength, and seems to imply that they belong to those cases where staves were deliberately broken and repaired. Since they are dummy staves, not intended for actual use, the jointing need not be explained in this manner, but there is some further evidence that suggests that such an explanation is correct.<sup>10</sup> The ritual breaking of staves is discussed at some length on pp. 122–7, without, however, taking into account the widespread distribution of this practice on other cultures.<sup>11</sup>

Little attempt is made in Chapter VII to describe the surviving staves of the New Kingdom in any detail despite the fact that they often show considerably more ornamentation than those of earlier periods. In particular one misses the walking-sticks of Tutankhamūn that show, at the top, a walking figure of the king.<sup>12</sup> And, doubtless because of the paucity of information, nothing at all is said of the location of staves

<sup>1</sup> The Old-Kingdom examples of staves on the left side may be augmented by Petrie and Mackay, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa*, 12 (236), 17 (209, 246), although this site also provides two cases where the staff was on the right: pp. 14 (480), 18 (522). See also *BMFA* 11 (1913), 59, where the burial of Imthepy is described as having a wooden staff at the left. In the case of tomb G 2011 (p. 159 n. 6 above), both staff and sceptre were exceptionally in front of the body, which was turned eastward as usual.

<sup>2</sup> Fischer, *Egyptian Studies*, 11 (New York, 1977), 7 n. 22. Note also that a Twelfth-Dynasty coffin (CG 28091) speaks of 'bt-staves before him' (*Stöcke*, p. 112).

<sup>3</sup> Fischer, *op. cit.*, §18.

<sup>4</sup> Hassan notes (p. 114) that some Twelfth-Dynasty coffins speak of *rw*- and *hk*-staves, which were laid in front of the mummy, as being 'in his right hand'.

<sup>5</sup> Fischer, *op. cit.*, §45.

<sup>6</sup> 'Notes', §9.

<sup>7</sup> This point was made more than sixty years ago by Mace and Winlock, *Tomb of Senebtisi*, 78.

<sup>8</sup> See now the discussion by Bruce Williams in *Serapis*, 3 (Chicago, 1975–6), 41–57.

<sup>9</sup> 'Notes', nn. 152–3.

<sup>10</sup> 'Notes', §10.

<sup>11</sup> See L. V. Grinsell, *Folklore*, 72 (1961), 475–91; 84 (1973), 111–14.

<sup>12</sup> Carter and Mace, *Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, 11, pl. 7.

in burials.<sup>1</sup> The emphasis is rather on the inscribed examples that now became much more common; fifty-five examples are catalogued on pp. 132–61.<sup>2</sup> With the exception of the very difficult inscription of Louvre 1454 (p. 159)<sup>3</sup> the copies seem fairly accurate, although transcribed (as elsewhere in this book) in an execrable hand.

Chapter VIII, on the staff as an emblem of power or authority, first takes up the use of  $\uparrow$ ,  $\uparrow$ , and  $\uparrow$  by divinities, and the use of  $\uparrow$ , the *mks*-staff, and  $\uparrow$  (*ms*) by the king. A rather inconclusive discussion then deals with the distinctive meaning of the staff and *cb*-sceptre in the hands of Eighteenth-Dynasty viziers. Several problems are encountered in the succeeding discussion of various staves and sceptres in the hands of lesser individuals. The Eleventh-Dynasty hieroglyph mentioned at the top of p. 190 does not provide evidence for an official holding the  $\uparrow$ -staff, but belongs to an unusual writing of *mnw* 'herdsman'. It is therefore to be associated with the Nineteenth-Dynasty goatherds with  $\uparrow$ -staves who are pictured in the tomb of *Ipy* (Hassan's fig. 43). There is, moreover, no connection between this hieroglyph and the reference to a staff discussed in my *Dendera*, 146. Next there is a confusing mention of evidence for the surveying of fields in the Twelfth Dynasty 'wobei der Beamte einen  $\uparrow$  *rwnt*-Stab trägt'. From this one might suppose that a staff of such form was used before the New Kingdom, which is evidently not the case (cf. p. 193), although it might have been pointed out that there is some resemblance to the determinative of the *mty*-staff in the Sixth-Dynasty biography of *Nhbw* (p. 189).<sup>4</sup> At all events there is no conclusive evidence that *rwnt* is the term for such a staff,<sup>5</sup> nor does Hassan offer any, although he makes that equation throughout his book. It is also difficult to see why, in this chapter, there is no mention of the  $\uparrow$ -sceptre in the hands of Nubian viceroys and other officials of the New Kingdom.<sup>6</sup> Finally, as in the earlier discussion of the *mks*-staff, the author fails to recognize the otherworldly context that permits royal or divine attributes—in this case the  $\uparrow$ -sceptre—to appear in the hands of non-royal persons.

The last chapter concerns women, who did not, as a rule, carry staves at all. That fact is confirmed by Old-Kingdom representations of men that have been replaced by figures of women, requiring the transformation of the man's staff into a long-stemmed lotus.<sup>7</sup> The Eleventh-Dynasty queen in the scene at Shatt er-Rigal (p. 197) is no exception, for her staff is lotiform, like the late Old-Kingdom examples mentioned on p. 199, and not a 'speerrähnlicher Stab'. Perhaps it should also be noted that the so-called *shy*-sceptre held by Akhenaten and Nefertiti (p. 198) belongs to a very specific gesture of offering.<sup>8</sup>

The foregoing description may seem to be presented in unduly negative terms, and it does not, in fact, do justice to the wealth of material that the author has assembled. That wealth is not made easily accessible by the author's references and cross-references, however, which are often ill defined and inaccurate. Moreover, the organization of the book has, as noted earlier, left many aspects of the subject virtually untouched. There is no systematic discussion of either the forms of staves or the terms for them (such as

<sup>1</sup> Note, however, James and Apted, *Mastaba of Khentika*, 3, fig. 1, where a staff is again on the left side. Similarly Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934–35)*, 2<sup>e</sup> Partie: *La Nécropole de l'Est*, fig. 80, p. 154; in fig. 96, p. 173, four staves are at the foot end (again east); in fig. 98, p. 176, a staff is on top of the coffin; and in fig. 113, p. 198, five staves are placed on a chair at the left (north-east). Also Lansing and Hayes, *BMAA*, Jan. 1937, fig. 11, p. 11, with staves, etc., at left of coffin.

<sup>2</sup> His no. 47 (p. 157) has already been published by Chabas, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1 (1880), 47–8; nos. 9 (p. 136) and 13 (p. 138) are quoted and translated by Černý in *A Community of Workers* (Cairo, 1973), 55, 56 (i); nos. 33–5 appear in James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, nos. 213, 428, 269 (with different museum nos. in the first two cases; see also nos. 211, 212, which are omitted). For the inscribed examples in the Metropolitan Museum (p. 129) see 'Notes', §12. A further inscribed example, in the City Museum, Birmingham, is published above (p. 132) by John Ruffle.

<sup>3</sup> Note in particular that the transcription lacks the hieroglyphs corresponding to 'Medinet Habu *Nbw-Tmn*' at the end of the second line.

<sup>4</sup> See 'Notes', §11.

<sup>5</sup> 'Notes', §2.

<sup>6</sup> *ZAS* 86 (1961), 23 (fig. 2); R. Macramallah, *Mastaba d'Idout*, pl. 7 and *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the *hrp*-staff of Tut<sup>ankhamūn</sup>, one face of which shows a repeating pattern of slaughtered oxen: Carter and Mace, *Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, III, pl. 44.



(*wnt*). And relatively little is done with the mention of staves in titles, epithets, and literary allusions. The expression 'staff of old age', for example, is mentioned in connection with New-Kingdom texts referring to viziers, but nothing is said of the earlier use of this epithet.<sup>1</sup> Similarly a New Kingdom example of the phrase 'staff of the *rhyt*' is cited without any reference to its use as an Old Kingdom title.<sup>2</sup> And other titles of equal antiquity are entirely overlooked, such as  $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$  'staffbearer',<sup>3</sup> and  $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$  'staff' of one or another of the sacred cattle;<sup>4</sup> also  $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$  'priest of the *ms*-staff'.<sup>5</sup>

The subject of staves as cult-objects is neglected even more severely, although there is some mention of it in connection with the falcon-headed staff of King Ḥor (p. 173). The statement that this staff is unparalleled might at least have been qualified by a reference to Cairo CG 395, the priestly statue of Ammenemes III.<sup>6</sup>

A series of indices, lists of illustrations, and abbreviations conclude the work. HENRY G. FISCHER

*L'Épouse du Dieu Ahmes Néfertary. Documents sur sa vie et son culte posthume.* Par MICHEL GITTON. Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, Centre de Recherches d'histoire ancienne, vol. 15. 235 × 153 mm. Pp. 108, frontispiece illustration. Besançon-Paris, 1975. Price F50.

La reine Ahmes Néfertary, épouse d'Amosis et mère d'Aménophis Ier, eut de son vivant un certain rôle historique et fut après sa mort, mais principalement à l'époque ramesside, l'objet d'un culte. A ce moment, elle est surtout célébrée comme 'épouse du dieu'; elle semble en effet avoir été la première reine d'Égypte à porter ce titre et elle pourrait avoir joué dans l'évolution de cette institution un rôle déterminant.

Comme l'indique le sous-titre du livre, la monographie vise essentiellement à rassembler les témoignages sur la reine, lesquels imposent une division de l'ouvrage en deux parties: la documentation contemporaine et celle qui concerne le culte posthume. Les documents contemporains (pp. 6-41) sont peu nombreux: trois datent sûrement du règne d'Amosis, une demi-douzaine remontent à Aménophis Ier, autant au règne de Touthmosis Ier; le cercueil de la reine se rapporte plutôt à l'époque d'Aménophis Ier, par son style, bien qu'Ahmes Néfertary soit morte sous Touthmosis Ier. A ces quelques monuments s'ajoutent plus de 100 scarabées contemporains, ce nombre élevé étant un des indices les plus frappants de l'importance de cette dame.

Les documents posthumes (pp. 45-97) sont près de 300: stèles, fragments architecturaux, peintures de tombes privées, reliefs de temples, mobilier funéraire et religieux, textes hiératiques, etc. De cette masse de documents, l'auteur tire une série de constatations sur les titres et épithètes et les divers aspects figurés de la reine, sur les lieux et les agents de son culte, sur son statut de reine, d'ancêtre, de prêtresse et de déesse dans la religion et la mentalité égyptiennes. Il esquisse pour finir une histoire de ce culte. L'index comprend une liste des monuments d'Ahmes Néfertari dans les musées et une liste des tombes thébaines citées dans le livre.

La lecture d'un tel ouvrage fait sentir la complexité du sujet et combien nous sommes encore loin de voir clair dans le début de la 18e dynastie, spécialement dans la généalogie de la famille où les attributions de parenté sont rarement appuyées sur des arguments textuels qui forcent l'acquiescement. L'auteur clarifie

<sup>1</sup> See Fischer, 'Some Literary and Iconographic Comparisons', §2, in *Fragen an die Ägyptische Literatur (Denkschrift für E. Otto)*.

<sup>2</sup> See Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, 107\*.

<sup>3</sup> Although the Belegstellen for *Wb.* III, 394 (8), are evidently incorrect (cf. *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 137 and n. 4), an example is probably to be recognized in *Urk.* I, 3 (8), and, more clearly, in H. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, 149. In both cases this is associated with the title *ḥkꜣ* 'chief (of an estate)'. The note in *MDAIK* also deals with the same term meaning '(property) under (someone's) staff'.

<sup>4</sup> Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 52-3.

<sup>5</sup> Emery, *ILN*, March 6, 1965, 22, fig. 6; this will appear more clearly in the final publication of *Ḥtp-kꜣ.i*, by G. T. Martin. Note also *mḏhw ms*, Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 10, 13, 14; *imy-r iz-ms*, Mariette, *Mastabas*, 185, 228.

<sup>6</sup> Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum* (London, 1970), 85-8. For later statues carrying staves emblematic of various gods see Boreux, *JEA* 7 (1921), 113-20; B. Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, pp. 78-81; B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, nos. 190-201.

déjà un certain nombre de points: qu'Ahmes Néfertary est morte sous Touthmosis Ier, qu'elle est bien fille d'Ahhotep; qu'il n'y a jamais eu d'Ahhotep épouse d'Aménophis Ier, malgré Gauthier; certains types de documents—par exemple les manches de sistre et contre-poids de ménat en faïence—semblent apparaître avec la reine; celle-ci a dû s'occuper de construire, puisque son nom se lit solennellement dans deux carrières, à Bosra, seul, et à Maasara, où ses cartouches et sa titulature développée encadrent le simple prénom d'Amosis au point de le mettre au second plan. Il est évidemment difficile de tirer plus des minces documents connus, et certaines conclusions de l'auteur me semblent même aller au delà de ce qu'ils autorisent: par exemple, le fait qu'en Nubie des monuments portent le nom de la reine ne permet pas encore de penser qu'Ahmes Néfertary 'a joué un rôle dans la politique de conquête de la Nubie' ou que le roi l'a associée 'aux honneurs de la conquête' (p. 14). L'inscription de Bosra n'est pas une 'preuve', mais un indice de l'intérêt de Néfertary pour la construction (p. 13) et dire que 'la reine apparaît (dans la stèle Caire CG 34002) comme un conseiller écouté en matière de constructions religieuses' est contraire au contenu du texte. Comme la reine est encore mentionnée sous Touthmosis Ier, on peut dire—vu le petit nombre de témoignages—qu'elle vit encore, plutôt que de parler du 'maintien de son influence' (p. 17); de même, il est peut-être hasardeux d'évoquer le cadre—fort mal connu—de la 'maison de l'Épouse du Dieu' pour expliquer l'utilisation des scarabées de la reine et leur nombre. En somme la part d'hypothèse est grande dans le commentaire, et les généralisations sont suggérées à partir d'un nombre trop réduit d'exemples. Dans le même ordre d'idées, la conclusion (p. 32) dépasse le bilan sobre de ce qui a été acquis. En somme, l'importance qu'a prise Ahmes Néfertary dans le souvenir de la postérité fait supposer un rôle exceptionnel au cours de sa vie, mais ce rôle est très peu explicitement attesté.

Un certain nombre de problèmes fondamentaux apparaissent en filigrane dans l'étude. L'un d'eux—qu'on voudrait voir un jour tranché—est celui que pose le rôle des reines dans la succession royale: savoir si oui ou non la légitimité était transmise par elles, et si le titre de *hmt ntr* y intervenait. Yoyotte prévoyait à la question une réponse négative (*Annuaire EPHE 1965-66*, 81 en bas); Bettina Schmitz (*Untersuchungen zum Titel sꜣ-nꜣswt 'Königsohn'* [Bonn 1976], 306 sqq.) lie carrément le titre de *hmt ntr* à la fonction de la reine future mère de l'héritier, au moins jusqu'à Néferouré (p. 308). Les allusions de Gitton à un éventuel rôle 'dynastique' n'aboutissent pas à une déclaration nette (cf. p. 8); la théorie traditionnelle de la légitimation par les femmes est utilisée telle quelle à propos de Touthmosis Ier (p. 20). On ne voit pas non plus à quel âge on peut devenir 'épouse du dieu'—apparemment dès la prime enfance si Satamon est bien la fille d'Amosis et de Néfertary (p. 35 n. 61)—et s'il peut y en avoir plusieurs simultanément, ce qu'admettait Sander-Hansen (*Gottesweib*, 13), alors que Schmitz pense à une succession rapide; plutôt que cette succession, la simultanéité semble possible pour Gitton (pp. 6-7), mais le vocabulaire utilisé par l'auteur est ambigu, à propos de Satkamose, fille possible de Kamose, qui aurait reçu 'la dignité d'Épouse du Dieu à titre honoraire, en même temps que Satamon, puis Mérytamon' (p. 15); 'puis' ne permet pas de savoir en outre si Mérytamon le fut en même temps que Satamon, donc s'il y en eut trois ou quatre à la fois, à ce moment.

Voici, sur cette première partie quelques remarques au fil de la plume: pp. 7-11, l'auteur a depuis publié une traduction commentée de la stèle de Karnak (*BIFAO* 76, 65-89).

p. 8: traduire par 'perruque' le terme qui signifie littéralement 'voile de chevelure' est risqué, car sur la figuration du frontispice (cf. aussi p. 16), la reine a plutôt les cheveux ras qu' 'une courte perruque qui lui moule le crâne'.

p. 9: Schmitz, op. cit. 306, confirme que *sꜣt-nsw* indique toujours une vraie filiation.

p. 10: il ne faut accorder à Kamose que 3 années de règne, plus un supplément indéterminé. Le chiffre 6 si souvent reproduit est le résultat de spéculations de Petrie, *History*, II, 3. L'évaluation de l'âge de Néfertary est difficile; la soixantaine que l'auteur lui attribue à sa mort est la transcription chiffrée de 'l'âge mûr' constaté par Maspero; dans ce calcul, il ne faut accorder que 21 ans de règne à Aménophis Ier et non 30 (p. 18) ou 'entre 25 et 30' (p. 23), car la mention de la fête-sed ne suffit pas à attribuer 3 décades au roi (cf. Hornung et Stähelin, *Studien zum Sedfest* [AH 1, 1974], 65, 82); Wente (*JNES* 34, 270-1) pense même qu'il y eut corégence d'au moins 3 ans entre ce roi et son père et qu'il faudrait réduire en conséquence le temps historique occupé par eux; avec 60 ans à sa mort, Néfertary était peut-être née avant Amosis.

p. 10/11: Schmitz, op. cit. 288 n. 4, estime que le prince Ahmes de la stèle de Karnak, *sꜣ nsw smsw*, ne peut

être identifié à Sapaïr qui n'a jamais ce titre. Le titre *ss nsw* de Tétiky, toujours selon Schmitz, 245 sqq., 261, n'indiquerait pas une parenté royale.

p. 13: sur la stèle de Maasara, *ity* doit se traduire par 'souveraine' (ainsi déjà Sethe, *Urk. Übers.*, 13 n. 6), vu le parallélisme avec *nbt trwy*, etc.

p. 14: depuis les fouilles de Vercoutter à Saï, il est sûr que l'île a été occupée par Amosis et par Aménophis Ier.

Ahmès Mérytamon, trouvée par Winlock, ne peut être morte sous Aménophis Ier, ou alors elle ne peut descendre d'Amosis et de Néfertary, s'il est vrai que, d'après sa momie, elle avait 50 ans à sa mort: l'addition des règnes complets d'Amosis et d'Aménophis Ier fait au plus 46 ans.

p. 17: les fragments de statue trouvés dans la tombe dite d'Ahmes Néfertary ne représentent ni Aménophis Ier ni la reine. La tête royale, dite tête Carnarvon, MMA 26.7.1400, ne figure pas ce roi; elle lui est probablement postérieure (cf. Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 123); et le fragment de tête de femme est privé; il ne porte aucun indice désignant la reine (MMA 21.7.9).

p. 23: selon les critères paléographiques ici donnés, les scarabées 15, 16 et 18 seraient de la 19e dynastie.

p. 29: sur les coupes de faïence et leur usage, cf. maintenant E. Chr. Strauss, *Die Nunschale* (MÄS, 30, 1974).

p. 31: le relief du Louvre porte le n° E 11232.

(n. 77): note très intéressante sur les noms formés sur Téli.

(n. 109): il faut lire Dra Aboul Negga et non Deir el-Bahari.

(n. 128): c'est Mérytamon, et non Mérytré Hatchepsout qui est *ḏrt ntr* sur la planche citée; malgré Sander-Hansen, op. cit. 11, un tel titre n'appartient pas à Mérytré, au moins selon le LdR.

(n. 162): existe-t-il un autre exemple de la préséance de la reine-mère que Berlin 15699?

(n. 201): les scarabées ne sont-ils pas des objets trop mobiles pour avoir une signification topographique, au moins quand ils sont isolés?

La deuxième partie du livre traite donc des documents posthumes. L'auteur—on l'a vu—en a rassemblé près de 300; par son culte, Ahmes Néfertary apparaît, principalement à l'époque ramesside, à la fois comme la grande ancêtre et comme la divinité tutélaire de la nécropole thébaine.

Outre ses utiles listes de documents, l'auteur énonce une série de précieuses constatations. Le culte n'apparaît pas dans les tombes avant Aménophis II (p. 91 n. 5); les figurations dans les temples, pas avant Ramsès II ou Séthi Ier (p. 60); la reine n'est plus jamais appelée *st nsw* ou *snt nsw*, mais *mwt nsw*, *hmt nsw* et le plus souvent *hmt ntr* (p. 69); alors que les stèles et tombes de Deir el-Médina la nomment ou la figurent souvent, elle n'est que rarement citée sur les ostraca (p. 64). Malgré ce culte, Néfertary reste reine, comme le montre l'évolution de son costume (pp. 74, 83); dès le début d'ailleurs, la reine n'est pas habillée en déesse (malgré p. 74), mais la mode n'a pas encore différencié alors la tenue des déesses et des reines. D'ailleurs, la question de la divinisation de la reine—et d'autres êtres humains aussi—mériterait d'être éclaircie. Il y a plusieurs sortes de dieux; la reine peut figurer parmi ceux qui suivent la formule *htp di nsw* comme beaucoup de pharaons, elle peut se comporter souvent en déesse Hathor ou être 'identifiée' à elle ou à d'autres déesses (pp. 86, 88, 89 n. 160), mais elle n'est pas une déesse; elle est sans doute 'béatifiée' ou 'canonisée'; elle n'en reste pas moins d'abord humaine (outre le classique de Posener sur la divinité de pharaon, on lira aussi ce qu'écrivit J. Quaegebeur, *OLP* 8 (1977), 129 sqq., surtout p. 135). Il reste prudent de distinguer les cas où la reine reçoit un culte de ceux où elle l'accomplit (p. 86); plutôt qu'une simple liste des dieux auxquels elle est associée dans les documents, une étude plus spécifique de chaque association aurait été bienvenue.

Il est toutefois évident qu'une documentation aussi abondante ne rend pas du premier coup tous les renseignements qu'elle contient. L'auteur suggère lui-même quantité d'orientations de recherche. Une des difficultés majeures de la documentation—l'auteur le souligne—est la datation des sources; il faut reconnaître que la plupart mériteraient un examen critique serré pour en préciser la date. Voici quelques suggestions à ce propos: la stèle n° 20 = Brooklyn E 37. 1485, 'début 18e dyn.' est datée par James de la fin de la dyn.; le n° 31 = Caire CG 34037, 'seconde moitié 18ème d.' est plus précisément post-amarnien; n° 45 = Louvre C 50 est de la 19e dynastie, plutôt le milieu ou même la fin, d'après Helck, *Verwaltung*, 457 et D. A. Lowle, *OA* 15 (1976), 91 sqq. La statue Caire CG 42122 (p. 55) ne date pas d'Aménophis III,

mais de Ramsès II, puisque la stèle du Louvre C 50 appartient à ce personnage (cf. les mêmes). La statuette votive Caire CG 42050 (p. 61) était attribuée par Legrain à la 18e dyn. parce qu'il prenait l'inscription à sa valeur faciale; rien n'empêche que ce petit objet (9,5 cm.) soit ramesside; il est proche de la statuette Edimbourg 1951. 324 (11 cm), stéatite, qui est sûrement ramesside; elle porte au verso exactement le même texte avec la même paléographie que la statuette du Caire. Le couple de Durham est sûrement post-amarnien (N 495). La tête MMA 21.7.9—nous l'avons dit plus haut—est à supprimer de la liste. Il faudra donc reviser la remarque de la p. 62, que 'l'usage de représenter ainsi la reine n'a pratiquement pas connu d'interruption depuis la mort de celle-ci'. De même, p. 74, tous les enrichissements de la tenue de la reine sont post-amarniens, sauf TT 181 (au lieu de 81). Il semble qu'une étude plus rigoureusement diachronique du culte mettrait d'avantage en évidence son caractère tardif et soulignerait la rareté des documents pré-amarniens. La césure amarnienne peut avoir joué ici aussi un rôle (notez le parallélisme entre certains titres de la reine et des formules amarniennes, p. 74 et n. 74). Il serait utile de creuser certaines constatations chronologiques et topographiques: le fait qu'Ahmes Néfertary est représentée dans les temples une fois par Séthi Ier, sept ou huit fois par Ramsès II, deux fois par Ramsès III (à Karnak; aucune mention de la reine à Médinet Habou pourant si voisin de Deir el-Médina), une fois par Hérihor.

Voici, pour cette seconde partie, quelques remarques dans l'ordre de la lecture.

p. 47, n° 51: non 'ex Gulbenkian', mais actuellement dans cette collection.

p. 49, n° 77, et p. 59: il ne s'agit pas d'une stèle 'encastrée' dans le 6e pylône, mais 'gravée' sur le mur.

p. 51: ajouter un fragment de relief avec cartouche et visage à University College UC 14379.

p. 63: corriger en 'Omaḥa' (aussi p. 100).

p. 65: le terme 'textes administratifs' est trompeur; ces textes traitent aussi d'activités religieuses.

p. 69: il est curieux d'appeler 'variante' les 52 exemples qui s'opposent aux 40 exemples de la 'règle générale'.

p. 89: sur la couleur noire d'Ahmes Néfertary, on peut ajouter que cette couleur a été employée pour d'autres personnages royaux, cf. P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik*, 1. *Aegypten* (1958), 45.

Enfin, un index des noms propres aurait été utile, vu le nombre de personnages traités dans cet ouvrage.

En conclusion, le livre de Michel Gitton concrétise l'importance d'Ahmes Néfertary, de son vivant et dans les siècles suivants. L'auteur a, pour la première fois, rassemblé la quasi totalité de la documentation, il l'a analysée, classée, interrogée; il a obtenu ainsi une série de résultats définitifs et fait apparaître les problèmes qui restent à traiter, en rassemblant les moyens pour le faire. Précieux travail donc, pour lequel il faut féliciter l'auteur; malgré certaines réserves exprimées ci-dessus, c'est un jalon décisif pour la connaissance d'Ahmes Néfertary.

C. VANDERSLEYEN

*The Excavations at Esna 1905-1906.* By DOROTHY DOWNES. 305 × 215 mm. Pp. xii + 136, 103 figs., map on end papers. Warminster, 1974. Price £6.95. ISBN 0 85668 006 0.

The romance of excavating has always had greater appeal than the mixed pleasures of publication, and the result is, universally, a legacy of unpublished archaeological records. To the person who undertakes the chores that others have left uncompleted must go a great measure of sympathy and admiration, particularly when, as in this case, the raw material is so unprepossessing. John Garstang supervised a series of excavations in Egypt for the Institute of Archaeology at Liverpool between 1902 and 1909, but only for his first site at Beni Hasan was any attempt made to produce a detailed report. The Esna excavations occupied about five months, spread over two seasons, and were very largely the work of Garstang's assistant, E. Harold Jones, who had earlier done most of the work at Beni Hasan (this emerges very clearly from reading his correspondence). The record made was a fairly sketchy one, though including an attempt at a pottery corpus, but even so has not survived intact. Garstang had taken to photography with a somewhat greater enthusiasm than had Petrie, and 109 successful glass negatives have survived the primitive field photographic processes as well as two world wars. Downes describes the state of the surviving records in the Introduction. As for the material found and brought back to England, the fate of some of it comes close to being a self-parody of the early days of archaeology: the better pieces almost immediately distributed to the committee

members who had purchased shares in the enterprise and who were then free to give objects away to friends; cases of pottery sold off to, literally, the distant quarters of the world, to Jamaica, to be destroyed in an earthquake, to Wangaratta, in the state of Victoria, Australia. Yet, despite all, when one considers the summary fashion in which the archaeological detail of the Beni Hasan excavations was published, it is more than likely that this book still provides a better and fuller record than would have been the case if Garstang had proceeded to publication himself.

In presentation, the author has largely followed the philosophy of the later reports of the old British School of Archaeology in Egypt. The key part is the tomb register; the rest of the text is a commentary on this: notes are given on selected individual tombs and on the various classes of objects. As with the BSA reports the notes are limited to basic comments rather than attempting to integrate the new finds into the existing framework of knowledge which takes full account of previous discussion. Thus on p. 26 there is an entry on 'Foreign pottery vessels' from two tombs, but no reference to the detailed treatment of this material in R. S. Merrillees's study, *The Cypriote Bronze Age pottery found in Egypt*, 25-7, despite the fact that Merrillees compiles a longer list, and one which does not exactly tally with the one published here. A small amount of pan-grave culture material was found (two bowls, types 26A and B, and a mother-of-pearl bracelet section, see p. 54), but it is only by reading the text carefully that one discovers this since the references are merely incidental ones. The pottery corpus, too, follows the BSA format of providing a sort of running index to a large number of shapes, without producing a typology of discrete, verbally defined types which one can use readily for analysis and comparison. All the material is present, and one must be very thankful indeed for that, but the author makes the reader work hard to get the full benefit of it.

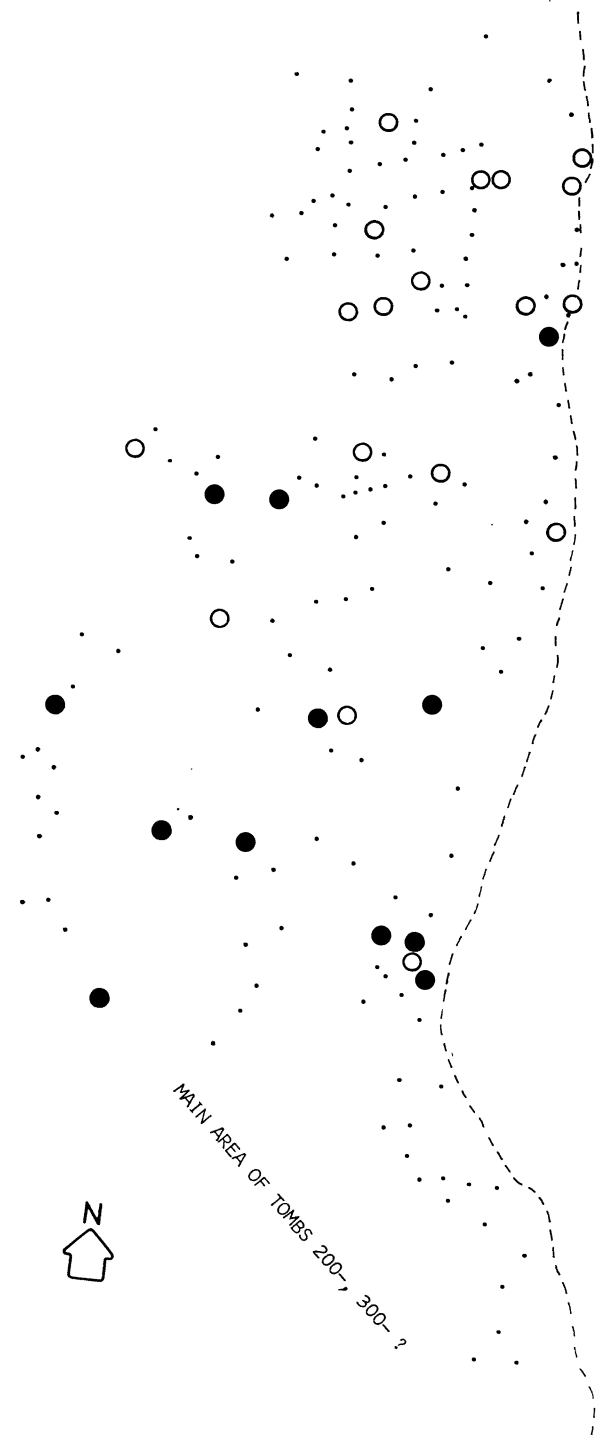
As with many of the old BSA reports the author also undervalues her material. The number of excavated cemeteries where the publication includes a fairly full tomb record is not all that great. Furthermore, from this particular part of the Nile valley very little published material is available at all, and it is a mistake to assume that even in periods of strong central government there was a complete cultural uniformity in the Nile valley. The only other excavation reports in the area between Armant and Kubaniya, near Elephantine, which are concerned with basic Pharaonic archaeological material in any detail are the Quibell and Green reports on Hierakonpolis and El-Kâb, and only the latter covers material later than the Old Kingdom, and without tomb registers. This Esna cemetery thus fills an important gap, and one that covers a particularly significant period. The author's contribution to dating is to ascribe a Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period or Early Eighteenth Dynasty date to most of the individual tombs in the tomb register and to certain of the classes of objects. It is by no means clear, however, how these dates have been determined, particularly where one might suspect that tombs contained material from several burials from an extended period of time. The cemetery is not presented as an archaeological site with an internal structure of its own, providing a local cultural sequence. This sort of approach does admittedly involve a lot of repetitious work, but the full value of this type of site can only be realized in this way, and a person who has handled the original records and much of the original material is in a much better position to make the best use of it than anyone else.

Since this book was written the work of analysis has been made a good deal easier by the development of computer seriation programmes. One of these is now operating at Cambridge, and in the course of writing this review a trial run was made on a sample of the Esna data to see if a positive result emerged. The pottery was divided into forty-two categories, and a sample of sixty-seven tombs with more than one of these types was selected (roughly every third tomb). The details of the way in which the programme works are being published elsewhere; it is enough to say here that in the accompanying diagram the order of the tombs represents the best statistical approach to grouping the occurrences of types as closely as possible together whilst the order of types, printed along the top and bottom, is arranged according to the mid-points of their occurrences in the tombs, indicated by a printed dash. The letters M, S, and E stand for the Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, and Early Eighteenth Dynasty labels applied to the tombs in the tomb register. Compared with the results from other Egyptian cemeteries examined by this method the result is not at first sight a very clear one. The richest tombs are grouped in the centre, and a great many of the types are given very long ranges of 'time'. Since many of the tombs probably conceal several burials from more than one time, a more concise result was perhaps not to be expected. It will be noted that the

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M 287	□ □		287
M 9	□ □		9
○ S 113	□ . □		113
○ E 119	. . □ □		119
M 225	. . □ □		225
M 96	. . □ □ □		96
○ S 278	. . □ □ .		278
M 185	. . □ □ .		185
○ S 30	. . □ □ □ □		30
M 76	. . . . □ □		76
○ M 157	. . □ □ . .		157
S 281	. . □ . . . □ □		281
○ M 175	. . □ □ □ □ □ □		175
○ E 128	□ □ □ □ . . □ . . □		128
M 271	. . □ . . . . □ . . □		271
○ S 43	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		43
○ M 418	□ □ □ □ □ □ . . . . □		418
○ S 758	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		758
○ M 818	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		818
○ S 408	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		408
○ M 85	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		85
○ E 105	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		105
○ E 698	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		698
○ M 129	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		129
○ S 3	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		3
○ S 99	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		99
● M 166	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		166
M 308	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		308
● E 248	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		248
● M 142	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		142
M 788	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		788
● 728	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		728
S 242	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		242
E 333	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		333
● S 6	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		6
● S 139	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		139
● S 154	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		154
M 305	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		305
M 348	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		348
E 231	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		231
M 588	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		588
● E 178	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		178
S 248	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		248
M 223	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		223
S 329	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		329
E 234	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		234
245	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		245
● M 135	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		135
S 325	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		325
M 319	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		319
S 268	□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		268
M 228	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		228
M 342	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		342
M 217	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		217
S 295	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		295
E 354	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		354
M 336	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		336
● E 161	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		161
● S 338	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		338
S 316	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		316
M 302	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		302
M 237	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		237
M 290	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		290
S 322	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		322
M 265	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		265
M 255	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		255
● S 126	. . □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □		126

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MAATIBRA

NUBKHEPERRA

NEFERHETEP

AMENHETEP ?

AAHMES ?

MAIN AREA OF TOMBS 200-300-?

printed order bears little or no relationship to the dates ascribed to them in the tomb register, and sceptics may wonder what value to put on it. As a further step, therefore, such of the tombs as are marked on the cemetery map were plotted on the map in the order in which they occur in the printed seriation. It quickly emerged that the printed seriation provides the key to a definite clustering of the tombs into two groups, which I have indicated by the symbols of open and filled circles. It will also be noted that there is a very definite tendency for the tombs not marked on the map, primarily those in the 200, 300 class and probably of the second season's excavation, to occur in the lower part of the seriation, suggesting the existence of a third group which was probably in the southernmost part of the cemetery. As the author notes, some tomb numbers were marked twice on the map, but where this occurred both numbers occurred in the same part of the cemetery, and in choosing one rather than the other no significant difference is involved. This grouping of tombs on the map is a powerful argument for accepting that the computer programme has found an arrangement in which chronology is reflected, although it would be a mistake to think that the order is a precise one and should be followed literally. This is only a trial run, and it remains to be seen whether the remaining two-thirds of the cemetery data follow the same pattern. Yet the correlation between seriation and distribution map is not one that can be ascribed to coincidence.

The absolute dates for this material are another matter. In theory the seriation is reversible, but my impression is that in the one presented here the early end is towards the top. It is also my impression that the material covers a somewhat shorter range of time than the author suggests, probably starting very late in the Middle Kingdom, and with a greater proportion of the material deriving from the Second Intermediate Period. The scarabs certainly imply this, particularly when they are compared with those from the Middle Kingdom contexts of the El-Haraga cemeteries and Kahûn town.

Quite a lot of work is required to make the best use of this report, but at least the basic record is now available for all to work on. We must be very grateful to the author for carrying through to publication a task that can be of the most frustrating kind.

BARRY J. KEMP

*Rameside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical.* By K. A. KITCHEN. Oxford. B. H. Blackwell Ltd. Vol. I, fasc. 6, 1974, pp. 193-256, £1.50. Vol. I, fasc. 7 and 8, 1975, pp. 257-416, £4.50.

Dr. Kitchen has set himself the task of compiling a comprehensive collection of inscribed historical material of the Rameside period. He planned a series of seven volumes to be published in fascicles, the first of which appeared in 1968. This and the succeeding fascicles have been reviewed in previous issues of this journal (*JEA* 56 [1970], 220; *JEA* 58 [1972], 320; *JEA* 62 [1976], 198-9). The first volume covering the reigns of Ramesses I and Sethos I is now complete, while those dealing with the reigns of Ramesses II and Ramesses III are well advanced so that an assessment of the whole project is now possible.

The author must be congratulated above all else on his unflinching energy and on the regularity with which his fascicles appear. He has sought out and collated wherever possible both published and unpublished monuments. He has not restricted himself to hieroglyphic texts but has included transcriptions into hieroglyphs of important hieratic texts. He has drawn together scattered references to diverse individuals and has established firm datings for many of them. This important historical work will become a standard reference tool for all students of the Rameside age.

The fascicles reviewed here complete the reign of Sethos I. Fascicle 6 contains the remainder of the inscriptions from the temple of Abydos, those from Karnak and the temple of Sethos I at Qurneh, miscellaneous minor monuments, and the beginning of the transcription of some surviving palace accounts. In Fascicles 7 and 8 (a joint volume) these accounts are completed. The bulk of this volume contains inscriptions concerning the various individuals contemporary with Sethos I. These are divided into four main groupings which are subdivided into twenty-eight categories, not all of which are represented by monuments from this reign. Group A comprises the civil administration; Group B covers the armed forces; Group C consists of the temple administration; while Group D covers special groups such as scholars, physicians, and the necropolis workmen. Volume I is completed by addenda and corrigenda to earlier fascicles. The table of contents, abbreviations, and preface for Volume I are also included.

The division of the private monuments into specific categories certainly facilitates reference. Each individual's dossier is composed on strict chronological grounds, and when, as in the cases of the vizier Paser or the foreman Neferhotep, their service continues into the next reign, their monuments from that reign are postponed to the next volume. It would perhaps have been more convenient if all documents of an individual had been kept together with suitable cross-references rather than this division with double cross-referencing.

Naturally in a work of such epic proportions some minor monuments are bound to be missed. In the dossier of the draughtsman Pay, Berlin 6908, a statue dedicated to Pay by his sons, and Turin 22029, an offering-table of the same family, are lacking. Presumably the dossiers of Pay's sons will appear in Volume III, but a cross-reference to descendants in other volumes would be useful. Stela BM 1388 belongs to the family of Pashedu, no. 172, p. 404. Also absent is a dossier on the workman Amenmose (Tomb 9 and BM 265 cited on p. 373) who belonged genealogically to the reign of Sethos I. In Fasc. 6, p. 231 no. 99 BM 1665 Kitchen, following Shorter (*JEA* 19 [1933], 60–61) transcribes *rk* in line 6 without the correct determinative which is clearly visible on the original stone. The author has wisely set aside a volume of addenda and corrigenda at the end of his project to take account of any such minor omissions or any new material which comes to light at the completion of the main series. It is to be hoped for the benefit of all Egyptologists and more especially for the author's own sake that the conclusion of this monumental effort will not be unduly delayed.

M. L. BIERBRIER

*The Sea Peoples and Egypt.* By ALESSANDRA NIBBI. Pp. xiv+161, 20 figures, frontispiece, XVI pls. Noyes Press. New Jersey, 1975. \$18.00

This magnificently bound and well-printed monograph continues (and in part duplicates) the authoress's earlier brochure *The Sea Peoples: A Re-examination of the Egyptian Sources* (1972); as she states, chapters 4 and 5 of the latter appear as chapter 4 in this new book. Her fundamental contention in both is that the Sea Peoples were not new foes from far away northlands, but simply Egypt's traditional opponents in Canaan and even in the Delta itself. In support of this, Mrs. Nibbi's new book advocates three propositions: (a) 'that "Great Green" never means "sea" in the Egyptian texts and that *ym* means "sea" only sometimes'; (b) 'that a large part of the Delta was completely foreign territory for the Egyptians until very late times, the Retenu (or Kharu) beginning *inside* the Delta, in the eastern, Asiatic-occupied sector'; (c) 'that Egypt was an inland country, cut off from the sea until very late times, all the evidence suggesting that they never went to sea but relied on Asiatic shipping and crews'. Methodologically, her plea is that 'We should take the texts literally and accept what they say at face value as far as we can.' That plea is reasonable enough; but the propositions (a), (b), (c), just quoted, diverge so radically from commonplace views that they need closer scrutiny.

If we leave aside the purely introductory ch. 1, N's ch. 2 defends her proposition (b). The Delta, led always by strong foreign elements, was traditionally hostile to the pharaohs (p. 7)—essentially because *T3-mḥw* constantly features in name-lists of the Nine Bows! Unfortunately for this line of reasoning, *T3-šmꜥw*, 'Upper Egypt', appears equally frequently in these same lists, so it too must always be foreign-led and hostile; where, then, could a pharaoh possibly find *piéd à terre*, if both Egypts were denied him? And if the E. Delta especially were so dominated, how could the Tuthmosid kings possibly leave Egypt repeatedly (via that very region) to campaign in distant Syria? And how, even more, Ramesses II make his new capital Pi-Ramessē in their very midst (a real security-risk!), and campaign likewise? N, of course, has not understood the significance of the lists; with Vercoutter, Uphill, etc., they are to be taken as expressing the *universal* dominion of Pharaoh—which includes all Egypt. Emphasis on the jumbled list of R. III (N's pl. I; *Med. Habu*, I, pl. 42; *KRI* v, 35) is misplaced; it is of secondary type and significance, like several others (e.g., *KRI* v, 109, 110, etc.). It is perfectly true that there was always a Libyan element along the W. Delta and an Asiatic element in the E. Delta—but *major* only at rare and infrequent epochs such as the Hyksos period (cf. Bietak, *Tell Dabca II*, 1975). But *both* Delta marches, like the central Delta, have throughout yielded almost entirely Egyptian monuments, Egyptian inscriptions, temples and cults of Egyptian



gods, Egyptian burials of an Egyptian main population by no means dominated by aliens, all organized into purely Egyptian (and Egyptian-named) nomes and districts from earliest times (cf. for the latter, W. Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gauen* [1974], 132–203, figs 4–7, and cf. the monumental data inventoried in Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* iv, 1–68, besides everything discovered there since). In short, the Delta was always and overwhelmingly Egyptian, and ruled practically throughout by the home-born pharaohs (the Hyksos being one of the rare exceptions), to whom were subject such ancient cities as Bubastis, Mendes, Saïs, Buto, Athribis, etc. N's proposition (b), therefore, must be summarily dismissed.

The supporting assertion that Retenu/Djahy includes part of the Delta is likewise totally false. A literal understanding of the very text she cites (p. 26) equates Djahy with PeKanaan, which latter is known to be Canaan and by no stretch of the imagination in the Delta. Thirty years ago, Gardiner (*AEO* 1, 145\*) marshalled excellent evidence to show that Djahy extended from Ascalon *northward*—e.g. a list of Djahy envoys, beside other clear data. The Delta capital of Pi-Ramessē at Qantir is situated not *in* Djahy (as N's views would require) but on the literal word of a Miscellany 'between Egypt and Djahy' (cf. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* [1954], 37)—i.e. Djahy is clearly east of the Qantir district and not in the Delta at all. Ships travel 'from Egypt to Djahy', on other than 'internal' trips (ibid. 384).

Ch. 3, 'the Great Green, the Islands and the *ḥrw nbwt*', deals especially with N's crucial proposition (a)—*wꜣd-wr* never means 'sea'. This dogmatic assertion, likewise, cannot be sustained. The Nile is often said to flow into the Great Green, which N explains away by asserting that 'the Nile does not flow into the sea like other rivers' (p. 45, etc.). Precisely the opposite is true. Down to very recent times indeed, the flow of the Nile into the Mediterranean is well attested with discernible effects. Compare a practical seafaring work such as the *Mediterranean Pilot*, 5 [1961], 15:31 ff. (during inundation, 'the easterly current off the coast of the Nile delta is much influenced by the water flowing into the sea . . .'), and 137:8 ff. ('it carries a great quantity of sand and mud which discolours the sea for many miles'): only since the High Dam regime have things changed. A Ptolemaic text (reference, courtesy Prof. H. W. Fairman) makes the basic position clear (*JEA* 54 [1968], 238, E. 8): 'Thou dost cause the shallows of the Nile mouths to form dams before it (= inundation), in order to prevent the Sea (*wꜣd-wr*) from receiving it (= inundation)'. At lowest Nile, before the new inundation arrives, the sea-mouths of the Nile were dammed off to prevent the sea coming in *from outside* to foul the channels and sweet waters with salt water—precisely as in recent times (cf. *Medit. Pilot*, 5 [1961], 137:12–14, on mud weirs). The *wꜣd-wr* here must be outside the Delta itself, hence the sea. The same result (i.e. *wꜣd-wr* can be sea-water) is reinforced by quite different evidence. Queen Hatshepsut's ships explicitly sail to Punt (regardless of its exact location) on the *wꜣd-wr* (*Urk. IV*, 322:6)—which water is shown infested with *salt-water fishes* on the relevant reliefs, fishes explicitly attributable to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean (cf. Danelius and Steinitz, *JEA* 53 [1967], 15–24). Here, again, is an indubitable case where *wꜣd-wr* can only be 'sea', and in no way be twisted to mean Nile or Delta swamp. Compare the Punt-expedition of Ramesses III (P. Harris 1, 77, 8 ff.) which returned from Punt by ship to the 'desert land of Coptos', then transferred its goods *overland* by men and donkeys—i.e. via Hammamat from the Red Sea—to reload them into other ships in 'the harbour of Coptos', explicitly 'on the Nile'—using the proper word *itrw*, and not *wꜣd-wr*. Again, no mistake is possible over Coptos; enough monuments *in situ* and earlier found *in situ* at the ancient site by modern Quft guarantee the location of ancient *Gbtyw* (cf. the data in Porter and Moss, op. cit., v, 123–9). In short, N's often repeated dogmatic claim that *wꜣd-wr* never means sea is false—and on a fair range of evidence besides the samples given above. Here with her point (a)—as with (b)—N has misconstrued the nature of hieroglyphic evidence. The papyrus-stem stands phonetically for *wꜣd*, 'green, fresh' (Faulkner, *Concise Dict.*, 55, etc.). But there are many other Egyptian words *wꜣd* which, even when they mean 'green' something, do not necessarily denote freshness, non-saltiness. Such are words for linen, a kind of stone, mineral eye-paint, the bow of a ship, and an illness! (Faulkner, ibid. 55–56, and *Wb.* 1, 264–8). Some imply 'green' but not 'fresh', others are merely homophonous and can use the papyrus-hieroglyph for that reason.

Ch. 4, 'the contents of the texts' (i.e. of Ramesses III and Merenptah on the Sea Peoples) endeavours to justify the basic contention and point (c). N's treatment of those texts makes melancholy reading, not least as she fails entirely to make use of available cuneiform data from Hatti and Ugarit for 1400–1200 BC. On her misinterpretation of Djahy, R. III would have repulsed the Sea Peoples near Heliopolis (!), where the Nile bifurcates to enter the Delta (cf. her pp. 69, 73). She boasts that scholars who insist on a migration

and invasion from the north must look elsewhere, as they will find no evidence of it in Egyptian records (her p. 121). Unfortunately for N, there is good evidence in both Egyptian and cuneiform records to contradict her claim. In a text (Year 8) of R. III which she herself cites (p. 65), that king states categorically: 'The foreign lands, they made a conspiracy in their isles. Removed and scattered in the fray were all lands at one time. No land could withstand their arms, from Hatti, Ḳode, Carchemish, Arzawa ("Yereth" of SAOC 12), and Alasia ("Yeres" of *ibid.*) on, (these) being cut off at one time.' Then a camp was set up in Amurru, its own people being devastated. Then, the foes 'were coming . . . forward toward Egypt'. Hatti beyond cavil is centred on Boğazköy in Asia Minor, as is proven by 70 years' work there, and thousands of tablets; Carchemish is indubitably located by the Euphrates on a rich complex of cuneiform and other evidence, including Hittite hieroglyphic texts of its rulers from the site. Arzawa, on Hittite data, is in S.W. Asia Minor, while Alasia is still most likely at least part of Cyprus; the last Hittite emperor, Suppiluliuma II, fought a sea-battle there (cf. Otten, *MDOG* 94 [1963], 20–22). Amurru is in central Syria. In other words, the Sea Peoples moved from north to south (Hatti, Ḳode and Carchemish, Amurru) and from west to east also (Hatti, Arzawa, Alasia, Amurru), and south from Amurru to enter Egypt. Migration and invasion here are irrefutable. That Alasia was threatened, then taken, by hostile seaborne forces comes not only from Suppiluliuma II, but is supported by texts from (literally) the last days of Ugarit in that reign, where Alasia and Ugarit correspond about the attacks of invading ships (cf. Nougayrol in Schaeffer, ed., *Ugaritica*, V, [1968], 83–9). The scenes agree with the texts; many of the newcomers dress in ways distinct from typical 'Canaanite' dress as seen, for example, in Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban tombs or Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Dynasty tilework. The term 'rebellion' as used of the Sea Peoples is without significance; from Amurru southwards, they had taken over territory claimed by Egypt, but did not submit to Egyptian power, having to be fought—they, therefore, came under the same rubric as rebels would in these Levantine areas of Egyptian rule. That R. II had no battle with warriors of the Great Green (p. 105) is directly contradicted by the Aswân stela there cited plus the stela Tanis II (*KRI* II, 289–90, its lines 14–16, cf. Yoyotte, *Kēmi*, 10 [1949], 60–74 ad loc.). And so with many other details.

Ch. 5 on the pictorial data does not advance N's case; neither does ch. 6 on 'Egyptian shipping'; or, rather, the alleged lack of it. That 'there is absolutely no evidence for sea-going by the ancient Egyptians at any time in . . . the pharaonic period' is manifestly untrue, as the Punt evidence for R. III and Ḳatshepsut alone would suffice to show. Space limits forbid lengthy demonstration. Suffice it to cite *en passant* P. Lansing 5, 1 (Camimos, *L-Eg. Misc.*, 384), which clearly has Egyptians sailing from Egypt to (Syrian) Djahy, taking their amuletic deities with them lest they do not survive to see Egypt again. This well illustrates N's charge of Egyptians' fears of the sea—and at the same time has them sail on it, or the fears would not arise. And people's fear does not always prevent them travelling. Both on these kind of points and on the *full* Egyptian occupation of the entire Delta mentioned above, N's point (c) fails to carry any conviction.

In ch. 7, 'conclusion and some speculation', N returns to the question of identification of foreign peoples and places in Egyptian lists and texts. She has to admit that the *Prst* are the Philistines, but not that any other Sea People can be firmly identified. Mistakenly, because the *Rk* are undoubtedly the Lukka of the Amarna, Ugarit, and Boğazköy archives; on that combined evidence, Lukka is in SW. Asia Minor, in the Hittite sphere, and reachable by ships of Ugarit (cf., e.g., *Ugaritica*, V, 88 and n. 5). The Philistines are known to be non-Semitic, while the Lycian/Lukka people spoke Anatolian Indo-European (Luwian, Lycian). So neither of these were 'traditional' Canaanite or Palestinian/Delta foes! And in the mass of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Dynasty lists, these and the other Sea People names just do not occur—for the simple reason that they were not present in either Canaan or the Delta, whereas others were. While many names are not finally identified or localized, a good many are—including such indubitable Aegean names as Knossos, Amnisos, Lyktos, Mycenae, Nauplia, and Cythera, despite N's remark on p. 68.

When all is said and done, the Sea Peoples are in fact 'foreigners of the Sea', i.e. people from far away, precisely as Merenptah and his scribes—not merely Egyptologists!—said (*KRI* IV, pp. 8: 8–9, 22: 8 f.; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, III, §§ 588, 601). It is always salutary and sometimes most valuable to have accepted views challenged and the state of the evidence re-examined; but the authoress's advocacy of major change in this case falls very far short of convincing proof for any of her main contentions, and that not only on the spatially limited consideration given to those contentions here.

K. A. KITCHEN

*An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System.* By PAUL JOHN FRANDBSEN. Pp. xix+329. Akademisk Forlag, Copenhagen, 1974. £14.50.

In recent years, there have been two main streams of grammatical researches in Egyptology. The one is ultimately directed towards improving translations only; i.e. it tries to bring out patterns of translations so that the field Egyptologist could readily be able to compare his material and the grammatical material for the purpose of translation. The field Egyptologist has merely to compare the various forms found on inscriptions with the forms as listed in the grammar and, by analogy, to determine the grammatical meaning, though the lexical meaning may be different. Thus, what he needs is a grammar which gives an account of every possible pattern for comparison. It is a practical, pragmatic attitude.

The other stream is directed towards explaining the systematic principles on which the language is based, in order to enable scholars to use the grammar creatively by using principles of concrete material. Of course, both streams are justifiable and they both have their place in any subject. Frandsen's book belongs to the second category. It represents an attempt at synthesizing and systematizing Černý's 'Late Egyptian Grammar', Polotsky's 'Coptic Conjugation System', and my own *Negative Verbal System*.

As far as Černý's unpublished material is concerned, it is not clear which versions are used. One should bear in mind that there are twenty-one versions, which differ immensely from each other. It would be advisable to be more particular in quotations of Černý's unpublished material. Frandsen has transferred Polotsky's principles in the 'Coptic Conjugation System' completely to Late Egyptian, and thereby some lack of clarity is achieved, which I should like to elucidate.

Initiality and non-initiality in Coptic have only secondary importance. However, in Late Egyptian it is of crucial importance in my opinion. In order to clarify it, it is worth while, for example, to classify verbal formations which can follow *r-dd* immediately and the dependent *iw* immediately (see Černý-Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar* [hereafter *LEG*], 170-4). Thus, every verbal formation which can follow *r-dd* and which is not composed of prepositions, can also be preceded by the dependent *iw*. This unique phenomenon, that compatibility with *r-dd* goes along with compatibility with the dependent *iw*, is the basic rule of Late Egyptian. This rule is not valid for Coptic, because, first of all, the third future in Coptic cannot be preceded by the converter  $\epsilon-$ , and, secondly, verbal formations which can follow  $\alpha\epsilon$  in Coptic are different from those of Late Egyptian.

That this is not an imposed theory of a modern grammarian on the language is obvious from the fact that those verb forms which are compatible both with *r-dd* and the dependent *iw* are made negative by *bn*, *bw* . . . , and *bn* . . . *iw*. Those which are incompatible cannot be made negative by *bn* or *bw*. Moreover, certain particles are compatible only with certain categories of verbal formations, which indicates very strongly that initiality is a basic rule in Late Egyptian. To illustrate what we mean, note the following:

### 1. Initiality vs. non-initiality

#### a. Initial verbal formations :

perfect active *stp.f*  
*iw.f (r) stp.f*  
*tw.i m c q*  
*tw.i hr stp.f*  
*tw.i (hr) c q*  
*tw.i hr stp.f*  
*tw.i c q.kwi*  
*tw.i c q.kwi (m p3-hrw)*  
 perfect passive *stp.f*  
*stp.tw st*  
*stp.w st*  
*iw.tw (r) stp.f*  
*iw.w (r) stp.f*  
*p3r tw.i stp.kwi*  
*tw.tw (hr) stp.f*

*bwpw.f stp.f*  
*bn iw.f (r) stp.f*  
*bn tw.i m c q*  
*bn tw .i hr stp.f*  
*bw iri.i c q*  
*bw iri.i stp.f*  
*bwpw.i c q*  
*bw iri.t.f stp.f*  
*bwpw.tw stp.f*  
 ,, (?)  
 ,, (?)  
*bn iw.tw (r) stp.f*  
*bn iw.w (r) stp.f*  
*p3r bn tw.i stp.kwi (?)*  
*bw iri.tw stp.f (?)*  
*bw iri.w stp.f (?)*

*tw.ì stp.kwi (m-p3-hrw)*  
 init. prospective *stp.f*  
 init. prosp. *stp.w st* or *stp.tw st*  
*ì.stp*  
 imperative *stp* (infinitive)  
*ì.ìrì.f stp.f + adv.*  
*ì.ìrì.f ìr.t.f + adv.*  
*ì.dì.f + adv.*  
*ì.ìrì.tw stp.f + adv.*  
*ì.ìrì stp A + adv.*  
*ìmì.f ìy.f + adv.*  
*wñ m-dì.f ø-A*  
*ìh stp.k*  
*(ìr) m-dr-stp.f*  
*(šr) ì.ìr.t.f stp.f*  
*m-ht stp.f*  
*r-tnw-stp.f*  
*(ìr) m-dr-stp.tw st*  
*(šr) ì.ìr.t.tw stp.f*  
*m-ht-stp.tw st (?)*  
*r-tnw-stp.tw st (?)*

**b. Non-initial verbal formations :**

*ìw.f (hr) stp.f* of past  
*çhc.n . . . formation*  
*qd.in . . . formation*  
*ìw.f (hr) stp.f* of future  
*mtw.f stp.f*  
*ìw.tw (hr) stp.f* of past  
*ìw.w (hr) stp.f* of past  
*mtw.tw stp.f*  
*mtw.w stp.f*  
 final *stp.f*  
 non-init. prosp. *stp.f* which follows *dì*  
 . . . *stp.tw st* (non-init. prosp.)  
 . . . *dì . . . stp.tw*  
*wñn.f . . . formation*  
*hr wñn.f formation*  
*ì.ìrì.f* (relative)  
*ì.ìrì* (participle)  
*nty sw m çq*  
*nty m çq*  
*nty sw (hr) çq*  
*nty hr çq*  
*nty tw.ì çq.kwi*  
*nty çq.kwi*  
*nty tw.ì çq.kwi (m p3-hrw)*  
*nty ìw.f (r) stp.f*  
*ì.ìry* form (participle)  
*nty st hr stp.f*  
*nty tw.ì stp.kwi (m p3-hrw)*  
*nty ìw.w (r) stp.f*  
*nty ìw.tw (r) stp.f*  
*ìw + perfect act. stp.f*  
*ìw.f m çq*  
*ìw.f hr çq*  
*ìw ìw.f (r) stp.f*

*bw ìry.t.f stp*  
*bn stp.f*  
*bn stp.w st*  
*m ìrì stp.f*  
*tm stp*  
*bn ì.ìrì.f tm stp.f + adv. ìwñ*  
*bn ì.ìrì.f tm ìr.t.f + adv. ìwñ (?)*  
*bn ì.dì.f + adv.*  
*bn ì.ìrì.tw stp.f + adv. ìwñ*  
 ,,  
*bn ìy.f + adv. ìwñ*  
*mñ mđì.f ø-A*  
 —  
 —  
 —  
 —  
 —  
 —  
 —  
 —  
 —  
 —

*ìw.f (hr) tm stp.f* of past  
 —  
 —  
*ìw.f (hr) tm stp.f* of future  
*mtw.f (tm) stp.f*  
*ìw.tw (hr) tm stp.f*  
*ìw.w (hr) tm stp.f*  
*mtw.tw tm stp.f*  
*mtw.w tm stp.f*  
*tm.f stp.f*  
 (no negation)  
*tm.tw stp.f (?)*  
 — (?)  
 —  
 —  
*nty bwpw.f stp.f*  
*nty bwpw.f stp.f*  
*nty bn sw m çq*  
*nty bn sw m çq*  
*nty bw ìrì.f çq*  
*nty bw ìrì.f çq*  
*nty bwpw.ì çq*  
*nty bwpw.ì çq*  
*nty bw ìrì.t.ì çq*  
*nty bn ìw.f (r) stp.f*  
*nty bwpw.w stp.f*  
*nty bn st hr stp.f*  
*nty bw ìry.t stp.f*  
*nty bn ìw.w (r) stp.f*  
*nty bn ìw.tw (r) stp.f*  
*ìw bwpw.f stp.f*  
*ìw bn sw m çq*  
*ìw bw ìrì.f çq*  
*ìw bn ìw.f (r) stp.f*

perf. passive *stp.w.f* after *iw*  
 perf. act. *stp.tw st* after *iw*  
 perf. act. *stp.w st* after *iw*  
*iw.w (hr) stp.f*  
*iw.tw (hr) stp.f*  
*iw.tw (r) stp.f*  
*iw.w (r) stp.f*

*iw + bwpw.tw stp.f*  
*iw + bwpw.tw stp.f*  
*iw + bwpw.w stp.f*  
*iw bn st (hr) stp.f*  
*iw bw iri.tw stp.f*  
*iw bn iw.tw (r) stp.f*  
*iw bn iw.w (r) stp.f*

## 2. Proclitic particles and initiality (see Černý–Groll LEG, Chap. 9; see also 10.10)

### Only before initial

*y³*  
*mk*  
*ptr*  
*inn*  
*hn*

### Before initial and non-initial

*ir*  
*hr*

## 3. The distribution of the negative particles *bn*, *bw* and *bwpw*

- a. *bn* future tenses (including prospective)  
 immediate present tenses  
 second tenses (except negation of bare noun)
- b. *bw* simple present tenses  
 'already' notion
- c. *bwpw* all past tenses (including present perfect)

Thus, actually, if the major problem of Egyptian linguistics is to discover criteria of sentence division (i.e. the different types of conjunctive or disjunctive sentences as meaningful units), initiality and non-initiality are the crucial phenomena. This confusion, which characterizes Frandsen's book by imposing the Coptic system on the Late-Egyptian system, causes also very often a confusion in references, especially when dealing with the morpheme *iw*. However, the book is written in a pleasant and intelligent style and does constitute a contribution to Late-Egyptian research.

SARAH I. GROLL

*Egyptian Sculpture, Archaic to Saite, from the Petrie Collection.* By ANTHEA PAGE, with an Introduction and Translations by Professor H. S. Smith. Pp. xviii + 124; numerous illustrations. Warminster, 1976. £12.50.

This catalogue is the fourth in the new series designed with the laudable aim of publishing the entire Petrie Collection. Under the title of *Egyptian Sculpture*, 175 objects, eight of them from the Wellcome Collection, have been catalogued of which a little over a dozen are virtually intact; the rest are fragments mostly of a kind that in the majority of modern museums are relegated to high shelves in the reserve collections. Such *disiecta membra* can of course be of inestimable value in showing stylistic development in statuary of known provenance and date. Alas, in the case of the bulk of the Petrie Collection such particulars are missing and the fragments are small, in poor condition, and of such a quality that critical details are either absent, badly damaged, or summarily indicated. Whoever is responsible for the blurb on the jacket-cover of this book has sought to forestall such criticism by the tendentious declaration that the proportion of relatively crude and unskilled yet vigorous provincial works reflects more truly the diversity of Egyptian sculpture than a collection of masterpieces. A mere glance through the illustrations is sufficient to show that the poses lack any diversity, and the treatment for the most part varies from the mediocre to the incompetent. Since only sixteen of the objects catalogued are of known provenance, the bases on which the rest are identified as provincial are not disclosed. Among them are a number of forgeries not all of which have been recognized by the cataloguer. It is clear that Petrie either lacked sensibility or he could only buy with his very limited resources what others had long rejected, since most of the material has been acquired by purchase, not excavation.

The cataloguing of this mass of objects, while hardly calling for any exhaustive treatment, except in one or two cases, is only moderately satisfactory. Although the assurance is given that every piece is illustrated, the more important from more than one angle, the illustrations are generally poor, many of them being little better than silhouettes. While this lack of definition may be due to the method of reproduction and the small scale of most of the illustrations, it is to be suspected that the original photographs were not of the required quality. Certainly the viewpoint and lighting of the subjects do not convey the necessary information on which proper appraisals and identifications can be made. Two illustrations, Nos. 111 and 112, have been improperly numbered.

Miss Page, however, has provided full descriptions in a most conscientious manner, probably in more detail than most of the material demands, yet has not avoided some ambiguities and imprecisions. The eye-sockets, for instance, are frequently described as 'pounded out', even in statues made from soft stones, a technique which is at variance with that described on p. xvi of the *Introduction*. The nostrils, like some other features, are spoken of as 'chiselled out' which should mean that they are obliterated. Spots of black discoloration in limestone are not defined as of ancient or modern origin; presumably they are dendrites. The deceased is described as 'leaning' against a back-pillar which suggests a misunderstanding of the function of that element in Egyptian sculpture. No. 13 is not seated on a block throne but a stylized chair. For 'knot' on No. 31, 'pigtail' is evidently intended. For 'tapers out' in No. 8, sc. 'expands'. No. 60 would be better defined as the head from the statue of a royal infant supported by the left hand of an adult. No. 120 could equally well be of a man as of a woman. The list of similar criticisms could be somewhat extended.

Miss Page has provided facsimile copies of all inscriptions which Professor Smith has translated and annotated. For the most part these call for little comment. No. 62 seems to have been dedicated by the sister of the deceased in view of the form of the determinative following her name. In No. 136 the invocation appears to be a *hṯp-di-nsw* prayer *n kꜣ n imšhw N.* (cf. Bennett, *JEA* 27, 79).

In scanning this book the reviewer is bound to form reservations on a fair number of the entries; and while it would be imprudent to offer an opinion in every case without seeing the actual specimen, the following observations may be made without much diffidence. No. 7 cannot be O.K. in date; it approximates nearest in style to the IIIrd Intermediate Period and this view is reinforced by the form and character of the offering-formula (Smither, *JEA* 25, 34 ff., Bennett, *ibid.*). Nos 11 and 129 belong to the earlier Dyn. XVIII. No effort has been made to expose No. 54 as a forgery as Fischer has shown (*Metro. Mus. Jour.* 9, 18 ff.) although the reference to his study is given in the bibliography. No. 67, excavated by Petrie in the mortuary temple of Amenophis II at W. Thebes and incompletely published by him, is one of the most important pieces in the collection, despite its damaged condition. When complete it would have shown the Horus falcon protecting the head of the king similarly to the Khephren statue (Cairo Cat. No. 14), another example of the influence of O.K. archetypes on the work of Dyn. XVIII to which the reviewer will draw attention elsewhere. Miss Page suggests that the statue possibly represents Hatshepsut, but this cannot be so. Apart from other considerations, the *mwt*-head-dress is always worn with the large tripartite wig, and the tail feathers do not descend beyond the top of the occiput. Contrary to what Miss Page affirms, Hatshepsut is always represented as a king in male attire in her mortuary temple, though the queens Ahmose and Senwosret do appear there in the *mwt*-head-dress worn over their large wigs.

In the case of Nos. 96 and 161 it is possible to be more precise and to identify these fragments as from a group of glazed steatite statuettes produced in the reign of Amenophis III (cf. Cairo Cat. No. 42050, RSM 1951.324, Boston 1970.636) of which the finest example is the pair-statue in the Louvre (N.2312). Both the Cairo and Edinburgh examples, while reproducing the features of Queen Tiye, are inscribed for 'Ahmose-Nefertari, whose cult was established, earlier than Miss Page supposes, by the reign of Amenophis III (Gardiner, *JEA* 4, 188 ff., Davies, *Two Sculptors*, pls. IX and X).

The enigmatic fragment of a falcon with the head of a king appears in this catalogue as No. 113 and is dated to Dyn. IV; but the angle at which the end of the beard is cut shows that if genuine, it cannot be earlier than the M.K.

Professor Smith contributes a workmanlike introduction for the general reader, though some of his remarks are a little vitiated by the incorrect dating of No. 7. It is a pity that he dismisses by implication the statuary of the IIIrd Intermediate Period as work in an effete tradition. Though this is a popular view, there is no justification for it. A notable renaissance of style and craftsmanship is evident from the reign

of Osorkon II onwards as may be seen not only in the metal sculpture (e.g. Louvre N.560, E.7693, Athens 110) but also in the royal statues (e.g. Philadelphia E. 16199, Cairo Cat. Nos. 1040, 42197). Of particular significance is the hard-stone statuary of the Ḥor family and their contemporaries at Thebes (Cairo Cat. Nos. 42208–33) and such individual pieces as the squatting vizier Hori (Cairo, J.E. 37512). These private statues in their supreme craftsmanship and restrained treatment were technically and artistically finer than anything produced in the N.K. after Dyn. XVIII and already clearly reveal a transition from the Ramesside style to the austere tradition to which the Kushites and Saïtes fell heir. CYRIL ALDRED

*The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prosopography.* By LEON MOOREN. Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, Jahrgang XXXVII, 1975, no. 78. Pp. xiii + 258. Brussels, 1975. BF 1,980.

This is the first part of a three-volume study on court ranks in Ptolemaic Egypt. There is a short introduction, indicating and justifying the methods employed (the main points of which are repeated in Dutch on pp. 42–7); the rest of the volume is taken up with three lists of holders of court ranks: I. Bearers of a real court title, II. Bearers of an honorific court title arranged according to office, III. Bearers of an honorific court title arranged according to their court title. A list of titleholders, patronymics, ethnics, and demotics, and a concordance with *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* complete the volume.

The value of the book depends entirely on the usefulness of the prosopographical survey as a basis for further research (a point well made by the author on p. 9), and in particular on the second of the three lists. The arrangement chosen by Mooren is to give first officeholders within Egypt, followed by those in the dominions overseas, and to classify title-bearers in sections according to the office they held, arrangement within each section being chronological. Thus we begin with 'Governor generals of the *chora*', followed by 'Governor generals of the Thebaid', 'Nome governors in Lower and Middle Egypt', etc., with further sections devoted to the different financial and military offices, the judiciary, the court, and titleholders for whom no office is specified. One drawback of this method is that the author is thereby compelled to take a stand on controversial issues, notably whether there was more than one kind of *epistrategos*, and how many different kinds of *strategoï* existed. It might have been better if Mooren had classed together all examples of *epistrategoï*, *strategoï*, etc. (as he has done with *dioiketai*, cf. pp. 135–40, with p. 35 n. 7), reserving sub-classifications for detailed study and justification in a later volume of his study; but this method too would have brought its disadvantages.

The reason why Mooren has chosen this arrangement is his firm conviction that honorary court ranks were linked to the office held (cf. pp. 5–7). He carries this principle to the extent of excluding from the offices listed posts like the gymnasiarchy, on the grounds that 'it is not in one's capacity of gymnasiarchy that one receives such a distinction' [i.e. a court rank] (p. 18). This begs the question whether court ranks were ever issued in virtue of an office; I am not sure that in a work of this nature Mooren is entitled to reject out of hand the view that court ranks were always a *personal* distinction, with no necessary connection with the office held.

This question will need to be taken up again when the author has published the rest of his study. Here it matters only in so far as it affects the usefulness of the prosopography. Of the criteria he himself regards as important (p. 8) 'completeness, accuracy, and critical arrangement of the data', this book admirably fulfils the first two, but somewhat less well the third. Arrangement of the material by office sometimes means that it cannot be consulted with as much speed and facility as one would wish. Mooren recognizes that his method can result in people appearing under an unexpected rubric (p. 35) and advises the reader to consult the indexes. This, however, is not always very helpful: e.g., there are no less than thirty-five entries under 'Ptolemaios', and persons discussed on pp. 27 ff. and rejected (the title 'Notes on individual entries' is misleading; the Dutch title (p. 47) is more accurate) do not appear in the index at all. Nor is there an easy way to find the entry for a person whose office is not listed as such, e.g. a gymnasiarch or an ἐπι τῆς πόλεως. Ease of consultation would have been considerably facilitated if the book had included a list of offices occurring and an index of sources.

This is only a minor disadvantage and it must be set against the work's considerable merits. Throughout it has been composed with great care and competence; particularly to be commended are the author's judicious handling of the chronological data and the very useful bibliographies for all the better known (and some less well known) figures, which show his impressive grasp of the widely scattered secondary literature. This volume will take its place alongside the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* as an indispensable tool for research into the administrative history of Ptolemaic Egypt.

Some minor points. Ptolemaios of *BGU* 992 I, 10 should have been included, since it is possible that *διάδοχος* here is a court rank. The attribution of *SEG* XIII, 574 (055Ad) to Lochos is wholly conjectural. The quotation of Greek titles in the nominative can be misleading, as with Boethos, 053Cc, [στρατηγός και θηβάρχη]ης : the stone reads *Ιου*, which does not entail a nominative in -ης. The first entry under *συγγενής* (00209) should be marked with a query, since it depends entirely on a restoration; thus *συγγενής* does not appear for certain before the 160s. The arrangement of the last entries under this heading obscures the fact that the latest certain occurrence of a *συγγενής* is 5 B.C. (0138f).  
J. DAVID THOMAS

*Wege und Möglichkeiten eines indischen Einflusses auf die meroitische Kultur.* By INGE HOFMANN. *Studia Instituti Anthropos* Vol 23, Pp. 190. St. Augustin bei Bonn, 1975. Price DM 52.

Schon die ersten europäischen Gelehrten, die in Naqa auf der äußeren Westwand eines gut erhaltenen meroitischen Tempels die mittlerweile berühmt gewordene Darstellung eines Gottes mit drei Löwenköpfen und vier Armen sahen, warfen die Frage auf, ob dieses Bild zu indischen Götterdarstellungen in Beziehung zu setzen sei (Cailliaud und Lepsius). Aber erst A. J. Arkell nahm diese singuläre Szene des meroitischen Gottes Apedemak zum Anlaß, zusätzliche Indizien zusammenzutragen, die für direkte Beziehungen zwischen Indien und Meroe, und zwar bereits in vorchristlicher Zeit, sprechen sollten. Der 1951 publizierte Aufsatz bildete den Ausgangspunkt einer nunmehr von verschiedenen Seiten teilweise mit großem Nachdruck vertretenen Ansicht, wonach sich diese vermuteten Beziehungen noch stärker als bisher angenommen in Meroe niedergeschlagen hätten. Die Verfasserin des zur Rezension vorliegenden Buches ist eifrige Verfechterin dieser Theorie und hat in mehreren Aufsätzen weitere Indizien dafür genannt. Entschieden abgelehnt wurde diese Ansicht vom Niederschlag direkter indisch-meroitischer Beziehungen durch den Rezensenten, der auf der im Juli 1973 in Paris abgehaltenen 2. Internationalen Meroitistentagung in einem Referat über meroitische Kunst auch ausführlich zu dem genannten Fragenkomplex Stellung nahm und den Versuch machte, alle sog. Indizien als meroitisch, ägyptisch oder vorderasiatisch zu erklären.

Die neue Arbeit von I. Hofmann ist eine der Universität Hamburg eingereichte Habilitationsschrift, sie stellt aber gleichzeitig eine ausführliche Entgegnung auf den erwähnten Pariser Vortrag dar, denn das Buch ist hauptsächlich eine Auseinandersetzung mit den von mir zusammengetragenen 'Gegenargumenten'. Die Lektüre der mit Fleiß, Akribie und großer Belesenheit verfassten Arbeit hinterläßt allerdings ein zwiespältiges Gefühl. Überall dort, wo im Sinne der erwähnten Theorie argumentiert wird, bleibt die Basis schwach; nahezu alles beruht auf keineswegs überzeugender Interpretation. Dort aber, wo die Autorin weit ausholt, ja manchmal geradezu abschweift, wird das Buch lesenswert. In der langen Einleitung (11-33) geht H. auf die pro und contra vorgebrachten Argumente ein. Von einer Reihe zum Teil sogar von ihr beigesteuerter Indizien rückt sie nun wieder ab und kommt zu dem m.E. richtigen Schluß, daß es kein deutliches 'made in India' gäbe. Sie gesteht sogar ein, daß sich 'die meisten der vermeintlichen indischen Elemente mit mehr oder minder starken Argumenten weginterpretieren' lassen (26), wozu sie auch die eingangs erwähnte Darstellung zählt. Dann aber versucht die Autorin, von ihrer Theorie zu retten was zu retten ist, so daß sich das Buch insgesamt als einziges Rückzugsgefecht darbietet. Unglaublich groß ist aber der Umweg, den H. dabei macht, um 'das Material, . . . das zugegebenermaßen gering' ist (29), in ihren Sinne zu interpretieren. Von den 12 Kapiteln des Buches sind tatsächlich nur 2 auf die uns interessierende Frage direkt bezogen, alles andere kann man höchstens als mittelbar mit dem Thema verknüpft ansehen. Das gilt vor allem für die Abschnitte 1-2 'Der Elefant in Indien' (35-8) und 'Der Westen und die Elefanten im 4. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert' (39-45). Näher ans Thema führt Kap. 3 'Die Elefantenfanggebiete der Ptolemäer' (45-55). Die Abschnitte 4-6 und 11 'Ptolemäisch-indische Kontakte im 3.



Jahrhundert v. Chr.' (56–65), 'Die ptolemäisch-meroitischen Beziehungen im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.' (66–74), 'Die ptolemäisch-meroitischen Beziehungen von 200 v. Chr. bis Augustus' (75–80) sowie 'Ptolemäisch-indische Kontakte seit dem 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.' (129–37) sind dagegen lesenswerte historische Zusammenfassungen, lassen auch die theoretische Möglichkeit eines indischen Einflusses auf die meroitische Kultur erkennen, bleiben aber für das Problem selbst unergiebig. Die sehr informativen Kap. 7–9 'Ptolemäische Gründungen an der Westküste des Roten Meeres' (81–97), 'Zur Organisation der Elefantenjagden' (98–103) und 'Niedergang der Elefantenjagden' (104–11) wären, wie mir scheint, als spezielle Abhandlungen an anderer Stelle besser am Platze gewesen. Wichtig und für das Thema als einzige relevant sind Kap. 10 und 12 'Indischer Einfluß auf die darstellende Kunst der Meroiten im 3. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert' (112–28) und 'Möglicher indischer Einfluß auf die "Insel Meroe" in römischer Zeit' (138–44). In Kap. 10 werden 3 Komplexe besprochen. Zuerst geht H. auf die sog. Elefantenplastik von Musawwarat es-Sufra ein, ein Mauerkopf, der reliefartig als Elefant gebildet ist. Dazu fand die Autorin nur Parallelen in der indischen Kunst, obwohl sie selbst anführt, daß es in Vorderasien üblich war, Tiere als Wächter vor Tempel- oder Palasteingängen zu gestalten. Auch die Kombination von Elefant und Löwe, vor allem in Form von Säulenbasen, die vor dem Zentraltempel der Großen Anlage von Musawwarat stehen, ist nach H. auf indischen Einfluß zurückzuführen, und zwar deswegen, weil nur in Indien beide Tiere in friedlichem Zusammenleben gezeigt werden. Allerdings räumt die Autorin auch hier ein, daß das stilistische Vorbild in Vorderasien zu finden ist. Schließlich bespricht H. im Zusammenhang mit der Darstellung eines Elefanten als Reittier auf einer Säule des Apedemaktempels in Musawwarat weitere Elefanten-Darstellungen in der meroitischen Kunst. Der Schluß, wonach die Erkenntnisse, daß Elefanten auch als Reittiere zu verwenden waren, fraglos aus Indien kämen (126), ist historisch richtig, aber für den konkreten Fall zu relativieren. Sicher haben hier ptolemäische Vorbilder die Vorlage geliefert. Meines Erachtens sind auch die ersten beiden Komplexe nicht auf indischen, sondern auf vorderasiatischen Einfluß zurückzuführen. Daß man in Musawwarat—und wohl nur hier—den Elefanten als Motiv benutzte, kann aus der bisher nicht zu erklärenden Besonderheit dieses Ortes verstanden werden, denn in Musawwarat fanden sich mehr Elefantendarstellungen als im ganzen Niltal zusammen. Im 12. Kap. werden 2 'Indizien' behandelt: das eine ist eine von Vercoutter in Wad Ban Naqa gefundene Sandsteinstatue, die bisher immer als Mann mit Elefantenkopf angesehen wurde, das andere ist ein Graffito am Tempel 300 von Musawwarat, das nach H. ebenfalls einen Elefanten zeige und eine Darstellung des indischen Gottes Ganeša wäre (siehe auch *JEA* 58 [1972], 245–6). In einem Aufsatz für die Festschrift zu Ehren von Elmar Edel habe ich ausführlich dargelegt, daß die Statue unfertig ist und keineswegs einen Elefantenkopf trägt, während das Graffito einen Pavian mit Schreibtisch zeigt. Damit sind die letzten und einzigen wirklich konkreten Argumente für die Theorie eines direkten indischen Einflusses auf die meroitische Kultur nun auch noch 'weginterpretiert' worden. So bleibt schließlich die Frage, ob die Autorin in ihrem zweifellos gut zu lesenden und lehrreichen Buch dem selbstgestellten Ziel gerecht geworden ist, einen Beitrag zur Erforschung der meroitischen Geschichte zu liefern. Wenn man davon ausgeht, daß H. ihre einst heftig und unkontrolliert vorgetragenen Ansichten nunmehr wesentlich distanzierter vertritt und die Problematik mit größerer Sorgfalt und Vorsicht behandelt, kann man das Buch als erfreulich bezeichnen. Aber da die wichtigsten Indizien für ihre Argumentation keine Beweiskraft haben, kann die gestellte Frage nur bedingt bejaht werden.

STEFFEN WENIG

*Le Dieu Égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique.* By JAN QUAEGBEUR. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 2. Pp. 350, 1 pl. Leuven University Press, 1975 (1976). 950 B fr. ISBN 90 6186 020 2.

The theme of this book was studied by Siegfried Morenz and Dieter Müller in their *Untersuchungen zur Rolle des Schickals in der ägyptischen Religion* (Abh. Leipzig, 1960), and this new study does not contest the main conclusions there reached. It claims, however, and justly, to offer a much larger documentation and to stress certain neglected aspects, especially the active character of Shai and his role as a god, which is emphasized in the title, but without maintaining that the name always denotes a god or an active principle. In one respect, in spite of its much fuller treatment, the work is narrower in scope than that of Morenz and Müller: it does not consider the concept of destiny apart from the role of Shai.

We are told that the work began in the course of a larger study of the dialectal values of Greek transcriptions of Egyptian proper names. The section devoted to onomastic is indeed the more elaborate, and one has the feeling that the disparate origin of the two parts produces a certain imbalance although the book's title is a fair indication of its double field. Dr. Quaegebeur is a pupil of Prof. Vergote, and one appreciates throughout the finesse he brings to linguistic problems.

The primary significance of Shaï, we are told, is not entirely subsumed in his role as a deity. He is the god who fixes the destiny of man, and the abstract notion is never far. Comparison is properly made with ideas relating to Hu, Sia, and the Logos (p. 45). If Shaï was a god, however, did he have a cult and an iconography? No temples or official cult were attached to him, it is said (pp. 31 and 164 f. with a discussion of a small sanctuary at Dendera and possibly at Panopolis), because he was a deity current in popular beliefs and came to prominence at a late stage. It may be suggested that there were more potent reasons. First, the abstract nature of his origin, personified as it often was; secondly, the frequent use of Shaï as the designation or attribute of another god and of the King; and these two features are amply clarified in this study. In keeping with the lack of a well-defined cult is the absence of a distinctive iconography, the serpent-form being doubtless due to the associated goddesses Renenet and Shepset (p. 143). A connection with the Libyan Ash or Sha and with the Seth-animal is rightly rejected. In one context—the weighing of the heart—Shaï appears in human form (I would demur to the statement on p. 148 that his bull's tail is an index of divinity). There are valuable remarks on these representations, but little attempt to essay a basic interpretation. See now Christine Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* (MÄS 35, Munich, 1976), 83–8, with her recognition of the idea that hopes of rebirth are implied. In a discussion of 'Shaï and the Agathodaemon' it is held that the importance of the latter in Graeco-Roman Egypt can be explained by the vogue of Shaï in Egyptian popular religion. It is shown in the onomastic study that Shaï himself remained popular both in the Ptolemaic era and in the first three centuries A.D. There was not, then, a mere merging of the two cults. The Greeks, it is cogently urged, recognized their own Agathos Daemon in Shaï and a parallel development was furthered. In one case (p. 263) Agathos Daemon appears as a translation of Psais.

The discussion of the relation of Psais to *Ps-šy* points to the second element as being probably the name of a divinity rather than of an abstract notion. It is then stated (p. 191) that 'l'emploi de l'article paraît peut-être bizarre lorsqu'on constate que les anthroponymes contenant un nom divin, par exemple Horus, Amon, Isis, Anoubis ou Khonsou ne sont pas précédés de l'article.' Instances are in fact plentiful but without close syntactical agreement with the divine name: see, for instance Dorothy J. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris* (1971), 194 f. with names such as Pausiris, 'he of Osiris' and Phaësis, 'he of Isis' (i.e. 'servant of . . .'). Q. is familiar with this formation for he mentions in n. 5 *ibid.* 'Pamounis', 'celui d'Amon'; but because Sais is found also by itself he concludes that the article agrees with the divine name in Psais. This is not entirely convincing since most of the theophorous names compounded with the article show the other syntactical form. Further, in longer compounds such a meaning is admitted (p. 200), and some of these contain the feminine article—proof positive, one might argue. The vocalization of Psois is successfully referred to the Delta, while that of Psais is located in Middle Egypt; and in general the regional allocation of dialectal differences is acutely pursued. Were it not for this, some of the forms might be construed as 'he of Sais' (the town); see p. 202.

If there are occasional suggestions of undue dogmatism, the work must be commended for its rich documentation and its stimulating discussions. There is a howler in the Index (p. 325) where the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius is listed under 'Textes grecs'. But author and indexer are not always the same person.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

*The Archive of Hor.* By J. D. RAY. Texts from Excavations, second Memoir. 320×255 mm. Pp. 192, frontispiece, pls. 29. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1976. ISSN 0307-5125. ISBN 0 85698 061 7. Price £30.

This is the second memoir in the Egypt Exploration Society's series, *Texts from Excavations*. The author publishes here some sixty-eight demotic ostraca, all of which come from the Society's excavations

in the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra during the period 1965–72. The original owner of the archive of which these ostraca once formed a part was a man named Ḥor, an Egyptian scribe and priest of Sebennytic origin. According to the evidence of these texts, he flourished during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor. The texts form part of a petition which was to be submitted to that ruler by Ḥor. Some of them are rough drafts and others show signs of extensive polishing. One assumes that the entire petition would have been copied out on papyrus and the presence of copy ticks in some of the documents confirms this assumption. It is difficult to determine when the petition was presented, if in fact it ever was. The death of Philometor in 145 B.C. sets one limit. The other is harder to establish, but a date of presentation some time in the last few years of his reign seems likely.

The petition would seem to have been a plea for correction of wrongs which were being perpetrated in the administration of the Saqqâra ibis cult. The texts point out the benefits which had been bestowed, on Egypt in general and Philometor in particular, by the gods, notably Isis and Thoth. They suggest that, in return, it is the responsibility of the king to see that the divine cults are maintained properly. Earlier lapses in maintenance of the cults are described, along with the measures taken to end them. Dreams are quoted to show that Ḥor is acting on divine instigation and past instances where he served as a divine instrument to convey good news about Egypt are cited in order to strengthen his credibility. Ḥor's main concern is always the welfare of the sacred birds. The editor's idea that he is seeking redress for some personal injury is unsupported by the texts. There is no justification for translating the phrase, *ḫ.w gns*, in Texts 16 r011 and 17, 5 as, 'I have been wronged'. Nor can this phrase be called 'the demotic equivalent of the Greek ἀδικούμαι ὑπὸ' (p. 123). The editor's statement on that page that certain people 'are described in Text 7, 14 as having "found fault" with the writer' is based entirely on his own restoration.

Scholars from a wide range of fields will find material of interest in these texts. Historical events, such as the withdrawal of Antiochus IV from Egypt in the summer of 168 B.C., are prominently featured in them. The administration of Egyptian animal cults, particularly that of the ibis, is vividly described and documented here. The texts show the changes in the fortunes of the ibis cult and those associated with it during the reigns of Philometor and his two immediate predecessors. They also add much to our knowledge of dreams in ancient Egypt. There are accounts of dreams, invocations for obtaining them, and descriptions of the process of having a dream interpreted.

Interesting grammatical features are plentiful in these texts. Text 18 is an invocation to various gods and is coloured by archaizing language. Archaisms also appear in texts which are not spells or invocations, however. Rarely, the negative future *bn iw stm.f* is used alongside the more common *bn iw.f stm* (cf. Text 59, 16). The *stm.f* form of verbs like *nfr* and *cn* is frequently written without the prefix *nw-* (cf. Texts 3 r04, 5, 19; 16 r05, and 22 r05, to cite only a few examples). This is interesting, given the often expressed view that such writings were abandoned after the Persian period. The frequency with which this form occurs leads me to disbelieve the editor's note (e), p. 22, to the effect that the omission of *nw-* before *nfr.s* in Text 3 r04, 5 is probably due to the cursiveness of the scribe. The editor gives a transliteration and translation, with notes, of each text in the archive. The texts present numerous problems to the translator but the editor has provided ingenious solutions for many of them. For reasons of space, the following remarks must be limited to discussion of only one or two of the most frequently recurring problems.

P. 16, note (k): Possibly read *bn-n(ḥ)y*, a phonetic writing of the elements written *bw-nḥy* in the adverb *r-bw-nḥy*. (That adverb occurs in Texts 8 r020, 12 r02, and 30, 6). Erichsen, *Glossar*, 113, gives as Ptolemaic writings of the latter expression *r-bn* and *r-bw-n(ḥ)y* (with *ḥ* omitted as here). In demotic texts, *bw-nḥy* is virtually confined to the combination *r-bw-nḥy*, 'hither', but the word discussed in this note cannot have that meaning. In Coptic, the adverb ⲁⲛⲏⲁⲓ (Crum, *Dict.* 174a) can be freely combined with different prepositions, each combination expressing a different nuance. Thus, ⲉⲁⲛⲏⲁⲓ means 'here, hither', ⲡⲁⲁⲛⲏⲁⲓ, 'up to here', and ⲩⲁⲁⲛⲏⲁⲓ 'here, in this place'. Along the lines of those expressions, demotic *bn-n(ḥ)y* (if the reading is correct) without preceding preposition, or with preceding *n* omitted in the writing, should mean 'here' in the sense of 'in this place'. Translating the word thus yields excellent sense in every passage in which it occurs.

P. 17, note (r): Read this word *ḥḥ.ḥ*, 'before me' (the editor's readings *n-im.s* and *n-im.w* after it are correct) and add to the list Text 40, +3, where *ḥḥ.ḥ n-im.s* is clear from the photograph. Read *ḥḥ.ḥ* also in Text 4 r02 and Text 5, 4, in place of the editor's *ḥtr*. *Hrynys* is simply 'strategos' and not 'strategos of horse'. For the

pronominal form of this preposition written without *ḫ*, cf. Text 1, 13 and *Rosettana*, 18. For the expression *hb ḫ.t*, cf. *Siut Archive B*, III, 13, 23 and IV, 23, P. Elephantine 1, 12 (= P. Berlin 13532), P. Elephantine II, 5 (= P. Berlin 13523), P. Berlin 13565, line 9 (cf. Spiegelberg, *SBAW* 1926, Abh. 2), P. Rylands IX, 20, 4-6, *Bürgsch.* 311-12, *Rev Égyptol.* VI, pl. 9, line 5, and P. Cairo 31167 1025. Previous commentators have generally misunderstood this expression, which should be translated 'write before, in the presence of'. The bureaucratic process involved is vividly described in Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (London, 1927), 137-9.

If a person makes a report or petition before an official, that official writes (*hb*) or causes to be written down his decision about it (*n-im.s/w*) before (*ḫ.t*) that person and gives it to him. If the matter does not end there, it is the interested party who must carry this decision to any other officials who must be informed of it. The process can be seen especially clearly in the texts of this archive, in *Siut Archive*, and in P. Rylands IX. Further support for this translation of *hb ḫ.t* is found in P. Elephantine 1, the Greek version of which renders *hb ḫ.t.n* as ἡμῖν . . . δοῦς.

Following the translations is a series of five commentaries devoted to: the career of Ḫor, historical information, dreams and oracles, the administration of the ibis cult, and the topography of Memphis. The editor displays here, as throughout the book, a lively and lucid writing style. The last commentary, with its map of the Memphite Serapeum, is made especially valuable by the author's detailed knowledge of the site. Some of the interpretations advanced in these commentaries will be the subjects of controversies. I mention only one here.

Regarding the first commentary, on the career of Ḫor, I wonder if the editor's Memphite Ḫor and Sebennytic Ḫor are not really the same person. The use of professional scribes, admitted by the editor, could account for the various hands of the texts. 'Ḫor of Thoth' and 'Ḫor who is concerned with the petition of the chapels of Egypt', the special designations of the Memphite Ḫor, according to the editor, could easily refer to the owner of the archive himself. Most compelling is the evidence of Texts 12 and 25. Both texts describe him being sent by Thoth to a particular place, in a particular year. Clearly, the same experience is being related and it seems inconceivable to me that the narrator of the first text is not also that of the second. Unfortunately, there is not space here to discuss the implications of this idea for the understanding of Ḫor's career.

Following the commentaries, four appendices discuss the titles of Isis and Thoth, the question of whether or not Ḫor was a *katochos* (possibly, but strong evidence is lacking), and present a time chart. Indices list occurrences of proper names, titles, numbers, and selected words and phrases. A general index of Egyptian words would have been much appreciated and would have greatly enhanced the value of this work. However, one hesitates to make this criticism of a book to which so much labour has obviously been devoted. At the end of the book, there are excellent photographs of all the ostraca, taken by Mrs. H. F. Smith. The editor has also provided facsimiles for damaged or faded texts. Printing errors are rare in this book. One noticeable one is the inadvertent omission of the translation of the verso of Text 12.

The editor is to be congratulated on his presentation of this material. He stresses that this is only a preliminary study. While this is true, it is safe to say that his book will be an indispensable tool for all who study these texts in the future.

MARK SMITH

*Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, By W. PEREMANS and E. VAN 'T DACK. Vol. VII. *Index Nominum* by LOE DE MEULEMEESTER-SWINNEN and H. HAUBEN (= *Studia Hellenistica*, Fasc. 20). Pp. 408. Louvain, 1975. Vol. VIII. *Addenda et Corrigenda aux Volumes I (1950) et II (1952)* by L. MOOREN and W. SWINNEN. (= *Studia Hellenistica*, Fasc. 21). Pp. 251. Louvain, 1975. Prices 1200 Belgian francs and 850 Belgian francs respectively. Obtainable from Studia Hellenistica, Eikenboslaan 19, B-3200 Kessel-Lo, Belgium.

*Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (= *PP*) proceeds on its majestic way with two new volumes which mark a vital stage in this massive project. The first half of the work, the 'Section Systématique', in which persons are grouped according to office or employment, was completed with the appearance of *PP VI* in 1968, and it is now clear that some time is likely to elapse before publication of the second and final instalment, the 'Section Alphabétique', can be expected to begin.

It will be convenient to recall in brief the general plan of the project, for full details of which the user should consult the introductions to the several volumes and also the valuable article by Professors Peremans and Van 't Dack, 'Contenu et Disposition de la Prosopographia Ptolemaica' (Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, Neue Serie, Folge v, (1956), pp. 97–101). See also the article by Hans Hauben, 'The Prosopographia Ptolemaica: Progress Report, 1975', in *Onoma*, 19 (1975), 541–54. The 'Section Systématique' includes all cases where an individual is mentioned together *with specific mention of his office or employment*, but not otherwise, and at first this rule was rigidly followed, cf. *PP* II, p. xix: 'Lorsque, dans une source non littéraire, le titre d'un personnage n'est pas mentionné, ce personnage ne trouve pas sa place dans ce volume.' This obvious disadvantage will, we are told, be put right in the 'Section Alphabétique', in which, in a single alphabetical list, there will appear not only all persons mentioned without a specific title but also cross-references to all those in the 'Section Systématique'.

The editors have already announced some relaxation of the rigid rule governing inclusion in the 'Section Systématique' (*PP* VI, p. xii), and this decision is repeated in *PP* VIII, p. 7, which quotes as an example the inclusion in the volume of the three officials Aeschylus, Epicydes, and Theon who appear, without titles, in P. Hib. ii, 198 transmitting royal prostagmata. Here they are listed as 'Subordonnés des ἐπι τῶν προσταγμάτων', despite the fact that their identification as such is purely inferential. In any case, it is difficult to see on what principles this relaxation has been applied. For instance, the important letter in which Apollonios, obviously the Dioiketes, writes about payment of seven talents on account of his σύνταξις (P. Lond. vii, 1934) is not listed under the entry for Apollonios (*PP*, no 16), presumably because his title is not given in the papyrus. Similarly, P. Lond. vii, 1954 and 1955 are two petitions, largely identical in wording, from a group of dissatisfied farmers, addressed respectively to Apollonios the Dioiketes (giving his title) and Zoilos, whom we know to have been the Arsinoite oecnome. 1954 duly appears in the entry for Apollonios, whereas 1955, which includes the demand εἴσαγον ἡμᾶς πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον, does not so appear, nor, of course, is it listed under Zoilos.

In the meantime we must be grateful for what we have. *PP* VIII, which it is convenient to discuss first, is a volume of Addenda and Corrigenda to *PP* I and II. As may be imagined, the number of additions and corrections to these volumes which have accumulated in the last quarter of a century is very large, and they have been recorded with a clarity and thoroughness beyond all praise. To illustrate the mere size of the problem, the total number of entries in *PP* I and II as originally issued was 4983. At a rough count I find that *PP* VIII contains additional information or corrections affecting 2,100 of these, while in addition there are 890 wholly new entries inserted, and it follows that in future any user of *PP* I and II will have to keep *PP* VIII constantly open at his side. He will also have to cope with a constantly increasing number of cross-references within the work, which will be further swollen when the 'Section Alphabétique' finally appears. When one gets lists of cross-references such as the following:

1844 = *PP* I, n° 16 add., IV, n° 10064, V nos 12725, 13497, 13588 et 14055.

2194 = *PP* II, nos 1853 et 2152, III, n° 5022, VI, nos 14895 et 15187.

one may wonder whether the casual user may not be deterred from proceeding further; however, this is a small price to pay for this store of information.

In order not to disturb the original numeration of the entries, the additional entries are distinguished by additional letters in the Latin alphabet, a, b, c, etc. Thus one finds a sequence like 2112, 2112a, 2112b, 2112c, 2113, 2113a, 2113b, 2113c, 2114. What are presumably last-minute additions are accommodated by letters in the Greek alphabet, which apparently take precedence over those with Latin letters: an example is 4164b, 4165a, 4165β, 4165γ, 4165δ, 4165a, 4165b, 4166. In cross-references the entries which contain addenda to the original edition are distinguished by the notation add, presumably to warn the reader that he must look in the present volume for the information, and not the original entry. I mention these various details because they are not explained in the Introduction.

Many of the cross-references are proleptic, i.e. they point forward from the entries in *PP* I and II to entries in later volumes, which could not, of course, have been foreseen when *PP* I and II were published. The scale of cross-reference is further increased not only by the complexity of the general plan, which means that an individual may appear in a number of different categories, but also by the fragmentary

nature of the sources, the uncertainty of readings, and the notorious looseness of Ptolemaic terminology. They record a number of shifts from one category to another, and in one instance a small note of humour is introduced. Various individuals have been ejected from the list of *ὄνραγοί* in which they had originally been placed because of the notation *ov* which appears against certain names in a list of soldiers in one of the Petrie papyri. The editors now accept Uebel's explanation that this mysterious notation 'indique une négation', or, as Edgar more simply remarks (*P. Cair. Zen.* 59069, 13-15, n.) 'it means "no" '.

The editors scrupulously record all suggested corrections or modifications, but without making it clear whether or not they accept them. In some cases one could have wished for an expression of opinion, which they are uniquely qualified to give. For example, R. S. Bagnall, in an article in *Ancient Society*, 3 (1972), 111-19, has argued for transferring the Dioiketes Theogenes from the reign of Philopator to that of Euergetes, with the consequential redating of a whole series of papyri. I do not think Bagnall is right, and in any case he has overlooked my article in *JEA* 45 (1959), 75-8, which the PP editors quote alongside Bagnall's, but without comment.

Originally a single volume of Addenda and Corrigenda for the whole of *PP* I-VI seems to have been contemplated (cf. *PP* V, p. ix), but it is now evident that several volumes such as the present will be required, and their publication must obviously precede that of the 'Section Alphabétique'. This inevitable delay has prompted the issue of the second volume before us, an index, in a single alphabetical list, of all the entries in *PP* I-VI. Eventually, of course, it will be superseded by the 'Section Alphabétique' but in the meantime it forms a very valuable aid to users of *PP*, since without it there is no means of finding an individual if his title is not known short of working through all six volumes.

It is important to notice, firstly, that the Index does *not* cover the volume of Addenda and Corrigenda just reviewed (*PP* VIII); a supplementary index, covering all the volumes of Addenda and Corrigenda, is contemplated. Secondly, the Index lists only the persons appearing in *PP* I-VI, and although patronymics are added in order to assist identification, patronymics themselves are not indexed. The volume is therefore *not* an index of all proper names occurring in *PP* I-VI, nor, of course, does it include geographical names or ethnics.

The listing of Egyptian names has presented great problems, which the editors discuss in the Introduction. In the absence of an agreed system of transliteration of names in Demotic texts practice has varied from volume to volume, or even within a single volume, while the variety of Greek transliterations is a further complication. Since it is impossible to impose a uniform system of transliteration retrospectively, the editors plan to include a supplementary index of Egyptian names, using, for example, the system adopted for the *Demotisches Namenbuch*, in the additional volume covering the Addenda and Corrigenda.

In conclusion, it is a pleasure to be able to record that *PP* I-V, which have been out of print for a number of years, have now been reprinted and are again available, though the price for the set, which I have seen quoted as £98.10, will place them beyond the reach of the average scholar. I would add that the publishers have asked me to stress that these volumes are available only from them, and *not* from the University of Louvain or its press.

It remains to record the gratitude which all papyrologists will feel towards Professors Peremans and Van 't Dack and their talented team for this unique contribution to our knowledge of the Ptolemaic state.

T. C. SKEAT

*Papyri Bruxellenses Graecae*, Vol. I, 1-21. *Papyrus du nome Prosopite*. By GEORGES NACHTERGAEL. Folio. Pp. 80, pls. 8. Bruxelles, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1974. No price given.

This volume inaugurates the systematic publication of the Greek and demotic papyri of the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. It contains documents of Roman date mostly from the Prosopite nome, and will be followed by a volume of Roman papyri from the Arsinoite, and a volume of Byzantine papyri. The demotic papyri are in course of preparation.

The first part of the volume republishes, with twenty-five years' corrections, *P. Brux. inv. E. 7616 recto*, a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος* which contains eighteen census declarations from Theresis and Thelbonthon

Siphtha. It was first published in 1952 by M. Hombert and C. Préaux in P. Lugd.-Bat. V, which is now unobtainable. In addition two other Roman census-declarations are republished with corrections.

The second part contains the text of the verso of E. 7616, probably two distinct liturgy-documents. The names of persons and places are a valuable source of information indicating, for example, that Egyptians undertook village liturgies. The names of persons on both recto and verso have been analysed by J. Vergote in P. Lugd.-Bat. VII and by J. Yoyotte in *BIFAO* 55 (1955), 125-40.

There is a useful list of census declarations and full indexes. The plates are excellent, quite good enough to make one wonder if the scribe wrote *Θαπης* and *Θαμβηχης* in 13. 3 and 4 rather than *Θαπης* and *Θαμβηχης* as printed.

T. S. PATTIE

*Apuleius of Madauros, The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)*. Edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary by J. GWYN GRIFFITHS. Pp. xviii+440+frontispiece. EPRO 39. Cloth. Leiden, E. J. BRILL, 1975. Gld. 140. ISBN 90 04 04270.

Scholars in Great Britain have remained indifferent for too long to Egyptianizing tendencies in the late classical and imperial world. Greek and Latin texts reveal how much the Nile had flowed into the Tiber and inundated the Mediterranean. Egyptologists, however, in this country have taken scant notice of the diffusion of the Egyptian cults, although a special department exists under Leclant for its study at the *École des Hautes Études*. Merkelbach in Germany has done pioneer work (cf. *IB* 21) on authors such as Aristides, Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, and Heliodorus, compelling us to consider them against the Alexandrian and therefore the age-old Egyptian background. Now to the list of European specialists—Lafaye, Roussel, Hopfner, and Vidman, to name but four—must be added that of Gwyn Griffiths. At last a British scholar, competent on both the classical and the Egyptological side, having already dealt with Plutarch's essay on Isis and the *σύνναοι θεοί* has extended his inquiry to one of the key works in the same field. This edition of the *Isis-Book* is a major contribution to Vermaseren's *EPRO* series.

The reviewer has noted but a single reference in *JEA* (XV, 1929, 242) to GG's present topic: one to Anubis (*IB* 82). The care taken by *Ἰνπw* in the mythological judgment before Osiris (*IB* 218) seems to have been almost the guiding motive in GG's treatment of the mass of material which receives elaborately critical analysis. He spends a long time (e.g. pp. 159 f. on roses, 184 f. on instrumental music, 203 f. on Ma'at, and pp. 287 f. on 'baptism') in weighing up recondite evidence. He skirmishes, at times meticulously, with Berreth, Wittmann, Hopfner, Barb (pp. 230 f. on the *urnula* and p. 257 on the attempted derivation of Eleusinian concepts from Egypt) and the rest, including this reviewer.

For readers of *JEA*, Section IV of the Introduction 'The Egyptian Elements' provides valuable evidence that Apuleius followed a basic Egyptian folk-tale of the 'Eselmensch' with accretions from other sources such as a *fabula Graecanica* (p. 27). Section V ('The Launching of the Ship of Isis') stresses the debt to Egyptian tradition (GG generously allows for the possibility, suggested by this reviewer, that an important influence in the Hellenistic world was Artemis Pelagia). To unravel the tangled theological skein is clearly shown as a major problem in studying Isis as Goddess of the Sea. Merkelbach and Castiglione are rightly rebuked for unfounded assumptions and speculations. Tran Tam Tinh is also challenged on his interpretation of the sacred vase in the Herculaneum fresco (recently seen by thousands at the Royal Academy Exhibition) as symbolizing Isis of the *Πλοιαφέσια*. What emerges from GG's painstaking investigation is the variety of explanations offered by experts. In Egypt there were Isis and Nephthys, Wepwawet and Horus, and the *neshmet*-barque of Osiris, to say nothing of Hathor, and in Graeco-Roman mythology Artemis and Aphrodite-Venus (GG, p. 140, is disposed to accept Tschudin's equation of the Lucretian Venus with Isis, an equation which is suited by words important for Isis Pelagia: 'mare navigerum' and 'tibi rident aequora ponti'). Syncretism has built Isis a boat of planks drawn from sundry sources. On its sails (Egyptian, Greek, even Stoic, *ibid.*) are inscribed her favourite appellations: Panthea, Una et Omnia, *Μυριώνυμος* (an aspect dealt with in Chapter IX of my *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*).

As to the precedence of Isis in the eyes of Apuleius, whatever her position had been in Egypt earlier, GG can quote such texts as 'She who leads all the gods' (p. 251) and 'great in heaven, sovereign of the

stars'—(pp. 251, 323). The entries in GG's Index (pp. 403–7) afford ample evidence that in the *IB* 'she is the presiding genius of the whole cosmos' (p. 306). Bergman's argument is justly accepted (pp. 156–7 and cf. my *IGRW* 15) that the concept of Isis' sovereignty originated in the theology of the Pharaonic throne. This was also the source of her intensely maternal power for the individual worshipper in his prayer to her for peace: *pausam pacemque tribue*—or (in the language of an Egyptian text which GG translates from Philae as his prefatory quotation) Isis gives her admirers delight as being 'more splendid than millions of soldiers'. In *IB* Osiris is a ghost (ch. 30) whereas Isis (ch. 3 and 25) with her wonderfully anthropomorphic appearance ('miranda species') in which 'all the elements are well attested' is a real Mother whose sweet love saves her children when led into temptation.

Rightly agreeing with Bergman (and against Nilsson, p. 30) GG traces the Hellenistic aretologies back to ancient Egyptian tradition (p. 325). He also dwells on the parallels between the prayer in *IB*, ch. 25 and the long Aten hymn, already remarked on by the present reviewer in *IGRW* 103 f. Egyptian texts afford examples of the proclamatory First Person which characterizes the aretologies of Isis (pp. 58, 137).

The experience of spiritual regeneration during the present life, suggests GG, may be a non-Egyptian idea (pp. 31, 51) though it could go back to 'a very ancient funerary tradition'. Illuminating is GG's note (p. 258) on 'renatus' (and the Osirian *whm cnh*) in combination with the religious 'birthday' shared by second-century believers in Isis, Mithras and Cybele (p. 317). The birthday, of course, is the day of spiritual salvation (*dies salutaris*), and Isis is the *sospitatrix dea* (GG's 'Saviour Goddess' betters Robert Graves's 'Saviouress') by whose grace and mercy Lucius her devotee is forgiven (p. 287). Here we are in the realm of the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman mystery religions and their soteriology, the worshipper's deeply personal approach' (p. 290), in contrast with the rites of ancient Egypt, and the *post-mortem* deification of the individual by an identification with Osiris (cf. GG's note on p. 316).

When the *IB* was written, the mystery cults (including the one emanating from Egypt) displayed an oecumenicity, 'an atmosphere of friendly syncretism' (p. 282) which could blur names. *Mithras* is priest of Isis. A *Serapion* is attested as minister of Mithras. Some remarkable 'names in religion' are assumed by early Popes, as reminders of the death of a Persian cult: *Aniketos, Leo, Gelasius and Hormisdas*. Apuleius himself, for whom the *IB* seems to offer an autobiographical experience (p. 3), as a devotee of more than one cult (p. 4 n. 1) can eclectically refer to Pythagoras and Cybele, Mercury and Anubis, Bellona and Osiris. Even in Egypt, as GG notes (following Müller) Isis at Karnak is 'mistress of all that the sun goes round', which establishes her oecumenically and makes her queen of every cult, at any rate for the conflationary Apuleius.

Text and translation take up less than a tenth of this spacious volume. In his exhaustive commentary GG occasionally seems bogged down with overmuch detail. Why initiation by night? (p. 278) Surely, because it is then dark. (In religious drama nightfall can forebode the dreadful, e.g. Ev. Jn. 13, 30.) Why military symbolism in religion? (p. 254) Because the concept of a battle between good and evil is age-old. (This commonplace thought is picturesquely elaborated in the 'Isiac' chapter—12—of the Apocalypse.) Pruning here and there would do good, without harming the natural interest of a keen reader. Terseness of style in the commentary would help towards the clear understanding of how the labyrinths unwind, now classically and now Egyptologically. The introduction is well digested.

Two matters may be briefly mentioned where GG and this reviewer are in dispute. (1) Did the initiate take off all his clothes? On pp. 309/10 GG seems to waver. Is the virtually naked initiate from Antioch (*IGRW* 1. 34) an Isiac? Or isn't he? (2) How far did Caligula's Isiacism take him? On pp. 190 and 327 GG holds that the first emperor to give the Isiac cult state recognition was Caligula, not Domitian. Mommsen is appealed to. But of the two passages referred to by Mommsen (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 334) as establishing a *terminus post quem* (one from Lucan, the other from Arnobius) neither specifically ascribes to Caligula the recognition and sanction the cult of Isis received not long afterwards from Domitian. Care must also be taken about Caligula in connection with the Iseum Campense: he 'probably built or rebuilt the temple' (p. 327) reappears (in the general index, p. 293) as Caligula 'builds temple of Isis'. But these are minor points.

Readers of *JEA* can rest assured about the meticulous accuracy of GG's English version (his text needs no discussion here). Perhaps 'the strongly poetical colouring of the prose' (p. 65) is sometimes better conveyed by the Elizabethan Adlington or the contemporary Robert Graves. Their translation, however (as when the Vision of Isis first occurs, in chapter 3) too often melts into paraphrase or précis, whereas GG



aims always at keeping close to the Latin, however florid. They are at fault, for instance, over the first sentence in chapter 4, which GG renders 'Along the embroidered border and in the very body [better 'the main surface'] of the material there gleamed stars here and there'. And examples of their failures and his successes could be easily multiplied. A correction is required in the English of *ambages reciprocae* (255, 14): 'winded on and back' must become 'wound on and back'.

Any freemason with a competent knowledge of Latin must find at least two phrases (*iniecta dextera*, 284, l. 10, and *sinistri pedis talo*, etc. 288, l. 15) peculiarly significant. The former brings together a modern freemason, an ancient Isiac, and a Mithraist, in whose cult practice the right-hand grip was symbolic of friendship (δέξιως, συνδέξιοι). The latter phrase gains emphasis by what almost immediately follows: *sublata est . . . tota caligo*. Masonic *arcana*, some readers may think!

A quotation from Spenser (p. 245) is refreshing. Somewhere in this almost encyclopedic volume room should have been found for that latter-day 'Eselmensch', Shakespeare's Nick Bottom, rudely named and otherwise a genuine epigone of the Apuleian Lucius. The reviewer, though not a Celt, is glad to observe a comparison between the cultural competitions of Osiris-Sarapis in Egypt and the modern Eisteddfod in Wales. It is also pleasant to see the name of a Welsh novelist.

Enough has been said to show that GG's edition is indispensable for all those whose interest is to appreciate the legacy of Egypt in the Graeco-Roman world.

R. E. WITT

*Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Compiled by J. ČERNÝ. 253 × 170 mm. Pp. 384. Cambridge University Press, 1976. Library of Congress C.C. No. 69-10192. ISBN 0-531-07228-X. Price £30.

Research in the etymological connections between Coptic and the earlier stages of Egyptian language always played an important role in the work of Jaroslav Černý. After a series of articles establishing already numerous new etymologies we now have in our hands the final result: the *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, which has been long and impatiently awaited. The standard of this dictionary, handy in size, monumental in content, does not leave room for anything but the highest praise and admiration. The wealth of new information for the meaning and the history of Coptic, Demotic, and Egyptian words makes it a treasure for everybody working in these fields. And more, to have the Coptic lemmata and the etymological commentary so clearly arranged, the Egyptian words presented in hieroglyphs, the Demotic forms at hand in facsimile writing, makes it a pleasure to work with.

To single out some of the most notable new etymologies: αcπe 'language' < *jsp.t*, εἰργίειν, ἄριπτε 'phrygionia, i.e. *vestis* . . ., embroidered woollen material from Phrygia', Β αλοκι 'a vessel' < *mk(jw)*, αεϣτωτε 'comb' < *mšdd.t*, πησε f. 'belly, womb' < *ngjj*, οκε 'sesame' < *jkzw*, οσε 'loss' < *jsjj* 'shortage, unfavourable difference, loss', ωϣτ 'wear away' < *jfd* 'run away', and S σασιτων(ε), κατιτωπε, Β αασιτωλ 'coarse linen, tow' < Demotic *Gtn* ~ *Gaditana*, Γαδειτάνα<sup>sic</sup> 'country round and including the town of Gadeira (modern Cadiz) in Spain, source of coarse cable . . . made of esparto grass . . .!' Most of the new etymologies are due to Černý's unequalled acquaintance with non-literary Late-Egyptian texts, published and unpublished, but some also to the notes and communications of others, especially those of E. Dévaud (mainly for Semitic loan-words), whose material Černý had access to at the Griffith Institute.

A further lasting merit lies in the extensive bibliographical references tracing back Coptic etymologies to their discoverers, even those from the early years of Egyptology. Everybody will profit greatly also from the indexes of all non-Coptic words and the index of those Coptic words still remaining without an etymology.

As a legacy of Jaroslav Černý, this dictionary with all its outstanding qualities will be both a lasting handbook for all questions involved as well as a stimulus for further research in this important field of Egyptian language. The only thing to be regretted is the lack—unavoidable as it was—of mutual references with the other comprehensive recent Coptic dictionary, Wolfhart Westendorf's *Koptisches Handwörterbuch (KHW)*, the latest fascicules of which were published at the same time as Černý's dictionary. If I may add a personal note, I can only regret, too, that I could not yet refer to Černý's dictionary when working on

my *Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen (NBA)* and *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808 (Spätäg. Pap.)*, in which etymological questions were of major importance.

Since the value of Černý's dictionary (*CED*) stands beyond the scope of criticism, I take the licence to add some notes mainly referring to recent publications (abbreviations as in *CED* and above). As a rule, however, I shall not include references to Westendorf, *KHW*, and *NBA*. To enumerate agreement and disagreement in etymologies proposed would be too involved. I think a direct comparison would be more helpful.

A<sub>2</sub> ⲁⲃⲉ: further ref. in *Epistula Iacobi Apokrypha*, 7, 28. Meaning 'net' and etymology (< *j:d.t* 'net') ought to be replaced by 'matrix, pith' (W. Till in *BSAC* 17 (1964), 206) ~ S ⲟⲟⲣⲉ 'womb, etc.' < *jdj.t*. B ⲁⲁⲩⲩⲩ: equation with Arab. *fatila* proves it to be only a variant of B ⲁⲩⲩⲩⲩ ~ Arab. *fatila* 'wick' < *ḥm.t*. ⲁⲃⲁⲛ-, etc. 'and, together with': or from *r-ḥnr* 'together with' (*Wb.* III, 112, 1-4)? ⲃⲉⲉⲃⲉ 'well up; pour forth': deriv. from *bcb* 'drink; pour out' (*Wb. der med. Texte*, 245; Westendorf, *KHW* 20) seems preferable. Demot. *jbj* (determinative ≡ 'knife'!) in *pInsinger*, 6, 2 might be incomplete at the beginning, its meaning doubtful. L.Eg. *bḥj* in *pGeneva MAH 15274*, rt. V 2, prob. is ultimately identical with verb *bjbj* 'burst in or sim.' (*CT*, VI, 386f = *TR* 26, 4; cf. also *CT*, VI, 189d<sup>SzChass.</sup>), prob. also *bb* 'tread in' (*CT*, III, 98g<sup>B9c</sup>), and derivative *bjbj* 'a symptom of disease' (*Med. Wb.* 243 f.; Faulkner, *Concise Dict.* 81). AA<sub>2</sub> ⲃⲗⲉ: several new refs., definitely proving the meaning 'wrath', in *Tractatus Tripartitus*; A<sub>2</sub> ⲃⲗⲉ, B ⲃⲗⲉⲛⲓ 'be shipwrecked; (cause to) sink': stem *bgj* (M.K. *bgjw* 'shipwrecked'), only by loss of Aleph in *bigj* 'faint' confused with this latter (already in *Horus and Seth*, 13, 10). ⲉⲃⲏⲏⲏ: Semitic loan-word, not vice versa: W. von Soden in *MIO* 15 (1969), 322-6. ⲉⲃ-: R. Haardt in *WZKM* 62 (1969), 30 f. B ⲉⲃⲏⲩⲩ m. 'crane': < Eg. *dšr(w)* as attested now in *CT*, v, 374c (not fem.). ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲧⲣⲓ: cf. *Spätäg. Pap.* 115 ff. ⲉⲓⲁⲁⲩ 'linen': E. Edel in *ZÄS* 102 (1975), 16 f. ⲓⲉⲗ 'an animal': from L.Eg. *krjj* 'ape' (Caminos, *LEM* 14, 85)? Certainly not from *kr* 'chameleon' (S. Sauneron in *RdE* 24 (1973), 160 ff.). ⲓⲉⲗⲗ 'chain': connected with Akkadian *kililu(m)* 'wreath; diadem' > Aram. *k'ililā* 'same'? ⲓⲉⲗⲓⲉⲗ: for stela *Cairo* ȝ. 49566 see J. Černý in *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 87 ff., esp. pp. 90 f. ⲓⲟⲩⲣ m. 'pivot, hinge': connection with Semitic stem *qwr* 'to dig' seems less likely than derivation from Eg. *gr.t* 'pivot' (*Wb.* v, 58, 5 and possibly already *pChester Beatty*, VIII vs. 1, 3). ⲓⲟⲩⲉ m. 'a vessel': Aeth. *kis* > Demot. *kjs* prob. related to Akkadian *kāsu(m)*, Aram. *kāsā*, Arab. *ka's* 'cup' (for Arabic form see A. Spitaler in *BiOr*, 11 (1954), 32). ⲓⲟⲩⲉ 'bend, entwine; stretch out': initial ⲓ (< Eg. *q*, not *k*) in voiced syllable in Bohairic forms excludes deriv. from *ksks* 'bend down' (redupl. of *ksj* 'bow, bend') and points to reduplication \**qsqs* of *qs* < *q:s* 'bind, entwine'. S ⲓⲉⲃ 'arm (of an instrument)': attested in *BKU* 403, 15. ⲓⲁ 'envy, slander': cf. *nccw* 'slander (?)' in *CT*, IV, 20c? ⲓⲁⲃⲟⲓ 'bear': add G. Posener in *Orientalia*, 13 (1944), 193 ff. and esp. n. 5 on p. 198. ⲓⲁⲃⲉ 'be mad': qualitative A<sub>2</sub> ⲓⲁⲃⲏ (Krause-Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI* (Glückstadt, 1971), 11) excludes deriv. from Eg. stem *nbj* as proposed in *NBA*, n. 980. Eg. stem must be III.-inf. (see E. Edel in *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 103 ff.). SAA<sub>2</sub> ⲓⲁⲃⲉ, B ⲓⲁⲃⲉⲛⲓ (make to) cease': late *rgj* (pRhind: ~ Demot. *tlg* = Copt. ⲧⲟⲗⲓ), quoted for ⲓⲁⲃⲉ 'hide', belongs here: Möller, *Totenpap. Rhind*, 18 and 60\*. Ultimately from Eg. *rk(j)* 'drive away' (Vandier, *Pap. Jumilhac*, 303 and 196; Lange, *Mag. Pap. Harris*, 92, 94, 96). S ⲓⲟⲩⲓ 'lion (as a bronze bolt)': oChicago 855 published in Stefanski-Lichtheim, *Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu (OIP 71, Chicago, 1952)*, Nr. 5 (I, 9). ⲓⲁⲃⲟⲓ 'be wroth': also S ⲉⲃⲁⲛ (pBodmer, VI, 104, 3; 82, 16). Prob. II. inf. of Eg. *bjn* 'be bad'. ⲓⲟⲩⲏⲓ 'make, form': not from *mnj* 'chisel', but *mnq* 'finish, accomplish; prepare' (*Er.* 164), and ultimately identical with ⲓⲟⲩⲏⲓ 'cease'. The quotation from Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, refers to *mnq* 'accomplish' (see also Spiegelberg, *Priesterdekrete*, 130). ⲓⲁⲃⲁⲓ 'here': cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, §753 f., and James, *Heḳanakhḳe-Papers*, 111 f. ⲓⲟⲩⲟⲩⲩⲉ: for Akhmimic ⲓⲁⲃⲉ cf. Demot. *mhr* (*Er.* 177). ⲓⲉⲗⲓⲉ: *Spätäg. Pap.*, n. 335. SA<sub>2</sub> ⲓⲟⲩⲧ f. 'pool, pit': deriv. from fem. Eg. *nw.t* problematical because of the Coptic final -ⲧ (see Spiegelberg, *Kopt. Etymologien*, no. 41). From Eg. *wnd.(t?)* 'hollow, depression or sim.' (Gardiner, *Pap. Wilbour*, II, 31)? S ⲓⲟⲩⲗⲉ, A<sub>2</sub> ⲓⲁⲃⲗⲉ: the meaning 'cluster(s)' does not fit the context in *ManiP*, 225, 18-22, where 'stalks (of vine the use of which is to be entwined)' seems to be the only meaning appropriate, and in 57, 12: 'stalks with lobe (not falling from tree without knowledge of God)'. This meaning also suits the further references of the Coptic word which thus ought to be connected with Eg. *pqr(w)* 'cut or broken-up) plant stalks'. For this see J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamūn (TutTS 2, Oxford, 1965)*, 5 (there 'probably a species of *Chalcophyllum*'), *Wb.* I, 561, 10, and E. Chassinat, *Le Mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak* (Cairo, 1968), 432 f. ⲓⲱ 'again,

also': certainly < L.Eg. *m r'*-*r* and not < *jrjw*, the plural of the nisbe adjective *jrj*, this being preserved in *ερηγ* 'companion'. *ριρ* 'pig': interpretation of *φρρηρ* (cf. also p. 272) as \**Pi-hr-rrj* 'pig-face' problematical as status nominalis of *hr* 'face' is *ra-*, not *rp-* (different explanation: *NBA*, n. 131). *περρωε*: meaning 'wash or sim.' (*CD* and Westendorf, *KHW*) seems more appropriate to the context than 'to warm up?' *κοι* 'beam': for *ογεροκοι* 'roof', cf. also Seibert, *Charakteristik*, 151 f. *καε* 'pull out': cf. J. Černý in *Mélanges Michalowski*, 51 f. Further ref.: *ManiP*, 95, 22. *σιογρ* 'eunuch': cf. E. Edell in *SAK* 1 (1974), 131 f.; *σινυε* 'blow, wound': not a plural form, but sg. f. *σφραπυ*: the etymology is now settled in favour of *zh n pr-*cnh**: E. Lucchesi in *JEA* 61 (1975), 254 ff. (~ S *σαρπρασυ*, *σαρπραεισυ*). B *σαρε* and *σαρεε* 'rub down, pound': Eg. verb late *shsh*, a reduplication of O.K. *zh(h)* 'pound' (cf. *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 99), also in P. Barguet, *Le Papyrus n. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*. *BdE* 37. Cairo, 1962, p. 4, older form *zhzh* already in *CT* VI 1730. Cf. also noun *shshij* in *oToronto* C 1, 5. *σισ*, *σεεσε*: < O.K. *sk*: G. Roquet in *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 37 ff. τωβ: B *σογς* m. 'point, end' singular (< \**tuūs* < \**ibūs*), *A<sub>2</sub>* τωγος plural form (for \*τωγος). B *τεμεθαλ* 'mule': most probably connected with Akkadian *da(m)dammu* 'eine Art Maultier' (*AHw* 157; attested already in Old Babylonian!). *τον* and τωω: 'bosom': *Spätäg. Pap.* 217. τωρ *be keen, upright*: Eg. *dhr* (Borchardt, *Sahurēr*, 1.125) certainly variant of *dhn* 'to appoint'. F *τιε*- is status nominalis, so etymology given less probable. B *††* 'tread?': initial *†* (< \**dī-*, not < \**tī-*) makes equation with Eg. *tjtj* improbable. *ογ(ε)πτ* 'hollow of ship': < Demot. *wntj* < Eg. \**wndw*; *ογπτογ* (Gen. 6; 14) < Eg. *wndw.t*. *ογωτ* 'is different': cf. *Spätäg. Pap.* 172. ωλ: cf. W. Spiegelberg in *ZAS* 59 (1924), 134 ff. ωε 'press': < Eg. *ʿfj* < *jʿf*; Demot. *ʿfr* 'be greedy, devour' belongs to stem *ʿfr* 'be greedy or sim.'. *υοι* 'fate': see now in *extenso* J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu Égyptien Shai* . . . (Leuven, 1975). *υολ* 'molar tooth': < Eg. *hl* 'tooth', but further deriv. from Semitic (~ Hebr. *šēn*) does not suit either vowel or consonants. *υαν-*: cf. J. H. Johnson in *JNES* 32 (1973), 167-9. *υιγε*: Demot. *hmfj* 'a fish' is B *καπογχι* (p. 60). *υοτ* 'pillow, cushion, bag(?)': cf. also Eg. *ssd* 'bag' (*Wb.* IV, 302, 8). S *υτο*, *υτα* 'cellar?' seems problematical (see Westendorf, *KHW* 328). *υτα* 'corpse': attested only in Fayyumic; for Eg. *št* see Gardiner, *Pap. Wilbour*, II, 32. *υγω* 'parasang, schoenus': for Demot. *shf* see also H. Sottas in *Aegyptus*, 7 (1926), 237-43. *ϑα:*: cf. *Spätäg. Pap.* 176. S *χο*, B *σο*, *τσο*, *ασο* 'plant': deriv. from *djt dg*: seems phonetically possible (*NBA*, n. 848, 1110, 1446). S *χαπ:*, *χιο:*, F *χαπ:*! 'strike, beat': or from Eg. *dn* 'thresh' (Dévaud in *Mélanges Maspero*, 855; *Med. Wb.* 1004), the Sahidic forms from its τ-causative? *απα:* 'quench': diff. etymology in *Spätäg. Pap.* 175. *απααγ* 'delay': double vowel in Sahidic problematical for deriv. from \**djt šm n.w.* *αταρ* 'prison': word and meaning uncertain (*JEA* 43, 97 and 91). *σολ* 'lie': instructive late writing *gr* in *pJumilhac*, XII, 17 and *pLowvre*, 3292 (G. Nagel in *BIFAO* 29 (1929), 32) might be added. *ελα* 'twigs': cf. late personal name *Tj-grmij* (Ranke, *PN* I, 371, 26 and II, 397)? *ελοε* 'bed': for Demot. *glg* cf. also M. Doresse in *RdE* 25 (1973), 113 with n. 5; Eg. *krk* 'bed?', 'chest?' in *WZKM* 59/60 (1963-4), Tf. I. Ultimately from Akkadian *kalakku* 'chest' (*AHw* 423) > Syr. *klakkā*, Arab. *kalak*? *σποπ* 'bow (head)': prob. same as *σποπ* 'became weak, soft' < Eg. *gnn*. B *σωρπ*, *A<sub>2</sub>* *σωρπε* (*ManiK*, 219, 25), S *σωρβ* (*CD* 118a, l. 42!), *σωρφ:*, *κορφ:* 'nip off' < Eg. *krp* 'wipe off' (Amarna) < Semitic *kpr*/Akkadian *kapāru* 'wipe off; peel (off)' (*AHw* 442). Same origin certainly (cf. the Bohairic forms and derivative *SAA<sub>2</sub>* *σρνε*, BF *σρνεπ* 'diadem; sceptre' with *r* not changed to *l*) for *SAA<sub>2</sub>F* *σωλπ*, B *σωρπ* 'uncover, reveal' < Demot. *glp* 'same'. To be separated from SB *κωρφ* 'bring to naught, etc.' < Demot. *krf* 'repel or sim.' < Eg. *grf* 'to bend (off) contract'. S *σογχ*, *σωχ* 'safflower, cardamum, carthamus tinctorius L.': initial *χ* (< Eg. *ḡ*, *g*, or *q*; Eg. *k*, *t* > B *σ*) in B *σογχ* excludes deriv. from L. Eg. *kt* 'a plant'. Certainly borrowed from Hebr. *qōšā* 'safflower, carthamus tinctorius L.' (cf. I. Löw, *Semitische Färbepflanzen*, in *Z. für Semitistik*, 1 (1922), 97-162, esp. p. 103 ff.). Hebr. word itself connected with Hebr. *qōš* 'thorn, spine', this latter appearing in Late Egyptian as *qd* 'brushes' (*NBA*, n. 655).

Words without etymology: B *αλαω†* 'army': G. Roquet in *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 1 ff. B *αλααι* 'large fish': cf. late *r'-d*: 'a fish' (*Wb.* II, 399, 6). B *βειπαι* 'trunk of elephant': G. Roquet in *BIFAO* 73, 16 ff. S *ειοπε* f. 'a measure (or vessel) of oil' (*CD* 82a): cf. *Ⲯ* *ⲉ* *ⲃ* 'a vessel for fat' (*oCG* 25624, rt. II, 8), so ultimately same as *wpw.t* > *ειοπε* f. 'work, craft, product'. S *καατε* f. 'a vessel': cf. *kmtj* m. 'a vessel (of granite)' in *Urk.* IV, 640, 16, and *kmt* 'a metal utensil' in *oDeM* 579, rt. 14. *καπ*: same as *σοπ* (p. 334; cf. *CD* 825a). S *κασε* f. 'prob. a metal utensil or tool': further refs. with variant *κασεα*: Till, *Ostraka*, 36. Prob. borrowed from Latin *cassida* 'helmet' (for *d* > c cf. variants *ψιc* and *ψιτ* 'nine' >

Eg. *psdw* < *psdw*). Latin *cassis*, *-idis* (> Gk. *κάσις* 'helmartige Kapsel': Preisigke, *WB* 740) and Greek diminutive *κασίδιον* attested in P44, 57 vs. 46 (ed. Munier, *Scala Copte*): *κασιδιαν* . *κασις* . *البيضة*, all 'helmet', *κασις* also in Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 23. S *λωωτε* 'be hard, callous; hardness (of skin)': cf. Eg. *ndr.w* 'blemishes (?) of skin' (*pSmith*, 22, 9)? *μογι* 'ram': non-existent (*NBA*, n. 195). S *αιιτ*, B *αιιτ* m. 'measure of grain': < Eg. *mnd* (*Urk.* IV, 1342, 5) < *mndm* 'basket'? *μογις* 'strike, rub(?)'; be sharpened': prob. corresponding to L.Eg. verb *msq* in *pKoller*, I, 7. S *αιηρε* f. 'tumour, abscess': < Eg. *mhs* 'an illness' (*Med. Wb.* 386)? S *αιερω*, B *αιερω* m. 'manure, dung' (*κόπρος*, *κόπρια*): *m*-formation of S *ροιρε*, B *ροιρι* f. 'dung' (*κόπρος*) < L.Eg. *hrj.t* (cf. J. Černý in *Fs Grapow*, 36 f.). S *πεληκ*, A *πελης*: M. Rosenstiehl proposed borrowing from Hebr. *peleg* 'separation' (*Semítica*, 15 [1965], 97–9; *L'apocalypse d'Élie. Textes et Études pour servir à l'histoire du judaïsme intertestamentaire*, tome I (Paris, 1972), 98 and 68 f.). S *ραρηε* 'pole': cf. S *ρηε* 'pole' (CD 184a). B *τελγι*: see Westendorf, *KHW* 230, and add L. Keimer in *MDAIK* 8 (1939), 39 with n. 2 (Eg. *gnf*: 'große Wüsteneidechse'). *τοοτε* 'turn': cf. *d;d* 'retreat, escape, withdraw' (*Wb.* v, 419, 6)? *ογαίηε*: to be cancelled (cf. p. 3). *ογρασ* 'staff, crutch': prob. < Eg. *wsr* 'sceptre' (*CT* VII, 244f) or *wsr(jw).t* 'sort of stake' (*Wb.* I, 360, 3–5). B *φωχι* 'a fish': cf. L.Eg. *bg* 'a fish' (*Wb.* I, 482, 10; *b* > *p* > *φ* as in *br* > S *βωρε*, B *φορι* 'mugil cephalus' or *psqr* (*Wb.* I, 500, 5)? *ψωαιε*: qual. of *ψαα* (see J. Drescher in *JEA* 43 (1957), 121). S *ψηρ*: see Till, *Arzneikunde der Kopten*, 106. *ψχαλ*: also in *BKU* 403, 15. *φω* = *πγω* 'be good' < *nfr* (*JEA* 43 (1957), 95). *ροι* 'trouble, zeal': Demot. *hjj.t* 'same' (*Er.* 291). *ροκλεγ* 'camel-saddle; litter; wooden bolt': cf. Eg. *hkn* 'bolt in form of lion' (*Wb.* III, 180, 15; *ASAE* 53 (1956), 86 ff.)? *χαλ*: *Spätäg. Pap.* 236 f. *χατ* = *λάκκος*, *τραδμα*, *δλμος*: cf. Demot. *ht* 'a vessel' (*Er.* 397) ~ *δλμος*? (Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Urkunden des Zenon-Archivs*, 3) < L.Eg. *hd* (J. Černý in *JEA* 31 (1945), 38)? SA<sub>2</sub> *σηλ* m. 'cry': < Hebr. *qpl* 'voice'? *σωογ* 'be narrow': etymology given on pp. 338 f.

Geographical names: S *ηερσοογτ*, B *ηερσωτ*: cf. also Demot. *brkt*, *brgt* 'pond' (*Er.* 119). *ομογι*: cf. also J. Yoyotte in *GLECS* 8 (1957–60), 100 f., and *GLECS* 9 (1960–3), 5–9. *τογτωπ*: cf. J. Yoyotte in *BIFAO* 61 (1962), 114 f.

A few misprints have slipped in: p. 33: s.v. *εβοτ* read *ibd* instead of *ibd*; p. 80, l. 3: read *ASAE* 53; p. 108 s.v. *πεαιε*: r. *nmit* for *mmit*; p. 112, l. 21: *πτε-* for *πτε-*; p. 227, l. 1: r. *DMP* 9, 11.

JÜRGEN OSING

*Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*. Second edition. By ERIK IVERSEN in collaboration with YOSHIAKI SHIBATA. Pp. 94, 34 loose plates. Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1975 [1976]. £8. (First edition: London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1955.)

This is a new version of one of the fundamental works on Egyptian art. The author's results have important implications for representational issues and should, as claimed in the original edition (<sup>1</sup>, p. 72), be relevant to stylistic, chronological, and aesthetic matters, although such possibilities have not so far been explored. In the current edition Erik Iversen also suggests that late predynastic and First-Dynasty examples of the canon can aid our comprehension of symbolic features of the monuments (<sup>2</sup>, pp. 64–6), so that his work may be said to impinge on all the main approaches to Egyptian art. The revision is extremely thorough; much material has been added, and the number of figures reproduced and analysed tripled. The edition is therefore of considerable significance, and the author puts forward new ideas on several vital issues.

The first chapter sites the study of the canon within the framework of the author's views on the character and purpose of Egyptian art, and proceeds to discuss classical theories of the nature of art, returning to Egypt with a tantalizing sketch of proportional relations in the composition of scenes, which is not exemplified in any detail. It is held that the aim of art was 'of a metaphysical and magical nature', and that 'each . . . object . . . should be represented in its entirety, with no parts hidden or distorted by shifts of perspective, because parts omitted or not seen, were considered missing'. The canon should then be seen in this context, as being determined by 'the Egyptian demand for standardised timeless reality, with complete proportional accordance of model and reproduction'. No evidence is offered for these views, and their presentation in this form does a disservice to the author's purposes, for any purely Egyptian view of art can scarcely determine the basic character of Egyptian two-dimensional representation, since this is common to much of the

world; the canon is a feature within the general character. Nor can perspective have been simply avoided, as is implied, since the idea of exploiting it in two dimensions was absent. The author is surely correct in his view that the canon had the purpose of 'making sculptural representations of the human figure conform to the natural proportions of the body', and that it had the advantage of being easily taught, but it is an open question whether there was any metaphysical background to this purpose.

After an invaluable chapter on 'metrology and canon', the history of the debate on the canon is studied; the following chapter on 'the structure of the canon' is the core of the first part of the book. Here the main innovation is the discussion of the median line (<sup>2</sup>, pp. 33-7). The author's concern is to re-examine Schäfer's theory of the rendering of the human figure and to give recognition to Lange's ideas, and he claims far-reaching consequences for his argument. His views are stated in two italicized sentences: 'in their two-dimensional projection, parts protruding from the three-dimensional plane [surface of the object to be depicted?] must be seen in profile, and parts extending on the plane en face. . . . in their two dimensional form . . . , the artistic reproductions of three-dimensional objects were . . . technical projections of them' (<sup>2</sup>, p. 35). Instances of 'protrusion' and 'extension' cited are the nipple and the navel (but how is one to define the mouth?), and the standard of comparison seems to be sculpture in the round, not the human body itself. Further support for these views is found in the fact that the back half of a torso is often slightly narrower than the front, and it is assumed that the back half from median line to armpit renders the back, and that where a figure is 'looking' towards another on the picture surface and not towards the viewer it is foreshortened. This ignores the fact that the line from armpit to waist level at the back of a figure does not render the back profile; nor does recourse to the theoretical fathom measurement (<sup>2</sup>, pp. 35-6) seem illuminating. The assumption that the figures are intrinsically 'directional' would need additional support. Another argument cited in favour of the author's view is the absence of a second nipple. There are, however, some figures with two nipples, and these would be canonically anomalous if the nipple were placed on the 'back'. So this theory is unconvincing in some respects, and Schäfer is criticised on the basis of the third edition of *Von ägyptischer Kunst* (1930), not of the 1963 edition, in which his ideas are both more precise and more flexible. Some of the passages Iversen cites do not occur in the latter. Although a few of the weaknesses are still present in the fourth edition, I do not think that the two authors' views are incompatible, but that they relate mostly to different aspects of the problem.

The chapter on the origin of the canon (more precisely, its presence on early monuments) is a very important step forward (independent of Meyer, *SAK* 1 (1974), 247-65). The prominence of the kings' legs in the main relief on the Na'rmer palette is satisfactorily explained as being symbolic of strength. If the subsidiary figures are compared with pl. 4, it will be seen that some of the disproportion is found on them too, perhaps 'contaminated' by the main figure (but cf. also Hanke, *ZAS* 84 (1959), 117-18 with fig. 2). The extension of the results to include the bull on the recto, whose dimensions are identical with those of the king in the upper register, is most illuminating, as are similar observations about the funerary stela of King Wadj.

After a chapter extending the author's findings to seated figures there is a new account of the late canon. The principal result of this, that the old and late canons are fundamentally the same, is presented graphically in pls. 30-1, where a figure from each period is superimposed; this is a major advance and a clarification of Hanke's conclusions. In detail, however, the demonstration is not entirely clear (here, as elsewhere, there are numerous small inaccuracies). The main puzzling feature is the diagram of the two canons on pl. 32; this needs revision, as the measuring point on the earlier canon is about two digits higher on a figure than that of the late canon, whereas the reverse is shown. If 94 digits above on the diagram are equated with 21 squares/palms below the difference between the two arms disappears, as it does on pl. 30. So in terms of the new canon there are two supra-canonical digits in the old one (the text gives the impression that the opposite is the case); but the old canon 'works' in terms of the relationship between cubit and fathom of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  squares  $\times 4 = 18 =$  hairline. In the new canon  $5\frac{1}{4}$  (cubit)  $\times 4 = 21 =$  eyeline, which shortens the cubit—or elongates the body. If, however, the correct cubit size is calculated in theory on the new grid it is  $5\frac{1}{7} \times 4 = 20\frac{4}{7}$ ; this would correspond with the eyeline if the hairline were at 21 squares. I would therefore suggest that  $5\frac{1}{4}$  squares for the cubit was selected on the assumption of a measuring point at the hairline, and that the measuring point was moved to the eyeline on the discovery that this fitted the 'grid' fathom and cubit (possibly expressed in terms of 6 squares [reformed cubit]  $\times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ), but  $5\frac{1}{4}$  squares was preferred for the cubit

size despite the slight distortion it brought, probably because it was more 'canonical' ( $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4 = 21$ ) and more easily measured and computed. As all these proportions are relative, it would need investigation whether and how the new form changed canonical proportions. However all this may be, Iversen's explanation (2, pp. 76-7) fails to satisfy, as one does not lower the measuring point if the new measure is too long, but raises it. It will be hard to test this question, as any related differences in proportions will be very slight, and the author's almost exclusive reliance on Lepsius for the late canon does not inspire confidence in discriminations of the order of 2-3 per cent where the scale is small anyway. At this level the measurements given on many of the plates are disturbingly variable; and one must also ask whether the artists will have applied the canon with the precision of a scholar in his study. A number of these problems must await detailed investigation of the monuments—particularly material like late practice drawings on prepared grids—for solution.

The book remains basic to the study of Egyptian art, but some features of the revision do not carry the arguments forward, and in matters of bibliography, statistical presentation, and the inclusion of further material (no three-dimensional examples are presented, and there is no analysis or citation of works that are not illustrated), the author may not have gone far enough. Too much of what is stated must be taken on trust, and this is unfortunate in a work of exact scholarship of this sort. JOHN BAINES

#### Other books received

1. *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt*. By ROGER S. BAGNALL. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, IV. 246 × 165 mm. Pp. xvi + 286, maps 3. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976. ISBN 90-04-04490-6. Price G. 68.
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3. *The Canaanite God Rešep*. By WILLIAM J. FULCO, S.J. American Oriental Series, Essay 8. 252 × 178 mm. Pp. viii + 71, pl. 1. American Oriental Society, New Haven Connecticut, 1976. Price, \$4.00.
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8. *The Great Archaeologists. The modern world's discovery of ancient civilizations as originally reported in the pages of The Illustrated London News from 1842 to the present day*. Edited by EDWARD BACON. 305 × 240 mm. Pp. 428, coloured pls. 52, many illustrations. London, Martin Secker and Warburg, 1976. ISBN 436-03100-0. Price £9.75.

9. *Heritage of the Pharaohs. An Introduction to Egyptian Archaeology.* By JOHN RUFFLE. 245×210 mm. Pp. 224, frontispiece, monochrome illustrations 159, colour pls. 32. Oxford, Phaidon Press Ltd., 1977. Paperback. ISBN 0-7148-1726-0. Price £5.95.
10. *Den Himmel Stützen. Die 'Twp pt'-Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche.* By DIETER KURTH. Rites Égyptiens, II. 230×165 mm. Pp. x+161, figs. 15. Bruxelles, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1975. Price FB 470.
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